# Citizen participation

Analysing expectations and intentions during the participatory process of an urban regeneration project in Potsdam, Germany

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COLOPHON

Title	Citizen participation: Analysing expectations and intentions during the participatory process of an urban regeneration project in Potsdam, Germany
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ABSTRACT

Involving local stakeholders in decision-making processes is thought to represent interests more evenly, increasing the overall legitimacy of a policy process and potentially even empowering citizens. Opposing views have been criticising participation's limited impact, as well as the creation of power differences and exclusion of marginal groups. This study aims to shed light on this polarisation. Specifically, it investigates how planners' intentions and participants' expectations develop and how they are met in reality. A qualitative single case-study analysis of a participation process during an urban regeneration process in Potsdam, Germany, was carried out. The chosen case is of relevance as it is seen as a showcase project. Analysing planning documents (n=6) provided data regarding planners' intentions, whereas semi-structured interviews (n=8) provided more personal insights into the planners' intentions, as well as the citizens' expectations. Results obtained highlight that residents' expectations were limited, possibly due to high initial opposition. The planners aimed for the project to progress as quickly as possible while simultaneously increasing people's acceptance. This was only met to some extent, as acceptance only slowly increased and conflict and delay were not avoided. The findings suggest that full empowerment of the citizens was not achieved and that it remains questionable if citizens should receive full power over a project. When participation and initiative are low, top-down planning ensures that the place is regenerated to its fullest potential. Citizens should nevertheless be given the opportunity to voice their opinion.

Key words:
Participation, Collaborative Planning, Polarisation, Urban Regeneration, Single case-study, Germany, Top-down planning, Power differences

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EUKN – European Urban Knowledge Network
FAQ – Frequently asked questions
LHP – Landeshauptstadt Potsdam (City of Potsdam)

German terms:
BürgerAktiv – citizen initiative group
Bürgervertretung – group of citizen representatives
Drewitzer – Residents of Drewitz

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE RISE OF PARTICIPATION

Urban regeneration is of great importance nowadays. Many European cities have recognised its relevance over the past decades (Carpenter, 2010, pg. 83) as urbanisation is increasing and thus the fabric of old urban areas needs to be renewed (Zheng et al., 2014). Citizen participation has been on the rise in these regeneration projects (Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016). This is linked to a gradual move from government to governance, referring to the increasing involvement of private and semi-private actors in "institutional arrangements to regenerate disadvantaged urban areas" (Ibid., pg. 56). Governance is thus becoming more inclusive as the traditional, top-down forms of government are thought to diffuse (Höflehner & Zimmerman, 2018). Regarding the topic of citizen participation a polarisation becomes visible in the planning doctrine, where on one hand scholars and practitioners glorify participation due to its empowering abilities, whereas on the other hand some speak of a tyranny as it is seen as being superior to a more top-down planning approach, while its drawbacks are often downplayed or not acknowledged (e.g. Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010; Pollock & Sharp, 2012). This identified issue creates tension and increases complexity.

Prior to the 1970s, technical rationale was the preferred planning method (van Dijk, 2021). However, aggravating problems lead to distrust (Ibid.). In response participation slowly became an important aspect in many governance processes (Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004), for which there are many reasons. It became apparent that public authorities are unable to provide sustainable development without the commitment and knowledge of the locals (Ibid.). Further, due to a paradigm shift towards more participatory democracy (Healey, 1996), input was asked for to meet the people's wishes (Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004). This input was also thought to improve bureaucratic accountability (Rock, 2018). Participation and related power differences gained attention in the scientific domain through the introduction of Arnstein's famous 'Ladder of citizen participation'. Nowadays public participation is often seen as means to deliver policies effectively through consensus building. Having more local stakeholders involved is assumed to represent interests more evenly (Rydin & Pennington, 2000), increasing the overall legitimacy of a policy process (Willems et al., 2020). Educational benefits for planners by making use of citizens' local knowledge are thought to exist (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). Further, it is suggested that conflicts can be avoided by mapping interests at early stages of the project (Rydin & Pennington, 2000).

Participation has been increasing over the years and became more relevant, and because of its many dimensions also more complex. However, it also faces criticism, especially regarding its effectiveness. Amongst others, the outcome is dependent on how the process is organised (Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016). For instance in Germany, governmental authorities are struggling more and more with providing satisfactory policy making, often linked to the as inefficient and inflexible described administration (Kersting & Schneider, 2016). On top, participation processes carried out by administration there are thought to face further hindrances related to indebtedness and people's scepticism regarding political institutions (Ibid.). The perceived lack of impact draws further general criticism. Effective results on the policy process are seen to be rather limited, as it is thought that an individual's voice will only have very little impact (Rydin and Pennington, 2000). Furthermore, power differences are created through participatory measures, especially between the residents. Minorities are often less represented and more knowledgeable residents are being favoured (Jones, 2003). This

form of exclusion (Ibid.) also becomes present when considering the larger scale. Scholars are of the opinion that ultimately the discourse remains at state-level (Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010), and that the public only gets to have a minor say in already pre-determined outcomes (Sharp & Connelly, 2002). This results in not just power differences between residents, but also other actors who are involved in the process of participation in urban regeneration, ranging from governmental authorities, over to civil societies, neighbourhood groups and in the end user residents (e.g. Mohan & Stokke, 2000; Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016). Especially the planning authorities can be seen as the more powerful actors as they are following pre-defined issues, thought to suppress people's real interests in participation processes (Lukes, 2005). Further, by calling citizen participation "top-down government induced engagement" (Tonkens & Verhoeven, 2019, pg. 1596), people are considered to never be autonomous in their behaviour (O'Hare, 2018).

The aforementioned polarisation becomes visible when comparing the benefits of participation with its drawbacks. To overcome this conflict proposed solutions reach from promoting mutual respect and transparency to deal with internal conflict (Maginn, 2007), over self-organisation to empower citizens (Ferilli et al., 2016), to focusing on the actual planning issue and what is being done in order to achieve the best possible planning outcome (Leino & Laine, 2012; Flyvbjerg, 2003).

1.2 A NEED TO ADDRESS THE WIDER PICTURE OF PARTICIPATION

The discussed issues become visible as research gaps, indicated by the following sources. Jones (2003) criticises a localised focus on participation in urban regeneration programs and suggests future researchers to look into the impacts of the wider 'extra-community' and even on macro-level factors linked to new urban politics. On a similar note, Hoekstra and Dahlvik (2018) highlight the limits of participatory area-based policies, as according to them problems on the larger scale get ignored. They propose more research into the fields of larger-scale relational inequalities and the power differences in participation which could be established due to different ethnic backgrounds. Yang and Pandey (2011) suggest the acquisition of further insights regarding the personal outcome of participation for individual stakeholders, in order to obtain a more complete picture of citizen participation. Silverman et al. (2008, pg. 90) conclude their research on the role of citizen participation in a neighbourhood's revitalisation with the question: "Is the citizen participation cup half full or half empty?". The uncertainty regarding the polarisation of inclusive measures should be addressed, which could give the floor to new approaches, while keeping participation approaches' limits in mind (Brownill et al., 2002).

The answers to those identified research gaps will bring the scientific analysis of participation in urban studies further. This is achieved by theoretically linking insights from literature from all institutional levels and different planning practices (e.g. urban policy, neighbourhood participation, urban regeneration). Furthermore, it is of interest for the planning doctrine to obtain more insights into present polarisation, as a divergence regarding the process draws attention away from the real challenge – future-proofing places. Apart from scientific relevance this research is also of societal relevance. All neighbourhoods around the world eventually have to face regeneration to deal with contemporary and future challenges. It is up to the planners to make this process as successful as possible by bridging the gap between system- and lifeworld to provide a liveable environment where the residents' needs are taken into account (van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016). Further ambitions are related to actively addressing social dilemmas caused by participatory planning through an inclusive dialogue (Ferilli et al., 2016). Nevertheless, an analysis of how citizens are included should

not eclipse the original goal of the environmental improvement, namely striving to tap an area's full potential (van Dijk, 2021). The criticism of participation is addressed to find present insights into how, for instance, power imbalances could be dealt with. On the institutional side planners and planning authorities are presented with theoretical insights into how to structure participative processes and to what extent to make use of citizen inclusion, which could result in a more accepted and future-proof outcome.

The aim of the research is therefore to obtain insights into the complexities and dilemmas on participation processes in urban regeneration projects. This is achieved by investigating how planners' intentions and participants' expectations develop and how they are met in reality. Important aspects, methods, and approaches are presented, highlighting how and to what extent participation can be employed. Ideally, the results produced can be applied to places where planners and policy makers want to opt for a more optimum revitalisation of a neighbourhood by consulting citizens. This would transform urban regeneration into a collective interest, rather than just a sum of individual interests (Hummel, 2014), resulting in planning with the people, rather than just for them. To understand how the theory functions in real practice the case of Drewitz, a neighbourhood regeneration project in Potsdam, Germany is used. This further adds to the academic relevance of this thesis as it addresses a new spatial area.

The aforementioned aim leads to the following primary research question:

> *What are the differences between the expectations of the citizens and intentions of planners in regards to participation in urban regeneration projects?*

Secondary research question address participation in urban regeneration in more detail and thus help to answer the main research question.

1. *What do citizens expect when being included in participation processes?*

This question sheds light on with what aims and expectations the locals participate. Semi-structured interviews of residents are conducted to provide personal insights into their emotions and opinions.

2. *How are these expectations met during the participation process?*

By researching how the expectations are met during the process, insights into how planners deal with the expectations are obtained, as well as how locals react to the planning experts. These results are also collected by interviewing residents who have participated in the process.

3. *What intentions regarding participation are articulated by planners?*

To answer this question planning documents are analysed. To gather more personal results planners are interviewed. These insights help to discover why planners decide to (not) include citizens, how they are included and who is consulted.

4. *How do these intentions play out reality?*

Lastly, this question helps to understand in what ways the intentions set prior to the process take shape in reality and is answered by analysing documents and interviewing planners. By doing so, discrepancies become apparent, not just regarding the intentions, but also in relation to the locals' expectations. Answers to these questions are discussed in Chapter 5 and discussed in relation to theoretical insights in Chapter 6.

1.3 READING GUIDE

In the following chapter theoretical insights are elaborated on, finishing off with a conceptual framework, summarising the main findings. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology, highlighting the research design and method, as well as the process of data collection and analysis. Ethical considerations are discussed. The case gets introduced in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the research, followed by a discussion in Chapter 6. There, answers to the sub-research question and a final conclusion are provided. Concluding remarks are made with a discussion of practical and theoretical implications of the findings and a reflection on the research.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The vast amount of literature shows that participation in the context of urban regeneration is a widely researched topic. In the academic world the action of including citizens in decision-making processes is known under many different terms. The most frequent ones that were noted during the literature review are discussed and defined in Section 2.1, where also a short summary of urban regeneration is presented. This is followed by a characterisation of participation in Section 2.2. In Section 2.3 critique on inclusion of citizens (in urban regeneration) is provided. From the literature review it became apparent that participation can be viewed on three institutional levels, discussed in Chapter 2.3. The aforementioned discussed insights are then used to reflect on the critique regarding the process itself, as well as the polarisation presented in planning theory. Possible solutions to deal with the issues are presented in Section 2.5 and lastly the theoretical findings are summarised in a conceptual framework in Section 2.6.

2.1 DEFINING CONCEPTS

2.1.1 URBAN REGENERATION

Similar terms, such as urban renewal, urban regeneration or urban redevelopment, are used in the context of improving urban environments (Zheng et al., 2014). This research focuses on urban regeneration, using it as a means to explore how participation is dealt with in practice. It is therefore relevant to briefly introduce the current status of citizen inclusion in urban regeneration projects. Over the past years it has gained importance in European urban policies (Saaty & De Paola, 2017). The concept refers to "comprehensive integration of vision and action" (Ibid., pg. 272) with the aim of improving economic and social, but also physical environmental conditions of underprivileged neighbourhoods (Ercan, 2011).

Many stakeholders are involved in urban regeneration. This is illustrated in Figure 1. On the side of the government local, state and national actors have a say. The private sector is made up of developers and investors. The public is of importance as they are affected by the renewal (Zheng et al., 2014). Planners are involved as well, but the government is the most important actor (Ibid.). Nevertheless, local residents are the end users and thus ultimate stakeholders. Therefore, leaving out the locals in decision-making processes seems impossible (Ibid.).

Unlike greenfield development, during urban regeneration the existing residents, businesses and land-use have to be taken into account during planning. This requires clear commitment from the community and authorities (Lehmann, 2019, pg. 18) to make efficient use of the available resources (Alpopi & Manole, 2013) and to reach a common ground among the diverse interests. To integrate changes into the already existing urban fabric knowledge and expertise from other disciplines are required (Lehmann, 2019, pg. 47).

A further reason to include participation in urban regeneration projects are legal requirements and increasingly assertive residents. National policies made by the national government often legally require the inclusion of participation in projects, sometimes related to the receiving of funds (Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016). A German national law makes public consultation in development projects binding (EUKN, n.d.). Nowadays many citizens expect to have a say in decision-making,

linked back to the right-to-the-city movement and a quest for more democratic processes since the 1970s (van Dijk, 2021). Participation and cooperation are thus considered to be necessities to promote sustainable development (Fordham, 1993), as only then these complex tasks can be dealt with (Alpopi & Manole, 2013).

Harris (2020) notes that in order to meet the needs of local residents all point of views have to be taken into account, thus minorities' interests, as well as the concerns of the local 'elite'. Further, the local demography has to be understood. Rock's (2018) research focuses on citizen participation in rural Ohio, but her theoretical insights can also be applied to urban settings. She states that through an understanding of the demography participation methods can be targeted to increase involvement. Others, however, argue that public management structures provide more insights into predicting the success of participatory approaches (Yang & Pandey, 2011). This difference could be explained by the different research methodologies. While Rock carried out a case study analysis, Yang and Pandey's insights rested upon a statistical analysis of a national survey.
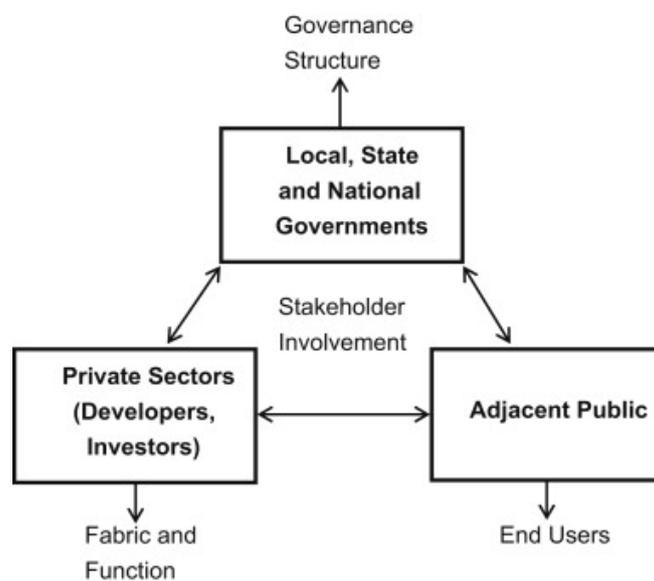
FIGURE 1 – STAKEHOLDER INVOLVEMENT IN URBAN REGENERATION (ZHENG ET AL., 2014)

2.1.1 INCLUSION OF CITIZENS

To obtain further understanding into citizen inclusion it is important to discuss different concepts and definitions of citizen inclusion, done in the following section. This helps to understand power dimensions, individuals' interests and means to voice their opinion. These insights are important to discern between the authorities' 'genuine' interest of improving places in an inclusive manner and participation formats carried out as a mere pretence.

Oftentimes differentiations are made between levels of citizen consultation, possibly based on the original "Ladder of citizen participation" introduced by Arnstein in 1969. The following section sheds light on these differentiations by clearly separating the levels through sub-headings. This helps to show that oftentimes differentiations are made in *theory* and thus these slight nuances are presented. However, it has to be kept in mind that in *reality* these levels are often overlapping as it remains

difficult to separate them completely. Figure 4 addresses this complexity by representing the relationship between the different concepts of citizen consultation visually.

PARTICIPATION

The definition of participation is often unclear (e.g. Flüeler et al., 2007; Krütli et al., 2006). Especially regarding the kinds of stakeholders involved, the amount of power each receives, defining the final end-product of the participation process and the techniques applied diverging understandings exist (Stauffacher et al., 2008). Quick and Feldman (2011), when distinguishing between participation and inclusion, see participation as increasing input on decision-making from the public during projects and policy implementation. Theoretically, it is a process accessible to all, where input is collected (Ibid.). The shortcomings of this are discussed in Chapter 2.3.

In planning processes the broad concept of 'participation' is used frequently (Rydin & Pennington, 2000). Advocates of participation argue that it gives residents the opportunity to work towards reaching consensus (Ibid.), it increases social cohesion and strengthens democracy by providing a better environmental outcome collaboratively (Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010). On the notion of achieving sustainable urban environmental quality, van Stigt et al. (2017, pg. 202) argue that an "integrated, participative and adaptive" approach to urban planning is needed. Combining insights from several scholars Teernstra and Pinkster (2016) list four benefits of including residents in local decision-making processes. First, policy makers can obtain local knowledge. Second, inclusion demonstrates 'good governance' and democratic policy making. Third, legitimacy of the plan increases if residents support it, facilitating the implementation of policies. Lastly, national laws require a certain minimum of inclusion of citizens for the pay-out of funds. However, from a critical point of view it could be interpreted that these aspects only seem to benefit the authority, as citizens' input is used to approve decision-making, rather than trying to strengthen the local community. In research on urban regeneration the definition of participation is also discussed (Jones, 2003), receiving further criticism. 'Functional' participation is seen as the most dominant type. It refers to the rather self-interested way of including residents to "achieve predetermined 'external' project objectives" (Ibid., pg. 598). Interaction only take place after major decisions have already been made (Pretty, 1995).

Personal interpretations of the literature discussed in Section 2.1.1. result in the following understanding of participation, illustrated in Figure 4. It does not aim towards creating self-confidence. The level of involvement remains rather low and the possibilities of creating a new outcome are rather limited, resulting in, if at all, only a slight impact on the process.

COLLABORATION

A slightly higher level is assigned to collaboration. In their research on collaboration in natural resource management Bouwen and Taillieu (2004) use the term 'multi-party collaboration' to refer to joint decision-making to solve a future goal. Stakeholders are thought to act independently and through grouping they are forming a tight network (Ibid.). This is the opposite of a top-down planning approach, as active engagement is demanded (Ibid.). Similarly, Sirianni (2007), focusing on collaboration in neighbourhood planning in Seattle, states that community assets (businesses, local institutions, skills) are considered to be underutilised, and together with neighbourhood groups

autonomy can be created through empowerment (Ibid.). On a larger scale she sees collaboration between cities and neighbourhoods. On that notion conversations about values and interests strengthen trust between actors and move power from "over" to "with" (Ibid.). Related to power, Himmelman (1951) recognised a dichotomy of the concept, dividing collaboration into 'empowerment' and 'betterment'. Empowerment in this case starts within the community and more and more stakeholders get involved as the process proceeds (Cuthill, 2004). This links to the insight that empowerment will eventually be reached through collaboration (Stauffacher et al., 2008) (see Figure 2). Betterment is rather top-down, where actors are invited to participate in a process designed by an institution (Ibid.).

Collaboration gets associated with communication skills and engaging with other actors (van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016). For this to happen it is necessary to inform and educate the public (Stauffacher et al., 2008), creating a learning process. Actors from diverse backgrounds provide different knowledge and through collaboration new understandings are constituted (Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004). All collaborators are responsible for the process of the project (Stauffacher et al., 2008). The quality of a collaboration process can be measured in terms of interdependence (Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004). Ideally, actors should in union acknowledge others' interests, which further strengthens the relationship. This assumes that actors in collaboration, instead of just finding clear solutions for a certain issue, are accepting that their personal outlook should give way for a consensus-like "sustainable interaction pattern" (Ibid, pg. 148).

Taking the other levels into account, the understanding of collaboration can be summarised as follows. Compared to participation it creates more self-confidence within the public, and the people are slightly more involved as the possibility of creating a new outcome are higher. Thus they also have a higher impact on the process (see Figure 4).

INCLUSION

Another term frequently mentioned is 'inclusion', one step higher than collaboration. Quick and Feldman (2011) make a clear separation between participation and inclusion. Inclusion is a co-producing process of making connections and expanding communities. It is of great importance, as people can feel excluded from practices used in public decision processes, even if invited to take part in discussions (Ibid.). If inclusion is executed successfully, higher approval can be seen within the community. Further, high inclusion is attained when connections are understood by all those involved and when those understandings lead to a new outcome (Ibid.). According to them, incorporating both inclusion and participation into public management "enhances the quality of the decisions reached and the community's long-term capacities" (Ibid., pg. 274).

Unlike, for instance participation, inclusion can be seen as a continuous process. The goal is not to reach ultimate consensus but to establish a temporal openness (Ibid.). One way this can be achieved is by removing language barriers between the citizens and the officials or by visualising ideas. People from different kinds of (political) backgrounds should be invited to public debates. This can be linked to 'participatory democracy', a term introduced by Healey (1996). Problems can be discussed publicly by creating interrelations (Ibid). She based her insights on Habermas' understanding of interaction. He stated that society's values and interests get shaped through interactions with others (Habermas,

1984). 'Inclusionary argumentation' is thus able to "transform situations, through the power of better argument" (Healey, 1996, pg. 222).

