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Citizenship in the context of local administrative reform

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This paper concerns with citizenship in a situation of transition towards new forms of urban governance. It examines the implementation of administrative reform in one of the Finnish major cities, Tampere, from the vantage point of citizenship and asks how citizenship is framed by the reform. The ongoing administrative reform superimposes the global doctrines of new public management (NPM) and particularly emphasises the split between service production and purchase. One of the publicly expressed ambitions is to concentrate on citizens or users needs and organize the production of services from this point of view. The study makes visible the complex relationship between citizens and administrative reform and the impacts of public management to civil activity. Theoretically it engages with discussions of new forms of citizenship and governance and tries to encourage fruitful dialog between them.

Local reforms in Finland

In Finland local authorities are responsible for several statutory functions. Educational and cultural services, health care, social welfare services, planning and building and fire and rescue services are among these functions (Niiranen 1999, 56). Welfare state is in many respects the welfare municipality and municipalities are kind of local states, which is usual in Nordic countries. The most of the tasks of national welfare policy take shape in municipalities in local decision-making and implementation. Particularly this is the case with the provision of services which take place through real-life contact with the clients (see Eriksen & Weigård 2000, 22).

Traditionally the Finnish model of government affords considerable autonomy to local municipalities. Municipal self-government is even stronger today than in the early days of the welfare state, when central government steered virtually everything. At the local level there has been a general shift away from regulatory command and control policy towards greater self-regulation (Niemi-Ilahti 1998). The changes in legislation have given new opportunities for municipalities to reform their administrative structures during the 1990's. An example of the delegation of powers to local municipalities is the Local Government Act of 1995. It emphasises decision-making at the local level and the opportunities for broad citizen participation as well.

At the local government level this so-called modernisation process has implied not only less control by the central government, but also new ways of governance. Municipalities reorganise their administration in various ways and there is no single reform transforming all the municipalities simultaneously. There are, of course, some common trajectories among municipalities: The ideas of strategical planning and the new ways of producing services are quite common aspects in the renewing of local policy and decision making. These changes include the search for new roles or positions for civil servants, local inhabitants and municipal councillors.

These popular ideas among municipalities follow the global trend of New Public Management (NPM). Most of the Finnish municipalities have adopted these ideas recently and the practises created in the era of welfare state have dominated the implementation of public policy. Along side with new legislation municipalities are now following the ideas and using the words of managerialism in their administrative reforms. They are targeting to effectiveness, measuring efficiency and quality, creating structures based on purchaser provider split, moving from public services to market services. Indeed, they are talking about choices and customers instead of equality and citizens and management instead of professionalism.

This study makes visible the complex relationship between citizens and administrative reform and the impacts of NPM to peoples' political identity and civil activity. Theoretically it engages with discussions of new forms of citizenship and urban governance. Studies with empirical and discursive focus on citizens have been in the margins of the research dealing with NPM.

The study design

The city of Tampere is a fine example for examining the effects managerialism has to citizenship and citizens. There is a strong tradition of (and commitment to?) universal welfare state and universal citizenship in Finland. The forms of welfare state and citizenship are connected to each others and this new model of governance challenges both the conventional understanding of welfare state and citizen (see Cristensen & Lægreid 2002, 269). By this new model Tampere is adopting ideas which has been created and circulated around the globe. In the local reform global discourses about

management face local discourses which are embedded in local traditions, practices and structures.

David Osborne and Ted Gaebler expressed the basic ideas of new public management in the book *Reinventing Government* at the year 1992. By this influential composition the ideas of new public management have been spread all around the world by powerful organisations like OECD, WTO and EU. Despite all this, there is no single definition to this management strategy. It can be seen as a combination of ideas (Common 1998, 59). The reformers of public administration from different countries and municipalities choose different items for different reasons.

Reforms have, however, some common features which are based on the assumptions behind the NPM ideology. The fundamental assumptions attach to this strategy lay emphasis on economical and neo-liberal thinking and can be compressed in 3Es' of economy, efficiency and effectiveness (Rhodes 1996, 652). It is believed that the problems public sector have can be fixed by adopting management practices from commercial enterprises and by replacing bureaucracy with market mechanism.

The city of Tampere began the planning of a new management model in 2002. The documents describe the reasons for the reform and the intended tasks of the new model in the following way:

The purpose of the reform of the management model of the City of Tampere is to help the local authorities rise to the challenges that will soon be testing the system of municipal management and services. These challenges include an ongoing growth in service demand, the ageing of the population, the rapid retirement rate of municipal employees and a need to reassert the citizens' confidence in the political system.

