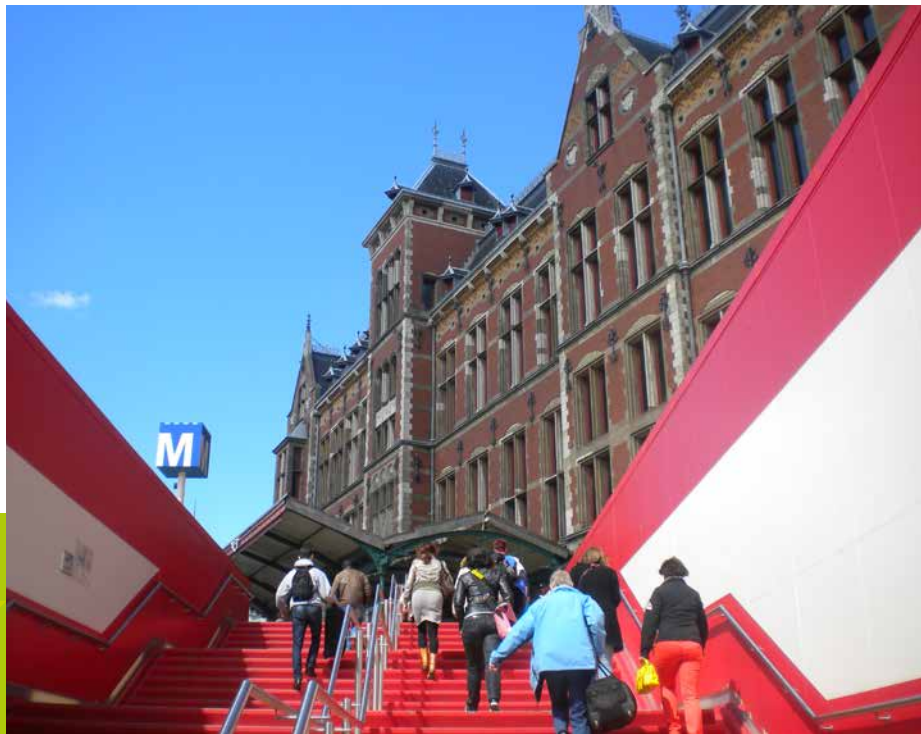Anna Liisa Westman and Edyta Pietrzak Eds.

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LOCAL DECISION MAKING I

2nd Ed.

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2nd Ed.

2nd edition

CONTENTS

FOREWORDS

We are pleased to introduce to the second edition of Local Decision Making I, which has been created as a result of international cooperation between universities, lecturers and students in frames of The Intensive Erasmus Programme Local Decision Making. The Programme was a three-year (2012–2014) co-operation between the following universities: Vives University College in Kortrijk, Belgium; Inholland University of Applied Science in Rotterdam, Holland; University of Humanities and Economics in Lodz, Poland; Togliatti University, Russia; Karelia University of Applied Sciences, Finland; Masaryk University in Brno, the Czech Republic and Robert Gordon's University in Aberdeen, Scotland. The cooperation consisted of the development of syllabuses for students and study visits in partner institutions. The project was based on combining theoretical knowledge with practical forms of competence development in conducting local politics in the EU-countries along with the one Russian university, exchanging best practices, contacting local government institutions and non-governmental organisations which take actions locally, and supporting political engagement and civil society. The project enabled comparing different theoretical, methodological and empirical perspectives concerning the functioning of the public sphere from an international perspective.

The outcome of The Intensive Erasmus Programme Local Decision Making are three publications: Local Decision Making I, A. L. Westman, T. Hiltunen (eds.), North Karelia University of Applied Sciences, Finland, Joensuu 2012 and Local Decision Making II, A. L. Westman, E. Pietrzak (eds.), Karelia University of Applied Sciences, Finland, Joensuu 2013 and Local Decision Making III, A. L. Westman and E. Pietrzak (eds.), Karelia University of Applied Sciences, Finland, Joensuu 2014. They are devoted to practical and theoretical analyses of local policies.

The first edition of the IP-Programme Local Decision Making (LDM) took place in April 16–27, 2012 in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. This intensive programme course was based on the international training of local decision making. The participants from this course came from 7 different states and included 35 students and 13 lectures.

The curriculum of the course was based on the studies of the students before arriving to Rotterdam. During two weeks of the intensive course, the students worked in multinational groups. The starting point was their homework, i.e. small studies from their own municipalities. All students shared their knowledge focusing on local government and local decision making from different viewpoints such as social- and health care, youth work, media, poverty, city planning and influence of extremisms on the municipal work. The internationality cannot be materialised only through one course. Internationality is a never ending process. The IP-course Local Decision Making, behind this book, as well as this book, provides some opportunities to create understanding in local decision making in Poland, the Czech Republic and Finland.

Without naming names we would like to thank all those marvellous students and lectures that participated in the IP-course LDM I, as well as the staff of the INHOLLAND University of Applied Sciences. Especially we would like to thank our project leader, Peter Jan Esselbrugge. Without Peter and all of our colleagues this book would not have been possible. You created the active atmosphere to produce this book. Now, when the

project is over and we are writing the 2nd Edition of LDM I-book, we can understand more deeply the importance of the project leader and active co-operation between partners.

We would like to thank our Polish, Czechish and Finnish colleagues and students for helping to produce this book. The message of the book is still timely and needed. Special thanks to Taina Hiltunen, who was editing and working on the layouts of the 1st edition of this book. She also worked in a marvellous way during our IP-course. This 2nd Edition of the Local Decision Making I book includes the same articles as the 1st Edition. We have accepted different writing styles and references from the idea that "all flowers can blossom"! Now, we have corrected language with the marvellous help of Adam Lerch. We have also corrected some small mistakes and the lay-outs of the tables. In addition the whole layout of this book – as well as the whole series of LDM books I, II and III – are now edited according the new style of Karelia University of Applied Sciences (earlier: North Karelia University of Applied Sciences). Salla Anttila has planned the graphics and layouts. Her co-operation with the authors has been very nice and productive. In this book we have included photos from Rotterdam, the Netherlands. For example, Lubov Gabeeva, from the Togliatti State University, Russia, has given her photos to our book. Our deepest thanks to her for the photos and co-operation during the IP-LDM -project. Now, we are really at the end of the Local Decision Making –project. We feel a bit sad about this, but we hope to see all of you somewhere sometime.

This book is divided into two sections. The first part (I) of the book has been written by the partners of the Local Decision Making Project. The articles study civil society and local decision making on the global and local levels. The second part (II) of this book has been written by the students who participated in the LDM I IP-course in 2012. Their studies underline the understanding of local decision making in social- and health care in Finland and how to combat extremism in Czech Republic in the municipal decision making processes.

Edyta Pietrzak discusses the reflection of the civil society and public life in the context of European democracy and the global world. She argues that the political system is a net of many relations between people, public and private organisations, social and non-governmental organisations, from which a new system of Europe is created and defined by decisions such as laws, rules, and institutions.

Stanislav Balik discusses in his article cleavages in local politics. He focuses on the topic of cleavages in local politics. This topic is close to the question of the political character of the local level of governance. However, the form of local polity in Europe has many faces.

Anna Liisa Westman discusses changes in welfare and local decision making in Finland in the context of Nordic Countries and the global world. She argues about the importance of welfare services. However, due to globalization and the financial crises of the municipalities there are a lot of difficulties to offer those services for the residents of the municipalities. She asks: are there any opportunities to keep up a Nordic, equal welfare model? What are the basic values of the people in the municipal decision making processes?

The Czech students, Andrea Smolková, Tereza Režňáková, Barbora Bodnárová, Jakub Kmeť and Monika Dvořáková from Masaryk University, discuss extremism in the Czech Republic. They focus on the identification of the main actors and processes, and how combating extremism works on different levels of decision making.

Finnish students Niina Härkänen Niina, Taina Hiltunen, Tuuli Laakkonen, Ville Rusanen Jonathan Slant and Sonja Sorsa from North Karelia University of Applied Sciences (Nowadays Karelia University of Applied Sciences) study social and health care in the case of the city of Joensuu. They consider the problems and opportunities to produce welfare services by the municipality as well as decision making processes. They also discuss the privatization of welfare services from the viewpoint of the residents of the municipalities. Through working together – public and private sector – Finnish municipalities can find the solutions to keep up welfare services on the Nordic level.

All in all this 2nd Edition of Local Decision Making I discusses different issues from the work and decision making processes of the municipalities. We hope that this book will provide its readers a view to different ways of local decisions, even now in 2015.

Joensuu and Lodz, February 2015

Anna Liisa Westman & Edyta Pietrzak

PART I

PROJECT PARTNERS

THE PUBLIC, THE PRIVATE AND THE SPHERE IN–BETWEEN:
CONTEMPORARY INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY

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Reflection on the civil society and public life has been always present within European democracies. The ethos of citizenship emerged in the ancient times and since then has been always present although modified by political thought development. The critical moment for the civic ideas' advance was in the Enlightenment era during which, due to the emancipation and egalitarianism processes, civilians' status changed. It was at that time that the modern definition of civic society was created.

Genesis of citizenship and the division into private and public spheres

The division of social and political reality into the public and private spheres started in ancient Athens (Pietrzak 2008, 107). The public sphere that was modelled through citizens' discussions and arguments was independent from the ruling governments or current policies. Hanna Arendt in Human Condition claims that in Ancient Greece there

were two ways of understanding what "public" was. Public was everything that could be seen, heard and understood by everybody. Public was also everything that was creating the existing world; it was called koinon. On the other hand, in the private sphere the human being was: a part of nature, a thing, a barbarian, a slave or a woman. A man could gain his identity only in the public sphere and by participating in it; he could become a citizen who was granted rights and the respect of others (Arendt 2000, 30).

We can say that the citizenship started by polis inhabitants' engagement in the processes of law creation and governance. Only men who came from Athens could take part in civic life, which consisted of speaking and voting at the community meeting, making expenditure decisions covered by money from the state budget, and deciding about going to war. They were able to do it no matter from which socio –economic group they were coming or how educated they were. Citizenship made them equal in eyes of law (Bokajło 2009, 670); a right that women, children, slaves or foreigners did not have.

> According to Aristotle politics was a science that taught about a good and just life, so it was naturally connected to ethics through customs and legal acts. Politics, legality and morality were separated as different concepts only in modern times.

It was different in ancient Rome, where one could become a citizen through: being born into a Roman family that had citizenship, settling down in Rome, being awarded it or buying it. Citizenship holders had many privileges. A citizen had full legal capacity which meant that he could sign different kinds of contracts, bring about all sorts of complaints to courts as well as run for different kinds of public or/and legal offices, for example: military service, voting at meetings, the ability to make last wills, and the right to private property. Furthermore, a citizen was exempted from paying taxes. Women and children held so-called "semi-citizenship", which meant that they did not have any power to affect the public issues or those who defined her role in family; as "semi-citizens" women had to obey their husbands or fathers (Bokajło 2009, 680).

According to Arendt, political behaviour, in Greek polis, was related to speaking and acting, and a private way of acting was connected to silence, suffering, violence and love. Home (oikia) was an obscure place, hidden from the eyes of others and full of passion. At the same time, the political arena was seen as a place full of light in which values such as freedom, common good, justice and equality were important. Human presence in the public sphere was then a way of running away from everyday life into culture. Greeks could not imagine their lives without the state and the public part of their lives and saw the ones who lived outside of it as barbarians (Środa 2003, 33).

Arendt underlines the fact that the Ancient Greeks did not have a concept of social sphere. There were only private and public, which meant political, parts in their

lives. Nowadays, when we use the word "privacy" we do not mean "deprivation" because of the influence of neoclassical individualism (for Ancient Greeks a person who only had a private life was either a slave who was not allowed to take part in public life or a barbarian who had not established it; for them, this kind of person was only partially a human being). The modern concept of privacy is contrasted with the idea of social life, not like in Ancient Greece with political one. In other words, contemporary privacy was discovered as contrary to social rather than political sphere of life (Arendt 2000, 44–46).

According to Aristotle politics was a science that taught about a good and just life, so it was naturally connected to ethics through customs and legal acts. Politics, legality and morality were separated as different concepts only in modern times. It was seen as an establishment of a freedom and severity's process. This enlightened basis can be seen in complete trust in scientific reasoning that was believed to guarantee freedom. The first who started this trend was Thomas Hobbes, who stated that science should be technical so that it would bring the most benefits to everybody. For Hobbes human happiness could be achieved only through the connection to the machines' power and the state's technical administration strength. On the other hand, for Aristotle, political praxis did not have anything in common with techne, which he understood as a skilful creation of art works or/and accurate problem solving (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 159–160).

The transition from Aristotle's Politics to Hobbes' Leviathan did not happen over day; it was a process that took time. In the Middle Ages, the public sphere nearly disappeared. The activities typical for public life in the ancient times were incorporated into the monasteries' life, and social life was standardized. The state was under the supervision of the private power ruled by the feudal society's norms. The importance of the individual human being and the private sphere of life were also growing because of the growing role of Catholicism; each individual soul became important. Saint Augustine also made the private sphere more important in his work The Confessions. By writing a biography, he made a point of showing his life as a life of an individual (Środa 2003, 42). He separated acting in a private internal sphere from a public external one.

St. Thomas Aquinas' social philosophy also had an important influence on the European political paradigm. On one hand, St. Thomas referred to Aristotle's tradition where the state was created in order to give citizens better lives, help them survive and act accordingly, but, on the other hand, he understood that the state was not only a political community - civitas, but also a social one – societas. According to Aristotle the tension laid between home (oikos) and state (polis), and because of it oikodepsoteo's ruling was seen as an exclusive power of one person, here a monarchy, while the ruling of polis was related to the ruling of free people who had the same rights, here politea. For St. Thomas a prince ruling a state was like a father – pater familiae. The opposition between oikos and polis was reduced to a common denominator – societas which was, however, interpreted as a patriarchal family order; this for Aristotle was apolitical.

If we look from a historical perspective, oikos and polis were opposites in Aristotle's works while in Stoics' they were hard to distinguish, and in Christian theologians' works the concept oikos became central and included parts that before had been reserved for polis (Środa 2003, 161). The modern society's structure, here civic society, was first introduced by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. This new category presented something new on the political arena, which was not a community identified by a state polis or societas, or Roman res publica; it was neither family nor an ethical or military community. The division between family and state, and creation of a third sphere – civic society – was first noted in Hegel's Philosophy of Law (Hegel 1969, 182). At the time that the civic society concept appeared the clear division between civitas and societas civilis was established creating economic and political poles of social life. The traditional social organisms that used to function within the state, family, and society apparatus

also were ethically destroyed at that time. From then on the civic society has played the role of the media-tor, broker, or liaison. At the same time a dream of going back to the times when there had been an ethical political and legal integrity and a fear of authoritarian forms of governments appeared (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 158-159).

When we talk about civic society, we cannot forget that the state and family are interconnected with it or even depend on it, and are not an alternative to it. The concept of civic society combines the human fears of power depraved by pathology and the dream of a community that allows one to forget the individuals' loneliness. That's why we can say that the idea of a civic society was created at the same time as the concept of an individual (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 158-159), and as Jürgen Habermas writes it could be only created in a free country by free people who had their own opinions about the surrounding world and who had the courage to share them in public (Habermas 1990).

Contemporary interpretations of the private – public spheres' division

There are two positions in the contemporary political thought related to public and private spheres' functioning (Pietrzak 2008, 109). The first position is based on an argument that in contemporary society all areas of social activities have been influenced by politics, and that the private sphere has nearly disappeared. Politics has moved from the elites towards local communities, and as a result, it has influenced all sectors of life: economic, cultural, professional, religious and familial. Greater political influence means, in this case, making the human to interact more publicly (Buksiński 1993, 67–97). Michel Foucault talks about a permanent presence of power in human life and that it cannot be avoided. All public institutions have this influence, and because of it, they penetrate all human interactions, control and limit individuals' behaviours. It is thanks to the institutions that human beings are disciplined and the social norms are obeyed. Observation, grading, punishment and examination are used in the individuals' disciplinary process – all of it is well known in Western culture. There is no room for privacy or doing what one wishes in this kind of society (Foucault 1993).

Richard Rorty identifies the public sphere with a political one, and the public – private division is a topic he discusses. The very division of public vs. private has a political character. The areas are decided in a non-natural way. The private sphere is dedicated to freedom and liberties, there are no rational rules, and one does not have to behave pragmatically there but is allowed to live without obeying moral standards or responsibilities. Poets, philosophers, artists, intellectuals or eccentrics form part of this sphere; they are called ironists by Rorty. Another characteristic of this area is the fact that it is here where new ideas, projects of changes and new interpretations are made. Responsibility and power are not present in it. On the other hand, the public sphere is full of commitments, and one has to behave there in a rational matter and according to moral standards. It is also where one is responsible for others. Politicians, reformers, producers, economists and workers form part of this sphere. People in it seek power (Buksiński 1993, 67–97). According to Rorty, the private sphere is more important than the public one because the creative abilities, typical for private sphere's representatives, are used in the public sphere. Without the private sphere, the changes in the public one would not be possible. On the other hand, the public sphere functions perfectly fine without the private sphere's representatives, so they are necessary and not necessary at the same time.

The second position is mostly related to liberalism. In liberal philosophy, the public – private division is of great importance. The liberal–utilitarian system is based on private needs. The political power's role is to fulfil these needs. As John Stuart Mill notices, private actions are only connected to the ones that act; they guarantee the freedom of individuals. Public actions, on the other hand, are directed towards others and are imposed from the outsider (Buksiński 1993, 179). That is why in a liberal system both religion and morality have been classified as parts of the private sphere. Due to the same reason liberal states only allow or forbid their citizens certain actions but do not define what is right and what is wrong because that would be an ideology then. It causes two things. First of all, because of this classification, tthe social morality weakens and law becomes the only allowed form of social norms. Second of all, religion becomes less important because it cannot be publicly celebrated (Buksiński 1993, 180).

The contemporary neoliberal theories keep the public – private division. The public sphere is defined by the political actions and applicable laws. Religious and philosophical beliefs, individuals' opinions, social ideas, ethical and moral norms are part of the private sphere. What should be classified as public and what as private is decided by the arguments that have been used publicly and by their influence on the accepted social order and rules. John Rawls (1994), in his Theory of Justice, shows different arguments in order to justify the public and private spheres' division. According to him, only those elements that help peace and unity, and that are decided in a rational way can be part of the public area. Moral, religious, and sexual norms are not part of it because there is no possibility of achieving rational consensus in reaching them. They are the reasons for social tensions and conflicts and that is why they should be excluded from the public sphere. In Rawls' opinion, neoliberalism is not based on any specific philosophical doctrine, but on universal ideas and values that can be rationally defended in a public forum; this cannot be said about religious dogmas or moral rules. The second argument shows that ethical goods are less valuable compared to political ones. Commitment to freedom, liberalism and ideological neutrality is more important than religious, ethical, or/and metaphysical beliefs, and citizens prefer democracy to religion or morality (Rawls 1998, 3).

No matter which of the above opinions we choose we can say that the issues that form a part of the public sphere are defined as important to a state's politics and a country's population. On the other hand, issues such as religious beliefs, family life or entrepreneurial activity, which are a part of the private sphere, do not have political importance. They belong to the individuals' lives and their rights. Issues that belong to the public area have formal and legal characteristics and should be based on rules that could be accepted by all "logically thinking" citizens. The majority of the basic principles of social justice has been based on these rules. These principles should be used by the state while working with its citizens and they should be used as a basis for the constitutional and the legal framework of a democratic and parliamentary state (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 271). We can see here the close relation between traditional liberal thought and the beginning of a democratic parliamentary state. That is why authors that questioned constitutional basis of a state, for example Marks or Smits, centred their ideas in opposition to this tradition. They also criticized the very division between the private and public spheres.

Contemporary criticism of the public – private division

The cotemporary criticism of the dichotomy of private – public is made from two perspectives (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 271). The first of them is related to changes that took place in the centres of powers and in the societies in modern democratic states; due to

these changes both spheres have gained new definitions. This is all mainly connected to the changes such as the emergence of late capitalistic consumer societies which have led to: new divisions, the greater role of mass media in the process of shaping public opinion, new forms of communication, new ways of gaining more votes, changes in power execution and global processes. The second perspective is related to immanent constrains of liberal and democratic order. It turns out that civilizations' transformations lead to our dichotomy's relativization, but, on the other hand, try to establish a completely new shape of the public sphere while marginalizing the private one. The common critical orientation is the connection with "anti-metaphysical" traditions in contemporary philosophy and the rejection of the currently established personal understanding of subjectivity (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 277). Structuralist criticism of the private – public is related to the new language theories that break up with its current ideological and psychological interpretations. The main issue here is the division between lange and parole that was made by Ferdinand de Saussure as well as granting the ontological primacy to the significance level over the level of marked in language. The concept of language formed within structuralism tradition is defined as system of differences between the significance lang, which takes place during all speaking actions and human activities, and parole that implies individual human personality degradation which, here, means the private sphere. An individual that communicates chooses his words, but the way of speaking is generated by "language system" and is included in its universal rules. There is no point then in talking about subject individualistic psychology that goes to Cartesian cogito that leads to disappearance of the public – private division.

Postmodernists, like Jean-Franciois Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, or Zygmunt Bauman, emphasize in their theories the social and cultural life changes in the world's civilizations and see in them the reasons of the disappearance of both spheres. They indicate the globalization process, late capitalistic societies' consumer lifestyles and the diversity of contemporary identity. Due to all of this, today's social, political and cultural reality cannot be any longer described using the diagrams, definitions and distinctions that were adequate for modern societies. A new discourse needs to be created that will describe the postmodern reality and that will use the contemporary philosophical concepts such as post structuralism or hermeneutics.

Critics that come from the leftist political spectrum and structuralism political thought, such as Louis Althusser or Etienne Balibar, are also inspired by the contemporary post structuralism concepts of Foucault, Derrida and Lacan. Marxism is critical of liberal ideas that give individuals liberty in economic activities and freedom in the public and ethical spheres in order to guarantee a democratic state's stability and development. Since the 1970s, Western leftist political thought has formed the type of criticism toward the liberal and democratic tradition that, at the same time, rejects orthodox Marxism tradition. Philosophers including Chantal Mouffe or Ernesto Laclau claim the necessity of a liberal and democratic state's reform in a leftist style, but, simultaneously, without giving up its constitutional determinants. However, Slavoj Žižek believes that we are not able to fix this kind of country anymore and he prophesies its collapse in the near future due to social conflicts. On the other hand, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri think that as a result of globalization and a post capitalistic empire a completely new order is being born that will take over and will create a state based on entirely new economic and political rules (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 279).

