TOWARDS PEER PRODUCTION IN PUBLIC SERVICES: CASES FROM FINLAND

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TOWARDS PEER PRODUCTION IN PUBLIC SERVICES: CASES FROM FINLAND

Introduction

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This publication is a collection of articles that deals broadly with the relationships between peer-to-peer dynamics, and the design, production and provision of public services. Most of the cases presented are illustrative of recent developments and discussions in Finnish society, however other broader international perspectives which give historical reflection and future-oriented speculation on what might be the outcomes are included.

There are changes taking place in how the role of citizens in society is experienced–in terms of how they feel responsible for things happening–and also in what is expected from them. The last few years have witnessed a flurry of citizen-driven and organized activities that range from guerrilla gardening with aims to beautify unattended urban spots, and pop up restaurants to comment on impractical bureaucracy; as well as self-assigned urban planning initiatives to revive the local community. This has been especially visible in the larger urban congregations in Finland, such as Helsinki (Hernberg 2012).

These developments may be seen in the context of traditional and renewed spirit of Finnish talkoot[1], as well as a combination of creative and information-sharing associational activity as an activist instrument (Paterson 2011). In many cases, self-assigned innovators and active people are taking some of their concerns into their own hands, strengthening their belonging and cooperation with others. The Internet has been a supporting factor, bypassing the limited number of physical social-forum spaces. Especially, in the Finnish context, enthusiastic broadband and mobile data usage is a contributing factor, as the mainstream (and mobile) adoption of social media platforms, such as Facebook, have provided some groups with easy ways to communicate, forming online groups and self-defined information channels.

Hand-in-hand with these above local trends, we also witness the impacts of gobalized issues, such as the economic crisis, perceived stagnation of the welfare state, and the challenges of an aging population. Taken together, all these developments set the ground for a more general debate on how our relationship with the state should evolve, and how to imagine and organise common affairs in new ways (Benkler 2006). There is no doubt that there is a renewed interest to understand processes, logics and incentives that can make possible new partnerships between the public-sector, private-sector, third-sector, and citizens, in order to create and produce public services. Amongst the many aspects to consider, active forms of citizenship, broader public participation, and the role of 'peers' have emerged as key issues. Naturally these phenomena are not limited to Finland or Northern Europe, but are happening worldwide at different scales, speeds, and with different focuses (c.f: Borchorst, Bødker & Zander 2009, Jégou & Manzini 2008, Ostrom 2000, Parks et. al. 1999, Parker & Heapy 2006, Paterson 2010).

We are, of course, not the only ones giving attention to related issues in

Finland. For example, the Finnish Innovation Fund (Sitra) has commissioned several reports on similar topics, including one on the future of the welfare state in the time of communities (Mokka & Neuvonen 2006), and a more recent document providing an overview of contemporaty Finnish co-production projects building on the "talkoot" tradition (Aitamurto, Siivonen & Lovio 2012). From a different perspective our own Aalto University has also been involved in experimenting with new service design approaches involving both citizens and municipalities [2]. The list can be expanded, but for now, it is suffice to say that there is a clear need to increase the understanding of the logic and incentives in these types of processes; this compilation is our contribution to this larger discussion.

We are interested in the underlying messages that these new trends and emerging weak signals are posing, and we are aware of the need for a multidisciplinary perspective. There are many challenges and opportunities in designing, developing and maintaining services for participatory modes of governance, including co-creation and peer-to-peer aspects. We ask, what can be learned from current research, and what is happening already beyond academia? With the aim to increase the opportunities for dialogue between the Finnish scene and the international context, we have gathered this collection of articles, with some providing more background information and introducing useful concepts; the others describe and reflect upon local ongoing grassroots or organized experiments. They all deal with the collaboration and engagement of "peers" in the ideation, creation or provisioning of services. We hope to offer something for academics as well as professionals engaged in media and service-design, socially-engaged processes, cultural production and public service management located both in small to large institutions, as well as for citizens wanting to do something. Thus the writing styles and formats within this compilation are a rather eclectic mix.

Many of the articles presented are the result of presentations and discussions that started in 2010 at the seminar we organized in Aalto University School of Arts, Design and Architecture on the theme of co-creation, co-governance and peer-to-peer production of public services[3]. A summary report of the seminar is included as an Appendix in this publication. The other articles have been added in the process of organizing the compilation.

We start our journey with three contextualizing articles that discuss and envision some of these developments in broader theoretical terms. The first contribution from Victor Pestoff offers an account of co-production as an important element in the renewal of public services in Europe. In discussing this he clarifies some of the vocabulary associated with these developments. He does that in terms of co-production–to exemplify the relationships between the parties involved–and their motivations for engaging in such efforts, aswell as the political and policy implications they entail. Using empirical materials from two dfferent case studies of parent-participation in pre-school services, Pestoff argues that co-production has important implications for the development of participatory forms of governance, and the important role public policy plays in crowding in or out these developments.

The next piece from Michel Bauwens is more speculative in character. He explores some of the politics of new forms of value-creation, refered to as commons-oriented peer-production, that have been made visible, for example, in the software industry. This is done to highlight what can be learned from them on a more general level of social organization. His proposition is to compare the role of for-benefit institutions–which take care of the infrastructure of common projects–to the role the state could play in the future, in this case, to provide protection to the common good and infrastructure, not simply of it's projects, but those of it's citizens. Bauwens believes that such a model for a partner state could transcend and include the best parts of the welfare model currently in crisis; provided that we are also willing to look seriously into other aspects of the model beyond infrastructure. For example, he highlights the development of new 'economies of scope' to contrast with the old and tired mottos of 'economy of scale'. In elaborating his argument he provides also a historical comparison to the times when feudalism was made irrelevant in Europe, to give precendece to the ways in which contemorary developments might prefigure the irrelevance of the capitalist mode.

Meanwhile, Teemu Leinonen, in his article, inquires on the qualities of different media when it comes to providing peer-to-peer learning opportunities, and how we might conceptualize who are our peers when doing so. To ilustrate his point, three different examples are used, ranging from the assemblies devised by students occupying a high school in Santiago de Chile, the online computers used to create self organized class rooms in India, and finally the different social media services used to create complex massive open online courses. The three cases highlight important possibilitites of peer-to-peer learning and related media, to develop opportunities which challenge current assumptions of how teaching and learning should happen. At the same time, the examples also illuminate an important concern: If our peers are understood to be only those with whom we share an interest, the possibilities of transcendence seems ultimately very limited.

The next set of essays offer reflection on concrete examples located in the Finnish context. The writers have all been involved in devising, setting up, or running experimental examples, and are thus interestingly positioned to reflect on the possibilities, challenges, and limitations of a peer-to-peer related way of organizing services. In her essay Pauliina Seppälä makes a reflection on three intriguing examples of grass-roots activism in Helsinki emerging from the social-media platform Facebook. These include a network of neighbours providing social activities for the residents of a local centre for asylum seekers; a platform for creating public artworks over the temporary walls surrounding construction sites in the city; and finally a carnival-like event where anyone in Helsinki is encouraged to sell and swap stuff for a day. She discusses some of the characteristics of the collective and creative process that lead to them, the services they offer, and the tensions generated along the process. She links these development not only to the ideas of peer-production, but also to that of the emergence of everyday social movements, and how the use of online social media generates new aspects and issues to discuss. These developments, she said, also require from the public sector, not a step back or a giving up of management and authority to the peers, but an active engagement and support for grass-roots initiatives.

Pirjo Tulikukka shares the development of three cases where residents and neighborhoods associations in Helsinki are learning to develop peer-to-peer practices. The first one accounts for the experiences around a free platform for neighborhood websites that has existed since the late 1990's. The second case reflects on the attempts to support the creation of a neighbourhood stakeholder network. The last one traces the open and collaborative strategies of a neighborhood association, which, in true "peer" fashion, has managed to establish locations for a community space in their area. Her cases shed light on the ways that the traditional organization of active citizens into registered neighborhood associations have lately shifted to include less-hierarchical and more peer-to-peer organizational structures. With this development, she elaborates how the process seems to manifest itself in small steps, and considers the types of supporting mesures that could be made in the process. The role of "caddies", or people who support others without doing things for them, is identified as important. She also suggest that the generational gaps and differences, in terms for example of digital literacy, as well as knowledge of the areas, need to be addressed for taking full advantage of all the possibilities with peer-to-peer strategies.

Turkka Tammi, Tiia Ruokosalo, and Henna Vuorento report two cases of publicly funded peer-based services developed by a NGO that focused on a particular set of "problematic" users: drug and gambling addicts. Both cases showcase the use of web and mobile -based tools that have enabled new types of peer-based support services for dealing with addiction. These services have proven to be successful in both cases, thus highlighting the many benefits and the reach of these approaches. The authors warn however of the dangers of taking the peer-based approach too naively, without considerations to the particularities of situations of use, and their structural implications. There is still a need for–and also the right to–access to professional support, beyond that of the one provided by peers.

Ruby van der Wekken brings to the discussion some of the experiences and concepts that time-banking communities have experimented with, in their attempts to offer alternative ways to build exchange tools. Her thoughts are grounded in the practical work she initiated to set up the local Helsinki time-bank. 'Banking' time–and the associated practices of sharing and solidarity–are presented as a platform for the development of local and community services, not only to supply what is currently unavailable, but as a way to reframe economical activities and provide opportunities for influencing and engaging in new forms of organization. Her reflections propose time-banking as one activity that could–if linked to structural change–strengthens local democratic action.

Our last article also reports on a Finnish case, this time from a more academic perspective, and from a different level of abstraction. Petra Turkama and Jukka Mattila have studied the collaborative creation of a new service in the area of home care, where organizations and individuals who are clients, collaborate in order to develop and provide a service. They argue that in the discussions of co-creation of services within this field, where organizations have deeply rooted traditions and structures for providing them, institutional impacts play a significant role on making the change possible, and that this issue has received very little attention in research.

To summarise, the articles in this collection confirm that something is happening in terms of experimenting with peer-to-peer activities, and that new media and the Internet in particular, play an important role in making them visible and scalable. In all the accounts and reflections it is possible to see how historical conditions and local resources frame the ways in which these experimentations take shape. There are many flavours emerging from diverse historical continuities, as well as from disruptive sprouts of new activities.

Many of the authors have highlighted the challenges related to the organization of peer-to-peer networks and their working strategies; at the same time others have also proposed best practices and models. Several of the authors have also expressedly taken up the need for rethinking the role of the government in a reality where peer-to-peer support and organization is becoming more viable and efficient than previosly. Michel Bauwens, for example, provides a clear vision for this new role, that of the partner state. Pestoff also concludes on the need to think holistically about the policy implications, so that these developments will really support meaningful involvement and citizen empowerement. It is still early to state whether the peer-to-peer movement will gain weight, and to what extend it will change the way economic, political and social life will be organized in the future. This publication has merely but scratched the surface, and we hope it will trigger our readers to join us in asking: What are the possibilities for the future? What is the role of existing local socio-political contexts? (We'd like to hear from and about other similar experiences in the world). Ultimately, how do we find the right balance between the traditional forces of market, the state, and the emerging citizen-driven actions?

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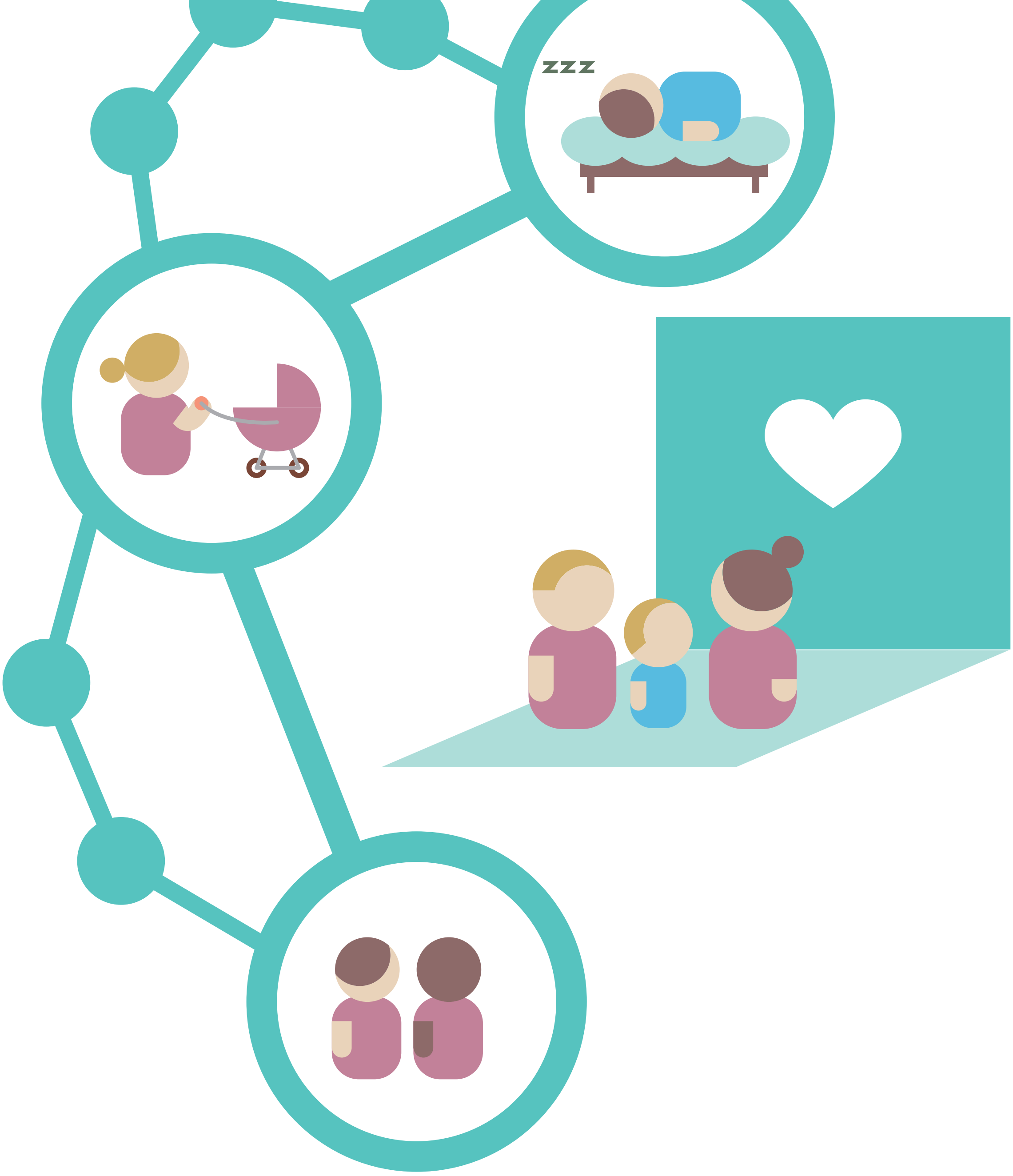
ENDNOTES

1. Talkoot is a Finnish expression for a gathering of friends and neighbors to accomplish a task. This group of people works together unpaid, for instance building or repair something that is a common concern, or to help someone with a task that exceeds his or her own capacity. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talkoot (accessed May 18, 2012).

2. See for example the 365 Wellbeing project for the Helsinki Design Capital Year, retrieved from http://365wellbeing.aalto.fi/ | The activities of the Aalto Service Factory research group 'Service Design with and for Citizens', retrieved from http://designresearch.fi/blogs/withandfor/ | As well as other numeorus initiatives like 'Design for Healthcare', retrieved from http://designforhealthcare.blogspot.com/ (all accessed May 18, 2012).

3. A complete documentaiton of the seminar with videos and presentations can be retrieved from http://co-p2p.mlog.taik.fi/seminar-2010/ (acessed May 18, 2012).



INNOVATIONS IN PUBLIC SERVICES: CO-PRODUCTION AND NEW PUBLIC GOVERNANCE IN EUROPE

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Keywords: Civic associations, cooperatives, forms of everyday democracy, New Public Governance.

Peer production is a way to produce goods and services that relies on self-organizing communities of individuals who come together to produce a shared outcome, i.e., the production of content by the general public rather than by paid professionals and experts in the field. In these communities, the efforts of a large number of people are coordinated to create meaningful projects. The information age, especially the Internet, has provided the peer production process with new collaborative possibilities and has become a dominant and important mode of producing information. Free and open source software provides an example of peer production. It occurs in a socio-technical system which allows thousands of individuals to effectively cooperate to create a non-exclusive outcome. Such collective efforts are informal and without traditional hierarchical organization. However, as in the case of Wikipedia, a large amount, if not most, of this collaborative effort is maintained by a relatively small number of devoted and active individuals. Peer production is often used interchangeably with the term "social production" or even "P2P" production (Wikipedia 2012).

Collaborative efforts by various parties to produce a common outcome, either in the form of a product or service, can assume different labels. Co-production is a common term for such collaborative efforts involving at least one hierarchical organized partner from either the public or private sectors. In business relations between firms collaborating to produce a common outcome, we can speak of Business-to-business (B2B) co-production. Here two firms collaborate in achieving a common product or service, like when the BBC co-produces the daily news together with National Public Broadcasting in the USA or other public broadcasting systems. It can also mean that one firm outsources the production of certain essential ingredients to another firm. Furthermore, certain aspects of service provision can be assumed by the consumers themselves, for Business-to-consumer (B2C) co-production. The spread of self-service shopping and use of automatic teller machines, also known as ATMs, provide clear examples of this.

Sometimes governments attempt to involve their citizens in the provision of goods and services, either for reasons of improving efficiency of public services, effectiveness of public policies, or to promote other important social goals, such as citizen empowerment, participation and democracy. Here we can speak of Government-to-citizen (G2C) co-production more generally or Municipality-to-inhabitant (M2I) co-production at the local level. Alford (2010) compares the use of postal codes on letters and filing individual income tax returns as examples of citizen co-production in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Moreover, Public-private partnerships, or PPPs, can either involve private firms as the collaborators of public sector agents, third sector actors as their partners or bring both private firms and third sector actors in collaboration with the public sector. Outsourcing the provision of public goods or services is typically seen as a form of PPP. However, note that this article focuses on partnerships between the public and third sectors that take the form of G2C or M2I co-production. Moreover, it does not discuss the role of information technology in co-producing public services, although it plays an important role in promoting greater interaction between some public agencies and citizens (Bauwens, 2005, Bauwens in this volume; Meijer, 2012).

Today, many European governments are searching for new ways to involve their citizens in the provision and governance of public financed social services. There are both economic and political reasons for this development. At a general level the explanations are similar throughout Europe. First is the challenge of an aging population; second is the growing democracy deficit at all levels, local, regional, national and European; and third is the semi-permanent austerity in public finances, made more acute by the recent global economic crisis. The response to these three challenges will, of course, vary between countries and across sectors of service provision, but some general trends are nevertheless observable. First is the promotion of greater volunteering. Second is the growth of new and different ways to involve users of social services as co-producers of their own and others' services. Third is the spread of new techniques of co-management and co-governance of social services, where the third sector plays a more prominent role in various European countries. Fourth is the development of user councils or other forms of functional representation at the local level to engage users in a dialogue about public services. Taken together they represent a major social innovation in the provision of public services and imply a different relationship for the third sector vis-á-vis the state.

Innovations in public services are not just new ideas, techniques or methods, but also new practices, and they not only involve physical artifacts, but also changes in the relationships between the service providers. Hartley (2005) distinguishes between several different types of innovations in the public sector, including a) products, b) services, c) processes, d) positions, e) strategy, f) governance and g) rhetoric. According to her, governance innovation is important since it involves new forms of citizen engagement and democratic institutions.

Nobel Laureate Elinor Ostrom and her colleagues analysed the role of citizens in the provision of public services in terms of co-production (Parks et al., 1981 & 1999). However, citizens in today's advanced welfare states have several different roles that represent diverse aspects of post-modern life. To name just a few, they are voters, taxpayers, employees, members of a family and usually two or more voluntary associations, consumers, etc. Sometimes these roles complement each other, but sometimes they can come into conflict with each other. Moreover, sometimes citizens play these roles as individuals, but other times they do so in close collaboration with others, i.e., in informal groups or in voluntary organizations.

More important, given major social changes in Europe and Scandinavia, particularly with the growth of the welfare state at the end of WW II, the very state they interact with has also changed significantly. In the immediate post- WW II period they faced a rapidly expanding, yet basically traditional public administration, with its hierarchical chain of command, where citizens were primarily viewed as passive clients of mostly public services. Later, with the spread of neo-liberalism and introduction of New Public Management, they were expected to become active consumers and exercise more choice between various providers of public financed services, be they public, private for-profit or nonprofit. Here the market replaced the state as the main governing mechanism for the expression of citizens' preferences. More recently, the spread of network society (Hartley, 2005) and New Public Governance (Osborne, 2006; Osborne, 2009) implies a more plural and pluralist model of governance and provision of welfare services, based on public-private networks. In these cases, where citizens are encouraged to take even more active roles as co-producers of some or many of the services they expect, demand or even depend upon, in order to fulfill a variety of their most important roles.

Thus, both the shifting roles that citizens play in their daily life, and the changing context within which they play them, place complex demands on the concepts and methods needed to study and understand such far reaching changes. However, it is necessary to explore both individual and collective aspects of such changing roles for citizens. First, as individual clients, consumers and co-producers of public financed services, how do they interact with the public sector, market and third sector to express and satisfy their needs, as well as promote their interests? Secondly, as members of third sector organizations, particularly of service organizations, how do they best promote their needs and interests to obtain the services they and others like them not only need, but may depend entirely upon? How can they become active in, and contribute to, the provision of crucial services they are dependent upon?

A. Co-Production: Some crucial conceptual issues

This section focuses on co-production, particularly of enduring social services. What is co-production and what are the crucial conceptual issues for better understanding its contribution to the renewal of public services? Five such issues are explored in the first part of this section. They include questions about: Definitions of co-production and levels of analysis; relations between the professional staff and their clients; why citizens become involved in the co-production of social services; why they engage in collective action and whether co-production involves individual acts, collective action or both.

1. Definitions of co-production and levels of analysis

Definitions of co-production range from "the mix of public service agents and citizens who contribute to the provision of public services" to "a partnership between citizens and public service providers". Differences between them can express cultural differences, various levels of focus, or both. They can also express different levels of analysis. We will contrast a few of them below, as there seems to be some notable discrepancy between the American, British, Canadian and European usage of the term co-production. The concept of co-production was originally developed by Elinor Ostrom and the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis at Indiana University during the 1970s, to describe and delimit the involvement of ordinary citizens in the production of public services. Thus, they developed the term co-production to describe the potential relationship that could exist between the 'regular producer' (street-level police officers, schoolteachers, or health workers) and their clients who want to be transformed by the service into safer, better-educated or healthier persons (see Parks, et al., 1981 & 1999). Initially co-production had a clear focus on the role of individuals or groups of citizens in the production of public services, although their involvement also had some ramifications at both the meso- and macro levels of society. Co-production is, therefore, noted by the mix of activities that both public service agents and citizens contribute to the provision of public services. The former are involved as professionals or 'regular producers', while 'citizen production' is based on voluntary efforts of individuals or groups to enhance the quality and/or quantity of services they receive (Parks, et al., 1981 & 1999).

Meanwhile, Bovaird (2007) proposed another definition. According to him "[u]ser and community co-production is the provision of services through regular, long-term relationships between professionalized service providers (in any sector) and service users and or other members of the community, where all parties make substantial resource contributions." (ibid., 847). This definition focuses not only on users, but also includes volunteers and community groups as co-producers, recognizing that each of these groups can have a quite different relationship to public sector organizations. However, Alford (2009) clearly distinguishes between volunteering and co-production. Citizens contribute resources when they volunteer, but do not personally consume the services provided, while co-producers both contribute resources and consume the services provided (ibid.). Nevertheless, by including a temporal aspect in his definition, Bovaird appears to exclude more mundane acts of co-production, like using postal codes, filing tax returns, etc. Furthermore, the British Cabinet Office views co-production as a partnership between citizens and public service providers to achieve a valued outcome (Horne & Shirley, 2009). Co-production is essential for meeting a number of growing social challenges that neither the government, nor citizens, have the necessary resources to solve on their own. But, it seems legitimate to ask whether co-production is just another example of 'old wine in new bottles', or perhaps just more neo-liberal hype designed to roll back the state and promote more volunteering? However, the British Cabinet Office argued that this clearly was not the case, since co-production comprises an approach that was distinct from other traditional responses like volunteerism, managerialism or paternalism (ibid.). Whether this still holds true after the 2010 Parliamentary Election in the UK, the huge budget cuts announced by the new governmental coalition in the Fall of 2010, and its subsequent promotion of 'Big Society' and 'Localism' remains to be seen.

In the UK, the term co-production has also been used to analyse the role of voluntary and community organizations (VCOs) in the provision of public services (Osborne & McLaughlin, 2004). Therefore, it is sometimes contrasted with co-management or co-ordination between the public and third sectors in providing some public services, and with co-governance (ibid.) or co-construction as it is often called in Canada and Latin America. Such a multi-level perspective provides a more nuanced understanding than a singular focus on co-production at the individual level or using the same term for different levels. However, co-production in the UK context also appears to imply a direct, but limited service delivery role for VCOs, i.e., they are simply service agents or providers. By contrast, co-management refers to a broader role for VCOs in local service management, while co-governance refers to the role of VCOs in policy formulation and community governance. The latter is best illustrated by the Voluntary Sector Compact(s), at both the national and local levels, and Local Strategic Partnerships designed to promote local regeneration in the UK (ibid.).

Co-production has also recently been introduced to the continental European discussion, where it refers to the growing direct and organized involvement of citizens in the production of their own social services (Pestoff, 1998 & 2005; Pestoff, 2006, 2008 & 2009; Vamstad, 2007). The continental perspective seems to adhere more to the US than to UK usage of the term co-production. For example, parents can participate in the co-production of childcare, both individually and collectively through parent associations, or co-operative preschool services in France, Germany and Sweden. We also find ample evidence of co-management and co-governance of public services in some European countries.

So, the term co-production has been used in different contexts and for different phenomena, however, these differences are not always made clear (Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006, 2008 & 2009). Sometimes co-production is used as a general term to cover many different types of citizen participation in public service provision, and it also includes various ways citizens and/or the third sector participate both in policy making and policy implementation. Other times, it seems to focus on a different level or phenomena that involves citizen and/or third sector participation in policy making and/or public service delivery. It is necessary to keep these differences in mind for the sake of clarity. Co-production can refer both to direct citizen participation in the delivery of a public financed service, at the site of service delivery, as well as to group provision of such services. Citizen participation at the site of service provision is nevertheless different from the meso-level phenomenon of co-management, where the third sector participates, alongside other public and private actors, in managing the growing complexity of delivery of diverse public financed services, without any direct citizen or user participation in such arrangements. The growing mix and diversity of service providers not only implies greater opportunities for citizen involvement in the provision of public financed services, but it also becomes necessary to manage and govern this growing diversity. Co-management, therefore, refers to the growing diversity or hybridisation of providers of welfare services, typically found in situations where different Non-profit organisations (NPOs) and/or For-profit organisations (FPOs) participate in the provision of public financed services (Brandsen, 2004). Elsewhere, this has been referred to as the "growing welfare mix" (Evers & Laville, 2005).

It is worth noting that both co-production and co-management take place on the output or implementation side of the political system, once a public policy has been determined. Co-governance, on the other hand, is usually found only on the input side, and involves the third- sector and other private actors in the determination of public policy for a given sector. Co-governance refers to attempts to manage this growing diversity in a more democratic fashion, through the creation of citywide, provincial and/or national bodies where various providers are represented and given both a voice and vote in developing and deciding the future of a sector, i.e., in its governance. The appropriate site for co-governance structures will depend, of course, on constitutional differences between various welfare states. So, in addition to serving as a general term for citizen and/or third sector participation in many kinds of public service, co-production can also be distinguished from co-management and co-governance. Thus, I will employ the above terminology to distinguish between various phenomena. However, it should be noted that these three concepts are not mutually exclusive.

2. Relations between the professional staff and their clients

Co-production clearly implies different kinds of relationships between professional service providers and their clients. In some cases both parties are physically present, and the production and delivery of the service are inseparable. But, there is also a time dimension involved. Many services are based on a one time or ad-hoc meeting between service professionals and their clients, while others can involve more frequent meetings and a more long-term relationship between them. In particular, many social services are long-term and involve repeated interactions between the professional staff and their clients. In addition to such temporal aspects, different types of relations can exist between the professional staff and their clients, according to the literature on co-production, i.e. interdependence, supplementary and complementary.

When an organization cannot produce the service without some customer input, they are considered interdependent. Some public services are based on this interdependency. Examples of this are found in various types of educational or vocational training programs for the long-term unemployed (Alford, 2002; Alford, 2009). So, without client input no learning can take place. In addition, customers or clients can supplement or substitute the professional service provider, at least in some activities. Examples of this include properly filling in postal codes on letters, and accurately filing tax forms in a timely fashion. However, this depends both on the clients' willingness and ability to do so. It can be facilitated by the design of the tasks clients are expected to perform and the motives used to facilitate client co-production (ibid.).

Alternatively, client inputs can complement the tasks performed by the professional staff, where the staff continues to perform all—or most of—the key or core activities of the organization, while the clients perform some secondary or peripheral tasks. Parent participation in co-operative or associative preschool services provides a good example. The staff has full pedagogical responsibility for the content and development of the preschool services, while parents are normally in charge of tasks like maintenance, management, bookkeeping and sometimes even cooking at a preschool facility (Pestoff, 2006, 2008 & 2009; Pestoff 2008). A clear division of labour in a complementary co-production situation can help to avoid or at least to mitigate some potential conflicts of interest between the staff and their clients.

3. Why citizens become involved in the co-production of social services?

Alford (2009) compares the engagement of public sector clients in using postal codes, long-term unemployment training, and filing their tax returns in Australia, the UK and the USA. He notes that it is usually assumed that most individuals' cost-benefit analysis will lead them to seek only extrinsic self-interest rewards. However, he argues that different motives exist for co-production in different contexts. The more public the value consumed by clients, the more complex the motivations for them to co-produce. He notes that: "eliciting co-production is a matter of heightening the value that clients receive from the services by making more explicit their non-material aspects through intrinsic rewards, solidarity incentives or normative appeal" (ibid., 187). He concludes that intrinsic rewards can also be powerful motivators, since people are not solely motivated by self-interest, but also by social values. The latter includes the enjoyment associated with interacting with other people, gaining their approval or avoiding their disapproval. Normative purposes are also important for motivating co-production, including values like participation, influence and democracy. Thus, there are three types of motivation—intrinsic, social and normative—in addition to material rewards that can elicit co-production. In order to prompt clients to co-produce, an organization must offer them something of material, social or normative value (ibid.).

In her seminal article on co-production, Crossing the Great Divide (1999), E. Ostrom compares the conditions for co-production in two developing countries, i.e., in condominial water systems in suburban areas in Brazil, and elementary education in Nigeria. In the latter she notes that villagers were actively engaged in several community projects, including building roads and the maintenance of school buildings. However, she documents the detrimental effects of centralization and frequent changes in government policy concerning primary education. She compared four Nigerian villages, two where parents valued education highly and focused on primary education, with good results in terms of pupils passing their school-leaving exams (85%). In the two other villages, parents valued education less, and contributed very little to the local primary schools. Without parental support the teachers were incapacitated and demoralized, and the children only obtained a scattered education, if at all. She concludes that when co-production is discouraged by the government taking over schools that villagers had perceived as their own, as well as by creating chaotic changes in who is responsible for financing them, by top-down command administration, etc.; only the most determined citizens will persist in co-production activities (ibid., 357).

Exploring citizen involvement in the co-production of social services further, we need to consider the two related issues of the ease of involvement, and the motivation of individuals to participate in the co-production of social services. How easy is it for citizens to get involved in the provision of social services, and why do they become active participants in the service provision process? The ease or facility of citizens becoming involved will depend on several things, for example the distance to the service provider, the information available to citizens about the service and its provision, etc. They are related to the time and effort required for citizens to become involved, and might therefore be seen as the transaction costs of participation. If and when opportunities exist for motivated citizens to participate actively in the co-production of a social service, lowering the transaction costs will make it easier for them to do so. By contrast, the greater the effort required of citizens to become involved, the less likely they will do so. A citizens' motivation to become involved as a co-producer will, in turn, depend on the importance or salience of the service provided. Is it a very important service for them, or for their family, loved-ones, a relative, a friend; or not? This will reflect upon how the service affects them, their life and life chances. Does it make a direct impact on their life and/or life chances, or does it only have an indirect effect? If and when a person feels that a service is very important for them, and/or their loved-ones, or vital to their life-chances, then they will be more highly motivated to get involved in the co-production of social services.

