WP4 Case studies
D4.2 Evaluation report on each case study

Case Study: User-Driven Development of Local Public Services in Kainuu, Finland

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Executive Summary

The subject of this case study and evaluation report is the process of *User-driven Public Service Development* (i.e. *Asiakaslähtöinen lähipalvelujen kehittäminen*). This *Development* process has taken place in Kajaani and other Kainuu region municipalities in Finland from 2014 onwards (Nieminen & Jäppinen 2015, 3), was in its most active period during 2014–2015, and will continue until the end of 2017. *User-driven Public Service Development* is, in essence, a collaborative, facilitated, experimental process taking place between municipal citizen groups, municipal service sectors and other relevant parties, using service design methods for planning and producing municipal services. It can be regarded as an instance of realising *participatory democracy*.

The case study is a product of the work package 4 (WP4) of the EU project *Innovative Social Investment* (*InnoSI*). *InnoSI* is a part of the *European Union Horizon 2020* programme, which is a "Framework Programme for Research and Innovation". *InnoSI* aims, among other goals, to "identify innovative approaches to social investment at national and regional levels […] with in-depth case study evaluations taking place in 10 Member States". (Horizon n.d.; Innosi 2016.) The process of *User-driven Public Service Development* is one of two examples presented as "Finnish cases" in the *InnoSI* project. The other one is *Youth Guarantee* (*Nuorisotakuu*) studied by researcher Kaisa Sorsa. Both case studies have been conducted during 2016 under the auspices of the *Turku University of Applied Sciences* [i.e. *Turun ammattikorkeakoulu*] in Turku, Finland.

The *User-driven Public Service Development* process can be seen as proceeding according to a *service design process*. We will in the study concentrate on the first three phases of the process: 1. discovery, 2. creation and 3. reality check (testing). In the *Development* process a service concept — or rather a *community development* concept — *May I Help You?* (i.e. *Arjen pelastajat*), was created. *May I Help You?* is a model where unemployed youth at risk of social exclusion are brought to do small everyday services for elderly people living alone. The principal aims are to integrate the youth to society and to help them find their

strengths and to alleviate the practical and loneliness-related problems of old age. Since the use of the *May I Help You?* concept has during the period of study been and still is in its early stage, information on its application is scant, and the last phase of the *Development* process, 4. implementation, receives only rather preliminary attention.

The study consists of a literature analysis, a needs assessment, the formulation of a theory of change, and analyses of process and impacts, the latter ending with a discussion section. A large part of the presented materials is based on a previous participatory action research study by Tuula Jäppinen (2015), named *Citizen participation as a systematic development tool in renewing healthcare services*. New empirical data was obtained by conducting interviews on the actors who participated in the *User-driven Public Service Development* process during 2014–2015.[1] Among the participants in the process were municipal citizens belonging to the two target groups of the service development work: *unemployed youth* and *elderly people*, both groups in danger of social exclusion. Also participating were, of course, the project *developers*, and the municipal *politicians* and *office-holders*. All the other groups could be reached for these interviews conducted in 2016, except for the unemployed youth, who had moved on in their lives since the most active *User-driven Development* period.

The study produced a multitude of interesting results. Some of the central observations and thoughts arising from the analysis are:

> - Both the *User-driven Development* process and the resulting *May I Help You?* concept can well be regarded as social innovations that have future oriented, investment-like properties.

- The *User-driven development* process in Kainuu 2014–2015 went well and it was well led. The interviewees in general felt that that the process was dialogical and municipal citizens were genuinely listened to.

- There were multiple rationalities to the usage of the the *User-driven Development* process in Kainuu. User-drivenness may enhance democracy, service productivity and service quality by means of citizen participation.

- A likely problem with any user-led development in municipalities is that all citizen groups can't be equally well reached. Strategies should be prepared to get all relevant parties to attend the development work.

- To enhance the use of *User-driven Development* in municipalities and to secure the transfer of citizen-generated knowledge to the municipal decision-making processes, the *Development* method should be integrated as a permanent and structural part of the local government decision-making culture.

- The implementation of both *May I Help You?* and the *User-driven* process model are in urgent need of local leadership. Only local actors — associations, organisations and enthusiastic individuals — can actually take the initiative and create something visible out of the plans and models.

- In Kainuu and in Finland generally, the process of designing service concepts (i.e. *User-driven Development* method) should be brought out in a stronger way alongside or even before its one single result, the *May I Help You?* concept. It now appears to some extent that one practical product of an interesting and potentially far-reaching experiment has taken the spotlight and the hard core of the whole project — the developing of participatory democracy — has been somewhat ignored.

- The *User-driven Development* process produced a total of 27 different service model. The *May I Help You?* concept was selected for implementation from among them. The other models should be revisited — useful practices may be left.

- On a societal level the *User-driven Development* method (participatory democracy) and the *May I Help You?* concept have also, at least latently, a welfare political agenda, an employment political agenda, and even commercial implications. In the welfare political agenda, civil society is taking charge of functions that formerly used to be the realm of public government. In the employment political agenda, functions that formerly may have created paid employment (design and performance of welfare functions) are transferred to the realm of voluntary work. Voluntary work (if not public governement any more) may displace commercial activies. The *User-driven* method and its products therefore also need to be properly discussed from a political viewpoint. The issues are: what kind of welfare policies are required and desired for the future, to what extent and how are the functions of public government, civil society and private care firms redistributed, and how do we compensate for the work of those citizens who may not be a part of mainstream work but still perform valuable and impact-laden services for the community?

1. Introduction

Finnish local government has during the last 20 years been an active field of governmental and service related reforms. Specifically, the *Reform to Restructure Municipalities and Services* (i.e. *PARAS* or *kunta- ja palvelurakennuudistus*) between the years 2005–2012 was a major, state-led project with the intention to induce municipal mergers and strengthen horizontal co-operation between municipalities. (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 3.)

The Kainuu region in north-eastern Finland (see Figure 1) has eight municipalities and about 75,000 inhabitants (Kainuun liitto n.d.; Kuntaliitto n.d.c.). The central municipality in the region is Kajaani. Kainuu has had a special role in the local government and service reforms. For a period of eight years (2005–2012; Kainuun sote n.d.), for example the social and health care services and secondary education, legally the responsibility of municipalities, were provided on a regional level (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 3), under the *Self-Government Experiment in Kainuu Region* (i.e. *Kainuun hallintokokeilu*).

Figure 1. The Kainuu region, and its location in Europe.[2]

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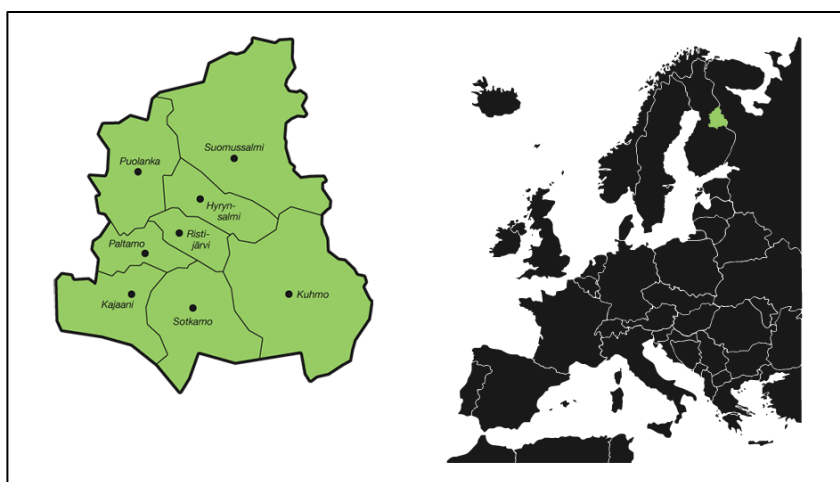
[2] Screen capture from Kainuun liitto (n.d.). Permission for use of the figure granted 5.10.2016 in an e-mail from web officer Arja Korhonen in the Regional Council of Kainuu (Kainuun liitto).

Among the purposes of the experiment was to gain experiences of the effects of provincial self-government on citizen participation (Finlex 9.5.2003/343). However, it was felt that the experiment did not succeed in paying enough attention to this aspect.3 In 2014, the *Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities* (i.e. *Suomen Kuntaliitto*) and the *Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region* (i.e. *Kainuun sote-kuntayhtymä*) launched the project *User-driven Public Service Development* (i.e. *Asiakaslähtöinen lähipalvelujen kehittäminen*) in the municipalities of the Kainuu area (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 4). The project *User-driven Public Service Development* is a collaborative, facilitated, experimental service design and implementation process on the local level. It has been and is taking place between municipal citizen groups, municipal service sectors and other relevant parties. The project chose as its target the youth outside of working life or education and elderly people (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 6). As a product of this project, several service concepts were generated. The community development concept *May I Help You?* (i.e. *Arjen pelastajat*) was chosen as the one to be realised, and this work is to continue until the end of 2017. *May I Help You?* aims at preventing social exclusion by bringing unemployed young people and elderly persons living alone into contact with each other. In the concept, the young people perform small, everyday services on behalf of the elderly.

The evaluative research report explains the Kainuu *User-driven Public Service Development* project and its impacts in detail, based both on documentary and empirical materials. It also presents the *May I Help You?* concept as an example that was both *the* product of the *Kainuu Development* project but also a singular demonstration of programmes that can be created in municipalities in a user-centred fashion.

The focus in this report is on the first three phases (for more information on the phases, see chapter 4. Theory of change) of the *User-driven Public Service Development* project: 1. discovery, 2. creation and 3. reality check (testing). For

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3 Personal communication from innovation specialist Tuula Jäppinen (Finnish Local and Regional Authorities) 3.3.2016.

the sake of simplicity we will here denote this period with the whole title *User-driven Public Service Development.* This studied period in Kainuu has already ended and there is data available. The last phase of the *Development project* — 4. implementation of the product *May I Help You?* — has only really started and is very much in its preliminary stages. There has not yet been enough empirical data to study it thoroughly.

This evaluative case study is a part of the Work Package 4 (WP4) of the project *Innovative Social Investment* (i.e. *InnoSI*). The study is a part of a set of *InnoSI* case studies that aim at identifying and presenting national and regional level innovative approaches to social investment. *InnoSI* belongs to the *European Union Horizon 2020* "Framework Programme for Research and Innovation" (Horizon n.d.; InnoSI 2016). In accordance with the aims of the *InnoSI* project and the case study guidance, we are looking at *User-driven Public Service Development* from an *evaluative* point of view as a potentially *investment*-worthy *innovative* project.

The concepts of social investment and innovation need to be defined. In the *Report on approaches to social investment from the scientific perspective* (Wiktorska-Świecka, Klimowicz, Michalewska-Pawlak & Moroń 2015), i.e. InnoSI WP2: State of Art, Deliverable D2.2, we have on page 23 an excellent definition by Nicholls et al. (2015, 31)[4] for the concept of *social innovation*: "'Social innovation encompasses new practices (concepts, policy instruments, new forms of cooperation and organisation), methods, processes and regulations that are developed and/or adopted by citizens, customers and politicians, in order to meet social demands and to resolve societal challenges in a better way than existing practices'". Brettenschneider[5], in Wiktorska-Świecka et al. (2015, 21) nails down well the idea of *social investment*: "The […] idea of the "Social

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[4] Wiktorska-Świecka, Klimowicz, Michalewska-Pawlak & Moroń 2015 are referring to "Nicholls A., Simon J., Gabriel M. (2015), *New Frontiers in Social Innovation Research*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills".
[5] Wiktorska-Świecka, Klimowicz, Michalewska-Pawlak & Moroń 2015 are referring to "Brettenschneider A. (2008), 'On the Way to Social Investment? The Normative Recalibration of the German welfare state', German Policy Studies/Politikfeldanalyse, Vol. 4 No. 2".

investment" perspective is "to move from 'consumptive' to 'productive' social spending; the idea of 'activating' and 'investing in the future', rather than spending and protecting in the here-and-now"". It says also in Wiktorska-Świecka et al. (2015, 23) that "social investments are most strategically delivered through socially innovative practices that empower people".

The study is in principle an *evaluation study*. It consists of the following parts, all of them commissioned by the *InnoSI WP4 Case Study Research and Evaluation Guide* (Baines, Fox, Ozan, Csoba and Sipos 2016): literature review, needs assessment, programme theory, and process and impact evaluation. The last part commissioned by the case study guidance, economic evaluation, was not conducted, because the cost and benefits of the project are either too abstract or scattered to be monetised in a comprehensive and credible manner. The *User-Driven Development Project* has been financed by the *Finnish Local and Regional Authorities*, i.e. *Kuntaliitto* (2014 and 2015, whole year) and the organisation *The Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region*, i.e. *Kainuun sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon kuntayhtymä*, or *Kainuun sote* (autumn 2015). In 2016, the project is financed by the *SOSTE Finnish Federation for Social Affairs and Health*, i.e. *SOSTE Suomen sosiaali ja terveys ry*.[6]

The study commences with a literature review in chapter 2. The review includes two main parts: analysis of policy and an academic literature analysis. Next, the needs assessment in chapter 3 treats the rationale for the *Development* process from the general viewpoints of an interest for democracy, and the productivity of the process and the quality of its result, and from the particular viewpoint of a need for good services in the Kainuu case. Chapter 4 introduces the theory of change for the programme. It is meant to explain why and how the project is supposed to be producing a change in lives, services and in the municipal decision-making culture. In chapters 5 and 6, respectively, we are studying the running of the *Development* process and the impact that it makes. At the end of chapter 6 there is a discussion that presents a recapitulation of some of the main

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[6] Personal communication from innovation specialist Tuula Jäppinen and specialist (former project coordinator) Ville Nieminen (Finnish Local and Regional Authorities) 20.9.2016.

results of the case study and discusses the issues of innovativeness and invest-worthiness in connection with the *User-driven Development* process. Chapter 7 only comments very shortly on the practical unfeasibility of a credible economic analysis in the present case.

2. Literature review

2.1 Policy analysis

2.1.1 Development of the policy

The Finnish municipal field has already for a rather long period been the subject of considerable reform work. A major example of this general trend is *PARAS*, the *Reform to Restructure Municipalities and Services* (i.e. *kunta- ja palvelurakenneuudistus*). *PARAS* was commenced in 2005 by the Finnish government, and the framework act (puitelaki) steering it, called the *Act on Restructuring Local Government and Services* (i.e. *laki kunta- ja palvelurakenneuudistuksesta*) (Meklin & Pekola-Sjöblom 2013, 7), was valid from 2007 to 2012 (Finlex: 9.2.2007/169, 15§; Kuntaliitto n.d.d.). The framework act lists municipal mergers, inter-municipal co-operation and new service delivery ways as the general tools for the reform (Finlex: 9.2.2007/169, 4; Vakkuri, Kallio, Tammi, Meklin & Helin 2010, 7, 15, 20). After *PARAS*, municipal reform work in Finland has continued for example in the form of the *Social Welfare and Health Care Reform* (i.e. *sote-uudistus eli sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon palvelurakenteen uudistus*).[7]

A rather special case of its own among the extensive reform activity has been the *Self-Government Experiment in Kainuu Region* (i.e. *Kainuun hallintokokeilu*). This self-government experiment is the relevant background for understanding the setting and the goals of our current concern in this *InnoSI* report and the present literature review.

The region of Kainuu is situated in the north-eastern part of Finland. It holds 8 municipalities and about 75,000 people (Kainuun liitto n.d.; Kuntaliitto n.d.c.). There were several reasons for the *Self-Government Experiment* to take place: the population was declining and people were aging, the amount of jobs and entrepreneurship was on the decline and the municipal economy was

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[7] See <http://alueuudistus.fi/en/frontpage> (in English) for more information.

deteriorating. The prevailing administrative structures were seen as deficient in producing large-scale and efficient economic activity. Kainuu was also regarded as an area of suitable size to serve as an experimental ground. The *Self-Government Experiment in Kainuu Region* started in 2005 and ended in 2012. As for the goals, the web page Kainuun sote lists, for example, the following: experience on regional self-governance, arranging of basic services and citizen participation. (Kainuun sote n.d.b.)

In the *Experiment*, the regional level decision-making was centralised in a single organ – the regional council (i.e. maakuntavaltuusto). The council was democratically elected, the election being combined with the municipal elections, and the number of elected persons was set to represent the municipalities of the Kainuu area in due proportion. What kinds of tasks were then to be managed on the regional level? Social and health care with the exception of childcare, secondary education and vocational adult education, policies in industrial and commercial activity, and regional development and planning in general. (Kainuun sote n.d.b.)

The *Kainuu Experiment* took place in 2005–2012. The subject of the report at hand is a later, but related, project, the process of *User-driven Public Service Development* (i.e. *asiakaslähtöinen lähipalvelujen kehittäminen*). The process of *User-driven Development* has been piloted in Kajaani and other Kainuu region municipalities from 2014 on (Nieminen & Jäppinen 2015, 3), and one of the *Kainuu Experiment* goals, citizen participation, is a/the main idea in the *User-driven* process. This is no coincidence: both before and after the *Kainuu Experiment* different actors were of the opinion that not enough attention had been given to developing the citizen participation aspect, especially as regards the decision-making process.[8] The work in the *User-driven Development* project has been conducted as a co-operation between the project *Vaikuttavat lähipalvelut* (by the Finnish Local and Regional Authorities, i.e. Kuntaliitto) and the organisation *The Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region*

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[8] Personal communication from innovation specialist Tuula Jäppinen (Finnish Local and Regional Authorities) 3.3.2016.

(Kainuun sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon kuntayhtymä, i.e. Kainuun sote) (Kainuun sote n.d.c.; Kuntaliitto n.d.a. and n.d.e.). The *User-driven Development* process is still under way and will continue until the end of 2017.

Tuula Jäppinen, an innovation specialist from the *Finnish Local and Regional Authorities*, who works as one of the main developers in the *User-driven* project, aims in her doctoral thesis at "depict[ing] how the local government sector can benefit from user-driven innovation" (Jäppinen 2011, 13). As a result of her investigations, she provides an ideal model wherein citizen participation and user-drivenness are utilised in developing municipal services (Jäppinen 2011, 156–160). The municipal citizen takes part in both the decision-making process and the service-development process (Jäppinen 2011, 156). Jäppinen's model is used in the Kainuu *User-driven Development* process.

The model from 2011 by Jäppinen is still very abstract. It is especially interesting to see how this kind of thinking can be and was implemented in reality. The success and results of this implementation work are what we are studying in the *InnoSI* research report at hand.

