

Citizen participation and influence in spatial decision-making

A research on the relation between desired and intended levels of influence concerning government-led direct citizen participation in The Netherlands



**rijksuniversiteit
groningen**

**Master-thesis
Socio-spatial planning**

Faculty of Spatial
Sciences-
Rijksuniversiteit
Groningen

Author:

Gerald van der Sleen
s2198045

Thesis-supervisor:

Dr. Ir. T. van Dijk

A research in
association with:



27-03-2017

Colofon

Title: Citizen participation and influence in spatial decision-making

Subtitle: A research on the relation between desired and intended levels of influence concerning government-led direct citizen participation in the Netherlands

Author: Gerald van der Sleen
geraldvandersleen@gmail.com

Student number: 2198045

Programme: Master Socio-spatial planning
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
Faculty of Spatial Sciences
Landleven 1
9747 AD Groningen
www.rug.nl/frw

Thesis-supervisor: Dr. Ir. T. van Dijk
t.van.dijk@rug.nl

During the thesis research, the student was an intern at the Municipality of Emmen, The Netherlands, at the department of 'Spatial development and infrastructure'. This internship was initiated by the student himself, hence not directly connected to this thesis research. This means that the student did not have a thesis assignment and has had no individual supervision from this municipality for this thesis report.

Address and contact | Municipality of Emmen:

Gemeente Emmen

Raadhuisplein 1

7800 RA Emmen.

www.gemeente.emmen.nl

Contact: Dhr. Derksen (Juridisch Planoloog afdeling ROI – Ontwikkeling).

Abstract

The increasing scepticism and critical view on authority and legislation and the awareness of the complex world have contributed to another view towards governmental planning. A way of dealing with complexity and tightening the gap between politics and society is citizen participation, in which power is shared with citizens. Although there appears to be an agreement about the benefits of involving citizens in governmental decision-making, it remains unclear how exactly to involve them in order to achieve meaningful involvement. This exploratory thesis research focuses on the process of government-led direct citizen participation by taking a close look at what citizens desire their level of influence to be, how it is intended by the government and on what foundation this relation takes shape. Results show that the three researched cases have different relations between the intended and desired level of influence and this relation is limited to one or no rung of difference. Reasons for coming to the intended level of influence from the government perspective are based primarily on functional motives. Clear clustering of reasons for coming to a level of desired influence cannot be found. Overall, a certain amount of government leadership is desired, where desires do not exceed the 'tokenism' rungs on Arnsteins ladder of Citizen Participation.

Keywords: Governance, citizen participation, communicative planning, interactive decision-making, desired/intended influence, Ladder of Citizen Participation, Arnstein Gap

List of figures, tables and photos:

Figure 1: History and the changing of planning practice (Roo, 2002)	10
Figure 2: Author-made figure of the Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969) complemented with the generations of participation based on Lenos et al. (2006)	12
Figure 3: Conceptual model (Own source)	22
Figure 4: Data collection method and moment (Own source)	27
Figure 5: Case 1 Bar chart question 6 (Ladder distribution)	31
Figure 6: Case 2 Bar chart question 6 (Ladder distribution)	32
Figure 7: Case 3 Bar chart question 6 (Ladder distribution)	33
Figure 8: Question 5 and 6 count displayed in a clustered bar chart	35
Figure 9: Figure 9: Data collection results in light of the conceptual model of this research (own source)	
Table 1: Motives for direct citizen participation in decision-making (Own source)	15
Table 2: Different attitudes concerning power through information (based on Forester, 2007)	16
Table 3: Overview sections 2.4 / 2.5 / 2.6	21
Table 4: Case 1 description (own source)	25
Table 5: Case 2 description (own source)	26
Table 6: Case 3 description (own source)	27
Table 7: Case 1 question 6 & 7 answers	32
Table 8: Case 2 question 6 & 7 answers	33
Table 9: Table 9: Reason for participation (Question 1) : 'Other....' (Own source)	33
Table 10: Case 3 question 6 & 7 answers	34
Photo 1: Inloop Emmer-compascuum (source: researcher)	31
Photo 2: Inloop Emmer-compascuum (source: researcher)	31
Photo 3: Inloop Marswetering (WDO) (source: researcher)	32
Photo 4: Inloop Marswetering (WDO) (source: researcher)	32
Photo 5: Inloop Herinrichting Dorpsstraat De Wijk	34
Photo 6: Inloop Herinrichting Dorpsstraat De Wijk	34

List of abbreviations and Dutch governmental definitions:

ROB	-	Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur (Board of Public Administration)
CBS	-	Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek (Central office of Dutch statistics)
NIMBY	-	Not In My Back Yard (-syndrome)
NIABY	-	Not In Any Back Yard (-syndrome)
NOM	-	Nationale Ombudsman (Dutch National Counselor)
WDO Delta	-	Waterschap Drents Overijsselse delta (Regional conservancy)
Municipal council	-	Democratically elected representatives of the population (Dutch: Gemeenteraad)
Municipal civil servant	-	Person working for the municipality (Dutch: Ambtenaar)
Municipal alderman	-	Municipal, democratically elected person working for the municipality coordinating civil servants in putting the choices of the council into practice (Dutch: Wethouder)
B&W (College van -)	-	Maire and the aldermans. Executive board of a municipality in The Netherlands
Conservancy	-	Governmental body responsible for water management (Dutch: Waterschap)

Table of content

Colofon	1
Abstract	2
Tables/Figures and Abbreviations	3
Table of contents	4
Paragraph 1 – Introduction	6
1.1 Motive & relevance	6
1.2 Research goal	7
1.3 Research questions	7
1.4 Thesis structure	7
Paragraph 2 – Theoretical Framework	8
2.1 Governance	8
2.2 Governance and government-led direct citizen participation	9
2.3 The evolvement of direct citizen participation	10
2.4 The participation ladder	12
2.4.1 Limitations of the typology	13
2.4.2 Use of the ladder for this research	13
2.5 Approaching the ladder: how to involve citizens (intent)	14
2.5.1 Motives	15
2.5.2 Pre-meeting communication	15
2.5.3 Operational framework	16
2.5.4 Constraints: Time, Money, Expertise, Policy, Responsibility	17
2.6 Approaching the ladder: desired influence	18
2.6.1 Feelings of deliberation / empowerment	18
2.6.2 Inclusionary and disciplinary practice	18
2.6.5 Local resistance	19
2.6.6 Expertise: need for local knowledge or top-down governing	19
2.7 Intent and desire shaped by context	20
2.8 Conceptual model	21
Clarification conceptual model	22
Paragraph 3 – Methodology	
3.1 Casestudy research	23
3.3 Position of the researcher	24
3.4 Research ethics	24
3.5 Researching the sub-questions	25
3.5.1 Researching subquestion 4: questionnaires	25
3.5.2 Researching subquestion 5: interviews	26
3.5.3 Researching subquestion 6	26
3.5.4 Additional data capture by observation	26
3.6 Data analysis	27
3.6 Case descriptions	28
3.6.1 Case 1 description	28
3.6.2 Case 2 description	29
3.6.3 Case 3 description	30

Paragraph 4 – Data and results	31
4.1 Citizen desires	31
4.1.1 Case 1	31
4.1.2 Case 2	32
4.1.3 Case 3	33
4.1.4 Overall results	35
4.2 Government intentions	36
4.2.1 Case 1	36
4.2.2 Case 2	36
4.2.3 Case 3	37
4.3 Observations	37
4.4 Combined findings in the perspective of the conceptual model	37
Paragraph 5 – Discussion & Conclusion	38
5.1 Discussion	38
5.2 Limitations	40
5.3 Concluding on the empirical sub-questions	41
5.4 Conclusion	42
Paragraph 6 –Reflection	
6.1 Reflection on research	43
6.2 Academic implication and societal recommendation	44
6.3 Implications for future research	45
Acknowledgement	47
Paragraph 7 – Literature	48
Paragraph 8 - Appendix	54

1. Introduction

1.1 Motive & relevance

The orthodox roles of implementation and executing of the government by using legal, formal authority and policing power is changing. The increasing scepticism and critical view on authority and legislation and the awareness of the complex, dynamic world have contributed to another view towards governments and planning departments (De Roo, 2002). A new style of governing has emerged, often called Governance, which has no clear boundaries of public and private sectors. 'The governance concept points to the creation of a structure or an order which cannot be externally imposed but is the results of the interaction of a multiplicity of governing and each other influencing actors' (Kooiman & Van Vliet, 1993, p94). This new style is accompanied by a retreating government with a focus on society and civic initiative. The King of the Netherlands mentioned the 'participation society' in his speech of 2013, in which he points to the changing role of the government and citizens. When able, citizens need to take responsibility for their environment (Rijksoverheid, 2013). This new way of governing, moreover, offers opportunities to tackle the problem of the increasing gap between politics and society prevalent not only in the Dutch context (f.e. ROB, 2010) but also in other western societies (for example Putnam (2000) and 'Big Society' (Gov.uk, 2009)). Direct citizen participation, in which power is (supposed to be) shared with citizens, is considered to be an important element in this changing environment.

In academic research, there are questions concerning the changing perspective on governments and how to provide for the expectations of the actors (Bingham et al., 2005; Geurtz and Wijdeven, 2010). Hendriks and Tops (2005) state that in public and academic discussion, the role of citizens is of little interest in this matter. Moreover, as Bingham et al. (2005) mention, there are questions concerning quality of the participation process which still need to be empirically studied. For example experiences of participants and the empowering effect of participation are aspects which they think need to be researched. This means that presumed effects by the initiator may actually differ from actual effects. More specifically, research in desired and intended levels of influence and how these two levels relate in a citizen participation process is very limited. There are studies that have researched this relation, for example Bailey & Grossardt (2006) and Onibokun & Curry (1976). Both studies, however, focus on participation in transit development only. Moreover, the research by Onibokun & Curry was conducted in 1976, a time where citizen participation was a relatively new method. This thesis research focusses on present-day participation in different contexts and can largely be identified as post-positivist exploratory research because of the limited research on relations between desired (expected) and intended levels of influence.

In addition to the addressed academic relevance, this research is also relevant to society. In light of the Dutch institutional context, citizen participation is planned to become even more important when the new 'Omgevingswet' (Environment Act) is implemented in 2019 (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2015). The local government is and will remain to be essential as an actor in citizen participation in the future (Rijksoverheid, 2015). In literature too, the importance of a better understanding of citizen participation for society is mentioned. Lowndes et al. (2001b), for example, state that 'a better understanding of citizens attitudes and behaviour is necessary if practitioners are to address the very real problems of 'apathy' (and social exclusion) that bedevil participation initiatives, and if they are to maximize the impact and cost-effectiveness of participation strategies' (Lowndes et al., 2001b, p 446). Concerning participation technique, Luyet et al. (2012) state that 'Attributing an inadequate participation technique can be considered the main risk leading to an unsuccessful participation process' (p 216). For example, in their research on the experience of participants in local renewable energy projects, Rogers et al. (2008) found that participants thought of themselves more as consultees than project leaders. They suggest that better institutional support can result in more efficient participation. Also Wright (2012) found that, in her research on Environmental Assessment, there was a gap observed between citizen desired level of influence and what was offered to them. Bailey & Grossardt (2006) on Transportation Planning, found a gap, of what they call the 'Arnstein Gap',

between desired and expected influences from the citizen perspective. McClusky et al. (2004) address the gap between expected and actual influence, referred to as the 'Efficacy gap', stating that closing this gap helps 'facilitating democratic functioning and reinvigorating collective participation' (p. 450).

Even though, nowadays, direct citizen participation can take on different forms with differing degrees of influence (Arnstein, 1969; Coenen et al., 2001), and participation processes sometimes have nearly no governmental supervision, this thesis focuses on government-led direct citizen participation meetings which have a certain amount of governmental influence. Note that this research does not offer a framework or guideline of perfect citizen participation. Rather, it focusses on desired and intended levels of influence prior to the actual participation moment.

1.2 Research goal

Although governments in The Netherlands are already experimenting and implementing different methods of participation, research in the effectiveness of citizen participation can be helpful because citizen participation is, and will remain to be, an important part of decision-making (ROB, 2010 ; Rijksoverheid, 2013 & 2015). Via cases studies in the Netherlands, this research tries to contribute to a better understanding of the desires of participation of citizens and to what extent these desires correspond with government intentions. A better understanding of this relation can help local governments to increase the quality and effectiveness of citizen participation methods in spatial decision-making, which can be valuable in the turbulent and ambiguous context of present day citizen participation and the complex nature of society in general.

1.3 Research questions

Main question: How does the level of influence desired by citizens differ from the level of citizen influence intended by the government in cases of participatory decision-making in The Netherlands and how can this be explained?

Sub-questions:

Literature sub-questions

1. How can direct citizen participation be defined and how did it evolve in the Dutch context?
2. Which levels of citizen influence via participation in public decision-making can be identified in theory?
3. Which elements of participation are capable of having an effect on citizen desired and government intended levels of influence?

Empirical sub-questions:

4. Which levels of desired influence by citizens can be identified in the participation processes in the Netherlands?
5. Which levels of intended citizen influence by the governmental bodies can be identified concerning those respective participation moments?
6. On what foundation do both of these levels take shape?

1.4 Thesis structure

The thesis starts with the theoretical framework, elaborating on participation in the governance context and conceptualizing participation and its elements which affect experiences of influence. Section 3 addresses the methods used to gather data. Section 4 will show the data and the results. Section 5 tries to answer the research questions based on the findings and discusses them. The thesis ends with section 6, reflecting on the research but also offering academic and societal recommendations and implications for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

This section starts by addressing the context of direct citizen participation, which is Governance (section 2.1). It also addresses the definition of direct citizen participation and how the concept is used in this thesis. Section 2.2 addresses direct citizen participation in the governance setting. Section 2.3 elaborates on how citizen participation developed through time and section 2.4 addresses influence concerning participation combined with a focus on conceptualizing it on a ladder. Sections 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7 focus on the elements that play a role in indicating a desired and intended level of influence from the government, citizen and context perspective respectively. It is important to mention that elements occasionally overlap with different perspectives. This research has made this division in perspectives primarily because it enables systematical research and analyse of the case studies. Moreover, it links well to the dichotomous point of view by Arnstein (1969) in her Ladder of Citizen participation, which is central in this research. Note that this dichotomous point of view does have its drawbacks (section 2.4.1).

2.1 Governance

In 1993, Kooiman (1993) mentioned in his book 'Modern Governance, new government-society interaction', that there seems to be a change in the idea of governing being a 'one-way traffic' practice (Kooiman, 1993, p4). The top-down structure of policy making, at that time, no longer seemed to be the way to go. The, in some cases, increasing gap between governments and society and the more critical point of view by citizens towards governments leads to an increasing demand for a more connected, embodied way of governing. A shift from the orthodox government, which implements and executes activities by using legal, formal authority and policing power (Bingham et al. 2015), to a new way of governing, often described as Governance, is observed (Kooiman, 1993; Rhodes, 1996; Healey, 1997; Stoker, 1998; March & Olsen, 1989; Heffen et al., 2000).

Governance is a widely explored concept in many different academics fields (Lynn and Ingraham 2004; March and Olsen 1995; Peters 1996; Rhodes 1997; Rosenau and Czempiel 1992). The actual description of the concept of Governance can be explored from different perspectives. Rhodes (1996, pp 653) for example, among other definitions, characterises Governance as 'a new method by which society is governed'. Pierre (2000a) describes it as being a new era of governance where government endures, but that it differs in form and function.

Although there are many different definitions, the baseline agreement is that governance is a governing style in which there are no clear roles of actors anymore. Governance has a political environment where public and private sectors mix (Stoker, 1998). Kooiman & Van Vliet (1993) contribute to this agreement by stating that 'The governance concept points to the creation of a structure or an order which cannot be externally imposed but is the results of the interaction of a multiplicity of governing and each other influencing actors' (Kooiman & Van Vliet, 1993, p94). Stoker (1998) adds to this by stating that 'governing becomes an interactive process because no single actor has the knowledge and resource capacity to tackle problems unilaterally' (Stoker, 1998, p 18). This interaction seems to have become a necessity (Lowndes et al., 2001; Hendriks & Tops, 1999, 2005). At the same time, citizens get a more critical point of view towards governments (Norris, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Pharr & Putnam, 2000). These different quotes all seem to indicate a role shift for governments. As reality is becoming more complex, governments need to and try and find other, more participative and deliberative ways to deal with this 'new reality'.

The 2010 report of the 'Raad van Openbaar Bestuur' (Council of Public Decision-making) (ROB, 2010) offers a striking example of the need for a role shift for the Dutch government. The advice is to tighten the gap between the horizontal society and the 'vertical' government by increasing public engagement through participation in policy and decision-making, in other words: to find more communicative methods on decision-making and composing policy. Sorensen & Torfing (2007) also mention the ability of direct involvement of stakeholders (or citizens in this respect) to tighten this gap. Purcell (2003), when commenting on Lefebvre's work of 'the right to the city', adds that participation, in his eyes, even is one of the two main rights for inhabitants (citizens).

The addressed shift from a top-down (government) to a bottom-up (governance) perspective can be translated to the planning domain. Instead of focusing on the presumed increasing political gap between politics and society, this perspective focuses on the complexity of a spatial issue. The introduction of Governance entailed a change in attitude concerning planning issues. This shift in attitude constituted of the idea that certainty could not always be incorporated in the planning process. The idea shifted away from object oriented, technocratic planning approaches with universally understood meanings to a world where certainty is not self-evident (Allmendinger, 2002). This meant that technical rationality, which thinks of the world as straightforward and certain, in most cases was no longer the best perspective on planning issues. Partly because of the work of Faludi (1986), critical rationalism was introduced in the planning domain. The communicative (collaborative, stakeholder involvement) approach to planning constitutes of a change in government design (sharing power) and ‘takes a normative position on ethical commitment to enabling all stakeholders to have a voice’ (Healey, 1997, p5). Figure 1 (Roo, 2002) depicts the planning-theory trajectory where the shifts through time between top-down and bottom-up planning is depicted. The two halves represent the planning domain where both object as well as subject orientation plays a role. The arrows represent the moves in the planning domain through time, shifting in orientation from the ‘value free’ (facts) to the ‘value-laden’ (critical).

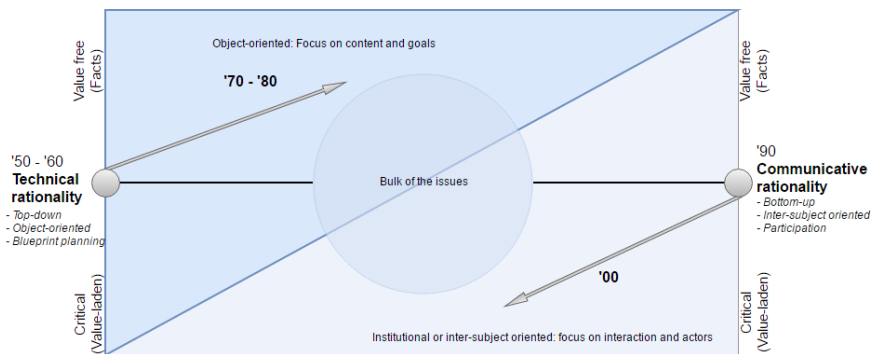


Figure 1: History and the changing of planning practice (De Roo, 2002)

2.2 Governance and government-led direct citizen participation

As mentioned, facilitating citizen participation is one way of tightening the gap between government and society. Participation, in essence, is the idea that elites and experts ‘cannot be trusted alone to deliver ‘what is best’ for communities’ (Healey, 2010, p16). Participation can contribute to support for policy proposals (Berry et al, 1993). Ruth & Franklin (2014) mention: ‘The traditional model of expert advice to decision makers falls short in tapping local expertise and in giving ownership to citizens over the decision making process and its results. It also significantly limits the development of use-inspired research that may be needed to enhance liveability’ (Ruth & Franklin, 2014, p22). Peters (1996) adds to this with by stating that: “The fundamental concept behind (...) participation is that the experts in a bureaucracy do not have all the information, or perhaps even the right type of information, for making policy (...). Therefore, isolating important decisions from public involvement will generate policy errors” (Peters, 1996, p 55). The Netherlands already have a history of public participation, wherein clear distinctions have been made by Lenos et al. (2006), namely: first, second and third generation participation. To understand the position of government-led direct citizen participation herein, one needs a definition.