The reform is based on developing municipal service production, improving efficiency and looking for new solutions, either by making better use of existing markets or by generating new ones.

(...) In January 2003 the City Council accepted new principals for the municipality's corporate structure and management, aiming at a more

diverse mix of service production, improved channels of civic participation, reasserted political decision-making and stable conditions for strategic management. (The new management model for the City of Tampere.)

The tasks of the reform at Tampere follow the literature of new public management, market solutions are legitimated with efficiency and the needs of citizens. These principles guide reforms to adapt practises such as replacing public services with market services, creating market like competition and underlining management and measurement. In Tampere there are three different, but embedded parts of the reform: a purchaser-provider model, a mayor ship model and a process organisation. The reform extends the trajectory which began at the beginning of 1990's. The management by outcomes and strategic planning system have been the core elements of the management model in Tampere over ten years. Now the purchaser-provider model is transforming the local administration more fundamentally from bureaucratic and professional model towards managerial model of governance. The new management model emphasis services far above other tasks of local authority.

This paper concentrates on the purchaser-provider model and the positions of local citizens in this model. The first pilots of the model have been implemented between 2005 and 2006. From the beginning of 2007 the model has been implemented throughout the municipal administration. I analyse what kind of citizenship this reform promotes and supports, or excludes and denies. *What sorts of positions citizens have in reform and emerging urban governance networks? How citizens are situated and citizenship defined within the reform?*

I understand citizenship as a process of recognition, not as a stable status. Citizenship is one of the ways in which individual identify themselves as civic and political agents. The enactment of citizenship is an interactional matter. (Barnes et al. 2004.) Nobody is a citizen by themselves but citizenship is realised in the connections between individuals and state institutions and between individuals and communities in civil society. People perceive and experience citizenship in their everyday life when they interpret what it means to be a citizen or when they confront matters that enable or limit their positions in society (Smith et al. 2005).

Citizenship is about negotiation, contestation and dialogue in which identities of citizens are mobilised (Barnes et al. 2004, 189). It is about practise with rights, obligations and political participation, in other words 'it is a set of practices through which societies organise political participation and exclusion' (Lazar 2004, 230). Citizenship is a social construction which changes over time in political struggles and includes a sense of identity and belonging in relation to others around us (Barnes et al. 2004, 190). At individual level citizenship identity is always contingent and continually negotiated throughout the life-course (Smith et al. 2005, 440). From this vantage point the formation of the citizenship is a discursive act and challenges the very idea of citizenship as a stable status.

I concentrate here to those aspects of the reform in Tampere that reflect the positions of local citizens. It is widely argued that NPM is concerned about the citizens as consumers (e.g. Aberbach & Cristensen 2005). Consumer orientation and responsiveness to consumers are regarded as important technique for improving public services. At the same time the concepts of citizens, citizen rights and citizen participation are missing in debates over NPM (Denhardt & Denhardt 2001, 398; Greve & Jespersen 1999, 147). The exclusion of concepts such as citizen, citizenship and citizen participation from the language of new management has a great importance. Public management is a part of the set of social practices and norms that define citizenship, the power relations and the possibilities of people to influence political decisions (Rouban 1999). Administrative practices may consolidate or weaken peoples' position to act as citizens. Beside administrative structures and practises also norms, beliefs and interpretations of existing identifications affect the ways citizenship is framed and put into practice.

The data consists of the documents related to the reform and the final act in which the city council decided principles of this new model. The material repeats itself using the same words and ideas. One of the documents is in English; it is a translation of the Finnish version. If possible, I use here this English translation of this document called *New management model for the City of Tampere*.

A discourse analysis forms a base for the analysis. This paper concentrates on the ways citizenship and the positions of citizens are created, defined and interpreted by formal documents. In this articulation process local and global discourses and interpretations of citizenship face each others. The approach employs the idea of constructive political analysis. The aim is to examine a particular process and the emerging interaction between actors and ideas (Hay 2002).