The results of the *User-driven* process in Kainuu were and are targeted for the unemployed youth in danger of social exclusion and for the elderly people living on their own. The regionally central municipality in the Kainuu area, Kajaani, has already proceeded to using a "final product" of the process, a project named *May I Help You?* (i.e. *Arjen pelastajat*). In the surrounding and participating municipalities, the *Development* process is still ongoing.

In *May I Help You?* unemployed youth do small favours and keep company with elderly people who still live at home but experience problems in performing everyday chores and may also suffer from loneliness. *May I Help You?* combines the efforts of the local government, the third sector and the citizens (Kuntaliitto n.d.a.). The concept aims at preventing the youth from social exclusion, and giving them a meaningful role in the society, belief for the future, and a basis for

working skills. For the elderly, its functions include preventing loneliness and benefiting from their life experience. (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, s. 21.)

Some conceptual clarification is in place as regards the subject of the present *InnoSI*-report and its relationship to innovating or innovations. In the academic literature on citizen participation, this participation is seen as both a *means* for innovation and an *end* of innovation in itself. In his recent article from 2015, Archon Fung treats citizen participation as an end, and looks into the different participatory designs or mechanisms as innovations. (He does study participation as a means also, yet does not only look at the substantial contents of the solutions produced by participation, but instead studies the more general benefits produced by participation, such as effectiveness and legitimacy, from a functional perspective.) Sørensen and Torfing (2011), on the other hand, study collaborative processes as sources of concrete, substantial public innovations. *Public innovation outputs* include "product and service innovation, process innovation, organizational innovation, policy innovation, and symbolic/rhetorical innovation", they write (p. 858). Both of the viewpoints are included in the analysis by Moore and Hartley (2008, 13) when they, referring to their empirical examples of governance innovations, write that "the innovations described […] may logically entail, or create the conditions under which, many different process and product innovations can occur". Our specific case, the *InnoSI*-studied process of *User-driven Development* in Kainuu, does also include both elements: the *Development* process is innovative as a means, but also the end product, the *May I Help You?* concept is an innovation — an innovation as an end. Though the two are logically distinct from each other (in this case we don't really subscribe to the notion by Moore and Hartley of the logical connection between the means and the ends), there is a connection in substance between the two. The Kainuu process has, and has had, as its premise to produce services for specifically the youth and the elderly. We can now ask, if the *User-driven Development* as a process is capable of producing an end product that is satisfactory when seen in a broader framework, is it, in a sense, "better" than any other product that could have been produced by alternative means ("traditional" administration, maybe), is it more acceptable for the citizens, the politicians, the

officials, more effective and democratic, and so on? Here we are focusing on the process, not the singular result, but the two are intertwined in the bigger picture.

2.1.2 Legislative framework

The legislative framework for the *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* includes at least the *Local Government Act* (i.e. *kuntalaki*) and the *Act on the Regional Self-Government Experiment in Kainuu* (i.e. *laki Kainuun hallintokokeilusta*). The *Local Government Act* guarantees the municipal citizens' and service users' right to have an influence in municipal matters (Finlex: 10.4.2015/410, 22§). The *Act on the Regional Self-Government Experiment in Kainuu* (Finlex: 9.5.2003/343) has, among other goals, the aim to gain experience on the effects of the strengthening of the regional self-government on municipal service production and citizen participation (§ 1).

2.2 Academic analysis: theory and empirical research on the policy area

2.2.1 Search strategy

The literature analysis on the materials relevant to the *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* process was commenced by gaining familiarity to the documents (articles, books and web pages) and document links that innovation adviser Tuula Jäppinen from the Finnish Local and Regional Authorities (Kuntaliitto) provided. Jäppinen is one the main developers in Kainuu *User-driven Development* project and she was also functioning as an adviser in the *InnoSI* WP4 Kainuu casework. Much of the material I obtained from her (especially her MBA-case study from 2015; Jäppinen 2015) is based on her empirical participatory action research on the subject, the *User-driven Development*. This part of Jäppinen's material qualifies also as a source to the main sections of this *InnoSI* research report, and will here, in the literature review part, be only treated in a cursory manner. In this literature review we are, instead, concentrating on the more general international and Finnish discussion

on collaborative service innovating in municipalities. In this background discussion we will, of course, also utilise the viewpoints and perspectives that Jäppinen offers in the *theoretical* and *background* sections of her study from 2015.

Additional scholarly material for the literature review was found by searching from the scientific database *Web of Science* (Core Collection) and from the reference listings in material found or already known to be relevant. Search words applied with the *Web of Science* were participat* (for participation, participatory, etc.), collaborat* (for collaboration, collaborative, etc.), user-driven, citizen, network* (for networked etc.), public, social, local, municipal, servic* (for service, services etc.) and innovat* (for innovation, innovative, etc.). A selection of the most suitable areas of social sciences was searched. These included public administration, management, social work, political science, sociology, social sciences, interdisciplinary and social issues. The search results were refined to include material from the year 2005 onwards. Several different searches were done with various selections and combinations of the search words. Soon it became obvious that the materials found by *Web of Science* were highly dependent on the specific selection of search words. Therefore, a set of articles was handpicked from among the search materials using relevance, recurrence and citation statistics as criteria.

2.2.2 Results from the analysis

Tuula Jäppinen (2011) has made a thorough review of both international and Finnish literature on public sector innovation. To avoid duplicate work it is at this stage of the *InnoSI* report process rational to draw heavily on her text as a source in presenting the field and start by listing some relevant sources. Some of the sources listed by Jäppinen, some sources found by means of the recent search with the search engine *Web of Science* and some additional information obtained from Tuula Jäppinen directly will then be used to dig into a few of the central ideas and concepts of the field.

As regards international (that is, English speaking) literature, Jäppinen (2011, 16–17) writes that Altshuler and Behn (1997), Borins (1998), Moore and Hartley (2008) and Verheijen and Coombes (2008) have studied innovations from the viewpoint of administration, and Hartley (2005) has approached the field from the perspective of both administration and public services. Mulgan and Albury (2003), Albury (2005) and Windrum and Koch (2008) have applied a general viewpoint. Moore (2005) has, according to Jäppinen (2011, 17) studied innovations from the perspective of processes. These are some relevant points of entry. For reasons of economy and time it was impossible to actually use all of the potential sources in the present *InnoSI* case study. To the extent that they are here used as primary sources in the literature review, they will be listed in the "References: Used Literature" and to the extent that they are not yet reviewed, they will be listed as "References: Potential Literature" at the end of the presentation at hand. This way all the relevant information about sources mentioned in the text is easily retrievable.

A set of numerous additional sources besides the ones mentioned above was found by the *Web of Science* search. Five of them are used in this review: Bovaird 2007, Fung 2015, Hartley 2005, Pestoff 2006, and Voorberg, Bekkers, and Tummers 2015. These sources are all used and listed in the main references list.

What about the study of public sector innovation in Finland? Jäppinen (2011, 69) lists the following studies, among others.[9] Hennala, Linna and Pekkarinen (2008), Hyvönen and Valovirta (2009a and 2009b), Jäppinen (2009a and 2009b) and Lovio and Kivisaari (2010) have studied public sector innovating in general; Anttiroiko (2009) from the viewpoint of administration; Hämäläinen (2005), Kivisaari and Saranummi (2006), Taipale and Hämäläinen (2007), Saari (2006) and Hautamäki (2008) from both the perspectives of administration and public services. Jäppinen's (2011, 69) list continues. Miettinen and Koivisto (2009) studied innovations from the perspective of processes and methods; Apilo, Taskinen and Salkari (2007), Oikarinen, Hennala and Linna (2008), Jäppinen

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[9] Some of this information has been checked and corrected by consulting the writer Tuula Jäppinen personally 25.10.2016.

(2009) and Sotarauta (2009) from the viewpoint of management; and Kostiainen (2007) and Rilla and Saarinen (2007) from the viewpoint of public procurement. All these are listed as "Potential Literature" in the References section.

Let's now start sorting out what kind of information the various, actually used sources contain about the innovative development work with public services.

In an article called "Innovation in Governance and Public Services: Past and Present" (2005), Jean Hartley presents and analyses three approaches to innovation in the public sector: the one of the "traditional" public administration, the one of the "New Public Management" (NPM) and the one based on "networked governance" i.e. "citizen-centred governance" (p. 29). Within the "traditional" model users of service are *clients*, within NPM they are *customers*, and within networked governance they act as *co-producers* of innovation and service (Hartley 2005, 30). In the present InnoSI case report, the last of these views, network governance with co-producing municipal citizens, is obviously the most relevant.

Eva Sørensen and Jacob Torfing (2011) write about the contemporary growth of "interactive forms of governance through networks and partnerships". "The growing fragmentation, complexity, and dynamism of - - societies" has created the need for this growth. Traditional top-down hierarchical government has been considered as insufficient. (Sørensen & Torfing 2011, 842.) As Bovaird writes in 2007, policy is seen as negotiated and delivery and management are not any more the realm of only managers and professionals (Bovaird 2007, 846). Innovative solutions are needed and produced.

Tuula Jäppinen writes in her doctoral thesis (2011) that studying public sector development measures or reforms as *innovations* is rather a new trend. According to Jäppinen it was at the turn of the century that studies on public

sector innovations really started.10 (Jäppinen 2011, 16.) She says11 that the general pace of changes and the widening of the innovation concept from technical to social have boosted the dispersion to the public sector of the discussion on innovations (Jäppinen 2011, 17).

Above, in connection with Hartley (2005), it was judged that the form of innovations we are here interested in have to do with "networked governance". Moore and Hartley in their article from 2008 set to decipher what "innovations in governance" precisely means. They claim that these kinds of innovation differ from what they call "the product/service/process innovations that have been the focus - - in the private sector literature" (p. 12) or, in the case of government, might have been innovations in government *operations* solely. They present a few empirical examples and based on them list five ways that mark the difference: 1. the "governance innovations" burst the boundaries of organisations and create networks, 2. they tap into new kinds of resources, 3. they use the government's capacity and authority to steer the action, 4. they alter the balance on who is to decide what is to be produced, and 5. they include and entail both moral and instrumental evaluating. They are innovations in the *governance* of society and social conditions. (Moore & Hartley 2008, 14–18.)

Jäppinen writes12 that "the recent debate on innovation has brought to the fore the openness of innovations, and the increased role of clients and networking"

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10 Jäppinen refers to Moore & Hartley (2008, 4), Nelson 2008, xi and Windrum 2008, 3 as sources of this information (Jäppinen 2011, 16). Moore and Hartley (2008) are included also in the reference list of the present review. The other two sources are referred to by Jäppinen's reference list as follows: "Nelson, R. (2008): Foreword. Teoksessa [In.] Windrum, P. & Koch, P. (eds.): Innovation in public services: creativity, entrepreneurship and management. Edward Elgar. x–xi" and "Windrum, P. & Koch, P. eds. (2008): Innovation in Public Services: Entrepreneurship, Creativity and Management. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar".

11 Jäppinen bases this on "Lundvall, B-Å. (1988) Innovation as an interactive process. From user-producer interaction to the national system innovation. Teoksessa [In] Dosi, G., Freeman, C., Nelson, R., Silverberg, G. & Soete, L. (eds.) Technical Change and Economic Theory. London/New York: Publishers. 349–369" and "Hennala, L., Linna, P. & Pekkarinen, S. (2008) Julkisen sektorin innovaatiotoiminnasta. Teoksessa [In] Harmaakorpi, V. & Melkas, H. (toim. [eds.]) Innovaatiopolitiikkaa järjestelmien välimaastossa. Lappeenrannan teknillinen yliopisto ja Suomen Kuntaliitto. Acta-julkaisusarja nro 200. 1. painos. Helsinki: Kuntatalon paino. 93–108", p. 94.

12 On page 62, Jäppinen is referring to page 4 of "Rilla, N. & Saarinen, J. (toim. [eds.]) (2007) Tutkimusmatka innovaatioihin. Tekes. Teknologiakatsaus 197/2007. Helsinki: Painotalo Miktor."

(Jäppinen 2011, 13, 62). According to Jäppinen, open innovation is a term that was promoted by Chesbrough (2003)[13] and it combines the concepts of network-based innovation and user-driven innovation. The concept user-driven, again, has been introduced by von Hippel (1988)[14]. (Jäppinen 2011, 13, 62, 93.) Von Hippel was referring to innovations by users in the private sector (Jäppinen 2011, 98).[15] In this *InnoSI* case, we are talking about public sector innovating, and innovating that concerns services for citizens. The clients' role and the already mentioned user-drivenness are of particular interest.

Jäppinen writes that representative and direct democracy are the traditional ways to take part in decision-making concerning public services (in Jäppinen's case, municipal services). A newer way is to take part in the development work via user-driven innovation work. (Jäppinen 2011, 112.) "User-drivenness" in municipal services means, says Jäppinen (2011, 106), service development that takes as its starting point the citizens' needs.

The field seems to be bursting with synonymous or nearly synonymous terms to user-drivenness. *Co-production* is one such word. To Bovaird (2007, 846), user and community co-production is "the provision of services through regular, long-term relationships between professionalized service providers - - and service users or other members of the community, where all parties make substantial resource contributions". In his article, Bovaird (2007) provides a typology depicting the possible planning–delivery relationships between users and communities on the one hand and service professionals on the other hand, and he gives an impressive list of different empirical cases and examples. They

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13 Jäppinen refers to Chesbrough 2003, xxx–xxvi and Kostiainen 2007, 1. These sources are "Chesbrough, H. (2003) Open Innovation. The New Imperative for Creating and Profiting from Technology. Paper back 2006. Harward Business School Press. Boston: Massachusetts" and "Kostiainen, J. (2007) Kaupunkiseutujen kehitys ja itseuudistuminen. Käsitteellistä perustaa etsimässä. SENTE työraportteja 16/2007. Tampereen yliopisto".
14 Jäppinen refers to von Hippel 1988 and Mutanen & Parjanen 2008, 17. These sources are "von Hippel, E. (1988) The Sources of Innovation. Oxford University Press. New York" and "Mutanen, A. & Parjanen, S. (2008) Käytännönläheisen innovaatiotoiminnan teoreettiset perusteet. Teoksessa Harmaakorpi, V. & Melkas, H. (toim.) Innovaatiopolitiikkaa järjestelmien välimaastossa. Lappeenrannan teknillinen yliopisto ja Suomen Kuntaliitto. Acta-julkaisusarja nro 200. 1. painos. Helsinki: Kuntatalon paino. 17–27".
15 Jäppinen refers to von Hippel 1988. The source information is provided in footnote 14.

include cases such as participatory budgeting, user consultation committees, health-promoting hospitals, environmental schemes and community credit unions. (Bovaird 2007.) Co-production seems to have a rather wide area of applications.

Sørensen and Torfing use yet another related term. They target their research efforts at *collaborative innovation* — joint innovation work conducted by different parties — in public innovation work (Sørensen & Torfing 2011, 845). Their main claim is that innovation work is more effective and successful with a collaborative process: both the generation of ideas, the selection of ideas, the implementation, and the dissemination of ideas (Sørensen & Torfing 2011, 852).

In user-driven co-production, the clients, customers, citizens or users may have a possibility to take part in service innovations by participating directly. As we are talking about *co*-production, then what about the role of public managers? *Metagovernance*, Sørensen and Torfing (2011, 857–858) write, is a useful concept in depicting how the new theories of governance networks see their role: "to create, institutionalize, and manage open and flexible arenas for collaborative interaction with other relevant and affected actors". Nevertheless, the managers' role is by no means simple. Pestoff reminds that citizen participation may be confronted by reluctance from the side of administrators and service professionals (Pestoff 2006, 508). Both doubts about the citizens' skills (Pestoff 2006, 508) but also status related considerations matter. Bovaird gives a concrete example based on his treatment of a participant budgeting case in a Brazilian city. He says that some staff groups have not welcomed the "interference" caused by citizen participation, and have resorted to resistance. (Bovaird 2007, 850–852.)

Besides citizens and administrators, networked governance includes many other types of actors, whose roles must be reckoned with in practice and discussed in the study. These include at least politicians, third sector and private sector firms. With all kinds of actors included, networked governance is a complex mix of motives, processes and outcomes that needs to be clarified. We'll take a look at

this on a general level as the last subject in this literature review. Voorberg, Bekkers and Tummers have recently (2015) written a review article on articles and books that handle co-creation or co-production with citizens in public innovation activity.16 They give *social innovation* the following longish characterisation: "[T]he creation of long-lasting outcomes that aim to address societal needs by fundamentally changing the relationships, positions and rules between the involved stakeholders, through an open process of participation, exchange and collaboration with relevant stakeholders, including end-users, thereby crossing organizational boundaries and jurisdictions". The participation of end-users, they write, is in the literature named *co-creation*. What the writers want to find out is, "[w]hat do we know about the types, objectives, outcomes and conditions under which co-creation --- with citizens take[s] place in innovation processes in the public sector" (italics removed). (Voorberg, Bekkers and Tummers 2015, 1334.)

As for the *conditions* of co-creation, the authors list several factors that affect co-creation. Their article implies that on the organisational side catalysators for co-creation include the compatibility of the organisational structures and processes, favourable administrative culture and the attitudes of public officials and politicians and clear benefits from incorporating the citizens. On the citizen's side, important things are a sort of a pro-social and responsible attitude, skills to participate and social ties and trust (Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers 2015, 1342–1343).

A particularly interesting finding in the study by Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers was that a fair majority of the reviewed studies did not pay any interest in the *outcomes* of the co-creation process. Rather, co-creation seems to be considered "as a virtue in itself". (Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers 2015, 1344–1346.) The writers elaborate more on this: maybe the main function of citizen participation is to produce normative integration and to achieve political legitimacy (Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers 2015, 1349).

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16 *Co-creation* is yet another term among the multitude of concepts resembling each other.

Enhancing political legitimacy is a relevant reason for integrating citizens more tightly into decision-making, especially if and when representational democracy is considered to be in crisis (see Fung 2015, 515). But, effective governance is another good reason for the integration. In his article, when treating the legitimising force of citizen participation, Fung only looks into specific examples of participatory innovations where citizens are enlisted to redesign rules for political competition. The effectiveness of governance comes into the picture when we measure its capability of solving substantive problems, such as producing public goods and services. Fung directs our attention to multisectoral problem solving and the so-called "wicked problems". Organisational networks and connecting capacities across different disciplines and even across the public, private and third sectors may be of help. (Fung 2015, 515–517.)

Why, exactly, involve citizens in *participatory multisectoral problem solving*, as Fung calls this participation form? Why include the costs in time and coordination? Fung gives four reasons. Citizens can help frame the particular problem more accurately, citizens are well-placed to solve any ethical trade-offs, the people affected by problems can provide relevant information to help devise solutions and, finally, people can also act as co-producers and therefore bring more resources to the actual work in problem treatment. (Fung 2015, 517.)