While participation and collaboration lead to only slight increases of self-confidence (Figure 4), it can be interpreted that inclusion has a far bigger influence on making the public more confident. Further, slightly more involvement can be deduced. The possibility of creating a new outcome are similar to those of collaboration, as well as the overall impact on the process.

On the highest level empowerment can be placed. In 1969 Arnstein introduced her "Ladder of Citizen Participation" (Arnstein, 1969), illustrated in Figure 2. Even though the name of her framework suggests a link to the above discussed 'participation', I argue that the classification of 'empowerment' seems more suitable as "citizenship participation is a categorical term for citizen power" (Ibid, pg. 24). In the framework three different ascending subcategories of empowerment become apparent. However, the clear divides have been criticised and a more smooth and overlapping application seems more prominent in practice (Beierle, 2002; Stauffacher et al., 2008). A more detailed analysis is introduced by Sharp and Conelly (2002) and further discussed by Sorensen and Sagaris (2010, pg. 299) who distinguish between "scale, the timing of participation within the decision-making process, and the degree of risk posed to established institutions".
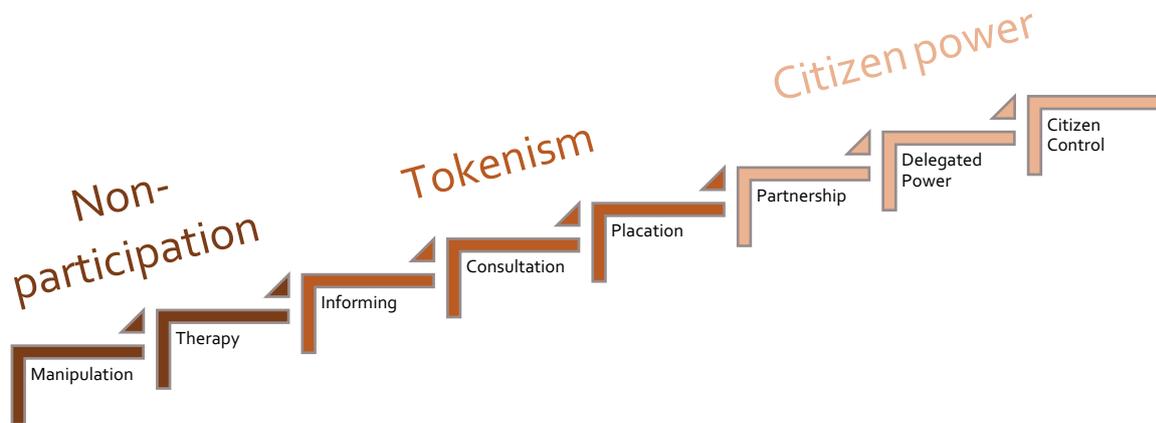
FIGURE 2 – ARNSTEIN'S LADDER OF PARTICIPATION (ARNSTEIN, 1969) - LAYOUT ADAPTED BY AUTHOR

Another famous scholar related to empowerment is Healey. She took Arnstein's insights one step further by proposing the empowerment of citizens through participatory methods (Bailey, 2010). Her research had several implications for the planning field. Because of a change in planning paradigm from the 1970s onwards an interactive process was needed to blend increasingly diverse cultural backgrounds in order to form space for discussion (Healey, 1996). She further proposes a critical evaluation of the formed ideas to solve the issue of increased competition between cities (Ibid.). Bailey (2010, pg. 320) sees this as a "transfer of power between stakeholders" and associated power relations are necessary to establish participation in governance (Ibid.). Mostly social and economic inequality are addressed with this concept of inclusion (Ibid.), causing empowerment to diminish inequalities through giving 'invisible citizens' a say (Knight et al., 2002). This can be achieved by, for

instance, obtaining skills or power to meet a certain goal, gaining (collective) self-confidence (de Groot et al., 2014), increasing decision-making power through group creation or by receiving support (resources or compliance) from authorities (Bailey, 2010). Objectives include providing information, ensuring high quality of decision-making, increasing the quality of local authorities, getting citizens involved in democratic processes and ultimately transferring "residents (...) direct or indirect powers" to make decisions (Ibid., pg. 318).

Viewed from a neoliberal philosophical perspective empowerment relates to a collective action of "marginalised groups against disempowering activities" (Mohan & Stokke, 2000, pg. 248). Community members hold power and can increase their impact by forming a collective (Ibid.). Post-Marxists disagree with this view as in their opinion bottom-up empowering challenges state and market interests (Ibid.). Mohan & Stokke (2000) conclude their discussion on the definition of empowerment by stating that structural transformation is needed to give marginalised groups the full power to form a "radically democratised society" (pg. 249).

Summarising the former interpretations (Figure 4), empowerment can be seen as the level with the highest level of involvement and self-confidence and thus also a higher possibility of creating a new outcome. Nevertheless, impacts on the process remain limited, as the process is constrained by political and administrative barriers, as, for instance, many outcomes are already pre-determined. This makes it impossible for any of the concepts to reach '5' in Figure 4.

PRAISE
Empowerment
Bureaucratic accountability
Equal representation of interests
Feeling of inclusion
Diminishing inequalities

FIGURE 3 – SUMMARY OF BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION

Figure 3 summarises the in this section discussed 'praise' of participation, acting as a building block for the conceptual framework in Section 2.6. The numerical values in Figure 4 below are based on personal interpretation of the literature analysis and only serve an illustrative purpose.
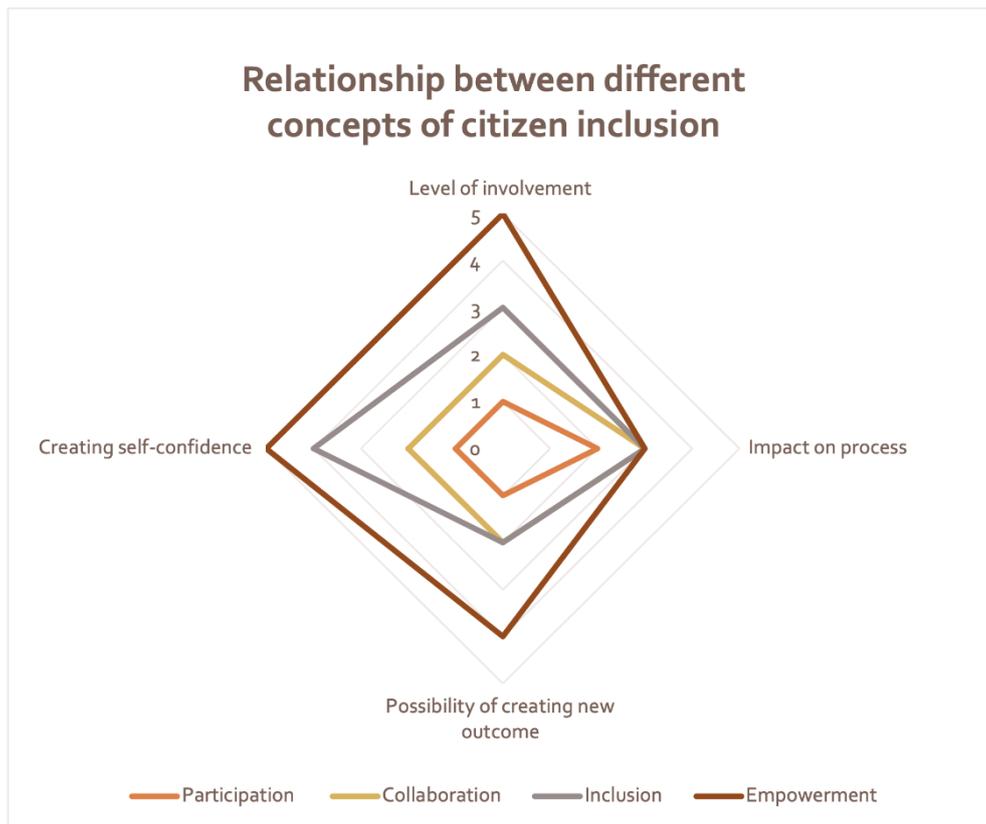
FIGURE 4 – THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT CONCEPTS OF CITIZEN INCLUSION

To keep the terminology of citizen inclusion rather simple, it is referred to as participation in this thesis. However, the attributes of the concepts discussed above are incorporated and distinctions will be made during the discussion of the results. By combining these different definitions of citizen inclusion into one, citizen inclusion in this research is defined as follows:

> "Participation is the inclusion of citizens at various levels of
> involvement with the aim to represent citizens to some degree."

This section began by explaining participation in the context of urban regeneration and went on highlighting the different concepts and definitions of participation. The following section goes into detail regarding the components of citizen inclusion, namely the different levels, involved actors and how to measure a successful process.

2.2 COMPONENTS OF PARTICIPATION

LEVELS

Figure 3 illustrates the different levels of participation that are used in the research and the analysis. Information and consultation are seen as weak forms of inclusion and emerge in one-way communication (Stauffacher et al., 2008). Pretty (1995) provides a total of 7 different participation typologies which can be found in projects, and ordered hierarchically are similar to different participation intensities (see Figure 1 and 2). 'Participation by consultation' takes place when people

are consulted, for instance through surveys. However, their views do not have to be included. The definition of the remaining three levels emerge out of the discussion in Chapter 2.1.1. Inclusion is an ongoing process of producing new insights collectively. Lastly, empowerment gives especially marginalised citizens the power and knowledge to take part in democratic processes.
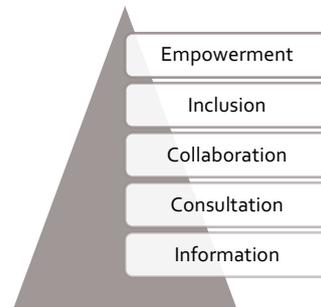
FIGURE 5 – LEVELS OF INVOLVEMENT (INSPIRED BY ARNSTEIN, 1969; PRETTY, 1995; STAUFFACHER ET AL., 2008).

ACTORS

Several actors are included in participation processes in urban regeneration and thus an overview adds to the understanding of power relations. As illustrated in Figure 1, the government, the public and the private sector are of importance when analysing urban regeneration projects (Zheng et al., 2014). More differentiation can be made when considering participation. The actors are summarised below.

» National policies made by the national government often legally require the inclusion of participation in projects to obtain funds (Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016).

» Because of decentralisation decision-making has been transferred from the national level down to municipal and provincial authorities. During top-down participation municipal actors are in charge of introducing inclusionary measures (Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010; van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016). A suspected caution regarding involving citizens in decision-making exists, as participation is rather costly in temporal and financial terms (Maginn, 2007).

» Planners are often in charge of the development of visions for urban regeneration (Minowitz, 2013; Shipley, 2002). They are seen to be functioning in the system-world, the institutional context (van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016). It is their task to make sure that the residents are committed to the areas that are under construction (Harris, 2020). Further, they are responsible for implementing participation campaigns (Myers & Kitsuse, 2000). However, little is known about how exactly these professionals ensure more equal citizen engagement (Tonkens & Verhoeven, 2019), as they work within pre-determined boundaries, financial as well as institutional (McAreavey, 2009).

» (Community) leaders can assist and steer the community to produce a more effective outcome (Walzer & Hamm, 2010). They are catalysts of change (Yang & Pandey, 2011) and can bridge the gap between the planners and the locals (van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016). Critiques note that representatives only express a filtered point of view, instead of all participants' interests (Wood *et al.*, 2001).

» (Civil) society is composed of non- state and non-market organizations (Friedmann, 1998). Actors are in some circumstances seen to have a positive impact on participation (Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010). Especially for underprivileged residents it is an instrument for empowerment and moves governance to the local scale (Mohan & Stokke, 2000).
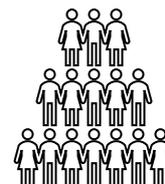
» Citizen initiatives/neighbourhood groups are communities of learning and places where social capital accumulates (Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010). However, they are limited in their political power, often lack technical knowledge and resources (Ibid.). They are seen to fill in gaps which were created when national governments stepped down from the provision of services (van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016).

» The locals possess local knowledge, which is important to planners (Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016) and have an increasingly important role in governance (Healey, 1996). However, power relations between people of different ethnicities and class backgrounds are seen as obstacles (Hoekstra & Dahlvik, 2018). They are the end users of the urban regeneration projects (Zheng *et al.*, 2014).

The list below summarises the main intentions of the state representatives and civil society. Making these differentiations is important to gain further understanding into where and how conflicts arise and how they can be avoided, as a mismatch could turn into distrust and dissatisfaction (Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2019).

Intentions

- Increase legitimacy (Willems et al., 2020)
- Make use of local knowledge (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004)
- Create learning process (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004)
- Avoidance of conflict (Rydin & Pennington, 2000)

Expectations

- Obtaining more power (de Groot et al., 2014)
- Tackle social inequality (Bailey, 2010)
- Receiving support from authorities (Bailey, 2010)
- None – due to lack of interest (Rydin & Pennington, 2000) or lack of time (Mohammadi et al., 2018)

Combining above discussed insights results in the following figure, seen as a foundation for the conceptual model.
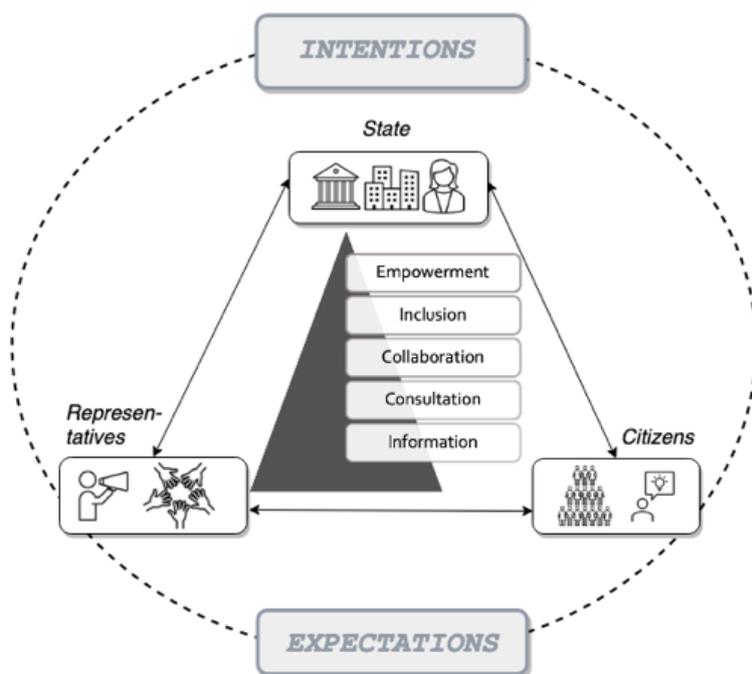
FIGURE 6 – FOUNDATION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS HIGHLIGHTING ACTORS AND THEIR RELATION

MEASURING SUCCESS

The following sections clarifies how to measure a successful participation process. This is relevant because it should be known what planners and participants are striving for when engaging in the process. By evaluating participation processes information regarding, for instance, possible power indifference can be collected (Estrella & Gaventa, 1998). Differing perspectives can be compared, ultimately producing a framework that can be adopted (Falanga, 2020). Not being able to state conditions for a rewarding participation process stems, according to Rydin and Pennington (2000), from a lack of recognition of public choice theory and social capital, and yet the conditions for success still remain rather ambiguous (van Stigt et al., 2017).

In a case study analysis of citizen participation in an urban regeneration project in Lisbon it was seen that the definition of success depends on broader economic, physical, social and environmental pre-conditions, as well as the influence of individuals and interest-groups (Falanga, 2020). The 'inner' participation process was evaluated measuring fairness – what people were allowed to do – and the initiators' competence – did they create an environment in which a high level of understanding was ensured (Ibid.)? The output was evaluated in terms of realisation of the goals and a change in citizen trust towards political actors (Ibid). Kersting and Schneider (2016) state that success is mostly dependent on the attitude of authoritative figures towards participation, similarly argued by Falanga (2020). However, subjectively for locals the results of a project are often fugacious as due to the anticipation effect people become rapidly accustomed to new circumstances, "seeing the downsides within days" (van Dijk, 2021, pg. 12).

2.3 SCALES

Having discussed the components of participation, the following section addresses the different scales on which participation takes place. Making these distinctions is relevant as it determines on which (spatial) scale policy interventions have to be made (Jones, 2003). Three distinctions are made, illustrated in Figure 7. The scales are discussed on an abstract level, relating to theoretical debates. These theoretical debates are illustrated as clouds, as they are present on all spatial scales. This forms part of the 'polarisation building block' for the conceptual framework.

The presented sub-headings in this section are referring to the spatial scales. On the macro-scale, national decisions are executed (Chapter 2.3.1). On the meso-scale regional decision-making takes place (Chapter 2.3.2). On the micro-scale, spatial policies issued by local authorities are of importance (Chapter 2.3.3). The abstract level connects all scales through conflicts caused by the diverging interests of citizens and higher authorities. They are not explicitly defined to the spatial scales.
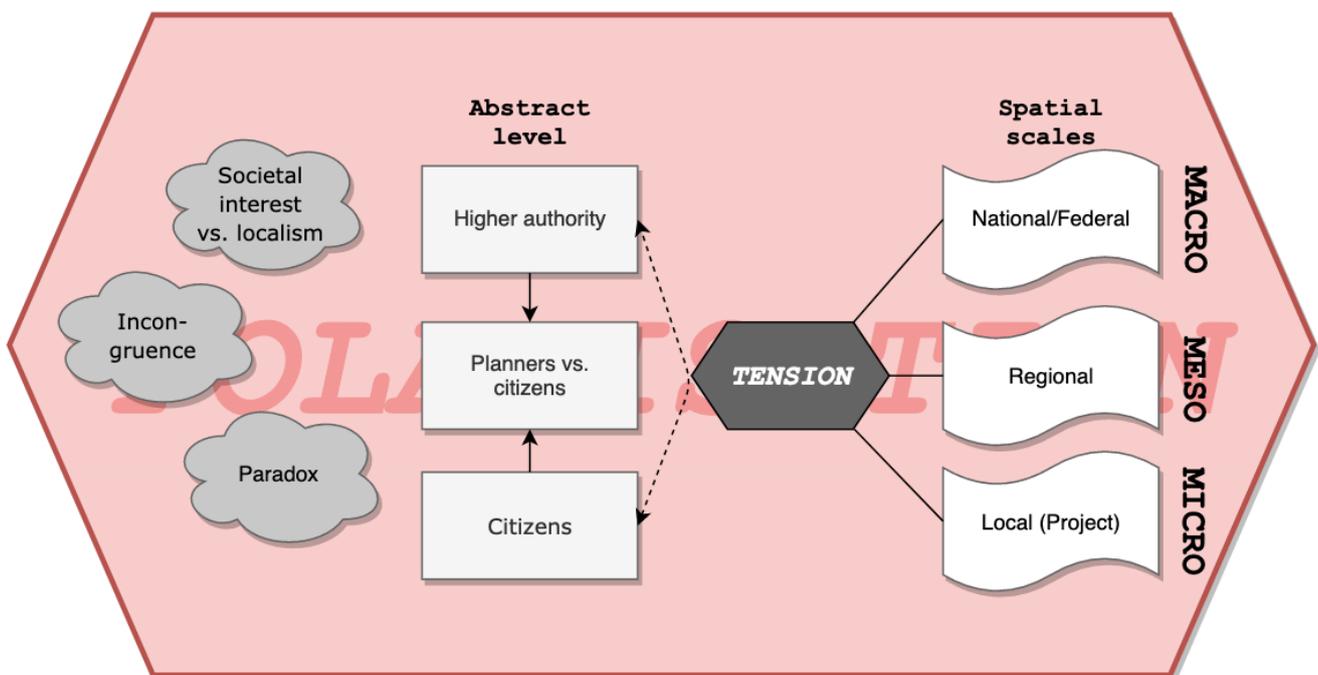
FIGURE 7 – ILLUSTRATING SPATIAL AND ABSTRACT SCALES

2.3.1 MACRO-SCALE

On the macro-scale neo-liberalisation comes into place. In her critique on participation in urban regeneration, Jones (2003) suggests that local participation might not be the only means to obtain successful regeneration. Rather, a focus on the macro-scale is also needed. New urban politics in the current times of neo-liberalism change the perception of citizens, but also of how policy-makers view their position within the broader societal scheme (Ibid.). The connected spatial scale where this is most likely to come into action is the national level, depending on the federal structure. Since the chosen case of this research is located in Germany, only the German spatial planning system is discussed in this section. There, on the national level decisions are made regarding "basic principles and objectives of spatial planning" (Scharmann, 2020, pg. 5). Of further importance on this scale is the establishment of national plans regarding citizen participation (Ibid.), as the national building law

of 1976 states "that the public must be consulted on development projects" (EUKN, n.d.). Also included on this scale, as it can also be seen as higher authority, are the spatial policies made on the federal state level (Bundesland). Here concrete regulations are issued, such as land-use plans (Scharmann, 2020). The Bundesland Brandenburg, where the studied case is located, issued non-binding communal guidelines addressing participation. There it is explicitly stated that "each participation process is different and requires its own rules and methods" (Landesregierung Brandenburg, 2021a). The guidelines address topics such as phases of the process, who to reach, possible occurring conflicts or barriers to full inclusion. Barriers are ascribed to, for instance, "lacking acceptance in politics and administration" (Landesregierung 2021b) and low participation is explained by a lack of understanding or lack of time (Landesregierung, 2021c). This demonstrates quite comprehensive knowledge on the federal state scale. However, ultimately it is up to each regional and local authority to create an own understanding of the topic and apply its own rules.

