

UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN

Participation through dialogue:

Understanding governance processes of three 'co-creation' projects
in the Netherlands based on communicative planning theory

Master Thesis

by

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August 2014

Abstract

In the current context of governance transition, government organizations are no longer in dominant position for social affairs (Kearns and Paddison, 2000). This is the context where participation becomes the center of discussion. Communicative planning theory, which is based on understanding of planning as a communicative or collaborative process (Healey, 1997), offers an alternative way to organize participation in society. Communicative planning theory is gaining acceptance as a potential method for dealing with planning issues (de Roo, 2000). However, communicative planning theory has been criticized for remaining highly abstract and offering unclear implementation to planning practice (Allmendinger, 2009). This research aspires to fill-in this theory-practice gap. In particular, this research intends to understand in a governance system which is dominant by representative democracy as in the Netherlands, how much and in what ways collaborative planning ideals – represented by governance through argumentation model (Healey, 1997; Martens, 2007) and the DIAD model (Innes and Booher, 2003) – could be realized. Governance through argumentation model describes an ideal organizational and management form for social affairs (Healey, 1997; Martens, 2007). The DIAD model is a normative and descriptive model which lists the conditions and facilitating methods to establish ‘collaborative rationality’, which is essential in collaborative planning processes (Innes and Booher, 2003).

Methodologically, this research conducts multiple case studies of three co-creation projects for strategic spatial plans in the Netherlands using qualitative data collection and analysis methods. This research has three main findings. First, ingredients of governance through argumentation model could be found as expected in three cases. Second, collaborative rationality at least partly exist in the three co-creation cases. Third, based on the case of Venlo and the case of Gelderland, we argue that in statutory plans, in order to facilitate collaborative processes in a mixed governance system, process designers need to think of how to balance between multiples roles of government officials, politicians and social groups in co-creation. Overall, this research provides evidences to validate and strengthen the existing communicative planning theory. Besides, this research gives a rich process description of three co-creation projects. This could be an interesting material both for academics and for practitioners in the field.

Key words: participation, governance, collaborative planning, communicative planning theory, case study, the Netherlands

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Acknowledgements

The working period for this thesis is from January to August 2014, a period almost totally dedicated to it. I owe particular thanks to my supervisor Chris, who gave me constant guidance and suggestion, always being helpful, pulled me out of the mist of theories and encouraged me to explore more stories in the field.

Thanks for the contact person of the three cases, Maarten Lenis, Michiel Koetsier and Eric Mooij, who spared their own time to help me arrange interviews with other interviewees. Thanks for all my interviewees, who took efforts to express themselves clear for a topic which was not easy at all to speak in English. Besides my research task, all interviews become interesting resources for me to know the Netherlands and Dutch people.

Thanks for Erasmus Mondus Grant, which enables me for this precious two-year research and living experiences in the charming city of Groningen.

I offer my enduring gratitude to my fellow students in the research mater program. Your attention and companies gave me strength to continue working in the whole period.

Special thanks are owed to my mom, dad and boyfriend who visited me during thesis period and offered me precious 'thesis break', your love and support are my ultimate drive to move on.

August 2014

Groningen

1. Introduction

Citizen participation is a popular term used by the government all over the world at present. For example, in the US, citizen participation has been considered as the cornerstone of democracy for long (Arnstein, 1969). In the Netherlands, citizen participation is termed in Dutch as ‘burgerparticipatie’ and it is frequently used in governmental documents and webpages. For example, in the district Nieuw- West in Amsterdam, the municipality designed special page to introduce citizen participation programs in the district (Amsterdam Municipality, District Nieuw-West, 2014). On the Association of Dutch Municipalities (Dutch: Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten) database website, there is a category of citizen participation and numerous examples of good practice are recorded there. The examples listed there have a trend of using other terms to describe the participative initiative, terms such as ‘promote citizen power’, ‘co-production’, ‘co-creation’, ‘joint visioning’ or ‘delegate power’. From all the evidences, we could see that the Dutch government is paying close attention to the issue of citizen participation.

1.1 Participation needing clarification

Although citizen participation is frequently used by the government, the concept itself does not have a clear definition. As Cornwall (2008) stated, “An infinitely malleable concept, ‘participation’ can be used to evoke – and to signify – almost anything that involves people. As such, it can easily be reframed to meet almost any demand made of it (p 269).” Participation in practice could cover a large range of concepts and be both a broad and a narrow collection. On one hand, when we relate to the classic ‘participation ladder’ by Arnstein (1969), the meaning of participation seems very broad, to include consultation, partnership, delegated power, citizen control, etc. On the other hand, when it comes to formal procedure, the content of participation becomes very narrow, with common tools listed as public hearings, citizen committee, opinion polls and the new trendy e-government, etc (Innes and Booher, 2000). Therefore, there is a conflict between its broad definition and the narrow practical tools. Furthermore, participation becomes an essentially contested concept when it is related to the discussion of democracy (Day, 1997). One remarkable problem related to this is that: if the dominating democratic system in modern western countries – representative democracy – is to good enough to facilitate democratic policy-making, why do we need to investigate citizen participation methods then? Therefore, the call for more participation from society probably suggests a preference for democratic systems other than representative democracy. To tackle this issue, deliberative democracy, in which collective decisions are made from “free public reasoning among equals who are governed by the decisions” (Cohen, 1998, p185), provides one possible alternative forms. However, there is no clear argument for whether and how it is possible to establish a new kind of democracy based on the existing representative system (Martens, 2007; Allmendinger, 2009). Accordingly, the discussion of new participation methods lacks sufficient ground. Overall, participation is a term which needs to be unpacked and reinvented in the current debate.

1.2 From government to governance

The discussion of citizen participation is developed under the broader discussion of governance. According to Healey (1997), “The system of governance of a society or community refers to the processes through which collective affairs are managed. ... In modern societies, governance has traditionally been equated with what governments do, with the machinery of the ‘state’ (p 206).”

However, from 1990s, with the impact from social changes such as globalization, neo-liberal reform and information technology, our society has been changed into a form of 'network' with diffused power (Kearns and Paddison, 2000). Therefore, government organizations are no longer in dominant position for social affairs and governance becomes a responsibility shared among different social partners, with a strong tendency towards collaboration. Accordingly, policy making processes are demanded to be more open and accountable. It is in this context that participation becomes the center of discussion.

New models of governance forms emerge in different localities (Healey, 1997; Martens, 2007). To understand them, in this research we introduce the 'governance triangle' framework developed by Martens (2007). Three ideal types of governance forms: governance through coordination, governance through competition and governance through argumentation are introduced and used as reference to locate other governance forms in this framework (Martens, 2007). In governance through coordination model, government is the single actor in governance processes. Although democracy is established through representative system, to what extent diffused interests can be aggregated and represented remains a question (Martens, 2007). In the other two models, diverse social actors act as partners in governance processes, but the driving forces for decision making are different: in governance through competition model it is the power (resources, ability to bargaining, knowledge, etc.) each interest group has that decides which competing policy wins; in governance through argumentation model, actors are not in a competing relationship, instead, their task is to reach a collective argument that could be considered reasonable for all (Martens, 2007). In reality, governance forms always have mixed features from the ideal models. In this research, we hold the normative view that governance through argumentation model is more democratic and accountable. This view is influenced by communicative planning theory which will be explained in the next point.

1.3 An alternative way of participation- communicative turn in planning theory

Governance through argumentation model has its theoretical root in communicative planning theory (Healey, 1997; Martens, 2007), which is a competing planning theory developed since the 1970s. This school of planning theorists critique instrumental rationality, which believes in the existence of objective knowledge and optimal choice, and alternatively, this school of theorists turn to communicative rationality, which is based on intersubjective understanding, as a way forward. This school of planning theorists are inspired by a wide range theories, including phenomenology, institutionalism, critical theory and complexity theory (Healey, 1997; Allmendinger, 2009; Innes and Booher, 2010). The central claim of communicative planning theory is that planning is a communicative and collaborative process (Allmendinger, 2009). Among all the theoretical sources, Habermas's communicative rationality has the most influence on offering "a normative principle with which to evaluate and challenge the qualities of interactive practices" (Healey, 2003, p 106; Allmendinger, 2009). Communicative rationality breaks down the dominance of scientific objectivism and builds instead "a different kind of objectivity based on agreement between individuals reached through free and open discourse" (Allmendinger, 2009, p 199-200).

Planning practices which adopt ideas from communicative planning theory are called 'collaborative planning' and 'collaborative processes' (Healey, 1997). Communicative planning theory remains highly abstract and its implementation to planning practice is unclear (Allmendinger, 2009). This was partly due to the nature of the theory that doesn't aspire to creating any dominant forces through fixed procedures or organizational design (Allmendinger, 2009). However, even in this context empirical researches are still

important because of two reasons. First, in interpretive paradigm, where communicative planning theory is situated, “the interpretive view emphasizes the uniqueness of each situation rather than its similarities to others” (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 22), and “the theory might be in the form of a story rather than variable-based hypotheses” (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 22); moreover, in the case of collaborative planning the ‘situation’ and ‘story’ lies only in planning practices. Therefore, this argument leads to something close to the pragmatic approach. Second, if we assume that there should not be practical theory for communicative planning, practical stories are still important to help planners to develop “a critical, interactively reflexive habit of participants” (Healey, 1992, p 158), which Healey states as essential in reaching ‘communicative rationality’. Therefore, more researches to investigate into collaborative planning practice need to be conducted. This research follows this argumentation.

Innes and Booher (2003) has developed a theory – the “authentic, interdependence and authentic dialogue network dynamics” (DIAD) – to illustrate what collaborative policy making can accomplish and under what conditions. This theory is drawn from both communicative planning theory and collaborative planning practice, thus it is both normative and descriptive (Innes and Booher, 2003). DIAD theory is valuable as an interface of theory and practice. In this research, DIAD model is used as the analytical framework to understand participation processes in practice. In this way, the research aims to validate this theory and meanwhile add to it. Because DIAD model concerns both the conditions for and results from collaborative policy making, in order to narrow down the scope of discussion, in this research we focus on the validity of the conditions for collaborative policy making.

Although communicative planning theory has been developed for over 30 years, collaborative planning is still not a common practice. In fact, in a large number of cities the collaborative paradigm of planning is only now being implemented (Kotus, 2013). Moreover, in the academic world, in the recent decade, empirical researches of collaborative planning practices are not abundant. Some empirical researches include Van Driesche and Lane (2002) on conservation plan, William *et al.* (2002) and Ruelas-Monjardin and Cortes (2006) on resource management, Ataov and Kahraman (2009) on experimental learning, Innes and Booher (2010) on a range of different plans and Kiisel (2013) on community planning. Therefore, empirical research which investigates into practical planning processes need to be conducted.

The Netherlands is one of those countries which are influenced by this social change and need to search for new approaches for governance. Hajar and Zonneveld (1999) confirm that the coming ‘network society’ has influenced the Dutch planning system. In the Netherlands, practitioners are actively experimenting on this new way of doing planning. As de Roo (2000) claims, “this communicative approach is gradually gaining acceptance in the Netherlands and in other parts of the world as well as a potential method for dealing with planning issues (p 151).” A lot of cases have shown potential to possess crucial ingredients of collaborative planning. Therefore, the Netherlands is chosen as the country to conduct research about collaborative planning practice. In planning research, there were not many empirical researches based on communicative planning theory. Some researches which used this theory include: Voogd and Woltjer (1999) reflects on communicative ideology based on the Dutch experience, de Roo (2000) discussed compact cities policy, Nienhuis *et al.* (2011) discussed urban renewal strategies. Therefore, more researches need to be carried out in the Netherlands investigating into the current planning practice from the aspect of collaborative planning. Furthermore, DIAD model is drawn from planning practices in the US (Innes and Booher, 2003). It is also important to find out whether in another country like the Netherlands, which has different a political and governance culture, the theory could still work well.

1.4 Co-creation projects in the Netherlands

As explained, in the Netherlands government organizations on different levels are experimenting on new ways of citizen participation, which are beyond traditional participation methods that usually comes after plan-making such as public consultation period, public hearing and opinion polls. The common characteristic of the new approaches is that citizens are involved in early planning periods. Lots of words are used to represent the new approaches. ‘Co-creation’ is one of them. In most cases, ‘co-creation’ is not strictly defined by the government organizations which use it. In the three cases we select in this research, ‘co-creation’ is explained in the context of each concrete project and has different meanings. However, on the website of Amsterdam municipality, District Nieuw-West (2014), a clear definition of five levels of participation is displayed, in which ‘co-produce’ is one level. We could use this definition to get a general impression of what ‘co-creation’ could mean from the government’s point of view.

First, on this website citizen participation is defined in this way: citizens give their opinion on issues that concern them directly (Amsterdam municipality, District Nieuw-West, 2014). Participation can be conducted in two ways: first, during the making of plans or policies, citizens can think along, give opinions and take an active part in plan-making; second, after the plan or policy has been completed, in the democratic process of decision making by the city council, citizens can have their opinions heard using legal instrument (Amsterdam municipality, District Nieuw-West, 2014). During plan making process, five levels of participation are defined: inform, consult, give advice, co-produce and have a say. They are explained as (Amsterdam municipality, District Nieuw-West, 2014):

- **Inform:** The district ensures that all parties have the necessary information about a plan that is in the making. This is the basic level; citizens have no impact on the content of a plan.
- **Consult:** The district has a plan in preparation, yet choices are possible. Residents and other stakeholders can give their opinion about it.
- **Advising:** The plan is not yet finalized. Citizens can identify problems and solutions. The district shall take the utmost account of opinions.
- **Coproduction:** District and citizens work closely together on a plan. This jointly developed proposal is submitted to the district council.
- **A say:** The district provides clear in advance the framework for the plan. Within the frameworks everything is still possible.

Within this definition of five levels of participation, co-creation could be best situated somewhere around ‘coproduction’ and ‘a say’.

The concept of co-creation is used to represent the new citizen participation approaches which endeavor to involve citizens in early planning phases. However, ‘co-creation project’ is not limited to only include the new approaches – it could be a combination of new approaches and traditional ones. In this research the three selected cases of co-creation projects all show this characteristic of a mixed approach. It is noteworthy that co-creation projects do not have a direct link to collaborative planning. The project designer of co-creation project could have or not have the intention of conducting a collaborative process. However, a co-creation project may fit into certain features of collaborative planning. Nevertheless, it could not reach all the DIAD conditions or the ideal situation which the governance through argumentation model describes. In this research, co-creation projects that appear to have the most potential to fit into collaborative planning models are chosen. Accordingly, this research aims to understand in a governance system which is dominant by representative democracy as in the Netherlands, how much and in what ways collaborative planning ideals – represented by governance through argumentation model and the DIAD model – could be realized.

Considering case selection, the detailed category of spatial plans should be defined. In the Netherlands, there are different kinds of spatial plans, such as strategic plan, landuse plan, redevelopment plan, transportation plan, environmental plans, etc. Some of them are statutory and others are not. Within all the categories we choose strategic plans in this research. Strategic plans here refer to long term vision and development guidelines for a certain area. They are not necessarily statutory. Strategic plans are chosen because they are probably both the most problematic and the most promising ones considering implementing collaborative processes. As Day (1997) argues, citizens incline to only care about their nearby surroundings and issues which could result in immediate change. Besides, strategic plans remain at the top layer of policy-making, thus it may involve most difficulties for the government to employ collaborative processes. Nevertheless, strategic plans have good potential to bring about long term changes and reshape the local governance system which are what collaborative planning ultimately aim at (Innes and Booher, 2010). Therefore, in this research three strategic plans in the Netherlands are chosen for empirical analysis. Strategic plans could be carried out in different spatial scales. In this research three spatial levels: provincial, municipal and neighborhood are chosen to validate our findings.

1.5 Research aim and question

This research has been developed around two core concepts: participation and governance, and takes the normative position guided by communicative planning theory to investigate into these two issues. The research aims could be explained in three aspects.

From the broadest aspect, this research aims to conduct empirical analysis to validate and enrich communicative planning theory. Communicative planning theory has been criticized for remaining highly abstract and offering unclear implementation to planning practice (Allmendinger, 2009). This research aspires to fill-in this theory-practice gap.

In particular, this research intends to understand in a governance system which is dominant by representative democracy as in the Netherlands, how much and in what ways collaborative planning ideals – represented by governance through argumentation model (Healey, 1997; Martens, 2007) and the DIAD model (Innes and Booher, 2003) – could be realized.

Methodologically, this research aims to conduct multiple case studies of three co-creation projects for strategic spatial plans in the Netherlands using qualitative data collection and analysis methods. The Netherlands is chosen because there are a lot of cases to be chosen from which have potential to possess crucial ingredients of collaborative planning. Co-creation projects are projects coordinated by the government which add new citizen participation approaches which endeavor to involve citizens in early planning phases. Among all categories of spatial plans, strategic plans are chosen because they are probably both the most problematic and the most promising ones considering implementing collaborative processes.

Three research questions are raised:

1. What is the governance style in the three co-creation projects for strategic spatial plans in the Netherlands?
2. According to a normative and descriptive model of collaborative planning – the DIAD model, how much of ‘DIAD’ model conditions are relevant in the three co-creation projects for strategic spatial plans in the Netherlands?
3. What are the learnings for similar collaborative processes in the Netherlands in the future?

This research has two values. First, it gives a rich process description of three co-creation projects and its correspondence with communicative planning theory. This could be an interesting material both

for academics and for practitioners in the field. Second, it validates and strengthens the existing communicative planning theory.

1.6 Content in each chapter

In the first chapter, the author introduced initiative of the research, the research topic, background and logical storyline of this research. In the second chapter, the two core concepts, participation and governance, and the normative position, communicative planning theory, are explained. Research methodology is illustrated in the third chapter. In the fourth chapter, results from the three case studies are displayed in the style of three storylines. In this chapter information is displayed to keep a detailed record of the whole process of co-creation projects. Meanwhile, the second and third research questions are answer separately in each case. The fifth chapter demonstrates the result of the thesis by answering sequentially the three research questions based on collective analysis of multiple cases. The sixth chapter contains conclusion and discussion.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Participation as a contested concept

2.1.1 Definition of participation

The concept of participation is hard to define explicitly. Researchers from different background do not have a coherent definition of participation until now. Among all the discussions around the essence of participation, Arnstein's (1969) participation ladder concept is one of the earliest and most influential. Arnstein claims:

It is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. ... In short, it is the means by which the have-nots can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society. (Arnstein, 1969, p 216).

Arnstein builds a participation ladder of eight rungs. The ladder has a progressive form start from nonparticipation to Tokenism, and ends at citizen power (real participation). In this ladder, only the top three layer: partnership, delegated power and citizen control, are considered as real participation. Arnstein is considered as being radical for her view of an ideal decision making structure. Day (1997) argues that Arnstein "seems to hold an all-or-nothing point of view on this matter and maintain ... a revolutionary ideal ... and wish to replace the representative system with a decentralized or even anarchistic structure (p 431)".

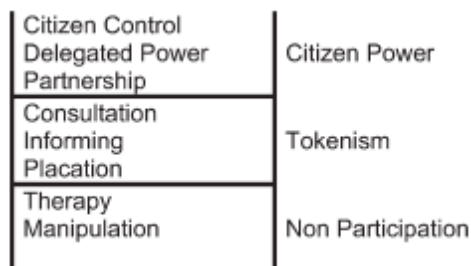


Figure 1 Arnstein's (1969) participation ladder (from Cornwall, 2008)

While Arnstein's participation ladder is value-laden, other scholars have tried to define participation in a positive and fact-based manner. For example, Schatzow (1977, cited by Day, 1997) differentiates public participation from public influence. He illustrates,

participation refers to the direct involvement of the public in decision making through a series of formal and informal mechanisms. Public participation in decision making does not necessarily mean that public influence is exerted; public views and opinions may be ignored by decision-makers. Instead, influence refers to the effect of the public on decision making, and may operate even when the public does not actually participate in decision making (Schatzow, 1977, cited by Day, 1997, p422, 423).

In this definition, the process and direct action of participation is distinguished from the result or influence of participation. Schatzow could be among the first who hold a process point of view in defining public participation. Following Schatzow and others, Rowe and Frewer (2005) formulate a definition of public participation from the perspective of information flow in the process of agenda-setting,

decision-making and policy-forming activities. Based on different directions of information flow between participants and sponsors, Rowe and Frewer propose using three different descriptors: public communication, public consultation, and public participation, to differentiate situations which used to be mixed together. Public communication and public consultation are both with only one-way information flow. And public participation in the category is situation where information is exchanged between members of the public and the sponsors (Rowe and Frewer, 2005). This process view of defining participation is consistent with how most government officials understand the concept of participation. As explained before, in the definition of participation from Amsterdam municipality, District Nieuw-West (2014), there are five levels: inform, consult, give advice, co-produce and have a say. This definition is in fact based on different flows of information and the different stages where this information flow could take place.

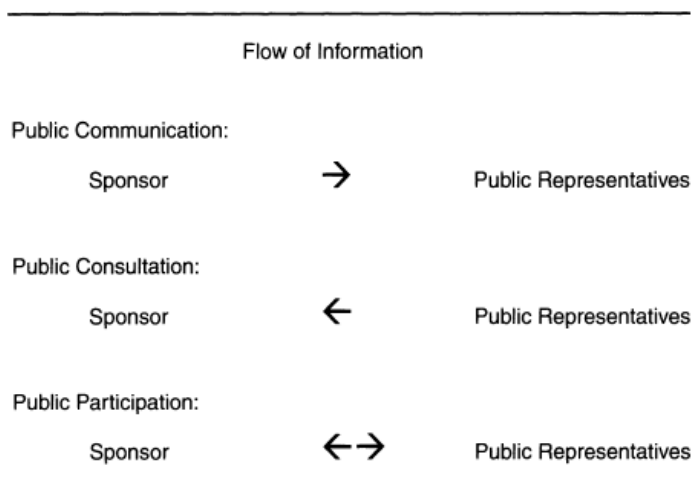


Figure 2 The three types of public engagement (Rowe and Frewer, 2005)

2.1.2 Value of participation

The value of participation has been discussed in lots of articles. Probably the earliest consideration of the effect of participation remains that of Aristotle. Aristotle analyzed the Greek city-states to assess what arrangements most likely contributed to human happiness and ‘the good life’. In his view, participation in the affairs of state as a citizen was essential to the development and fulfillment of the human personality (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980). This intrinsic value of participation is further elaborated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Pateman (1970, cited by Day, 1997) explains that Rousseau thought that the ideal situation for decision making was one in which no organized groups are present, just individuals, because the former might be able to make their “particular wills” prevail. One’s actual freedom, as well as one’s imagined sense of freedom, is increased through participation because it gives one a meaningful degree of control over the course of one’s life and environment. Collective decisions are more easily accepted by the individual, and a sense of belonging in the community will be fostered (Pateman, 1970, cited by Day, 1997). Furthermore, Oldfield (1990, cited by Day, 1997) claims that the process of participation is educative in and of itself. The more one participates, the more one develops the attitudes appropriate to a citizen. These attitudes include largeness of mind and an appreciation that the interests of the community are one’s own. The examples set by the initial participators will draw ever-widening groups of individuals into the political arena, therefore increasing the likelihood that policies will be representative. Consequently, a virtuous circle of participation breeding participation will result (Oldfield, 1990, cited by Day, 1997).

Besides the general virtue of participation in personal life and political activity, participation is viewed as having added value in planning projects as well. Glass (1979) suggests that the purposes of participation in planning could be drawn from two perspectives: administrative perspective and citizen perspective. The former transformed the citizen "... into a reliable instrument for the achievement of administrative goals ...," while the latter provided citizens with "... an actual role in the determination of policy ...". Glass identifies five objectives of participation, including: information exchange, education, support building, supplement decision making and representational input (Glass, 1979). Among the five objectives, the former three are from the administrative perspective and the latter two are from the citizen perspective. Glass (1979) stresses on the difference between supplement decision making and representational input. In the first, it is the individual citizen who is consulted; while in the second, citizens are consulted in a way which is representative of the entire community, and could then be used as a data base for planning. Furthermore, Innes and Booher (2000) added that participation is also about fairness and justice: "Public participation gives at least the opportunity for people to be heard who were overlooked or misunderstood in the early stages (p7)." We could give a synthesis for the positive value of participation (see figure 3).

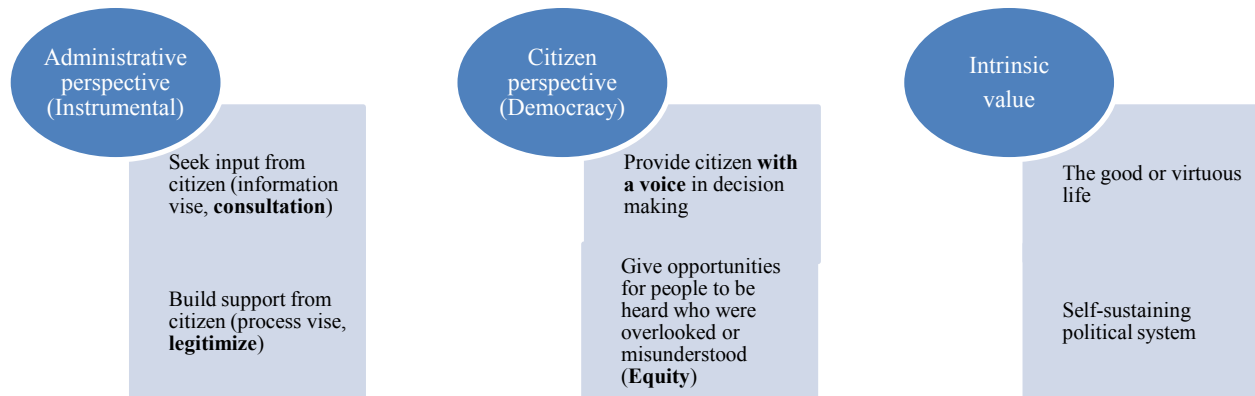


Figure 3 Positive value of participation

However, some scholars pointed out that participation could have negative effects. First, Rich (1986, cited by Day, 1997) explained that "Decision-making processes involving both experts and laypersons might be likely to be protracted and strained, seen as promoting amateurism and parochialism, and thus perceived as impeding an agency's performance (p 426)." Besides, participation might not be widely welcomed by citizens. For example, Grant (1994, cited by Day, 1997) illustrated that "participation is a luxury in modern industrial societies because it requires skills, resources, money, and time that many citizens do not have (p 426)." Furthermore, participation in planning could be limited only to certain issues in which people could see immediate change and direct stake (Catanese 1984, cited by Day, 1997). In addition, Henig (1982, cited by Day, 1997) found the law of inertia applicable in society as well, "it is often easier to rally opposition against and block an impending threat than it is to propose positive action or solutions to problems. When citizens value stability and fear uncertainty, they may consider known injustices less threatening than the unpredictability of reform (p 426)." Last, genuine participation could require certain features of our governance system. MacNair *et al.* (1983, cited by Day, 1997) contend that it is only with a less powerful bureaucracy that the citizens are possible to be given a partnership role. When bureaucracies are powerful and robust, there is less possibility for citizens to be as partner. They claimed, "Because this option (mobilizing citizen support) entails risks, citizens are not likely to be given

a meaningful role as partners in decision-making processes unless bureaucrats see their power as expandable via reciprocity with citizens (MacNair *et al.*, 1983, cited by Day, 1997, p 426)."

2.1.3 Participation and democracy

As explained in the previous session, participation has many virtues. However, in practice it has negative aspects as well. These negative aspects could be originated from apparent failing in process design. Besides, deeper reasons for these negative aspects may exist in the characteristic of governance system in our society, especially in how democracy is realized in the governance system.

Democracy is a form of governance in which the society is ruled by the entire people rather than one or more specific groups. This is explained by Shapiro (1999),

Democrats are committed to rule by the people. They insist that no aristocrat, monarch, philosopher, bureaucrat, expert, or religious leader has the right, in virtue of such status, to force people to accept a particular conception of their proper common life. People should decide for themselves, via appropriate procedures of collective decision, what their collective business should be. ... Participation plays a necessary but circumscribed role in ordering social relations justly (p 29-30).

Therefore, participation is viewed as a tool to establish democracy. Beyond this general definition, the institutionalization of democracy comes in all shapes. However, the effect of participation could be contested in the detailed design of democratic governance system.

According to Healey, four models are widely employed in describing existing western governance systems: representative democracy, pluralist democracy, corporatism and clientelism (Healey, 1997). Among them, two types of democratic governance systems are representative democracy and pluralist democracy. However, genuine participation could encounter difficulties in both of these two systems. The explanation is as follows.

Healey (1997) described representative democratic system as

... an idealized model of democratic state, in which governments are created on behalf of, and at the service of, the people as electors. We (that is, most adults) elect our representatives, the politicians, who oversee the work of officials in the departments of government. The task of politicians, guided by their officials, both administrators and experts, is to articulate the 'public interest' on any issue, and to develop government action to achieve that interest. The officials are answerable to the politicians, and the politicians are answerable to the people through the ballot box. Governance is focused on the institutions of formal government (p 221).

Participation might not be easily embedded in such a system because of two reasons. First, public participation challenges the basic premises of representative democracy. In representative democratic system, public participation method is used to overcome this weakness that politicians may not be able to aggregate up 'public interest' in every issue. However, as Healey states, "Involving the public in articulating the 'public interest' challenges the politician's responsibility for this task and the role of representatives (Hoggett, 1995, cited by Healey, 1997, p 222)." Second, two features of representative democratic system – bureaucracy and technocracy, makes citizen participation in representative democratic system a contested concept. Healey (1997) explained that representative democratic system "encourages the development of hierarchically-structured bureaucracies, focused around technical and administrative expertise... provides fertile ground for a form of policy planning which emphasizes technical and legal reasoning (p 221)." This focus on bureaucracy and technocracy brings difficulties in the performance of public participation. Bureaucrats are powerful because they are responsible for

implementing policies created by politicians, meanwhile they are not elected and remain independent and non-politicized (Day, 1997). Besides, in a society which has become more culturally and technologically sophisticated, politicians become increasingly dependent on bureaucrats because they possess expertise that political leaders lack (Etzioni-Halevy, 1983, cited by Day, 1997). Therefore, professionals in bureaucracy are independent of democratic processes, and it seems impossible for citizen participation to put a check on the power of the bureaucracy (Day, 1997).