A feminist criticism of the theory has many aspects no matter if authors agree with the idea that "private is political" or "private is non-political" (Pietrzak 2008, 113). The division of private and public was made within the feminist thought in the 1960s. It was then that Carol Hanisch used the slogan "private is political" for the first time. It was quickly picked up and became the synonym of feminism (Środa 2003, 314). Topics such as domestic violence, housework division and power division determined by sex should become parts of public debate because they are parts of the political process similarly to class or international relations (Phillips 2003, 24). Feminists who did not agree with the public – private division enriched the understanding of democratic equality conditions and questioned work divisions (both professional and domestic). They undermined the belief that what takes place in the private sphere was only a private issue. Many of the feminist authors emphasize that separating these two spheres, similarly to other contemporary control mechanisms, sustains the image of women as a submissive group, while men are seen as dominant (Phillips 2003, 26).

In the contemporary political thought, we can also find liberal criticism of the private – public opposition. Communitarians demand substantive justification of the democratic state's constitutional basis and they protest against liberals' atomistic attitude towards the public sphere (the cult individualistic liberties and its formalization related to the state's neutrality). This trend is different from fundamentally libertarianism, typical for Alasdair MacIntyre, Quentin Skinner, for moderate libertarians such as Charles Taylor, Michael Sand, or for those on the border of libertarianism and communism, e.g. Michael Walzer or Will Kymlicka.

> Since the 1970s, Western leftist political thought has formed the type of criticism toward the liberal and democratic tradition that, at the same time, rejects orthodox Marxism tradition.

The second post liberal current is associated with Michael Oakshot and John Grey's political concept. Here the criticism of liberalism is imminent. They both come from this tradition; they know it and suggest changing it and extracting the historical dimension of the liberal tradition. Grey proposes exposing the dogmatic character of rational gurus.

The third stream considers reflecting forms as the most important element of the late capitalistic societies. Thanks to it, individuals living in these kinds of societies are able to critically distance themselves from all sorts of values and traditions. That is why these societies are post traditional. Anthony Giddens and Jürgen Habermas share this view (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 280).

On the other spectrum of the modern day political thought, there are many defenders outside of the orthodox liberal tradition, Beck, Giddens or Habermas, who agree with this division. They postulate creating new criteria for the division that would reflect the complexity of the post capitalistic societies. The necessity of this division can be found in the works of the first liberalism theorists: Wilhelm von Humboldt, Alexis de Tocqueville, Benjamin Constant and John S. Mill. They indicate that the ancient division was made under entirely different circumstances than in modern democratic states with parliaments. It was correlated with the assumption that if the public sphere

was the area of freedom, then the private sphere was the domain of authoritarian power that was exercised by a father. It is difficult to accept nowadays because of the modern interpretation of human rights that underlines a person's individuality and a thinking subject whose cogito is the basis of all the actions undertaken by a free man – here the source of all the freedom that one has rights to is the private sphere and not political activity. That is why this tradition's representatives underlined the importance of organizing a state's democratic order so that the citizens have a lot of freedom guaranteed in the private sphere (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 273). They were suspicious about it and saw it as dangerous for the individual. It was linked to limit the power to the maximum in order to leave the citizen freedom in economic activities, religious choices, moral and political attitudes.

However, with time the two spheres were seen as complimentary within the liberal tradition. Its legal and constitutional correlation in the state's order is of great importance if a human being is to fulfil his/her needs. In the public sphere, citizens should have the right to criticize the government and authorities as well as to share their opinions in religious, moral, ethnic and national matters no matter which political party is in power. Constraints should only be put on those ideas, opinions or actions that are contrary to public moral standards, state order or democracy. In the private sphere the citizen should have guaranteed the freedom to choose his/her own way of life, religion, language and the right to privacy without third parties interference unless he/she violates other people's freedom or dignity. This was the source of states' and institutions' neutrality postulate. At the same time, the citizens' rights and liberties cannot lead to situation where the democratic state's interests are in danger. Nonetheless, this interest should be defined in a pragmatic way that constrains itself only to fundamental concerns of a democratic country in fields such as economics, politics and defence. Each form that tries imposing on citizens a despotic or authoritarian form of government limits their freedom.

Therefore, the public and private spheres are connected in a way that the authorities' attitude to the first one influences the second one. In the liberal – democratic order, a wide variety of freedoms in the public sphere underlines the different freedom characteristics in the public area. In the despotic and authoritarian forms of government, freedom constraints in the public sphere are related to the similar limitations in the private area (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 276).

Civil society development phases

Civil society has been discussed since ancient Times. Aristotle identified it with the political community which was formed by people – social beings that live in a state (polis) which meant one common place where their social nature could be developed. Polis is then the incarnation of the civil society. Marcus Tullius Cicero understood political society (societas civilis) as a synonym of civic society which he identified with an individual's involvement in a community's political life and with related issues. According to Cicero, a republic was a special state – a community of people who accept the same rules and work together for the common good. State is here a perfect community in both the political and moral/ethical sense. It is good by its nature because it is an outcome of free and sovereign citizens' wills.

Among authors of the Middle Ages that dedicated their works to the problems of people's sovereignty and state power were Marcilius of Padua, Niccolo Machiavelli and Jean Bodin. In spite of this, we cannot say that their works contain an idea interesting to us because it only came back to European philosophical thought at the end of 17th century, when modern society was being created in Great Britain. Jean Jacques

Rousseau exploited ancient philosophers' works in his texts. He, like them, did not distinguish the state from civil society. This idea could only be realized within a social contract that equal citizens who shared the same will represented both sides.

Not until John Locke, who introduced a new concept of civil society, the previous idea was contradicted. Liberal philosophy started to identify civil society with a specific political system rather than with state (Locke 1992, 77–142). This system was characterized by rule of law; limited, divided and sovereign political power; and an individual's freedoms of speech, association, economic activity and private property.

However, Locke still identified civil society with a political one. He defined civil society as a community that was established by citizens under a contract in order to protect the economy, which he treated as first a social pre-organisation that had existed in the state of nature. These ideas were changed during the rise of absolutism in Europe (Austria, Prussia and Russia). As a consequence, the definition of civil society also changed. The state was becoming distant from its citizens. The rights of social groups that before had participated in the political power decreased, the bureaucracy grew, the taxes raised, and corruption and nepotism were present. The civil society changed from a political society, even in Locke's version, to its complete contrary.

At the end of the 18th century, many diverse social groups started to demand their rights and the possibility to take part in decision-making processes. The French and American revolutions were examples of this. Once again, a definition of a citizen was created at that time, and an idea of civil society was a synonym for a fight for human rights. Thanks to that, in these countries the first constitutions and citizens' rights declarations were established: the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the US Constitution (1787) and the Declaration of Human and Citizen Rights (1789). Without a doubt the Polish Constitution (May 3, 1791) was also important in promoting "civil liberties" and, thanks to it, was well received all over the world. Thomas Jefferson, while talking about the three most important constitutions mentioned (in the order of importance): the American one, the Polish one and the French one (Kowecki 1981, 43).

In all above mentioned documents we can find a description of society both in its ancient (republican) and liberal definitions. The following ideas are included in both: democracy, power division, rule of law and natural human rights. The civil society once again became a participating society. The main civil society theories are related to people's sovereignty and social contracts.

Partial division of civil society from the state took place between the 18th and the 19th centuries thanks to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (Hegel 1969, 226–227), who decided that civil society was one of the three elements of social development. The other two were family and state. Hegel was using the state definition in two different meanings. First, he was differentiating it from the civil society and family. In the second he identified it with them because he believed they could not exist outside the state.

For the first time civil society was fully separated from the state by Alexis de Tocqueville (Tocqueville 1996, 193) in the middle of 19th century. He defined state as formal system that represented political power: institutions and mechanisms of power execution. Civil society was part of the relations between citizens, who for the sake of common good participated in the public sphere by taking part in the decision making process. Tocqueville classified civil society as relations between people, distinguishing it from political society that was understood as relations between citizens and political organisms. This definition of civil society is currently known as the Sociological one. Karl Marx reduced the civil society's definition even more; according to him it was only related to the economy. He understood civil society as economic relations that, for him, were the basis and put the state and its institutions in the outhouse. Both were interrelated; however, in this relationship civil society had the dominant role (Marx 1955, 5).

The Marxist concept of civil society is not often referred to. Even leftist groups usually use ideas of later thinkers, for example Antonio Gramsci, an Italian communist. In his definition, civil society does not include all of the production relations, but all of the ideological and cultural relations; not the whole of trading and industrial lives, but the whole of spirituals and intellectual ones (Gramsci 1991, 440). As an effect, the relations between the state and the civil society are closer. He believes, similarly to Marx, that the state should be just a temporary creature that will disappear because it will be absorbed by the civil society.

Authoritarian, totalitarian as well as political and ideological divisions of the world after WWII changed the concept of civil society. For many years, besides Gramsci, this category was not analysed. It was pushed out by the idea of democratic and open society that was introduced by Karl Popper, who presented it as the contrary to closed societies typical of the totalitarian systems.

When this idea came back during the time of real socialism, it got a new meaning. The grassroots movement against the unaccepted political power became the civil society's symbol. This negative point of departure created a situation in which newly established nongovernmental organisations worked against the state institution. A good example of it was the situation in Central and Eastern Europe, Spain, Portugal and in African countries. The Independent Trade Union Solidarity that was established in 1980 was a good example of this situation in Poland.

Contemporary concepts of civil society

According to Ralph Dahrendorf civil societies are characterized by the existence of autonomous organisations and institutions that represent people's free will (Dahrendorf 1994, 7). He includes political parties, trade unions, factories, social movements, free professions, autonomous universities, independent churches and foundations. For Charles Taylor civil society exists where there are independent associations respected by the government (Taylor 1994, 59). For Michael Walzer (1997, 7) civil society is a space where people associate freely, also in nets of relationships connected to family, business, ideology, and interests in order to fill this space. All of them put the civil society between the political and private spheres as a third sector. Contemporary science tries to connect the civil society's definition with that of a state. Norberto Bobbio (Bobbio 1997, 58) states that the dispute over civil society is in reality a debate about state definition.

Victor Perez Diaz (Poboży 2007, 362–363) describes two of civil society's areas: Civil society, sensu largo, as a social and political team of institutions that consist of five elements: public power, which is constrained and responsible before the society; rule of law; the public sphere, which forms a part of interested citizens; a free market economy free from violations and corruption; and various associations of free citizens. The citizen is a key factor here. If the members of a given society behave like citizens then we can talk about a civil society.

Civil society, sensu stricto, means social organisations that are outside the state institutions and are not controlled by the government. In this situation, civil society is less independent from the state and includes organisations and associations that are autonomous from the government: created directly by the citizens. Political parties, trade unions and associations are examples of this kind of organisation. In a broader sense political institutions are also formed by the civil society; we can include in them: a system of civil rights and freedoms; legislature power chosen in free elections; executive power elected directly or indirectly; an independent judiciary system.

Using this kind of vision, we are creating a kind of dispute in the interpretation of civil society's definition. The essence of the dispute is the question if civil society should function within the state's framework or outside of it. The first option that combines the idea of a civil society with the state is called social – democratic and concentrates on the thesis that civil society cannot function without state's help. It is the state that must control conflicts, fight against inequality of different groups, prevent exclusion and promote political freedom and pluralism. On the other hand, the second opinion is connected to liberalism and is based on an individual's autonomy and freedom. This individual forms a part of a civil society that protects him/her from civil servants' power.

Walzer in his essay "Civil Society and the State" (Walzer 2006, 131–132) highlights that even though there are historical moments in which citizenship is in radical opposition to the state this situation is not very common. The situation in Eastern Europe at the end of 20th century was, during Communist ruling, a good example of circumstances where intellectuals and civil advocates used the idea of a civil society to mobilize themselves against the ruling government. In an authoritarian or totalitarian state where citizenship is constrained and individual's mobility limited, civil society gains romantic characteristics and seems to be an underground activity. It is often accompanied by a dream of replacing the state only with associations. However, once the oppressive system collapses the need to form a state appears; a state that is friendly, regulatory, that redistributes and intervenes when necessary. Since it is impossible to create an idea civil society, the state will never be just a "night watchman" as the liberals would like nor will it disappear as the Marxists were hoping. There is no ideal civil society. Therefore, there will never be a perfect serving state because regulations and interventions often lead to abuse. That is why civil societies' members have to be involved citizens. According to Walzer (2006, 117) there needs to be a balance between freedom necessary for political action and state activities that will help to coordinate citizens' actions. He compares state and civil society to a chicken and an egg (Walzer 2006, 124). There have not been important steps made towards equality without a state's activities, but on the other hand, these activities took place because of the social pressure that the state had felt from its citizens. This pressure is possible only in a civil society.

These ideas are also shared by Manuel Castells (2008) in his study about contemporary identity. He emphasizes that civil society's definition, even though it usually has positive connotation, is ambivalent. He uses Antonio Gramsci's description of this term as a collective of such institutions as church, trade unions, political parties, corporations, sports clubs, etc. These institutions can be used by both the state and civil society to influence each other. He sees them as tools that can influence public opinion, but at the same time, as institutions that rule people's relations without which community will not be possible. Because of this dualism, civil society is a place where the official state power competes with citizens who organise themselves into groups so that they can be better political competitors. This ambivalence is the reason why there are so many different definitions of civil society. Gramsci and Tocqueville saw it as a protector of democracy and civilization, while Foucault and Sennet as a dominant way of identity (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 172–173).

No matter if we see civil society as part of the state as in the ancient times up until Enlightenment (until the middle of the 19th century) or outside like liberals and democrats do, we need to remember that a conscious citizen who wants to act is necessary for civil society to exist. Civil society means a society where its members take part in public life (Poboży 2007, 363). The individual is the key component in a civil society; everything else is of secondary importance.

Contemporary criticism of civil society

In the modern world, civil society has stopped to be a mediator between the capital and sovereignty. It has been absorbed by the state and because of it; new elements that up until now were part of civil society have become part of a state. At the same time, it has also been incorporated by private institutions like family, sex or sexuality and as a result, there are many new elements in the private sphere that before belonged to the government's competencies. After the element between family and state disappeared, a mixture of both public and private came to life. The definition of civil society became an organised administrative system that supports the mobility and continuous diversification of human beings. That is why it is difficult to answer if we live in a post political or a hyper political period. We have not gone to the past situation before the civil society's creation because we do not have a border that would divide the public polis from oikos. We only have the public sphere that is constantly becoming more private and a private area that is becoming more and more public (Dybel & Wróbel 2008, 177).

Due to all of this, the contemporary political thought is characterized by the search for a new subject that would be able to enter the political arena as a substitute for the currently falling apart civil society. The definition of peoples that for many years organised mass imagination and was a basis for such terms as nation or state is no longer valid. The term people as a source of society's definition has been expropriated and appropriated by private use, but, simultaneously, what used to be public has come under control and monitoring.

It seems that a concept that is becoming more and more important nowadays is "population", which came into use thanks to the success of bio political categories. It fits well into the new world social administration because the term "family" was too narrow and "state" too abstract (Foucault 2000, 178). The success of a society that is controlled through mass media may become the new central category. José Ortega y Gasset claimed that a new age of hyper-democracy was emerging in which masses would be acting without parliaments and political representation, without taking into account norms and legal rules and would only use physical force as a medium. It will mean times of empty colossus, a silent majority and an entertainment industry so it will not be a cult of political leadership, but rather of celebrities (Gasset 1982). Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri think that only when masses, size and multitude are taken into account can we talk about democracy; up until now it has been constrained by the whole state power's definition. A total democracy – the ruling of everybody by everybody is only then possible when the majority can rule itself (Hardt & Negri 2005, 59). However, democracy by definition cannot be "global" (Žižek 2007, 264–274), and Hegel wrote that a total democracy could be only possible as "constitutive negation" or terror.

Global civil society

The term globalization means abstractive and non-institutional political, social, economic, cultural and demographic processes that do not depend on geographical location and that take place locally. According to Anthony Giddens globalization is a kind of identified social relations on a global scale, thanks to which regional phenomena have counterparts in other regions of the world (even though they are separated by distance) (Giddens 1990, 64).

At the end of the 20th century rapid technological changes and the deregulation of industry created a similar situation for both the new political and economic orders, well characterized by the example of the World Wide Web (Rothert 2008, 142). There is no longer a global knowledge centre; now we have transnational relations in the form of "complexity without borders", where nearly any change that takes place in a local community may encourage others to find a new way of behaviour. This is globalization. Public space has become dynamic and complex. New nonlinear structures are constantly being created. Social nets are good examples of complex systems functioning in contemporary public space. We can say that a political system is a net of many relations between the authorities, social and nongovernmental organisations from which a new system is created defined by decisions, laws, rules and institutions (Rothert 2008, 51). Manuel Castells believes that nets create a new social morphology and a new type of social structure. The state is still an important element of this system, but its role has changed. It becomes rather a broker or a communication centre that allows cooperation among different system members. This vision is connected to the whole and changing global order. However, it does not mean a global government, but rather the establishment of mechanisms that will coordinate these political issues that cannot be solved by a state or regional organisations. It involves the coordination of actions by states and other actors, actions which should be defined as "governing around the world and not governing the world" (Rosenau 2000, 181). There is no longer just one actor – state – but there are many actors that cooperate, work independently or even get into conflict.

> Since the 1970s, Western leftist political thought has formed the type of criticism toward the liberal and democratic tradition that, at the same time, rejects orthodox Marxism tradition.

The global socio–political scene should be, at least it seems like it, seen as a place that gives options because in all concepts there is a rejection of seeing people as subjects. Nevertheless, people are subjects. We can even say that the thesis about the global homogenization of culture is connected only to a weak definition of culture reduced to materialistic goods and the ways of distribution. Globalization in the newest anthropological and social researches is seen more so as regionalization rather than the creation of one system. It does not lead to the destruction of local contexts, but to the formation of a new identity and expressions of forms in culture, politics, and society, where global products, signs and texts are used in local situations.

Can we talk about a global civil society in the above described world? In the second half of the 20th century there was an explosion of global civil associations and non-profit organisations (INGO) with global objectives. It was possible thanks to new technologies and the increase in funds available. However, empirical proofs do not make it easier to find the border of a civil society because a lot of data about the social activities is not registered and several of these activities are not classified as data because they are related to the actions of non-formal organisations or groups. These kinds of society's subjects are connected to their "place on Earth", but they are not limited by this place. They function in a dynamic way, in various institutions and nets at the same time. Global civil society is something other than nongovernmental organisations. It includes individuals, com-

panies, events, non-profit organisations, social movements, various communities, celebrities, intellectuals, think tanks, charities, lobbies, protest movements, web sites, trade unions, employers' federations, international commissions, and sport organisations. All of them form a multilevel thick interconnected space. It exists in relationships and social dynamics. It is characterized by common traits – a peaceful attitude with a fight against violence and lack of tolerance (Rosenau 2000, 12). This border extending social activity can be understood as a mode of local communities' connecting with a global net. Transnational nets mark the borders of civil society and government sphere because global civil society is getting involved in decision-making processes that consequently make it a rival of state institutions. In some way, a monitoring and signalizing tool makes some of the local events important in the international arena.

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CLEAVAGES IN LOCAL POLITICS

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Introduction

In my article, I would like to focus on the topic of cleavages in local politics. This topic is close to the question of the political character of the local level of governance. However, the form of local polity in Europe has as many faces as only a few other things. The lowest self–governing units have an entirely different form in the Nordic countries, in Western Europe, in Central Europe and Southern Europe. It differs even with – in one country – for example, the Bundesrepubik Deutschland, where there is on one side of the country an average municipal population of about 45,500 (Nord Rhein Westfalen), and on the other side the country an average size of about 1,750 inhabitants (Rheinland Pfalz).

The topic that I will present emerges from the research of local politics and policies of the Czech Republic. I realize that many observations and conclusions are not of a general character, but I think that some of them have a kind of general validity because they go beyond the experience of a small country in the heart of Europe.

I would like to point out that in a paper I do not look on the topic of local policy from above, as an aggregation of local data, but from the view from below, through the prism of particular municipalities.

The Czech and Moravian municipalities

The form of Czech municipal polity is largely determined by the fragmented settlement structure of the Czech lands. Although in the second half of the 20th century (at the time of communist rule) in the Czech Republic an extensive process of merging municipalities into larger units (like on both sides of the former Iron Curtain) occurred, the results were only partial. At the very end of the communist era this process culminated – then also villages and small towns with several thousand inhabitants were integrated together. There were 4,778 municipalities – with an average number of about 2,100 inhabitants. Although this integration process has been perceived very negatively by people (that is why a large number of municipalities disintegrated shortly after the fall of the communist regime) and was associated with a non–democratic form of government, in regards to the total numbers it was far from the results of Western European democratic countries (for example Germany, with an average of 6,500 inhabitants of the municipality and Austria with 3,400 inhabitants per municipality).

As already mentioned, the fall of the communist regime was also reflected in the process of disintegration in a short time when the number exceeded 6,000. We can see that the later municipalities were integrated, the sooner they became independent. At present, the number of municipalities in the Czech Republic is 6,250. Every year there is also a certain number of newly independent municipalities, and this number is higher than the number of those that are integrated with others. The average number of inhabitants is lower than 1,700. Therefore, the Czech Republic represents one of the extreme models in Europe with a high number of small villages. Countries and areas with similar characteristics can be found in the area, including France, southern Germany, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Similarly (but with about double the average population) can be seen also in the countries such as Austria, Hungary and Switzerland. The opposite pole is represented by the Nordic countries – from this certain point of view including not only Scandinavia, but also for example northern Germany, Belgium or Great Britain. Here the average number of inhabitants in one municipality is higher than 10,000.

What is really important is also the fact that more than three-quarters of Czech municipalities (78%) are less than 1,000 inhabitants, and 57% (3,590) less than 500 inhabitants. It is important also for the problem of cleavages in local politics, which will be presented later in this paper. Several researches show that with declining population numbers some interests and the resulting cleavages are likely not present.

Polémos

In the expert, political, but also public discourse the concept of the so-called non-political character of local policy is extremely well-established. This view is supported by a variety of examples and voices of municipal politicians declaring: the sewerage system is neither leftist nor rightist; sidewalks are built by the right as well as by the left party. The most common arguments reference the "expertise", "technicality" and "objectivity" of issues addressed at the local level. However, if these arguments are further developed, we come to the necessary conclusion that the municipal government, if it is a matter of purely technical and apolitical by nature, does not have to be self-governed. The decisions about the methods of construction of the infrastructure can be made by the regional office or by the Ministry of Interior, who will carry out the instructions from above. The system of governance by elected political representatives

in villages may be left over as completely useless. However, we feel that such a system is not ideal. Where did the argument go so wrong? The answer is obvious - at the very beginning, when we rejected the political nature of local government.