Pestoff (2006), however, gives an important stabilising point of view to the discussion. Namely, when paid personnel is substituted with *voluntary* efforts, this just means that public sector costs are transferred to ordinary citizens. (Pestoff 2006, 507.) Also Bovaird urges us to ask why citizens ought to be coproducing (in the first place) (Bovaird 2007, 855). For example, how does public involvement solve any problems of efficiency, if citizens of an active age and with skills can't afford to pay the costs and spare time from their paid work and family duties to actually benefit the process of innovation and production? Only people who have no opportunity costs from taking part in participatory governance would then be able to actually take part in it. This would mean groups such as pensioners, the unemployed and youth who are not in education.

These are just the groups that are involved in the presently studied *InnoSI* case. Even if the process works for them, we can't conclude that a similar process might work for other citizen groups.

These were some of the central and interesting viewpoints from theoretical and empirical literature to help understand and assess the *InnoSI* case treated in the report at hand. Relevant concepts and ideas introduced included innovation, governance and user-drivenness. Both the benefits and possible downsides of user-driven innovative governance were treated shortly. These viewpoints will come in handy when we start to empirically evaluate the process and products of the *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* in Kainuu*.

2.3 Previous evaluations

The *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* process pilot in the Kainuu region has not been evaluated before, but with one exception. A participatory action research study by one of the main developers of the process, Tuula Jäppinen (2015), contains evaluative elements. These elements are, though, to be brought forward in other parts of this *InnoSI* evaluation report, beside the newer empirical materials to be collected for the present *InnoSI* case report. Jäppinen's study from 2015 and the newer material are interconnected in the present reporting task.

3. Needs assessment

3.1 Introduction

"Needs assessment", according to Rossi, Lipsey and Freeman (2004, 102), is
"[t]he family of procedures used by evaluators [- -] to systematically describe
and diagnose social needs". In needs assessment, firstly, "an evaluator
determines whether there is a need for a program", i.e. is there a social
"problem" that should be solved. "Effective programs are instruments for
improving social conditions". A programme is "intended to alleviate" a social
problem. Secondly, in needs assessment the evaluator analyses "what program
services are most appropriate to that need". (Rossi, Lipsey and Freeman 2004,
102.)

What is or what are the "social problems" or "needs" that the *User-driven Public
Service Development* programme has been and is targeting in the Kainuu region?
What means does or should the programme use? These are the questions to be
asked in the present WP4 needs assessment. The *User-driven Development*
process has been tried out and employed, and the resulting project model *May I
Help you?* is being taken into use. Therefore, the questions already should have
been answered, at least implicitly. For existing answers, we may turn to two
works by Tuula Jäppinen: firstly, a doctoral thesis by the name of *Kunta ja
käyttäjälähtöinen innovaatiotoiminta* (i.e. *Municipalities and user-driven
innovation*) (2011), and secondly, the thesis *Citizen Participation as a Systematic
Development Tool in Renewing Social and Healthcare services — a Case Study in
the Public Service Context* (2015). Moreover, we can use two booklets by the
Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities (i.e. *Kuntaliitto*):
Asiakaslähtöinen lähipalvelujen kehittäminen (i.e. *User-driven Public Service
Development*] by Nieminen and Jäppinen (2015) and *Asiakaslähtöisyys
päätöksenteossa* (i.e. *User-drivenness in Decision-Making*) by Jäppinen and
Nieminen (2015). In addition to the aforementioned works, we may study other
theoretical and empirical literature especially in the areas of administration and
forms of democracy.

3.2 The social problem(s) to be solved

A "program[--] [is an] instrument[--] for improving social conditions", alleviating social problems (Rossi, Lipsey and Freeman 2004, 102). What is or are the social conditions that the *User-driven Public Service Development* programme and, on the other hand, the *May I Help You?* concept aim at improving? In other words, what is or are the *needs* that the programme(s) address(es) (see Rossi, Lipsey and Freeman 2004, 102)?

Essentially, in the Kainuu case we have two programmes to consider: the *User-driven Public Service Development* process, which has been used to build up the *May I Help You?* concept, which, again, is also a programme. The two programmes are content-wise intertwined but logically separate.

Since we have two logically separate programmes, we also have at least two problems, tasks or task groups that these programmes address. Firstly, what does the *User-driven Development* process as such achieve? Let's take some examples from Jäppinen (2011). Jäppinen writes that democracy can be enhanced when the citizens' opportunities for contributing are augmented. It is possible to fit the services to better meet the citizens' needs. The user-driven processes modernise service provision. It is also possible to improve productivity and quality. (Jäppinen 2011, 15.) The value that the concept resulting from the *User-driven* process, *May I Help You!*, is meant to provide is presented by Jäppinen and Nieminen (2015, 21). The youth can give the elderly help in daily chores. They may keep them company and provide listening and empathy. The elderly can teach the youth some self-knowledge, confidence and life's wisdom. In the longer run, this should shield the youth from social exclusion and give them a sense of meaning in their community, belief for the future and some foundation for skills in working life. As regards the elderly, the concept *May I Help You*? may prevent loneliness, enhance general quality of life and can also give some opportunities to put one's life's experiences into use. (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 21.)

Both of the programmes — the *User-driven* programme and the *May I Help You!* concept — will be treated below, albeit concentrating on the first. The main focus of the study is the *User-driven* process. Despite their separate formal nature, the two programmes (or processes) are interconnected via contents. The content related connection between these two programmes derives from the fact that the *User-driven Public Service Development* process only functions when it has "ingredients", i.e. a problem to be solved. The targeted problem is the services for the youth and the elderly and, as Jäppinen (2015, 82) writes, the process "combin[es] the service design and decision-making processes together". In this particular sense, the process of *User-driven Public Service Development* is a whole: the form and the contents are dependent on each other. Therefore, when the process of *User-driven Development* is over we can both analyse the quality of the end result, the *May I Help You?* concept, and also based on the quality of this result, make indirect conclusions about the *User-driven* process as a producer of service concepts.

Due to the complexity of the setting — the somewhat layered or nested problems and solutions — it is advisable to introduce an extra concept besides *needs* to help the analysis. This is the concept of *interest*.

3.3 A useful conceptual distinction: interests and needs

As regards the aim of the *User-driven Public Service Development* programme to enhance democracy or to improve productivity and quality, the concept "needs assessment" seems a bit wrong. Democracy is not a "need" unless we reduce it to, say, the "will to be heard" or some equivalent psychological state or propensity. We could rather say that it is in the *interest* of the citizens that democracy be enhanced, so that *needs* can be better served. Neither are productivity or quality of services really "needs" in the usual sense. It is in the *interest* of the citizens that productivity and quality are high. Referring to *interests* would be in line with the conception that Anthony Giddens explicates in his book *Central Problems in Social Theory*, "to say that A has an interest in a given course of action,

occurrence or state of affairs, is to say that the course of action, etc. facilitates the possibility of A achieving his or her wants" (Giddens 1979, 189).

Unlike the *User-driven Public Service Development* programme, the project *May I Help You?* that was developed in the programme can be seen to answer *more specific needs.* It is a service that targets "special" citizen groups, the youth and the elderly, and in both cases aims at, broadly speaking, preventing social exclusion (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 21). It should be noted, though, that there is no exact border between interests and needs, and the difference is always dependent on the level of inspection and the perspective of the inspecting.

In the needs analysis of this case study we will firstly study democracy, productivity and quality as *interests*. This will take place in chapter 3.4. In our primary "needs analysis" the concept of interests is, in a sense, taking the place of the concept of needs. Therefore, instead of needs analysis we could speak of "analysis of interests". The actual and substantial, practical needs of the targeted populations — the youth and the elderly — will be treated only secondly and in chapter 3.5. These needs that the youth and elderly have are the focus of a more traditional secondary "needs analysis", where needs are concrete needs, not abstract interests. The setting of the inquiry is presented in figure 2.

Figure 2. A Two-part needs analysis.

Needs analysis, part 1:
Interests as "needs": interest for democracy, quality and
productivity
       - abstract
       - general
       - answered by the *User-driven Development* method
       - in chapter 3.4

Needs analysis, part 2:
Needs as "needs": what the unemployed youth and the elderly
people need
       - concrete
       - case-specific
       - answered by the *May I Help You?* concept
       - in chapter 3.5
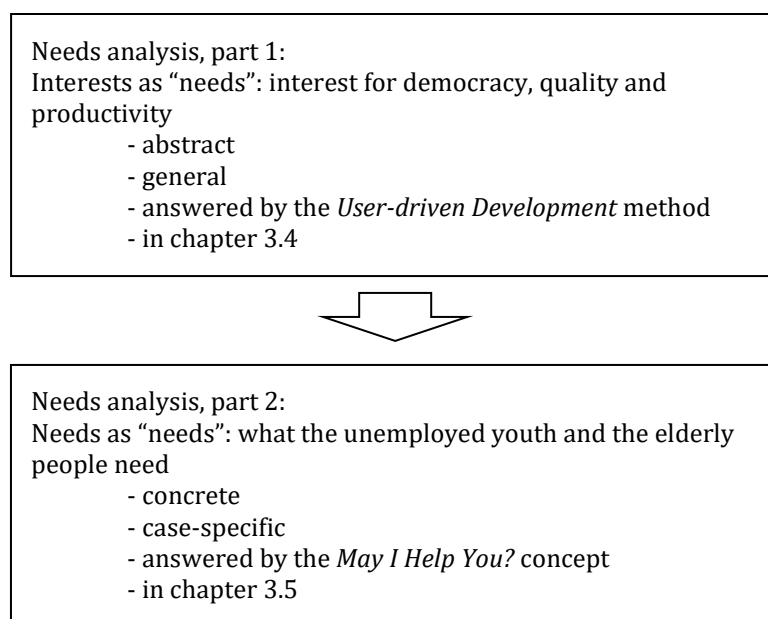
3.4 Interest for democracy, quality and productivity

Our attention in this *InnoSI* case study is very much directed at the innovative character of the *User-driven Public Service Development* programme in producing democratic participation, and the value of the programme and participation in general as a social investment. This calls for some insight into democracy and decision-making in Finnish municipalities, the theory of democracy, the specific situation of the Kainuu region as regards democracy, and also some attention to the different projects to develop administrative processes in Kainuu.

Finnish local government is mostly built on the principle of *representative democracy*. The municipal citizens elect the councillors and the council decides on other political organs and the most important public officials. In principle, the officials prepare issues for decision-making and the politicians make the decisions, and the officials then implement them. (Oulasvirta & Brännkärr 2001, 21.)

The participative process can, from the point of view of governmental and political decision-making, be seen as an instance of *user democracy* (see Jäppinen

2011, 56; Jäppinen 2015, 14). According to Jäppinen, user democracy is "direct participation" wherein the service users have the power to take part in planning and developing their own services, and where they can make decisions concerning these services (Jäppinen 2013, 67). This kind of definition sounds a lot like what Haus and Sweeting (2006) mean by *participatory democracy*, and, indeed, the borderline is blurred. Haus and Sweeting (2006, 278) write that "forms of user democracy are sometimes considered as 'participatory'".

The following principle(s) of justification apply to participatory democracy, according to Held (2006, 215): "An equal right to liberty and self-development can only be achieved in a 'participatory society', a society which fosters a sense of political efficacy, nurtures a concern for collective problems and contributes to the formation of a knowledgeable citizenry capable of taking a sustained interest in the governing process". Schiller lists some features characterising participatory democracy. *Political equality*, a general normative principle of theories of democracy, is central. In participatory democracy it expands to areas of life outside of voting. Also, people are seen as capable of participating in a *meaningful way*, and having and being able to express preferences and choices. Their preferences are also seen as results of a participatory *process*. (Schiller 2007, 53.)

It seems that the process viewpoint at least has been rather well covered in the *User-driven Development* programme. According to the depictions in the materials covering the programme (Jäppinen 2015, Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, Nieminen & Jäppinen 2015), the decision-making processes consist of multiple phases with an iterative and conversational approach to coming up with solutions. Whether this has really been the case in the true sense must be clarified by interviewing the participants that have taken part in the processes. Another thing to be studied by interviews is, do the participants feel like they have truly been listened to and their opinions taken into consideration in the decision-making work. Has their participation, in other words, made a difference?

As concerns the equality viewpoint as a characteristic of participatory democracy, hasn't the *User-Driven Development* programme actually been a rather special case as concerns the opportunities for different people to take part in collaborative decision-making? The *Development* programme has been targeted at elderly people and the unemployed youth. Both groups may have more time to participate in municipal decision-making in comparison to, for example, citizens in work life and with small children. Moreover, according to Pikkarainen, the development manager of Kainuu Social and Health Care Joint Authority (i.e. *Kainuun sote*, that is, *Kainuun sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon kuntayhtymä*) it was "much easier to get the elderly people to participate [in the developing process] than the youth" (Pikkarainen 2015, 22). So, we may not be able to draw very outstretching conclusions about the success of participatory democracy in general from the activity of these groups.

In this *InnoSI* case study on the Kainuu *Development* process we have already, in chapter 2.1. (Policy analysis), surveyed the central factors and elements that we should use to understand and treat the background of participatory governance and decision-making in the Kainuu region. These include the intensive and extensive reform culture in Finnish local government in general, and especially the *Self-Government Experiment in Kainuu Region* (i.e. *Kainuun hallintokokeilu*) in 2005–2012. One of the goals of the *Self-Government Experiment* was citizen participation (Kainuun sote n.d.b.) and the citizens' and service users' right to have an influence in municipal matters is stipulated already in the Local Government Act (Finlex: 10.4.2015/410, 22§). As was already noted in chapter 2.1., there was a prevailing attitude that the citizen participation aspect had not been given enough attention.[17]

As always with administrative reforms, one has to be careful in judging which way causes and effects work. Oftentimes in a particular situation, one may have a ready solution or model at hand and a desire to test it. He or she just needs a suitable problem or case to actually use the model. This kind of a setting

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[17] Personal communication from innovation specialist Tuula Jäppinen (Finnish Local and Regional Authorities) 3.3.2016.

resembles the so-called *garbage can* model of decision-making (Daft 1986, 363–367). In the *InnoSI* Kainuu Case, this possibility is also to be kept in mind.

We might say, in a normative tone, that people have an interest in democracy. But, what is not clear is if they have a need for particularly the participatory form or user-driven form of democracy, and whether they have the time or the will to invest time and effort to actually take part in development processes, which are potentially laborious and time-consuming.

Besides the participative and democratic nature of the *Development* programme, also the *quality* of the results is an important issue, and so is the *productivity* of the process that produces these results. Both quality and productivity are in the *interest* of municipal citizens. Does the participatory nature of the decision-making process have the potential to produce *better* social programmes and practices than the more usual representative process, or to *fill in holes* that the representative process leaves? Does it produce these programmes and practices in a more efficient or economic manner? These questions are hard to treat without empirical materials. Also, we would need a body of several experiments in the style of the *Development* process, and preferably a comparative setting, to say anything solid about this. We will to some extent treat the issues of quality and productivity in chapters 5 and 6.

From the interests for democracy, quality and productivity that the *User-driven* method *in general* is supposed to answer we now move on the more *specific* needs that the particular *User-driven* process in Kainuu was supposed to fulfill. What kind of needs do the unemployed youth and elderly people have?

3.5 Need for services: unemployment and aging as two trends in Kainuu

The *Kainuu-ohjelma* [Kainuu Programme], published in 2015 by Kainuun liitto, includes the *Maakuntasuunnitelma 2035* [Regional Plan 2035] and *Maakuntaohjelma 2014–2017* [Regional Programme 2014–2017]. The Kainuu

programme includes the wellbeing of the Kainuu people as one of its three main focuses. Sub-goals for wellbeing include employment and livelihood, health and ability to function, and social inclusion and communality. (Kainuun liitto 2015, 6–7.) We can see that the *User-driven Public Service Development Programme,* as has been used in Kainuu, and its resulting programme, the *May I Help You?* concept, are well in line with the sub-goals for wellbeing in Kainuu.

To get a clearer and more vivid picture of the needs of the people, let's take a look at the socio-economic situation in Kainuu. The population in the Kainuu region is diminishing: people are moving out. Especially the youth are leaving the region. One notable reason is that there is no permanent university education available in the region. (Kainuun liitto 2015, 14.) Kainuu is aging. It says in the Kainuun liitto 2015 that the proportion of people over 65 years has doubled from 1980 to 2012. (Kainuun liitto 2015, 15.)

Unemployment has been high in the area for a long time already and is the worst in Finland: 15.2% in 2013 when the unemployment in the whole country was 11.3%. Especially youth unemployment and long-term unemployment have been on the rise. Unemployment is yet another reason for the people to move out of the region. (Kainuun liitto 2015, 18.)

Also the state of citizen wellbeing is poorer than in the rest of the country. This seems to apply to economic, social and psychological factors. (Kainuun liitto 2015, 19.)

Unemployed youth and elderly people who were between 75–85 and living at home were chosen as the two target groups already in the pre-planning period of the Kainuu region *User-driven Development* project. These two groups were selected because they are the most costly clients of social and healthcare services. (Jäppinen 2015, 36.) They were, according to Jäppinen, also target groups in the regional plan *Renewing Kainuu 2025* (Jäppinen 2015, 52).

What are the specific needs of the two groups? *A Strategy for the Politics of Aging in Kainuu* (i.e. *Kainuun ikääntymispoliittinen strategia*) was published in Kainuu in 2012. It says in the report that "Kainuu can be considered the forerunner of aging in Europe" (Ryhänen 2012, 1). The goals for the strategy for aging politics are: a) to increase the inclusion and opportunities to participate of the aging, b) to improve the ability to function and the health of the aging, and c) that new, qualitatively sustainable solutions are developed for service provision. (Ryhänen 2012, 5.) All the goals resonate well with the *User-driven Public Service Development* programme. In this strategy, what is meant by "the aging", is "anyone middle-aged or older" (Ryhänen 2012, 6; see also Kainuun sote n.d.a.). The perspective seems to have a strong inclination to social investment policies — hence the word "strategy" in the programme title.

In accordance with the *Law on Youth* [nuorisolaki, 27.1.2006/72], once in every four years the Finnish government approves of a *programme for developing the policies on the youth*. The programme is meant to give guidelines, for example, the youth policies in municipalities. [Finlex.]

There has been a *programme for developing the policies on children and the youth 2012–2015* (i.e. *Lapsi- ja nuorisopolitiikan kehittämisohjelma* 2012–2015) (Aluehallintovirasto 2015a; Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2016). A new programme for 2016–2019 is (at least) in the making (Aluehallintovirasto 2015b).