As for pluralist democratic system, Healey (1997) illustrated that,

It (pluralist democracy) presupposes a society composed of many different groups with different interests, all competing to define the agenda for the actions of governments. Politicians get elected through the ballot box, but their task is less to articulate the public interest on behalf of society than to arbitrate between the interests of the different groups. In this context, there is no necessary role for policies to guide government action. The style of such a system combines a 'politics of voice' with the language of legal discourse. It produces a politics of competing claims, grounded in what legal precedent determines to be legitimate. It encourages groups to articulate their concerns in adversarial forms as fixed interests and preferences (p 222).

Many methods for achieving citizen participation are designed based on the pluralist system, for example, the public hearing and the charrette (Day, 1997). However, these participatory mechanisms may not be able to make decision making more democratic and inclusive. Pluralist system assumes an equal position of interest groups, which is considered to be not achievable because interest groups possess unequal resources, access to information, capacity to articulate issues, and capacity to organize constituencies. Therefore, the pluralist arena is skewed towards interest groups who already possess a great deal of resources and power, in particular business interests (Day, 1997). This view builds the major body of the critique of pluralist democratic system.

With regard to the tension between democratic system and participation, new ways to manage participation and new forms of democracy should be invented. To tackle this problem, communicative planning theory which builds on deliberative democracy contributes a meaningful path, which will be explained further in the following section.

2.2 Changing urban governance – towards collaboration

From 1990s, the vocabulary of politics and policy-making has changed significantly: concepts such as 'governance', 'networks', 'institutional capacity' and 'deliberation' become in the center of debate, while concepts such as 'government', 'power' and 'authority' move further away from the debate (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). According to Healey (1997), "The system of governance of a society or community refers to the processes through which collective affairs are managed. ... In modern societies, governance has traditionally been equated with what governments do, with the machinery of the 'state' (p 206)." The shift of vocabulary suggests that governance should not be understood as government activities only, and that the concept should expand its scope to bring in new actors and themes. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) explain the vocabulary shift: "There is a move from the familiar topography of formal political institutions to the edges of organizational activity, negotiations between sovereign bodies, and inter-organizational networks that challenge the established distinction between public and private (p3)."

2.2.1 Background of the change

Several societal challenges have triggered the change for urban governance. These challenges appear in the economic, political and social spheres (Kearns and Paddison, 2000). The first challenge is towards economic globalization, which triggers fiercer interurban competition and co-operation. This leads to new

agendas added onto urban governing. The second challenge is the neo-liberal reform, which results in political decentralization and the need for policy-making to be more responsive to local needs. The last is the change of social life. We are entering an information age where the society is in a form of 'network' with diffused power. People no longer live the same, rather they live differently. Therefore, governing public affairs when different societal values co-exist is challenging (Kearns and Paddison, 2000). These changes together demand the public policy making processes to be more open and accountable.

The change of vocabulary from government to governance indicates a shift in thinking about the relationship between the state and citizens. As illustrated by Innes and Booher (2000) in Figure 4, in traditional paradigm the state and citizens are understood as two distinct entities. They stated, "The government is, in this view, a sort of black box without much differentiation among its parts, and the citizenry is a mass of individuals with opinions to be heard, tabulated and analyzed. While information can flow in both directions, the process is not interactive (Innes and Booher, 2000, p 25)." In the collaborative network paradigm (Figure 5), government is represented by different public agencies, and citizens not only represent themselves individually, but also attend 'interest based entities' (Innes and Booher, 2000). The different agents build up a network structure where there are busy interactions among each other. In this network structure power is diffused because the government actors are not the only players who could make things happen or influence decision making.

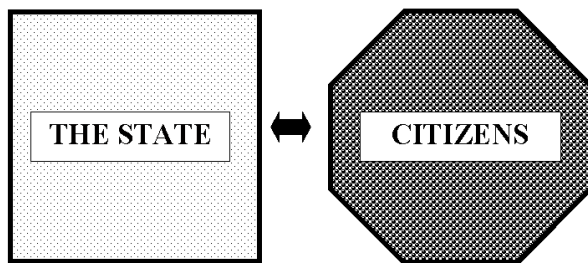


Figure 4 Traditional paradigm for citizen participation (Innes and Booher, 2000)

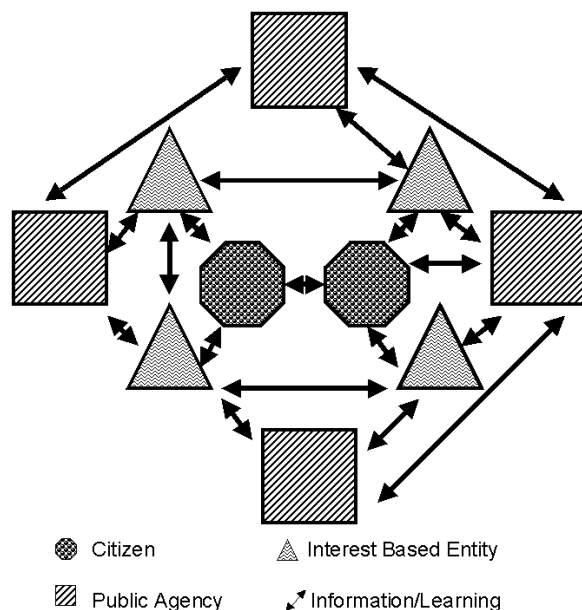


Figure 5 Collaborative network paradigm for citizen participation (Innes and Booher, 2000)

After the discussion about a paradigm change in thinking about society, we could review the concept of ‘participation ladder’ by Arnstein and the definitions of participation based on information communication. We can conclude that both definitions are based on the traditional paradigm of citizen participation. In Arnstein’s definition, she stresses on ‘redistribution power’, with the assumption that originally power lies only in the government and the ‘have-nots’ almost have no power. Accordingly, government and citizens are considered as two distinct entities in Arnstein’s view. In Rowe and Frewer’s definition of participation, the distinction of sponsor and public representatives illustrates that the management of public affairs are created by a ‘producer’ and have effect on the public as the ‘consumer’. Therefore, the concept of participation needs to be reinvented in the new societal context.

2.2.2 An analytical framework: the ‘governance triangle’

With the influence of information technology and globalization economy, our society is becoming ever more complex, with different structuring forces having effect in local governance. This change has fostered different kinds of new governance forms which build “a more responsive and collaborative relationship with the worlds of economic and social life (Healey, 1997, p 231-232)”. There is a heated discussion about present governance forms. Here we introduce the analytical framework of Martens (2007) to locate the different forms.

In the framework, there are three ideal types of governance at the three ends of the triangle. Each ideal type builds on a specific democratic model. The first type on top of the triangle, governance through coordination, is mostly well supported by representative democracy. It fits well with instrumental rationality and implements bureaucratic system to govern society. Martens (2007) describes this model,

The basic assumption of the model is the division between the governing body and the governed, or between government and society (Snellen 1987). The governing body is positioned above the governed and has the task to steer society for the good of the governed. It is – in the ideal situation – operating as a single entity... Coordination is the response to problems created by a governing body that is comprised of many departments, sections and factions. ... The only actors that have authority to take decisions are part of the governing body. ... The role of actors other than governmental bodies is limited in the coordinative model (p 44-45).

The second type on the bottom-left: governance through competition is based on pluralist democracy. Therefore, as explained by Healey (1997) of pluralist democracy, this model is characterized as interest groups engaging in adversarial bargaining and political institutions arbitrating between different interests. Martens (2007) explains the roles, responsibilities and authority of actors in this model,

In the competitive model governance is primarily seen as a competition between actors with diverse interests. ... The key mode that moves governance forward is the power resources of an actor. The more resources an actor has, the more he will be able to convince others of the benefits of its policies... As in market economics, all actors are autonomous and operate on a ‘level playing field’. None of the actors is a priori position above the others. ... However, the theoretical ‘level playing field’ is disturbed by the uneven distribution of resources of power. Since ‘power’ is the modality that drives governance processes, the role of actors will depend on the powers they have (p 45-46).

The third type on the bottom-right, governance through argumentation, is inspired by the literature on “communicative planning (e.g. Healey 1995, 1997, Innes 1995, 1996a, Sager 1994, Forester 1999, cited by Martens, 2007) and deliberative forms of democracy (e.g. Dryzek 1990, 1993, Bohman and Rehg 1997, Giddens 1994, cited by Martens, 2007) (p 47)”. Deliberative democracy has a fundamental

difference from the other democratic forms which are based on aggregative collective decision (Cohen, 1998),

The fundamental idea of democratic, political legitimacy is that the authorization to exercise state power must arise from the *collective decisions* of the equal members of a society who are governed by that power. Collective decisions can be either aggregative (based on counting preferences) or deliberative. According to an *aggregative* conception of democracy, then, decisions are collective just in case they arise from arrangements of binding collective choice that *give equal considerations to* – more generally, *are positively responsive to* – *the interests of each person* bound by the decisions. According to a *deliberative* conception, a decision is collective just in case it emerges from arrangements of binding collective choice that establish conditions of *free public reasoning among equals who are governed by the decisions*. In the deliberative conception, then, citizens treat one another as equals not by giving equal consideration to interests – perhaps some interests ought to be discounted by arrangements of binding collective choice – but by offering them justifications for the exercise of collective power framed in terms of considerations that can, roughly speaking, be acknowledged by all as reasons (p185-186; italics in original).

In the context of the governance through argumentation model, Healey refers to the underlying type of democracy as ‘participatory discursive democracy’ (Dryzek, 1990, cited by Healey, 1997) and illustrates,

The model of participatory discursive democracy proposes that claims for attention are redeemed not in adversarial argument over specific rights, but in forms of collaborative argumentation about what issues are, the different ways they may be understood, what constitute problems, what possibilities for acting on them there may be, how these may affect the lives and cultures of all members of political communities and how choices may impact on different members (p 237-238).

Both deliberative democracy by Cohen and participatory discursive democracy by Dryzek have the same underlying ideology that governance should be an argumentation process among all who has a stake. Moreover, communicative planning theory is based on this ideology (Healey, 1997). This ‘governance through argumentation’ model is called differently by scholars. Healey (1997) names it as ‘inclusionary argumentation’, while Innes and Gruber (1999, cited by Martens, 2007) define it as collaboration. Martens (2007) demonstrates the distinct features of this model,

The process of inclusionary argumentation thus creates a ‘level playing field’. However, this ‘level playing field’ is hardly comparable to the one in the competitive model, as not power but reasoning dominates the processes of policy development and implementation. The ideal process of governance is devoid of all plays of power and solely dominated by the force of ‘the good argument’ (Dryzek 1990:15). ... Communicative planning thought stresses the fundamental equality of all actors. ... The basic assumptions of the communicative mode of governance are at odds with the principles underlying existing political institutions of representative democracy. ... The public interest, they (the proponents of the communicative model) claim, is not pre-given but can only be constructed through a process of argumentation between stakeholders (p 47).

Because of collaborative argumentation processes, governance through argumentation model has a clear advantage over other governance models: it gives good reasons for decision-making concerning public policy and thus establishes people’s trust in their governance machinery (Healey, 1997).

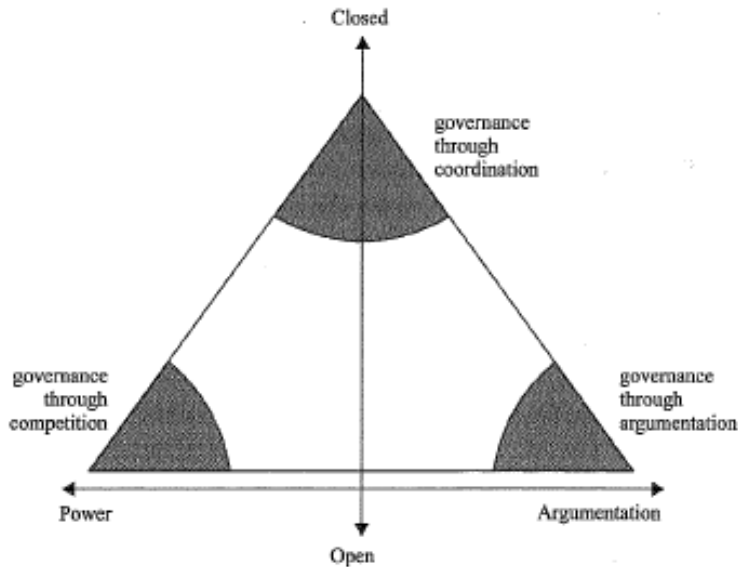


Figure 6 The 'governance triangle' (Martens, 2007)

In the framework of Martens, the vertical axis represents the openness of the model, which is reflected by the number of actors involved in governance processes. On the top it is the 'governance through coordination' model, in which only the government is engaged in governance processes. And models at the bottom of the vertical axis have a full range of actors involved in the governance processes, which could include "political institutions, governmental agencies, private business interests, issue-oriented interest-groups, locality-based citizen groups, and 'ordinary' citizens (Martens, 2007, p 44)". The horizontal axis shows two extremes of motor of policy. In this context, motor means the kind of force which dominates the policy development and implementation. On the left bottom, it is the 'governance through competition' model, which uses power as the only motor of governments; on the right bottom, it is the 'governance through argumentation' model, which uses argumentation as the prime motor.

This framework is helpful to reinvent the concept of participation in the new societal context. Participation here could be understood as the move of governance style towards more openness, which is the shift from the top of the triangle to the bottom. In this way, participation focuses on the value from the 'citizen perspective' and aims to incorporate stakeholders in public decision-making. However, only by mentioning participation does not indicate a specific method to be more inclusive. Therefore, participation could take different routes and which route is better remains a value-laden question.

2.2.3 The transformation of governance

In the governance triangle, three extreme models of governance are presented. Real-life governance processes are always mixtures of these different models. Martens (2007) have listed four models which could be frequently observed in the past decades and reflect elements of more than one governance models: governance through bureaucratic rivalry, governance through adversarial bargaining game, the corporatist mode, and experiments with public participation (Figure 7). Among the four models, the corporatist model is considered as being close to the governance form in the Netherlands. Therefore, the corporatist model is further explained in this section as an important reference for discussion later.

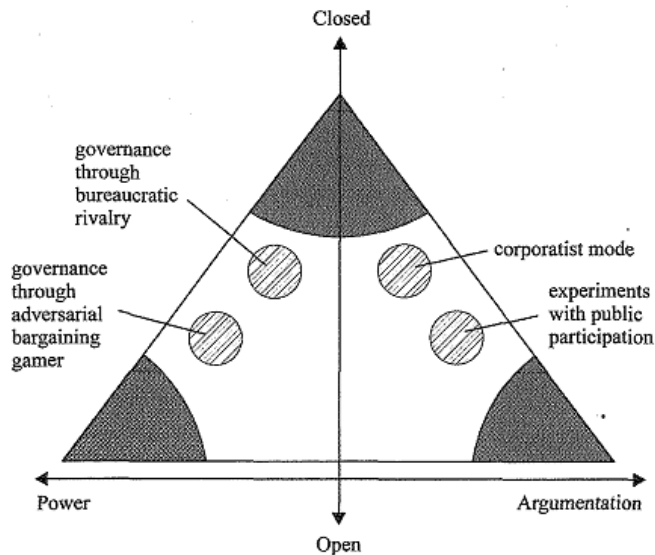


Figure 7 The position of early governance modes within the 'governance triangle' (Martens, 2007)

The corporatist model is defined by Healey (1997) as one of the four widely used models in describing existing western governance systems, which is found most notably in post-war West Germany and currently in the Netherlands. The underlying democracy of the corporatist model is one similar to pluralist democracy as there are also competing interest groups. However, the democracy of corporatist model has a fundamental difference from pluralist democracy: the assumption is no longer that all groups are in equal position in competition, as Healey (1997) demonstrates:

The corporatist model assumes a 'shared-power' world, as does the pluralist one, but the power is shared among a few, powerful interest groups, articulated to national level organizations. In contrast to the pluralist model, but in common with representative democracy, this approach thus has an 'apex' structure. The 'public interest' is recognized as primarily the interests of the major businesses... (p 225)

Some scholars refer to this situation as "a neo-élite version of democracy (Dunlevy and O'Leary, 1987, cited by Healey, 1997)". The corporatist model employs elements of the communicative model into the governance processes, which is considered as its advantage:

It (the corporatist model) can develop and deliver a stable consensus. ... It allows 'mutual learning' among the partners, and has thus some capacity for development and flexibility. It avoids the kind of adversarial competitive politics which have developed in the US, the UK and Australia. The good decision is the one which best achieves the public interest as defined by the corporate alliance (Healey, 1997, p 225-226).

This model has the potential to "evolve into the kind of stable governance arrangements characterized as *urban regimes* (Stone, 1989, cited by Healey, 1997, p 226)". Another feature of this model is that it "has favored the scientific, engineering and economic modes of thought of the 'managerial' disciplines (Healey, 1997, p 227)." Therefore, this model could develop effective and efficient policies based on good quality technical information. However, critiques of the corporatist model are abundant, concentrating on its narrow social base and the focus on instrumental rationalism (Healey, 1997). Although it can develop a stable consensus and allow 'mutual learning' among the partners, because of the narrow scope of engaged interests, corporatist model is challenged as "both unrepresentative and unable to learn, innovate and adapt to new conditions (Healey, 1997, p 227)".

Overall, compared with governance through coordination model, the corporatist model shifts towards the argumentation direction. Moreover, experiments with public participation in many countries have resulted in a governance form which goes forward in the argumentation direction (Martens, 2007, Figure 7). On the other half of the ‘governance triangle’, we could view governance forms which have ingredients of the competition model: governance through bureaucratic rivalry, governance through adversarial bargaining game (Figure 7).

Putting the three ideal models and corporatist model together, we then have a pool of governance models from which preferences could be revealed. To some degree, the preference for governance models is determined by the preference for their underlying democratic form. We argue that deliberative or discursive democracy is a better democratic model than others. Firstly, genuine representative democracy is hard to achieve because society at present is composed of diffused interests which are difficult to aggregate. Secondly, pluralist democracy encourages interest groups into adversarial bargaining where fixed interests and preferences are reinforced. This situation easily leads to outcomes which are “zero-sum games of the ‘I win – you lose’ variety (Healey, 1997, p 224)”. Moreover, in reality pluralist democracy often turns into the neo-élite version of democracy in corporatist model because of unevenly distributed power among interest groups. This neo-élite version of democracy is apparently undemocratic because it violates the basic requirement of democracy that collective interest should be responsive to the interests of each stakeholder bound by the decisions (Cohen, 1998). Therefore, deliberative democracy, which is based on collaborative argumentation processes, provides a more reasonable way to define the collective interest. Accordingly, we hold the normative opinion that governance through argumentation model has an advantage over other kinds of governance models towards more democratic processes and outcomes. In the next section, one of the underlying theories of the argumentation model: communicative or communicative planning theory is explained further.

2.3 The normative position: Communicative planning theory

Planning has been recognized as a rational technical enterprise since the Enlightenment. The modern view of planning, which is based on instrumental rationality, holds that “there are absolute truths and it is possible to plan rationally for ideal social orders (Harvey, 1990, cited by Allmendinger, 2009, p 175)”. The solution of a planning problem could be found like in a process of solving a technical problem: first, there is a pre-defined goal to achieve as an ‘end’; second, several methods or approaches are specified as ‘means’ to reach this goal; finally, the best alternative is chosen from scientific reasoning based on full information about this issue (Allmendinger, 2009). However, starting from the 1980s, along with the critique for modernity, this modern view for planning has been challenged (Allmendinger, 2009). The belief in objective knowledge and instrumental rationality is questioned in the context of our society becoming more fragmented and plural, thus the rational planning theory which separates ‘means’ from ‘ends’ becomes problematic.

In seeking alternative theory to compensate the “normative poverty” (Allmendinger, 2009, p197) since the rational-comprehensive approach of the 1970s, communicative planning theory offers a way forward. Communicative planning theory¹ is a paradigm which views planning as a communicative or collaborative process (Allmendinger, 2009). It has been developed since the 1970s from a number of

¹ The corresponding concepts of “communicative planning theory” in practice are “collaborative planning”, “collaborative policy-making”, “collaborative process” and “collaborative dialogue” (Healey, 2003; Allmendinger, 2009; Innes and Booher, 2010). The “communicative” in “communicative planning theory” refers to “communicative rationality” developed by Habermas.

contemporary planning theorists, including John Forester, Pasty Healey, John Dryzek, Charlie Hoch and Judy Innes (Healey, 1997; Innes and Booher, 2010). Different theorists have used a wide range of different theoretical references in their work. Accordingly, communicative planning theory has many strands (Healey, 1997) and has been in the process of converging and evolving. However, their similarities unite them together. Overall, this school of theorists “sought to understand planning in phenomenological and critical theory traditions (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 29)”. Healey explains its conceptual ground, “It builds on the realization that knowledge and value do not merely have objective existence in the external world, to be ‘discovered’ by scientific inquiry. They are, rather, actively constituted through social, interactive processes (Berger and Luckman, 1967; Latour, 1987; Shotter, 1993, cited by Healey, 1997). (p 28)”

2.3.1 Philosophical basis

As explained, communicative planning theory is grounded in different philosophical ideologies. Here four ideologies which have the major influences are explained.

To start with, it is influenced by phenomenology (Healey, 1997; Innes and Booher, 2010). According to Innes and Booher (2010), “interpretive qualitative knowing or phenomenology can provide an alternative by which to understand and justify collaborative inquiry (p 21).” They explain further,

Phenomenologists argued that knowledge is about phenomena as wholes, rather than divided into components, and the goal of knowing is understanding rather than explanation. ... Meaning is central, and intentions and beliefs are themselves constitutive of reality, rather than reality being out there to be discovered. Whereas positivist researchers would discount meaning as purely subjective, in the interpretive mode meaning and belief are basic data. ... Subjectivity in this view is not just a personal experience, but it is built in a community through a social construction process. Interpretive views are in this way also consistent with collaborative dialogue, where meaning is collectively constructed. (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 21-22)

Based on phenomenology, collaborative dialogue is indeed “a process of negotiating meanings” (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 22) and meanings, which are carried by subjective views and could be shared because of intersubjectivity, are constituents of reality. Therefore, collaborative dialogue becomes a way to reveal reality.

Furthermore, communicative planning theory is influenced by the critical school, especially the work of Jürgen Habermas (Healey, 1997; Allmendinger, 2009; Innes and Booher, 2010). The background of Habermas’s work is a critique of modernity, developed mainly by two schools of thought, the postmodernism and the reforming or neo-modernism (Allmendinger, 2009). They hold the same view that there are problems with aspects of modernism; however, they have different attitudes towards how to fix those problems. Habermas’s work belongs to the reforming school. According to Allmendinger (2009),

Unlike post-modernists, Habermas is more concerned with building upon modernism rather than abandoning it altogether. There is no one over-arching rationalism in modernism, as postmodernists claim, but three, based on science, morality and art. Although knowledge and access to these different rationales may have been hijacked by ‘professionals’, such as planners, the answer is to reclaim rationality from a narrow instrumental/ scientific focus, which has dominated the non-‘scientific’ world, and rediscover what Habermas (1984) terms ‘communicative rationality’. This involves breaking down the dominance of scientific objectivism and building instead a different kind of objectivity based on agreement between individuals reached through free and open discourse (p 199-200).

Habermas has detailed views about how communicative rationality could be reached,

He contends that if communicative processes meet certain conditions, what emerges can be said to be rational- though in a very different sense than that associated with positivist thinking. The first condition is that dialogue must be face to face with all of the all differing interests. Second it must meet four speech conditions: all utterances must be comprehensible among participants; statements must be true in the positivist sense, using adequate logic and evidence; speakers must be sincere; and each must have legitimacy to make the statements they do. They have to be able to develop sufficient intersubjective understanding to put themselves in one another's place and be mutually understood. There can be no coercion or domination by a participant, and all must be treated equally. Moreover, all participants must have equal access to information. Finally participants must question only by the force of a better argument and not by power, ignorance, or peer pressure. (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 24)

The conditions to reach communicative rationality are used by Innes and Booher to develop "the more practical concept of collaborative rationality" (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 24) which will be addressed later.

Moreover, communicative planning theory is influenced by the work of Anthony Giddens and the institutionalist school, which provide a relational perspective (Healey, 1997; Allmendinger, 2009). Healey (1997) demonstrates,

The new institutionalism is grounded in a relational view of social life, which focuses on people actively and interactively constructing their worlds, both materially and in the meanings they make, while surrounded by powerful constraints of various kinds. *Active agency* interacts with constraining *structures*, in Giddens' formation. ... The institutionalist approach rejects the notion that the social world is constituted of autonomous individuals, each pursuing their own preferences in order to obtain material satisfaction – the utilities of neoclassical economic theory. It is based instead on the conception of individual identities, as socially constructed. ... Institutional social theory thus emphasizes the way, through the flow of the social relations of our lives, we 'make' our identities and our relations with others (p 35).

This relational view guides scholars to focus on interactive, in other words, collaborative practices. Therefore, institutionalism emphasizes the importance to research on collaborative processes.

Last but not least, communicative planning theory is influenced by complexity theory (Innes and Booher, 2010). According to Innes and Booher (2010), "There is a substantial convergence of complexity thinking with the theories we have outlined above (p 34)", while the specialty of complexity theory is that it "offers a developed framework for understanding how collaboration plays a part in a complex, changing and uncertain world (p 31)." Innes and Booher (2010) explain the similarities between these theories, "Complexity science converges with the critical theorists' focus on the dialectical nature of knowledge, as it does with the dynamic of Giddens' structuration theory (p 31)." Furthermore, they demonstrate the added value of complex theory,

Complex systems, under certain conditions, can be complex adaptive systems (CAS), self-organizing and perhaps moving to higher levels of system performance. ... As professionals we can encourage policies that are designed to encourage self-organization, system wide learning and adaptiveness. ... In our research we use CAS thinking to theorize about the central aspects of collaborative planning, diversity, interdependence, and interaction. We concluded, for example, that traditional approaches to evaluating public programs did not make sense for collaborative planning and developed an evolution framework based upon CAS. (p 31, 32, 33)

Five features of CAS are explained that could be helpful in applying the ideas to planning and policy.

First, the system is made up of very large numbers of individual agents connected through multiple networks. Second, these agents interact dynamically, exchanging information and energy according to localized heuristics. ... Third, the interactions are nonlinear, iterative, recursive and self-referential with many direct and indirect feedback loops. Fourth, the system is open to its environment, and its behavior is determined by the interactions (Schelling 1978; Stacey 2001). Fifth, the system displays both the capacity to maintain its viability and the capacity to evolve. (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 32, 33)

Therefore, complexity theory, especially CAS thinking, offers a framework for Innes and Booher for developing their own theory of collaborative planning.

Overall, phenomenology and institutionalism provide ideology about socially constructed reality and give grounds for collaborative processes, while “Habermas’ discourse ethics and concept of communicative rationality offers a normative principle with which to evaluate and challenge the qualities of interactive practices (Healey, 2003, p 106)”. Furthermore, complexity theory contributes to build up theory in a complex, changing and uncertain world.

2.3.2 A normative and descriptive model: the IDAD network dynamics

What is the implementation of communicative planning theory to planning practice? This question is hard to answer. In searching answers of the question in the beginning, scholars develop hints for what planning could look like in a communicative paradigm. Healey contends that “it is about planners having an agenda. Its content is the dilemma faced by all those committed to planning as a democratic enterprise aimed at promoting social justice and environmental sustainability (1993b, p 232, cited by Allmendinger, 2009).” Dryzek (1990, cited by Allmendinger, 2009) argues that there should be no systems and procedures in collaborative processes, which could introduce new forms of domination, and that all stakeholders involved in dialogue should also be involved in deciding the rules and processes, meanwhile “constant critique of the rules and processes must be maintained to ensure that they avoid becoming dominating themselves (p215)”. Planners need to be aware of the domination and distortion engaged in planning processes, which could come from the organization that planners work for (Healey, 1993b, cited by Allmendinger, 2009). However, Allmendinger (2009) comments that, “nobody really knows what a communicative process or institution would look like for fear of dominating possible alternatives (p 217-218)”, and “in seeking to translate the idea of Habermas, we have simply moved from the highly abstract to the abstract (p 218)”.

However, Innes and Booher (2003) attempt to answer this question in a relatively more concrete form. They develop a framework (see Figure 8) to illustrate what collaborative policy making can accomplish and under what conditions. As they explain, “It is both a descriptive and a normative theory – descriptive of successful collaborative processes and normative in that it provides a model for the design and implementation of collaborative processes that can produce significant outcomes (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 35).” This theory borrows substantially from phenomenology, critical theory and complexity theory (Innes and Booher, 2010). In this theory, collaborative processes are understood within the concept of complex adaptive systems.

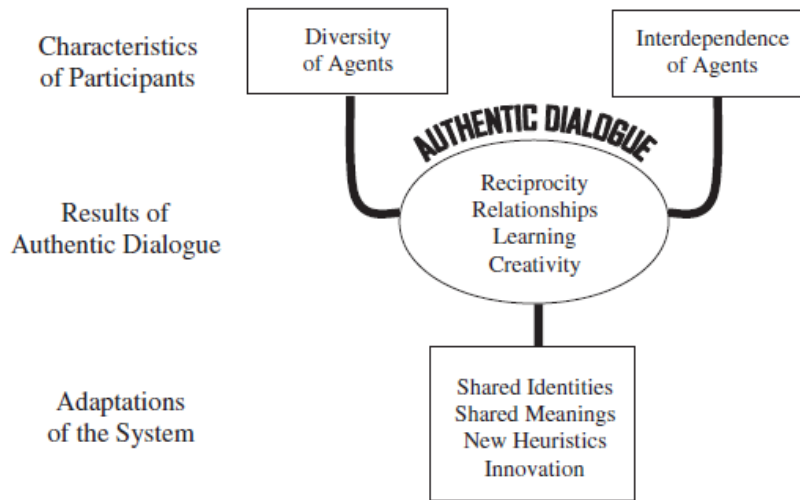


Figure 8 Diversity, interdependence and authentic dialogue (DIAD) network dynamics. (Innes and Booher, 2003)

Three conditions are crucial to “whether a collaborative process can be collaboratively rational, productive of socially valuable outcomes, and adaptive to the opportunities and challenges of its unique and changing context (Innes and Booher, 2010, p 35)”. It is noteworthy that Innes and Booher invented a new concept “collaborative rationality” to refer to rationality which comes out of a collaborative process. “Collaborative rationality” is a more practical concept compared to “communicative rationality” defined by Habermas (Innes and Booher, 2010). These conditions include authentic dialogue, diversity of agents and interdependence of agents and will be explained further.