An interesting question – which can lead us to asking whether the municipal level is political or not – is the definition of politics. Political science is in this area not so helpful because it does not offer any clearly defined definition of politics. Instead, it represents only a wide range of possible policy approaches, whether it is an already normative ontological approach (which gives the policy context in terms of finding the good life, respectively living in truth), a realistic approach (priority is given to means of political action), Marxist (policy as a social phenomenon associated with the class structure of society and the state) or the empirical-analytic (which link policies with the political system) and so on.

In the modern age, politics is often associated with another phenomenon, with democracy. Let us leave aside the question of whether this is the correct linking. Besides, to more narrowly understand the concept of democracy, which combines democracy with the construct of the political regime, there is a broader definition of democracy, which can see it as a general definition of space containing politics. One of the basic signs of democracy is the ancient Greek concept of polémos, which understands life as a controversy, discord. It is actually one of the biggest contradictions to non-democracies, whether totalitarian or authoritarian regimes, which the controversies (polémos) in political areas (totalitarian regimes also in non-political areas) are programmatically excluded.

One of the biggest Czech theorists of democracy, Vladimir Cermak, even inextricably interconnected democracy with the concept of polémos. He understood polémos as the only possible way of solving the problem of inadequacy of the inner and outer man, the only means to give life its meaning and drama. "As long as a man is a man, there will always be polémos." It was one of the arguments to support his theory of human nature agreeing with democracy and refusing non-democracy.

In a narrower sense, polémos means the social conflict in society, when the questions of power are obvious. When we are looking at the question of the political character of local politics from this point of view, we can see new horizons. If we understand the conflict of interests as polémos as social conflict and as its own means of policy implementation, we can see that even at the lowest level we can meet several political debates and decisions, respectively that almost any decision emerges from a conflict or clash of interests.

Yet it is not a pejorative label if we mark something as "it is politics". Politics is by far not done only by political parties and their local associations. Even the support for local sporting and cultural organisations can have political conflict characteristics.

In the following parts of this article we will try to point out some areas of municipal policy, where it may be presented that many of the decisions and solutions adopted by local representatives were not only "technical" but were based on some political backgrounds, although often unarticulated or even unconscious.

Cleavages

The basic misunderstanding of thinking about the political character of local politics also rises in the identification of the term "policy" only with the clash of left and right. However, at least since the time of Stein Rokan we know that the socio-economic dispute which best corresponds to today's perception of a conflict of right and left is by far not the only, and certainly not the oldest, cleavage. Before we return to local politics, let us briefly talk about Rokkan's concept of cleavages. They are the products of

two important historical processes that transformed Europe in recent centuries: the national and the industrial revolution. The national revolution has amplified the process of nation building. Among its best known outcomes we can include the creation of modern nations and national identities, linguistic unification, the creation of military-administrative, economic and cultural centres. However, this process was not easy. The strong resistance against these efforts often arouse from regions which have formed their identities for a variety of reasons (historical, ethnic, and linguistic) different from the centre. We can set many examples – France before the Revolution of 1789, Spain, Belgium, Italy and so on. Therefore, the national revolution has generated a large discrepancy between "centre" and "periphery".

Alongside this process, large conflicts between Catholicism and Protestantism took place; eventually it was possible to record a lot of effort of absolutist states to limit the power and influence of churches in the society, respectively to subject them to state supervision. Against this, the churches and their members resisted. This process was strengthened in the 19th and 20th centuries by the powerful phenomenon of secularization. As the result, the strong conflict between church and state emerged.

The industrial revolution affected not only the structure of the economy, but had far-reaching social consequences with significant overlaps in policy. As the result, there was strong growth of cities, both quantitatively and in their position in society. Naturally, the rural population stayed in opposition against this. The industrial revolution led to the emergence of the conflict between town and country.

The industrial revolution changed the nature of the economy, which has since that time run primarily on private enterprise and capitalist wage labour. And from the contradiction of these two categories – capital vs. work – the most serious cleavage within the society actually lies to the present that enabled the expansion of great Marxist revolutionary movement, and this has affected the guideline policy debates until today: what is more important – labour or capital? What should the proportion between them be?

Table 1. National and Industrial Revolution and the cleavages Territorial dimension

	Functional dimension	
National revolution	Centre – Periphery cleavage	State – Church cleavage
Industrial revolution	Land – Industry cleavage	Labour – Capital cleavage

During the second half of the 20th century, the influence of so-called post-materialism topics was growing. It is a situation where not only economic disputes are important, but also a contradiction of value priorities – here issues such as gay rights, abortion, environmental protection, etc. come into debate.

After the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, another cleavage emerged – communism against anti-communism, which we can generalize as the cleavage from the old regime. Examples of such cleavage (not just in relation to a communist past), we can find in a number of European societies in past centuries, in fact

in connection to any regime change: in France after the Revolution, after the Bourbon restoration, and after the onset and after the fall of the French Second Empire, after the fall of the monarchies in Central Europe, after First World War and so on.

Specific cleavages may interact; it is a case of crosscutting cleavages. This intersection can either reinforce each cleavage or it can neutralize them. Thus we can see six cleavages (four "classic" ones, and in addition the post-materialistic cleavage and the cleavage related to the old regime), of which only one (though certainly dominant one) refers to what we call right and left. So political conflicts have and can have a variety of dimensions – both at the national level and at the local level. Of the six nationwide cleavages, all six can appear in local communities, of course with varying degrees of probability and with different intensity.

Gemeinschaft vs. Gesellschaft (Community vs. Society)

When considering concrete cleavages, whether transformed from the national level or specifically local, we can meet at the local level with one meta-contradiction, with two basic paradigms of self-understanding of the society in individual towns and villages.

It is a dichotomy embodied by the terms (and concepts) Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (society), which was introduced in the end of the 19th century by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. Gemeinschaft understands municipality itself (not necessarily only defined geographically, but also personally) as a community formed by peasant and burgher attitudes. This concept is more collectivist, based on the altruism of neighbourly community.

Its antithesis is the individualistic and rationalist modernity known as Gesellschaft (in German this is also referred to as a company). The terms such as utilitarianism, calculation, along with an emphasis on productivity and efficiency are related to this concept. Society (Gesellschaft) is characterized by egoism, competition, profit and rationality. Both positions can also be characterized by notions of emotionality and rationality. Although this division may seem ideally typical or even just completely theoretical and not reflective of the practical and everyday politics, it is not. Completely hidden or unsuspected, it is reflected in many current debates about which we will consider in detail in a moment.

For a better understanding of these differences, we can apply them to a national level. At least in continental Europe the terms of nation and state differ, respectively the member of a nation and the citizen of a state. The concept of a nation is based on the position of Gemeinschaft, the concept of state (citizenship) on Gesellschaft. If we want to distinguish these two categories on the municipal level, this is perhaps best expressed by the terms of old inhabitants (a feeling of kinship, proximity) versus the citizens of the municipality (without distinction).

Both concepts are present in the definition of municipality, when the municipality is often seen as the basic organisational lowest territorial unit, respectively a community's citizens. Its base is both territorial and personal. Moreover, this conflict – whether occurring in a territorial organisational unit or the community – has been present in the Czech municipalities until today. It resonates in election campaigns, in meetings of city councils, and in the public debates over political participation. It also resounds as undertone in the preparation of wide-range coalitions. Positioned against each other (also discussed below) are e.g. the efficiency of a local government and its decision-making processes, rationality and convenience versus mutual aid, duty and responsibility to the community etc.

Let us imagine three potential (obviously there may be more) disputes between two representatives of small and medium-sized municipalities – one looks at the village as a traditional community, Gemeinschaft, while the second one as a rationalistic understanding of the society, Gesellschaft. The first dispute concerns the school, the second a nursing home for old citizens, the third the image of public spaces in the village (their eventual modernization). This is not a true transcript of the debate, but a fictitious "political" opinion (no political science opinion) – but with support in some real polemics.

School

A Gesellschaft supporter: "Our village is missing a number of infrastructures – water supply, sewerage and more. Pavements and roads are in disastrous condition. Yes, I know, our school is in a really bad condition. However, investing in this school building runs tens of thousands of euro. If we do not know how long we can keep it, it is wasted. In addition, we are just now giving much money to schools because there are few children and according to statistics on newborns, a turnaround is unlikely. A much more rational decision would be if we sell the school building, and therefore we avoid the need for its reconstruction. We can pay for a daily minibus which takes our children to and from school in a neighbouring city, and still plenty of money that we can invest reasonably will be left."

A Gemeinschaft supporter: "Yes, the building of our school is really in bad condition, and will require large sums of money for reconstruction. In addition, yes, we have few children, so we have to pay the price for the actual teaching. However, the school in the village does not play the role of education only, but also it assists families and society in the upbringing of a citizen. At school there is also the formation of the first awareness of community cohesion, a sense of belonging to it. A village without a school is a village without any future, which is not alive but dying. The role of schools is indispensable and irreplaceable. Therefore, let us invest in the reconstruction, service and teaching while we can."

A similar debate occurred in Ladná, which was a village part of the town Břeclav. There the city council of Břeclav decided in 1999 to close the only school in Ladná because of the catastrophic condition of the building. They originally wanted to introduce a direct bus service to Ladná which would take kids to the nearest school in Břeclav. After a series of negative feedback from residents of the municipality, the council stopped the action and decided to repair the old school. However, this step upset the separation mood. Residents in Ladná had this step explained in a different way: the council would save on their community, and if they really want the money in the city budget, they can find it. Because of this event, there was the referendum on independence; since the year 2004, this village has been an independent municipality.

Nursing home for old people

A Gesellschaft supporter: "The building of our nursing home for old people is one hundred years old. The money has not been invested in it for the last twenty years and it looks according to this situation. Sell it to the regional council, and if they like the idea of the nursing home, they would run it and repair the building. Even if there is no longer such a home in our village, it is not a tragedy. For the old man there is no difference if he moves out of his house into a nursing home for old people in the village or in a neighbour town, as the dramatic change in his life is the fact of moving itself. In addition, the public transport to the city is convenient and fast, if his friends want to visit him."

A Gemeinschaft supporter: "Municipalities of a certain size should give residents, if they are unable to take care of themselves and for various reasons cannot be looked after by their children or relatives, the possibility that they will not have to move out of the village where they were born and have lived all their lives. If they live here, it will be easy for them to be able to go visit their friends and they will be able to live in places close to their hearts. Therefore, we should strive not only to ensure that in our municipality a nursing home for old people exists, but we should also operate it on our own and have the opportunity to offer a place there to our citizens. In addition, let us do it even if we have to invest money in this home. Not to care just about the visible things like roads, pavements and services, but also the less visible ones."

The image of public spaces in the village

A Gesellschaft supporter: "The state of the main street and several other areas require fundamental changes. If we transfer the road, we can create a nice pedestrian promenade. Next to the church, we can create a small square with a fountain and benches. It does not matter that we will have to reduce the church fence and remove a part of the land around it, but we will create a visually beautiful space that will be the pride of our community."

A Gemeinschaft supporter: "A man is to gasp at the thought that our great-grandmothers walked for several centuries on the ways, which had already resulted in the same places as those of today, and many people might touch the same places as them. Yes, let us beautify the environment of our community, but do not make any dramatic changes to centuries-old structures. And in no case should the soil around the church be moved in any way. There used to be an old cemetery, and the dust of our ancestors still rests there."

Let us mention that the division between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft is ideally typical, and these two approaches are often mixed into one thinking. They are also often a manifestation of the division between the new and old inhabitants of the villages. None of the views is only "right" or "bad" – it depends on the value anchoring. Both approaches are legitimate, you cannot decide "technically". Such disputes are political in the true sense of the word.

The position of Gemeinschaft argues emotionally, which may be one of its advantages but also a disadvantage. In every case, it is a part of it, one of its identifying features. It can be also seen as conservative. Yes, it is conservative, but only to a certain extent. This "local conservatism" does not necessarily imply a conservative outlook at other areas of social life, the role of religion in society, social and economic relations and so on. That is the reason why representatives from the communist party may be conservative in this respect in the view of village life. Here is also the source of the often-incomprehensible willingness of communist leaders in some villages to contribute towards repair the church, parish activities and so on. They are in fact seen as a part of the traditional order of the village.

Gemeinschaft tends to set negatively to all conflicts – as something, which does not belong to "family" (they understand village as a family). On the contrary, Gesellschaft proponents believe that it is just the competition of the interests which brings to politics and public affairs charge and real life.

Local cleavages

Already a while ago we marked the case of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft as the meta-contradiction, as the clash of two paradigms. This meta-contradiction covers a vari-

ety of specific cleavages and contradictions. Those may come from this meta-contradiction, but they can also stand alone. Furthermore, we introduce eleven potential cleavages which can be identified in the municipalities of the Czech Republic. Not every of them are necessarily present in every community; it is a catalogue of potential cleavages. Not every one of them is equally significant and important, as well as their strength may vary in different communities. Depending on local conditions cleavages can determine the nature of local politics. These following seven cleavages have a clear anchoring at the local level:

a) The development contradiction;
b) The conflict of origin;
c) The geographic contradiction;
d) The clubs contradiction;
d) The gender contradiction;
f) Citizen versus community contradiction;
g) The contradiction about the extent of the function of the village.

Another four cleavages are derived from a nationwide level:
h) Religious cleavage;
i) Labour – capital cleavage;
j) Post-materialism cleavage;
k) Cleavage related to the old regime.

Based on these eleven possible cleavages we can understand the logic of the majority of political conflicts at the local level (of course one has to strip away the logic of the purely personal – personal closeness or hate). Once again, we have to remind ourselves of the possibility of crosscutting cleavages, which in a particular case may lead to their empowerment, in another case to their elimination. Not all contradictions can be in every village marked as a real cleavage. Some of them can have the form of only a short dispute, which is not the cause of formation of some type of political "party", which is the basic idea of Rokkan's concept. However, each of these contradictions has, under certain local conditions, the capability to influence the structuring of the polity. Now let us have a look at a specific cleavage in more detail.

a) Development contradiction – This is a very common conflict, particularly in smaller communities. It often refers to the degree of development – to which extent the village may grow and modernize its infrastructure and to what extent it should remain an "open-air museum", namely the community which lives its ordinary life. The contradiction of opinions is different: to allow the building of new houses, or to not build anything, to have the municipality build the infrastructure for new houses, or an individual payment of costs; theme parks (whether municipal, or private investor with municipal consent), or the regulation of similar ideas. This cleavage partly overlaps with the main meta-contradiction in Gemeinschaft versus Gesellschaft, but not without reservations. It may not be only the contradiction among developers and old inhabitants, but a contradiction of different visions of development: whether the community may be especially a good place for the life of its people first or an attractive tourist site. These differences are reflected in the consideration of prioritizing investment projects, the degree of indebtedness of the village and so on.

b) The conflict of origin – This contradiction is evident in all villages, but it grows together with a mass development of the village. We can also describe it as a conflict of old citizens and the newly moved. The contradiction may take several forms. In the least sharp form, it is the dispute among those who were born in the village and those who moved or came to live there in their adulthood. The old inhabitants are in the vast majority. This form is more personal and does not have a group definition. It should be noted that for the moved their situation could be unchangeable for a long time. From the view of the old inhabitants, they will probably not be regarded as full citizens for the rest of their lives. They are forever labelled as "newcomers", "silt" and so on.

In a more serious variant it is a group contradiction – it takes place in the moment when the municipality significantly grows within a short time (there are known the examples of villages in the Czech Republic that saw their populations quadruple in ten years due to new houses). Then it often happens that the newly moved in citizens are not satisfied with the way of management of the municipality and through numerical superiority they outvote the older residents – as an example is given municipality Velké Přílepy (district Prague-West). A specific variant of contradiction may then be in a number of depopulated villages, where conflicts between residents and owners of country cottages take place.

c) Geographical contradiction - This contradiction can be seen in two basic varieties. In both cases, it is the situation of municipalities consisting of more residential units. All of them have their own identities and they used to be separate municipalities for decades. If all of the residential units have the rural character, we can find the contradiction of the centre versus the periphery. The centre of the municipality is not much larger (by population) than the outskirts, and this centre is accused from other parts of the municipality of neglecting their preferences and of favouring the centre itself. If the centre has a town character and the distinct parts are villages, the same controversy has more so the character of the cleavage Land – Industry.

d) The club contradiction – In many villages and towns we can observe the cleavage that is built up to different club interests. In its simplest form it is a dispute between culture and sports, organisations with some extent of support from local authorities (may not be purely in financial form). In some places even sports clubs stay against each other. The clubs of professional sports against clubs of recreational sport, or two clubs of professional sports against each other (athletic club against football club), two cultural clubs (amateur theatre against choir), two youth clubs and so on. The rivalry may be reflected in setting the investment priorities of the municipality, the acceptance of various events in public spaces, and so on. We can observe the clash between the platform of clubs that requires special treatment and privileges on one side and citizens who are not in any clubs involved on the other side.

e) The gender contradiction – This contradiction is rare but existing. It is based on the gender differences between men and women. In many places there stands against an exclusively men candidate list a candidate list consisting entirely of women (for example Brnířov, Domažlice district; Jakubovice, Šumperk district). This contradiction is confirmed by considering the European Commission on gender budgeting. It means the creation of budgets, in which funds are redistributed in terms of equal opportunities for women and men. The creation of gender budgets at all levels of the budgetary process assesses the impact of certain items on the lives of women and men. In this view, the abolition of public transport bus lines has a more negative impact on women than on men, because women are more frequent users of public transport. Another example is the building of a new football arena, which has also a different benefit for women and men.

f) Citizen vs. community contradiction - This contradiction relates to the questions of priority. What comes first, community or the rights and interests of a citizen? We can document this with the following example. In one village a few years ago, building a bicycle path connecting the lower end and the village centre so that its future users would avoid a busy road was considered. This topic, which seemed to be conflict-free, showed that it might radically divide the society. The bike path was recorded in the zoning plan of the village, but the land on which it would be built was not municipal. In the process of changing the zoning plan this topic was opened. Then one of the influential representatives said that if the owners of land disagree the land might be expropriated by municipality - for the public interest. This attitude was supported by a part of the city council; another part stood strictly against it. One part favoured the interests of the people who would use the bike path, while the second stood for the integrity of personal property. After a few years, the bike path was removed from the zoning plan and so temporarily won by those who favoured individual rights against the community.

g) Contradiction about the extent of the functions of the village – It is actually the equivalent of a national contradiction over the size of the state, respectively the degree of interference by the state (municipality) in the life of an individual. What is to be done by the citizen himself and what by the municipality? Should the municipality organise cultural events, or should it be the result of the spontaneous activities of citizens brought together in clubs? Should the municipality determine the day when using noisy tools is forbidden (Sunday)? Should the municipality seek to regulate (for example by coordination) prices in local shops? Does the village have to offer day care centres? The question linked to those proposals is to what extent and in what areas can a municipality make business. It has become common that municipalities establish and run their own companies to ensure the cleanliness of public space and take care of public greenery, building works and so on. Aside from the views of neo-liberals who have no problems to lead also substantial parts of the proceedings of the municipality to the sphere of private business, there is a range of activities which are at least the subject of the debate. Should the municipality do business in forestry? Should it do business in the energy industry and so on?

The following four cleavages have, as I have already mentioned, state (or nation-wide) nature, but they are also reflected on the local level where they give rise to political groups or parties.

h) Religious cleavage - There may be not only the option of believer vs. atheists. In the past, there were frequent disputes between Catholics and Protestants, or between different Protestant denominations.

i) Labour – Capital cleavage – Also at the local level issues related to the main contradiction of modern politics are sometimes solved. In the larger cities, the previously defined parties are the main rivals. In the Czech case, this discrepancy may occur for example in the debate on the amount of property taxes, because the whole amount of tax remains in the municipality, and the municipality may increase the amount up to five times.

j) Post-materialism cleavage - This conflict is at the local level manifested in the agenda of environmental protection, active steps towards the environment and so on. It can be both the contradiction between materialistic and post-materialistic values, partly about some post-materialistic values among themselves. The society is able to divide itself by the question of whether to build swamps because of the protection of rare species of animals, or repair the roads - which is a contradiction of materialism and post-materialism. Similarly, it can easily become a cause of intensive debates of whether to support a gay parade or the question of specific forms of sex education in schools (which are indirectly affected by the municipality).

k) Cleavage related to the old regime - In the Czech municipalities, the relationship to the Communist regime has still its place. It can lead to its appearance in the existence of the Communist Party, as well as having a form of relationship towards to the specific local face of Communist government before 1989. Some of the old communist politicians (former secretaries and presidents of local committees) are still active (though one by one leaving the scene due to their ages); the municipalities are still often coping with the specific steps undertaken during the Communist regime.

As mentioned several times, we do not have to observe each and every cleavage in any municipality. Indeed, it is rather unlikely. There is one interesting question for further research: whether some of them are subject to size, and whether in a certain size of municipality some cleavages simply cannot occur. Perhaps it is a contradiction about the extent of function of the village, where a small community has so few resources that many things cannot simply be done. In very small villages there is very likely no space for the revelation of post-materialistic differences; however, they may exist there. Many of the local cleavages can apparently have "national" potential, but with increasing levels of aggregation, they are overlapped by other conflicts. In smaller villages, they occur in their full force.

Conclusion

Considering the form of cleavages in local politics is very interesting, because it helps us fulfil one of the main tasks of social sciences: not only to describe what and how it happened, but to also try to understand and explain why this happened. If we watch politics through the concept of cleavages, then the incomprehensible and illogical decisions and unexpected coalitions become understandable, and the logical field behaves as expected.

CHANGING WELFARE IN THE CONTEXT OF NORDIC COUNTRIES[1]

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Introduction

In this article I will concentrate on the questions of welfare and local decision making through the concepts of welfare and gendered welfare regimes. The main research questions are: (A) how can we understand the changing welfare with gender questions? (B) What is the influence of publicly financed welfare services for residents of municipalities, especially for women? (C) What do welfare and care mean in the context of a global world between West and East?

My study is based on the social and health care of municipalities in the city of Joensu, North Karelia (Hiltunen et al. 2012) as well as my earlier study concerning changing welfare in Finnish Lapland (2005). In addition I concentrate on the questions of changing gendered welfare during 1990–2003 with some comparison between West and East, among Nordic Countries, the EU, South-Korea, and Japan. Taking care of the health- and social services of residents is one of the most important tasks of municipalities (Kuntaliitto 2012). The work of the municipalities is mainly based on the Municipal Law (Kuntalaki) (17.3.1995/365.) In most municipalities, 50–80% of the budget is used

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[1] In this study Nordic Countries are Denmark, including FaraØe Islands and Greenland; Finland, including Ahvenanmaa, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. In this study Scandinavia includes Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Sometimes some researchers calculate Finland into this category too (Berqvist et. al. 2001, 15).

on social and health care services. Municipalities face the challenge of improving or at least maintaining well working social and health care in a time when resources are diminishing. At the same time, the Finnish population is getting older and needs more health services. A big part of the younger population is moving from the North (Lapland) and Eastern-Finland (Karelia area) to the Southern part of Finland. The elderly and the retirees remain in these areas. This is in part reducing the amount of taxes that can be collected from the residents of the municipalities.

