

Citizen initiatives:

The impact of government's encouragement on citizen initiatives



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Foreword

You are about to read my master thesis 'The impact of government's encouragement on citizen initiatives'. It is the final result of five months of research and writing, to finish a year of study for my Master Urban and Regional Planning.

During my bachelor Public Administration I developed an interest in urban issues, specifically spatial processes, e.g. urban planning and design. Through a minor of Urban Planning at the University of Amsterdam, I started the master.

One of the subjects I'm interested in, out of many, is the changing role of planners. Changing from the 'we know best' attitude and the idea of the social engineered society, to a more mediating and supporting role for planners, with an emerging role for other parties, including citizens. This thesis is in line with that interest.

I want to thank all the interviewees for their time and effort, and the information that they have given me. Special thanks for my supervisor, Anita Blessing, who helped me, and kept me focused, with her feedback and supervision. Special thanks to my parents as well, who gave me the opportunity to study and supported me during my study.

For you, the reader, I hope you enjoy reading my thesis.

Zeno Schütte
August 16, 2013

Abstract

"It is the opinion of the government that it can draw back from society, and citizens experience the government too close. The government gives financial reasons for shifting tasks to citizens and citizens want more freedom to live their lives."
(Schnabel 2012, 9).

Because the welfare state has deemed unaffordable, the government aims for a redistribution of responsibilities and stimulates citizens to initiate projects to maintain good living conditions. Recent media items show that citizens indeed do take initiative on different subjects and on different scale (see introduction), but also show that initiatives are sometimes frustrated by government's involvement (Vos 2013). Numerous reports, recommendations and tools have been presented by the central government (see 1.2.1) to stimulate and help local governments to encourage citizen participation and initiatives. There is a paradox in this 'top down' encouragement of 'bottom up initiatives'. Apart from that, local government faces some struggles in finding a suitable approach to citizen initiatives. It has to find a balance between representative and participative democracy. It has to prevent inequity because some citizens have more capacity or better conditions to organize initiatives than others. And government 'helping the others' may result in more dependency from citizens on government support (Vrooman 2012). Final, the government has to find a way to delegate tasks and responsibilities without controlling citizen initiatives. Local governments develop attitudes and strategies to approach citizen initiatives that will have a certain impact on these initiatives.

This thesis examines the impact of government's encouragement on two Dutch cases of citizen initiatives for the built environment. Literature on the subjects of government approach and citizen initiatives, theoretical as well as practical, is reviewed, and a scheme of government strategies is used to give insight in the impact as mentioned.

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INTRODUCTION

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1. Introduction

The welfare state, with the government as provider of services ‘from the cradle to the grave’ and solving all societal problems, is considered unaffordable today, and now the government is drawing back and appeals to citizens to be active, responsible and committed on subjects like informal care, integration, employment, health, climate and safety (Denters e.a. 2012, 7). The present coalition of the Rutte II administration has emphasized the potential for civilians to take part in building the future, independently or cooperatively, in ways other than voting and paying taxes. In the coalition statement (2012, 1) it is written that this

“(...) requires a government that offers opportunities on the one hand yet imposes limits on the other.”

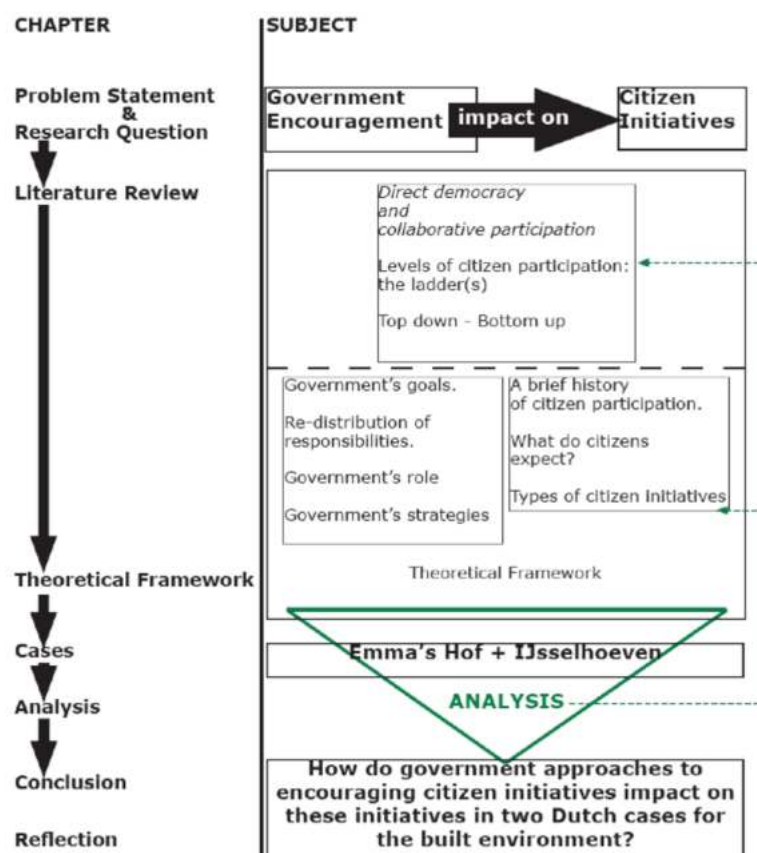
This means the government made it its responsibility to increase citizen participation by offering opportunities for those who want to take initiative and are able to do so, and at the same time, will prevent possible negative effects of these initiatives for others, such as (groups of) people that might suffer disadvantage or that need help. Recalibration of the welfare state not only has effect on citizens, but also on the role of the government. The Ministry of internal affairs (in Dutch Binnenlandse Zaken, BiZa) mentions on their website that civilians feel engaged with their neighbourhood and citizen initiatives to improve living conditions are increasing. The government aims to support these initiatives, for instance by reducing existing regulatory barriers or by providing financial support. Civil participation becomes government participation (BiZa, 2010). However, as the Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling (RMO) states, room for these initiatives is given hesitatingly (Frissen 2013, 9). The idea of social engineering society, as residue from the welfare state, is still present in the mind of policy-makers that shift from government to governance to encapsulate societal initiatives in policy ambitions (Frissen 2013, 36). As Arnstein points out: *“there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process.”* (Arnstein 2007, 216). Between ‘empty ritual’ and ‘real power’, different approaches of the government to encourage citizen initiatives can be recognized. These approaches have impact on these initiatives. This thesis aims to give insight into this impact in two Dutch cases of citizen initiatives for the built environment.

1.1 Reading guide

This introduction will continue with a brief overview on citizen participation and on government encouragement. In Citizen Participation (chapter 1.2) a description is given to provide an understanding of what citizen participation is and how it is used in this thesis. Some examples are given to show the variety of initiatives people have taken; optimism and critique about the subject is explained, as is the need for a certain level of empowerment in order to encourage citizen initiatives. In Government Encouragement (chapter 1.3) some instruments for the government to use when encouraging citizen participation are presented, and some of the struggles the government faces when trying to find its role, attitude and approach towards citizen initiatives. In the first part of the Problem Statement (chapter 2.1) the relationship between government and citizens related to initiatives for the built environment is explained, with critical notes and the need for a balance between distribution of power and accepting responsibility is outlined. In the second part (chapter 2.2), the type of cases this thesis is focussed on are presented, as well as the aim of this research, the research question, and the research design.