Authentic dialogue criteria are based on Habermas’ four speech conditions of communicative rationality (Innes and Booher, 2003). The speech conditions could not be reached naturally by participants alone. But experienced facilitator could guide a group to arrive at these conditions gradually. To facilitate an authentic dialogue, the most important thing is to teach participants to avoid positional bargaining and to guide them in interest-based bargaining². Besides, authentic dialogue depends on the group being able to challenge assumptions and question the status quo. Innes and Booher (2003) explained, “It is such challenges to the norms that create adaptive governance and allow the system move to higher levels of performance (p39).” In their article, Innes and Booher also demonstrated that the methods of facilitating authentic dialogue condition were being developed and accumulating by practitioners. They listed five points: 1) at the beginning, an analysis of interests of each group member is necessary; 2) the ground rules and mission should be defined by the group itself; 3) tasks should be designed in such a way that participants have interest and expertise to accomplish; 4) an environment should be created that participants feel free to speak out their mind, even if they know others may not like it; 5) participants should find facts jointly, which is the basis for mutual agreement (Innes and Booher, 2003). Besides, staff which facilitates the process must be trusted by all participants.

The next condition is ‘diversity of agents’, which means that all stakeholders need to be engaged in the collaborative process. This inclusiveness has three positive influences: 1) assumptions will be challenged by someone, so that people could think beyond the status quo and existing power-relations of

² Interest-based bargaining is different from positional bargaining (Innes, 2004). In the former kind of bargaining, stakeholders don’t have a pre-defined solution or action to be taken, they communicate about their specific interest and negotiate about solutions on basis of an accepted common interest; in the later kind of bargaining, stakeholders have a pre-defined solution which is inflexible, the negotiation becomes more like a ‘zero-sum game’.

society; 2) agreements would be durable, fully informed and legitimate; 3) exclusion of some interests may result in an ineffective strategy because of the information that this excluded group may possess (Innes and Booher, 2003).

Interdependence of interests is another crucial condition, which is the basis for creating an adaptive learning system as a result of collaborative process. Interdependence is represented by the fact that each agent could offer something for other people to benefit (Innes and Booher, 2003). It is only with this condition that the collaboration of all becomes necessary and beneficial. According to Innes and Booher (2003), "Most voluntary collaborative processes are, in our observation, instigated and driven by a shared perception of interdependence around a problem, although this may be only vaguely articulated (p40)." This condition need not to be facilitated by special methods. If the collaborative process goes on smoothly, participants could understand more about their interdependence through interest-sharing, joint problem definition and mission definition. Therefore, they would become increasingly willing to find cooperative solution.

The focus of this paper is on the conditions of the network dynamics model. Therefore, the results of this model would only be briefly illustrated. The results of the network dynamics model are divided into three levels based on the scale of the influence. The first level results of network dynamics is within the scope of the project, including reciprocity, relationships, learning and creativity (Innes and Booher, 2003). Reciprocity reveals when people work out innovative ways to solve a problem. Meanwhile, new relationships are established between the agents. This involves learning for all members of the network. And the innovative ideas indicate creativity that is activated throughout the process. The second and third level results of network dynamics are adaptations at the system level, including shared identities, shared meanings, new heuristics and innovation (Innes and Booher, 2003).

2.3.3 Critiques and replies

The critiques on communicative planning theory are abundant. First, collaborative planning owns an indigenous paradox: it is a paradigm shift; however, no clear pathway or process is explained for fear of dominating processes which could be highly divergent in different contexts (Allmendinger, 2009). The realization of communicative rationality seems to be based on "a critical, interactively reflexive habit of participants" (Healey, 1992, p 158). It is possible that the discussion around collaborative planning would always remain abstract and thus it is difficult to be pointed as an alternative.

Furthermore, collaborative planning lacks argumentation about its underlying forms of democracy – participatory democracy (Allmendinger, 2009). Allmendinger (2009) explains that "Perhaps the most important aspect of planning as a communicative process, its basis upon participative forms of democracy, is taken as read by its proponents without acknowledging a host of practical and theoretical problems associated with this (p 221)." He argues further that participatory democracy is only one competing paradigm among many, and its competitors (e.g., representative democracy, legal democracy, etc.) are all firmly located within instrumentally rational or 'modern' systems. In general, "The communicative theorists give few indications of how representative democracy will be combined with participative democracy and consequently it is difficult for planners and others to envisage how communicative rationality can ever be more than an abstract theory (Allmendinger, 2009, p222)."

Third, collaborative planning has been criticized of being too idealistic about the possibility of undistorted communication (Low, 1991, cited by Allmendinger, 2009). Low argues that "Domination is part of the operational rules of society in which planners are enmeshed (1991, cited by Allmendinger, 2009, p 222)." Collaborative theorists have replied on the critiques. Healey (2003) contends that

communicative planning theory never assumes a ‘power-neutral’ situation and that it is important to distinguish between Habermas’ idea and the approach applied in communicative theory. She claims that Habermas has an ideal hope that his ideal speech situation could become a dominant mode of governance discourse, but she finds it hard to imagine that such situations would exist. She uses Habermas’ speech situation as a valuable tool of critique in struggles to challenge the inequality of power relations. Healey further explained that she understands power as a relation not a ‘thing’, and the relations keep changing due to social interactions. She believes that people could develop capacity for critical reflexivity, which could facilitate the process of cultural readjustment (Healey, 2003).

Empirical research also confirms the opinion that communicative rationality has not been attempted on a large scale. Although communicative planning theory has been developed for over 20 years, collaborative planning is still not a common practice. Innes (2000) claims that collaborative methods are far from becoming the norm in policy making or planning practice. She explains that because lots of collaborative dialogue methods happen ad hoc, they are not part of the formal planning procedure thus not official or binding. In recent research, scholar argues that “in a large number of cities the collaborative paradigm of planning is only now being implemented (Kotus, 2013, p227)”.

3. Methodology

3.1 Type of research

This research is both descriptive and exploratory. The first and second research questions are descriptive questions about governance styles and conditions achieved in co-creation projects. The third research question concerning new learnings is exploratory because empirical researches in Netherlands about how collaborative planning approaches could be implemented are limited. As Voogd and Woltjer (1999) claim based on reflection of Dutch experiences, “communicative planning must go together with ‘adaptive’ rational planning (p 835)”. However, how this could be done remains unclear.

In general, this research employs qualitative method and multiple case study method.

This research aims to understand participation and governance processes in three ‘co-creation’ projects in the Netherlands based on communicative planning theory. The focus is really into the ‘process’ dynamics in each of these projects, rather than getting a general idea about only one or two detailed aspects. We ask questions of ‘what is the governance style’, ‘how much of DIAD model conditions are relevant’ and ‘what are the learnings from practice’ in the three projects. To answer these questions involves a detailed recording of project context, behavior of different actors and outcomes in the whole time range of the project.

The case study is “a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p 534). This research has a purpose which is suitable for case study research. According to Yin (1994), case study can involve either single or multiple cases. Yin describes multiple case studies as analogous to multiple experiments; they follow a “replication logic.” The “logic” underlying the use of multiple-case studies is: each case must be selected so that it either 1) predicts similar results (a literal replication) or 2) produces contrasting results but for predictable reasons (a theoretical replication). In this research, multiple cases are chosen. The three cases in this research are representative cases of “collaborative policy making for strategic plans” of a certain locality. In reality, this kind of strategic policy-making could happen in different scales: national, regional and local. In order to extend the evidence to a broad range of scales, three cases (one provincial, one municipal and one neighborhood scale) are chosen to allow findings to be replicated within each category of scale.

According to Hennink *et al.* (2011), “Qualitative research methods are typically used for providing an in-depth understandings of the research issues that embraces the perspectives of the study population and the context in which they live (p 10).” Furthermore, “qualitative research is most suitable for addressing ‘why’ questions to explain and understand issues or ‘how’ questions that describe processes or behavior (Hennink *et al.*, 2011, p 10)”. This research fits into the situation described by Hennink because of a need for in-depth understanding and description about processes and behaviors. Therefore, qualitative data collection methods are chosen in this research.

Moreover, this research is a cross-sectional study. Although longitudinal study is preferable for such dynamic processes as ‘co-creation’, this study is limited by the periods of time that the researcher could devote. Accordingly, researcher deliberately chose recent cases to help participants recall events easily, and the focus of research question was on the conditions of collaborative rationality rather than the results from it. Therefore, cross-sectional study should be effective in this context.

3.2 Case selection

The three cases are selected in a two-step process. First, the researcher searched on the internet using key word “citizen participation” (burgerparticipatie in Dutch) and “spatial planning” (ruimtelijke ordening in Dutch). Around ten to twenty cases were found. In this process, the researcher found a helpful website which was the Dutch VNG (Association of Dutch Municipalities) database. Several cases were found from this website under the item of “citizen participation”³. Then the first round of selection is based on the following criteria: 1) it is a strategic planning project with an area of no larger than a single province; 2) the planning process starts later than Jan 2012; 3) planning process is finished or almost finished at the time of field work (May till August, 2014); 4) it has a positive image concerning participation; 5) documentation about planning processes could be found on internet; 6) in the planning process, ingredients of ‘collaborative dialogue’ could be found. These criteria insure that the planning processes are conducted in less than three years. Therefore, in later interviews, it would be easier for the interviewee to reflect correctly about the planning processes. Furthermore, the criteria guarantee that planning processes are well-recorded and published on line. The richness of information provided online could show the confidence of the process designers and their willingness to share knowledge.

After the first step, three cases were selected based on range of different spatial scales. The second step was to confirm process information and make adjustments. This second step is necessary because it is hard to know about whether ‘collaborative dialogue’ was implemented only from the general information. It is only possible by researching into the planning processes. The researcher started to read process information from documentation online, meanwhile, started to contact project manager of each case to confirm about the unclear process information. During this process, the researcher adjusted the cases into the final three. One case was dropped because it didn’t employ ‘collaborative dialogue’. Meanwhile, a new case was added partly because of recommendation from one interviewee who is a practitioner of ‘co-creation’ projects. However, besides expert recommendation, the case also met the conditions of this selection, which was the most important reason to include it.

The final selection of three cases are Spatial Structural Vision Venlo (Structuurvisie in Dutch), Environmental Vision Gelderland (Omgevingsvisie in Dutch), and Neighborhood Vision Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt (Wijkperspectief in Dutch). In this research we refer to these plans in their original Dutch names. They are respectively on the spatial scale of a municipality, a province and two neighborhoods.

3.3 Methods of data collection

The methods of data collection include document study and semi-structured in-depth interview. They are conducted in two steps. First, from April to May, 2014, the researcher carried out document study of the three selected cases. The aim of document study was to acquire information about the context and process information. In detail, the goal was to answer questions:

- 1) How did the initiative of ‘co-creation’ come about?
- 2) Who were the actors involved?
- 3) How was ‘co-creation’ organized?
 - a) Tools used
 - b) Periods and stages
 - c) Links with formal planning procedure

³ <http://praktijkvoorbeelden.vng.nl/databank/burgerparticipatie.aspx>

4) What is the outcome of the process?

In the process of documentation study, the interview guides of the next stages were worked out at the same time. The aim of in-depth interview was partly to enrich information about the process, and partly to know about the attitudes and views of the participants. The interview guides were made into several versions in order to be applicable for different interviewees and cases. Finally, five categories of actors were specified: facilitator, project manager, government official, politicians and citizens. Interview questions were deducted from research questions, meanwhile being changed into practical ones which do not contain abstract concepts. Interview questions were made in such a way to insure that the whole range of research questions was covered. The outline of interview questions is:

Personal involvement

- 1) What is your experience this co-creation project?
- 2) What do you think is your role in the co-creation process? How do you feel about it?

Authentic dialogue conditions

- 3) In the collective dialogue process,
 - a) Do you feel free to speak out your mind in your group?
 - b) Do you feel yourself equal with other group members?
 - c) After the dialogue, do you have a good knowledge of other's interest?
 - d) Do you trust others in your group?

Personal opinions

- 4) How do you evaluate the co-creation process? Are you satisfied with plan which comes out from co-creation?
- 5) How do you see the existing distribution of tasks, responsibilities and power?
- 6) What do you think is the added-value of co-creation?
- 7) What are your findings after the co-creation process?
- 8) What do you understand as co-creation?

The researcher designed the interview to be semi-structured and in-depth. Therefore, the researcher made efforts to avoid leading questions. Meanwhile, the researcher expected the interviewee to tell information about governance and DIAD conditions naturally in their explanation of experience in co-creation. To some extent, the specific words used in these questions and the order of the questions are not important. Rooms are left for unexpected issues raised during the interview.

The second stage was from the starting of June to the mid of July, 2014, when 19 in-depth interviews were conducted (Table 1). The recruitment strategies are different in each case. Because the researcher is not an outsider for these cases, the recruitment of interviewees relies on the help from the contact person, which is the project manager, in each case. Accordingly, the researcher could not choose which strategy to use, but have to negotiate with the contact person. In the case of Venlo, the project manager showed high willingness to assist the research. A form containing information of all participants in their co-creation project was provided. Therefore, the researcher was able to conduct a random sampling combined with a stratified sampling: first, the researcher specified different actor groups; then, randomly selected 2-3 persons within each group. Afterwards, e-mails of inquiry were sent to the selected persons. They could choose freely if they want to participate in the research or not. In the other two cases, interviewees were recruited from the recommendation of the project manager based on the requirements from the researcher that there should be a full range of actors. The process of asking for consent from interviewees was the same for these two cases. It is noteworthy that the working language is English in the interviews, which is limited by the ability of the researcher. Some strategies were used to help

interviewee understand better, such as sending interviewees interview questions in advance, doing interview with a translator at hand.

Finally, 19 interviews were conducted from June 10 to July 10 on an average duration of 55 minutes, all recorded with digital device. 17 out of 19 interviews were carried out face-to-face in working place or other meeting place that the interviewee proposed. Two interviews were by telephone. Most of interviewees showed high willingness to talk about co-creation project they experienced, which could be reflected in the average length of the interview. Rich information about the detailed processes of co-creation and participants' views were drawn. Almost all interviewees have a good ability to talk in English because most of them are well-educated persons. From the interviewer's point of view, they all could sufficiently convey their ideas using appropriate English words except one interviewee who could only speak in simple words and sentences. Overall, the quality of interview in English was high. The researcher took efforts to ensure that actors from different categories were recruited. Finally, in each category of actors there was at least one interviewee. However, due to practical obstacles, there was one exceptional: in the case of Gelderland, there was no interviewee in the 'citizen' category.

Table 1 Summary of interviews

Case location	Venlo	Gelderland	Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt
Time period	June 10-20	July 4- 14	July 2-8
Total number of interviewee	8	7	4
Detailed number of interviewee			
Facilitator	1	Not applicable	1
Project manager	1	1	1
Other government official	3	5	0
Politician	1	1	Not applicable
Citizen	2	0	2

3.4 Methods of data analysis

Analysis approach of qualitative data in this research is based on the broad principles of grounded theory. Grounded theory is associated with the interpretive paradigm (Hennink *et al.*, 2011), which is in consistence with the paradigm underlying communicative planning theory. According to Hennink *et al.* (2011), "Grounded theory provides a set of flexible guidelines and a process for textual data analysis that is well suited to understanding human behavior, and identifying social processes and cultural norms (p 206)." Grounded theory suggests a series of tasks that are continually repeated through the process of data analysis. However, these tasks are not conducted in a set order, but used flexibly. Based on the approach outlined by Hennink *et al.* (2011), qualitative research data are processed in the following processes:

1. Prepare transcripts from the interviews
2. Anonymize data
3. Develop codes and define them
4. Code data
5. Describe and conceptualize

3.5 Ethical issues

During research design, data collection and data analysis processes, ethical issues are carefully treated. In interviewee recruitment, the principle of voluntary participation is employed. An e-mail is sent to the

potential interviewee in the first place, explaining clearly that they are free to participate or not. If the potential interviewee agrees to participate, then a consent form describing confidentiality information (see appendix) would be sent along with the interview questions. The information the respondents get are kept confidential.

4. The three case studies

In this chapter, the detailed process of co-creation projects and their correspondence with communicative planning theory are illustrated. In each case, writing composes of a same structure of contents: initiative, process, result, correspondence with DIAD theory and other important issues. This structure of contents corresponds with the three research questions. The parts of initiative, process and results record the roles and responsibilities of different actors, and underlying rules in society which provide evidence for defining the governance style. Bases on these facts, the governance style in the three cases is discussed collectively in chapter 5. The next part, correspondence with DIAD theory, is a direct answer to research question two. And the last part, other important issues, provides important materials to answer to research question three. To keep the text focused and easy to read, some reference of interview materials are provided in the appendix. Please refer to them using the numbers of transcript written in bracket.

Here is a form of basic information of the three cases, detailed information will be provided in this chapter.

Table 2 Information about the three cases selected

Name of the plan	Omgevingsvisie	Structuurvisie	Wijkperspectief
Scale	Province	Municipality	Neighborhood
Place	Gelderland	Venlo (100,369 residents ⁴)	Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt (5000-6000 residents)
Start time	February 2012	April 2013	September 2012
Current status	Approved by provincial parliament in July 9, 2014.	Proved by city council in June 25, 2014	Approved by city council on 16 July, 2013. Now in action plan period.
Aim	Work with social partners to create together a strategic plan which responses the changing needs.	Involve councilors and citizens in policy-making process of a long term vision.	Create a ‘mutual dream’ shared between residents and government and work it out step by step.
Initiators	Provincial Executive (college van Gedeputeerde Staten in Dutch)	Government officials in Venlo municipality	The neighborhood organization
Major Participants	Provincial Executive; Government officials; Social organizations; Other governments (municipal).	Government officials; Councilor; Citizens; Entrepreneurs; Social organizations.	Residents in the neighborhood; Some government officials.
Tools	Conference (themes finding); Working groups; Website platform.	Conference (themes finding); Working groups; Interactive webpage.	Meeting (themes finding); Working groups.
Feature	Loose design: no pre-defined route for co-creation; no clear role	Strict design: with pre-defined principles; relatively clear role; parallel process	Government gives responsibility of plan-making totally to residents; restricts by compartmentalization

4.1 Case 1: Omgevingsvisie Gelderland

Gelderland is the largest province in terms of land area in the Netherlands, located in the central-eastern part of the country. Omgevingsvisie is a statutory plan which defines long-term development principles in different themes for a province, including water, traffic and transportation, industry and environmental reconstruction (Province Gelderland, 2014).

⁴ June 1, 2014. Sources: <http://www.venlo.incijfers.nl/>

4.1.1 Initiative

The co-creation project for Omgevingsvisie Gelderland came about from the awareness of the Provincial Executive that the government was not the only one who was important for social changes (Interview with project manager, transcript 1). In times of change, developments and trends are no longer easy to predict. In order to respond more flexibly to the changing needs and regional differences, the Provincial Executive raised the idea of using the method of co-creation to make the Omgevingsvisie. In co-creation, importance was attached to cooperate with important social organizations. The provincial government aimed to act a different role from the old one, which was making policies alone and leaving it to others, instead, they chose to work closely with the social partners, finding out about their needs and using expertise from both sides. The social groups which were specified to be partners in the process were water boards (Waterschappen in Dutch), municipalities, civil society organizations, housing associations and entrepreneurs (Province Gelderland, 2014).

4.1.2 Process

Most of the participants of the Omgevingsvisie were governmental bodies, big organizations like the association of entrepreneurs, and only in a few cases individual citizens. Municipal governments were much involved because one important aim of the Omgevingsvisie was to develop principles to avoid the municipalities to develop policies which only benefit themselves but have negative effects on their neighboring municipalities (Interview with project manager, transcript 2). In other words, the policies developed in the Omgevingsvisie have an arbitrating role for policies developed within a municipality which have effects larger than its own territory. The fact that only big organizations were involved was due to the scale and aim of the Omgevingsvisie. The Omgevingsvisie was on the scale of the whole province, and in the Netherlands, interest groups were well developed in every segment of society (Interview with government official, transcript 4). Therefore, it was more efficient to contact with civil society organizations to discuss about provincial policies than to contact with individual citizens (Interview with project manager, transcript 3). However, when drawing the plan and there was specific problem in a certain location, the project group also interacted with the local residents or land owners there (Interview with project manager, transcript 5).

The process of creating the Omgevingsvisie is quite complicated because it is a formal plan and there is a fixed procedure to follow about public participation and decision-making. The designer aimed to add the element of co-creation in the original procedure and meanwhile not to spend too much extra time on it. The whole process which was from the beginning of 2012 till the fall of 2014, could be briefly described in the following figure:

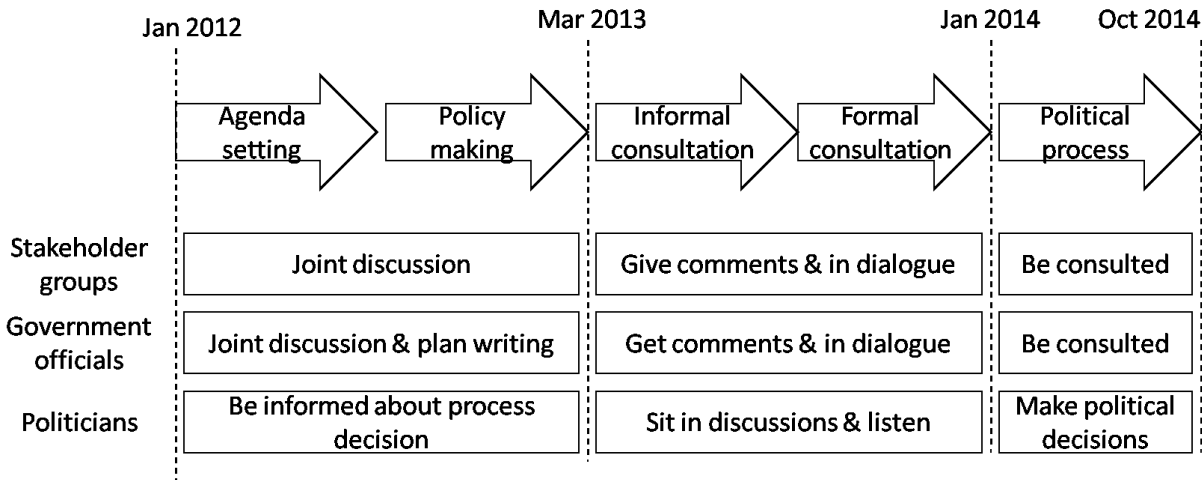


Figure 9 the process of designing the Omgevingsvisie Gelderland, drawn by the author

At the very beginning of the process, the project manager was appointed. He organized a project team which was responsible for the management of the project. He drew the starting document and gave it to the parliament to be approved. This document was different from traditional ones. In this document directional principles for themes, for example to increase office building construction, were not included. Instead, this document made another kind of boundary by saying, for example, that they were going to make solutions in the housing market which could connect every stakeholder. The parliament was not used to this kind of boundaries, but they still gave their permission and trust for this document. Therefore, the project started. (Interview with project manager, transcript 6)

In detail, the process of creating the Omgevingsvisie could be divided into four periods (based on Koetsier, 2012; Province Gelderland, 2014; interview synthesis):

1. Open discussion (Feb 2012- Mar 2013):

- On February 2012, a kick-off conference of 300-400 people was organized to start the discussion on the Omgevingsvisie with an open agenda. Professionals, social partners and politicians were all invited to this conference. With no pre-set agenda, everyone was asked to give their own views about what the important themes should be in the Omgevingsvisie.
- In June 2012, the project team made an agenda which included the 20 themes which came from the collective discussion. The project team showed this agenda to the politicians to get their agreement.
- The process of discussion continued for another six months. In this period, each theme had their own discussions among participants. By the end of 2012, the project team organized a conference with all the participants in co-creation, about 200 people participated.
- After this conference, the daily manager suggested to start verifying what the discussions were about and writing some notes for the Omgevingsvisie. For each of the 20 themes, the project team gave the task of making a three-page note which included 5-6 key ingredients. In each theme, professionals made the note first, then, the project team organized a two-hour session to check with around 8-10 people who were the key participants in that theme. The aim was to get everyone's response, including professionals, politicians and social partners, on the note. In January, 2013, the project team had a first document for the Omgevingsvisie which is a short paper including notes per theme (interview with daily manager, transcript 7).
- January to March 2013, people inside the provincial government were writing the plan and finished the plan document.

In this period of open discussion, different social organizations were invited to work with the professionals from the government. This was a period of intense dialogue and co-working. What is special in this period is that the government didn't ask the social partners 'Let's do a plan together' in the first place, but instead they asked what they were already working on in their field. Then on the basis of this, they asked what can be done on the level of Omgevingsvisie to help realize this theme (interview with project manager, transcript 8).

In the process of policy making (Jan to Mar 2013), the government tried not to make the policy alone, but consulted the social partners intensely (interview with daily manager, transcript 8). For different sub-topics, co-creation was organized differently because the project manager did not define a certain way of working but he encouraged the people to find out their own route in working together. In actual situation, some were with lots participation, but some were with less (interview with project manager, transcript 9). Two outstanding working groups which had lots of participation were of the themes of water and nature conservation. In theme water, the government gave the responsibility and ownership of policy-making for water related topics totally to the Water board (Waterschappen in Dutch) (interview with project manager, transcript 10). The Water board was responsible for organizing meetings and writing the documents, while in traditional processes, the Water board is only consulted at the end. In the theme of nature conservation, 13 stakeholder groups which were already organized approached the government and asked to participate themselves. From agenda setting to policy investigating and policy making, the group did all the things together. This is an example of highly structured organization participation (interview with project manager, transcript 9). Other working groups had diverse participation levels in terms of the number, stage, and method of the involvement of social actors. But these two themes, nature and water, are mentioned several times by interviewees as good example of participation (interview with project manager, government officials, transcript 9, 10, 11).

In this period, the parliament members weren't really connected with what the government and social partners were doing. Besides attending the kick-off conference, the parliament members remained absent. However, what had happened in the plan making made them feel that the situation was falling out of their hand. Therefore, in the next one and a half years, the project team tried to invite them more to the ongoing conversations (interview with project manager, transcript 6).

2. Public consultation (informal and formal, Mar 2013-Jan 2014):

- On March 2013, when they had 60% the concept of Omgevingsvisie, the project team put the first draft online for everyone to review and comment. People could react informally for the plan.
- From May 14 to July 2, 2013, it was the formal public participation stage (inspraak in Dutch), people could write formal letters to the governments. They received 519 views in total.
- From July to September 2013, the 519 views were processed.
- From October to December 2013, government officials made adjustments to the plan according to the views and discussions.
- On January 2014, the revised draft of Omgevingsvisie was approved by the Provincial Executive and released.

In the period of informal consultation, the project team put the plan online when it was only 60% finished. This is novel because they usually do it when they feel it's 90% right. The aim of doing this is to promote mutual communication and making sure they kept their promises (interview with daily manager, transcript 12). They received important comments and revised the plan in this stage (interview with daily manager, transcript 12). They regard this two-way communication as very important and even tried to do more of it in the formal consultation period. They tried to get in contact and talk to people and

organizations who wrote them letters. Finally they found it helpful to make it two-way communication rather than just the formal way because after the communication people from both sides found out their misunderstandings and some complaints were withdrawn (interview with project manager, transcript 12).

In the process of public consultation, the project team had hoped that because of co-creation processes there would be few objections. However, it didn't work out like this completely. In previous period of plan-making, when some collective decisions were made out of compromise of a stakeholder group, they were still free to say no in the formal procedure. Some of the stakeholder group raised objections because they had the responsibility to speak out for what was good for their own group members (interview with project manager, transcript 17). The project manager explained, "They are looking at what is the right balance between participating and being a lobby group really." Meanwhile, the project manager was thinking about how much legitimate power should be connected to the results of co-creation. However, his attitude seemed mixed: on one hand, he hoped co-creation results to be maintained in the end; on the other hand, he respected the right of stakeholders to object in the formal procedure.

(Q: How does the process of co-creation link to formal planning procedures? Are these procedures still a source of power?) At this moment they are. We are obliged to go through the formal procedures. And we are looking if we have talked to the people earlier, should they be free to object to the plan later? You really want to have a good conversation that there are no objections left in the end. And that's not completely how it worked out. ... Many organizations stick to the compromise, which is also good, but as long as the formal procedure is there, we can't say we don't listen to the others. ... I would have like it if the compromise has been reason not to make any objections any more. ... But still I feel it's a shame that there were still a lot of objections instead of a lot of people just saying 'ok, it's compromise, we stick to it.' (Interview with project manager)

Parliament members were invited to small tables and conversations where different stakeholders were present. In the discussion, parliament members acted as an investigator, but not a participant. They listened to different stakeholders saying about their interests, witnessed their interaction and finally, used these information to make their own judgments (Interview with project manager, transcript 14). The participation level varied among politicians (Interview with politician, transcript 15).

3. Political process (Jan 2014-Oct 2014):

- Between March and April 2014, public hearings were organized for themes which received a lot of comments.
- From May to June 2014, the politicians were working with the professionals to make adjustments according to the discussion of public hearing.
- At July 9th 2014, the Omgevingsvisie was at issue in the Provincial Parliament. Decision about the regulations along with the Omgevingsvisie (Verordening in Dutch) is expected to be released on October 1st.

This is the period when the politicians were mostly involved in the whole process. There is a big time gap between the decisions of the Provincial Executive and the Provincial Parliament because of the municipal election which happened in April, 2014. During the political decision period, politicians organized informal meetings to talk with social groups for certain topic such as nature conservation and agriculture (Interview with politician, transcript 16). During these meetings the politicians got to know the interests of these groups and the process how co-creation was worked out in former processes. It was the first time that they did this. Finally, in the theme of nature conservation, parliament members respect the collective results made in co-creation. However, for the theme of agriculture, parliament members

suggested co-creation process to continue for another one year because at that moment the result seemed not to be agreed by all stakeholders. It was noteworthy that in this objection actually the parliament members were saying no to the process, not to the content (Interview with politician, transcript 18).

4. Implementation:

The implementation period is not a period after the completion of the plan document. Because it is a highly abstract plan, it usually needs further work to realize the change in different themes (interview with project manager, transcript 19). A lot of spin-off plans are in working process from the first half of 2014, including the plan for vacant office building and for wind energy (interview with government official, transcript 21, 22).