Although citizen participation appears to be a straightforward concept, there actually are many different gradations and ways to define citizen participation. According to Roberts (2004), a clear distinction can be made between direct and indirect citizen participation. Indirect citizen participation is a form of participation in which citizens can elect representatives, in other words: via the democratic, political system. With direct citizen participation, as opposed to indirect citizen participation, citizens

are personally involved and actively engaged. They have influence on the decision-making process 'directly'. De Wilde and Van Nistelrooij (2010) define 'real' citizen participation as a situation where citizens can intervene in their self-organization. According to Arnstein (1969), participation is 'the means by which they (citizens) can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society' (p 216). She states that citizen participation is a redistribution of power. Although there are different ideas of what can be considered direct or indirect citizen participation, see for example Coenen et al. (2001), this thesis will focus on direct citizen participation as described by Roberts (2004). Citizens who are directly participating are engaged in the decision-making process. The addition of 'government-led' in this thesis is used for the purpose of framing the concept of direct citizen participation. It means that the objects of research are meetings where the government has a leading role in the process. It can determine the problem definition and has the power to choose how to involve citizens when dealing with this problem. In the Dutch context, words like 'inloopbijeenkomst', 'informatiebijeenkomst', 'bewonersbijeenkomst' and many more are used for government-led citizen participation meetings. Now that the definition for this thesis is addressed, a conceptualization is useful to examine desires and intentions concerning influence from citizens and governments respectively. Probably the most famous conceptualization known for this is the one by Arnstein (1969) in her article of the 'Ladder of Citizen Participation'. This conceptualization and the use of it in this research will be addressed in section 2.4.

2.3 The evolvement of direct citizen participation

As mentioned, participation is an overarching definition for many different forms of citizen-power in public decision-making in which every form has a certain level of influence for citizens. To better understand these different methods and the respective ideas of influence, it might be helpful to shed some light on how participation evolved in the Dutch context of citizen participation in public decision-making. Lenos, Strump and Vis (2006) offer a clear conceptualization of this. They conceptualized the evolvement through three different 'generations' counting from 1970, namely first, second and third generation participation. The first generation is considered to be 'Inspraak', which can be translated to 'invoice', or the ability to have a say in public decision-making. Inspraak in The Netherlands was first used during 1960's on a limited legal basis and was, at that time, seen as one of the solutions to the crisis of the representative democracy (Coenen et al., 2001). The 80's was a time of continuing institutionalising of inspraak. From 1990 to 2000 negative aspects of inspraak, for example the fact that it is time-consuming, claimed the upper hand and inspraak was reconsidered. Other forms of participation, like interactive policy-making, gained attention but inspraak was never abandoned as legitimate form of citizen participation. The legal basis of inspraak for municipalities in the Netherlands began in 1992 with the 'Gemeentewet' or 'Municipality act'. Article 150 states that every municipality needs to have an edict which prescribes 'inspraak' opportunities (Algemene Wet Bestuursrecht, 1992). Nowadays, inspraak has a focus on the obligatory nature. Every citizen has the right to let his voice be heard concerning public decision-making. This is why, in the Dutch context, inspraak is often called 'ter inzage legging', which means that one is offered the ability to come to town-hall, look at the plans and comment when desired. Also, public meetings are used in which people get information about the plans and are offered the ability to comment during the meeting. These meetings mostly address long-term development visions. The second generation participation is about co-production and interactive decision-making. Here, citizen participation is moved to earlier stages in the planning process. The government still is considered the actor who determines what is open for participation and on what level participation takes place (on which rung on the participation ladder). The third and last generation of participation is the one of 'informal citizen initiatives'. Instead of the government imposing the standards, citizens now can determine what they want (subject and content) and how to work on this (process). Citizens work on the idea themselves. Wijdeven et al. (2013) state that in this generation, the role shift lets governments participate in citizen initiatives, in other words a 180 degree turn compared to the first generation participation.

The three generations of participation can be placed on a cross-figure indicating time and the level of influence based on Arnsteins 'Ladder of citizen participation' (Arnstein, 1969, elaborated on in 2.4). The first generation (inspraak) primarily takes place at the lower rungs. The fact that governments are obliged to offer the opportunity for 'inspraak' might, for a part, explain the negative views (Nationale Ombudsman, 2009 ; Lowndes et al, 2001b) of citizens towards inspraak. Second generation participation can be placed higher on the ladder because here citizen contribution is taken more seriously via interaction in earlier planning stages. The third generation participation, which is considered to be the generation of citizen initiatives, can be placed high up the ladder because initiative comes from the citizen. The government here only sets the institutional framework in which citizens can operate. Figure 2 depicts Arnsteins ladder (1969) by using numbers 1 to 8, together with an indication of the three generations of participation. Mind that this is a general trajectory and no unambiguous, definite indication. The figure is based on what the generations are *presumed* to offer in influence, hence actual influence in practice can positively or negatively deviate from what is indicated in the figure. The different generations start in the time they became 'common practice' in The Netherlands (Lenos et al., 2006). Although the figure does not say anything about the amount of participation moments in The Netherlands through time, the overall picture can be translated to the governance context if one links influence with interaction (more influence = more (better) interaction, more (better) interaction = more influence). This translation can be made because it indicates bottom-up methods with a general increase in levels of influence through the last 50 years. De Roo (2002) also mentioned this in his spectrum, where he indicated a shift to communicative planning strategies with a focus on interaction and actors.

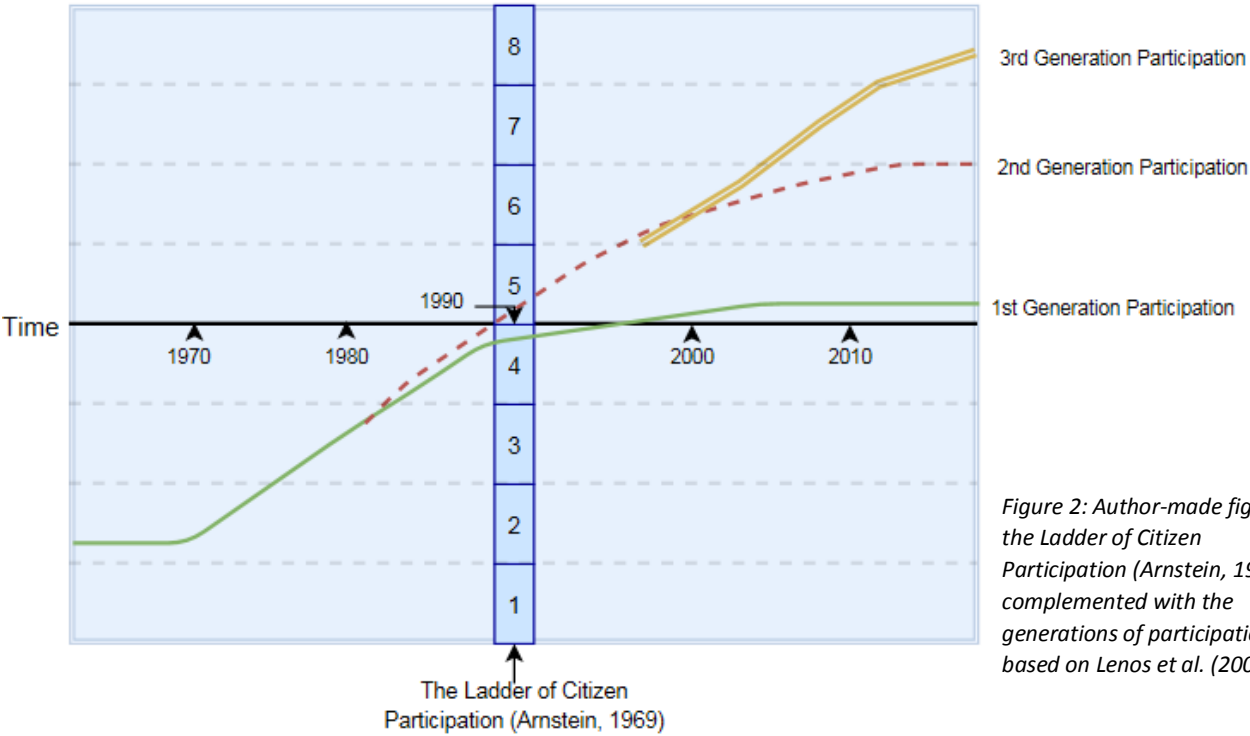


Figure 2: Author-made figure of the Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969) complemented with the generations of participation based on Lenos et al. (2006)

2.4 The participation ladder

As mentioned, direct citizen participation has evolved through time and encompasses many different methods. Where, nowadays, 'inspraak' is highly criticised in practice (Nationale Ombudsman, 2009; Lowndes et al, 2001b), for example a citizen initiative is thought of as a method which has relatively high levels of self-organisation and actual influence. This also means that there are differences in influence at different methods of participation, desired as well as intended. This dimension is famously described by Arnstein (1969). She was the first to come up with a ladder of participation specifically focused on levels of citizen power. She states that this ladder is a simplification and serves to understand the increasing demands for citizen participation by citizens and the confusing responses from the government. This idea formed the foundation upon which other researchers have tried to conceptualise levels of citizen influence in decision-making (Connor, 1988; Edelenbos & Monnikhof, 2001; Pröpper & Steenbeek, 2001; Hulbert & Gupta, 2015). Edelenbos & Monnikhof (2001) and Pröpper & Steenbeek (2001) have also constructed a ladder of participation. The latter authors, however, added a hierarchy of governing styles which does not simply focus on citizens. Moreover, Pröpper & Steenbeek (2001) make distinctions in their ladder to indicate the kind of participation involved. What is interesting is that their ladder leaves out the possibility of the initiator to manipulate the participants.

Figure 2 shows the ladder composed by Arnstein (1969) with a brief indication of the previously described generations of participation (Lenos et al., 2016). Starting from the bottom, **manipulation (1)**, according to Arnstein, is considered to be a level where citizens are educated and do not have a voice in the matter at all. They are led to think they do. **Therapy (2)** is also considered non-participation because here power holders think of citizens as patients who have a certain 'way of thinking' or point of view which is wrong in their eyes. They need to be 'cured' from this 'disease'. The focus is not on why citizens think this way and what can be done about this, but rather on the point of view itself. The focus of citizens on important issues is diverted to 'less important' issues. **Informing (3)** must be considered as a process in which power holders inform citizens on what they are about to do. It is a one-way flow of information with no opportunity for citizens to comment, negotiate or shape decisions. Arnstein uses an example in which citizens did not agree on a topic. The power holders came up with information, largely communicated in jargon, which led the citizens at the meeting to eventually agree on the initial decision. **Consultation (4)** is a level at which citizens can make clear their arguments and points of view. But, there is no guarantee that these comments will alter the initial decision. This level on Arnstein's ladder is sometimes used by power holders as purely conforming to participation needs, be it legal or asked for by citizens. **Placation (5)** can be considered as power holders letting several citizens participate in a planning process. They can take a seat, advice or plan, but power holders judge the legitimacy and feasibility of their advice. At the sixth rung of **Partnership (6)**, power is actually redistributed among citizens and power holders through negotiation. At the level of **Delegated power (7)**, citizens have attained dominant power in the decision-making process for a certain program or project. This level can also be at a process where power holders and citizens are at the same level, but where citizens have veto if negotiation fails. At the level of **Citizen control (8)**, citizens have the power with no intermediaries. In practice, organized citizens with citizen control who have made decisions must conform to the city council's acquiescence. The first two rungs of the ladder are *non-participation* in which the power holder (government in this thesis) can 'educate' or 'cure' participants (Arnstein, 1969, p 217). Citizens have no voice and no decision-making power. The next three steps are indicated as '*tokenism*', which are defined as allowing citizens to have a voice. Arnstein still does not consider this real participation because citizens still have no decisional power. The remaining three rungs indicate *citizen power* in which citizens not only have a voice but also have decisional power. Pateman (1970) has also made a trichotomy on this subject but uses the words 'pseudo', 'partial' and 'full' participation. The only difference is that she does not mention any 'non-participation' in this sense.

2.4.1 Limitations of the typology:

Although Arnstein (1969) has created a ladder which is widely used in literature and practice, and although she has stated in her article that the typology is conceptual, she points to several limitations of the typology herself. One of those limitations is the two-way division. Because Arnstein aims to highlight the differences between power holders (government) and citizens, she juxtaposes them by dividing them in two blocks. In practice, a clear division like this cannot be made because in a group of citizens as well as in a governmental body, there can be differences too. Moreover, as Maier (2001) mentions, the two way division does not have to be statutory, as Arnstein (1969) presupposes in her typology.

As stated by Arnstein, in practice, there are 'roadblocks' concerning direct citizen participation which limits both power holders as well as citizens. She uses examples of 'racism, paternalism, and resistance to power redistribution' from the government perspective, and 'inadequacies of the poor community's political socioeconomic infrastructure and knowledgebase, plus difficulties of organizing a representative and accountable citizens' group in the face of futility, alienation, and distrust' from the citizen perspective (Arnstein, 1969, p 217). In this thesis, this is not taken into account but can, however, play a role in data collection and analysis. Arnstein concludes that characteristics of a degree of participation can be applicable to several other levels as well, and a certain level in influence may not even be one of the eight rungs but may be located somewhere between two rungs.

Although Arnstein in her article points to limitations of her ladder, she is not the only one who acknowledges these limitations. Collins & Ison (2009), for example, mention that the ladder is hierarchical in nature. They state that 'citizen control' is often seen as the ultimate goal of participation, though this often is not the reason for citizens to engage in participation (Hayward et al., 2004). Citizens may even be content with their involvement. Moreover, according to Collins & Ison, related to the earlier point, the ladder is linear in nature but in reality there are feedback loops 'which shape understandings of the situation'(Collins & Ison, 2009, p362). According to Tritter and McCallum (2006, p.165) the ladder does not take into account the 'dynamic and evolutionary' nature of participation. As a third point, Collins & Ison point to the complex relationships which can change during the participation process. They claim that people do not judge their level of participation by their sense of power but they think that roles and responsibilities change according to what their stake is and these roles and responsibilities change over time. Connor (1988) also mentions this changing environment and stresses that one should aim for different participations methods best for a specific situation. As a last remark, Arnstein published her typology in 1969. Through the years, participation has changed which results in the fact that present day participation, for example citizen initiatives, may be harder to place on a rung than more traditional participation methods are or one might not be able to find a suitable rung at all.

2.4.2 The use of the ladder to this research

Because this thesis focuses on direct citizen participation specifically, the 'Ladder of Citizen participation' conceptualized by Arnstein (1969), is used. The ladder does a good job at revealing the implicit power agendas in institutions and participation methods in a clear and relatively unambiguous way. This makes the ladder useful to ask for an indication of power during data collection. Despite the limitations, the two way division of citizens on the one hand and government on the other is useful in this research to indicate a level of influence. Also, this ladder is often used in academic research, which makes comparisons with present and future research easier.

2.5 Approaching the ladder: how to involve citizens? (intent)

Since the research addresses government-led citizen participation, it is worthwhile to elaborate on different aspects which play a role in the intention of a level of influence from the government perspective. This section covers elements on this matter which are addressed in literature. Although elements may have overlap with the citizen perspective or context specific notions, the coming sections elaborate on them distinctly.

2.5.1 Motives

The government has reasons for choosing participation as an instrument for policy making. These reasons can affect the intended amount of citizen influence by the government. Coenen et al. (2001), Geurtz & Wijdeven (2010) and Klijn & Koppenjan (2000) all address motives for governments to engage in citizen participation. A motive in the Dutch context, which is not addressed by these authors but can play a role, is the motive of 'legal obligation' to offer the ability of participation (Algemene Wet Bestuursrecht, 1992). Table 1 shows a combined overview of the different motives and categorization.

Direct citizen participation motives	
Democratic & normative Normative motives (Coenen et al., 2001) Democratic motives (Geurtz & Wijdeven, 2010)	Functional & instrumental Functional motives (Coenen et al., 2001) Instrumental motives (Geurtz & Wijdeven, 2010)
Improving local democracy (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000; Geurtz & Wijdeven, 2010)	Creating support (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000 ; Coenen et al., 2001, Geurz & Wijdeven, 2010)
Political emancipation (Coenen et al. 2001)	Improving quality (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000)
Legitimizing democracy in decision-making processes (Coenen et al. 2001).	Taking into account interests (Coenen et al., 2001).
Emancipation and development of citizens (Coenen et al., 2001).	Source of extra information and ideas (Coenen et al., 2001).
Advocacy (Coenen et al., 2001)	Preventing protest (Coenen et al., 2001)
Protection of interests (Coenen et al., 2001)	Activating citizen expertise, in addition to professional and political expertise (Geurtz & Wijdeven, 2010)
(re)defining citizenship and helping to sustain a vital civil society (Geurtz & Wijdeven, 2010)	

Table 1: Motives for direct citizen participation in decision-making (Own source with combination of literature)

Lowndes et al. (2001a) have examined these motives and found that governments tend to 'use' public participation primarily as a functional motive, the motive of getting extra information they need for decision-making. At the same, citizens tended to experience participation as deliberative. The same study also showed that, although a positive attitude towards participation from the government perspective, there was a 35% share of municipal civil servant who mentioned negative effects. They firstly stated that participation can raise unrealistic public expectations and secondly that participation adds another stage in an already comprehensive bureaucratic system.

2.5.2 Pre-meeting communication

Next to motives for choosing participation, or a certain method of participation in particular, there are choices to be made not only in what is communicated, but also how and when. Governments also need to think about what position they take in the process and finding a suitable attitude for this role. It is important to mention that these choices can be made consciously or unconsciously.

Communication between citizens and governments can be an important element capable of affecting desired and intended influence. For example, the extent to which a matter is path dependent can affect the desired and intended level of influence too (see 2.5.3). If these boundaries are not communicated well, desired and intended levels of influence might not accord. Moreover, in general, it can be important to give enough information to let citizens know what they can expect. The invitation or announcement of the meeting plays an important role herein. Managing expectations does not always go well, as mentioned by respondents in the report of De Nationale Ombudsman (2009). This report found that respondents identified the communications from the government as ‘sloppy’. They want the communication to be open and direct and the provision of information to be timely, clear and proper. One needs to consider that this report is based on complaints of citizens and does not take into account any positive remarks. Moreover, since the report is from 2009, attitudes may have changed overtime. However, results are a valuable for this research because it gives an indication of what Dutch citizens’ experience as obstacles concerning participation. Next to the practical dimension of communication, one needs to understand that communication is powerful in that it can influence action because it shapes shared meaning (Castells, 2009, Forester, 2007).

Information plays a substantive role in communication and can be considered an important instrument of power. This dimension is thoroughly addressed by Forester (2007), where he links kinds of information (attitudes) to power. He argues that planners should understand how power in relations works to ‘improve the quality of their analyses and empower citizen and community action’ (Forester, 2007, p 67). Forester lists five different attitudes concerning information. The first four attitudes, according to Forester, can be seen as obstacles to participation. The last attitude (progressive) in his eyes, can be seen as an attitude which is best for planners because it recognises and counteracts the obstacles of information. It enables participation. Table 2 shows the five different attitudes.