The ideology of the welfare state is still strong in Finland. Most Finns think that everybody has the right to get good quality social and health care regardless of their financial resources. In recent years, some political parties and interest groups have raised the idea of welfare society instead of welfare state. Welfare society means that everybody should have the right to create his or her own welfare. It also includes the idea of neoliberalism. One example of such thinking is the idea of transforming state or municipality run health care services into free market based services. In addition, on the governmental level there seems to be a lot of push towards more centralization of the decision-making. Kautto et al. (2001, 2–41) argue that it does make sense to talk about a Nordic model of welfare. However there can be seen a crisis of the Nordic model of welfare (Esping-Andersen 2001, 43¬-63).

The crises usually develop in times of low economic growth. In Finland we had a severe crisis in the 1990's when the unemployment level rose to 18% and the interest level was between 15–30%. Esping-Andersen (2000, 4, 12) has divided Europe as "The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism" –regimes as follows: (a) Nordic – social democratic welfare states (the Nordic States), (b) conservative (Continental European) and (c) liberal (the Anglo-Saxon nations) welfare states. The discussion between these models is based on labour markets, family situations, gender and household. My aim is to study the similarities and differences of gendered welfare regimes (see Kautto et al. 2001).

There is a lively debate in Finland about the ways to produce social and health care. Some political parties and politicians would like to see a broad and deep wave of privatization in health care. Steps have already been taken in that direction. The critics are stating that privatization has not offered working solutions but that it is causing additional problems. My main idea is to explain the concept of welfare, especially in the context of social and health care in a difficult financial situation and in different cultural contexts.

Methodological solutions

By conducting a case study of social and health care in Joensuu, my students have collected material to get a view on the process of local decision making on the matters concerning welfare, mainly health and social care (see Hiltunen et al. 2012). The fieldwork material of the case study consists of statistics, internet findings and thematic interviews with local administrators and municipal politicians (n=4). These are the starting points along with my earlier study of municipalities in Lapland (2005a & b) with thematic interviews and official statistics (n=23). I would like to present the concept of welfare in the context of political, social and financial situations of the municipalities. I will study the possibilities of local decision makers, local politicians and officials, when making the decisions which could ensure an adequate amount of quality services for everyone.

The central literary findings are based on studies of Esping Andersen's (1990) welfare regimes and the gender regimes of Walby (2001). I will explain these two regimes more carefully later on. I have connected these regime concepts as "gendered welfare

regimes". Research findings have been analysed in the context of East and West (Kuhnle 2002; Gough 2005; Kwon 2005; Seeking 2005) and as a case study from the feminist viewpoint (Soy 2006; Walby 2001). The starting point is a comparative approach. The study has been analysed thematically through multi-perspective (Soy 2006). Competences such as responsibility, efficiency, equality, transparency and the accessibility of government policies have been measured. Subsidiarity has also been one of the key concepts in the municipal decision making process in the EU as well as in Finland. I will explore the field of social- and healthcare on the level of the municipality in the context of a global and multicultural world. Some minor comparisons between West and East will be represented also. (Esping-Andersen 1990; Hirdman 1990; Gough 2004; Walby 2001; Seekings 2005).

Welfare regimes

The ideology of a welfare state started in the UK against the ideology of Nazism warfare and against fascism and bolshevism (Kantola & Kautto 2002; Esping-Andersen 1999, 2000, 2001). It meant that the state should be at peace, without war, and it should offer opportunities for a good life for all people.

The Nordic welfare model and regime are based on the understanding of the Social Democratic regime that includes a large and egalitarian model of public welfare services. These services, including education, health-, social- and elderly care, as well as day-care centres, are financed mainly by taxes based on the salaries of people. Democracy has been described by using words such as open, consensus, pragmatic and equality. In this context, equality means social equality, in a way that all people have the same rights and responsibilities in society regardless of their sex, social background or financial situation. Equality in the society is equality between people and between sexes (Esping-Andersen 1999, 2001; Kiander & Lönnqvist 2002; Anttonen 1997).

Esping-Andersen's (1990) concept of welfare regimes is based on critical studies of politics, labour markets, family and welfare services. He has developed the concept of liberal, corporatist/conservative and social democratic welfare state regimes in the EU. In the liberal regimes, the power of markets is very strong, as well as family issues such as the structure of family, the care-services of family and self-paid insurances. In the corporatist/conservative regime, markets have a strong influence on the society, but families and churches also have an important role in the production of welfare. In the social democratic regime, the role of men and women as equal partners is present at work and at home. This regime emphasises active citizenship, as it is in the cases of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Welfare services have been mainly financed with taxes and have been mainly produced by the workforce of women in the organisations of the municipalities. (Esping-Andersen 1990; Walby 2001; Westman 2005a & b). In addition, Esping-Andersen (2001) has developed a welfare mix regime for South-Korea and a hybrid welfare regime for Japan. The welfare mix regime emphasises Confucian family ethics and a state welfare strategy with strong education. The hybrid welfare regime is based on the idea of "Americanization", including market based welfare supported by family based service delivery and the social insurance system.

Walby (2001) suggests using the concept of gender regimes when studying changing welfare. Gender in this context means social and cultural developed phenomenon to behaviour feminine, masculine or other sexual-based styles. Her arguments for this are based on criticisms against Esping-Andersen's welfare regimes. Walby (2001, 3) states that Esping-Andersen has failed to theorise his models according to gender. In addition, Seekings (2005, 39) points out that Esping-Andersen "is more concerned with equality status than income equality". However, the studies of Esping-Andersen are im-

portant without doubt. Seekings' (2005) and Walby's (2001) studies led me to evaluate women's welfare through the concept of gender (Hirdman 1990). The concept of gender exists as a societal contract limiting and giving opportunities to act as an active citizen based on social and cultural gender. It exists as an abstract way to explain the relationship between women and men and as a socialisation way. The society with its culture creates frames for women and men in the municipal political life as well as at work and in private life. (Kuhne 2001; Gough 2004; Seekings 2005; Kwon 2005.)

In the Finnish context, the welfare state regime means a woman-friendly society, because there is equal income distribution, low poverty and the majority of women are working outside the home. Service-based public financed welfare has created a dual-breadwinner model (Mósesdóttir 1998; Berqvist 2002, 16). However, the specialty of women as the builders of the welfare society is nearly a forgotten phenomenon in Finnish welfare studies. For example, Kautto (2001) does not see the double-sided faces of the welfare state, while Anttonen (1997) views a women's welfare state and a men's welfare state. In this context, gender contract is in constant interaction with other social and political relations as well as institutional arrangement and norms in Finland. The relationship between women and men are linked to the concepts of capitalism, labour market and political power structure as well as the structure of social and emotional relations with people. (Hirdman 1990, 27.)

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The position of Finnish women in the Nordic Welfare states has been less discussed than the position of women in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. This may result from the history of Finland, being firstly a part of Sweden and secondly as an autonomous part of Russia until 1917, as well as from the Finnish language being totally different from other Nordic languages. The discussion of gendered welfare regimes is nearly out of academic discussion in Finland. The reason for this may be the idea that equality has been reached, but I argue that this is not true if we look at women's power position in public and private life.

The discussion concerning welfare states in the global world concentrates on the political, financial, structural and practical difficulties of the welfare states, on the problems of welfare ideology and on legitimating without a gendered viewpoint (Kantola & Kautto 2002, 15). This discussion is reflected by the topics of a global economy, opportunities to produce tax-paid welfare services, unemployment and migration. Less discussion exists on the topics of care services on the global level and women as care-workers all around world. Nowadays women represent the new style of migrating from country to country as low-paid workers, wives or even as sex-workers/prostitutes (Williams 2003; Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2002; Tuohimaa 1995). If we compare some welfare regimes of West and East, we can make a rough table of welfare regimes:

Table 1. Welfare regimes (adopted by Esping-Andersen 1991 and supported by the ideas of Walby 2001; Gough 2004; Seekings 2005).

	Social Democratic[1]: Sweden Finland Norway Denmark	Conservative: Germany Italy France	Liberal: US UK	Welfare Mix: Korea	Hybrid Welfare: Japan
Religion	Protestant Lutheranism Secularism	Catholicism	Multi-Religiosity Secularism	Confucianism Christianity Buddhism	Multi-Religiosity Secularism
Family	Nuclear	Large	Nuclear	Extended	Extended
Welfare services are financed by	State, Municipalities	Church, Home, State	Individuals, Homes, Church, NGOs, State	Private, Public and Powerful Companies	Mainly Private and Powerful Companies
Degree of decommodification	Maximum	Rather high	Minimal	Minimal	Minimal
Public responsibility	High	Relatively high	Low	Relatively low (besides schooling)	Low

[1] Social Democratic Regime does not mean a party political ideology, but it means a socio-political viewpoint for the egalitarian society (Esping-Andersen 1999).

According to Walby (2001, 7), different states are at different stages in the development processes of welfare states – as well as regimes. The development of welfare states and services creates equalization in life changes, social justice, security and economic growth (Kuhne 2002, 7). For understanding gender regimes with welfare in the global world, I suggest that we need to look at women's position on the local and global levels at the same time. In this discussion, we should more carefully study women's position at home, women's situation in the labour market, welfare services and social- and political rights. For that I recommend three different ideal-types of gender regimes: 1) national specificity, 2) modernisation over time and 3) restructuring (cf. Walby 2001, 8).

Many very well-educated women as well as women with lower education move from state to state to have new opportunities in their lives. For example, in the U.K., about 30% of nurses are foreigners. It is in the formal recruitment of migrant work where care is a new type of colonialism (Williams 2003). Nordic Countries hire women from Russia and from other old Soviet countries. Women from East Asia are moving to Europe for work and marriages. At the same time, a lot of Finnish women, especially nurses, are moving to Sweden and the U.K. for work. Small duties at home such as gardening,

rebuilding and cleaning, will be provided by low-paid foreigners coming from Africa, Asia and the old Soviet states. The social democratic welfare regime, for example, where both men and women work outside the home, is creating care-migration from poor states to welfare states.

The conceptual change from a welfare state towards a welfare society

Generally speaking, people are leaving the countryside. They are moving to the southern parts of their countries and to the cities for work and education. This means that the whole population of the Nordic areas is in decline. People remaining in the North are ageing and have difficulties finding work. When the population is ageing, care services are needed more. However, having enough taxes for the production of welfare services is difficult, because of the ageing (retired people) and unemployment. Work, especially cloth factories and IT-companies, are moving to the states/countries of cheap labour, such as China and India (Westman 2005a & b). This means growing poverty in the North and great challenges for the production of the public financed welfare services.

The newcomers to the North are refugees and those who have entered Finland after work or love. The largest sector of employment of women is the public sector, i.e. municipalities. Public care work (social and health care) has been developed from the charity work of churches. Care as traditional women's work in the families has transformed to the public professions of care so that most care workers are women (80%) Nowadays the work is project-based, low-paid and done on short-term contracts. A high level of unemployment is a common phenomenon especially in the North. Unemployment and short-term contracts create inequality between people and sexes. Combining work and family life is still difficult though welfare services (day care etc.) give more opportunities for women. The work of women is less valued than the work of men, even on the salary level. (Westman 2000, 2005a & b).

Protestantism, the Lutheran Church, has played an important role in the development of the welfare state and services (Anttonen 1998, 357). Nowadays, nearly all Finnish municipalities (336, Statistics Finland, 2011) are having financial difficulties. Still, the ideology of the Nordic Welfare States with public financed welfare services is respected in Finland (Kantola & Kautto 2002, 18). This includes the understanding of justice and equality between people based on justness and respect for humanity (Vuola 2002; Sennett 2004). For women and men, public welfare services have a different meaning. In the municipal politics, this is seen as a fight against and for care services, building sport fields and homes for the elderly, organising day-care services, warm meals for schoolchildren, etc. Women, regardless of their political background, are focusing more on welfare services than men (Westman 2000). This discussion is a continuing negotiation from the development of welfare services between sexes as a re-negotiation of local gender contract creating the gendered welfare regimes of states (see Hirdman 1990; Walby 2001).

Most interviewees (18/23) in my study of Lapland (2005) saw that the model of Nordic welfare should be kept up in the future in Finland. One interviewee argued as follows:

We cannot trust the power of the markets when the question is about people and their welfare. We need to keep up our own social- and healthcare system. We have no politicians or anyone in the staff wanting to destroy the structure of welfare services. However, we need to remember that our welfare is based on global markets and international business.

Lappish people argued for a universal minimum income (national salary) as a right of citizenship alongside guaranteed health care and education, when people are unemployed, sick or too old for the labour market (see Seekings 2005, 21). According to the interviewees, this solution would be cheaper for the society than growing poverty and displacement. In addition, the municipalities should organise the "old types of unemployed-work", such as building roads and fences for reindeer.

For seeing gendered welfare regimes in the Nordic countries, we need to look at women in politics. According to the present Finnish legislation, the municipal committees have to be at least 40% of one sex (men or women) (L609 & L365). Women are still a minority in the political power of the municipalities in the Northern part of Finland, but at the same time on the state political level, women are more equal to men. According to my interviews of municipal managers and social workers, politicians are not eager to discuss the questions of care and poverty from the viewpoint of gendered welfare as well as the situation of unemployed, poor or sick people and especially those issues for women. When women are a minority in political power, their voices are not heard in the same way as those of their male peers. However, women are the first ones to suffer if the municipalities cut down welfare services, by losing work and having less care for themselves and their families. Neo-liberalism and privatisation firstly influence women, children, the elderly and those in need. This means less care and less opportunities for public care-work.

Finland is not an 'equal' country in all respects and aspects of discrimination, although it is very highly ranked on the global level. There is poverty on some level, due to long-term unemployment and low-paid jobs, for example. More discussion of the global economy and poverty within the concept of exclusion has been demanded by Vuola (2002, 262–278). According to her (ibid.), the world has passively and quietly accepted that a lot of people, especially women – single mothers with children - live in poverty (see Mcdonald 1995). The conceptual change from "welfare state" towards "welfare society" transforms responsibility, but to where? This kind of a social culture has been dominated by the power of money (Naskali 2002, 119).

The main idea of the municipalities in Finland is to enable a reasonable life for residents (Forma 2002: 293). Through legislation, the production of welfare has been given to municipalities. In that way, private care, care at home, has been transformed to public care (cf. Martelin, et al. 2002). From an individual viewpoint, care based on bodily needs is the basic issue of municipal services. The old risks of the society still exist: hunger, poverty and illnesses. In the context of welfare regimes, it is a socio-political issue; in what way does a municipality offer welfare to its residents? As Heikkilä and Kautto (2002, 429) argue, it is a paradox that Finland is richer than ever, but it has fewer opportunities to keep up the welfare services. The discussion on privatisation is rather strong, but supporting the welfare state/society has also increased during the last decade (Forma 2002, 295–297). Today, the symptoms of Finnish welfare municipalities are globalisation, new global-political economy, inequality, social exclusion and family problems (Esping-Andersen 1999, 2–3). Globalisation is often handled as the only model of thought in Finland. However, it will be remembered that global markets and free markets are based on global agreements and contracts, such as the EU, WTO, etc. In that way, the powerful states organise markets as well as the civil society (Grzybowski 2001, 86). Due to all this, the question arises: are Finns keeping up the Nordic welfare model with tax-paid welfare services and by that supporting equality between sexes in the context of the global world?

North Karelia as well as Lapland are situated between Russia, Norway and Sweden, between western and eastern cultures. The Schéngen scheme with flexible and unexpected control lies on the western side of Lapland; to the east there is a strong con-

trolled and closed border. In addition, eastern Finland, North Karelia and Lapland are parts of the borderlands between the European Union and Russia, one of the biggest economic asymmetries in the world. The geographically defined space of North Karelia and Lapland also creates space between religions, the Western Lutheran (a part of the protestant religion) culture in contrast to the Russian Orthodox culture. For people, the multiple meaning of borders is present at work, at home and in hobbies. It has a different meaning for women and men (ibid.).

The borders will also be seen as an opportunity for a better life. Trade has a long tradition in the northern regions of Scandinavia and Russia since the 17th century (Kramvik & Stien 2002, 44). In that context, we can also see the gendered border crossings such as those for love-marriages that exist as a socialisation way. As Paasi (2002, 85–100) argues, border crossings occur both in the physical space and in the spaces of representation and imagination. Finance, legislation and local and national attitudes reflect cultural female/male power relations in the spaces near boundaries. Boundaries are then in the minds of people. Moving from state to state is based on financial situations, educational purposes or sometimes on the happiness of life, e.g. finding a husband/wife.

Changing family life and welfare services

The family as an institution is changing in the welfare society. It has narrowed towards a nuclear family in the Northern States. Different types of families, nuclear families and living alone, are a growing phenomenon. Social bonds between families and relatives as well as communal life are still rather strong in the sparsely populated areas, according to my interviews (2002–2003), even more so than in the other parts of Finland. Then the family creates social bonds and regulations on how to behave, especially for women.

The style of family life has also changed a lot during last decades based on living place, education, welfare services and opportunities to have work. Mothers working outside the home have created an extensive net of social care services provided by municipalities (Högbacka 2003, 33–37). The "absent father" family is nowadays commonplace, and the "absent mother" family type is also a growing phenomenon in the Northern States (see also Dencik 1989). This can be explained by the blind power of the market economy, which demands long working hours and long working trips, leaving parents with little time for their families. Often, although the mothers are working, they can almost be considered as "single mothers" looking after their kids (e.g. Anttonen 1997).

The social problems of modern families are financial difficulties, lack of time, care for children when parents are working, the insecurity of children and the elderly, and even poverty. In Finland, 80% of children grow up in an urban environment mostly based on materialistic values (Dencik 1989, 62), and 45% of families have children living at home (Sauli et al. 2002, 35). In Lapland, 29.9% of married couples lived without children in 2000. Families without children have increased 6.9% in 10 years. At the same time, the number of married couples with children has decreased by 12.4%. Mothers living without a partner but with children (12.2% of families in 2000) seem to be more typical than fathers living without a partner but with children (2.7% of families) in Lapland. Living alone is a growing phenomenon in the Nordic countries.

Welfare services, especially social and health care for the residents of the municipalities, have been seen as the most important issue in the work of the municipalities in my interviews. Welfare services create opportunities for work. It was as late as the 1970's when Finland came to the forefront of family policies with the other Nordic

countries (Hiilamo 2002, 336; Berqvist et al., 2001, 150). In Finland, welfare - care work - is based on the consensus of politics mainly between the Social Democratic Party and the Centre Party. According to Törmälehto and Sauli (2003, 8), if the social income transfer will be removed, 40% of the Finnish population (with a total 5.2 million people) will be under the poverty line. On the state level, about 100,000 people are working in social services, 100,000 in health services and, in addition, teaching gives bread to 100,000 people (Statistics Finland 2002).

All of my interviewees wanted to keep up the public welfare services. The idea of welfare does not change a lot in the interviews stated as follows:

The duty of a municipality is to give basic welfare services to the residents. We try to protect this. ---The State has cut finances (for municipalities) during the last ten years --- What is welfare? It is the understanding of the whole life. It is quality of life. --- It is opportunities to use welfare services. As we know, public welfare services are based on the legislation --- In this municipality, welfare services include social and health care. We have divided these services as follows: health care, nursing, day-care, social services and care for handicapped people.

The amount and quality of welfare services is handled in political committees, in the municipal board and in the council. The council decides the yearly budget and the municipal board controls the work of the departments with committees. Proposals for welfare services are prepared by the officials of the municipalities.

Local and global welfare

I conceptualise the gendered welfare regime from the viewpoint of the social democratic regime (Esping-Andersen 1990, Table 2). The aim is to state the negotiation position of public and private welfare services. My starting point is the present legislation on equality in the EU and its member states (Laws 2005). The role of the state will be seen as a supporter of welfare services and equality as well as female employment by laws and statutes. This way, the state balances the rights and responsibilities of people between market and household economies (See Seekings 2005).

Comparing gendered welfare, we should look at societies by the level of state and the level of specific domains such as household and employment. (Hiilamo 2002; Holmila 2000; Kautto 2000, 2001; Heikkilä et al., 2002, Heikkilä & Kautto 2002; Naskali 2002.) The literature findings state that the concept of gender has not been used enough in the studies of welfare (Dahlström 1995; Westman 2005a & b). One reason for this may be that women and men want to define themselves as "one" when they are struggling in the global market and when they face unemployment, short-term contracts, narrowing social services, social problems etc. (Hirdman 1990). All in all, a local society naturalises the place of women both in West and East.

Restructuring of labour markets is going on both in the West and in the East. This phenomenon causes changes in the understanding of gendered welfare regimes. On the global level, 42% of American workforces (civilian employment) were women in 1999, in Finland 48%, in Japan 41% and in Korea 41%. (Walby 2001, sit. OECD Labour Force Statistics. 2000, Paris). Economic change, individualism and neo-liberalism influence the lives of people by creating more risks. These social changes are interactive and influence each other in many ways. Globalisation – the global market - focuses on needs to lower corporate taxes and improve the position of the wealthy and lower the wages of the workers. Communal responsibility declines. The following table makes a rough evaluation between West and East. It suggests some issues for deeper studies of gendered welfare.