The region of Kainuu has had its own programme for developing the policies on children and the youth (see Kaunismaa & Kainuun kuntien nuorisotyöntekijät, n.d.), effective 2010–2015. According to this programme, some of the central "challenges" for development work are economic shortage, multi-professional action and networking needs, realising the importance of services that prevent problems, inclusion and citizenship and preventing polarising developments and social exclusion (Kaunismaa & Kainuun kuntien nuoristotyöntekijät n.d., 10–11). Again, we can find resonance with the *May I Help You?* concept.

The explicit goals of the Kainuu expermental *User-driven* process, by concentrating on the problems of the elderly people and the unemployed youth, seem well on line with the needs of the local population. The *May I Help You?* concept is one possible, combinatory solution for the needs of both the groups. It addresses both the unemployment and social exclusion of the youth and the service-needs and loneliness of the old.

These were the *interests* and the *needs* that the *User-driven* process and the *May I Help You?* concept appear to be answering. Our main goal in the present *InnoSI* case study is look at the level of interests, and we will continue by looking just *how* the *User-driven* process is meant to produce change in democracy and decision-making culture, and also how it is meant to produce services that are adequate and of good quality.

4. Theory of change

4.1 Introduction: what does "the theory of change" mean?

In this chapter we are studying the *theory of change* that can be attached to the project of *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* in Kainuu. What does the concept of the theory of change mean? Systematic treatment of this notion in the literature seems rather sparse. Therefore, we may utilise a variety of different sources to decipher the concept. Let's start with a definition provided by the *Center for Theory of Change* on its internet pages. This *centre* is, by its own words, "a non-profit organization established to promote quality standards and best practice for the development and implementation of Theory of Change" (Center for Theory of Change 2016, Home). The pages contain the following information: "Theory of Change is essentially a comprehensive description and illustration of how and why a desired change is expected to happen in a particular context. It is focused in particular on mapping out or "filling in" what has been described as the 'missing middle' between what a programme or change initiative does (its activities or interventions) and how these lead to desired goals being achieved. It does this by first identifying the desired long-term goals and then works back from these to identify all the conditions (outcomes) that must be in place (and how these [!] related to one another causally) for the goals to occur." (Center for Theory of Change 2016, Theory of Change.)

Instead of "theory of change", Rossi et al. (2004) write about the "program theory". "A program theory is the conception of what must be done to bring about the intended social benefits" (Rossi et al. 2004, 134). It is a "blueprint" for a functioning programme (Rossi et al. 2004, 55). Rossi et al. (2004) say that a programme theory may be *explicated* in a detailed plan or only *implicated* in the programme's structure and activities (p. 134). Empirical cases may lie somewhere in between in this respect. Anyhow, it is said that if we want to evaluate the programme theory, we need to explicate it "clearly and completely" (Rossi et al. 2004, 134).

The usage of different concepts in the field of evaluation is often variegated. In a Finnish publication on impact evaluation, *Vuorovaikutuksessa vaikuttamiseen*[18] (Rajahonka 2013, 19), it says, that "ohjelmateoria" [in English: programme theory] has the English translation "theory of change" [in Finnish: muutosteoria]. Therefore, when we in this chapter are using one or different synonyms for the same concept — be it theory of change or programme theory — what we mean is "the bridge between processes and effects, a simplified cause-effect, that is, causal model, that expresses the main idea of what a specific action (intervention) aims at and how and why it has an impact" (Rajahonka 2013, 19; transl. by JK).

Rossi et al. divide programme theory into three components: 1) impact theory, 2) service utilisation plan, and 3) programmes organisational plan (Rossi et al. 2004, 139). They further associate the two last components under a single title: process theory (Rossi et al. 2004, 141). We will in the present treatment concentrate on two components: how the impact is meant to come into being (the impact theory) and what the process is meant to be like (process theory).

4.2 The focus of study: *User-driven Development* as an "intervention"

It says above that a programme theory or a theory of change deals with an *intervention*. What is *the intervention* to be studied in the present evaluation? What we are here evaluating — the Kainuu *User-driven Service Development* project — is not the "usual" clearly defined social political programme or organisation with a "problematic" group "in need" and measures to fulfil the need. It is a process of political-administrative development and a rather diffuse operation. It has various kinds of social, economical and political goals, contents and implications, which may be in the *interest* (c.f. Giddens 1979, 189) of the stakeholders. The process goal of enhanced democracy and the end goal of better services entitle us to approach it as a kind of an intervention, although in a metaphorical sense.

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18 Translates freely as "In Interaction towards Impact".

There are three targets of change produced by the *User-driven* process "intervention" in the Kainuu case. Firstly, there is the change in the municipal decision-making (culture) and municipal operation procedures produced by the implementation of the *User-driven Development methods*. Secondly, there is the change in the quality and "amount" of the municipal services and practices that may be produced when these services are planned and practices conducted in a user-driven fashion. And thirdly, there is the change in the lives of the people targeted by the *May I Help You?* concept. We are here concentrating on the first and second targets: the potentially change-bringing effect of the implementation of the user-driven methods on the municipal decision-making culture and democracy in general and in the quality and sufficiency of municipal services in particular. Therefore, the intervention we are studying is the empirical case of bringing the *User-driven* method into the Kainuu region, and applying it successfully to produce a more democratic decision-making culture and superior and more appropriate service concepts.

The aim of this chapter is firstly to formulate and draw together the different features needed to explicate a theory of change. Features such as resources (i.e. inputs), outputs, outcomes and impacts are required to build an *impact value chain* (Hehenberger, Harling & Scholten 2015, 17; Rajahonka 2013, 13). And, of course, we need to study the activities, the dynamic process itself (Hehenberger et al. 2015, 17; Rajahonka 2013, 13). All these features are displayed in a linear fashion in Figure 3.

Figure 3. The Impact Value Chain (adapted from Hehenberger et al. 2015, 17).
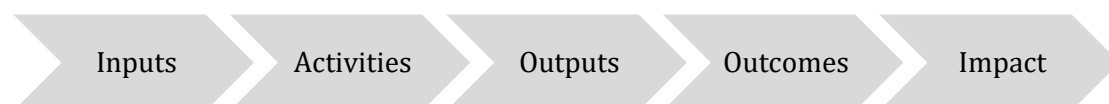
We will in this *InnoSI* study set the theoretical and empirical findings in a similar display (see Table 1 below) — an impact value chain of the *User-driven Service Development* project — and study each of the phases. This will explicate the *impact theory* part of the studied phenomenon (see above in 4.1). To further clarify the processual character of the *Service Development* project we will also show a separate graphical representation of the different work stages that the *Development* process — the *activities* in the *intervention* — includes (see Figure 5 below). This way we can explicate the *process theory* part of the phenomenon (see above in 4.1). Together they constitute the *theory of change*, i.e., the *programme theory* in this study.

4.3 Formulating a theory of change/programme theory for the Kainuu case

4.3.1 Methodology and sources

To "describe and assess" programme theory, a process called *evaluability assessment* may be used (Rossi et al. 2004, 136). It says in Rossi et al. (2004, 139) that "the evaluability assessment approach represents the most fully developed set of concepts and procedures available in the evaluation literature for describing and assessing a program's conceptualization of what it is supposed to be doing and why". Evaluability assessment is a framework that is to some extent useful in the present study. The method aims at "clarifying program designs, exploring program reality, and — if necessary — helping redesign programs" (Rossi et al. 2004, 137). The first two aims seem relevant in the present context: clarification and exploring. Evaluability assessment, as it is presented in Rossi et al. 2004, has however other goals also besides clarifying the programme model and exploring its reality (p. 136–137). It also aims at developing the programme *so that it can be better evaluated* (Rossi et al. 2004, 136–137). This last, slightly circular, aim is not a main focus in the present study, but instead the nature and to some extent the use of the programme are. We are here interested in the descriptive goals of the evaluability assessment, not the normative ones.

Rossi et al. (2004, 136) write that "[t]he evaluators begin with the conception of the program presented in documents and official information, but then try to see the program through the eyes of those closest to it". The theory of change or programme theory in the present case will be clarified with the help of two principal sources. Firstly, we will use theoretical and empirical literature on the development and implementation of *User-driven Development* methods and on the Kainuu process especially. Secondly, we will interview central actors in the development and implementation processes: both the developers, the municipal actors (politicians and administrators) and the citizens.

The Kainuu *User-driven Development process* is introduced to the Kainuu municipalities by means of participatory service design methods and innovation processes (Jäppinen 2015, 4). Tuula Jäppinen, an innovation expert in the *Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities*, has been one of the main developers of the Kainuu process. Jäppinen's doctoral thesis *Kunta ja käyttäjälähtöinen innovaatiotoiminta* (i.e. *Municipalities and user-driven innovation*) from 2011 is a natural starting point for the query, as concerns both Jäppinen's own ideas and the literature sources she uses. Of key importance is, as Jäppinen writes, that "recent debate on innovation has brought to the fore the openness of innovations, and the increased role of clients and networking" (Jäppinen 2011, 13).

Jäppinen says in her study *Kunta ja käyttäjälähtöinen innovaatiotoiminta* (2011) that the "primary aim [in her study] is to depict how the government sector can benefit from user-driven innovation" (Jäppinen 2011, 13). The *InnoSI* evaluation study, instead, is about judging whether the government sector actually does benefit in a shorter and longer perspective from the introduction of the *User-driven Development* process. The main source of information on the theory of change or programme theory in the *InnoSI* case study is Jäppinen's other work, *Citizen participation as a systematic development tool in renewing social and healthcare services — a Case Study in the Public Service Context*, from 2015. Jäppinen's piece is an empirical *participatory action research* study (Jäppinen 2015, abstract, 3–4, 6) conducted on the target of this *InnoSI* case study, the *User-*

driven Service Development process. (The study also includes the municipality of Oulu, but from the same perspective, so it should not affect the reading of the study too much.) It is also *the* text where the model to be assessed in *InnoSI* is being developed and reported *while* actually building and using the model in the field. Jäppinen writes about her work that "[t]he purpose of this thesis is to develop a framework for using citizen participation as a systematic development tool in renewing public services". (Jäppinen 2015, abstract.) While Jäppinen does already in her 2011 study provide an ideal model for utilising citizen participation and user-drivenness in developing municipal services (Jäppinen 2011, 156–160), the model of 2011 is still rather sketch-like. (See chapter 2.1.1 above.) Therefore, the 2015 study with its much more elaborated model is our main source. This study by Jäppinen should take us right to the heart of the matters when looking for a theory of change — explicit theory of change or a theory that is implicit but can be based on and formulated with available materials.

In her 2015 book, Jäppinen directs the attention to altogether three cases, distributed in the period 2013–2014 (Jäppinen 2015, 27). The first case took place in the municipality of Oulu, the second in the town of Kajaani and the third in six municipalities of the Kainuu region (Kuhmo, Sotkamo, Hyrynsalmi, Paltamo, Ristijärvi and Suomussalmi) (Jäppinen 2015, 27–29, 31). Jäppinen says that the process of service design was the same in every case (Jäppinen 2015, 27); as regards the substance and geographical setting, we are in this *InnoSI* study formally interested in the second and third case: Kainuu and the region of Kainuu. This focus has an effect especially on the choice of the people interviewed and the documents collected for the analysis of empirical process and impact of the *User-driven Development* project.

4.3.2 Background, assumptions and justifications

The demographical and policy related context of the *User-driven Development* project in Kainuu has already been treated in section 3, called *Needs Assessment*. There is no need to replicate the results here. Another issue of contextual

interest is the ideologically related background. We can trace the value basis of the *User-driven Development* project to Jäppinen's starting points in her 2015 study: "[T]here are two channels through which citizens can participate in public service reform: the traditional way of participating in decision-making on services through representative or direct democracy and a new, more innovative way where citizens participate in the planning and development of service provision through user-driven innovation activities" (Jäppinen 2015, 3; see also Jäppinen 2011, 14). Implicitly in the whole setting resides the idea that *participatory decision-making* has benefits over *representative* and *direct democracy* — at least in some cases, at least in some situations. The "new" way is different than the "old" way, but whether its innovativeness and character means that it is "better" in general, only suitable for solving special administrative-political problems or, at worst, too heavy and complicated altogether to be widely used at all, remains to be seen in practice. At least it is not yet common "for local authorities to plan and provide services in co-operation with citizens" (Jäppinen 2015, 15).

4.3.3 Stakeholders, inputs and interventions

Who are the *stakeholders* in the Kainuu case of *User-driven Service Development*? A little bit of terminological reflection is in place here. Jäppinen seems in her 2015 study to restrict the use of the concept "stakeholder" to people acting on the "organising" side: "stakeholders in the business context are the people who fund, build, test, market, sell, and support the product and influence the products' direction", naming persons or positions like "executives, sales manager etc." (Jäppinen 2015, 33). We can find an explicit fragment of text attributing "stakeholders" to "case organisation" and separating them analytically from "potential users and customers" (Jäppinen 2015, 28). Also, in the titles of the thesis we have "3.2.1 Stakeholders as the first target group" and, on the other hand, "3.2.3 Potential users and customers as the second target group" (Jäppinen 2015, 33, 37). Now, if we study stakeholder theory, we can find that the most cited definition (Miles 2012, 239) for the concept of stakeholder is "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's

objectives" by R. Edward Freeman (1984, 46). Jäppinen's perspective on stakeholders therefore seems too restricted for the purposes of studying the people, groups and organisations that are important in the context of developing the *User-driven* programme in the Kainuu municipalities. Typically, in evaluation studies the stakeholders are all the parties that bring in inputs and/or affect or are affected by the outcomes (positively or negatively) (see, e.g., Hehenberger et al. 2015, 48 and Rossi 2004, 48–49, 435). Specifically, municipal citizens (or "potential users and customers) should be categorised as stakeholders also. That is what we will do.

Many of the *stakeholders* in the service design process can be extracted from Figure 6 on page 28 of Jäppinen (2015). We have the *developers*, the *municipal citizens* (especially those targeted, i.e. the young unemployed and elderly people; Jäppinen 2015, 36), the *sector management* and the *decision-makers* (who, according to table 4 in Jäppinen 2015, 70, may come from both the private and the third sector). Drawing from the aforementioned list and from what we have learnt from the other materials related to the *User-driven Development* process, we will in the present study treat the following groups as stakeholders: municipal *citizens* (the *elderly* and the *unemployed youth*), municipal *politicians*, municipal *office-holders*, *developers* and the *third sector*. The developers' group includes both the developer *persons* but also the coordinating *organisations* that they work for and that launched the development work of the service design process. These important ones are the *Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities* (i.e. *Suomen Kuntaliitto*) and the *Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region* (i.e. *Kainuun sote-kuntayhtymä*), and the *University of Tampere*, which provided some help in analysing the *Development* data. Since January 2016 to this organisational group belongs also *SOSTE Finnish Federation for Social Affairs and Health* (SOSTE Suomen sosiaali ja terveys ry), which is spreading the *May I Help You?* concept on a national level. The main stakeholders of the Kainuu project are displayed in figure 4.

Figure 4. The Central Stakeholders of the Kainuu *User-Driven Development* Project.
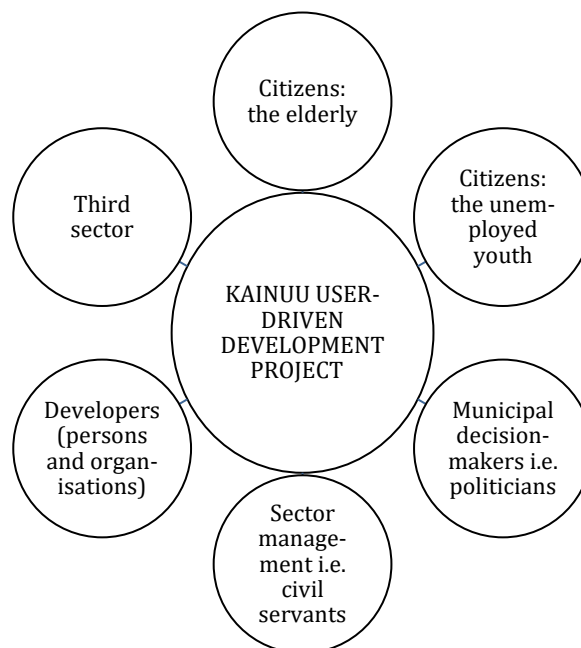
It is said in Jäppinen (2015, 28) that in the study "the service design process is described mostly by the … city of Oulu [case]". But, as "[t]he service design processes are the same in all three cases, and most of the service design methods and tools" (Jäppinen 2015 28), this doesn't harm our analysis in the present evaluation. On page 26 of Jäppinen (2015) it says, that "[a] user-driven innovation process can be implemented through a service co-creation process. Sub-sections in this empirical part[19] are named after responsible service design phases. These phases are discovery, creation, reality check, and implementation[20]" (see figure 5). These are, of course, also the main phases of the "*intervention*" that is evaluated in the *InnoSI* Kainuu case study and they, basically, constitute the *process theory* in this evaluation of *User-driven*

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[19] Note that this is referring to a section in Jäppinen 2015.

[20] Jäppinen is here referring to sources that should be mentioned: "Mager, B. 2009. Service Design as Emerging Field. In: Miettinen, S. & Koivisto, M. (eds.) Designing Services with Innovative Methods. University of Art and Design. Otava Printing Ltd, Keuruu, 28–43" and "Miettinen, S. 2009. Service designers' methods. In Miettinen, S. & Koivisto, J. (eds.) Designing Services with Innovative Methods. University of Art and Design. Otava Book Printing Ltd, Keuruu, 60-77", p. 13.

Development. Besides the *impact theory*, the process theory is the other important part of *programme theory*, i.e. the theory of change.

Figure 5. The service design process (Jäppinen 2015)[21]/process theory.

| Discovery | → | Creation | → | Reality Check | → | Implementation |
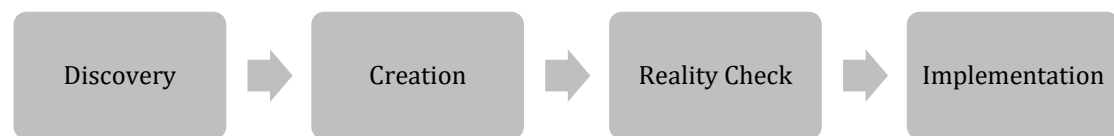
What do these phases contain? A few simple quotations from the source give us the information in condensed form:

1. "The aim of the discovery phase was to inform the design team about the business and the domain of the problem and understand who the potential customers and users are, how they think and act, and what they need" (Jäppinen 2015, 66).