Attitude	Description
The technician	Technical information can lead to solutions, making technical information a source of power.
The incrementalist	Information of how an organisation is organised is a source of power. Planners are in networks and ‘know the ropes’ of the organization (Forester, 2007, p 68)
The liberal advocate	Providing information (skills, expertise) to previously excluded groups. Information brings the group to an equal level with existing political processes.
The structuralist	Information paradoxically puts planners with information into power because it rationalizes and legitimises their position.
The progressive	Can be seen as a synthesis of the attitudes above. It recognises and counteracts the obstacles of information described above what results in the enablement of participation.

Table 2: Different attitudes concerning power through information (based on Forester, 2007).

The provision of information, both qualitative and practical, might result in citizens desiring other levels of participation. One can suggest that proper provision of information can lead to lower desired levels of influence and bad provision of information can lead to higher levels of desired influence or the other way around. This was one of the conclusions from the report of the Nationale Ombudsman (2009), where low provisions of good, qualitative and practical information was causing friction concerning citizen participation.

The addressed 'attitudes' and kinds of information is only one way to look at the concept of information. As Innes & Booher (1998) point out, information can also come from 'users', in this case citizens. They may possess more information about a certain place (tacit, as well as explicit) compared to municipal civil servants. This dimension is addressed in section 2.6.4.

Closedness is another issue, described by Schaap & Van Twist (1997). They state that people make choices in how to handle input. Closedness can affect inclusion and exclusion. They have made clear distinctions in closedness, but the most important variants in the perspective of participatory planning facilitated by a government are 'cognitive closedness because of unwillingness to perceive' or cognitive closedness because of inability to perceive'. Cognitive closedness can distort communications before and during moments of participation and can implicitly or explicitly point to certain power structures. Note that closedness here is not the antonym of 'content openness', (Pröpper & Steenbeek, 2001), described in section 2.5.3.

Cognitive closedness because of unwillingness to perceive can be considered a 'goal conscious strategy to reduce complexity' (Schaap & Van Twist, 1997, p 64). An example: 'We are not discussing that'. This can be observed similar statements in practice, but also by asking the initiator if they use such a strategy. Another aspect of cognitive closedness is the inability to perceive. It is a result of the perspective of an actor. Every actor judges reality by his own standards and point of view. 'Actors are then cognitively closed to those aspects of reality to which they do not ascribe any meaning or to which they ascribe a different meaning' (Schaap & Van Twist, 1997, p64). This may be an unconscious judgement resulting in the fact that this is not easily observed or stated when asking respondents.

Although in their article they elaborate on the role of the government in citizen initiative, Oude Vrielink & Wijdeven (2013) offer concepts noteworthy to mention in the context of government-led direct citizen participation. They state that, from the government perspective, there are three concepts that can play a part. Two of these three are useful to touch upon in light of this research. 'Professional centralism' is the first, where government employees tend to think that they possess the practical knowledge themselves and that citizen input is not really necessary. The second, called 'instrumental support', is constituted of the idea that employees try to 'mould' and 'guide' citizen input to suit governmental policy goals. This aspect can be even more prevalent with high levels of path dependency (section 2.7.5). The third is called 'depoliticised citizenship', which is a concept primarily interesting in the context of citizen initiative. This concept, however, is left out of this study because it focusses on a possible *result* of participation: critical speech is less prevalent or left out of the discussion because positive, 'desirable' citizen initiative is advertised and promoted. This research focusses on the pre-participation stage (desires, expectations and intention).

2.5.3 Operational framework

As addressed, participation has several merits compared to the more technical, rational way of planning and decision-making. However, there are legislative, political and project specific boundaries in which both governments and citizens can operate. For example, if levels of path dependency are high, using participation as a decision-making method may lead to the opposite of what was intended (Edelenbos & van Buuren, 2008). Path dependency can be described as the extent to which a government is able to alter a plan depending on what already is consolidated. The concept can be linked with 'content openness' described by Pröpper & Steenbeek, 2001). Desired influence might be affected by how much alteration is possible through participation, in other words: to what extent citizens are able to alter the eventual outcome of the planning process. Path dependency can, for

example, come from previously made decisions concerning a spatial issue or policy guidelines like 'structuurvisies' (long-term vision about a specific area or theme). This can lead to instances where the government (consciously or unconsciously) supports citizen initiative and participation which operate in favour of consolidated governmental policy in a certain area. Oude Vrielink & Wijdeven (2013) call this 'instrumental support'.

Overlapping with path dependency and content openness is 'timing'. A moment of participation can take place at different stages of a planning process. If a meeting takes place at a late stage in the decision-making process, possibilities are that citizens may feel that the decision has already been made, in other words: to path dependent and to little content openness. This might result in desires to fluctuate because citizens either think the meeting takes place too late so more influence is not possible, or they are consulted in a late stage so there has to be more influence to alter the path.

2.5.4 Constraints: Time, Money, Expertise, Policy, Responsibility

A government can experience constraints when choosing how a planning process will be approached. If there is limited time to engage in direct citizen participation techniques, the government might choose to use less time consuming methods of participation. Moreover, if there is no money available this can also result in the government taking the decision not engage in citizen participation. A lack of expertise might also be a reason for the government to either choose for less complicated methods of participation (for example just offering information in a public meeting / letting citizens fill in a questionnaire) or using a top-down approach without citizen participation. Also, a government always needs to incorporate their spatial strategy and norms which it is tied to through political decision-making. For example, in the case of Emmen, the government needs to take into account the 'Structuurvisie Centrum Emmer-compascuum' (Vision on village centre)(Gemeente Emmen, 2010) when spatially intervening in the city centre. These policy decisions in the Dutch context can come from either the municipality itself or can be imposed by the Province or State. Finally, responsibility can be part of the consideration whether participation at a certain level is desirable. Especially in cases with citizen participation where a plan fails, it can be important to know who can be held accountable.

2.6 Approaching the ladder: what do citizens desire?

The other perspective addressed in this research is the one of citizens. They have either asked for participation or are offered participation possibilities by the government. Elements that can play a role in getting to a desired level of influence from the citizen perspective are elaborated on in the following sections.

2.6.1 Feelings of deliberation / empowerment

Deliberation is a concept often used in participatory decision-making research. In the planning domain the concept is commonly described as deliberative planning and often associated with communicative (collaborative) planning. The concept is used in various articles on participatory spatial decision-making (Healey, 1997, 1998, 1999; Innes & Booher, 1999a, 1999b) and points to the extent to which citizens can influence policy and (spatial) decision-making not via voting, but via discussion. This rules out the majoritarian practice of democracy (elections) and emphasizes dialogical discourse and inclusion (Beauregard, 2003). How citizens think of deliberation is subjective and can be induced by many different elements (sections 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7). For example, as addressed in a report of De Nationale Ombudsman (2009) in the Dutch context, citizens felt that they were manipulated. They stated that the participation was just a formality and that their input was not taken seriously. This was also found in research on the social aspects of wind power by Aitken (2010) and Rod (2011). Innes & Booher (2004) also point to the fact that some variants of public participation not always reach 'genuine participation in planning' (p 421).

Closely related to deliberation and often used in academic literature is the term 'empowerment'. Although, literature also offers empowerment concepts in the sense of group empowerment via voting or political representation (Regalado, 1988), and it has different levels which it can be applied to (organizations, communities etcetera),, this thesis focuses on the individual psychological empowerment. Psychological empowerment in a broad sense can be described as a process where individuals, in this case citizens, gain control over their lives (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). Some academic literature sees empowerment as a 'rung' at the top of a participation ladder (Luyet et al., 2012 ; Cabaye, 2004). Through direct citizenship, citizens are (presumed to be) empowered. They are offered or claim the ability to contribute to decisions made in their personal environment. Feelings of empowerment as well as deliberation are in no case a definite result of the ability to participate. As mentioned, direct citizen participation has a wide array of forms, and each form can have different effects on feelings of empowerment from the citizen perspective (as pointed out by, for example, Arnstein, 1969). This thesis uses empowerment from the perspective of the experience of a citizen, hence making the concept applicable to different methods of citizen participation and actual influence.

Because of previous encounters with the government, citizens might ask for more or less deliberation and/or empowerment. In the case a citizen has experience with participation, where the municipality has offered too little influence, used the wrong method of participation or citizens were not informed of the results (Lowndes et al. 2001b), one might ask for more influence this time. Also, if one has good experiences of participation, one might expect or desire the same standard or even more.

2.6.2 Inclusionary and disciplinary practice

As mentioned, in government-led direct citizen participation, the government can determine process parameters. It can determine who can come to the meeting, where the meeting will take place, what the topic of discussion will be, what it will do with input of citizens etcetera. These examples address the power of the government and the inclusionary and disciplinary practice of certain methods of participation. Boonstra (2015) has summed up three kinds of inclusion concerning participatory planning. The first is the idea that participatory planning can lead to procedural inclusion. 'There is an opposition between the powerful and the powerless' (Boonstra, 2015, p40). Boonstra states that the powerful have the position of determining who participates and under what circumstances. Because

of this, people who are not able to meet the conditions of the procedures can be excluded. Secondly, participatory planning has thematic inclusion which can be described as the fact that the government is the actor who defines the problem definition. However, one needs to mention that nowadays, citizen participation can also be about defining the problem definition. Thirdly, and lastly, Boonstra (2015) names geographical inclusion which can affect participatory planning. Here, predetermined geographic boundaries determine what falls under the project area and what does not. Places near the project area, but divided by the administrative boundary, are excluded. Boonstra here uses the word 'inclusive' in a negative sense, meaning that inclusion excludes other aspects. These notions may be more prevalent at government-led citizen participation compared to civic initiatives, which is a relatively (and doubtedly) new way of participating.

The practice of participatory planning can also be seen as disciplinary because it enforces existing power relations. In the most extreme case of disciplinary participation, there is no sharing power or a shift towards citizens (Hillier, 2007). The disciplinary practice for a part overlaps with the 'structuralist' attitude described by Forester (2007). Both inclusion, exclusion and disciplinary practice can affect the desire for certain levels of influence in participatory planning.

2.6.3 Local resistance

Citizens may desire more influence because they stand negative to the participation subject (issue) or even to the way they are involved in the first place. They can use the offered participation as a vehicle to resist. Possibly the most used concept in literature on local resistance concerning spatial issues is NIMBY-ism (Not In My Back Yard), which means that people stand positive to the idea as long as it does not affect them personally. However, literature offers many examples of researchers stating that this idea is too short sighted (for example Wolsink, 2000 & Ellis et al., 2006). The article of Wolsink (2000) can be valuable to this research because it indicates and elaborates on the short-sightedness of the concept of NIMBY on the one hand, but also offers another perspective by proposing other kinds of resistance as well. Wolsink adds three other 'Types' where NIMBY is type A. Type B is NIABY (Not In Any Back Yard), in which citizens do not want the decision to be taken anywhere. Type C is where citizens initially stand positive towards the coming decision, but change opinion through discussion during the planning phase. Type D is the attitude where citizens think a certain wind energy project is bad. They might, for example, think that another location is better, or they pose criteria where a certain project needs to conform to.

2.6.4 Expertise: need for local knowledge or top-down governing

A decision which needs to be taken in the spatial domain has an effect on people's lives, hence is value-laden. Especially in an institutional / governmental context where citizen initiative and participation are becoming more important than ever (Rijksoverheid, 2013 ; Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2015), citizens are becoming more aware of their role in society and are well informed on how they are able to influence public decision-making (ROB, 2010). Citizens might think they know more of their environment (tacit as well as explicit) than the government does, which can result in higher desired levels of influence. However, Professional Centralism (Oude Vrielink & Wijdeven, 2013, section 2.5.4) or the unwillingness to perceive (Schaap & Van Twist, 1997, section 2.5.3) can play a role here.

On the other hand, citizens might also think that their own knowledge of a certain subject is insufficient. In this case, citizens might expect the government to take a decision because they think the government possesses more experts and has adequate explicit and tacit (or formal/codified) knowledge available on the matter.

2.7 Intent and desire shaped by context

As the addressed researches depict, different elements are capable of shaping levels desired and intended levels of influence. However, especially in local planning issues, the context of the matter plays an important role in what strategy is chosen (intent) and how citizens perceive the issue (desire). The complexity of a spatial issue can affect the desired level of influence for citizen. For example, if an issue affects a small, tight community people may feel that the issue is very important and they might opt for high levels of influence. Lowndes et al. (2001b), for example, found that citizens participated because the meetings affected them, their family or their community and not so much the ‘wider issues’ their respondents referred to in the abstract. Moreover, if an issue has a high (visual) impact on a local scale, for example wind turbines (2.6.5), claims for even more influence might arise. On the contrary, if a spatial issue has only limited impact on an area and its community, citizen might not opt for high levels of influence because it does not affect them that much.

Another element which can affect the desired and intended level of influence is the actor who opts for participation. In the case (a) citizen opts for participation and the government concedes and agrees, he or she might feel that the participation is ‘his/hers’, which can result in high levels of desired influence. In the case a governmental body comes with the idea to facilitate participation, citizens might not feel that the moment of participation is ‘theirs’, which can result in less ‘ownership’ of the problem and the moment of participation. In this last case, desired levels of influence may fluctuate.

(2.7) Context		
	Essence of the spatial issue itself	
	Initiative	
(2.6) Citizen perspective (Desire)		(2.5) Government perspective (Intent)
Feelings of deliberation (Beauregard, 2003)		Motives (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000; Coenen et al., 2001; Geurz and Wijdeven, 2010)
Provision of (qualitative and practical) information (NOM, 2009)		Content openness (Pröpper & Steenbeek, 2001)
History of participation at specific municipality (Lowndes et al., 2001b)		Power of information (Forester, 2007)
Inclusion and disciplinary practice (Boonstra, 2015)		Closedness in interaction (Schaap & Van Twist, 1997)
Expertise: local knowledge or top-down governing		Professional centralism, instrumental support (Oude Vrielink & Wijdeven, 2013)
Resistance (Wolsink, 2000)		Timing in planning process
		Communication (Castells, 2009)
		Path dependency (Edelenbos & van Buuren, 2008)
		Constraints: Time, Money, Expertise, Policy boundaries

Table 3: Overview sections 2.5 / 2.6 / 2.7

2.8 Conceptual model

Below, the conceptual model for this thesis research can be found. For a clarification of the model, please see the next page. The model has no theoretical substantiation for the purpose of overview. One can find the corresponding academic literature in sections 2.1 to 2.7 and the overview in table 3.

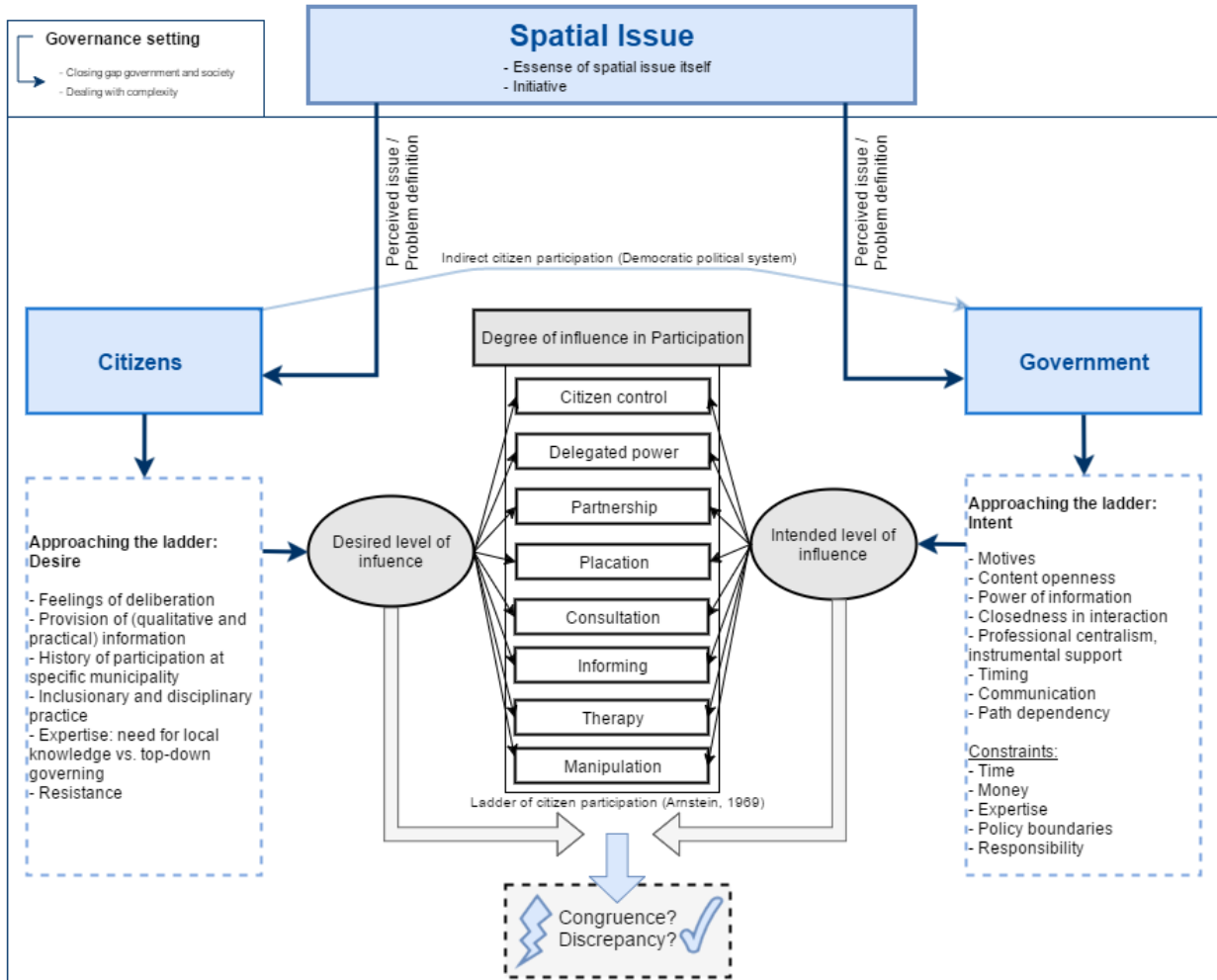


Figure 3: Conceptual model (Own source)

Clarification conceptual model:

Figure 3 shows the conceptual model for the theoretical framework of this thesis study. Every participation moment concerning a future spatial decision start with a spatial issue. This spatial issue is unique in its context and has different characteristics. Both citizens as well as governments make sense of the issue (perceived issue/problem definition). These two relations are indicated by the two arrows from the 'Spatial Issue' box. The spatial issue and its characteristics can lead a government to choose for a certain strategy. In this thesis, we examine government-led direct citizen participation. From the government perspective, there are elements and constraints which can play a role concerning the intended level of influence. These elements are listed in the stripe-lined box on the right of the model. Concerning desired influence from the citizen perspective, there are elements that have an effect too. These are listed in the stripe-lined box on the left of the figure beneath the 'Citizen' box. The grey circles indicate the 'desired' and 'intended' level of influence from both the citizen and the government perspective, shaped by the issue and the elements at play (striped-lined boxes). All these characteristics and elements together can lead to an indication on the ladder of citizen participation by Arnstein (1969), located in the middle of the model. The stripe-lined box all the way down the model indicates the main question of this thesis: 'How does the level of influence desired by citizens differ from the level of citizen influence intended by the government in cases of participatory decision-making in The Netherlands and how can this be explained?'. The line from citizen to the government box indicates the indirect (democratic) relation, citizens choose their representatives for the local government (municipality, conservancy, province etcetera) via elections. The model is boxed in by the 'governance setting', indicating the decision-making context in which the participation takes place.