4.1.3 Result

Document

The process resulted in a document of the Omgevingsvisie which had a lot of new features compared to plans in the past. First of all, the quality of the plan was stressed. In many themes, qualitative rules replaced strict rules with quantitative measurements (interview with government officials, transcript 23, 24, 25). This awareness of using discretionary rules was widespread among professionals and politicians. However, some of the people thought that this change came from the cultural change of the provincial government, not from co-creation (interview with government officials, transcript 23, 25). Secondly, the fixed time frame of 10 years was released. The project team thought that making a blueprint was impossible because of the complexity of the future. Instead of making a plan pretending to know everything, they depended more on what other participants were doing. Furthermore, because of no fixed time frame, for the implementation and updating of this framework, continued involvement of stakeholders in the Gelderland society would be required (Koetsier, 2012). For this there are no formal arrangements at present, but the relationship between different interest groups and the government organization are established or strengthened through this co-creation. Also with the changing culture of the society, this involvement of stakeholders will be more like a norm in the future (see result ‘culture shift’).

Dialogue & Support-building

The plan using co-creation was a first trail in a provincial level, highly abstract plan. Professionals put a lot of effort in having real dialogue with social partners and building support from them through working together. Professionals confirmed that co-creation helped with building support for policies.

If you do co-creation, you have more chances that other people say ‘well, it’s spoken about it with us. And we agreed on that.’ So you have more chances that it will be achieved because other people also say that ‘that is our policy because we could talk with the government about it’.

(Interview with government official)

Compared with process without co-creation, this time more energy was devoted into making connections and making two-way communication with important organizations. Even in formal procedure, the effort of ‘real conversation’ could be distinguished. This effort helped a lot with understanding the real problem behind written objection and eventually succeeded in making some objectors withdraw their views (interview with project manager, transcript 13).

Platform

Besides the plan documents, there was another product out of the project – the online platform: Gelderlandanders. It started off as a dedicated platform for the Omgevingsvisie, now it's growing to something that some of the colleagues in provincial government would use for new interactions in spin-off plans. The platform has two functions. The first is to find connections next to the already known social partners. For this purpose, project manager gave the example that through the internet platform they get in contact with one group of young students in Nijmegen who were seeking improvements for sports facilities in their surroundings and ended in a spin-off in municipal plan (interview with project manager, transcript 27). Secondly, it was built in order to strengthen informal communication in the process of plan making. This was essential because how to work together was a question which could only be answered by informal conversation.

It really helps to switch between the formal conversation with the informal conversation because the informal world were all equal and for you something is at stake and for me something is at stake for this topic, and we can discuss equally as opposed to the formal communication where anything I say is a written statement from the province which isn't really a conversation, it feels formal really. ...How we working together isn't really your formal statement, it's something we have to develop together and it needs conversation, two-way communication instead of one-way communication. (interview with project manager)

However, the platform did not work well in every theme group or spin-off plan. In spin-off plan of Windvisie, and the theme group of office building, professionals comment that they didn't see the necessity to use it (interview with government official, transcript 28), or that they tried it, but find the platform not working. It means that building an online platform itself doesn't guarantee it to be an effective tool to promote informal dialogue. Process designer needs to think more about how to make the tool of online platform work.

For the ladder of sustainable development, I made an online platform where I put our proposal. One person reacted. And I arranged a meeting, it was really crowded. I asked them, "ok, I made a platform, but there was really little interest, how's that?" I don't know if it's because there are a lot of quite old people and the platform is not the way they are used to communicate. But for these people face to face discussions, symposia, works far better. So after that I stopped with the online platform. (Interview with government official, working on instrument for 'ladder of sustainable development')

Spin-off activities

In a lot of follow-up activities, plans are in working process at this moment. For example, a plan for the problem of vacant office buildings is on-going, with the same process and logic of co-creation of the Omgevingsvisie (interview with government official, transcript 21). Similarly, the Windvisie, which is a sub-plan in the theme of renewable energy, is in process of getting approved from the provincial parliament. From the interview of the leader of both sub-plans, they explained that there was not enough time to realize real co-creation to work out the detailed plan, so that it continued using the same logic after the Omgevingsvisie was finished. Professionals comment that Omgevingsvisie was only a starting point of joint action together, and the action was much more important than the plan itself.

A lot of solutions, you have to find it in the regional level. For the omgevingsvisie, it is still quite general. For example, we want to have a balance in supply and demand. Now you have to do that through making agreement with local parties. So it's an agenda. If it stops with agenda, it doesn't really help. If you set the agenda and start action, it will help. (Interview with government official,

works with policies for urban environment)

Besides, in some areas, government is supporting local initiatives and taking part as one equal partner. For example, in renewable energy, there is a local initiative to create the road map for energy transition. Two social partners, Alliander and Regio Stendendriehok, initiated the project. The government found out about their initiative in communication and joined as an equal partner in the process (interview with government official, transcript 30).

Culture shift

The co-creation process triggered a big culture shift for the internal organization of governmental bodies, both the professionals and the executives. They were asked to connect their own knowledge with what social participants know and were working on. Officials described, “It’s old fashion now to say that I am a professional and to write down the policy”, “I think it’s more like a role of a process manager where you are trying to find people to speak about what they think and why they think”. Some government officials and one politician expressed their positive feeling about this cultural shift (interview with government official, transcript 31; interview with politician, transcript 26). There is a shared awareness among them that working more with social groups should be the future direction. A lot of people are asking for new processes of policy making to be conducted in the same way as in the co-creation (interview with project manager, transcript 20). Moreover, it was also a shift for the politicians. They were brought into the process rather than remain at the end. However, for this shift politicians have more doubts and difficulties in searching the new way.

It was very difficult as a politician to think about what’s your position in co-creation. The policy makers always say co-creation is between partners and with people who are involved. And as a politician you are not really a partner, you are also not really involved. ... And people are also afraid because if you are part of the process, it is very difficult to say ‘no’ or ‘yes’ in the end of the process. And that’s our role. (Interview with politician)

Although the effect of co-creation overall is not clear yet, at least for those government officials and politicians who took an active part in co-creation, they learned to communicate with social partners, and with each other in informal settings, and they found the informal way more and more important. For example, the project team invented a new process for the on-line review period for draft plan (interview with daily manager, transcript 12). The process really helped the professionals to revise quite a lot of the plans before it went into formal review period. Another example is that during the political decision period, politicians organized informal meetings to talk with social groups. In total, co-creation triggered some initial steps for further cultural change within government, parliament and political parties.

Negative Evaluation

According to the project manager, co-creation doesn’t really work well on the provincial level plan-making, but it works a lot better in a specific local issue because then people really understand the issue well. Therefore, he claimed that the most meaningful points were the exposure of ideas that the government really wanted to collaborate. He said, “So there is a lot of exposure, but the level of really making steps together needs more concrete plans really.”

Meanwhile, professionals comment that the co-creation process in making the Omgevingsvisie did not go far enough because of the limited time they had. There was the ambition for speed driven by the thought that this would help to arrive at a thinner document. But this ambition was in conflict with the nature of co-creation approach which took time. Out of the main process, in spin-off plans they could

work better because they got more time and could focus on a specific theme (interview with government officials, transcript 32, 33).

4.1.4 Correspondence with DIAD theory

The feature of co-creation in this process is that there are no pre-defined rules for it. As explained, the project manager didn't know how exactly to do it as well. He only explained the logic that policy needed to be created together with social partners because they could not do things alone and it was meaningless to pretend to know everything and plan those blueprints. And he said that people should find out who to corporate with and how to do it by themselves. From this we could conclude that at the beginning of this project, only the condition of 'interdependence' was recognized while the other two conditions were not. For the other two conditions, although they were not specified at the beginning of co-creation, participants learned lessons which are in essence similar to them after co-creation process.

For the condition of 'diversity of agent', that there should be the full range of stakeholders in the dialogue, it is not revealed explicitly as a wish in project design. Although the project manager explained that they wanted to find more social partners who had interest in the *Omgevingsvisie* and they did try methods such as building a website platform, in the end the website didn't help them find 'crucial partners'. The social groups that they got in contact with and worked most intensely with were still those who were already in the government contact list. However, participants did realize how important this condition was. The project leader in renewable energy said that one thing which remained challenging to him was how to involve people who were against one plan early in the process. This illustrated that in that sub-topic, people who could block the change were not incorporated in early co-creation processes. And it remains a problem.

I am still wondering how to involve a broader public earlier in the process. When we were doing the *Windvisie* you tried to speak to a lot of people about different locations. And in the early process, if you want to invite people to talk, people who are against the windmills won't come because they are not interested. But then later on in the process which location is the best, then all the people who are against the windmill, when they hear about the locations, that's the time they will show up and be against it. (Interview with government official, works for the *Windvisie* [Wind Energy Plan])

The condition of diversity was also mentioned implicitly by politicians. One politician interviewed explained that provincial parliament members made objection for the content about agriculture in the *Omgevingsvisie* because they didn't believe that all interest groups had agreed upon that. In addition, they asked for a new process of co-creation on the theme of agriculture for another one year. The politician was saying implicitly that the diversity of participants was a condition for a fair process of co-creation.

Compared to the condition of diversity, the condition of authentic dialogue is even less explicit. In agenda-setting period of *Omgevingsvisie*, the project manager organized meetings where all participants were together and free to talk about issues which they thought were important. This was kind of an example of how to do it for sub-topics. But leader for sub-topics still said that they didn't know how to make a similar process in sub-topics because he thought it was different between discussion about the general agenda and discussion about a specific topic. In agenda-setting, it was more like interest-based bargaining when people only discuss interest but not solutions. However, in sub-topics, a lot of discussions were positional bargaining (although not his word, but his story conveyed this). Participants were in favor of certain solution of the problem because of their own interest. Therefore, a solution which fitted all interests seemed impossible. His doubt revealed that he was aware of the negative effect of

positional bargaining, but he didn't know what to do with it in his work.

(Q: You are saying that in the agenda-setting period of creating the omgevingsvisie, the degree of co-creation is more than in policy-making.) Yes, because it (agenda-setting) is abstract. So it's easier also. (In the topic of office building) You have lots of parties, and you can't zoom in your specific... It's like a memo tanker. Someone said that, 'I don't like the foods, or the color of that window'... 'It's really my point, I want to change that.' It wouldn't make sense of the whole omgevingsvisie. (Interview with government official, works with policies for urban environment)

Besides, the importance of forming a working group with all stakeholders together was recognized. The problem of positional bargaining had to do with the way dialogue was arranged in the sub-topic of office building. There was no dialogue space where stakeholders could talk with each other. The leader of the sub-topic approached the interest groups separately as an investigator. This style of discussion influenced much the attitude of interest groups because they didn't have the incentive to take into account the vision of other interest groups. In the end, the leader realized the weakness of this communication style and proposed to organize a working group which works together with all group members next time (interview with government official, transcript 34). This point also reflect that the condition of 'diversity of agents' is important in a dialogue process.

The project leader for renewable energy policies learned a lot about how to be a good facilitator, or in his own words – a process manager, of co-creation projects. These conditions were actually related to authentic dialogue condition, including building trust, learning about other's interest, equal position of participants and ongoing dialogue.

(I=Interviewer, P=Participant)

I: After this process, do you think you are able to be a good process manager?

P: Ha-ha. I think yes and I see... It also has to do the position you are in. You can only be a process manager if everybody trust you in your honesty and in what you are doing. So you always should check with every participant before you start to act like a process manager.

...

I: What do you think important for a process manager to work well?

P: You should be able to communicate very well and what are other people's interests. You should be able to separate the interest of your own organization from the process which is going on. Furthermore you should see that the goal of other people are as important as your own goals. And you should... most important is that you should be able to keep talking to people and to really communicate.

(Interview with government official, works for renewable energy policies)

4.1.5 Other important issues specified

What should be the role of government officials in co-creation?

From interviews, officials specified two major roles of them: facilitating the process and giving directions for policy (interview with government official, transcript 31). However, it was not easy to act these two roles together sometimes. Because the aim of co-creation was more to listen to their partners and ask for their ideas first, and government officials were acting as the facilitator of discussion, they tended to take more of a neutral role and were scared of giving their own opinions. This was different from what they used to, that they always think from the aspect of whole society and give directions.

I do think the risks are: we have talked with a lot of parties, and as a province sometimes we have a facilitating role, sometimes we have a directional role (he questions himself for the choice of

word)... Some parties in a lot of times are in competition, so the province needs to make policy to stop them from competing against each other. ... Sometimes I think it was a struggle. We need to keep everybody happy. But sometimes you have to say like “ok, I do get your point, but we as a province is heading that way because of the interest of the whole community”. (Interview with government official)

Should the participants of co-creation have the right to raise objections in formal consultation period?

This question came out as long as co-creation started. Participants asked whether they still had right to make objection. As no rules being changed, the project team faced troubles when many reviews were received in the formal consultation period. This was not as expected because they should have fewer reviews if they did a good process with co-creation. In reality it happened that some stakeholder groups seek for result which they could benefit more from in formal consultation, although compromise was made in co-creation. At this moment, the participants of co-creation have the right to raise objections in formal consultation period. However, from the aspect of project manager, it would be preferred that the answer was no. As the project manager expressed, “I would have like it if the compromise (which was collectively arrived at in co-creation) has been reason not to make any objections any more.” How to fix the gap remains a problem.

What should be the politicians’ position in co-creation process?

At the starting phase of this project, this question was not thought about fully. However, soon after the process of co-creation began, it emerged and kept on being discussed among politicians and officials. One major choice of politicians in the process was that whether they participated as a politician and make political decisions during the co-creation period, or they participated only as an investigator. In this process, they chose the latter. There were two reasons for this choice. First, the Provincial Executive preferred this model because they were a bit afraid if they chose the first way, then they had to hand over their authority of choosing directions to citizens and politicians. Second, the politicians thought that to participate as investigator was safer. This attitude was partly because they were used to only attend political process, which was usually at the end of a process and formal. Besides, it was hard for politicians to imagine themselves to be a ‘partner’ in the process because in fact they were not. Furthermore, there was also concern that if they joined as participants, it would be very difficult for them to say ‘yes’ or ‘no’ in the end. However, after the co-creation process this time, people who made the choice changed their mind (interview with project manager, transcript 14). The project manager explained that if he would do it again he would prefer the first way because then different political convictions about one theme could be introduced and dealt with right in the co-creation process, rather than popped up in the end. One active parliament member held the same opinion that the politicians should be involved in earlier processes and brought in discussions (interview with politician, transcript 35).

Besides, politicians needed to adjust their way of working in decision-making as well. Now that they viewed the process how co-creation results were made, then they need to think how free they would be to make political statements about them. On one hand, they respected the collective result because it involved all participants’ efforts and compromise. On the other hand, they were not involved in co-creation as participants and they did have their own view and the right to make the final decision. To see from the result, they seemed to make decisions based both on their own judgment about the content and on their evaluation of the co-creation process. And the latter was obvious among the theme of nature conservation and agriculture. They seemed to agree on the plan of nature conservation because they

thought the participation was fair and full, while they raised objection to the plan of agriculture because they found the process lack of participation.

(I=Interviewer, P=Participant)

P: The main point is that what they wanted to do... The process is not finished yet with agriculture, we don't agree what's in it, and we don't believe that all partners agree on that paragraph. So we wanted to have another co-creation procedure on agriculture theme for one year. And we asked for a new process. ...

I: That's interesting because it's more like that you are saying no to the process. You don't think it's enough.

P: Yes, that's what we are saying, indeed. We said that for that paragraph for agriculture, the co-creation is not good enough.

4.2 Case 2: Structuurvisie Venlo

Venlo is a municipality of a population around 100,000 in province Limburg, the southernmost province of the Netherlands. Venlo is located next to the German border. Structuurvisie is a statutory plan in Dutch spatial planning system which defines long-term development principles in different themes for a municipality.

4.2.1 Initiative

Initiated by government officials in municipality of Venlo, the new Spatial Structural Vision (Ruimtelijke Structuur Visie in Dutch, short form: RSV) used the instrument of co-creation for preparation of the plan. Co-creation is considered as a new way of public participation. This new process was designed out of rising awareness that in a 'network society' it was no longer enough to only have the formal participation in representative democracy (interview with government official, transcript 50, 55). The process aimed in the first place to involve the council members in making the long term development framework (interview with project manager, transcript 44). In principle, this should be the responsibility of councilors. But in traditional planning processes, it is the mayor and alderman⁵ (in Dutch college van burgemeester en wethouders, acronym college van B&W) who draw the guiding principles for long term development. Therefore, the project initiator, officials from the municipal government, wanted to turn it around and let the councilors 'come to the front seat' in developing guiding principles. This is beneficial because then the city council would be the owner of the guiding principles and they would be dedicated to work it out. At the same time, it engaged citizens, businesses and social organizations at the initial stage of policy-making as well. The municipality hoped that this method would result in a vision or plan to be developed with wide social support (Municipality Venlo, 2014). The municipality positioned itself as a partner with all other interest groups.

4.2.2 Process

This project was initiated by one official who was interested in co-creation method (interview with project manager and official, transcript 44, 51). Later on he became the project manager of the whole process. He had the first idea of implementing co-creation into his work. He had personal connection with the process facilitator who was his ex-colleague. Then he approached one council clerk who was also enthusiastic about this project. Together with the council clerk, they approached the council and asked for

⁵ In this paper, 'wethouder' is translated into 'alderman'. 'Alderman' is used as synonyms of 'Municipal Executive councilor' or 'Municipal Executive board member'.

their agreement for joining the process. The council agreed because they thought they could get more power by taking initiatives in making guidelines. Then the initiator approached the alderman to ask for his permission to put the council 'at front seat'. It was a key condition for realizing the process that the alderman gave permission. Luckily he did and expressed that he believed in this approach. The whole lobbying process took one and a half year (interview with project manager, transcript 49). The initiators had to convince people, both councilors and government officials, that this would be a safe way to work. The most difficulties didn't come from the councilors, but from the officials because they were afraid of losing control of directions (interview with government official, transcript 52). Meanwhile, there was common awareness that new ways of participation should be invented and that they needed to create planning documents which was used by people. So this made it relatively easy to convince them.

After getting permission from the government, the initiators designed the process and started really working it out. The first thing they had to do was approaching citizens to participate. They asked people to sign themselves in if they were interested. And then from the signed people they made a selection based on their residence place, making sure that every region of the municipality was represented (interview with facilitator, transcript 39). One major event for co-creation was a two-day conference with all participants together. Finally, 33 people from outside the government came to the conference: 23 citizens, 6 representatives from social institutions and 4 entrepreneurs. 46 people inside government participated: 23 councilors and 23 government officials. The total amount of people attending the conference was around 80. This scope of participants was chosen explicitly because the facilitator was not confident in managing a group larger than 80 for more than two days (interview with facilitator, transcript 38). With the limit of 80 participants in total, and the priority to engage councilors, there was not much room left for citizen participation.

There are four phases in this project (based on Municipality Venlo, 2014; interview synthesis)

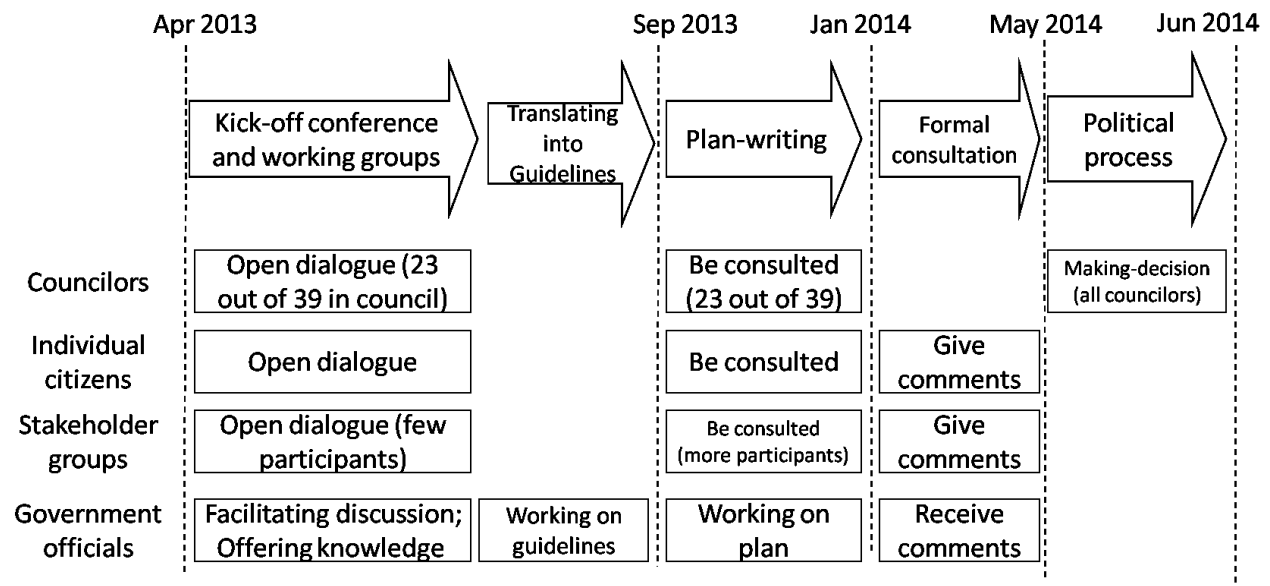


Figure 10 Process design of Venlo RSV

1. Guidelines co-creation (April till September, 2013)

- On April 5 and 6, 2013, as the kickoff activity, a two-day conference was organized. Around 80 people were present, including councilors, government officials, citizens, entrepreneurs and social institutions. The participants selected seven themes (attractiveness, cradle to cradle, euregion, food,

image and authenticity, pride and attitude, neighborhoods) in this conference. Meanwhile, seven working groups were formed by all participants.

- Between April and June, seven working groups worked further on proposals raised in the conference.
- From April 29 to June 22, ideas of the working groups were put online. Through an interactive webpage anyone could react to the proposals of the workshops. The working groups discussed whether they would change their proposal based on responses they received.
- In July and August, the writing team upgraded the proposals of the working group into guiding statements.
- On 25 September, the council unanimously adopted the 13 guiding statements that were developed from the proposals of the working groups.

In the conference, before discussion, professionals were asked to give presentations about basic information and issues on a certain topic, for example, the theme of water. This was to help participants to have the knowledge to think about the topic further. The facilitator was professional at facilitating co-creation processes. In the conference he had a special way to facilitate what he understood as the necessary conditions for co-creation, which was close to what DIAD model proposed and would be explained in the section ‘correspondence with DIAD theory’ (interview with facilitator, transcript 39). First, people were asked to think about the question ‘what do you find important in Venlo in the coming years’. The facilitator organized the group discussion in a certain way that everyone could talk to some other people in several small groups. Then based on the group discussion results, seven themes were selected collectively as the most important ones. Afterwards, groups were re-organized by the seven themes. Every participant could choose one theme to continue working on. This time their task was to find out what were realistic to do about those themes in Venlo in the following years. At the end of conference, they got around 200 concrete ideas, like building water power plants in river Maas, making bike lanes at certain places. They voted for the ones which enjoyed most popularity. Around the proposals or ideas which were found meaningful, they formed new working groups, and those were the groups who worked on after the conference. The facilitator made sure that there were some councilors, citizens and officials in each working group.

The facilitator was not present in the meeting of the working groups later on. What he did was by training some government officials, creating a self-governing group (interview with facilitator, transcript 37). Each working group had around six meetings in three months time. In those meetings, officials who had professional knowledge were present to provide information but not opinions. By June 22, group discussion results were put into short papers and power points. From here, the writing team took over the results and began to think if these were what the people wanted to realize, and how the structuurvisie could make them possible (interview with official, transcript 68). The results were neither all about spatial environment, nor all concrete ideas, but they included principles, ambitions and feelings. Through internal discussion within the writing team, they decided what could be put into the plan and chose eventually the 13 guiding principles. The principles were on an abstract level, for example “we choose for more space for the river Maas,” or “we choose a compact city principle”. For comments from the internet, although there was high expectation, they found few reviews in the end.

This phase of creating the 13 guiding principles is described by project manager as ‘real’ co-creation period, which is fundamentally different with normal citizen participation approach. In this period, officials, councilors and citizens were in equal position. All participants were open about their agenda and the results were produced together. After this process, officials in the municipality took over the responsibility of making plan document and it went on more like the traditional ‘public consultation’

model (interview with project manager, transcript 43).

2. Plan-making (October, 2013 till January, 2014)

In this process the writing team and the product team were the main actors. The product team consisted of officials from the municipality of Venlo representing municipal policy fields. The role of product team was to support the writing team with expertise (Municipality Venlo, 2014). The production process is more or less closed within the professionals. After the writing team wrote a part, they consulted people who were part of the co-creation process “do you recognize it, is it ok”. In this process they consulted not only previous participants, but also the major interest groups, such as housing corporation, the water board, the province, etc. And after they got feedback about adjustment, they go back to work further on it. In this way they got the ‘draft structure plan’ and it was approved by the mayor and alderman in early 2014.

The process was designed like this because of practical reasons (interview with project manager, transcript 45). According to the project manager, they deliberately chose only to implement co-creation in the first period. In the second period of plan-making, in his definition it was not co-creation, but the professionals tried as much as possible to keep the principles of co-creation present. Furthermore, he explained that if the whole process was designed as co-creation, considering the scope of a structural vision, there would be a lot of talking and adjustment to make every part of the text agreed by everyone, which was not realistic. Besides, the dualistic political system regulated that the guidelines should be created by the councilors, but it did not say that the process working from guidelines to plan-document should be the councilor’s role. Actually, this should be the task for the mayor and alderman. Therefore, if they want to extend the scope of co-creation in plan-making, they still need to get support from mayor and alderman.

3. Formal citizen participation (February till April, 2014)

From February 27 to April 20, 2014, the draft of structural vision was available for the public to review. This was the formal citizen participation period (*inspraak* in Dutch). Finally 17 reviews were received, from mainly companies and other governments like the water board and provincial government. The views have led to clarifications, corrections and adjustments, but no fundamentally different changes than in the draft structure plan (Lenis, 2014).

4. Political decision-making (May till June, 2014)

On 25 June, the city council of Venlo adopted the spatial structural vision for Venlo unanimously. In the end the council did not change the vision. They accepted the proposal done by the college van B&W. According to the council clerk⁶, the councilors who participated in co-creation supported the proposal very well. Two councilors that did not participate earlier introduced objections but they did not get the majority. Those objections were of a highly political nature probably because those councilors were still a little bit in the ‘election mode’, since they have had elections in the mean time. The council clerk reflected on these results and concluded two lesions. First, they should pay more attention to the non participating councilors. However, it does not mean to have influence on them because they should remain independent. Second, they should try to avoid doing a thing like this in election time because election makes things more volatile and therefore unsure.

⁶ This part of information was achieved from e-mail questioning and answering, not from interview. Therefore there is no reference.

4.2.3 Result

Support-building & Common ground

According to the project manager, the process of co-creation has two advantages over previous processes. First, long term principles are more reasonable to be put there. The project manager explained,

We have a good feeling that we could explain it in society. The 13 principles are logical, and they don't just appeal cognitive in your mind, but also in your heart. People feel it, they understand it. I think we are more connected as what we think is important for Venlo, and we tell it in a way that is more connecting than a classical process design. So that I think that is important about process and connection. (Interview with project manager)

For example, the themes of compact city and transformation before building on lands outside the city were what the professionals thought as important, but they realized that the society found them important as well. This support for those themes in society made the decision-maker in local government more willing to accept them and to make tough decisions to keep them. In this way, the tendency to choose developer's easy money and extended urban development was controlled (Interview with project manager, transcript 46). Second, because of this process, some themes which could connect people in society were found. For example, the theme of food was a theme which every stakeholder group knew something about and attached importance to. After communication, people were surprised and excited to find out that everyone was thinking the same. This result could never have come out if there weren't interaction between stakeholders (Interview with project manager, transcript 46).

However, there were negative feedbacks about the principles which came out from co-creation as well. One government official who was responsible for writing the plan document commented that he thought that although co-creation was good for support-building, it was not much useful for getting new insights into the guiding principles (interview with official, transcript 70). In other words, if the process only happened among professionals, it would come out the same principles. Furthermore, he questioned the representativeness of the citizen group because of very limited number of participants (interview with official, transcript 73). He held that the degree of support they received was limited.

Spin-off activities

Future Venlo app is a side product in the process of plan-making (interview with project manager, transcript 47). It is available for download since February 26, 2014. The app collected concrete ideas about 27 projects which were developed in the conference and workshops. Those were ideas which people were most enthusiastic about. Someone in the working group was chosen as the ambassador of these promising ideas. If people are interested about these ideas, they could contact the ambassador to work on it together. Future Venlo app is a way to keep the living ideas grown from co-creation process. However, there is no direct evidence that some initiatives have already been worked out which are derived out of co-creation. This lack of spin-off activities is somewhat reasonable because the purpose of co-creation here was not about creating a lot of small initiatives, but it was about creating a good vision for what would be important in the region for the future. Therefore, it was constrained by the fact that relatively small number of people participated and that citizens and entrepreneurs were not the majority in the composition of participants.

Culture Shift

This process triggers a culture shift in the municipal government. An official described the change like this,

The traditional way of making a plan is very safer. You go at your (office)... and you write what you think is the best. And afterwards you have lots of comment of other people. You are always in the world of a fight to defend yourself and your organization. But in this way (co-creation) you can turn it around. When you get the input at the front, you don't have to fight at the end. ... It costs more energy at the start of the co-creation process, it's very intensive. But at the end it's relaxed. (Interview with government official)

Furthermore, a group of government officials were trained to facilitate co-creation processes (interview with project manager, transcript 48). They formed a learning group to draw lessons from this process they experienced. Therefore, after the first co-creation process, the government has better ability to do it themselves next time. Meanwhile, there are a lot of activities in this organization that the officials try to approach in a co-creative way. For example, the project leader of the new land use plan has asked the learning group for guidance to make it in a more co-creative way. It is foreseeable that in the future officials are going to make land use plan in neighborhoods in co-creative way. The culture shift could be well described by the council clerk, "I think the concept of really being open and starting a process without a fixed framework is the most important. That we have learnt and that we would like to repeat." This shift was "like a little of a paradigm change", said the project manager. One citizen as participants sensed this change as well,

I think that's a very attractive way of dealing with these questions because it's not something that's developed somewhere in the headquarters of the city council, but as a citizen you are really involved in the process. And the city council, by doing that, also insures that people share these ideas and support developments. (Interview with one citizen, works in educational organization)

4.2.4 Correspondence with DIAD theory

In the case of Venlo, all three DIAD conditions were recognized by project designer. However, they put it in another way than the exact words of DIAD and all the conditions came from different sources other than communicative planning theory.

The condition of interdependence was mentioned implicitly in the project initiative. The executives, councilors and citizens need each other to develop effective and steady long-term development principles. First, the executives need the councilors to maintain a stable long term development principle for the municipality. Second, the councilors depend on the citizens to validate and ground their argument. Third, the government needs citizens to support and realize the long term plan in the future.