It is, therefore, necessary to make a distinction between enduring and non-enduring social services. Many social services belong to the former category, and, therefore, have an immediate impact on the life, life chances, and quality of life of the persons and/or families receiving them. The importance and impact of such services guarantees high client interest in their development , especially in regards to service quality. Enduring social services include: childcare or pre-school services, basic and higher education, elder care, handicap care, and housing, as well as preventive and long-term health care. Users of such services are 'locked-into them' for a longer period of time, and they can therefore not normally rely on an exit to provide them with influence or redress. The transaction costs of an exit are often prohibitive in such enduring services; so having a voice—rather than exiting—provides clients with influence and redress (Pestoff, 1998). When we combine these two dimensions into a table graph, the result is a classical four-fold table, with the following patterns of citizen involvement in co-production, as seen in Figure 1 below:

Combining these two dimensions helps us to identify two types of service providers, as well as different types of clients, who range from passive clients to active co-producers. In between, there are active consumers and ad-hoc participants. In non-participatory modes of service provision—where the hurdles to participation are high, and the ease of participation is low—we can either expect to find active consumers or passive clients. The former (active consumers) are the ideal type for New Public Management, while the latter (passive clients) are the typical mode associated with traditional public administration. However, in more participatory forms of service provision—where client participation is encouraged, facilitated or even maybe required—we can expect to find both active co-producers and ad-hoc participants. The former (active co-producers) are the ideal type for New Public Governance (NPG), while the latter (ad-hoc participants) may sometimes participate in important matters. Thus, by combining ease of participation with the salience of the service, we get a more mixed or nuanced picture of client motivation than if we only considered one dimension at a time.

Figure 1. Citizen Involvement in Social Service Co-production: Ease and Salience
Source: V. Pestoff, 2010.

Ease & Salience:	Low	high
Greater	Active consumer	Active co-producer
Less	Passive client	Ad hoc participant

4. The cooperative gambit: why do citizens engage in collective action?

A cooperative gambit is the willingness of individuals to sacrifice their short-term personal interest, for the sake of the long-term individual and group benefits, stemming from collective action in order to achieve a group goal, or provide a social service. A social cooperative or social enterprise can create trust that helps to surmount the limits of the short-term personal interest of group members, or to curb “free-riding”. This encourages them to contribute their time, effort, and other resources, to achieve the fruits of their collective efforts that can’t be achieved by isolated individuals. Of course not everyone is willing to participate in collective action, but there may be enough of them to make it worth considering why? Extensive research in experimental psychology repeatedly—and clearly—shows that in real world collective action situations there are two other types of norm-using players, in addition to rational egoists (Ostrom, 2000). The first group is comprised of “conditional cooperators”, who are willing to initiate or join collective action when they estimate that others will reciprocate, and they will continue such actions as long as others demonstrate similar behavior. The second group of cooperators, are called “willing punishers”. They rely more heavily on social control and punishment as the basis for collective action. However, research shows that many people combine both these traits. Both groups are prone to pursue the cooperative gambit, especially when certain institutional forms exist.

Ostrom also develops six design principles for the emergence of self-organizing collective action (ibid.). Several of them are relevant for understanding collective action, but only two of them will be considered closer here. The first is setting clear group boundaries to determine who uses a resource or service, and who doesn’t. The second principle concerns the right of members to influence decisions concerning the management of a resource or service, i.e., they are self-governing groups. Thus, in addition to trust as a basis for a cooperative gambit, a social cooperative or social enterprise created to provide a particular service for its members must establish clear boundaries and they must be able to influence decisions through internal democratic channels. These two aspects are, of course, mutually reinforcing and taken together, they help to make a cooperative gambit more viable. Thus, Ostrom’s research establishes that the rate of contribution to a public good is affected by various contextual factors, and that these design principles make self-organized collective action more robust.

Olsen (1965 & 1970) discusses, however,the failure of large groups to form voluntary organizations in the pursuit of public interest. This is primarily due to the costs of collective action, and problems of “free riding”. However, a small-scale group or organization allows individual members to survey and control the efforts and contributions of others, thereby avoiding or limiting problems of “free-riding”. Olsen refers to “the privileged position of small groups”, and argues that they are subject to the second logic of collective action (ibid.). Thus, it is easier for small groups to organize themselves than larger ones due to greater possibilities for social controls. These two phenomena, the cooperative gambit and small group control, help to explain the growth and the success of co-production and third sector provision of public services in Europe.

The cooperative gambit not only represents a 'quantum leap', in terms of the presumed maximization of individual short-term utilities. It also recognizes that individuals have different dispositions toward cooperation. Some persons appear more favorably disposed to cooperate than others. Moreover, it also suggests that 'methodological individualism' is not only biased toward short-term utility maximizing individuals, but it also ignores, or perhaps even denies, the existence of other dispositions, like 'conditional cooperators' and 'willing punishers'. So, there is no longer any viable reason for maintaining this negative stance toward cooperation between rational actors, beyond ideology. Thus, collective action is not only possible when 'selective incentives' are present, as Olsen argued, but also when enabling institutions help to remove the hurdles facing 'conditional cooperators' and 'willing punishers'. However, Ostrom warns that external rules and monitoring can also crowd out cooperative behavior (Ostrom, 2000).

Moreover, individual and collective self-regarding activities are not necessarily the same thing, nor can they easily be equated with each other, since they imply different social mechanisms. Self-help groups rely heavily on close personal ties that remain stable for a long period of time. In collective self-help activities clients contribute their time, effort, and money, for the co-production of social services for themselves, but they do it together with others, and for others who are in a similar situation. The repeated face-to-face interactions of small self-help groups not only contribute to the creation of social capital, but they also promote solidarity and support for others in a similar situation, and facilitate the mutual reinforcement of their individual goal(s). There are both individual and collective benefits found in collective self-help efforts that are not available to the single, or solo individual volunteer. Thus, compared to the macro social trends toward greater 'checkbook' memberships (Skocpol, 2002) and 'required' volunteering (Hustinx, 2010), the development at the micro level of collective self-help groups that co-produce public financed social services is all the more important. However, given the dominant emphasis on methodological individualism, very little empirical research exists in this area, except for the pioneering work of Elinor Ostrom (2000). Therefore, this should be an area of priority in future research, in order to better understand collective participation in the co-production of public financed social services.

As already noted, the pursuit of self-interest can either be individual or collective. In the latter there is an element of common benefit, not found in the former. Collective action and even more collective interaction have the ability to transform the pursuit of self-interest into something more than the sum of individual self-interest. It makes possible the achievement of common goals that would otherwise be impossible for isolated, unorganized individuals. Such goals can include good quality elementary education, good quality preschool services, good quality health care, elder care, etc., at a reasonable cost to individuals and society.

Collective action can help solve some social and personal dilemmas created either by the lack of some important social services on the market, or by the variable quality of such services provided by the State. The lack of good quality childcare services is a prime example in many countries today. When the local authorities don't provide them, or enough of them, the market simply prices them out of reach of most citizens. Thus, many families struggle to combine their professional career demands with family needs, particularly for high quality childcare. Therefore, many of them reason that if they don't join hands with other like-minded persons to form an association, and provide the service themselves, then it simply won't be available to them. If the market cannot provide an adequate amount of the service, at affordable prices for most citizens, or if the quality of standardized public services is not acceptable to some citizens, then they can join hands to form an association, to provide it for themselves and others who lack such services. Thus, without collective action a particular service wouldn't be made readily available, or it wouldn't be available in the quality desired by some groups. Therefore, in spite of well known hurdles to collective action (Olsen, 1965 & 1971), without engaging in it no suitable childcare service will be provided for a number of concerned families. However, government understanding of this dilemma and acceptance of third sector alternatives may also prove crucial for success.

5. Co-production: individual acts, collective action – or both?

It is often argued that the analysis of co-production needs to distinguish between individual acts, and collective action, and either focus on one or the other. Are we mainly interested in individual or collective participation in the provision of public services? While this distinction may sometimes seem relevant or perhaps even a necessary part of a research design, 'in the field' there is often a mix of both of them within the same service delivery. Let's look, therefore, at the options available in terms of co-production. They are as follows:

- Individual acts of co-production that involve ad-hoc, spontaneous or informal acts done in public or at home. However, sometimes they are perceived as a necessary part of the service, or even a mandatory activity expected of all citizens. The use of postal codes on letters and the filing of individual tax returns illustrates this type of co-production (Alford, 2002). Alford explores how to engage clients as co-producers of these public services (2009). Yet, given their low salience, few would expect them to elicit any collective action.
- Collective acts of co-production that involve formally organized and institutionalized activities done together with others. They often concern the provision of enduring social services discussed above. Such services produced by a small group at the micro level often imply more collective interaction than collective action, which can promote the development of social capital, mutualism and reciprocity (Pestoff, 2006, 2008 & 2009).

A mix of both individual and collective action. Many acts of co-production combine both individual and collective action(s), often in a repeated fashion for a long time. This mix of individual and collective action is highly relevant when it comes to social services, particularly enduring social services. So the relevant question is not only how to elicit greater individual client co-production, but also how to facilitate more collective action in public service provision, and indeed, a greater mix of both. Numerous examples of this mix are to be found in Pestoff, 2011a.

B. Two Empirical Studies: Breaching the "Glass Ceiling"

The empirical materials briefly reviewed in this chapter come from two separate studies reported elsewhere: A comparative multiple case study of family policy and alternative provision of preschool services in promoting social cohesion in Europe; and a comparative survey study of public, private for-profit, parent cooperative and worker cooperative preschool services in Sweden. They permit a discussion of the political value added by third-sector provision of social services. Some third-sector providers can facilitate greater citizen participation, and thereby help to breach the 'glass ceiling' found in public and for-profit social services. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

1. Co-production: two comparative studies of parents' participation in preschool services

Turning briefly to two comparative studies of parent participation in preschool services in Europe, the first is the TSFEPS Project[1], that permitted us to examine the relationship between parent participation in the provision and governance of preschool services in eight EU countries (Pestoff, 2006, 2008 & 2009). We found different levels of parent participation in different countries, and in different forms of provision, i.e., public, private for-profit and third-sector preschool services. The highest levels of parent participation were found in third-sector providers, like parent associations in France, parent initiatives in Germany, and parent cooperatives in Sweden (ibid.). We also noted different kinds of parent participation, namely economic, political, social and service specific. Economic participation involves contributing time and materials to the running or maintenance of a facility; political participation means being involved in discussions and decision-making; while social participation implies planning and contributing to various social events, such as the Christmas party, Spring party, and so on. Service-specific participation can range from management and the maintenance of a facility, to filling-in for the staff in case of sickness or when they attend a specialized course, to actually work on a regular basis in the childcare facility. All four kinds of participation were readily evident in third-sector providers of preschool services, while both economic and political participation were highly restricted in municipal and private for-profit services. Moreover, we observed variations in the patterns of participation between countries. Parents participated actively in the provision of third-sector preschool services at the site of delivery in France, Germany and Sweden, but only in the first two countries, did they engage in their governance at the local or regional levels (ibid.).

The second is a study of the Swedish welfare state that focuses on the politics of diversity, parent-participation, and service quality in preschool services (Vamstad, 2007). It compared parent and worker co-ops, municipal services and small for-profit firms all of whom where providing pre-school services in Östersund & Stockholm. This study not only confirms the existence of the four dimensions of co-production. noted earlier in the TSFEPS study, but it also underlines clear differences between various providers concerning the importance attributed to these dimensions of co-production. His study demonstrates that parent co-ops promote much greater parent participation than the other three types of pre-school service providers, in terms of economic, social, political and service specific participation. This comes as no great surprise, since the essence of the parent co-operative model is parent participation. However, his study also shows that neither public, nor private, for-profit services allow for more than marginal or ad hoc participation by parents in the preschool services. For example, parents may be welcome to make spontaneous suggestions when leaving their child in the morning or picking her/him up in the evening from a municipal or small private for-profit preschool facility. They may also be welcome to contribute time and effort to a social event like the annual Christmas party, or Spring party at the end of the year. More substantial participation in economic or political terms can only be achieved when parents organize themselves collectively to obtain better quality or different kinds of preschool services than either the state or market can provide.

Thus, parent co-ops in Sweden promote all the four kinds of user participation: Economic, social, political and complementary. They provide parents with unique possibilities for active participation in the management and running of their child(ren)'s pre-school facility, and for unique opportunities to become active co-producers of high quality pre-school services for their own and others' children. It is also clear that other forms of pre-school services allow for some limited avenues of co-production in publicly-financed pre-school services; however, parents' possibilities for influencing the management of such services remain rather limited.

Thus, we found that neither the State nor market allows for more than marginal or ad-hoc participation or influence by parents in the childcare services. More substantial participation in economic or political terms can only be achieved when parents organize themselves collectively; and do so to obtain better quality, or different kinds of childcare services than either the State or market can provide. In addition, worker co-ops seem to provide parents with greater influence than either municipal childcare, or that which small private for-profit firms can do. In addition, the staff at worker co-ops obtains maximum influence, resulting in more democratic work-places.

2. Third sector co-production: breaching the 'glass ceiling'?

Thus, we find traces of a 'glass ceiling' for citizen participation in public services that limits citizens to playing a more passive role as service-users: Those who can perhaps make some demands on the public sector, but who have little influence; who make few, if any, decisions; and take little responsibility for implementing public policy. Thus, it might be possible to speak of two types of co-production: Co-production 'heavy' and co-production 'light'. The space allotted to citizens in the latter is too restricted to make participation very meaningful or democratic. Whereas, co-production 'heavy' is only possible when citizens are engaged in organized collective groups, where they can reasonably achieve some semblance of direct democratic control over the provision of public financed services, via democratic decision-making as a member of such service organizations. A similar argument can be made concerning user participation in for-profit firms providing welfare services.

We also note that service delivery takes quite different forms in pre-school services. Most pre-school services studied here fall into the top-down category, in terms of style of service provision. There are few possibilities for parents to directly influence decision-making in such services. This normally includes both municipal pre-school services, and for-profit firms providing pre-school services. Perhaps this is logical from the perspective of municipal governments. They are, after all, representative institutions which are chosen by the voters in elections every fourth or fifth year. They might consider direct client .or user-participation, in the running of public services for a particular group, such as parents, as a threat both to the representative democracy that they institutionalize, as well as to their own power. It could also be argued that direct participation for a particular group, like parents, would provide the latter with a 'veto right' or a 'second vote' at the service level. There may also be professional resistance to parent involvement and participation, including some misunderstanding about the extent of such client involvement and responsibilities, i.e., whether it concerns core or complementary activities.

The logic of direct user participation is also foreign to private for-profit providers. Exiting, rather than giving voice, provides the medium of communication in markets, where parents are also seen as consumers. So, this logic also curtails most types of direct user participation. Only the parent cooperative services clearly fall into the bottom-up category that facilitates co-production 'heavy'. Here we find the clearest examples of New Public Governance, where parents are directly involved in the running of their daughter and/or son's preschool centre in terms of being responsible for the maintenance, management, etc. of the pre-school facility. They also participate in the decision-making of the facility, as members and 'owners' of the facility. However, both these comparative studies of pre-school services also illustrate the co-existence of several different layers of public administration regimes in the same sector, and country. In Sweden, for example, most pre-school services are provided by municipalities in a traditional top-down public administrative fashion, which may facilitate co-production 'light'. Private for-profit pre-school services seem inspired by ideas of greater consumer choice related to New Public Management.

It should, however, be clearly noted that not all third-sector organizations can automatically be equated with greater client participation. Whether or not they are depends primarily on their own internal decision-making rules. Many non-profit organizations are not governed in a fashion that promotes the participation of either their volunteers or clients. Most charities and foundations are run by a board of executives that is appointed by key stakeholders, rather than elected by their members or clients. Very few such organizations can be found among providers of pre-school services in Sweden. However, social enterprises in Europe usually include representatives of all or most of the major stakeholder groups in their internal decision-making structures, and they are often governed as multi-stakeholder organizations. In fact, participation by key stakeholders and democratic decision-making structures are two of the core social criteria applied by the European EMES Research Network, to define and delimit social enterprises[2].

C. Summary and conclusions: crowding-in and crowding-out?

In sum, the first part of this chapter explored several crucial conceptual issues related to co-production. Various definitions of co-production were considered, and a generic one, stemming from the early writings of E. Ostrom and her colleagues was adopted. It focuses on the mix of activities that both public service agents and citizens contribute to the provision of public services. The former are involved as professionals or 'regular producers', while 'citizen production' is based on voluntary efforts by individuals or groups to enhance the quality and/or quantity of services they use. We also considered the relevance of different levels of analysis and distinguished between co-production, co-management and co-governance. We noted that both the ease of participation and the salience of the service for the individual and/or their family were important for better understanding why citizens become involved in co-producing social services. It was argued that enduring social services have a greater salience than non-enduring services, given the impact such services have on their life and life-chances as well as that of their family and loved-ones.

Then we briefly introduced the idea of a cooperative gambit and explored differences between collective action, in general, and collective interaction in small self-help groups. We then turned our attention to whether co-production only comprises individual acts, collective action or both, and found several examples of a mixed pattern of involvement. We raised for discussion, the co-production of publicly-funded social services, both in different sectors and nations. Thus, we end up with an expanded definition of co-production for the social services, that includes both individual and collective participation, as well as third sector provision of social services, given that the latter receives substantial public funding.

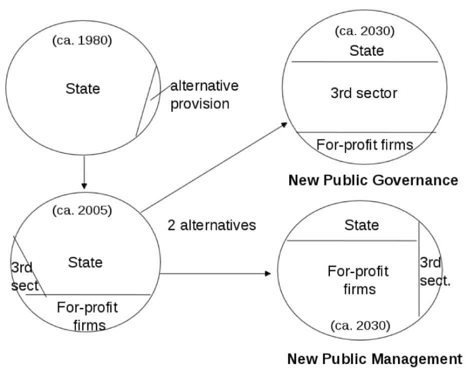
We then explored two comparative studies of parent participation in childcare in Europe. We found that there are four kinds—or dimensions—of parent participation in the provision of publicly- financed social services. They are economic, political, social, and service -specific participations. In the Swedish study, parent participation was clearly greatest on all four of these dimensions in parent co-op pre-school services. Then the influence of both parents and staff was compared in four types of service providers: Parent co-ops, worker co-ops, municipal services, and small private for-profit firms in Sweden. Both the parents and staff of parent and worker co-ops claim to have more influence, than those of either the municipal services or for-profit firms. Thus, we concluded that neither the State nor market allow for more than marginal or ad hoc participation by parents in the preschool services. More substantial participation in economic or political terms, that can only be achieved when parents organize themselves collectively. to obtain better quality food, or different kinds of preschool services than either the state or market can provide.

Both public services and small for-profit firms demonstrate the existence of a 'glass ceiling' for the participation of citizens as clients of enduring welfare services. Evidence also suggests similar limits for staff participation in the public and private for-profit forms of providing enduring social services. Only social enterprises, like the small consumer and worker co-ops, appear to develop the necessary mechanisms to breach these limits, by empowering the clients and/or staff with democratic rights and influence.

Thus, co-production is a core aspect of New Public Governance and implies greater citizen participation in municipality and third-sector provision of public services. Third-sector provision of social services helps to breach the 'glass ceiling' for citizen participation that otherwise exists in both public and for-profit services. These findings can contribute to the development of a policy that promotes democratic governance (Pestoff, 2008) and empowered citizenship (Fung, 2004). However, it is important to emphasize the interface between the government, citizens, and the third-sector; and to note, that co-production normally takes place in a political context. An individual's cost/benefit analysis and the decision to cooperate with voluntary efforts are conditioned by the structure of political institutions, and the facilitation provided by politicians. Centralized or highly-standardized service delivery tends to make the articulation of demands more costly for citizens, and inhibits governmental responsiveness Citizen participation, on the other hand, seems to fare better in decentralized and less standardized service delivery (Ostrom, 1999).

The way in which the third-sector can deliver services, and have an impact on society, is both related to the global forces of marketization and privatization, on one hand, and the experimentation with new forms of citizen participation, co-production, and collective solutions to social problems, on the other hand. In Europe, many welfare-states experienced extensive change starting in the early 1980s and will likely face even greater changes in the next 10 to 20 years in terms of providing welfare services. The growing division between financing, and the delivery of welfare-services is becoming more apparent. Ideological clashes over the future of the welfare state began with the appearance of neo-liberalism, and New Public Management (NPM). At the same time, in 2007, the Alternative Provision of welfare services was marginal in some countries, usually only found in specialized niches. However, by the first weeks of the 21st century it had grown considerably, with a varying mix of for-profit firms and third sector providers in different social services areas and countries.

A continued public monopoly of the provision of welfare services seems therefore highly unlikely or ruled out by domestic political circumstances in most European countries. Thus, there appears to be two starkly different scenarios or trajectories for the future of the welfare state in Europe: either rampant privatization, with accelerated NPM, or the growth of New Public Governance (NPG), with greater welfare pluralism and more co-production. The latter scenario would include a major role for the third sector and social economy, as an alternative to both public and private for-profit providers of welfare services. These two alternatives are sketched in Figure 2 below.



Source: modified from V. Pestoff, 2008, Figure 12.1.

Figure 2. Development of the Swedish Welfare State, ca. 1980 - 2030

A public administration regime can 'crowd-out' certain behaviours, and 'crowd-in' others in the population. For example, a welfare reform policy inspired by New Public Management that emphasizes economically-rational individuals—who maximize their utilities and provides them with material incentives to change their behavior—tends to play down values of reciprocity and solidarity, collective action, co-production and third-sector provision of welfare services. By contrast, one that emphasizes mutual benefit, and reciprocity, will promote public services that are "truly owned by the citizens they serve and the staff on whose service and innovation they rely" (HM Government, 2010).

Moreover, one-sided emphasis by many European governments, either on the State maintaining most responsibility for providing social services, or turning most of them over to the market, will hamper the development of co-production and democratic governance. The state can 'crowd-out' certain behaviors, and 'crowd-in' others in the population. A favourable regime and favourable legislation are necessary for promoting greater co-production and third-sector provision of welfare services. Only co-production and greater welfare pluralism can promote New Public Governance, and more democratic governance of social services.

Furthermore, the growth of peer-production, and the spread of information technology, will inevitably impact the space for networked governance and alternatives to both public and private for-profit provision of public services. As more and more informal and non-traditional organizations enter the public domain, the demand for greater third-sector provision of public services, and more citizen participation in the provision of such services will probably grow. However, again, the government sets the rules of the game, and it's support and understanding for such developments will make a substantial difference. Once again, the government and its policies can crowd-in, or crowd-out such developments in the future.

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ENDNOTES

1 The TSFEPS Project, Changing Family Structures & Social Policy: Childcare Services as Sources of Social Cohesion, took place in eight European countries between 2002-04. They were: Belgium, Bulgaria, England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden. See www.emes.net for more details and the country reports.

2 For more information see http://www.emes.net (accessed May 31, 2012).

EVOLVING TOWARDS A PARTNER STATE IN AN ETHICAL ECONOMY

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In the emerging institutional model of peer production (Bauwens 2006, March 15), most visibly in the free software industry, we can distinguish an interplay between three partners:

- A community of contributors that create a commons of knowledge, software or design;
- An entrepreneurial coalition that creates market value on top of that commons; and
- A set of 'for-benefit institutions' which manage the 'infrastructure of cooperation'.

There is a clear institutional division of labour between these three players. The contributors create the use value that is deposited in the shared innovation commons of knowledge, design and code. The for-benefit institution enables and defends the general infrastructure of cooperation, which makes the project 'collectively' sustainable. For example, the Wikimedia Foundation[1] collects the funds to support the server space without which access to the Wikipedia[2] would become impossible.

Can we also learn something about the politics of this new mode of value creation, something that would be useful not just for these particular communities, but to society in general? Is there perhaps a new model of power and democracy co-evolving out of these new social practices, which may be an answer to the contemporary crisis of democracy? My answer will be an emphatic yes, and stronger yet, I will argue that we are witnessing a new model for the state. A 'P2P' (peer-to-peer) state, if you will.

1. The post-democratic logic of community

Let's look at the mechanics of power and the politics of commons-oriented peer production, as follows, considering the three players involved in this new institutional set-up.

First of all, and quite amazingly, these communities are not democracies. Why is that so? Very simply, because both democracy, and the market, and hierarchy, are modes of allocation of scarce resources. In hierarchy, our superiors decide; in the market, prices decide; in a democracy, 'we' decide. But when resources are abundant, as they are with immaterial knowledge, code, and design–which can be copied and shared at a marginal cost–they are truly unnecessary. Such communities are truly polyarchies, and the type of power that is held in them is meritocratic, distributed, and ad hoc.

Everyone can contribute without permission, but such a priori 'permissionlessness' is matched with mechanisms for a posteriori communal validation, where those with recognized expertise and that are accepted by the community–the so-called 'maintainers' and the 'editors'–decide which software or design patches are acceptable. These decisions require expertise, not communal consensus. The tension between inclusiveness of participation and selection for excellence, is one that every social system must face, and that peer production has solved in a rather elegant way. The genius of it is not that it avoids conflict, but that it designs away 'unnecessary' conflict, by allowing for maximum human freedom compatible with the object of cooperation. Indeed, peer production is always a 'object-oriented' cooperation, and it is the particular object that will drive the particular form chosen for its 'peer governance' mechanisms.

The main allocation mechanism in such project, which replaces the market, the hierarchy and democracy, is a 'distribution of tasks'. Unlike in the industrial model, there is no longer a division of labour between 'jobs', and the mutual coordination works through what scientists call 'stigmergic signalling'. Because the work environment is designed to be totally open and transparent (this is called 'holoptism'), every participating individual can see what is needed, or not, and decide accordingly whether to undertake his/her particular contribution. What is remarkable, with this new model, is that it has achieved capacities both for global coordination and for the small group dynamics that are characteristic of human tribal forms. And this is happens without 'command and control'. In fact, we can say that peer production has enabled the global scaling of small-group dynamics.

Of course, there may be conflicts between contributors as they are working together—and there are—but these are not decided by authoritarian fiat, but by 'negotiated coordination'. Differences are 'trashed out' in the forums, mailings lists, and chat-forums that these communities use to coordinate their work.

The 'hierarchical' decision that remains, i.e. the decision to accept or not a patch to the program, necessary to protect the quality and excellence of its production, is balanced by the freedom to fork. This means that disagreeing participants can always take the code-base with them, and create another version, where their options or opinions would prevail. It is not a light decision to take, but it does create a counter-power. Maintainers know that unjust and unilateral decisions would lead to a bleeding out of the membership and/or to a fork.

2. The relation between the community and the entrepreneurial coalition

What is the relationship between this entrepreneurial coalition, and the commons from which they derive their value? The coalition supports the individual commoners in their livelihood, and may contribute to the for-benefit-institution as well. For example, IBM pays salaries to the developers/commoners contributing to the Linux pool, and it supports the non-profit (in this case, Linux Foundation) with subsidies. Hence, they co-produce and sustain the commons on which their success is built. For sure, by doing this they also turn Linux into what is partly, a 'corporate commons': "Linux has become an economic joint venture of a set of companies, in the same way that Visa is an economic joint venture of a set of financial institutions" (Searls 2008).

The first Linux Foundation report examining the players in the Linux kernel development process made this very clear already in 2008:

> *"Over 70% of all kernel development is demonstrably done by developers who are being paid for their work. Over 14% is contributed by developers who are known to be unpaid and independent, and 13% by people who may or may not be paid (unknown), so the amount done by paid workers may be as high as 85%. The Linux kernel, then, is largely the product of professionals, not volunteers" (Kroah-Hartman et. al, 2008, 6)*

However, this is not the whole story. Timothy Lee explains that even if there has been a corporatization of Linux, that has not changed its underlying organizational model:

"[W]hat matters is the way open source projects are organized internally. In a traditional software project, there's a project manager who decides what features the product will have and allocates employees to work on various features. In contrast, there's nobody directing the overall development of the Linux kernel. Yes, Linus Torvalds and his lieutenants decide which patches will ultimately make it into the kernel, but the Red Hat, IBM, and Novell employees who work on the Linux kernel don't take their orders from them. They work on whatever they (and their respective clients) think is most important, and Torvalds's only authority is deciding whether the patches they submit are good enough to make it into the kernel" (Lee 2008).

In an interview analysing the debate that the publishing of the report caused, Clay Shirky, author of Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing Without organizations, stresses that companies that work with Linux, such as IBM "have given up the right to manage the projects they are paying for, and their competitors have immediate access to everything they do. It's not IBM's product"[3].

This then is the point I want to make: Even with shareholder companies allied with peer production, the community's value creation is still at the core of the process, and that the entrepreneurial coalition, to a substantial degree, already follows this new logic; where the community is primary, and business secondary. In this model, business logic has to accommodate to the social logic. It is, in other words, already an 'ethical economy'.

3. The democratic logic of the for-benefit institutions

Peer production also rests on a sometimes costly infrastructure of cooperation. There would be no Wikipedia without the funding for its servers, no free software or open hardware without similar support mechanisms. This is why open source communities have created a new social institution: the for-benefit association. This is an important social innovation, because, unlike classic non-profits or non-governmental institutions, they do not operate from the point of view of scarcity. Classic NGO's still operate much like other industrial institutions, such as the corporation and the market state, as they believe that resources need to marshalled and managed. By contrast, the new for-benefit associations have only an active role in enabling and empowering the community to cooperate, by provisioning its infrastructure, not by commanding its production processes. These associations exist for the sole purpose of 'benefitting' the community of which they are the expression—and this is the good news—they are generally managed in democratic ways. And they have to be, because an undemocratic institution would also discourage contributions by the community of participants.

Now, here is the kicker, how would you call an institution that is responsible for the common good of all the participants, in this case, not the people involved in a similar project, but the inhabitants of a territory? I would argue that this type of for-benefit institution has a very similar function to what we commonly assign to the state. While the state form is always also a class institution, which defends a particular arrangement of social privilege, it can never be a simple instrument of privileged rule alone, but needs to manage the commons as well. To the degree that it is seen to do the latter, most people would see this as an acceptable, or even 'good' state form. On the other hand, to the degree that it fails to do this, it loses legitimacy, and is increasingly seen as a source of oppression by a minority. Generally speaking, a state reflects the balance of forces in a particular society. The welfare state was an acceptable form because it was based on a social compromise and on the strength of a strong labour movement; while the 'fear of God' was instilled to the privileged layers by the existence of an alternative state form that could have taken away the loyalty of their citizens. Once this alternative collapsed in 1989, with the social movements in the West further weakened by the social, political and economic choice to de-industrialize the North since the 1980s, the welfare state slowly made place for the contemporary corporate welfare state (sometimes called the 'market state'). This shift it may be argued, only helps the privileged, guts social solidarity mechanisms, impoverishes the majority of its population, and fatally weakens the middle class. Unfortunately, such a system can have no long term legitimacy, and breaks any social contract that can guarantee social peace. It's hard to build loyalty, on the promise of ever increasing pain!

This means we are witnessing not just the actual death of the social welfare state, but also the announced death and logical impossibility of the neo-liberal corporate welfare state. We should also, of course, add that even the welfare state has become problematic. The main reason is that it's social basis, the western industrial labour class and its social movements, have become demographic minorities, and that its mechanisms, even when they worked, would not do much to assist the current social majority, i.e. the often freelancing and precarious knowledge and service -workers. Furthermore, the paternalistic and bureaucratic functioning of many welfare state institutions are becoming unacceptable to the emerging demand for personal and social autonomy, one of the primary social desires of the new class of knowledge workers. Many of the other positive social functions of the welfare state have been weakened by neo-liberal 'New Labour' -style reforms, which aimed to introduce private sector logics in the public sector.

4. Towards a Partner State

Can we then, imagine, a new type of state? Enter the concept of a Partner State! The Partner State, first theorized by Italian political scientist Cosma Orsi, is a state form that enables and empowers the social creation of value by its citizens (Orsi 2007). It protects the infrastructure of cooperation that is the whole of society.

The Partner State can exist at any territorial level, as a set of institutions that protect the common good, and enable the citizens to create value. It does, on a territorial scale, what the for-benefit institutions do on a project-scale. While the for-benefit associations work for the commoners as contributors and participants to particular projects, the Partner State works for the citizens. This is needed, because just as the Invisible Hand of the market is a myth, so would be an invisible hand of the commons. Commoners tend to care about 'their' commons, not about society as a whole. That specific care for the whole requires it's own specific set of institutions!