These interpretations turn into practices by having effects on the ways people inside and outside the local government understand and interpret the shift towards managerial ways of operation. The discourses and meanings applied in the documents, simultaneously, exclude and make possible a certain kind of practices and shape the relationships between various actors. Discourses construct various positions for example to citizens, civil servants and local politicians. The concept of position highlights particular differences between the parties involved. Position is related to ideas of identity. Identity is not a uniform, stable or individual concept. Citizens' identities are constituted in interaction with others and the structures of society. Identities reflect the positions that people occupy in the networks of relationships. Like position, political identity is a relative concept, dependent on context (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Hall, 1997; Hall, 1999). It is therefore a socially constructed position from which actors, like citizens, operate in a particular situation.

The documents related to administrative reform can be regarded as cultural artifacts or texts. From this vantage point they represent the formal understanding about the new operational model. There are no controversial arguments or various opinions in the documents about the reform. They reflect those cultural structures that decision makers and planners considered as reasonable, justified, necessary and acceptable.

Documents construct the reality by creating different positions and interaction between them (see Lehtimäki 2000). The actors face different expectations, rights and duties. The discourses embedded in documents represent, create and limit the future activity of citizens, civil servants and local politicians in Tampere. I concentrate here on those cultural structures in which documents place local citizens.

Voter and representative

The new structure of management offers local citizens various standings. In the first place, local inhabitants have positions as the members of local political system and as citizens in relation to purchasers:

The role of purchaser accentuates representative democracy and directing the opinion of local citizens into political decision making. The task of purchaser is to take care of adequate level of public hearings by relatively stable and systematic proceedings. (Toimintamallin uudistamistoimikunta 18.4.2005.)

Alongside with representative democracy local citizens occupy the traditional positions of citizens. Individual citizens may either act as voters or become elected politicians, representatives. From the vantage point of representative democracy local politics is based on a relationship between a clearly definable constituency and elected representatives. The latter represent the opinions of the people in the political process. Citizens deliver their political agency to the system through their vote. Representative democracy requires, from the normative point of view, a government that is popularly authorised, accountable, responsive and representative through a process of competitive election, and connected to active citizens (Beetham 1996, 33), and this view is not called in the question by the management model for Tampere. Quite the contrary, there is a strong emphasis on representative democracy in Tampere. This emphasis does not confirm that the institutional structures of NPM tend to close political channels of influence for citizens (see Greve & Jespersen 1999, 148). The management model in Tampere upholds the traditions of citizenship and does not question citizens' rights to take part in political process.

There are, however, different views of how citizens should be related to polity: Is the citizenship for majority only about giving a vote or should they be involved in the decision-making process as well? These two views are sometimes seen as opposite and sometimes as complementary to each others. When people are seen as voters, they are expected to participate in parties and elections, but in elections they give their consent to the representatives and parties to govern themselves. The assumption

is that it is the people who are in charge, even though society is governed by no more than a handful of its members (Sørensen 2002, 697). Representation ensures, from this point of view, that society is governed according to the will and in the best interests of the people.

When people are, on the other hand, involved in the decision making process they have an opportunity to take part more directly in the governing of the society. Sometimes the practises of direct democracy and citizen participation are considered as preconditions for getting people engaged with society. Citizens' possibility to participate in political sphere and public life is essential to the fulfilment of citizenship. The orientation towards the common good, a sense of belonging to a community and willingness to take part in collective action do not naturally exist. The construction and exercise of citizenship happens in various points where people are connected to public domain, for example in interaction with local authorities or taking part in activities in civil society. From this collective perspective on citizenship, government is seen as having a responsibility to assure that people are able to exercise their rights (Aberbach & Cristensen 2005, 229).

In Tampere city managers and leading elected politicians have taken up a sceptical attitude towards direct citizen participation and direct influence in local planning processes (Häikiö 2007 & 2005; Leino 2006, Laine & Peltonen 2003). They contrast the forms of direct democracy to representative democracy. From this vantage point citizen participation seems to challenge the established polity and power structures. Elected members of local governments, for example, may be concerned about the prospects of losing their role because of participatory policy making (see also Cheyne and Comrie 2002, 471). As Janet Newman (2001) points out, new practices of citizen participation in policymaking are situated in the tension between the search for active ways of connecting governing systems and citizens through new governance processes and the cultural processes that bestow legitimacy and authority on traditional democratic institutions. On the basis of cultural and local traditions it is quite understandable that the new management model for Tampere gives emphasis on the position of elected representatives.