The condition of diversity was formulated by the facilitator as one rule: to have the whole system in a room (interview with facilitator, transcript 39). He contends that it is important because if not, the results from co-creation will be challenged by parties which were not involved. For this condition the facilitator found problem in Venlo: since the number of citizens invited was limited, there was not enough representatives of citizens in the co-creation processes. However, because citizen participation was not designed as a primary aim, it was still acceptable. In his original design, he proposed a kind of a big conference with a lot of citizens participating in the end. It is not realized because of limited budget.

The condition of authentic dialogue could be recognized from other rules established by the facilitator (interview with facilitator, transcript 39). First, the facilitator formulated a rule: to leave out discussion when sharing ideas. He claimed that people are used to trying to convince others in discussions; however, this attempt costs lots of time and energy. And if the two sides of communication are not on a same level of 'convincing ability', this creates an unequal condition. Therefore, people are told not to bother to come to mutual agreement. This idea is the same with 'interest-based bargaining' which is

mentioned in DIAD theory. This rule is mentioned by the project manager,

In normal political debate, you get classical battle. It is not co-creation. Just you pinpoint what divides you. Co-creation is about people looking for what's common between the parties. That's why that a question like 'what's important for the future of Venlo' is so important because you focus on what unites you – what's important for our community, our society. People can take their own interest ahead. ... The trick with co-creation is that you hear what the others have to say, and you understand why somebody says it, so you have respect for the position of the other. (Interview with project manager)

One interviewee confirmed that he experienced interest-based bargaining processes.

(I=Interviewer, P=Participant)

I: After the discussion process, do you have a good knowledge of other people's interest?

P: Yes, because people, they all have their positions, their say, and even though sometimes you did not agree with what they said, it gives you the possibility to identify yourself in their way of reasoning. And that is worthwhile. I mean, I may not agree with someone, but at the same time, I understand why he or she takes the position that they have.

(Interview with citizen, works for educational organization)

Second, the facilitator argues that all participants should be invited equal and that they decided themselves whether they come or not (interview with facilitator, transcript 39). This rule conveys partly the ideal of creating equal positions and an environment which everyone feels free to speak. In the interviews, participants, especially citizens, were asked whether they felt free to speak and in equal position with others. The two citizens interviewed confirmed this.

(I=Interviewer, P=Participant)

I: In the discussion session, do you feel free to speak out your mind in your group?

P: Yeah, absolutely.

I: Do you feel yourself equal with other group members?

P: Yes. Of course in every group, there were also specialists. I am not a specialist in the area of urban development. But I do have my ideas and my opinions. ... Since the citizens are not restricted by the rules and the regulations, even though they are there and present and affect us. I think you get the best ideas when you trying to cross borders and to cross limitations. ...

(Interview with citizen, works for educational organization)

Third, the facilitator argues that: to leave everything to the group, which means that there should be no agenda beforehand, and all should be decided by the group on their own agenda (interview with facilitator, transcript 39). This is to leave the ownership within the group. This is the same with one of the practical rules for reaching authentic dialogue that Innes and Booher (2003) have defined: the ground rules and mission should be defined by the group itself. Further with this point, the facilitator should only create the context and not influence the content. Therefore, one cannot facilitate if he or she is involved in the content. This is about trust and openness in the process. For this rule the facilitator found problem in Venlo. He was concerned that the some government officials were in position of facilitator in working groups, which was inappropriate because they were related to the content of discussion.

Fourth, in practical rules mentioned by Innes and Booher (2003), there is one: tasks should be designed in such a way that participants have interest and expertise to accomplish. This rule is also established in the Venlo case. First, citizens were invited based on their interest: the project team asked people to sign themselves in if they were interested (interview with facilitator, transcript 39). And then from the signed people they made a selection. Second, there was the process design which aimed to

provide participants with enough knowledge to have discussion. In the conference, before discussion, professionals were asked to give presentations about basic information and issues on a certain topic, for example, the theme of water. The project manager described the process,

In the raadsconferentie, we have inspired people. We said that “in economy this is the major trends and developments ...” We have inspirators for the attendance for the raadsconferentie. To adjust people who always thinking easy-modes, so just think what is in front of them, to open their eyes further, to make it more open for innovative and creative ideas. We also made the people from the municipality, the professionals, a fact sheets, about the state of the nation, the state of Venlo in mobility, infrastructure, economy, nature, shops and retail, and so on. So they have a basic knowledge level to make the vision. (Interview with the project manager)

Fifth, another practical rule defined by Innes and Booher (2003) is participants engaging in joint fact finding. This was found in Venlo case as well. An official who worked for water related policy explained how she learned from citizens about water policy.

(I=Interviewer, P=Participant)

I: You are an expert yourself. How do you learn from the people?

P: Because they live there everyday, they see things there and ask questions which I never come up because I am approaching the problem from a higher level and they are approaching from their own daily life. And they don't understand things why some constructions are made, when you try to explain sometimes you see the madness of the solution. That makes you thinking. A lot of solutions are made given our technical approach, not from what it will do to our living space and environment. Most people (technical experts) don't live in those areas to have a clue of what people want. And that's important.

This mutual learning processes resembles the ‘joint-fact finding’ described by Innes and Booher.

4.2.5 Other important issues specified

On which level should co-creation be put into work?

This question was raised in a lot of interviews. And there are two groups of opinions around it. First, from feedback of one citizen participant, it seems that the abstract theme of the working group and the working style of the professionals have made it difficult for participant who has less knowledge. For example, he commented,

We all realized that the aim of this *visie* [vision] is quite abstract. So with a very abstract level, that doesn't make it easy to come up with concrete ideas. If you are a scientist, or a researcher, you are used to that. But for local people, and councilor, you are not used to that. (Interview with one citizen)

This difficulty leads to the fact that he was enthusiastic at the beginning, but participated less to the end.

Following the same logic, there is a voice suggesting that co-creation suits better in a local or a theme-targeted setting because that is situation where citizens have knowledge and stakes in. This opinion was raised by one official from the writing team (interview with official, transcript 72). He suggested co-creation should come after theme-definition. Then group members should be gathered by theme, so the participants were more targeted. In this working group, not only individual citizen who is interested should participate, important stakeholder organizations should also be engaged, for example, the water board should participate in environmental and agricultural themes. In his suggestion he distinguished two kinds of participation unconsciously. The first one is to ask value questions from the general public, like ‘where do we have to prioritize in solutions for traffic’. This is where individual citizen participation

concerns. The second one is to engage stakeholders, who sometimes are in organizational form, in working out solutions for a specific issue.

Second, the council clerk believed that citizens should be involved in abstract plans like this because of two reasons.

(I=Interviewer; P=Participant)

I: Another feedback is that this time the topic is abstract. It's harder for citizen to participate than concrete projects.

P: Yes, that's true. But that can never be an argument for not wanting to involve them. That would be very cynical. Secondly, I think everybody has the ability of thinking, or developing ideas about what it would be in 10 or 20 years. Everybody, think about yourself, your partner, whether you would have kids, what kind of world you want your kids to live in. So that's why they (the professionals) are so important because you cannot ask simple people what it means in terms of policy. But that's their (the professionals) job.

(Interview with official)

This capacity of individual citizen is supported in one interview of a citizen, who said,

Apart from my work, I am also a father. I have two sons, one of them living in Venlo. Meanwhile, I am also a grandfather of a child who will probably remain in Venlo. So that's an extra dimension for you to think about what the environments are going to look like in which children and grandchildren will live in a number of decades even after I'm gone. (Interview with one citizen, works for educational organization)

How should political decisions be made towards co-creation results?

The council clerk discussed a lot about this question. He thinks that the decision-making in representative democracy has conflict with co-creation processes. In the case of Venlo, the council members were not bound to say yes to the co-creation result in final decision making. However, to keep participants confident and faithful to the process, it is important for government to 'keep the promises' for collective decision made in co-creation. Otherwise people would lose confidence and leave. Therefore, there is a conflict.

... But there was kind of an existential dilemma – that is, when you do a process like this together, you are like being put into a pressure pot together. You put things in the pressure cooker for two days, and something comes out of it. It only works when you keep your promises later on. ... On the other hand, the city council was formally not involved in the process. Yes, there were twelve councilors participated, but they participated as individuals, not as council members. For the city council, you have 50% percent of the 39, they are not bound by the promises that we made in the process. And they shouldn't be, because they are independent. ... So when they would decide against it, of course you lose the confidence again. So this is really difficult and a dilemma we had. Because this is the system we had, the representative democracy; and this, the 80 people conference and the co-creation, is a new form of democracy we are doing. (Interview with officials)

Towards solving the conflict, the council clerk holds the personal opinion that it is not useful to change the representative decision-making system. But it is necessary and essential to add new elements to it. He suggested a new way of judging for the councilors (interview with official, transcript 54). In essence, he would like the councilors to believe in deliberative democracy, the legitimacy of deliberative decision. Councilors should no longer decide on political prepositions from his or her own party. Instead,

they should decide on ‘the justice of processes’. They are person who evaluate if every stakeholder has a say in this process and the final proposal is one with common ground and mutually agreed upon. If the answer is yes, then there will be no reason to say no to the proposal.

4.3 Case 3: Wijkperspectief Rivierenbuurt

Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt are two neighborhoods which in total have around 5,000-6,000 residents, located in the municipality of Groningen. Groningen municipality is the capital city of Groningen province located in the north of the Netherlands. Wijkperspectief is a non-statutory plan which aims at developing a long-term vision for neighborhoods.

4.3.1 Initiative

Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt are two neighborhoods located between Groningen central station and southern ring road. These two neighborhoods have been influenced by the developments of big infrastructure projects in the region. In the upcoming years, there will be continuing infrastructure developments, some major projects are construction of the southern ring, regeneration of the central station and the renewal of Hereweg (Municipality Groningen, 2013). These projects will have impacts on the living environment of the neighborhoods.



Figure 11 Location of Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt on google map

These neighborhoods have two active neighborhood associations. They were not satisfied with how the government was pushing on these infrastructure projects. They felt their living environment was being greatly influenced but they were not listened to and had no influence on these decisions. To reveal their dissatisfaction, neighborhood Rivierenbuurt wrote an open letter to the city council on December 2011. Meanwhile, Groningen municipality was considering the method of co-creation to give citizens more power in their local environment because there was the awareness that the old way to design policy did not work any longer (interview with facilitator, transcript 82). Therefore, they want to change it and ask all the stakeholders to participate at the front of the process in order to diffuse ownership with civilians and also make them responsible for policies that would come out.

This information was heard by people in the neighborhood and they regarded it a good way to participate themselves. Answering this request, municipality, city council, together with the neighborhood

association, decided to start co-creation to decide about what kind of neighborhood they would live in. However, municipality made a restriction that co-creation was ok, but they could not talk about those infrastructure projects in co-creation (interview with district coordinator, transcript 74). The reason for this, as the district coordinator explained, there was no way to change the plan which had already been made for the infrastructural development. The author believes that this rejection for co-creation in infrastructure project is also because of compartmentalization in government organizations. According to the facilitator, the initiative for co-creation came from officials who were district coordinators (interview with facilitator, transcript 85). But by the time of 2012, besides these enthusiastic officials, other officials were not all supportive of their plans. Therefore, probably the department of infrastructure development did not accept this 'co-creation' idea by that time.

The infrastructure projects were out of the range of this co-creation, and those decisions related to infrastructure projects would not change in the future. The neighborhoods thought it over and decided to do it in spite of this because they thought they could still make positive changes to their neighborhood environments even though they could not influence the infrastructure projects (interview with resident, transcript 89). On the basis of mutual agreement, they started working together in co-creation a vision for the future of the neighborhood with the infrastructure projects in the picture.

4.3.2 Process

A process group was first developed to think about how to design the co-creation (interview with district coordinator, transcript 75). Members include: district coordinator, his secretary, president of the Rivierenbuurt neighborhood association and two experts on co-creation. The process of co-creation went like the following. After the formation of process group, they organized five brain storm sessions in July and September, 2012 (Municipality Groningen, 2013). These sessions were:

July 10, 2012 : Business activity in the neighborhood

September 4, 2012 : Safety

September 11, 2012 : Housing and residence

September 18, 2012 : Infrastructure, traffic and accessibility

September 25, 2012 : Facilities

During these five meetings residents were asked to talk about things which were considered positive in the neighborhood and the reason behind that. The process group thought the discussion of people's interest was more important than the discussion of solution because it helped to find out about the 'real issue' (interview with district coordinator, transcript 75). After the brain storm session, the process group collected all the things that people thought as positive and grouped them into themes. The most important agreement among participants was that everyone wanted to live in a sustainable neighborhood. There were still a few issues where there were conflicting interests. In order to discuss these issues, a final meeting was organized on November 28, 2013, in which decisions were made about choices or compromises (Municipality Groningen, 2013). Following this meeting, a first draft of the Neighborhood Perspective was made with a core group of residents in the two neighborhoods. This document illustrated further what the different themes would mean in the future for the neighborhood. On February 5, 2013, a presentation was made for the Neighborhood Perspective in the presence of alderman Roeland van der Schaaf. On 16 July, 2013, this document was approved by the city council (Municipality Groningen, 2013). Meanwhile, the process team decided to go one step further: they searched for stakeholders in the neighborhood for the main themes and formed working groups for each theme to work them out. The working groups were composed of five or six people from the neighborhood, and they had one official

from the government as their contact person (interview with district coordinator, transcript 77). The working of action plan started on March, 2013.

Participants in co-creation were invited through door to door flyers, information on social media and government website (interview with district coordinator, transcript 76). In the brain storm session, number of people participated in one meeting was not stable, varying from the smallest 22 to the biggest 78. For the formation of working group, not only the existing participants, but also new-comers participated.

4.3.3 Result

Working towards change

In the action plan stage, municipality gave responsibility to work out the plan totally to the working group (interview with district coordinator, transcript 78). The process is claimed to be self-organized by the group members. They have to make decisions about what they want to focus and work on. Each group got one contact official from the government. However, that contact official will not be with the working group at all times. The working group could ask for help when it is necessary. Besides, the working group is asked to take the responsibility of getting permission from all the stakeholders affect by the project. In other words, the working group should organize 'stakeholder participation' process for their own initiative. Therefore, the correction of plans doesn't come from the government; it comes from the people themselves. However, this is hard for working groups. They are just normal people, with less knowledge than the government about how to involve people in policy making. This problem was specified during interview by the president of neighborhood organization (interview with resident, transcript 88).

The working groups are in different stages of their work. Some projects have already been completed, such as the new bicycle shed on the street, and the apple trees being planted, and some initiatives about organizing activities which didn't cost money from the government. The visually 'biggest' project finished was the community center. There was a group of enthusiastic residents working on that. It was supported greatly by a local housing corporation, which provided not only the vacant space for low rent, but also related renovation and services for the building. The community center has now been opened and organized all kinds of neighborhood activities. It is also becoming an important meeting place in the neighborhood. Talking about the reason for success in this particular working group, one group member commented that it was thanks to the dedication of the group member and the fact that they were 'guided' closely by the government through having the district coordinator engaged frequently (interview with resident, transcript 90).

Besides, there are more projects in working process or being faced with difficulties. The renewable energy group is one of these. The working group is working on a renewable energy corporation in the neighborhood, but they lack the knowledge about the condition for establishing such a company. After some search, they found out that they had to find enough people to join in the corporation, so they are looking for more participants. Another working group which had many difficulties and stopped working somehow is the one which was working on the renewal plan of Hereweg. The exact reason why the working group stopped was not clear. There are two possible reasons (interview with resident, transcript 87). First, the residents don't have enough knowledge about designing a road and the communication between professionals and residents had some problem. Second, the residents are more familiar with the traditional way of participation, in which planners make the plan first and the residents are only consulted. Therefore, they don't know how to behave if they should take the initiative. Reflect from the experience of 'successful' and 'less successful' working groups, there is an insight raised that the government should probably give more guidance on the working groups (interview with resident, transcript 91). Although it

is important that the people took the responsibilities to make things work, but proper guidance is one critical factor which influences the outcome.

Common ground

In the Neighborhood Perspective, they defined what they found nice in a neighborhood in 2012 and how these points would develop in the future. By creating the Neighborhood Perspective, governments and residents have made a shared vision within the discussion scope they defined. However, the tension from the neighborhood for the infrastructure projects is not released because of co-creation (interview with resident, transcript 89). People who were disappointed about the infrastructure projects before co-creation still hold their original opinion about them. But they could separate the infrastructure problem with the co-creation process. Residents who want a better neighborhood know that if they only complain they cannot go further. And they like the co-creation process and how positive changes, although small, are being made to the neighborhood.

Culture Shift

In this process of co-creating the Neighborhood Perspective and working them out, the government has taken almost a full step back in process of working. The district coordinator stressed that the residents had to take the initiative in process of building the vision and that they should make their own plan work. Meanwhile, the role of the government was to make it possible. This framework of co-working is being established now.

So we don't do the planning. They do the planning themselves. This is a different world from what we used to do planning. Still planning is there, but we listened more to people who are living there and have wished and who are the stakeholders in these processes. (Interview with district coordinator)

Co-creation for neighborhood vision is spreading into a lot of other neighborhoods in Groningen (interview with district coordinator, transcript 80). At least four neighborhoods are doing or planning to do this soon. There are more neighborhoods in which residents asked by themselves the similar process. Therefore, this project as a 'pilot project' is attracting more attention to the usage of this method. It could also been seen from the government document that they want to give the citizens much more power to create their own environment in the future. In other policy area of the municipality, for example social security policy, discussions are going on about doing the policy in co-creative manner.

Support for co-creation projects becomes stronger as time goes by. The thinking of co-creation method started from people working in district coordination department. But by the time of early 2012, this idea was not accepted by the mayor and alderman. Situation has changed a lot in the two years. After the election this year, now the new government is really promoting this idea of co-creation (interview with facilitator, transcript 85).

4.3.4 Correspondence with DIAD theory

The facilitator in this process has plenty of experience in consulting organizations, both governmental and non-governmental. He was interested in this new way of designing policy and has been involved in co-creation process elsewhere. Lots of conditions he listed correspond to DIAD conditions.

The condition of diversity of interests was mentioned. For this the facilitator explained (interview with facilitator, transcript 84), "And we tried as far as we could to invite all the stakeholders in the process that they or we could think of."

For the condition of interdependence, it was part of the reason for this co-creation project to start. The project started because residents were not satisfied with how the government was dealing with infrastructure projects which had huge influence on the neighborhood. Residents need the government to adjust their policy to enhance their situation. In turn, the government needs residents' support to justify their policy. Therefore, they decided to work together and start to understand each other. Although in this case these infrastructure projects could not be situated in the discussion, it is still a step forward. The initiative to co-creation reveals the awareness of interdependence between residents and the government. However, during the working group process, there was a lack of recognition of the interdependence between the residents and the government officials, which resulted in a lack of sufficient guidance and support from the government to the working groups formed by residents. There should be a balance for the government to make between 'a full step back' and 'a supervised process'.

The condition of authentic dialogue was raised as well. First, interest-based bargaining was specified and promoted in the process. The facilitator explained that people should be aware of the differences between discussion and dialogue,

Dialogue means listening to the other and asking questions and being really interested in why are you thinking what you think and what are the assumptions which lie behind your needs and wants. So this is the first thing that people need to learn not to discuss but to listen and to ask questions. Also dialogue doesn't mean that you have to agree. You can also agree on disagreement.

To facilitate 'real dialogue', he was present in discussion sessions and watching over. He explained,

The only thing that I do is telling them: be careful now, because you are getting a discussion and you don't have to agree, or it's not about who is right and who is wrong, just try to find out why people think the way they think, so ask questions.

Second, the facilitator considered that one rule is to start with a blank sheet (interview with facilitator, transcript 84). This is the same with one of the practical rules for reaching authentic dialogue that Innes and Booher (2003) have defined: the ground rules and mission should be defined by the group itself. Furthermore, the facilitator proposed that the facilitator himself or herself should not go into the content. The district coordinator confirmed the condition of 'equal position' and 'start with blank agenda'.

I think co-creation is a very good way to approach on another as equals who have their own responsibility to start a dialogue. You start not with the plan, but you start with a blank paper, and you think about how to fill this blank paper. And when you filled this blank paper with the plan you make together for the future, you don't have to worry about that some people may not want that. You kind of take away the ammunition of the opposition, while you always get opposition when you come with a plan so the process is more sound and sustainable. (Interview with district coordinator)

Besides the DIAD condition, the facilitator proposed two other conditions (interview with facilitator, transcript 84). First, give enough time. This is because co-creation is a new approach which everyone is not familiar with, for such a process you have to have enough time. Second, if organizations are involved as stakeholders, then the organization in itself has to be able to co-create. This is an important finding to add which is explained in the next section.

4.3.5 Other important issues specified

Is the government able to co-create inside its own organization?

This is one important finding from this case study. The insufficient ability to collaborate within government departments has blocked the co-creation process (interview with facilitator, transcript 83).

For example, one government official made an agreement with citizens about offering a bench in their neighborhood. He thought it was easy to make it. However, to really create this bench needed cooperation from other departments. This is where the process got more or less stuck. They couldn't go any further with civilians because inside the organization there was too less possibilities to co-create. The facilitator concluded, "If you want to co-create with the outside world, you have to be able to co-create within in your own organization."

Working groups somehow have this problem as well. When a working group wants to carry out a plan, they have to co-create with the neighbors they are influencing. For example, if they want to create a community garden, first they have to ask for opinions for people who live around the parcel, and in later design processes they also need to involve stakeholders in. However, the working group lacks the ability to organize co-creation like this. Working group members expressed their concerns about this weakness of their work (interview with resident, transcript 88). And this in turn, influences the outcome of the whole co-creation process.

This finding could be a supplement for methods to facilitate DIAD condition. In practice of collaborative processes, organizations which have their own structures are always important stakeholders. Therefore, this principle, that the organization should have ability to co-create within, is meaningful.

5. Result

5.1 Governance style in three co-creation projects

As explained in previous chapter, governance refers to the management process of collective affairs (Healey, 1997). According to evidence from the previous chapter, similar trends of governance transition could be found in the three cases. Therefore, they are displayed collectively in this section. Using the analytical framework of ‘governance triangle’ (Martens, 2007), the governance style of each case could be reached by comparing the governance processes to each of the three ideal models. In previous chapter, it is claimed that “In any particular instance, the form and style of governance will represent a mixture of tendencies (Healey, 1997, p 240)”. And it applies to the three cases in this research. Considering the governance style in the three ‘co-creation’ projects, it is a combination of all the three ideal types of governance – governance through coordination, competition and argumentation. However, as expected, a clear move towards the argumentation model could be witnessed. But because the other two models, the coordination model and the competition model, are fundamentally rooted in people’s mind, it takes time to move closer to the argumentation model.

Coordination model is fundamental

On one hand, the coordination model is still the fundamental model which is functioning in these cases. Evidence could be provided for this viewpoint. First, according to Martens (2007), an important character of governance through coordination model is that the government is in dominant place for public affairs. In all three cases, the government took the responsibility to organize the policy-making processes and remained the most influential actor. In cases in Gelderland and Venlo, it is obvious because the aim of co-creation is creating a formal planning document. Even in the case in Rivierenbuurt, of which the aim is creating a neighborhood vision, government is still powerful by giving a strict boundary for the content of co-creation before the process started.

Moreover, representative democratic system, which is defined by Martens (2007) as underlying system in this model, prevails in the three cases. Final decision-making power lies in the council or parliament. This rule in representative democracy, although being challenged in the process, was not changed, showing strong stability of existing political structure. In Gelderland, politicians chose to stand aside the co-creation process in order to keep their independency in final decision-making. The role and responsibilities of politicians are not changed. From interviews in the Venlo case, belief in representative democracy could be found.

(Q: who do you think has the final say?) We do have our city council. And the city council represents the citizens. ... And I think from a democratic point of view, or an organizational point of view, that’s the way that you should do it because it’s impossible to ask 100,000 people for what they think of. (Interview with citizen, works in educational organization)

In Venlo, one official expressed concern about the new democracy co-creation suggested,

It is always very difficult to democratize this kind of policy-making. ...I think the most democratic way is just by the councilors. That’s the way we organize it in the Netherlands, and I think that it’s the best way at least you want something that everybody want. ... So co-creation suggest that you participate all citizens, it’s not true. It’s just such a small amount of people that are not chosen, are they representative? (Interview with government official)

In Rivierenbuurt, resistance for co-creation was strong at 2012, which also showed the dominant place of representative system. The facilitator claimed, “As we were working with these co-creation processes at 2012, the directors of the local government would still say that co-creation is something that would go away.”

Furthermore, instrumental rationality, which is defined by Martens (2007) as the fundamental rationality in this model, is widely held among government officials. From interviews in the Venlo case, one official commented the difficulties he encountered working with non-professionals,

... citizens, and also councilors who are not professional on these themes. Really simple things we know about transport, water, environment, they don't know. So they don't care. ... You have a lot of time lost in the process. ... But the result of the workshops was that ... At last there was 20-25% we could use. But out of that 20-25%, there was nothing that I think would not come up with professionals ... (Interview with government official)

This feeling is at least representative for a part of officials working in co-creation. As another official in Venlo explained,

The new approach makes me think also. That makes me other projects that we can use this approach, in less or more, doesn't always have to be this whole approach, you can always pick some element out of this. The funny thing is that when you suggested this thing to the professionals, they are in hesitation and anxious and said “Oh, it's not so easy.” But when you suggested to other people, and to companies, and they are always enthusiastic. (Interview with official in Venlo)

Elements of competition model

Besides, elements of competition model could be found. As explained by Healey (1997) of pluralist democracy, this model is characterized as interest groups engaging in adversarial bargaining and political institutions arbitrating between different interests. Adversarial argumentation appeared in dialogue processes in the three cases. In the Venlo case, in the decision-making process of the city council, two councilors who didn't participate in co-creation raised objections which were of a highly political nature. In the case of Gelderland, the social organizations who participated in co-creation were in the stage of searching for the balance between participating and being a lobby group (interview with project manager in Gelderland, transcript 17). Some of them still raised objections during formal public consultation period, although agreements were made in earlier processes. In addition, in Gelderland officials found that some groups which were against some policy could not be reached at the early stage of policy-making (interview with official in Gelderland, transcript 29). They were used to making objections at the final stage of the formal procedure and refused to ‘co-create’ at the beginning. These evidences contribute to the fact that ingredients of the competition model are visible in current governance style.

Features in the corporatist model

Furthermore, on a regional level, the Dutch governance style showed strong feature as in the corporatist model, which is a model developed and remain close from the coordination model. In the case of Gelderland, like in Healey's definition, the government took effort in “consensus-building among ‘key’ regional and local player, a deliberative effort in horizontal network-building (Healey, 1997, p 235)” on a provincial scale. This could be revealed through the fact that although the government had tried to reach more actors through invitations online, in the end still the participants who were already in their ‘mailing list’ prevailed in the process.

(I=Interviewer; P=Participant)

I: How are the interest groups invited?

P: We started first with the contacts we already have. ... Besides the usual participants which was a big e-mailing list, the formal letters we used, we started an internet strategy to try to make a new community like who is involved, who feels involved for landuse in our province ...

I: Can you give an example of through the internet you find other crucial partners?

P: Yes. You can discuss how crucial they really were, but one example I usually give is this. We made connection with a group of young students in Nijmegen that were looking to making improvements in their own environments in Nijmegen ...

Officials explained that a society well organized into different interest groups is a tradition in the Netherlands (interview with official in Gelderland, transcript 4). This feature helps to locate the 'key' regional and local players in the Netherlands. Therefore, the element of the corporatist model could be found in the Gelderland case.

Transition towards argumentation model

Although resistance for long-lasting governance models is strong, this research focuses more on influence of the emerging model – governance through argumentation model. From practice we see that this model displayed high potential to contribute to positive results and be implemented further. We could find plenty proof for this conclusion from all aspects, including the context, process methods, results and fundamental ideas of co-creation projects.

First, in previous chapters I concluded from literature that the 'network society' triggers governance change. From the context of the three co-creation projects, same conclusion could be drawn. From interviews, all officials were very aware of the limited resource and authority that the government possessed at present.

... it's no longer the time that we as the government can tell the people what to do and be the only one who is choosing the direction we will go, but we need other people, like business people and municipalities, people who are active doing something in nature, other people in society. We need them to reach our goals. (Interview with project manager in Gelderland)

... Whereas we always have a vertical society, it is becoming more and more a horizontal society. Internet, whatever, and everybody is informed. Everybody has the idea that he has influence on his life and his situation. ... So that's a complete different world, and a complete different mindset. ... that's an important presupposition before we could have the kind of participation we could have here. Because the councilors realized that it was no long enough to ask the citizens what do you think. ... (Interview with government official in Venlo)

They realized the weakness of the traditional public consultation procedure which only happened after the plan had been mostly ready, and wanted to invent policy which was better supported and remained effective in the future. In the process of exploring their way ahead, the argumentation model offered a valuable alternative.

Second, collaborative dialogue process is one of the most important features of the argumentation model. In all cases, likely dialogue processes could be found. Although they did not fully fit into the 'collaborative rationality' that Innes and Booher (2003) described, these dialogue processes paid close attention to the recognition of different interests. This point I have discussed in the previous chapter in each case, about whether interest-based bargaining was recognized and promoted in the process. In the case of Venlo and the case of Rivierenbuurt, both facilitators indicated clearly that in discussion processes

people need to avoid convincing each other, and the aim of discussion was to listen to other's interests behind their arguments and find which could connect them (interview with facilitator in Venlo and Rivierenbuurt, transcript 39, 84). In Gelderland case, although there was no facilitator, the project manager stressed 'two-way communication' and 'informal dialogue', which aimed to communicate about interests better, as opposed to the one-way communication of formal public consultation process. In all three cases, conferences and workshops were organized as the environment for informal dialogue process. Moreover, online platform were created to facilitate and sustain dialogue outside face-to-face domain.

Talking about results, Healey explained that inclusionary argumentation "could change governance practices such that people would trust their governance machinery sufficiently that challenges were the exception rather than the norm (1997, p 239)". In all of the three cases, because of dialogue processes the support from society was more or less improved. For example, in the case of Venlo, where councilors were one of the leading actors in creating guidelines for development, after co-creation process, government officials felt that long term principles, such as compact urban development, have better reason to be put there. Besides, since the policy was not developed by the government alone somewhere in their small office rooms, but were collectively discussed and revised for several rounds, participants felt more attached to it. The exposure of the idea of a government which is willing to co-create with social partners has positive influence on the government's image. From one citizen's interview in Venlo, he explained,

I have to say that I have great admiration how he organized the whole process, and a lot of people did. So there was a new sound from the local government because everyone was used to that everything was decided in that building over there; and now in a sudden everything was real co-creation. ...I must say that I found it very refreshing that the town of Venlo are inviting local people and business owner in their thinking process rather than to decide all the things in their office. And of course that you shouldn't have the illusion that all your ideas should be found in their documents. (Interview with citizen in Venlo)

In Gelderland, some participants even sent formal letters in consultation period to express their appreciation of the plan, which were really unusual because objection used to be the only content. Accordingly, evidence for this support could be found in society.