The good news is, that such a Partner State already exists, and we have seen it in action, at least in a local embryonic form. A few years ago, I visited the city of Brest in French Bretagne. Brest is not really a beautiful city, though it is embedded in a most beautiful natural region, and undoubtedly has it charms. But it was bombarded in WWII and a lot of rather unattractive social housing was built, leading to a certain amount of social 'anomie'. Michel Briand, assistant to the Mayor, and his team of city-workers had a brilliant idea: Why not use the virtual, to enhance physical social life in the city? The team created local versions of Facebook, YouTube and Flickr, helped local associations to develop an online presence[4], invested heavily in training, and even had a physical library where citizens could borrow production materials. One of their projects was the revitalization of old 'smuggling trails', in order to attract the 'trekking' crowd. So, in the context of the above mentioned developments, they decided to 'virtually enrich' the trails.

This is where their social innovation contributes: The city council did not do this work by substituting themselves to the citizenry (i.e. state provisioning), nor did they ask the private sector to carry this out, In other words, privatization or public-private partnerships. No, what they did was to enable and empower local teams of citizens, to create added value. This happened through various forms such as the creation of picture galleries of notable landmarks, in the form of oral history collections, and so on.. Even "bird recordings" was on the menu!

This then is the Partner State, namely, public authorities which create the right environment and support infrastructure so that citizens can peer-produce value, from which the whole society then benefits. Furthermore, this also stimulates a thriving local economy, as local entrepreneurs create added market value, and attract more tourists. Michel Briand and his team worked tirelessly 'for the benefit of the citizens', enhancing their capacity to create civic value. Obviously the knowledge and culture, thus created, constituted a vibrant commons. If we expand this approach on a national and even supranational scale, we get a state form that practices 'common-fare', i.e. fosters the commons and the value-creating commoners.

There are of course other examples to mention as well. The Austrian region of Linz has declared itself a Commons Region; the city of Naples has created "An Assistant to the Mayor on the Commons" position; while San Francisco city council has created a Commission to promote the Sharing Economy.

One danger lurks here though, and this was exemplified by the Big Society program in the UK, which uses a superficially similar language of civic autonomy and action, but hides a completely different practice, i.e. one based on a strategy to further weaken the welfare state and it's provisions. A partner state cannot be based on the destruction of the public infrastructure of cooperation. This may not have been the initial intention of Phillip Blond and his civil society-oriented 'Red Toryism' (Blond, 2010), but it certainly is what David Cameron's Conservative government has put into practice[5].

The peer production of common value requires civic wealth and strong civic institutions! In other words, the partner state concept 'transcends and includes' the best of the welfare state, which includes the social solidarity mechanisms, high educational attainments, and a vibrant and publicly-supported cultural life. What the British Tories did was to use the Big Society rhetoric in an attempt to further weaken the remnants of social solidarity, and throw people back to relying on their own wits without any support. There was no enabling and empowering, but rather its opposite.

While peer production will undoubtedly also emerge as a drive towards resilience in bad times, a really thriving commons-based society requires a Partner State, i.e. a network of democratically-run for-benefit institutions, which protect the common good on a territorial scale.

5. A value crisis of the capitalist economy

While peer production exists in relation with an entrepreneurial coalition (that creates market value on top of the commons), the exponential rise in the creation of user value by productive publics, or "produsers" as Axel Bruns (2008) calls them, is not without creating problems and contradictions for the current political economy. Indeed, peer production creates a huge problem for a capitalist system, it as well as for workers as we have traditionally conceived them. Markets are defined as ways to allocate scarce resources, and capitalism is not just a scarcity 'allocation' system, but, in reality, is a scarcity engineering system, which can only accumulate capital by constantly reproducing and expanding conditions of scarcity[6]. When there is no tension between supply and demand, there can be no market, and so no capital accumulation. What peer producers are doing—for now mostly in the sphere of 'immaterial' production of knowledge, software, and design—is to create an abundance of easily reproduced information and actionable knowledge; that which cannot be directly translated into market value, because it is not at all scarce—on the contrary—it is overabundant.

Knowledge workers, who are now being produced on such a massive scale, moreover do this activity in a way that their over-supply also renders them into precarious workers. Hence, an increased exodus of productive capacities—in the form of direct use value production—outside the existing system of monetization, which only operates at its margins. In the past, whenever such an exodus occurred for example, of slaves in the decaying Roman empire, or of serfs in the waning Middle Ages, that was precisely the time when the conditions were set for huge and fundamental societal and economic phase transitions. Indeed, to return to the present case, without a core reliance of capital, commodities and labour, it is hard to imagine a continuation of the capitalist system.

The problem with the use value creation that Internet collaboration has enabled, is that it totally bypasses this normal functioning. Normally, our economic system would require that increases in productivity are somehow rewarded, and that these rewards enable consumers to derive an income, and buy products. But this is no longer happening. Facebook and Google users create commercial value for their platforms, but only very indirectly, and they are not at all rewarded for their own value creation. Since what they are creating is not what is commodified on the market for scarce goods, there is no return of income for these value creators. This means that social media platforms are exposing an important fault-line in our system.

The current so-called 'knowledge economy' is therefore a sham and a pipe dream, because abundant goods do not function well in a market economy. For the sake of the increased precariousness that is awaiting the world's workers, is there a way out of this conundrum? Can we restore the broken feedback loop?

6. The prefiguration of a new social model

Strangely enough, the answer may be found in the recent political movement that is Occupy Wall Street (OWS), because along with 'peer producing their political commons'[7], they also exemplified new business and value practices. These practices were in fact remarkably similar to the institutional ecology that is already practiced in the production of free software and open hardware communities. I argue that this is not a coincidence.

For example, let's look back at the workings of Occupy Wall Street at Zuccotti Park, New York City, when it was still in operation last autumn. At the centre, there was a productive public, reaching consensus through the General Assembly, and offering all kinds of operating templates (Mic Check, Protest Camping, Working Groups, etc.). These organizational methods, in a true open-source way, could be copied and practiced by similar communities the world over, but also modified to suit local needs (this is called 'forking' in open-source parlance). If you did not contribute, you had no say, so engagement was, and is, necessary.

This community had all kinds of needs, physical needs, such as food, shelter, and health care. Did they simply resort to the market economy for this? No, but also yes, but in a qualified way. Let me explain:

OWS set up all kinds of working groups to find solutions to their physical needs, in other words, the economy was considered as a provisioning system, and it is the 'citizens', organized in working groups, which decided which provisioning system would be appropriate given their ethical values[8]. For example, the Vermont organic farmers provided free food to the campers, cooked by volunteer chefs, but this had a negative side-effect. Indeed, the local street vendors, generally poor immigrants, did not fare too well, as with everyone getting free food, they could no longer easily sell their wares. The answer to this drama was that the occupiers cared about the vendors, and set up a Occupy Wall Street Vendor Project, so that funds could be raised to buy the food from the vendors. In this one swoop, OWS created a well-functioning ethical economy, that was both a market dynamic, but that also functioned in harmony with the value system of the occupiers. What is crucial here, is that it was the citizens who decided on the most appropriate provisioning system, and not exclusively the property and money owners in a economy that is divorced from ethical values.

What can we learn from the incipient Occupy model, if we generalize it on the level of society as a whole? Today, we assume that value is created in the private sphere, by for-profit companies, and let's recognize that civil society is just a 'remainder' category—it's what we do when we come home, exhausted after our paid work. This is recognized in our derivative language for civil society, where we call them non-profit or non-governmental organizations. The system as a whole is managed by a state, where the social democratic welfare-state has increasingly become a neo-liberal corporate welfare-state, where the gains are privatized and the losses socialized. In other words, the state itself has become an extension of the corporation, and is increasingly less and less a servant of the citizenry. We can see the progress of this model in how the

Troika9 is now imposing slash-and-burn politics in the heart of Europe, for example Greece, and no longer on weaker developing countries alone.

Occupy and open-source models show us a new possible reality, a model where the democratic civic sphere, productive commons, and a vibrant market can coexist for mutual benefit:

"At the core of value creation are various commons, where the innovations are deposited for all humanity to share and to build uponThese commons are enabled and protected through non-profit civic associations, which as with the national equivalent of Partner State, empowers and enables that social production Around the commons emerges a vibrant commons-oriented economy, undertaken by different kinds of ethical companies—whose legal structures ties them to the values and goals of the commons communities—and not absentee and private shareholders intent on maximizing profit at any cost."

Where the three circles intersect, there are the citizens deciding on the optimal shape of their provisioning systems. This model can exist as a sub-model within capitalism, and partially already does so in the present system, as the open-source software business ecology exemplifies. It could also become, with some necessary hacks, the core logic of a new civilization. The Occupy movement has not just shown us prefigurative politics, but in fact, prefigurative economics.

A separate question that needs to be asked is, of course, how do we get there? Part of the answer is that this will require not just powerful social movements that advocate for social reform and transformation, but a further transformation and maturation of the peer production model itself. Today, it is a prototype-mode of production, which is entirely interdependent with the system of capital. There would be no social reproduction of the workers involved, if not for the general public infrastructure provided by the state, but more specifically, through the income produced by working for capitalist enterprise.

Is there any possibility to create a really autonomous model of peer production, that could create its own cycle of reproduction? For this, we propose two 'hacks'. The first is the use of a new type of license, the peer production license (Kleiner, 2010). This sharing license proposes that all who contribute to the commons, can also use the commons. The second hack consists of creating independent entrepreneurial vehicles that are not for-profit companies, but ethical companies, whose members are the commoners and whose mission is the support of the commons and its contributors. Following the lead of Neal Stephenson in his fictional account in The Diamond Age (1995), and the pioneering practice of the cooperative network las Indias10, we propose to call them phyles. Phyles are mission-oriented, purpose-driven, community-supportive entities that operate in the market, on a global scale, but work for the commons. In this way, the social reproduction of commoners would no longer depend on the accumulation cycle of capital, but on its own cycle of value creation and realization. Combined with social movements and political representation, we believe this three components would be the basis of a new social and political 'hegemony'. This basis would be the basic social force pushing for social transformation in the sense of a deepening and broadening of peer production models, from the micro-economy to the macro-economy.

7. Towards a civilization based on economies of scope, not scale

Following the international division of labour imposed by globalization, the aim of the 'competition' is to be able to produce more of a unit, so as to drive the unit price down, and out-compete the competition. Multi-national corporations and global brands now have very complex value chains, where various parts of a product are mass-produced in different parts of the world.

Nevertheless, the system has obvious weaknesses. One weakness is that it drives towards mono-cultures, both of the agricultural type, but also industrial mono-cultures such as the dependence of the Chinese coastal economy on exports. The latter example highlights a related second problem. Competition drives prices relentlessly down, so, in the 1980's, the dominant western players changed their strategy. They abandoned the costly western workers to conditions of precarity, moved the low-profit industrial production to low-wage countries, and expanded the IP regime to extract rent and super-profits via patents, copyrights and trademarks. As Thijs Markus writes so eloquently about Nike in the Rick Falkvinge blog (Markus, 2012), if you want to sell $5 shoes for $150 in the West, you better have one heck of a repressive IP regime in place[11]. Hence the need for SOPA/PIPA, ACTA'S and other attempts to criminalize the right to share.

However, there is of course a more fundamental problem: the whole system of globalizing the advantages of scale fundamentally rests on cheap global transportation, and, thus, the continuous availability of super-abundant fossil fuels. After the passage of Peak Oil, and so the end of the era of cheap oil, plus with still exploding demand from the exploding BRICS12 countries, it is more than likely that the whole regime will come tumbling down. Not in one day of course, but gradually, though non-linear downward jumps are to be expected as well. A punctuated equilibrium is, indeed, not just a feature of biological systems, but of social systems as well. This means that competing on the basis of scale, even if the system is still effective today, it is also ultimately a game that loses relevance and, ultimately, can only be played by those who do not care about the destruction of our planet. What game can the others play? Consistently increasing prices for fossil fuels means that innovation and competition have to find another outlet. Actually, I argue, it's about inventing another game altogether.

But first, a short historical intermezzo, as this drama of transition has been played out before:

While the late fifth-century Romans were still fighting for the crown of Cesar Augustus, the Germanic 'barbarians' were already at the gate, and the Christian communities already prefigured the values of a coming era of relocalization, based not on an economy of scale, but on an economy of scope. And what are economies of scope? As a teaser, for now, this short definition: "An economy of scope exists between the production of two goods when two goods which share a common cost are produced together such that the common cost is reduced" (Bywater, 2004). In other words, something that brings down the common cost of a factor of production, not by producing more of a unit, but through shared infrastructure costs. However, to continue, let's resume our short historical excursion.

As the Roman Empire could no longer bear the costs of its own scale and complexity, and supplies of gold and slaves became gradually more problematic, the smarter land-owners started to free their slaves. They did so in a way binding them contractually to the land as 'coloni' (serfs), while on the other hand, the increasingly taxed and bankrupted free-holders sought protection from the very same domain holders. Thus, one side of the equation was pure and simple localization, since the system could no longer bear the global scale of the Empire. However, the new post-Roman system also invented a new system of innovation, based on the advantages of scope, not scale. Indeed, as the cities were emptying out, and with it also spread its knowledge system of urban libraries, elite home-schooling and academies; the Christians invented monasteries, as the new agrarian knowledge centres. The important thing to mention, is that while the physical system localized, the Christian Church actually functioned as a global open design community. Monks and manuscripts travelled, and with them the many innovations of the worker-monks. While Europe initially decayed as the remnants of the Roman Empire crumbled, eventually, after the first European social revolution of 975 (Moore, 2000), this new system created the seeds for the first medieval industrial revolution. Between the 10th and the 13th century, based on a unified culture of knowledge, Europe started once again to blossom: Re-introduced negative interest money kept accumulation by elites in check (Lietaer & Belgin, 2011), doubled its population, regrew its beautiful cities many of which were run democratically by the guild councils[13], and invented peer to peer universities in Bologna in the 11th century[14]. This first Renaissance was all based on the economics of scope; the unified body of knowledge that European intellectuals and artisans could build on. The guilds may have had their secrets, but they took them with them wherever Cathedrals were built.

The same experience was reiterated in 1989, on a national scale, in the most dire circumstances, when isolated Cuba could no longer rely on the advantages of scale of the Soviet system. The Cuban crisis of 1989 prefigured the current world situation because they experienced their very own Peak Oil situation when the Soviets abruptly stopped delivering oil at below world market prices. While initially the Cubans went back to using donkeys and the bodyweight of the population went in decline, the rulers took a number of interesting initiatives. First, they liberated local entrepreneurship by granting more autonomy to the local agricultural cooperatives; and second, they mobilized the grassroots knowledge of the population, including of urban dwellers. But thirdly, and perhaps most crucially, they created a number of agricultural institutes with the overriding goal of emulating and spreading local innovations. Whatever the other faults of the totalitarian system in Cuba, this open design experiment worked beyond all expectations. As documented by Bill McKibben (2005) and others[15], Cuba now produces more nutritious and organic food, with a fraction of fossil fuels used than previously. This has happened for the same reason, I argue, as the earlier example regarding the Christian Church in the European Middle Ages: Sharing knowledge created economies of scope. Agricultural innovations could quickly spread across the country and be adopted by everyone.

Indeed, economies of scale work well in periods of energy 'ascent', when more and more energy is made available, but they work less in periods of energy 'descent', when the overall supply of energy and resources are diminishing. What you need then are economies of scope, when you can 'scale up from one', as with today's emerging 'make-on-demand' infrastructure. Economies of scope are exactly what peer production—with it's different iterations of open knowledge, free culture, free software, open and shared designs, open hardware and distributed manufacturing—is all about.

Let's recap what is wrong with the current global system, which is entirely predicated on economies of scale, and actually, in many instances, makes economies of scope illegal.

Our current system is based on the belief of infinite growth and the endless availability of resources, despite the fact that we live on a finite planet; let's call this feature, runaway 'pseudo-abundance'The current system believes that innovations should be privatized and only available by permission or for a hefty price (the IP regime), making sharing of knowledge and culture a crime; let's call this feature, enforced 'artificial scarcity'

Peer production methodologies are based on the exact opposite economic and social DNA. Peer production communities believe that knowledge is a commons, for all to share, and hence, no innovation can be withheld from the human population as a whole. Infact, withholding a life-saving or world-saving innovation is seen as distinctly unethical, and this represents a true 'value inversion'. In addition, peer production designs for 'distribution' and inclusion, i.e. small-scale, even 'personal' fabrication. Planned obsolescence which is a feature, and not a bug of the current system, is totally alien to peer production logics (Bauwens, 2012, March 9). In other words, sustainability is a 'feature' of open design communities, not a bug.

Again, there are historical precedents to such value inversions. The Christian communities in the Roman Empire were not competing with the Empire, they were building their own institutions, based on a different and alien logic. While Roman elites hated work (this was for the lowly slaves), Christian monks extolled work, and tried to prefigure Eden in their earthly Cities of God. Similarly, the French Sans-Culottes of 1789 were not competing for feudal privileges; they abolished all of them in one single day. It would therefore be wrong to see peer production simply as a set of 'competing' techniques. In fact, these evolutions are happening on a different plane altogether. They live and co-exist in the same world, but they do not really belong to the same world-logic.

So what are the economies of scope of the new peer-to-peer age? They come in two flavours:

The mutualizing of knowledge and immaterial resources

The mutualizing of material productive resources

The first principle is easy to understand. If we lack knowledge as individuals—and nobody can know everything—as a community, local or virtual, it is much more likely that someone knows. Hence, the mutualizing of knowledge and "crowd-accelerated innovation" (Anderson, 2010), now already a well-known feature of the collaborative economy. But the advantage of scope is created when that knowledge is shared, and thus, it can be used by others. With this social innovation, the common cost of the joint-production factor that is knowledge, is dramatically reduced.

Take the example of the paradigmatic Nutrient Dense Project[16]. This global community of agrarian workers and citizen scientists is interested in experimenting with better nutrients to obtain better quality food. Hence joint research can be carried out to test various nutrients in various soils and climate zones, and they will instantly benefit not just the whole participating community, but potentially, the whole of humankind. Strategies that are based on privatizing intellectual property, cannot obtain such advantages of scope, or at least, not at that level. Or take the example of the urban homestead of the Dervaes family in Los Angeles[17], who succeed in producing 6,000 pounds of food annually on a tiny city plot. They managed this because they are sharing their productivity innovation, and hundreds of thousands have already learned how to improve their own lots. Imagine the speed of innovation that would occur if they were supported by Partner State institutions (Bauwens 2012), who would support and spread such social innovations even further!

The second principle, of mutualizing physical productive resources, is exemplified by the trend towards collaborative consumption. The general idea is the same. Alone, I may lack a certain tool, skill, or service, but seen from the point-of-view of a community, it is likely someone else has it, and that other person could share, rent or barter it. No need to all possess the same tool, if we can access it when we need it. Hence the proliferation of 'p2p marketplaces'.

Let's take an illustrative example: Car-sharing. Car-sharing projects can be mutualized through the intermediary of a private company which owns the cars (fleetsharing, like ZipCar[18]), through p2p marketplaces which link car users to each other (RelayRides[19]), or through non-profits (San Francisco) or public entities (Autolib in Paris[20]). All these initiatives achieve economies of scope. According to a study cited by ZipCar, for every rented car, there are 15 fewer owned cars on the road, but not just that, car-sharing members changed their behaviour and drove 31% less than when they owned a vehicle. So, in 2009 alone, car-sharing diminished global carbon-dioxide emissions by nearly half a million tons[21]. Imagine similar developments in every sector of production.

How will the new systems look like, if economies of scope become the norm and replace economies of scale as the primary driver of the economy and social system? We already mentioned the global open design communities, and we suggest that it will be accompanied by a global network of micro-factories, who are producing locally, for example, the open-source car companies like Local Motors[22] and Wikispeed[23] are proposing. Such companies are already prefigured by networks of hackerspaces[24], Fablabs[25] and other co-working spaces. This means we also need global material organizations, not to produce on a global scale, but to organize our material activities so as to minimize the 'common costs' of the various networks, and not just in terms of sharing knowledge. In other words, who will play the role that the Catholic Church and its roaming monks played in the Middle Ages? Let's not forget, it was not just an open design community, but an effective material organization giving leadership to a whole continent-wide cultural sphere. Do we have a potential p2p version of this that can operate globally? The answer is of course the generalization of the phyle as proposed previously.

The only thing left to do is to have an answer to the crucial question: How does global governance look like in P2P civilization? How can we transform the global material Empire which at present dominates world affairs for the benefit of a few? How can we replace the ineffectual global institutions that are present inadequate to deal with global challenges?

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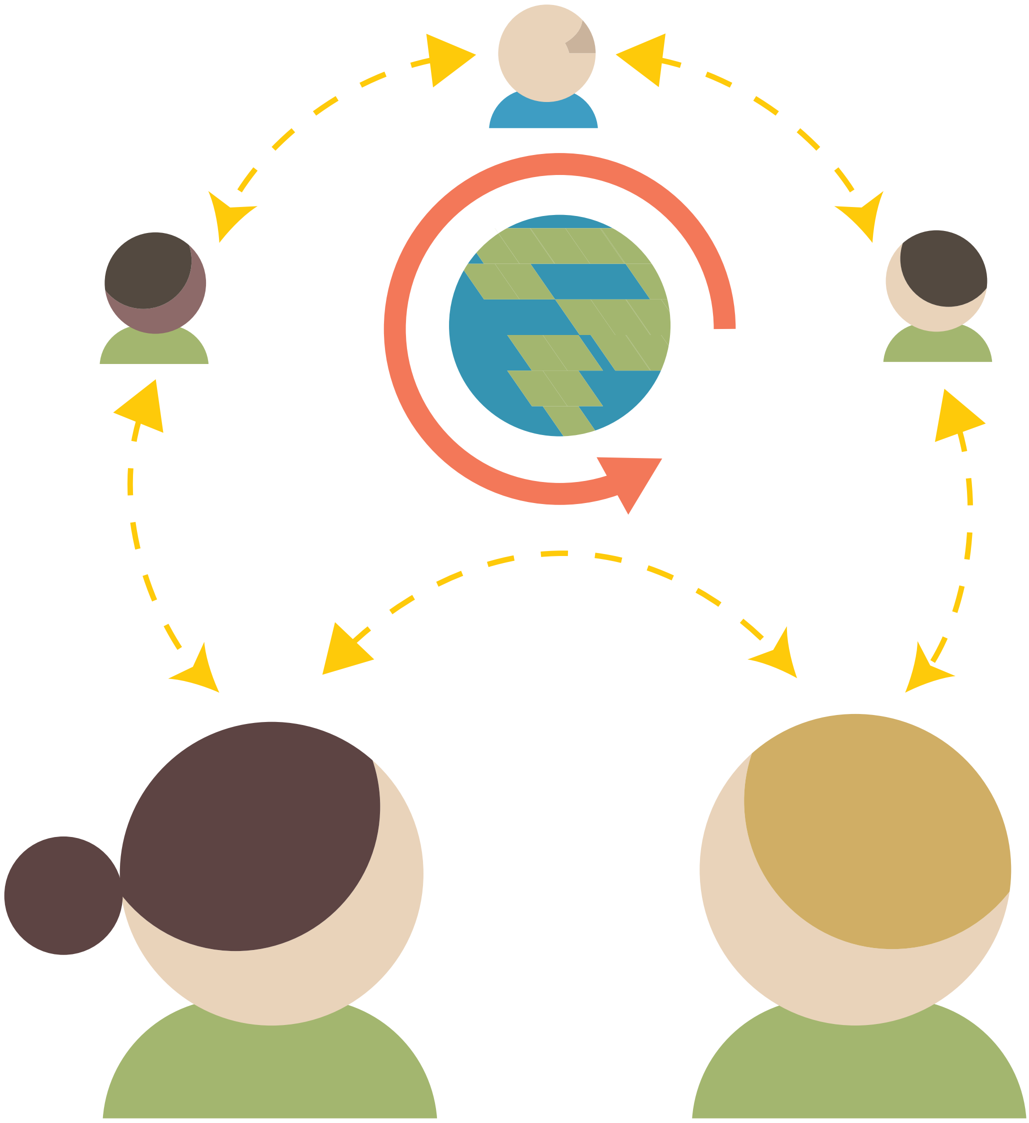

TOWARDS P2P LEARNING: WHAT MEDIA AND WHOSE PEER?

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The idea of peer-to-peer (p2p) learning has gained new interest with the rise of p2p-file sharing, the creation of online peer-produced encyclopedia Wikipedia, and hundreds of other initiatives taking advantage of Internet and communication technologies. One of the commonly mentioned examples of online peer-to-peer learning is the free, libre, open-source software communities, where participants learn and teach each other by designing and developing software (e.g. Himanen, 2001).

Still, peer-to-peer learning is not a result of the Internet. Its roots are much deeper in the history of humankind. To understand the phenomena, and to see the realistic possibilities related to the peer-to-peer learning practice also in the era of networked society, we should understand it in a wider social and cultural context.

In this article, I am observing the broader social and cultural issues related to peer-to-peer learning through three cases, where the different kinds of media and practices with and around them, constitutes as different kinds of social realities. The media referred to in the cases is analysed with McLuhans' semiotic framework. This is done with the aim to discuss the role of media in peer-to-peer learning, and to assisting understanding among people who are designing media and practices for peer-to-peer learning.

1. Peers in peer-to-peer learning

When looking for the modern roots of peer-to-peer learning one may not pass over Freirean pedagogy, a model of education found by Paulo Freire in Brazil in the 1960's. That time the main focus of education in Brazil was on literacy skills. At the core of Freirean pedagogy is, from one side, to make learning meaningful and motivating by connecting it straight to people's everyday life; and on the other side to let people to see, through education, possibilities to improve their life situation. Learning and teaching in Freirean mode, lets say, takes place in a form of dialogue in a meaningful, authentic and situated environment. Learning and teaching should be based on democracy and support development of a democratic society. Education should be seen primary as a social process that promotes inclusion, equality, social justice and human rights (Freire, 1975).

With connections to Freirean thinking Ivan Illich (1971) has present his polemic argument that universal education through schooling is not feasible at all. In his book Deschooling Society, written in Mexico with reference to the developing world, Illich proposed the following: To overcome the challenges of modern schooling, we should simply close them down. Instead of schools, he argued, we should have educational webs. These webs of learning should be schools' institutional inverse. In educational webs, everyone would be teachers and a student, with an attempt to share and care. Illich describes the educational system based on educational webs, as follows:

"A good educational system should have three purposes: it should provide all who want to earn with access to available resources at any time in their lives; empower all who want to share what they know to find those who want to learn it from them; and, finally, furnish all who want to present an issue to the public with the opportunity to make their challenge known" (Illich, 1971).

The critical technology and infrastructure to build educational webs in Illich's time were tape-recorders, as well as telephone and postal networks, that make it possible for individuals to send messages to one another. According to Illich, the "wrong technology" for teaching and learning is television, which was considered by many as a great tool for education. Illich's problem with television was its nature of being a one-way broadcasting media. In practice, television does not carry the affordance for peer-to-peer learning. Instead of television, Illich claims that a network of tape-recorders could provide the opportunity for free expression. With tapes anyone could record, disseminate, and share their opinions and learning materials with others.

Freirian educational and pedagogical approach combined with Ilich's relatively practical idea of establishing learning webs opens up the question: Who do people consider, or should consider, to be their peers—those with whom they want to share and care about?

A peer means a person who is at an equal level. Who do we consider to be equals? Does culture, age, prior education, or social class define the peers?

Peter Burke (2009) has pointed out how cultures today all around the world are more hybrids of many, than something with clear cultural differences. Even in times of globalization, hybrid cultures do not become homogeneous, but rather borrow, adapt, and mix features from one to another. By considering culture as a hybrid thing, we may see people coming from different cultures as equal partners—they all contribute to the hybrid culture and build on it.

In education, age is often used as the determining factor when grouping learners together. Children of the same age are often seen as natural peers. We may interpret two reasons behind the attempt to put children into age groups. Firstly, the expansion of modern schooling required organization that is manageable. To organize schools there was a need to put children into classes. Secondly, developmental psychology introduced theories of different development stages which became popular among educators. Jean Piaget's (1896-1980) and Erik Erikson's (1902-1994) descriptions of children's abilities and interests in different ages also gave a theoretical foundation to use age as the main—and often the only—factor to classify children in schools.

The importance of age in human development, however, is questionable. For instance, scholars interested in the study and learning of philosophy with children (e.g. Juuso, 2007; Lipman, 2003) have pointed out young childrens' capabilities to think philosophically, logically, and ethically, when provided an environment that supports it. The importance of the social environment over children's age in learning, is also one of the corner stones of Lev Vygotsky's (1896-1934) theory. Vygotsky's studies demonstrated how young children are surprisingly able to solve remarkably complex problems when doing so in collaboration with more advanced children (Vygotsky, 1978).

According to Lipman, standard schools are actually teaching children that they should not think for themselves. The school teaches that they are only able to solve problems that are presented to them by others. At the same time children learn not to appreciate their peers' experiences and opinions as something valuable (Lipman ref. Juuso, 2007). If children are able to learn from each other, especially from more advantaged children, we may claim that considering different age groups as equal partners does indeed benefit all.

In modern societies, with an extensive division of labour, education is not only about learning: It is also about selection. One of the functions of education is to find places for people, in other words, to locate them to different jobs in the labour market. The selective school systems, with its early positioning of students into different tracks leading to higher education, and to vocational education, are examples of this process. Such an educational system strengthens the class division in society, by introducing to one another, who is whose 'peer'. Research shows that the selective system is really more part of the process of the reproduction of social classes, than any fair selection of people into groups with different abilities. For instance in Finland, the parents' educational and social background correlated with enrollment to higher education. Although there are no tuition fees, and students are provided with allowance, there is a causational link: Parents educational level predicts their children educational level (e.g. Kivinen & Rinne, 1995). Furthermore, especially when observed in a global scale education, the delineation of social class is a large part hereditary, rather than anything gained with individual capabilities. Due the points mentioned above, using education level to classify peers becomes meaningless.

We easily consider culture, age, prior education, or social class to be the factors defining who are peers. As presented above this kind of division is artificial, and by no means necessary. We may as well, try to work according the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with the idea that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (UN General Assembly, 1948). Actually, we may approach the peer-to-peer learning precisely from this point of view, and consider all humans as our potential peers, regardless of their age, cultural background, prior education or social class.

The idea of peer-to-peer learning has emerged in—and been around—different historical eras and contexts. With a long historical perspective, we may see hints of organized peer-to-peer learning all the way from Plato's Academy. In the classical Academy, the learning took place as a dialogue among the community members, the peers, the free men. From looking at historical peer-to-peer learning, it is easy to see interconnection also to some thoughts and discourse carried out in the 20th century's philosophy, sociology and psychology of education. Especially the later discussion on social constructivist and collaborative learning, the role of discourse and equality of the participants has been emphasized (e.g. Dewey, 1916; Vygotsky, 1978).

2. Occupied high school, self-organized classrooms and open online courses

In late January 2012, Raúl Zibechi (2012) reported in an online magazine that within Santiago, the capital of Chile, students had occupied their high-school. Encumbered by the schools bad reputation, they had decided to run the school themselves. Many parents supported the takeover, and were later joined by a number of teachers in the occupation.

Students started weekly assemblies in the school to discuss upon the curriculum of studies. In these sessions, teachers were asked to teach topics that the students found important. This way the learning process was formed in a cooperative and collaborative way. Everybody learned—students from their teachers, and teachers from their students.

In one of the early assembly events, students decided to stop wearing the government-mandated school uniforms. The gesture carried a strong symbolic value. In Chile education is in large-part a commercial product, still supported as a such by the Government. Families finance 75 percent of the educational system themselves, and 25 percent comes from the state. The schools are, as such, largely run by small businessmen who profit from the families and the state vouchers. The uniform represents the role of the student in the system: being an obedient object (Zibechi, 2012).

In the Self Organized Learning Environment (SOLE) School Support Pack -booklet, Sugata Mitra (Mitra, Leat, Dolan, & Crawley, 2012) has presented guidelines on how to support self-directed enquiry-based learning in schools. Mitra has build the SOLE model based on experiments and research conducted in the late 1990's in rural India. In these studies, he noticed that just by giving children an opportunity to explore topics in small groups, they were able to reach remarkable learning results. One finding was that children could study and learn independently with the Internet, without almost any intervention of a teacher.

The SOLE idea is simple and powerful: "A teacher encourages their class to work as a community to answer questions using computers with Internet access" (Ibid.). However, in practice, the SOLE class should work according to five simple rules: 1) Students will form groups of about four; 2) Students may choose their own groups; 3) Students may change groups at any time; 4) Students may go and look what other groups are doing, and may bring this information back to their own group; 5) Students should prepare to present, for the class, their answers to the question(s).