The reform will have an effect of decreasing the number of people involved in decision-making at the city level. In present structure of local political system also citizens who have not got a position of an elected representative could be nominated by political parties to various boards governing the municipal spheres of authority. After the reform only councillors will be nominated to purchaser comities, which will replace the boards:

The purchaser comities will be made up of the members or deputy members of the City Council. This will increase the power and responsibilities over service provision of the representatives elected directly by the citizens. (The management model for the City of Tampere.)

Purchaser comities will define the necessary services, choose the providers of these services and impose the tasks and criteria for services. Local citizens without formal position in political system will have minor possibilities to make an effort to the practices of purchasing outside the elections. There will be no structures which ensure the participation of citizens in the framing of political issues that have effects on the whole city. The new and more participatory positions for local inhabitants are related to service production and to neighbourhoods.

Expert politician

The reform also modifies the positions of local politicians and their ways of activity. Major changes take place in the context of political steering of public service providers. The new feature is the division of local politicians into two different groups. The line is drawn between experts and lay people:

The election of the members for the boards of welfare services will emphasise the knowing of business activity or the mastery of the line field of activities. The aim is that there will be a requirement written in the guiding principles of boards that at least half of the members of a board should have these qualifications. Other members could be elected

among so called lay people. The aim is to strengthen the role of the boards in the steering of business activity. The units of production, especially those which function as public utilities, will move closer towards market situation and competition which requires also a new competence from the political decision-making. (Toimintamallin uudistamistoimikunta 18.4.2005.)

Power structures in planning and policymaking are traditionally based on professional expertise. Scientific knowledge, professional identity and legitimate position in institutional structures are characteristics of traditional experts. Expertise is one form of domination. Some people are regarded as experts while others defer to their knowledge and skills. Traditionally civil servants have been regarded as experts in administrative structures. They have brought their expert knowledge into policy and decision making processes.

Local politicians, instead, have been representatives of the local community and people. They have stand for certain values or viewpoints. There has been no formal qualitative requirement for people taking part in local politics beyond the citizenship and the age (over 18 years). The rule that at least half of the members of a board should have knowledge about business activity or the mastery of the line field of activities places citizens with a particular kind of professional education into different position compared to citizens without such education. The requirement about certain knowledge, then, challenges the very idea of universal citizenship and of polity as a public arena for equal citizens. It gives managerial expertise and professional competence preference over the political values.

Especially economical or business expertise is privileged by the model. They are valued over other forms of expertise. This pursuit is in accordance with the ideas of managerialism. Political decision making is not about making choices between different options, but it is a question of reaching unavoidable decisions (Kantola 2002). The task of the political decision making is to guarantee the functioning of service markets, instead of creating public arena for citizens' deliberation. Within service market democratic control deals with the the success or failure of market principles (Knijn 2000).

New positions for local citizens

New structure of purchaser-provider model offers also new possibilities for direct citizen participation. The most important ones are related to service production and situated at neighbourhood level. A customer and a participant in neighbourhood service forums are new-fashioned positions for local citizens with in the new model.

Customer

The discourse of managerialism accentuates the role of customer: 'The customer belongs to the discourse of managerialism in the same way that the client or patient belongs to the discourse of professionalism' (Clarke & Newman 1997, 116). This discourse is new in Tampere, and in Finland, but in some respect the practises of welfare state have had also the same aspects. Most of the local services in Finland fulfil the criteria of a customer-type relationship between government and individuals because the recipients must pay for the services (see Eriksen & Weigård 2000, 28). Some services such as schools, child welfare and protection and social work do not belong to this category. Neither is new the situation in which people choose between service providers and are active in their private issues, just like consumers are expected to do.

It is noteworthy however, that the policy documents for new model advise service providers and other civil servants to treat people in terms of clients or customers who have individual needs and expectations. In spite of that, customers are defined in a quite abstract way within documents. There is not a single passage in the data in which customers are identified as active and involved individuals or groups. Instead, customers are defined in relation to focal organisational tasks for the new model:

The objective of the new system is to ensure a more customer-oriented approach... (The new management model for the City of Tampere.)

Process thinking will be promoted by a joint development unit for social, health and culture services to co-ordinate the operations of provider organisations on a customer-orient basis.... (The new management model for the City of Tampere.)

Or they are defined as the objects or a target of activity taken by service provides:

The hearing of local citizens as the users of services, so called user democracy, is emphasised by the role of provider. The users of municipal services and clients are connected to the planning and evaluation of services more closely than before. Since those who are responsible for municipal services will be more familiar with the needs and expectations local citizens have, services might be allocated on the basis of these demands. (Toimintamallin uudistamistoimikunta 18.4.2005.)