Last, inclusionary argumentation model develops based on the fundamental idea of deliberative democracy (Healey, 1997). In the case of Venlo, the concept of deliberative democracy was explicitly recognized by one project initiator.

That's my personal opinion: I don't think it's useful to try to change the representative system. But I think it's essential, necessary, we are obliged to add other elements. And the other elements are elements of deliberative democracy. ... every council member are aware of the fact that he needs, 100,000 inhabitants, 1000 companies, 2000 organizations, the sports group, etc., from Venlo, he needs them to realize all the beautiful things he want to realize. The question is how you do that. That's difficult. Our co-creation project is one way of doing that as an experiment. But they all believe that deliberative democracy is one way or the other necessary. (Interview with official in Venlo)

This different kind of democracy was recognized by citizen as well,

(Q: In this new process, do you think it is more democratic and transparent for the decisions made?) Yeah, it's absolutely more transparent. Democratic? Yes, but then a different kind of democracy than you tends to think of because generally speaking democracy is about majority and minorities. ...The difference here is that here we are talking about ideas that are developed

together. So that's the co-creation element that you are interested in. (Interview with citizen in Venlo)

In the case of Gelderland, it was implicitly recognized by a discussion about whether the role of politicians should be changed in co-creation projects. To see from the result, the politicians started to change their evaluation criteria for decision: they shift from an evaluation for content, to an evaluation for 'a good co-creation process' (interview with politician, transcript 18). This could be seen as an implicit move to deliberative democracy.

Concluding remarks

Overall, the governance style in the three 'co-creation' projects, it is a combination of all the three ideal types of governance – governance through coordination, competition and argumentation. The starting point of governance style has both feature of the coordination model and the competition model, and locates closely to the corporatist model. Compared to previous projects which were not implemented through co-creation method, we could perceive a clear move in the direction of governance through argumentation model. This mixture of governance styles is the basis of the discussion later on about the multiple roles that one participant act in co-creation projects.

5.2 Correspondence with DIAD theory

Correspondence with DIAD theory is described separately for three cases in the previous chapter. In this section their similarities and differences are displayed. The first argument is that based on the processes of co-creation in the three cases, all DIAD conditions are found to be relevant. The synthesis is shown in Table 3. Notably that one condition is predefined as guiding principle not necessarily means that it is reached in practice. For example, the condition of diversity, although it defined as important condition in the case of Venlo and Rivierenbuurt, eventually it was not reached in both cases. Because all co-creation cases are pilot projects, here we do not focus on whether these conditions are reached or methods are carried out correctly, instead we focus on if participants are aware of these conditions and methods. We assume that if they know them, they have a larger possibility to reach them in the future.

Table 3 Correspondence with DIAD theory, three cases synthesis

DIAD conditions and methods of facilitating	Venlo	Rivierenbuurt	Gelderland
Diversity of agents	Y	Y	Lessons learned
Interdependence of agents	Y	Y	Y
(Authentic dialogue)			
Interest-based bargaining	Y	Y	Lessons learned
Challenge status quo			
Defining rules and missions themselves	Y	Y	
Interested participants	Y	Y	Y
Capable participants	Y	Lessons learned	Y
Free to speak	Y		Lessons learned
Joint fact finding	Y		
Trust for stuff	Y	Y	Lessons learned

(Y= predefined as guiding principle; blank = not defined)

When there is facilitator, which is the case of Venlo and Rivierenbuurt, the method of interest-based bargaining, although not in the same word, is recognized most clearly as one of the important conditions in co-creation. In Venlo, it is referred as: leave out discussion when sharing ideas. In Rivierenbuurt, the facilitator explains as: people should be aware of the differences between discussion and dialogue. Both facilitators stressed on the issue with ‘discussion’ among all the conditions, explaining that discussion which aimed at convincing others should be avoided, instead participants should focus on listening to others and learn their interests. Notably, for the condition of interdependence, like Innes and Booher demonstrated, was not articulated as a condition although it is obvious that it functioned as a drive for co-creation processes.

The second argument is that although in three cases participants could all learn a set of conditions which are similar to the DIAD conditions eventually, in different cases different sources of reference were used initially. Remarkably, in all the three cases the sources of reference were not from communicative planning theory. For example, in Venlo the facilitator talked about his reference for developing the co-creation approach, which was from religious thinking.

(I=Interviewer, P=Participant)

I: What are your sources of reference to create your co-creation approach?

P: I feel like a craftsman. The sources of reference are my life as a professional. ...

I: Is there any Habermas’ influence?

P: No, just two weeks ago Habermas appeared. I am influence by the large religions of the world. Within the large religions of the world, like Buddhism and Hinduism, and Christianity, there are a lot of principles which, if you see them, lose of the beliefs beneath it, there is a lot of wisdom about how people should go together. ... But then one main stream, a little bit more concrete, is of course the ‘non-violent communication’. There is a set of rules developed, behind these rules is Buddhism again. ‘Open space’ is another facilitation area, so there are set of rules of open space. I am not influenced by them, but I feel connected to them as I came to the same inventions as they have. ... It’s coming from very old traditions, very old knowledge. Because of our mechanical ways of thinking due to the industrialization of the last era, we lost touch with these principles.

In the case of Gelderland, there was no co-creation experts involved in this process design. Therefore, there were no pre-defined rules for co-creation. However, the lessons learned were similar to DIAD conditions and facilitating methods. This constitutes the third argumentation. Although learning by doing is possible, if officials in Gelderland were given more information about some principles at the beginning, it helps them a lot to go through difficulties in an exploratory, novel and unfamiliar process.

Finally, two methods which are not mentioned in Innes and Booher’s description are raised in the case of Rivierenbuurt. First, give enough time. This is because co-creation is a new approach which everyone is not familiar with, for such a process you have to have enough time. Second, if organizations are involved as stakeholders, then the organization in itself has to be able to co-create.

From the three cases, we could conclude that collaborative rationality, as described by Innes and Booher (2003), at least partly exist in the three co-creation cases through the usage of similar facilitating methods and the recognition of DIAD conditions among participants.

5.3 Learnings for future co-creation

This research question was raised from the pragmatic aspect, aiming to find materials to enrich theory. After answering the two descriptive questions in the previous sections, this question could be specified into a more concrete one. In section 5.1, we conclude that government style is shifting towards the

argumentation model and ingredients of this model could be witnesses. Meanwhile, government through coordination model still prevails. This conclusion serves as a context of a discussion of learnings for future. In section 5.2, we arrive at an argument that collaborative rationality at least partly exist in the three co-creation cases. Therefore, the normative position which communicative planning theory takes up is proved to be partly valid in these cases. In the future, we would like the collaborative rationality to be strengthened in similar processes. Overall, in this context, the third research question could be specified as: what are critical aspects to consider in order to facilitate collaborative processes in a mixed governance system which is dominant by representative democracy?

The three cases are different in the kind of plan and process that they designed with co-creation. Among them, the case of Venlo and the case of Gelderland are both statutory plans. The case of Rivierenbuurt is working on non-statutory plan. Because the situation in a statutory plan is more complex with co-creation, here we focus on this situation to draw lessons for the future.

From the aspect of actors, the governance form is about defining roles, responsibilities and rules of actions in society (Healey, 1997). Based on the result of this research, the two co-creation cases for statutory plans are not aiming at creating a totally new form of governance. Instead, they are adding elements of government through argumentation model onto the existing governance model, in another word, an incremental change of governance form. From the evidence of the two cases, in this change, players in the field – officials, politicians and social participants, have adopted new roles. However, some of their roles are in conflict with each other and they are searching about how to deal with this situation. This whole situation could be described by a model in Figure 12.

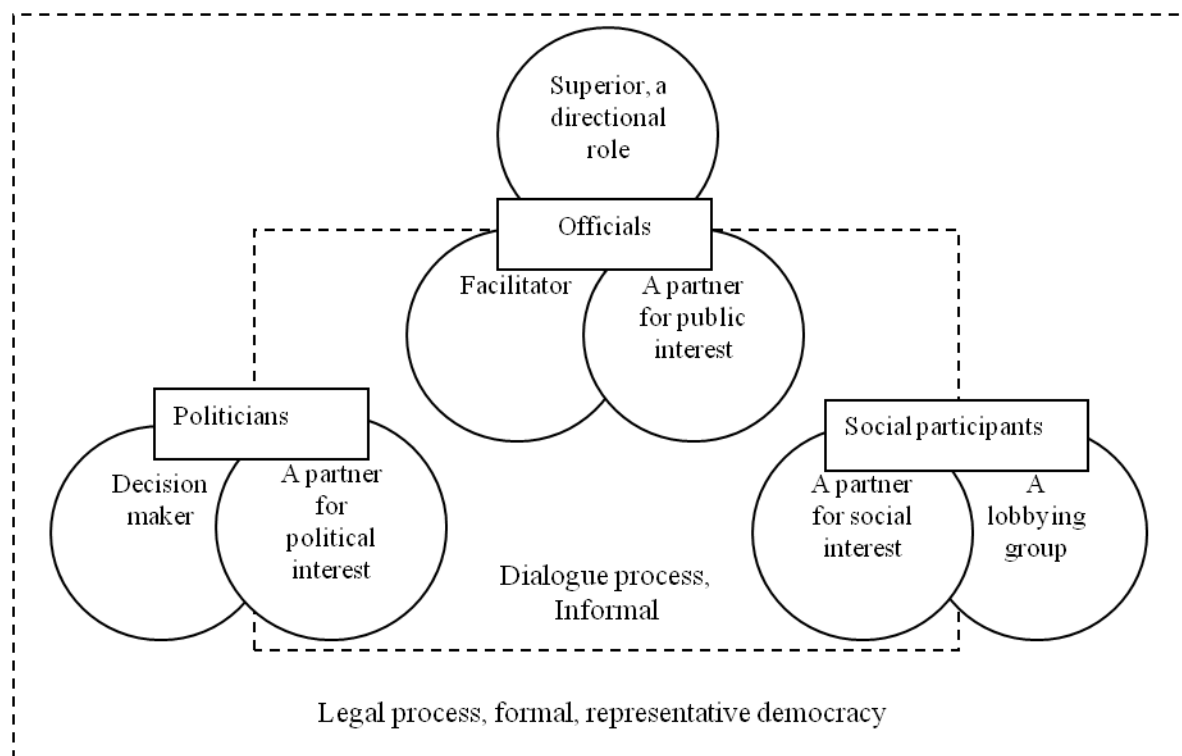


Figure 12 A two-layer model of roles of participants in the three co-creation cases

The model has two layers, representing two main processes which are combined in a co-creation project. The inside square represents the informal dialogue process and the outside square represents the

formal, political process. The dialogue process is situated inside the formal process to represent that it is an added element into the formal process and the decision-making power lies ultimately in formal process. In these two spheres, participants are expected to act different roles. Government officials have a directional role in formal process, which is superior to other participants. In dialogue process it has another two roles: the facilitator and a partner for public interest. Politicians have a role of being the decision-maker of formal processes, while they have another role of a partner for political interest in dialogue processes. Social partners act as a lobbying group in formal processes, while they have another role of a partner for social interest in dialogue processes.

This is a descriptive model, drawn from evidence of the two cases. However, it gives no clue about how to deal with the conflicts about multiple roles. The answering of these questions is beyond the scope of this research. Based on this model, three critical aspects considering the role of three actors need to be thought through for future co-creation projects for statutory plans.

Aspect one: the role of government officials in co-creation process

The role of representing the collective interest is what government officials always did in the past. In this role, government officials are superior to other participants. They take the lead in making guidelines, design principles for policies. This role is in conflict with the principle of collaborative processes which suggests every participant to be in equal position (Martens, 2007). The aim of co-creation processes is to some extent to weaken this role of being directional. The role of a facilitator of the process is something new for government officials. As a facilitator, ideally he or she should have no stake and influence in the content because it is important for building trust (Innes and Booher, 2003). From DIAD theory, and from practitioners who worked in collaborative processes, these two roles should not be acted together. However, in reality because government is organizing these co-creation processes, it was not really possible, at least in these two cases, to have an outsider to be facilitator for the whole process. Therefore, government officials have to accept that they have double roles which are in conflict.

To solve this conflict, good process design could help a lot. The case of Venlo has offered positive findings. First of all, in Venlo the officials were aware of this conflict before they design the process. They solved it partly by making a clear boundary between the period when the government is only the facilitator and the period when the government is in dominant position in plan-making. This boundary was the boundary for co-creation period defined by the project manager (interview with project manager in Venlo, transcript 43). The process designer was aware that it was not possible to do the whole process in co-creation, so that within the constraint of time and money, they would like to only experiment in the first period, which was the process of making development guidelines (interview with project manager in Venlo, transcript 45). Some officials were told to act as facilitator, some others were told to act as experts who only gave knowledge and tried to have less influence on people's opinions. They accomplished their missions well. This design of two periods, one of stakeholders and one of professionals, is called a 'parallel process' by the facilitator of the Venlo case. The professionals work based on the result of stakeholders process, and the working results of professionals go back to the stakeholders. This parallel process is inspiring for future process design. One key task involved is to define the boundary.

Aspect two: the position of politicians in co-creation process

Because politicians have the power to make decisions in existing organizational structure, it is in conflict with the principle of co-creation that every decision should be collectively made. A natural thought about how to solve the problem is to involve politicians in co-creation process. And this is how the processes

are designed in the two cases. But there are still choices to be made about how to position the politicians in co-creation. If they are invited as participants in co-creation, should they still be free to say ‘yes’ or ‘no’ in decision-making? The case of Venlo and the case of Gelderland have different choices in defining the role of politicians. In Venlo they are there as co-creation participants, but they are there only as a normal citizen, representing themselves, and they are still free to make any political decision in final stage (interview with official in Venlo, transcript 53). The result of this process is that all politicians who participated in co-creation respected and raised no objection to the collective result. In Gelderland the politicians were only investigators. In reflection, the designer wanted to involve them as participants and introduce political debates in the co-creation process (interview with project manager, transcript 14). Meanwhile, some politicians thought so as well (interview with politician, transcript 35). The involvement of politicians in co-creation process as participants seems promising, but they still need to learn how to behave like a partner who is representing political interest in co-creation because it is new for them (interview with politician, transcript 36).

Furthermore, the basis for political decision making should be thought through as well. In existing system, political decisions are made by politicians representing agenda of a certain political party. The foundation of decision making of a politician is positional thinking and checking with his or her own constituencies. Process designers of co-creation are thinking whether this foundation could be changed. One solution was suggested by one official in the Venlo (case interview with official, transcript 54): that the politicians decide on ‘the justice of processes’. They are person who evaluate if every stakeholder has a say in this process and the final proposal is one with common ground and mutually agreed upon. If the answer is yes, then there will be no reason to say no to the proposal. However, this solution would mean that every politician should believe in deliberative democracy. This actually happened partly in the process of Gelderland. In the Gelderland case, politicians were told only to observe co-creation process before decision-making period, and then in decision-making in the theme of nature and agriculture they were using ‘the justice of processes’ as their judging principle naturally. This result gives support for this solution. Another proof for this could work is that a parliament member was influenced by thoughts which were not the prepositions from her own party in the observing process. This indicates that it is possible for politicians to surmount their own petty interest and taking into account of other’s interest.

(I=Interviewer, P=Participant)

I: And do you think by listening to their discussion, you actually changed your own mind?

P: I think I did, very difficult to say, but did some subjects. Yes. ... For example, about strict rules ... In the beginning of the discussion I was more in favor of having strict rules. And in the end I was more in favor of ‘we should just discuss it, discuss the purpose, when you have the same purpose, well, then it’s going to be ok.’ I think I gain more liberal person.

I: And in the decision making process, do you stick to that attitude, being more liberal?

P: Yes, I did, therefore I also discuss it with people from my own party, so that changed the discussion in my own party.

(Interview with politician)

Aspect three: the role of social participants

In the case of Gelderland, the project manager explained, the social participants “are looking at what is the right balance between participating and being a lobby group really.” Being a lobbying group means that social participants conduct adversarial bargaining or positional bargaining. Although they participate in collective dialogue, outside the dialogue they still go for their own interest. If the co-creation process is

100% like the ideal model of IDAD process, the question should not exist because all social participants are aware of their mutual interest and know that because of interdependence their resistance could only cause the problem to be unsolved for longer period. The fact that there is still lobbying behavior indicates that at least the condition of 'interdependence' is not situated or not fully recognized by participants. In future processes, process designer needs to recognize the condition of 'interdependence' more. And if 'interdependence' is not that strong, then probably in the process this lobbying behavior will happen in formal procedure.

6. Conclusion and discussion

This research starts from an interest into “participation in planning” which has been under heated discussion in recent decades. The concept of participation has been developed for decades. However, it still needs to be clarified in the current context of governance transition. During late 20th century and early 21st century, the western society has changed from a hierarchical structure where power was possessed by few actors into a network society where power is diffused to diverse social actors (Kearns and Paddison, 2000). Therefore, government organizations are no longer in dominant position for social affairs and governance becomes a responsibility shared among different social partners. This is the context where participation becomes the center of discussion. New forms of governance emerge to adapt to this change. Martens (2007) developed the ‘governance triangle’ model which is used as a framework in this research to understand governance style in planning practice. In this model, three ideal forms of governance – governance through coordination, governance through competition and governance through argumentation model – are displayed as benchmark. Among them, governance through argumentation model is rooted in communicative planning theory, which offers an alternative model – collaborative planning – to tackle the problem of participation. Collaborative planning is based on a new kind of rationality, communicative rationality, which is established through free public reasoning among equals who are governed by the decisions (Healey, 1997). This rationality is inspiring for planners who are deeply influenced by instrumental rationality.

However, communicative planning theory remains highly abstract and its implementation to planning practice is unclear (Allmendinger, 2009). Therefore, more researches to investigate into collaborative planning practice need to be conducted. Innes and Booher (2003) has developed a theory – the “authentic, interdependence and authentic dialogue network dynamics” (DIAD) – to illustrate what collaborative policy making can accomplish and under what conditions. This theory is both normative and descriptive, thus is valuable as an interface of theory and practice. In this research, DIAD model is used as the analytical framework to understand participation processes in practice. In this way, the research aims to validate this theory and meanwhile add to it. Because DIAD model concerns both the conditions for and results from collaborative policy making, in order to narrow down the scope of discussion, in this research we focus on the validity of the conditions for collaborative policy making.

Methodologically, this research aims to conduct multiple case studies of three co-creation projects for strategic spatial plans in the Netherlands using qualitative data collection and analysis methods. The Netherlands is one of those countries which are influenced by the governance change discussed earlier and need to search for new approaches for governance (Hajar and Zonneveld, 1999). In the Netherlands, practitioners are actively experimenting on collaborative planning as a new way of doing planning (de Roo, 2000). A lot of cases have shown potential to possess crucial ingredients of collaborative planning. Therefore, the Netherlands is chosen as the country to conduct research about collaborative planning practice. Co-creation projects are projects in the Netherlands which are coordinated by the government and add new citizen participation approaches which endeavor to involve citizens in early planning phases. Among all categories of spatial plans, strategic plans are chosen because they are probably both the most problematic and the most promising ones considering implementing collaborative processes.

In particular, this research intends to understand in a governance system which is dominant by representative democracy as in the Netherlands, how much and in what ways collaborative planning ideals – represented by governance through argumentation model (Healey, 1997; Martens, 2007) and the

DIAD model (Innes and Booher, 2003) – could be realized.

Accordingly, three research questions are proposed respectively about the governance style, correspondence with DIAD model, and learnings in the three co-creation cases. In answering the questions, this research aims to give a rich process description of three co-creation projects which could be an interesting material both for academics and for practitioners in the field. This is another added value of this research.

Overall, the above research aims are substantially achieved. Key findings of this research include:

First, considering the governance style in the three ‘co-creation’ projects, it is a combination of all the three ideal types of governance – governance through coordination, competition and argumentation. The starting point of governance style has both features of the coordination model and the competition model, and locates closely to the corporatist model. Compared to previous projects which were not implemented through co-creation method, we could perceive a clear move in the direction of governance through argumentation model as expected.

Second, based on the processes of co-creation in the three cases, although in different cases different sources of reference were used, eventually in three cases participants could all learn a set of conditions which are similar to the DIAD conditions. We could conclude that collaborative rationality, as described by Innes and Booher (2003), at least partly exist in the three co-creation cases. We further argue that the DIAD conditions and facilitating methods have the power to be generalized in similar co-creation projects in the Netherlands. Besides, we add one practical suggestion for future co-creation projects: if organizations are involved in co-creation as stakeholders, then the organization in itself has to be able to co-create.

Third, based on the case of Venlo and the case of Gelderland, we argue that in statutory plans, critical aspects to consider in order to facilitate collaborative processes in a mixed governance system which is dominant by representative democracy are: the role of government officials, politicians and social groups in co-creation. A two-layer model is proposed to describe the mixed roles and systems in a co-creation project (Figure 12, p 61). Practitioners need to search for a proper balance between their multiple roles. The case of Venlo and the case of Gelderland have offered possible process designs for this purpose.

Overall, this research concludes that in the three co-creation projects, ingredients of the governance ideal and planning process ideal which communicating theory suggests could be found. This result could be generalized to strategic spatial planning projects in which the government is in dominant place to coordinate. Therefore, this research provides evidences to validate and strengthen the existing communicative planning theory. Besides, this research gives a rich process description of three co-creation projects. This could be an interesting material both for academics and for practitioners in the field.

Future research

A theory practice gap is recognized in this research: although in planning theory the communicative paradigm has been under discussion for over 40 years, in practice planners are still unaware of this. Co-creation projects are not guided by theorists, but practitioners who establish their knowledge through trial and error. Practitioners are in need of theoretical knowledge to guide practice. Because incremental or evolutionary form of change is preferred by government officials, for them the crucial question is ‘how to add elements of collaborative planning into existing governance system’. As the emerging co-creation projects for spatial plans and their potential to spread out into other public policy fields, more research

about this question, both from the theoretical and from the practical aspect will be very promising. Furthermore, it is important to accumulate local knowledge for a country, or more specifically, for a certain kinds of governance style. This illustrated that a further accumulation of Dutch cases should be done.

Reflection on research process

In this research, several points in research process are commented.

First, in data collection, the diversity of interviewees could be enhanced by reaching more interviewees. Although the researcher tried to reach every category of actor in co-creation processes, because of the constraint of time and time lost in communication with contact person, finally few groups were not reached. For example, the social organizations in the Gelderland case were not reached. Therefore, the information of social organizations and their participation is gained through information provided in other actor's interviews, mainly government officials. This might involve some bias because of their position.

An important point to reflect here is the positionality of the researcher. The researcher is a foreigner. All the written documents or documents from the website were translated from Dutch to English using google translator. The major difficulties concern some proper nouns. The researcher searched carefully for all the meanings behind to make sure there was no miss understanding. All interviews were conducted in English as well. Because most of the interviewees are from the government, most of them have a good capacity of speaking English and conveying their meanings clearly. The researcher thinks that there is no obvious negative influence of either using English to interview, or her identity as a foreign student. Besides, a lot of interviewees showed great enthusiasm in talking about their reflections about co-creation processes, which is a positive feedback for the quality of the interview.

It is noteworthy that in this research the author takes the normative position of the communicative paradigm. This is deliberately chosen because the researcher intends to use it as the framework to investigate the planning practice. This is partly because the researcher wants to use this research as a chance to understand communicative planning theory better. The research itself is a learning process of the researcher. This goal is achieved through the whole research process. However, the attention the researcher has paid to the critiques of communicative planning theory might be considered less efficient. The researcher would like to continue with this aspect if there is chance to conduct planning theory research in the future.

Last, the researcher encountered the problem of multiple case studies. The cases are fundamentally different, how to draw collective conclusions or whether there should be collective conclusions remains a question. At research design process, this question was thought about but not clearly elaborated. According to Yin (1994), multiple case studies are analogous to multiple experiments; they follow a "replication logic." The "logic" underlying the use of multiple-case studies is: each case must be selected so that it either 1) predicts similar results (a literal replication) or 2) produces contrasting results but for predictable reasons (a theoretical replication). Therefore, three cases of different spatial scales are chosen in order to be representative for each scale and comparable for their differences. However, in result it turns out that this selection was not fully logical. The case of Rivierenbuurt has fundamental difference with the other two. The 'similarities' of cases sometimes could not be predicted at the beginning of data collection. Therefore, more effort should be put in the process of case selection to reach more sound results.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Extraction from interview transcriptions

(Interviewee J, transcription 1)

T = Interviewer, A-S = Interviewee

Table I Interviewee ID and position

ID interviewee	Case	Position Interviewee
A	Venlo	Facilitator
B	Venlo	Citizen, work in educational organization (working group theme 'pride')
C	Venlo	Government official (water related policy)
D	Venlo	Project manager/ Initiator
E	Venlo	Councilor (Nov 2009-Mar 2014), VVD (working group theme 'EU region')
F	Venlo	Citizen, work in food company (working group theme 'food')
G	Venlo	Government official (Plan writing)
H	Venlo	Government official/ Initiator
J	Gelderland	Project manager
K	Gelderland	Daily manager (setting schedules, monitoring completion, coordinate plan-writing team)
O	Gelderland	Government official (general consultation for strategic spatial policy, help with developing instrument for 'ladder of sustainable development')
P	Gelderland	Expert hired by government (consultation for environmental impact, later on for Wind Vision)
N	Gelderland	Government official (policy for urban environment)
Q	Gelderland	Government official (policy for renewable energy)
R	Gelderland	Provincial Parliament member, PvdA
I	Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt	District coordinator (Organizer and member of process group)
L	Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt	Facilitator (Member of process group)
M	Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt	President of neighborhood association (Member of process group, working group renewable energy and student housing)
S	Rivierenbuurt and Herewegbuurt	Resident in neighborhood (not participating in brain storm sessions, joining later as a volunteer for the community center)

Case Gelderland

1. Manager - initiative

T: How did the initiative of co-creation come about? What is the main aim of the approach?

J: At the start of this period for the provincial government, they said two things: we need a new plan for the land use, and they said it's no longer the time that we as the government can tell the people what to do and be the only one who is choosing the direction we will go, but we need other people, like business people and municipalities, people who are active doing something in nature, other people in society. We need them to reach our goals. To accept that the government was not the only one who is important is one of the main objectives in the beginning. When they accept it, we are not the only one, we need the others, so we want the others to participate in the plan.

T: The initiative comes from the government?

J: Yes.

2. Manager – arbitrate between municipalities

J: ... We all have to play our role. As a provincial government, you do part of a solution. And that's what we are putting in the plan. But it's good to know what part of the solution we are doing, and what part of the solution the others are doing. It's completely true that the Omgevingsvisie is abstract, but different municipalities need the province to make the decision about "you shouldn't make big retail areas in between cities, usually in one municipality, which are a threat to the center of the other municipality". So they are making their own plans which are good, but at some points, they can't make plans which have negative effects for their neighboring municipalities. That's where they need us on their table, so we can make that decision in our planning, so the whole solution can work.

T: So the province is making plans on a higher level in order to guide the municipalities to have mutual benefits rather than bad influences.

J: Yes, that's an important aim of the province plan.

3. Manager – association rather than individual

J: ... The Omgevingsvisie is an abstract plan, we usually deal with municipalities, branch organizations, so not one businessman but the association for entrepreneurs, for example. So the participation is not really with every citizen within Gelderland. If it is, for nature, for some citizens it is crucial right away. But many other subjects in the Omgevingsvisie are on a different level. The participants are more other governments, bigger organizations, and only in a few examples that are individuals.

4. Official – society organized by interest groups

O: ... In Holland you have a lot of interest groups. Every segment of society, every sector you have an interest group. It's very common to talk to those interest groups about their interests. You also talked with the municipalities. They as the local government has the 'general interest'. They had to make the decision about what interest is the most important in this area. But you talked also with those interest groups.

5. Manager – situation where individuals are involved

T: In the example of theme nature, besides organizations, are there individuals involved in co-creation?

J: When drawing the maps, in most of the times, it was organizations. When there is a specific problem, sometimes we organized meetings with people who own the land or live there, to ask them what the specific situation is. So that's not for the whole map drawing everybody is in there.

6. Manager – interaction with parliament in the beginning

T: How are results of co-creation being accepted by the provincial parliament?

J: ... Usually when a project starts, I am the project manager to make the organization and make people in the right direction. But we also have a start document or a document which sets the boundary of the project. And the parliament has to say yes to those boundaries. And they are used to document which say a lot about the themes already. So they say we want more water, more houses, etc. And now we said we are not going to say a lot about more or less housing, that we say we are going to make solutions in the housing market which connects with everybody who is busy doing something in the housing market. So it's another kind of boundary we asked them. ... So in the beginning, they gave us the trust, "ok, start with it." But they weren't connected really good so they felt it was falling out of their hand, they couldn't grasp it really. But to the end, we more often took them to the small tables, into the conversations, know what the different goals people have on the table, know what are the important stakes that are there. So they could feel and see and investigate what the important features were of the policy. So the last one and a half year, they really felt that we were helping them to make things clear. Because we started this conversation, they could always ask to investigate anything further, not just in the formal procedure, which is usually the case, but also in the more direct way. ...

T: So at the beginning, although the parliament member don't know what is going to happen, they still say yes.

J: There were a lot of trust at the beginning, which is a really good thing.

7. Daily Manager – key processes and time periods

K: ... It took about six or eight months when we just have discussions, meetings and workshops. By the end of 2012 we had a big meeting for two days, everyone, about 200 people were together – discussing, debating, lots of energy. We only had little time for the writing of the plan. Then I suggested that we stopped trying to discuss more, but we trying to verify what the discussions are about. To make it explicit, so we started writing about two to three pieces of paper on each subject with the main highlight with what the issues/ this topics were, and what we thought was needed for the issues from different organizations. And just check with people: ‘does it make sense, cause this is what I heard’. And then we discuss a lot about it, ‘does it make sense’ ‘is it complete’ ‘do our politicians know about it, this is new’ ‘how many new elements are in this’ ‘what do we need to do to check it with other people’. So we did that for about, I think, 20 topics, just a session about two hours to say, ‘well we have discussed, we had workshops, we had discussions about 8 months.... About the 8 month, everyone was doing things, so we started to narrowed it down to 3 papers, which include 5-6 key ingredients for each, about what we have to do, what is the role of us, and the role of other people, does it involve new elements, or is it already standing regulations, and do we need to address it with other people, and what do we have to do if the omgevingsvisie is finished’. We discussed it with a group of about 8-10 people to get everyone’s response.