In the last couple of years, a number of individuals and institutions have experiment with the idea of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs). MOOCs are online events where people are invited to participate online around a specific topic, with an objective to study it. The activities are guided with a schedule, agenda, and facilitator, and often include as activities within them the writing of blog-posts, online video-conferences, and editing wiki-pages.

In the most open form of MOOCs that has been organized is simply by providing just an invitation, with a schedule, and request to register with a blog address. In these events, participation has been based solely on the participants self-motivation and interest in the topic, and common approach of sharing the blog addresses, and agreeing to use a single #-tag. Tag-associated posting of all the communication provides a simple communication infrastructure to follow and participate in the activities. The pedagogical idea behind most MOOCs has been to facilitate the building of individual and personal learning networks.

More structured forms of MOOCs have been tried out by a number of new enterprises, and also by some older established educational institutions. The two most well known new projects are Wikiversity1, which is a sister project of Wikipedia; and P2PU (Peer 2 Peer University)[2]. In these projects the attempt has been to build an online community that is offering MOOC-style studies, so that anyone may announce their interest to run a class or study-project. The results from the courses implemented have been various: Some have succeeded, while others have failed. As an example of one of the successes, in autumn 2011, Stanford University announced that several online computer science courses would be open for all. The courses were organized with a weekly program, including video-lectures, automatically checked exercises, and discussion forum for questions. By many measures this combination of activities and resources worked well, and afterward several other universities have tried the same model.

The above-mentioned cases are examples of many late attempts to reconsider and redesign educational practices: The school in Santiago echoes with the 1970's ideas of democratic school when SOLE introduced a more learning-centric approach to existing organizational structure; Meanwhile, the MOOCs are trying to take an advantage of the Internet as a communication medium.

Even though the examples may look very different, there are similarities, too. In all of them the aim is to focus on learning with others. In the centre, there are students and learning, rather than teachers and teaching. They all are attempts to respond to the socio-techno-economical zeitgeist dominated by the Internet and globalization. We may speculate that the school children in Santiago were abandoned because of the economical crises, or because the investors found a site where they will get a better return for their investment. The SOLE can be seen as an attempt to make school learning relevant again, especially when children have unlimited access to information. The MOOCs, meanwhile, are a citizens' respond to the growing cost of college education, but also a University-led response to similar pressures, growing costs, in the context of unlimited access to information: Universities must keep themselves relevant.

In all this, media—when understood broadly as something enabling and mediating humans collective behavior (McLuhan & McLuhan, 1992)—plays an important role. In the Santiago case, the key medium has been the assembly, weekly meetings where students, their parents, and teachers, all decide together on the curriculum and practicalities of running the school. Hence, the assembly is the medium enabling the new practice. From the SOLE example, we may recognize several key media: Firstly, the classroom where students are studying in small groups plays in it an important role; in addition, Internet-enabled computers operated and worked with 4 children is the new key medium, the thing making it possible to have the new practice In the MOOC's case, social software and social online services (often called social media) are the media enabling the practice, without which one could not organize MOOC's.

3. Media for peer-to-peer learning

In the following section of this article, I am going to analyse these media 1) the assembly, 2) Internet-computers in a classroom, and 3) social online services in light of four topics, originally introduced by Marshall McLuhan, and published posthumously by his son Eric, as a framework for a semiotics of technology (McLuhan & McLuhan, 1992). The questions the McLuhans propose to be asked from inventions are: What does it enhance or intensify? What does it render obsolete or displace? What does it retrieve that was previously obsolete? And what does it produce, or become when taken to its limit? These four questions can be asked about any invention when aiming to find their impact on society and culture. The answers to the questions will put the new media in relation to existing media, and may unveil the role they may have in a society and a culture.

In a seminal article in the field of New Media research, Moulthrop (1991) applied McLuhan's four questions to the idea of hypertext, and the hypertext system called Xanadu. In the thought-experiment he found out, for instance, that hypertext/Xanadu probably will not replace the printed book, but may end-up to be a replacement for TV. To apply this approach, when moving towards a new kind of peer-to-peer learning, we may also ask the McLuhans' questions towards the media used in peer-to-peer learning situations. Based on the answers, we may conclude with some guidelines for designers thinking how to advantage peer-to-peer learning with media. So, the McLuhans' questions are:

- What does it enhance or intensify?
- What does it render obsolete or displace?
- What does it retrieve that was previously obsolete?
- What does it produce or become when taken to its limit?

Next I will apply these questions to the key media of the three cases presented earlier. Note that the thought-experiment is speculative with interpretations on the actual context and situations where the media is used. The objective is, then, to explore some possible wider consequences, which the media may have, to the phenomena of teaching and learning.

School assembly in a self-organized school

A school assembly is an event to raise and discuss communal issues, as well as solve problems found in a school community. In the case of peer-to-peer learning, it is a meeting to define the topics of study and learning goals. The underlying idea of an assembly is that anyone can raise an issue that will be then discussed. If considered in light of the McLuhan's questions, a school assembly most likely enhances participation in decision-making, and intensifies the feeling of belonging in the community. We may assume that assemblies will improve the cohesion in the school community.

A school assembly focusing on the creation of curriculum makes obsolete a number of political and administrative personnel, who usually build national educational polices, strategies and curricula. It also displaces authorities who follow the execution of the national policies. One may claim that a school can never have the expertise required to build a curriculum. On the other hand, the assembly may invite to the meeting experts who will advise them.

Moreover, a school assembly can retrieve the feeling of ownership among the stakeholders of their education. The students, parents and teachers may again feel that learning is something they do for themselves, rather than to fulfill national standards.

Finally we may imagine what schools who regularly organized such an assembly would produce, when taken to its limits. We may ask what would happen if taking over schools, and running them based on assemblies would expand, and become an international movement? We may assume that most children would still learn basic skills, and be able to pursuit happiness and success in their life. Many of them could move forward and become full members of other educational institutions ran with the same principles. On the other hand, it is also possible that the educational institutions would end-up to be haphazardly-created clusters of people, with different kinds of practices. Also, at some point, the system would run out of traditionally educated teachers. This could mean that those students with learning difficulties, and need of special help, would not be recognized, nor supported to overcome their difficulties. The lack of a national curriculum could also mean a lower commitment to the nation. In the extreme case of imagination, the assembly-run schools could become tribes fighting against each other.

Internet-computers in a classroom

The use of Internet-enabled computers in a self-organized school class aims to introduce student-centric, inquiry-based learning. We may expect that giving students the freedom to search answers independently will enhance their information literacy, and their ability to do studies in small groups. It may also intensify children's curiosity and interest to learn and study on their own. Because the questions are, however, given and set by the teacher, it will not provide opportunities to develop an expert-kind of thinking, where asking questions is considered to be a critical skill.

Intensive use of Internet-enabled computers in this way will make obsolete the teacher-driven teaching, where the main source of information is the teacher, and the school books in use. As the questions are designed and asked by the teacher, the students are expected to report back their findings to the teachers it does not displace teachers totally from the process. However, it may instead displace classical learning materials, such as books and worksheets.

With this method, small groups will retrieve dialogue in learning situations, and bring the voice of the learners into the classroom. The need to communicate with group members, and the request to present the results of the group work, will provide students with opportunities to build strategies, and reflect upon their own learning.

To answer the forth question, when taken to its limits, the use of Internet-enabled computers, in small groups within classrooms, we may assume an outcome would be having students with more perspectives, opinions and theories (correct and false) about the topics taught in schools. Students may find information that is not-so-appropriate and correct. This will, however, open-up possibilities to discuss about this information with the teachers, and for the teachers a possibility to guide students to evaluate their sources critically. When taken widely in use, it may also give a false image about research, that everything is considered to be already done, and that the only role left for a new generation is to study the existing materials.

Social online services in online classes

The social online services in use for teaching and learning provides possibilities for students who have no access to traditional educational services. It may expand the educational offerings that already do exist. It potentially can also enhance students abilities to recognize their own learning needs. They ask from the students, however, a lot of self-regulation and strategic thinking, including an ability to recognize what are their own learning needs. From the educational institutions point of view, in some areas of studies, where one can use automated checking of assignments, it can be an extremely cost-efficient way of teaching. Furthermore, it scales.

The use of social online services may make traditional lecturing obsolete. For example, students may ask: If one can access video lectures online anytime, why would they attend a live lecture in a lecture hall? In this way, the method may displace some classical forms of teaching in colleges and universities.

any educational institutions have already strongly developed their classroom pedagogy, and many institutions have changed their lecturing to instead small group discussions and study projects. The idea has been to move from teacher-centric teaching to student-centric learning. Introducing massive online classes—with video lectures and simply assignments—may seem to be a step backwards to the pedagogy that emphasizes lectures and exams.

And considering the last question, when the use of social online services is imagined, taken to its limit, we may assume that meeting people face-to-face will decrease. Students will socialize, but mainly through media. Because the media is digital, all actions will also be recorded to database for further use. The data will be used both for and against the students. There will be new methods to analyse behaviour, and conclude with reports on the individual learning achievements. When students are aware of the continuous tracking and monitoring of their action, it will most-likely effect on their way of communicating and acting. Also, there will be cases of cheating the systems, and ways to 'overtake it' to regain privacy.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed the idea of peer-to-peer learning from an historical point of view, through three recent examples; and from a design-theoretical point of view, with an attempt to explore the media used in the cases. The focus has not been on pedagogy, psychology or sociology of education, although these topics are all related to the theme. The main focus has been on design, and more precisely on media design and the practices around them.

With the approach I rely on, the frame of reference is that technology and media is expected to have influence on people's behavior without determining actions (e.g. Benkler, 2006; Jesus, 2010). However, different media can make it easier or harder to perform some actions. When some things are easy to do, it is more likely that they will be done, whereas on the contrary, if something is hard to do with a media, it is less likely to happen.

The three examples presented include design: Media and the practices which the media is expected to support. We may also read the examples from a cultural point of view. The Santiago School, SOLE and MOOCs are all balancing between the individual responsibility and control. In Santiago, the students decided to educate themselves when there was nobody else to educate them. The SOLE case is a response to the challenge of keeping schools and classroom teaching relevant, whereby children can study by themselves. However, the public represented by the school still wants to have a word on what is studied and learned. MOOCs in summary are, from one side, an attempt to provide learning opportunities for those who do not have access to them, and from another side, an endeavour to keep college and university education in the business.

Whatever are the motives or power structures behind the cases, all them are examples of a world where people must continuously be aware of different opportunities, and be available to take advantage of them when the time comes. This way, peer-to-peer learning is very well accomplishing the idea of a free-market, which relies on individuals constantly pursuing their own self-interest.

To ‘rescue’ peer-to-peer learning from the market logics—that is questionable in its ability to provide wellbeing for all—we must reconsider the concept of the ‘peer’. We should not limit the idea of ‘peers’ to just those people who are interested in us (and willing to help also) because of a common interest, and the possibility to benefit from it. We should see all human-beings as our peers. We should bring the classical ideas of humanity, where all people are free and equal, to the discussion on peer-to-peer learning.

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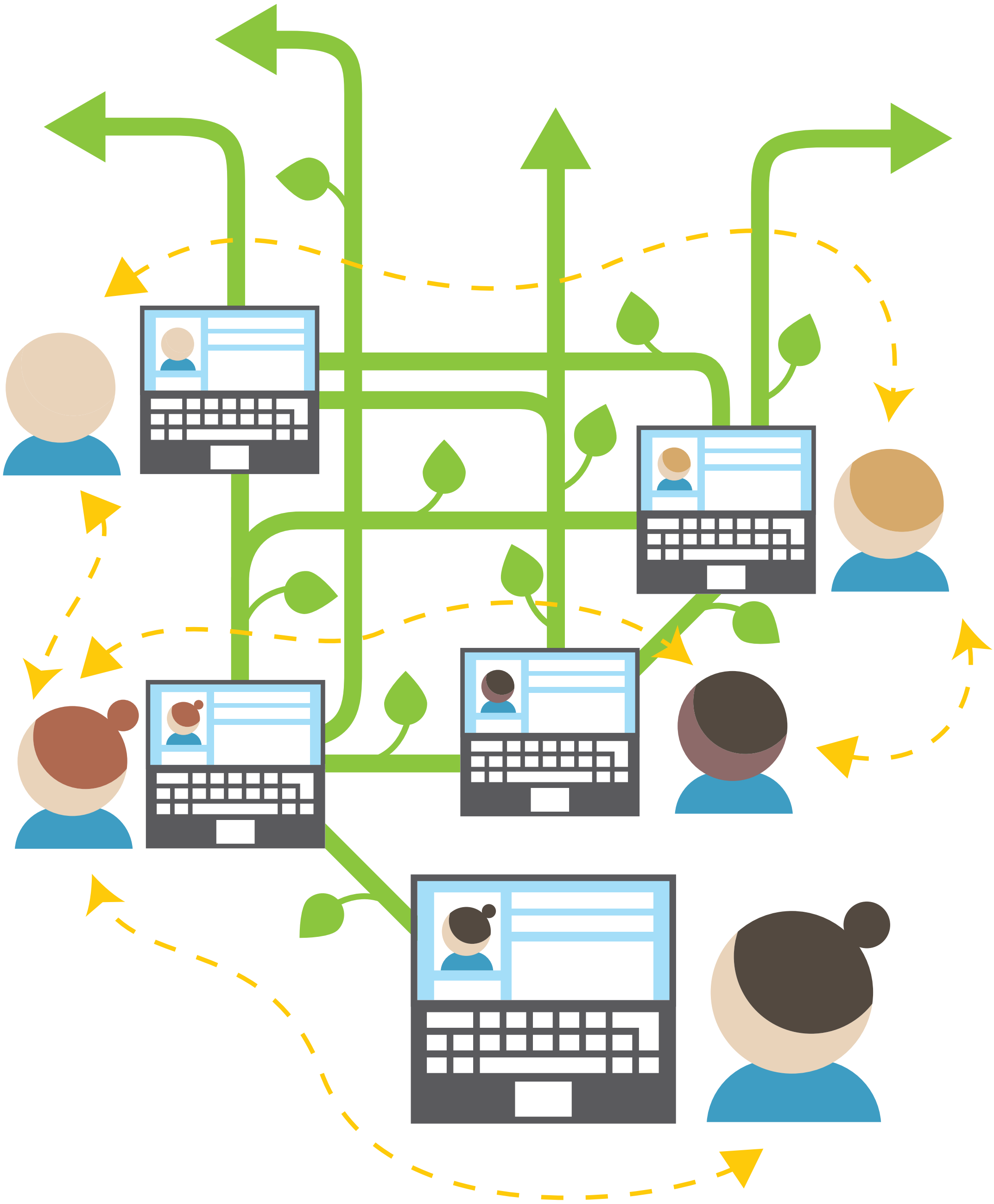

TINY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: EXPERIENCES OF SOCIAL MEDIA BASED CO-CREATION

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In this essay I will reflect on my experiences in producing 'public good' in voluntary informal networks, all based in Facebook. Since 2009 I have personally kick-started a good number of processes, including quite a few long-time forgotten ones that remained on the level of random, light-handed experiments, as well as some reasonably successful ones which sustain longer. For this text I take three of the later category as case examples, and discuss them on the basis of my subjective recollection of events. As a disclaimer, this essay is, hence, not an actual systematic study report on these case examples. However, as much of the communication involved took place in Facebook groups and on Facebook pages, there exists a certain amount of original documentation that can be accessed through this platform.

What is common to all of these three cases is that they began from a random idea expressed spontaneously in Facebook, which quickly found resonance in other people. These people formed an open working group, and began producing action in and beyond the Internet. The process involved an element of co-creativity, with phases that felt easy and powerful, representing a kind of a flow experience. However, after a while, they all faced diminishing levels of enthusiasm, disagreements on how to continue, and transformation into something different from the co-creative, open and informal beginnings.

I will describe the first of these cases, the Refugee Hospitality Club, in more length, as a way to open up some major characteristics of these experiences. I will then follow with stories from the other two, more briefly, to provide variety, and allow comparison in discussing the social media induced co-creative processes.

Case I: Refugee Hospitality Club

I initiated the Facebook group Refugee Hospitality Club[1] (referred below in short as RHC) in the autumn of 2009, originally under the title 'Refugee Hospitality Club Punavuori', when a reception center for asylum seekers was announced to be opened in my neighborhood, Punavuori, in central Helsinki. The idea was simply to frame Punavuori as a place where residents are hospitable hosts and asylum seekers as guests, and then encourage people to act according to that framing. There had been some opposition from a local resident association towards the placement of this reception centre in Punavuori, which I did understand and accept, for example from them point of view of home property prices. However, I also felt that Punavuori–with its residents holding exceptional levels of resources, from financial wealth to social and cultural capital–was, in fact, a perfect place for such a centre. Moreover, I even envisioned that the reception centre could even be used as an opportunity for the neighborhood to be even more interesting, and rich on many levels.

I was imagining football games among asylum seekers and residents, networking that might help the seekers find their ways in the Finnish society a little bit easier; or cultural exchange such as art exhibitions in local galleries, displaying important names from the home countries of the seekers. Importantly, I never intended this Facebook group itself to require anyone to commit to any particular activities. Rather I imagined it as a conceptual tool to create space for a fruitful way to interact with different groups of people. This is what I wrote as a description of the group:

"In autumn 2009 reception centres for asylum seekers will be opened in Uuden-

maankatu [name of the street], Punavuori. Approximately 150 asylum seekers at a time will live there for over 2 months each. They, in general, have no money, no contacts, not much to do - and probably not a clear idea where they are or where they will be going to. Lets ensure the peaceful coexistence of locals and visitors. Lets show humanity and respect, lets care for other beings. Let's make this neighborhood feel like a village where also guests from around the world feel welcome."

A few hundred people soon joined the group and ideas on what could be done were flowing on the group's Wall, including, for example, DJ nights with music from the home countries of the seekers. At this phase, more face-to-face dynamic began, with my acquaintance Sirkku Varjonen announcing that she was currently taking part in the British Council's program called Intercultural Navigators[2], and RHC would fit very well into the description of the projects the participants were supposed to create. By including RHC into the program, a 500 euros grant would be available. We chose to do this. This development made it evident that some real work would need to be put in, and not just the throwing around of ideas in Facebook.

Hence, an open meeting was held, where the following mix of persons attended: a few members of RHC from Facebook (whom neither myself nor Sirkku had previously met), some staff members from the centre, a couple of local NGO workers (the local Red Cross Friendship service, and a NGO to help males in various issues), as well as one asylum seeker from the centre. More ideas and discussion on the principles followed. It was decided by myself and Sirkku, that the group should be open and open-minded, and that participation should be fun, and voluntary-based. No commitments should be needed and anyone could drop out whenever they wanted to.

From then onwards, the circle of active people grew. Meanwhile,Sirkku and I seemed to have become the groups faces, as it was us who people contacted with their ideas and questions, including the press. At the same time, various individuals pro-actively started their own projects and took complete charge of these. During the autumn of 2009 at least the following happened: A city guide was produced and handed out for the seekers, a logo for RHC was designed, art workshops were held at the centre, second-hand clothes were collected and donated to the centre, new soccer balls were donated to the seekers by a football association, Christmas presents were given to the children, a Christmas tree was donated, including a crafts session to decorate it, and a visit to a local kindergarten for the families in the center was arranged. Sirkku and Pauliina were interviewed by the main local newspaper.

Sometime during the spring 2010, Sirkku and I decided it is time for other people to step into our place. We designed a system where 2-3 people act as contact persons for the group, but otherwise, all action should be coordinated openly and freely on the group Wall. Anyone could initiate, join or manage projects. Two teachers from Diakonia University of Applied Science[3] became the new contact persons. The change did not go as smoothly as we had hoped, because in the beginning, for example, most people still contacted Sirkku and myself when wanting to discuss RHC related issues. At the same time, the new contact persons are still holding office, and they have brought a new, increased, institutional scope to RHC's action and activities.

During this time the group was also given various donations, and in order to receive these, we needed a bank account, which, could only be opened by a formal association. Careful not to make the whole Facebook group and open network subject to it, such an association was founded as a tool for the network, but not representing the network itself. Hence onwards, some donations were collected, and new projects which involved some cash-flow, such as taking asylum seekers to a Finnish sauna, and finding specific items for their use, such as a breast pump for new mothers as inquired about by the staff of the reception centres, took place via the Facebook group.

At the same time, the flow of the events, the original hype, seemed to have disappeared. Anything only happened via effort. The new contact persons tried to create some structures for activities, such as regular walks around the neighborhood. But people did not volunteer to lead these walks. It seemed that some new impetus was needed in order to recreate the flow. So we decided to make things bigger, raise money, and provide some financing for good projects. Some graphic designers and programmers volunteered to design us a web page.

However, from there onwards, RHC has rolled very slowly. People who were active early on have moved on, and new people with ideas do not easily find others to take part in the projects. At the same time, RHC has expanded to cover two other reception centres in central Helsinki. Furthermore, the Wordpress blog-based web site is now about to be opened[4]. Some more institutional projects have been completed, such as an arts council -financed Clip Kino video screening project together with the seekers[5], as well as a Diakonia University of Applied Sciences student research project made in collaboration with RHC. Fundraising has not yet began, but we shall see if it will, and whether and how it works.

Case II: Multicoloured Dreams

Multicoloured Dreams (referred to in short below as MCD) was originally born as an offshoot of Refugee Hospitality Club, but was opened to the public as a completely separate project, which it has since been. The background was inspired by the fact that Helsinki is dotted with plywood walls that are used to hide the construction sites ongoing behind them. I began to envision these plywood walls as perfect canvases for art. After half a year since first conceiving them as hosts for visual art projects, I decided that Refugee Hospitality Club could advertise its activities via painted posters on these walls.

So I sent a group mail to everyone in RHC Facebook group, looking for artists and designers. Three interested persons answered, and two of them, Satu Kettunen and Kavita Gonzalves, came to the meeting. Satu was at the time a senior art education student and illustrator, and Kavita an urban architecture PhD student and a designer. As in RHC, these first people to join had their own strong visions on what the project was all about, they contributed to leading and managing the project from the beginning. In the first meeting we decided that promoting street art, and new visual genres in the cityscape was a strong and important message on its own, and combining that into the RHC would be too much. Multicoloured Dreams (as it was coined by Kavita) was born as a street art project. Following, the Facebook Page and Group were founded in spring 2010.

Compared to Refugee Hospitality Club, MCD was a rather clearly defined concept to begin with: We would ask for the appropriate permissions to produce visual art on plywood walls of construction sites, and then look for artists to produce artwork. MCD was accepted into the program of the Helsinki Design Week, the high-profile event that is held each autumn in the city. Even if this, practically-speaking, just meant a mention in the Design Weeks event calendar, it gave our project a certain respected status, that we could use in our approaches to the owners of various construction sites, and in many cases, the owners of the plywood walls. We also talked about our aims to Helsinki City's street architects, and with their consent, we asked and were given permissions to use several central construction site walls, including one at the Parliament Building, and another at Stockmann's, Helsinki's most important department store. In addition to the initial permissions, we also checked that the planned artwork was fine to the wall owners, by letting them check the sketches and placement plans beforehand.

During the first MCD project, there were some differences in how the three of us–Kavita, Satu and myself–understood our project that began to arise. From my point of view, the main point was to launch the idea of using the plywood walls, asking permissions for street art, and then diffuse this idea to others who would freely use the Multicoloured Dreams as a concept and a method of working with the municipalities and wall owners. This would include free use of the MCD logo as a stencil, with which each MCD work would be tagged and numbered, and then this documentation posted in Facebook and our blog. My thinking was, at this point, influenced by my prior experience in RHC, as well as some theoretical reading on emergent network processes on the Internet, including Tiziana Terranova's book Network Cultures (2004); as well as my background in the research field of sociology of culture. My ideas, however, did not always make sense to the two other organizers of MCD.

Kavita and Satu envisioned us as producers for all MCD these projects ourselves, rather than producers of the concept. This includes, for example, choosing themes, looking for artists, arranging the pieces on the walls,contacting potential partners and sponsors, as well as taking responsibility about MCD in the public space. It also includes managing all of the communication, data, and use of the concept of MCD. I did not object, at this point, and MCD did several successful projects, producing dozens of large-scale images around the Helsinki centre, during the first autumn, and the following spring and summer. In the process, the active group grew, and included around five or six people, mostly art education students or graphic designers and illustrators. At this phase I had stepped back, as I felt producing works in this way was not my field, not professionally, but also not in terms of my interests either.

The fundamental difference of how we understood MCD differently came to be realized in autumn 2011, when I was approached by other street artists who asked whether I could help them find a wall for their art, and I happily agreed to do so as a MCD project, inviting these persons to join our Google group. At this point the active MCD producers strongly objected. Any newcomer should first meet in person with the core group, and then participate by working together with them and not on their own. An emotional discussion over email followed, and a meeting to discuss the future direction of MCD was held. As the majority of participants thought MCD should represent a certain group of people, rather than a general concept and procedure open to anyone's use, as I would have preferred, I agreed to the majority's will. Happily, my point was also listened to, and acted upon: it was decided that an open version of MCD, including instructions on how to proceed with asking permissions to use walls, talk to police while painting etc. would be launched. While this tutorial was written, I have not heard of anyone actually talking about it or using it.

It maybe be that either the idea of MCD does not appeal to many other people, or, as I suspect, the image of MCD is already strongly associated to certain people as their artistic or conceptual property. Meanwhile, MCD has become a staple in the Finnish and/or Helsinki cultural scheme, at least in terms of street art and youth art pedagogy, and it has provided some modest income to the active producers as well.

Case III: Siivouspäivä (Cleaning Day)

The third case is Siivouspäivä (Cleaning Day in English). The idea was born in a discussion with friends at my home, which idea I then presented to another friend who works with Helsinki municipalities, who developed it further. The intention was to follow the example of many cities abroad, where it is part of the waste disposal system to allow people to leave their furniture on the streets, where it can either be picked up by fellow citizens, or the garbage trucks. As this is not familiar to the Finnish system, we thought we could introduce it as a special day, as a carnival. We remembered Holland's Queens Day, when anyone can set up their stall and trade anything. Our concept would also include arranging recycling and disposal trucks to clean away the rest of the items.

However, nobody furthered the idea until a half a year later, when I threw it out as one of my Facebook status updates. A discussion with opinions on the proposal more or less in favour followed, including three Facebook friends announcing that they will take part in producing the event. I started a closed Facebook group named Kirppispäivä[6] (Flea-market day) and invited those people to join the group, as well as some others who I thought might be interested in joining us; including the friends with whom I first came up with the idea, and the person who then developed it. This group included mostly people whose professional interests are close to this kind of production and marketing of cultural/social concepts. We decided to produce the event on a voluntary basis, but at the same time, the freelancers/entrepreneurs among us, including me, could use this event in their professional CV's. For yet others, the event was more separated and distinguished from their work-lives. After a couple of day's casual discussion in Facebook group, a name for the event was decided, Kevätsiivous - koko kaupunki kirppikseksi (Spring Cleaning Day – Entire City into a Flee Market), and I opened up a Facebook page under that name[7]. In only a few days approximately 5000 people 'Liked' it, and many wanted to help organize it. The success was partly due to an article about the event in a popular online magazine Nyt.fi[8].

We then continued on a slightly more serious and structure basis, in the Kirppispäivä group, dividing the dozen active people in groups and areas of charge: Communications with the media, cooperation with recycling and waste disposal organizations, website and so on. In this project, some quarrels and unhappiness regarding how things went appeared early on, as a contrast to the two previous processes mentioned above. Firstly, there was a heated debate on how much we should participate in, and start, discussions on our Facebook page; aswell as how transparent to the larger community the process of organization should be. There were some of us in the group who were believing in fostering a very co-creative process in social media, without making any distinctions between our organizer group and audience–instead letting the open community be the organizers–while others wanted to organize the work into a much more controlled and centralized way via our group. This 'set-up' can be illustrated in the situation when it was decided that our flea-market event should be made into a tradition, that it could be arranged in any seasons, not only in spring, as implicated by the name of our Facebook page, Kevätsiivous (Spring Cleaning). Thus, we decided to take forward the name Siivouspäivä instead, and designed the visual image and website accordingly, aswell as a new Facebook page of the same name[9].

This led us to the need to discuss what to do with the original Facebook page (Kevätsiivous) with a different name. It could not easily be changed after so many people had already liked it. Some people argued about the importance of a clear and unified image; while others emphasized the importance of the circa 5000 Likes on the Facebook page. Ultimately, we ended up having the both. In discussions that followed some weeks later, I came to realize how this disagreement was partly caused by the way Facebook was designed, and the form it took at that time, early Spring 2012, which I will return to further on in the text.

The debates took their toll on participants, and some openly announced their unhappiness about the way things were going on, and I personally made phone calls to a few of these people, to better understand their needs. I understood that the democratically conducted process with long debates, and sometimes also polls that I used, was experienced as inefficient, chaotic, time-consuming and stressful; while others still would have preferred an even less-organized and more creative and open community-based process. As there were more people in favor of a more controlled, and restricted way of working, I decided to change my course: To give up the debates and polls, keep my own messages brief, and let people in charge of various areas work more independently and make their own decisions. Some people, at this stage, left the group, as it was no longer matching their interests.

Lessons learned: Pleasures and stresses of co-creativity

For me, the most attractive element in these three stories has been the creativity, or co-creativity, involved. It is important to acknowledge, that in this case, I use the term creativity not as a synonym for production, and co-creativity not just as a synonym for merely producing something collectively, but creativity as an event when something truly new emerges, in this case, out of a collective process. Thus, anything pre-determined, controlled and standard, cannot, from this point of view, be creative. In this respect, the processes I describe are not merely producing something collectively, but rather engaging with a creative social process which does not always need to have productive goals. I compare the collective creativity that took place in the beginning of all the three cases, and especially in Refugee Hospitality Club, with what can happen when painting art. The paints and the canvas, as well as my body, all have a character on their own, something not controlled by my conscious mind; and when they meet each other, unexpected, often beautiful–and always interesting–effects take place. This process is very pleasant, as wonderful things appear without much of an effort, as if by themselves, miraculously. At the same time, it can also lead to chaotic outcomes and feelings, to an endlessly changing image. Here one needs to have the skills to also step back and look at the piece from distance, as well as to apply some more conscious evaluation, and control, to the process.

Similarly, I have experienced social media–or all of the social realms, actually–as a collection of creative material, including people, thoughts, symbols, ideas, social spaces and so on, which can meet each other, and cause a co-creative process. Creations emerge without any one single person in control; they emerge without duty, heavy effort, or organizational structures, and often without financial resources.

In all of the three cases, some unhappiness arose eventually. In RHC, we did not run into emotional arguments, but rather there was some longing for the energetic beginnings, and disappointment as the energy was fading away. It seemed that, after the initial flow, the wave–something characteristic for the current informational milieu as described by Tiziana Terranova–the effort needed to produce things grew somewhat harder. Even though people were still highly motivated to work with RHC, for example the artists who held art workshops in the reception centres, they would have needed some financial compensation to match the energy and time resources they were committing. We, apparently, run into the problem of free labour, central for the economy of the Internet, but also for this period of late-Capitalism, with its affect and culture traded more generally. The people involved were not young adults or students anymore, able to contribute long volunteer hours into something, but instead many were professionals in the fields of work that they also put into RHC. The period of free labour could only last for so long.

I examined some options for applying for funding from various organizations, foundations and municipalities, and even though RHC's focus and theme (asylum seekers, dialogue, locality etc.) would have fitted well many of the requirements, all of the funding schemes would have required implementing a carefully planned set of activities. In RHC, everyone involved had experienced and respected the creativity we had managed to turn on, so the kind of direction which planned far ahead without maintaining spontaneity did not interest us. We are still discussing, however, whether or not RHC as a more traditional organization would be a needed and necessary addition to the local non-governmental organization (NGO) field; and whether that road would be valuable, even if it meant giving up the creativity of actions. Obviously, the solution would be to combine these two approaches, creating a formal structure, and an open and creative community.

Due to the inflexibility of public funding, there is a plan to start fund-raising via both crowd-funding approaches and sponsor-donations. In terms of how the funds would be used, I have emphasized the original idea of RHC as an open network, where anyone can initiate and lead projects. Therefore, the funds should likewise be pointed to emerging projects, and not to any persons representing the

RHC. I designed a type of a grant system, where all funds raised by RHC would be subjected to an open call for projects, and then, in an open poll, the best would be selected. Using this system, we could keep supporting collective creativity, and the emergence of the unexpected; including unforeseen ways of RHC projects to link to other social flows taking place at each time, in each moment.