Note, the model does not indicate an 'input-output' relation. Rather, the model gives a conceptual overview of the different perspectives of how one can look at levels of influence concerning citizen participation in governmental decision-making and what elements are at play. The elements from the contextual, governmental and citizen perspective do not rule out any other elements which can be at play in practice. These elements are not incorporated in the model.

3. Methodology

This paragraph starts by explaining the use of case-studies for this research in section and describing what cases are used in section 3.1. Section 3.2 offers the case descriptions. Section 3.3 elaborates on the position of the thesis-researcher and section 3.4 explains what ethics play a role during data collection and analysis. The paragraph finishes by addressing the choice of research methods to research the empirical sub-questions and how the respective methods contribute to a suitable research design in this thesis research.

3.1 Case-study research

In this thesis, case studies are used to research the sub-questions. A case can be described as a unit or system with clearly described boundaries (O'Leary, 2004). Although there is disagreement about the use of case studies, thoroughly described in the work of Flyvbjerg (2006), case-studies can be considered useful in this research because research results depend on context. Case study research enables the use of a combination of methods to research both citizens and government perspectives for each case. This combination can give an indication of how desires and intentions are shaped in a particular case. Large-n surveys in a large population can also give an idea of how these ideas are shaped but do not offer data which can be linked with a certain context. It also rules out the ability to observe because observations cannot be linked with the survey data. The same goes for interviews with municipal civil servants because choices here highly depend on the issue and problem definition (in other words: context). Moreover, since there is only a limited amount of academic research into the desired level of influence in combination with the intended level of influence concerning citizen participation, case-studies can contribute to an empirical exploration of this relation. This also means that the research can be considered mostly inductive, in which case-studies can be considered a good method (O'Leary, 2004). Generalization of case-study outcomes is more difficult compared to for example large-n surveys, but since this thesis searches for the earlier described relation and what processes might lead to this relation, qualitative and contextual research is needed. Where large-n research results in high amounts of less detailed information on a limited area of research, case studies can provide the needed qualitative, context specific information on which lessons can be learned in wider context and an implication for future research can be identified. Also, more generally, in social science predictive theory does not exist because research outcomes in social science highly depend on context (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Case studies examine specific situations, in other words: context, and thus are useful in Social Science. Summarising, case-study research is useful in the context of this thesis because it helps exploring a relatively new, specific area of research and provides context-dependent, qualitative information which can indicate social processes essential to doing social science.

This research uses a combination of three cases. This number of cases is chosen because limiting the research to one case study will result in research outcomes based on only one context. Two or more case studies make comparison between cases and contexts possible. Researching three cases makes a good comparison possible. The researcher is limited by the standards and restrictions posed by the University and the thesis programme. This results in the fact that more than three cases would make the research too comprehensive.

Every case is a so called 'inloop' meeting, initiated and led by a governmental body, where citizens and stakeholders can walk in during set times. The meetings take place on 'neutral' ground to limit the chance of the location affecting research outcomes. In this thesis, that means that cases do not take place in buildings directly associated with the government in question. Every researched case takes place in a different phase in the planning process, in first instance derived from published meeting invitations. Using a combination of three cases which all have another 'starting point' may be able to shed light on the processes that play a role from this point of view (moment of participation has been addressed in section 2.5.3).

3.2 Position of the researcher

The researcher is a student / researcher from the University of Groningen. This means that research results will eventually be available to the University as well. Possibilities are that this might lead the interviewee to 'protect' the processes of participation by making the process look better than it is in practice. Since the interviewee works to support politically chosen citizen representatives, the interviewee has individual as well as political and organizational stakes to think of during the interview.

For Case 1, the researcher has a double position in this thesis research. He is intern but also a student/researcher from the University of Groningen. The position of intern might lead interviewees to be more trustful, informal and honest towards an employee/ intern from their own municipality instead of an outsider. They might want to be as honest as possible to make sure research results can be valuable for the municipality in future participation processes. Concerning (in)formality, both formality as well as informality have their respective advantages and disadvantages (see O'Leary, 2004, page 164) and these are capable of affecting interview data.

For questionnaires as well as interviews one needs to take into account the fact that researching a particular case by asking questions to respondents also means that citizens and municipal civil servants become more aware and conscious of what is happening and what choices are made. This can have an effect on the data derived from both interviews and questionnaires. The fact that questionnaires make participants aware of their role sometimes resulted in the fact that governments did not want to contribute to this research (Reflection section 6.2.3).

In the observation phase, the respondents are aware of the presence of a researcher at the meeting either because they have been asked to fill in a questionnaire, or because they have been interviewed by the researcher. This means that the observation phase can be labelled 'obtrusive'. As for Case 1, the role of intern is not communicated to citizens to make sure respondents do not answer to shape future participation moments of the municipality of Emmen, however participants can still think that results will end up at the municipality of Emmen and fill in the questionnaire accordingly.

3.3 Research ethics

Concerning ethics from the citizen point of view, personal information, other than attitudes towards citizen participation, is not needed to answer the research questions hence these are not addressed in the questionnaire. Taking part in the research is voluntary. The location and subject of the meeting are filled in by the researcher. When asked for intentions and identification, the researcher is able to identify himself and state the reason of being at a particular meeting.

Concerning interviews, the researcher starts by stating the aim of the research and the contribution of the interviewee herein. Permission is asked to record the interview and it is mentioned that the file is used for the purpose of analysis only. The researcher only asks for the interviewee's role (position) for the purpose of attaining a certain degree of objectivity in the final report. The researcher states that the interviewee is free to ask questions of any kind concerning the research and that they can do so whenever they desire. The researcher communicates that the data will be handled confidentially and anonymously.

One needs to take into account that this particular research can have consequences for the meeting, project process (see section 3.3) but also the personal position of interviewees. Governmental civil servants work for the executive board of the governmental body. In some cases, this means that their actions (allowing the questionnaires and contributing to an interview) may affect their personal position but also the position of the politically elected alderman who can be held responsible for the meeting. After all, the alderman acts in behalf of the population. A certain level of discretion is in place, so organizations are asked for permission for data collection one week before the meeting. The researcher needs to take care in using this data but also needs to make sure that respondents are able to inspect the research results before the thesis is made public.

3.4 Researching the sub-questions

In order to research the sub-questions, several different methods are used. To research sub-question 3 and 4, questionnaires and interviews are used respectively. Observation during the actual meeting is used to capture data from the meeting itself, for instance verbal/gestural observations, setting and presentation. Figure 4 shows the data collection phase per case with the data collection methods and which sub-question is addressed when. Please note that the figure is conceptual and that the actual moment of citizen participation (the meeting) in the planning process might differ per case, as indicated by the grey arrows.

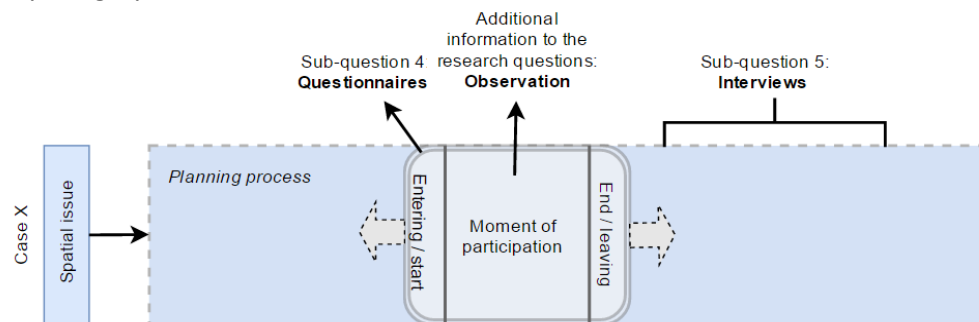


Figure 4: data collection method and moment (Source: thesis author)

3.4.1 Researching sub-question 4- Questionnaires:

To research sub-question 2: 'Which levels of desired influence by citizens can be identified in the participation processes in the Netherlands?' one needs to know what participating citizens desire when looking at 'influence'. Question 6 addresses this. It leaves out 'manipulation' and 'therapy' because participants would not choose to be manipulated or 'cured'. To research this question, questionnaires are used. Via this way, more opinions can be collected in a relatively short amount of time. Concerning this research, there is a limited amount of time available prior to the start of the meeting to collect data, which argues in favour of questionnaires. Questionnaires are useful for attaining characteristics, attitudes and opinions (McLafferty, 2010). Moreover, Parfitt (2005) states that people tend to be more compliant to a questionnaire than to an interview. The fact that it takes only a small amount of time may increase respondents' willingness to contribute. Hence, the amount of questions is limited to seven and have fixed-response questions and one open question, all with simple formulation (no jargon or sophisticated words). This makes it more likely for all respondents to understand questions and answer accurately. The fixed response questions make it easier for respondents to fill in the questionnaire because there has been offered a choice of answers (Clifford et al, 2010). Moreover, this way, analysing the data will be less time consuming and easier to interpret for the researcher (Fink and Kosecoff, 1998). Two open-ended questions give the respondent the ability to answer to his own liking in order to let the respondent reflect on his or her true attitude without being limited to fixed response. The choice for a mix of questions with either nominal or ordinal answer categories is a conscious one, because this way respondents are not limited to 'proposition' questions (agree, neutral, disagree etcetera). For example, to research the opinion of a preference for top-down, mixed or bottom-up approach (question 7) one would need three proposition questions for each preference. With nominal values (as used here) only one question is needed. Again, this makes sure the questionnaire will not take too much time. The downside of using nominal question categories is that no regression or correlation analysis can be used to research relations with proposition-questions. With these questions, one is limited to cross-tables and clustered bar-charts.

The questionnaire title is 'Vragenlijst burgerbijeenkomst' (Questionnaire Citizen Participation). This is a short, neutral title to make sure the title will not steer respondents towards a certain point of view. All participants are asked to fill in a questionnaire, however they have the possibility to reject. Participants of the meetings are handed a questionnaire by the researcher when they enter the room or building and will be collected after they finish. The Dutch version of the research instrument of this sub question can be found in the appendix at 8.1 and the English version at 8.3.

3.4.2 Researching sub-question 5 - Interviews:

To answer sub-question 5: 'Which levels of intended citizen influence by the government can be identified concerning those respective participation moments?', the qualitative method of one-on-one semi-structured interviews is used. The interviews are semi-structured because, by this strategy, the interview is guided but also leaves room for the interviewer as well as the interviewee to deviate from the question when something important comes to the discussion (Flowerdew en Martin, 2005). Interview questions start by addressing the interviewee. This can generate valuable information which can contribute to a better understanding of the approach used by the municipality. Moreover, it can serve as an introduction and help getting used to each other and the setting. Next, questions address the moment of participation in question. The next interview questions do not directly ask for an indication of intended the level of influence from the government perspective but rather try to come to an indication by combining several indirect interview answers. Direct questions can be confronting and might overwhelm the interviewee which can distort the collection of 'honest' and 'true' data. Approaching the research question via indirect questions might result in a more relaxed atmosphere during the interview and may also be able to reduce the probability of an interviewee trying to 'defend' the particular participation process or make it look better than it actually was. The last question does ask directly for an indication in order to check if answers correspond. The list of interview questions is not communicated in advance to make sure respondents are not able to formulate answers in advance. This strategy may lead to more honest and spontaneous answers.

The civil servants who are interviewed are project leaders/managers. In all the researched cases, they are backed up by communication advisors and/or project assistants but the project leader or manager is the person who has the highest chance of being able to answer the interview questions because of his/her comprehensive role in the project. Organizations (and the project leaders specifically) are asked for permission for data collection one week before the meeting.

Interviews will have the same format for every case-study to make sure all data will, at least for the essential part, be uniform in order to better analyse and compare the different case studies. One can deviate from the questions (semi-structured), but needs to address at least the stated questions. All interviewees are addressed in an informal matter. The Dutch version of the interview guide of this sub-question can be found in the appendix at 8.2 and the English version at 8.4.

3.4.3 Researching sub-question 6

To research sub-question 6: 'On what foundation do both of these levels take shape?', data from the questionnaires and interviews (3.5.1 & 3.5.2) is combined.

3.4.4 Additional data capture – observation

Participants, both citizens and government, can implicitly or explicitly (actions, interactions, body language) refer to elements concerning influence during an actual participation meeting. Moreover, elements such as location, seat arrangement, municipal civil servants present at the meeting and presentation elements can be of influence too (Van Dijk & Ubels, 2016). These elements can be valuable to interpret previously attained interview and questionnaire data. It can obtain a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973), which means that people's behaviours and actions can be situated in local, contextual frameworks instead of universal laws (section 3.1 addresses the importance of context in this research). Because of the addressed added value of observation, it is incorporated in this research. Its primary, and sole use is to back up and help interpret data from the questionnaires and interviews when possible. One needs to take into account the mental processing of observation data by the researcher. Observation data which is used in this thesis is mentioned and backed-up by a clarification of the researchers' reasoning. The observation template (instrument) can be found at appendix 8.5. The actual researchers' observations from the three meetings can be found at appendix 8.7. Again, one needs to keep in mind that the research is based on questionnaire and interview results primarily.

3.5 Data analysis

The questionnaires will be analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics (23). Interviews are written down from the recording, then inductively coded and analysed using AtlasTI 7 (version 7.5.16). The observation data is used to complement data from the questionnaires and interviews for analysis when necessary and suitable. Interpretations are made and reasoned by the researcher. The observation data can be found at appendix 8.7.

3.6 Case descriptions

The next sections will describe the cases in orderly fashion by using the five W's (What, when, where, why, who). An invitation summary can be found at the last row of each table.

3.6.1 Case 1:

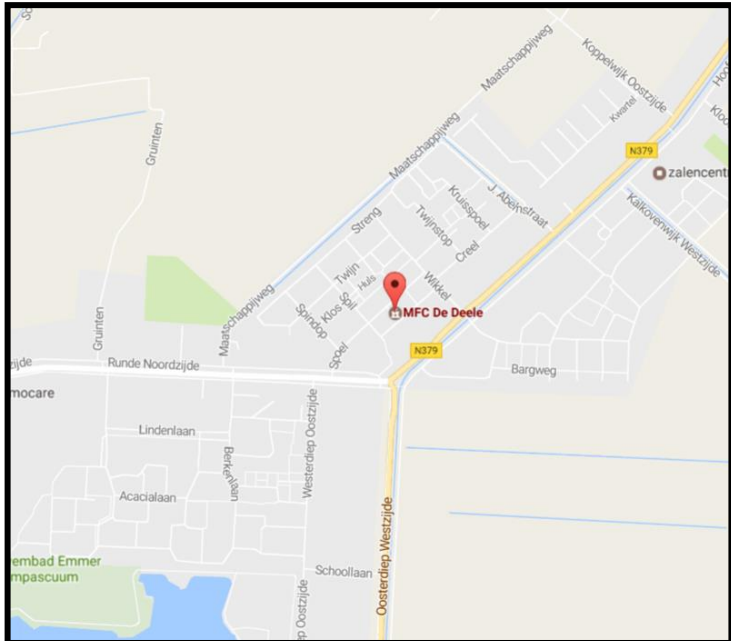
Brede school – Gym Emmer-compascuum – Municipality of Emmen	
Spatial issue	(What): In the village of Emmer-Compascuum, a new school will be built. It will be a so-called 'Brede School', where the school will have other facilities in favour of contributing to the development of children, all in the same building. The school will be built, citizens know this. However, The municipality of Emmen is planning to add a gym to the building, which has not been communicated yet. An 'inloop-bijeenkomst' will take place, initiated by the Municipality of Emmen. According to the invitation, the meeting takes place for the purpose of (translated quote from the invitation): 'engaging in conversation and the exchange of ideas' (Gemeente Emmen, 2017).
Date & time	(When): 19 th of January, 2017 16:30 – 19:30
Location	(Where): Building: Multifunctional Centre (MFC): 'De Deelee' Address: Spoel 151, Emmer-Compascuum
	 <p>(Source: Google Maps, 2017)</p>
Selection motive	(Why): This case is selected because (1) the meeting is government-led and takes place on neutral ground. (2) It also explicitly states in the invitation that the municipality is looking for input from citizens. Moreover, as opposed to Case 2 and 3, this case appears to be taking place in the project phase where part of the plan is clear but that alterations are possible.
Actors	(Who): Interview: Municipality of Emmen: Project manager – Brede school. Location: Municipal Town hall 'Emmen', private room. Date: 24 th of Januari 2017 Questionnaires: Inhabitants of Emmer-compascuum. Inhabitants living next to the planned sited are invited directly by a paper invitation. Inhabitants of Emmer-Compascuum are informed of the meeting by an announcement/invitation in the local newspaper. The invitation was not communicated via internet.
Invitation summary: The invitation title addresses the very essence of the meeting by stating that the 'Brede School' is coming, but that there are questions whether a gym should be added or not. The next sections shed light on the process of how the government thinks about a suitable location for a new gym. It also offers practical information like date, time and place of the meeting. The invitation ends by addressing why the meeting is taking place and it is stated that suggestions from citizens are 'used in the development of the plans'.	
The original invitation can be found in the appendix at 8.6.1.	

Table 4: Case 1 description

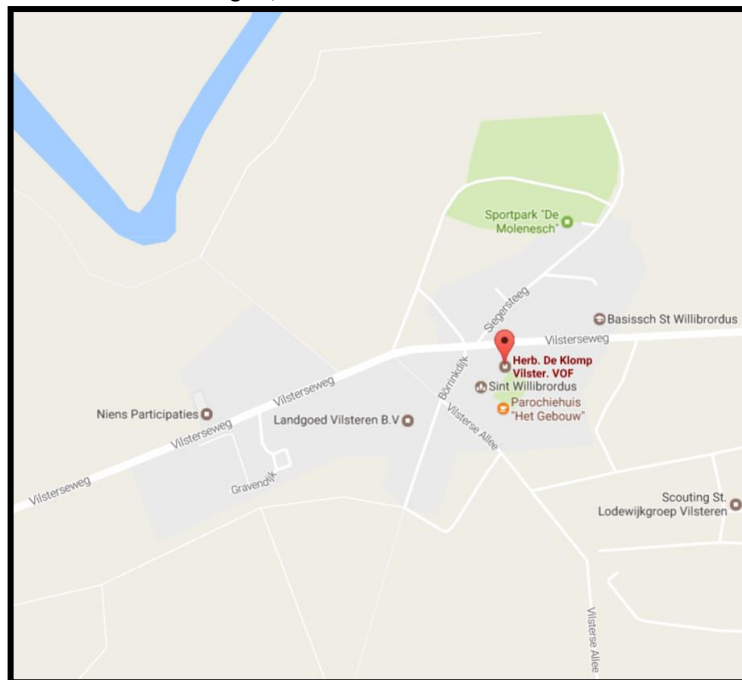
3.6.2 Case 2:

Inrichtingsplan Marswetering fase 1 – Waterschap Drents Overijsselse Delta

Spatial issue (What): The conservancy (Dutch: Waterschap) ‘Drents Overijsselse Delta’, is planning to intervene in the ‘Marswetering’, a waterstream south of the town of Dalfsen. The conservancy is doing this to provide for the criteria from national and provincial policy. They are planning to: Improve the water quality by removing the weir-obstacles for fishes, building areas for water retainment and improving arrangements for the purpose of maintenance. People are invited to come to the meeting (translated quote): ‘so the plan can be explained, and one can engage in conversation’ but also to ‘inform people on how the conservancy is planning to do maintenance’ (WDO Delta, 2017).