2. "The aim of the creation phase was to create new service concepts from identified problems in consultation with the customers" (Jäppinen 2015, 67).

3. "The aim of the reality check phase is to test created service concepts before implementation" (Jäppinen 2015, 68).

4. "The aim of the implementation phase is to define the final service. As a result of the implementation phase, new service concepts are put into practice as a service. This last part of the design process was not included in the case studies." (Jäppinen 2015, 68.)

Different service design tools are used extensively in each service design phase. The following tools are listed by Jäppinen and have been applied: focus groups,

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[21] Jäppinen is using the sources mentioned in footnote 20.

design probes, service maps, personas, co-creation, empathy maps, customer journey mapping, service blueprints, business model canvases, participatory budgeting, prototypes and storyboards (Jäppinen 2015, 33–63). Actually how, and in which phase, each tool was used will be treated in detail in the next chapter "5. Process (implementation) evaluation".

The word *input* refers to the resources invested in the activities under evaluation. Inputs from the stakeholders are also numerous. All of the people and groups (developers, municipal citizens, politicians, civil servants and so on) taking part have given their *time* and *effort*. The developers and the civil servants bring in their *technical expertise* and the municipal citizens their *knowledge* of the *local circumstances* and the *needs and interests* of the local people and the citizen groups they represent. The *finances* for the *Development* work came from various sources (see Introduction for details). The role of the local politicians is maybe the most interesting: what is their role, if the citizens themselves take the direct responsibility for introducing and implementing service concepts? The same applies also to the civil servants, albeit probably to a lesser degree.

4.3.4 Outputs, outcomes and impact

Outputs are the "tangible products and services" that the organisation produces in its activities (Hehenberger et al. 2015, 17). The service concepts developed in the *User-driven Development* process are, of course, tangible *outputs* of the method. The Kajaani cases produced altogether 27 different service ideas or *service concepts* (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 6; listed in Kuntaliitto n.d.b.; see chapter 3.6 above). One of them was selected as the one to be realised: the *May I Help You?* concept.

The different documents and "research" results produced during the implementation process can be regarded as *intermediate outputs* from the *User-driven Development* process. These include focus group discussion notes (Jäppinen 2015, 37), design probes, which are self-documenting diaries (Jäppinen 2015, 40), service maps (Jäppinen 2015, 43), and so on. They are also

integral parts of the "intervention" activity, the process of *User-driven Development* and therefore have a double character in the Impact Value Chain.

The concept of *outcome* is given the following definition in Hehenberger et al. (2015, 17): "the changes, benefits, learnings or other effects (both long and short term) that result from the organisation's activities". Three targeted changes of the *User-driven Development* process in Kainuu were treated in the beginning of the chapter and two of them were deemed as relevant with a view of the present study: firstly, *culture change in municipal decision making* and secondly, *change in the quality and sufficiency of the produced services*. These targets of change are, naturally, also the outcomes and impacts that the usage of the process of *User-driven Development* should produce, and Jäppinen does indeed recognise them as outcomes (see Jäppinen 2011, 14–15). Referring to Hehenberger's definition of the concept of outcome above, the change in the decision-making culture is not just a "change", but also a "learning". Better services are a benefit for the clients or citizens. There are, according to Jäppinen, also at least two other potential changes to be awaited. One of them is increased job satisfaction among service personnel when the responsibility for service planning is spread. Another is enhanced innovativeness that may even help in finding the solutions to the "wicked social problems" (Jäppinen 2011, 15). We will, though, leave these two last purported changes out of the focus in the present *InnoSI* case study.

Impacts are defined as the part of the outcomes that can be attributed to the activity taken place (Hehenberger et al. 2015, 17). In evaluation studies, there is a set of standard factors and concepts that are used in order to sort out the part of the outcomes that is due to the intervention. These include deadweight, attribution, displacement, drop-off and[22] unintended consequences (Hehenberger et al. 2015, 17). *Deadweight* denotes "what would have happened anyway", *attribution* "the action of others", *drop-off* tells "how far the outcome of the initial intervention is likely to be reduced over time" and *displacement* "the extent to which the original situation was displaced elsewhere or outcomes

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[22] sometimes also; JK

displaced other potential positive outcomes" (Hehenberger et al. 2015, 17). These concepts are not very useful in the present study because the possible results are so diffuse. We have to take impacts as equalling outcomes to the extent that we regard the changes in the outcomes as a sole and clear result of the *User-driven Development* method. This is necessarily very speculative.

In especially chapter 6 (Impact Evaluation), we will study the materialised outcomes and impacts of the *User-driven Development* project. Empirical materials by Jäppinen (2015) and interviews conducted for the present *InnoSI* study need to be consulted to this end.

Before we move on we should list some remarks, questions and potential problems with *User-driven Development*. Some of them are interesting in general, some have a specific goal and some are interesting in relation to the use of the method in especially public government. The use of the *User-driven* approach in Kainuu produced a mixed bag of concepts (listed in Kuntaliitto n.d.b.; see 3.3.6 of the case study at hand for examples). Many of these *do not seem that good*, if we may say. Is the selected *May I Help You?* concept good and does it have potential for real impact? Has the process of *User-driven Developing* been treated critically enough in Jäppinen's publication from 2015 or are there features in the method that would benefit from some rethinking? On a very general level, the concept might appear as if it is taking politics out of politics and reducing decision-making into a question of customership? It says in Jäppinen (2015, 26) that "[i]n a service-based economy, services should be customized solutions matching customers' needs. That is why services should also be co-created with customers and suppliers throughout the innovation process". But are all needs subjective or could there be services that would be better to leave to the sole responsibility of experts? Do active citizens of working age and with families really have the time and the will to participate in decision-making or would they rather leave it to politicians and administrators? We may also ask, although this kind of a question is way out of the bounds of the present case study, is the idea of citizen participation and local services at all in coherence with the ideas of the Finnish

Social Welfare and Health Care Reform (sote-uudistus eli sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon palvelurakenteen uudistus)?[23]

4.3.5 Programme logic: a recapitulation

Lastly in this theory of change or programme theory presentation we will draw the above observations together to depict an impact theory (see table 1). We will present the data in the Impact Value Chain format introduced above (see Hehenberger et al. 2015, 17), adding also stakeholders to the display. The terminology and practices in the area of evaluation studies is really variegated (for the terminology, see Rajahonka 2013, 14 and also Rossi 2004, 139), but this format is in essence and principle the same that is presented as the Logic Model in Rossi et al. 2004 (146–147). To save space and to simplify the presentation, the individual inputs have not been matched with the relevant stakeholders, but have instead been presented in the first two, adjacent columns.

Table 1. A Logic Model / A Theory of Change depicting the Impact Value Chain from targets to impacts in the *User-driven Development* project.

Stake-holders	Inputs	Activities	Outputs	Outcomes	Impacts
Municipal citizens -old -young Municipal -politicians -office-holders Developers Third sector	Time and effort Technical expertise Knowledge - circum-stances -needs -interests Finances	The *User-driven Develop-ment* process as realised	The 27 service concepts	Culture change in municipal decision making Change in the quality and sufficiency of services	Impacts equal outcomes to the extent that outcome change is exclusively due to the *User-driven Develop-ment* method

[23] See <http://alueuudistus.fi/en/frontpage> (in English) for more information.

5. Process (implementation) evaluation

5.1 The setting and the data: review of existing study and new interviews

Programme process evaluation or, in other words, implementation evaluation, is meant to ascertain how well a programme operates (Rossi et al. 2004, 170). This is what we are up to in the present chapter: we are looking at the *functioning* of the programme. Programme *results* will be assessed in the next chapter, which is entitled "Impact evaluation". (C.f. Rossi et al. 2004, 170–171.) Needless to say, the two — functioning and results — are intertwined, and therefore the division is to some degree artificial and serves primarily analytical purposes.

The materials for both process and impact evaluation consist of an existing study and a set of newly conducted interviews. The already existing study is the thesis *Citizen participation as a systematic development tool in renewing social and healthcare services — a Case Study in the Public Service Context* by Tuula Jäppinen (2015). Jäppinen's study is empirical, directed at the *User-driven Development* process and conducted as *participatory action research*. The newly done interviews are targeted to the developers, municipal and regional politicians and office-holders, and the municipal citizens that took part in the *Development* work. These were regarded as the main stakeholder groups of the process. Third sector organisations can also be covered with this set of stakeholder interviewees, as we will see later.

Jäppinen's (2015) already published participatory action research results will be studied and reviewed. Based on both Jäppinen's results and the theoretical part, needs assessment part and theory of change part in the *InnoSI* Kainuu case study at hand, evaluation problems and questions of interest yet open will be pointed out. These problems and questions will be given extra contents and order by rounding them out with themes and issues that, according to theoretical literature and methodological evaluation literature, are important and interesting in general and in the present evaluation context. All these materials

will be used to formulate questions that need to be addressed in the new interviews conducted.

There are a few complications in the process and impact evaluation. Some of them are due to the nature of the Kainuu case, some are due to the published data and some are due to the properties of the new interview data.

We would need a standard against which we could compare the achieved results of the *User-driven Development* to be able to say whether the results of the *Development* work are satisfactory or not. In Rossi et al. (2014, 173), it says that the "authority" in this sense is the *programme theory*, and in the case of process evaluation, especially the programme *process theory*. In the present Kainuu *User-driven Development* case, the task of "judging" the action based on an independent theory of process is not possible. There was no specific pre-set conception of the process before it was actually and in practice built up in a *participant action research* study using *service design* methods (Jäppinen 2015, Abstract, Tiivistelmä). There was, of course, Jäppinen's (2011) earlier sketch of the modelling, but still in a rather abstract form. There are no *benchmarks* or suitable *administrative standards* (see Rossi et al. 2014, 174) with which to compare. Rossi et al. (2014, 175) admit that this is how things often are, and programme success may be assessed on a "gut-feeling" of what is acceptable.

One criterion for the success of the *User-led Development* model is how well Jäppinen's (2015) participatory action research study that we use as a source has been realised. By looking at Jäppinen's study from 2015, the overall impression is that the study has a strong flavour of participatory action research. There is, though, some uncertainty as to how the research process has been used and the process could also have been documented more thoroughly.

An issue that consumes the reliability of the present *InnoSI* case study is that in all but name, the *Development* activity in Kainuu has already ceased and the implementation of the end product — the *May I Help You?* concept — has not really started or it has not yet been that widely used. There is no actual process

going on that could be followed in real time. The only two sources available are therefore the project documentation and the people who took part in the process. We need to rely on documentation and interviews that are made *ex-post facto*.

Yet another problem is produced by the special feature of the *User-driven Development* project. This feature has already been touched upon in chapter 3.3 when treating the difference between needs and interests. It says in Rossi et al. (2004, 171) that "[p]rogram process evaluation generally involves assessments of program performance in the domains of service utilization and program organization". But, the *User-driven Development* project is not really a *service* — neither is the *May I Help You?* concept. The *User-driven Development* method is a programme and a project that has much wider implications than producing *services* to citizens. The implications extend all the way to the nature of municipal decision-making and democracy.

These were some restricting factors that need to be known before we start reviewing the existing results and assessing the newly collected interview data. We will start with the existing results.

5.2 Implementation seen through and guided by a participatory action research study

5.2.1 Participatory action research methodology

Jäppinen's research work uses the participatory action research method. This has some implications as to how we can assess the results.

The usage of participatory action research means — literally — that it is research in action and that it is research with participation, i.e., the researcher is an agent in the action. Therefore, the results are not independent of the researching agent. How do we know if the results are "right" and if the theory of change is "correct"? Without dwelling too deep in the action research

methodology, we can say that the "truth" criteria are *pragmatist*: if the *User-driven Development* method works and can be made to work properly, it is good. To assess this we need to study carefully how the method is implemented (which we achieve by reading Jäppinen's text) and also ask the participants in the process how they felt about the process and the results. To this end we have made interviews.

5.2.2 The implementation process of User-driven Development

Jäppinen's thesis (2015) includes altogether three cases from 2013–2014: one from the municipality of Oulu (autumn 2013), one from the municipality of Kajaani (spring 2014) and one from the Kainuu region (autumn 2014). All case studies were separate pilots. (Jäppinen 2015, 27, 28, 31.) Since the research method is participatory action research (Jäppinen 2015, 26), we can assume that each of the different cases represents one "cycle" in an action research process. These "self-reflective cycles" consist, writes Jäppinen (2015, 26), of the phases of planning, acting, observing, reflecting, and again, planning. How actually the *phases of action research* have been used remains a bit obscure in Jäppinen's study. Namely, the text in Jäppinen is divided according to *service design phases*, and these are discovery, creation, reality check and implementation (Jäppinen 2015, 26).

Although the *InnoSI* case study is formally only directed at the municipality of Kajaani and the Kainuu region, there is no intention to cut the municipality of Oulu out of the discussion in the present evaluation text. It says in Jäppinen's (2015, 28) study that "the service design process is described mostly by the first case, realized in the city of Oulu" but "[t]he service design processes are the same in all three cases, and most of the service design methods and tools are the same in each case". Nevertheless, the objects of design are different in Oulu than in Kajaani on the one hand and in Kainuu on the other hand. In the Oulu case, the target of the study was the developing of a wellbeing centre (Jäppinen 2015, 31) and in the second and third studies the idea was to find a role for the municipality in a multi-provider model for local services (Jäppinen 2015, 32).

The process of *User-driven Public Service Development*, as depicted in several publications (Jäppinen 2015, Nieminen & Jäppinen 2015, Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015) is rather complicated. Due to dispersed presentation in the sources, multiple phases in multiple dimensions and abundant terminology, it is rather difficult to present it in a condensed format. We will here only outline it briefly, according to the service design process, basing the presentation on Jäppinen's 2015 study.

Discovery phase

In the discovery phase, one is interested in understanding the context and in understanding two stakeholder groups: "the ones creating the services" and "the end users" (Jäppinen 2015, 33.) We will here concentrate on the stakeholders (Jäppinen 2015, 33). (Here we should note that the usage of the stakeholder concept in the present text goes according to the usual practice and is therefore different from how Jäppinen used it. See chapter 4.3.3. in the present study.)

Face-to-face interviews, kick-off meetings and focus group interviews were conducted on stakeholder groups consisting of administrators and the project developers (Jäppinen 2015, 35–37). Service maps and design probes, which (the latter) are self-documenting diaries, were used to collect information from the customers and potential users. (Jäppinen 2015, 42–44.)

Creation phase

The information collected needed to be analysed so that problem areas and service needs could be identified. Jäppinen implies that *customer profiling* and *customer journey mapping* were used to this end. (Jäppinen 2015, 46.)

Co-creation workshops were next arranged to come up with new services. A multitude of methods were used. These included personas, empathy maps, service blueprints and business model canvases, at least. (Jäppinen 2015, 46.)

The developers, administrators, politicians and other decision-makers took part in this phase (Jäppinen 2015, 70).

Reality check phase

The jointly created service concepts could in the reality check phase be tested with prototypes (Jäppinen 2015, 60). Customers, administrators, politicians and other decision-makers took part in the reality check (Jäppinen 2015, 70). Again, a multitude of different methods were applied: rough paper models, storyboarding and participatory budgeting (Jäppinen 2015, 60).

Implementation phase

In this last phase of design, implementation, "a well-functioning model selected on the basis of the tests is defined as the final product or service" (Jäppinen 2015, 65). Implementation was not included in the case studies (Jäppinen 2015, 65, 70).§

5.2.3 Observations made in the action research study

Based on the cases presented, Jäppinen lists five main findings. Some, albeit scarce, evidence is listed to back up the results. The findings and some evidence are as follows (see Jäppinen 2015, 71):

1. "The initiative to the service development process came from the political-decision-making process", writes Jäppinen. It also says in Jäppinen that the "initiative" was "a part of the strategy at the local, regional, or national levels". (Jäppinen 2015, 71.) This would call for further investigation about how the upper-level strategies effect action "on the floor". Even if strategic goals include contents that call for citizen participation, it doesn't prove that the grassroots level of politicians or administrators is ready for a citizen-led approach. During the past few decades in Finland, a lot of doubts have been expressed about

whether strategies in the municipal government really guide especially the politicians' action and thinking.

The observation that the need for the service development process had local origins in the Kainuu case speaks against the idea that the decision to start the developing would have had *garbage can* style roots (see chapter 3.4 in the text above and Daft 1986, 363–367 for the *garbage can model of decision-making*). The problem (deficient citizen input) seems to have existed before the solution (the implementation of the *User-driven* model) — not the other way around.

2. "The service design process and tools were a fresh, new, and systematic way to develop public services." The evidence is scant: one citation from a "researcher colleague". (Jäppinen 2015, 71–72.) This is, though, not so much a research finding than a proposition and starting point for the project of *User-driven Development* in the first hand. (Alleged) innovativeness has from the outset been a basis for choosing the *User-driven Development* as a subject of the *InnoSI* case studies. Nevertheless, we can still compare the empirical development process to the features of "governance innovations" presented by Moore & Hartley (2008, 14–18) to have a clearer comprehension of the "innovativeness". This kind of a review is conducted in chapter *6.4 Conclusions and discussion: innovation, investment and democracy* in the case study at hand.

3. "Service design tools gave citizens an active role and made their conscious and latent needs visible to the developers and decision-makers." Again, we need more evidence to back this up than the one citation from a "Civil servant in the Kainuu region" included in the source. (Jäppinen 2015, 72.) We can study this by interviewing the politicians, administrators and citizens who have taken part in the *Development* processes.

An interesting and telling study finding by Jäppinen was that, according to the design probe information, the citizens wished for "simple well-being and neighbourhood services" instead of "'heavy' public social and healthcare services" (Jäppinen 2016, 72). This may be positive information if it means that

people regard these kind of basic needs as already well served.[24] On the other hand, it may also signify that "heavy" questions are "too heavy" to be solved by citizen-led means or that the user-led development methods are only good for treating "light issues". In that case, the user-led decision-making methodology would face a burden of proving that it is not only a marginal and cosmetic project: good maybe for legitimating decision-making organisations but not up to solving any issues of substance.

4. "The process concentrated on co-design at the discovery and ideation phases; the reality check and implementation phases need stronger support in the future; citizens are eager to participate even in the co-production of services (Jäppinen 2016, 71)." These finding have a lot of practical importance. Why develop new service models if they are not implemented? Jäppinen also reports that a lack of *change agents* in the municipal government was noticed. Planned changes do not come about spontaneously. (Jäppinen 2016, 73.)