The ultimate question, of course, is whether it has to last at all. As I see it, RHC's main outcome was its success in raising awareness of a fruitful and positive way to think about locally-residing asylum seekers, and immigrants more broadly. Most importantly, I note, is the way RHC articulated the reality that there were/are a great number of people in Punavuori neighbourhood, and elsewhere, who welcome the asylum seekers, as well as other immigrants, into our neighbourhood and territory. From this point of view, RHC has functioned as an activity-based media campaign, which is valuable in its own right. I personally would be ready to let go of RHC, or let it rest until it might be needed again. So far, despite these thoughts, there has always appeared support for keeping RHC alive.

Contrary to the points of dissatisfaction of RHC, unhappiness in both MCD and Siivouspäivä (Cleaning Day) arose precisely because often much co-creativity, not the lack of it. In the case of Siivouspäivä, the discomfort threatened to halt the whole process of creating the event together. As the initiator of the whole concept, and thus the person responsible for the outcome, although totally unable and unwilling to produce the event on my own, I became very concerned about the signs of stress. I therefore made a round of phone calls to better understand what exactly caused the stress. It turned out that it was, basically, the nature of Internet discussions itself: the long and emotional debates on each issue, which simply took from the participants too much time, and created too much emotional stress. I realized that many Internet-based processes, even though they seem to happen effortlessly, actually can demand a lot of time and energy.

Another source of argument and discomfort has been the different backgrounds and motivations from different people to participate. Clearly, in each of the three cases my role was mainly to throw an idea out onto the social media space, and the people who then grasped it were the actual producers of the social and cultural processes that followed. For this reason I have not seen it as realistic or useful to rigidly keep to my original vision, but have let the process form and change according to the motivations of the people who make things happen. In the three cases that I presented above, I think that those underlying motivations are, in fact, the main motor for this type of co-creative formations to take place. It is as if I open up a new, yet empty space, which provides for different people, moving in their own directions, a shortcut to where they were going, or maybe indeed an acceleration of speed. The creativity emerges when these different movements tie into each other and form something new. In fact, the idea of movement resonates well with the co-creative processes I have experienced and described above: Both a central characteristic of the Internet as whole, a constellation that both sustains turbulent movements of information, affects, ideas and so on but also continuously changing its own shape along with the movements; as well as the sociological concept of social movement and development.

Lessons learned: Everyday social movements

Gift economy, peer-to-peer production, or perhaps, most accurately, wildfire activities as described by Yrjö Engeström[10], are all names of concepts which could describe the events that I was part of. The main framework could be said to be the digital economy/culture, the new globally-connected Internet environment, where much of the production requires no more investment than human creativity, communication and cognition, and is, thus, immaterial, and potentially abundant. However, my experiences are more in line with Engeström's wildfire activities that date and spread far beyond Internet, onto the streets of skateboarders, to the concrete and corporeal activities of rescue-work volunteers, or to the nature of the bird-watchers.

In the cases of all three examples I described above, I certainly would not have become active were it not for the Internet, and Facebook. Facebook has worked for me as the key communication device, where diverse groups of people have been able to join together in action so easily. At the same time, most of the outcomes involve the use of tangible materials and objects, such as paints and used clothes in the case of Multicoloured Dreams project, with events involving people on the city streets, or inside the asylum seeker's reception centres doing something together. We did not produce anything absolutely immaterial and potentially abundant, except for our own willingness to give and serve. It should also be mentioned, that contrary to the iconic peer-to-peer producer, the free software developer, or the youngish male, the processes I have begun have involved more women than men, more often in their middle age, than in their twenties and thirties. Furthermore, the content of production has been strongly social and cultural, rather than technical.

While there are many useful concepts to frame the above cases, my own background in social sciences offers another direction beyond the digital realm–as mentioned above–to social movements. All three cases referred to can be understood as small-scale social movements, on the basis of several characteristics. First, while I did not realize it in the beginning, I later understood that they all related to current social issues that maybe witnessed in Helsinki and beyond, and thus, were not caused by me or the active group, but were already 'out there'. My actions, and the groups forming around them, provided a space to articulate emotions and positions, aswell as a medium with which to promote social and cultural change.

For the Refugee Hospitality Club, the social issue related to was the rising anti-immigrant movement in Finland, and RHC opened a channel for some kind of counter-movement to this. For the Multicoloured Dreams project, there was a background of years of zero tolerance for street art in Helsinki, and Multicoloured Dreams represented a new movement for street art, as well as a more tolerant city government. In regards to Siivouspäiva (Cleaning Day), a driving impetus in it's appreciate seems to be the tiredness of urban people with too strict and inflexible regulations in Finland and in Helsinki towards all kinds of cultural and social activities. Siivouspäivä can hence be seen as grassroots leverage towards liberation from regulated behaviour (at least temporarily), following the event innovation of Ravintolapäivä (The Restaurant Day)[11], which also started as a Facebook campaign and advocates and encourages informal permission for anyone to set-up a restaurant for a day, without seeking any kind of permissions for it.

Secondly, social movement researchers Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, but also Pierre Bourdieu, have discussed the way social movements open up new frontiers for artists and other cultural producers, enabling newcomers to establish themselves on the field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993: 57-8, cf. Eyerman and Jamison, 1998). Social movements offer art a social meaning. Refugee Hospitality Club drew a great number of artists to create arts-based processes linked to the objectives of the club. Likewise, Multicoloured Dreams, and Siivouspäivä (Cleaning Day) also have given illustrators, art teachers-in-training, as well as cultural and event producers a possibility to attach one's work to meaningful events and broader audiences. At the same time, social movements also thrive on artists, designers, and their work; and they also need movement intellectuals, or movement leaders. In the case of Siivouspäivä, for example, having a good illustrator to volunteer their time to produce an attractive typography and image for the event gave it additional symbolic value. As for the role of the movement intellectual, or leader, I have myself hesitated in taking such a position, although, especially in RHC, such a role was seemingly expected from myself and Sirkku, with whom I worked in partnership.

While social movements, with their peer-to-peer or gift economy, co-creativity and informal organization, certainly existed before the Internet; in it's current social media -dominated phase with it's flow-like dynamics for communication is very fruitful for the emergence of social movement type events that I have shared in this article. If social movements are trying to move into a social and cultural space, mold the environment as they go, on the Internet, it appears that this can be achieved miraculously easily. Facebook groups and pages, for example, can be set up by anyone, at any time, and they all have the potential to grow into social movements, provided the underlying access, tensions, and motivations are there to initiate them.

Lessons learned: Facebook as a mainstream social media space

A friend of mine once said that Facebook has provided a mainstream Internet space for people who were previously not familiar with open collaborative Internet culture. For me this definitely holds true. While I have found it hard to participate in some processes which use Wiki working spaces, for example, due to syntax and ways of communicating that felt hard to grasp, I have found it easy to implement some of the principles I have learned in literature on digital cultures in the environment of Facebook. On the other hand, people that I have collaborated with in Facebook often perceive the digital environment in very different ways. Importantly, this is not just a clash of information or communication cultures, but Facebook architecture itself is often changing and and often causes some confusion.

To elaborate with example, when discussing with people involved in arranging the Siivouspäivä (Cleaning Day), it turned out that some of us saw our Facebook page as more of a discussion group, while others as our homepage and a public communications channel. As a matter of fact, Facebook pages contain both of these elements. To function well, these elements require a balance keeping the discussion active with frequent posts on the Page wall, while also 'spamming' the news-feeds of people who Like the page. Interestingly, one Siivouspäivä organizer perceived the new discussions by us on the Page wall as marketing communications, and posts to existing discussions as group communication.

In addition, it turned out that our own news-feeds as Facebook users differed greatly from each other. This would be the case also regarding the receivers of our messages, whoever they were. Some people in our group were only members and 'Likers' of groups and institutions whose news they wanted to follow; to the extent that they always went through the whole days Facebook posts by these groups and pages. It transpired that they expected these institutions to keep their communication brief, and to one announcement a day maximum. Others, however, considered their news-feed as an uncontrollable stream of potentially interesting, but hardly important, information. The former type tended to see the Siivouspäivä (Cleaning Day) Facebook page as resembling a static web-page, while the second group engaged it as a continuously changing stream. From the point of view of the chaotic and flowing stream, furthermore, the question of whether it is more important to keep names and images unified, or hang on to the 'Likers', remains just as difficult as before. Both sending a confusing message, as well as losing original 'Likers', risks ruining a communications channel once it exists, and potentially also allowing it to drown in the larger information flow.

Lessons learned: The new connectivity and public services

The significance of Facebook is it's ability to bring a diverse range of people, companies, NGO's and governmental organizations into one social space; a space with many facilities for networking, forming groups, and organizing activities. Whether in Facebook, or some other social media space, this ease of organization ultimately leads to a lesser necessity for actual organizations. Starting projects becomes more efficient–and less risky–with the enhanced communication possibilities lowering transaction costs to the minimum. Ultimately, the whole structure of productive activity changes. People, as evident in my experiences and elsewhere, will want to engage in producing public services, in a self-organized and creative way; albeit maybe not on a long-term basis.

Where does this leave the public sector as a service provider? Should it step back, as in David Cameron's from UK Conservative Party's concept of Big Society? I suggest the opposite: The public sector should benefit from this new information environment, not just as a bystander, but as central supporter of the fertility and social creativity making sure there is a solid ground behind all the ad-hoc creativity. Can Finnish society with it's standard range of social services, find room for co-creative expression that produces not just new arts and culture, but new social processes and services? Ideally, the public services would work in mutually beneficial cooperation with such emerging processes, with resources, ideas and labour flowing in from many directions from potentially many different people.

One obvious and effective way of supporting and shaping the social media -based co-creative processes is through financial support. Crowdfunding platforms have now appeared globally, although not yet so much in Finland, as a central motor for resourcing the apparently self-emergent small social movements that I have described, working to support them move from being solely Facebook -located spaces to other organizational forms. Could the public sector actively participate on an open project presentation and funding forum, or even run such a platform? This should be logical in countries such as Finland, where not only social services, but also arts and culture are, after all, already collectively funded from taxes. This would not be replaced, but redesigned to best accommodate the possibilities offered from the current information environment.

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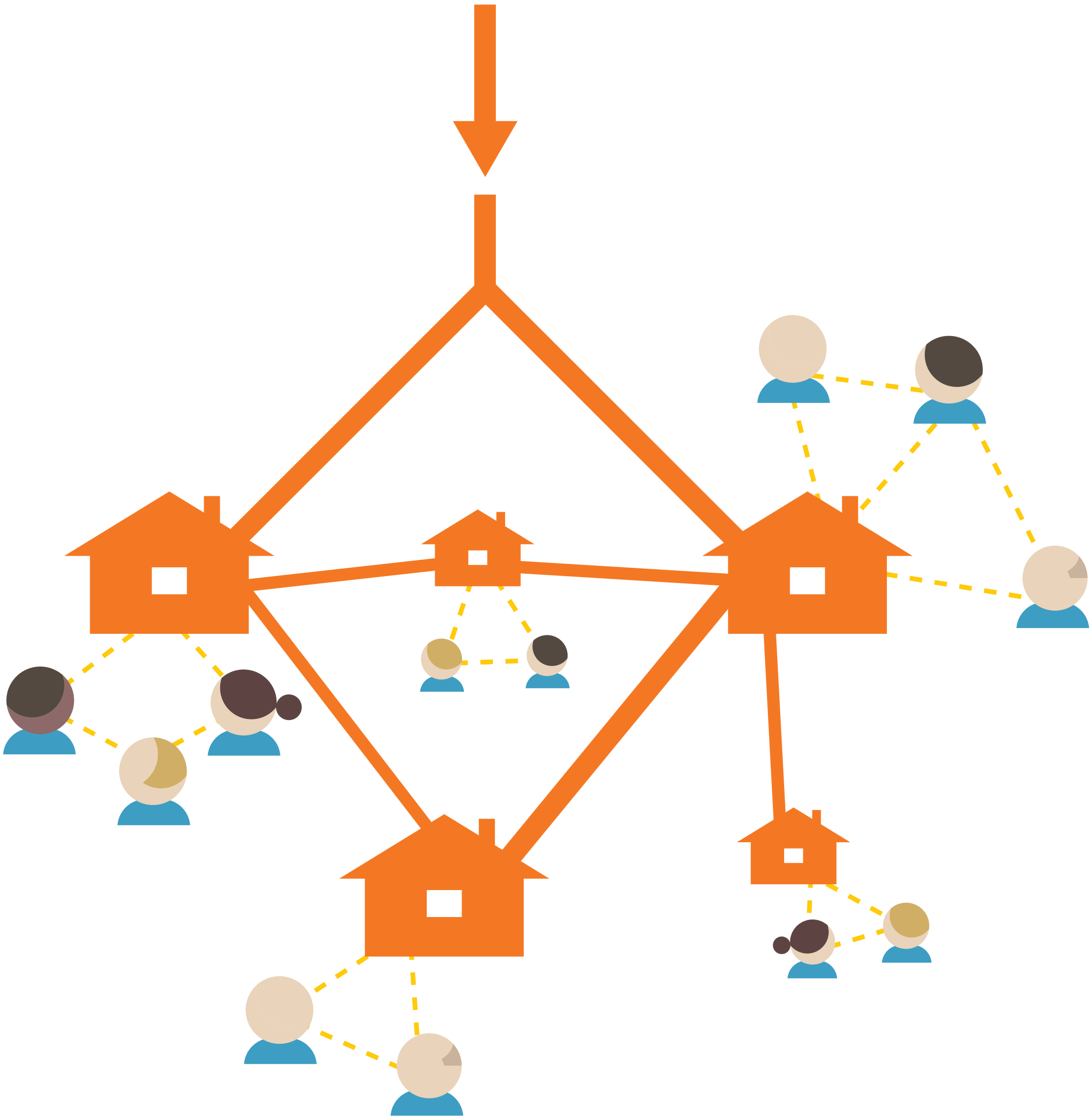

LEARNING PEER-TO-PEER PRACTICES STEP-BY-STEP: 3 CASES FROM SUBURBAN HELSINKI NEIGHBORHOODS

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In this essay, I share three case stories of peer-to-peer practices from the suburbs of Helsinki city. New, communitarian neighbourhood cultures are being crafted at the moment, both by a push of necessity and also the pull of new inspirational communication tools and their endless possibilities. Since spending some eight years as the manager of Helsinki Neighbourhoods Association (Helka)[1], and having done volunteer work in them at the grassroot level for some 10 years before that, I have had a chance to follow the most recent developments from an insightful and experienced vantage point.

Firstly, I share the development process of a network of local neighbourhood web-pages in the Helsinki area, which Helka has coordinated since 1997. In the second case I talk about a conscious attempt to start a neighbourhood stakeholder network, via an EU-funded project CADDIES (2009-2011). The third case is a ground-breaking peer-to-peer example of how a community space was created in a fairly new suburban Helsinki neighbourhood called Arabianranta. I begin with a little background to the state of the art of neighbourhood action in Helsinki. I then present the three cases with some personal reflections. Lastly, I share some conclusions on the peer-to-peer production of services in a neighbourhood context, and a grassroot view on some of its essentials.

Background on neighbourhood actions in Helsinki

Nearly every suburb in Helsinki has its own neighbourhood association, varying in its size and undertakings. All of them could be described as multi-issue community organizations, and most of them work with a wide scope of local themes. These vary from organizing cultural events and writing statements to the city planning office, to even providing some local services, or promoting new social innovations, for example, city-farming. All of them base their operations in citizens' volunteer efforts. Almost all of them are members of Helka network (the number of Helka's member associations is currently 78).

The long tradition of neighbourhood action in Helsinki draws from some form of dissatisfaction to the physical or social surroundings in each particular neighbourhood. Sometimes their activities may be pure counter-actions against an experienced unjustness, for example, to some public servants' decisions or city plans. People are moved, in every sense of the word, if the perceived everyday quality of life, or the familiar home environment, is at stake.

Structures in need of renewal

A painful but, at the same time, inspiring paradigm shift towards less-hierarchical, more collaborative, ways of managing systems and producing services is on its way. People are tired of being merely spectators. They want to become participants and creators of their own lives and environments. What this trend demands of all organizations in our society, is the ability to offer more participation opportunities at all the various decision-making levers, together with clever support structures.

The need for a more participatory democracy is great. The decision-making structures feel stale, and the especially public governance appears to be increasingly unresponsive or bureaucratic for the needs of citizens. People worry about the deteriorating welfare state and the future of their local services. Especially, the anticipated, alarming 'senior citizen bomb' calls for swift new ideas on how to produce welfare to all of us in the near future. The rapidly changing global environment with all its wicked problems, too, shouts out for new and innovative solutions at the local level.

Case 1: Helsinki neighbourhood web-pages

General background

The first case story concerns Helka's long-term project to create a network of local neighbourhood web-pages in Helsinki. The project started in 1997 as a collaboration with the Helsinki University of Technology (HUT; today part of Aalto University). The idea originated from a need, and plan, to collect important local citizen information into folders, which would then be placed in local libraries. There was at that time—and still is—an ample network of local libraries in Helsinki. The idea of local knowledge-building, or place-based knowledge, had been cherished among several enthusiastic activists who have an urge to enhance the development of a proactive neighbourhood.

At the end of 1990's, the Internet was making its gradual breakthrough also in Finland. Quite soon after, the idea of having 'virtual' folders instead of physical ones emerged, and was seized by Helka via a project that was launched together with HUT and The Ministry of Interior Affairs. An enthusiastic and skilled architect, Heli Rantanen, was given the responsibility of the concept design and the gradual implementation of the web-page system.

Users—neighbourhood actors—were consulted in the process from the very beginning. It was realized that they were needed to tune the concept into their particular needs. With the fresh and inspiring possibilities provided by the Internet, the original idea of local information folders was soon expanded and developed into a wider set of functions that the new virtual environment enabled. Together with users some basic features were settled upon. The neighbourhood pages were agreed to contain at least informative, communicative, conversational, linking and manifesting qualities, plus features that would support the organizational needs of the neighbourhood associations. It should be remembered here that the possibilities of the Internet in those days were far from what they are today, and social media was but a blink in the eye of its creators.

Choices within boundaries

Helka has remained the coordinator of the neighbourhood web-page system from the beginning, providing the web platform together with basic training and technical support to users (i.e. local moderators). The contents of the neighbourhood web-pages have always been provided by the local users (i.e. neighbourhood activists). The first pilot-version of the local web-pages was based on the old FTP system, which was quite tedious for laypersons to use, aswell as to provide technical support to them.

As the first open-source content-management systems (CMS) were introduced, it was obvious that they would provide a great, collaboration-based solution for the developing communicational needs of the neighbourhood associations and activists. The first CMS Helka tailored to its needs and introduced at the local level was the Mambo system. It was soon followed by its successor, Joomla[2]. The benefits of an open-source publishing system for an NGO like Helka were obvious: Independence from reliance on a commercial provider, and the general cost-effectivity of free, open-source software (the worldwide peer-community did the development work).

Helka's human IT-resources have remained to this day small in the form of one full-time employed person, paid for by a yearly grant from the City of Helsinki. The need for more personnel has existed from the beginning of the programme. However, the City of Helsinki has not yet been able to fully see the system for what it is: A very cost effective local communication platform; a peer-to-peer service in the city neighbourhoods. Helka has so far been able to draw only occasional project funding, from varied sources, to create additional small applications for the system. This has meant we had to settle for an extremely slow development path. In this respect, the voluntary peer-production of the local web-page content has actually been a principle aswell as a necessity from early on in the process.

Scarcity, resilience and new possibilities

The basic model of the local neighbourhood web-pages, currently, is based on a team of voluntary local moderators. The local moderators and content-providers are trained by Helka. Those of them who feel up to it, can provide training for peers in their own respective neighbourhoods. Apart from the overall development of the system, Helka provides basic help-desk services, with an occasional peer-to-peer gathering, to toss around challenges and new development ideas.

In a normal case there are 1-5 local moderators per neighbourhood, who collaboratively moderate and provide the content for the pages. Normally there is one or two 'administrators' and from one to several other 'content providers' (with slightly different user rights). Until the most recent years, many neighbourhoods struggled with only one moderator, which has obviously been quite unsustainable. The challenge to create neighbourhood content-provider teams has remained somewhat unresolved until recent years.

The outburst and rise of social media has provided an unforeseen and welcomed source of attracting new volunteers changing the potential of online activity on local topics.

This new opportunity to widen the local network of content-providers still has, however, some obstacles, especially in the neighbourhoods dominated with the 'old' neighbourhood organizing tradition and senior activists. Often the older generation is lacking in basic IT-skills, not to mention the ability to 'tap into' the social media environments. So, for those seniors who have both time and urge to still participate locally, there could be stronger public supportive measures to bridge the digital divide.

A look into the horizon

Helka's vision has been to create a growing network of local voluntary content-providers capable of autonomous content production,and collaborative governance of the local web-pages (platforms). Promising developments towards this direction have been seen lately. Previously, the control of the contents was more strictly tied to user-rights, it is now taking on a more collaborative mode, based on social agreement rather than user-rights. It is exciting to see that people are learning new collaborative practices. A clear set of basic guidelines and principles (provided by Helka) will still be needed for a long time. Social media (Facebook in particular) in combination with neighbourhood web-pages, is full of promise, with its capabilities to engage people in constructive local dialogue and action. They are much needed positive reinforcement and chest of possibilities for the local activists' 'toolbox'. Meanwhile, the chat module on the neighbourhood web-pages has had its fair share of misuse, as does any other anonymous chat platform. But it still serves as a welcomed medium to discuss local issues for those who are not yet so familiar with social media. On the basis of experience in the project, to be able to create a truly productive dialogue, though, it seems that people need to come out with their faces and names.

To conclude,, and to make comment on a potential next step for Helka project, could be to propose the piloting of further peer-to-peer development of the current system, together with the moderators or other interested parties. Strengthening basic communication with content providers is also recognized as necessary. We need to engage ourselves more consciously, and invest more time in our own peer-to-peer community, to tap into its full potential. There is also peer-potential between neighbourhoods: the more IT-skilled neighbourhoods could lead the way, and offer their experience and peer-support to the not-there-yet neighbourhoods who are willing to receive, listen and learn.

Case 2: Weaving a collaborative neighbourhood network in Pohjois-Haaga

Backgound

The second case story comes from a particular neighbourhood, the northwest suburb of Helsinki called Pohjois-Haaga. A lively neighbourhood network was created there with the help of Helka's CADDIES-project[3]. In CADDIES, creating neighbourhood visions and action plans were piloted in three suburbs of Helsinki, from 2009 to 2011. Pohjois-Haaga was mainly built in the 1950's, and is a calm old suburb with no big problems, although it is marked by a slumbering image—not too much is happening there. Helka chose this area as a pilot neighbourhood for CADDIES because the city planning department of Helsinki was launching in this area its own Suburban Renaissance project[4]. The main goal in Suburban Renaissance was to create "strategic city planning" by looking for suitable building ground for new housing among the existing suburban city structure, and by increasing the amount of inhabitants hopefully boost the withering local services. Good synergy was hoped to be achieved by choosing the same areas as the city had targeted.

The idea of combining accelerating grassroot action with the Suburban Renaissance project was inspiring. It was soon realized, though, that the city's project was actually nothing more than city-planning-as-usual. The 'participatory' events organized by the city planning department in the area were a disappointment to the residents. Clearly there was no real effort to engage the residents in a true dialogue from the part of the city-planners. This upset the budding local network of activists, who had hoped for a much more reciprocal approach. Dissatisfaction as a traditional driving force, again, may have played a part in pushing the residents forwards in creating their own visions and plans later on.

It could be assumed that the city-planning department itself has sort of renounced the Suburban Renaissance as an approach since there has been a somewhat silence about it lately. Maybe the operational culture of a traditional city office just couldn't yet live up to the expectations and demands of the budding empowerment of the residents. But the network of neighbourhood actors, created in the CADDIES-project, is alive and active. Out of a rather scattered bunch of local actors and little co-operation, a coordinated network of local actors has emerged, organizing several neighbourhood events a year, and have a goal to establish a community space in the area.

Weaving the neighbourhood network

The task of creating a peer-to-peer network in a neighbourhood context needs coordination and support in the beginning. This was the case in Pohjois-Haaga, too. I shall start by illustrating how the projects acronym came about. It was drawn from the EU-funded project's full name, "Creating Advanced Dynamic and Developed Neighbourhoods together with Inhabitants", and it refers clearly, as the name suggests, to the sport of golf! 'Caddies' are people, who carry the clubs of the golf-players—and maybe even find the best clubs and hitting spots for them—but who never play the game for them. The playing should always be left to the players themselves. CADDIES described, in a great way, what the project aimed to accomplish: To test and collect methods and principles, for empowering local actors to engage actively in the development of their own neighbourhoods, and supporting them to find out their own questions and answers. In-other-words, to play their own game.

Helka's project 'caddie', Terhi Vilkman, started by contacting the known key-actors in the neighbourhood area of Pohjois-Haaga. With each contact and meeting, new contacts were found, and the process took off. All kinds of local actors were contacted from associations, organizations, and clubs, to include even various city officers in charge of this particular neighbourhood. Local companies and entrepreneurs were also targeted. Other projects doing work in the area were sought after and offered co-operation. Participation possibilities were offered widely to anyone interested. It is noted that many introductory events and presentations were needed before the network really started to get going.

Furthermore, it was realized that constant communication was at the core of weaving a network, so IT-tools were a basic necessity in this purpose. Social media was not yet used, instead, mainly e-mail lists and contacting others through phone. Social media was still awaiting its breakthrough as a 'neighbourhood media' at the time around 2009-2010. Multi-channel communication was needed to attract all the different stakeholders to take part. Helka could provide Pohjois-Haaga with the neighbourhood web platform that gave the efforts the necessary support and visibility[5]. In time, a multi-actor neighbourhood network was created that could then be 'tapped' for neighbourhood vision-crafting and later on, for the next steps in the process. The project spurred up a lot of self-initiated local activity after the network grew wider, and local actors were taken through a process of finding and deciding upon common goals for their neighbourhood.

Caddies are needed to boost peer to peer processes

A person whom we called 'caddie' in our project—a person who could also be described as a 'change agent' or a 'community leader'—seems to be vital for these kinds of processes, at least when starting from scratch. If nobody is consciously committing to this role, then it is likely the results tend to be modest. So, if peer networks—in this case the peers being the people who share a common interest to work for the good of the local community—are to be established in real living environments, some coordination of the process is definitely needed. The 'caddie' can be anybody in the local neighbourhood: a project worker, a neighbourhood association activist, a paid community worker by the city.

In addition, it is vital, in the building stage of the network, that there exists an identifiable node, such as a person or a small group (sometimes the neighbourhood association), until the network itself becomes empowered enough to support its own processes and operations. The crucial thing for a 'caddie' is to step down at some point, and make sure before this, that the network has established steady communication practises and a system of shared responsibilities necessary to manage itself. In a project setting, the point of taking shared responsibility of the community comes naturally, towards the end of the project's duration.

This happened also in the CADDIES project, but as can be expected, not without causing some disappointment in the network. Especially in voluntary efforts and networks, hierarchy should already be a thing of the past. Yet it seems to be a very deeply rooted human quality—to be led—instead of voluntarily taking the lead oneself, or at least take on a little share of the leading. I personally think that this very commitment is in the heart of what is called empowerment, and could prove to be a crucial success factor for peer-to-peer processes. True empowerment is a learning process for our whole culture that will still take time. It remains to be seen how the Pohjois-Haaga neighbourhood network carries on in the coming years. In the best case, it may be imagined that the network may serve as a platform of local peer-to-peer production of services.

Case 3: How to create and run a neighbourhood space – peer-to-peer

Background

Only a few years old, Kääntöpaikka (Turning/changing-place) is a community-space created and run by peer-to-peer efforts, and is an exciting pioneer example on how the city neighbourhoods could look like in the future[6]. The community-space came to life in 2009, through the tenacious efforts of Arabianranta-Toukola-Vanhakaupunki Neighbourhood Association (Artova)[7]. Artova has been able to activate the residents into communitarian action and peer-to-peer production in an outstanding manner, aswell as doing so in a very short period of time. In Artova, well-being is produced by and for the people in the area.

The Artova area forms a 'borough', for lack of a better word, in the immediate vicinity of the eastern shoreline of inner-city Helsinki. The area consists of three smaller neighbourhoods, each of which have their own particular 'townscapes' and identities. "Vanhakaupunki" (literally, Old Town, in English) is the area where the City of Helsinki was founded in 1550, and where the river Vantaa runs into the sea. "Toukola" area is an old working-class cottage area existing from the beginning of 1900, and these days turned into a villa area. Lastly, "Arabianranta" area is a new suburb, approximately 10 years old, with modern blocks of flats consisting of mixed ownership models (condominiums and rental housing). The new residential blocks were equipped with built-in optical fiber networks, providing free Internet connections for every flat. In addition, there is an outstanding concentration of cultural educational establishments in the area, including the Helsinki Metropolia University of Applied Sciences, Helsinki Pop & Jazz Conservatory and the Aalto University of Arts, Design and Architecture, as well as numerous design and IT companies.

How the community space Kääntöpaikka came into being

The story of peer-governed community house Kääntöpaikka in Arabianranta is a successful one of residents resilience, and social innovation. It all began with a problem – as many success stories do. The Arabianranta suburb was almost completely built around 2009, when most of the residential blocks had been constructed and inhabited. The local community development company in the area had wavered in establishing the statutory community space it should have provided for the residents. Namely, in the more recently-built suburban areas in Helsinki, such as the aforementioned Arabianranta, there is a pre-agreed system which requires every rental household to pay a tiny allocation of their monthly rent to cover the running costs of a community space in the area. The community development company somehow didn't get round to providing the space, so the residents joined together and demanded it. They had found a suitable empty office space in the area, and indicated as a proposition to the responsible company. So, from this protest, the residents finally got their community space, but notably, only the walls of it. All the content, and even management, of the new space had to be planned together from the scratch.

In the case of Kääntöpaikka we can, maybe for the first time considering our previous examples, speak of actual peer-to-peer production, with the Artova Neighbourhood Association taking a role in coordinatingthe initiation process. They decided to separate the content production of the newly-established common-space from the governing of it. Hence, two 'managing' teams were created: One that would only take charge of creating content and program for the house; and another whose sole function would be the governing of the place, for example, taking care of the maintenance and technical aspects of running the community-space. Both teams were to be run voluntarily.

The program and content-production team was easy to get going. Many people volunteered to take part in this aspect of the newborn community space from the start. From the official opening of the space, September 2009 onwards, the space offered a large variety of activities, courses, and events for neighbours and peers to take part in. Most of the events seemed to be targeted for children, youngsters, or young adults with families. In fact, there was such an overload of program that a search for an additional space was launched. The second community-space had a slightly different concept and target group, namely the seniors living in the area. As I write this, the actions of a new community space, in an old wooden building in the area called "Bokvillan" are being initiated.

The management team was a bit harder to convene, but volunteers were found and the team got going. As there were a growing programme of activities offered, and things to be taken care of, there emerged a clear need for a paid person to handle all the paperwork and other coordination work in the community space. Artova applied for money from the social department of Helsinki for this purpose and successfully received it, after demonstrating already such a great effort from their own part.

The latest development, as I write this, has been an emerging need to clarify and simplify the whole management structure of the now two community spaces in the area. Apparently the function of the 'governing team' has been rather indistinct from the 'program team' and 'the community development company' (which is still in charge of the physical and technical maintenance of Kääntöpaikka). So, as a solution, a not-for-profit registered association is being founded to take care of the overall program and management functions of the community spaces in the area.

The peer-to-peer path in the Artova area has not always been smooth, but people are learning fast. What can be identified, even in the case of Kääntöpaikka, is a need for a node, and a change-agent. In this case The Artova Neighbourhood Association has been the node and it's chair of the board, Janne Kareinen, has held a key role of a change agent. The peer-based teams soon took over the managing responsibilities and the core group (Artova) could concentrate its efforts on other initiatives. As the level of any organization of an operation rises, we can witness a clear need for organizational structures of some kind. This applies even for peer-to-peer production. Where money and resources are shifted and concentrated, there will always remain hundreds of decision to be made, so at least some board meetings are still needed for some time to come.

Peer production as a strategic approach for a striving neighbourhood

A closer look into Artova area's neighbourhood association is necessary in order to understand where the exceptional positive spiral of self-organizing stems from in this neighbourhood.

The approach of Artova has been unusually innovative. Some of it is due to the fact that the younger generations literally 'took over' the board of the old neighbourhood association in the area, around 200[8]. All in all, Artova has developed a strategic approach that builds on peer-to-peer thinking and empowerment. Helka's free neighbourhood web platform (together with Facebook) is in active use in the area, and Artova has even started their own peer-produced local newspaper.