Table 2. Structuring gendered welfare between West and East (Modified by Esping-Andersen 2001 and supported by Walby 2001; Gough 2004; Kuhnle 2004; Seeking 2005)

	Social Democratic Regime Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark	Conservative/ Corporatist German, Italy, France Regime	Liberal Regime US and UK	Hybrid Welfare Japan	Welfare Mix Korea
Legislation of equality. Production of welfare services.	* legislation of equality and welfare services is strong * public financed welfare services * universal understanding of welfare	* legislation of equality and welfare services is strong * public and privately financed welfare ser-vices supported by families * kinship is important for welfare	* legislation of equality is good * market based welfare ser-vices supported by public, domestic and church/NGO based financed welfare ser-vices * individual understanding of welfare	* legislation of equality is developing * mainly private/ company and family based welfare services * individual/ Occupationally based welfare.	* based on strongly develop-ing legislation of welfare * insurance-type welfare services: pensions, health care, housing, and public education for everyone * individual/ Occupationally based welfare.
Family type and role of family	Nuclear family Marginal	Large family Central	Nuclear family Marginal	Extended family. Central	Extended family. Central
Bread-winner	Mother and father	Father (more often than mother).	Mother and father. Home-maker mother is respected.	Father	Father
Women's work	Women and Men are working outside home side by side. Part-time work is a growing phenomenon - Earlier nearly unknown.	Women are working outside home. However, part-time work is rather common	Women working outside home. Part-time work is common.	Married women are often at home. More women enter the labour market.	Married women are often at home. More women enter the labour market.
State social policy/GDP	Social expenditures are high. The role of the state is central.	Social expenditures are high. The role of the state is rather central (subsidiary)	Social expenditures are low. Market based welfare ser-vices. The role of the state is mar-ginal.	Social expenditures are very low. Equal social rights? Market and family based welfare services. The role of the state is marginal, but transforming more central.	Social expenditures are very low except on education. Equal social rights? Market, public and family based welfare services. The state is espousing the goal of welfare state
Labour Union	Strong	Rather strong	Rather weak	Weak	Weak
Economy	Open	Open	Relatively protected domestic economics	Open	Open
The role of market to welfare	Marginal	Marginal	Central	Central	Central

The role of the state is crucial for women's welfare and via that for the welfare of families. The question is then, how much support do the state and municipalities offer to families through welfare services? The relationship between welfare services and paid and unpaid work should also be studied in a cultural context of the states.

I support Walby's (2001) gender regimes which I have named in this article, as gendered welfare regimes, more deeply. "National specificity" in her (ibid.) study is an ideologically, culturally and politically based development in the formation of welfare state from the viewpoint of genders (see also Anttonen 1997; Esping-Anderssen 1999; Hiilamo 2002). Women's political participation guarantees that the issues in which women want to progress in society are incorporated within the political decision making. The national specificity is strongly rooted into the history of each state. The speed, limits and opportunities in the development of welfare states, society and services has been seen in Walby's model as "modernisation" (see also Giddens 1994; Gough 2004; Kuhnle 2002; Kwon 2005).

The speed of modernisation was strong in Finland after the Second World War. Japan and South-Korea developed even more in ten years (2000 - 2010) than many western states in two or three decades. In the same way, "restructuring" societies, economic and industrial modernisations as well as social and political changes have been strongest in South-Korea and Japan (see also Grzybowski 2001; Hirdman 1990; Hallamaa 2002).

> " The role of the state is crucial for women's welfare and via that for the welfare of families. The question is then, how much support do the state and municipalities offer to families through welfare services?

The work of women at home and outside of it or being without work is one key question for the families of women and for women themselves. The changing nature of labour markets and family life is stronger in the states of North-Eastern Asia than in the Nordic States. Both in the West and the East non-traditional jobs are increasing, as is part-time work. Especially in the West, more private and less public work is an increasing phenomenon. In many cases, people need to create their own employment. (Esping-Andersen 2001). The declining positions of low-skilled workers and young people are present both in the West and the East.

Kuhnle (2002, 16-17) has found remarkable changes in the development of welfare services in South Korea during last ten years. Korea is pushing towards the direction of the social democratic regime by developing social welfare and rights for everyone. Kuhnle states this regime as being "Productive Welfare" against Esping-Andersen´s "Welfare Mix". The reason for this is that developing welfare services progress at the same time as industrial, productive development. The welfare state, labour market and family issues are the cornerstones in the development of equally based welfare and active citizenship.

In Finland the understanding of local welfare within labour markets, equality, municipal politics, family ties, welfare services, sense of place and symbolic representation

of the community is essential. All these are present at the same time, but the strength of them varies according to people, time and place. All in all, I argue that those earlier mentioned issues which arose in the case studies of Finnish Lapland and Joensuu, North Karelia are present in all societies when evaluating gendered welfare. Without a doubt more quantitative and qualitative cross-national studies will be needed for the analyses of West and East as well as for the analyses between European states.

Conclusion

Quality of life with beautiful nature is important for people in North Karelia as well as in Lapland, creating a subjective understanding of welfare. The residents of the municipalities want to keep up public financed welfare services. The social responsibility of people is still rather strong in the municipalities of North Karelia and Lapland – even stronger than in the southern part of Finland, as the interviewees stated. It means social supporting networks. This kind of a phenomenon is also seen in Japan and South-Korea (see Kuhne 2002; Seekings 2005).

Women in Northern and Eastern Finland have been glorified and oppressed; the latter is seen in social bonds, regulations and the dark sides of the economy such as short-term contracts, low-paid jobs and project-based life. This kind of life is becoming more common also for men. In addition women are glorified by the ability to create continuity. All this regulates what is acceptable behaviour for women and what is not. Gendered understanding and subjectively measured welfare is still a hidden and unspoken phenomenon. However, these issues are creating gendered welfare regimes. The focus on the gendered welfare regimes state the importance of seeing behind the official state politics towards domestic ones with cultural heritage.

As we have read, gender creates an understanding that "the place of women have the same roots" in the global world. The public and private lives in societies with local culture give or hinder opportunities to act as equal citizens in all areas of life. This concept "gendered welfare regimes" binds sexes together to progress welfare for all people. Without empowering women and men with an awareness of the gendered world, we cannot expect them to develop a more equal world together. We should learn from one another and create new knowledge together, going beyond our own limited perspectives. For that dialogues on gendered welfare regimes and welfare services are needed.

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Interviews: 23 people in Lapland, 2002–2003.

PART II

THE STUDIES OF
THE STUDENTS

THE RISE OF EXTREMISM IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC:

HOW TO COMBAT EXTREMIST GROUPS ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

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Introduction

Extremism, represented by ideological attitudes which show cases of intolerance against other ideologies and fellow citizens, poses nowadays serious security and social threats. In the Czech Republic extremism is usually connected with ideologies that reflect past authoritarian regimes that existed in Europe – e.g. Neonacizm, Neobolshevism, anarcho-autonomism and anti-fascism – and supplemented with ethnic and religious hatred. It constitutes a problem for the state as whole, but only a few extremist events that have reached over the regional or local level have taken place in the Czech Republic. Thus extremism is a general social issue, but the most of its expressions happen locally and are performed by local actors. Therefore, a closer look at extremism on the local level is viable and was made into the core of our study.

The aim of this chapter is to present extremism as a contemporary problem in the Czech Republic and especially in the city of Brno, which is the second largest city after the capital, Prague. It focuses on the identification of the main actors, including state bodies, local governments, citizens and extremist individuals, groups, organisations and political parties. Secondly, it includes the process that is aimed at combating ex-

tremism represented by the legislation and other formal and informal steps taken by the state, local government and citizens. On top of the general discussion the chapter also includes several case studies to illustrate the issue.

The first part of the paper is dedicated to the definition of extremism and the right to assembly in general and in the context of the Czech Republic. Right to assembly is identified here as one of the most important issues in combating extremism. The second part of this articel presents three case studies: right-wing extremism May Day demonstrations in Brno, two of the counter initiatives to these demonstrations that took place in 2011, and lastly special attention is given to the problems of Romani people and extremism.

Extremism - Term definition

For the purpose of our study we adopted the definition of extremism used by the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2003). Here extremism is defined as clear ideological attitudes which deviate markedly from the rule of law and constitutional law, show elements of intolerance, and attack democratic constitutional principles as defined in the Czech constitutional order.

Extremist attitudes are eligible to transform into destructive activities, and whether directly or in terms of their long-term consequences, act destructively against the existing democratic political or economic system. They focus on replacing the democratic system with an antagonistic one (totalitarian or authoritative regime or a dictatorship). Extremisms usually take forms of historical revisionism, social demagogy, activism, and verbal and physical violence.

We can distinguish several types of extremism – religious, environmental, nationalist (regional), etc. In this paper we concentrate on the extremism divided by the political spectrum, i.e. right-wing (inspired by and predominantly using national, racial and ethnic hatred, and demonstrating their sympathy with historical fascism and Nazism) and left-wing extremism (motivated mainly by social, anti-cultural hatred and with a liking for historical communism and anarchy), which are the most widely spread types in the Czech Republic and also in the city of Brno.

Right-wing extremism

In last few years the development of the neo-Nazi scene in the Czech Republic has been marked by a number of measures adopted by security forces, several decisions made by courts detrimental to right-wing extremists and a society-wide campaign against right-wing extremism. A certain portion of the prosecuted activities relate to the "elites" of the neo-Nazi scene being substantially restricted in their activities, due to criminal proceedings, and their involvement in both the Workers' Party, later renamed the Workers' Party of Social Justice, and in neo-Nazi cells being terminated. Absence of leading personalities along with concerns about further repressive interventions has led to the dampening down of right-wing extremist activities. At the same time some changes have been seen in the structure of the neo-Nazi scene itself. It has become atomized and fragmented into small closed groupings. New groups were emerging, but these were not centrally organised and concentrated their activities primarily on local topics and problems.

The internet has become the foremost propagandist platform for the right-wing extremist scene, and their activities in the environment of discussion forums and social networks, in particular Facebook, have been on the rise. These communication tools represent a simple method that can be used by extremists to actively communicate and present their ideas. The virtual anonymity of the internet permits them to clearly and assertively express their racist, anti-Semitic or other intolerant ideas which can be otherwise expressed only in "undertones" (Mareš 2010). It also represents a way towards the semi-covert popularisation of extremist views and the gradual infiltration of society with such ideas.

The crisis of the right-wing extremist scene was evidenced mainly by a considerable decline in the number of public events. Such events were essentially limited to traditional assemblies held to commemorate deceased fellows or to support the rights of the "political prisoners", imprisoned and prosecuted friends, and to criticize the measures of the police against neo-Nazis. Several events were organised to protest against crimes committed by Romani. Right-wing extremists also continued to organise and attend concerts of ideologically related bands, at home and abroad.

During the last few years ideological disunity was more apparent among right-wing extremists, and discussions about the future direction of the right-wing extremist scene were held. A sector of activists, mainly the younger ones, criticized its stagnation and pursued the opening-up of new elements such as graffiti, piercing or hip-hop music which they consider, together with the denial of the bequest of Hitler's Third Empire (Reich) and tolerance of homosexuals, as necessary to attract new supporters among young people and for overall revival. The older generation of neo-Nazis strictly denounced the penetration of new trends as being connected with an anarcho–autonomous environment and their introduction as a betrayal of the ideals of the right-wing movement.

Left-wing Extremism

The Anarcho-autonomous Movement

In recent years partial activation of the left-wing extremism movement has been seen. The main groups in the anarcho-autonomous scene are CSAF and AFA/ANTIFA. Besides these groups there is a number of regional anarchist and antifascist autonomous groups in the Czech Republic; however, their activities are negligible in terms of the whole republic.

Efforts to unify and reactivate the movement were directed at finding new strategies and mobilizing topics which would be able to address the general public. Efforts to "resurrect" anarchism as an ideological stream were carried out, more or less, on a theoretical level. The organisation of public assemblies and demonstrations was dampened. Only a few public events were organised, mainly held on the first of May. Anarcho-autonomists were also engaged in civic protests against cost-cutting measures adopted by the government. Instead of organizing public assemblies, supporters of this part of the left-wing spectrum concentrated on activities inside their movement, such as lectures, discussions, film projections, exhibitions, concerts, benefit events and events in remembrance of some personalities. In order to present their ideas they used mainly the internet and different informative campaigns with leaflets. One of the core activities of the anti-authoritarian movement remains the fight against supporters of ultra right-wing groups. It consisted mainly of monitoring the activities of neo-Nazis and publishing gathered information on the website of AFA/ANTIFA. In addition, they continue with direct physical assaults against their ideological adversaries.

Marxist-Leninist Groups (Neo-Bolshevism, Trotskyism)

The Marxist-Leninist part of the left-wing spectrum as a whole is not carrying out any visible activities anymore. Activities of individual groups were affected by problems that have persisted for several years. The most important is their inability to address a wider spectrum of young people and the resulting minimal membership base among this cohort, as well as insufficient mobilizing potential. The Union of Young Communists of Czechoslovakia appeared to be the most significant entity. When they held some assemblies, these did not arouse any interest among the general public. Therefore, they preferred internal, closed events or, and as was more usual, made use of actions organised by other domestic left-wing entities. In conducting their propaganda campaigns, they devoted their attention mainly to hot social topics such as economical governmental reform. They also expressed their disagreement with hosting an American anti-missile early warning system in the Czech Republic. They directed their attention towards the issue of combating right-wing extremism.

The New Anti-Capitalist Left-Wing has become the most important representative of the Trotskyist scene founded in 2009. It operates as a platform associating individuals on a personal basis. Thus their members could carry out activities within their original groups. They have attempted to transform their group into a political party; however, this effort proved to be somewhat ambitious as they have not managed to gather a sufficient number of signatures.

Policy for Combating Extremism

The Czech Ministry of Interior determined five points for combating extremism (2010). The first is communication against demagogy, which includes the open and responsible provision of information and public relations, an Internet without hate propaganda and leading an anti – extremist campaign. The second is directed at the education of children and teachers to use knowledge against totalitarianism. The integration and creation of a single anti-extremist platform is also needed. It includes prevention and decision making at regional and local levels which can contribute to valuable information for solving the problem. The fourth point involves training police and judicial officers to increase their expertise. Lastly effective but fair security measures should be taken during extremist events.

The Right to Assembly in the Czech Political System

The freedom of assembly and of association is one of the basic rights guaranteed in the Czech political system. However, even this right has its limits. Given the rise of mostly right wing extremism in the Czech Republic, the right to assembly and possibilities to restrict it have been frequently discussed. The debate nowadays is focused mainly on the problem of the announced purpose of the assembly (announced by organisers) and its interpretation by authorities. As many extremist groups do not state the real purpose of the assembly, authorities are usually unable to reason the prohibition properly and are therefore toothless in restricting extremist marches in the cities.

This section is divided into three parts. The first part describes the freedom to assembly, its regulation in the Czech Republic and actors involved. The second part deals with problems of the prohibition of an assembly in advance and the possibilities to dissolve it after its beginning. The third part briefly discusses the problem of masked demonstrators.

Definition of the Right to Assembly

The right to assembly is guaranteed by the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms and international treaties, and it is regulated by numerous by-laws [2]. The general definition in Article 19 of the Charter states: (1) The right to assemble peacefully is guaranteed. (2) This right may be limited by law in the case of assemblies held in public places, if measures are involved, which are essential in a democratic society for protecting the rights and freedoms of others, public order, health, morality, property, or the security of the State. However, assembly shall not be made dependent on permission by an organ of public administration.

There are basically three actors involved in the process: the organiser, the administrative authority and participants. If the assembly does not proceed peacefully, the police and later courts get involved. More specific information is given by the Act on Right of Assembly (Act No. 84/1990 Sb.).

Whoever wants to exercise this freedom and organise a meeting or a rally has to file the notice with a municipal and/or district authority. There are several conditions any organiser has to comply with:

1. *A notice of a general gathering of citizens can be filed by any individual or legal entity ("the convener") who is over 18 years of age and possesses Czech citizenship.*

2. *The gathering may not be organized within 100 meters of the buildings of the Legislative Assembly or of the Constitutional Court, or from the places where the authorities thereof are proceeding.*

3. *The organizer shall file with at least a 5-day prior notice of the gathering in writing or in person on the prescribed form with a relevant (Ministry of Interior, 2000).*

A written notice must be delivered and has to include the date, location, time duration, route, anticipated number of participants and measures to be taken to ensure that the gathering will be conducted according to the law (for more information see Act No. 84/1990 Sb.).

There are generally not many problems concerning this obligation. The only point worth mentioning is the ruling of the Supreme Administrative Court stating that only the authority described in the law has the exclusive power to assess the notice; this had been violated several times before.

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[2] Valid legislation includes: Act No. 84/1990 Sb., on Right of Assembly, in the wording of Act No. 175/1990 Sb. the ČNR's Act No. 200/1990 Sb., on Offences, in the wording of Act No. 337/1992 Sb., Act No. 344/1994 Sb., Act No. 359/1992 Sb., Act No. 67/1993 Sb., Act No. 290/1993 Sb., Act No. 134/1994 Sb., Act No. 82/1995 Sb., Act No. 237/1995 Sb., Act No. 279/1995 Sb., and Act No. 289/1995 Sb. Act No. 71/1967 Sb., on Administrative Proceedings (Administrative Rules), Act No. 283/1991 Sb., on the Police of the Czech Republic.

Problems of Prohibition and Dissolution of Rallies

After receiving a notice the relevant authority is obliged to assess it. In case it does not comply with the rules, the authority has the right and/or the obligation to prohibit the assembly in advance. The next possibility is to dissolve the gathering after its beginning if it violates the law:

> » Prohibition - detailed terms and conditions are set forth by law (e.g. racial prejudice, threat to health, excessive traffic limitation, breach of law, limitation of citizens' rights). The relevant authority must decide on the ban no later than 3 days after the receipt of a valid notice of gathering.

> » Dissolution – detailed terms and conditions are set forth by law (e.g. a gathering without prior notice of gathering, deviation from the specified purpose, participants committing crimes). Announcement of the dissolution must specify reasons or notice of failure to obey an appeal, and must be made in a manner enabling every participant to be acquainted therewith (Ministry of Interior 2000).

The limits are given by The European Court of Human Rights guidelines on how the right of assembly should be treated. The Czech Supreme Administrative Court has also recently considered a number of important cases.

On one hand, authorities have to respect the right to assembly, which is incorporated in the national law and in numerous international treaties and charters. On the other hand, they want to regulate this practice to protect other people from the impact of extremist groups.

There are many people criticizing the prohibition of the assembly, stating such a possibility is completely unnecessary in a democratic society and calling for its abolition. However, the most discussed problem nowadays is the question of "the announced purpose of the assembly". The question is whether the "announced purpose of the assembly" (announced by the assembly's organisers) should be reviewed by an administrative authority just grammatically or in the broad context of the situation.

The legislation actually supposes the announced purpose is also the real one. This, however, is not always true, mostly when the extremist rallies are concerned. The Supreme Administrative Court ruled twice in 2009 (known as Crystal Night I. and Crystal Night II.) that the right to assembly has to be protected and authorities cannot prohibit the assembly without evidence of its intentional purpose leading to hateful speeches or violation of minorities' rights. Such evidence, however, is very hard to obtain.

Therefore, if authorities doubt the real purpose of an assembly they should rather be well prepared to dissolve it after its beginning. The ruling came after a few well-known cases when the authorities were not able to deliver conclusive evidence for the prohibition of several extremist rallies and courts had to allow them. The Ministry of Interior even published a manual on "how to prohibit an assembly". Nevertheless, it does not really follow the SAC jurisdiction and therefore has been much criticized (Ministry of Interior 2009).

To sum up, the lack of evidence necessary to demonstrate the real and potentially dangerous purposes of rallies remains the biggest problem. There are also many poorly justified prohibitions, giving the extremists an advantage in trials. If local and municipal authorities want to prevent extremists from marching through their territory, they will have to learn to justify their prohibition according to the law.

The end of Masked Faces on Rallies

The problem of masked faces has also been a very hot topic in the Czech Republic. As participants at assemblies had often their faces hidden, their identification was usually not possible. The duty to uncloak their faces was imposed only when the police took action against them. This problem was partly solved by adopting Act No. 274/2008 Coll. The provisions of Section 7 of the said act lays down this: participants must not cover their faces in a manner making difficult or preventing their identification for the time of the assembly concerned. If the participants of an assembly do not satisfy this obligation, it is possible to dissolve such assembly in compliance with Section 12 of the act cited. Although this provision has proven to be quite useful, many lawyers actually argue it might be unconstitutional. Therefore, even this topic remains open to debate.

Right-wing Extremism and May Day Demonstrations

An especially good example of the connection between the right to assembly and extremism in the Czech Republic are the May Day demonstrations that are biannually taking place in Brno for already over a decade and are organised by groups associated with the right-wing extremist ideology. Among these groups are the already banned Workers' Party and the National Resistance movement together with the newly established Workers' Party for Social Justice, which was created after the original Workers' Party was banned along with a youth organisation of the Workers' Party, the Workers' Youth. All these groups were repeatedly accused of inclination towards right-wing extremist ideology.

Given that on several occasions' extremists marched through Brno openly or metaphorically proclaiming their neo-Nazi ideology, the main question of the case study is whether there are sufficient legislative and other means to ban or prevent the gatherings of extremists and whether the local government is able to do so.

Space will be given to a short history of the May Day demonstrations, and separate contemporary cases will be discussed afterwards. Attention is also given to the proceedings before, during and after the demonstrations with focus on the actions of the extremists, local governments and courts. More attention to the action of the opposing social groups and citizenry will be given in the next case study.

May Day

The modern tradition of May Day (the first of May) celebrations is connected with the workers' movement from all over the world in the nineteenth century. One of their main claims was to reduce the working day to eight hours as an active measure towards the labour market and social lives of the workers. Leaders of the movement hoped that they would emancipate the working class through the solidarity and collectively of their actions and by giving them more time for personal development. From the very beginning, clashes between demonstrators and the forces of states and employers occurred, and it used to attract various, left-wing but also right-wing (popular for example in Nazi Germany) ideologies (Pokorný 2002: 1–5). In communist Czechoslovakia the first of May was a National Holiday to celebrate Labour Day, and after 1989 various groups upheld the tradition, including social democrats, communists, anarchists, neo-Nazi, unions but also people who wanted the legalization of marijuana.

Among the reasons why right-wing extremists started to organise demonstrations on May Day are probably the history of this holiday in Nazi Germany, the fact that it is still a National Holiday in the Czech Republic, so most people do not need to go to work, and last but not least neo-Nazis want to demonstrate against other groups that usually march through towns on the day. Among their claims are that "society that is neither capitalist nor communist", or "rule the streets to free them from the red rubbish", but also strong nationalist calls against Romani and foreign workers like "Czech Republic to the Czechs", or "nothing but the nation".

Demonstrations in Brno

One of the first organised neo-Nazi demonstrations in the city of Brno was held in 2002 and attracted around 150 extremists that marched through the town. It was more or less peaceful, and the police intervened only against members of the ANTIFA movement who were attempting to attack the neo-Nazi demonstration.

More or less, the same situation happened in 2005 when three hundred people guarded by eight hundred police attended an event organised by the National Resistance movement. The demonstration was announced by an individual person and described as a march of student youth. The situation changed in 2007 when the demonstration was dissolved at its beginning by the local official, advised by an expert and supported by the police forces, because some participants were bearing signs which could be connected to the propagation of Nazism, which is illegal in the Czech Republic. Dissatisfied participants who had been called and later forced by the police to dissolve came to open fights with them. Around 500 people were at the demonstration. Nine people were injured and four were taken into custody for breaking the law. The next demonstration in 2009 attracted around 500 extremists and ended without any confrontations with police or other people. Three people were arrested for bearing illegal signs and some of the organisers complained about the heavy police involvement.