The subjects of these paragraphs are described in more detail in chapter 3, the Literature Review. Different aspects will be reviewed of government's encouragement as 'top-down' movement and of citizen initiatives as 'bottom-up' movement. The review will start with literature on participative democracy and representative democracy, followed by a review of different instruments to determine the level of participation and a review of literature that may give insights into the paradox of top-down encouragement and bottom-up initiatives. The literature is supplemented with research on the impact of government's top down encouragement on citizen initiatives in Dutch situations, that focus on goals of the government concerning citizen participation, the viewpoints of the government on their role towards citizen participation and initiatives, the expectations of citizens and their strategies of participation and initiatives. In chapter 4 the Research Methodology is explained. The choice for a multiple case study is justified, as is the choice of the two cases. Also the criteria for selecting the cases, the literature and the interviewees are presented. The cases Emma's Hof and IJsselhoeven are presented in chapter 5, including comments on the cases from the interviews. This information is used to analyse the cases in chapter 6. For the analysis a scheme of government's strategies is used that is presented in the literature review. Aspects of the analysis are related to some of the literature in the literature review. In chapter 7 the research question is answered and recommendations are given to improve conditions for citizen initiatives and for further research.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY



1.2 Citizen participation

1.2.1 What Citizen Participation means.

Citizen participation has been conceptualized in terms of three generations (Kramer 2010, 29) that exist simultaneously, so the one does not replace the other, and is additional to the most basic form of citizen participation: the democratic right to elect our representatives in parliament and city council. Citizens reacting on plans that are already made is known as the first generation of participation. Citizens can give their opinion, which might lead to changes or adaption of the plan. Law¹ obliges this type of citizen participation when it concerns planning for the built environment (Schoot 2011). The second generation of participation is interactive decision-making, where people are invited at the start of a process, to give their opinion about the conditions for a plan. Initiatives from citizens to solve a problem or to improve their living conditions are known as the third generation of participation.

Citizen initiatives are collective activities by citizens to improve living conditions in their neighbourhood, with citizens who determine what they want and how they will achieve it, and municipalities and organisations stimulating, facilitating or coproducing the initiative (Denters e.a. 2012, 7).

The Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid² (WRR) distinguishes three types of civil participation: participating in policymaking, societal participation and societal initiative (WRR 2012, 12). From a governance point of view, citizen initiatives can be described as more autonomous in comparison with citizen participation (Van Dam e.a. 2010, 16).

This thesis is about the third generation of citizen participation: citizen initiatives.

1.2.2 Recent examples of citizen participation.

Examples show a variety of citizen initiatives, how they started, how they are organized, their aims, the problems they address, and so on.³ Some concern social issues like caring for elderly people or for children after school time. Others concern the contribution as volunteers in the library or a museum.

In Amsterdam a discussion group for women is organized; parents have been fixing a declined playground, organize homework support and computer lessons, they publish a neighbourhood newspaper, and organize neighbourhood exhibitions. In a neighbourhood in Hengelo the streets are named after authors, which inspired citizens to organize cultural meetings and events on a regular basis. Housing corporations, welfare institutions and social funds try to support these initiatives with advice and practical aids (Denters e.a. 2012, 7).

Other initiatives concern the built environment, like building and maintaining a playground, or buying a windmill, from which the whole neighbourhood will benefit. An old school in Leeuwarden is redeveloped for housing, with a community garden. In Amsterdam people develop floating houses, with neighbourhood facilities. In Enschede a neighbourhood museum is realized in an abandoned building, with neighbourhood chamber for meetings and social activities, all in an attempt to stop social disintegration and stimulate social coherence. And in Leiden 'Stadslab' (citylab) has become an organisation working at the urban scale, which means the whole city is subject of

¹ The law on planning is called in Dutch the Wet op de Ruimtelijke Ordening (Wro).

² The WRR is The Scientific Council for Government Policy and is an independent advisory body for the Dutch government (source: <http://www.wrr.nl/en/taak/task/>, visited on February 20, 2013)

³ The examples were found in numerous newspapers, see: reference – examples.

interventions and improvements, based on an optimistic, positive attitude. One of the projects aims to transform the old fortification into an urban park.

1.2.3 Pro's and Con's of citizen participation.

Rotmans states that increasing citizen participation is a current transition from consumer to 'prosumer' (in Dutch prosumert, from producer and consumer). Together with glocalization (in Dutch glocalisering, from global and local) it is the basis for a bottom up development (Rotmans 2012). The WRR acknowledges that there is a great value in these initiatives. It is valuable in the situation where the government is redistributing responsibilities from government to citizens. It is also valuable that citizens feel more involved and so create a more sustainable environment.

Several sources have documented positive neighbourhood developments resulting from citizen initiatives (VNG/BZK 2010; WRR 2005). But not all citizens like to delegate their interests to the next-door neighbour (Vermeij 2012, 271). The participating citizens are often a selective group (Hurenkamp e.a. 2006, 58) and some citizens fear that some interests will take precedent over others (Vermeij 2012, 288). Not all participatory groups are well organized independently and able to deal with the complexity of a problem. Some argue that a guiding government is always needed for professional input, but to involve government in citizen initiatives may result in more dependency amongst citizens on government support (Vrooman 2012, 12). Still, the examples show that citizens actually do want to organize themselves. They seem unconvinced that the local government will solve their problems or they feel not fully recognized by their government (Vos 2013). 'Grassroots' initiatives have also emerged as a reaction to the perceived inability of government to solve problems of living conditions (Chaskin 1997, 634).

1.2.4 Empowering citizens.

Rotmans' transition from consumer to 'prosumer' means that civilians will actually take responsibility for, instead of reacting to, developments for the built environment. Responsibility comes with empowerment, eligibility and means. On all levels of policy-making citizen participation is an issue, but as De Boer and Van der Lans state, not yet common reality. They point out that government has not empowered real influence, and the WRR concluded that only small groups of citizens are challenged to take over some responsibility from the government (Vermeij 2012, 256). According to Teisman (2010, 22) citizens today are at least as educated and capable as their legal representatives, but in a representative democracy ideas of citizens may not always be taken seriously. It is essential to try and overcome intellectual and possibly ideological prejudice, so we can see that civil society does not only criticize state-led planning, but can also directly and (pro) actively conceive and, to some extent, implement solutions independently of the state apparatus, that often deserves to be understood as '(grassroots) urban planning (Souza 2007, 327). *"Professionals, policy-makers and politicians should fundamentally change their attitude, since so far they have mainly paid lip service to citizen participation"* (Vermeij e.a. 2012, 270).

1.3 Government encouragement

Regarding government encouragement, the focus of this thesis is on local government, that is the board of Mayor and aldermen, and the council, the elected representatives, because citizen initiatives are often a reaction to a problem or a wish on a local level (Hurenkamp 2006, 57), as the examples in paragraph 1.2.2 also show.

1.3.1 Government's instruments to encourage citizen participation.

Recently the Ministry of Internal Affairs (BiZa) has produced a number of reports on possible instruments to stimulate, increase and manage citizen participation and initiatives. They cover training for city councils (BiZa 2010), process support (Kramer 2010), designing local policy agendas (Graaf e.a. 2010) and formats for communities to create a memoranda or agreement on citizen participation, which can be tuned to the specific conditions of the local context (Biza 2010, 2). Although research shows that 57% of local representatives are convinced that the influence of citizens has improved the quality of decision making, especially in situation of interactive policies or informal initiatives of citizens, still less than 50% of the communities have a documented policy on citizen participation, like a memoranda or agreement on citizen participation (Biza 2010, 68).