Furthermore, Artova's attitude towards ideas and their development is rather 'hands on'. Once a new idea has been prioritized in one of the ongoing 'idea sessions' that regularly take place, there is an effort to gather a wider action group for its implementation. In the beginning, the group needs only one (self-appointed) person who will be the focal point, and take the responsibility of convening the group for the first meeting. All who have an interest to join this particular action group may do so. The invitation is done in an inspiring and ideological manner, as a chance to "learn new skills" or "take part in a communitarian effort and inspiring group for a thriving neighbourhood". And, indeed, people appear to answer these invitations and calls. A sort of 'town village movement' has been set in motion and more and more people want to be part of it. In this way, the voluntary work is promoted as "something to enjoy", not something to be done out of obligation.

Another core principle in the Artova operations is the delegation of tasks. Everyone is invited to do only a small amount of tasks, and when it suits them (instead of practicing the old-fashioned approach where very few activists do way too much for much too long,and suffered the inevitable “activist burn-out syndrome”). Artova’s approach has been innovative and produced tangible results. These principles are not yet too widely known or implemented by other neighbourhood associations.

Multi-channel communications (local web-page, social media, flyers, local newspaper, the community space) are all utilized industriously and creatively. Internet visibility is vital for getting new people to join and stay committed. Transparency is also a characteristic of Artova’s operations. New projects and ideas are openly presented in the neighbourhood web-pages and social media, for everyone to comment, contribute or take part in. So far, it has proved to be an escalating positive spiral of actions and projects.

To summarize, this section, the operations of Artova have broadened in an unforeseen manner, in just a couple of years. Artova has been able to fuse ‘the new’ (IT-tools, co-operational individualism, peer-to-peer approaches) with some of ‘the old’ (good solid association tradition), and have shown that even the busiest young families are willing to devote their time and efforts for their own neighbourhood, when the opportunities are offered to them in a creative and inspiring manner. Creativity flourishes in the many peer-produced community events that the neighbourhood hosts every year. These events are a creative fusion of community building, art & design, and sustainability issues. They brand the area as one of the most interesting suburbs in Helsinki at the moment, no need to mention what they themselves contribute to the community spirit of the neighbourhood.

Conclusions

From board meetings to action groups and back

The operational culture in voluntary organizations can’t escape the great shift and structural renewal shortly addressed in the beginning of this essay. As for neighbourhood associations, they still rely strongly on the traditional ‘paid memberships’, through which people participate in them. Sitting in endless board meetings “where only a few people speak, where they argue on money and where no action happens”, as one leading Irish community building expert recently quite poignantly put it, is hardly tempting for modern idealists willing to commit a little bit of their precious time. Associations that fail to offer these new, self-organized kinds of action opportunities (especially in a neighbourhood context) may be on a path to gradual withering.

Furthermore, there seems to be a wide ’generation gap’ in the field. The older activist generation (60+) seems to have great challenges in implementing, or even understanding the new, less-hierarchical and more-flexible operating modes. In turn, the younger generations shun any kind of hierarchy and ’just do it’: They toss around ideas, arrange meetings, organize neighbourhood events and block parties, or thematic pop-up events just by tapping into the endless peer-to-peer networks, via social media, mainly Facebook. The older generation is also, understandably, perplexed by the sheer speed, and force of all these new developments and digital tools.

We have been witnessing in a little over a years time a wave of spontaneous 'town village movements', especially in the downtown areas of Helsinki, such as Kallio-liike[8] or Töölö-liike[9]. These initiatives have been started by individuals who have first launched a Facebook neighbourhood discussion group, and after the group has gained in size and inspiration, shifted into meeting face-to-face. The neighbourhood Facebook sites have been able to gather hundreds—even thousands—of members in a very short period of time. The Facebook platform has enabled people to discuss neighbourhood issues and develop ideas in an inspiring and constructive way, without fully committing involvement. Large neighbourhood block parties have already been arranged by the movements, for example in the downtown Punavuori neighbourhood[10], and some have even taken up tackling some local social challenges collaboratively.

The amounts of 'members' these local Facebook groups have been able to gather, in such short time, reveals a strong need for community-building bubbling under the surface in at least some neighbourhoods. It is quite contradictory in fact, to the feedback from Helka members over the years: numerous complaints of "how hard it is to get the younger generations interested in neighbourhood action". How the inter-generational relations develop between the new movements, and the more traditional neighbourhood associations, remains to be seen. It is vital that the traditional neighbourhood associations open their doors to the younger generations of activists, and engage their energy and ideas into their scope of activities. We in Helka should also be able to give some guidelines for an intelligent 'integration' process, as soon as we are able to summon up the resources.

In my opinion, the budding peer-production cultures that these new neighbourhood movements represent do need the best of both worlds. They need both long-term commitment and some organizational structures, but also the inspiring creativity, flexibility, and the power of shared responsibility of larger crowds.

We have witnessed a couple of inspirational examples in Helsinki neighbourhoods so far, combining of the old and new action traditions' in an innovative way, for example the aforementioned Artova area, but also Roihuvuori area in Eastern Helsinki. The local synergy effects have been strong, and this approach feels promising in many ways. What is still needed, in my opinion, is to learn how to engage into even more beneficial and trusting partnerships, including with local public governance and local businesses. I believe that this development, too, will manifest in time.

The way into the future

We live in a different world than we used to. New solutions are needed in neighbourhoods to engage people as peers in local service production, because we can argue that people in neighbourhoods will be the main producers of services in the future.

From the position of my work role as the Manager of Helka, as I have stated above, it is essential for neighbourhood associations to welcome the modern forms, tools and movements of neighbourhood activism. There certainly is a lot of dusting to do, sweeping away some outdated practices and stale 'bureaucracy' in our association tradition. On the other hand, the generations active in social media could take a more active role in sharing their experience and learning, facilitating the older generations to the secrets and possibilities of the new virtual meeting and dialogue environments. New innovations are not likely to be born within circles of like-minded people, but from a creative collision of many differing viewpoints.

Totally new qualities are demanded of us in service production in the future. Every part of society must learn how to take its small share of responsibility, and trust the sometimes chaotic process at hand. There are many questions: How to manage all the roles and responsibilities? How to build trusting partnerships with people from such different operational cultures (3rd sector, cultural production, business, public governance)? How to manage the shared ownerships of processes? Indeed, how to manage even your own actions in the midst of it all? Whenever the level of organization rises, all kinds of challenges emerge, and managing them becomes more complicated. Even peer-production will need some managing structures in the years to come.

What we need are all the trust-building practices and tools imaginable, old and new. People don't want more information. They have a growing need of being part of communities. When they realize some nice change or event in their neighbourhood, they might turn to their peers asking: Who has done this and are they like me? The new peer-to-peer cultures have the potential to create a spirit of tolerance and inclusion. They welcome everyone by asking "what would you like to contribute?". Instead of responding with motivation, it may be answered: To enhance inspiration! In the context of provoking action, this might be a good rule of thumb. Inspiration taps into pure enthusiasm as a driving force, whereas motivation has a slight connotation of some extra push needed to get things going.

”The Artova model”, as Artova itself likes to call its operational culture, can be seen as one promising way into the future. It focuses on the strengths of the area and people as the main resource. It is inclusive, and always asks ”what would you like to do—what would you want to contribute?”, instead of ”what would you like us to do (for you)?”. It seeks to share tasks, over and over again. In this way volunteers don't end up burnt-out doing too much themselves, or that those tasks are done by only a handful of people. As in the Artova area, new ideas should not be undertaken, if no local stakeholders can be found to partner up in their realization. This simple set of ’rules’ could be a good finishing point: It is tangible, and could be used as a very empowering approach to develop any community.

In neighbourhoods, a positive spiral may be started when people feel inspired about their neighbourhood. At the end of the day, how they feel about their neighbourhood or their community, defines a lot of what they are willing to contribute to it's development themselves. We may be right now passing the times when we cried for help from the institutions. I think it is about time we took our future into our own hands. With a little help from our peers!

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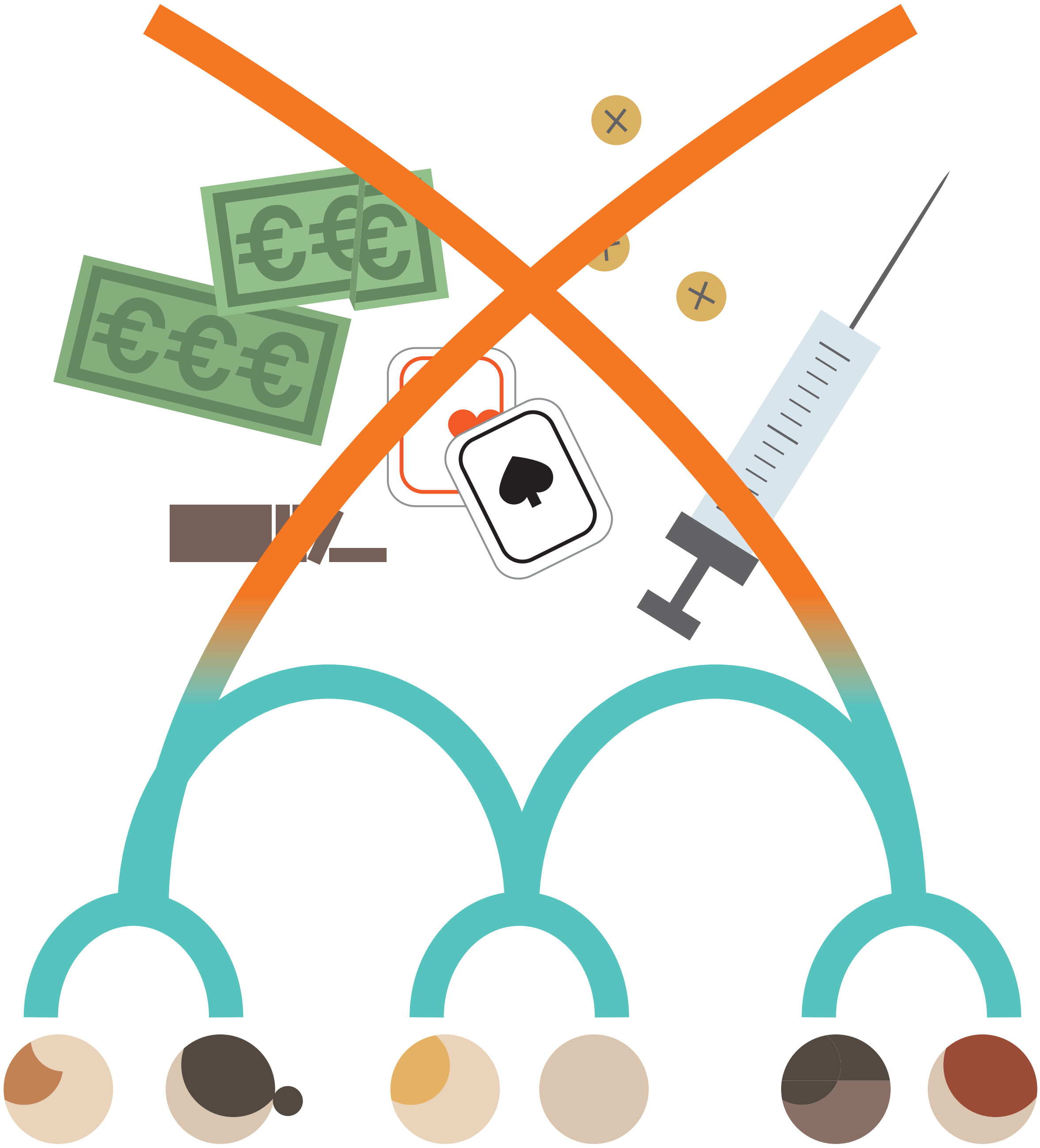

FROM MARGIN TO MARGIN: PEER-BASED PUBLIC SERVICES IN THE ADDICTION TREATMENT FIELD

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The recent 'fashion' of involving citizens in the design and production of public services can be regarded as positive in many ways: Citizens, consumers, clients or patients people have real-life experiences and expectations on how services do and should work. In addition to making good use of service-user expertise, getting the users to work as co-producers can save money and be cost-effective. The Internet and other new media have provided peer- and co-production approaches with new possibilities.

There are, however, differences between sectors of public services when it comes to the pre-supposed ability and rights of users to take expert roles and responsibilities, with regards to peer-based service production. In the article we describe two peer-based public services in which people labeled as addicts in our society act as the content-providers and service producers. Internet-based anonymous services are especially suitable for groups of people who can be characterized as hidden populations. In particular, drug users are hidden primarily due to the juridical status of their behaviour—according to the law they are labeled also as criminals—and problem gamblers are also hidden largely due to the newness of gambling problems as a social problem in our society, where it is not yet well recognized as a serious condition that calls for measures.

During the last 15 years, A-Clinic Foundation[1] the major service provider in the field of addiction in Finland, has put much emphasis on developing new media-based services for addiction work. The striving idea has been to provide better access to preventive and harm reducing information, create new user interfaces for support and advice, and to lower thresholds to the "traditional" face-to-face treatment services. In what follows, we describe two publicly funded peer-based services that are part of this service development. On both services, we briefly describe the background, major functions, and use of these services: 1) a peer-based discussion forum called Sauna for users of illicit drugs, and 2) Power Circle, a SMS and net service for people trying to cope with their excessive gambling habits.

We end the article with a brief discussion addressing how reliance on peer-based production of services is also a double-edged sword: It has many positive sides, but relying too much on peer-based services can have also negative effects on the availability and quality of services for people coping with addiction problems.

Case 1. Sauna: discussing drugs to reduce harms from them

The most popular illegal drug in Finland is cannabis. User percentages are highest in the age group 15 to 34. About 17% of Finns aged 15 to 69 reported that they had tried cannabis at some point in their lives, and 4% within the past year. According to the most recent estimates, 0.6% to 0.7% of the Finnish population aged 15 to 55 are problem drug users. The main problem drug is amphetamine, but in the 2000s also opioids (especially buprenorphine and other medicinal opioids) and other prescription drugs (especially benzodizepines) have become increasingly popular among the problem users (Drug situation in Finland 2011).

Problem use often means intravenous use, i.e. using drugs by injecting them, which again is linked to many serious health risks, especially to HIV and hepatitis infections as well as to increased risk of overdoses. Other drugs than amphetamines and opioids, as well as various ways of using them, include many physical, mental and social risks. These risks can be prevented and reduced, and one effective way to do that is via peer-based information and action.

Addiction Link, Päihdelinkki[2] in Finnish,(is a popular web-service around drugs and alcohol as well as other addictive behaviors. There are nowadays about 82,000 different monthly visitors in the service. The first version of Addiction Link was launched already in 1996. The basic idea is to get people to reflect on their own or their friends', family members' etc. drinking or drug-taking habits; as well as to offer tools for self-assessment and for reducing harms from one's substance use. Addiction Link consists of different sections: information, self-help tools, (anonymous) professional consultation, and importantly, peer-to-peer help and support.

Figure 1. Sauna discussion area

The most popular part of Addiction Link is its drug-related discussion forum Sauna. It is especially meant for drug users. The name refers to Finnish sauna culture: to open and relaxed atmosphere, equality, and respecting other saunagoers, joint rules and etiquette.

The main goal of Sauna is harm reduction. The term refers to a drug policy approach in which the main target of action is drug-related harms and risks, not drug use as such (Tammi 2007). In Sauna the drug users can openly discuss about the pros and cons of drug use, correct wrong information, and get peer-support and assistance from other users. Sauna discussions are valuable information source also for professionals in the field, as the discussions can provide them with new information on latest trends and phenomena in the drug scene. Every now and then, there has also been fixed-term closed peer-discussion areas on a given theme, one, for instance, for pregnant drug-using women.

Over the years, the openness of Sauna discussions has also raised critique. For an outsider, the discussions may first appear as too positive or admiring with regard to illicit drugs. However, when one continues to follow the discussions, he/she will notice how they typically take on harm reducing tones and related messages. Nevertheless, Sauna is continuously monitored as it also has some strict rules: Especially selling and buying drugs is forbidden; as is instructing how to prepare drugs or separate psychoactive ingredients from legal medicines; pushing more harmful ways to use drugs (for example injecting) instead of less harmful ones; giving price information, instructing how to falsify prescriptions, an so forth.

The discussion area is also moderated on a daily basis. The experts (professionals) from the addiction field also actively link useful information to Sauna. In addition to this service, there are various other sections at Addiction Link, including information data bank, various self-tests, and also a possibility for anonymous consultation of treatment professionals.

The Sauna users

In 2011 there were approximately 24,000 visitors every month in Sauna (Taloustutkimus, Web Traffic Monitor). Typically, the visitors were youngsters or young adults (see Figure 2), and both sexes were present quite equally. Most visitors either work or study and live in bigger cities, while less than 10% live in rural areas. One fourth were unemployed at the time of the survey (Koivisto & Halli, 2008).

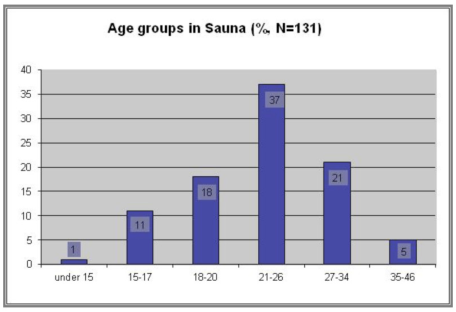

Figure 2. Age of Sauna visitors

It is noted that the Sauna visitors use a lot of drugs and alcohol (Figure 3). Alcohol is the most common substance used, but the usage of cannabis and benzodiazepines is also common. One third of the respondents report to using amphetamine, and one fifth uses buprenorphine or other opioids. Also ecstasy, GHB, GBL, cocaine, mushrooms, LSD, and different prescription drugs are used. Mixed usage of drugs is common (ibid.).

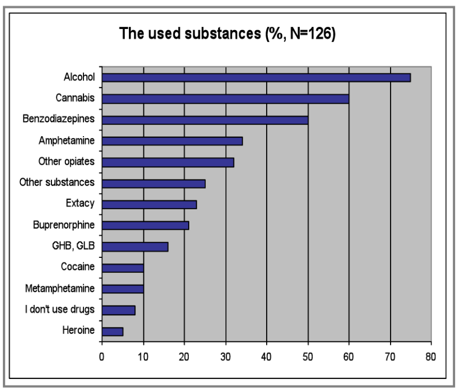

Figure 3. Drugs used

The majority of Sauna visitors report to be so-called 'recreational' or occasional drug users. A bit more than 10% use drugs actively, or on a daily basis. On the other hand, not all Sauna visitors use drugs, with a bit less than 10% telling that they do not use any drugs (ibid.).

The visitors of Sauna discussion forum look for information and advice for various needs. Most visitors are very selective in what they read. Visitors spend approximately less than one hour per week in the forum, but they visit it frequently. The most active group of discussants contribute to Sauna every day. Furthermore, one forth of the visitors reported to visit Sauna about daily, and half of the visitors visit it every week (ibid.).

The most important reason to visit Sauna, according to feedback, is to get peer-advice and information (See Figure 4). The informational need can be either personal, or concern friends' or family members' problems. Other reported reasons for following the discussion include "just for fun" or because they are generally interesting. Avoiding drug-related risks is also a common reason (ibid.). One Sauna user wrote:

"I used to think that mild and medium-strength drugs are relatively safe. After reading other users' stories you notice that many users are not doing well. When you read it from Sauna you think it more seriously than if it was from some drug educator."

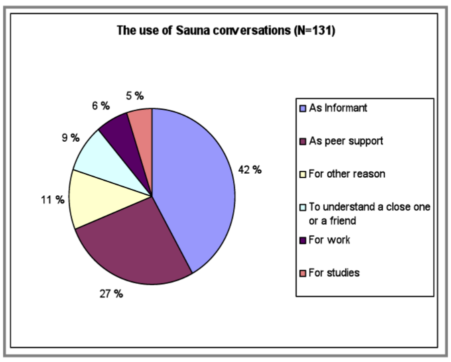

Figure 4. Reasons to use Sauna

Most Sauna forum visitors (about 90%) use also other parts of Addiction link service, including the information bank, self-tests and other discussion groups. The other discussion group for drug users is called the 'Drying room'. Its focus, as the name suggests, is on quitting drug use. The idea is that peer-support is one of the key elements in quitting. Many participants have moved to the Drying Room discussion from the Sauna discussion, and many Sauna-goers also follow these discussions without contributing themselves. Unlike in the Sauna discussion, in the Drying Room forum there is also a professional drug treatment worker taking part in the discussion. It is considered important to provide the users with direct and low-threshold contact to the treatment system, when they are motivated to receive help and support.

Evaluation of Sauna

Open drug discussion, with often very liberal views, easily arouses mixed feelings. On one hand it is good that all sorts of opinions are permitted—and information received from peers is often more credible than information from 'official' sources—but on the other hand there is always the possibility of misinformation. At best, accurate and timely information on risks can save lives. Most Sauna-goers know the rules and principles of Sauna, and act responsibly.

According to the user-study undertaken in 2008, a substantial part of the Sauna-goers has given up some harmful way of using drugs on the basis of peer advice in Sauna. About 40% of respondents told that they had refrained from experiments with a particular substance after discussing about it in Sauna. One of the most positive findings is that 40% of the users reported that they had decreased intravenous use due to Sauna discussions.

Even if peer-based information in Sauna has many positive effects, it also has adverse effects. Learning from other users' experiences can inspire persons to new experiments, and increase drug use. It is noted that one third has tried new substances after learning about them in Sauna. One user reported that "Sauna has given me information on how to recognize dangerous drugs but also encouraged me to experiment with prescription drugs".

During its over 10 years of operation, Sauna has received a lot of both positive and negative feedback. As said, its background philosophy is an approach called 'harm reduction', and the main aim is not to cure but to reduce harms. By enabling open—but moderated—discussion on drug use, as well as increased information about the risks and harms related to use, distributed in a 'street credible' manner, the users get a chance to act in responsible way by sharing their experiences, both positive and negative. At the same time, the professionals in the addiction field benefit from real-time discussions as they get new knowledge and understanding on drug cultures.

Drug use is illegal act in Finland. For this reason, drug users are a hidden population whose problems are difficult to identify and respond to. Open and anonymous discussion on the Internet provides the helping professionals with an important and unique opportunity to learn from, and interact with, these hidden and often marginalized people.

Every now and then it is questioned whether open drug discussions send the 'wrong messages' to youngsters interested in experimenting with drugs. This question is justified, but on the other hand, permitting openness and providing the

Sauna users with a low threshold contact to also other information and services, encourage the users to take a responsible role and build a dialogic relationship with the helping system.

Case 2. Power Circle – peer-based support for problem gamblers

In international comparisons, we Finns gamble a lot. Some gamblers also face problems due to their excessive gambling habits. It is estimated that about three percent of the adult population have difficulties in controlling their gambling, and about one third of this group can be characterized as gambling dependents. This means roughly 40,000 citizens. In addition to them, gambling problems touch their families, friends and other people close to them. It has been estimated that one problem gambler negatively affects approximately seven people around him/her (Aho & Turja 2007, 3-6, Pajula 2007, 13).

In recent years, the public policies and related service systems have also started to act upon gambling problems (Tammi 2008). Like alcohol and drug mis-users, also "gambling misusers" may need help and support. In Finland, the responsibility of organizing social and health services belongs to municipalities. Unlike for drug and alcohol misusers, there has not been a specialized helping system for problem gamblers, and in practice, the few 'gambling addicts' have been treated in the same public services as drug and alcohol misusers. These services are publicly-funded, and operated either by NGOs or municipalities.

Only a small portion of problem gamblers seek professional help. From the gambler's viewpoint, psychological and practical thresholds for treatment-seeking can be high, and from the the treatment worker's viewpoint, problem gamblers are difficult to identify. For these reasons, there is a need for new innovative services with a low threshold of participation in this field (Ahonen 2008, 14; Rahapelihaittojen ehkäisy 2008, 21–22).

In 2004, the A-Clinic Foundation launched, in cooperation with the Finnish Blue Ribbon and with the gambling monopolies' funding, a national telephone helpline service for problem gamblers called Peluuri[3]. Several years later, the helpline was accompanied by a new SMS-based service in 2009, called Power Circle, or Pelivoimapiiri in Finnish[4]. This latest addition to the range of services is an anonymous, free and peer-based service for gamblers in need of support for controlling their gambling. The SMS service is linked to a web service, which allows more extensive discussions, and other applications such as self-tests and possibility to send anonymous questions to treatment professionals on a one-to-one basis. The users can send messages to treatment workers and get answers within day or two.

Power Circle has become an important daily tool for many gamblers, and for many, the only external support service they use in trying to control of their problematic gambling habits. Also the gamblers' friends and family members have found the service, and use it for peer-support.

How does Power Circle work?

Power Circle works mainly on a peer basis. In peer support groups, the members can discuss either by private and group messages. The basic idea is that support is given and received by gamblers themselves. Occasionally also a moderator—who has expertise on gambling problems—

can take part in the discussions but he/she has a limited role.

Typical topics in the discussions are the nature of gambling problems and the sources of help. One of the most popular topics is debt, due to gambling, and how to cope with financial difficulties. In the discussions among peers, these issues are then commented and reflected together.

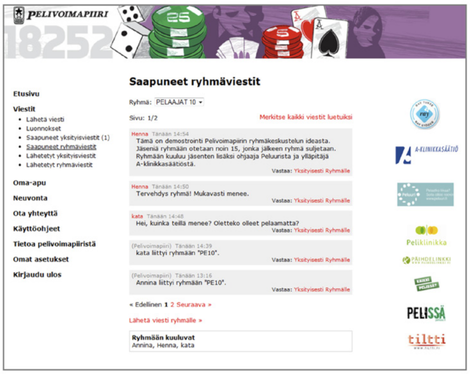

Figure 5. Group messaging in Power Circle

Until the end of 2011, there were altogether 12 peer support groups in Power Circle. Nine of them were for gamblers and three were for their friends and family members. Every group has 15 members. Periodically, there were also other expert-driven groups that last for 1-3 months. In these groups the treatment professionals have active role in discussing, providing information and "home work", giving feedback, and so forth. In addition to these groups there are also closed groups that support clients who go to clinical face-to-face services; and in these groups there is always a counsellor involved. Motivational interviewing and cognitive-behavioral therapeutic methods are the most used approaches in these groups.

Experience from different group formats has shown that the most active groups are ones in which the role of professionals is only occasional, and where duration is not limited, i.e. it is ongoing. Instead, in those groups where the duration is set to 1-3 months and professional counselling is active, the number of participants is lower and typically discussions take place between the professional and one or two members. It seems that peer support and professional advice do not fit well together in the same encounters. This is despite the fact that the service users often hope for more active participation from the professionals.

In addition to the peer support and group work described above, Power Circle includes three automatized functions: 1) Reminder messages, where members can order SMS messages on a given time with a self-created content, for instance "Do not go to Casino tonight!"; 2) A series of tips, advice and support from the professionals, for example "Series 1. How to avoid the temptation to play slot machines when in a supermarket"; 3) Service info, including contact information and opening hours to other services in the field.

Users of Power Circle

Between autumn 2009 and the end of 2011, there were altogether 648 members in Power Circle. The number is based on self-reported data from the service users. Every third service user was a gambler, and the rest were friends, family members or professionals. Out of the gamblers, 76% announced they want to quit gambling, whereas 16% tried only to limit their gambling. Some wanted to first decrease, and then quit.

Distribution between men and women is quite well in accordance to other information on problem gamblers:, with Power Circle 65% of the gamblers are men and 35% are women. In the population survey on gambling (2007), 73% of the problem gamblers were men (Aho & Turja 2007, 49). Typical service user is a young adult, as almost 40% are between 26 and 35 years. The service, however, reaches gamblers from all age categories (see Figure 6).

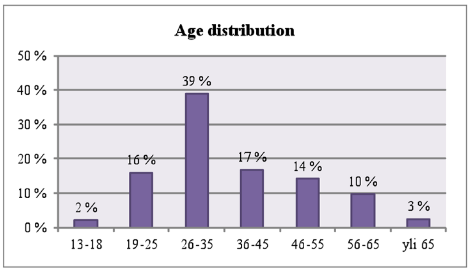

Figure 6. Ages of Power Circle members (n=476).

According to the population survey on gambling in Finland (2007), slot machines cause problems for about 90% of problem gamblers. Also the statistics of the Peluuri telephone helpline show that slot machines are the main source of problems: 65% of the calls come from slot machines related gambling problems. The second biggest problem source was Internet gambling comprising of 21% of those interviewed (Aaltonen & Pajula 2010, 15).

Slot machines and Internet gambling were the biggest problems also among Power Circle members: 31% named slot machines as their main problem, and Internet gambling, for example net casinos, and net poker, was the main problem for 36% of those interviewed (Figure 7). It appears that Power Circle reaches especially well those who gamble primarily via the Internet.

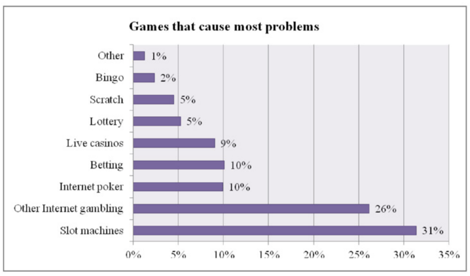

Figure 7. Games causing most troubles (n=554).

The user data also shows that Power Circle works well as a low threshold and first contact service. For 65% of the gamblers, and for 85% of their significant others Power Circle was the only support or helping system they use with regard to their gambling problems.

Evaluation of Power Circle groups

Sjöholm (2011) has conducted a study on three Power Circle support groups. The groups studied had been active from 4 to 10 months. As typical to almost any small group interaction, the study showed that a few active members dominated discussions in all groups. In all the groups studied, the most active period was from a couple of weeks to a couple of months, even though their overall lifespan of usage was longer than that. During the most active periods, the members were most satisfied with the service, felt that they benefited from it, and were most optimistic about their own recovery. Two recognized factors that promoted active group interaction were the quick compilation of the group, as well as similar situations and problems amongst the group members (Sjöholm, 2010).

A larger part of the service users in the follow-up study reported that they had make progress during their participation. Many felt that Power Circle had a role in that progress. Even if some of the members did not gamble during their participation in the group, it is not possible to isolate the effect of Power Circle as these members used simultaneously other help services, in addition to Power Circle. (Sjöholm, 2010.)

On the basis of direct feedback from the Power Circle members, we can see many good sides in the service. Especially the central role of peer support, moderators' tips and instructions, and easy access to further information has been thanked by the service users. In addition to that, the members appreciate the easiness of service's user interface, the possibility to use mobile phone in messaging, and the 24/7 operation of the service. It was also considered important that the member can choose whether he/she sends messages to the whole group, to individual peers, or to a moderator. The following responses are a couple of examples of the feedback:

"Taking part in the group has had only positive outcomes as only gambler can really understand other gambler – that's why changing thoughts with peers is important – Female gambler, 50 years.

I have gotten chance to release my anxiety and notice that I am not alone with this thing: understanding to my behavior" – Female gambler, 35 years."

In addition to positive feedback, the members have also made suggestions for developing the service. One of which is to activate peer groups in one way or another, and to increase the role of counsellors in the discussions.

Epilogue: Individualization of responsibility & p2p among the "undeserving poor"

The peer-based public services described in this article have both been successful. With help of these services, two different sorts of 'hidden populations'—drug users and problem gamblers—have found public, or semi-public, fora to share information and advice with each other, and have also gained contact to other parts of service system if needed. Hence, the services have given voice to these marginal groups. The peer-based approach is presumably also often more effective in communicating information on risks and harms.

But even if there is a lot to be happy about the recent trend of taking peers onboard to service organizing, we should also remain critical of taking the peer-approach too far, that is to use it for replacing professional public services. The Nordic countries have long traditions of developing well-resourced public services, for example public health-care and access to social benefits. The public services that the welfare states offer to citizens are meant to prevent extreme and disabling poverty, and poor health for all citizens. It also includes the conceptualization of citizens as patients and clients who have the right to professionally based services.

Too much reliance on peer-based services can easily erode public responsibility. User (client, patient) participation emphasizing participation and empowerment should also to be understood in the light of economic liberalization and public sector restructuring. Neo-liberal policies and structural adjustment programs are redefining the State's responsibilities for public services. As part of that development, participatory or empowerment approach is widening to new policy areas, including also addiction policy.

