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Executive Summary

This report reviews the literature on the participation of citizens in the delivery and reform of public services under the five most influential frameworks of public service reform: New Public Administration; New Public Management; Public Value; New Public Service; and New Public Governance. Based upon an evaluation of the strengths and limitations of the frameworks, this report argues for an alternative way forward in harnessing the transformative potential of Public Service Logic.

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List of Terms and Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Definition
NPA	New Public Administration
NPM	New Public Management
PV	Public Value
NPS	New Public Service
NPG	New Public Governance
PSL	Public Service Logic
PSO	Public Service Organisation

1 Introduction

This report undertakes a systematic review of the literature on citizen participation in the delivery and reform of public services under the five most influential frameworks of public service reform of recent times: New Public Administration (NPA); New Public Management (NPM); Public Value (PV); New Public Service (NPS); and New Public Governance (NPG).

1.1 Purpose and Scope

The paper reports the results of a systematic review on citizen participation. The main research question is: what is the role of the citizen and public service user in the processes of public service reform, and what are the challenges and key contingencies of successful enactment of this role? Situating the debate in this way paves the way for understanding the transformative potential of participation within Public Service Logic (PSL), as an alternative framework, to be rationalized and understood.

1.2 Structure of the Deliverable

A brief description of the systematic review method will follow, before considering the conceptual elements of participation. The theoretical archetypes will then be discussed in turn, considering how participation is conceptualized within each and its successes and failures. A discussion of the effectiveness of each framework in supporting public services transformation through participation will then take place with a view to situating the PSL as an alternative.

2 Method

A systematic literature review was conducted, under the PRISMA criteria (Liberati et al, 2009; Moher, et al, 2010). The search was conducted predominantly in the following top-tier journals: Public Administration, Public Administration Review, Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, American Review of Public Administration, Governance, Public Management Review and the Australian Journal of Public Administration. A small number of books and articles from different journals which were not uncovered by the systematic searches were also accessed by a snowballing approach.

The review considered both conceptual and empirical studies published in English and was limited to internationally peer reviewed journals and books in the field of public service reform. The timeframe for the review was between January 1968 and January 2018 to encompass the early literature on NPA through until the most recent literature on NPG and PSL.

Searches for 'public service reform' with each of the frameworks were conducted initially, before including the same keyword searches under each framework: engagement, participation, involvement, collaboration, co-production, co-creation (the former two terms are used interchangeably in much of the literature, see Voorberg et al, 2015) and co-design. The combined total of papers identified through the keyword searches conducted for each journal were 1,356. Performing keyword searches of each journal eliminated any duplication in search results. The abstracts were screened to determine the focus of the papers were on the participation of citizens, service users or communities in the design and delivery of services. This preliminary sift reduced the number of papers to 246 and further analysis of these led to the inclusion of 114 papers in the review. These were supplemented by a further 48 articles and 41 book chapters/books which were identified through a snowballing approach. The flow chart in Figure 1 below illustrates the search strategy.

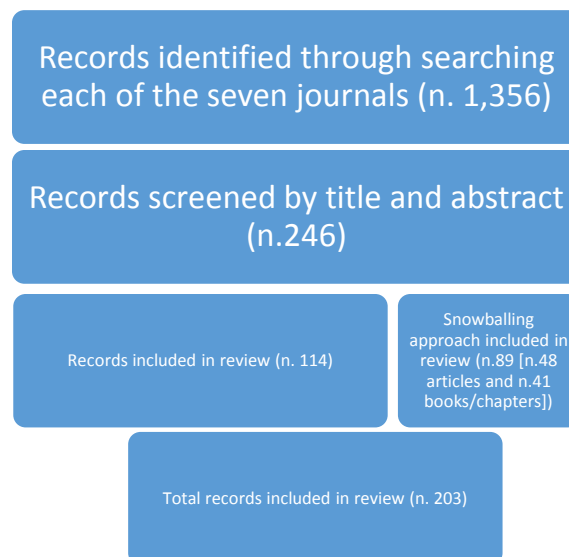


Figure 1 Systematic Review Method

3 Participation

It is important at the outset to clarify that this is not a paper about participation in the public policy formulation process, which has been discussed in detail elsewhere (e.g. Fung and Wright, 2001; Bishop and Davis, 2002). Rather it considers the design and the delivery of public services and the participation of citizens within these processes. The following section will provide a brief overview of what is meant by participation and its associated benefits and challenges.

3.1 What is participation?

The literature on participation is vast and complex, but theory has been criticized for falling behind practice (Roberts, 2004; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015). Participation comes in many guises, being captured by a multitude of terms including involvement, engagement, empowerment, co-production, and more recently co-creation – each of which has its own distinct nuances. It can be broadly defined as the process by which citizens can share power with public officials in taking substantive decisions or actions related to the community (Roberts, 2004).

Participation can take two forms, involving individual or collective actions (Box, 1999). At both levels, participation has been strongly associated with the concept of citizenship. For individual participation, the focus is typically around personal gains, while collective forms of participation such as lobbying and membership of interest groups are likely to strive for values of shared interest (Roberts, 2004).

Conceptually, participation can be achieved through width or depth, meaning respectively the degree to which each member of the community can participate and their capacity to deliberate to influence final outcomes respectively (Fung, 2006; Peters, 2010). It is therefore seen both as a form of democratic renewal and as a means of improving the responsiveness of public services, although one is usually at the expense of the other because deliberation typically involves small numbers rather than representative groups (Leighninger, 2010).

Methods of participation are typically described as ranging along a continuum from one-way communication to complete empowerment, with Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation strongly referenced in the literature (e.g. Anton et al, 2007; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015; Boyer et al, 2016; Jun and Bryer, 2017). Despite its wide usage, though, Arnstein's model has also been criticized. Fung (2006) argues, for example, that the framework is obsolete and defective because it suggests that public control is the optimum level of participation. He suggests instead that participation should be employed as a pragmatic tool that should be applied according to the context.

When participation takes place is also an important part of the debate. It has been argued that when engaged early, citizens become more knowledgeable, making their contribution to the process more effective (King et al, 1998). When included too late, by contrast, participation becomes a tokenistic process with little true impact (Boyer et al, 2016).

3.2 Arguments for participation

The arguments for participation are plentiful and varied and are raised across the five theoretical frameworks. The reasons can be categorized as normative or instrumental which respectively mean 'the right thing' or 'the smart thing' to do (Mayer et al, 2005; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015). Normative

arguments include: increased legitimacy, transparency and accountability of public services (King and Strivers, 1998; Askim and Sandkjaer Hanssen, 2008; Meijer, 2014; Wang and Bryer, 2012; Bochel, et al, 2007; Bourgon, 2007; Piotrowski, 2017); strengthened democratic process and active citizenship (Skelcher et al, 2005; Nabatchi, 2012; Sorensen and Torfing, 2018); a way of reducing the democratic deficit (Barnes et al 2003; Nabatchi and Blomgren Amsler, 2014); increasing trust in government (Simmons and Birchall, 2005; Leighninger, 2010; Boyer et al, 2016); a complement to representative democracy (Box, 1999; Wagenaar, 2007); and increasing the social and political capital of citizens (Cuthill and Fien, 2005; Bogason and Musso, 2006; Askim and Sandkjaer Hanssen, 2008). The instrumental arguments for participation are also well documented: enhancing policy implementation (Bacot et al, 1993; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Hendricks, 2008; King and Strivers, 1998b); increasing the responsiveness and effectiveness of public services (Vigoda and Golembiewski, 2001; Guo and Neshkova, 2012); increasing efficiency (Parks et al, 1981; Brudney and England, 1983; Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyer et al, 2016); and fuelling innovative decision-making (Wagenaar, 2007; Vigoda and Golembiewski, 2001; Hendricks, 2008; Denhardt and Denhardt 2015).

3.3 The challenges of participation

Despite the general agreement that participation, in its various forms, is a normatively 'good thing' or instrumentally 'smart thing', the literature reveals that in practice it faces seven barriers. First, is the significant challenge of power dynamics (Cuthill and Fien 2005). Participation is typically advocated as a means of empowerment (Wistow and Barnes, 1993) which suggests that power is transferred to service users and/or citizens from those in power. However, because traditional power holders (e.g. professionals) control the dispersal of power, they ultimately control the extent to which outside stakeholders might influence decision-making processes. Ultimately then, the "language of empowerment can provide a cloak under which powerful actors obscure their continuing exercise of power." (Callaghan and Wistow, 2006, p. 596). Second is the incompatibility of public sector decision-making structures and processes with participation as they tend to favour those with the necessary resources and organizational skills (Fung and Wright 2001).