The last demonstration up to today took place in 2011 and was problematic again. It was called by the Workers' Youth but the announcement was made by an individual person. The local government of Brno-Střed tried to prohibit the demonstration before it happened, but the ban was appealed by the Workers' Youth at court, which decided in their favour. The local government was criticized by the court and the public for their inability to provide facts and appropriate argumentation that could be accepted as evidence of the linkages between the organisers and extremist groups. Officials of the city replied that they do not possess sufficient expertise and have only a very short period to respond. On the other hand some of the experts claimed that it is hard to argue for such case as courts perceive the right to assembly as an important one, and unless strong evidence is provided, primacy is given to this right over the complaints against demonstrations (Česká televize 2011; Dudáková 2011).

Local Government and Possibilities to Act against Extremism

As was already mentioned, one of the problems with the right-wing demonstrations on May Day is that they are usually announced by an individual, not an organisation. This is according to the legislation, but it makes it more difficult to prove links between the individual and right-wing extremist organisations.

Among the other issues are the short statutory period to make a case against the announcement of the gathering, the inability of the local representatives to provide valid argumentation to courts to ban the gatherings, and the primacy given to the right to assembly perceived by the courts in the Czech Republic. All of these issues make it harder for the local governments to act effectively against right-wing extremism.

On the other hand, a repertoire of other actions exists. As was in the case in 2007, a gathering can be dissolved by a local official during the demonstration. Questionable here are clashes that resulted from the dissolution and actions of the police or whether such actions can be defended by the evidence collected at the spot. Heavy police involvement can also work as a discouragement for some potential participants or even organisers. On spot check-ups, arrests for symbols carried by participants and speeches and slogans presented as well as future prosecution based on the materials collected during the marches could at least lower the level of displays of extremist tendencies.

The Social Activities against the Neo-Nazi March in Brno

The announcement about the May Day neo-Nazi march in Brno in 2011 has caused resistance to this event among citizens and civil society. They mobilized in two independent groups, the BRNO Blokuje (Brno Blocks) initiative and the V Brně Neonacisty nechceme (We don't want neo-Nazis in Brno) group. The primary goal of these social movements was to cancel the parade in the centre of Brno. Both civil groups decided to organise various activities against this march after the decision of authorities that had given the authorisation to the assembly of the neo-Nazi movement. The aim of this chapter is to shortly describe both initiatives and to prove that we can perceive them as a form of political activism.

Initiatives

The V Brně Neonacisty nechceme initiative developed from similar movements in the Czech Republic. All of the initiatives are connected with the protests against the neo-Nazi activities in different Czech cities such as Plzeň, Ústi nad Labem and Přerov. The initiative in Brno was constituted as last and it responded to the regular assembly of neo-Nazis which has been organised every two years on the first of May. The initiative invited people who disagree with the neo-Nazi march to participate in a protest in several ways. Firstly, citizens had the option to formulate their statements about the procession on the website of the initiative. Also, they could demonstrate their attitudes against the assembly with sharing the official materials of the initiative. During April, the initiative prepared a series of events which promoted themes of xenophobia and Nazism in Czech society. It included public debates and dramas. All activities culminated on the first of May, when the initiative organised an open happening in the centre of the city (V Brne neonacisty nechceme 2011).

BRNO Blokuje is the second initiative which arose from the resistance to neo-Nazi activities in Brno. Organisers were inspired by similar initiatives in other parts of Europe, for example in Dresden, Germany [3]. Their principal aim was to block the neo-Nazi

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[3] On the 65th anniversary of the Allied bombing of Dresden, thousands of left-wing, anti-Nazi demonstrators successfully blocked the streets in Dresden's district where the neo-Nazis had been given permission to start their march, and more than 10,000 residents created a human chain in protest against right-wing extremism and neo-Nazis (Spiegel, 2010).

march. The initiative assembled 1,500 people who blocked the street Cejl in the centre of Brno which the neo-Nazis had planned to cross during their march. Cejl was the strategic point for the neo-Nazi march because it is the place where the Romani minority is mainly concentrated in Brno. The anti-Nazi blockade was four times larger than the group of neo-Nazis who came to protest. For this reason, the police had to change the direction of the march. Organisers of the blockade called this step of police their victory and also as proof of the rejection of neo-Nazi activities by civil society. The initiative received wide support from Czech elites, including former president Václav Havel (BRNO Blokuje 2011).

Political activism

Can we understand the activities of these two initiatives as a form of political activism? Petrova and Tarrow (2007, 6) distinguish between two dimensions of collective action[4]. According to them, we cannot perceive the anti-Nazi activities in Brno in the transactional dimension of activism because both initiatives declared that they arose as an informal coalition of residents. They also rejected to cooperate in the long-term with other social actors and to regularly articulate their interests to the authorities. On the other hand, the magnitude of the participatory activism was high, which was demonstrated by the level of mobilization among citizens. As Rosenstone and Hansen (2003: 25) write, citizens can mobilize themselves without a formal coalition and professional activists. It is a case of ad hoc informal civil organisations which are based on a particular problem. Thus, we can assume that the anti-Nazi initiatives in Brno in 2011 were cases of political activism despite the absence of formal structure.

We can conclude that the civil society mobilized against neo-Nazi activities in Brno in 2011. Citizens connected on two initiatives, V Brně neonacisty nechceme and BRNO Blokuje. Their former aim was to stop the assembly of neo-Nazi movement. Both initiatives had unsuccessfully tried to convince the local authorities to cancel the march. After that, the initiatives applied a different set of tools from the articulation of their disagreement to blockade the streets. Both initiatives can be perceived as an example of political activism around a single issue with the strong power of mobilization.

Violence against Romani People: an Example of Extremism in the Czech Republic

One of the major social groups towards which the hatred of Czech extremists is directed is the Romani population. On the web page of Romani People News in the Czech Republic (romea.cz) one may read many stories about violent extremist attacks on Romani people. The principal problem with this type of extremism is the high number of cases – a racist context of attacks on the Romani people, and discrimination of whole families. Where is this hate coming from?

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[4] By participatory activism, they mean the potential and actual magnitude of individual and group participation in civic life, interest group activities, voting, and elections, and by transactional activism, they mean the ties—enduring and temporary—among organised non-state actors and between them and political parties, power holders, and other institutions (Petrova & Tarrow 2007, 97).

The Romani minority in the Czech Republic is the most discussed. The thing is that this minority is reputed in a negative way, primarily as "an integration problem". But the goal of this article is not to resolve the question of how to integrate them into the society. The main thing is to bring attention to the problem of discrimination and racist overtones. Thomas Hammarberg (2012: 9), Human Rights Commissioner for the Council of Europe, recently published a report on the human rights of Roma and Travelers in Europe. In that report, he drew attention to violent attacks against Romani people in the Czech Republic. The organisations therefore demand the following:

> » *"That politicians and other public officials openly and publicly condemn attacks against Romani people;*

> » *That politicians and other public officials refrain from making public anti-Romani declarations which might exacerbate what is already a highly tense situation;*

> » *That state and other police units be deployed in a proportionate number to ensure the safety of Romani inhabitants in the relevant places;*

> » *That the relevant institutions properly investigate and criminally prosecute all persons suspected of committing crimes against Romani people, and that the perpetrators be brought to trial in accordance with international standards;*

> » *That the appropriate training on hate crimes be provided to police members and the staff of other authorities involved in criminal proceedings"* (romea.cz).

The negative look of the Czechs towards the Romani people was explained by Tatjana Šišková (2001, 118):

"The position of the majority towards the Romani people is perceived through the "otherness". The difference is seen in a darker colour, in a use of language which is not understandable, and in the fact that "Romani people live by the rules that the Czech majority does not know".

In the Czech Republic the discrimination is established primarily on the prejudice. It means that the Czechs see Romani people as humans that do not want to work. They have got money from the social services because of the high number of children they have. The other prejudice is that the Romani people are criminals. This prejudice is coming from the part of non-working Romani people. The Czechs sees a connection between unemployed Romani and criminals. They feel that this system is not working fair, is not working for the majority. And with all these prejudices the number of attacks is increasing.

The principal problem of the Czech Republic is a concentration of Romani people in the ghettos in the big cities. A recent study on trends in the neo-Nazi movement, commissioned by the Czech Ministry of Interior (2010) and undertaken by a group of authors led by political scientist Miroslav Mareš, has warned that in several high-risk places in the Czech Republic as Ostrava, ethnic wars are occurring. Most of the Romani people live in ghettos (Ostrava, Bruntál, Moravský Beroun), and because of that they are easy victims. The attacks are coming primarily from the Neo-Nazi groups (as a case of racism and xenophobia). Consequences of these cases are blackmailing, mental cruelty, assaults and in the worst case attempted murder. But it is not a problem only in the big cities. The cause which divided the Czech society is the Vítkov attack. In the village of Vítkov, in the Opava Region, an arson attack occurred in April 2009. Three incendiary bottles were thrown through the windows of a house inhabited by a Romani family.

Three people were injured. The most seriously injured was a three year-old girl named Natalia, who suffered life-threatening burns on 80% of her body (idnes.cz 2009). The perpetrators were members of a Neo-Nazi gang. They were charged with attempted murder and sentenced to 20 and 22 years in prison (novinky.cz 2010).

The Ministry of Interior in the Czech Republic published a study about extremism in the Czech Republic which describes the attacks on the Romani people. "The perpetrators of the other attacks have never been determined, so their neo-Nazi background can neither be confirmed nor refuted. [...] What is problematic is that these tactically similar attacks have been evaluated by the legal system as constituting very different crimes (in Vítkov as attempted murder, elsewhere as reckless endangerment or attempted battery, etc.)," (Ministry of Interior 2010: 55). It was the first case discussed by law experts, the media and citizens as an act of increasing discrimination in the Czech Republic, but it was not the last. A few months ago the media were talking about the Šluknov case in the Děčín Region. From September 2011 there was a very high increase in the criminality of the Romani people; this led to demonstrations against the Romani people living in Šluknov.

In the last six months there have been 23 attacks in the Czech Republic on the Romani people; three cases ended fatally.

Extremism in the Czech Republic, especially attacks on the Romani people, is a topic that is being discussed also by experts in recent years. There are several possible ways for the socialisation of the Romani people with the majority population. But a definite solution has yet to be found. The even greater challenge ahead is to find resolution between ethnic minorities and the neo-Nazi extremists who seek to build an ethnically homogenous population in the Czech Republic.

Conclusion

Brno is not a city that is most severely affected by extremism in the Czech Republic. However, due to the May Day demonstrations and the high concentration of the Romani population, it is certainly under considerable risk, mainly from right-wing extremism represented by the Workers' Party of Social Justice, the Workers' Youth and the National Resistance movements. The main actors in the fight against extremism here include the local government, courts, citizens and civil society.

As the case studies demonstrated, the local government possesses several tools for combating extremism. Through the Act on Right of Assembly, extremist gatherings can be prohibited or dissolved. Police and experts on extremism also play an important role. On the other hand, not all the formal possibilities are exhaustively used by the officials, and so citizens and civil society also engage in the fight against extremism, as shown by the cases of the V Brně neonacisty nechceme and BRNO Blokuje initiatives.

The fight against extremism is a global issue, but the example of Brno proves that local governments can play an important part role in the process. It also demonstrates that the existence of tools does not mean the effective employment of them, and more work could be done to improve the process for combating extremism on the local level.

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LOCAL DECISION MAKING IN FINLAND

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Introduction

This report is a part of the intensive program of the local decision making. Our report focuses on the health and social care of municipalities. We have tried to build a simple and understandable package, where one can see the Finnish way of local decision making. Our study is a case study. In other words we have searched for material from various sources. We have used literature, Finnish government legislation, newspaper articles, scientific articles, websites of municipalities and the European Union. To expand our knowledge we have interviewed key members of local decision making in the City of Joensuu, focusing on the health and social care. The interviewees were politicians and local officials. We have interviewed four individuals. In this way we have received multiple views on decision making.

Concerning decision making on the level of the municipalities and even on the level of the government, the process is wide. Officials have to consider how to finance the services, how to make them easily available to the residents of municipalities and work together to obtain the best possible way to execute them.

Most Finns have a keen idea about Finland´s status as a welfare state. We as the authors of this article believe that everybody has the same right to get health and social services regardless of their financial status. In a welfare state it is important to take care of the unfortunate ones as well as the rest. In recent years, some political parties and interest groups have raised the idea of welfare society instead of welfare state. Welfare society means that everybody should have the right to create his or her own welfare. One example of such thinking is the idea of transforming state or municipality run health care services into free market based services. Our aim during the IP-course is study both the similarities and the differences of those from the viewpoint of municipal social and health care.

The report is based on a comparative approach where within the field of health and social care the importance of an effective and efficient system that can handle the services is the central question. We will look at the possibilities of the local decision makers to make the decisions which can ensure an adequate amount of good quality services for everyone. This case study will be analysed thematically and from multi-perspectives. We hope that our report will widen points of view and familiarise readers with the world of municipalities.

Methodological solutions

Case study research is a great way to understand a complex issue and add knowledge to what is already known through previous research. A case study concentrates on the detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationships. It also is an empirical inquiry that investigates the phenomenon within its real-life context. (Soy 2006, 1.)

In case study research the first step is to establish a firm research focus to which the researcher can refer during the study. The focus of the study is established by forming questions about the object in study. A researcher investigates the object of the case study in depth using a variety of data gathering methods to produce material that leads to an understanding of the case and answers the research questions. To assist in making the questions, researchers study literature and previous researches about the subject. A careful definition of the questions helps to choose what literature to read and to determine what methods of analysis to be used. (Soy 2006, 2.)

Using the real-life cases helps the researcher to determine what instruments and data gathering purposes to use. A researcher can choose multiple cases, but the cases have to focus on answering the questions about the study. Choosing the right research tools increases the validity of the study and helps to erect boundaries around the case. The strength of the case study method is using multiple sources and techniques in the data gathering process. (Soy 2006, 2–3.)

Even though the research might generate a large amount of data, a researcher must not become overwhelmed by the data and be able choose the right data concerning the purpose of the research. The researcher has to have a good database which allows easy access to the necessary data. It is important to anticipate the key problems and events, identify key people and seek to improve the research questions. (Soy 2006, 3–4.) The researcher must collect and store data from multiple sources. Field data must be in a form that is ready to use or easily modified to be used. Researcher examines field data and data from previous researches to get new insights and outcomes. Using multiple data sources can strengthen the findings and conclusions. According to Soy (2006, 4-5) when writing a report, the researcher must do so academically and also critically read and evaluate it.

The structure of this report has been complied in meetings where all the members have been contemplating things together. A solid foundation for the research has come from an intensive literature review, which is based on a questionnaire (Appendix 1). To get more thorough information, we created thematic questions on the topic (Appendix 2) that we used to interview a chair of the social and healthcare committee, who is also a member of the Parliament of Finland, the vice chair of the Social and Healthcare Committee, the manager of Social and Healthcare Services and the manager of Social Affairs in Joensuu. We videotaped the interviews to get verbal and non-verbal material as per qualitative research fundamentals. We analysed the data based on the thematic questions and have attached a sample of the interviews to this report.

Finnish municipalities in 2011

In 2011, there were 336 municipalities, which are also called local authorities, in Finland (Figure 1). 108 of these municipalities were designated as a 'city', although they are all considered equal. (Tilastokeskus 2012.) Municipality is generic term for local authority. The municipal council can decide to amend the name to city. In 1917 when Finland became independent, the number of municipalities was 532. There has been an accelerating transition to lower the number of municipalities to under 100. The Finnish parliament will decide on the merging of municipalities in the near future. This will be the most discussed subject in municipal elections in 2012.
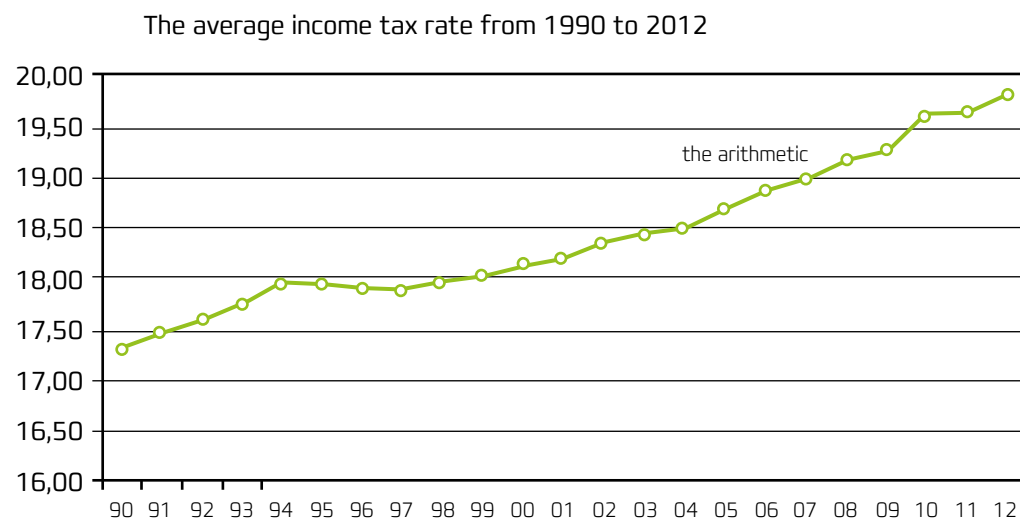

Figure 1. Municipalities of Finland (LocalFinland 2012).

There are statutory joint municipal boards that cover all municipalities. These are as follows: hospital districts (20), special service districts (16) and regional councils (18) (LocalFinland 2012). Every municipality must be a member of the regional council of its own region. By law, there are two main functions in these councils: 1) regional development and 2) regional land use planning. (LocalFinland 2012.)

Population density in 2010

The average population density in Finland in 2010 was 17.6 people per km2 of land area. The size of an average Finnish municipality is 1,143 km2. Because of municipal mergers, land areas have grown, but still two-thirds of all municipalities have an area smaller than average. (LocalFinland 2012.)

Table 1. Average income tax rate from 1990 to 2012 (LocalFinland 2012).

The average income tax rate from 1990 to 2012

the arithmetic

Municipalities income tax rates in 2012

Average rate in whole country:
- Taxable income weighted
19,25 %
- Arithmetic average 19,81 %

16,25 - 18,50 (33 municipals)
18,75 - 19,50 (83 municipals)
19,75 - 20,25 (126 municipals)
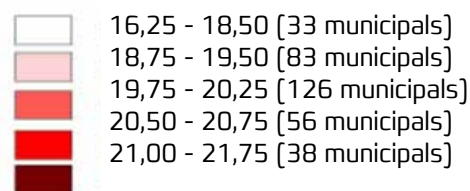20,50 - 20,75 (56 municipals)
21,00 - 21,75 (38 municipals)

Figure 2 Municipal income tax rates in 2012 (LocalFinland 2012).

Average municipal income tax rate

Public services are provided partly by income tax that municipalities have the right to levy. Table 2. shows the average (red line) income tax rate development from 1990 to 2012 in municipalities. In 1990, the average income tax rate was 17.31%. In 1995, the average was 17.94%, and in 2000 the rate was 18.15%. In 2005, the income tax rate was 18.68%, and two years ago, in 2010 the rate was 19.60%. (LocalFinland 2012.)

Other main sources of finance for municipalities

In 2011, the average local tax rate was 19.17% of taxable income. Every municipality decides independently on its income tax rate. (LocalFinland 2012). In addition to municipal tax, local authorities collect property tax, which is controlled by the property tax law (654/1992). (Heuru, Mennola & Ryynänen 2011.) Within the limits of the law, municipalities independently decide on their property tax rate as follows: the general property tax rate must be between 0.60 and 1.35 %.

The Permanent residential tax rate is between 0.32 and 0.75%, and for other residential buildings the tax rate is between 0.60 and 1.35%, but it cannot be more than 0.60% higher than for primary residence. Furthermore, there is a tax rate for vacant building sites, which is between 1.00 and 3.00%. (Verohallinto 2012.) The average general property tax rate was 0.88% in 2011 and 0.90% in 2012 (LocalFinland 2012). In addition, there is a dog tax that some local authorities collect, but most municipalities have renounced it. The state ensures that local authorities can provide all services for their residents, and finance municipalities by giving them state subsidies and state grants. Some of the services municipalities must provide are free; others are partially free, and the rest are fully charged. Most of these services are funded through tax revenue. The average distribution of income tax in municipalities is tax revenue 46%, state subsidies 17%, operating income 28%, borrowing 5% and other incomes 4%. (Heuru, Mennola & Ryynänen 2011.)

The political parties in municipalities in 2011

The National Coalition Party was the most popular party in the 2008 municipal election. Their ideologies include liberty and democracy, education, tolerance and equal opportunity. In addition, individuality balanced with freedom and responsibility is one of their common values. (The National Coalition Party 2012.)

The Social Democratic party's main ideology is summarised as follows: a fair society, a supportive state and a sustainable future. The main idea is that hard work pays off, and the state is a solid ground for people to build their lives on and have the services and security they need. Thirdly, long-term sustainable planning for the future is to see an active state and international cooperation as a tool to solve environmental damage, reckless economic activity and the weakening of social care. (The Social Democratic Party 2012.)

The Centre Party Alliance's main ideologies are humanity and justice, employment and entrepreneurship, along with solidarity and equality. They pursue more jobs, security and green values. (The Centre Party 2012.)

The Greens of Finland focus on the idea that a green movement, a change, is needed. Climate protection is one of their ideologies, too. This includes a green economy and the well-being of people and companies, equality and fairness. The immigration policy of this party includes everyone being treated as a human being and not as a faceless group. (The Greens of Finland 2012.)

The Left Alliance's ideology is to provide living, home and safety to all. They want to get rid of the grey economy and to make Finnish labour valued. Their interest is to provide basic security to all, which should be 750€ per month. In addition, education, health care, caring and culture are, in their opinion, things that everybody should have a right to. In addition, the future is reflected upon by actions against the greenhouse effect. Their wish is also to go towards a tolerant and respectful Europe that appreciates cultural diversity. (The Left Alliance 2012.)

The party True Finns has the most populist view and ideology of all parties. They speak for entrepreneurship and Finnish work, and paying taxes according to one's financial capability. They also speak on behalf of a Nordic welfare state and Finnish culture. (True Finns 2011.)

The Swedish People's Party represents a bi-lingual Finland. Their ideology includes personal freedom and individuals having socially useful goals. All these can be achieved by democracy. A good education system and a social security system can be democracy. (The Swedish People's Party 2012.)