Discussions emerge regarding the relevance of the national state in relation to the increasing importance of the local scale. Hoekstra and Dahlvik (2018) noticed a shift in responsibilities from the societal macro-scale to local institutions and citizens, resulting in urban neighbourhood governance. Institutionalisation of a space can become more difficult if diversity is high as it becomes challenging to decide who exactly has the "power to define the public interest" (Ibid., pg. 444). Mohan and Stokke (2000) in contrast, focusing on the dangers of localism in participation theory, make several statements regarding the necessity of incorporating several scales of participation. Context is oftentimes not considered, as the 'local' is viewed in "isolation from broader economic and political structures" (Ibid., pg. 249), which can be linked to Jones (2003). This might suggests that more focus should be paid to policies on the national level. However, this contrasts a neo-liberal view, which is thought to consider the state not as fully accountable for ensuring social equality (Mohan and Stokke, 2000), and instead citizens are required to take over certain decisions. Nevertheless, this is thought to decrease the importance of the state. Mohan and Stokke (2000) advise not to romanticise the importance of local civil society, but to be more critical, especially when considering that social movements should remain separated from the institutionalised system, as political integration is thought to erode these movements. On a similar note, localism is even thought to undermine democracy if participation processes do not include diverse views (Lawson & Kearns, 2014). These insights show that spatial scales are becoming more and more fluid, further adding to a complexity in participation.

2.3.2 MESO-SCALE

Spatial policies on the regional level are passed by planning authorities like an administrative district or a county (Scharmann, 2020). Here the regulations put in place by the federal state are further developed and adapted to the sub-regions (Ibid.). In Germany, regarding participation no general policies are passed on this level (Ibid.).

On an abstract level, the higher authorities and the citizens clash. This does not just take place on the regional scale, but is also prevalent on the local level. However, figuratively this incongruence fits best in this sub-section as it is located between the 'citizens' and the 'higher authority' (Figure 7). An incongruence between the planner and the citizen becomes visible, a term introduced by Habermas (van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016). Divergence develops between the system-world of the planner (the institutional world) and the lifeworld of the residents (informal personal relations). According to Habermas this disjointedness is hard to bridge as it is challenging for the planners and citizens to

engage in each other's worlds, due to a lack of skills (Ibid.). Only neighbourhood practitioners – indicating a fluid transition to the local level – are thought to find common ground as they can "cross the divide between the system and the lifeworld of residents" (Ibid., pg. 1328). Regarding urban regeneration this divide is thought to be even more prevalent in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Ibid.)

2.3.3 MICRO-SCALE

On the micro-scale the local comes into play. In Germany local spatial policies are issued by cities or municipalities (Scharmann, 2020). They develop, for instance, land-use plans (Ibid.). Following national laws they are obliged to take into account economic development, environmental protection and interests of the public (Ibid.). Each city or municipality develops its own participation policy (Ibid.). Therefore no general remark can be made regarding how participation is or should be done. The city of Potsdam, where the chosen case is located, published basic principles of citizen participation. Some examples are that inclusion from an early state on is desirable, information should be obtainable without barriers and that each demographic group should be equally included (Bürgerbeteiligung Potsdam, n.d.). However, these are rather straight-forward and it is not mentioned how these principles can be met. Further, they are not binding and only serve as a guideline for implementing actors.

As discussed in Section 2.3.1 some scholars criticise the attention localism gets in the participation debate. However, Woolrych and Sixsmith (2013) state that local involvement is key in shifting power from the central government to communities. For this to succeed the community's influence needs to increase, which is achieved by the government's appreciation of their "innovative approaches to regeneration" (Ibid, pg. 218). Further, the local or micro-scale act as a testing ground for new institutional arrangements (Bailey & Pill, 2015). The neighbourhood acts as a community for exchange and a place for learning (Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010). Oftentimes, local residents are referred to as 'the community', not by themselves, but by authoritarian actors and signalises a need for consensus (Nelson & Wright, 1995). In the community people are thought to share experiences and thus obtain skills to become empowered through co-ownership (Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004). A framework on participation addresses power differences, who initiates participation and who actually participates (Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010). From this it can be proposed that three groups of participants exist: local residents who actively participate, residents who do not have the urge to participate and lastly future residents who might be moving to the neighbourhood once urban regeneration has been successful. Rock (2018) provides a clear summary of research on (non-) participants' demographics in regard to urban renewal and regeneration. Less affluent boroughs face lower participation rates (Wang and Van Loo, 1998), whereas other research states that low-income neighbourhoods put their interests more forward (Hong, 2015). Arguably, this is bound to the micro-scale, as people are less likely to identify with projects or localities outside their familiar area (Brown et al., 2003) and thus, most likely, care less about spatial changes on the meso-scale.

A German study on participation of minorities came to the conclusion that participation of migrants is low, which is often perceived as a lack of interest from their side. However, cultural and language barriers are the main reason for low participation (Kast, 2008). By just suddenly engaging citizens they are not automatically empowered which is why the question remains if participation on the local scale will really have an impact if societal, larger-scale inequalities are not taken into consideration (Bailey,

2010). Tonkens and Verhoeven (2019), similarly, state that citizens are not equally represented, as ethnic minorities, lower educated and younger people are oftentimes excluded. This might be because some urban professionals think of the citizens, especially minorities, to be lacking organisational capacity (Dekker and Van Kempen, 2009).

On the abstract level a paradox becomes visible, described by Hirschner (2017). At the beginning of planning processes participation is often low, whereas the possibility to participate is high. As the planning process moves along participation increases as people become more aware of possible changes, but the possibility to voice one's opinion has now diminished, as most decisions have already been made. This paradox is seen to cause frustration and even disagreements, which could lead to social conflicts (Ibid.). To overcome this paradox it would help to strengthen informal procedures (Ibid.).

To conclude this section, three different scales can be identified which are important when researching participation. Critique on an increasing focus on the local clashes with the power of broader structures to address change. The next section takes up this polarisation by discussing further points of critique on citizen inclusion.

2.4 CRITIQUE ON CITIZEN INCLUSION

Amid the benefits of citizen inclusion there are also the above discussed standpoints against participation, highlighting why it is an issue and thus making the value of participation for neighbourhood governance a highly debated topic (Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016). Another paradox, different to the one discussed by Hirschner (2017), can be noted here, as on one hand participation is seen as a necessity in nowadays planning culture, whereas on the other hand it is naïve to assume that adoption is unproblematic (Jones, 2003). The critique of the participation process falls under three main categories, which can be summarised as follows: First, a lack of impact; second, power differences; and finally societal disputes are seen as the main drawbacks in the participation literature, described in Chapter 2.4.1. However, in planning literature a further issue becomes visible, namely a polarisation regarding participation in general. This is discussed in Chapter 2.4.2.

2.4.1 THE DRAWBACKS OF PARTICIPATION

LACK OF IMPACT

In today's literature on participation it sometimes gets criticised for being too simplistic (e.g. (Bailey, 2010; Rydin & Pennington, 2000; Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010). Another general scepticism surrounds the actual impact participatory methods have on meeting environmental policy objectives (Rydin and Pennington, 2000). Bailey (2010) views empowerment as being constrained in achieving its goal of power distribution. In their review on 81 studies on urban renewal Zheng et al. (2014) critically note that participation "may fall into the dilemma of tokenism". Another limitation regards the often rather unclear understanding of participation (Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016). This could be troublesome if citizens are expecting to have a bigger say in the decision-making process than the planning authority envisioned. And even if many individuals participate, public choice theory states that their engagement will be unstable and effective impacts on the policy process rather limited (Rydin and Pennington, 2000). Citizens might notice their lack of impact, which could turn into rational

ignorance; a term stating that if impact is so low, it is futile to become informed about the issue and put time and effort into involvement (Ibid.).

Rydin and Pennington (2000), referring to participation as 'collective action', see especially the notion of free-riders and other non-co-operative behaviour as a problem having a negative impact on the process. Through those actions some individuals benefit without putting in the costs. It is stated further that an individual's voice will only have very little impact. And even if many little impacts are made, public choice theory remains pessimistic on the actual effects of participation. This is especially the case in environmental planning (Ibid.), under which urban regeneration falls. This ties in with the broader criticism on society's stand on participation.

POWER IMBALANCES – AN ELITE SPACE?

Power differences are another point of critique, linking to the aforementioned lack of impact. Several aspects can be noted. During participation processes, depending on certain factors, such as ethnicity and class (Hoekstra & Dahlvik, 2018) and age and gender (Jones, 2003) the interests of better positioned participants will be more valuable (Ibid.). One could go as far as saying that social exclusion takes place, when defining exclusion as a lack of representation (Ibid.). Thus participation is seen to sometimes even increase inequality, as negotiations are shared, but not power (Ibid.). This comes to surface when empowerment reaches a competing state, rather than ensuring consensus-seeking (Ibid.). Concluding, another paradox emerges. Deprived citizens are less likely to participate, whereas the more pro-active members of society can "defend their interests" (Ferilli et al., 2016, pg. 96). This is thought to be caused by a methodological problem of the typical participation process (Ibid.).

Further power imbalances are related to the decentralisation of governance (Mayer, 2000). The growing importance of civil society groups in participation strengthens some actors, while also further fragmenting them (Ibid.). Linked to the mentioned need to consider demographics in participation processes and to the methods used, administrative capacities hinder equal inclusion of all those involved (Rock, 2018). Especially digital participation methods are reinforcing the digital divide, excluding especially elderly (Ibid). Residents have different knowledge and experience (Rydin & Pennington, 2000), which could result in the knowledgeable people to bring their interests more forward. These "rules of the game" demand certain skills and thus limit who can participate (Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016, pg. 60).

Power can also be viewed on a more abstract level. Participatory approaches can be seen as being undermined by power (Brownill et al., 2002), as the government exercises it on different levels (McAreavey, 2009). During the participation process decision-making can be drawn towards a particular (pre-defined) issue, for instance by excluding certain actors (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). Another power dimension is explored by Lukes (2005). Politics influence the citizens' wishes without them noticing, thus suppressing peoples' real interests (Ibid). No final insights have been obtained regarding power plays between the 'elite' and the citizens, but nevertheless McAreavey (2009, pg. 313) states that "people's wants are a product of a flawed system". Individuals can never be autonomous in their behaviour as power infiltrates social structures (Ibid.), generating restrictions and compromises (O'Hare, 2018). In the end power is thought to be in the hands of a "clique of policy makers", actors who finance the project (McAreavey, 2009, pg. 322). By calling citizen participation "top-down government induced engagement" (Tonkens & Verhoeven, 2019, pg. 1596), rationalisation – using power to serve the elites' interests – becomes apparent (Brownill et al., 2002).

Thus viewed from a Foucauldian perspective centralised power confronts individual freedom, where participation creates further problems instead of advocating for democratic involvement (Ibid.).

A MERE PRETENCE?

Power differences also become visible on the wider scale, where an imbalance between the state, private actors and local communities is noted (Bailey & Pill, 2015). This encompasses all spatial scales previously discussed in Section 2.3, as policies passed on the national and regional level affect the local, where the conflicts emerge. Further critique was published by Sorensen and Sagaris (2010). In their paper they analyse the usefulness and limits of participation to obtain a right to the city. Here a focus is put on the power differences between the abstract micro- and macro-scale of society. Ultimately, the discourse is thought to remain at state-level (Ibid.), as participatory approaches could weaken the impact of the local government (Lawson & Kearns, 2010). 'Going local' lowers the state's importance (Mohan and Stokke, 2000).

Swyngedouw (2000) similarly states that participatory measures are undemocratic as "decision-making is pushed into back rooms" (Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010, pg. 298). Flyvbjerg (1998) describes this as rationalisation being presented as rationality. Sorensen and Sagaris (2010) draw our attention to the fact that participation initiated by governmental figures often has information gathering as a main goal, as well as bridging competing interests. However, the different levels of involvement should be considered here. For sure, functional participation might serve this interest, but planners using methods on higher levels, which are more costly and time-consuming, are showing at least endeavour in including citizens. This point of view can also be applied to the critique by Sharp and Connelly (2002) and Falanga (2020), who state that 'in pretence' the citizens get assigned minor decisions, whereas the dominant decisions have already been made prior to the process or are decided on a higher governmental level, thus the results from the participation could fit well into the predetermined objectives (Jones, 2003). Ferelli et al. (2016, pg. 96) see it as one side of a paradox, the other side being a "sincere attempt (…) to achieve a co-designed outcome". Furthermore, it is pointed out that citizen coalitions forming in response to a problem statement of a participation process are in the end already pre-defined, "confirming the status quo" (van Dijk, 2021, pg. 10).

CRITICISM
Lack of impact
Power imbalances
Elite space - Expert-resident
Undemocratic
Pretence

FIGURE 8 – SUMMARY OF CRITICISM

To summarise previous sections, on the one hand participation is recognised as potentially emancipating and empowering citizens, whereas on the other hand inequalities emerge, further questioning the intentions of the state and implications of democracy (Brownhill et al., 2002). Criticism is summarised in Figure 8, another building block of the conceptual framework. This polarisation also becomes apparent in planning theory literature, discussed in the following.

2.4.2 POLARISING PERSPECTIVES

Over the past centuries participation gained importance and became a means of delivering policies through consensus building, instead of solely relying on technical rational approaches. Contemporary, many people still glorify citizen inclusion by seeing it as morally superior to top-down measures, a "prerequisite for (...) community development strategies" (Bailey & Pill, 2015, pg. 292), "superior to representative arrangements" (Leino & Laine, 2012, pg. 91) and that higher-quality decisions are more likely to be made when involving stakeholders (Beierle, 2002). Because of increased interaction and thus linked diversity (Wagenaar, 2006) it is thought to legitimise development of policies (Leino & Laine, 2012). Sorensen and Sagaris (2010) go as far as referring to 'tyranny', a term that is used in several other articles (e.g. Jones, 2003). But as discussed previously, this superiority is often not the case, as even measures which were thought to be inclusive are excluding certain groups. Thus public debate alone does not ensure that processes are democratic and representative of the whole community (Ibid.). Ferilli et al. (2016) dispute the assumption that participation is always the preferred way of action for residents, as its acceptance is dependent on context (Nienhuis et al., 2011).

From a liberal point of view states are seen as too centralised, meaning that a shift towards an increased focus on localism would create a closer connection to the public (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). This, however, downplays the potential of localism to undermine democracy (Lawson & Kearns, 2014). Criticism on the inclusion of participation in construction projects in Berlin was published by a journalist (and is thus subjective): Hein (2018), by including statements of private market parties, notes that the local government is taking an easy way out of being made responsible for not delivering projects successfully by putting the locals' interests compiled in participation events to the front. Further he states that the important end-users, future residents, are not included in decision-making processes (Ibid.), meaning that future residents are underrepresented.

Neo-liberal governments are thought to impact communities in different ways (Bailey & Pill, 2015), which becomes discernible in the notions of centralised power versus individual freedom. Top-down strategies are used to increase efficiency and to select relevant stakeholders in participation processes (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). More bottom-up approaches raise civil society's importance (Bailey & Pill, 2015). Considering both, however, tensions are created as outcomes become more unpredictable (Ibid.). This illustrates the difficulty of balancing rigidity and flexibility, as it is not possible for top-down and bottom-up approaches to be in equilibrium, while at the same time creating a fully inclusive participation context (Henderson et al., 2007). Even though people wish for flexibility and safety simultaneously, it is hardly ever possible.

Mouffe (2000, pg. 21) states that society's diverging interests create power relations, which she considers to be indispensable for democracy. Instead, aiming for consensus and ignoring power relations, as it is often done in participation processes, threatens democracy (Ibid.). Further, seeing consensus-reaching as a goal is less ideal, as it is thought to create group-thinking, narrowing down the exploration of alternative ideas (van Dijk, 2021). Therefore guidance through the state is needed. Autonomy to a certain extent is possible, but rather temporarily (O'Hare, 2018), meaning that governments should be left with some responsibility, instead of complete self-organisation of the citizens. Linked to this it also has to be mentioned that participation is bounded in its magnitude. For any process, on any scale, there are non-negotiable topics, such as the budget of the regeneration or the objective itself. A tangible example is the construction of a new tram line. Another participation

process in Potsdam showed that citizens' opinions regarding the design of the stations, noise barriers and even possible detours are examined (Bürgerbeteiligung Potsdam, 2020). The decision *if* a tram line is the best option was not open to question, as the 'experts' provided reasons why alternative transport methods cannot be considered (Ibid.). Thus certain aspects can only be decided by the experts who have extensive professional knowledge. Therefore the influence the citizens obtain is already limited before the process starts, indicating again that a degree of negotiation is given, but power is not shared (Jones, 2003).
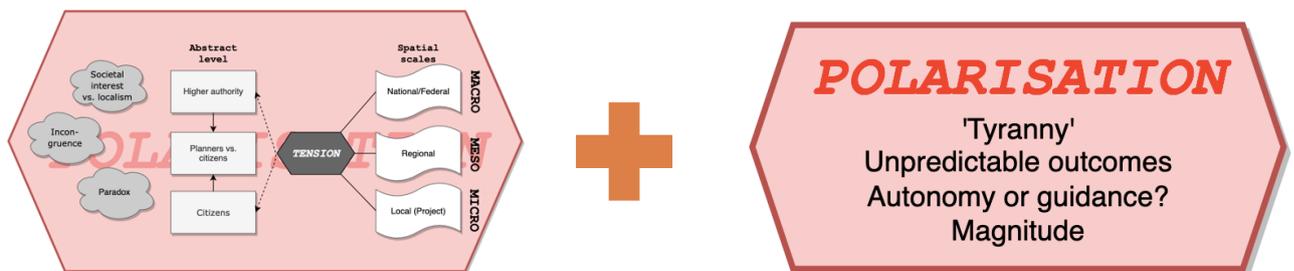
FIGURE 9 – SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS LEADING TO POLARISATION

The above discussed theoretical insights, summarised in Figure 9, shed light on issues citizen inclusion faces not just in planning theory, but also in the practical planning field. These oftentimes opposing interests result in conflict and thus polarisation emerges. Solutions are required that consider those disputes in order to obtain the most optimum outcome for all actors involved. This is discussed in the following section.

2.5 TOWARDS A SOLUTION

Regarding improving participation the theory can be divided into two groups. The first group of theoretical insights is providing recommendations on how to improve the participation process itself. The second group can be seen as a more abstract approach, questioning participation itself and providing solutions on how to improve the outcome, rather than the process.

Regarding improving participation processes in urban regeneration, Maginn (2007, pg. 26) proposes measures which "proactively promote inclusiveness" and anticipate conflict within the community. This would help to solve internal conflicts, but does not shed further light on the discussed polarisation. Further aspects such as mutual respect and transparency are asked for (Ibid.). That these are not self-evident and require concrete mentioning shows how much work is still needed to ensure successful implementation. The potential lack of impact is not being addressed. Other suggestions surround planners, such as investing time to become familiar with the local culture and context, as well as being generally more critical (Ibid.). Conversely, Brownill et al. (2002) argue that due to society's emancipation planners lose importance and have less decision-making power. This argument relates to Innes and Booher (2004), who suggest that a move towards a multi-dimensional collaborative model is needed, with participation withdrawing from a division between citizens versus government. To get there, open dialogue and recognition of power differences are recommended (Brownill et al., 2002). Tackling the issue of power imbalances has now moved from dealing with 'internal conflicts' to broader societal issues which require devotion.

Broadly speaking, solving the issue of power imbalance in governance would require a focus on social justice and citizenship (Gosling, 2008). Thus it remains questionable to what extent these proposals are of avail, since according to this statement solving the issues discussed in Chapter 2.6.1 seem to be lying in the hands of the government. If citizens want to be considered, they are responsible themselves, as they should be "harnessing certain aspects of state power" (O'Hare, 2018, pg. 223). This arguably leaves the 'least' behind again, further intensifying exclusion during participation processes. To address that, Ferilli et al. (2016, pg. 96) suggest "self-organised social representation" to create real empowerment, making participation less pressing. Summarising the aforementioned 'mainstream' recommendations it can be argued that they are not as effective or do not prove to be implementable in reality, as the issues are still prevailing. They also do not seem to move the discussion of the necessity of participation forward. As long as there are controversies surrounding the process itself, polarisation will remain, as I argue that fully functioning processes do not require scrutinising.

Therefore the discussion moves towards the second assemblage of recommendations to ensure the best possible solution to regenerate urban spaces and enhance their performance. Leino and Laine (2012) claim that the planning issue and therefore 'issue politics' should move to the foreground, as the whole process is issue-oriented. Van Dijk (2021), focusing on improving process design, states that rather than focusing on methods - 'how' - the planning outcome should be of greater relevance. A similar grounded proposition is made by Flyvbjerg (2003, pg. 327), who suggests that the doctrine should shift towards Realrationalität, to paying attention to "what is actually done". Further, the potentiality of a place should move to the foreground of the debate (van Dijk, 2021). This can be achieved by creatively engaging in 'ideation', identifying what could be possible, through for instance brainstorming (Ibid.). Rather than trying to fix a problem by following path-dependent ways of thinking, policy makers can discover alternative solutions by actively considering "unexpected futures and actors" (Ibid., pg. 20). Related to citizen inclusion and as a concluding remark he reminds us that more is needed "than just giving the steering wheel back to citizens" (Ibid., pg. 22). Therefore, as the state oftentimes continues to keep control over local policies and institutions (O'Hare, 2018), it lies in its representatives' hands to use insights from the past, present and future to recognise a place's potential and to use planning tools to make the best of a regeneration process. All these insights are summarised in Figure 10, the final building block for the conceptual framework.