There is another reason to be critical towards the promise of participation and empowerment, especially when it comes to individual problems that have social, structural or political grounds. Problems can become too easily treated as independent of the structures of inequality and oppression. Instead they are seen simply as processes which programme address by fostering individuals' life-management, or sense of worth and esteem. This individualization inherently depoliticizes the target problem, and often reducing it to problems of individual capacity and access to resources. This leaves the political–structural level unchallenged: Both drug problems and gambling problems are also the result of social policy and related political decision-making, not purely endogenous deviant individual behaviors.

The third critique has to do with scarce public resources, a populist prioritization of social problems, and the related temptation to replace professional public services with peer-to-peer services. Nowadays we talk commonly about marginalized citizens, or citizens living in the margins of society. The margin-metaphor does not, however, reveal the normative tone often written between the lines when certain groups of marginalized people are talked about. 'Addicts', and drug-users especially, are often the least prioritized group when resources for public (welfare and health) services are allocated. They are often poor, and they are often entitled to many services; but at the same time, in comparison to the other poor, they might be regarded as 'undeserving poor' with 'self-inflicted' problems. In-other-words, a societal underclass whom, by means of their own inferiority, 'deserve to be poor'.

Their right and access to publicly organized good-quality professional services also needs to be actively promoted and maintained.

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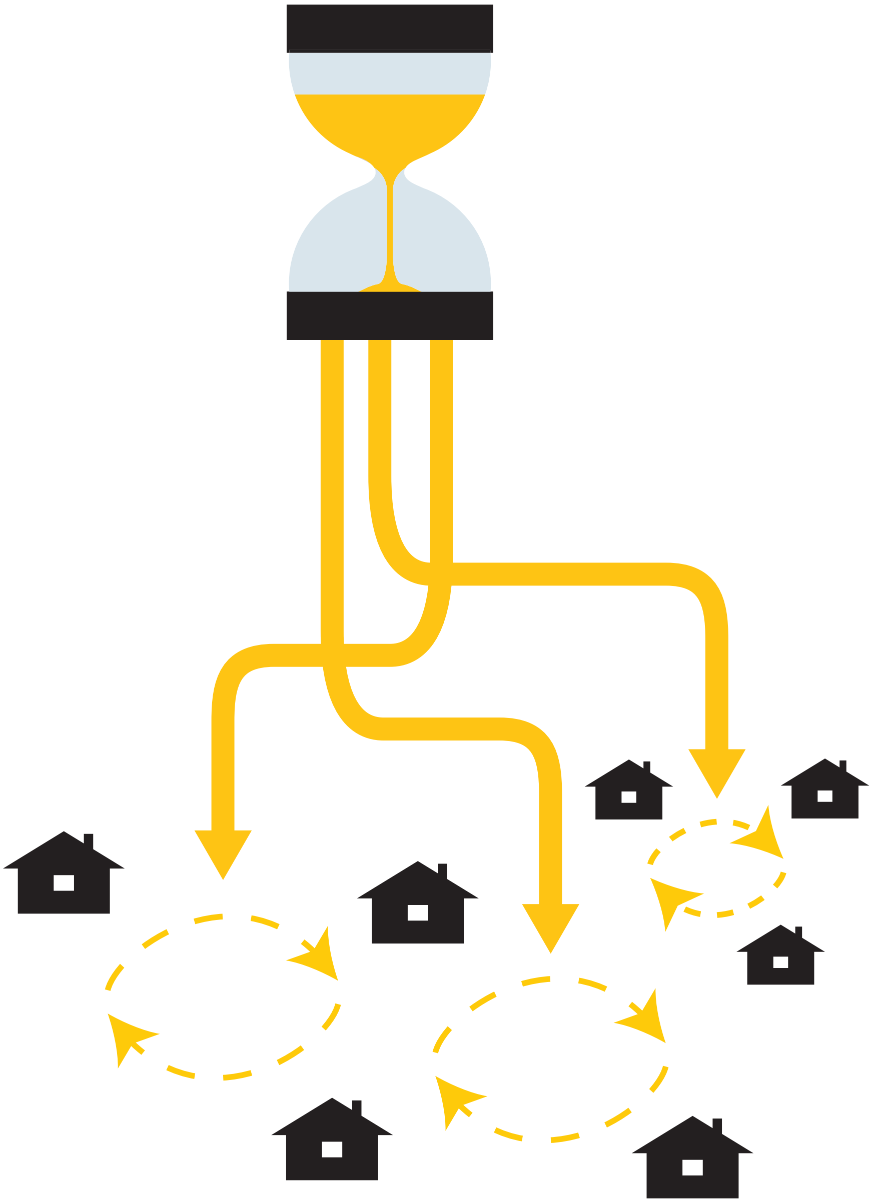

TIME BANKING: BUILDING THE COMMONS, TOWARDS A SOLIDARITY ECONOMY

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Keywords: Alternative economy, local exchange, neighbourhoods, exchange and sharing tools, solidarity

There are currently a lot of ideas around us, which are speaking in terms of co-production, co-governance, network production, peer to peer production, crowd-funding, collaborative consumption, and the much older notions of volunteering. They want to address issues of our society and economy that reach beyond the spaces and theories, as traditionally defined in and by the state-market dichotomy. Increasingly these discussions are taking place in the context of the outspoken environmental crises at hand, financial markets repetitively running into problems, a welfare-state facing problems, and in an embrace with the new possibilities offered by the Internet.

It is clear that change is necessary. But how are we to ensure that this does not merely result in active citizens being allowed to take over where enterprises can't make profit, but without necessarily any further empowerment of citizens? Or that we end up with do-it-yourself solutions which work perhaps fine for some of us, but not well for others? How are we going to ensure that this is going to result in real change, to a socio-economically and ecologically just society. Locally, but with important global ramifications.

I have been an activist member of the global justice movement for more then ten years. The desire to contribute to structural change has been my own motivation as one of the founding members of Helsinki Timebank, as will be elaborated below. This drive has continued throughout my own work on the development of the timebank for the past two and a half years, as well as in the development of the discussion on timebanking in Finland. During discussions with friends one evening in September 2009[2], the hopelessness of the political process around the Copenhagen Climate Conference process made way for a more positive gaze on features of our local neighbourhood Kumpula. I remembered a local economy discussion at a World Social Forum session in Porto Alegre in 2001, in which the experience of the Mexican Tlaloc local currency (Lopezllera-Mendez & DeMeulenaere, n.d.) was brought up. Someone else remembered reading about an exchange rink in Oulu, and we decided to look for the possibilities to implement a local exchange currency in our neighbourhood. So we started out on a spontaneous, experimental process, in which we rather accidentally ran into two determining things: the concept of time-banking, and the Community Exchange Network online exchange system (CES)[1].

Helsinki Timebank

Helsinki Timebank (Stadin Aikapankki, formerly known under the name of Kumpula vaihtopiiri) was established as part of the CES network in October 20092. Since then, more than 1400 people in Helsinki have joined this timebank, and 28 timebanks have been established in other localities in Finland, in which services are exchanged among members on the basis of Time credits. One hour of whichever service performed is remunerated with the currency of the Timebank; in the case of Stadin Aikapankki, one 'Tovi'[3].

In 2011 alone, some 2200 Tovi's were exchanged within Stadin Aikapankki. These new timebanks in Finland operate on a fully online international CES system. As such, Stadin Aikapankki is locally rooted, but globally interconnected in a network of community currencies. Examples of services traded include childcare, garden work assistance, bakings, language lessons, book-keeping, computer program skills, handicraft lessons, and assistance in the solving of problems.

Timebanking can play an important role to wellbeing in society. Timebanking is an international concept that has been developed since the 1980's by Edgar Cahn in the United States. As is generally put forward in this concept, seeing people as assets and the values of reciprocity and equality are at the core of timebanking. In principle everyone, including the unemployed, elderly people, immigrants, and youth can gain great personal benefit from becoming a giving—and needed—participant in the alternative economic space opened up by timebanking, and grows what Edgar Cahn coined the "core economy" (Cahn, 2006), which is described, by the New Economics Foundation[4] in England, as our ability to care for and support each other; and to engage in mutual and non-materialistic exchanges and civic activity. Timebanking, furthermore, can give people more control over their lives, and can prevent needs arising.

Timebanking enables what is called Co-production, the theory based on the premise that people and societies flourish more when relations are built on reciprocity and equity. Timebanking is then possible in the so-called person-to-person approach. For example, in Stadin Aikapankki, exchanges are between individual people, but also organizations can enlist themselves; exchanges between persons and agencies, for instance,a particular agency can set up its own timebank to work towards common goals, such as a school or a community centre, or between agency to agency, in the case of third sector organizations using timebanking to pool together to share resources and skills.

Banking Time (banking):Towards a solidarity economy

Timebanking as a tool to empower and engage citizens and communities along the principles of equality and reciprocity can be given more strength if linked to the ideas of the Solidarity economy concept.

Beyond these traditional ideas surrounding the concept of timebanking, I was reminded of the concept of Solidarity economy building by an activist colleague, which guided me towards relating timebanking to the economy, and to structural change. The idea of a Solidarity economy has been developed since the 1980's, especially in Latin America ,and has been taken forward in processes as the World Social Forum. Ethan Miller writing upon the subject in 2004 in Solidarity Economics, Strategies for Building New Economies refers to it as "a grassroots form of cooperative economics that is working throughout the world to connect thousands of local alternatives together to create large-scale, viable, and creative networks of resistance to the profit-over-all-else economy" (Miller, 2004).

Economy for Miller is not just about supply-and-demand markets. For him economy is about the whole of how "we as human beings collectively generate livelihoods in relation to each other and to the Earth". Miller urges us to look at the economies that we build with our everyday lives and relationships. "Maintaining social life" is the primary goal of these "people's economies". Miller lists examples of such economies:

- 'House-holding economies', which are about meeting basic needs with our own skills and work at home and on or with the land.'Collective economies' which in their simple form are about pooling our resources together, in other words, sharing), for example carpooling, consumer co-ops and so on.

- 'Gift economies' which concerns the giving of some of our resources to other people and to our communities, such as volunteer fire companies do.
- 'Worker-controlled economies' where workers decide the terms and conditions of their own work, for example, family farms, worker-owned companies and cooperatives; and finally..
- 'Subsistence market economies', which are also known as subsistence-based businesses, that are created and run for the purpose of providing healthy livelihood to the owners (who are often the workers), and providing a basic service to the larger community.

Solidarity economics

Solidarity is a great and useful notion here. It does not mean charity, necessarily, and in addition, refers to more than empathy alone. Solidarity, according to Ethan Miller, means:

The process of taking active responsibility for our relationships in ways that foster diversity, autonomy, cooperation, communication, and shared-power (direct democracy) and of fostering these and other related values with our fellow humans (social and economic solidarity) and with the rest of the Earth (ecological solidarity) (Miller, 2004).

Instead of putting a blueprint upfront, 'solidarity economics' proposes to identify the alternatives that already exist, and from there expand the spaces of solidarity and, in the process, create new and larger ones.

Timebanking and its core values of equality and reciprocity—or to be precise, the banking of time via the principles of timebanking—seems to be in tune and compatible with the fostering and shaping of such a solidarity economy. It could be used as a tool linking between—and as such strengthening—the instances of a solidarity economy. There are already examples in France and Germany of timebanks linking between neighbourhood food circles, and organic farm cooperatives in Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) schemes. Besides strengthening local, diversified, and ethical organic food production, Timebanks have even been a way to make organic food more accessible to all. And of course, this stands in direct relation with issues concerning food production and natural resource-use globally. Furthermore, in Helsinki last summer, the first steps have been taken to develop such partnerships.

However, many other types of linking could take place: Timebanking in the Community Exchange system is like an accounting tool to aid in helping to meet each others needs—us as individuals, families, and organizations—along the principles of equality and reciprocity, yet also other values we want to uphold.

As an illustration of such points, in the autumn of 2011, Stadin aikapankki members drew up a concept/value map, which those whom are active in the timebank must respect of and share. After a first discussion, the methodology used during a second session was inspired by mapping exercises that are typically held as part of the Solidarity economy approach. Members wrote down values and concepts they saw to be important in relation to activity in Stadin Aikapanki; and in the end discussions were held on any possible contradictions. The outcome of the process included a map with the values which underpin the Solidarity economy approach, whilst pointing also to a further range of connected principles. As such, the map points to activity done in Stadin aikapankki that develops relations which are promoting values of equality, social justice, and ecological sustainability[5]. The timebank, as such, enables the direct production of value.

Timebanking, the reorganization of our time

Miller (2004) refers to ecological solidarity as part of the Solidarity economy concept. Also degrowth ideas find resonance in the workings of a solidarity economy.

One of the issues on the table concerns the benefits of shorter working days for all. Instead of halting at the comment about how to meet the current challenges in society—with less tax income—what about if less of our time would be spent on what is officially termed as our wage labour, and instead more of our time could be spent at those local activities and organizations around us. Examples could be our local childrens' school, or our local store, organic farm or association hall etc. In-other-words, important spaces and places in our community which we would want to be a part of, and which are, in many instances, under threat of survival. As such, everyone could gain the possibility to be engaged in different kinds of tasks, which are meaningful to them; while tasks we like doing less could be collectively taken care of. In this manner, the idea of shorter wage labour working-days is an enabling, twinning-concept of timebanking.

Finland is known for having many organizations and associations. However, do people really work systematically through them? On many occasions it is those same few active people that are meant to keep most of the work going. Can timebanking perhaps be a tool to stimulate working between all these different instances of a solidarity economy, and support different features of our local economy; what we can call local community- building?

A municipality, the commons and solidarity economy building

Instead of being an ally to corporate neo-liberal capitalism, or being made to shrink in order to give way to 'Big Society' features, a municipality could use an exchange tool such as time banking and support solidarity economy building.

Traditionally co-production—via timebanking—has been described as follows: A state could be using timebanking to allow for the co-production of (a part of) certain services, as has been done elsewhere, such as in Japan and the UK. To give a concrete example, a particular urban area community might determine that in particular its youth citizens are an issue of focus. The city council department, with the objectives of providing a greener urban environment, could then in consultation agree to engage youth in its activities, and contribute to particular rewards; which can then be obtained via their earning of time credits to access certain hours at a local public sports hall. Also, a local health centre can work in cooperation with a local timebank to improve the quality of life of those patients, such as those who are diagnosed as suffering from mental health disorders related to isolation and marginalization.

The above example is one we are talking about activity that is done in Stadin aikapankki which is non-professional. This has been a feature of activity in timebanking elsewhere in other countries which has gained the system tax free status.

However, what about the relations between timebanking and professional activity? It is clear, that if connected to the ideas on Solidarity economy building as laid out above, the possibility of conducting professional activity through timebanking would have wider implications for cultural and structural change. How may this be envisioned?

Discussions with Stadin aikapankki, and the wider Finnish Aikapankki network at large, have pointed to the fact that people would not like to talk of timebanking and taxes as part of the same system, but rather wish to see timebanking as a post-modern version of neighbourly help and volunteering. However, with the description of timebanking as neighbour help, this would also have an implication for what activity can be allowed in timebanking.

It could be an interesting exercise, to imagine the possibility of a Tovi tax. In the same manner as Stadin aikapankki currently collects a levy on all exchanges, which is put to remunerate any members work done for the timebank, one could think of an additional levy, which would be allocated towards community projects. These would be local community projects that timebank members want to see being done through Stadin aikapankki. As the project has already defined what are the values that we want activity in our timebank to be respecting, the community projects, and their execution, would also be in respect of the same values.

The question remains to be answered: why can not a Municipality bank time?

Building the Commons

This discussion brings us to the issue of the Commons. The Commons have been described as the intellectual and material basis of a Solidarity economy; the creation of use value without the interference of state or market. What was earlier in this text described as being co-production, via timebanking, could be referred to what Nick Dyer-Witheford has called “the circulation of commons” (Dyer-Withford, 2006), where different forms of commons, such as municipality and schools, could circulate and connect to other forms of commons through a network.

Via a Tovi tax, timebanking can be a tool that supports the re-appropriation of public space according to peoples values. timebanking then aligns with concrete and active Commons building, with the timebank being a system of peer-production, in which a democratic community decides over the rules concerning activities inside the peer network. The different public places and spaces that come to be linked by this commons building, involving possibly a Municipality via timebanking, will come to be an example of a wider expanding solidarity economy.

As with the idea of a Basic Income[6], the state would be enabling peoples’ autonomy, and supporting free and open activity in communities. If the idea of a Basic Income is to be realized, as some activists wish, then it would also be another important twinning-concept with timebanking.

It seems important to keep in mind in this discussion that the over-institutionalization of timebanking dos not take place. Values and geographical locality determine the organization, but not necessarily issues such as age, or social group. Instead timebanking can allow for the strengthening and building of different kinds of spontaneous relations, events, to be inclusive and an empowering form of organization.

Timebanking as an instrument for direct local democratic organizing

Solidarity economics proposes the need to be engaged in a locally-rooted, open political process that envisions from the bottom upwards how we want to build our community. To do so, we need to identify on a local level as to what are the existing valuable instances and practices in our community that we want to support; And from there onwards, expand the spaces for solidarity, via tools such as timebanking. In this way, we can have a real say in shaping our daily lives, and our community.

The grassroots building up of a solidarity economy importantly brings the State and economy to become what it should be: For and of the people. Timebanking can be seen as a form of direct democracy, in which people directly produce and exchange services on the basis of their skills.

Important to note, as a conclusion in this discussion, would be that the Aikapankki movement in Finland is not seen and developed as a tool for public expenditure savings; neither only as repairing the so-called 'core economy'. Instead I argue that it is a tool which works towards structural change, empowerment, and the appropriation of the public space, according to peoples values' and autonomy.

Set in the context of the Commons and solidarity economy building, timebanking becomes a truly transformative tool towards a more just and ecologically sound society.

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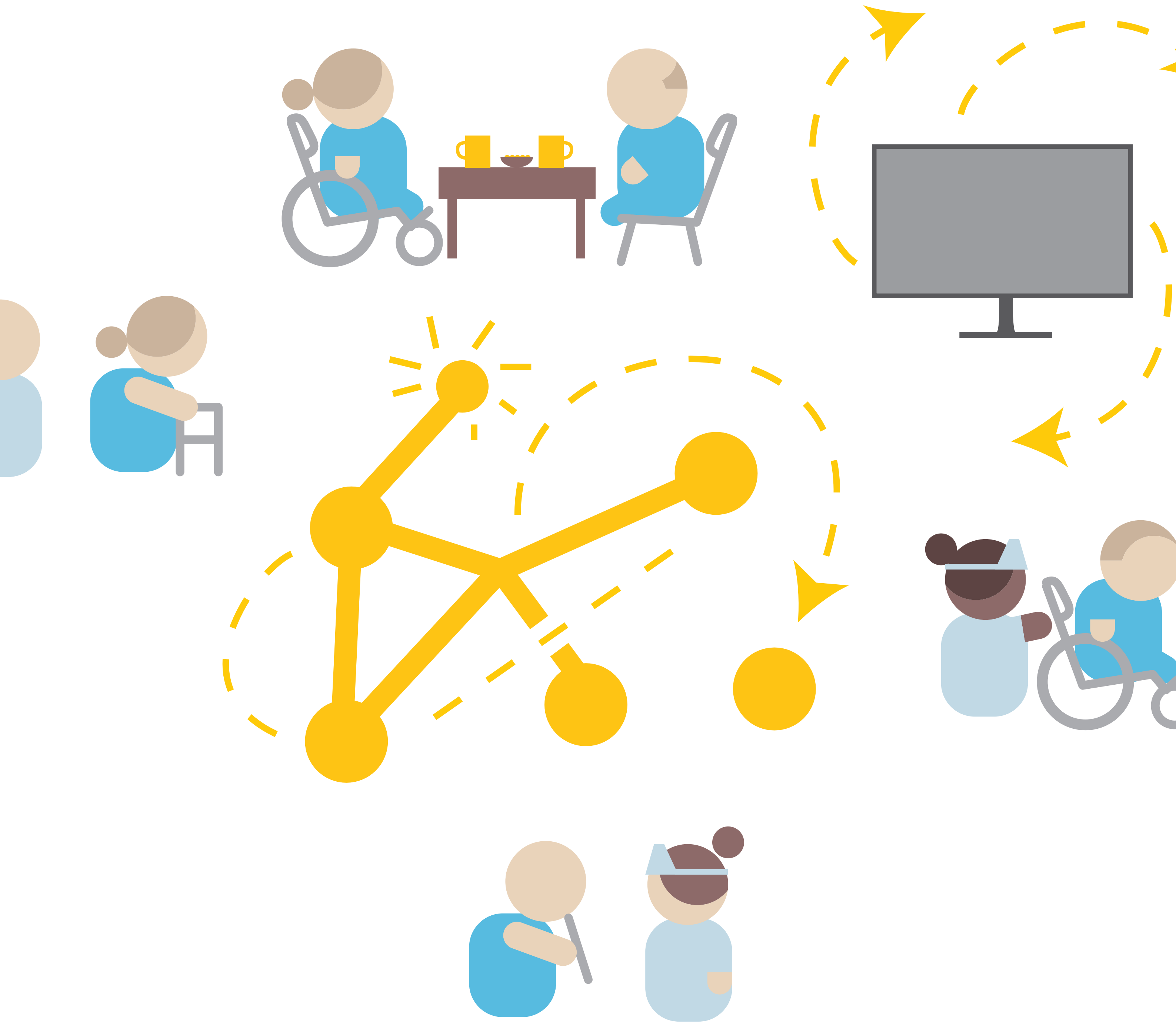

INSTITUTIONAL IMPACTS OF THE COLLABORATIVE SERVICE CREATION: CASE OF VIRTUAL HOME CARE IN HELSINKI

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Abstract

Drawing from a case-study on Helsinki Home Care, the authors identify institutional impacts of new service development in the context of public service delivery, posed by the increasingly collaborative nature of service development and delivery. The authors illustrate the change through identification of characteristics embedded in the traditional professional logic, and the new service logic. With this, the paper contributes to the theoretical discussion on service innovation and collaborative service creation, showing that solely the technical, organizational or commercial perspectives are insufficient in understanding the service development process. This paper further widens the discussion about public service innovation using the institutional change framework.

1. Introduction

The current economic climate places the public sector under immense pressure to innovate technologically-advanced and effectively delivered services, to address the prevailing societal challenges, such as aging population and sustainability. Due to the complexity of the services and increasing use of ICT technologies, the innovations are increasingly systemic by nature, integrating various service functions into a coherent solution addressing the customer needs. Systemic innovations are created in collaboration and co-creation between various organizations, which together exist, and evolve, in an ecosystem of mutual interdependencies. The emergence of such dependencies inherently leads to changes in the prevailing processes, and roles in the participating organizations. While the dynamics and structures of collaborative network and co-creation of services has been studied extensively (Calanstone & Stanko, 2007), less emphasis has been given to the impacts of the co-creation in the participating organizations, especially on their ability and willingness to adapt to the new paradigm.

Most research in user involvement within ICT service creation represents the so called 'beta-culture', where the early user involvement produces benefits in terms of accelerated service creation and user acceptance. Involvement also enables users to demonstrate increased power and influence over the content of products and services (Gassmann, 2006). However, further to the direct service-related benefits, citizen participation in the public sector has also intrinsic value by increasing public sector accountability, broadening the sphere in which citizens can make or influence decisions, and building civic capacity and entrepreneurship. Participation also bears instrumental value by establishing a feedback channel, thus strengthening the evidence base for policy making, reducing the implementation costs, while tapping greater reservoirs of experience and creativity. These factors provide new opportunities for collaborative problem-solving, that involves public and private sectors alike, and mobilizes people to participate in co-creation and initiate peer-to-peer production for increased well-being.

Public service creation has been studied through numerous theoretical and conceptual approaches and frameworks, including service design, innovation studies, operations management and service science. The trends towards user-driven approaches has been explained by various theoretical traditions and approaches, including social action theories from Weber (1974), Etzioni (1967) and Habermas (1976), the competing theories of transaction cost economists (Teece et all, 1998, Williamson,1975; Coase, 1937; Dyer, 1997) and those with a resource-based view on the firm (Penrose, 1959; Wernerfelt, 1984). Later, core competence models (e.g. Barney, 1991), networking theories (Dyer & Singh, 1998) and value chain analysis (Porter, 1985) have been associated with user-driven development and research. The most recent research associates outsourcing with the emergence of new types of hybrid and borderless organizational models, and the assimilation of industries (Clark, 2003).

However, most studies have failed to recognize the importance of the adaptation to the existing institutional environments, or alternatively, the need for institutional change in the ecosystem of the involved organizations and actors. Research has tended to focus on impartialness and neutrality of the institutional environment, rather than on the dynamism and change. To elaborate, how the prevailing arrangements, norms, values and beliefs either enable or hinder the successfulness of service development projects and the implementation of the finalized and commercialized service. Hence, additional research on the institutional environment and its role in public sector service delivery is needed. To answer this call, we apply in this paper the conceptual thinking of institutional logics theory to depict and understand the characteristics of the new, collaborative service delivery ecosystems. We also address the potential barriers and sources of resistance that such changes bring about in the prevailing norms, cultures and identities.

We argue that successful development of advanced public services requires understanding of, and active dialogue about the tensions and inertia charged in institutional logics within public service delivery and service development ecosystems. 'Smart City' services typically include an ICT component, and require their integration to existing interfaces, processes, work-flows and service portfolio. With these services the traditional structures and hierarchies become redundant; compromises aswell as a willingness to appreciate diversity and negotiate are required from all parties. Increased awareness of the changes in the logic, norms, and legitimacies of the organizations participating in the service creation will decrease typical implementation barriers, such as change resistance and conflicting incentives, and thus contribute to a more effective service delivery, user acceptance and introduction of the service.

We have organized the rest of this paper as follows: The first section provides background and motivation for the paper. In the second section, the framework is described that was used to analyse the content of the service development environment in the Helsinki Home Care[1] case. In the third section, the case study and research methods are described. In the fourth section, the case is described in full detail, highlighting the changes in the service delivery and in the various stakeholders' roles. The last part of the paper concludes the findings and discusses the paper's contribution to the on-going discussion on changes in public service creation.

2. Institutional Logic

The socially-constructed structures of a defined group constitute the institutional logic of that community. Following Scott's (2001, 139) definition, institutional logics refer to belief systems and related practices that predominates in the studied context. The concept of institutional logic is a set of "material practices and symbolic constructions which constitute organizing principles and which are available to organizations and individuals to elaborate" (Friedland & Alford 1991, 248). Institutional logics are "the socially constructed organizing principles for institutionalized practices in social systems" (Nigam & Ocasio 2010, 823).

Institutional logics guide "what goals or values are to be pursued within a field or domain and indicate what means for pursuing them are appropriate" (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000, 171). It is a shared logic–including causal beliefs on how to successfully operate in a given environment–created both within the organization, and also in connection to the wider views of a larger population of organizations (Porac, Thomas, & Baden-Fuller, 1989, 399-401; Sutcliffe & Huber 1998, 801). The concept of institutional logic has been seen to also be consistent with the concept of logics of action (DiMaggio, 1997, 277). It provides the "rationalization of action", when such an explanation or justification is needed. In this sense, logics of action may be seen as the more normative, cultural, sociological, and less economical component that actors bring to an exchange relationship (Bacharach et al., 1996, 477).

Institutional logics determine which issues and problems are salient and the focus of actors' attention. Additionally institutional logics determine which answers and solutions are the focus of those involved (Thornton, 2002, 83). Thus, a change in the underlying institutional logic is a change in the whole ecosystem, when all the participants have to alter their behavior and activity to correspond to the renewed situation.

A coherent set of repetitious behaviour in the market can be isolated as a concentration of shared meanings and interpretation of the organization's activity and its environment. This can be seen as logic of action, as Bacharach et al. (1996, 477) have defined, the specific ends and specific means for achieving them and the underlying general logic that guides each party's behavior. Dimaggio (1988) suggested that "new institutions arise when organized actors with sufficient resources see in them an opportunity to realize interests that they highly value". Thus organizations that embody existing logics must also face situations where they have to respond to changing logics that often take the form of changes in market demands (Scott & Davies 2007, 273).

Researchers in the field of institutional theory have examined macro-level changes with the pre-assumption that organizations are passive respondents in the process, and have not described active impact creation by the organizations on the surrounding environment and its' institutional arrangements (Oliver 1991, 173). It has been argued that institutional theory is explaining more the outcomes and impacts than the change processes (Phillips et al. 2004). With this, the organizations role as political actors, executing their own agenda has received less attention (Dillard et al. 2004).

Institutional theory explains imitation and the influence of similarity, but not the actual changes which in the first place creates the process of change (Burns & Nielsen 2006, 450). According to Seo and Creed (2002), the praxis that leads to institutional change is triggered by the existing inconsistencies on four areas: technical inefficiency, non-adaptability, institutional incompatibilities and divergent interests. Collaborative service creation constitutes a described change in the institutional logic of the parties participating in the service delivery. The previously separate actors need to work together, jointly create the norms and rules, as well as find their position and source of authority in that ecosystem. Contradictions are unavoidable, because several competing sets of institutional logics of the involved individuals, groups and organizations coexist (Friedland & Alford, 1991).

In this paper we explain, applying the institutional logics approach, how the change in the principles and practices of service creation constitutes a change in the institutional logic of the service delivery, and how awareness and appreciation of the competing logics impact the success of the service.

3. Research Method

This study has been carried out following the case study protocol, as described in Yin (1989). Case study method is used to describe the characteristic of a particular organization or phenomenon under study. A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1989, 23). As a research strategy, the case study approach is concentrated on understanding the dynamism within a single, even unique setting (Eisenhardt, 1989, 534).

The authors combined two methods of analysis. First, the macro level change in the institutional logic was detected in an interpretive analysis of the service delivery ecosystem during 2010-2012 within the selected case. Interpretive analysis enables the use of various types of data-gathering methods and sources when the boundaries of the case are defined (Scott et al. 2000). In this context the scope of the analysis was the virtualization of home care services in Helsinki, and the studied ecosystem consisting of the persons and processes involved in the related service co-creation. Next, the characteristics of the changes were detected from the case data, and described using an applied model of Thornton's (2002) ideal types of change in institutional logic.

The data was collected in a project case of Helsinki Home Care service development. It was organized as a Helsinki pilot of a European Research project, APOLLON[2]. The pilot focused on analysing the impacts of increased virtualization of services in home care service delivery ecosystem. The project started in January 2010, and finished in March 2012. The authors have participated in the project as researcher and project manager throughout the pilot experiment. The pilot experimented with the use of two-way video connection in the home care and emergency response services for elderly in a real-life environment. The novelty of the experiment was the two-way communication, where the customers could also contact the service providers at their convenience, as well as service delivery through two organizations, namely Palmia[3] and Helsinki Home Care.

The material collected in the interpretive analysis included documents, reports, and participatory observations of the development and critical incidents in the preparation of the pilot. During the actual case pilot, the data was collected in structured interviews with the involved customers, nurses and supervisors at Helsinki Healthcare Centre and Palmia. Altogether 20 interviews were conducted. The interview data was complemented with a web-based survey that was responded to by 17 nurses, as well as a quantitative analysis of the monthly computer logs and reports that were compiled from calls made on monthly basis. The average number of calls per-month was around 200 calls, resulting overall in over 1000 calls during the studied period of 5 months.

The analysis of the data was conducted according to the case study methodology. Triangulation of the data through various sources ensured the reliability of the results, while internal validity was ensured through selection of reliable and closely involved data sources. External validity was ensured by a selection of a representative case, and thorough analysis of the operating context for generalization. Inference typical to case studies (Yin, 1989, 43) was overcome by direct participatory observations of the case. The data was categorized applying a grounded theoretical framework, that ensured the relevance and linked the analysis to a broader discussion in the field.

4. Case: Helsinki Home Care

Helsinki Home Care is a division under the City of Helsinki Health services. The Home Care Services unit (domestic services and home nursing) of the Helsinki Healthcare Centre provides nursing, care and necessary support services, in order to maintain health and functionality, and offer care in case of illness or disorders to the following: The elderly, convalescents, patients suffering from chronic illnesses and disabled people over the age of 18. The objective of the unit is to secure the clients' active and safe living at home. A person is entitled to home care services, and related support services, if he/she needs help in daily activities, such as eating, washing, dressing, getting out of bed/chair, walking, or visits to the toilet (City of Helsinki 2012).

Helsinki Health Care has over 100,000 customers, and conducts over 2 million service visits annually in Helsinki. With an aging population, the need for such services is growing exponentially, and thus new care solutions and technologies are actively experimented with. In this particular case, the service was enhanced by implementing a two-way video connection between the care centre and the elderly citizens' homes.