The Christian Democrats summarise their opinions in these three points: home, religion and homeland. Their values come from the Bible and the Christian heritage, the main points being entrepreneurship, employment, traditions and security. They also suggest that everybody has the right to have education and social and health care. (The Christian Democrats 2012.)

Table 3. Proportion of votes cast for the parties in the Municipal elections in 2008 and 2004, (percentage) (Tilastokeskus 2012).
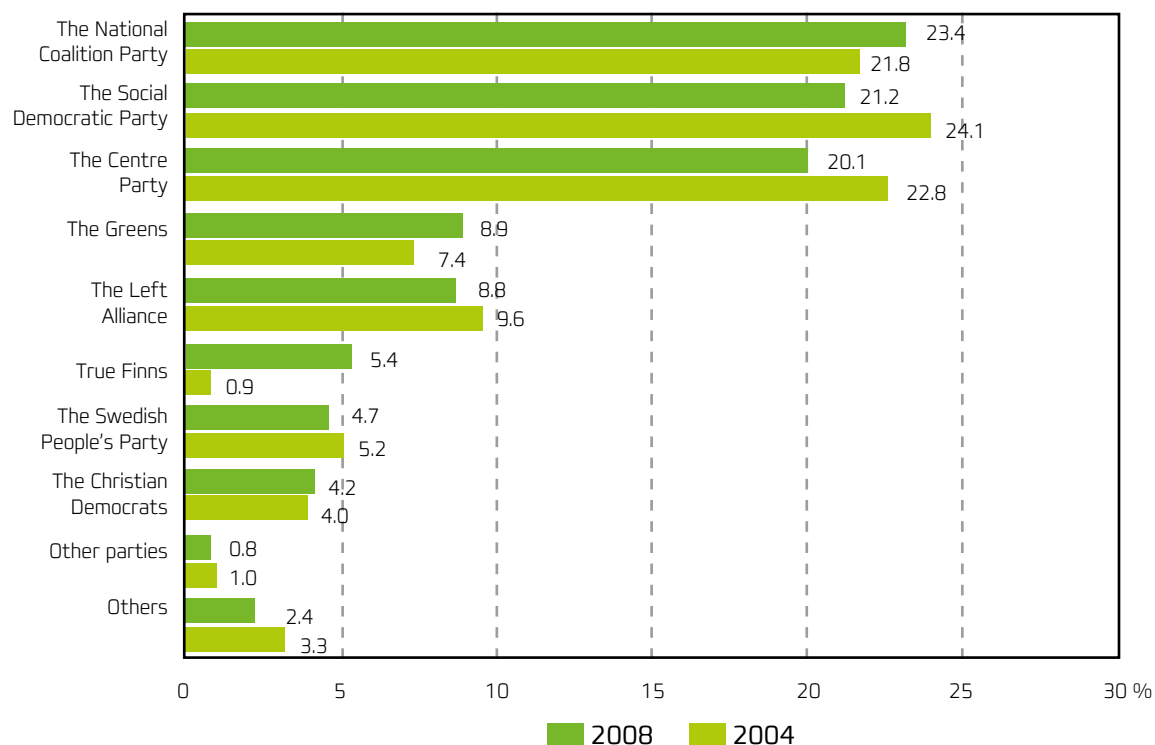

Table 3. shows how people voted in the 2004 and 2008 municipal elections. The National Coalition Party, the Social Democrats and the Centre Party Alliance got most of the votes both years.

Main services offered by municipalities and the role of a municipality

There are about 200 different services that the municipalities provide. The municipalities provide approximately two-thirds of public services, and the state is responsible for the rest. Municipalities provide basic services for citizens, the main focus being in social and health care, education and educational work, and also environmental and technological infrastructure related services. (LocalFinland 2012.)

In 2010, municipal operating costs (without utilities) totalled of EUR 34.9 billion euro. The percentage for social and health care was 54.4, whereas education and culture covered 22.2%. Other services covered 19.3%, and the general administrations covered 4.1%. (Tilastokeskus 2011.)

Municipalities provide services that are either statutory or voluntary. The main part of municipal budgets goes to statutory services, which are, for example, as follows: educational work, health care and social services. These statutory services are set by the municipal law (17.3.1995/365). Local authorities provide voluntary services, which are, for example sports services and other free time services. The local authorities decide independently on the extent of these voluntary services. (Heuru, Mennola & Ryynänen 2011.)

Municipalities have to provide a number of services. They can buy these services from private organisations or produce them by themselves. In cases where municipalities do not have the possibility to produce a service it will be purchased. This privatisation is one of the most controversial talking points in Finland, because not everybody considers privatisation as a good and functional solution. At times, the municipality is legally obligated to produce self-service, for example in child protection cases (Child Welfare Act 417/2007).

A big challenge is the aging of the population, because Finland is one of the fastest aging nations in Europe. This means that we need to find new perspectives and new solutions. Finnish elderly care has been so far a too routine life in the old people's home. Instead we should concentrate more on rehabilitative solutions, supporting home care and also creating intermediate health care solutions. At the moment we don't have enough intermediate solutions for senior citizens in Joensuu, which means for example that there are senior citizens still living at home who might already belong to a nursing home, and on the other hand there are people in hospitals who might cope with some other, softer form of treatment.

The lack of doctors has improved in Joensuu if we compare it to what it was few years ago. There is still room for improvement. This is not a problem only in Joensuu; this is a problem across Finland. The situation is the worst in primary health care, not that much in special health care. To solve this problem we have increased the medical training.

Another problem is the fact that at the moment we have also a shortage of nurses. This means that also the education of nurses should be increased. The training should also be targeted correctly because at the moment the special health care side

seems to be more attractive. The challenge is to get people interested in this basic level of health care, especially nursing senior citizens. The possibility is the fact that we have a very high level education system. Health and Social Care training at a very high standard and quality, and with professional employees we will survive from these future challenges. (M.P., Chair of Social Healthcare Committee.)

In Finland, municipalities are obligated to provide certain services to the residents of municipalities. However, local authorities:

» *are responsible for the provision of primary care, specialist care and dental care,*

» *provide child day-care, welfare for the aged and the disabled, and a wide range of other social services,*

» *run the country's comprehensive and upper secondary schools, vocational institutes and universities of applied sciences,*

» *provide adult education, art classes, cultural and recreational services, and run libraries,*

» *are responsible for water and energy supply, waste management, street and road maintenance and environmental protection,*

» *develop and support public transport,*

» *seek to promote commerce and employment in their area,*

» *supervise land use and construction in their area, and*

» *promote a healthy living environment. (LocalFinland 2012.)*

The vice chair of Social and Healthcare committee argues, that:

Of the key tasks, the first ones that come to my mind are the ones that take the most money and which exceed the budgets. The field of Health and Social Care activities is very wide; it includes all the medical centre receptions, dentists, clinics, services for the senior citizens including home health care service units, and various social services. (Vice Chair of Social Healthcare Committee.)

According to M.P., Chair of Social Healthcare Committee (2012), one very important area is the nursing of senior citizens, because the population of Joensuu is aging fast.

Political-administrational system of the municipalities

The central government of Finland defines the general principles of municipal self-government by legislation that includes defining the mandates of local government, tax legislation and state supervision. Following these principles, local authorities carry out their functions. Local government is based on self-government carried out by the residents of a municipality. The residents of a municipality elect the supreme authority, the municipal council. Local authorities can organise municipal administration relatively freely. (Laine 2006, 77–79.)
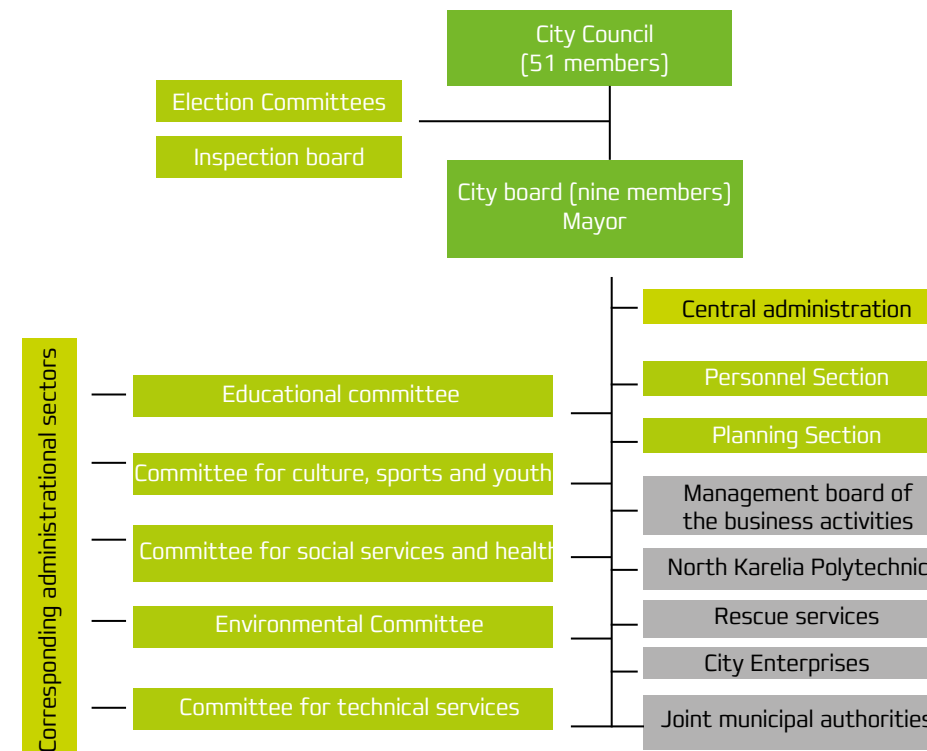

Figure 3. The organisation of the City Joensuu.

Each municipality must have a municipal council, a municipal board, an auditing committee and a central election committee (KuntaL 365/1995). The council has general decision-making power, while the municipal board is responsible for the administration and financial management. (Laine 2006, 95.) The auditing committee is responsible for auditing municipal administration and finance, and the election committee organises the elections. A local authority can freely appoint other bodies that it finds necessary, such as committees and their sub-committees. (LocalFinland 2012.)

Residents of a municipality elect the supreme authority, the municipal council. The council nominates a municipal board, election committee and auditing committee. The council may also set up committees to work under the municipal board to handle functions of a permanent character and in addition, boards of managers to handle a municipal enterprise or another institution or function. (Laine 2006, 89.)

A municipality has a municipal manager, elected by the municipal council. The municipal manager directs the administration, financial management and other operations subordinate to the municipal board. Local authorities can also set up other organs, such as school boards, equality commissions, boards of management or planning and human resource divisions. (LocalFinland 2012.)

The municipal council

The members and deputy members of municipal councils are elected in municipal elections for the four calendar years following the election year. Municipal elections are direct, secret and proportional. All qualifying voters have an equal right to vote. The Act

on Municipal Elections (361/1972) contains provisions on the holding of municipal elections. (The Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities 2007.)

According to Laine (2006, 83) Equality between men and women must be taken into account in the municipal bodies with the exception of the council, which is chosen by direct elections, The proportion of both women and men in municipal bodies, but excluding municipal council, must be at least 40%.

Entitled to vote in municipal elections are citizens of Finland, European Union member states, Iceland and Norway who have reached the age of 18, as well as citizens of other countries who have reached the age of 18 and have been domiciled in Finland for at least two years. Candidates may be nominated by political parties and constituency associations. (LocalFinland 2012.)

The number of councillors selected is proportional to the population of the municipality and may vary from 17 to 85. For example, the law provides that in municipalities where the population is less than 2,000, the council may decide if the number of councillors will be 15 or 13, which is the minimum. (LocalFinland 2012.)

The mission of the municipal council is to express the will of the residents. The council is a future-oriented strategic director that defines long-term objectives and goals and lays down the general operative and financial outlines. (LocalFinland 2012.) The council decides, for example, on the main operational and financial objectives, the principles for arranging the administration, general principles for the charges to be collected for services and other performances as well as operational and financial targets to be set for a municipal enterprise. The council also approves the budget and the financial statements. (The Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities 2007.)

At the moment decisions considering social welfare and health care are made by the Committee. It decides about ordering and delivery and then the Council approves the budget and makes long term strategies for different sectors which are then also approved by the Committee.

I am very happy with this new organizational model with a separate ordering organisation and producer organisation. This means that in the future the city council and the board will decide about ordering services which include the decisions about the quantity, quality and price.

In the old organisation model I often thought that we should have more cooperation between the different committees to save money. Now in this new management model, in addition to the ordering organisation, there will be a new advisory committee of producers which brings together all the Chairpeople of different welfare service committees. Together they can make decisions with a wider view. Previously this kind of natural conversation was often missing from the design process. (Vice Chair of Social and Healthcare Committee.)

The municipal board

The council nominates a municipal board. The members of a municipal board, an auditing committee and other committees shall be elected at a council meeting held in January. The members of other organs are elected for the same term as the council unless the latter has decided on a shorter term or otherwise provided hereinafter. When

an organ elects the members of a division or sub-committee, the organ concerned shall decide on the term. (The Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities 2007.)

The municipal board is responsible for the administrational and financial management of local authorities. It prepares matters to be decided by the council, executes the decisions and ensures their legality. The board monitors the actions of the committees and other bodies under the council's authority as well as those of municipal officers and employees. The board also watches over the local authority's interests, represents the local authority, and exercises its right to be heard. The municipal board acts under the council but above the other bodies of a municipality. (Laine 2006, 82.) The board's responsibilities are more practical than those of the council. A municipal board holds a strong administrative position in Finland. (LocalFinland 2012.)

Municipal committees

There are two committees that are obligatory: the central election committee and the auditor committee. In practice, each local authority has several committees established by the municipal council. The municipal council may set up committees to work under the municipal board. The committees handle operations of a permanent character assigned by the council. The responsibilities of the committees may include, for example, social and health care services, education, urban planning, the environment, and cultural and leisure services. (LocalFinland 2012.)

Co-operation between municipalities and state

According to the Finnish Constitution (731/1999), municipalities have a dual function. Firstly, they function as the basic regional administrative units of the country, and secondly, as the basic units of the self-government of the citizens. (Constitution of Finland 731/1999.)

In Finland, the municipalities have self-government, and because of that the municipal system provides a great opportunity for political participation. In addition, the municipalities have a key role in society, through organising most of the welfare services. (Ministry of Finance, Municipal Affairs 2012.)

Within central state administration, several ministries cover municipal affairs. The Ministry of Finance's main task is the development of municipal legislation and administration. In addition, they calculate and analyse local government finances and cooperation between the State and municipalities. The Ministry of Finance deals with municipal tax matters by calculating the shares of corporate tax. (Ministry of Finance, Municipal affairs 2012.)

The Ministry of Justice is responsible for preparing, implementing and developing legislation concerning the municipal election and referendum procedure. The Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Transport and Communications as well as The Ministry of Employment and the Economy improve and perform tasks related to municipal infrastructure and improve and implement related legislation. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health are responsible for developing basic municipal services and related legislation and they also handle central government transfer for these services. (Ministry of Finance, Municipal affairs 2012.)

Co-operation between municipalities and central government

Under the Local Government Act (The Finnish Local Government Act 365/1995), the Ministry of Finance keeps an eye on the operations and finances of Finnish municipalities overall and makes sure that their status as self-governing entities is taken into consideration when laws about municipalities are prepared. Legislation concerning municipalities, matters of municipal administration and finances that are crucial and wide-ranging in principle and the coordination of local and central government finances are settled in negotiations between the municipalities and central government. (Ministry of Finance, Cooperation between municipalities and central government 2012.)

Advisory board on municipal economy and administration

The Advisory Board on Municipal Economy and Administration works under the Ministry of Finance and handles matters involving local government legislation and municipal administration and finances that have far-reaching effects and are of importance in principal. The board brings representatives of the central government and the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities together and as a secretariat acts as the Ministry's Department for Municipalities. (Ministry of Finance, Co-operation between municipalities and central government 2012)

The board inspects government proposals that have impacts on local government administration and finances, and the sections of the budget covering local government finances. It also assesses prospects for local government finances and supervises the functioning of the system of central government transfers to local government while making suggestions for enhancing it. For preparing matters the board has economic and assessment sections. (Ministry of Finance, Cooperation between municipalities and central government 2012.)

Local government finances

The Ministry of Finance's Department for Municipal Affairs keeps eye on the state of local government finances and estimates the economic prospects of municipalities. The department is responsible for developing the system of central government transfers to local government, calculating the general transfer to local government, calculating the balancing of central government transfers on the basis of municipal tax revenue, and granting the funds for the municipalities. In addition, the department prepares the proposals on discretionary government grants to municipalities in economic difficulties and submits them to the government for final approval. (Ministry of Finance, Local government finances 2012.)

According to The Finnish Local Government Act (365/1995): the department also monitors the ability of the municipalities to meet their funding needs, as stipulated in Section 65 of the Local Government Act (The Finnish Local Government Act 365/1995). The department has a model for forecasting short-term trends in local government finances in individual municipalities and on the regional level. (Ministry of Finance, Local government finances 2012.) The Vice Chair of Social and Healthcare Committee sees that there is a need for solidarity:

The opportunity to survive in the future is that we should all take more responsibility for our own lives and perhaps also a bit for the others' as well as instead of thinking that society will take care of everything. (Vice Chair of Social and Healthcare Committee.)

The financial situation in Finnish municipalities

The local government sector has an important role in the Finnish economy. Municipalities and joint municipal boards employ about 426,000 people, or a fifth of the country's workforce. In 2002, local government expenditure was approximately EUR 28.3 billion, comprising about 19% of the Finnish gross national product. The structure of revenues and costs varies in different municipalities. About 50% of local government expenditure comes from organising educational, health and social services, and most of them are wage and salary costs. (Ministry of Finance, Financial situation 2012.)

System of central government transfers to local government

The purpose of the central government transfers is to balance the differences between municipalities with diverging revenue and cost structures and service needs. The transfers are defined by different factors such as the age structure, the number of students in local schools and education-related unit costs. Depending on their tax revenues, municipalities can get additional top-up payments or reduced transfers. These balancing items cover a fifth of all central government transfers. In addition, municipalities can get general transfers that are not tied to any specific functions, and, if having serious economic problems, discretionary government grants. (Ministry of Finance, Financial situation 2012.)

The Ministry of Finance's Department for Municipal Affairs handles matters pertaining to the balancing payments, general transfers and discretionary government grants. Support paid to municipalities that decide to merge also comes from the department. (Ministry of Finance, Financial situation 2012.)

Discretionary government grants

According to the Ministry of Finance (2012), under the Act on Central Government Transfers to Local Government Chapter 11, Section 63a, the government can grant discretionary financial assistance to municipalities that are in need of additional help mainly due to economic problems of an exceptional or temporary nature. The Department for Municipal Affairs is responsible for preparing the proposals on assistance for the Government, which makes the final decisions. (Ministry of Finance, Financial situation 2012.)

The state and the local government are not opposites of each other; they are rather meant to complement each other. A municipality is always an extension of the state. The purpose of the state is to create the general principles which are then applied in the municipalities to fit the local circumstances.

I think that joined municipalities are necessary. Some of the municipalities are so small that organising the basic services in a sensible way is impossible in the future if we don't build bigger municipalities. The purpose of connecting municipalities together isn't to save money but to keep the services close to people. (M.P., Chair of Social Healthcare Committee.)

The services of the municipalities

Because the self-government in municipalities is protected in the constitution (Constitution of Finland 731/1999), the state has limited possibilities to oversee the activities of municipalities. The state oversees that municipalities provide necessary services, and the Ministry of Finance monitors the financial state of municipalities and in general follows the actions and finances of the municipalities. (Husa & Pohjolainen 2008, 273–275.)

The level of the services doesn't depend on the size of the municipality, it depends on how the things are organised. At the moment there is a lot talk about the Senior Citizens Services Act, which would give the minimum requirements for the services offered to senior citizens. The purpose of the Senior Citizens Services Act is to ensure that older people receive the same services no matter where he/ she lives. (M.P., Chair of Social Healthcare Committee)

The main legislation of municipalities

The legislation concerning the municipalities is extensive. The main legislation starts from the constitution. The Finnish constitution stipulates that the country is divided into municipalities governed by their residents. It dictates the self-government of the municipalities and gives a legal protection for that (Constitution of Finland 731/1999). The local government act dictates municipalities' rights and responsibilities regarding, for example, services that municipalities must provide (The Finnish local government act 365/1995). The Healthcare Act determines that municipalities have to offer its residents the basic health services and improve the well-being of the residents (Healthcare Act 1326/2010).

According to the Social Welfare Act, municipalities have to offer its residents the basic social services, including income support, familial social security and performance (Social Welfare Act 710/1982). Municipalities have to offer basic education for everyone according to The Basic Education Act (Basic Education Act 628/1998). The general principles of municipal boundaries are laid down in the Act on Local Authority Boundaries, which contains provisions on such matters as the process of changing municipal boundaries, carrying out the necessary preparations and making decisions, and organising the administration of a new municipality (Act on Local Authority Boundaries 1698/2009). The Act on Central Government Transfers to Local Government belongs to a set of laws that stipulates the amount of central government transfers to a local government, and the distribution of costs between local and central governments (Act on Central Government Transfers to Local Government 1704/2009).

Equality in municipalities

To ensure the realisation of equality Finland has legislated an Equality Act (Equality Act 609/1986) and a Non-Discrimination Act (Non-Discrimination Act 21/2004), which are based on the UN´s Universal Declaration of Human Rights (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948). In Finland, municipalities must have an equality plan. Equality plans promote gender equality between sexes. In principle, everyone has the same salary and opportunities to advance in their careers. However, these things are influenced by an individual's education and experience. The purpose of the Non-

Discrimination Act is to promote and safeguard equality and improve access to protection in cases of discrimination, within the scope of the law of discrimination cases. The Non-Discrimination Act legislates that there is no right to discriminate against anyone according to their ethnic background, age, political opinion, etc. (Non-Discrimination Act 21/2004). The state and the municipalities are working hard to provide their citizens an equal and non-discriminating environment.

Municipal finances

The annual cost of local authorities was EUR 40 billion in 2011. Local authorities finance their annual expenditure out of taxes, central government transfers, various fees and charges, and sales revenues. Local income tax paid by the residents of municipalities, real estate tax and a share of corporate tax makes up almost 50% of all municipal earnings. Each local authority rules independently on its income tax rate. The average local tax rate is 19.17% of taxable income. (LocalFinland 2012.)

Fees and charges makes up about a quarter of municipal revenues. Most of the customer fees are collected for services such as water supply, waste disposal, power supply and public transport. Just under one-tenth of social welfare and health costs are covered through customer and patient fees. Basic education is free in Finland. (LocalFinland 2012.)