Third, influence over decision-making typically comes at the expense of width, in the form of a plethora of voices (Papadopoulos, 2003). It can be easier to work with a smaller, if unrepresentative, group of citizens than with a broader group, where heterogeneity makes reaching a consensus challenging. The fourth barrier is the ambivalence of public service staff towards participation, based on the assumption that citizens are either disengaged or unqualified 'lay people' and therefore either unwilling or unable to engage in complex decision-making processes (Fischer, 2006; Wagenaar, 2007; Anton et al, 2007; Meijer, 2014). Participation may, as a result, be considered an uninformed intrusion on formal decision-making (Kweit and Kweit, 2004; Bryer and Cooper, 2012). Symbolic or tokenistic participation can then sometimes result, which forms the fifth barrier, as it can result in citizen dis-interest (Bryer and Cooper, 2012; Mayer et al, 2005) and can potentially be more damaging than no participation at all (King and Strivers, 1998b).

Sixth, those who are motivated and frequently participate, who are sometimes described as 'natural joiners' or 'the usual suspects', may be bypassed by efforts to increase participation among disadvantaged groups (Box, 1999; Millward, 2005). The final barrier is that in times of fiscal stress, participation may be considered wasteful and scarce, time-consuming and adding unnecessary

complexity to the decision-making or implementation processes (Lowndes, et al, 2001; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Boswell et al, 2015).

3.4 Participation in public service design and delivery

The preceding background discussion of participation in the design and delivery of public services highlights that the concept has been used in various ways to explain the way in which power may be shared with citizens or service users, both individually and collectively. The literature argues for participation from both normative and instrumental justifications, but also identifies various challenges to its practice. The next section will introduce the five frameworks of public service reform and examine how participation is situated and understood within each.

4 The frameworks of public service reform

4.1 New Public Administration (NPA)

4.1.1 Theoretical roots and key principles

The ideals of American democracy, particularly around values of strong citizenship, underpin NPA. The framework can be traced back to the 1960s, a period when the structures of representative democracy were challenged as unrepresentative (White, 1971). Early NPA scholars discussed the exclusion of citizens from the decision-making process by the large, remote, impersonal and inflexible bureaucratic structures (Elden, 1971; Meade, 1971; Frederickson, 1996; Bryer and Cooper, 2012). They criticized traditional forms of participation for alienating the wider public in favour of well-financed and organized groups.

NPA has continued to gather academic interest and critique, particularly in the United States. This work is still broadly situated in the above ideas but has been mediated by responding to the hegemonic influence of the New Public Management since the late 1970s (e.g. Frederickson, 1996; Vigoda and Golembiewski, 2001) and more recently, collaborative governance (Blomgren Bingham, et al, 2005; Bloomgren Bingham and O’Leary, 2006; Bourgon, 2007).

The key elements of NPA have been four-fold. First, NPA argued for structural change, through the decentralization of decision-making and service delivery (Frederickson, 1971, 1980, 1996). It reacted against large, remote and impersonal public sector institutions, calling for the restoration of the community and the replacement of these institutions with participatory structures (Marini, 1971; Elden, 1971; Meade, 1971; Wallace Ingraham and Rosenbloom, 1989; Bourgon, 2007). Second, it articulated the need for the redistribution of power and authority away from elected representatives to the citizenry to close the gap between promises made by governments and the reality of program delivery. Third, a defining feature of NPA was its focus on social equity which Frederickson (1980) argued should be placed alongside responsiveness but above efficiency. He argued that NPA questions not only how better services might be delivered more efficiently and effectively but also how they might be better managed for people in a more equitable manner: *“New public administration is concerned more with humanistic and democratic administration, concerned more with institution building and professional competence, concerned more directly with issues of politics and with matters of justice and fairness – broadly under the label of social equity.”* (Frederickson, 1996, p. 269). Fourth and most recently, NPA has advanced collaborative governance.

4.1.2 Scope and nature of participation

NPA has aimed to restore democratic values in public service delivery by placing citizens at the centre of decision-making processes (Frederickson, 1980). The crux of true citizenship, according to NPA, was participation (Page, 1971; Van Slyke et al, 2010) but its conceptualization extended beyond traditional forms of representative participation, through voting for example, towards participative democracy where citizens play a deeper role in communicating their needs and influencing solutions. NPA, by consequence, called for profound structural changes through decentralization as a means of unlocking opportunities for direct participation and by embedding participative structures into public administration, through for example, neighbourhood government. It also suggested an advocacy role for communities, going beyond a responsiveness to the majority, through ‘principled disobedience’ to

government authority through “resistance, sabotage, and rebellion” (Friedland, 1971, p. 55; Wallace Ingraham and Rosenbloom, 1989; Cooper et al, 2006).

NPA also sought to redefine the power imbalance between political elites and citizens through the decentralization of decision making and service delivery with the aim of increasing the participation of citizens (particularly disenfranchised groups) and public servants through flattening hierarchal power structures (Elden, 1971; Meade, 1971; Waldo, 1971; White, 1971).

Most recently, NPA scholars have called for increased collaboration through participative democracy, using digital platforms and participative budgeting for example, to facilitate a continuous dialogue with citizens. The aims are: to improve government decision-making and policy outputs; address citizenship and democratic deficits; and foster a democratic ethos (Vigado, 2002; Bloomgren Bingham and O’Leary 2006; Clayton Thomas, 2010; Nabatchi, 2010, 2012; Van Slyke et al, 2010; Boyer et al, 2016). The continued focus on social equity through deliberation and collaborative working prioritizes the depth of participation, though at the expense of representativeness (Vigado, 2002; Leighninger, 2010).

4.1.3 Role of citizens

Within the NPA the focus was on citizens who actively influence their own quality of life (Frederickson, 1997). Through their ability to participate and volunteer, as individuals and collectively, citizens were defined as valuable resources who could innovate public services (Meade, 1971; Vigoda and Golembiewski, 2001). NPA further normatively suggested that citizens should be civic-minded and educated in public administration to improve their capacity to exert pressure on public service staff to create efficient and responsive public services (Frederickson, 1980; Vigoda and Golembiewski, 2001).

4.1.4 Enablers of participation

According to NPA scholars, participation is enabled by decentralization, which positions public service design and delivery closer to citizens (Frederickson, 1980, 1997). NPA, therefore, suggested a new type of public administrator, who was not neutral but committed to the core values of good management and social equity and consequently played an active role in the development of public policy (Frederickson, 1971, 1980; Wallace Ingraham and Rosenbloom, 1989). Through these values and by facilitating participation with alienated groups, public administrators and public services were said to gain legitimacy (Waldo, 1971; Meade, 1971; Frederickson, 1971, 1980, 1996; Wallace Ingraham and Rosenbloom, 1989).

4.1.5 Critique of participation under NPA

NPA has been criticized for lacking clarity and agreement across the approach and has generally been regarded as having a limited impact on public service reform (Waldo, 1971; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015). There are two reasons for this: its failure to embed participative structures in public services delivery and its disregard for how significant obstacles might be overcome (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015). Decentralization and community empowerment initiatives have generally not been the result of NPA and occurred at a far slower rate than anticipated (Wallace Ingraham and Rosenbloom, 1989) and there is a lack of evidence that either of these initiatives or collaboration have altered structures and processes of decision-making to make them more participative or inclusive. While decentralization located decision-making away from central authority, participative structures were directed primarily towards educated and capable citizens (Frederickson, 1980, 1997) and typically resulted in the

participation of traditional interest groups, rather than the marginalized groups intended (Wallace Ingraham and Rosenbloom, 1989).

4.2 New Public Management (NPM)

4.2.1 Theoretical roots and key principles

Since the 1980s, NPM has developed as the normative and pre-eminent model of public service reform. Like NPA, it emerged from the criticism of traditional bureaucracy and was strongly linked to a political agenda that involved the privatization of public service provision to 'roll back the state' (Hood et al, 1988; Aberbach and Christensen, 2005).

Fundamental to the NPM is public choice theory (Hood, 1991) which, in its simplest form, positions the market as the optimal structure to produce measurable public service outputs and the relevance of private management experience to their delivery (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004). The NPM's main components are: the privileging of markets as the key mechanism through which to coordinate resources with need; output as a key component of legitimacy; a managerial orientation to organizational performance management; the repositioning of citizens as customers or consumers; a preoccupation with performance measurement and management; and the assumed superiority of private sector management techniques (Wass, 1983; Clark, 1984; Hood, 1991; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004; Goodsell, 2006; Boxelaar et al, 2006).

4.2.2 Scope and nature of participation

Managerialism, which implies closed decision-making by experts (Ansell and Gash, 2007), overshadows direct participation, which has been largely absent from the NPM discourse (Potter, 1988; King et al, 1998; Pestoff, 2006; Christensen and Laegried, 2011). Instead, consumerism has characterized participation under the NPM, where citizens are conceptualized as consumers who are empowered in the market through information and choice or redress through complaints procedures (Hirschman, 1970; Jung, 2010).

The 1990s saw a range of reforms that tried to marry the citizenship focus of NPA with the consumerist focus of the NPM. These included consumer councils, citizen shops, tenant groups, consultation, consumer/citizen panels, partnership with local communities and co-production (Martin and Boaz, 2000; Lowndes, et al, 2001; Araujo, 2001; Barnes et al, 2003; Parkinson, 2004; Simmons and Birchall, 2005; Haque, 2005; Needham, 2007; Anton, et al, 2007; Bradley, 2012; Askheim et al, 2017). Despite these reforms, participation has typically been framed in the NPM as an opportunity to reduce the costs of public services (Fotaki, 2011; Sicilia, 2016).