The general idea in most of these documents is that citizen participation is organized by the board (Mayor and aldermen), and that the council (the elected representatives) 'keeps an eye' on the development. In many cases, the roles of the board and the council are emphasised, indicating a rather traditional view on citizen participation, with the council to determine preconditions, and the board to execute (De Graaf e.a. 2010, 19).

1.3.2 Struggles the government faces when encouraging citizen participation.

Citizen participation is closely connected to the way the process is organized, says In 't Veld (BiZa 2010, 16). That process should be related to the function of the participation, to what is expected as result, and cannot be ordered from the top, because when the order is not accepted, citizens will leave. When relating the process of citizen participation to its preferred function, the government, and specifically the city council, faces three 'struggles': participative versus representative democracy; the level of involvement and the risk of social inequity.

The first struggle is a possible conflict between participative and representative democracy. In many cases of participation, the council determines the conditions prior to the project, and check the outcome afterwards. At the end it is the council that decides (Biza 2010, 69). But the process is done with civil servants, aldermen and citizens. Conditions that were determined at the start may need to be adjusted because of new facts or changed circumstances. Citizens will be disappointed because they feel the rules are changed during the game. The council is frustrated because it had no part in it the process (Biza 2010, 21). It leads to problems or confusion about the role of the council (De Graaf e.a. 2010, 6), because representatives have to decide whether or not to allow developments resulting from the process of participation, that are in conflict with agreements or decisions made in a process of representation (Biza 2010, 2).

A second struggle is the level of involvement of the municipal government. There is some fear that initiatives are being smothered in our over-organised society. Bureaucracy and rules coming from the government, often frustrate citizens and their initiatives (Vos 2013). Less involvement from the government would give room for citizen initiatives. However, research of the WRR shows that the level of initiatives

depends more on the social infrastructure of the neighbourhood (Hurenkamp e.a. 2006, 9). For neighbourhoods with limited social infrastructure citizen initiatives would probably need some encouragement to start and continue. In deprived areas government and societal organisations should first build a social infrastructure (Hurenkamp e.a. 2006, 9).

A third struggle is about the risk of social inequity. This is related to the second struggle of the level of government's involvement. Inviting citizens to be active, can easily lead to societal inequity, increase existing differences and reinforce contrasts. Initiatives come to a large extent from experienced citizens; fifty percent of them is also active in other organisations. The local government seems to appeal to only a limited group of active citizens (Tonkens en Kroese 2009, 8). At the same time it is important to give attention to citizens that stay on the side, or are difficult to reach (Biza 2010, 70).

2



PROBLEM STATEMENT

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2.1 Citizen initiatives for the built environment.

2.1.2 Critical notes about the involvement of citizens in planning for the built environment.

2.1.3 The need for balance

2.2 Research

2.2.1 Citizen initiatives as ad hoc connection

2.2.2 Aim and Research Question

2.2.3 About the research

2. Problem Statement

2.1 Citizen initiatives for the built environment.

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis aims to give insight into the impact of government's encouragement in two Dutch cases of citizen initiatives for the built environment. As stated, the government wants to increase citizen participation. In chapter 3.4.1 the goals of the government to do so are explained in more detail. Recent examples, also presented in the introduction, show that citizens do take initiative. The involvement of citizens in planning and design for the built environment can be traced to two social-political developments: first, the on-going liberalisation of spatial planning, where the government invites various actors to participate, and second, the financial and economic crises, which creates an increasing need for private and societal investments (Hamers 2012, 47).

2.1.2 Critical notes about the involvement of citizens in planning for the built environment.

Apart from the struggles the government has with its role towards citizen initiatives in general (1.3.2), some critical notes should be made specifically about the involvement of citizens in planning and design for the built environment. First, planning is complicated because a variety of goals are involved. For instance, cities are to be the engine for economy and social-economic emancipation, with issues concerning liveability, and connections to regional planning on employment, nature and recreation (Hamers 2012, 48). These goals are likely to transcend the scale of citizen initiatives.

Second, authorities and planners look at citizens initiatives as a possible new way to reach goals or as a new perspective for their profession, whereas civilians aim to improve their living conditions, in this case conditions in the built environment (Janssen and Beunen 2012, 29). Policy makers are used to the viewpoint of their organization, whereas research shows that citizen participation requires the viewpoint of the citizens. Citizen participation may very well be the wrong term as it indicates the policy maker's viewpoint (WRR 2012, 51).

Third, the opportunity to take part in planning and decision-making may not necessarily lead to real participation: "*(...) the citizenry may fail to take part or even they may refuse it, feeling their incapability or lack of willingness to take responsibility*" (Maier 2001, 709). And last, as long as the authorities set the goals to be reached, citizen participation becomes an instrument of the authorities. The appeal for civil responsibility and active community then becomes 'responsibilising citizens': making other actors responsible for government policies (Schinkel 2012, 12).

2.1.3 The need for balance

Citizen initiatives, encouraged by the authorities is of course a contradiction, a 'top down' approach for 'bottom up' developments. The government should find a balance between representative and participative democracy (struggle one), between supporting and controlling (struggle two), between offering opportunities and imposing limits (struggle three). In other words, a balance between holding power and empowering citizens. The balance between government encouragement and citizen initiative might be found in a balance between distribution of power and accepting responsibility (Van Es 2010, 3).

2.2 Research

As described (2.1.2), planning for the built is complicated. It is highly regulated, because of general safety issues and because so many stakeholders are involved, such as companies for public transport, energy, water and waste collection. Also, private ownership, of real estate and land can be a determining condition, as it is fundamental to a capitalist society. Citizens that want to take initiatives for the built environment face complexity of the subject, and the government has to determine its approach towards such an initiative, as explained with the critical notes (2.1.2) and the need for balance (2.1.3). This paragraph will explain on what type of initiative this thesis is focused, the aim and research question, as well as the research design.

2.2.1 Citizen initiatives as ad hoc connection

The WRR distinguishes a range of citizen participation (figure 1). This is presented in this paragraph to give an understanding of the type of cases this thesis is focussed on. The WRR determines the range of citizen participation based on the influence or involvement of the authorities (WRR 2012, 28-31). The participation that is most distant from this involvement is labelled as ‘ad-hoc connections’, where citizens take initiative and are directly involved. They take responsibility for issues they believe are important, and are prepared to make an effort to improve their lives as integrated part of society, which creates a genuine civil society in the sense that citizens have a leading role. Ad hoc refers to groups of citizens that organize temporarily, depending on their needs, wishes and desires and on the opportunity they recognize.

This thesis is about the impact of government encouragement on citizen initiatives in Dutch cases of planning and designs for the built environment. The research will focus on these ‘ad-hoc connections’ and their possible active part in developments for the built environment on the local scale.