Date & time (When): 8th of February, 2017 16:30 – 18:00 & 19:00 – 21:00

Location (Where): Building: Herberg de ‘De Klomp’
Address: Vilsterseweg 10, Vilsteren



(Source: Google Maps, 2017)

Selection motive (Why): This case is selected because (1) the meeting is government-led and takes place on neutral ground. (2) The invitations also explicitly states ‘so the plan can be explained, and one can engage in conversation’. Moreover, as opposed to case 1 and 3, this case appears to be taking place at a later stage in the planning process where a large part of the plan has been set.

Actors (Who): **Interview:** Waterschap Drents Overijsselse delta - Project leader ‘Inrichtingplan Marswetering’.
Location: Headoffice Waterschap Drents Overijsselse Delta, Zwolle. Date: 27th of February 2017

Questionnaires: As stated by the project leader, people who are subscribed to the news letter are invited. But also people who have a stake in the matter directly, also have received a letter. Since there have also been announcements of the meeting on the internet, where it was stated that all interested parties are invited, one can expect a lot of different people to come to this meeting.

Invitation summary:

The invitation title is ‘Inloophbijeenkomst Marswetering’. The invitation states that the meeting is about ‘better supply and drainage of water, nature friendly banks and fish friendly passages’. It also addresses what the meeting is planned for, what are going to be the activities and where the activities will take place. Lastly, the invitation addresses the location, date and time of the actual meeting.

The original invitation can be found in the appendix at 8.6.2.

Table 5: Case 2 description

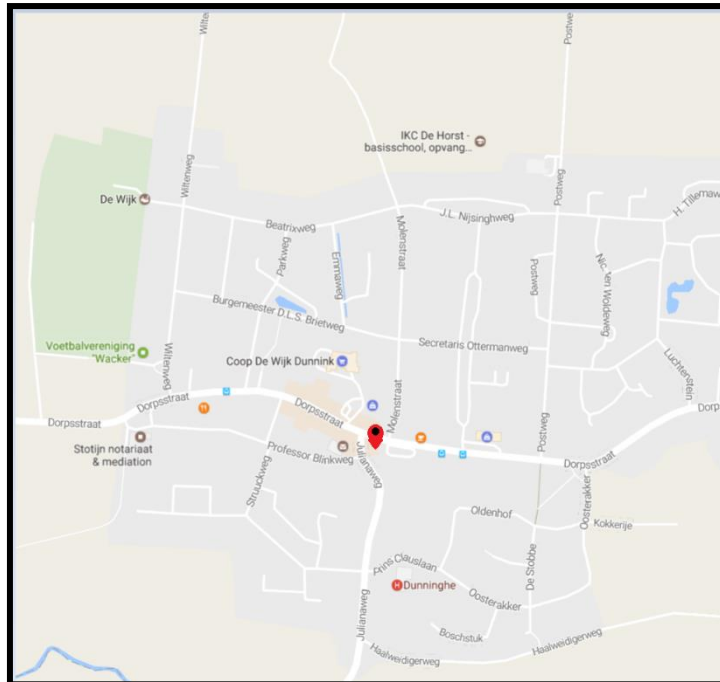
3.6.3 Case 3:

Herinrichting Dorpsstraat De Wijk – Municipality of De Wolden

Spatial issue (What): The municipality of De Wolden is planning to update and redesign the 'dorpstraat' in the town of 'De Wijk'. They are planning to do so by asking citizens for 'points of attention, bottlenecks and solutions' (De Wolder Courant, 2017). This project originates from the policy document 'Centrumplan' (plan for the centre of De Wijk).

Date & time (When): 14th of February 2017 19:00-21:00

Location (Where): Building: Ontmoetingscentrum 'De Havezate'
Address: Dorpsstraat 66, De Wijk



(Source: Google Maps, 2017)

Selection motive (Why): This case is selected because (1) the meeting is government-led and takes place on neutral ground. (2) It also explicitly states in the invitation that the meeting takes place to talk about 'points of attention, bottlenecks and solutions'. Moreover, as opposed to Case 1 and 2, the participation in this case appears to be taking place at the very beginning of the project process.

Actors (Who): **Interview:** Municipality of De Wolden: Project leader 'Herinrichting dorpsstraat De Wijk'. Location: Municipal town hall 'De Wolden'. Date: 4th of March 2017

Questionnaires: Most probably citizens and entrepreneurs of the village of De Wijk (direct invitations). However, everyone, but primarily inhabitants of the Municipality of De Wolden may attend the meeting since the meeting is addressed in the local (municipal) newspaper.

Invitation summary:

The invitation addresses date, time, location and topic of the meeting but also why the Municipality would like to speak to citizens about this matter. It also states that, after this meeting, one can sign up for a 'werkgroep' (group to work further on the matter) with citizens and entrepreneurs. It ends by stating where this project is a part of looking at policy and what the exact project area is.

Both indirect, as well as a direct invitation have been sent/published by the Municipality of De Wolden. Both invitations can be found in the appendix at 8.6.3.

Table 6: Case 3 description

4. Data and results:

The following sections address the results from the interviews, questionnaires and observations per case. Case descriptions can be found at section 3.2. The observations are used to back-up the questionnaire and interview results when possible and necessary. Unfortunately, not all questions have been filled in by the respondents and some questions have more than one answer where this was not possible, despite the fact that this was boldly emphasized in the questionnaire. These so-called 'missing values' and the questions with too many answers distort analysis hence are not taken into analysis. Moreover, the combination of question 6 and 7 (depicted in tables 7 &...&...) where either one of the two, or both questions have not been filled in the right way, also have not been taken into analysis in the tables. Question 7 answers are categorized for the purpose of analysis. For the original answers, please use Appendix section 8.9.

This section start by addressing question 6 and 7 answers, since these questions form the essence of this research. Subsequently, questions 1 to 5 are elaborated on in section 4.1.4.

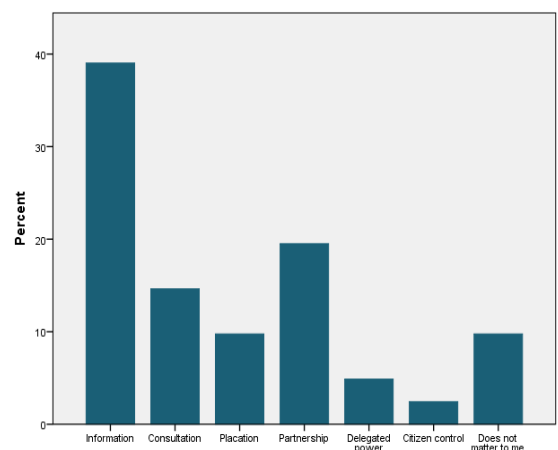
4.1 Citizen desires (Questionnaires)

Which levels of desired influence by citizens can be identified in the participation processes? What lies at the foundation of the choice for a particular rung?

4.1.1 Case 1: Citizens / Stakeholders 'Brede school' in Emmer-compascuum

The questionnaire has been filled in 44 times. 11 combinations cannot be made because either questions 6 has too many answers or question 7 has not been filled in. This results in the fact that, in combination, only 33 of the 44 returned questionnaires are used for the combination in table 7.

To find out what the level of desired influence of citizens present at the meeting in Emmer-compascuum is, one needs to use question 6. Figure 5 depicts a bar chart showing the shares per rung of the Ladder of Citizen Participation by Arnstein (1969). Here, one can see that 16 of the 41 respondents who filled in a desired level of influence (a share of 39%) attended the meeting for the purpose of being informed. This group has the largest share. The second most filled-in rung is the one of 'Partnership' with a share of 19,5%.



When excluding 'It does not matter to me' and the missing values (a total of 7 respondents), the average desired influence from participants is '2.38', which indicates a level of 0.38 above the rung 'Consultation'. Using an average however, results in the fact that the 16 of the 37 respondents (43.2%) who filled in 'information' do not show up. To do justice to the other filled in rungs, the average is used when concluding on the desired rung of citizens. The bar chart (figure 5) can be used to keep track of the actual distribution.



Photo 1: Inloop Emmer-Compascuum (source: researcher)



Photo 2: Inloop Emmer-Compascuum (source: researcher)

What lies at the foundation of the choice for a particular rung?:

Table 7 shows an overview of what respondents have answered on question 6 and 7 respectively. What becomes clear is that, for example where people state they fear negative effects like 'living in proximity (anxiety)', 'impact living environment (parking)' or 'negative effect for family', they do not necessarily choose in a clustered way. In fact, these statements can be found all over the ladder, where, in this case, you might expect that respondents would choose high levels of influence so that something can be done about the perceived worries. The same goes for positive statements like 'positive towards plan' and 'trust in democracy'. These can also be found at different rungs of the ladder. There even is a respondent who lives near the project area, but states that he/she does not care how much influence he/she has. All in all, one does not simply depict a clear, clustered set of reasons to choose a particular rung on the ladder in the case of the 'Brede school' in Emmer-compascuum.

Question 6 answer (Rung)	Question 7 summary	
Informing (14)	Living in proximity (anxiety) – Impact living environment (parking)	
	Living in proximity	
	Trust in democracy	
	Like to be informed	5x
	Like to keep being informed	4x
	Top-down, being part	
	Negative effect for family	
Consultation (5)	Impact living environment (parking)	2x
	Positive towards plan	
	Call for one view	
	Citizens not capable of taking decision	
Placation (4)	Living in proximity (anxiety)	
	Call for one view	
	Badly informed	
	Member volleyball association	
Partnership (7)	Impact living environment (parking)	
	Positive towards plan	
	Call for one view	
	Citizens not capable of taking decision	
	Bottom-up	
	Impact living environment	
Delegated power (2)	Government/citizen equality	
	Decision already made	
Citizen control (Zero)	Legal rights as citizen	
	Zero	
It does not matter (1)	Living in proximity (no anxiety)	

Table 7: case 1 Question 6 and 7 (Author summary)

4.1.2 Case 2: Citizens/stakeholders Inrichtingsplan Marswetering

The questionnaire has been filled in 17 times. Three respondents have chosen not to fill in question 7. This means that 14 of the 17 questionnaires are used when combining questions 6 and 7 in table 8.

To find out what the level of desired influence of citizens present at the meeting in Vilsteren is, one needs question 6 answers. Figure 5 depicts a bar chart, showing the shares per rung of the Ladder of Citizen Participation by Arnstein (1969). What becomes clear is that 'Consultation' and 'Partnership' have the largest share. Together with 'placation', these three rungs have a share of 70.6% of the total. Mind that 'Delegated power' has not been filled in. When excluding 'It does not matter to me' and the missing values (a total of 4 respondents), the average desired influence from participants is '3', indicating a desired level of 'Placation'.

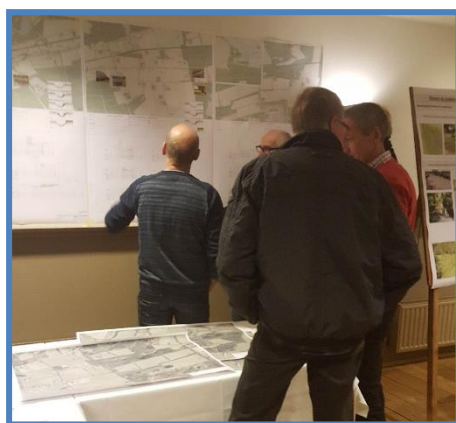
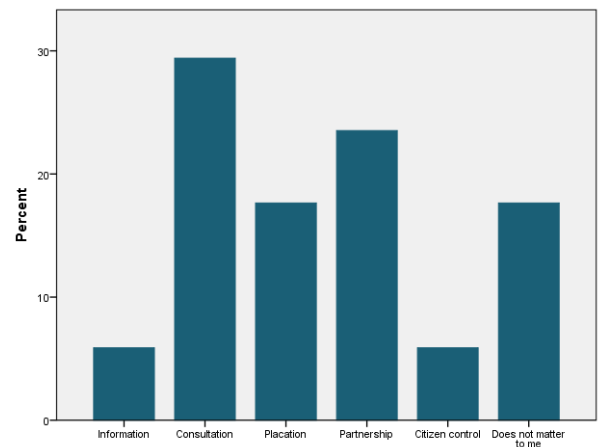


Photo 3: Inloop Marswetering (WDO)

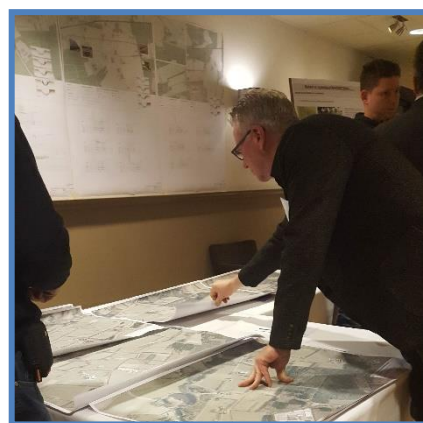


Photo 4: Inloop Marswetering (WDO)

What lies at the foundation of the choice for a particular rung?:

As the results show, case 2 appears to differ from case 1 and 3 not only in moment of participation, but also in desired influence and the reason for choosing this particular rung. For example, commercial stakes have not been filled in as a reason in case 1 and only once in case 3. What is interesting is that respondents with commercial stakes do not necessarily choose high rungs (table 8). Also, question 1 answers where one could fill in one's own reason for participating all indicate commercial stakes (Table 9). Observation confirms these perceptions. A share of participants wear jackets with company logos. Another interesting result is the fact that a large share of reasons for choosing a particular desired level of influence are 'functional' in nature. For example 'Synergy government & respondent', 'Making the plan better', 'Cooperation government & respondent' and 'Input & contacts' give an indication of this 'functional' point of view.

Question 6 answer (Rung)	Question 7 summary	
Informing (1)	Like to be informed	
Consultation (4)	Commercial stakes	2x
	Not able to influence because of position	
	Making the plan better	
Placation (3)	Synergy & Support	
	Commercial stakes	
	Being part & Input & Contacts	
Partnership (3)	Synergy government and respondent	
	Having a voice	
	Cooperation government and respondent	
Delegated power (Zero)	Zero	
Citizen control (Zero)	Zero	
It does not matter (3)	Curious	
	Impact nature	
	Synergy government and respondent	

Table 8: case 2 Question 6 and 7 (Author summary)

Stakeholder has tendered for the preparation of project Marswetering
Being an advisory bureau, we are interested in providing the technical part of the plans. Our goal: information and experiencing the atmosphere during the meeting
Looking for a job in ground, water and road construction
I would like to know what the consequences are for my business
Potential tender for preparation of project Marswetering

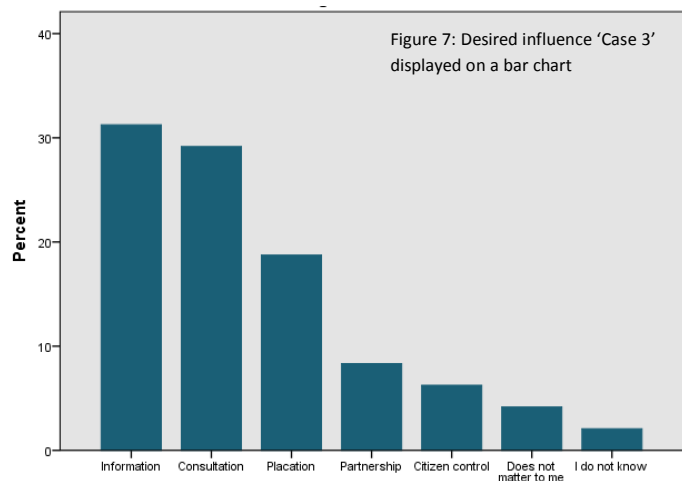
Table 9: Reason for participation (Question 1) : 'Other....' (Own source)

What becomes clear from combining question 6 and 7 answers, is that a distinct reason of clustering at a particular rung cannot be identified (table 8).

4.1.3 Case 3: Citizens/stakeholders Herinrichting Dorpsstraat De Wijk

The questionnaire has been filled in 48 times. Nine people have chosen not to fill in question 7. This means that 41 of the 48 questionnaires are used when combining questions 6 and 7 in table 9.

To find out what the level of desired influence of citizens (stakeholders) in De Wijk is, one needs answers from question 6. Figure 7 depicts a bar chart, showing the shares per rung of the Ladder of Citizen Participation by Arnstein (1969). What becomes clear is that 'Information' has the largest share (31,3%), followed by 'Consultation' with a share of 29.2%. The distribution follows the ladder, in that with each step up the ladder, less people have chosen the particular rung. Mind that 'Delegated power' has not been filled in. When excluding 'It does not matter to me' and the missing values (a total of 4 respondents), the average desired influence from participants is '3', indicating a desired level of 'Placation'.



What lies at the foundation of the choice for a particular rung?:

Reasons for choosing 'Informing' as a desired level of influence primarily originate from curiosity or just to be informed. However, quotes like 'Being able to respond', 'contribute to the plan' and 'Having a voice' seem to indicate a desire higher than what informing encompasses. There even is one respondent who thinks the decision is already taken, but still would like to have voice in the matter. The reason for choosing 'Consultation' all differ in essence. One is content with only advice. The same goes for another, who thinks the government should decide and citizens should give advice. Two respondents have doubts about whether the advice is taken seriously. Another thinks giving advice is capable of improving the plan. Respondents who bring a focus to the use of the environment and the importance of bottom-up, user-oriented development all concentrate on the rungs 'Placation', 'Partnership' and 'Citizen control'. The cooperation between government and citizens is emphasized and one respondent mentions a synergetic effect between both parties. Also, the choice for one of these three rungs rests, in three cases, on improving the plan and the eventual environment.

Question 6 answer (Rung)	Question 7 summary	
Informing (12)	Being able to respond	
	Contributing to the plan	
	Village should be given information directly addressed to them	
	Nice to follow the outcome	
	To know what is happening in municipality	
	Member of municipal council	
	Decision already taken – Having a voice – concerned with outcome	
	Citizen to little knowledge – Like to be informed	
	Like to be informed	
	Emotional bond with inhabitants	
	Like to be informed - Recently moved here	
	Interested in next meetings	
Consultation (10)	No need for more than consultation	
	Important to give advice – Need for information	
	Being part – Advice is not taken seriously	
	Personal stake	
	(Democratic) rights as citizen	
	No standpoint taken by respondent	
	Hope that consultation is taken seriously	
	Making the plan better	
	Doubts about equality citizen vs commercial stakes	
	Government decides and citizen give advice	
Placation (8)	Standing up for commercial stakes	
	User of the environment	
	Improving the environment	
	Making safe plan for elderly	
	User of the environment – Making the plan better	
	Hope that consultation is taken seriously – Cooperation government & citizen	
	User-oriented	
	Important to make use of participation chance	
Partnership (4)	Synergy	
	User of the environment	
	Cooperation government and citizens	
	Cooperation government and citizens	
Citizen control (2)	Bottom-up / User-oriented plan	2x
It does not matter (1)	Age	
I do not know (1)	Nice to be engaged – Pro participation	

Table 10: case 1 Question 6 and 7 (Author summary)



Photo 5: Inloop Herinrichting Dorpsstraat De Wijk



Photo 6: Inloop Herinrichting Dorpsstraat De Wijk

4.1.4 Overall results

When combining all cases, in few occasions respondents mentioned that they are participating because they want to resist to the plans or idea. Of the 109 respondents who filled in question 1, four respondents indicate that they want to resist to the (future) development. Three respondents indicate that the overall idea is wrong. Two indicate that the plan is bad and that they want to influence it positively.