5. "The service design process still needs stronger interaction with the decision-making process, stakeholders, and change agents" (Jäppinen 2016, 71). This must be regarded as one of the central questions with a view of the implementability and success of the user-driven development methods. The municipality is a political-administrative system in its origins and core. How far can we go to the direction of consumer-led and spirited solutions in public government where political values and citizen equality are meant to have a strong standing?

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[24] There is, though, also a less complimentary explanation for the observation, heard in one of the office-holders' (O1, i.e. "office-holder 1") interviews (for the interviews, see chapters 5 and 6). The interviewee was commenting on the use of money (vouchers; Jäppinen 2015, 61) in participatory budgeting:

> "I kind of felt that the elderly started to play with it by putting money to services that were endangered and one's own viewpoints may not have been the topmost thing. But, I guess, the end result was about the same as it would have otherwise been, anyhow. […] Even with this playing, one has his or her own will there and one does not give support to something that one doesn't him or herself need."

5.3 Implementation in the light of the interviews

5.3.1 What are the interesting questions?

The above observations by Jäppinen function as a starting point for some elaborating questions that may be asked in the interviews. What are the politicians' and the administrators' stances towards citizen participation, irrespective of what local, regional or national strategies say? Did the different actor groups feel that the service design process adequately conveys the citizens needs to the developers and decision-makers? Are the user-driven development methods useful for anything else but filling in "marginal holes" in decision-making and maybe bringing legitimacy for the local government arrangements? How to strengthen the reality check and implementation phases in the *Development* process? How does the citizen-drivenness really resonate with the power of politicians and administrators. Is it a Weberian or a Parsonsian power "game": does citizen influence augment or diminish the politicians' and/or administrators' position?

In addition to the problems inspired by Jäppinen's text, we must study also other sources to come up with issues of interest in the present empirical case. There is in Rossi et al. (2004, 171–172) a set of very useful questions that can also be used to direct the process evaluation. We can use this set by Rossi et al. to build a set of customised questions that fits the Kainuu data. The customised questions are as follows:

1. How many persons took part in the *Development* process: in total and from each of the targeted groups (the unemployed youth and the elderly)? How many persons from the other stakeholder groups (politicians, administrators, developers)?

2. Are/were there adequate resources, facilities and funding? Were they used in an effective and efficient manner?

3. How did the different programme phases function? Which of them seem most useful? Were there any problems with implementation? Was the *Development* process in total well organised?

4. How did the interaction between the developers, the targeted persons and other stakeholder groups go?

5. Were there any differences in the success of programme implementation between the various locales in the Kainuu region?

6. How about the results of the programme: how satisfied were the different parties (target groups, developers, politicians, administrators) to the resulting concepts and the chosen *May I Help You?* concept? (These are, actually, questions that can be answered in the next chapter where programme impact is treated.)

7. Has the resulting *May I Help You?* concept been implemented? How many persons have taken part in the action: in total and from each targeted group? How many from the other targeted groups?

8. What has taken place lately in the programme?

Besides the list of specific questions above, Rossi et al. (2014) also give some general advice on the issues of interest while evaluating a programme. They direct our attention towards two domains in programme performance. They are *service utilisation* and *organisational functions*. As regards service utilisation, we should look at programme coverage and bias: to what extent is the target population reached and are there any biases in subgroup participation? These are already mentioned in connection with the above list of specific questions. As far as programme's organisational functions are concerned, the general organisation of functions and the usage of results are important considerations. If there are shortcomings in programme implementation, we should pay attention to them: incomplete interventions, delivery of the wrong intervention, or unstandardised or uncontrolled interventions. The accessibility of the

programme is to be assessed, and also programme support functions, such as public relations and connections to affiliated programmes. (Rossi et al. 2004, 183, 196–197, 199–200.)

In the *InnoSI WP4 Case Study Evaluation Resources* (draft version) (Baines, Fox & Grimm 2016), we can also find a list of questions that we ought to pay attention to when evaluating the process (p. 25–26):

1. "Has the intervention been implemented as intended?"

2. "What are the mechanisms by which the programme achieves its goals?" Baines, Fox & Grimm (2016, 25) write that the specific targets of interest are the roles of the different sectors: the public, the private and the third sector.

Here we should note that the question of actor roles was given some attention at the theory part of this *InnoSI* case study. The task of *metagovernance* was offered to the public managers by Sørensen and Torfing (2011, 857–858): to keep open arenas for collaborative interaction between different actors. On the other hand, Pestoff (2006, 508) reminded us that the administrators and professionals may be reluctant to deal out their power. Also, Pestoff (2006, 507) and (2007, 855) question the idea of transferring public sector workload to citizens. The most interesting role-related question, though, is probably the question of the politicians' part in this: what happens to their mediator role if citizens do business directly with the administrators? What is the role of organised politics in this arrangement?

Let's proceed with the list of questions by Baines, Fox & Grimm (2016, 25–26):

3. "Has the intervention reached the target population?"

4. "How has the intervention been experienced both by those implementing it and receiving it?"

5. "What contextual factors are critical to effective implementation?"

6. "Were unintended or wider delivery issues encountered during implementation?"

Deriving and condensing from the above considerations and — this is important — on the basis of the literature and needs analyses, and programme theory presented in this work we get a set of themes, questions and question groups to use as the basis of stakeholder interviews. In the interviews, the set will be customised to fit the role of each stakeholder group. The first questions or question groups (1–3) are treated in the present process related section. The rest (4–6) will be taken up in the next section where impacts are treated.

1. Were the targeted citizen groups reached? Is it, in the first place, possible to reach all citizen groups with a method like the *User-driven Development* process?

2. Did the *Development* process progress without major complications? If not, what could be done? (How could the reality check and implementation phases be strengthened in the *Development* process?) Since the process is rather heavy in structure, could just parts of it be used in future cases?

3. What kind of roles did the different stakeholder groups receive and take? Especially: was there any resistance on the part of the politicians and/or administrators? Are the municipal citizens, in the first place, interested in functioning as people governing, let alone, producing their own services?

4. Did the *Development* process produce expected results? What kind of results were salient for each stakeholder group (citizens, politicians and office-holders, developers, third sector organisations)? Were the service models that were developed sensible? Is the *May I Help You?* model good? Did the *Development* process produce any unexpected results?

5. Were the municipal citizens really, genuinely listened to? Or, is it possible that this kind of methodology could just be used for legitimising the really important decisions, that are in reality made elsewhere? What kind of (and how important) issues and problems can, in the first place, be approached or even solved with citizen-driven development methods? Can any genuinely important problems be solved with this kind of method?

6. Has/is the *May I Help You?* concept been/being implemented successfully? What will take place in the future?

5.3.2 The interviewed and the interviewing

The plan was that the following actor groups would be interviewed: the project participants (the young unemployed and the elderly citizens), municipal and regional politicians and office-holders, and the developers. For some of the groups this didn't pose any problems, for others it did.

There was a considerable difficulty in reaching project participants in the first place. The development sessions and meetings of the *User-driven Development* project had ended before the evaluation study was commissioned. The original plan was that about ten "long time" participants — participants that were taking part in the *May I Help You?* action and had taken part in the *Development* action — would be interviewed. Five of them were meant to be youngsters, five elderly people. The plan was also that an *InnoSI* project manager and an assistant would do the interviews during their visit to Kainuu in April 2016 to take part in the *InnoSI Community Reporter Training*. The interviews did not go quite as planned. Only four people participating in the *Reporter Training* were interviewed: two of them elderly, two young persons. (The interview guide for participants — see appendix 1 — was used.) The elderly persons had actually taken part also in the *User-driven Development process*, the younger not. One of the elderly people was also a municipal politician. Therefore only one of the elderly qualified. The participant interviews needed additions.

A list of former participants in the *User-driven* project workshops was consulted in the *Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region*. Potential people were phoned and asked if they'd like to be interviewed. A total of four people in the category of elderly were found and two of them were interviewed in September 2016. Two were left out due to time and resource restraints. There was now a total of three interviews from the elderly people's group. No young people could yet be located. They had all moved away from the reach of the *InnoSI* developing team and the *Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region*. Therefore a secondary strategy had to be developed. Two workshop instructors who had worked with six of the youth that took part in the *User-driven Development* project agreed to be group interviewed by telephone. The interview guide for participants (see appendix 1) was again used in all these interviews — adjusting the questions to fit the workshop instructors, who were answering on behalf of the missing youth. Answering on behalf of the youth was, of course, a difficult task and it is probable that most of the opinions the workshop instructors presented were actually based on a mix of their own viewpoints and a hypothesised viewpoint of the youth.

Also in the case of the politicians and public officials the interview arrangements were a bit more complicated than expected. The plan was first that the case study would use a set of interviews conducted by a university undergraduate student (Erno Heikkinen) writing his master's thesis on the Kainuu *Development* project. His research problems were (translated from Finnish by JK): [25]

1) How does, according to the municipal decision-makers in Kainuu, data collected in user-driven projects influence the different phases of the municipal decision-making process?

2) How, according to the municipal decision makers, is the user/citizen voice heard in a user-driven project.

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[25] The research questions (and the interview guide in appendix 2) were obtained via Tuula Jäppinen in an e-mail 15.3.2016.

A total of nine interviews (see appendix 2 for the interview questions) were conducted for the Masters Thesis (Heikkinen 2016). The *InnoSI* case project was granted access to the recorded interviews and they were listened to. (One of the interviewed had since Heikkinen's interviews been interviewed for the *InnoSI* case study, and her interview for the Master's Thesis was not used any more.) The Master's Thesis interviews contained *some* materials that could be used for the present case study. While the theoretical and needs assessment parts for the case study were finished during summer 2016 it became apparent that the interview contents were not sufficient enough to answer *all* the questions of interest in the case study. Therefore it was decided that three of the most interesting interviewees would be re-interviewed, this time with a set of questions that would give answers to the remaining interesting questions (see appendix 3).

One more group was yet interviewed: the developers of the Kainuu and Kajaani project. Three of these actors were selected simply by studying the published materials and asking the *InnoSI* related actors which people have relevant information about the project. The group came to include a service designer, a project coordinator and a scientific adviser. Innovation specialist Tuula Jäppinen from the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities was among the "developing team", but since she was also consulting and guiding the present case research and her studies were used extensively, and the case researcher had regular conversations with her, she wasn't formally interviewed. One interviewed developer (the project coordinator) had a different interview guide — a guide that was customised from the participants' interview guide (see appendix 1) — because he was interviewed earlier than the other two developers. On the later occasion the questions to be asked from the developers were clearer to the researcher.

During the citizen interviews — and when the contact information about these people to be interviewed was received from the *Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region* — it became apparent that two of them were members of pensioners' associations and one belonged to a *council of older people*

(vanhusneuvosto). It appeared that many people had been invited to the development workshops just by contacting associations. Associations are, in practice, a central force that the *May I Help You?* concept relies on for its implementation. The overlap removed the need to make separate interviews for association members.

A semi-structured interview method was used with all the interviewed groups and the interviews were conversational. Part of the interviews were conducted face-to-face and part by telephone. All of the interviews were recorded. Due to time and cost restrictions the interviews could not be transcribed.

Due to basically different interview guides, the participants' interviews were in the case study report treated as one group and the developers' and municipal politicians' and office-holders interviews as another group. The interview related information is collected in appendix 4. Specific codes are in the report text used for the interviewed persons to make it easier and more intuitive to follow the argument. The codes are as follows: the project participants (W = workshop instructor, E = elderly citizens), politicians (P) and office-holders (O), and the developers (service designer = D; project coordinator = C; scientific adviser = A). The elderly peoples', politicians' and officials' codes contain also a running number (i.e. E1 = elderly person 1; P5 = politician 5). A remark is in place: two of the office-holders (O3 and O4) were, besides being office-holders, in fact also a part of the developers group. They were in this study coded as "office-holders" because they also among the office-holders group in Heikkinen's (2016) interviews, but in the interview examples they are referred to with the name "office-holder/senior planning officer" and "office-holder/development manager", respectively.

5.3.3 Process in the light of the interviews

Despite the complexity of the interview setting, the interviews produced a lot of interesting data. In order to condense it for the purposes of the *InnoSI* study, we are in the reporting of the results concentrating on just a few very central themes

that unite well the meandering streams of questions reviewed above. As concerns the process, we will direct our attention to the functioning of the *User-driven Method* as a mechanism and to the actor roles and identities.

5.3.3.1 The participants

How well did the User-driven Development Process go?

Some good things were said about the process of the *Development* work. An elderly citizen (E3) thought that the process was very clear. Also the youth workshop instructors (W1&2) who were answering instead of the youth that took part in the *Development* work said that it was a good and efficient process. They said that the process was clear and instructions were very careful. If something was left open it was possible to contact the developers also between the events. A senior interviewee (E1) said that she was fascinated by how the workgroups produced service-developing ideas that could have been implemented quite soon already.

Roles and identities

An elderly person (E1) said that she felt empowered after each process. Also she had learned new methods that she has been able to use in her own actions. And, she has seen how important it is for the Kainuu people to co-operate, and in general, to work in co-operation. She has also made contact with new people. She also says that it has been especially good to make contact with younger people; not to be "seniorised" oneself. Also another elderly person (E2) said that she had had many new, interesting acquaintances.

Interesting words about the youth that took part in the process were said by their workshop instructors (W1&2):

> "At least the youth will remember that they have been asked. Oftentimes the really active youth are involved when the opinions of the young are

asked but this time the youth — even if the workshop youth were brisk and go-ahead types — they were not the kind of youth that function in associations or so. [...] [They will remember that] someone was interested in their opinion."

5.3.3.2 The politicians, the office-holders and the developers

How well does the User-driven Development Method function as a process and mechanism?

A LOGICAL BUT HEAVY PROCESS

Let's first see what the interviewees said about the success and progression of the *Development* process. The project coordinator (C) thought that on a general level the development process was well working and logical. The development work could, nevertheless, benefit from making the process less heavy, he said. Some of the tools used in the work appeared to him as less important than others. An ideal would be that individual design tools could be used selectively according to needs, said the coordinator (C). This is just the strategy that one Kainuu region municipality that intends to start applying the user-driven development process aims to follow: an interviewee from this town (O2) said that they are not going to take into use the whole process as it was used in the *User-driven* project experimented but use tools that fit their purposes.

Another point of view was also presented that is relevant to the possible use of the *User-driven Development* method in other cases, or more regular cases of planning municipal service. An office-holder/senior planning officer (O4) said that he knowledge, time resources and practical skills of the public officials would have to be enhanced to successfully use the service design methods.

As regards the significant length of the *Development* process — stretching over a period of two years — the service designer (D) reminded that the length of the process was also a function of the experimental nature of the project and the fact that a multitude of municipalities were taking part simultaneously. An office-

holder/senior planning officer (O4) did not think that the process was long at all, when one considers how long it in general takes to bring about change.

The scientific adviser (A) stated that the *User-driven Development* method is not yet used very successfully as an instrument of change management. This is a challenge on the public sector especially because you can just straightforwardly do what the people want but also have to think what the society actually needs.

Who took part in the process and how did their roles and identities mould?

REACHING THE MUNICIPAL CITIZENS

How well did the *Development* project find people from the citizen target groups to take part in the process? An office-holder/senior planning officer (O4) said that they were looking for elderly people that were over 75 years of age. They had to somewhat relax this assumption, and the age range came down to start somewhere around 70 years. The youth group was really difficult to find (this was agreed on by most of the interviewed developers, politicians and office-holders) and in the end they managed to bring in some young people who took part in rehabilitative work activities (i.e. kuntouttava työtoiminta), the senior planning officer stated. But, as a municipal office-holder (O2) stated: "In a qualitative sense their input was really good and valuable."

How willing are people, in general, to take part in these kinds of participative processes? The designer (D) said that people are always interested if their opinion is asked, but a prerequisite for participating is that they feel that they will be listened to. This means that the listener must be honest and ready to receive any kind of information without prejudices.

Is it possible to reach also the "ordinary, busy citizen with a job and a family" with the *User-driven* method? A municipal office-holder (O2) gave an answer that sounds plausible:

> "Well, [that is the] most difficult target group. We know that this citizen group for which everything is OK [...] is the most difficult to reach. But with the right setting of questions and with motivating it is possible. Families with children are maybe most interested in the position and conditions of the children. When we are discussing these kind of things ...let's say school [...], day care, yes, they are active."

A politician (P5) had the same opinion about the reachability of the group of the "ordinary" citizens. She said the people should feel that they really benefit from the process because it takes time.

ROLES AND IDENTITIES

According to the scientific adviser (A), the *User-driven Development* method is a challenge to the office-holders. In Finland, we have a very strong professional and sectorial culture. The office-holders may not like the idea that their professional and profound sectorial understanding is called into question. The adviser (A) continued that from the viewpoint of the municipal politicians, the danger of user-drivenness is that it fragments their work even more. The politicians are used to aggregating interests between different political parties. That alone is difficult. What, then, if we add the municipal citizens and groups to this formula and discussion? Matching interests may become even harder, reflected the adviser (A).

On the other hand, a politician (P5) said that there was no friction between different roles, but the setting was equal.

What was said about the citizens' identities? The service designer (D) says that there has been a visible change in the youth who are providing computer guiding sessions to elderly people, arranged by the Kajaani Youth Club House "Tönäri". Originally very shy and apologetic young men have become more alive when they have noticed that they can be of use and help to other people. The scientific adviser (A) reported the same kind of observations as regards the empowering effects of the *Development* process.

According to role-related identity theory, roles are building bricks for identities. As for the roles of the participants (i.e. citizen, municipal politician etc.), the service designer (D) had noticed that the roles of the different actor groups were practically mixed up because the municipalities they operated were rather small in population. The same people may have functioned in the role of a citizen in one workshop and in the role of a councillor in another workshop. This mixing up of roles, the designer (D) assessed, was a good thing. The *User-driven Development* process is meant to be dialogical. "The point of the whole thing is the sitting beside the same table", the designer (D) summed up. A municipal official (O2) said that the *User-driven* method was quite efficient in freeing one from the typical roles.

Even the developers' identities were changed. The service designer (D), very interestingly, also reflected the project from the viewpoint of his own experiences. Having done service design work for about 15 years he felt that the Kainuu *Development* project had been by far the most difficult but also the most fun to do. Also the scientific adviser (A) felt that the process had had an effect on her own personality and that it had changed her way of thinking.

6. Impact evaluation

6.1 Studying impacts

Change is the ultimate goal of all programmes, write Rossi et al. (2004, 204).
We can quote what is said in the *InnoSI WP4 Case Study Evaluation Resources*
(draft version) (Baines, Fox & Grimm 2015, 34): "[t]he basic question impact
evaluations often seek to answer is 'did the intervention work' or 'did the
intervention cause the impact?'"