FIGURE 10 – SUMMARY OF SOLUTIONS

2.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The previous sections have highlighted the complexity of citizen inclusion. In this section the conceptual framework is presented (Figure 11), visually representing the theoretical discussions.

Having the discussed phenomena conceptualised is thought to increase the understanding of the research (Clark, 2008, pg. 169). It will also serve as a backbone throughout the thesis to connect the research to theoretical findings.

The framework is made up of building blocks discussed in the previous sections. The circle enclosing actors and levels of participation acts as a foundation for participation. The state, encompassing jurisdiction and planners has certain intentions when engaging in a planning processes, opposing the expectations of society. From this the participation processes develops, where both praise and criticism emerge as benefits and drawbacks become visible. From this a polarisation appears. Possible solutions to deal with this issue are then linked back to the foundations of the process.
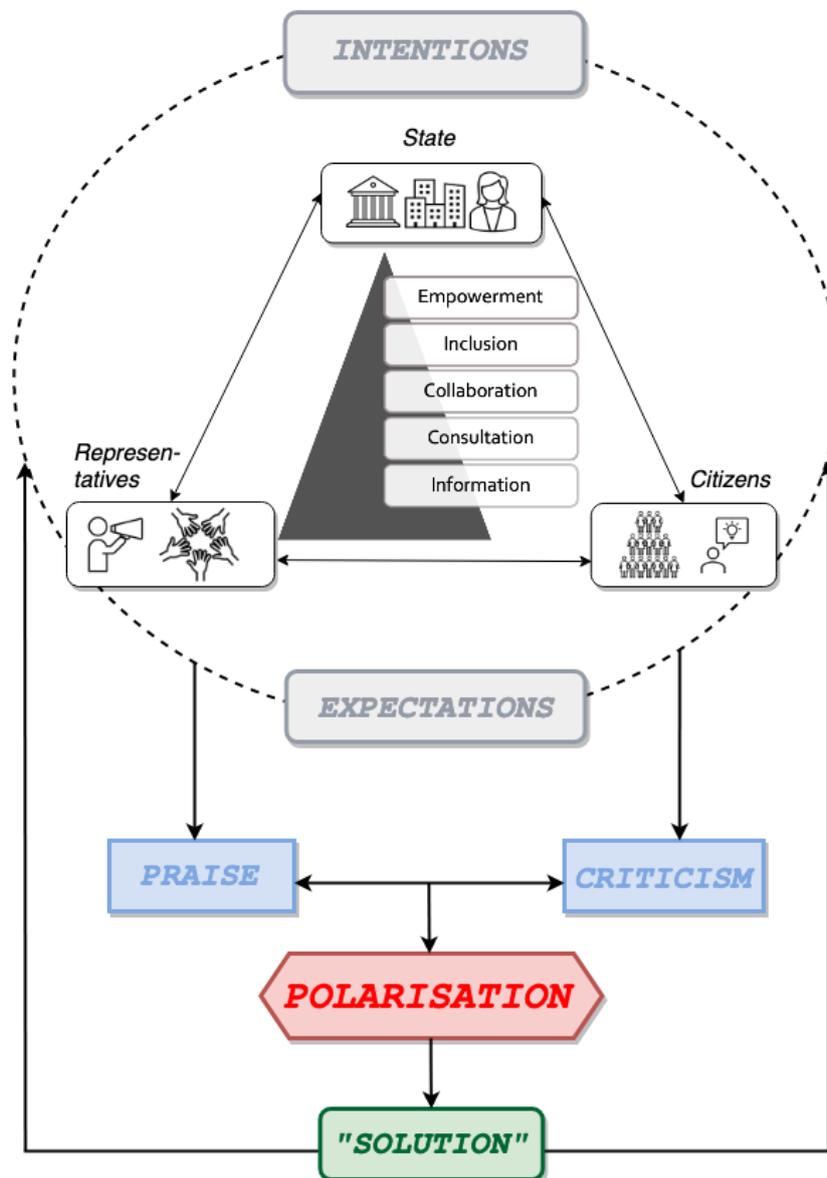
FIGURE 11 – CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1.1 EPISTEMOLOGY & ONTOLOGY

Considering philosophy when carrying out social science research is of importance, as it helps to understand how knowledge is created and interpreted (Gorski, 2013) and thus determines the methodology. Ontology, describing ways of obtaining knowledge of nature and reality, and epistemology referring to the relationship between the "researcher and the reality" (Punch, 2014, pg. 15) come into play. In this thesis a critical realism methodological framework is adhered to, acknowledging that an understanding of reality is temporary, as social actions are subjective and constantly changing (Bryman, 2016, pg. 25). In critical realism "ontology is not reducible to epistemology", meaning that knowledge is able to grasps only a fraction of reality (Fletcher, 2017, pg. 182).

Explored by Bhaskar as a response to his critique on positivism, interpretivism and constructivism, critical realism aims to understand the reality that makes up the social world (Bhaskar, 1989, pg. 2). This is only thought to be possible when the three realms of reality, the 'empirical', the 'actual' and the 'real', are taken into account when considering ontology (Clark, 2008, pg. 167). Regarding critical realism methodology this means that the researcher interprets the object of study's interpretation, stated by Jansen (2020) (summarising Danermark et al. (2019)). Bryman (2016, pg. 28) argues that a further interpretation occurs when the researcher has to interpret the findings in relation to existing concepts and theories. Therefore, to explain the world the 'real' also has to be considered (Jansen, 2020). The succeeding generalisation results in "achieving the aim in social science research, namely explaining society" (Ibid., pg. 309). How this relates to the thesis is illustrated in Figure 12. However, from a critical realist perspective it is impossible to observe the 'real', as arguably general laws related to positivism are not applicable in social sciences (Ibid.). Theories thus serve as an interpretive framework (Ibid), as they bring researchers closer to reality (Fletcher, 2017). This entails that the reasoning of this thesis is deductive, basing insights of research on existing theory (Bryman, 2016, pg. 21).

The implications for this study of following the philosophy of critical realism are as follows. First, the interpretation and observations on how the interviewees interpreted the participation process and how intentions were communicated in the documents make up the empirical. These interpretations are then interpreted regarding the theoretical insights obtained in Chapter 2. This step aims to abstract the general mechanisms from the case's insights. Lasty, these results are generalised. However, full reality is not obtained. The results only provide more insights into the understanding of possible tensions in participation processes, but do not present a full explanation of reality, as this can never be achieved when following a critical realism perspective.
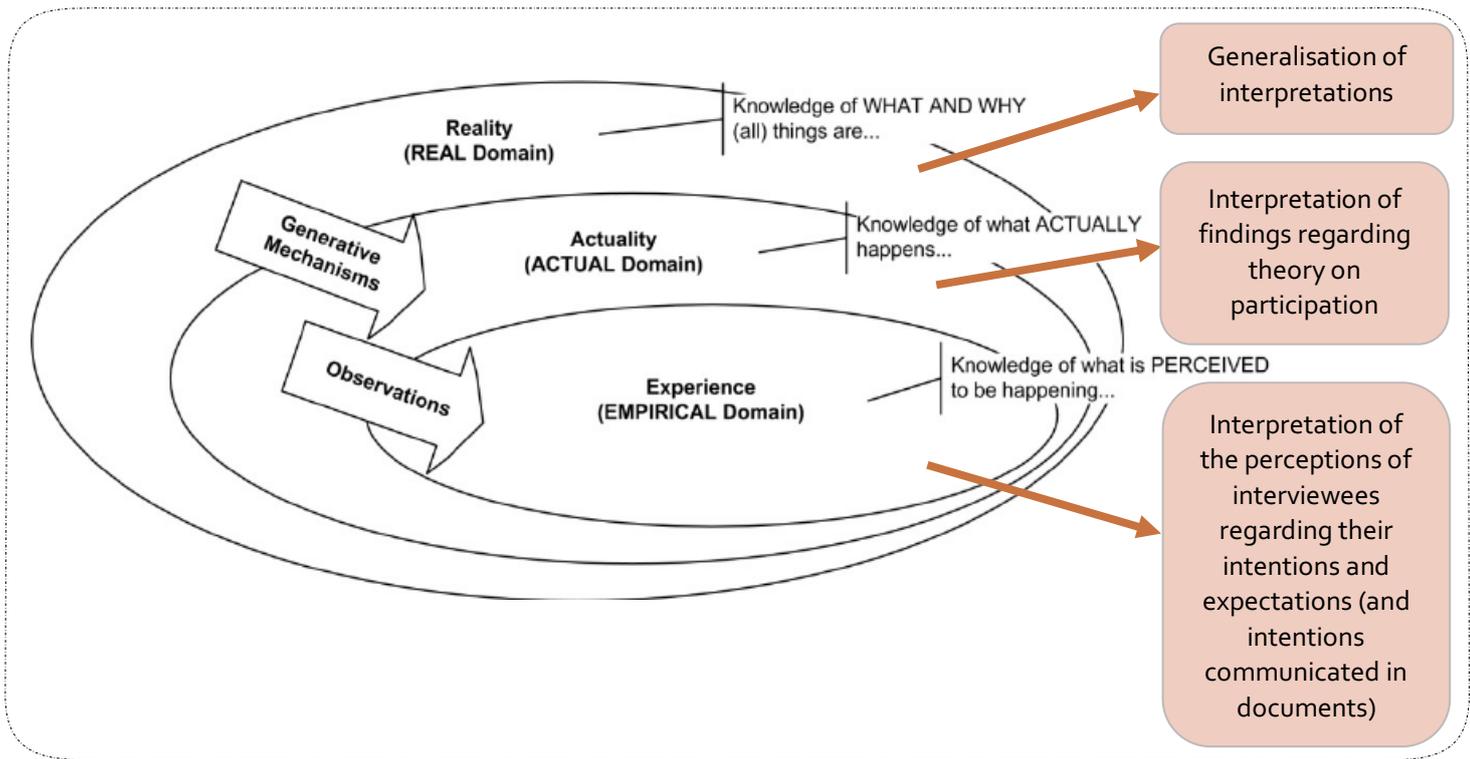
FIGURE 12 – CRITICAL REALISM ONTOLOGY (ALEXANDER, 2013, ADAPTED BY AUTHOR)

3.1.2 RESEARCH METHOD

QUALITATIVE, INTENSIVE RESEARCH

The understanding of critical realism entails that both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used (Clark, 2008, pg. 168). Shortly summarised quantitative methods conceptualise reality as variables, measures these variables and ultimately studies relationships between them (Punch, 2014, pg.206), while qualitative research recognises social contexts by studying a concept in a particular setting (Ibid., pg. 119) and is therefore the chosen method in this research. Under the realm of critical realism qualitative methods focus on social meaning and attempts to combine structure and agency (Clark, 2008, pg. 168), implying that both can shape human behaviour. Further differentiations can be made between extensive and intensive research. Extensive research deals with a large number of explanatory factors for a phenomenon, with the purpose of finding relationships between the variables (Swanborn, 2010, pg. 3). This makes it rather general and less applicable to the context of this research, where the aim is to discover detailed insights into the intentions and expectations regarding a participation process during an urban regeneration project. Therefore this research can be seen as intensive, meaning that only one or a few instances of a phenomenon are studied, but then more in-depth (Ibid.). Further, less variables are researched, making it possible to focus on detailed perceptions, like in this research on multiple different experiences of the interviewees. Swanborn (Ibid., pg. 2) states: "Each instance, or example, is usually called a case. Therefore, an intensive approach is generally called a 'case study'." This explains the choice for a case-study as a research method.

Various research approaches exist. A multiple case analysis compares and contrasts across multi-scales or -sites, moving away from a static context (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). However, it is criticised for downplaying "uniqueness and complexity" (Stake, 2003, pg. 148). Further, time constraints have to be taken into consideration (Krehl & Weck, 2020). Since the thesis aims to produce a detailed analysis going deep into the context within a restricted time frame, a single case-study is chosen, making it possible to study participation in one distinct urban regeneration project. Distinctions are made between explanatory, descriptive and exploratory case-study research (Yin, 1994). Applied to the aim and the nature of the research, it can be seen as being descriptive, having an in-depth analysis of a sample as a main goal (Mills et al., 2010, pg. 288). In Figure 13, the strengths and limitations of case study research are summarised. Misconceptions regarding case study analysis are not further elaborated on, as the summary addresses them.

Strengths
- Depth - conceptual richness
- High conceptual validity
- Understanding of context and process
- Understanding of what causes a phenomenon, linking causes and outcome

Limitations
- Selection bias may overstate or understade relationships
- Weak understanding of occurrence in population of phenomena under study
- Statistical significance often unknown or unclear

FIGURE 13 – STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF CASE-STUDY ANALYSIS (FLYVBJERG, 2011, PG. 314; BLATTER, 2008, PG. 68)

CASE SELECTION

After having summarised the strengths and limitations of a single case-study analysis, the following explains how the case for this research was chosen and why it is worth researching.

Several categories of urban regeneration can be named where an investigation of tensions during participation processes might produce new insights. First, the geographical scale of the project is relevant. The project has to be assigned to an area the citizens care about, where daily encounters take place. This is considered to be important as it becomes challenging to engage people in a project if they do not identify with the planning area (Brown et al., 2003). For instance, in the United States people are thought to care about their surroundings within the boundaries of one city block (Harris, 2020). However, Harris concludes that no perfect scale exists as each individual has its own boundaries (Ibid.). Thus if the scale of a regeneration project is too big, people might lose interest and thus participation might decline as they are not emotionally attached to the area.

Harris further discusses density in urban settings to possibly cause tension, as securing residents' "participation in, and even getting their assent to, government-sponsored projects may prove difficult" (Harris, 2020, pg. 5). This suggests that the type of funding is relevant. Publicly funded projects are often met with financial restrictions, while still aiming towards providing a public benefit (Rock, 2018). However, unlike private projects, funding comes from a public source, requiring public input preliminary to expenditure (Ibid.). This could mean that tensions arise between what lies within the fiscal possibility of the plan and unfulfillable wishes of the residents.

Another category for case-selection can be the age of the neighbourhood. Especially post-war neighbourhoods are facing urban blight, indicated by socio-economic decay (Pontrandolfi & Mangnelli, 2018, pg. 31). A "lack of community spirit" (MacLeavy, 2008, pg. 541) makes it interesting to investigate how tensions would possibly evolve in these post-war areas. A common lack of identity is suggested by the presence of "fractional properties that are not homogeneous in terms of intentions and strategies" (Pontrandolfi & Mangnelli, 2018, pg. 34). This could also reflect in the present heterogeneous demographics, causing further tensions. In relation to the chosen case of Drewitz these categories are briefly discussed in Chapter 4.

There are several reasons for selecting a certain case. Being familiar with a case is one of them (Thomas, 2011, pg. 95). Other reasons are practical concerns, such as accessibility, language barriers, and the presumed obstacles of obtaining data. The case being a representative example can also be a reason for choosing it (Tight, 2017, pg. 144), making it an instrumental case study, where the case presents a certain issue (Punch, 2014, pg. 121). Drewitz, falls in both categories, making it interesting to investigate the differences between expectations and intentions for two reasons.

First, the well-perceived end-result received several awards, signalling its strength regarding urban regeneration. The case being a showcase project might make insights into the participatory aspect of it more relevant for other projects. Second, the participation process was presented as "intensive participation of a neighbourhood committee" (Bürgerbeteiligung Potsdam, 2012) and received positive resonance in local newspapers, indicating that theoretically processes went rather well. It is therefore interesting to investigate, how far the research's results are representative of this. Practical reasons for choosing Drewitz include the absence of language barriers and the accessible location, facilitating data collection. However, the location itself is not the object of analysis, but serves as a "backcloth for collection of data" (Bryman, 2015, pg. 61). It 'accommodates' the participation process. Further, the participation process is already completed, making it possible for the participants to reflect on the outcomes.

It can be argued that each participation process is unique, making also every case unique. In this thesis the investigated participation process only serves as an example of other processes within the realms of urban regeneration. Insights deduced from this research, such as to what extent to include citizens or how to deal with potential power differences, can be adapted to future projects. Nevertheless, generalisations cannot be made, as the context always differs.

ENSURING QUALITY

On top of reasoning why the case of Drewitz is interesting to research, it also has to be discussed how reliability and validity are addressed in this research. Five verification strategies are presented in Table 1, explaining why each criteria is relevant and how it is met in this research.

TABLE 1 - QUALITY CRITERIA (BASED ON MORSE ET AL., 2002)

	Explanation (Morse et al., 2002)	How ensured in this research
Methodological coherence	The research questions and methods should be congruent.	Throughout the research a constant reflection takes place. If adjustments have to be made they are communicated.
Appropriateness of the sample	Sources have to be chosen to best represent the research topic, ensuring efficiency.	For both the interviews and documents criterion sampling ensures that relevant sources are chosen, representing both positive and negative impressions. Further, saturation is taken into account (Section 3.2.3).
Concurrent collection and analysis of data	An interaction between "what is known and what one needs to know" should be established (pg. 18).	After each collection (key concepts from the documents, after the interview) the findings are analysed. New emerging patterns can thus be included in analysis of the following piece of information. For this the order of the data collection is of relevance (Section 3.2.2).
Theoretical thinking	Findings should be verified with already existing findings.	Data collected in the 'empirical' is inspected with theoretical insights from the 'actual'.
Theory development	Findings should be reflected on theoretical understanding.	Here findings from the 'actual' are reflected with the 'real', trying to obtain a deeper understanding of the sample.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

3.2.1 DATA SOURCES

After having discussed the quality criteria of this research, the following section presents the chosen data sources. To ascertain that the research is of high quality triangulation is often suggested (Flick, 2007, pg. 66). Here two different research approaches are combined, both within qualitative research, namely interviews as primary data and documents as secondary data. The strengths and limitations of interviews and documents are summarised by in Figure 14. Table 2 provides an overview of how the sources help to answer the sub-research question. All interviews are semi-structured. This creates flexibility, as the interviewee can add additional information and the questions can be adapted on the go (Bryman, 2015, pg. 467). Two different interview guides are being used, one for people involved in organising the participation process, summarised as 'planners' and one for the citizens (Appendix A and B). However, the interviews are only a means to obtain the necessary information, namely the experience of the people, their perceptions and their thoughts on the process.
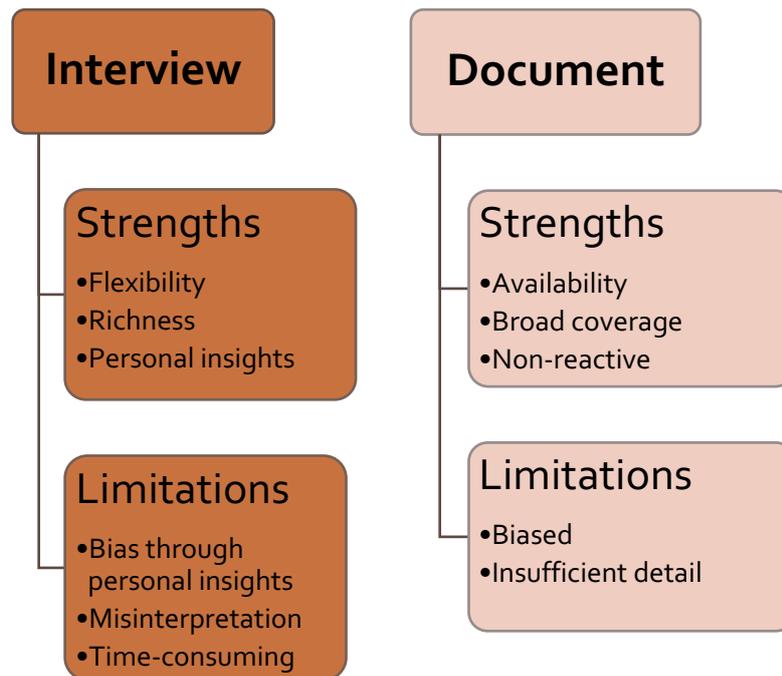
FIGURE 14 – STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF CHOSEN WAYS TO OBTAIN DATA (BASED ON ROLLER & LAVRAKAS, 2015, PP. 56; BOWEN, 2009)

Further, documents published by actors responsible for the participation process are analysed. The aim is to discover convergence (Bowen, 2009) between the written original intentions, the during the interviews discussed intentions and the actual outcome. Furthermore, triangulation of data ensures credibility and reduces bias (Ibid.). It has to be kept in mind that official documents have a certain meaning and are thus not just reflecting reality (Bryman, 2015, pg. 561). The insights have to be compared with other sources, in this case interviews, to make sense of the overall context.