4.2.2 Role of citizens

Under the managerialist discourse, citizens have generally been positioned as either consumers or customers, with the terms being used interchangeably throughout much of the literature (Powell et al, 2010). The application of consumerism to public services was intended to shift the power relations away from service producers and toward service users with public services being provided for rather than to service users (Jung, 2010).

The self-interested consumer has been the focus of much of the debate (Parkinson, 2004; Aberbach and Christensen, 2005); their role is passive and limited to demanding, consuming and evaluating public services. Choice is also an important component under consumerism, as it facilitates the exercise of

individual preferences (Aberbach and Christensen, 2005) and can therefore empower consumers by increasing the responsiveness of public services (Clarke, 2007). The NPM discourse has also discussed the role of co-producers, who are empowered by market mechanisms to substitute market failures or reduce costs (Fotaki, 2011, 2015). The economic rationale which situates co-production as a way of increasing efficiency and effectiveness has been promoted for some time (Parks et al, 1981; Brudney and England, 1983). Indeed, the devolved responsibility for service production to service users, where consumers as co-producers can substitute the efforts of service providers, has been associated with reduced costs (Parks et al, 1981; Levine and Fisher, 1984).

4.2.3 Enablers of participation

By reconceptualizing service users as consumers, NPM has been argued to have created more responsive and inclusive services, removing barriers to access and encouraging producers to predict preferences, listen to consumers (through choice) and involve them (through redress) (Jones and Needham, 2008). There is an assumption in the NPM literature that consumers, as the 'perfect cog' in the public management machinery, will become more engaged and responsible citizens (Ventriss, 1998). However, their role and impact are mediated by public managers who are cast as powerful protagonists with the capacity to catalyse deep transformations and innovations in public service delivery through managerial actions and discretion (Terry, 1993). Advocates of NPM have also commended performance management processes for creating service user demand for information about performance, enabling them to make informed choices (Potter, 1988; Chen et al, 2013) and for creating channels of accountability for financial outcomes (Kluvers and Pillay, 2009).

4.2.4 Critique of participation under NPM

Participation has been largely absent within the NPM, or at least confined to the periphery of decision-making, with the reforms of the 1990s failing to lead to more open and inclusive processes (Farrell, 2000; Callaghan and Wistow, 2006). There are five reasons for this. The first is the implicit assumption that service users are 'lay people' who "seldom seem to be the driving or shaping force" for public service reforms (Ross, 1995; Timney, 1998; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004, p31, Millward, 2005). This conceptualization has reinforced a power imbalance that favours public managers and professionals (Potter, 1988). The implication, according to the literature, is that greater attention is paid to the values of integrity, effectiveness and expertise rather than participation, which instead may be perceived as disruptive to effective managerial practice (King et al, 1998; Barnes et al, 2003; Lowndes et al, 2006; Bovaird, 2007; Liao and Schachter, 2017).

Second, citizens are positioned as 'consumers' with limited scope (through choice or redress) to participate or influence closed systems of decision-making. The market mechanisms articulated under NPM have been criticized for their failure to shift the power balance towards public service users or citizens (Lowndes et al, 2001; Simmons and Birchall, 2005). When participation has taken place, it has been criticized as a mechanism of control (Parkinson, 2004; Baggot, 2005) and as a way of rubber stamping pre-made decisions for the benefit of public officials rather than influencing service delivery or design (Timney, 1998).

Third, NPM's individualistic ontology has been criticized for focusing on individual consumers rather than on the collective (Powell et al, 2010). This has been argued to misrepresent the collective experience of public services by corroding the collaborative relationships and trust that are essential to

effective public services in contemporary fragmented societies (Farrell, 2000; Jones and Needham, 2008; Dougherty and Easton, 2011).

Fourth, NPM has been widely condemned for its disregard of democratic principles, such as equity and fairness (Frederickson, 1996; Terry, 1993; Box, 1999; Martin and Boaz, 2000; Christensen and Laegreid, 2002; Goodsell, 2006; Moynihan, 2010). Accessing information to enable consumers to make informed choices, for example, is likely to fall disproportionately to well-educated sections of society, exacerbating inequalities (Fountain, 2001; Bochel, et al, 2007; Haikio, 2010; Christensen and Laegreid, 2011).

Finally, NPM has been criticized for embracing a 'product-dominant logic', likening public services to manufactured goods and therefore viewing production and consumption as discrete processes and consumers as passive players (Alford, 2016; Osborne et al, 2016). This has implications for how participation is understood, suggesting it is a process that is added on rather than one that is integral to the service relationship, with its parameters being shaped and controlled by public managers. This is returned to later in the discussion.

4.3 Public Value (PV)

4.3.1 Theoretical roots and key principles

PV emerged as an alternative to the NPM, endorsing a more collaborative approach with the aim of creating 'public value' (Moore, 1995; Stoker, 2006; O'Flynn, 2007; Bryson et al, 2014). It originated with the seminal work of Mark Moore (1995) who developed a model for strategy development for public managers. The concept of public value is contested both in terms of its meaning and application, being used to describe both public services and the outcomes they contribute to (Shaw, 2013). Moore's original work conceptualizes public value as equivalent to that of the private value created by corporate organizations, being stakeholder-driven and translated as the shared goal of collaborators. The PV framework has subsequently developed, being defined in a range of ways as: a theoretical framework that emphasizes public service improvement (Benington, 2011); a management style (Stoker, 2006); a narrative (Alford and O'Flynn, 2009); and an evaluative framework for public service reform (Kelly et al, 2002).

4.3.2 The scope and nature of participation

Participation is central to PV and is typically offered as a means of addressing the limits of representative democracy (Benington, 2011; Yang, 2016). PV suggests that through networks of deliberation and dialogue between government and civil society, shared understanding of values develop that extend beyond efficiency and effectiveness to include democratic values (Bozeman, 2002; Bryson et al, 2014). PV theorists advocate a normative perspective which posits that public values are articulated and measured through social consensus and define both government responsibility and the rights/obligations of citizens (Bozeman 2002, 2007). Bryson et al (2015), for instance, refer to both formal (e.g. elections, referendums, public hearings) and informal (e.g. lobbying, social movements) processes of democracy through which diverse groups can articulate and share their values in order negotiate, cooperate and make decisions.

Political interaction has been the predominant focus of PV. This involves deliberation between elected/appointed government officials and key stakeholders, with the aim of including individuals and

citizens in the decision-making process (Moore, 1995; Stoker, 2006; O'Flynn, 2007; Benington and Moore, 2011; Horner and Hutton, 2011). Responsiveness is also achieved through deliberative interactions between government and citizens during service delivery (Horner and Hutton, 2011). From the PV perspective, participation is said to have a transformative effect on individuals, making them more 'public-spirited, tolerant and attentive' (Bozeman, 2002, p. 148).

4.3.3 Role of citizens

PV reconceptualizes the 'citizen' as active, participative and responsible (Bryson et al, 2014). The literature suggests that citizens are involved at two levels: through co-production during service delivery (Alford, 2009); and through government engagement with civil society (Benington, 2011; Williams et al, 2016). Alford (2002) discusses co-production, using a social exchange perspective, which he suggests is founded upon trust, cooperation and compliance whereby public service clients not only consume services but can also contribute to and influence "positive actions to collective purposes" (2002, p. 344). Alford (1998, 2009) argues that without the contribution of clients, the service can fail, but further contends that collectively citizens can exert greater power (Alford, 2011). Benington (2011) also recognizes that in various public services, such as health and education, public value is created through complex processes of interaction and deliberation and contends that the democratic public sphere is a key setting within which diverging interests and values may be negotiated.

4.3.4 Enablers of participation

PV frames the government as a "value-creating enterprise" (Moore and Benington, 2011, p. 257; Benington, 2011) where public managers and elected officials play a central and active policy role through which they seek to advance the public interest. According to PV theorists, public managers are creative entrepreneurs who are ideally placed to create public value outcomes (Moore, 1995; Talbot, 2009; Bryson et al, 2014), while the government fulfils a special role as 'guarantor of public values'. This leads Bryson et al (2014) to argue that elected officials and public managers are responsible for creating value, both at the individual and public level with citizen co-creators/co-producers.

In his original work, Moore (1995) proposes a strategic triangle which emphasizes three interdependent processes that function in different directions which can facilitate or constrain the public managers' pursuit of public value: upwards, towards elected officials to define public value through clarification of strategic goals and outcomes; outwards to create an 'authorizing environment' to generate buy-in from various stakeholders; and downwards to develop operational capacity by activating and organizing necessary resources, such as staff, finance and technology. The role of public managers is, therefore, to translate policy discourse into proposals about what is valuable, which results in public deliberation in the decision-making process, by "empowering citizens and a new professionalism that is autonomous but citizen-focused" (Gains and Stoker, 2006, p. 441).