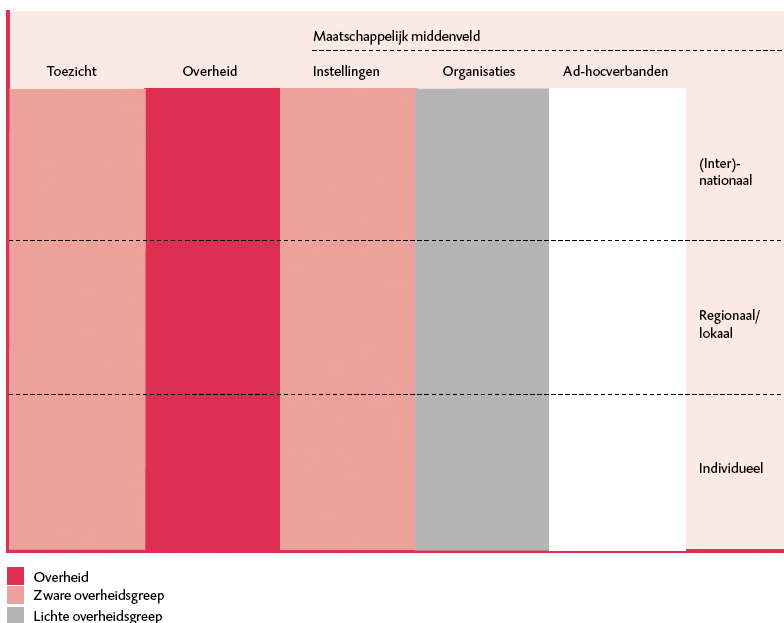


Figure 1: Playfield of citizen participation (WRR 2012, 28)

2.2.2 Aim and Research Question

This study aims to give insight into the impact of government's encouragement in two Dutch cases of citizen initiatives for the built environment. As explained in the introduction and in the problem statement, the government on the one hand encourages citizen initiatives but on the other hand is still in control and is trying to determine its role towards citizen initiatives. The government has to find a way to delegate (some) responsibilities, with the instruments and powers, without forsaking its legal obligations, and without dominating or taking over the initiatives.

The research question based on this aim is:

How do government approaches to encouraging citizen initiatives impact on these initiatives in two Dutch cases for the built environment?

To be able to answer the question, impact is defined on three levels: neutral, limiting and promoting. Neutral means the encouragement of the government had no impact at all. Limiting means that the encouragement limited the development of the initiative, either at the start or during the process, and promoting means that the development of the initiative was somehow promoted by the encouragement.

To define encouragement three sub questions will be answered:

- which goals of the government can be identified?
- which characteristics of the government's strategy, or strategies can be identified in the cases? There is a possibility that more strategies were used, because of changes in the cases or in the approach of the involved government.
- which attempts from the government to control the initiative can be identified?

These sub questions will be answered in the analysis (chapter 6). The analysis is based on the review of scientific literature and national reports on government encouragement and citizen initiatives, and on the empirical research of the cases. The research question is answered in chapter 7: conclusion and recommendations.

2.2.3 About the research

For the research of this thesis a multiple case study is designed. "Case studies have often been viewed as a useful tool for the preliminary, exploratory stage of a research project (...)" (Rowley 2002, 16). Government encouragement and citizen initiatives are not new research areas, but the impact of the former on the latter, related to specific cases, is not widely documented. The research thus stands to make a valuable contribution to the literature. It also has potential to generate recommendations for policy.

Two types of information were gathered for the study: literature and interviews. The selected literature is about different aspects of the relationship between government encouragement and citizen initiatives. The criteria for the selection of the literature and the cases, and the method of research are explained in more detail in the chapter on the Research Methodology.

3



LITERATURE REVIEW and THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

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3.1 Direct democracy and collaborative participation

3.2 Levels of citizen participation: the ladder as a metaphor for different types of citizen participation

3.2.1 Arnstein's 'ladder'

3.2.2 Burns' 'ladder'

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3.3 'Top-down' and 'bottom-up' initiatives and modes of governance.

3.4 Studies, reports and evaluations

3.4.1 The government's position related to its appeal to citizen participation

-The government's goals for increasing citizen participation

-Re-distributing responsibilities.

- Government's role towards citizen initiatives.

-Strategies of the government to encourage citizen initiatives.

3.4.2 Citizen's position related to the government's appeal for citizens initiative.

-Historical examples of citizen participation in the Netherlands

-What do citizens expect?

-Types of citizen initiatives

3.5 Theoretical framework

3. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The subject of this thesis is the impact of government's encouragement, as top-down movement on citizen initiatives, as bottom-up movement. Different aspects of both movements will be reviewed. As mentioned in the Problem Statement (chapter 2), citizen initiatives, as participative democracy can conflict with representative democracy. This review will start with literature on this subject, for which words like direct and indirect democracy or direct and indirect participation are also used (3.1). This part will focus on collaborative participation (Callahan 2007; Innes & Booher 2004). Next literature is reviewed on how the level of participation can be determined related to the involvement of the government (chapter 3.2). This will start with Arnstein's ladder of participation, than lead to Burns' ladder of citizen empowerment as improved version of the ladder, and through other ladders (Alexander 2008; Edelenbos and Munnikhof 2001) to a staircase for government participation (Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur (ROB), 2012). Then the paradox of top-down and bottom-up is reviewed (chapter 3.3). This review emphasises on a government that aims to involve citizens, either by creating an empowered planning process (Amdam 2010), or by inducing a strategy of behavioural change (Burke 2007).

As there is almost no scientific research on the impact of government's top down encouragement on citizen initiatives in Dutch situations, other literature is examined (chapter 3.4). This leads to a review of studies and evaluations on goals of the government concerning citizen participation, and the viewpoints of the government on their role towards citizens regarding participation and initiatives. Also studies and evaluations on expectations and strategies of citizens are reviewed.

3.1 Direct democracy and collaborative participation

3.1.1 K. Callahan: Citizen Participation; Models and Methods.

Callahan explores the challenges and dilemmas associated with direct citizen participation, or direct democracy (Callahan 2007, 1179). She defines citizen participation as participation in planning and administrative processes of government, which differs from political participation (voting; contacting elected officials) and civic engagement (individual support of community; volunteer efforts). She states that compared with literature on political participation and civic engagement, few systematic empirical studies have examined citizen participation and administrative action, and she reflects on various models of citizen-government interaction.

In her view the idea of citizen participation as direct democracy is idealistic. People are either too passionate and selfish or too passive and apathetic, and citizens cannot be expected to be responsible for every public sector decision; they lack the time, knowledge, and personal motivation to do so. Although advocates of direct participation believe that citizens have the knowledge and expertise necessary to participate in public sector decisions that affect them (Callahan 2007, 1180). Also, citizens behave like customers or clients, when they are satisfied with the public sector, and they seek less active involvement in the deliberative process. Or, the opposite, they have greater interest in active citizen participation when there is dissatisfaction, or frustration, with government's ability to effectively design and implement public programs (Callahan 2007, 1186).

Direct democracy, means that citizens are involved in the decisions of the state, so representative democracy is supplemented by participative democracy, as if elected

officials and professional administrators who act on the behalf of citizens is not enough to serve the interest of the state and its citizens best (Callahan 2007, 1180). To Callahan the debate whether direct democracy is more desirable than indirect democracy has developed into the question of what type of participation process works best. *“Or put more broadly, how should citizens and public administrators view their roles within the citizen government relationship so that citizens feel empowered and administrators do not feel threatened?”* (Callahan 2007, 1181). She presents an administrator-citizen interaction model with indicators of the roles citizens and government can adopt for a collaborative participation.

Administrator Role	Citizen Role	Managerial Approach	Dynamic	Method of Interaction
Ruler	Subject	Coercive	Authority	Government Control
Implementer	Voter	Representative	Trust	Voting
Expert	Client	Neutral	Control	Compliance
Professional	Costumer	Responsive	Passive	Consultive
Public Servant	Citizen	Facilitative	Engaged	Deliberative
Co-producer	Co-producer	Collaborative	Active	Partnership
Broker	Investor	Communal	Cooperative	Co-investing
Employee	Owner	Compliance	Conflict	Citizen Control

Figure 1 Administrator – Citizen interaction model: Callahan (2007, 1186).