TABLE 2 – CONNECTING SUB-RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA SOURCES

Sub-research question	Required data	Means of obtaining information
What do citizens expect when being included in participation processes?	- Opinions of people participating - Reasons for participating - Expectations of the outcome	Interviews citizens
How are these expectations met during the participation process?	- Insights on how participants experienced the process - Descriptions of feelings related to the process	Interview planners and citizens
What intentions regarding participation are articulated by planners?	- Why were citizens included? - What was the expected outcome? - How were the citizens included? (Who, how chosen)	Documents, interviews planners
How do these intentions play out reality?	- How were the expectations met? - What were positive and negative aspects?	Documents, Interviews planners

3.2.2 RESEARCH PROGRESS

This section demonstrates how the research is carried out. When using a mixed-method design (qualitative and quantitative) timing, weighting and mixing have to be considered (Punch, 2014, pg. 308). Arguably, this is also of importance when using triangulation (interviews and documents). The thesis follows a QUAL-qual design (Morse, 2010), meaning that the documents serve as supplementary qualitative components (Bowen, 2009). Documents are analysed first to obtain a deeper understanding of the case. The preliminary result of the document analysis is a so-called code manager in ATLAS.ti, where quotes are linked to interpretations and code-words. The obtained quotes are attached in Appendix F. Insights from the document analysis are used when interviewing employees responsible for the participation process and project.. Further, since a concurrent collection and analysis of the data is carried out, the order of the interviews is important. Figure 16 illustrates this. Originally, it was intended to go back-and-forth between interviewing the planners and residents (Figure 15). This was thought to be the best order of interviewing to keep a neutral view, instead of getting influenced by one group when carrying out all interviews in one go. However, due to organisational difficulties a new order was established, illustrated in Figure 16. First, the planners were interviewed, followed by the residents. The preliminary insights on the planners' intentions were kept in mind when interviewing the residents. Unlike suspected, interviewing the planners first did not influence how the interviews of the residents proceeded and thus did not have an effect on the outcome of the research.
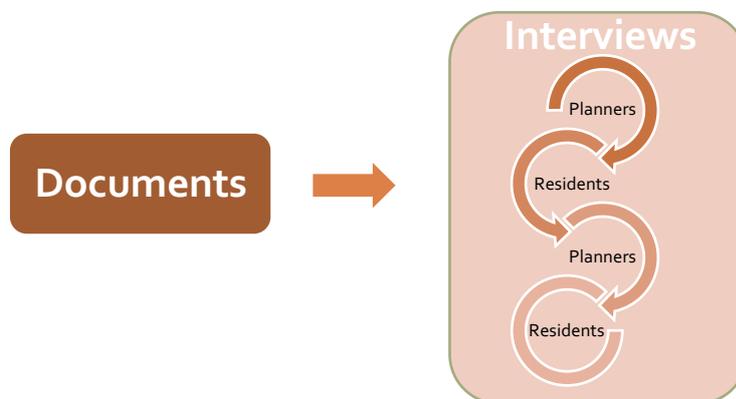
FIGURE 15 – RESEARCH PROGRESS AS INTENDED

FIGURE 16 – RESEARCH PROGRESS ADJUSTED

3.2.3 SET-UP OF INTERVIEWS AND OVERVIEW

In order to understand how the results are being obtained, it is of relevance to highlight how participants are selected. Participants representing citizens are obtained through a snowball sampling technique, as well as criterion sampling, selecting interviewees that meet certain criteria (Bryman, 2015, pg. 409). Planners are also chosen by criterion sampling, as only people having worked

at the project, being responsible for decision-making, are of relevance. It is important to choose suitable participants to ensure appropriateness of the sample (as discussed in Table 1). The following lists the criteria used for the selection of participants.

Selection criteria planners:

- Planners actively involved in setting up the participation process (with certain intentions)
- Planners actively involved in carrying out the participation process (with certain intentions)
- Need to have insights into what kind of influences the citizens have on the process

Selection criteria residents:

- Residents who participated (with certain expectations)

Since no statistical analysis is carried out, a minimum amount of participants is not required. Comparisons between different demographics are also not performed. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a large sample size (Bryman, 2015, pg. 416). The maximum amount of participants is achieved once saturation is reached, when no more new information can be obtained. This was the case for interviewing the planners. However, it would have been beneficial to interview a few more residents, as, for instance, when trying to obtain insights into the expectations of the citizens the information provided was limited. This limitation is further discussed in Section 6.4.1. Attempts were made to consult a few more residents to further enrich the data. For this requests were posted in two local Facebook groups. Furthermore, an advertisement was placed in the city's event magazine. However, both were to no avail. It was not possible to publish an advertisement in the neighbourhood newspaper of Drewitz, as it is only published quarterly, which did not fit into the thesis schedule. However, having only three local interviewees was still sufficient to answer the sub-questions.

An overview of the interviewees, displaying their role in the process, how they were acquired, the length and the type of the interview are presented in Table 3. The type of interview has to be kept flexible, keeping Covid-19 regulations in mind. Face-to-face interviews are the preferred option, as personal contact creates a better connection between participants and researcher. Phone calls are convenient, but body language is not observable (Bryman, 2015, 485). Video calls strike a balance between personal meetings and phone interviews. They can be rescheduled on short notice and are time saving (travelling) (Ibid., pg. 492). However, unstable internet connections can be inconvenient when transcribing the interviews.

TABLE 3 – OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEWEES

	Who	Establishment of contact	Length	Date	Type of interview
P1	Employee of the company responsible for the neighbourhood's management	Direct contact via email	42:49	03.05.2021	Video call
P2	Employee of the company responsible for the neighbourhood's management	Direct contact via email	42:49	03.05.2021	Video call

P3	Employee of the neighbourhood centre who organised many participation events	Direct contact via email	34:11	04.05.2021	Video call
P4	Employee of the housing association	Via web form of housing association	38:58	07.05.2021	Video call
P5	Employee of the agency which organised the participation process	Direct contact via email	52:38	18.05.2021	Video call
R6	Participating resident	via Bürgervertretung spokesperson	40:32	21.05.2021	Phone call
R7	Participating resident	via Bürgervertretung spokesperson	45:30	25.05.2021	Video call
R8	Participating resident	via Bürgervertretung spokesperson	37:40	26.05.2021	Video call

3.2.4 OVERVIEW DOCUMENTS

This section presents the chosen documents. Table 5 provides an overview of the studied documents, listing the type of document, year of publication, the publisher and an explanation why this document was chosen. These documents were obtained from the website of the city government, as well as from websites of external planning office which were involved in the process. Prior to analysing the documents a list of key search terms based on concepts from the literature is established to make the process more efficient (Table 4).

It has to be mentioned as a limitation of this research, that after analysing the documents it became apparent that the majority of them did not provide anticipated insights. However, this did not affect the results negatively, as the more personal insights obtained from the interviews enriched the data. This is further discussed in Section 6.4.1.

TABLE 4 – SEARCH TERMS

Concept	List of key search terms
Level of participation	Survey, workshop, hearing, collaboration, inclusion, meetings, influence/impact
Stakeholders	City government, residents, society, expectations
Benefits	Local knowledge, insights, opinions
Process	Objection, participation (as in participating in the process - different meaning in German, more like attendance), feedback, transparency
Criticism	Democratic, representative, elderly, minorities, language barriers

TABLE 5 – OVERVIEW OF ANALYSED DOCUMENTS

	Name of document *(Translation)*	Type of document	Year	Publisher	Information
1	**Masterplan Gartenstadt Drewitz** *(Master plan Garden town Drewitz)*	Draft of the following document	2011	Landeshauptstadt Potsdam	This plan served as the final concept before implementation.
2	**Konzept zur Bürgerbeteiligung für das Projekt „Gartenstadt Drewitz"** *(Concept for the citizen participation for the project "Garden town Drewitz")*	Draft of the participation process	2011	Landeshauptstadt Potsdam	This document provides insights into how the participation process was planned out.
3	**Planungszeitung Gartenstadt Drewitz** (*Planning newspaper Garden town Drewitz)*	'Newspaper' informing residents about plan and participation	2011	Stadtkontor GmbH	This document was used by the project developers to inform the residents about the project, as well as introducing ways of participating.
4	**Integriertes Energie- und Klimaschutzkonzept, Endbericht: Langfassung** *(Integrated energy and climate protection concept, final report: extended version)*	Final report of the master plan	2014	plan zwei – Stadtplanung und Architektur; BEI – Bremer Energie Institut; PGT – Umwelt und Verkehr GmbH	This document is a detailed summary of the whole project, mostly focusing on the regeneration but also touching upon the participation process.
5	**Mit Bürgerbeteiligung zur Nachhaltigen Quartiersentwicklung** *(With citizen participation towards sustainable neighbourhood development)*	Presentation	n.d.	ProPotsdam GmbH	This presentation is a short summary of the project with emphasis on the participation process.
6	**Abschlussbericht Sanierungsmanagement Potsdam-Drewitz** *(Final report regeneration management Potsdam-Drewitz)*	Final evaluation report	2017	Sanierungsmanagement Potsdam Drewitz; BLS Energieplan GmbH; plan zwei – Stadtplanung und Architektur; STATTBAU Stadtentwicklungsgesellschaft mbH	This document reflects on and evaluates the whole project, including the participation process.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

To keep the research transparent, the following section explains how the obtained data is analysed. First, the document analysis is discussed. After the search terms (Table 4) are discovered in the documents, relevant text passages are coded in ATLAS.ti. Keeping in mind that the documents were published with a certain intention, strict coding is not advisable. Instead, relevant quotes are linked to emerging concepts. This makes it possible to constantly reflect on the kind of document, the publisher and its goal. The final coding table is visible in Appendix D. Quotes are translated into English, as all documents were published in German.

Following, the analysis of the interviews is discussed. Interviews are recorded, transcribed and then transferred to ATLAS.ti. Before analysing the first interview a provisional deductive coding table is created (Table 6). These sub-themes are based on theoretical insights from the literature review developed in Chapter 2, helping to investigate how the theoretical framework can be applied to the chosen case. The key words are possible terms that could be mentioned during the interviews, helping to facilitate the coding process. During the analysis new concepts emerge, resulting in inductive coding, referring to potentially new theoretical insights. Combined, the concepts are taken up in an extensive coding table (Appendix E) and are used during the analysis. Figure 17 illustrates the coding process, based on Punch (2014, pg. 178). All interviews are conducted in German. The analysis is therefore also carried out in German. The codes used are translated into English, as well as the main quotes, from which relevant statements are abstracted.

TABLE 6 – PROVISIONAL CODING TABLE BASED ON THEORETICAL INSIGHTS

Theme	Sub-theme	Key words
Levels of participation	Low (Information, consultation)	Presentation, newspaper, information event, asking questions, cost-effective, newspaper/newsletter, blog
	Collaboration	Workshops, discussion, consensus-seeking
	Inclusion	Visual plans, several actors representing citizens, brain-storming, developing ideas
	Empowerment	Impact, decision-making, being taken serious, being heard, respect, time consuming
Expectations	Power	Impact, decision-making, being taken serious, being heard, respect, time consuming
	Social inequality	Low income, lack of understanding, talked down upon
	Support from authorities	Teaching, guidance, respect
	None	Lack of interest, lack of time
Intentions	Legitimacy	Support, less objection, acceptance, content, improved environment
	Local knowledge	Experience, adventure, childhood, school, usage of space

	Learning process	Development, improvement, critique, feedback, evaluation
	Avoidance of conflict	Opposition, delay, no acceptance
Praise	Empowerment	Impact, decision-making, being taken serious, being heard, respect, time consuming
	Bureaucratic accountability	Law, expected, protest, objection
	Equal representation of interests	Democratic, having a say, contributing
	Feeling of inclusion	Acceptance, appreciation, consultation
	Diminishing inequalities	Empowerment, equality, same level
Criticism	Power imbalance	Language barrier, internet, lack of time
	Lack of impact	Not considered, ideas not processed, not realistic, too costly, pretence
	Elite space	Talked down, condescending
	Undemocratic	Open process, clear communication,
Stakeholders	Locals	Lack of interest, lack of participation,
	Neighbourhood representatives	Eagerness, trustworthy, accepted, known
	Planners	Lack of local knowledge, lack of interest, determined, interested
	City	Pushing agenda, prestige, investment

To first summarise the interviews, descriptive codes are created, for instance the planners' role within the participation process or to what extent a resident participated in the process. Topic codes are then used to narrow down the actual analysis. Following, and still rather general, abstraction of second-order concepts takes place. These include concepts such as 'information meetings' or 'newsletter'. By making the indicators more concrete first-order concepts are developed, for instance 'feeling of being taken serious'. Once these are established the next interview or document is analysed (indicated by the arrow in Figure 17). Once all are fully coded, the concepts are grouped and organised in themes, also known as thematic analysis (Mills *et al.*, 2010, pg. 926). To ensure the research's reliability as discussed in Section 3.1.2, theoretical thinking is applied. Only then are the final themes developed, interpreted and lasty theory development takes place. The chosen quotes used for the discussion of the results are presented in Appendix G.
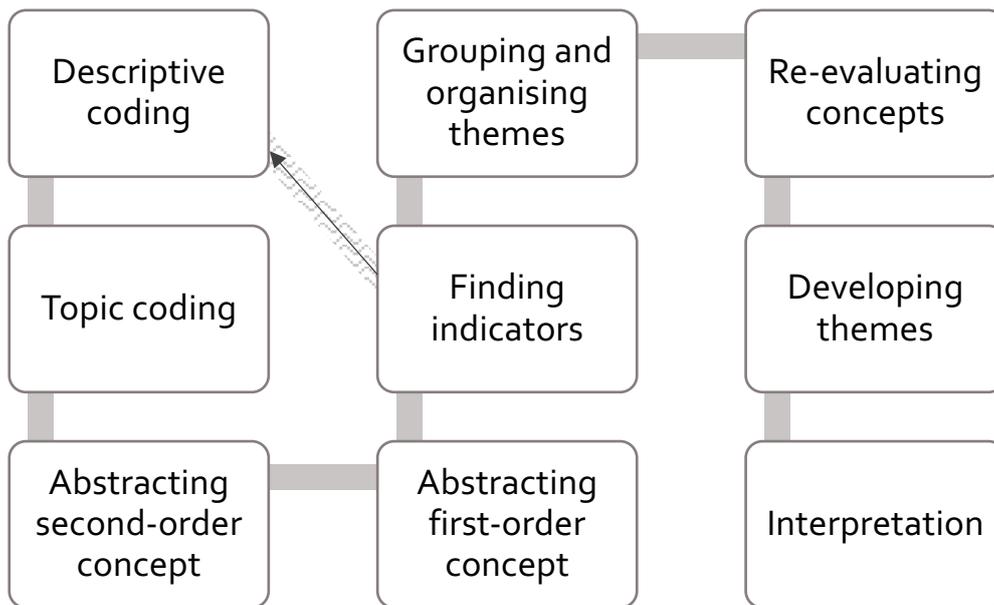
FIGURE 17 – CODING PROCESS (BASED ON PUNCH, 2014, PG. 178)

The research strategy is summarised in Figure 18. Once all the data has been interpreted, results are presented in Chapter 5. The conceptual framework serves as a theoretical backbone. In Chapter 6 the results are discussed in relation to theory. Conclusions are then drawn.
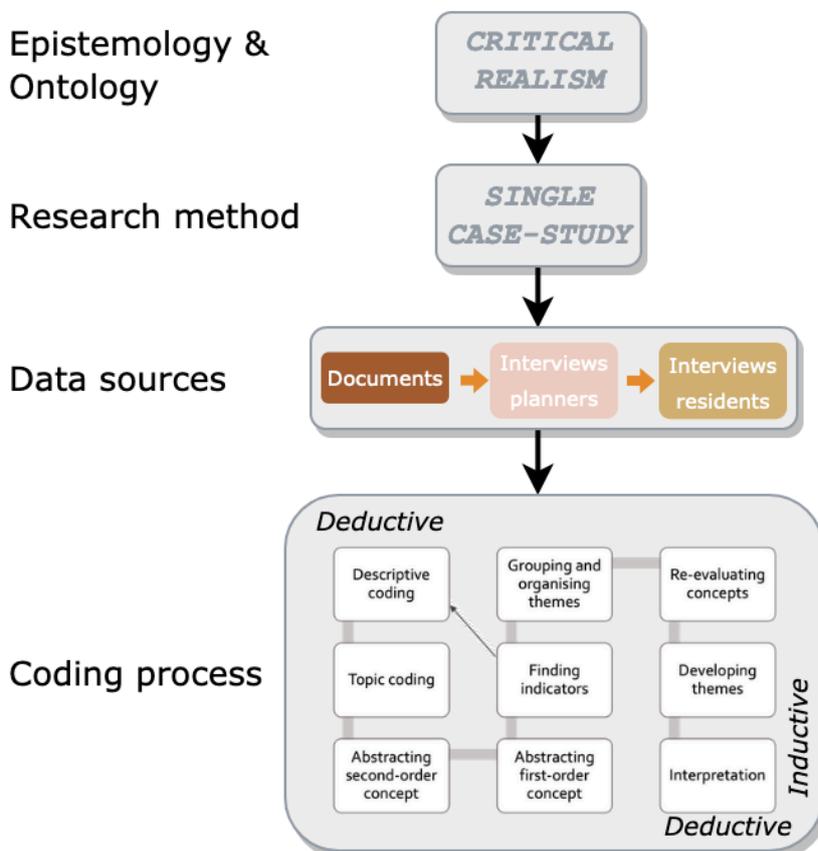
FIGURE 18 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH STRATEGY

3.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Lastly, when carrying out research ethical considerations have to be made. According to Tight (2017, pg. 151) four main ethical aspects have to be kept in mind when carrying out research. First, participants have to receive full information about the research and their role as interviewees. This is done by making them sign a form of consent (Appendix C) prior to the interviews, obtainable at https://rug.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_dooDkbytcRPs4w6. Second, the researcher has to ensure that no (psychological) harm is caused (Ibid.). Since participation is not a burdensome topic, participants are not expected to suffer in any way. If, however, they decide to opt out of the research, they are given the possibility, without having to provide reason. Lastly, confidentiality and anonymity are ensured. Internal knowledge from planners has to be treated carefully. Interviewees are referred to by numbers. Information is stored safely, and only the researcher and supervisor have access to the raw data.

4 CASE DESCRIPTION

To provide background information on the chosen case, the following chapter highlights the main reasons for carrying out the regeneration process by providing insights into the social context. These insights are relevant to later comprehend the obtained results.

Drewitz is a borough located in the south-west of Potsdam, in the federal state of Brandenburg Germany, with around 5500 inhabitants (Oelschläger, 2016) (Map A). The neighbourhood was constructed in the 1980s, in the popular style of prefabricated concrete slabs (Plattenbau) of the former GDR. Figure 19 gives an impression (the viewpoint is indicated with '1' in Map A). The neighbourhood is physically constricted by a motorway in the north and east, an industrial area in the west and greenery in the south, indicating that, linked to the discussion in Section 3.1.2, the geographical scale of the project is restricted to where daily encounters take place. The demographics are heterogeneous. 20% of the residents received long-term unemployment benefits, and the percentage of foreigners was 11% in 2016. The voter turnout for the municipal elections in 2014 of just 28% (49% overall in Potsdam as a comparison) (Oelschläger, 2016) could be seen as a lack of interest in political decision-making.
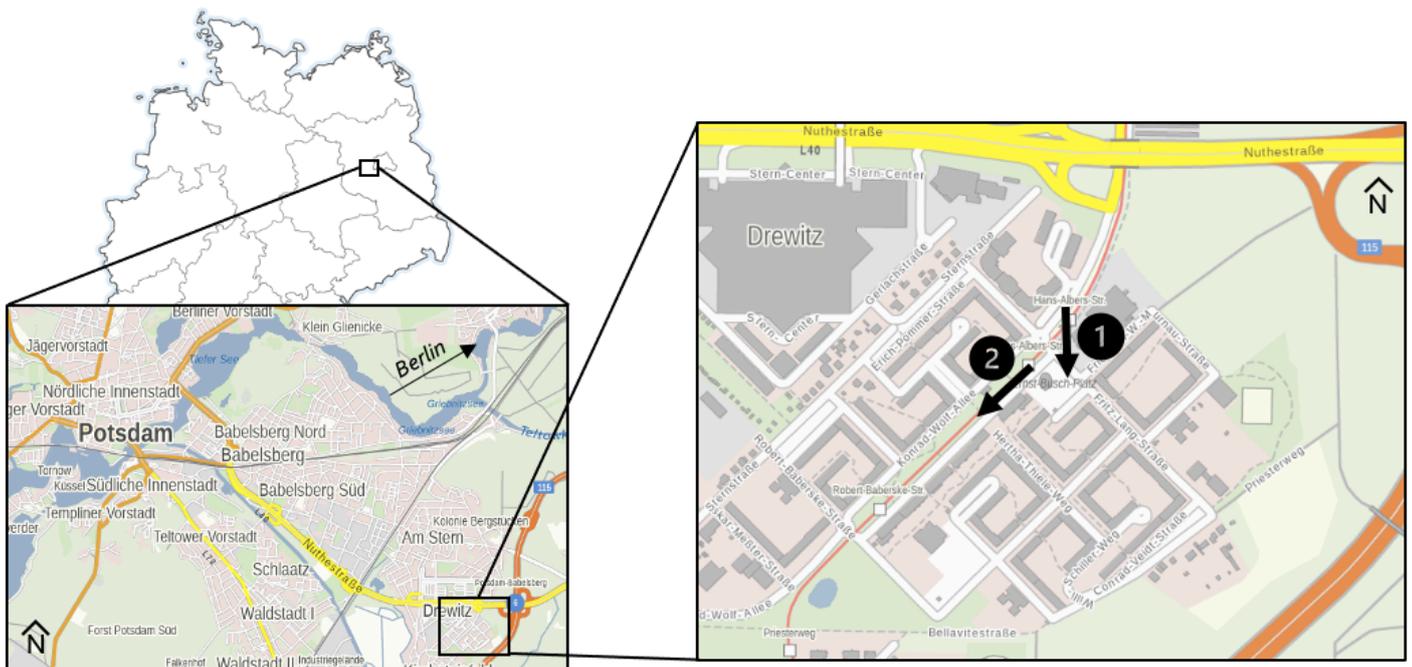
FIGURE 19 – LOCATION OF DREWITZ IN GERMANY AND POTSDAM (GEOPORTAL BRANDENBURG, 2021)

In 2009 ProPotsdam GmbH, the local housing association, participated in a federal competition for energetic refurbishment. The ideas were translated into a concept and won an award. Two years later, in coalition with a newly elected community board a masterplan was constructed, including a detailed document regarding the inclusion of citizens during the process. From 2013 onwards constructions took place, developing Drewitz from a satellite town into a 'garden town', financed by public bodies (Landeshauptstadt Potsdam, n.d.). The major aims were to increase the energetic standards of the apartment blocks and the amount of green spaces (Stadtkontor GmbH, n.d.). Improvements to the outdoor environment can for example be seen on the Konrad-Wolf-Allee (Figure 20 – the viewpoint is indicated with '2' in Figure 19), the main street, where a park was created. Several awards were won,

highlighting the perceived success of the project. These awards are one of the reasons for choosing Drewitz as a case.
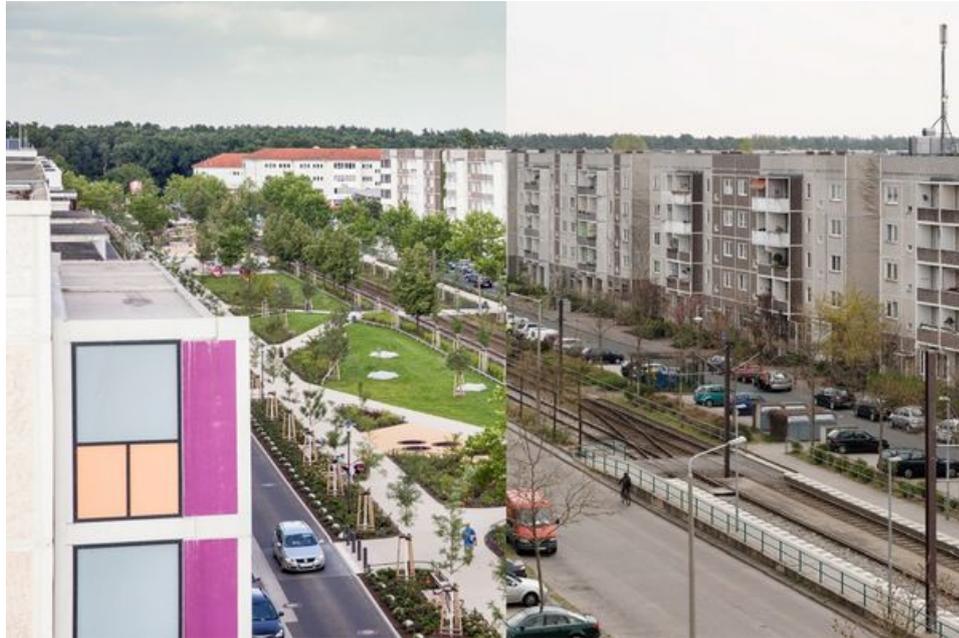
FIGURE 20 – (2) AFTER THE REGENERATION AND BEFORE – SHOWING THE KONRAD-WOLF-ALLEE (VCD, N.D.)