4.3.5 Critique of participation under PV

PV, in its various forms, has been criticized (e.g. Jorgensen and Bozeman, 2007; Morrell, 2009; Rutgers, 2015), with four key criticisms relating particularly to participation. First, adherents of PV fail to consider the closed institutional design of PSOs which forms a significant barrier to the deliberative forms of participation that are articulated within PV (Shaw, 2013). A challenge is around how participation might be designed and embedded within public service processes and structures (Yang, 2016). Although PV discusses a role for co-production where service users are involved during delivery, other methods of participation described in the PV literature, such as consultation, satisfaction surveys

and consumer feedback, resonate strongly with the NPM discourse on consumerism and their associated challenges which were discussed in the previous section (Horner and Hutton, 2011).

Second, PV has been criticized for neglecting power asymmetries (Rhodes and Wanna, 2007; Morrell, 2009; Williams and Shearer, 2011). Opponents argue that too much emphasis is placed upon public managers as arbiters of public value and that the involvement of certain groups, that possess the organizational skills and resources, are favoured at the expense of a truly 'collective' and inclusive formulation of the public interest (Davis and West, 2009; Shaw, 2013; Dahl and Soss, 2014; Jacobs, 2014).

Third, PV has been criticized for suggesting that those who create public value share a set of common goals (Moore, 1995; Stoker, 2006) while failing to balance competing interests among various stakeholders (Davis and West, 2009; Jacobs, 2014). PV suggests that governments and public managers are motivated only to create public value in a positive way for citizens, but it may be the case that the creators of public value serve different purposes too, such as their own political gains or private interests (Rhodes and Wanna, 2007).

Finally, PV has been criticized as a normative perspective (Meynhardt, 2009; Williams and Shearer, 2011) which emphasizes the process of participation as valuable in itself (Brannan et al, 2006). This has been criticized by Meynhardt (2009) who argues that PV's normative focus neglects the importance of relationships and particularly trust. He argues that public value is created in every societal context by various actors from the private, public sectors and civil society and that value is obtained from the public about their experience of the public. Meynhardt explains that values are not attached to political authority or expressed through representative democratic processes, as suggested by PV, but exist through relationships where individuals "experience 'the public'" and as a result, no one organisation or entity is "is purveyor of public value" (2009, p. 213).

4.4 New Public Service (NPS)

4.4.1 Theoretical roots and key principles

The NPS emerged from the United States in the late 1990s/early 2000s, led predominantly by the work of Denhardt and Denhardt (2000, 2015b) who take a strong normative stance towards participation: "in a democracy, it's simply the right thing to do." (2015a, p. 99). It emerged from a critique of the NPM and specifically, a desire to replace market structures, entrepreneurial public managers and self-interest with a collaborative approach where government is responsible for empowering citizens through training and the co-ordination of voluntary activities (Hefetz and Warner, 2007; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015a; Dougherty and Easton, 2011).

NPS is underpinned by three theoretical perspectives: democratic citizenship, which demands greater citizen involvement and activeness; models of community and civil society, where the government plays a key role renewal of civil society; and organizational humanism and discourse theory with a focus on the needs and preferences of citizens, rather than bureaucratic control or objective performance measurements (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000, 2015b).

4.4.2 Scope and nature of participation

A core argument of the NPS is that governments should serve, rather than steer. Within the NPS, Government's role is negotiator, enabler and facilitator of participation, collaborative relationships and deliberative structures (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2003; Hefetz and Warner, 2007; Jun and Bryer, 2017). Collaboration and partnership through an open and accessible system of governance, within which the citizen is located at the heart, is therefore central to decision-making throughout the entire public service cycle (Brainard and McNutt, 2010; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000). Structural changes have been paramount to the NPS agenda through new systems of accountability and new institutions are demanded, where active citizenship is institutionalized through the installation of deliberative processes (Ventriss, 1998; deLeon and Denhardt, 2000; Jun and Bryer, 2017). Denhardt and Denhardt (2015a) argue that citizen participation is central to NPS being both the right and smart thing to do. They suggest that citizen participation approaches may be plotted on a continuum encompassing one-way communication (e.g. information provision) to deliberation and finally empowerment where responsibility for decision making around service delivery or service design would be devolved to citizens.

4.4.3 Role of citizens

Similar to NPA, the NPS perspective calls for citizenship, but focuses on active citizen involvement, under which the role of public service user is transformed from consumer (under NPM) to citizen, and the idea of self-interest is expanded to a shared vision of 'public interest' (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015a). Within NPS, citizens therefore have "a stake in all services that are delivered, not just those that he or she consumes directly." (deLeon and Denhardt, 2000, p. 91/ 92). Under this framework of public interest, citizens must develop knowledge of public affairs, a sense of belonging, a renewed sense of civic pride, a concern for shared interests and a moral bond with the wider community (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2003). The NPS has also used co-production to describe the relationship between citizens and PSOs during service delivery. It is conceptualized as a partnership of co-operation which citizens take shared responsibility for service production (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015a).

4.4.4 Enablers of participation

As facilitators of participation within the NPS, the role of public managers is transformed and is fundamental. They play a principal role in the democratic process as "transformative leaders", who foster active citizenship in pursuit of public values (Denhardt and Campbell, 2006). The NPS literature argues that balancing complex value conflicts can be achieved through a process of dialogue, brokerage, citizen empowerment and broad-based citizen engagement (Denhardt and Denhardt 2000). NPS, suggests a 'virtuous circle', where the process of citizen participation is defined as of intrinsic value to individuals which leads to their taking greater civic responsibility for the public services received and which in turn, catalyses further participation during the design and delivery of services (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015a). This has been argued to pave the way for a significant culture change to challenge power asymmetries that favour elected officials, professionals and public managers (Callaghan and Wistow, 2006).

4.4.5 Critique of participation under NPS

Three criticisms of participation within the NPS framework emerge from the literature. First, reforms under the NPS focus predominantly on structural changes arguably produce an oversimplification of how participation might take a more prominent place in public service reform. Fischer (2006) argues, for example, that altering structures by adjusting the boundaries between PSOs and citizens is not

sufficient but needs to be accompanied by the careful organisation and facilitation of participation. This is particularly challenging if there is a high degree of apathy among the community towards participation and is linked to the second criticism of participation within NPS. The NPS argument that participation should be institutionalized is problematic because it assumes that every citizen has a latent desire for participation that can be awakened, but it is unclear whether this is an accurate description of the modern citizen (Osborne et al, 2002; Brugue and Gallego, 2003). Finally, the position of public managers as 'transformative leaders' arguably reinforces power asymmetries by maintaining a position of control, where public managers decide the extent to which empower citizens through participative structures.

4.5 New Public Governance (NPG)

4.5.1 Theoretical roots and key principles

New Public Governance was a term coined by Osborne (2006) to reflect the impact upon public management of network governance and collaboration which originated in European governance literature dating back to the 1990s (Kooiman, 1993; Rhodes 1997). These approaches arose in Europe as a response to the challenges and critiques of NPM identified above. NPG builds on organizational sociology and network theory (Osborne, 2006) and suggests that public management is becoming increasingly fragmented, with public services being produced by networks from the for-profit, public and third sectors.

4.5.2 Scope and nature of participation

A second generation of research which discusses governance under a normative framework and examines the democratic capacity of governance networks has taken prominence over the last decade (Klijn and Skelcher, 2007). Here, governance networks are typically associated with new systems for autonomous deliberation, negotiation and implementation (Sorensen and Torfing, 2005). This model of governance not only adds complexity to the decision-making process (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2005; Verweij et al, 2013) but also shifts from political representation to representation through multiple unelected actors (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003).

4.5.3 Role of citizens

The participatory discourse that underpins NPG articulates the value of inclusivity and has been argued to result in more equal power relations between actors and transparent processes (Skelcher et al, 2005). Its emphasis on collaboration has sought to transform established roles in public service delivery which, within the Public Administration tradition, were based on hierarchical relations of dependency between professionals and service users or, within NPM, were about customer-provider relations within the NPM towards relationships based on trust and relational capital (Osborne, 2010). NPG instead conceptualizes service users as co-producers working in a horizontal relationship with government (Pestoff, 2006; Pestoff and Brandsen, 2010; Meijer, 2016). In this context, co-production is described as an interactive and co-operative relationship that takes place during service delivery (Meijer, 2016), with the purpose of producing pre-defined public services that are delineated by public managers during service design (Torfing et al, 2016; Thomsen, 2017).

4.5.4 Enablers of participation

Networks are situated as key mechanisms of the NPG through which representative democracy is effectual by: increasing participation at the output side of the political system; offering new structures

and spaces of influence for those who have a deep interest in a particular issue; and by recruiting and empowering those who can challenge traditional power structures (McQuaid, 2005, Sorenson and Torfing, 2005, 2009, 2018; Dryzek, 2007). Co-production, for example, has been touted as a revolutionary solution to public service reform within the NPG, offering a means for service improvement and innovation (Clark et al, 2013; Dunston et al, 2009; Meijer, 2011; Thomsen, 2017). Bovaird (2007) nevertheless qualifies this claim, arguing that co-production should not be positioned as a panacea to the various challenges of public service production and reform. Furthermore, Torfing et al (2016) argue that the focus on co-production solely during delivery restricts the potential for service user involvement during the development of innovative solutions at the design/redesign stage.