The model unfolds, from citizen as a subject to citizen as investor, and from administrator as ruler to administrator as public servant and co-producer. It shows that the role of the public administrator is central in determining the level of citizen participation. When the citizen becomes the owner it has control over the process and outcomes. But this is not realistic, as every citizen cannot be equally responsible for the decisions of the state. The ideal, to Callahan, is administrator and citizen as co-producer, where citizens and administrators collaborate together to solve problems and get things done, in an active partnership with shared responsibility. Co-producing is an attractive alternative as governments confront the competing demands for increased services and reductions in expenditures. The collaborative approach holds benefits for both government and citizens. This too is idealistic, *“(…) but incremental steps can be taken to make government more open, accessible and responsive to the public it serves.”* (Callahan 2007, 1192).

3.1.2 J. Innes and D. Booher: Reframing public participation; strategies for the 21st century.

Innes and Booher (2004, 419) describe the failure of public participation methods, as genuine participation is not achieved in planning or in other decision making processes, because most of these methods discourage busy and thoughtful individuals from wasting their time going through what appears to be nothing more than rituals designed to satisfy legal requirements. Their proposal to improve citizen participation is to organize collaborative processes that incorporate citizens, as well as organized interests groups, profit-making, and non-profit organizations, planners and public administrators (Innes and Booher 2004, 422). These parties have to work in a common framework where all are interacting and influencing one another and all act independently in the

world as well. The authors identify four viewpoints that planners practice regarding citizen participation:

- preferences of (groups of) citizens will be known to decision makers so they can adapt these preferences in their decisions;
- local knowledge of citizens can be incorporated in the decision making, which can improve the quality of decisions;
- citizen participation advances fairness and justice and public decisions are legitimized;
- it is something planners and public officials do because the law requires it.

Collaborative processes, according to Innes and Booher (2004, 428), will create conditions for better understanding between participants, and respect for others' opinion. Participants learn new ideas and develop other views to the matter, learn how to build networks and develop institutional capacity, a combination of social, intellectual and political capital.

3.1.3 Callahan and Innes & Booher: collaborative approach

Although sceptical towards direct democracy, Callahan states that citizen participation should not be subject to a debate on representative versus participative democracy. Instead a collaborative approach should be pursued. Innes and Booher are also sceptical, but they too conclude that a collaborative process will be the best for both government and citizens.

3.2 Levels of citizen participation: the ladder as a metaphor for different types of citizen participation

The ladder of participation is a one-dimensional representation of the relationship between government and citizen in terms of power. A number of academics have used this metaphor to provide insights into the problems of citizen participation. The rungs of the participation ladder indicate a certain ratio between government involvement and citizen empowerment. A low rung indicates high government involvement and low citizen empowerment, as a high rung indicates low government involvement and high citizen empowerment. *"(...) there is a danger that the model may take on a prescriptive tone, implying that all councils should climb to the very top of the ladder as quickly as possible."* (Burns et al 1994, 164). However, there is no one and exclusive preferred position on the ladder, but rather a preferred position related to the situation at hand. Or as the Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur (ROB) mentions, citizen initiative can be leading and the role of the government should be made explicit in each situation and for each subject (ROB 2012, 11).

Different authors have presented different ladders, each with limitations and useable aspects. Generally, Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" (1969) is seen as the first of its kind, so her ladder will be explained as an introduction to the others. Burns et.al. (1994) revised the ladder. His approach is extensively explained and documented, so the review on his ladder is also more extensive, because it provides insight in the phenomena and helps to understand later editions by other researchers. Some of these editions are presented after Burns' ladder.

3.2.1 Arnstein's ladder

Arnstein presented the ladder with specific reference to her analysis of federal social programmes in the USA in the 1960s with their aspirations for 'maximum feasible participation'. In her opinion, fundamental participation requires redistribution of

power (Arnstein 1969, 216). This is illustrated in a 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' where the level of participation is connected to the level of power. "Only on the top of the ladder does the citizens' role reach the rungs of delegated power and citizen control, where citizens have a major role in decision-making processes" (Maier 2001, 709).

Arnstein's ladder holds some limitations. It is a simplification (Burns et al. 1994, 158), and does not include roadblocks on both sides like prejudice or inadequacies. Also eight separate rungs in reality are more fluid and with less sharp distinctions (Arnstein 1969, 217). Connor (1988, 250) adds that citizen power is not distributed as neatly as the divisions of the ladder suggest. Maier states that the ladder is too one-dimensional and is based on 'them' versus 'us' (Maier 2001, 709, 716). "But it still provides a helpful starting point for discussion of citizen empowerment" (Burns et al 1994, 158).

3.2.2 Burns' ladder

Burns et al. (1994) updated and refined Arnstein's ladder, to adapt the model to local government as a whole. Burns et al added spheres of influence to the ladder, as well as three areas of decision-making (see figure 2). Three levels of citizen participation divide the rungs of the ladder: non-participation (rungs 1-4), participation (rungs 5-10) and control (rungs 11 and 12).

Burns distinguishes four spheres of influence (individual, estate/neighbourhood, local and sublocal), and stresses "(...) the importance of making changes in sphere 3 in order to develop successful approaches to citizen participation within sphere 2." (Burns et al. 1994, 160).

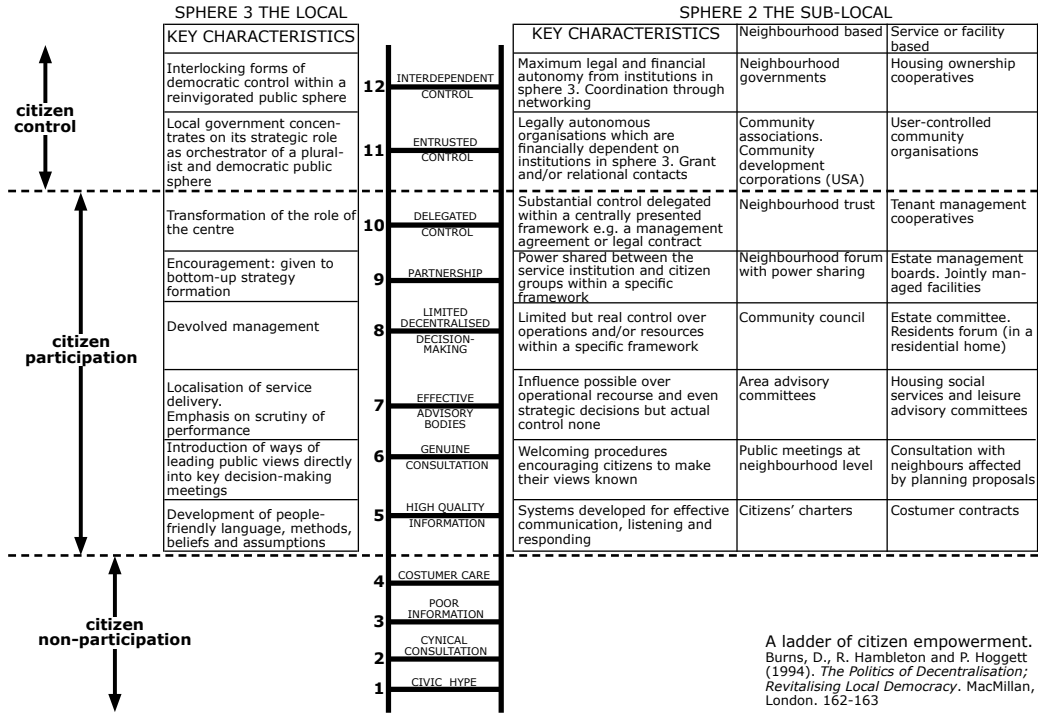


Figure 2 (spheres 1 and 2 not represented)