To approach customers and service users by this manner underlines municipal sphere of authority and activity. This kind of relationship between local citizens and local authorities is not particularly a new one, because the identity of a client in welfare state context refers to people, who are expected to be passive and have no influence over the services. They receive services if they belong to a certain group, such as elderly, poor or unemployed, that has a need for help. The clients are cared and disempowered at the same time (Eriksen & Weigård 2000, 20). Clients yield power to professions. They are seen as receivers and not as active persons and determinants in their own matters. User role has been seen as a solution for problems connected to the clients' passive role. The idea of active user of services implies that various groups are allowed to be involved in the process of determining the services, within the given framework and guidelines (Eriksen & Weigård 2000, 22). Users have limited influence e.g. through boards in school or different questionnaires about user satisfaction. The role of a user is connected to particular services and the rights are individual. The focus on user perspective addresses the expressed desires of the individuals within particular services.

The visible and openly stated customer-orientation, however, might make a difference to local practises and to citizens own understanding about their position in municipality. By these new institutional arrangements local people might see themselves and think of themselves in a novel way. New practices bring with them new discursive strategies and a potential reconfiguration of relationships between state and citizens (Clarke & Newman 1997, 128). By enhancing the customer-orientation the reform in Tampere may create positions in which people come to think of themselves as customers rather than as citizens with certain sets of entitlements and expectations.

These two approaches are mainly regarded as opposites to each others. Like Robert Denhardt and Janet Denhardt (2001, 397) have stated: 'When people act as customers, they tend to take one approach; when they act as citizens, they take another. Basically, customers focus on their own limited desires and wishes and how to expeditiously satisfy them. Citizens, by contrast, focus on the common good and the long-term consequences to the community.' The rights of customers are minimal compared to those of a citizen and the relationship between service provides and customers a short-time in nature compared to the relationship between citizen and local government. This new kind of relationship may also create new confrontations between inhabitants and local authorities (Cristensen & Lægreid 2002, 283; 289). It is supposed, that the customer demands actively better services instead of trusting politicians to fulfil they mandates as representatives of the people.

These practises do not, however, necessarily change the status or power of the customer or give greater individual rights for people using public services. Citizens as customers might try to influence the competition parameters, the competition between different providers or the purchaser; or they might go directly to provide with demands and complaints (Cristensen & Lægreid 2002, 282). The significant point here is the lack of opportunities to negotiate about unacknowledged needs (Bolzan & Gale 2002, 364). Services are usually predefined by the professionals and the state within customer participation processes and models of user democracy. In Tampere some of these disadvantages embedded in customer practises might be avoided with local service forums.

Participant of service forums

The management model for Tampere extends the role of customer and service user by establishing service forums, e-jury and open discussion events for residents in neighbourhoods. These practices frame novel positions to local citizens. Jury will be participating thought internet and participants will answer various questionnaires individually. Anyone living in the neighbourhood may register as participant there. Open discussions will be events in which anyone may participate and meet civil servants and elected politicians. The forums, however, are presented in the policy documents as the main element in the model bringing the services close to the citizens. In the forums service users might participate in the planning of the neighbourhood services:

Service users will be able to participate in the preparation process of issues such as the planning and development of neighbourhood sport services, youth services, library services and environment. (The management model for the City of Tampere.)

The tasks of the forums are two hold: to enable inhabitants' participation and to produce local knowledge for civil servants and service providers:

Crusial for the course of action are the improvement of the opportunities for inhabitants' participation and influence at their neighbourhood and within neighbourhood services and the production of knowledge for purchaser, produsers and local administration. (Kaupunginhallitus/ City Board 14.8.2006.)

Forums are ambitious practises when compared to usual ways customers are supposed to participate and extend the customer activity beyond the techniques like customer surveys, market research, focus groups and other marketing techniques (Clarke & Newman 1997, 116). In processes such as customer/ consumer participation, involvement and consultation individuals can participate directly in defining policy by expressing their preferences (Aberbach & Cristensen 2005, 241; Bolzan & Gale 2002; Dreyfus 1999, 10). These customer participation techniques

offer new opportunities for people to influence on policymaking and service provision. Through these practises customers give information about themselves, their wants and needs to providers and purchases. This information is used in targeting and improving services to satisfy customer's needs. At Tampere e-jury can be framed in the same way: The main task is to gather information for city administration and political system from the neighbourhood for purposes of allocating services.