The focus of the thesis is on the participation process during the regeneration of the buildings and open spaces. Even though the major constructions are finalised, the borough is still undergoing changes, and is therefore still of relevance as a case. In 2020 a new neighbourhood café was opened (Förster, 2020), acting as a local meeting point. Further, yearly meetings take place, where involved actors discuss outcomes of the project and how to proceed further, in regards to the aim of Drewitz becoming an energy neutral borough by 2050 (Blickpunkt, 2020).

FIGURE 21 – (1) VIEW ONTO DREWITZ (GOOGLE EARTH PRO, 2020)

5 RESULTS

After the methodology and case have been discussed, this chapter presents the results. Since the documents only have a supporting function for analysing the intentions of the planners, the document insights are presented first in Section 5.1. Following, Section 5.2 goes into the findings from the interviews. In this chapter no interpretations are made.

5.1 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

This section discusses the document analysis. Six documents were analysed, based on Table 5. The results obtained from the document analysis can be divided into two main parts, intentions and outcomes of the process. It has to be noted that only two documents were very insightful, as others had only little mentioning of participation and related key words. In the documents focusing on participation some information could be obtained. However, in documents focusing on the whole project, participation only played a minor role. This means that the document analysis was less revealing than intended. However, some insights could still be obtained. This limitation is further discussed in Section 3.2.4 and Section 6.5.1.

It has to be kept in mind that documents often serve a certain purpose. The documents from which the main results were drawn were written in an informative style, trying to bring across the process as positive as possible. However, drawbacks and challenges were also mentioned. This was considered during the analysis. All quotes taken from the documents are original statements made in the documents, thus the quotes used are not quotes of another document. The main quotations on which the findings are based are presented in Appendix F, making the results more transparent.

5.1.1 INTENTIONS

Three main intentions emerged: informing, identifying problems and increasing engagement. Others are summarised shortly. Further, 'real' intentions became visible during the analysis, which are also presented in the following. Highlighting different intentions discovered in the documents provides insights into how the planners engaged with the citizens and what they hoped the outcome of the participation process would be.

INFORMING

Many different intentions regarding citizen participation were stated. The most common one was 'informing', mentioned in Document 2, 3 and 4. It was suggested that residents should be informed early about upcoming projects (LHP, 2011b). A planned setting for this were biannual panels, "where citizens could be informed, exchanging insights and opinions" (Ibid., pg. 11). Proposals regarding other ways of informing the residents were made, such as publishing an information pamphlet, setting up a website where information and newspaper articles can be shared, as well as a yearly 'garden town festival' (Ibid.). The aforementioned pamphlet was indeed published in the same year, portraying FAQs, providing an overview of contact details and explaining the intentions of the urban regeneration project (Stadtkontor GmbH, 2011). Other ways of keeping the residents informed resulted in the formation of 'town-hall' meetings (LHP, 2014) and newspapers/newsletters (LHP, 2011b).

IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS

Identifying problems in the area was also stated as a main intention for consulting citizens. Further it was argued that through the surveys desires and the current sentiment could be identified (Ibid.). Another method chosen to obtain citizens' insights was a "book of sorrow" (Ibid., pg. 13), giving people the opportunity to document their problems and wishes anonymously. A suggestion box was also installed in the community space (Ibid.). Again stated three years later in Document 4, surveys were still seen as a method to obtain insights from the citizens' perspective (LHP, 2014).

INCREASING ENGAGEMENT

The stakeholders involved in setting up the participation process also aimed to increase the engagement of the citizens and their involvement with the regeneration project (LHP, 2011b). By doing so it was hoped that the citizens would develop an interest in participation, especially those who prior to this project have never participated (Ibid.), potentially increasing the project's acceptance. Directly mentioned were children and teenagers, elderly, migrants and unemployed, drawing attention to the fact that this might result in extending the time frame of the project (Ibid.). Addressing the project's aim of becoming a CO_2-neutral district, the intention of the participation process was to increase citizens' confidence in making small changes themselves (LHP, 2014).

OTHER

Other identified intentions being mentioned less frequently related to increasing communication, sustainable thinking, transparency, independence and satisfaction, as well as lowering opposition and distrust. The intention of keeping the process as transparent as possible was thought to be met by regularly informing the residents and by keeping them up-to-date (LHP, 2011b). Reaching identification and higher satisfaction with the district was stated as another aim of direct citizen participation, as it was stated that only united the transition towards an emission-free garden town will be successful (LHP, 2014). Participation was seen as a means to decrease distrust (LHP, 2011b), as communication with external stakeholders was meant to improve through discussions and information events (LHP, 2011a).

Regarding the climate protection concept the participation process was meant to establish an understanding of the regeneration goals, as well as to support locals to act more sustainably on the individual level (LHP, 2014). Later it was thought that information relating to the technical regeneration management is too abstract for the citizens (STATTBAU mbH, 2017). It was therefore decided to confine publicity to consumer information (Ibid.).

REAL INTENTIONS

The planners' 'real' intentions became visible during the analysis, showing that participation also served as a means to meet the authorities' interests. These relate to making the process as efficient as possible, meeting jurisdictional requirements and convincing the residents of the need of the regeneration project. By informing citizens and providing space for discussion the planners hoped to "obtain opinions as early as possible (...) , preventing incorrect planning and reaching consensus as quickly as possible" (LHP, 2011b, pg. 3). The use of surveys was argued to prevent potential aberration (Ibid.). Linking to the jurisdictional requirements of the federal state of Brandenburg, participation was made binding for the process (Stadtkontor GmbH, 2011). Another, arguably manipulative, remark was made: "Fostering direct citizen engagement to 'win them over'" (LHP, 2014, pg. 148). This

was done with the intention of raising citizens' awareness to make use of more sustainable options, such as bike-sharing (Ibid.), which would link to the overall goal of an emission-free garden town. Similarly, while stressing the importance of informing the citizens about the process of the project, it was also stated that the benefits of the regeneration, such as a reduction of utilities (rent) should be conveyed to them (Ibid.). A competition was hosted for which children were asked to design a garden town logo. Residents were given the opportunity to vote for the best design. The intention behind this participation process can be seen as a marketing act, so that the regeneration project could be "marketed and communicated" as moving towards becoming an emission-free district (LHP, 2014).

5.1.2 OUTCOME OF THE PROCESS

Several documents were chosen with the expectation that insights regarding the proceedings of the process can be obtained (Documents 4, 5 and 6). However, after the analysis it became apparent that only Document 2 provided detailed information on how the intentions of the planners played out in reality, and this only based on the early phase of the process from 2009-2011. The final reports (4 and 6) focused more on the goal of becoming an emission-free district. Participation was less reflected upon. Nevertheless, the reflection in Document 2 on the early phase is still relevant, as it showcased the planners' internal disputes and how they attempted to overcome initial struggles. Another discovery was that reflections were made but no further explanation was given, hindering detailed analysis. Nevertheless, the lack of insights is complemented with results from the interview analysis in Section 5.2.

The outcomes were stated as follows. It was noted that planning and implementation of the participatory aspect of the process led to a delay (LHP, 2011b). Remarks were also made regarding the execution of the process from the planners' side. It was observed that the participation process was steered too much and that certain stakeholders found their responsibilities to be too ambiguous, put down as a lack of transparency (Ibid.). Information did not reach all stakeholders, exemplified by a lack of signposting for the community spaces where discussions took place (Ibid.). Especially the initial phase of the participation process was therefore met by citizens' opposition and criticism (Ibid.). Resulting, it was stated that communication and ways of informing actors have to be expanded in future processes (Ibid.). Seemingly improvements were made between 2011 and 2014, as in Document 4, issued three years after the initial concepts, past participation methods were reflected upon shortly by stating that they prove to be successful and that these way of informing will also be carried out in the future (LHP, 2014).

It was noted that the willingness to participate was lacking. "Not enough residents actively engaged" (LHP, 2011b, pg. 5), which was also reflected in the voter turnout for the Bürgervertretung (ProPotsdam GmbH, n.d.). Several remarks were made regarding the Bürgervertretung. First, internal conflicts arose within the group (LHP, 2011b). Second, it was noted that they were overburdened (Ibid.), but no explanation was provided as to why this occurred. In contrast it was also stated that the Bürgervertretung successfully acted as a point of contact (Ibid.).

5.2 INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

After describing the results from the document analysis, this section presents the interview results. First, descriptive insights into the case itself are discussed. These insights are important to understand the context of the case. Following, results relevant for bringing the research on the participation

polarisation forward are discussed. The presentation of the findings follows the structure of the conceptual model. Ordering results by means of previous theoretical insights sheds light on similarities and possible mismatches. The presentation of insights is supported by in-text quotes to strengthen a certain point or indented quotes, which are thought to convey a certain message firmly. The main quotations on which the findings are based are presented in Appendix G, making the results more transparent.

5.2.1 CASE

After analysing the interviews it became apparent that the social context in Drewitz impacted the participation process, which is why it is important to highlight case-specific findings first.

Several participants mentioned that the social climate in Drewitz differed from other boroughs in Potsdam. One planner noticed that that the sense of community was much lower and people seemed to be less interested in their surroundings, which could be attributed to educational deprivation, but also unequal opportunities in comparison with other boroughs, as social infrastructure, such as meeting spaces or clubs were non-existent. The urgency to improve the neighbourhood resulted in the creation of the urban regeneration masterplan.

> *"Changes were necessary, not just on the level of city planning, but also the social structures required work".*
>
> *- P3, 04.05.2021 -*

It was stated that due to time constraints of the competition it was not possible to consult the people of Drewitz first, whether or not they approve of the plan. Nevertheless, after the plan got approved, it needed to be presented to the locals. After planners were verbally insulted during an information event, the participation concept got developed by an external planning company in collaboration with ProPotsdam and the city government, "but far too late" (P1). Low initial acceptance was caused by fear and anger.

Two planners, independently, saw the aforementioned resentment as a catalyst of participation. This led to the creation of first the BürgerAktiv, which was then eventually followed by the formation of the Bürgervertretung. A common view among the interviewees was that the Drewitzer were at first not in favour of the project. However, all felt that once the workshops started to take place the overall acceptance grew and "a dialogue formed" even though less people participated than in the first information event (R7). This was also noticeable in the workshops, as one participant was under the impression that people were starting to become familiar with each other. It was suggested that approval increased as people were starting to see the benefits, especially the ones who were originally very against it.

Themes discussed during the interviews for which the citizens were consulted or included were wide-ranging. Regarding the renovation of the housings most participation resulted in informing people about upcoming constructions. The park was another main topic of debate. Mobility-related were the parking issues and the detouring of the main street. Due to the construction of the park on the main street the parking lots were planned to be removed, which initially caused outrage. However, a solution was found, 200 meters away, which was accepted by the locals.

Even though the main objectives of the garden town plan were met, as stated by several planners, the project runs until 2025. Until then the Bürgervertretung still remains active. The city makes use of this as they can "use it as a communication channel" to reach the citizens (R7). The end product, especially the park renewal, was thought to be met with high satisfaction, suggested by all interviewees. Many of the implemented changes were not originally intended by the planners, but the citizen consultation was thought to have resulted in the creation of new ideas.

BENEFITS AND DRAWBACKS

To obtain insights into the benefits and drawbacks of including residents in the project relevant questions were asked. Clear responses stood out. From the planners' side the most common answer regarding the benefits was an increase in acceptance and legitimisation of the process. Another response indicated that it helped to work more goal-oriented as they were made aware of "what the citizens want" (P1). Further, collaboration also created knowledge and helped to strengthen the trust between all actors. "Not running away, but staying" demonstrated a willingness to collaborate from the planners' side (P4). Summarising, it benefited the overall outcome:

> *"A benefit, very clearly, it is now better than it would have been without."*
>
> *- P4, 07.05.2021 -*

Nevertheless, drawbacks also stood out. It was reported that the whole process took one year longer than originally anticipated. It also created a higher workload and demanded dedication from the planners. Further, it was perceived as challenging that many people were suddenly becoming 'experts' with too many ambitions, which another interviewee phrased as "too many cooks can spoil the broth" (P3).

5.2.2 FOUNDATIONS

Following the description of the local context, the 'foundation' of the participation process is discussed. Attention is paid to the actors involved, methods and levels of participation. These insights help to understand the underlying conflicts resulting in polarisation which are presented in Section 5.2.4.

ACTORS

The city, representing the **municipal authority**, was the main principal of the process. A common view amongst interviewees was that the working structure of the city's planners was very hierarchical, which showed in the lack of competence to deal with participative processes. Further, they were inexperienced in setting up participation methods. Their initial attempt of including the citizens was top-down informing, met by immediate rejection. One interviewee was under the impression that no initial thought was given to how to include the residents, as upon asking how people will be included the person in charge remained unsure. Eventually it was decided to put out a list where interested people can put down their names. Further, the wrong estimation of interest was criticised by one interviewee, as the chosen hall with space for 70 people was far too small, as more people (around 150-200) turned up. This showed to be troublesome when the lack of preparedness from the city government's side was met by fear and anger from the citizens, discussed previously.

The **planners** interviewed can be divided into two parts. One group (city government, housing association) wanted to regenerate the neighbourhood with as little objection as possible, whereas the other group (external firms, planners working at the neighbourhood centre) were seen by the local respondents to have had the interests of the citizens in mind. Planners from the city government were seen as being reluctant to change their existing plans, saying that their option is the only viable option. Only after more than 1000 people signed a letter of objection and a citizen representative group (BürgerAktiv) presented a professional alternative the concerns were considered. After further conflicts the second group became more involved and attempted to make the participation process as inclusive as possible, going beyond the common methods of only informing. Responses suggest that only after external firms took over the process design, the activities became slightly more inclusive.

In all cases, the respondents reported that the most relevant and impactful actors were the two **citizen representative groups** BürgerAktiv and the Bürgervertretung. First, the BürgerAktiv will be presented, followed by the Bürgervertretung. Independently from the planners, BürgerAktiv formed, a self-appointed group of people willing to invest time and energy into the developments of Drewitz. They had up to 10 members and held semi-monthly meetings, which residents were able to attend. They bridged the gap between the planners and the locals by, for instance, providing a professionally worked out alternative draft to the heavily opposed transport detouring. However, the citizen initiative also had its drawbacks. As a response to the question if the actors were aware of any conflicts (based on the findings from the document analysis), the internal dialogue among the members got criticised by a few. Another respondent criticised that the BürgerAktiv was "spineless" when it came to implementing decisions, as members stated that the BürgerAktiv should not be held accountable for certain opinions. This proved troublesome when attempts were made to legitimise planning decisions which required the support of the citizen initiative. Nevertheless, the BürgerAktiv was considered to have sparked dialogue and channelled the participation towards the creation of a Bürgervertretung.

The Bürgervertretung was founded by the planners to increase the acceptance of the project, as it was hoped that instead of simply informing the residents top-down, initiatives would be taken up, connecting the Drewitzer. Another planner experienced that the locals were demanding a Bürgervertretung. The Bürgervertretung was reported as a success for the continuation of the project. Concluding on the Bürgervertretung, it can be seen as a way to legitimise decision-making and increase the residents' acceptance by making the whole project more approachable to locals. This also reflected in the overall changing course, as acceptance was reported to slowly increase, after the citizens felt that they were being represented by fellow locals.

Lasty, reflecting on the **local** actors sheds light on their reasons for participating and their expectations from the process and the events they attended. Especially the information events at the beginning of the process were used to get rid of anger, but as one respondent stated, it remained uncertain what was expected from expressing opposition that way. Unfortunately, all local interviewees were in favour of the project and could therefore not provide insights. Participation from locals outside the realms of the citizen initiatives was rather low.

> *"It's the same as everywhere else. The people who stood for election for the Bügervertretung were already involved politically or had a certain educational background."*

> *- P3, 04.05.2021 -*

The respondents noted that the majority of those who attended the initial information events were there to articulate the previously discussed angers and fears, mostly related to traffic changes. The people who protested "against the plan initially were 50 plus and car owners, exaggerating of course" (R7). This is a rather unsurprising result. To some participants it remained unclear why people were opposing the changes, as it was thought that it would improve the living conditions in the neighbourhood a lot. Regarding the engagement of people with limited engagement, the responses suggested that hardly any attempts were made to engage those who seemed disinterested. A common view was that if people are not interested or willing to participate, not much can be done.

METHODS AND LEVELS OF PARTICIPATING

Related to the levels and methods of including the citizens some summaries can be made. From the responses it became apparent that the most frequent way of reaching the residents was by informing them. This took place in the form of a blog, newspaper, information events and the yearly summer festival. The blog made the whole procedure "more comprehensible and accessible, as the people used it to inform themselves" (P5). The neighbourhood newspaper was another way of informing the residents about upcoming constructions or events and was seen by one of the planners as a "networking instrument" (P2). People were encouraged to send in requests or to promote events. The language used was more informal, so people were able to understand it. The most mentioned method of informing the citizens was the yearly summer festival. It is a festivity with a stage program and music, where people can socialise and inform themselves and can approach the present planners with questions related to the regeneration project. The demand seemed to be high as during the first year planners spent 10 hours answering questions. This insight shows that even though the level of informing was high, the other channels of informing were not used as much or not able to answer personal questions. One planner reflected on the high levels of informing by stating that in the beginning too much focus was put on just informing the citizens. However, it is also a way to reach all citizens equally and was therefore widely used.

Apart from the previously discussed information events another method to inform the citizens was the "Drewitz Messe", where throughout two day six different topics were presented successively. Every few hours a new information cycle started, giving people the opportunity to join whenever they had time, making it more accessible. To prevent further conflicts an external moderator joined, who mediated the discussions and protected the planners. One of the interviewees who attended this event appreciated the presence of the moderator, as he was able to bring discussions back to a more objective level. As a result of this more personal event another interviewee was under the impression that the citizens understood the planners' intentions and were also able to spread the word.

Collaboration (possibly even inclusion) was intended to take place as the planners wanted to "give people the opportunity to contribute, partake and to involve them in decision-making" (P3). This was the case during the workshops, which made it possible to brainstorm new ideas by using a more creative format. Four took place, during which smaller groups with 6-8 people discussed certain topics. The participants seemed to be eager to come up with ideas.