On what subjects would citizens be empowered? Burns distinguishes three areas of decision-making that can help to understand the power citizens can assert within the spheres of influence. 'Operational practices' refers to the basic area of providing and

maintaining public services, like the opening hours of public buildings, accessibility of public buildings for disabled, reliable and regular service. 'Expenditure decisions' refers to the allocation of budgets for specific programs, such as the improvement of neighbourhood facilities, or real estate. 'Policy-making' refers to the creation of strategic plans, either to improve living conditions in a neighbourhood, or to develop a residential estate. Three separate areas of decision-making that in reality are fluid. Expanding the opening hours of public buildings will cost money, so it is necessary to decide on expenditure and possibly on the need to shift budget from another facility. And most strategic plans contain elements of costs and revenue that have to be taken into account.

Burns states that empowerment is a major theme of our time, and authorities should develop strategies to increase public influence and control over the activities of the council (Burns et al. 1994, 154). If local authorities wish to develop a high level of citizen empowerment, it acquires a fundamental change in the main decision-making and service delivery structures of the council, whereas members and officers will stretch the importance of holding on to core values of the 'centre'. This is a difficult balance to strike, but citizen participation cannot be "added at the edge." (Burns et al. 1994, 174). To develop effective approaches, the notions choice, participation and control are carefully distinguished. Choice: citizen can choose political representatives every four years, or in between, when extra elections are necessary. But people can only choose from what is presented. Most are not directly involved in creating political programs, or in selecting the candidates for which they can vote. In The Netherlands, with its political culture of coalitions, it is even uncertain what the effect of the choice is in terms of future policies. Unsatisfied citizens can only review their opinion at the next election. This is essentially a passive role. Participation, the second notion, is based on dialogue, two-way communication and several degrees of decision-making. It invites people to reflect on government policies, to share information and encourages citizens to present their ideas. A basic level of participation, in the Dutch planning practice would be the procedure for zoning plans, where people can present their views and have the right to defend these in court when necessary. Law secures this level of participation (Schoot 2011). Control, the third notion, means the power of directing (in Burns' analogy of the theatre play), participating in producing (writing the script) instead of consuming (watching the play).

3.2.3 Other conceptual ladders: Alexander, Edelenbos and Munnikhof & ROB

Alexander

According to Alexander (2008), public participation in planning implies direct interaction in the planning system between the planning "establishment" and interested non-governmental participants, and not only through elected representatives in political or administrative processes (Alexander 2008, 58). He presents a multidimensional model of public participation (see figure 3). The model was designed for a detailed analysis of rights and practices related to public participation in planning in Israel, and claims it has no predictive or explanatory power, nor can it address aspects on the macro and micro socio-economic level. Its strength is what it was designed for: enabling comprehensive analysis of public participation at the meso-level, i.e. in a country's planning system as a whole, or comparing participation in different planning systems (Alexander 2008, 58). Different from Arnstein's ladder, Alexander created a taxonomic framework, which can facilitate analysis by disaggregating the somewhat abstract

subject of public participation into its concrete components (Alexander 2008, 60). Public participation as institutionalized part of planning systems, involves various actors, processes and structures that combine in a set of discrete forms, and can be recognized in three dimensions of public participation: structure, process and actions. (Alexander 2008, 60)

Structural aspects of public participation can be institutionalised in different forms: as participative democracy, by referenda or government by assembly, or by giving the public control over the relevant planning institution. Another form is collaborative planning, where public participation is integrated into the planning process. In contrast to the conventional model of public participation in planning, where public involvement is complementary to state agency led planning, a network of planning agencies and stakeholder-representing organisations is empowered from the outset to address and resolve a specific planning issue, to develop a particular plan or to plan a strategic project. This gives the public access to the planning process through representation on decision-making bodies. (Alexander 2008, 60)

Alexander identifies three kinds of participatory processes: formal or informal consultation between involved public and governmental agencies; using formal administrative and legal channels for objections, administrative appeals and judicial review; and active public participation in plan making and planning decisions. (Alexander 2008, 62) The different actions of participation are described by Alexander as exchange of information, the “lowest” level of participative interaction; inviting public, communities, interest groups and stakeholders to participate in setting the goals, is a higher level of interaction; and alternative planning is one of the highest levels, and more often recognized as an accepted part of good planning practice (Alexander 2008, 65).

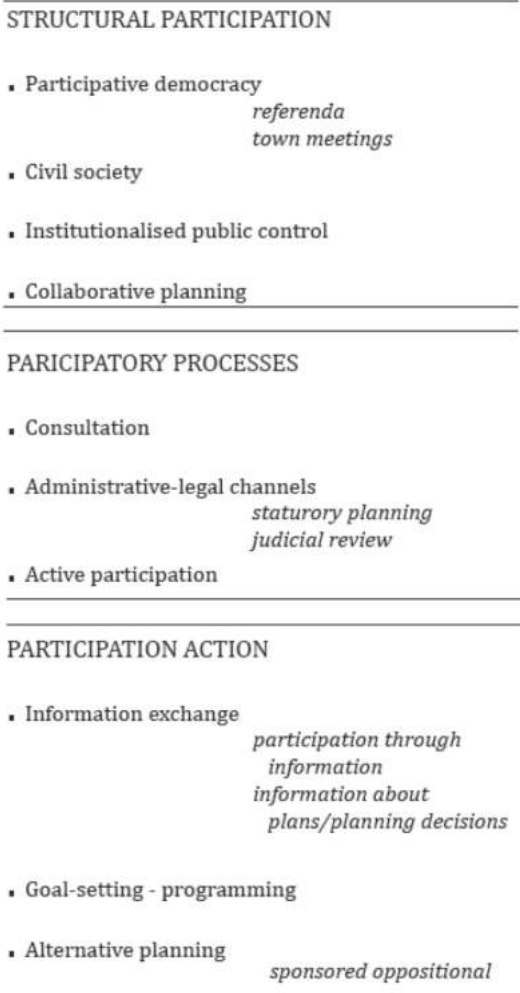


Figure 3 Forms of Public participation. A multidimensional model of public participation; Alexander (2008)

Edelenbos and Munnikhof

Edelenbos and Munnikhof (2001) made a version by combining the information on different ladders and then reducing the information to five levels: informing, consulting, advising, coproducing and self-control. These levels correspond with different forms of democracy, as shown in figure 4. Participative democracy is not related to any level of participation. This table does not show the possible difference in difficulties between steps when climbing the ladder, whereas Burn's ladder indicating different sizes of the steps to be made.

Level of Participation	Form of Democracy
Informing	Representative
Consulting	Consulting - reacting
Advising	Consulting - reacting
Co-producing	Interactive
Self-control	Direct

Figure 4 Participation model; Edelenbos and Munnikhof (2001)

De Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur (ROB).