The intended service forums differ from these usually used techniques of customer participation by having a collective nature. The over all task of the service forums is to represent the view of the neighbourhood and develop the services and the environment for the neighbourhood. The tasks are defined in preparatory work in the following way:

The aim is that the city of Tampere will commit to hear neighbourhood group at least within preparation of budget and city strategy and considering the network of services. Besides, the city of Tampere and neighbourhood group will prepare in co-operation a future plan, in other words a view of the direction the neighbourhood should be developed. (Blåfield & Teittinen 2006.)

The tasks combine elements of customer participation and citizen participation. Customer participation is service-orientated while citizen participation is citizen-orientated activity (Kearns 1995). These both sides are present in the policy documents. Ade Kearns (1995) argues that service-orientated activity is elitist approach to governance and ignores place-based communities and the citizen's sense of belonging. Citizen-orientated strategy, instead, enables all citizens to become involved in local democracy. The danger is that new management structures leads to the diminution of citizen-oriented activities and disengages people from active political participation. The shift in civil society towards managerial civil society demonstrates this trajectory (Jayasuriya 2002, 314). Civil society organisation has become partners for delivering public services to customers and is connected to government with contracts. Beside this transformation civil society might lose its'

capacity to form a public sphere for contesting and challenging relations of domination.

There is a danger that customer participation trumps the citizen participation in these intended forums in Tampere. There is not so much free space for citizens themselves in the forums. Most of the activities citizens should and could take are clearly guided and framed from above by local authorities. The definition of the neighbourhood is a good example here. At first there were plans to define the borders of neighbourhoods on the terms of governmental borders, not on the terms of how people identify themselves. There were ideas to form five welfare service areas in the city and to found the forums on their bases. All of the forums would have covered several established neighbourhoods. After giving up the establishment of welfare service areas, it is unclear what would be the suitable definition of the neighbourhood. In political discussion it has been clear, however, that there are too many single neighbourhoods for establishing a service forum to each of them. Other case in point is the fact that most of the duties forums have are based on the idea that members respond to the activities taken by the local authorities: "Municipality defines the matters in which the work groups will be at least heard" (Teittinen 2006). Members give information and opinions from the neighbourhood to local authorities and deliver the information from the local authorities to their own circles.

On the other hand, there are alternatives also in managerial structures. The participants may challenge the position of a consumer offered to them and occupy the standing of a citizen. Natalie Bolzan and Fran Gale (2002) show this in a thought-provoking empirical study about the citizenship of excluded groups in Australia. Both examined groups, older people and people with mental illness, challenge the consumerist agenda by networking. They used consumer processes for information gathering and to challenge professional dominance. They move the information they get from consumer sources into a political arena. By taking this active standing they change from individual consumers to people exercising collective citizenship. The members of service forums have a great possibility to do this move in Tampere. The co-operation between civil servants and inhabitants in preparing the future plan for neighbourhood represent an opportunity to develop the area from citizens' vantage point.

One crucial question is here, who are the members of forums. They are defined within policy documents in the following way: *Active actors, the representatives of resident associations (or other associations), the representatives of local inhabitants, the representatives of companies and inhabitants who are interested in developing the area.* Beside these participants local service providers may take part in neighbourhood meetings. It seems that participants will be various stakeholders, mainly on representative base. Stakeholders are individuals or groups, who can make a claim and represent interest on the issue at hand (Clarke & Newman 1997, 137). The aim does not seem to be activating inhabitants, but to create new co-operational form between active, mainly civil society, actors and city government. The designers of the model expect that “Forums will make it possible to create area based networks and generate innovation, even together the third sector” (The management model for the City of Tampere).

It will be interesting what kinds of positions these stakeholders will occupy in forums. Will they identify themselves as citizens or as consumers? If they take the position of citizen and participate as lay members of a political community their intentions for the working will probably differ from the tasks set by local authorities. The task of lay members of a political community is not to secure the success or effectiveness of decision-making, but to seek alternative ways to change (Bang 2003a, 3). Their part is not to produce or deliver services. They might just consume political products for their own personal reasons or engage in interaction and articulate new ideas, values and identities (Bang 2003b, 12).