8. Manager – focus on what social organizations are doing currently

T: so you didn’t telling them (social organizations) at first about you are making a plan but start with asking what they are doing now?

J: Actually we did two things: we said that we are doing a plan, and there are a lot of things in the plan; but then we said let’s not talk about the plan now, let’s talk about what are you doing in society with that. We put the theme itself at the central place and started conversation about what are you doing on this. And then we deducted from then what the plan should be. So we didn’t ask them let’s do a plan together. We ask them what are the solutions where you are important and where we are important, and we use that input to start the plan and make steps.

9. Manager – different levels of participation, case of nature

T: How is the process organized in agenda setting and policy making? Maybe you can give an example of a specific theme, like how it is being developed.

J: There are quite big differences with the different themes. Some of them are with lots of participation and I’ll give you one of those as an example. But there are also other themes which got little participation because there are little people interested or we couldn’t reach them. One of the subject where there are lots of participation is the topic of nature. ... So what they did is that they made a manifest, where they said agriculture organizations, nature conservation organizations, and the organizations which own conservation areas. They said that province we want to make a new plan together; ... They were really organized already. So we asked the 13 organizations which subscribes the manifest, and together we took out the land use plans of the province and see the borders of nature, where we should change, where we should get new developments which are a quite expensive part but didn’t contribute much to the objectives. ... So they were parties that were already organized and they approached us if we could participate and we made the plan actually together. This is an example of highly structured organization participation. For other themes, it was less organized.

10. Manager – the case watershappen in the lead

J: ... We have many project managers with different styles really. But still the effort we put into the connection and participation, it was much more in this process than in earlier processes. And one example is that we have special water governments, the watershappen (Dutch), and they play a big role in putting all the water topics in the plan. They actually made all the water related documents. And in the end we say “ok, thanks for organizing this”. It was not something somebody created on the computer, they organized. A lot of people were involved in producing these documents. They were in the lead. And we participated with them, even it was our own plan that was being produced really. And only to be clear about who is responsible in the end, in the end we say that “thanks for producing it, now we are going to put a provincial stamp on it

really”, like now it’s ours also. That helps a lot in how we organized the related topics in the field today because we had a lot of participation, and we have worked together in the whole theme. So it’s easier really to make steps now. So this is also an example of how other organizations play a bigger role in this process than they used to play in other abstract planning processes.

T: In traditional planning processes, the water board is only consulted?

J: Yes, in traditional processes, they are only consulted and usually at the end. So we tell them like “we made the plan, it’s good that you know the plan. And you have six weeks to respond.” That’s very traditional, and now they are at the beginning...

11. Official – positive about waterschap case

T: Do you think positively about co-creation in general?

O: ... And I think for some subjects we succeeded in that. For example, in Holland we had the special water government, the waterschap. Actually that’s the oldest government in the Netherlands. The water government they write the plan themselves. So that part is also co-creation.

12. Daily manager – writing period checking with participants/ online review as a new method/ revision

T: Did you also check with previous participants (when you are writing the plan)?

K: Yes. But how we did it is less obvious. We didn’t do it static, or in a fixed moment. Because our specialist had the network and connection, so they can suggest that if we did this some actors will not like it. But we don’t supervise if our specialists are checking it correctly, we just assume that they know what they are doing. ... Then when we have the first draft was not yet approved, but we asked the colleague if it is ok if we put it online. The first draft we put it online and ask anyone who has an opinion. Of course all the participants feel it is quite unusual, should they write a formal letter like before or just a phone or email. We used to do it that when we feel it’s 90% right we ask the people, and this time it’s not 90% percent yet and we want to let everyone know. And also the responses you can use to make this plan better. One of the respond was from a committee, the provincial council for spatial planning ... Our main goal is to make a small, precise omgevingsvisie. But the concept we published in February is quite large. For them it was too large. And we took that criticism and we work for a workshop together. ... So finally we use the criticism to make it shorter and sharper and we explained why it is not yet the kind of plan that they wanted. So we had mutual understanding.

13. Manager – two-way communication in inspraak period

T: So in general the inspraak period, the communication is in most of the time one-side communication. But now you are still want to have a real dialogue.

J: Yes, we are trying to. We put a lot of effort in two-way communication even to the ones who are writing formal letters to us, just to escape from the formal where you can just put your letter in a small window and that’s it, you never hear from the government again. We believe, we feel if organized, it’s better that I really understand someone has an objection to the plan, and maybe they haven’t read it right, or maybe they read something in a way we didn’t intend. And we had quite a few organizations, that after communicating with them, after the letter, they said on the public hearing, “our formal objections aren’t there any more, we maybe still have some smaller points.” ... So it helps to make it two-way communication instead of just formal gives a letter and you hear from us.

14. Manager – involvement of politicians in process/ change of design next time

T: how are PS invited in the discussion meetings?

J: We made a choice in this process until the end we asked them to participate as sort of an investigator. So that they could listen and hear and see what was happening. So they could use it to make their judgments, the political choices, which really was a choice. They could really have participated as a politician and making the political choices part of the process right away. We didn’t choose for that model. ... That also is a subject if I would do it again now I would probably ask them to participate as politicians at the beginning. So the example for the housing market. It is not possible to get the whole parliament in the conversation. But it is good if there are big political difference on the theme, like one party says “there has to be more houses” and another says “no, less houses”, to make it very simple, it’s better that you have the

conversation right away, so that for all the participants it's clear that there is a choice. ...So if I would do it again, I would ask them to participate earlier. But in this process, we didn't, we just ask them "have a seat next to us, and look what we are doing, ask questions, but use it to make your own judgment, and do your own thing at the end of the process which really is next week (according to the date of the interview)."

15. Politician – varied involvement among members

T: Can you explain briefly what did the parliament involve in the process? How much do you involved?

R: Well I think there is a difference between the parliament and me as a personal member of the parliament because I have been very much involved, but I noted a lot of people in the parliament were not so much involved or only in the end. But I was involved in the beginning ... it cost me a lot of time.

16. Politician – informal discussion organized in political decision making

T: For the theme of agriculture and nature, were the discussion helpful for making the final decision?

R: Yeah, a lot. We not only have the discussion ourselves, but we invited people who were involved in the co-creation, the manifest partners. As parliament members we had the opportunity to ask them questions. I think it was very interesting for us to see how they were involved, what their opinions were and what they shared and what they had discussions on.

17. Manager – link to formal procedure/wishes failed/ organizations lobbying/ parliament subscribes

T: How does the process of co-creation link to formal planning procedures? Are these procedures still a source of power?

J: At this moment they are. We are obliged to go through the formal procedures. And we are looking if we have talked to the people earlier, should they be free to object to the plan later? You really want to have a good conversation that there are no objections left in the end. And that's not completely how it worked out. It has to do with... I told you the example for the nature, that we had the farmers on one side and the nature organizations on the other side, they don't always agree. And at the end of the co-creation process, they found some common ground and they compromised, like none of them got 100% of their goals but they knew it's the optimum. And we also had talks with the parliament, where the organizations say "it's the best we can reach together", which I think is really good. But since there are still formal procedures, both sides of the compromise still took the liberty to ask for the 100% in the formal procedure. And that's something that is still being discussed about because you wouldn't really want them to do that. And this has something to do with how these organizations work. They work on behalf of a large group of farmers or a large group of nature-loving citizens. And they are saying, "if these formal procedures are there, we need to tell what our society is asking for us." So if they are asking still to make more possibility for land use for farmers, they need to do that in the formal procedures. So they are looking at what is the right balance between participating and being a lobby group really. And at this moment, it's being done both, which isn't really what you aim to do because our objectives would be if you are participating in the beginning, really connect to the solution, don't start objecting once we need the formal step. So there are still people who don't subscribe to what we talked about earlier. But the good thing that I see is that the parliament subscribes what have been done earlier. They say it was a good step then, so it's still a good step and we understand that for some people it could be something more to the right or more to the left but we stick to the compromise really.

18. Politician – suggest to change based on process criteria

T: What were you suggesting to change in the theme of agriculture?

R: That was a bit difficult to explain.

T: Maybe only one main point.

R: The main point is that what they wanted to do... The process is not finished yet with agriculture, we don't agree what's in it, and we don't believe that all partners agree on that paragraph. So we wanted to have another co-creation procedure on agriculture theme for one year. And we asked for a new process.

T: So you are not directly saying no to their plan.

R: No, we are not saying no. But we don't believe that everybody is happy with this result. And we also find it very vague, so we don't know how it works in practice. So we said that "well, just work on it for another year. And just keep the way it is now."

T: That's interesting because it's more like that you are saying no to the process. You don't think it's enough.

R: Yes, that's what we are saying, indeed. We said that for that paragraph for agriculture, the co-creation is not good enough.

T: I think it's the first time that you comment in this style, not for the content, but...

R: Yes, but more about the process.

19. Manager – co-creation values more in concrete projects/ value with exposure

T: How to make social participants really contribute in a highly abstract provincial level Omgevingsvisie?

J: That's hard, when I'm asked to do some lecture in the country, I always tell them co-creation participation is a really good way especially when it is within certain boundaries and for specific spot because then people know it's about this spot and it really touches them. And such an abstract plan, is not really a good vehicle, or a good plan for them to participate. But then again it is something with a lot of exposure of the government, so it does help how people see the province. They see that the government wants to work together and have participation. So there is a lot of exposure, but the level of really making steps together needs more concrete plans really. So the highlights in the process are really specific parts and not the complete plan. Because many people see the government as a formal organization which has a lot of colleges. ...So that exposure itself I think is a good step forward. But we really need to make the next steps in the smaller, specific plans.

20. Manager - Culture shift: society/ professional/ parliament

J: "But in general like I said, big cultural shift, we had a product now all people relate to, maybe not to the written sentences, but to the direction we are going. So a lot of people are asking for new processes which are starting now. They asked "can you do it in the same way you do the Omgevingsvisie", which is also... it helps to develop a new way of working together"... And it was kind of a culture shift for the internal organization, both the colleges and the executives. It was a big culture shift because suddenly I didn't ask them as a project manager, "you have the knowledge and please write it down so I put it in the plan", but I asked them "you have the knowledge, but I want you to connect your knowledge with what other people are knowing and doing". So they need to have different behavior really. And it's also for the parliament, the ones who are elected. They are used to say at the end of the process if it's good, or it's not. Now we try to make them part of the conversation also. There are quite a few changes. And again I say the exposure for the plan is really good for those changes. But the level of participation is really easy to reach when you have a specific topic, when you are talking about people's backyards, it's easier than talking about something abstract, something which doesn't affect your daily lives.

21. Official – vacant building project as spin-off

N: ... In our documents we concluded that our legal instruments are focusing on new roads and office buildings, but a lot of problems are focusing on the existing urban environment. Afterwards, we concluded that we had to make separate notion – ok, we make policy for new urban developments, but we also need to focus on problems of existing urban area and we want to facilitate the parties. So the vacant buildings came afterwards. It was a spin-off of the policy of office buildings, etc. I now am doing an interview round for vacant buildings like I did for office buildings in the omgevingsvisie. Now we do have some more time. Now what I want to do is... In September I have a meeting within the province where I will make a presentation for all the interviews I did on vacant buildings and propose what kind of policy I think we should make as a province. With that in mind, I want to arrange meetings with the private parties and municipalities and recheck with them if I understand them correctly and whether what I find is useful. After that check, we can institutionalize that within the province of Gelderland.

22. Official – windvisie as spin-off

T: Your role in omgevingsvisie. I knew that you are responsible for organizing and creating the document for the Windvisie.

Q: Yes, that's a part. I start by coordinating about all energy transition in the omgevingsvisie. So that was two parts, coordinating energy transition in the omgevingsvisie, advice some energy and bio-energy, and later on, I am now responsible for the Windvisie, which is like the actualization of the omgevingsvisie for wind.

23. Official – transition to qualitative approach

T: what are the results in document that could not otherwise be achieved without co-creation?

N: Now we have more qualitative approach in regulation rather than the traditional quantitative measurements. I don't know it that's a result of the co-creation approach, or it is from the change of the mind of the province. So I don't think you can say it is the change because of the co-creation approach. It is something that we already have in mind. In the process we checked it with other people. But there is no participants asking us to change the existing quantitative approach. After consulting them, most of the people think that the qualitative approach is better.

24. Official – transition to qualitative rules as a result

T: Are you satisfied with the final product of omgevingsvisie?

Q: Yes, I am pretty satisfied with it. I think because of the process but also the goals, it becomes more open to the ...

T: Public?

T: Well, the public, but the result of the process is that there is less strict rules in the omgevingsvisie, and more guidelines of how to work so that there is more space for (?Dutch), for a specific measurement for a certain project. I think the result is really good because it makes possible to realize more projects with quality, and to be able with social groups that also implement projects – people more look at the quality of the projects that they would want to do instead of only looking if they are working according to the rules.

T: For the omgevingsvisie, what are the results that you think could not be achieved without co-creation?

Q: Woo, that's a difficult question. I have to think about it. That's very difficult to say it exactly. If you look at the energy transition part, what started in the omgevingsvisie and later elaborated in the Windvisie is that what we used to do is... for example for wind mills we had a rule that it couldn't be close to four kilometers to another wind mill farm otherwise there will be visual interference. What we did in the co-creation process is to speak to people why this four kilometer a strict border and by speak with people we finally put another type of rule, or not a rule, but which we said you have to look at visual interference which might be there if another windmill farm is formed and it doesn't matter which the distance is but you have to take account of that.

T: So you make rules that there is no strict number, but you have to see it in the specific environment.

Q: Yes, exactly....

25. Official – transition to qualitative/ discretionary regulations

T: As an expert of spatial strategy, are you satisfied with the final version of the omgevingsvisie for all the themes?

O: That's quite another way of thinking. It's getting more difficult to use it in practice. But we have to learn how we will use it. For example, before we had all kinds of measurements.... That's clear and easy. But now our regulations are more discretionary. It is more difficult for local governments to make the decision. That's something that in real day practice that can be difficult. I don't say it's wrong but it's complicated. And that's for several subjects and most of the times it's for new functions in rural areas. ... One of the reasons is the changing of culture of the nation. Maybe also the economic crisis, because you should be thankful for anyone who want to build houses because it is good for the economy.

26. Politician - Change of attitude of government specified

T: Do you feel that there is a difference with the result of co-creation and the result of traditional planning procedure?

R: Yeah, because in a lot of time the omgevingsvisie said the province is going to do this and the parliament is going to do that, and I have a feeling that now it's much more a plan for the whole province in which

everybody is involved, and not just the province wants to do that and it's not going to lead to do something because you really need the helps from the partners. Yeah, I think it's better. But what was good is not only about that it was made in co-creation, but also the vision was different, because for this we were only talking about functions and what to do where, you cannot do it here but you can do it here, now we are more talking about purposes, what we want together. So maybe that's a more important change than co-creation. Maybe it belongs together, I don't know.

T: You mean the attitude of the government are changing?

R: Yes, the government is thinking different about their own role that you cannot make the society by saying "well, I want to plan it here, and I want agriculture there, and nature there." And you more have to discuss and think about the purpose of nature, the purpose of agriculture and why you want to do that. So the 'why' is more important than the 'what'. I think if we only discuss that and we don't do it in co-creation, then the plan would also be better than the last planned.

T: So you are not sure what is exactly the contribution of co-creation in this plan?

R: En-hm. Yeah, new way of thinking or...

27. Manager – finding partners through internet, Nijmegen case

T: Can you give an example of through the internet you find other crucial partners?

J: Yes. You can discuss how crucial they really were, but one examples I usually give is this. We made connection with a group of young students in Nijmegen that were looking to making improvements in their own environments in Nijmegen. As a provincial government, we also have this goal of making young people participating more in government issues. Once we made the connection, we started to discuss what the omgevingsvisie really is because just for the plan it is not obvious for everybody what it is and what it can do. And we asked them what for them were important issues. And they made an inventory for sports-related places in Nijmegen, are there good lights, is it slippery, etc. And that inventory is really a small part in the omgevingsvisie, but as sort of a spin-off, it went pretty big in the plans for the municipality of Nijmegen. So the first connection was through the platform, we started to talking to each other, so there was more exposure for their goals and their knowledge really. And we helped each other by getting a small part of the sports in the plans of the province, but also making our connections with the municipality to help them with their goals. That's one of the examples where it's less abstract.

28. Official – no reason to use internet platform

T: Do you use the website Gelderland Anders?

P: No. There is just not real reason. Probably we already did a lot one to one discussions. We didn't see the necessity to use any other instruments.

29. Official – people who are against not easy to involve in early process

P: I am still wondering how to involve a broader public earlier in the process. When we were doing the Windvisie you tried to speak to a lot of people about different locations. And in the early process, if you want to invite people to talk, people who are against the windmills won't come because they are not interested. But then later on in the process which location is the best, then all the people who are against the windmill, when they hear about the locations, that's the time they will show up and be against it.

30. Official – government participate as equal partner in some projects initiated by social actors

Q: Stendendriehok is important for energy transition. They had a very intense co-creation process as well, and there is a road map for energy transition which we created together with Alliander and the Regio Stendendriehok, we as the province and of course other local boards, etc.

...

T: And this result is a part of omgevingsvisie? Or it's a spin-off project?

Q: It's a novel process in each region. It was also a process already going on when we start with the omgevingsvisie. They are likewise processes, so we are trying to match the processes so that what was happening in the state is also described in the omgevingsvisie.

T: So you as the province kind of join the process of the region to creation their own agenda or initiatives about this.

Q: Yes. In co-creation it is very important to see who is having the ownership, or did you get a shared ownership. So it's very important to know when to be at steering wheel or not to be at the steering wheel.

T: And this time you are just like promoting the existing process, not really giving them directions.

Q: Yes, we were not the lead in this process, just as one of the participants in the process of Stendendrihok.

31. Official – Dual roles: directional and make everyone happy

T: What is your feeling about your new role?

N: I think it's good. Compared to four years ago when we made the structuurvisie for industrial sites, now it's more like we are trying to know what other people think, what they feel about our role, what they expect from us. So it's more of a conversation. I think it's a pity that we didn't do that in earlier versions. I think it's a good direction we are heading in. I do think the risks are: we have talked with a lot of parties, and as a province sometimes we have a facilitating role, sometimes we have a directional role (he questions himself for the choice of word)... Some parties in a lot of times are in competition, so the province needs to make policy to stop them from competing against each other. In the co-creation process, if you talk to everyone, you cannot make everyone happy. You do have conflicts with parties because there are different interests which are competing against each other. Sometime I think we were a bit of scared of taking that role of a more directional province. Sometimes I think it was a struggle. We need to keep everybody happy. But sometimes you have to say like "ok, I do get your point, but we as a province is heading that way because of the interest of the whole community". But overall, it's good that if someone has a different interest, you understand them. So you have a better relationship and they understand you better why we take this role as a province.

32. Official – limited time in co-creation

N: ... I got limited time, and I have to make policy for four subjects. ... The ambition of speed is driven by thought that if there is a lot of speed in the process, we could get a thinner policy document. ... But there is a conflict with the co-creation approach. If I had a whole year, I could manage the co-creation process for all four subjects. But now you have to choose

33. Official – limited time in co-creation

Q: I think for the omgevingsvisie the co-creation did not went far enough. What we did with the Windvisie, defining the goal, workshop, announcement for knowledge, etc., that kind of things are essential for good co-creation I think. And in omgevingsvisie there is not enough room, or not enough time to do the same.

34. Official – lobbying partly due to process design (diversity)

T: These parties are used to be a lobbying group. And in this process they should acting differently, in a more collaborative style. Do you feel that change in them?)

N: It is more like in-between. It is also related to how it is organized. If we put them together in one room and said "ok, guys, we are going to make some provincial policy here", you have to take a different approach. But now I approach them as an investigator. For them it's more like, "ok Mr. Investigator, how do you look like it?" In this way, I put them in a role of a lobbying club. And of course I asked them to take a broader approach, also taking account the vision of others. There is no real reason for them to do it (to speak for others) in front of an investigator. "Let's start with making my own points, and after we'll see."

35. Politician – at first chose to stand aside

R: We thought as a member of the parliament we should have our own opinion about those themes. And when I looked back, I thought we should brought our opinions about the themes much earlier in the process. We didn't do that because we were thinking, "This is informal, and just informal meetings, so we are not allowed to have opinions. We have an opinion, but it is not a political process yet, that's more the co-creation process." So in the beginning we are thinking, stay aside, let the process do their work or something like that.

T: So you choose to stand aside.

R: Yes, we all did. Now I am thinking we should not have done that. We should involved more in the themes and discussions and make it more political in the beginning.

36. Politician – hard to position

R: It was very difficult as a politician to think about what's your position in co-creation. The policy makers always say co-creation is between partners and with people who are involved. And as a politician you are not really a partner, you are also not really involved. ... And people are also afraid because if you are part of the process, it is very difficult to say 'no' or 'yes' in the end of the process. And that's our role.

Case Venlo

37. Facilitator- self- governing/not in content

T: You are with the project till the end?

A: I didn't follow the project until the end. The essence of the way I work co-creation is that I create a self-governing group of stakeholders. ... So I stayed on the job until the self-governing was secured and all positions were clear, and from there on they moved themselves, guided a little by D and H (interviewee ID)....

This design of two parallel processes, one of stakeholders and second one of professionals, I think is very promising, but it's also very raw. ... But this was a very important experience from Venlo that for development of structuurvisie you should have parallel processes. ...

There was no money to have me facilitated the second process and when I looked back, I think it is a pity that I didn't do it myself. D did that, and he did a good job on it, but he was involved in the content with the process. With my experience it's a basic rule of facilitation that you can't facilitate when you are involved in the content. Because you have a position in the content, that makes you a poor facilitator. This is about trust. And trust is one of the main conditions for openness. Openness and trust you find that in Habermas, conditions for dialogue. In the writing team, because there was no facilitator, so there was no one to guard openness and trust.

38. Limited par

T: How are the participants invited?

A: Their participation is limited. ... The model we used is very useful for future involvement, so the model is good. But in Venlo we were cautious about the total amount of people that could be handled. I limited them as 80 people, and 40 of them were the local councilors. The process in Venlo was more about involvement of the councilors than involvement of citizens.

One condition for successful co-creation is that you have the whole system in the room. This is very important because if you don't have all parties in the room, then although you could have a nice discussion in the room, but there are also discussion outside the room for the parties that are not involved. From the system's theory, you need the whole system in the room. So we invited the professionals, entrepreneurs and citizens, 15 each, already 45 people. So we could only invite 15 people for the whole municipality. So that is poor. With 15 people, you cannot get any legitimacy. We should do it again but with better representatives. ...

The limitation of people is because I am not confidence of myself in managing a group larger than 80 people in more than 2 days. Nowadays I have found it no problem to manage a group of more than 1000 people. So I have widened my scope. Next time I will have more participants.

39. Facilitator -Condition in conference

T: In the raadsconferentie, what's the main issue to organize the discussion?

A: The main issues are that you are a large group in a room together without any hierarchy. To create a situation in which the local mayor and the local street brusher they are the same, they are communication on the same level. That is the biggest issue.

T: How can you facilitate this?

A: In Venlo we ask people to sign themselves if they are interested. And then H and D (Interviewee ID) made a kind of selection on from which part of the town they came, so that every part of the town is represented. ...

At first you invite all people personally. So everybody feels invited there. The mayor is not invited more specially than the street brusher. They decided themselves whether they come or not. ... Then they come

into the room as citizens and professionals, and then they start the dialogue. I used the word 'word café'. It's an American procedure. ... It's an American procedure. It starts by talking 20 minutes in a group of 20 people. I put everybody mixed in small groups, and I asked them to talk together about the main issue of the conference. At this time, it was 'what do you find important in Venlo in the coming years?' And then they share their ideas. And I tell them to leave out discussion.

To leave out discussion is the second important condition. We are so used that we should reach a certain shared result that we always find ourselves in discussions trying to convince the other that we are right. By trying to convince the other, you lose enormous energy and time, and you frighten the others. For example, a mayor is a thousand times better in convincing the others than the street brusher. ...

An important aspect of co-creation is that you should leave everything to the group, because if you decide anything for the group, the group is no longer owner of the results. And they will leave you with the results. If you want that, it's fine. But it's no more co-creation. ...

40. Facilitator - Source of reference

T: What are your sources of reference to create your co-creation approach?

A: I feel like a craftsman. The sources of reference are my life as a professional. ...

T: Is there any Habermas' influence?

A: No, just two weeks ago Habermas appeared. I am influence by the large religions of the world. Within the large religions of the world, like Buddhism and Hinduism, and Christianity, there are a lot of principles which, if you see them, lose of the beliefs beneath it, there is a lot of wisdom about how people should go together. ... But then one main stream, a little bit more concrete, is of course the 'non-violent communication'. There is a set of rules developed, behind these rules is Buddhism again. 'Open space' is another facilitation area, so there are set of rules of open space. I am not influenced by them, but I feel connected to them as I came to the same inventions as they have. ...

It's coming from very old traditions, very old knowledge. Because of our mechanical ways of thinking due to the industrialization of the last era, we lost touch with these principles.

41. Facilitator - Specialty Proposal about citizen con

T: One last question, you have facilitated a lot of co-creation projects, and what do you think is the specialty of Venlo?

A: The specialty is that in Venlo we developed this parallel process. In the Netherlands, it was new and special to involve the city council as we did. This was the first. And the second was the parallel process of professionals and participants side by side. What I found a pity was that we were never able to lay the results back to the community. In the original design, I proposed a kind of a G1000 conference with a lot of citizens in the end. And I am very sad that there was not a budget for that. And I am still hoping, that one way or another, Venlo finds the way to organize this lacking piece of the process because this process should always end with a presentation of the result to the community, in my opinion. So not only the city council, the community as a whole, can say yes, we think this is a good result.

42. Project manager- process

D: ... We started with a werkplaat, with the question of what is important for the future of Venlo from spatial planning point of view. Is it green, water, economy? We searched for the common ground, things which unite people (the 13 headlines). We start with abstract ideas about what is important for us in the future. In the conference we narrow it down about what is realistic to do and what are the concrete ideas. We have the concrete ideas that were further developed at werkplaat after the conference. At werkplaat we got 250 concrete ideas, building water power plants in river Maas, making bike lanes at certain place. People in scrijft team took the ideas, and think if these are what the people want to realize, the structuurvisie has to make all the things possible. If we take these 13 principles as the headline of the structuurvisie, we can make these things possible in the future. We tried to capture that. The 13 sentences represent what society thinks as important, and we said that the council made the headline of the structuurvisie. And the council voted unanimously for these 13 points in September.

43. Project manager- Boundary of co-creation

T: In the writing process, are you also in contact with participants from the workshop?

D: Yes, a bit. You have co-creation, which is fundamentally different with normal participation approach of civilians. In our process there are two parts: co-creation and burgerparticipatie. Co-creation only happens in the creation of 13 guiding principles. In this process, everybody is equal. We have to respect everybody. We put the agenda on the table and are open about it. We produce it together. After this, the organization of Venlo, they took this over. And then they go back to the office, and write, and come with a concept, and ask people who are part of the co-creation process “do you recognize it, is it ok, do we have to adjust it”. And after we got feedback about adjustment, we go back in our building here and come to another part and we got to the ‘draft structure plan’. This is what has gone into the ‘inspraak’ period (formal public review period). It lasts six weeks. And also the major interest groups, the province, the water board, etc. This is more the normal participation. We make a concept, and we ask “what do you think of it, thanks” and we go back to our building, work further on it. So this is co-creation, this is normal participation. This (normal participation) we do since 1970, and this (co-creation) is since 2010. This is the evolution of the participation approach.

44. Project manager- Initiative, interdependence, steady development

T: Where does the initiative of this project come from?

D: I took the initiative because I know A (interviewee ID) before my work here. ... I was inspired by it (co-creation) and I came here and thought maybe it’s interesting for Venlo. I took the initiative, and approach H (interviewee ID) also with the idea to put the council at the front seat. H was enthusiastic, so we work together to make concrete plan for the process. And the council said OK, they thought that they get more power. What happens 90% when a municipality start a structure plan, is that the mayor and the alderman (the wethouders), they start with making the concept, and then they asked the council what do they think of it. So the council is not at the front seat, seating at the back of the car because the wethouders took the initiative. So we turned it around and said that the council has to take the initiative.

Cause I don’t work directly for the council but for the alderman. I had to ask the alderman, do you think it is ok to put the council at front seat, and we go in the back seat - we only design and facilitate the process? And you as the alderman, has to keep your mouth shut because you has to wait to the process to work out the major principles. Because of the fact that my alderman said “ok I believe this approach”, it was possible. He could also say that, “No it is not possible. I am important.”

So this was the new thing, that council was put at the front seat of creating a structuurvisie. Like what also the legislator in the Netherlands has intended for the dualistic system, but in reality it doesn’t go that way.

The idea is that the council has really made the principles, and now we have our structure plan, and when there is an initiative and it doesn’t fit in the structure plan, and they said that “No, we don’t want it because we made the structure plan. This is our legacy. We are honor of it. And we know why things are put in the structure plan the way they are.” So the ownership counts as very important for the local government to function well. And they stick to the plan, so we can plan to long term instead of everything is a big issue, or that somebody comes to the alderman or a councilor and said “Well my project is so good. Could you speak good word for my project?” And then in the council it said “Well it is so important for this entrepreneur. We have to go with it.” In reality, local government is always shifting, not sticking with the initial plan with the long term interest. So the co-creation is also meant for steady local developments.

45. Project manager- Reason only to co-creation in second half

D: ... But we chose, from different reasons only to do co-creation in the first part of the process, we deliberately chose to do a closed process. So the principles of transparency, openness, etc. do not apply to the second part. But in this period of this process, we try to make as much as possible to let it overflow. ...

T: What are reasons behind the chosen of closed plan making, is it because of cost?

D: Yes. Because it is a new approach, pilot. We think this (the creation of guiding principles) is a part we can oversee, we can experiment on it. When we take the whole process as co-creation, there were too many risks. Because if you see what an extension of a structure plan is, you could understand that there has to be a lot of talking and adjustment to make every part of the text agreed by everyone, that is, to do it in co-creation.