Of the 109 respondents who filled in question 1, four respondents indicate that they have doubts about the expertise and knowledge of the government. A share of 45,9% indicate that they participate because they think that, as a citizen, you should make use of the possibility to participate. This reason is also manually written down several times at question 7. A share of 29,4% indicates that they participate because they would like to have more influence on their environment.

Experiences with participation cluster around 'Very good', 'Good' and 'Neutral'. Only in three occasions a respondent indicates that he or she has bad or very bad experience. Question 7 answers do not mention a particular experience with participation as a reason for choosing a particular rung.

The room for adjustment of the plan is 'clear' or 'very clear' to a share of 69,8%. A share of 21,7% is neutral in this respect. 8,5% thinks it either 'unclear' or 'very unclear'. The three respondents who have indicated that the room for adjustment is 'very unclear' choose either 'Delegated power' or 'Citizen control', the two highest rungs.

The provision of information prior to the meeting is enough, in time and good according to 75.7% of the respondents. 19,4% is neutral in this respect and 4,9% thinks there is too little, too late and bad information distributed before the meeting.

When using a cross table and clustered bar chart, it becomes clear that only one of a total of 104 respondents thinks that the government and its expertise and knowledge should be leading. 14 respondents (13,5%) mention that citizen expertise and knowledge should be the starting point of the project, and 89 (85.6%) indicate that a mix of government and citizen knowledge and expertise should be used. Interestingly, when looking at the clustered bar chart in figure 8, respondents who choose a citizen oriented approach do not necessarily choose higher rungs. The same goes for the respondents choosing for a mix. 'Information', here, is by far the most indicated rung, followed by consultation. Moreover, the respondents who have indicated to desire level 'Citizen control' choose for a mixed approach to the spatial issue. This finding suggests that respondents in this research seem to acknowledge a certain degree of interdependency between them and the government in question.

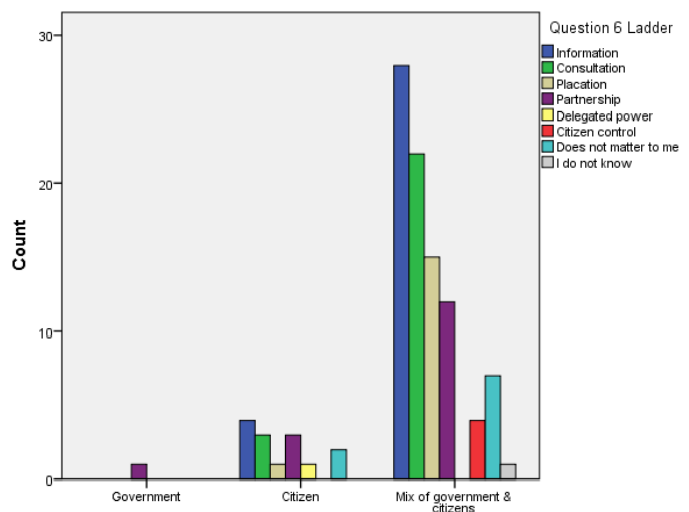


Figure 8: Question 5 and 6 count displayed in a clustered bar chart

4.2 Government intentions (Interviews)

Which levels of intended citizen influence by the government can be identified? What lies at the foundation of the choice for a particular rung?

4.2.1 Case 1: Municipality of Emmen – Project manager ‘Brede school’



The interviewee primarily names functional motives of citizen participation in general ('acceptation'/ 'creating support' but also for the inloop-meeting in particular ('to indicate sensitive elements', 'to limit chance of protest and failure'). When asked for what is done with the input, the interviewee states that adjustment, or even a complete change of plans is possible. This indicates a high rung on the ladder, however, he also mentions the preferences of himself and the executive board for a gym inside the school. These statements are substantiated by the observation, where the information boards in the room showed how a gym inside the 'Brede School' could take shape. Consultation (giving advice) or lower rungs fall short of explaining the content openness (Pröpper & Steenbeek, 2001) mentioned by the interviewee. Partnership or higher rungs, where negotiation takes place on an equal base or where citizens have more influence than the government, may be too much because the municipality here still takes the decision which they think is best. Moreover, they have preferences. Number 4, placation, where citizens take a seat but where the government still decides what is feasible and legitimate, does the best job of explaining the level of citizen influence. This corresponds with how the interviewee himself thinks of the level of citizen influence when asked for directly. The indication on the ladder for the intended level of influence can be set on '*Placation*'.

4.2.2 Case 2: Conservancy Drents Overijsselse Delta – Project leader Inrichting Marswetering



The respondent primarily names functional motives of citizen participation in general as well as for the particular meeting. It is stated that, with this meeting, one wants to get to problems and critical points beforehand, not after completion of the project. It is also mentioned that the organisation would like to show what it is doing, informing the public and speaking to people in person. These motives primarily seem to originate from the phase in which the meeting takes place. It is mentioned that there have been meetings where more alteration and more input to the plan was possible, but that they were finishing the design phase with this particular meeting. This was also stated in the WDO invitation (WDO, 2017). To use the respondents' exact words, only very minor alteration is still possible, however it is underlined by the interviewee that informing is the utmost and primary goal of the meeting. When asked for what is done with the input, the interviewee states that the project team keep a record of all written notes from the meetings. When there are problems, they 'must come with a solution' (quote interview WDO). The record of these notes is used during realisation to check which problems have occurred in the past at a specific location. This argues in favour of 'Consultation', however, these notes originate from all participation meetings in the planning process of this particular project. All in all, interview answers primarily addressed the meeting as an informative one. When asked for an intended level directly, the respondent indicates the meeting as 'Informing' as a rung on the ladder without hesitation. Hence, the level of intended influence at the 'Marswetering inloop' meeting can be identified as '*Informing*'.

4.2.3

Case 3: Municipality of De Wolden – Project leader herinrichting Dorpsstraat De Wijk



The interviewee names functional as well as normative motives for participation in general, but states that the ‘participation society’ should not be seen as obligatory.

People should participate only if they want to. According to the interviewee, the input from the meeting is used as a prelude to the consecutive meetings of the projectteam, a team composed of citizens and entrepreneurs which determines the plan and future design of the Dorpsstraat. It is explicitly stated that these individual reactions from the meeting are used in a wider context to get a sense of what is at stake (quote interviewee: ‘gevoel op halen’) and to make sure the projectteam members know that they participate for the greater good (quote interviewee: ‘het idee geven dat de projectgroep er voor het dorp zit’). When asked for what is done with input, it is mentioned that the input must be seen as a general image of suggestions, ideas and bottlenecks and that input is not individually responded to. Interestingly, the interviewee more than once states that in this case, the municipality takes a step back. They want to facilitate and help coordinate via the inloopmeeting and the project teams, but the design is up to the ‘users’ or ‘owners’ because they are going to ‘operate’ or live in the area (quote interviewee: ‘Maar het is voor hun. Dus ik vind het belangrijk dat zij gewoon aangeven wat ze willen. Willen ze gele klinkers, dan ga ik niet zeggen dat ze rood moeten zijn’). Consultation might be the best rung to explain the level of influence. Input is used generally as input to consecutive meetings. That input will generate a general image of the area, which in turn will result in the fact that some input will not be taken into consideration. The respondent thinks that participants from the researched meeting operate on a level of ‘Consultation’.

4.3 Observations

According to the research design of this thesis, the invitations are worthwhile to examine. Via these invitations, governments have the ability to tell what the meeting is going to be about and what information is shared. What became clear is that governments primarily share information about either the process and how the meeting is a part of this, or just communicate what the meeting itself is used for. All cases were more or less set up in the same way, offering information via posters with text and images. Government civil servants were present to engage in conversation with participants.

4.4 Combined findings in the perspective of the conceptual model:

The figure below is an original part of the conceptual model, offering an overview of what is explicitly mentioned during data collection and what could have been added based on the data. All aspects from the original conceptual model which have not been mentioned by respondents do not have an icon (neither green nor blue). Mind the blue ‘plus’, indicating the element which can be added to the original conceptual model based on research results.

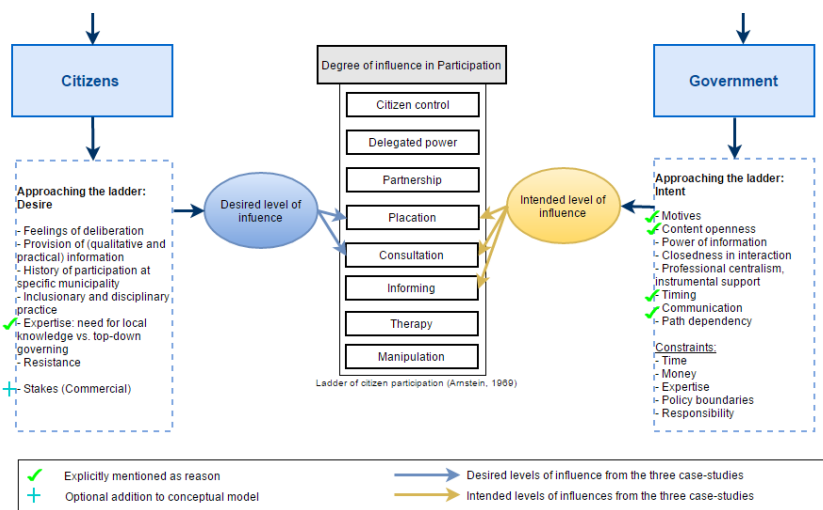


Figure 9: Data collection results in light of the conceptual model of this research (own source)

5. Discussion & Conclusion

5.1 Discussion

Overall, this research shows that every researched case has a different relation between desired and intended level of influence. None of the average desired influences are situated on one of the top three rungs, the exact three rungs which Arnstein (1969) describes as 'Citizen power'. All average desired and intended levels of influence are situated in what she calls 'Tokenism', where she does not consider citizens to have decisional power. The fact that the top three rungs are not popular in this research, corresponds with findings in the research of Bailey & Grossardt (2006) and suggests that citizens recognize an interdependency between citizens and the government. Moreover, it indicates that findings of Hayward et al. (2004), where they state that in participation 'Citizen control' is often seen as the ultimate goal to participate, may not be applicable in this research. Judging from the fact that average desired influence does not exceed the 'placation' level even suggests that participants would like the government, for a large part, to be responsible for the decision. The 'efficacy gap', addressed in the research of McClusky et al. (2004), which means that participants desire more than what is given to them, only seems to play a role in case 2. McClusky et al. (2004) state that the efficacy gap promotes individual, instead of collaborative modes of participation. This thesis research perhaps cannot serve as a right foundation to conclude upon, since both the observation as well as the questionnaire results show that a particular share of the respondents have commercial stakes in the matter (see also figure 9). McClusky et al. (2004) researched citizen attitudes, which can differ concerning stakes compared to business employees. This particular finding, where commercial stakes seem to play an important role, underlines the statement by Arnstein (1969) reminding readers to take note of the ambiguous 'group of citizens'. In light of this thesis research, this note by Arnstein might best be made comprehensible by the essence of the stakes in the matter.

Interestingly, despite the fact that 'Informing' is the most popular rung among respondents in this research, only one of the respondent thinks the spatial issue should be approached with a focus on government expertise and knowledge only. Close to 85% opts for a mixed approach of government and citizen expertise and knowledge. These findings seem to indicate that the 'classic' idea of the government as the leading actor, using its knowledge and expertise to finish the project (bottom-up), is very unpopular in this research. These finding are in line with the principles of Governance and the idea that no single actor has the knowledge and resource capacity to tackle problems unilaterally (Stoker, 1998, p18). It also corresponds with what the ROB report (2010) mentions about citizens becoming more aware of their role in society. However, these findings do not indicate that respondents have doubts about the government possessing the right expertise and knowledge. To be exact, only four respondents in this research have doubts about this. Moreover, respondents who choose a citizen oriented approach do not necessarily choose higher rungs. The same goes for the share of respondents who choose for a mix of government and citizen expertise. Both 'Informing' as well as 'Consultation' have the highest share in both categories. Case 3, when looking at the question 6 and 7 combination, gives a different look on this. Reasons for choosing higher levels of participation (Placation, Partnership and Citizen Control), here primarily originate from the fact that one thinks the plan should be user-oriented, in other words: a plan based upon citizen ideas. These results indicate that the idea of 'co-creation' and collaborate action described by Healey (1997, 1998, 1999) and Innes & Booher (1999a, 1999b) is very much alive among the respondents. Citizen initiative, also known as third generation participation (Lenos et al., 2009), where citizen are primarily responsible for action and decision-making, was only limitedly desired by participants. Note that, when looking at these results, one should keep in mind the fact that these meetings are government-led. Despite the neutral locations of the meeting, this may have caused respondents to think they, albeit partly, depend on the government.

When combining all cases, in few occasions respondents mentioned that they are participating because they want to resist to the plans (or the idea). Only two respondents mentioned that the plan is bad. The types of NIMBY, mentioned by Wolsink (2000) seem to play only a minor role in the three researched cases. Reason for this can be the fact that, in all cases, the proposed changing of the environment, in general is not experienced as negative or unwanted. Proposed plans or ideas may even have a high chance of improving the quality of the living environment in the eyes of respondents, though one can only speculate based on this research data. Questions 2, 3 and 4 primarily show positive responses. More than 75% has good experiences with participation, the room for adjustment of the plan is clear in most occasions and the provision of information prior to the meetings is primarily indicated as 'enough, in time and of good quality'. In very few occasions participants state that the offered participation is just manipulation, letting people think that they have influence although the decision has already been made. This contradicts findings of De Nationale Ombudsman (2009), Aitken (2010) and Rod (2011), where respondents experienced participation as just a formality.

What became clear from the interviews with project managers / project leaders from the acting governmental bodies, is that participation, be it in general or for the specific participation meeting, primarily is used because of its functionality (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000 ; Coenen et al., 2001). Examples of phrases used to describe this functionality are: Making the plan better, limiting resistance/objection to the plan, making sure no problems will surface after the project. In trying to reach these goals, it is mentioned that 'inloop' was the right method because of the ability for individual, personal interaction. Traditional public meetings, where the government presents and lets participants react consecutively, was thought of as a method which would only oppose the government and participants.

The path dependency and content openness (Pröpper & Steenbeek, 2001) can be linked with the phases (moments) in which the participation meetings took place. The most striking example of this came to light in case 2, where minor alteration was possible because the design of the plan was close to fixed. Previous phases used participation with higher levels of influence (WDO Delta interview). Case 3 offers another look at this, indicating that the project is not fixed at all and that the research meeting can be seen as the start of a wider participation process to come to a 'publically supported' plan. The level of path dependency seems to be limited, the municipality takes a step back by just 'listening' (quote case 3 interview) and offering the input to project team members to base their plan upon. The two cases (1 & 3) where alteration was possible or maximum input was possible, intended influence is higher compared to case 2 where minor to no alteration was possible. However, based on research results, one cannot conclude whether this path dependency and content openness can be seen as one of the reasons or the sole reason for choosing the particular intended rung.

In the invitations per case, it becomes clear that governments primarily share information about either the process and how the meeting is a part of this, or just communicate what the meeting itself is used for. None of the attitudes described by Forester (2007) play a role in the invitation. These attitudes can play a role during the meeting itself, where shared meaning can take form via communication, as Castells (2009) describes. However, this is not researched in this thesis.

5.2 Limitations

Looking at the results from this research, one should keep in mind the limitation of the Ladder of Citizen participation by Arnstein (1969), as addressed in the theoretical framework (2.4.1). These are important, as this ladder has a central role in this master thesis research. One should also be aware of the position of the researcher in this research, thoroughly addressed in 3.2 and 3.4 of this report.

Concerning data in general, this thesis research collected data prior to the actual meeting. Opinions of citizens might be based on earlier experiences or no experience at all. Because of the fact that data collection has taken place prior to the start of the meeting, citizen attitudes might have changed during the actual meeting. This change of attitude has not been researched. Also, reflections on the meeting from the point of view of the municipality is also something which has not been addressed in this research. These reflections can be a topic for future research.

Also, this research addresses attitudes expressed by participating citizens, whereas attitudes of citizens refraining from participation might be interesting as well and can possibly shed light onto obstacles concerning different participation methods. This perspective lays outside the scope of this research. Related to this, is the possibility that citizens present at the meeting are citizens who are directly affected by a certain spatial issue. Although there is a certain mix of participants at a meeting, one can question whether this results in a good representation of general citizen attitudes in targeted area. There might be citizens who have chosen not to participate because, for example, they are not directly affected by the spatial issue.

Culture and context are also elements one needs to keep in mind when interpreting the research results. Results in this thesis research are based upon data from three different contexts in The Netherlands. Especially in areas or countries where democratic principles and citizen participation have not been (or are not) self-evident, this research design could yield data that produces another image of government-led direct citizen participation. As it was not the goal of the research, results do not lead to propositions on how to change these kinds of top-down (or even undemocratic) oriented system to a more bottom-up approach. This means that research results might be most valuable in contexts which are somewhat similar in essence compared to the contexts researched in this thesis.

One should keep in mind that in the conclusion, averages are used per case to indicate a desired rung of influence from the citizen point of view. Rungs on the Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969) have clear distinctions and differ in essence, resulting in the fact that the average can be located on a rung which has not been chosen as much as others. Therefore, carefully looking at the distributions in the Data & Result section is advised.

Although it is not directly found in the research results, one should keep in mind that governments may choose not to tell the researcher when a participation meeting can be categorised as 'manipulation' or 'therapy' (Arnstein, 1969) for organizational and personal reputations sake.

Finally, not part of the research design but worthwhile to mention is the fact that the researcher sometimes encountered an 'anxious' or 'hesitant' attitude of civil servants towards the researcher and the planned research methodology (questionnaire). Because of this attitude and the negative responses which were sometimes encountered, cases where permission for data collection was obtained might be cases with a particular character. For instance, they might have a less 'sensitive' topic, a project team who is interested in the thesis results, or have a project team which have experience with questionnaires of this kind during citizen participation meetings. This might have resulted in a bias in case selection.

5.3 Concluding on the empirical sub-questions

This section answers the empirical sub questions and main question of this thesis research. Questions 1 and 2 remain factual in nature, addressing the actual levels of influence in a brief manner. Question 3 elaborates and discusses possible reasons of how the levels of influence indicated in question 1 and 2 have taken shape. Section 5.4 concludes on the main question by combining answers on the previous three empirical sub-questions.

Which levels of desired influence by citizens can be identified in the researched participation meetings?

Case 1: Questionnaires show that the *average* desired level of influence is 2.38, indicating a level of 'Consultation' or higher. Mind that 39% has chosen 'Information' for the desired level. Citizen control, the highest rung, has not been filled in.

Case 2: Questionnaires show that the *average* desired level of influence is 3, indicating a level of 'Placation'. The top two rungs (Citizen control & Delegated power) have not been filled in.

Case 3: Questionnaires show that the *average* desired level of influence of 2.31, indicating a level of 'Consultation' or higher. 'Delegated power' has not been filled in.

Which levels of intended citizen influence by the acting governmental bodies can be identified at those respective participation meetings?

Case 1: After analysis of the interview answers, one can conclude that the intended level of influence can be best described as 'Placation'. When directly asked for an indication on the ladder, the interviewee himself also chose 'Placation' as the rung on which the meeting of case 1 can be placed.

Case 2: After analysis of the interview answers, one can conclude that the intended level of influence can be best described as 'Placation'. When directly asked for an indication on the ladder, the interviewee himself also chose 'Placation' as the rung on which the meeting of case 1 can be placed.

Case 3: After analysis of the interview answers, one can conclude that the intended level of influence can be best described as 'Consultation'. When directly asked for an indication on the ladder, the interviewee himself also chooses 'Consultation' as the rung on which the meeting of case 1 can be placed.