Finally, the ROB (2012, 133) states that now private initiative is the leading theme, not a ladder of citizen participation is needed but a staircase of government participation, which makes explicit the role of the government (see figure 4). From bottom to top they distinguish letting go, facilitate, stimulate, directing and regulate (2012, 67). Regulate would be the most heavy instrument the government uses to rule. A directing government cooperates with others but keeps in control. When the government prefers certain developments but is not able to realize them, it would stimulate others to do so. When the governments values initiatives from other parties it will facilitate the initiative. When the government is 'letting go', it has no involvement in a process or content of a development.

This scheme too does not show the possible difference in difficulties between steps when climbing the ladder. The scheme seems to indicate that the government should not climb the ladder but rather, descend the staircase.



Figure 5 government participation staircase; ROB (2012, 67)

3.2.4 Notes on the ladder metaphor

The 'ladder' has developed from a ruler to measure the level of citizen participation (Arnstein) to a scheme where this level is related to spheres of influence and areas of decision-making (Burns). The 'ladder' has inspired others, shifting from levels to characteristics of citizen participation (Alexander) and to the relation with forms of democracy (Edelenbos and Munnikhof). The ROB turned the ladder into a staircase of government participation.

3.3 'Top-down' and 'bottom-up' initiatives and modes of governance.

3.3.1 R. Amdam: Empowerment Planning in Regional Development

On the subject of top-down (government's encouragement) and bottom up (citizen initiatives), Amdam (2010) states that it is a tendency in planning literature to treat them as contradictory, just as government and governance, and instrumental and communicative planning. He claims there is need for combining them in adequate planning models, which have a better balance (Amdam 2010, 1805). His article is a theoretical discussion of a planning model called 'empowered planning'. The focus is on regional development. 'Empowered planning' is a combination of top down and bottom up processes, which is to contribute to the institution building process and strengthen the legitimacy of the planning institution. Amdam defines empowerment based on Friedman, which *"(...) implies a gathering of power in a dynamic way over a period of time in a combination of external support and internal mobilization. Or to refer to the best everyday definitions of empowerment: 'Helping people to help themselves' or 'Leading people to learn to lead themselves'"* (Amdam 2010, 1806). Also his definition of planning is based on Friedman *"(...) as a political activity in which an attempt is made to establish links between knowledge and action, and which also involves the exercise of power"* (Amdam 2010, 1808).

According to Amdam governance, as interaction of different actors that share a common goal or interest, is not necessarily a more efficient solution to socio-economic problems, and the vertical government policy should interact with the horizontal policy of governance (Amdam 2010, 1806). In his analysis policy-making means having the power to put problems on the political agenda, to achieve control over decision-making and to influence the production of problem solving, which involves the planners as one of many actors that contribute to the process. Planners should not only have knowledge of the tools they can use, but also of political reality in which these tools are to be used. Bottom up initiatives have to grow within the community. Empowered planning would be planners who help the initiators to *"(..) improve their skills in self-help, direct action, negotiating and drawing up effective plans of action to achieve changes in policy processes and structures"* (Amdam 2010, 1809). Top-down and bottom-up policies, government and governance, and instrumental and communicative planning are interrelated.

3.3.2 E. Burke: Citizen Participation Strategies

Burke states that citizens should share in decisions that affect their destinies: it's in our democratic tradition (Burke 2007, 287). Although he notes that even those that support to involve citizens admit that citizens cannot participate in all decision-making functions. He outlines the dilemma of the demand for participatory democracy on the one hand and expertise in decision-making on the other hand, and has identified five strategies of participation.

'Education-therapy' is a form of citizenship training. Citizens work together to solve community problems, learn how democracy works and to value cooperation as a problem solving method (Burke 2007, 288). The inability to accommodate it to organizational demands is a limitation of this strategy.

'Behavioural change' is to induce change in a system or subsystem by changing the behaviour of either the system's members or influential representatives of the system. Conditions for using this strategy are that members have a strong identification with the group and that they are actively involved in the decision-making process. Decision making and working through the problem together are the dynamic factors that change behaviour (Burke 2007, 289).

'Staff supplement', supplementing the expertise of the planning agency's staff with the expertise of particular citizens, is a third identified strategy. A limitation is that advices become merely another opinion, and decisions are the result of bargaining, negotiation, and compromise (Burke 2007, 291).

'Cooptation' is to involve citizens in an organization in order to prevent anticipated obstructionism. Citizens in this sense are seen as potential elements of obstruction or frustration.

'Community power' is either to capture influentials by involving them as participants in the organization in order to achieve organizational objectives, or to confront existing power centres with the power of numbers - an organized and committed mass of citizenry, as a condition for change (Burke 2007, 292). This strategy is best suited to organize social reform, but its effectiveness appears limited in duration and it works best for organisations committed to a cause rather than to a service.

Burke concludes that behavioural change would appear to be useful in overcoming what is commonly referred to as the "politics" of the planning process. For this "politics" accommodating various interests would be advisable. In the behaviour change strategy value preferences are subjected to a dialogue, allowing them to be aired within the context of the planning process. Staff supplement permits the planning agency to employ on a voluntary basis the expertise of community individuals. These two strategies appear to be the most appropriate for community planning. On the other hand, they require knowledge and skill in handling the dynamics of individual and group behaviour (Burke 2007, 293).

3.3.3 Amdam and Burke: Empowered Planning.

The paradox of top-down (government's encouragement) and bottom up (citizen initiatives) is to overcome in Amdam's Empowered Planning: planners helping the initiators. Burke's Behavioural Change Strategy has limits, as described by the author, but may very well be a condition to the Empowered Planning of Amdam.

3.4 Studies, reports and evaluations

In order to explore the subject of this thesis more precisely, research is reviewed on the Dutch situation regarding both goals and strategies from the government as well as expectations and strategies from citizens. This research is documented in recommendations, studies, reports and evaluations, and gives insight in relevant aspects of the government's encouragement on citizen initiatives.

First, literature on the issues related to the government's encouragement is reviewed (3.4.1). These issues concern the goals the government has, its aims to develop a new model of responsibilities between government and citizens, its role towards citizen

initiatives and strategies the government develops to actually increase citizen initiatives. It appears that the government has more than just one goal for encouraging citizen participation, and that the new model of responsibilities is based on its opinion about the capability of citizens to accept certain responsibilities. The governments goals for encouraging citizen initiatives differentiate, as are its opinions on citizens intentions and capacities, but a returning argument of the authors is that by determining preconditions and controlling the outcome, representative democracy will not be replaced by participative democracy. In between determining conditions and controlling the outcome a process of citizen initiative can develop, which the government should guide without taking over.

Second, literature on the issues related to citizen initiatives is reviewed (3.4.2). Citizen participation has a history, which will be briefly sketched, and citizens have expectations, positive and negative, when asked to take more responsibility for their living conditions. These expectations influence strategies that citizens develop to achieve their goals.

3.4.1 The government's position related to its appeal to citizen participation

The government's goals for increasing citizen participation

More responsibility for citizens is often represented as solution for two societal issues at the same time: the crises of the welfare state and the fading of standards and values, also known as the 'crises of citizenship' (Vrooman e.a. 2012, 11). Shifting responsibilities from government to citizen helps to reduce the costs and to meet the shrinking budgets. The 'crises of citizenship' is characterised as erosion of solidarity, claiming rights instead of fulfilling duties. Citizen no longer know or accept their duties and responsibilities in society. Rough behaviour in public space, especially in traffic, and easily made claims on public means, are two examples of this crisis in morality (Van Noije e.a. 2012, 317). It is assumed that active participation can have a positive effect on these so-called crises of citizenship. People should take care of their parents when they need help, they should organize themselves on neighbourhood level to improve social conditions, and they could collectively take over the maintenance of the playground, are a few of the examples. As Van Noije e.a. (2012, 303) point out, the government hopes to maintain a high level of the welfare state, despite the great financial and demographic pressure. In the past decades the government, and later the market, was looked at to solve societal problems, now the citizen is looked at for what is named its problem solving potential (Hurenkamp e.a. 2006, 11).