By *impact* we mean something a bit more complicated than what the concept
outcome denotes. These concepts were already treated in chapter *4. Theory of
change*. We can repeat the definitions here. Hehenberger et al. (2015, 17) gives
outcomes the following definition: "the changes, benefits, learnings or other
effects (both long and short term) that result from the organisation's activities".
The *part of the outcomes produced by the activity* — in this case the *User-driven
Development* process — is the impact (Hehenberger et al. 2015, 17).

It would be hard to to say much about the *deadweight*, *attribution*, *displacement*
and *drop-off* factors (see chapter 4.3.4) with the rather atypical evaluation
subject we have. These kinds of evaluation research concepts are a bit rigid to be
methodically used in the present study. We can to some extent compare the *User-
driven Development* project to the "normal" situation of decision-making in
representative democracy: would it have been able to manage the kind of issues
and problems and produce the kind of results that the *User-driven* process did?
Does the User-driven process do things in a better way and does it produce
better results? In the present study we can only scratch the surface of these
issues in a rather unsystematic way. More research is needed.

6.2 What the existing and published data tell about the impacts

How effective was the *User-driven Development* programme, as used in Kainuu, in
producing solutions to the problems of the two focused special groups? The

programme yielded altogether 27 concepts (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 6; listed in Kuntaliitto n.d.b.). Examples include "Sports headquarters for the youth" [i.e. nuorten liikuntapäämaja] and "Creativity headquarters for the youth" [i.e. nuorten luovuuspäämaja]. They are run by the young people themselves and provide, respectively, sports and arts related information and opportunities for youngsters. Quite a few of the concepts deal with electronic services (3) and bringing different services together "under the same roof" (2–3). Two (2) concepts aim at developing peoples' opportunities to enjoy the natural environment. Then there are a lot of different, more varied ideas, such as "a philosopher-on-duty" who provides "philosophical conversational therapy".

Out of the 27 prospective concepts, one was selected: *May I Help You? Is May I Help You?*, in general, a good and an implementable concept? Do its contents and it being selected signal that the *User-driven Development* project has been a worthwhile operation? In principle, we can say that a procedure such as *May I Help You?* is inventive because it manages to combine in one concept the needs of both the elderly and the young. It is another question whether the concept answers these needs in a plausible way. The worlds of the young and the old are quite far apart from each other. It is good if we can bring the two groups together, but is it a natural and sustainable way to alleviate problems of old age loneliness, let alone social exclusion of the youth?

As already stated in chapter 2.1., the work in the *User-driven Development* project was conducted as a co-operation between the project *Vaikuttavat lähipalvelut* (by the *Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities*, i.e. *Kuntaliitto*) and the organisation *the Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region* (*Kainuun sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon kuntayhtymä*, i.e. *Kainuun sote*) (Kainuun sote n.d.c.; Kuntaliitto n.d.a. and n.d.e.). Since January of 2016, *SOSTE Finnish Federation for Social Affairs and Health* (i.e. SOSTE Suomen sosiaali ja terveys ry) has entered into co-operation with the *Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities* and the *Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region*, that is, Kainuun sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon kuntayhtymä in spreading the *May I Help You?*

concept (SOSTE 2016). There is, therefore, wider belief on the potential success of the concept.

Jäppinen and Nieminen (2015) write that besides developing actual welfare services with and for the municipal citizens, a goal of the *User-driven Development* project was also to adjust the role of the local government in promoting the citizens' welfare. After all, the social and welfare services had quite recently in the Kainuu region been made the responsibility of a regional organ, the *Social and Healthcare division*. (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 4.) The setting and goal described above have become all the more interesting on a more wider scale lately as the *health and social services reform* in Finland is transferring these services to counties (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health & Ministry of Finance 2016). How is democracy served in the new circumstances?

Jäppinen even hints at the possibility of a paradigm change in governance "from welfare state to well-being society" (Jäppinen 2015, 84). She writes:[26]

> The literature describes some of the benefits of user-driven innovation at the macro level. User-driven innovation and service design introduces new scientific ways of identifying users' latent needs and may also introduce radical innovations at the level of the organization. Users express their service needs proactively even as early as at the stage where services are planned. They can act as change agents together with politicians, local government officials, and the media. From the perspective of economic science, a user-driven approach can modernize service provision and make municipalities more competitive; in other words, there is a faster reaction to user needs. Used systematically, a user-driven approach improves productivity and quality. (Jäppinen 2015, 84.)

> In terms of democracy, citizen participation can restore confidence in politics and governance. From the perspective of service personnel, a user-driven approach spreads the responsibility for the planning of services and increases job satisfaction. Interactive methods can offer new solutions even to wicked social problems. (Jäppinen 2015, 84.)

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[26] Jäppinen is referring to her own earlier publication from 2011: "Jäppinen, T. 2011a. Kunta- ja käyttäjälähtöinen innovaatiotoiminta. [Municipalities and user-driven innovation]. Acta väitöskirjasarja Nro 230 Suomen Kuntaliitto. Helsinki: Kuntatalon paino."

These impact related observations and thoughts were formed on the basis of the existing and published data. Now, let's proceed to studying what the newly collected interviews can tell us more about the results of the *User-driven Development* process.

6.3 Results and impacts in the interview data

6.3.1 Background for the interview questions

In the Kainuu case, the changes that the programme aims to bring about are rather diverse and multi-levelled. A proximal goal of the Kainuu *User-driven Development* project has been to develop solutions for the special problems and needs of the elderly and the unemployed young people. These solutions are the outputs of the *Development* process. The hoped-for impact from the usage of such a model as *May I Help You?* is the diminishing of the danger of social exclusion. A distal goal and sought-after outcome has been the improvement of municipal decision-making having an impact on both the quality of its results and the quality of processual democracy. To really assess how these outcomes and impacts have been or may be realised, we must closely study the new interview data. We will ask the respondents whether they think *May I Help You?* is a good concept. What about the other concepts that were created in the *User-driven Development* process — were they any good? How do the actors feel about the possibilities of these kinds of processes in changing decision-making and democracy?

In the *InnoSI WP4 Case Study Evaluation Resources* (draft version) (Baines, Fox & Grimm 2015, 35) we can find both similar and supplementary questions:

1. "Did the policy, programme of project achieve its stated objectives?"

2. "What were the social and psychological impacts of social welfare reform on individuals and communities, including the ways individuals' sense of identity is

shaped by their interactions with welfare policy and its reform (including gender and generational issues)?" By moulding this question to the political-administrative action taking place in the present case study, we can rather ask, how the participating of the citizens affects their identities and, on the other hand, the identities of municipal representatives and office-holders.

3. "What were the social outcomes and effectiveness of interventions for the various actors, contributors and beneficiaries concerned?"

4. "From the perspective of recipients, did policy initiatives strengthen or weaken the public sphere?"

5. "Did any outcomes occur which were not originally intended, and if so, what and how significant were they?"

These questions — among other interesting problems — have already been integrated in the list of interview questions at the end of chapter 5.3.1.

6.3.2 Impact in the light of the interviews

6.3.2.1 The participants

User-driven Development and services

An elderly interviewee (E2) thought that as an idea the *May I Help You?* concept is good. She had not taken part in *May I Help You?* related action yet but she told that the pensioners' association [that she was functioning in] will soon be having a meeting where a representative from the *Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region* presents the concept. The neighbourhood association has had computer training going on and their own association would like to get something similar working, too, said the elderly person (E2).

One of the senior citizens interviewed (E3) said the following:

> "In principle it feels like a reasonable thing but [...] there may be a considerable threshold for the young people and the elderly to meet each other. But well, certainly on some occasions the young are also into it. [...] As we are living in a small location — there aren't any young people here in the first place, it's just the old people that are here. [...] The perspective should be adjusted according to where we live [and] what we have around us."

The youth workshop instructors (W1&2) that were interviewed, because the youth that had been taking part in the *Development* process could not be reached any more, had mixed thoughts about the concept *May I Help You? In general*, they think that the idea of bringing the youth and the elderly together is a good idea. At the time of the *Development* process, the youth workshop had a group of youth that were quite eagerly and successfully involved in the *Development* project. During last autumn or winter they had been asked whether they at that moment had youth that would want to or could take part in the *May I Help You?* action, but there were none at the time. Besides, a part of their youth were such that they couldn't even be thought to be a part of the programme due to their problems, such as criminal background, said the youth workshop instructors. Some of the youth were, nevertheless, asked. How did they feel? The interviewee says that they didn't feel comfortable with the idea. The workshop instructors said:

> "If there were youth that have an inclination to social services they could get useful experience from this. So, would it be reasonable to look for these kinds of youth? It is not so clear that the youth workshop, at least at the moment, is the right place. [...] We don't have such people. Their lives are so much in turmoil."

Nevertheless, the responding youth workshop instructors were not altogether critical of the idea of bringing even "difficult" youth to this kind of activity, because it might help the youth to realise that they can be of use to someone. But, the project would need good guidance.

An elderly person had the idea that the *May I Help You?* concept could work in a more organised sense: the older people need help and the young need work experience. There could also be money involved, said this senior citizen (E2). Another interviewee (P1) had an important remark on the same subject: there needs to be line drawn here and the program needs to exclude any activities that are commercial.

User-Driven Development and the citizens' power to make a difference

WHAT KIND OF KNOWLEDGE DO THE CITIZENS HAVE?
The interviewees were asked what kind of knowledge they have about municipal services that the office-holders and politicians may lack. An elderly person (E1) said that they know how things go in practice. Another elderly person (E2) said that the municipal citizens have the knowledge about using the services. The third interviewed senior citizen (E3) mentioned the personal and life experience that the "ordinary" citizens have.

DID THE CITIZENS HAVE AN INFLUENCE IN THE PROCESS?
Everyone (5 out of 5 persons) in the group of the interviewed municipal citizens were of the opinion that citizens were genuinely listened to. An elderly person (E1) said that she got from the process a feeling that she can really influence things. Another elderly person (E2) assessed that workshops were democratic in their nature. She (E2) also hopes that the officials listened and that the project has some effect on things. Also the third interviewed elderly person (E3) was of the opinion that everybody was listened to and she, as well, believes that citizens can have an impact through these kinds of processes.

6.3.2.2 The politicians, the office-holders and the developers

Like in the case of reporting the interview data on the process, we are going to concentrate on just a few main themes when reporting the data on impact. These are the impacts of the *User-driven* method on service production and the impact of the method on municipal decision-making culture and democracy.

User-driven Development and services

THE RESULT WAS NOT A SERVICE BUT A COMMUNAL OPERATIONS MODEL

What do the interviewed think: is the result of the *Development* process, the *May I Help You?* concept, a good one? Let's take a citation from an interview by the project coordinator (C):

> "When it was chosen […] I had my doubts […] but looking at it afterwards, this [concept] strongly represents the future direction we have speculated for the role of the municipality […] The municipality is a coordinator, a platform for the community […]."

In the above citation, the future municipality seems more like an overseer and facilitator, not so much a service producer. The process designer (D) in his interview conveyed, in essence, the same story as the project coordinator (C). The designer (D) said that the developers were expecting something like a service to come out of the process. In this sense, the scientific adviser (A) stated that the process didn't really succeed. Instead, the adviser (A) said that it succeeded in "finding things that affect people's lives and, when intervened, can be used to increase the wellbeing of people". And in this particular perspective, the process succeeded magnificently, stated the adviser (A): something novel and unexpected was found. What the citizens were short of were social networks and everyday activities.

In concrete terms, *May I Help You?* came out, and it is more like a *communal operations model* than a service, said the adviser (A). The designer (D), with the same kind of thoughts, added some contents to this:

> "We are talking about a culture change and having different age groups do things together […] facilitating the meeting between the youth and the elderly."

The *May I Help You?* concept brings the youth and the elderly together. In this connection, we could well ask is it generally a very good idea to match two

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groups that are both in danger of social exclusion? How does this help them out of the margin? There is the idea of intergroup *complementarity* behind the *May I Help You?* concept. We can cite the interviewed project coordinator (C) in this connection:

"The elderly need company and the youth need self-confidence."

An office-holder/senior planning officer talked about *value exchange* (in Finnish: arvovaihtokauppa). A young person at risk of social exclusion and having feelings of purposelessness may in this project feel him- or herself needed when he or she is helping the elderly person with some daily chores which the old person is unable to do any more. Also the elderly person feels valuable when he or she is giving the young person the chance to succeed in something, said the office-holder/senior planning officer (O4). The *empowerment* comes from within this relationship.

This time, in the Kajaani and Kainuu context, the main end result of the *Development* process was a *communal operations model*. The scientific adviser (A) was also asked whether the *User-driven Development* method could be used to develop a more traditional service. The answer was very interesting. The adviser (A) said that definitely, yes, it could be used for this purpose, but it would require great flexibility from the office-holders. If services are being developed from the narrow perspective of one profession alone, the profession might not be able to answer the call that came from the *User-driven* process, the adviser (A) continued. The readiness for inter-sectorial co-operation is essential.

One of the interviewed, a politician (P2), had a view that must be mentioned. He was of the opinion that what took place in Kainuu was somehow misguided. The interviewee said that he had the impression that the central thing in the project was the creating of an operational culture, not so much a single service model. Reflecting on this goal, he thinks the project has taken a little bit of a wrong turn and become a small-scale *May I Help You?* pilot. This kind of a procedure does

not produce an operational culture, he says. Now it would be the time to stop and do some checking: what is the direction that we should go? This should be done even before we start taking the *May I Help You?* concept out of the region.

DIFFICULTIES OF IMPLEMENTATION

The service designer (D) told that there has been variation in the success of the implementation of the *May I Help You?* concept. There are a few good successes, like from Kajaani the Youth Club House "Tönäri". The youth are providing guiding sessions for the elderly in computer use. There has been visible change in the habitus of the young men giving this service and the elderly have been very interested in the service.

Despite successes, the developer (D) also sees a problem with the implementation. There are several implementation ideas out there and it is the local actors who are supposed to get them running and underway. Local people now know very well what to do, but it should actually be done. Nevertheless, the developing side should be able to give these pilots and potential projects support, and there should be more of this support, thinks the developer (D). He thinks it is both a question of resources reserved for giving the support and lack of some active stance locally. Also the office-holder/senior planning officer (O4) agreed that there should have been more active encouragement directed at the municipal key persons, explaining that the activity underway is meant to be in their own interest.

The scientific adviser (A) drew the aforementioned difficulties onto a more general level by asking a question that points to a paradox:

> "We have here a big question about whose responsibility is communal developing work? [...] Can communal developing work be done by the public sector ... can we take even communality and 'caress it to death' in this everywhere extending and reaching situation of the public sector?"

The advisor (A) continued that it would be so easy to say in the present situation that it seems that "again" one concept did not really get implemented. But, she points out, as the third sector organisation *SOSTE Finnish Federation for Social Affairs and Health* (SOSTE Suomen sosiaali ja terveys ry) has taken as its duty to support the concept, the model seems to be spreading exactly through the right channel now. An office-holder/senior planning officer (O4) regarded associations as potentially having a coordinating role in the *May I Help You?* action. On the other hand, she said that also the *Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region* (Kainuun SOTE) could take this role. She also points that *SOSTE* has now the task to bring *May I Help You?* to the national level and market it to associations.

It is necessary to note that an official/the senior planning officer (O4) told about a municipality in the region that tried to patch the deficiency of people from the youth target group by recruiting school kids to function in the *May I Help You*? programme. It had also been proposed that voluntary work should be introduced as a part of the study schedule, also in practice.

THE DISTAL FUNCTION OF *MAY I HELP YOU?*

Besides the explicit functions given to the *May I Help You?* concept — the most visible being the prevention of social exclusion in its different forms — there is also a more implicit function that the concept serves. It is revealed in a few of the interviews. When asked about the importance of the *May I Help You?* concept, an office-holder (O1) gave the following answer:

> "For both parties human contacts are important. But, as we know, we should support the elderly peoples' living at their own home for as long as possible; this would be a way to ease the pressure that is directed at public-officials and public care services."

Another office-holder (O2) puts it in a more straight manner:

> "I know that [...] it has an ulterior motive to activate the third sector to support and to be a strength in the societal and municipal social- and welfare task, especially tasks of social care."

And finally, a politician (P5) had a somewhat rounder way to express essentially the same message:

> "Due to the shortage of resources we need to look for all kinds of co-operation. It would be a waste to lose all the skills that people have and that could be used together. I don't think that the world only functions leaning on the official organisations. We have a very strong field of associations in Finland and it is really important to make use of it. […] And this doesn't mean that we would in this society go — that there would be the danger that we think that for example the third sector will take care of all things. This is not how it should be. We need well-functioning public services, but we have a lot of other things in people's lives that we can do together."

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER CREATED SERVICE CONCEPTS?

What about the 26 *other* service concepts that the *Development* project gave birth to? How do they function in the service space? The project coordinator (C) said that partially the products for the *Development project* try to integrate or bring the basic services closer to people. Partially the products are something that aims at producing wellbeing and good life in general. Also the designer (D) corroborates the observation that some of the produced concepts are right at the core of the public services. As an example he presents the "multi-service bus" (monipalveluauto), a car that brings services to people. And again, the designer (D) continues that many of the services are then very distant from the core. Here an example was a "forest taxi" (i.e. metsätaksi) that would transport elderly who can't easily move around to the woods to enjoy the nature.

An office-holder/the senior planning officer (O4) remarked, interestingly, that the "other" 26 service concepts that had been produced by the *User-driven* method in addition to the *May I Help You?* model were in a way haunting on the back. Should something be done to and with also these concepts? This, she saw, was also a part of the larger question about who should take the initiative and push forward the ideas and concepts.

User-driven Development, decision-making culture and democracy

REPRESENTATIONAL VS. DIRECT DEMOCRACY

The adviser (A) makes a very interesting comment on the effect of user-drivenness to democracy. It concerns the politicians' roles:

> "Here we are in front of an immensely big question about inclusion and participation. I am of the opinion that our leading elected officials are clinging to the assumption that representative democracy is the way to channel the citizens' will to decision-making. This is not true anymore. People have a lot of knowledge, they have good instruments […] democracy will spread out […] of course the representative version will still be there, but its role will be different.

Also one of the interviewed public officials (also a development manager) (O3) had similar views. She asked whether political decision-making is already an out-dated model when we are talking about service production.

GENUINE LISTENING OF PEOPLE OR A QUESTION OF IMAGE?