Governance networks are also welcomed for their plurality of actors who are well equipped to develop solutions to complex societal problems (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003; Koppenjan and Klijn, 2004; Greenaway et al, 2007; Pestoff and Brandsen, 2010; Kennett, 2010; Moore and Hartley, 2010). Those actors are typically representatives of certain groups/communities and their involvement is viewed as supplementing traditional representative democracy (Sorensen and Torfing, 2009). 'Democratic anchorage' is also achieved where elected officials retain some hierarchical control over the networks and is argued by NPG adherents to safeguard the balance of interests among network members against those of democracy (Sorensen, 2006; Sorensen and Torfing, 2009, 2017). Public managers also play a significant role as intermediaries between civil society and politicians, linking the two through interactive decision-making (Jeffares and Skelcher, 2011) and also facilitating and participating in the co-production of public service delivery (Pestoff, 2006; Sicilia et al, 2016).

4.5.5 Critique of participation under NPG

The literature outlines three criticisms of participation within the NPG. First, the inclusiveness of NPG has been questioned by some. Critics argue that network membership is exclusive to those with the necessary organizational infrastructure, expertise, knowledge and skills, and who may manipulate the system for their own gains (Bogason and Musso, 2006; Ansell and Gash, 2007; Van Tatenhove et al, 2010; Lewis and Marsh, 2012). In order to facilitate negotiation, the membership of governance networks has invariably served a like-minded professional elite at the expense of 'lay people' or citizens (Hendricks, 2008).

Second, NPG is influenced and shaped by managerial and professional discourses which alter the structure of decision-making and strengthen dominant power relations (Skelcher, et al, 2005; Klijn and Skelcher, 2007). Walti et al (2004) argue, for instance, that the focus on output performance limits direct participation and risks excluding key actors from the decision-making process. Taken together, these two criticisms could suggest that NPG is a post-modern variant of NPM rather than an alternative framework because it suggests that professionals and public managers control public service design and delivery within a system that is largely closed to the direct involvement of citizens/service users.

Third, empirical studies have generally suggested that in practice networks do not offer greater deliberation or direct participation with citizens/communities (Sorensen and Torfing, 2003; Watli et al, 2004; Greenaway et al, 2007; Peters, 2010). At the point of delivery, co-production typically falls disproportionately to well-off sections of society (Bovaird, 2007) because interactive processes are not embedded into institutional processes and because their facilitation is invariably controlled by public service staff (Ostrom, 1996; Eldenbos, 2005). The extent to which power is transferred under co-production can therefore vary widely; participative mechanisms supporting co-production can range

from information provision to co-decision-making and their impact depends largely upon whether public service staff facilitate these mechanisms and implement the changes suggested through them (Bovaird, 2007; Alford, 2009).

5 Key themes and issues for participation in the frameworks

5.1 Participation under the five frameworks

Table 1 identifies the main components of participation across the five frameworks of public service reform. These are discussed below, before considering the main barriers to participation.

Table 1 Participation under the five frameworks

	NPA	NPM	PV	NPS	NPG
Rationale for participation	Disperse power, accountability and legitimacy	Service improvement and reduce costs	Creation of public value and societal learning	Democratic renewal and legitimacy	Negotiate interests and service improvement
Locus of participation	Political dialogue	Mainly service evaluation, but sometimes during planning and delivery.	Indirect through representative democracy and embedded through deliberation and delivery	Citizenship institutionalized public service planning and delivery	Inter-organizational relationships and service production
Mechanisms of participation	Decentralization and advocacy	Consumer mechanisms such as market choice, complaints and satisfaction surveys	Deliberation and dialogue	Deliberation and dialogue	Networks and c-production
Potential role of public service users	Active citizens placed in a central position	Self-interested consumer	Co-creator of public value	Active and responsible citizen	Co-producer
Role of public service staff	Manager, service designer and facilitate participation	Expert, innovator and manager	Arbiter of public value, collaborator	'Transformative leaders' and collaborators	Network governance

5.1.1 Rationale for participation

Participation has been forwarded as a means of democratic renewal (NPS, PV), increasing service responsiveness (NPA), an evaluative tool for service improvement (NPM, NPG), a means of negotiating and developing shared interests (PV, NPG) and as a way of shifting the financial burden of service production towards public service users (NPM).

5.1.2 Locus of participation

NPA, NPS and PV suggest that participation should be embedded into the entire public service cycle through dialogue and deliberation. NPM places the participation of consumers on the periphery through service evaluation, while NPG focuses predominantly on inter-organizational relations and the involvement of the 'sub elite' during service design and delivery. Similar to NPG, PV also focuses on the role of networks in facilitating the participation of stakeholders.

5.1.3 Mechanisms of participation

Various new spaces for participation have been created, including adversarial participation through interest groups (NPA), deliberative techniques (NPA, NPS and PV), consumer mechanisms (NPM) and inter-organizational networks (NPG, PV). Co-production, where public service users play an active role in service planning and delivery, has also featured throughout the debate on participation within the NPS, NPM, PV and especially the NPG (Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006; Bovaird, 2007; Alford, 2002, 2009; Voorberg et al, 2015).

5.1.4 Citizen role

NPA and NPS call for more active, civic-minded and educated citizens, with the former focusing particularly on marginalized groups and the latter on empowered citizens. The participative role of self-interested consumers under NPM is to adjust supply to demand, inform service improvement or signal customer satisfaction (Callanan, 2005; Bacot et al, 1993). Within the NPG and PV, service users have been defined as co-producers who are empowered as partners working in co-operative relationships with PSOs.

5.1.5 Public service staff role

Within the NPA, public service staff design services and facilitate participation, while NPM positions public managers as experts with the necessary skills to innovate and transform services. NPS and PV also emphasize the role of public managers, as 'transformative leaders' and 'public value creators' respectively, who link elected officials with stakeholders and citizens. Finally, the NPG and PV acknowledge that various stakeholders and experts participate in decision-making.

5.2 Barriers to participation: participation on the periphery

Despite featuring under each of these five public service reform frameworks, participation has not been fully translated into practice (Roberts, 2004). The argument here is that two key themes across the frameworks have impeded participation, namely power asymmetries and the failure to embed participation as a core structural process of public service design and delivery.

5.2.1 Power asymmetries

A core obstacle is the imbalance of power which has been reinforced across the frameworks, mainly through the differentiation of roles between public managers, stakeholders and service users, with power generally being retained and exercised by the former two.

Within the NPM framework, public managers hold the organizational skills, knowledge, capacity and creativity to influence decision-making and produce solutions (Terry, 1993). They are contrasted against service users who are type-cast, at best, as passive consumers or at worst 'lay people' who have limited capacity, knowledge and expertise to shape public service reform (Ross, 1995; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004). PV and NPS reinforce the conceptualization of public managers as power holders. Critics of PV, for example, argue that positioning public managers as arbiters of public value reinforces a power disparity which favours public officials because they control the extent to which citizens and other stakeholders participate (Rhodes and Wanna, 2007; Dahl and Soss, 2014). NPS places 'transformative leaders' in a dominant position, who 'serve' the needs of citizens and ultimately create value. This conceptualization suggests public managers are working for rather than working with service users (Meijer 2016), implying an implicit relationship of dependency rather than the collaborative and deliberative approach that is advocated by the NPS.

The participatory discourse that underpins NPG promotes the value of inclusivity, suggesting equal power relations and a more transparent process involving various actors (Skelcher et al, 2005). While NPG increases the plurality of actors through governance networks, it has been criticized for creating a new sub-elite group who have exclusive access to decision-making, limited largely to 'experts' or 'representatives' rather than the wider citizenry (Callanan, 2005; Chen et al, 2013). Likewise, PV has received criticism for its concentration on stakeholder participation, thereby distributing power disproportionately to organized groups and potentially further marginalizing other groups (Jacobs, 2014).

While NPA, PV, NPS and NPG position citizens within a central position as deliberators or co-producers/co-creators, there is an expectation that these roles are played by knowledgeable, skilled and resourceful actors, who may have undergone some form of civic education (NPA, NPS). However, this suggests a latent desire among citizens to undertake civic duties or participate, which is a contested inaccurate reflection of modern citizens (Osborne et al, 2002). It has been further argued that their inability to participate effectively and unwillingness to embrace civic duties is the reason (or excuse) for their exclusion from participative processes by public service staff (Fischer, 2006). By implication then, if the immobilizing characterization of citizens as lay persons endures, it is unlikely that participation will ever lead to a central role for citizens.

5.2.2 Structural changes

Public service reforms from the 1960s onwards have centered predominantly on institutional change via decentralization (NPA, NPM), networks (NPG, PV) and direct citizen participation or deliberation (NPS, PV) with the aim of empowering citizens or consumers to varying degrees. Despite specific iterations within each framework, participation has continued to be consigned to the periphery of public service design and delivery.