So there was a lot of work and not realistic. And furthermore, in this part, which is about the headlines,

dualistic system says that the council is in charge. So the council did this (work out the headlines). In the system in this part (plan writing), how you work the headlines out towards the structure plan, that's not the task of the council but the task of mayor and the aldermen. So you have another owner of the task probably. We had support for the process from the council and the civil clerk, but we did not have it at the aldermen and the mayor to do it in such an open way in these principles. So if we want to do the whole thing, we have to convince the council, aldermen and the mayor. So we thought this is a lot already. So it's about risk management and about efficiency.

46. Project manager- Support, connection

T: What are the results that could not be achieved without co-creation?

D: Support of the ideas. The fact that we have the 13 principles that are written in this way, and that the council is supporting this unanimously, and we have a good feeling that we could explain it in society. The 13 principles are logical, and they don't just appeal cognitive in your mind, but also in your heart. People feel it, they understand it. I think we are more connected as what we think is important for Venlo, and we tell it in a way that is more connecting than a classical process design. So that I think that is important about process and connection.

I also think that it has made for ourselves the relevant importance of different aspects about planning. You see like themes like compact city, and transformation/restructuring before building on lands outside the city, those are themes that we think as professionals as important, but we also find that society find them important. And the support for those themes in society made the decision-maker in local government, councilor, aldermen and the mayor, also more willing to accept them, because when you are the councilor or aldermen, it's very difficult to not choose for the easy money, for easy plots to develop, cheap ground, to say no sometimes to an entrepreneur. "We already have enough shopping malls, we already have enough houses, we just want the existing houses to be better instead of new houses." So there are more supports for some tough decisions.

What's also interesting about the raadsconferentie was the theme of food. It was a real connector to people. ... And also the Euregio theme.

47. Project manager- Venlo App

T: Are there already initiatives around these themes?

D: You don't know how things come to you. We see a lot of initiatives in food and logistics. But I think these are initiatives which are already boiling. You can't distinguish that it comes out because of this process. But you can say that indirectly the mindset has changed for the people. People say "Well, this is really something that is interesting." But you have to keep in mind that we have eighty participants, twenty civilians, twenty-five councilors, which is a very small part of people who live in the region and in the community of Venlo, which is a region of 100,000-200,000 people. So it's a very small part, and the process did not reach a lot of people. So it wasn't participation of the entire society, just the city council, and they are not the people who initiate the projects, but they are the people who say yes or no to initiatives. So they are not the entrepreneurs or the initiative-takers. So the purpose was not about creating a lot of small initiatives, the purpose was about a good vision for what is important in the region for the future.

But there is a catch beside the vision and that are the network that the people are interacting, good concrete ideas that what could be taken in the Venlo app. In the app there are the ideas which were created in the werkplaatsen. The people in the regiegroep, they asked the werkplaatsen what are the ideas that you get most energy out. And they get total 27 ideas, living ideas. You have somebody from the werkplaatsen as the ambassador of the idea. People could contact the ambassador to make it work. So these are ideas which come out of the werkplaatsen as an extra catch.

48. Project manager- Leeroep and further projects

D: All the facilitator from the werkplaatsen, are part of the 'leergroep'. They are somebody who would deliver knowledge from the government and also the facilitator. We had a two days training in spring last year. So we are not going to do this (all process co-creation), but there are a lot of processes in our organization that we try to approach on a co-creative way. From the leergroep, we say "Here if you have a project, if you have something you want to do about with the principle of co-creation, we are glad to help you." So there

are things happening here a bit like this (all process co-creation). But not in a structure plan way about the whole area, but similar things.

49. Project manager- Culture shift

T: It's like how the learning has changed the working style

D: Like a little of a paradigm change. To implement this, to start this, to get here, at $t=0$, I had one and a half years lobbying and talking, convincing people that it would be a safe way to work. People are afraid of losing control of directions. People would shout "build a nuclear plant" or "give up the green port development". So I have to do a lot of convincing. But when now we are at 2014, it's more like you have to convince people why you don't do it in a more co-creative way. When you do it in a classical way, you have to tell and explain why you do it like that, why don't we involve entrepreneurs, civilians, etc. We are shifting from here to somewhere here (drawing on the paper). And everybody is searching – do we like the "is it ok" style, or the "do it together" style.

50. Council clerk- governance transition/ surmount interest

H: ... Whereas we always have a vertical society, it is becoming more and more a horizontal society. Internet, whatever, and everybody is informed. Everybody has the idea that he has influence on his life and his situation. He does not need to go to the leader, "Please grant me this or that favor." No, he gets the favor himself. When he sees it, he gets it. When he doesn't get it, he sues the authority or he shames the authority by putting some nasty message on facebook. So that's a complete different world, and a complete different mindset. ... that's an important presupposition before we could have the kind of participation we could have here. Because the councilors realized that it was no longer enough to ask the citizens what do you think. ...

The essence of what we did is that we invited people, and we put them in a conference. And after a process of 4/5 hours, they surmounted, they forgot their own petty interest. They were seduced to look at the interest of the city. Every citizen can do that. But you need the process for that. He has to be situated. He has to be at ease. There has to be a climate of confidence. He has to be convinced that what he says matters, that the others, like councilors and mayor, they listen to him or her. Then he is able to surmount and to be higher than his own interest ... We organize the process where people were capable of doing that. That is what I call the 'magic' of the process. That is the role of the government to create the conditions in which people can do this.

51. Council clerk-Interdependence, or diverse

T: I heard that this process has more focus on co-creation with the councilor, than with the citizen.

H: ... Because we have to have support from him (wethouder) and from them (councilors), we have to involve them. That's why there are that many council members involved in the process. Yes, that was true. But I think what was nice was that, when we were together, yes there are eighty/ninety council members, but they hardly acted as council members, they acted as citizens themselves.

52. Council clerk-Professional resistance

T: How do you convince the alderman and council members? Do you experience any difficulties?

H: We had to do that because every good thinking individual knows that the traditional participation is not enough. So we have to do more. Everybody in the administration is looking forward for possible ways to do that. Also they know that it is useless to design a good structuurvisie that it looks very nice but it is then put in the cupboard somewhere and doesn't come out anymore. So that what you want is that you make a document which is really living, which is alive and which is used by people.

The most difficulties comes from them (the executives), because there you have the organization – here in Venlo, a thousand professionals, here (the Blerik complex). They, and especially the board of directors, for them it was very difficult. But also for them, and for them (the planning department) because when you do it in the traditional way, they have much power, because they decide what is important, they write it down. They have the arguments because they are professionals. They know very well how it should be done. And they (board of directors) have a lot of power, because they control them (planners). And now they lost it. Now what direction did we go come from there (council and citizen). But one of the things that we did is

that we involve them (public servants) too. And they also surmounted their petty interest. After half a day, they started to behave as normal people.

53. Council clerk-Dilemma with democracy

H: ... But there was kind of an existential dilemma – that is, when you do a process like this together, you are like being put into a pressure pot together. You put things in the pressure cooker for two days, and something comes out of it. It only works when you keep your promises later on. For example, one of the most important themes was ‘cradle to cradle’. If later on you decide not to take this into account. The people you work with will no longer have any confidence in it. So you have to keep your promises. On the other hand, the city council was formally not involved in the process. Yes, there were twelve councilors participated, but they participated as individuals, not as council members. For the city council, you have 50% percent of the 39, they are not bound by the promises that we made in the process. And they shouldn’t be, because they are independent. And that their authority was this world, and the big conference was that world. But the decision making of the city council is that world, so they have to decide. They (council members) hadn’t made any promises. So when they would decide against it, of course you lose the confidence again. So this is really difficult and a dilemma we had. Because this is the system we had, the representative democracy; and this, the 89 people conference and the co-creation, is a new form of democracy we are doing.

54. Council clerk- proposal for a new system

H: When you want to change the structure of representative democracy, of course everything is possible, but then you are really changing something, which is very difficult. In our country, the basic law, it takes you at least 10 years to change it. And in 10 years, the world has changed, we don’t know (what will happen then). That’s my personal opinion: I don’t think it’s useful to try to change the representative system. But I think it’s essential, necessary, we are obliged to add other elements. And the other elements are elements of deliberative democracy. ... So I think the bottom line is that at the end the city council must decide. That’s our system. But you can ask the question: decide about what, and what questions do they have to ask. ... Their most important question in the future would be “was this process ok”, “did they involve the citizens and interest groups enough and on the right way”. ... But that’s difficult for them, because they are often there (in decision-making position) because they have ideas themselves. Of course it is possible that they have come to another conclusion (compared with the collectively made conclusion) as an individual council member or a political party within the council. ... But I do hope when that happens, that person would ask the question I just proposed- how was the process done. And if the process was done in a right way that you have the impression of being sincere that all relevant groups have had the opportunity to participate and to put in their interests, wishes and worries, than you do say “ok, this is the result”, although personally myself I think it should be different.

55. Council clerk-Context and belief in city governors’ mind

T: Then what you wish is that the council members also believe in deliberative democracy themselves.

H: Yes, and I think there is no alternative. ... You can make policy notes, and you can make rules, but does that make our city better? Is it effective? The answer is of course no, because you don’t rule a city by making rules. That doesn’t work because your power is very limited. You have limited amount of money, you have limited area of authority – you don’t rule the universities, housing organizations, public health, schools, etc. So don’t say you are in power. What you can do is to organize with the money and authority you have together with other partners to realize a lot of wonderful things. That you can do. There you can be effective. But every council member are aware of the fact that he needs, 100,000 inhabitants, 1000 companies, 2000 organizations, the sports group, etc., from Venlo, he needs them to realize all the beautiful things he want to realize. The question is how you do that. That’s difficult. Our co-creation project is one way of doing that as an experiment. But they all believe that deliberative democracy is one way or the other necessary.

56. Council clerk-Interested participants

T: But it (that people in low education and income did not participate) could also be that this group of people is not motivated to join this discussion.

H: Yeah, that's very well possible. And when they are not motivated, I think it doesn't work. Of course you can pay them, then they would be more motivated, but that's not the right motivation. And I don't believe in that. I believe in motivated people. And I think for deliberative democracy, you need motivated people. And they come for themselves because people are motivated when you are involved. And when you are not involved, you don't have to be motivated. When I make an important road here, you (the interviewer) don't have to be motivated because you don't live here.

57. Council clerk-About abstract plans

T: Another feedback is that this time the topic is abstract. It's harder for citizen to participate than concrete projects.

H: Yes, that's true. But that can never be an argument for not wanting to involve them. That would be very cynical. Secondly, I think everybody has the ability of thinking, or developing ideas about what it would be in 10 or 20 years. Everybody, think about yourself, your partner, whether you would have kids, what kind of world you want your kids to live in. So that's why they (the professionals) are so important because you cannot ask simple people what it means in terms of policy. But that's their (the professionals) job.

58. Citizen – new democracy

T: So you think in this new process, it is more democratic and transparent for the decisions made?

B: Yeah, it's absolutely more transparent. Democratic? Yes, but then a different kind of democracy than you tends to think of because generally speaking democracy is about majority and minorities. ...The difference here is that here we are talking about ideas that are developed together. So that's the co-creation element that you are interested in. I think that in a society in which people are more and more qualified to be involved in these processes, you have a kind of moral obligation to involve these people, to get away from the situation where there is a small, almost elite group who creates and develops these ideas, and then, at one moment, you tell the citizens that this is what we are going to do.

59. Citizen- wide applicable

T: If you could speak just freely, what is your finding or what is your learning after this co-creation process.

B: Well, that is a process or an approach which is widely applicable. So my point of view, I was asking myself if we were to develop new ideas for this organization that work for 6,000 pupils, how do we succeed in getting ideas of the pupils involved. ... And that you might see, if you approach that problem from another angle, and of course pupils look at things in a different way. Some things we considered as problems will not be a problem for them at all. And that's interesting to realize that. That's what you learn in participating in these processes.

60. Citizen- instrumental into deliberative?

B: ... The difference (with traditional decision making) is that the councilors are also present and they were in a position to check on a much wider basis whether the idea of the representatives, or whether the ideas of their political parties, whether they have the support amongst the citizens. And that is something which is quite new. Because in the past, and to some degree now still the general practise is that you have an idea, you go and check a number of experts, which in some cases are even far away, and you don't ask and check with your own citizen, and that was done in this case which adds value to the process. I think, well I know from some of them that the council members took the same position. Some of them said that they were hugely attracted because it gave them more understanding of what the citizens and the people of Venlo actually think, expect and want.

The added value is that you checked literally with the people who vote for you during elections, amongst them people who are involved with the city, or people who are experts on different domain. And that add value to the decision-making. It doesn't guarantee that it's the best decision that you take, but it guarantees that the analysis that you make before deciding is of higher quality level than it was before. So in a way you could say that it adds quality to the decision.

61. Official- not being directional

T: In the conference, you gave presentation; do you also join the workshop?

C: Yes, also the questions that came up. If I don't know the answer, I'll go to the people who know the answer. And some advice, but I didn't want to bring my opinions too much, but I want the people to explore their own opinions, to join the same vision of water. It's not my party, people need to understand themselves what it means for the city of Venlo.

...

T: After the conference, you have also other responsibilities?

C: In the workshop, we came with the little group together, we try to explore the story of Venlo. I try to give input to wide their stories. It's not the idea that I wrote them, but I only gave the input. I don't want to give my opinions very strong, because it should be their own story.

62. Official- Professionals learning from lay person

T: You are an expert yourself. How do you learn from the people?

C: Because they live there everyday, they see things there and ask questions which I never come up because I am approaching the problem from a higher level and they are approaching from their own daily life. And they don't understand things why some constructions are made, when you try to explain sometimes you see the madness of the solution. That makes you thinking. A lot of solutions are made given our technical approach, not from what it will do to our living space and environment. Most people (technical experts) don't live in those areas to have a clue of what people want. And that's important. ... But it's fun, I like it. It gets your feet on the ground, but you do not make flashy plans which all people don't have any clue with.

63. Official- Co-creation not welcomed by professionals.

C: The new approach makes me think also. That makes me other projects that we can use this approach, in less or more, doesn't always have to be this whole approach, you can always pick some element out of this. The funny thing is that when you suggested this thing to the professionals, they are in hesitation and anxious and said "Oh, it's not so easy." But when you suggested to other people, and to companies, and they are always enthusiastic. It's the art of finding the balance of how far can you go, which is not always possible, and there are things that always have to be done. ... Ten years back, we are arrogant. We would hold those initiatives back. "So far, they don't know that, how do they get that, we need a contract", that sort of things. Now it's for us a learning to open yourself and explore together what the possibilities are.

64. Citizen – died out enthusiasm

F: In the initial meeting which is in the football stadium of Venlo, everyone was almost flabbergasted at the enthusiasm of other people and the goodness that Venlo is organizing this, etc. And then throughout the process you could see that the enthusiasm got a bit less because people has to read a lot of difficult stuff, and then it makes it harder to keep it following. ...

I think my involvement was symbolic average for most participants I think. In the beginning, yes let's go for it, let's do it. And at the end, it's further away. You read something about it, or don't, as we say it in Dutch - 'further from your bed'.

65. Citizen – prefer concrete

T: At the beginning, if it was about concrete project, would you keep your interest?

F: Yes. Because I find more satisfaction or fun in speaking about things that you rather can take than abstract things.

66. Citizen – comment /voice from government

F: I have to say that I have great admiration how he organized the whole process, and a lot of people did. So there was a new sound from the local government because everyone was used to that everything was decided in that building over there; and now in a sudden everything was real co-creation. ...

Apart from what I mentioned that I participated less later on, I must say that I found it very refreshing that the town of Venlo are inviting local people and business owner in their thinking process rather than to decide all the things in their office. And of course that you shouldn't have the illusion that all your ideas

should be found in their documents.

67. Citizen – stable board?

T: Do you have findings after this co-creation process, anything that you find new, governance, social aspects?

F: If you would manage to make a process like this less abstract and more concrete. I think it would be a good idea of a group of 25-45 people and ask them if they want to stay a sound board for the local government also for other subjects. Because the ideas in itself is very valuable that the policy is not only made by the town council but that they really get input but more input than what they hear on the street. I mean a local councilor hear the people who elect him. He listened to something but not in a structured way. This is a means to make it more structural.

68. Plan Writer – 13 principles

T: How to arrive at the 13 guiding statement?

G: We first have 13 rules, and then we have 5 themes. It was June 2013, there was 6/7 workshops. There are ideas come out. But not all ideas are about urban planning. So we have to select. We have to think why they came to this idea, can I put it into the plan. It is quite a thinking process. We have 3 or 4 people. We sat behind the computer, the table. We organize all the ideas. We sit about a week. And all of a sudden, we find this come to that, like the overlap. Then finally we have 13.

T: All ideas are concrete projects?

G: Yes, some principles, ambitions, feelings. It is not always concrete projects. Not easy to translate to physical environment, like it's also about happiness. We can only facilitate the condition to be happy, but not happiness as a spatial element.

69. Plan Writer – New roles/co-creation not the best way

T: What do you think of your new roles?

G: ... So that's a really different role than we had before. But for the way we made the co-creation, I don't think that's the way that we make the best plans. I heard someone said this by the end of the workshop, "It's like to put a normal driver into a formula one car, and say to him, 'you have to drive the best lab you can'." But it's very difficult to drive in such a car if you just drive in a normal car. The value of the outcome of the process is the support. If you see the professional outcome, you can expect that what you get from professionals. In phase two, you have to shave a lot of ideas to come to a structuurvisie that is workable. Actually you have to work with amateurs. That's really difficult for a professional.

T: You mean working with citizens?

G: Citizens, and also councilors who are not professional on these themes. Really simple things we know about transport, water, environment, they don't know. So they don't care. ...

You have a lot of time lost in the process. Of course you win a bit time in the formal process of decision-making, but not at the start of the process. It's really a slow start. ...

But the result of the workshops was that I think 50% was not even useful at the strategic level. And about other 50%, 25% are aims that are not achievable also because the municipality make not decision about that, it's on provincial, national or EU level. At last there was 20-25% we could use. But out of that 20-25%, there was nothing that I think would not come up with professionals.

70. Plan Writer – Added value – some support, but poor

G: I don't think that if we did the same process with only the professionals, we would come out different principles. The only thing that maybe the co-creation added is that it gives some of the guiding lines a little bit more value. So about the way we work, I think those two principles get more value through the process. One principle is that the one about water. We said that we have to choose between higher dikes or we give the river more space. Then there is a vote. And the result was that they want to give the river more space. There we had really a point I think. If there were only professionals, it would be really a technical exercise about what is the best solution. And now there was a kind of 'quality of life' value that we want to see the river and not to live behind higher dikes. That's one of the things that we really got from the workshop. ... What we got from this process is the support of the citizens, but it's also really poor because only 30 people out of 100,000 participated. So it's less than 1%. So if you said that it's a strategic plan that is supported by

the citizens, I don't think so.

71. Plan Writer – Lessons learned – way to question matters

G: But I experienced that it was very important, more important than we expected, that the way we question the group in raadsconferentie. How we questioned the group was really determining what the workshops were doing in the next month. And I think if we had better questions on the conference, I think there would be better outcomes of the workshops. Now the question was on a higher level, too much about ambitions, too less about how we have to do it. Like what I said, 50% was not about spatial policy, it was about happiness, food, social themes. ...

I think you need to argue the course back. You need to think what type of answer you want to get. And you argue back: what I need to question, what to start. ... Like if you ask 'what do you think it is important for Venlo', you can get happiness, social themes, etc. But if you put it like, 'where do we have to priorities in solutions for traffic', or other, then you are working towards a problem that you want to find solution for.

72. Plan Writer – Design proposed, instrumental rationality

T: What do you think is the best way to make people's opinions help?

G: I think the best way is that in front you have a team of professionals, what are the main issues (problems and challenges) for the next ten years. When you have the challenges, that's really the moment you go outside. ... I think as it is more targeted to this theme, you have more input you can use. And I think there are also some themes that go through all the other themes, like water. Water is important in environment, agriculture, company, etc. That's when you also need to have workshops with the water board. You can also invite citizens to participate, but maybe on a lower scale, not that open, not that much because there are really high risks, or requires technical knowledge, and it's not so open, so free to do the things that you want to do. I think at that level you can achieve as much useful participation as with participation.

T: You mean co-creation on a local level?

G: On a local, theme-targeted level. ... Actually at two moments: first, open-minded on a team target, work it through, give it back- so, ok, this is what we made of it, is this what you like - so you can adjust the outcome once again. I think it's a better way to work with the citizens than an open agenda of co-creation.

73. Plan Writer – Question the justice of citizens/ Representative democracy believer

G: It is always very difficult to democratize this kind of policy-making. ... I think the most democratic way is just by the councilors. That's the way we organize it in the Netherlands, and I think that it's the best way at least you want something that everybody want, but it's not achievable, you can't facilitate everyone at max. So co-creation suggest that you participate all citizens, it's not true. It's just such a small amount of people, that are not chosen, are they representative? We ask openly for participants. We got 40/50 mails. We had to make a choice, but that is not really a luxurious choice. Co-creation is kind of an illusion.

Case Rivierenbuurt

74. Coordinator – co-creation boundary

T: Do the people from the neighborhood want to participate more?)

I: Yes, they said that they want to have influence about how the neighborhood is going to develop. Because it's not a brand new neighborhood, the problem is about social connection, how this neighborhood is connected with other parts of the city. We said that co-creation is ok, but you have to have borders in which you can co-create. For example, A7 which is here. You can do co-creation about a lot of things, and you can not do co-creation about where the road is going to be. The road is going to be where it is, and also the same with the train station. So you cannot co-create about things that cannot be changed. So you have to tell each other the borders. You can talk about the influence the development have, but only when you respect the borders.

75. Coordinator – Process group/interest-based

I: What we did is that we developed a process group, a group of five people, who thought about the process. This was the president of citizen organization, me, gemeente, my secretary, and we have two experts on co-creation. The process was one that we are going to give a meeting to ask which is ok in the neighborhood

and why. That's the positive. We don't just say this is ok, because then you get on top of communication. When you say this is ok, and other people ask why it is ok. Then you get more into the real issue.

76.Coordinator –No. participated in brainstorm session/ information spread

T: How many people are participating in brainstorm session?

I: The first meeting was about 50 people. Each theme varied between the smallest 22, the biggest 78 people were present. Participation is like that. You want something, you have to come. We put fliers in mailbox, social media, government home page. We tried to publish as good as possible.

77.Coordinator – Working group formation/ role of government changed

T: Are the working groups formed by people in the neighborhood?

I: Yes, they formed groups. They also get a contact official from the city council. They can do whatever they like as long as it is not against the law.

T: They only do things which are not in the government plan.

I: Yes, the philosophy is that people have to make their own neighborhood. The role of the government is to make it possible. So we don't do the planning. They do the planning themselves. This is a different world from what we used to do planning. Still planning is there, but we listened more to people who are living there and have wished and who are the stakeholders in these processes. ...

78.Coordinator –Own responsibility/ also for agreement for who not participating

I: The process is self-organized by the people. They have to make decisions about what they want to focus on and work on. We said that you can do it yourself. But when you need us you call us we'll be there. But we are not going to take the responsibility, it's your own responsibility of the citizen. ...

But the citizen initiative group has to assure that people who are not in this initiative group also agree to this plan. We don't do that. The people do it themselves – we made the plan what do you think.

79.Coordinator – Evaluation, good: more people are active; bad: incremental change

I: Well, your evaluation. I am very positive about co-creation process because I see a lot more people active, not only people who are always active, or very frustrated by things, but now you see people who are positive and pick up quickly. Disadvantage is that sometimes the world doesn't change overnight, the city government doesn't change overnight. We again have to go from the cellar to the apex, you cannot go in one step, you have to take little steps. ... I don't think revolution work. This is more like evolution...

80.Coordinator –Spread into other district

I: But I think most people are positive (about this co-creation). I also get this feeling because we visited over here, we just concluded almost the same trajectory in this part, at this time we are working for this part, and we are asked to do it over here and here.

T: Asked by whom?

I: Citizens. Citizens organizations, citizens without organizations. We also see it in the agreement on the government council, the new one, that they want to give the citizens much more power, creating their own environment in the future. And in other parts of the city as well, not only in Groningen zuid, but in west there is also co-creation process at work.

81.Coordinator –Vision-building as content for co-creation?

T: You mean that the government want to start with vision-building for co-creation.

I: You can see where you go from here... So the first perspective on this is important to agree and to know each other, to trust each other and to do things with each other as equal partners. But after that you have to explore together and you can get to different conclusions. Sometimes it is like that of course.

82.Facilitator – initiative (fail in traditional way, invent new, to bring front)

L: Well it started with the idea, because there was the awareness that the old way to design policy did not work any longer. We did that for centuries, we design policy and at a moment there is a chance for civilians to say yes or no, and that's it. We had this very intense period of civilians protesting against certain policies

which would cost a lot of time to change this certain policies, or on a particular aspect of the policy. There was too less embracing of the policy in the end. So they want to change it and ask all the stakeholders to participate at the front ant of the process. So they could diffuse ownership with civilians and also make them responsible for the policies that would come out. But that was only the idea. There was not so much insights about how to do this.

83. Facilitator – start from SDC/ fail in co-create within

L: It started with people from the SDC department, the *stadscoördinatie* [district coordinator]. This is coordination within a certain neighborhood within the city. And there it started. But then a few things happened. To do it properly, you have to scale it up. You cannot just co-create only a certain part of the policy. If you want to co-create, you have to do the whole range of policies. And also if you want to co-create with the outside world, you have to be able to co-create within in your own organization. And that's where it more or less got stuck the whole process because the amount in which civil servants could co-create with other departments or within other layers of organization wasn't facilitated.

84. Facilitator – conditions

L: And we tried this as far as we could to invite all the stakeholders in the process that they or we could think of....

Well, co-creation as a process or a way people working together is new, so there are no blue prints for this. I think one of the conditions to be successful is that we give ourselves and other parties time enough to find out what is really working and what is not. ...

And also if you work with organizations as stakeholders, so not the individuals but the organizations as stakeholder, then the organization in itself has to be able to co-create. ...

One of the things which are very important is that people should be aware of the differences between discussion and dialogue....

And also one of the conditions you need to co-create is that it's not so much about expertise, it's about ownership. It's better to have everybody around a table feeling themselves the owner of a certain question, or issue, or problem if you want, than to have a handful of experts what is very wise and reputed on this topic but they are not the owner of it....

85. Facilitator, hard at 2012

L: As we were working with these co-creation processes at 2012, the directors of the local government would still say that co-creation is something that would go away. And politics would say that co-creation is very good thing and we have to organize it within the whole city and get better and to invest in it, etc., but the organization of civil servants didn't think this way except for people that we were working at the time.

86. Facilitator, positive evaluation at the end

L: I am very positive about our process. Probably the most important thing we did is throwing stones into the water, and it makes ripples. And this is what is happening now in the organization. We still need to learn very much about how to co-create, how to really do things together, and what new roles we need, and what new leadership really means, how organizations could work idealistically. And there are so many things that are changing at the moment that I think it's very good, but also makes it very complex. We need to embrace these changes because they can only bring us further. And the best way to get along with the changes is to adapt. And this is what we really need to learn again – to adapt, and not fight changes.

87. Resident – road group stop

T: Do you know any working group which stopped working?

M: Yes, about that road, they stopped. I think it's very disappointing but they stopped.

T: Why?

M: They don't get it. They think that the government has to say them something and to give them more details and then they go further. But we say “no you have to come up with the details and the government would look if it's possible.” ...

I think they are a little afraid for things that they don't know. And they don't understand enough the concept of co-creation.

88. Residents also specified the problem of co-creation with non-participants

T: How do you evaluate the co-creation process?

M: I liked it, I think it's a good process. But there are things that we need to learn: about how to work with each other, how to make other people participate, to know what other people think. If you are with five people and you have a meeting, you have to know what other people in the neighborhood think, "do they like what you do". We have to learn that. You don't do it for yourself. You do it for the neighborhood. And that's a difficult step.

89. Resident –No changes for infra. But still nice things happen

T: After the co-creation process, do you think that the government and the residents are sharing the same vision for the future?

M: Partly. In the co-creation I think so. But for other things like the south ring and station renewal, not. There are no changes.

T: You are still disappointed?

M: About the south ring, I am disappointed because the discussion about the south ring does not change.

T: This whole process actually started with the complains. And it ends with other neighborhood plans.

M: Yes, you can complain about it. But you cannot go further if you only complain.

T: I had the feeling that it was not solving the problem of infrastructure projects.

M: No. But it is solving some little problems and making things better. We don't need a problem if we want to improve things.

90. Volunteer- dedicated person to success

T: What are other things you think it's important?

S: I think the subject we had – a meeting center, on a big scale – is something that a lot of people want and clear to people who are not involved on co-creation. They would say like "This group is working really well, because look now we have this center." But other group, like the one with the student housing, it's less visible and also on a small scale. I think all the groups are doing ok, but just not as visible. And we had some members in our group that are willing to put so much effort into it. And that's not something every group has because a lot of people are working so they have to do it in their spare time. But we had some people who don't work anymore. So we had a lot of volunteers who are willing to help out.

91. Volunteer- Guidance from government necessary

S: As the process, after the groups were formed. I think there should be more guidance from the outside to keep an eye on the process because the groups are all working alone. The only thing that they had is their group and they had no extra information or can help them out when they are stuck with something. Maybe if there is guidance, some groups will still be here.

T: What did Eric told you when you formed the working group?

S: That he would help out the basic things and then it was up to us to make sure the plan would come to a successful ending.

T: He only said that you can come to help but not a constant guidance.

S: Well with us, he was really involved, like the first half year, every week we had a meeting and he came with us. But the other groups didn't have that much involvement.

Appendix B: Research Participation Information and Consent Form

You are being asked to participate in a research study of **Citizen Participation in ‘co-creation’ projects in the Netherlands (current name)**, which is the master thesis of Tianying Song, a planning student from the Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen. You are being asked to be interviewed about your opinions of co-creation projects. The interview dialogue will be recorded by digital devices for further analysis. Your personal information and data will only be used for this research project and the recording will be securely stored so that it is not accessible to anyone other than the researcher. Only your first name or pseudonym under your requirement will be used in any formally published literature.

Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You have the right to say no. You may change your mind at any time and withdraw. You may choose not to answer specific questions or to stop participating at any time. Whether you choose to participate or not will have no affect on you.

If you have concerns or questions about this study, please contact the researcher:

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