The primary aims of the new management model for the City of Tampere are to secure effectiveness and the model underlines economical and management issues more than anything else. Citizens might have different desires. It is something like well-being rather than wealth that local people express as their aspiration (Chambers 1998, 117). There is already experience in the collision between local authorities and citizens and between different values in citizen participation processes at Tampere (Häikiö 2007 & 2005; Leino 2006). On the base of the earlier studies citizens are not active on the names of competition, effectiveness and economics in governance networks. Different and even competing views over city development create discursive struggles and increase political activity on the inhabitants' side.

Diverse citizenship

There are various positions for local citizens in new public management structures according the policy documents related with the planning of purchaser provider model at Tampere (see table 1). Some of the positions are based on traditional definitions of citizenship in the context of representative democracy. Some of them transform the ideas of citizenship into something new and yet unknown. All this indicates that citizenship and local citizens have been taken into account in the new management model; but at the same time the framework of citizenship is under a negotiation and there are attempts to redefine the concept of citizenship locally.

Position	Who?	Activity	Rights (/obligations)	Excluded
Voter	All local citizens with right to vote (over 18 years old/ Finnish citizenship)	To vote in elections	Use their voice in elections	Those without right to vote
Elected representative	Members of political parties, members of city council	Political and strategical steering, members of purchaser comities, make decisions over services	Decision-making over purchasing	Those outside the political parties, dropped candidates
Expert politician	Representatives of political parties with qualifications on business or on the particular field of service	To steer particular service provider	Represent the expertise in business or the particular field of service; control and direct particular service provide	Those without education/ expertise on business or the particular field of service; experts without close connections to political parties
Customer	users of services; objects of the service providers	To give information about their needs when asked	Unclear: insist that services will fulfil their needs and expectations?	Those not using particular services
Inhabitant	Active inhabitants	To participate in hearings, ejury and service forum	To express the view point of individual inhabitant in various inquiries and meetings	Passive inhabitants
Participant of the service forum	Representatives of residential associations/ of residents; different stakeholders from the neighbourhood	To take part into forums, give and circulate information	Represent the collective view of the neighbourhood in given issues, express their opinions on the covered issues	Those outside residential association/ other groups

Table 1. Citizens have various positions in the new management model for the City of Tampere

Although the management model for Tampere does not seem to deny or exclude political participation, it connects citizens to the traditions of representative democracy and service provides rather than involves them into the new forms of urban governance practices. Local citizens are identified as actively participating members of the local community when they are placed in the neighbourhoods or in relation to political system based on representative democracy. On the other hand, they are identified as clients or customers when the structures of new management model are described or legitimated. In the documents municipality looks more like organisation delivering services than political community securing local self-government. Political community is accommodated to the new management model.

There is, however, no room for a real consumer who chooses a best service among alternative sources of services at Tampere. Local authorities and especially purchasers are responsible for selecting providers and services. Local authority is a key player within this new urban governance model for the city of Tampere. On the base of the experiences from other municipalities, it could be assumed that also social service companies are not empowering individuals to act as consumers. Companies strive for contracts between municipality and themselves, because it is not the individuals but the municipality who finances the service markets and selects the providers (Bahle 2003, 11; Niiranen 2002, 44).

Local authorities are still in the central position for maintaining and developing the practices of democracy and allowing local citizens to participate in the planning and implementation of services. It is their legal duty but also a way to legitimate local autonomy. One of the vital questions from local democratic vantage point is the position of the diverse users of social and health services. The active users are mostly people with minor education and without work who have the weakest channels for participation and influence in municipalities (Niiranen 1999, 66). New local practices celebrating user and customer involvement seem to ignore those people who are not able to hold and put forward their own interests. Neither does the management model offer new possibilities for influence for vulnerable groups and peoples. On the contrary, it seems that some professional citizens will have new opportunities to

exercise power and get new ways of influence. Most of the people have only the possibility to engage with the services they use.

The examined policy documents can be seen as one of the shifts in the never ending negotiation process in which the limits and opportunities for citizen participation are defined. This article demonstrates that the new public management reform is connected in various ways to interpretations of citizenship. Emerging shifts are not inevitably parallel movements from universal citizenship towards consumerism. Policy documents connect with each others contradictory interpretations about the desirable future position of citizens. This process is a combination of global ideas and local traditions. A local mixture of citizenship, customerism, clientism, expertise and different forms of democracy has been formulated in the policy documents. It remains to be seen, how diverse people will take advantage of the structures and practices of new management model and create new positions for activity. What are the ways people identify themselves as citizens and customers in urban governance? This should be the subject of the future research with Tampere case; and with other cases as well.

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