> *"During these workshops it was noticeable that discussions were objective, and many good suggestions were made, we were accepted. So together we were able to change a lot."*
>
> *- R6, 21.05.2021 -*

After having elaborated on the 'foundation' of the process of citizen participation in Drewitz, the following section discusses planners' intentions. Most insights from the interviews overlapped with the document analysis. Further factors mentioned in the documents were identifying problems and increasing engagement. The lack of complete overlap between the interviews and documents could be explained by the fact that the documents disclosed information more 'presentable' and did not require interpretation of verbal statements.

In the interview analysis three main themes became apparent. First, it was mentioned that they expected the project to be accepted. To reach the acceptance more was needed than just top-down informing, which was stated as a reason for the creation of the Bürgervertretung. With this acceptance it was thought to be possible to create a more liveable environment. After the debacle of the first information event it was also obvious that without including the citizens the project could not move forward as some felt that it was expected from the citizens to be included. This is an interesting insight as it contradicts with the lack of participation, further discussed in Section 5.2.4. Second, the planners aimed for legitimisation, which can also be linked to the intention of improving bureaucratic accountability. Third, including the citizens was seen as a way of making the process more transparent. This transparency can be linked to the planners' behaviour, as it was argued that by creating transparency the developers demonstrated a willingness to cooperate.

These intentions were not unnoticed by the citizens. A local participant was under the impression that the first information event was only held to "sell the project", as opposition was so high (R7). Other reasons stated were to prevent conflicts which would have caused a further delay and obtaining insights into the social context in order to create a good end-product:

> *"The development of the neighbourhood, we do it for the local people (...) if you want to do it well, you have to include the people".*

> *- P4, 07.05.2021 -*

Another theme that emerged was the creation of a learning process. It was stated that including citizens required the planners to rethink and adapt to people who were suddenly making demands. Reflecting on the process, several interviewees argued that they learned from the mistakes made in the initial information event, as "previously to the process participation like this didn't exist in the city" (R7). Reflecting further, planners also became more open to suggestions, especially regarding the traffic detouring and plans for the park. They obtained insights into the ways participation processes should be carried out. Mistakes were made, followed by changes to the concept and process, which helped to develop the structures for the following years. One planner came to the conclusion that his colleagues should have been radiating more confidence as they were required to defend the project against opposition, but also their job itself. Further, it was noted that they need to be able to set boundaries where participation is possible and where professional expertise is required.

A further intention that crystallised was networking. One planner in particular highlighted the benefits of organising the yearly summer festivities. By organising the event all actors had to come together, which improved communication in the neighbourhoood and led to social cohesion.

> *"You get to know people. And that's the main function. Networking in the run-up is very important."*

Networking took not just place during the festivities, but also via the neighbourhood's newspaper. Especially the Oskar relied on a "network of motivated people", to compensate the lack of social infrastructure (P5). The Oskar, a community centre established in the course of the regeneration and centrally located in the neighbourhood, was also used as a place where people could obtain more information about the project in the form of exhibitions and bi-weekly consultation hours. It was mentioned by many interviewees as a beneficial physical contact point between the planners and residents as "they knew that someone will always be present there" (P5).

"*They are skilled and no matter what's going on, you can always talk to them.*"

The intention of obtaining local knowledge was not mentioned. In contrast, one remark even suggested that the city's planners accepted the locals' suggestions rather reluctantly. The interviewee stated the planned detouring of the main traffic as being heavily opposed by the locals, as in no matter of time around 1000 signatures against the proposition were collected. He argued that the reason for objection was that the planners only focused on the project on the Konrad-Wolf-Allee but did not take impacts on the wider neighbourhood into account. To oppose these changes, the BürgerAktiv developed a professional alternative plan. This was possible as some of the members were former traffic planners. Eventually, the interviewee stated, the plan was accepted by the city, showing that the experts came to the conclusion that the by the locals proposed alternative will face higher acceptance and thus will not cause further conflict. This insight can be linked to the presence of path-dependency, discussed in the following section.

5.2.4 CRITICISM

In the previous section the planners' intentions were presented. Following, possible remarks which participation processes can come under criticism for will be discussed.

PATH-DEPENDENCY

A problem that emerged was path-dependency, linked to the previously discussed lack of experience regarding participation processes and the lack of consideration of more suitable alternatives, both related to the city's planners. Especially the city government, which was described as being "old school" (P5) and not used to consulting citizens was seen to be struggling at first to deal with the sudden influx of 'more opinions'.

POWER IMBALANCE

One point of criticism related to participation also became apparent in Drewitz. The interviews shed light on the power imbalances between residents and experts, but also within the participating group of locals themselves. Surprisingly, the results suggested a reverse power imbalance at the beginning of the process. Instead of the planners implementing top-down solution disregarding local interests, the residents reportedly were opposing the changes insofar that the planners had to reconsider their participation strategies. A lack of respect was mentioned by several interviewees, exemplified by questions such as "Are you from Drewitz? Are you even capable of planning? Do you even have an education in planning?" (P5). Some planners were also not able to deal with personal insults during

the first information event. However, (steering) power during the initial events was established again by including a moderator in later events, who reportedly was able to protect the planners on top of steering the discussion. The lack of respect of the locals was explained by the planners' lack of previous engagement with the area. Only one interviewee was under the impression that none of the planners thoroughly researched the area prior to the process. He saw it as a general issue of the planning doctrine, as "the offices are always located somewhere else and the professionals know the locality only from a piece of paper" (R6). However, this response is rather subjective and generalised as planners stated that the initial proposal was based on improving the social conditions in the area, suggesting that the planners must have carried out detailed research in advance.

Internal conflicts took place within the citizen representative groups. A downside of combining people from many different backgrounds in one board was reported to be the diversity of interests, knowledge and experiences. As already mentioned in the document *"Concept for the citizen participation"* conflicts arose, especially during the first Bürgervertretung in office 2011-2016. One planner denoted it as a learning process (P1), while another saw it more as the realisation that the planners were on a different level of expertise (P4). Interestingly, an interviewee who was a member of the initial Bürgervertretung stated that people had wrong outlooks and expectations and were not willing to make compromises, which made an objective consensus-finding challenging.

Power imbalance were thus not fully abolished as the 'expert vs. resident' notion was discussed during several interviews. Some topics were seen as being so specialised that even the planners from the city government were not able to grasp them fully. One interviewee who attended the initial information event was under the following impression, showing that initially a top-down approach was favoured by the city's planners:

> *"They (the planners) came and said: "This is how we will rebuild Drewitz and now be happy about it".*

> *- R6, 21.05.2021 –*

ATTEMPTED INCLUSION

Unlike anticipated, the planners attempted to shape the process as inclusive as possible. Several mentioned that with the participation concept they were trying to reach those who wanted to participate, had questions and ideas. However, one planner also stated that it is difficult to include marginalised groups. Nevertheless, the results highlighted that especially children and elderly were considered in the process. Children were consulted to discover what kind of play structures they want on the playgrounds and their ideas were taken up into the final outcome. Upon asking, one interviewee referred to the design competition of a logo, discussed in Section 5.1.1. Unlike the document analysis suggested, it was more than a marketing strategy, as the planner insisted that the children genuinely enjoyed the project. A reason for the difference in perception could be the more formal style of the report, as it was also intended to serve as an example report for other projects. The elderly were also included into the process through the use of surveys. It was considered to be important to gain their insights on accessibility "so they can make use of their surroundings" (P4). As a result exercise play structures for the elderly were installed. This shows that once the process took off the planners attempted to be as inclusive as possible, especially to those who had troubles participating in the workshops (either due to age or accessibility restraints).

It was also not observable that the process was undemocratic. Quite the contrary was pointed out by the interviewees. The Bürgervertretung was an official decision-making body in the process as members elected by the public obtained political power as they were able to attend the city's board meetings and had the option to vote:

> "*I don't know if a citizen initiative like this exists somewhere else in Germany, where a citizen committee is able to make political or urbanistic co-decisions. That's something very special, a big and bold step was taken.*"

> *- P3, 04.05.2021 -*

An idealistic remark made by of one interviewees, who is also a member of the Bürgervertretung, goes to show that the democratic influence the members obtained was appreciated:

> "*Europe can take place on a small scale. The daily decisions... these are the ones with which you can be either in favour or against Europe*".

> *- R7, 25.05.2021 -*

LACK OF PARTICIPATION

Participation often gets criticised for its lack of impact. In Drewitz the planners had to face people's unwillingness to participate. Surveys carried out by employees of the Oskar did not receive many responses. "I was brought back down to earth rather quickly (...) you need to come up with more innovative formats of participation" (P3). But as also stated previously some people were simply not interested. The planners commented that if people are lacking interest it is difficult to reach them, no matter how creative the formats are. This also reflected in the voter turnout for the Bürgervertretung, which already became apparent in the document analysis. Upon questioning, the planners argued that the results were not bad. The general impression was that people were not interested or were too busy: "That everybody is interested, that's not going to happen" (R6). One of the planners also suggested that the vote might have been slightly abstract for the locals, as it was novel approach, possibly hard to grasp. Another was also being optimistic by saying:

> "*We had a legitimised Bürgervertretung, also if only 300 people participated (...) It's not bad. We tried something completely new*"

> *- P5, 18.05.2021 -*

The lack of participation can thus also be seen as a lack of impact of the majority of the population of Drewitz who did not participate. It was reported that the people initially opposing the plan were scared of changes relating to different topics. A planner thought that they were worried about higher rents which are often associated with regeneration projects, as well as stress related to having to move temporarily during construction periods. Other worries related to the park being right next to the tram tracks. Other fears were simply associated with change, especially if the people have to deal with their own issues, then worries about the disappearance of the parking lot were not welcomed. The replies suggested that these fears turned into anger, seen as the first information event held turned into "a disaster" (P2).

"It was an event, were nobody was in control anymore. All the frustration and the … anger came out of the people".

Once the anger subsided, reportedly also due to the creation of the Bürgervertretung, less people engaged in the more collaborating or even including participation formats such as the workshops. However, arguably this anger led to the creation of the Bürgervertretung and more inclusive events, making way for a more democratic process. Furthermore, carrying out workshops with a small group of engaged citizens seemingly resulted in not previously anticipated changes. One planner stated that many aspects were not intended by the planners, but during the consultations they were taken up by the planners and then ultimately implemented. This view was echoed by another planner who originally only hoped for the plan to mostly improve the social context of the neighbourhood but "it turned out to be so much more" (P5).

The insights suggested that citizen consultation resulted in smaller changes to the plan, such as different vegetation or play structures suggested by the children for the playground. Most importantly, the by the city planned traffic detour was prevented by the BürgerAktiv. However, this was out of their own initiative and not a product of actively consulting the citizens. Concluding on the lack of participation it can be said that the initial frustration was the decisive factor for a more inclusive process, which resulted in the citizens being able to have an impact on the process regarding certain matters. However, the plan was already set in stone and the high levels of informing and lower levels of consultation and the lack of empowerment suggest that most events were only used to legitimise pre-determined objectives.

6 DISCUSSION

The previous chapter presented the results obtained from the document and interview analysis. In terms of critical realism, Section 6.1 discusses the empirical and actual domain of the research. First, interpretations of the perceptions of interviewees regarding their intentions and expectations, as well as the intentions communicated in documents are made (the empirical). This is complemented by an interpretation of the findings in relation to the theory. Section 6.1 is structured according to the sub-research questions and combines the results from the document and interview analysis. In Section 6.2 final conclusions are drawn, followed by the research's implications for the planning doctrine and planning theory in Section 6.3. The chapter is rounded off with a discussion of the research's limitations and a personal reflection.

6.1 ANSWERING THE SUB-RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What do citizens expect when being included in participation processes?

The first question sought to determine what citizens expect when engaging in participative processes, highlighting the public's opinion in regards to participation and their reasons for participation.

The interviews highlighted that fears and anger played a big role in the attendance of initial meetings. Due to those fears many people developed anger, which can be seen as an explanation for the initial criticism the city's planners had to face. In accordance with the present results, a previous study has demonstrated that a mismatch between what is expected and received turns into distrust and dissatisfaction (Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2019). Speculating, the angered locals possibly expected their voices to be heard by attending these information events. These results support the neoliberal perspective discussed by Mohan and Stokke (2000, pg. 248), who see collective action as a form of marginalised groups to oppose "disempowering activities".

When looking at the general lack of interest and willingness to participate linked to opposition it somewhat confirms insights from Rydin and Pennington (2000). They concluded that non-participation is due to either limited interest or political or professional barriers. Further, it could be deduced that the majority of the inhabitants did not expect anything at all, apart from not being asked to change their current way of life (e.g. related to parking). Another explanation could be that they have also never been consulted before in matters of their neighbourhood, so it might have been unclear to them what to expect. The lack of time as an explanation for low participation and thus possibly a lack of expectations was mentioned by several actors and is in line with statements made by Mohammadi et al. (2018).

Later it crystallised that in retrospective respect from both sides was wished for, especially for the fellow locals to behave well. This reflects the proposal by Maginn (2007) to proactively promote mutual respect during participatory processes and shows that respectful interaction is still not a given in participation processes. It can thus be concluded that the majority of residents had only limited expectations, as otherwise more would have participated.

How are these expectations met during the participation process?

The second sub-question aimed to investigate how the citizens' interests and their engagement turned out in reality by obtaining insights into how participants experienced the process.

As mentioned in the literature review individuals often have only little impact on the outcome of a planning process, even when being included (Rydin & Pennington, 2000), as decisions are made in "back rooms" (Sorensen & Sagaris, 2010, pg. 298). Contrary to expectations this cannot be fully confirmed with the present results. People's suggestions were included on a smaller scale and the by the BürgerAktiv developed alternative was taken up as the final solution, indicating that individuals in Drewitz indeed had impact on the process and to some extent on the end product. A possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the initial heavy opposition gave power to the citizens, but not to the extent that they were suddenly be willing to engage as numbers remained low. By expressing their resentment the planners were forced to change their course. This explanation would also interfere with Bailey (2010), who discussed that just by engaging citizens they do not become empowered automatically.

It has to be taken into consideration that the abstract macro-scale is of extreme importance in this case. Remarks made about the neighbourhood's social context suggest that previously the people were never given the opportunity to empower themselves. These insights reflect the findings by Wang and Van Loo (1998), who discussed that less affluent neighbourhoods face lower participation rates as time to engage is often scarce. The results therefore contrast Hong (2015), who stated that interests are put more forward in low-income neighbourhoods.

Engaging in collaborative formats can thus already be seen as a step towards empowerment as formerly 'invisible citizens' were given a say in decision-making (Knight et al., 2002). It remains debatable if full empowerment is really needed in the case of Drewitz, as it is also seen as being limited in achieving power distribution (Bailey, 2010). It can thus be suggested that the workshops, but also the creation of the Bürgervertretung created already more confident and engaging resident. These results support the insights of de Groot et al. (2014) who saw participation as a means to obtain (collective) self-confidence. Therefore, it can be argued that even though the participants have not been fully empowered in Drewitz, participation still had an impact on the local scale, as changes were visible later in the process, contrasting findings by Bailey (2010).

One unanticipated finding was that certain processes were democratic, as the Bürgervertretung obtained political power by being able to vote in the city's board meetings on matters of concern for the neighbourhood. This outcome is in contrary to that of Lawson and Kearns (2010). They suggested that participation processes often remain undemocratic to not weaken the impact of the local government. A possible explanation for this inconsistency is that the planners in Drewitz were concerned about the finalisation of the project and came to the conclusion that assigning decision-making power to local representatives would soothe the waters.

In reflection to the first sub-question it can be concluded that the limited expectations and anger at the start of the process resulted in a move towards slightly more empowered citizens, supported by democratic decision-making power.

What intentions regarding participation are articulated by planners?

With respect to the third question three themes were of interest: why and how the citizens were included and what the expected outcome was.

The intention of the garden town project itself was to improve the social climate in the neighbourhood, while at the same time preventing it from further deteriorating. Legitimising the process, increasing transparency as well as obtaining locals' acceptance were the three main reason

stated for including citizens in the process. This is somewhat in line with insights from the theoretical analysis. Increasing legitimacy as a reason for including citizens has been suggested by Willems et al. (2020). Raising transparency has only been discussed as a means to improve participation processes (Maginn, 2007), but not as an intention to carry out participation. This observation could be attributed to the planners' wish of improving the overall social environment in the neighbourhood. If processes are carried out transparently, more trust will be created. Lastly, the wish to obtain acceptance further supports the idea of Hirschner (2017). Other intentions were to prevent conflict which would have resulted in further delay and to decrease distrust. However, these findings are not supported by insights from the theoretical framework. The result may be explained again by the social context in Drewitz, as presumably the planners carried out research prior to creating the masterplan and were aware of local conventions.

Winning them over, as well as increasing local engagement were also intentions of the planners. These results are in agreement with Sorensen and Sagaris (2010), who stated that participation initiated by governmental figures often intends to gather information, as well as to bridge interests. The planners intended to reach all people equally. As a remark, it is difficult to pin-point when these intentions developed. Surely, they were not there at the beginning of the process, as otherwise the planners would have been better prepared. It remains questionable why those intentions only appeared at a later stage. A possible explanation is that only after the opposition was becoming apparent, the participation concept was developed.

Summarising, the intentions were rather 'straight forward'. The planners were aiming for the regeneration project to progress as quickly as possible and with as little objection as possible. For this to happen they thought it would be beneficial to inform and consult the citizens of the changes.

How do these intentions play out reality?

The last question aimed to identify how the previously discussed intentions were met in reality and what the positive and negative aspects of participation were.

The process started off with a disastrous information event leading to low levels of acceptance, as actors were unprepared regarding the participation process but also regarding the social context. However, it is important to bear in mind the possible bias in this response and therefore the discussion needs to be met with caution. Nevertheless, it shows some consistency with findings by Mohan and Stokke (2000) and Jones (2003) who argued that context is often not considered by the planners, missing the broader economic and political structures. A multitude of formats was chosen to inform the citizens of changes, which increased their acceptance. The neighbourhood newspaper provided a suitable alternative for those who were not in possession of internet access and thus prevented a digital divide, which is often caused by digital participation methods (Rock, 2018). This draws attention to the fact that marginal groups, such as children and elderly were included in several ways, highlighting that once the participation gathered momentum the planners strove for an inclusive process. This is contrary to findings by Tonkens and Verkhoeven (2019) who stated that oftentimes not all citizens are equally represented. A possible explanation for the difference in results may be the lack of adequate data regarding the inclusion of foreigners in Drewitz, which is why the theoretical insights cannot be fully dismissed for this case.

The intention of preventing conflict resulting in further delay was not met in reality. Instead, the initial opposition by the citizens showed that more is needed for people to accept the plan. This resulted in

a delay by one year, a frequently stated downside of participative processes (e.g. Irvin & Stansbury, 2004).

Decreasing distrust was met in reality to some extent. On the abstract meso-level the by Habermas introduced incongruence between the system-world of the planner and the lifeworld of the residents (van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016) became apparent in the form of the expert-resident divide. However, confirming the theory, the Bürgervertretung was set up to establish trust. Moreover, the Bürgervertretung could even be defined as a community leader, as they steered the community towards a more effective outcome (Walzer & Hamm, 2010), served as a catalyst of change (Yang & Padney, 2011) and bridged the gap between planners and locals (van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016). The in the theory discussed critique of the leader only expressing a filtered point of view (Wood et al., 2001) could not be confirmed with this research's findings.

At first, planners had to face unwillingness to participate and participation took place only in minor areas. It remains debatable if this participation was really necessary or if it only served the goal of 'winning them over' as intended. More innovative formats and tangible citizen representatives led to a decrease in anger and opposition, as the people started to notice that changes are going to benefit them. Even though the residents got assigned only minor decisions (supporting e.g. Sharp & Connelly, 2002; Falanga, 2020), by interpreting the results it became apparent that the planners further along the process indeed attempted to include the citizens to reach a co-designed outcome (Ferelli et al., 2016). The two sides of the paradox discussed in Chapter 2 were thus also observable in Drewitz. Especially the park was seen as a major upgrade for the neighbourhood and many residents are thought to be content with the improvements. Van Dijk (2021) stated that locals quickly become accustomed to the changes, noticing downsides soon. This does not appear to be the case in Drewitz as the interview insights suggest that people are still content and the Bürgervertretung is to this day used as a channel of communication between the city government and the locals. This difference can be explained by the initial situation in Drewitz, which was perceived as extremely unattractive.

Concluding remarks suggest that the intentions of the planners were met to only some extent. Acceptance increased as the citizens felt better informed and in the end they were 'won over'. Trust was only established after the Bürgervertretung became active and conflict and delay were not avoided.

6.2 CONCLUSION

In this section the last domain of the critical realism ontology comes into play – the real domain, referring to the generalisation of interpretations (Alexander, 2013). As discussed in Chapter 3.1.1, it is impossible to fully explain reality. The main research question is: "What are the differences between the expectations of the citizens and intentions of planners in regards to participation in urban regeneration projects?" A theoretical analysis, followed by an analysis of documents and interviews provided the following insight.

Previous theoretical debates highlighted that participation is a contested topic. It is often thought that participation is a tool to make planning more inclusive, suggesting that the more power citizens obtain, the better the outcome will be. However, increasingly scholars look into drawbacks of it, questioning if or to what extent participation is needed to obtain optimum planning results. The research aimed to shed light on this assimilation of the criticism on participation processes using the example of an urban regeneration project.