NPA and NPS position participation as a normative good that should become the fabric of governance structures (Frederickson, 1980; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000). Both argue that participation empowers citizens through the structural integration of participative and deliberative mechanisms. However, participation through empowerment is restrained by the enduring hierarchical power structures of both representative democracy and public management, with the scope and impact of participation being determined by public service staff (King and Strivers, 1998; Vigado, 2002). The implication is that participation is side-lined in public service design and delivery.

NPM also discusses empowerment through participation but focuses on the role of the consumer and various consumer mechanisms of involvement. Here, the closed nature of managerialist decision-making serves to exclude consumers, with public managers controlling the applications and impact of consumer mechanisms (Timney, 1998). In short, empowerment through structural changes has not been effective in transforming public service production into a participative process, because the conceptualization of empowerment necessitates that those in power share power (Callaghan and Wistow, 2006). Moreover, the consumerist ideology of NPM has also been argued to lead to an atomization of citizens as consumers, undermining their collective power (Aberbach and Christensen, 2005; Powell et al, 2010).

Advocates of PV suggest that participation, upwards through representative democracy and horizontally through deliberation and co-production, will result in a shared public interest which can be translated to achieve public value outcomes. However, PV scholars fail to consider how these participative structures may be embedded in the closed decision-making structures, sometimes forwarding consumer mechanisms of participation or emphasizing networks' structures that are occupied predominantly by professionals. This has clear negative implications for the inclusiveness of participation (Shaw, 2013). Similarly, within the NPG, the plurality of actors introduced by networks opens horizontal channels of influence for professionals or organized groups. Downwards channels of influence towards citizens such as co-production, however, have remained closed or at best controlled by those sitting on networks (Hendricks and Tops, 1999; Bovaird, 2007; Alford, 2009).

As the superlative reform framework, NPM has embedded norms of efficiency and expertise in public service design and delivery, using professional standards as the technical criteria upon which public services are evaluated (Kweit and Kweit, 2004). Latterly, the other four frameworks have, to differing extents, argued for the reconciliation of these private sector norms and standards with democratic norms, such as social equity (NPA), civic responsibility (NPA and NPS) and participation (NPA, NPS, PV, NPG). However, the success of participation in altering institutional structures and power asymmetries has been limited. In theory and practice public services have been equated with manufactured goods where consumption and production are separate processes; the responsibility for design and delivery rests with public service staff, while consumption forms a distinct and discrete process performed by services users (Osborne and Strokosch, 2013). Participation is therefore an option, with its various participative processes being appended to service production, rather than embedded; the use and application of participative mechanisms is controlled by those in power (see Figure 2 below). The success of these processes is argued here to have key limitations: citizens as service users continue to be confined to the periphery of public service delivery with significant implications for their own well-being, for the effectiveness of public service delivery and for the potential creation of public value.

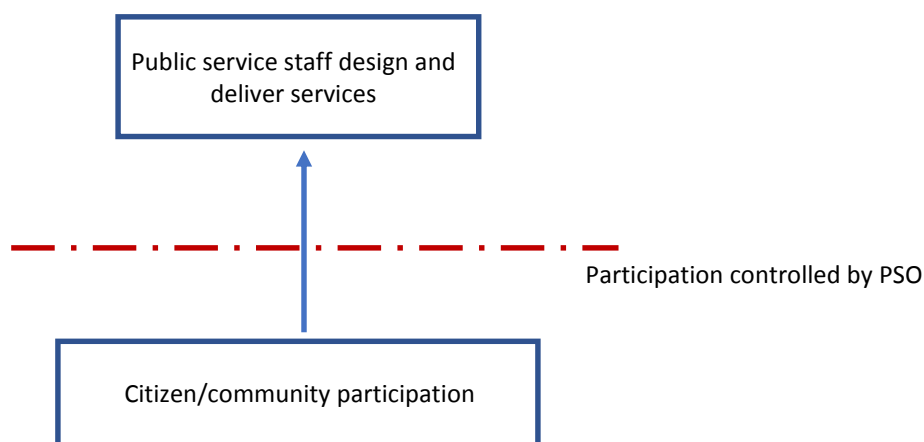


Figure 2 Traditional conceptualization of participation as an appended process

6 Public Service Logic (PSL): an alternative?

6.1 PSL

An alternative approach to public service reform – the Public Service Logic – has developed over the past ten years, that draws upon the substantial body of knowledge in service management theory. Table 2 includes the various dimensions of PSL alongside the five previously discussed frameworks for the purpose of comparison.

Table 2 Participation under the six frameworks

	NPA	NPM	PV	NPS	NPG	PSL
Rationale for participation	Disperse power, accountability and legitimacy	Service improvement and reduce costs	Creation of public value and societal learning	Democratic renewal and legitimacy	Negotiate interests and service improvement	Produce different dimensions of value
Locus of participation	Political dialogue	Mainly service evaluation, but sometimes during planning and delivery.	Indirect through representative democracy and embedded through deliberation and delivery	Citizenship institutionalized throughout the policy cycle	Inter-organizational relationships and service production	Service relationship
Mechanisms of participation	Decentralization and advocacy	Consumer mechanisms such as choice, complaints and satisfaction surveys	Deliberation and dialogue	Deliberation and dialogue	Networks and c-production	Intrinsic and extrinsic processes
Role of public service users	Active citizens placed in a central position	Self-interested consumer	Co-creator of public value	Active and responsible citizen	Co-producer	Creator/co-creator of value
Role of public service staff	Manager, service designer and facilitate participation	Expert, innovator and manager	Arbiter of public value, collaborator	'Transformative leaders' and collaborators	Collaborator	Co-creator of value

6.1.1 Theoretical roots and key elements

PSL focuses upon the management of public services as services, which departs from the product-dominant logic that is associated with manufactured goods and has been applied to public services over the last four decades (Osborne et al 2013; Osborne et al, 2015). Whilst the organisational performance of PSOs remains one of its central concerns, it is repositioned within a framework concerned with the value that PSOs can create with its service users, citizens and communities.

6.1.2 Scope and nature of participation

Within the PSL, the emphasis on participation is different. The question is not whether to engage but rather when, how and with whom to engage with. PSL moves beyond framing participation as a normative ideal and an appended process that can be used at the whim of those in power. Instead, it centres on value, the creation of which is the public sector's primary goal, both in terms of individual value to the service user and wider collective value to the public (Alford, 2016) and importantly, for PSL,

the focus on value starts with the role of the public service user. Participation is inalienable to public service delivery within the PSL; the question is whether it creates or destroys value, and for whom.

Fundamental to the PSL discourse is the idea that participation can create or destroy value for service users, citizens, communities and other stakeholders. While recognized as a contested concept (Gronroos and Voima, 2013), value is framed as a central idea within the PSL and exists upon four dimensions: service outcomes (includes social and economic needs, including the efficiency and effectiveness of public services); experience (can be both short-term, 'satisfaction' and long-term, impact); capital-building (where individuals build their potential to become less dependent and take control of their own lives); and capacity development in the service system (including organizational capacity to create a new culture or develop staff). These dimensions are not generated in equal proportions, nor do they always operate in alignment (Skalen, et al, 2018).

Importantly PSL articulates value-creation as occurring on a multi-dimensional model which includes the individual, service system and community/societal levels. NPA, NPS, PV and NPG call for a focus on strengthened public value, satisfying the wider public interest and making a better society, while NPM has focused invariably on the satisfaction of individuals under a consumerist ideology. None however, discuss in depth value at the experiential level, where value is created through experience with public services and life in general to improve the quality of life of individuals (Osborne et al, 2013). The importance of relationships and experiences is, nevertheless, emphasized by Meynhardt (2009) in his criticism of PV. However, within the PSL, value is created both through service user experiences and within complex service systems that involve various, often inter-connecting relationships and experiences. The PSL moves beyond the transactional approach of NPM to a relational approach between various parties, espousing the importance of dialogue, similar to NPA and NPS, but situates a reciprocal relationship during the service relationship. Like PV and NPG, the PSL recognizes that PSOs are no longer working alone, but also departs from the notion of organizational networks, to consider a complex public service delivery system, including the public, private and third sector, as well as service users, their families and local communities (Osborne, et al, 2013).

6.1.3 Locus of participation

PSL argues for four processes of participation in public service delivery for citizens, which are illustrated in Figure 3 on the next page. Two of these are intrinsic processes that occur naturally in public service delivery. They can be unconscious and unchosen and occur without agency. These are co-experience (the role of a citizen's life experience in shaping a public service encounter, which can include past experience of public services) and co-construction (the impact of engagement with public services in shaping the future life expectations and choices of the citizen). Two are extrinsic processes that require conscious and voluntary agency on the part of the citizen/service user and public service staff. These are co-production¹ (the active and voluntary involvement of the citizen in the management and delivery of their services) and co-design (the active involvement of the citizen in improving existing services and in innovating new forms of public service delivery).