On what foundation do both of these levels take shape?

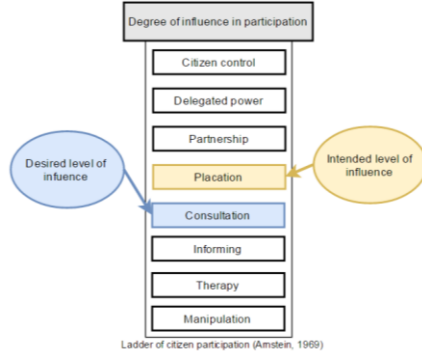
Please see the summarized overview on the next page.

Summarised overview levels and reasons per case:

Case 1: Emmen

The levels of influence at case 1 do not correspond. The government here intends 'placation', whereas the average of 2.38 indicates a desired level of 0.38 above 'consultation'. One can conclude that there is a 'positive discrepancy' (gap), where the government offers more influence than participants desire.

Indications on the conceptual model ladder:



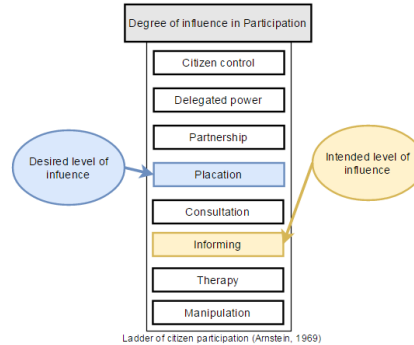
Clear, clustered reasons for choosing a particular rung cannot be identified from the questionnaire results. Reasons, positive as well as negative, are spread across the ladder.

Reasons for the Municipality to come to 'Placation' as the intended level of influence primarily are functional in essence. The meeting is used to lower the chance of objections to the plan. The interviewee states that there is a direction the municipality would like to go but also states that alteration is possible.

Case 2: WDO Delta

The levels of influence at case 2 do not correspond. The government here intends 'informing', whereas the average of 3 indicates a desired level of 'Placation'. One can conclude that there is a 'negative discrepancy' (gap), where the government offers less influence than participants desire.

Indications on the conceptual model ladder:



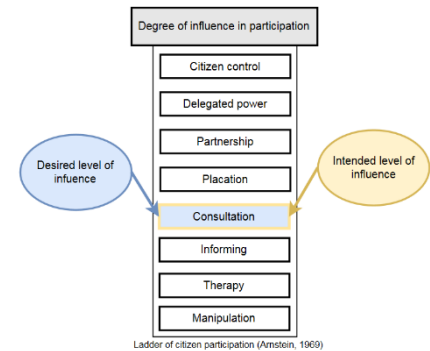
Clear, clustered reasons for choosing a particular rung cannot be identified from the questionnaire results. Commercial stakes play an important role here, reasons are functional in essence but do not cluster around certain rungs.

Reasons for the Conservancy to come to 'Informing' as the intended level of influence is primarily because of the phase in the planning process. Earlier meetings have taken place where more 'invoice' was possible. The WDO also wants to just inform people on what they are doing in the area

Case 3: De Wolden

The levels of influence at case 3 correspond. The government intends consultation, participants desire an average of 2.31, which indicates a desired level of 0.31 above 'consultation'. One can conclude that a gap cannot be observed. Desires and intentions are congruent.

Indications on the conceptual model ladder:



Reasons for choosing information originate from curiosity and provision of information. There also are quote indicating a higher level of influence but these respondents still choose 'information' as the desired rung. 'Consultation' has differing reasons. 'Partnership', 'Delegated power' and 'Citizen control' primarily have reasons which focus on the (future) user of the environment.

Reasons for the Municipality to come to 'Consultation' as the intended level depend on the chosen strategy in the planning process primarily. The input used in consecutive project team meetings where even more influence is intended. This indicates a functional motive to the specific meeting, but also shows that in this case the government has chosen a strategy where they take a step back and facilitate participation.

5.4 Conclusion

The research shows three different relations between the intended and desired level of influence, a positive, a negative and an equal relation. Interestingly, none of the average desired levels of influence reach the top three rungs. When looking at the preference for a mixed approach of government and citizen expertise, this appears to show that participants acknowledge an interdependency between them and the government. In both cases where a gap is observed, the gap does not exceed a one-rung difference. Reasons for coming to a desired level of influence (participant reasons) spread, and only minor clustering of likeminded reasons could be found. Case 2 has a distribution of chosen levels which is very different compared to case 1 and 3. Reason for this can be the observed commercial background of participants. Overall, most of the respondents opt for an approach to the spatial issue by using a mix of government and citizen knowledge. All acting governments have a strong focus on functional motives for choosing participation and the adjunct intended rung. None of the interviews mentions direct constraints by elements like time and money. The phase in the planning process seems to play an important role in the indication of an intended rung. All interviewees mentioned personal interaction as a reason for choosing the specific method called 'inloop'.

6. Reflection

6.1 Reflection on research

The results of this thesis research give an indication of how desired and intended levels of influence relate. However, having more respondents would improve the quality of the analysis. Linking questions 2 to 5 with the 'ladder question' (question 6) is possible, but distributions of the ladder per category do not provide a foundation strong enough to recommend or conclude upon. This resulted in the fact that this research largely depends on the combination of question 6 and 7 answers. Questions 2 to 5, however, can serve as extra information of possible reasons for a certain outcome and can, moreover, indicate areas for future research. It also sheds light on the perceptions of participants of a particular meeting which can be valuable to the project teams of the three researched governmental bodies.

The same goes for the averages used to come to a desired level of influence. Using an average might do no justice to the actual distribution. For example, case 1 has a share of almost 50% who indicated 'Informing' as a desired rung (level), but the average indicates 'Consultation'. Having more respondents would result in an average which will be more accurate.

Moreover, the relatively low number of respondents results in the fact that this research primarily shows many different reasons for respondents to choose a particular rung, but clustering is not always evident. Using more cases or bigger case studies could yield data so that clustering of reasons from a particular kind might be observed.

The case study approach proved to be useful in respect of this research. It was able to shed light on the context dependent nature of each case and shows its added value in exploring this academic niche. However, using this approach does pose challenges concerning case selection. In first instance, one is limited to public invitations to check in which phase in the planning process the meeting takes place. Also, as mentioned, after choosing a case (meeting), the researcher depends on the permission and willingness of the governmental body to cooperate. This last problem can be solved by attending the meeting unannounced. However, one will not be able to interview the government prior to the meeting, and one might encounter government civil servants who do not want the researcher to conduct his/her research there and at that moment. Moreover, where ideally the interviews would be conducted prior to the meeting, since invitations via newspaper (internet) announcements use a timescale of a maximum of two weeks, one has, by definition, two weeks or less to contact the governmental body in questions, arrange permission and interview the particular project member. This time period appeared to be too short to arrange the interviews prior to the start of the meeting. Interviews had to be conducted after the actual meeting, resulting in the fact that interviewees were able to reflect upon the meeting. Mind that figure 4 (Methodology track) shows that the interviews have been conducted after the meetings.

The normative, subjective and possibly unconscious aspects of participation seemed challenging to measure. When asked for why respondents arrive at a certain desired or intended level of influence by using an open question, answers had a 'hands-on' character, addressing functional or aesthetic reasons primarily. Feelings of deliberation (Beauregard, 2003), empowerment (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988) and inclusion or the disciplinary nature of participation (Boonstra, 2015) did not come forward in this research. Judging from the fact that respondents were able to fill in or speak out exactly how they feel, these judgements might have been absent or did play a role, but only very limited or even unconsciously. All in all, in light of this research, one cannot conclude clearly upon these theories.

Not part of the research design of this thesis but worthwhile to emphasize here is the hesitant attitude among some Dutch government officials which the researcher occasionally encountered during the search for data collection moments (citizen participation meetings). It felt like they were worried that the research would negatively affect their project. This became clear by quotes like 'We need time for the input of citizens, a questionnaire does not fit into our time schedule', or 'People have influence. We do not want people to think they do not have influence because of your questionnaire'. These conversations often resulted in a no-go for thesis data collection. An attitude like this could be capable of obstructing progressive moves towards an open, transparent and bottom-up government, in other words: a government operating on governance principles. Moreover, this attitude does not support visions such as the advice from the ROB (2010) report, the 'participation society' as addressed in the Dutch Kings' Speech (Rijksoverheid, 2013) and the planned implementation of the Omgevingswet in 2019 (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2015) which has a strong focus on participation and bottom-up governance.

6.2 Academic implication and societal recommendation.

In the academic field, this research is among the first to address a combination of desired and intended levels of influence concerning government-led citizen participation meetings. Findings show that cases differ in many aspects and that results, for a large extent, depend on context. Therefore, this research can serve as a starting point for further research on desired and intended levels of influence to see whether this context-dependency plays a role at more, if not all government-led citizen participation meetings.

Based on this research, it becomes clear that a large share of respondents tend to acknowledge the dependency on the local government. Despite the aspirations of the ROB (2010) report, the 'participation society' as addressed in the Dutch Kings' Speech (Rijksoverheid, 2013), the planned implementation of the Omgevingswet in 2019 (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2015) and the principles of governance in general, one should therefore take into account that citizens, at the moment, might not yet be ready or accustomed to higher levels of influence. Governance addresses the changing role of governments, not per se less presence of the government, and these case studies underline that precipitously stepping back and letting people decide on these spatial matters themselves might not always work out as expected. Moreover, the differences found between the three cases argue in favour of using a custom-made approach by the government in question for each spatial issue.

6.3 Implications for future research

First of all, this specific research cannot build on previous examples. Thus, building a better foundation to conclude upon when researching the relation between desired and intended levels of influence can be done by performing the same research but with more than three cases, or cases which have more respondents. This may be able to shed more light on underlying reasons from the citizen perspective and offer a more holistic view of public participation in this respect.

Also, this research has addressed attitudes prior to a participation meeting. Since the changes of attitude from both the citizen as well as the municipal point of view have not been researched in this thesis, one does not get an idea on what effect the actual meeting has. Future research on this subject can be seen as an extension to this research, elaborating on what the meeting itself does to pre-attained attitudes. This combination can be capable of building a foundation on which recommendations to governments can be made concerning citizen participation meetings. These recommendations have a chance of being useful in the future when looking at the ongoing change in the relation of citizens and governments and the Omgevingswet in the Dutch context (see also: introduction).

What also might also be interesting is the addressed 'hesitant' attitude, as addressed in the reflect (6.1). One can research where this attitude comes from, if it obstructs moves to governance and when this is the case: how that obstructs this move.

Finally, since respondents in this case study stand positive to previous experiences, provision of information and the clarity of room for adjustment in general, it might be interesting to research cases where either one or all of these elements are experienced less positively. In the researched cases, these positive reflections from the perspective of citizens could have resulted in low levels of friction of stakes from the actors taking part in the planning process. More 'sensitive' topics with high(er) stakes or even opposing stakes, might lead to other results. This perspective indicates an implication for future research. Here, one needs to keep in mind that a priori finding out which meetings might be more 'sensitive' or where stakes are high can be a challenge, as stakes are not always clear beforehand.

Acknowledgements:

First of all, I would like to thank Terry van Dijk and Ferry van Kann from the University of Groningen for the valuable input during supervising and coordinating my thesis research.

I would also like to thank the Municipality of Emmen, Waterschap Drents Overijsselse delta and the Municipality of De Wolden for making the respective meetings available for me to collect data from participants. The questionnaire addressed possible sensitive and confronting points which focussed on influence, but these organizations did not shy away from making data collection possible. Moreover, I would like to thank the project managers and project leaders specifically, for contributing and making available the time for the interviews.

- Gerald van der Sleen

7. Literature:

Aitken, M. (2010). Why we still don't understand the social aspects of wind power: A critique of key assumptions within the literature. *Energy Policy*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 1834-1841

Algemene Wet Bestuursrecht (1992). *BWBR000553*, consulted on 17-05-2016 via wetten.overheid.nl

Allmendinger, Ph. (2002). *Planning Theory*, Palgrave, Houndsmill (UK)

Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A Ladder Of Citizen Participation, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 216-224

Bailey, K. & Grossardt, T.H. (2006). Addressing the Arnstein Gap: Improving Public Confidence in Transportation Planning and Design through Structured Public Involvement (SPI). *Kentucky Transportation Center Faculty and Researcher Publications*. Paper 3

Baker, D. C., Sipe, N. G., Gleeson, B. J. (2006). Performance-Based Planning Perspectives from the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 396-409.

Beauregard, R.A. (2003). Democracy, storytelling, and the sustainable city in: *Story and Sustainability: Planning, Practice, and Possibility for American Cities*, Edited by: Eckstein, B. and Throgmorton, J.A. 65–77. MIT Press, Cambridge

Berry, J.M., Portney, K.E., Thomson, K. (1993). *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy*. The Brookings Institute, Washington DC

Bingham, B. L., Nabatchi, T., O'Leary, R. (2005). The New Governance: Practices and Processes for Stakeholder and Citizen Participation in the Work of Government. *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 65, No. 5, 547-558

Boonstra, B. (2015). The Challenge of Civic Initiatives in Planning. *Planning Strategies in an Age of Active Citizenship*, Vol. 23, 24-47

Castells, M. (2009). *Communication Power*. Oxford University Press, Oxford

Cavaye, J. (2004). *Governance and community engagement: The Australian experience*. In W. Lovan, M. Murray, & R. Shaffer, *Participatory governance: Planning, conflict mediation and public decision making in civil society*, 85–102. UK, Ashgate.

CBS - Centraal Bureau Statistiek – Statline (2016a). Bevolking; geslacht, leeftijd, burgerlijke staat en regio, 1 januari Consulted on 22-11-2016 at statline.cbs.nl

CBS – Centraal Bureau Statistiek – Statline (2016b). Regionale kerncijfers Nederland. Consulted on 22-11-2016 via statline.cbs.nl

Coenen, F., Peppel, R., van de, Woltjer, J (2001). De evolutie van inspraak in de Nederlandse planning. *Beleidswetenschap*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 313-332

Collins, K. & Ison, R. (2009). Jumping off Arnstein's Ladder: Social Learning as a New Policy Paradigm for Climate Change Adaptation. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, Vol.19, 358–373

Comas, K. (2001). Public Meetings About Local Waste Management Problems: Comparing Participants to Nonparticipants. *Environmental Management*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 135–147

Connor, D. M. (1988). A new ladder of citizen participation. *National Civic Review*, Vol 77. No. 3, 249-257

De Nationale Ombudsman (2009). *We gooien het de inspraak in, Een onderzoek naar de uitgangspunten voor behoorlijke burgerparticipatie*, Bureau Nationale Ombudsman, Den Haag

De Roo, G. de (2002). In weelde gevangen: van ruimtelijk paradijs naar een leefomgeving in voortdurende staat van verandering. Inaugural lecture, Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen, Groningen (NL)

De Wolder Courant (2017). Herinrichting Dorpstraat de Wijk, newspaper of 8-02-2017, page 3

Edelenbos, J. (2005). Institutional implications of interactive governance: insights from Dutch practice. *Governance*, Vol. 18, 111-134

Edelenbos, J. & R. Monnikhof (1998). Begeleiding van complexe projecten. *Stedebouw & Ruimtelijke ordening*, Vol. 1

Edelenbos, J., & Monnikhof, R. (2001). *Lokale interactieve beleidsvorming. Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar de consequenties van interactieve beleidsvorming*. Lemma, Utrecht

Edelenbos, J. & A. van Buuren (2008). *Kennis en Kunde voor Participatie. Dilemma's voor Legitimiteit in de Participatiemaatschappij*, 184-213. From: *Burger in uitvoering*, Jaarboek 2008, Amsterdam University Press

Ellis, G., Barry, J., Robinson, C. (2006). *Renewable energy and discourses of objection: towards deliberative policy making. Summary of main research findings*. Queen's University Belfast

Flinders, M. (2002). Governance in Whitehall. *Public Administration*, Vol. 80, No. 1, 51–76

Flowerdew, R. & Martin, D. (2005). *Methods in human geography: a guide for students doing a research project*. Edinburgh Gate: Pearson Education Limited.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making Social Science Matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 12(2),219-245

Fink, a. & Kosekoff, J. (1998). *How to conduct surveys: a step-by-step guide* (2nd Edition). Thousand Oaks, Sage

Forester, J. (2007). Planning in the face of power. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. Vol 40, No. 1, 67-80

Gemeentewet (1992). Gemeentewet 1992 (BWBR0005416). Consulted on 17-05-2016 via Wetten.overheid.nl

Gemeente Emmen (2010). Structuurvisie Centrum Emmer-compascuum. Consulted on 01-03-2017 via www.gemeenteraademmen.nl

Gemeente Emmen (2017). *Inloopbijeenkomst nieuwbouw Brede School en sporthal. De Brede School komt er! Sporthal erbij?* Uitnodiging (invitation) Emmer-Compascuum

Geurtz, C. & Wijdeven, T. vd. (2010). Making Citizen Participation Work: The Challenging Search for New Forms of Local Democracy in The Netherlands, *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 531-549

Gov.uk (2009). *Big Society Speech*. Consulted on 05-12-2016 via <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/>

Hayward C., Simpson L., Wood L. (2004). Still left out in the cold: problematising participatory research and development. *Sociologica Ruralis*, Vol. 44, 95–108.

Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative Planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies*. MacMillan Press LTD, Hampshire/London (UK)

- Healey, P. (1998). Building institutional capacity through collaborative approaches to urban planning. *Environment and Planning*, Vol. 30, No. 9, 1531-46
- Healey, P. (1999). Institutionalists analysis, communicative planning and shaping places. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, Vol 19, No. 2, 111-121
- Healey, P. (2010). *Making Better Places*. Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire (UK)
- Heffen, O., Kickert, W.J.M., Thomassen, J. J.A. (2000). *Governance in Modern Societies*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht
- Hendriks, F. & Tops, P.W. (1999). Between democracy and efficiency: trends in local reform in Germany and the Netherlands, *Public Administration*, Vol. 77, No. 1, 133–155.
- Hendriks, F. & Tops, P.W. (2005). Everyday fixers as local heroes: a case study of vital interaction in urban governance, *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4, 475–490.
- Hillier, J. (2007). *Stretching beyond the horizon – a multiplanar theory of spatial planning and governance*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Hampshire
- Hulbert, M. & Gupta, J. (2015). The split ladder of participation: A diagnostic, strategic, and evaluation tool to assess when participation is necessary, *Environmental Science and Policy*, Vol. 50, 100-113
- Innes, J.E. (1998) Information in Communicative Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 64, No. 1, 52-63,
- Innes, J.E. & Booher, D.E. (1999a). Consensus building and complex adaptive systems. A framework for evaluating collaborative planning. *American Planning Association Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 4, 412-423
- Innes, J.E. & Booher, D.E. (1999b). Consensus building as role playing and bricolage. Towards theory and collaborative planning. *American Planning Association Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 1, 9-26
- Innes, J.E. & Booher, D.E. (2004). Reframing public participation: strategies for the 21st century, *Planning Theory & Practice*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 419-436
- Kooiman, J. & Van Vliet, M. (1993). *Governance and Public Management. Managing Public Organisations (2nd edition)*, Sage, London
- Kooiman, J. (1993). *Modern Governance: New Government-Society Interactions*, CA: Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks
- Klijn, E-H. & Koppenjan, J.F.M. (2000). *Interactive decision making and representative democracy: institutional collisions and solutions*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, 109-134
- Krouse, R. W. (1982). Two concepts of democratic representation: James and John Stuart Mill. *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 509-537.
- Lenos, S., Sturm, P., Vis, R. (2006). *Burgerparticipatie in gemeenteland. Quick scan van 34 coalitieakkoorden en raadsprogramma's voor de periode 2006 – 2010*. Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek, Amsterdam
- Lowndes, V., Pratchett, L., Stoker, G. (2001a). Trends in public participation part 1 – local government perspectives, *Public Administration*, Vol. 79, No. 1, 205–222.
- Lowndes, V., Pratchett, L., Stoker, G. (2001b). Trends in public participation part 2 – citizens perspectives, *Public Administration*, Vol. 79, No. 2, 445-455

- Luyet, V., Schlaepfer, R., Parlange, M.B., Buttler, A. (2012). A framework to implement Stakeholder participation in environmental projects. *Journal of Environmental Management*, Vol. 11, 213-219
- Lynn, L. E., & Ingraham, P.W. (2004). Governance and Public Management: A Symposium. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 3-96.
- March, J.G. & Olsen, J.P. (1989). *Rediscovering Institutions, The Organisational Basis of Politics*, New York
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1995). *Democratic Governance*. Free Press, New York
- Maier, K. (2001). Citizen Participation in Planning: Climbing a Ladder? *European Planning Studies*, Vol 9, No. 6, 707-719
- Google Maps (2017). Maps per case, consulted on 03-03-2017 via www.maps.google.nl
- Mayer, I., Edelenbos, J. (2005). Interactive policy development: undermining or sustaining democracy? *Public Administration*, Vol. 83, 179-199.
- McClusky, M.R., Deshpande, S., Shah, D.V., Dc Leod, D.M., (2004). The efficacy gap and political participation: when political influence fails to meet expectations. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, Vol 16. No. 4.
- McLafferty, S. L. (2010). *Conducting Questionnaire Surveys*. In Clifford, N., French, S. & Valentine, G. , *Key Methods in Geography*, 77-88. London, Sage Publications Ltd.
- Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu (2015). Omgevingswet: Samenhang, Participatie en vertrouwen. Den Haag
- Norris, P. (1999). *Critical Citizens, Global Support for Democratic Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Onibokun, A.G. & Curry, M. (1976). An Ideology of Citizen Participation: The Metropolitan Seattle Transit Case Study. *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 269-277
- O'Leary, Z. (2004). *The essential guide to doing research*. Sage, London
- O'Leary, Z. (2013). *The essential guide to doing your research project*. Sage, London
- Oude Vrielink, M. & Wijdeven, T. (2013). Meedoen met de overheid? Over de stille beleidspraktijk van de doe-democratie. *Bestuurskunde*, Vol 22, No. 2, 13-22
- Parfitt, J. (2005). *Questionnaire design and sampling*. In: R. Flowerdew & D. Martin (red) *Methods in Human Geography*. Essex: Pearson Prentice Hall, hfst 6.
- Pateman, C. (1970). *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone, The collapse and revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster, New York
- Peters, B. G. (1996). *The Future of Governing: Four Emerging Models*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Pharr, S.J. & Putnam, R.D. (2000). *Disaffected Democracies? What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton University Press, Princeton
- Pröpfer, I. & Steenbeek, D. (2001). *De aanpak van interactief beleid: elke situatie is anders*. Coutinho, Bussum
- Purcell, M. (2003). 'Citizenship and the Right to the Global City: Reimagining the Capitalist World Order', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 564-590.

- Putnam, R.D. (2000). *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon & Schuster, New York
- ROB - Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur (2010). *Vertrouwen op democratie*, Den Haag
- Regalado, J. (1988). *Latino representation in Los Angeles*, Latino empowerment, Greenwood Press, New York
- Rhodes, R. A. (1996). The new governance, governing without government, *Political Studies*, Vol. 44, 652–667
- Rhodes, R. A. (1997). *Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity, and Accountability*. Open University Press, Buckingham
- Rüdiger, J. K., Wurzel, W., Zito, A. (2005). The Rise of ‘New’ Policy Instruments in Comparative Perspective: Has Governance Eclipsed Government? *Political studies*, Vol. 53, 477-496
- Roberts, N. (2004). Public deliberation in an age of direct citizen participation. *American Review of Public Administration*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 315-353
- Rod, J. (2011). *Social Consent for Large Onshore Wind Energy Projects*. A Thesis in the Field of Sustainability and Environmental Management for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts, Harvard University
- Rogers, J.C., Simmons, E.A., Convery, I., Weatherall, A. (2008). Public perceptions of opportunities for community-based renewable energy projects. *Energy Policy*, Vol. 36, 4217–4226
- Rosenau, J. N. & Czempiel, E. (1992). *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Ruth, M. & Franklin, S. R. (2014). Livability for all? Conceptual limits and practical implications. *Applied Geography*, Vol. 49, 18-13
- Rijksoverheid (2013). *Prinsjesdag Speech of 2013 by King Willem-Alexander, 20-09-2013*. Consulted on 08-11-2016 via www.rijksoverheid.nl
- Rijksoverheid (2015). *Kamerstuk 33962 nr. E. Regels over het beschermen en benutten van de fysieke leefomgeving (Omgevingswet) – Memorie van antwoord*. Consulted on 23-11-2016 via overheid.nl
- Schaap, L. & Van Twist, M. (1997). *The dynamics of closedness in policy networks*. In: W. Kickert, E. Klijn, & J. Koppenjan (eds.), *Managing complex networks*, Sage, London
- Stoker, G. (1998). Governance as a theory: five propositions. *International Social Science Journal*. Vol. 155, 17-28
- Sorenson, E. & Torfing, J. (2007). *Theories of democratic network governance*. Palgrave McMillan, New York
- Tritter, J.Q. & McCallum A. (2006). The snakes and ladders of user involvement: moving beyond Arnstein. *Health Policy*, Vol. 76, 156–168.
- Van Dijk, T. & Ubels, H. (2016). How Dutch professionals conduct interactive design sessions to foster ‘shared understanding’, *Environment and Planning B*, Vol 43, No. 3, 464 – 479
- Warner, B. E. (2001). John Stuart Mill’s theory of bureaucracy within representative government: Balancing competence and participation. *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 61, No. 4, 403-413
- WDO Delta (Waterschap Drents Overijsselse delta)(2017). Inloopbijeenkomst Marswetering: betere wateraan- en afvoer, natuurvriendelijke oevers en ‘vispasseerbare’ stuwen. Consulted on 02-02-2017 via www.wdodelta.nl
- Wijdeven, van de T., de Graaf, M. F., Hendriks, L. J. (2013). *Actief burgerschap: Lijnen in de literatuur*. Tilburgse School voor Politiek en Bestuur

Wilde, R.C. de & Nistelrooij, A. van (2010). Voorbij burgerparticipatie. *Openbaar bestuur*, 29-31

Wolsink, M.(2000). Wind power and the NIMBY-myth: institutional capacity and the limited significance of public support. *Renewable Energy*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 49-64

Wright, A. (2012). A Voice for the Community: Public Participation in Wind Energy Development. *Dalhousie Journal of Interdisciplinary Management*, Vol. 8, 1-17

Zimmerman, M.A. & Rappaport, J. (1988). Citizen Participation, Perceived Control, and Psychological Empowerment. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 16, No. 5

8. Appendix:

8.1 Research instrument 1: Citizen expectations

Vragenlijst burgerbijeenkomst:

Beste heer / mevrouw, mijn naam is Gerald van der Sleen, student aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen en ik doe een onderzoek naar de wensen van burgers bij een burgeravond. Hieronder volgen een aantal vragen, het invullen kost ongeveer 5 minuten. De uitkomsten zullen gebruikt worden voor mijn onderzoek aan de universiteit. Deelname aan deze enquête is **anoniem** en op geheel **vrijblijvende basis**.



Kruis aan wat voor u het meeste van toepassing is bij de volgende vraag. Er zijn **meerdere antwoorden mogelijk**:

1. Ik ben hier vandaag aanwezig omdat ik...
 - het een goed idee vind en er een aandeel in wil hebben
 - ontwikkelingen wil tegen gaan omdat ik er zelf last van zal hebben
 - vind het algehele idee onjuist en slecht voor alle burgers
 - informatie wil krijgen over het plan en de ontwikkelingen
 - het een slecht plan vind maar het plan positief wil beïnvloeden
 - meer invloed wil hebben op mijn omgeving
 - twijfel aan de expertise en kennis van de Gemeente/Waterschap/Provincie
 - vind dat je als burger gebruik moet maken van wat de overheid je biedt
 - gezelligheid / sociaal contact zoek
 - Anders namelijk:

Kruis aan wat voor u het meeste van toepassing is bij de volgende vragen. Er is steeds maar **1 antwoord mogelijk**:

2. Mijn ervaringen met meedoen/meedenken tijdens burgerbijeenkomsten in de Gemeente zijn:
 - Zeer goed
 - Goed
 - Neutraal
 - Slecht
 - Zeer slecht
 - Ik heb geen ervaringen met burger participatie in deze Gemeente/Waterschap/Provincie

Zie andere kant voor de rest van de vragenlijst.....

3. De ruimte die ik bij deze bijeenkomst krijg voor veranderingen in het plan is voor mij:
- Zeer duidelijk
 - Duidelijk
 - Neutraal
 - Onuidentijk
 - Zeer onduidentijk
4. Ik heb voor deze bijeenkomst van de Gemeente/Waterschap/Provincie:
- Genoeg, op tijd en goede informatie gekregen
 - Neutraal, niet tevreden maar ook niet niet ontevreden over beschikbaar gestelde informatie
 - Te weinig, te laat en te slechte informatie gekregen
5. Ik vind dat over het onderwerp vanavond:
- De Gemeente/Waterschap/Provincie moet bepalen. Zij hebben namelijk kennis en expertise in huis
 - De burger en zijn ideeën het belangrijkste moeten zijn, de burger weet het best wat er speelt
 - Een mix van Gemeente/Waterschap/Provincie en burger-kennis moet zijn. Gemeente/Waterschap/Provincie en burger vullen elkaar aan
6. Met betrekking tot de bijeenkomst van vandaag, hoeveel invloed zou u graag willen? Er is maar **1 antwoord mogelijk**.
- Ik zou graag informatie willen ontvangen van de gemeente
 - Ik wil alleen advies geven
 - Ik wil een positie waar ik mee mag plannen en beslissen
 - Ik wil op gelijke voet kunnen onderhandelen met Gemeente/Waterschap/Provincie (50/50)
 - Ik wil een hogere beslismacht hebben dan de gemeente
 - Ik wil (samen met andere burgers) compleet de baas zijn over het te nemen besluit
 - Dat maakt mij niet uit
 - Dat weet ik niet
7. Waarom heeft u voor het antwoord hierboven bij vraag 6 gekozen? U mag de vorige vragen als hulpmiddel gebruiken.

Hartelijk dank voor uw medewerking aan mijn onderzoek! Ik kom de vragenlijst bij u ophalen. Mocht u vragen hebben dan kunt u mij bereiken via e-mail: geraldvandersleen@gmail.com

Interview Guide Participatie**Introductie:**

Goedendag. Allereerst wil ik u bedanken voor uw medewerking aan mijn onderzoek. Mijn naam is Gerald van der Sleen en ik schrijf mijn afstudeer-onderzoek over hoe bedoelde invloed vanuit de overheid en gewenste invloed vanuit de burger tijdens participatie-momenten zich van elkaar weerhouden en wat hieraan ten grondslag ligt. Dit onderzoek is voor mijn master-studie Sociale Planologie aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. U kunt aan dit onderzoek bijdragen doordat het een beter beeld kan schetsen van hoe u vanuit uw perspectief naar het participatiemoment kijkt en welke rol invloed hierbij heeft.

Ik wil u graag om toestemming vragen voor het opnemen van het interview. Het opnamebestand zal enkel dienen als hulpmiddel bij de verwerking van het interview en zal, wanneer gewenst, aan u verstrekt worden.

Ik wil u graag van te voren op een aantal punten attenderen:

- U kunt zichzelf ten alle tijden onttrekken aan het onderzoek
- U kunt ten alle tijden uw vragen kenbaar maken, welke ik zo snel mogelijk van antwoorden zal voorzien
- Er zal zorgvuldig en vertrouwelijk met uw antwoorden worden omgegaan en de uitkomsten zullen voorafgaand aan het opleveren aan u beschikbaar gesteld worden

Als u er klaar voor bent dan stel ik voor om te beginnen en start ik de opname.

Achtergrond informatie:

1. Welke rol vervult u binnen de (...Overheidsorganisatie...)?
2. Hoe staat u tegenover burgerparticipatie in het algemeen? Kansen/beperkingen?
3. Wat is uw rol met betrekking de participatie bijeenkomst?
4. Heeft u ervaring met participatie? Zo ja, welke vormen heeft u mee gewerkt? Heeft uw ervaring de keuze tot deze vorm (inloop/informatiebijeenkomst etc) van participatie beïnvloed?

Sleutel-vragen:

5. Hoe kenmerkt u de participatievorm die wij vandaag bespreken?
6. Hoe kenmerkt u uw rol als (Gemeente/Waterschap) tijdens het participatiemoment?
7. Hoe kenmerkt u de rol van de burger tijdens het participatiemoment?
8. Waar in het proces van planning vond het moment van participatie plaats? Waren er kaders waarin ruimte was voor aanpassingen aan het plan/beleid?
9. Hoe is er met de burgers gecommuniceerd voorafgaand aan het participatiemoment? Wat is er gecommuniceerd (uitnodiging)? Zijn er kaders (vraag 8) (duidelijk) gecommuniceerd aan participanten?

10. Wat zijn de redenen om voor deze participatievorm te kiezen?

Probe:

- Toegemoet komen burgers
- Samenleving met Gemeente binden?
- Er was sprake van wettelijk verplichte inspraak
- Aanboren lokale expertise
- Zorgen voor (meer) draagvlak

11. Zijn er belemmeringen geweest die geleid hebben tot het kiezen van deze participatievorm?

Probe:

- Geld
- Tijd
- Expertise
- Kaders beleid
- Anders...

12. Wat doet u met de inbreng van burgers uit de participatie bijeenkomst?

13. Waar zou u het participatiemoment plaatsen op de ladder van Arnstein en waarom? U kunt ook kiezen voor een indicatie tussen twee ladders in.

1. Citizen control	Besluitvorming ligt bij de burger.
2. Delegated power	Voor een bepaald project hebben burgers een dominante positie
3. Partnership	Onderhandelen met de burger. Macht wordt verdeeld
4. Placation	Burgers nemen een zetel in planvorming/besluit. De gemeente bepaald of het advies wel legitiem en uitvoerbaar is
5. Consultation	Advies vragen – wat er mee gedaan wordt is niet zeker
6. Informing	Informatie geven / inlichten
7. Therapy	Burgers laten denken naar ideeën en maatstaf van de gemeente
8. Manipulation	Burgers laten denken dat zij invloed hebben waar ze het in feite niet hebben

Bedanken. Nogmaals wijzen op de punten uit de introductie. Aangeven hoe hij/zij op de hoogte gebracht zal worden en hoe hij/zij vragen kan stellen.

8.3 Research instrument 1: Questionnaires (English)

Questionnaire meeting:

Dear sir / madame. My name is Gerald van der Sleen. I am a student at the University of Groningen en I am researching desires of citizens at a participation meeting. Beneath you will find several questions which will take about 5 minutes to answer. The results will be used for my thesis research. Taking part is **anonymous** and **voluntary**.



Check the box(es) which correspond with your reason(s) to participate. It is possible to fill in more than one answer.

1. Today, I participate because ...
- I think it is a good idea and I want to be a part of it
 - I want to stop development because I will be affected by it personally
 - I think the whole idea is not right for all citizens
 - I would like to let myself be informed
 - I think it is a bad plan and I want to possitively change it
 - I would like to have more influence concerning my environment
 - I doubt the expertise of the government
 - I think one should make use of participation when offered by the government
 - Company, social interaction
 - Other,...

Check the box which corresponds with your opinion. Only one answer is possible:

2. My experiences with participating during participation meetings are:
- Very good
 - Good
 - Neutral
 - Bad
 - Very bad
 - I do not have experiences in this government

Please turn over the page.....

3. The room for adjustment of the plan is...
- Very clear to me
 - Clear to me
 - Neutral
 - Unclear to me
 - Very unclear to me
4. For this meeting I have gotten...
- Sufficient, timely and good information
 - Neutral, not positive not negative towards the offered information
 - Too less, too late and too bad information
5. I think today's subject is a subject which needs a focus by:
- The government. They have the knowledge and expertise
 - The citizens. They know what is happening at a certain place.
 - A mix of government and citizen expertise who complement each other
6. Concerning today's meeting, what level of influence would you like to have? **Only one answer is possible.**
- I want to be offered information
 - I want to give advice
 - I want a position where I can plan and decide together with the government
 - I want to negotiate with the government on an equal base (50/50)
 - I want to have more decisional power than the government has
 - I (together with other citizens) want full and complete responsibility for the project
 - That does not matter to me
 - I do not know
7. Why did you choose for this level at question 6? You can use the other questions to help you answer this question.

Thank you for your cooperations! I will collect the questionnaire for you. In case you have any questions, please feel free to ask me directly or e-mail me via: geraldvandersleen@gmail.com

Interview Participation

Hello. To begin, I would like to thank you for contributing to this research. My name is Gerald van der Sleen and I am writing my graduation-thesis on how the intended level of influence from the government perspective and the desired level of influence from the citizen perspective relate at participation meetings, and what elements are at play here. This interview will shed light on the intended level of influence from the government perspective.

I would like to ask your permission to record this interview. The footage will be used for analysis purposes only and can be send to you when desired. I would also like to ask you if you have any objection towards the use of your name in the final report.

I would like to remind you of three points:

- You can always stop and refrain from this interview
- You can be informed of research results
- You can ask questions at any time. The questions will be answered as soon as possible.

When you are ready, I would like to start the interview and start recording.

1. What is your name and what kind of work do you do for the (...governmental body...)
 2. What is your attitude concerning participation in general? Opportunities/constraints?
 3. What is your role concerning the actual participation meeting?
 4. Do you have experience with participation? If so, which forms of participation did you work with? Do you have experience with the method used in the meeting we talk about?
-
5. How would you describe the method of participation adressed in this interview?
 6. How would you describe your role as municipality in the meeting?
 7. How would you describe the role of the citizen in the meeting?
 8. Where in the planning proces takes the participation meeting place? Are there policy boundaries in which there was room for adjustment?
 9. How do you describe the communication with citizens before the meeting? What has been communicated? Are the policy boundaries (question 8) that have been communicated to citizens?

10. What reason led to this method of participation?

Interview aid:

- *Moving towards the citizens*
- *Connecting government and society*
- *Participation was obligatory (legislative)*
- *Use of local knowledge*
- *Getting more people on your side*

11. Are there any constraints which led you to choose this method ?

Interview aid:

- *Money*
- *Time*
- *Expertise*
- *Policy boundaries*
- *Other*

12. What is done with input from citizens?

13. If you have to choose a level of influence from the Ladder of Citizen Participation (by Arnstein, 1969), what level would you choose and why? You can also choose to indicate a level between two rungs.

1. Citizen control	Decisional power for the citizens
2. Delegated power	Dominant position in a certain planning issue
3. Partnership	Negotiation with the citizen on an equal base
4. Placation	Citizens take a seat in plan and decision-making. The municipality judges the feasibility and legitimacy of the input.
5. Consultation	Advice, it is not sure what is going to be done with it
6. Informing	Informing, offering information
7. Therapy	Letting citizens think the way the municipality would like them to think
8. Manipulation	Make citizens think they have influence when in fact they have not

Thanks. Point towards the three points from the introduction. Communicate how one is being informed of the research results and how I can be reached for questions.