An analysis of the situation in Drewitz resulted in several insights answering the main research question. Residents had only limited expectations, as otherwise more would have participated. Opposition at the beginning of the process caused citizens to be slightly more empowered, supported by democratic decision-making through the Bürgervertretung. On the contrary, the planners' intentions were simple, as they aimed for the project to progress as quickly as possible, increasing people's acceptance. To achieve this it was eventually seen as beneficial to inform and consult the citizens of the changes. These intentions were met to some extent. Acceptance increased as the citizens felt better informed and in the end they were 'won over'. Trust was created after the initiation of the Bürgervertretung. However, conflict and delay were not avoided.

No general remark can be made regarding the overlap with theory. Certain results confirmed previous findings, such as that low-income neighbourhoods face less participation. The planners' intentions, as well as the finding that participation increases locals' self-confidence are supported by past research. No insights were obtained regarding the lack of participation of ethnic minorities and resulting social exclusion. However, the study also produced contradicting results. For instance the participation process was not as undemocratic as presumed and marginal groups were actively included. New theoretical insights were also obtained. Path-dependency appeared to be of importance when planners at first engaged with citizens.

As each case is unique, a generalisation of the findings is difficult. The presented outcomes in Drewitz highlight the conflicts that can appear when planners' intentions and citizens' expectations clash and further that participation is used more as a means to legitimise decision-making to create a public benefit, rather than to empower citizens. Similar observations could potentially also be made in similar cases. These could be projects which are publicly funded and regeneration projects in western European post-war neighbourhoods, as theoretical insights highlighted that there it can be expected that the tensions created by participation also occur. In different cases, such as urban regeneration projects financed by private bodies, it could be expected that citizens engagement would receive a higher standpoint as the investors and developers have the reputation of the project in mind, trying to avoid as much controversy as possible.

All in all, the obtained results can be concluded as follows. It remains questionable if citizens should receive full power over a project. If initiative and participation are low, then no fruitful outcome will be produced. In these cases top-down planning would be the best option to regenerate an area. However, citizens should be given the opportunity to voice their opinion and even in top-down processes their concerns should be valued by the experts. Absolute empowerment will not be achieved, but nevertheless the space will be regenerated to its fullest potential. From this it can be concluded that the polarisation is still not fully dismantled, calling for new approaches in the planning field, but also novel theoretical understandings, which are discussed in the following section.

6.3 IMPLICATIONS

6.3.1 PLANNING PRACTICE

Following the conclusion, implications for the planning practice are stated. Regarding the recognition of power differences it should be considered that many people have difficulties reading plans, designs and sketches and some also struggle with models. The planners should make sure that the plans are easy to understand, even for people with lower educational backgrounds. This would be a step

towards overcoming the incongruence between the system- and the lifeworld (van der Pennen & van Bortel, 2016) and goes even beyond the suggestion by Quick and Feldman (2011) to visualise ideas in order to establish openness of the process. The case of Drewitz also highlighted that fellow locals are often more tangible than 'experts', which is why citizen representatives in the form of a Bürgervertretung might be a good solution.

Path-dependency became apparent at the start of the process, which could be seen as a hindrance to planners attempting to carry out more inclusive formats. This should actively be targeted. The experts should be aware of their competences but also their limitations. If new formats are decided upon, the planners should collaborate with external knowledgeable firms.

It should also be accepted by society that many people simply do not care or do not have the time or energy to participate. This indicates that citizens' self-organisation should not be strived for, leaving most responsibilities with the government (O'Hare, 2018). However, this does not have to be an issue. Instead, those who are already willing to participate should be supported more and resources should be invested into making events and plans accessible to those who might potentially be interested. This would ensure that attention is paid to the outcome of the process, recognising an area's potentiality, rather than to the process itself, which gets criticised by scholars (van Dijk, 2020). This would also support research by Flyvbjerg (2003, pg. 327) into Realrationalität, focusing on "what is actually done".

6.3.2 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

On top of practical implications, this research has also theoretical implications. The following discussion focuses on the theoretical embedding of the findings and resulting conflicts regarding participation, discussed in Chapter 2. These findings were illustrated in the conceptual framework. In Section 6.1, when answering the sub-research questions, comparisons to past studies were made and suggestions for possible controversies were provided.

The conceptual framework proved to be useful when analysing the research's results. Many findings were overlapping with past research, indicating that the results provide further support for the existence of a polarisation in the planning world. Nevertheless, discrepancies became visible. Aspects of the participation process were democratic, rather than undemocratic and sincere attempts were made to actively include marginal groups. Path-dependency became apparent during the initial process, something that was not considered in the conceptual framework.

Reflection on these implications for the planning practice and theory calls for future research. In the following five suggestions are made. To obtain insights into why participation processes become (un)democratic, researchers could compare multiple cases. These results might shed light on how participation can be made more democratic. However, even then the impact of these findings is limited as practices differ across time and locality. A further study with more focus on the inclusion of marginal groups could compare different fields where participation takes place, possibly on different spatial scales. Small neighbourhood improvements might lead to more inclusion in comparison to mega-projects. Third, it would also be interesting to carry out a cross-country comparison or even analyse a case located outside the realm of the mainstream planning literature (Western Europe, US) to obtain insights into planning procedures in different cultural settings. Fourth, instead of focusing on the local scale during case-study analyses, research could also move towards the meso- and the macro-scale, depending on where spatial policies in regards to participation are passed. This might

provide further understandings of how the tensions are dealt with on a jurisdictional basis. And lastly, certainly many more insights into the heavily discussed polarisation are needed, as insights from this research were not sufficient to meet all of the in Section 1.2 discussed research gaps.

6.4 CRITICAL REFLECTION

6.4.1 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research has several limitations. First, since the process of the selected case began more than 10 years ago, it was challenging for the respondents to remember all details. It was also not possible to interview a main relevant stakeholders, who was greatly involved in the process. From the city government, which acted as a principal of the project, the relevant person retired and colleagues who took over the department were not able to provide detailed insights.

Third, only three citizens were interviewed, as it was challenging to find more respondents. This had slight impacts on the richness of the data, as in some cases, for instance when trying to obtain insights into the expectations of the citizens, the information provided was limited. However, the low number is representative of the low numbers of participation during the process. A further explanation for the lack of participating citizens is also related to the fact that the process 'peaked' more than 6 years ago, meaning that relevant people moved away over the past years, or are under the impression that they do not remember enough of the initial phases. A possible solution to this problem could have been to approach people personally in Drewitz. However, this was made difficult by the Covid-19 restrictions.

Another source of weakness in this study is the lack of data obtained from the document analysis. Only two out of the six documents provided detailed information. This is unfortunate as it meant that the document analysis was slightly less revealing than anticipated. However, all publicly available documents were consulted, thus no alternative documents could have been analysed after this issue became apparent. Nevertheless, sufficient insights could still be abstracted, meaning that the research was not affected to a large extend.

Since the data collection was carried out in German, some information might have been lost in translation or its meaning might have slightly been changed. Further, it can be assumed that participants never remain fully objective when talking about past projects or experiences, especially when strong emotions came into play. This could have had an effect on the reliability of the interview data. However, when comparing the insights to the document analysis no major discrepancies were noticed.

When taking the different spatial scales into account, which were discussed in Section 2.3 the following can be noted. The findings only provided insights on the neighbourhood scale. This is disadvantageous, as all scales are interrelated. The information regarding the city and regional scale was one-sided, as it was not possible to interview the relevant actor. The federal state (and national) scale was not considered at all, even though this might have revealed further insights. Lastly, some remarks can be made regarding limitations of studies like this one on achieving impactful outcomes. Since the critical realist perspective has the ontological outlook that knowledge can only present fractions of reality, it is not possible to ever observe the 'real'. The findings of the research provide insights into the case of Drewitz, and potentially even similar cases in similar contexts, but a full

understanding of participation can never be achieved. Nevertheless, each research brings us slightly closer to reality.

6.4.2 PERSONAL REFLECTION

Rounding off the research, a personal reflection on the process of the thesis and the outcome follows. It was very challenging at first to find a suitable topic due to the sheer amount of interesting research areas, yet alone a case and then suitable research questions. From this challenge I learned that research should be approached step-by-step. Breaking down bigger tasks helps to stay focused on the objective of the research. However, once this challenge was overcome by the support of my supervisor, the research progressed rather smoothly. The theoretical investigation and discussion was enjoyable and the subsequent conceptual model proved its usefulness when being applied to the results. However, it was challenging to transfer the theoretical concepts into a clearly arranged framework. This showed me that thorough understanding and the ability to create linkages between concept is beneficial.

Experiences from the bachelor thesis taught me that interview participants should be consulted as early as possible, as oftentimes the process of arranging an appointment can last weeks. This was successfully done. However, better organisation would have given me the opportunity to stick to the originally intended research order of interviewing planners and citizens in turn (Figure 15). This was not achieved, as in this period other courses also required attention. A possible way of improving this could be to create a rigorous schedule. Nevertheless, the adjusted research order did not affect my results extensively.

Two remarks can be made regarding the interviews. First, I noticed that a few spontaneous questions, which were not part of the interview guide were phrased as leading questions. This might have been due to nervousness during the interviews. Second, especially during the first three interviews I sometimes struggled to put my thoughts and related questions into German as I am more familiar with technical terms in English. This was not something I foresaw. However, this improved after I grew more confident as the interviews progressed.

After having interviewed all planners I started to question the broader benefit of participation, especially when effort is put in and many do not seem to care. Nevertheless, the interviews with the active residents showed me that the lack of interest of many is compensated by the engagement of a few. What I have also learned is the need to always consider the broader social context of an area, as this will often affect how people approach change. The original interest of investigating participation was developed after it was mentioned as an 'ideal' in many of my bachelor and master lectures. However, the difference between lectures and the 'real world' turned out to be rather big. Often conflicts arise as it is difficult to meet the interests of everyone. This is an important personal take-away.

Lastly, reflections can be made on what I consider to be the value of doing social research. Unlike in the natural sciences, where formulas can be scientifically proven, in the social sciences the situational dynamics always interfere with theoretical insights. General societal patterns can be observed in similar cultural contexts, but a global reality can never be defined, no matter what kind of topic. This can be explained by the metaphor of looking out of a window. The window itself serves as the research while what can be seen and observed is the object of research. Looking out of the window is only a snapshot, even if doing longitudinal research. Eventually the context – what you are seeing when

looking out of the window – will change. What is observable - nature, infrastructure, behaviour – follows similar patterns around the world. Cultural understandings give meanings to these observations, making each window unique. The question that then needs to be answered is what I think the purpose of carrying out research, looking out of the window, is, if the observations are unique to each case. I would argue that by doing research insights into how people make sense of their surroundings can still be obtained, ultimately developing more understanding of the world in its current state. Because that is what we are trying to do with research – we try to make sense of our existence on this planet, observation by observation.

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APPENDIX

(A) INTERVIEW GUIDE PLANNER

Thank you for participating in this research. The aim of my master's thesis is to identify the differences between the intentions of the planners and the expectations of the citizens which became prominent during the participation process. The case of interest is the urban regeneration project in Drewitz. Prior to the interview I provided the consent form, which you have already signed. It stated that your data will be treated confidentially. The answers you give will be anonymised, so nothing can get traced back to you. If you want to withdraw from the research, please contact me and I will delete your data.

Opening questions

- What was your role in shaping the participation process?

Probing questions SR3

- What was the reason for including citizens in the regeneration project?
- What kind of methods where chosen?
    - Participation methods, how were the citizens approached, level of inclusion
- Why were those chosen?
- Who was chosen to participate?
- What was the expected outcome of the participation process?
- According to you, in what ways was it communicated with the citizens what you were trying to achieve by including them?

Probing questions SR4

- Can you reflect on the pros and cons of including residents in the project?
- Did the citizens actively participate?
    - If yes – In what ways?
    - If no – What could be the reasons for that?
- How did this align with the intentions previously mentioned?

(B) INTERVIEW GUIDE PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for participating in this research. The aim of my master's thesis is to the differences between the intentions of the planners and the expectations of the citizens which became prominent during the participation process. The case of interest is the urban regeneration project in Drewitz. Prior to the interview I provided the consent form, which you have already signed. It stated that your data will be treated confidentially. The answers you give will be anonymised, so nothing can get traced back to you. If you want to withdraw from the research, please contact me and I will delete your data.

Opening questions

- How long have you been living in Drewitz?
- How did you hear about the regeneration project?
- Why did you decide to participate?

Probing questions SR1

- What was your initial opinion on it?
- What did you expect of the process?
    - E.g. support from the planners, inclusion in planning processes, being asked through surveys etc.

Probing questions SRQ2

- Did you feel encouraged to participate?
    - If yes – Why?
    - If no – Why not?
- What types of involvement did you perceive as useful regarding the outcome?
- What types of involvement did you perceive as useful regarding obtaining residents' opinions?
- How do you think the planners engaged with the residents?
- What was your opinion on how they engaged with the residents?
- Were you aware of what the planners intended to achieve with the process?
- In what ways do you think the final outcome is representative of the initial ideas which were proposed by the residents? // How much was actually implemented?

(C) FORM OF CONSENT

Dear participant,

Below you find the consent form for my master's thesis at the University of Groningen. The aim of this thesis is to identify the differences between the intentions of the planners and the expectations of the citizens which became prominent during the participation process. The case of interest is the urban regeneration project in Drewitz. With the interviews I wish to obtain an in-depth personal perspective on planners' and residents' insights.

Participation is voluntary. Withdrawal from the research is always possible and no reason has to be provided. The data will be treated anonymously and will only be used for university-related purposes.

If there are further questions you can reach me through masterarbeit.drewitz@gmail.com

Jannika Czekay.

What is your name? (This will only be used for the consent form and will not be linked to your interview)
[*form to fill in name*]

I have read the information (above) about the research project. I was able to ask questions and my questions were answered satisfactorily. I allow the interview data to be used for the following purposes: a written thesis, a presentation (and other educational purposes).

The interviews will be recorded. The recording will then be transcribed for a detailed analysis. The recordings are only related to data collection. Any remarks which could lead to identification will be removed from the text. In the thesis anonymous quotes will be used. I allow a voice recording of the phone call. [*option to select yes or no*]

Thanks in advance for your participation!

Jannika Czekay

(D) LIST OF SECOND- AND FIRST-ORDER CONCEPTS OF THE DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Group	Second-order concept	First-order concept	n
RQ3	INTENTIONS		
		● Intentions: acceptance	4
		● Intentions: attracting former non-participants	2
		● Intentions: decreasing distrust	1
		● Intentions: identification of problems	6
		● Intentions: increasing communication	1
		● Intentions: increasing engagement	7
		● Intentions: increasing sustainable thinking	2
		● Intentions: independence	1
		● Intentions: informing	11
		● Intentions: REAL intentions	11
		● Intentions: satisfaction	2
		● Intentions: transparency	3
	LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION		
		● Level of participation: citizen representatives	3
		● Level of participation: collaboration	3
		● Level of participation: consultation	6
		● Level of participation: informing	10
		● Level of participation: newspaper	3
		● Level of participation: overview of methods	1
RQ4	PROCESS		
		● Process: delay of project (through participation)	1
		● Process: internal conflicts between stakeholders	1
		● Process: lack of informing	3
		● Process: lack of time other stakeholders	1
		● Process: lack of participation residents	2
		● Process: lack of transparency	1
		● Process: need to improve communication	1
		● Process: opposition	1
		● Process: overburdening citizen representatives	1
		● Process: successful citizen representation	1

Group	Second-order concept	First-order concept	n
		● Process: too much steering	1
Other	STAKEHOLDERS		
		● Stakeholders: citizen representatives	7
		● Stakeholders: organisation	3
		● Stakeholders: others	6
		● Stakeholders: residents	2
		● Stakeholders: residents - minorities (elderly, migrants, children, unemployed)	1
	TOPICS		1
		● Topics: buildings	2
		● Topics: outside space	2
		● Topics: social infrastructure	1
		● Topics: traffic	1
		● Topics: urban planning	2

(E) LIST OF SECOND- AND FIRST-ORDER CONCEPTS OF THE INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

Group	Second-order concept	First-order concept	n
RQ2	● anger		8
Other	BENEFIT PARTICIPATION		
		● benefit participation: acceptance	2
		● benefit participation: best practice	2
		● benefit participation: better end product	1
		● benefit participation: building knowledge	1
		● benefit participation: building trust	4
		● benefit participation: engagement	2
		● benefit participation: goal-oriented	1
		● benefit participation: legitimisation	2
RQ2	● BürgerAktiv		10
RQ2	● BÜRGERVERTRETUNG		1
		● Bürgervertretung: acceptance	3
		● Bürgervertretung: active	12
		● Bürgervertretung: conflicts	7
		● Bürgervertretung: conflicts (workshops)	1
		● Bürgervertretung: power	6
		● Bürgervertretung: process	10
		● Bürgervertretung: topic	2
RQ2	CHANGING COURSE		
		● changing course: acceptance	4
		● changing course: catalyser	2
		● changing course: interest/confidence locals	6
		● changing course: process	3
RQ3	● city government		7

Other	● concept for citizen participation		5
Other	● continuous process		3
Other	● current issues		1
Other	DESCRIPTIVE		2
		● Descriptive: actors	3
		● Descriptive: residents	19
Other	DOWNSIDE PARTICIPATION		
		● downside participation: delay	3
		● downside participation: financial challenges	1
		● downside participation: more work	3
		● downside participation: none	1
		● downside participation: tension	1
		● downside participation: too many opinions	4
Other	● end product		10
RQ1	EXPECTATIONS		
		● Expectations: change	2
		● Expectations: completion	1
		● Expectations: getting rid of anger	1
		● Expectations: met	1
		● Expectations: planner	2
RQ2	● explanation for critique		6
RQ1	● fears of residents		4
RQ2	● Feedback: positive		2
Other	● gradual process		6
RQ2	● high participation		3
Other	HISTORY		
		● history: critique at first	7
		● history: Drewitz	3
		● history: lack of participation at first	4
		● history: process	2
RQ1	INDIVIDUAL ENGAGEMENT		
		● individual engagement: external	1
		● individual engagement: headmaster	1
		● individual engagement: interviewee	14
		● individual engagement: own ideas locals	4
RQ3	INTENTION		
		● intention: acceptance	3
		● intention: legitimisation	5
		● intention: social improvement	4
		● intention: transparency	1
RQ4	ISSUE WITH PARTICIPATION		
		● issue with participation: administrative size	1
		● issue with participation: lack of respect	8
		● issue with participation: lack of steering power	1
		● issue with participation: moderator	2
		● issue with participation: process	4
		● issue with participation: solving problem	3
RQ4	LACK OF		

		● lack of acceptance	2
		● lack of participation - issue?	7
		● lack of trust	3
		● lack of understanding	7
RQ4	LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION		
		● level of participation (overview)	1
		● level of participation: collaboration	2
		● level of participation: empowerment?	2
		● level of participation: inclusion	7
		● level of participation: informing	16
		● level of participation: unwillingness	6
RQ4	LOW LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION		5
		● low levels of participation: lack of interest	2
		● low levels of participation: lack of time	1
		● low levels of participation: voting outcome	3
Other	● masterplan		2
Other	● metaphor chocolate bar		3
RQ4	METHOD OF PARTICIPATION		3
		● method of participation: blog	2
		● method of participation: collection of signatures	1
		● method of participation: community centre (Oskar)	6
		● method of participation: community centre (Oskar)/project space	2
		● method of participation: Drewitz Messe	1
		● method of participation: festival	12
		● method of participation: festival (creating sense of community)	1
		● method of participation: information event	7
		● method of participation: logo children	1
		● method of participation: newspaper	3
		● method of participation: social media	1
		● method of participation: survey	2
		● method of participation: temporary park	2
		● method of participation: workshops	10
RQ4	● networking		9
Other	● participation paradox		2
RQ4	● process		6
Other	PROFESSIONAL WORK ENVIRONMENT		1
		● professional work environment: broader implications	1
		● professional work environment: confidence	3
		● professional work environment: experts vs residents	15
		● professional work environment: lack of engagement with area	4
		● professional work environment: learning	6
		● professional work environment: need to compromise	2
		● professional work environment: networking	1
		● professional work environment: open to suggestions	3

		● professional work environment: path-dependency	3
		● professional work environment: setting boundaries	4
RQ4	● projects with high acceptance		2
Other	● Quote		22
RQ3	REASON FOR INCLUDING CITIZENS		
		● reason for including citizens: acceptance	7
		● reason for including citizens: expected from residents	1
		● reason for including citizens: given	1
		● reason for including citizens: good end product	3
		● reason for including citizens: inclusion	1
		● reason for including citizens: legitimisation	1
		● reason for including citizens: preventing conflict	1
		● reason for including citizens: social engagement	1
		● reason for including citizens: transparency	4
		● reason for including: preventing delay	1
RQ4	REASON FOR PARTICIPATING		
		● reason for participating: contra	3
		● reason for participating: directly affected	1
		● reason for participating: positive reputation	1
Other	SOCIAL CONTEXT		
		● social context: internal	2
		● social context: local issues	8
		● social context: need for support	7
		● social context: prejudice	0
		● social context: social climate	3
Other	● top-down		1
RQ4	TOPICS		
		● topics: green space	3
		● topics: Kita	3
		● topics: Kita (engagement)	1
		● topics: parking	4
		● topics: residential area	6
		● topics: school	2
		● topics: traffic	11
RQ4	● who is participating		3
RQ3	WHO TRYING TO REACH		5
		● who trying to reach: children	7
		● who trying to reach: elderly	4

(F) MAIN QUOTATIONS FROM THE DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

--- Only available to the researcher and supervisor ---