¹ The term 'co-production' is used here to describe one process of the co-creation of value, rather than being applied to encapsulate both intrinsic and extrinsic forms of participation as it has been used in the past. Following theoretical progress and developments in practice, the concept is most strongly associated with the product-dominant logic and is therefore used to describe instances where citizens/service users might be 'added into' the process of service design/delivery rather than being integral to it.

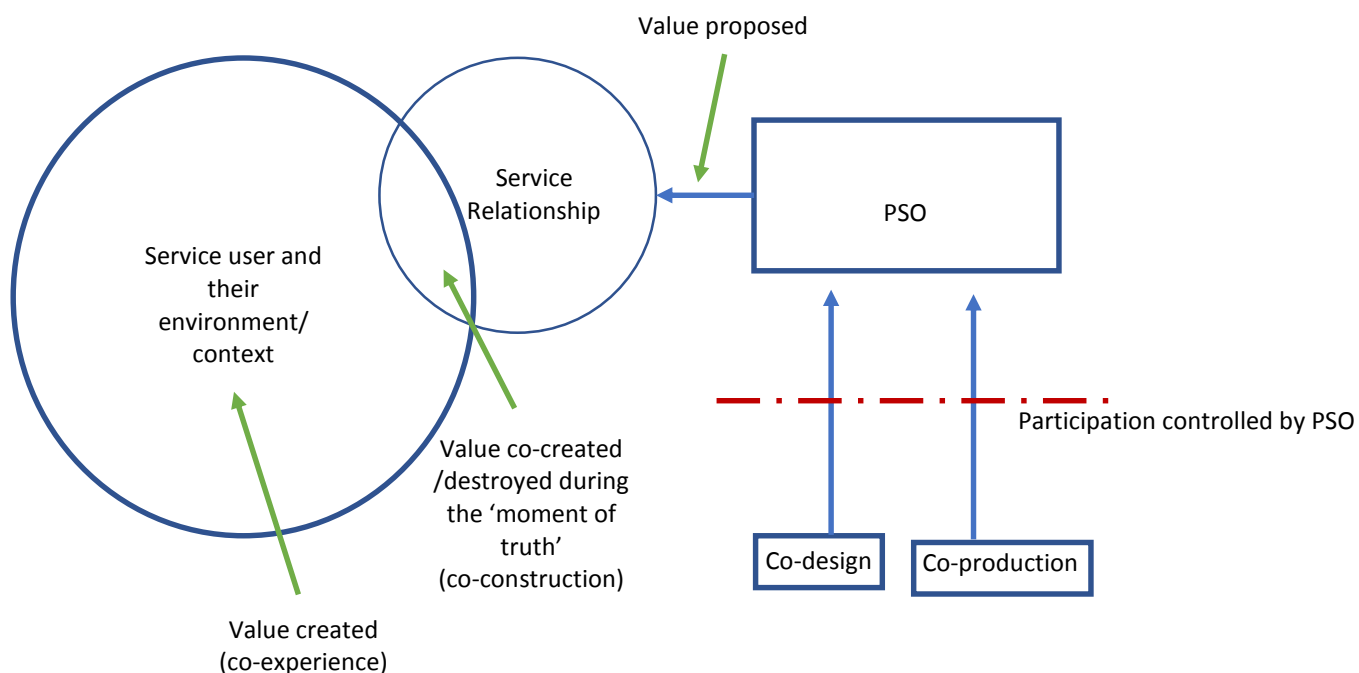


Figure 3 Participation within the PSL framework

PSL offers a more fluid conception of public service production by focusing on the entire experience of service users (Alford, 2016). The interest for PSL starts with how to operationalize the participation that already exists through the service relationship to achieve service improvement and innovation, rather than appending participative mechanisms (Radnor et al, 2014; Skalen et al, 2018). Co-construction and co-experience are conceptualised as inalienable elements of the service process, with co-construction being integral to service encounter and co-experience forming the basis of the broader service experience (Osborne et al, 2013). These are involuntary processes on the part of both the service user and PSO.

Co-production and co-design, by contrast are voluntary processes and can be included pragmatically and sensitively by PSOs in pursuit of service improvement or innovation (Osborne et al, 2013). Through these extrinsic processes of value creation, service users can choose to participate beyond the service relationship where this is facilitated by PSOs. PSOs can apply participative mechanisms via co-production and/or co-design to benefit from the 'sticky knowledge' held by services users in order to improve services or co-create innovation (Gronroos and Voima, 2013; Osborne et al, 2016). The PSL recommends a pragmatic approach to extrinsic forms of participation. Co-production is facilitated by more traditional, appended forms of participation, such as consultation or surveys to evaluate services. The operationalization of co-design can take a more embedded form than co-production, although its application and impact is still controlled by PSOs. Co-design embraces forms of service design, taking a holistic approach where service users' lived experiences are used to develop and innovate services in partnership with PSOs (Radnor et al, 2014). It involves a user-centered design approach to understand how service users experience a service and a service systems approach which enables the complexity of the entire service to be examined (Trischler and Scott, 2016). Co-design includes various service

design approaches which are increasingly employed in the public sector, including service blueprinting (Radnor et al, 2014), persona techniques (Jeong et al, 2016) and collaborative design approaches (Dietrich et al, 2017).

Both intrinsic and extrinsic processes of participation have the potential to create or destroy the four dimensions of value outlined earlier. In public services that involve a high degree of relational exchange, intrinsic participation through co-construction is critical to the value created in terms of the quality of the relationship, the responsiveness of the service and the broader outcomes and implications for individuals and communities. In the case of council tax payment, for example, the relationship may involve a simple telephone call, letter or even a hit on the Local Authority's website. Each of these interactions is crucial to co-construction of value and the service user's experience; interactions are critical opportunities for a PSO to make value propositions and establish what is expected of the citizen in terms of payment and deadlines and any subsidies that might be applicable to them. The service system for a GP's surgery is more complex but based on the same principles of interaction and experience. The service encounter with the receptionist when booking an appointment will impact value creation, as will the encounter within the GP's surgery, including the waiting time, the exchange of information between the GP and patient, the responsiveness and professional accuracy of the advice provided by the GP. Ultimately the extent to which the patient acts to make life changes to improve their own health (co-experience) can create or destroy the different dimensions of value. The various dimensions of value are generated through the entire experience of a citizen/patient/service user, and these influential experiences can occur before, after and during service interactions. The PSL recognizes that value creation is contextual and specific to each service encounter and the subjective experience service users have of the wider service system (Gronroos and Voima, 2013). A central point is that these experiential dimensions impact both upon the outcomes of the service and upon the well-being of the citizen (Osborne and Nasi, 2018).

Within other services, the processes of participation can be composed and balanced differently; in the case of domestic refuse collection, for example, there is likely very little direct interaction between the service provider and user. Importantly, co-experience is critical as the context of the service user is likely to impact upon the extent to which they participate in sorting household waste for the purpose of recycling. Extrinsic participation in the form of co-production is also present in this example, where the service user is expected to sort household waste and leave their bin kerbside for collection. Through active participation, service users create value on three levels, namely the individual, service system and societal. First, active participation may have a positive impact on the individual who may feel a degree of self-worth through their involvement. Second, it may also create value for the service system, by providing efficiency savings (e.g. by substituting the responsibility for recycling to individual households rather than by Local Authorities). Finally, active participation in refuse collection may result in a wider positive impact on the environment.

6.1.4 Role of public service staff and service users

The PSL is rooted in the work of Gronroos (e.g. Gronroos and Voima, 2013; Gronroos et al, 2015) and reconceptualizes the roles of public service providers and service users. While the other five frameworks of reform suggest that public services are designed and delivered by the public managers and that participation transforms people (i.e. citizens are empowered when PSOs enable their inclusion through participative mechanisms), PSL is less about empowerment and more about how people transform a service offering made by service providers with their resources, skills and experiences and

ultimately create value (which might include capacity for future change). By consequence, PSL situates service users at the centre as sole creator of value (through value-in-context) (Gronroos and Voima, 2013) and co-creator through their role in the production, consumption, evaluation and contextualization of public services (value-in use) (e.g. Alves, 2013; Osborne and Strokosch, 2013; Skalen et al, 2018).

As illustrated by Figure 3 earlier, PSOs make ‘service offerings’ based upon a promise of value that should address collective value, deemed important by society, such as an equal and fair or well-educated society (Alford, 2016; Skalen et al, 2018). A PSO can only ‘promise’ a certain process or experience – the actuality is dependent upon the ‘moment of truth’ (Normann, 1991) which is the point at which the PSO and service user interact through the service relationship or experience. The ‘moment of truth’ is critical to the process of co-construction where value can be co-created or co-destroyed by front-line staff and public service users. The citizen’s life experience through co-experience also has significant implications for value creation (‘value-in-context’); the use of a service only makes sense and creates value within the context of the individual service user. Gronroos and Voima (2013) describe value as socially constructed, accumulating over time through past, current and future experiences. The implication is that value is never homogenous but dependent upon who is delivering the service, who is consuming it and their broader service experience (Gronroos and Voima, 2013). A central point here is that value is not created by the service provider (as is implicit under the traditional Product Dominant Logic view of public services, through value-in-exchange where the PSO designs and produces the services for public service users) but is perceived and determined by the service user through their use of the service and within the context of their own lives (Vargo and Lusch, 2008; Gronroos and Voima, 2013). The service relationship and its management are therefore a crucial opportunity for the service provider to contribute to and influence the process of value creation (Gronroos, 2007; Gronroos and Voima, 2013).