The main participants of the trial consisted of Helsinki City Home Care Division, Palmia, Tunstal and the customers. This was completed by an outer circle of management and support organizations, Forum Virium[4] and Aalto CKIR[5]. Helsinki City Home Care division was in charge of providing home-care to the clients in the trial project. Geographically the pilot operated in Kontula 1 and Kontula 2 Home Care units. The role of Palmia in the project was central, they were running the help-desk, servers, and the hardware and software installation for the experimental trial. Palmia was also the provider of the emergency service, and envisioned provider of the virtual home care service through their virtual contact centre in the future, should the solution be finalized and implemented at large scale. Tunstal[6], meanwhile, provided the hardware and software for the project.

In the pilot, the Helsinki Home Care division selected 10 pilot users with different profiles from their customer base. The selected clients were between 50-90 years old, with different profiles in terms of their independence and health. In the trial, an individual set of objectives was defined for each customer. The objectives ranged from supporting drug-free lifestyle and increased independence through social interaction; to the reduction of regular visits through reminders for medication and meals; as well as simple care operations, for example taking medicine and measuring blood pressure. In the course of the pilot new aspects, such as improved sense of security and confidence to live independently, were also detected. The system was further integrated to the emergency response system that the customers had subscribed to, operated by Helsinki -owned service provider Palmia. Palmia is the principle supplier of ICT and phone -reliant health services for the City of Helsinki. The emergency service system included an emergency button that the customer could use to receive immediate help. In the project, the push of the button activated a video connection to the Palmia virtual care centre. This action supported the response personnel to make a more comprehensive assessment of the situation responding to the needs more accurately than the current situation, where the push of the button triggers only a voice connection to the virtual home care centre of the nurses' telephone.

The project started with an extensive analysis of the "as is" situation in Helsinki Home Care services. After that, the technical and organizational requirements, as well as aspects related to security and privacy, were assessed in detail. Numerous challenges and obstacles surfaced in the process, both technical and organizational. This analysis led to changing the technical solution to a more advanced one, with nearby technical support related to the installations. The commitment of the City of Helsinki was ensured by involving high-level authorities in the project steering board, and keeping the management of the City health care services regularly updated about the project developments.

The video connection used in the trial was a mature technology, used widely in video conferencing and remote health care. However, it had not been previously used in home care settings, combining both health care and emergency services. Also the two-way communication where the customer could also contact the health care provider at their convenience was a novel set up. The experiment was conducted in a real-life environment, applying co-creation methodology, whereby all participating actors together contributed to the development and improvements of the service. The video systems were installed for the customers in the fall of 2011, and their use was studied for a period of 5 months.

The setting for the trial project followed a standard set up for implementing the 'living lab' research and development concept. Living labs as a concept go back to von Hippel's (1986) work on lead users as source of innovation. The basic assumption is that large user communities in real-life contexts can support the processes of innovation. Initially living labs were thought to represent "R&D methodology where innovations, such as services, products or application enhancements, are created and validated in collaborative multi-contextual empirical real-world environments" (Eriksson et al. 2005, 5). The users are seen as active co-creators of services, products and content rather than passive content consumers (Folstad, 2008). "The individual is in focus in the role of a citizen, user, consumer, or worker. The user experience focus involves areas of user interface design and ergonomics as well as user acceptance, extending to user co-design process, finally leading to service or product creation" (Eriksson et al. 2005, 5). It has been further indicated that the approach could also yield more value in terms of competence development, re-defining the roles and relationships between the public and private entities, rather than casting them as a vehicle for service or solution development, which is typically piloted in similar cases.

The follow-up to the experiments after the trial was done by investigating two questions: 1) What are the perceived and measurable impacts of the video connection to the various parties involved? 2) What are the anticipated system level changes required for the wider implementation of the service? The first question, regarding the direct impacts and benefits of the new service component to the various stakeholders, was mapped through structured interviews, web-based surveys and computer logs for quantitative evidence to support the interview data. The analysis was fairly simple, since virtually all collected evidence pointed in the same direction. The customers felt that the video connection brought a value-adding component to their daily care. The technology was non-invasive, easy to use, and added to their sense of confidence to act and live independently through an increased sense of security, connectivity and access to the aid personnel. The video enabled more frequent calls, which added to the structure and routines of their days, as well as providing much appreciated social interaction at the customers' convenience, while also not invading their privacy or daily schedules.

Based on feedback from the interviews, the increased confidence to live independently, as well as an enhanced sense of personal security, were reported as the main benefits of the system. The social interaction was considered as the second main benefit. The customer interface was a touch screen solution installed in a convenient, accessible place in the customers' houses, and none of the customers had any challenges using the technology. Furthermore, the customers did not report any objections or hesitance in talking to the nurse over the video connection. This can be explained partly by the familiarity of the persons involved, as well as the fact that the scheduled daily visits still continued, as the video conversations did not replace the physical visits.

The call schedules were planned individually for each customer as a part of their care plans, and were predominantly reminders of medications and meals, as well as generic check-ups on the general condition and well-being of the customer. The log-files of the video calls demonstrated steady increase in both the number and duration of the calls, which indicated that with time and familiarity, the use of technology is internalized and becomes a routine part of the care service. The customers also began to increasingly initiate the calls themselves, which was interpreted as their appreciation of the opportunity to contact the care personnel at their convenience, through the video medium, and thus was further interpreted as perceived added value for the customers.

The nurses seconded the ease of use of the system, and felt the added value in terms of increased informal communications with the customer, which was considered to contribute to preventative care. Using the system the nurses gained a better overall knowledge of the customers' status, both physically and mentally, and could address issues before they were escalated to an extent that other extra or unplanned visits were needed. However, the nurses felt that although the system provided a nice addition to the existing home care processes, it did not enable the reduction of excessive regular visits. During the pilot the system was considered a complementary supportive element in caring for the customer, rather than an independent and remotely-operated health care process. Nonetheless, some of the pilot customers managed to substitute a part of the otherwise mandatory daily visits by a video call.

For the technology provider, the pilot provided valuable input to the product development in a home care context. The system had been professionally used between staff in health care centres for remote communications, but operating it directly with end-customers in home environments added to the complexity of the set-up and usage. Also integrating the care service and emergency response service into a joint configuration was an novel feature. The customers' feedback was predominantly related to the usability of the system than to the functional features. The first change made was a louder and deeper sound for the calls, as well as a longer duration of the activated ringing. Also the lights of the system in stand-by position were changed in order to not to have a bright, disturbing reflection in the room when it was not directly operational. The nurses' feedback centred around the functionality and integration to existing systems. The recording of the calls needed to be made in a separate system, and thus system integration was called for. Further, the nurses had ideas about integrating other care functionalities to the virtual care process.

The nurses at the emergency response centre considered the system as a valuable addition to their response service. Their current system was not integrated with the event-logging, although even a stand-alone system provided significant improvement to the situation they worked in previously. The pilot system enabled the receiving of several calls simultaneously, and forwarding them to nurses in order of priority and criticality. The video-link further enabled immediate contact with the patients, which typically have to wait for duration, after the emergency call, before the help arrives. Through the visual connection the nurse can control the status of the customer, provide immediate assistance and support virtually, and ensure the customer that help in on its way.

The impacts to the case owner, the City of Helsinki, as the responsible health care provider were many-fold, and simulated a future situation where the organization of home care is re-organized. With the encouraging results of the pilot set up, it was decided that the pilot be extended, and the real service creation environment will be experimented with. In the operating model, the video calls are operated by Palmia virtual care centre, and integrated as a part of the Helsinki Home Care -provided daily care. This co-creation by the two organizations required changes and adjustments in the processes, roles and mandates of the organizations. The need for further integration of the various dimensions of the service became apparent, since the current information systems at Helsinki Home Care and Palmia emergency services were not integrated, and the virtual care system operated in both systems' interface. Knowledge-exchange was identified as the key component in the process, and overall, the processes needed to be studied further. In addition to knowledge systems, the division of roles and responsibilities needed to be made explicitly clear for all foreseen situations.

The new operational set up also resulted in numerous intangible changes in the organizations. Palmia as a company, and Helsinki Home Care, as a unit under City of Helsinki health care services, had very different approaches and orientations to their work. Both organizations also had strong organizational identities, stemming from professionalism and experience in their respective roles. Since co-creation processes required changes in their existing structures, the negotiation power of the organizations was tested, regardless of the customer-buyer relationship between the organizations. While the nurses build their legitimacy strongly on professional identity as care-providers, Palmia operated in a corporate manner, whereby all provided care was commercialized and packaged as defined services or products. This fundamental difference in the organizations' approach was not appreciated enough during the pilot, and resulted in challenges in planning.

In the pilot, challenges began already with the system set-up, since the motivations and objectives of the participating organizations did not fully meet. This resulted in challenges related to customer selection, and delays in system installations. Even the technology provider needed to be changed due to the different expectations that emerged,in terms of the technical and functional specifications of the system. This was the case regarding issues surrounding redundant connections for security, encryption for protecting the data flow, and higher resolution camera for care operations. The objectives and purposes for the system needed to be re-negotiated numerous times in order to find consent on the operation, communications and customer-interface management. In the end, Helsinki Home Care took the main responsibility of running the pilot operationally in the first phase, as the owner of the customers, and were responsible for the main body of services in the scope of the pilot. During the pilot, the technical issues were easily dealt with, and the main body of work concentrated on process integration, and finding care operations in which the system would yield maximum benefits.

5. Findings and Conclusions

The Helsinki Home Care case presents a representative case of a public service creation project constituting a change in roles and actors in the service delivery network, and thus constituting an institutional change in the ecosystem. The case presents how the introduction of virtual services–as a part of assisted independent living support–changed the operational and institutional logics of the participating organizations. With the increasing outsourcing and privatization of public services, understanding these differences in institutional environments becomes of increased importance in planning and conducting service co-creation.

The evidenced system-level changes in the case study provided an interesting arena for the investigation of changing institutional logics. The new innovative solution was organizationally-built on delivering the services through the emergency service unit at Palmia, which possessed the necessary technical readiness and capabilities. However, this in its turn raised a number of questions about how to develop and organize care service as a holistic end-to-end solution. The notions can be grouped under the dimensions of strategy, authority, identity, governance and legitimacy.

The incremental and multi-faceted process of accepting and internalizing the change, explains the delays and challenges experienced in the pilot preparation and set-up phase. The service was delivered in a multi-actor network that enabled servicing a broader customer base. This was a significant change in terms for the traditional Helsinki Home Care services. The co-created service was the common denominator that bound the different organizations together. In this environment the two competing institutional logics prevailed, and the process of negotiating and creating a higher, system-level logic, partly composed of the lower level arrangements and solutions, was still in progress.

These dimensions were a constant source of unfitness and incommensurability without common basis. The existing institutional logic of the Helsinki Home Care relied on physical attendance of the customers/patients, and was contrasted by a new probationary logic of action, which utilized virtual communication systems and technology. The prevailing logic was based on strong professionalism, health care expertise, and the identity of nurses in the care service -providing organizations. This piloted new arrangement of processes, work flows, hierarchy, and conceptual foundations in principles of the work itself, was about to change towards an efficiency-driven logic, where the various motivations, norms, cultures and identities of the participating actors would have been embedded. The fear of losing independence and control were the main obstacles and sources of change resistance (Cf. Reay and Hinings 2009). The table below describes the nature of the various competing institutional logics, which were seen affecting the service innovation program of Helsinki Home Care.

These aspects construct a note-worthy dimension of service development or service innovation. The institutional pressures, which stem from outside of the organizational setting and have no direct or observable connection to the new service at hand, might affect remarkably the innovation implementation. As we argue, the institutional dimension complements the previous conceptualizations of service innovation models.

Thus, we argue, that the study on technical, commercial, and organizational aspects of the services or the service delivery system (den Hertog 2000) are not sufficient in the creation and renewal of public service. Besides, one has to understand the institutional dimensions of dominant institutional logics and their components, and their interaction towards new service creation and implementation. Since in the studied case, the video connection was not a service per se, but rather an enabler for a range of other services, the integrative nature of the system required adjustments, and profound changes: In the means that the overall care service and emergency response service were defined; and in turn, also the definition of roles in providing such services.

Our case highlights the social constructivism of technology, and the complex

TABLE 1. Characteristics of public service development in Helsinki Home Care

DIMENSION	PREVAILING LOGIC
Key values	Professionalism, support through care profession
Basis of Strategy	Targeted professional niche service
Source of Authority	Professional expertise, tightly controlled hierarchy
Agents	Nurses, doctors
Source of Legitimacy	Historical continuity, expertise, mandate
Governance mechanism	Independent, self-organizing
Source of Identity	Familiar and proven concept, Thematic expert networks

relations between the actors in the service delivery network. The integration of the previously separately provided service components also revealed the demand for careful consideration of the determinants of institutional logics of the organizations. As such the case further build on the notion that quantitative macro level analysis alone cannot explain the success or failure of the systems, but instead, qualitative micro level analysis is required for the analysis of the system determinants. The studied pilot case is in a state where the experimental pilot is over, and the system is put in production. Essentially this means that the system is transferred operationally to the envisioned service delivery point at a virtual care centre, and the new operational processes and the system functionality are tested further with a broader customer base.

The identified change in the institutional logic is reflecting similar developments in various fields where professional logic is replaced by more commercially-driven logic, as illustrated by the well-known institutional logic cases of public accounting, architecture, and higher education publishing (Thornton 2002). With this we derive more generic conclusions on the trends on how the fields, where the provided services have been traditionally based on professional expertise, are increasingly driven by complex service delivery networks, and build their institutional logic around the provided service or solution.

6. Discussion

The pilot introduced a novel virtual care solution that was considered to add value to the customer. Simultaneously, the pilot served as a platform to simulate integrated service delivery by the Helsinki Home Care and Palmia. Increased virtual care had been pictured as a strategic choice for the City of Helsinki health services. Hence, the pilot simulated a situation where a virtual component was introduced to the home care solution by Helsinki Home Care, and delivered seamlessly together with the emergency response service, operated by Palmia. This enabled the planning and analysis of the structures, roles and processes that would need to change as the service was introduced at a broader scale. The project focused on costs, technical challenges and information exchange in the service delivery ecosystem, without consideration of the cultural and institutional changes that the collaboration resulted in the participating organizations. Thus, this paper investigated the phenomena as an example of the change in the institutional logic, and identified the determinants of the change, and their impact on the success of the service introduction.

Europe has a long tradition of services provided by the public sector, which incidentally means also deeply rooted traditions and structures for providing them. Changes in these service creation systems require changes in the perception of the public sector role and mandate. Hence, the first steps in the innovation partnerships typically include creating common culture, language and norms.

This paper contributes to the discussion on the co-creation of public services in collaborative service creation networks. Through a case study analysis it provides a previously less-discussed link between the institutional logic approach and co-creation theories. The objective was to identify and understand the impacts which change toward collaborative processes and services impose on various actors and to their relationships. With this we extended to the discussion about public service creation, drawing form frameworks of institutional change and institutional logics. From the practical point of view, this paper contributes to the discussion in terms of the heightened awareness of the determinants underlying the behaviours and possible change resistance in the introduction of new types of service concepts.

The limitation of the study is the scope and focus only on the system-level logic. Further research would be needed to thoroughly understand the inter-relations between the competing logics and the process by which the new prevailing logic is constructed. The selected approach focuses on the application of the institutional logic as a meta-theory, without further linking it to the research on collaborative service networks. Another interesting avenue to explore further would be the paralleling of the development to that of corporatization of professional occupations and public sector services.

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APPENDIX

Co-creation, co-governance and peer-to-peer production of public services – Seminar Report

Report written by **Anne Keune**

Researchers, Aalto faculty, students and citizens gathered at the Aalto University School of Art and Design on Friday, 22 October 2010, to discuss the topic of co-creation, co-governance and peer-to-peer production of public services. The seminar was organized by the Aalto University's co-p2p special interest group, with the support of the Aalto University Service Factory.

This first seminar of the special interest group focused on ideating new research possibilities and projects within Aalto University related to the seminar theme and in bringing together a variety of actors including civil society, government representatives, researchers and non-governmental organizations. The seminar program consisted of two keynote speeches, eight case presentations, and several lunch discussions.

Teemu Leinonen from Aalto University School of Art and Design welcomed the audience in the auditorium as well as the people following the video stream online, and introduced the first keynote speaker, Susanne Bødker, professor of Human Computer Interaction at the Computer Science department at the University of Aarhus in Denmark.

Susanne Bødker emphasized in her keynote speech the importance of political institutions entering into a dialogical relationship with the public. She presented three research cases: Parental-leave planning, municipal citizen services, and mobile democracy. All three projects dealt with the use of web 2.0 tools for strengthening the interactions between citizens and municipalities. The parental leave-planning project explored the planning, advising and controlling of parental-leave in Denmark. The municipal citizen services project dealt with the design of alternative ways to offer services, such as passport renewal. Prototypes that worked on the boundaries between pure physical presence and solely online execution were designed. Mobile democracy dealt with the design of a shared desktop and mobile service that enables citizens to collaborate in filing complaints, and proposals to municipalities regarding civic plans.

Bødker concluded that many barriers exist for civic institutions and the public to enter into a dialogical relationship. According to Bødker, "Municipalities need technology that is under local control, and tailorable to the needs of the particular department". Following the keynote speech, four cases were presented, which illustrated examples of Helsinki-based initiatives that deal with the topics in one way or another:

Petra Turkama from Aalto University School of Economics, Centre for Knowledge and Innovation, introduced the Save Energy Helsinki project. The project inquired practices for energy consumption reduction and behavioral transformation of people, through co-creation, user inclusion, and open innovation with three stakeholders: Citizens, public servants, and policy-makers. An energy score-card was developed, as well as digital educational games. In addition, an energy management system was designed that enabled real time visualization and interaction with energy consumption data.

Tiia Ruokosalo from the A-Clinic Foundation, shared their experiences in implementing an experimental service to provide support for problem gamblers and their concerned ones. The service called Pelivoimapiiri (Gambling power circle) offers information and support via SMS and the web. The experiences so far have provided new perspectives to self-help, including combinations of peer support and professional help in this complex area.

Sirkka Minkkinen, a member of the Active Seniors Association, presented her involvement in the Loppukiri House and Community, a project initiated, designed and carried out by the association, with the aim to develop an alternative model of life for elderly people. Minkkinen described the motivation as following: "We wanted to create a housing community where elderly people could live an active and meaningful life". The project presented many challenges and opportunities to drive forward truly citizen-based initiatives towards new types of service configurations.

Pirjo Tulikukka exemplified the functions and activities of the Helka Network, a non- governmental and non-profit facilitator of dialogue between residents and the city of Helsinki, she provided glimpses into three co-governance related cases: Local neighborhood web-pages as tools to promote public, private and third-sector services; -the building of local and self-governed networks as a base for neighborhood co-governance; and Kääntöpaikka, a community space in Arabianranta. Tulikukka pointed at the difficulties and possibilities of motivating people to actively participate in taking charge of their own lives.

The morning session discussion, moderated by Andrea Botero, from Aalto University School of Art and Design raised several themes for further inquiry:

- Exploring the possibilities for citizens starting their own initiatives
- Impact-assessment of a project on its stakeholders from the start could provide information for sustaining and replicating a project
- Enabling communication flows between citizens and policy-makers
- Exploring the facilitation of cultural change in the bodies of governance
- Lowering the barrier of entry and encouraging more experimentations

After the morning session, Joanna Saad-Sulonen, also from Aalto University School of Art and Design, introduced five different moderated lunch discussions available for registered participants:

1. Petra Turkama: Impact assessment in the co-p2p context
2. Teemu Leinonen: Learning, education and service design in co-p2p
3. Liisa Horelli and Joanna Saad-Sulonen: Collaboration in urban planning
4. Kimmo Karhu and Andrea Botero: Enterpreneurship / co-creating business with people?
5. Teemu Ropponen: Co-designing with special groups

The emerging themes and questions of the lunch discussions were presented during the afternoon session of the seminar.

The afternoon session started with the second keynote speech, delivered by Victor Pestoff, professor emeritus in Political Science, and guest professor at the Institute for Civil Society Studies in Stockholm, Sweden. Inspired by Elinor Ostrom, winner of Nobel Prize in Economics in 2009, Pestoff connected co-production with public administration regimes, primarily differentiating between New Public Management and New Public Governance. To elaborate this introduction, Pestoff illustrated "crucial conceptual issues", for example, differentiating three levels of citizen participation, and three types of relations between traditional service producers and citizen producers. Pestoff further answered emerging questions, such as why citizens become involved in co-production, and particularly in collective action. Lastly, Pestoff illustrated that "third sector provision can breach a 'glass ceiling' that prevents citizens from having anything but medium and ad-hoc scale participation". Pestoff's keynote speech concluded with two future alternative models of governance.

Teemu Ropponen from Aalto University School of Science and Technology, Department of Media Technology, presented the community-driven participatory design process of Monimos, a social media service for civic participation of immigrants with society and the public sector. Ropponen presented a demo of Monimos, and how it represents both a virtual and face-to-face meeting space for individuals and organizations, around the theme of integration, immigration and international mindedness.

Ruby van der Wekken, co-founder of Stadinaikapankki (Helsinki Timebank), presented the Helsinki-based citizen initiative of co-production through time-banking, in which services can be exchanged online against time. This exchange tool builds on the premises of equity and reciprocity. People and social networks are seen as assets. Van der Wekken proposed the tool to enable citizens to become participants, and to open up an alternative economic space where solidarity can grow.

Pauliina Seppälä reported upon her experiences of how social media can mobilize people to take ownership and leadership over a project. She presented the example of the Refugee Hospitality Club, an initiative for asylum seekers in a reception centre and the residents of the local neighborhood to meet and do things together. With the Refugee Hospitality Club, Seppälä argued that participants have had the opportunity to do things they find meaningful, by following five principles: Openness, equality, flexibility, good will, and fun.

Tuuli Kaskinen, a representative of DEMOS Helsinki, presented SopimusKone (Agreement Machine) concept, which calculates the response of irregular income to, for example, student finances. The SopimusKone concept aims to freely match abilities and service demands. Kaskinen argued that the SopimusKone service could free human abilities from institutions and represents a step towards building a human-faced service economy. The afternoon discussion following the case presentations rose multiple questions, among others: The sustainability of the work model of internet based movements and the need for reinvention; the slow deliberation of organizations in contrast to spontaneous unorganized governance of more loose collectives, as well as the qualities of truly p2p configurations.

After the afternoon case presentations, James Duggan joined the seminar via skype from Manchester, UK. Duggan presented the aims and activities of Coprodnet, a new interdisciplinary, academic and practitioner network in the UK, interested in all things co-produced. The aims of Coprodnet are to critically engage with co-production and its causes, and to engage with and support co-production in practice.

During the round up and conclusion discussion, Victor Pestoff raised the importance of focusing on the needs and wants of citizens, and that co-production needs to be considered as a bottom-up process in regards to finances and democratic promotion. He further pointed out that the seminar provided interesting examples for research, and suggested a more systematic documentation related to fundamental theoretical questions, to find future visions of organization. To finalize, Teemu Leinonen encouraged all Aalto University researchers to start thinking about research directions in relation to the themes presented during the seminar.

In total, 115 people registered to the seminar. During the peak moment, 90 people were present in the auditorium. 45 people participated in the lunch discussions. We received feedback of 10 people following the seminar video stream online. Conversations also happened in the backchannels of Twitter and Qaiku with both, people in the auditorium and elsewhere.

The documentation of the seminar, including videos and slides can be viewed at http://co- p2p.mlog.taik.fi/seminar-2010/

AUTHORS

Andrea Botero, **Andrew Gryf Paterson**, and **Joanna Saad-Sulonen** are doctoral candidates at Aalto University School of Arts, Design and Architecture. They share a research interest on new types of citizen participation and peer to peer production in various contexts, such as: activism, artistic production, digital design, public services, everyday practices and urban planning.

Victor Pestoff earned his Ph.D. at Stockholm University and later became professor at Södertörns högskola and then Mid-Sweden University in Östersund. He is now Professor Emeritus at the Institute for Civil Society Studies, Ersta Sköndal University College in Stockholm. He has published many articles and books on topics like consumer organizations, cooperative movements, co-production, the third sector and welfare state. For more information contact: www.esh.se or www.emes.net.

Michel Bauwens is the founder of the Foundation for Peer-to-Peer Alternatives and works in collaboration with a global group of researchers in the exploration of peer production, governance, and property. Michel is currently Primavera Research Fellow at the University of Amsterdam and external expert at the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences (2008, 2012). Michel Bauwens is a member of the Board of the Union of International Associations (Brussels), advisor to Shareable magazine (San Francisco) and to Zumbara Time Bank (Istanbul). He functions as the Chair of the Technology/ICT working group, Hangwa Forum (Beijing, Sichuan), to develop economic policies for long-term resilience, including through distributed manufacturing. Michel writes editorials for Al Jazeera English and is listed at #82, on the Post-Carbon Institute (En) Rich list. Michel currently lives in Chiang Mai, Thailand. (http://p2pfoundation.net/Bio)

Teemu Leinonen is an Associate Professor of New Media Design and Learning at the Aalto University School of Arts, Design and Architecture. His areas of interest and expertise include design for learning, computer supported collaborative learning, online cooperation, learning software design, educational planning and educational politics. As part of this work, he is developing new learning tools for web and mobile environments.

Pauliina Seppälä is MA of social sciences from the department of social policy, and a doctoral student at the department of sociology, researching social structures in popular culture. In addition she has worked mainly as a freelance journalist. However, social media has turned her into a community maker, social innovator and activist, and she is currently working like crazy to make a living out of it. Please help. (http://pauliinaseppala.wordpress.com)

Pirjo Tulikukka is currently working as the manager of Helsinki Neighbourhoods Association Helka. She has worked in various local communication and participation projects in Helsinki, for example in the construction process of a citizen moderated neighbourhood web page platform (www.kaupunginosat.net) or the EU-funded CADDIES Project (project report: http://issuu.com/annajonsson.eu/docs/caddies). She is interested in accelerating participatory processes and empowerment in neighbourhoods. Previously she has worked as Program Manager of Global Action Plan Finland and been engaged in the translation and adaptation of an international behaviour change program on sustainable consumption habits (Household Ecoteam Program) into Finnish language and culture.

Tuukka Tammi, PhD in Sociology, works as a research manager at A-Clinic Foundation and as an editor-in-chief and senior researcher at the National Institute for Health and Welfare (THL). His current research interests include addiction treatment systems research, drug use and policy, gambling problems and policy.

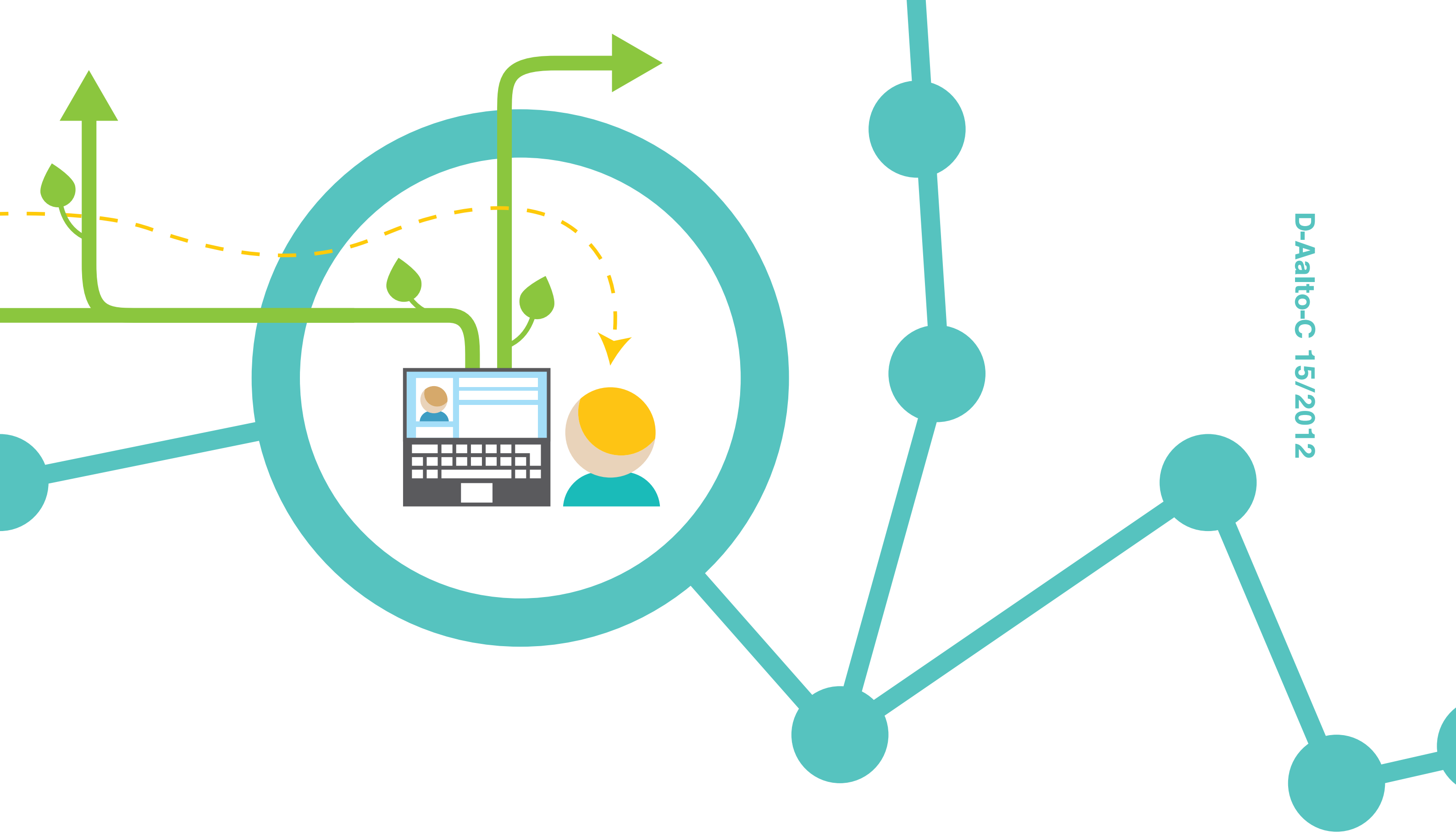
Tiia Ruokosalo, Master of Social Sciences, works as a project coordinator at A-Clinic Foundation since. Her main project is developing and maintaining Addiction Link web service (www.paihdelinkki.fi) aimed at preventing substance abuse and other addictions.

Henna Vuorento, Master of Social Sciences. works as a project coordinator at A-Clinic Foundation. She is currently creating a website for youth, aimed at preventing drug and alcohol abuse as well as supporting holistic life management. Also working with a nationwide service (www.pelivoimapiiri.fi) that offers support for gamblers and their significant others.

Ruby van der Wekken has been active in various organizations on global democracy and environmental issues. So also in the World Social Forum process, the experiences of which have been an impetus to the founding in 2009 of Stadin Aikapankki (Helsinki Timebank) of which Ruby is a co-founder. She is also currently taking part in discussions around the commons and solidarity economy.www.stadinaikapankki.wordpress.com

Petra Turkama has vast international experience in technology and innovation management both in corporate sector (Nokia 1998-2009), and academia (Nanyang University of technology, Helsinki School of Economics 2006-2009). Currently Dr. Turkama is heading a research team focusing on systemic innovation through human-centric, demand and user-driven open innovation ecosystems. Her research main interest is Information Technology Management, Systemic Innovation and Knowledge Networks, which she is conducting in several national and European Commission funded research projects. (http://ckir.aalto.fi/en/research/systemic/)

Jukka Mattila works as a Project Manager at the Aalto University School of Economics, and is finalizing his Ph.D dissertation about organizational performance in Finnish food retail sector. Mattila has acted as a Programme Manager for Certified Management Consultant Programme at Organizations & Management Department at the Aalto School of Economics since 2005. His research interests include management consultancy, management systems, and leadership and organizational development.



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There are many challenges and opportunities in designing, developing and maintaining services for participatory modes of governance, not to mention their co-creation and peer-to-peer aspects. We ask what can be learned from the current research, and what is happening already beyond academia? With the aim to increase the opportunities for dialogue between the Finnish scene and the international context, we have gathered this collection of articles that deal broadly with the relationships between peer-to-peer dynamics, and public services. Most of the cases presented are illustrative of recent developments and discussions in Finnish society, however, also included are broader international perspectives, giving historical reflection and future-oriented speculation on how peer production might affect the structures of our society.

Aalto University - Special Interest Group (SIG) in co-creation, co-governance and peer-to-peer production of public services.
To download the publication and further information:
http://co-p2p.mlog.taik.fi/

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