Are people really genuinely listened to in client-centred processes? When the interviewer asked a politician (P5) the question whether the taking part in the *User-driven Development* project had been a real will or a question of image and looking like a client centered organisation, she answered:

> "Well, both of the motives are maybe there. But the real will, I at least myself want to believe that everybody has that will, and at least I've myself been in it for that reason.

Another politician (P2) had a more structural and cultural answer to a similar question, namely "Are the municipal citizens' viewpoints trusted?" He said "In some things yes, in some not." In his or her viewpoint the public sector organisation moves on its own weight. It doesn't genuinely listen and hear.

HOW DOES USER-DRIVENNESS HELP?

What is the contribution of the municipal citizens in the *Development* process?
We can look for the answer from a citation from the project coordinator (C)
interview:

> "This may [...] be a thought too stereotypical but if the office-holders and
> politicians make decisions largely [...] based on what can be afforded [...]
> and [...] the pre-assessment of impacts whether [...] the right things are
> done [...] is maybe forgotten [then][...] through the knowledge from
> municipal citizens in this process, the understanding of the client, [...]
> gives perspective [...] to the [...] decisions.

What this essentially means is that while the office-holders and politicians may
be prone to base decisions on money, the municipal citizens may be able to tell
them whether their decisions have any impact. The information does not,
though, necessarily travel that easily. The designer (D) said that one problem in
the *User-driven* process is the transformation of the experiential knowledge of
the actors to information that could be used in decision-making. Somewhat
provocatively the scientific advisor (A) proposes that "one may not *really* be
wanting to know that [...] 'we are doing the wrong things'.

Different kinds of interesting viewpoints are presented on behalf of the usage of
User-driven methods. A public official (O1) says that participatory processes are
good in the sense that they teach useful, specific tools that can be used to collect
information instead of just plainly asking what services one uses. They are also
good for aggregating information and they are based on theories and testing. The
methods should be brought into the structure of decision-making and everyday
activities. Also education for using the methods are needed, says the official.

Another public official (O2) sees a symbolic value in the methods. When the
interviewer asks how the different projects that support social inclusion help [...]
in decision-making, he gets the answer:

> "I, in fact, see them as culture shaping things that make people understand that they have a chance to make a difference […] and this way to become more active […] and this is usually the kind of work that the municipality forgets."

A public official/development manager (O3) in the interviews pondered about the central corner stones of the project. She mentions first the multiplicity of actors: it has brought together the work of the *Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities*, university, actors on the social and welfare sector, citizens, associations etc. Another one is systematicity: there is a pattern to follow and methods to use. Doing together is important, as well. Also can be mentioned the support that actors have given to each other and flexibility in putting together different viewpoints. This has augmented everybody's understanding. Visibility has grown: many people know the concept *May I Help You?* A good ground has been set for starting the actual work. Maybe the process has increased the trust of the citizens that *we* really, really want to invest in this so that people will be heard.

A QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP?

Running a user-driven process will probably not be producing results just like that and spontaneously. A public official/development manager (O3) stated:

> "We can create very innovative methods but it is a big question how it can be brought as a part of the operative functions. We have tried different things to make it easier but I'm kind of convinced that it is more and more a question of leadership. […] The manager takes it and is ready for change and is ready to leave the customary and proceed to the new thing […]"

A politician (P5) says this in more general terms by stating that it is much dependent on the individual people if things get going or not. In practice, the need of leadership can be seen in an example about the action (or rather non-action) of a head of a *council of older people* (vanhusneuvosto) (P4). He said that it is in his responsibility to further *May I Help You?* in the council, but he says he hasn't done anything in this respect. Judging by the interview it seemed that his attitude to the concept was so negative that it had prohibited action.

6.4 Conclusions and discussion: innovation, investment and democracy

To wrap up things we will here shortly discuss some central points of interest in this *InnoSI* case study on the *User-driven Development* project in Kainuu. The discussion is based on both the theoretical materials and primary and secondary empirical materials presented in the study. We are interested in especially the following questions: *How* does the *User-driven* method fare as an innovation and as a (potential) investment, and what is the effect of the method on municipal democracy?

THE *METHOD* AS AN INNOVATION

InnoSI is about innovation and investment. Among the goals of the *May I Help You?* concept we have the preventing of social exclusion of the youth and the "more 'good days' spent at home" for the elderly (Jäppinen & Nieminen 2015, 21). These are clearly social investments. The *May I Help You?* concept is also an innovation. The *User-driven Development* concept has both the characters of innovation and investment. Let's take a closer look at the innovative properties.

In the literature analysis part we reviewed what Moore and Hartley (2008, 14–18) had to say about "innovations in governance". These kinds of innovations 1) break organisational boundaries and create networks. This is true with the *User-driven Development* process. In the planning phase it brings together people from service sectors, political organisations and the civil society. New connections are formed, as a few interviewed participants told. The *May I Help You?* concept has the potential to create contacts between both organisations of the youth and the elderly and also network individual people. It is yet to be seen how the concept will spread, but at least it is now being "marketed" on the national level by a resourceful organisation, *SOSTE Finnish Federation for Social Affairs and Health*. Governance innovations also 2) tap into new kinds of resources. In the *User-driven Development* process, the municipal citizens' substantial and experiential knowledge is brought in during the planning process, like the interviews confirmed, and their activities are needed in the implementation of the *May I Help You?* concept. Innovations in governance should 3) use the government's capacity and authority to steer the action. This has, to some extent, been true in

the *Development* phase, with the *Social and Healthcare Division of the Kainuu Region* co-ordinating the developing. The *May I Help You?* action is principally supposed to be conducted by and in the civil society. Governance innovations are supposed to 4) alter the balance on who is to decide what is to be produced, and this again is true in the *User-driven Development* with the planning stage equality between both municipal citizens, public officials and elected officials. This was also verified in the interviews. Finally, governance innovations are supposed to 5) include and entail both instrumental and moral evaluating. In the present case, the starting point for the development work has been the alleviating of the problems of municipal citizen groups, and this should help the public government in controlling the risk of social exclusion and loneliness. The *User-driven Development* project in Kainuu, with its end result the *May I Help You?* concept, can be regarded in essence an *innovation in governance*.

How, as an innovation, does *May I Help You?* spread? On the surface, at the moment (autumn 2016) there is a lot going on as regards the *May I Help You?* concept. The concept is during the autumn 2016 being mobilised in the Kainuu municipalities. This work is sponsored by *SOSTE Finnish Federation for Social Affairs and Health*. In 2017, *May I Help You?* will be spread to six regions in Finland as a part of the *Finland 100 centenary* programme. The concept has been included in seminars and conferences and has and will be included in several studies and books or booklets.

The plenitude of activity should show that there is genuine belief in the *May I Help You?* concept. The success may be seen as an indirect indication of the quality of the *User-driven Development* project.

On the other hand, judging from the interviews, things in Kainuu seem to be at a standstill. The interviewees do not generally recognise much activity as regards the concept. Either it is too early for the results to show or there is some discrepancy between the official and the grassroots view.

But what about the spread of the *User-driven Development* project? Some might (and a few in the interviews did) see the actual developing process and the *collaborative innovating* (c.f. Sørensen & Torfing 2011, 845) it consists of as the focus and the really interesting and important thing in the Kainuu action. It is rather strange that the mission in Kainuu seems to officially concentrate only on the one singular product of the *User-driven Method*, the *May I Help You*? concept. There could be good reasons to say that actually the extra resources should be allocated towards spreading the *User-driven Development* method, because user-drivenness in general would have a much more profound effect in the municipal service culture than one single community programme. Citizens *interests* are on a more general level than *needs*, as we can remember from the needs assessment chapter (chapter 3) above. This is a matter that should be discussed thoroughly.

THE *METHOD* AS AN INVESTMENT

The process of *User-driven Development* presented seems quite long and demanding. It also took the effort of a lot of people from different stakeholder groups. In this particular Kainuu case we must, though, remember that what is being described is basically an empirical process of testing the model. It was realised as an experiment and conducted in several municipalities simultaneously between 2014–2015.

To say something meaningful about the costs of the *User-driven Development* model we should study it when it is implemented in specific cases in specific municipalities. But, even then we would have a difficulty in assessing the benefits. They may vary all the way from solving individual service problems to building social networks to enhancing democracy. It is therefore difficult to assess the value of *User-driven Development* as an investment.

To what extent is this kind of a method useful in municipalities and is there wider interest in its use? Implementing at least selected parts of the *User-driven* mechanism to better sensitise the decision-makers to the needs of the

population would be a good and realistic start.[27] We must also think carefully about the kind of decision-making cases that the model is suitable for. In one of the interviews it was reckoned that the method should be used on the strategic level of municipal decision-making. It could then increase the efficiency of subsequent decision-making and strengthen the unanimity in decisions if *policies were* first *negotiated* (c.f. Bovaird 2007, 846) on the principled level.

An ethical question in relation to the *User-driven* process and also its particular product in the Kainuu case must be highlighted. It says in Jäppinen & Nieminen (2015, 4) that based on the first year's experience of the developing process "[m]unicipal citizens themselves are […] ready to produce services for both neighbours and relatives, help is offered in transportation, ploughing roads, and shopping". In Kainuun Sanomat (n.d.) it is said that citizens may also have the role of service "managers". A question of interest is, are *these* really the kind of changes that the *Development* process can or is supposed to produce? The Nordic welfare society is built on equality of services regardless of the benevolence and resources of any individual person. Why should the services now be produced in the spirit of mutual self-help?

In relation to the role of the *User-driven Development* method but especially the target and product of the Kainuu case, the *May I Help You?* model, we can also study the subject from the viewpoint of work and employment. In Finland, we have a persistent long-term unemployment problem. We also have a growing group of post-war generation citizens who are becoming old and will need care. Resources are diminishing. Are we now trying to patch up the deficit of care by getting the unemployed youth, or even schoolchildren, and associations to do the work voluntarily (c.f. Pestoff 2006, 507; also Bovaird 2007, 855)? Admittedly, this is a bit of a provocative claim, but it gets some support from the interview data. Besides, this is not only a question of employment and pay. If care is produced voluntarily, also the private firms are displaced from the market.

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27 The idea of using only selected parts of the process or model of *User-driven Development* came up in an interview with specialist Ville Nieminen of the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities on 14.6.2016.

USER-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT METHOD AND MUNICIPAL DEMOCRACY

The *User-driven Development* method taps into the knowledge base of the municipal citizens — a resource not much utilised before. The *Development* method turns municipal citizens from passive recipients to active service designers, and even producers. In the sense mentioned in the literature review above, referring to Hartley (2005, 29–30), we can talk about *networked governance* or *citizen-centred governance* and the municipal citizens as *co-producers* of innovation and services. What does this mean when we think about municipal democracy?

One thing we have to consider is that all citizen groups are not likely to be equally well reachable. The difficulties in the *User-driven Development* project of reaching the unemployed youth and the difficulties of reaching them afterwards for the purposes of the present research work indicated this clearly. Yet, municipalities are supposed to produce services for everyone and in an indiscriminate manner.

The present case study was conducted with evaluative methods. We must remember that municipalities are also value-based entities. It would be impossible to assess the quality of an institution such as this on the grounds of impact only. One also has to judge what is *right* and *just*.

According to the interview results, the interviewees feel that municipal citizens were genuinely listened to in the process of *User-driven Development*. There was no such implication that the process was or even could be used for plain legitimation purposes (c.f. Fung 2015, 515) and to keep citizens happy, while actual power resides elsewhere. Nevertheless, uncertainty prevails whether the dialogically generated citizen knowledge can be successfully transferred to the more formal municipal decision-making processes. To actually have an impact, it would help if the *User-driven* method were well built inside the municipal culture. It seems also clear that any service concepts created in this special way need resources and leadership to make the programmes actually start and even prosper. Implementation needs to be specifically ensured.

Besides the citizens' roles in democracy, the *User-driven* method and participatory democracy may also have implications as concerns the municipal politicians' and office-holders' roles. Could there be resistance from both or either of the two groups (c.f. Pestoff 2006, 508)? There was no sign of this kind of an attitude among the interviewed politicians or office-holders — though, of course, we have to remember that our sample was extremely small and that the interviewed people had to a considerable degree accepted the method by being active participants.

All in all, the *User-driven Development* project can be regarded as an exceptionally interesting experiment in putting into practice mechanisms of participatory democracy. The experiment should be discussed, further reproduced, and the new experiments studied evaluatively right from the beginning to produce data that studies the method critically. We need more information to assess whether the *User-driven Development* method could be used to solve some of the big challenges of future public governance: the diminishing resources, the changing service structures and municipal citizens' interest in local government issues.

7. On the economic evaluation of the *Development* process: a short note

The whole *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* project is very fragmented and spread over time. Besides, its potential impacts as regards the efficiency and quality of municipal decision-making are virtually non-quantifiable and non-monetisable. An economic evaluation of the *Development* project would be out of the bounds of the present case study due to both practical and principled reasons. This was already noted above when treating the *Development* process as an investment. We need to settle for the qualitative analysis of the project effects, conducted in the earlier chapters. Later on, when and if the *May I Help You?* concept becomes popular in municipalities opportunities for SROI type of analyses may rise to study the cost-benefit relationship of this end product of the *User-driven Development* process.

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Appendices

1. Interview guide for the municipal citizens

Basic information: Name, age, sex, marital status, education, profession, place of residence, to which *Development* process events one has taken place?

1.
a) How did you learn about the *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* process?
b) Why did you want to take part in the *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* process?

2. Does a municipal citizen taking part in the *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* process have such knowledge about services that is lacking from the office-holders or politicians? What kind of information?

3. What place in the municipal decision-making process is the best for a municipal citizen taking part in service development to have an impact:
- when new issues are introduced,
- when implementation plans are made,
- when implementation decisions are made or
- when implementation is supervised and assessed?

4. How well does or did the *User-driven Development* go as a process?
- Is/was the process clear and goal-oriented?
- Is/was the process genuinely interactive and dialogic?
- Did the process give you the feeling that you can really have an impact on issues and that you can have an impact on important issues?

5. Are you content with the results of the *User-driven Development* process (the *May I Help You?* concept) (=Is the *May I Help You?* concept a rational and implementable model of action)?
- Have you taken part in the *May I Help You?* events? Have they gone well?
- What, in general, do you think you give or have contributed to the *May I Help You?* events?
- What have you gained or learned from taking part in the *May I Help You?* events?
- How would you develop the *May I Help You?* model?

6. (Let's go back from the *May I Help You?* concept to the *User-driven Development* work.) Does the *User-driven Development of Local Public Services* process or its results give you any personal benefits?

7. How would you develop the *User-driven Development* processes in order to make them work even better in the future?

2. Master Thesis' interview guide for the municipal politicians and administrators

The interview guide is by an undergraduate student (Erno Heikkinen), who used it in his Masters Thesis study (English translation by JK).

Informing about the two-year process that the Social and Healthcare Division and the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities realised. Telling about the *User-driven Service Development* -project. Informing about the connection of user-drivenness to decision-making.

- Name, organisation
- At which stage did you enter the *User-driven Service Development* project?
- What do you know about the *May I Help You?* project? (Should ask the respondent to describe in own words.)
- How much do you know about the results collected?
- How has the *May I Help You?* or the Kainuun palveluluotain [JK: "Kainuu service probe"] that is, *User-driven Service Development* project been visible in the decision-making processes?
- Do you believe that the information collected from the citizens is different from the information produced by the Social and Healthcare Division?
  - Does the information obtained from the municipal citizens add extra value?
- How well, in your perception, do the project results correspond to the general will of the municipal citizens?
- How well do you get information from service-users to support decision making?
  - How do different participatory projects (like the one at hand) help in this?
- How does the information collected correspond to your needs as a decision-maker?
- How could the activities be developed?

Is there anything else you would like to share?

3. Interview guide for the developers and for the politicians and office-holders

Basic information: Name, age, title, role in the *Development process*

1. Were the targeted citizen groups reached? Is it, in the first place, possible to reach all citizen groups with a method like the *User-driven Development* process?

2. Did the *Development* process progress without major complications? If not, what could be done? (How could the reality check and implementation phases be strengthened in the *Development* process?) Since the process is rather heavy in structure, could just parts of it be used in future cases?

3. What kind of roles did the different stakeholder groups receive and take? Especially: was there any resistance on the side of the politicians and/or administrators? Are the municipal citizens, in the first place, interested in functioning as people governing, let alone, producing their own services?

4. Did the *Development* process produce expected results? What kinds of results were salient for each stakeholder group (citizens, politicians and office-holders, developers, third sector organisations)? Were the service models that were developed sensible? Is the *May I Help You?* model good? Did the *Development* process produce any unexpected results?

5. Were the municipal citizens really, genuinely listened to? Or, is it possible that this kind of methodology could just be used for legitimising the really important decisions, that are in reality made elsewhere? What kind of (and how important) issues and problems can, in the first place, be approached or even solved with citizen-driven development methods? Can any genuinely important problems be solved with this kind of method?

6. Has/is the *May I Help You?* concept been/being implemented successfully? What will take place in the future?

4. List of interviews

Project participants/ Municipal citizens	Code	Interview date	Interview type
Workshop instructors	W1&2	29.9.2016	Telephone group int.
Elderly citizen no. 1	E1	21.4.2016	F-to-F interv.
Elderly citizen no. 2	E2	27.9.2016	Telephone interv.
Elderly citizen no. 3	E3	27.9.2016	Telephone interv.
Politicians and office-holders	**Code**	**Interview date(s)**	**Interview type(s)**
Munic. politician no. 1	P1	March 2016	F-to-F interv.
Munic. politician no. 2	P2	March 2016 & 6.10.2016	F-to-F interv. + teleph. interv.
Munic. politician no. 3	P3	March 2016	F-to-F interv.
Munic. politician no. 4	P4	March 2016	F-to-F interv.
Munic. politician no. 5	P5	March 2016 & 6.10.2016	F-to-F interv. + teleph. interv
Office-holder no. 1	O1	March 2016	F-to-F interv.
Office-holder no. 2	O2	March 2016 & 5.10.2016	F-to-F interv. +
Office-holder no. 3 = Development manager	O3	March 2016	F-to-F interv. + teleph. interv.
Office-holder no. 4 = Senior planning officer*	O4	(March 2016 &) 23.9.2016	(F-to-F interv. +) teleph. interv.
Developers	**Code**	**Interview date**	**Interview/consulta- tion type**
Service designer	D	21.9.2016	Telephone interv.
Project coordinator	C	14.6.2016	F-to-F interv.
Scientific adviser	A	22.9.2016	Telephone interv.

* Face-to-face interview from March 2016 was not used, since newer material (interview 23.9.2016) existed.