By way of illustration, the case of education can be used. Teachers make value propositions during class time, exchanging their knowledge of a subject area with students who may interact by completing set work, asking questions and by participating in class discussions (value-in use). This is the process where value is co-created and service users participate through co-construction. However, outside the classroom, service users create value for themselves (value-in-context), based on their capacity to use the resources provided through the classroom experience, but also perhaps the support they receive from their family, to study and learn with a view to passing future assessments and/or building social capital. Here, their participation takes the form of co-experience, with value being shaped not only by their time in the classroom but also their wider experience, in terms of the education they have received throughout their time in the education system and the influences and learning experiences they have had and support they receive at home.

6.1.5 Enablers of participation

PSL suggests that because public services are context and experience specific, they are dependent upon an individual’s participation through co-construction and co-experience. The interaction between the service user and the service provider(s) and also how individuals and communities interpret the service through their life experiences is therefore critical (Skalen et al, 2018). This means that who is delivering the service and who is consuming the service has implications for the value created through the service experience (Gronroos and Voima, 2013) because each actor will bring their own set of values to the relationship.

Interestingly, none of the five frameworks discuss in detail the role of front-line staff in public service reform, focusing instead on the transformative potential of public managers (e.g. NPM and NPS) or networks of professionals (e.g. NPG). Within the PSL the role of front-line staff is crucial because it is they who interact with service users and have the opportunity through service interactions to shape value-in-use (Gronroos and Voima, 2013). Their role is not expert or value creator, however, but facilitator and value advocator. As facilitator, they play a key role in building relationships and trust with various parties in the service system, including service users, their families and the third sector. As value advocators, public service staff cannot guarantee that any given value proposition will be realized; they can only promise a certain process or experience, but the actuality is dependent upon the subjective experiences of service users (Osborne and Strokosch, 2013; Osborne, et al, 2013). A key learning dimension therefore exists through the processes of value creation; both service users and public service staff learn how to participate together during the service relationship to create value and learn from one another during these processes (Aulton, 2015).

6.1.6 Challenges for participation within the PSL

The PSL is not impervious to challenges, with four clear obstacles emerging for participation. First, value can be co-destructed, where the co-creation process is mismanaged or services are poorly designed (Meynhardt, 2009; Echeverri and Skalen, 2011; Gronroos and Voima, 2013; Osborne et al, 2012). Once again, in the case of education, a teacher who is not providing the correct resources or who has not appropriately assessed the ability of a child, who is therefore not learning according to their capabilities, is co-destructing value. The result may be substitution, where a parent does additional work at home with the child or employs a tutor to compensate for the inadequacies of the formal education being received. Front-line staff can have positive or negative effect on the service experience and their role in the value creation process is therefore crucial (Osborne and Strokosch, 2013; Osborne et al, 2015; Skalen, et al, 2018). The service user can also destroy value where they refuse to participate according to procedures or rules set out by the PSO. This can be illustrated by the example of refuse collection which was discussed previously; service users can perform maladaptive behaviour by refusing to sort household waste for recycling or fly tipping.

Second, PSL forwards four dimensions of value which are not served in equal proportions and are likely to be of varying (and sometimes conflicting) significance for different stakeholders (Skalen et al, 2018). A PSO, for example, might place greater emphasis upon social outcomes (e.g. equality) and the contribution to meeting social and economic needs or on its capacity to develop, while service users may place greater prominence on the quality of the service experience and the value they receive as individuals. Due to the complexity of values that any PSO might seek to address, this is likely to require a delicate balance of responsibilities, often within budgetary constraints (Bason, 2010). There is a related challenge for public service staff, who will need to manage expectations of service users and other stakeholders in terms of which dimensions of value are created and in which proportions.

Third, the challenge around appended forms of extrinsic participation remains, in terms of professional opposition to user-led services and partial or cosmetic forms of participation (Osborne et al, 2012). Structural changes administered under the former frameworks have not been sufficient in overcoming these obstacles, suggesting that extrinsic forms of participation are perhaps dependent upon a deeper cultural change, which seeks to alter the power imbalance (Baggot, 2005; Clarke, 2007). This would involve reconceptualizing service users as knowledgeable, skilled and experienced players – as they are

within the PSL, through their integral role in service delivery – who can make important contributions through co-production and co-design. This requires that public service staff recognize the benefits of service user participation through the four processes developed within PSL. Fourth, and relate to the previous challenge, it is necessary that public service staff are trained appropriately in managing the service experience to create value. Public service staff are currently trained within the product-dominant mode of service delivery causing a mismatch to value creation, where they are trained to ineffectively deal with value creation in its various dimensions, apart from in terms of efficiency.

7 Conclusions and implications

7.1 Conclusions and implications for participation

There is a strong perception across the literature on public service reform that decision-making is opaque and excludes important stakeholders, to the detriment of both outcomes and democracy (Frederickson, 1980; Vigado, 2002; Mayer et al, 2005; Fischer, 2006; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015). The answer has been of normative prescription, with calls for increased participation and a requisite shift from a passive, dependent citizen to an active, empowered one (Newman, 2007). However, this paper has criticized the conceptualization of participation as an ideal, which serves to marginalize participation as an appended process and fails to overcome significant power asymmetries and structural barriers. The PSL articulates a three-dimensional model which includes the elements of value, the locus of value creation and the processes of value creation.

Participation is constructed, both as intrinsic and extrinsic to the service relationship and this has five related implications in terms of how participation is managed and understood: the management of the service relationship; a pragmatic approach to extrinsic forms of participation; the role of service users and public service staff in value creation/destruction; performance measurement; and cultural change.

First, effective management of the service relationship is fundamental due to the intrinsic nature of participation and the implications this can have for value creation. Public service staff need time and space to engage with and fully understand service users' narratives, as well as the skills to facilitate value creation by offering propositions which can ultimately co-create or co-destruct value. Second, a pragmatic and sensitive approach to extrinsic forms of participation is necessary; the application of co-production and co-design could be appropriate, but this depends on the context. Related to this, there is a need to establish organizational learning processes which ensure that participative outputs feed back into the process and shape future service propositions or contribute to new innovations (Veronesi and Keasey, 2015). Third, the role of public service users and staff in value creation/destruction needs to be examined and the resulting implications for how public managers and frontline service staff are trained within a public service approach to service design and delivery. Fourth, are the implications for public management and especially performance management within which the various dimensions of value should be captured. This is challenging because although the individual and collective forms of value are produced together in the same process, they can operate in alignment or conflict, are discerned by different mechanisms and are consumed separately (Skalen, et al, 2018). Finally, embedding the PSL in policy and management processes through cultural change is necessary to support the creation of value and a shift in how participation in the processes of public service design and delivery is perceived and managed.

7.2 Implications for research

The theoretical discussion around the role of participation in public service reform suggests some research implications for the CoVal research project. Five research themes have emerged from the discussion.

First, the concept of value and its related dimensions need to be more clearly defined and conceptualized. This includes an examination of the different dimensions of value, how these might be

differentiated and understood by various stakeholders and an examination of potential value conflicts and how these might be resolved.

Second, the processes of value creation need to be explored. Value creation in relation to participation is both an intrinsic process that is central to the nature of service production and experience and an extrinsic (normative) process. Research should examine which parties create value and particularly how citizens, communities and public service users participate in these processes during the different stages of public service delivery and design. This would also include an investigation of the role played by public service staff, both in terms of value creation and value destruction through an examination of the enablers, risks and barriers of value creation, as well as an examination of the implicit and explicit systems and procedures they might put in place to manage the value creation process effectively. Research also needs to explore both the reality of existing intrinsic value creation and explore how to embed extrinsic value creation more effectively. Value creation/destruction will occur automatically, but the challenge is to engage with it for the most positive outcomes. PSL therefore has the potential to make a reality of citizen participation to the benefit of service users, service systems and society, although it is not guaranteed to.

Third, the relationship between the values held by those participating in value creation processes and the implications these might have for value creation and destruction should be investigated. Fourth, an investigation into how performance management systems might be altered to enable a more holistic measurement of value which extends beyond quantifiable measures is required. Finally, despite the vast literature on participation, challenging questions remain around how to embed participative structures to make direct participation more inclusive and overcome disproportionate power relations that exist through dominant cultural and power dimensions (Yang, 2016). The PSL suggests that the intrinsic role of service users in delivery shifts the power imbalance away from public service staff, but further empirical evidence is required to support this. The implications of this integral service user role also need to be examined in relation to extrinsic forms of participation. Co-design, specifically, may offer more embedded forms of participation because it can position the holistic customer experience as central to the service design process; the operationalization and impact of different approaches to co-design require further investigation in the public sector.

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