Central governments grant local authorities financial assistance in exchange for a wide variety of statutory services. The central government transfer system equalises financial inequalities between local authorities and guarantees equal access to all services in entire country. Central government transfers make less than one-fifth of all municipal income. (LocalFinland 2012.)

We have had some difficulties to find doctors for our local hospitals and this is a challenge for the whole country. The good thing is that we are already aware of this problem so we can take actions to provide doctors to all health centres throughout Finland.

The main threat is the lack of employees. Care is a current topic in Finland. It means that the number of senior citizens is growing. This means that the municipalities need more staff for care. One hope is that we try to help senior citizens to remain longer on their own. I think that we also need employees coming from abroad and I hope that people in the North Karelia will have a positive attitude towards them. (Vice Chair of Social and Healthcare Committee.)

Municipalities' financial statuses are often problematic. Municipalities do not have enough money to employ a sufficient amount of, for example, medical staff. On the other hand, there are not enough educated professionals in smaller cities to fill the need, since these professionals prefer to go to work in bigger cities. This is why small municipalities are in trouble providing the necessary services and they have to buy services from private companies.

Another problem that Finnish municipalities are facing is the aging of the population. Consequently, there is an increased need for services for the elderly. Thus, there is an increased need for money and skilled personnel. As the population is aging, the Finnish Government is forced to take actions such as raising taxes in order to cover the rising costs and paying more government transfers to small- and medium-sized municipalities in order for them to cope with the change.

On the other hand, the Finnish Government is pursuing the unification of small municipalities into bigger ones. There is a fear that when the unification happens, the services in the merging municipalities will end up in the larger cities. As a result, residents of the merging municipalities have to travel a long way to receive, for example, healthcare services. Therefore, in an emergency the immediate help is far away. According to the Vice Chair of Social and Healthcare Committee:

...that the municipal care work is endless. We need to think about what we can do to make this work interesting for young people so that they would take this work as their job. The working conditions should stay reasonably fair. The work should always be a joy.

One threat is also the fact that if the large private firms will get an even bigger part of nursing, the aim would be making more money. I think that they might not treat the patients who would need the most help but the ones who are doing pretty well already. This means that they can choose their patients. In the end someone has to take care of all of us.

The threat is also the disadvantages of competitive bidding. We need wisdom to establish good rules for competitive bidding so that the local entrepreneurs can win these competitions, too.

Appropriation overruns: the continuing fight in recent years has been the fact of how we stay within the budget when the private sector is a necessary additional support so that we get all the statutory things managed. (Vice Chair of Social and Healthcare Committee.)

Unemployment in Finland

According to the Employment Service Statistics of the Ministry of Employment and the Economy (2012), the number of unemployed jobseekers registered at the Employment and Economic Development Offices was 258,300 at the end of January, down 7,800 from the previous year. Compared with December, the number of unemployed job applicants increased by 2,800. (The Finnish Ministry of Employment and the Economy 2012.)

In January, 19,300 of the unemployed were laid-off, which is 1,100 more than in December. The number of individual lay-offs has decreased by 2,200 since January a year ago. In addition, jobseekers on a reduced working week numbered 2,300, representing a decrease of 300 from the last year. (The Finnish Ministry of Employment and the Economy 2012.)

The number of new vacancies reported to the Employment and Economic Development Offices during January totalled 59,900, or 6,200 more than January in the year before. Altogether, the number of unfilled vacancies at the Employment and Economic Development Offices amounted to 85,000 in January, 8,900 more than a year ago. 35,500 of these vacancies were filled during January and 9,000 of vacancies were filled through the Employment and Economic Development Offices. The number of unfilled vacancies at the end of January was 49,700, up 5,400 from the previous year. (The Finnish Ministry of Employment and the Economy 2012.)

Of unemployed jobseekers, 152,500 (59%) were men and 105,800 (41%) women, indicating a growth of 6,000 for men and a decrease of 3,200 for women from the figures for December. Compared with January 2011, unemployment among men dropped by

5,200 (-3%) and among women by 2,700 (-2%). (The Finnish Ministry of Employment and the Economy 2012.)

Table 4. Unemployment rates by Regional State Administrative Agencies (AVI) 2011/01 - 2012/01, people aged 15–74 (Statistics Finland 2012).

Regional State Administrative Agencies	Year/Month 2011/01 - 2012/01 Per cent, %	Year/Month 2011/01–2012/01 Per cent, %	Change 2011/01–2012/01 Percentage points
Whole country (incl. Åland)	8.2	7.8	-0.4
Southern Finland AVI	6.4	6.8	0.4
Southwestern Finland AVI	8.1	6.8	-1.2
Eastern Finland AVI	9.4	7.2	-2.3
Western and Inland Finland AVI	10.1	8.3	-1.9
Northern Finland AVI	7.8	11.1	3.2

Table 5. Unemployment rates by province (2011) according to the years 2009 - 2011, people aged 15 to 74 years (Statistics Finland 2008)

Province	Year 2009 %	Year 2010 %	Year 2011 %	Change 2010/2011 Percentage points
Whole Country (Inc. Ahvenanmaa)	8.2	8.4	7.8	-0.6
Uusimaa	6.2	6.4	5.8	-0.5
Varsinais-Suomi	7.5	8.1	7.9	-0.2
Satakunta	7.5	8.8	6.1	-2.6
Kanta-Häme	7.2	9.1	6.4	-2.6
Pirkanmaa	10.0	9.7	9.6	-0.1
Päijät-Häme	8.7	8.9	9.1	0.2
Kymenlaakso	7.9	11.0	10.6	-0.4
Etelä-Karjala	10.7	10.1	9.7	-0.4
Etelä-Savo	9.6	7.9	7.7	-0.3
Pohjois-Savo	10.8	10.0	10.3	0.3
Pohjois-Karjala	13.0	12.5	12.3	-0.3
Keski-Suomi	11.2	9.9	9.6	-0.3
Etelä-Pohjanmaa	7.9	8.2	7.4	-0.9
Pohjanmaa	5.9	6.6	6.3	-0.3
Keski-Pohjanmaa	6.4	6.8	5.6	-1.2
Pohjois-Pohjanmaa	10.0	10.2	8.7	-1.5
Kainuu	9.3	9.0	8.3	-0.6
Lappi	11.6			

Table 5. demonstrates the development of unemployment rates by province from year to 2011. As can be seen in the table, areas with the highest unemployment rates are Kymenlaakso (10.6%), Pohjois-Karjala (12.3%) and Lappi (10.2%). Of course, it should be mentioned that the population density in Lappi is much smaller and the pure size of the municipality is much larger than for example in Pohjois-Karjala.

European support

Along with many other European countries, Finland receives funds for different programs. Finland is part of the Structural Fund Period 2007¬–2013 Programme. The objectives of the Structural Fund Programmes in Finland include creation of new businesses and jobs, decreasing unemployment and boosting job creation, development of regional economies, improvement of the productivity of enterprises and promotion of their competitiveness, raising the level of education and increasing research and innovation activities. (European Union & European Regional Development Fund & European Social Fund 2008.)

With this programme Finland and the EU wish to improve Finland's competitiveness and well-being. Support from the EU is additional financing for Finland's national development. Finland will receive approximately EUR 1.7 billion from the EU's Structural Funds in 2007–2013. Support from the European Union's Structural Funds will be directed towards Finland's development through programmes co-financed by two funds, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Social Fund (ESF). (European Union & European Regional Development Fund & European Social Fund 2008.)

The financing in this programme goes as followed:

Table 6. EU financing for ERDF programs (Ministry of Employment and the Economy 2011).

EU financing for programmes under the Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective	Total in 2007-2013
ERDF operational programmes	in millions of EUR
ERDF programme for Southern Finland	138
Western Finland	159
Eastern Finland	366
Northern Finland	311
Åland Islands	3
Total ERDF operational programmes	977
ESF operational programme for mainland Finland, of which Eastern Finland 180	615
Competitiveness and Employment for the Åland Islands objective	3

Total ESF operational programmes	618
Total programmes under the Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective	1,596
Finland's total contribution to programmes under the European Regional Cooperation objective	81
Finland's contribution to programmes under the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI CBC)	39
EU's total share of financing (Finland)	**1,716**

Equality in Finnish municipalities

Equality between people is one of the key values in the Finnish society. In addition, it is a basic right safe-guarded by the constitution of Finland. Equality between people, regardless of age, ethnical background, national origin, nationality, language, religion, conviction, opinion, disability, health, sexual orientation or other personal factors is covered by the act of non-discrimination. This law is put into act for example in employment, working conditions, career development and education. (Yhdenvertaisuuslaki 21/2004.)

Following the non-discrimination act (ibid.), all authorities, state and municipal, have the responsibility to foster the realisation of equality purposefully and methodically in all activities. The authorities have the responsibility to alter any circumstances preventing the realization of equality. According to the act on non-discrimination, every authority is obligated to draw up a plan (equality plan) for the fostering of ethnic equality. Although the statutory planning obligation applies only to ethnic equality, it is recommended for authorities to include also other discrimination causes into the plan. The equality plan must be as extensive as required by the nature of the work of the authority (Yhdenvertaisuuslaki 21/2004). In the equality plan, the authority or other organisation presents the ways of fostering equality, preventing discrimination, and intervening in discrimination as an employer. The Ministry of the Interior (Nowadays The Ministry of Finance) advises authorities in equality planning. (Sisäasianministeriö 2012.)

Equality between sexes is covered by the act on equality between women and men. The purpose of this act is to prevent discrimination based on sex and foster equality between men and women, and especially to improve women's position in working life. Authorities, academies and other educational organisations are obligated by the legislation to make sure that men and women have the same opportunities in education and in professional development. In Finland, employers are also obligated by the legislation to foster equality between men and women purposefully and methodically. (Laki naisten ja miesten välisestä tasa-arvosta 609/1986.) In practice, all employers are obligated to compile a plan on equality between men and women. The plan must in particular relate to the recruiting process and other terms of employment. The minimum content of this equality plan is described in the act of equality. Employers who regularly have at least 30 employees have to compile this plan annually. Employers compile this plan collaborating with the personnel (Tasa-arvovaltuutettu 2012).

The Municipal Act (Kuntalaki 365/1995) and the Administration Act (Hallintolaki 434/2003) determine the organisation of a municipality's administration, tasks and de-

cision-making. However, the law does not guarantee equal opportunities, policies and plans for all municipalities in Finland. The law only guarantees that the municipalities cover their statutory responsibilities. There are many differences between municipalities, and the quality of services varies widely depending on the place of residence. This results in varying economic conditions in municipalities, due to economic structures, size or location, population age structure and employment rate. State subsidies attempt to level out these differences. The state subsidy mechanism adjusts economical differences between municipalities and tries to assure equal municipal services to the whole country. (Kuntalaki 365/1995; Laasanen, 2008; Opetushallitus, 2012.)

According to the Act on Municipalities (Kuntalaki 365/1995), municipalities are autonomous and independent from state administration. This means that municipalities can decide on their own matters and administrate themselves. The council chosen by the inhabitants is in charge of making decisions in the municipality. A municipality takes care of its statutory tasks, such as providing social and health care and educational services. Educational services extend from comprehensive education to vocational school and, also, to some the universities of applied sciences. In addition to these services, municipalities can also perform supplementary tasks such as providing sports and cultural services. Differences in municipalities' economic conditions generate different preconditions in providing equal services. Poor municipalities usually only offer their inhabitants statutory services, while rich municipalities can provide the same services with better quality and a wider variety of supplementary services, such as sports and other free time services.

Becoming a resident of a municipality is determined by one's place of living. The residents of a municipality pay income and property taxes (as well as fees from the services), and the municipality offers basic services in return. Based on the principle of equality for citizens, all citizens should be treated equally. Municipal services should be at every inhabitant's disposal in a municipality equally and regardless of residence, financial situation or other circumstances. In practice, the quality of the services varies widely depending on the region. (Kuntalaki 365/1995; Laasanen 2008; Opetushallitus 2012.)

The main problems in achieving equal opportunities

Major problems in achieving equal opportunities in municipalities are the differences between municipalities. Municipalities differ from each other in many ways, which is important to be taken into account when comparing them and their services. Municipalities can organise services in their own ways. They can for example, produce services by themselves, purchase services from federations of municipalities or from the private sector. Regionally, inhabitants have different needs. This is a result of the aging population structure, employment rate, income level and education. The circumstances of municipalities also vary according to geographical location, infrastructure, population, area and settlement structures. (Laasanen 2008.)

The majority of municipal expenses comes from social and healthcare costs. According to a cost comparison by the National Institute for Health and Welfare in 2009, there are great differences in the health costs of municipalities in Finland. Compared to previous years, the differences are still big. In 2009 two-thirds of Finnish municipalities' health costs deviated over 5% from the country's average value. Thus, populations with the same needs have services on different levels depending on the municipality. (Hujanen 2009.)

Values and ethical considerations in municipalities

There are no unified lists of values in municipalities. Each municipality determines its own values and ethical considerations. Changes in municipalities and, especially, in municipal structures highlight the meaning of values and everyday policies. (Ikola-Norrbacka & Natunen 2011.) Each individual has values which are brought into the values of political parties, and into the board. The board then considers the values and forms an end result of values and ethics.

Officials have to obey the laws, norms and the organisation's own guidelines and regulations. The ethical values of municipalities have challenges because here is shortage of resources and people demand more from the officials. People should have the power to make a difference and have a feeling that they can really make a change. Municipalities have to prioritise. The basis of ethics in municipalities is equality, justice, laws, loyalty and making sure people's needs are fulfilled. (Ikola-Norrbacka & Natunen 2011.)

Constant comparisons between the public and private sectors creates pressure for municipalities and officials. The public sector and the private sector have big differences in many areas. The municipalities need to offer good services and they have a major responsibility in doing that. The sectors should have more cooperation with each other, and reforms should be made to keep up with the growing demand. The private sector is growing, making profit and being efficient with its business. The most important thing is to keep the high standard and good quality of services. The challenge is to keep the public sector as a good employer that attracts employees.

However, ethical problems exist. People's trust in decision-making has reduced and the so-called "good brother" –structure, which is a system and a form of corruption including officials favouring their friends and acquaintances through networking, continues to pop up in the media. Openness is the key to solve this problem and to gain integrity. (Ikola-Norrbacka & Natunen 2011.)

Municipalities are responsible for the people in the municipality, and trust is the key element in their actions. Mayors feel that being efficient and ethical are values that complete with one another. Research has shown that many people have faced ethical problems in their jobs. Problems include not working efficiently, lack of customer service and problems with the work community, such as disturbances. Increases in education and advice, communication and management skills are tools to solve these problems. (Ikola-Norrbacka & Natunen 2011.)

Public sector as an employer

There are an estimated 434,000 people working for local municipal authorities (October 2011). The average age is 45.5 years. Municipalities are a relatively safe workplace because the employment is usually long. There is not as big of a difference in the wages of men and women in municipalities compared to differences in private sector. The working environment is usually good in municipalities, and people are not often laid off for financial reasons. Although there is pressure to cut on expenses and be more efficient, a municipality as a working place is considered safe. In the future, less people will work for municipalities, and it is estimated that there is going to be less permanent jobs available. In healthcare there is a need for new employees. (Kuntatyönantaja 2012.)

I see (the employment of immigrants in the social and health sector) as a positive opportunity. It is very important that we check that the professional validity of the immigrant worker is the same as the Finnish worker, because the training is different in different countries. Another essential thing is that in the social and health services you must know Finnish language. Otherwise I think that the employees coming from abroad are an important thing for us. (M.P., Chair of Social and Healthcare Committee

Eight years ago we made a decision that we will try to avoid nursing senior citizens in hospitals. The goal in the future is that no one would live in a hospital but instead somewhere more like home. (Vice Chair of Social and Healthcare Committee.)

The majority of municipal employees in healthcare or social services are women (79 %). The reason for the number of temporary employments shown in municipal employment statistics includes maternity leaves, family leaves, annual leaves, study leaves and job alternation leaves. In 2010, 21% of employees either had temporary or fixed-term employment, whereas 77% of employees had a permanent job. Fulltime employees covered 86 % of the workforce and part time employees 14 %. (Kuntatyönantajat 2012.)

Are we going to have a sufficient number of employees in the future to meet the needs caused by aging? More healthcare and social services will be needed as people retire and grow old. In the public sector, more foreign workers are needed to cover the shortage. Multicultural working environments cause more challenges because such a situation has not existed earlier.

Conclusion

In Finland, there is a wide range of municipalities which are financed by taxes and government grants. This system provides the necessary income for the municipalities so that they can provide services for residents. In a developing society costs have risen, and as a result, taxes collected from citizens have risen as well. The reason for the rising costs includes social and financial changes. This creates pressure for municipalities to offer basic services, but also to keep the fees for them as low as possible. Through the years, fees have been rising; however, it is also necessary to keep the services running.

On the other hand, because the Finnish population is getting older, the need for certain services has risen. One of these services is the health and social services. Today one of the biggest topics of discussion amongst Finnish politicians and officials is about health and social services, how to keep them running in the future, how to get and keep skilled medical personnel and how to finance these services so that the quality is maintained. One solution is to have cooperation between municipalities in health and social services. This option gives the municipalities a chance to cut costs and maintain the quality of services.

Another solution is to combine several smaller municipalities into bigger ones, as the Finnish Government is planning to do. Both options have pros and cons. As stated, due to the aging and rising retirement of the Finnish population, there is an increased need for doctors, nurses and other medical personnel each year. On the other hand, small municipalities have difficulties finding and employing skilled personnel. As a consequence, many municipalities have bought medical services and medical personnel from private companies. This option gives municipalities a chance to keep the services running.

Based on our research we learned that many of the problems which municipalities are facing or are going to face in the future have been recognised by politicians and municipal officials, who are working hard to solve these problems. It is reassuring to know that the necessary measures are being taken. To adjust to these future difficulties, politicians and officials have recognised the amount of work to be done, but working together and finding the best possible solutions will keep municipalities and their services on the level that we are used to today.

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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE IP OF THE LOCAL DECISION MAKING

State _____

Name _____

University _____

E-mail _____

Phone _____

Cell _____

BASIC INFORMATION OF THE MUNICIPALITIES IN YOUR STATE
How many municipalities were there in your country in 2010?
What is the population density (people/km2) in your country (average) in 2010?
What was the municipal tax rate in (%) in 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010 (average)
What are the other main sources of finance of the municipalities (for example, property taxes, and fees)? State the tax and its level.
What were the names and the main ideologies of the political parties in the municipalities in 2010?
What are the main services offered by the municipalities (list and briefly describe, for example health care, average 50 % out of the municipalities budgets, basic education...?)
What is the role of the municipality in providing services to the residents? Does it provide all the social services, health services, infrastructure services and education services etc.?

POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE MUNICIPALITIES
What is the political-administrational system of the municipalities in your country? (For example, you can draw an organisation chart and explain it)

COUNCIL
a) Do the municipalities in your country have a municipal council?
b) If they have municipal councils, how are they selected?
c) What is the role of the municipal council in deciding about the services offered to the residents and providing services?

BOARD
10. a) Do the municipalities in your country have a municipal board?
    b) If you have a municipal board, how is it selected?
    c) What is the role of the municipal board in the political-administrational system of the municipalities in your country?

COMMITTEE
Do you have municipal committees?
If you have municipal committees, please give names and describe the main duties of the committees.
Do you have other bodies of the municipal organisation?
If you do have other bodies, what are the main duties/responsibilities of those bodies?

C. VIEWS OF BROADER SOCIAL, ECONOMIC CONTEXTS ON FUTURE PROSPECTS
a) Explain the co-operation between municipalities and state?
Does the state finance the municipalities?
Does the state oversee the services the municipalities offer to the residents of the municipalities?

List and briefly explain the main legislation (laws and other statues) concerning municipalities?

The legislation on Equality bases on the directives of EU. Explain how the legislation of equality shows in the everyday work of the municipalities?

Explain briefly the economic situation of the municipalities in your country. Are they having problems with financing the services offered to the citizens?

What is the level of unemployment on average in the municipalities in your country? Does it differ much in different regions?

How much European support have the municipalities received in the last years e.g. for infra-structure investments or social programmes? (In millions/year)

Do the municipalities in your country have equal opportunities policies and plans?

What would you say are the main issues or problems in achieving equal opportunities in the municipalities?

Does the municipality have discussions about values and ethical considerations?

How has the status of public sector employment/employees changed over the years in your country? What implications do you think this has had for the residents of the municipalities and employment opportunities?

Do you want to bring something else up concerning the municipalities in your country?

Thank you for your co-operation. If you need more information, please do not hesitate to take contact by e-mail: liisa.westman@pkamk.fi or pertti.laitinen@pkamk.fi

Thematic interview questions

1. How the decision making process has been arranged in social and healthcare?
2. What are the main tasks in the social and healthcare?
3. What kinds of opportunities or threats are existed in the future?
4. What other information would you like to tell us concerning about social and healthcare?

Karelia Unviersity of Applied Sciences Publications B

B:41
Terveisiä Ikä-Suomesta! Arja Jämsén & Tuula Kukkonen. 2015.

B:42
Kuituhampun jalostuksen mahdollisuudet Suomessa. Juha Ikonen, Juha Kilpeläinen, Helena Puhakka-Tarvainen. 2015.

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North Karelia - Strong competence in ageing. Arja Jämsén & Tuula Kukkonen. 2015.

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Local Decision Making III. Anna Liisa Westman & Edyta Pietrzak (Eds.) 2014.

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Matkaopas markkinatalouteen. Kim Wrange. 2014.

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B:30
Social Services on Both Sides of the Border. Marjut Arola, Liisa Suhonen & Olga Zvyagina (eds.) 2014.

Karelia

This second edition of Local Decision Making I -book tells us five different studies of the municipalities in Europe. These studies grown up from different viewpoints. Now 2015, the IP-Programme Local Decision Making is finished, but it is nice to notice that our book is asked. So, we had to publish a new version. Of course this version is based on the original studies with minor corrections. For example lay-out of this book has been done from Salla Anttila. She has planned also the lay-out of the Local Decision Making II and III –books. Now, we have 3 -books series concerning municipalities in Europe and Russia. The articles in this book are based on the course, which we had in Rotterdam, Netherland 2012. It is interesting to notice how timely are the articles of this book, for example how to face extremist groups on the level of the municipal work.

Topics in this book are: Edyta Pietrzak study is The Public, the Private and the Sphere in – Between: Contemporary Interpretations of the Civil Society. Stanislav Balik studies Cleavages in Local Politics. Anna Liisa Westman's study discusses Changing Welfare in the Context of Nordic Countries. There is also two studies of the students; Local Decision Making in Finland and The Rise of Extremism in the Czech Republic: How to Combat Extremist Groups on the Local Level.

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