Finally, one of the goals is to bridge the gap between citizens and politics (Van Noije e.a. 2012, 254). According to the ROB, this gap is not a lack of proximity, or contact, but difference between politicians and citizens in the way they experience reality (Biza 2010, 16).

Re-distributing responsibilities: four opinions on citizens capacities.

The government needs to reform because the welfare state is financially untenable, with a crisis on top of that. It is aiming to reduce government tasks, and to shift tasks to citizens. A development towards more self-responsibility seems a practical solution (Van Noije 2012, 317). The meaning of self-responsibility has shifted over time, and is differently used, based on the actual situation. It refers to the mental, physical and financial *capability* of citizens, or to their *liability*, as far as citizens are thought to be liable for the choices they make. It might also refer to *task*, formal or informal

obligations, connected to social positions of citizens, or to *virtue*, as a more personal quality (Vrooman e.a. 2012, 20).

Which citizens does the government want to address? Opinions about the behaviour of citizens, on their capability and on their citizenship effect expectations to re-distribute responsibilities between government and citizen (Vrooman e.a. 2012, 17), like which responsibilities and under which conditions.

Four opinions on citizenship related to the government's goal to redistribute responsibilities are distinguished.

According to one opinion, citizens are unpredictable and can make the wrong choice. The relationship between citizens and government has changed due to a range of developments, which have made parties less clear and understandable to each other (Hurenkamp e.a. 2006, 12-13). First the general level of education is increasing, as is the level of emancipation: citizens are critical, assertive and demanding. Second, immigration and internationalisation have created cultural and social differences that seem more difficult to bridge. In neighbourhoods with many different ethnical groups it is hard to build a community centre. And third, a large number of working people already spend their free time to take care for children or elderly people.

According to Vrooman e.a. (2012, 19) the government wants to prescribe the conditions for participation because the choices citizen can make are unpredictable, and sometimes unwanted. Intense supervision and sanctions are (in this view) necessary to protect citizens against irresponsible behaviour. However, accurate and detailed prescription of the condition for acceptable citizen responsibilities limits the freedom of choice from the start (Vrooman e.a. 2012, 17). Shifting responsibilities from government to citizens becomes 'responsibilizing' citizens on conditions determined by government.

Another opinion is that good citizenship is needed. Citizenship is not clearly defined and therefore an enthusiastically used word to cover a variety of intentions (Tonkens and Kroese 2009, 4). One of the goals for distributing responsibilities is, as described above, that it would stimulate active participation as a positive effect on the crisis of citizenship. Citizens stimulated to be active develop responsible behaviour and improve social coherence, which is beneficial for society, that is for citizens. Societal problems are recognized and defined by the government, who also determines the role of the citizen in solving the problem by defining what 'responsible behaviour' it expects or demands (Vrooman e.a. 2012, 17). This way the government keeps controlling, which might not be necessary or valued by citizens. For instance, to reduce the gap between citizens and politics, another goal for distributing responsibilities, municipalities use two strategies: inviting citizens and stepping back. The majority of citizens is more positive about the first, they feel motivated when invited and given some influence (Vermeij 2012, 269).

A third opinion is that it is up to citizens now. Or, as Hurenkamp et al call it: 'the assumption of spontaneous citizenship' (2006, 9). The government assumes that drawing back puts emphasis on the self-responsibility of citizens, so the more government draws back, the more citizens will feel and behave responsible, take more care for each other, which creates a good condition for emerging initiatives (Tonkens en Kroese 2009, 7). To avoid misunderstanding, the government is not drawing back in all areas. It aims to redistribute responsibilities in areas like social care, some level of medical care, and the maintenance of some public space, to name a few examples.

However, research shows that the government drawing back does not generate active citizens, but instead citizens will draw back, as a reaction (Tonkens en Kroese 2009, 8). Emphasising the importance of 'do it your self' is not an overestimation of the capacities of citizens, but a denial of a realistic citizenship (Hurenkamp e.a. 2006, 58). It will select higher educated people who want to improve their living conditions (Hurenkamp e.a. 2006, 60).

A last opinion is that citizens need the government. Small initiatives are successful, not because the government takes a step back, but because of a self-conscious government, not defining its role as facilitating, but as inviting and involved (Hurenkamp 2006, 58). Research shows that initiating and redistributing by the government is necessary to reach lower educated people as well, to take initiative. It calls for 'blended social action', the possibility for citizens to join neighbourhood organisations temporarily (Hurenkamp 2006, 58). In so-called underprivileged areas a basic level of organisation is needed, and the government should support connections between citizens and organisations like neighbourhood committees and housing corporations (Hurenkamp 2006, 60).

To summarize, the government's opinion on citizenship has four characteristics: fear for unwanted outcomes; wish to prescribe; hope others take over; and preparedness to help. These opinions will lead to a new model of responsibility, with a more responsible citizen directed by the government (Van Noije e.a. 2012, 303). If the government wants to reach its goals on increasing citizen participations and citizen initiatives, it is important that citizens accept the conditions of this model. Besides the necessary acceptance of the conditions of the new model of responsibility, it is equally important that the government knows how to address citizens when encouraging their participation and initiatives. For this issue Hurenkamp et al have distinguished types of citizen initiatives, which will be reviewed in paragraph 3.4.2.

Government's role towards citizen initiatives.

Reduction of government tasks can be compensated by stronger conditions for private arrangements and monitoring the results (Vrooman e.a. 2012, 18). The government defines goals and conditions and legislates them, or secures them in agreements. The realisation of the goals is left to citizens, social organisations and commercial enterprises, whereas the government presents to the citizens the preferred way of working as a condition for submitting collective means and contributions (Van Noije e.a. 2012, 303). However, local government might be able to tune their policy better to the needs of citizens by supporting citizen participation and citizen initiatives, (Kramer 2010, 9), but it cannot look away from the complexity that citizens might face in certain situations. Guiding the process is an instrument for government to deal with the dynamics of the process of participation (Kramer, 2010, 27). The government then will face the challenge to guide at least some responsibilities without taking over. This leads to a government that seeks to invite and connect, where citizens are not left on their own, but supported and addressed by a government that on the one hand keeps responsibilities and on the other does not take over the initiative (Tonkens en Kroese 2009, 8). On the local level the role of the city council is crucial for the way citizen participation complements representative democracy, by adapting a new role towards citizens, as bridge-builders, determining the conditions and controlling the outcome

(Biza 2010, 15). In this model the government increasingly calls on citizens, without leaving its responsibility as guardian of common interest.

Strategies of the government to encourage citizen initiatives

To fulfil its role in processes of citizen initiatives the government can adopt different strategies, with various levels of encouragement. For this, Denters et al (2012, 25-30) have distinguished three approaches to citizen initiatives that form a model of government strategies: stimulating, facilitating and coproducing. Stimulating can be that professionals, possibly assigned by the government or some institution, are active in promoting and realizing citizen initiatives. Professionals supporting citizens are often an important link between government and citizens (Vermeij 2012, 261). The government can also stimulate by giving incentives such as neighbourhood budgets that can be spent by citizens to whatever they regard necessary or important, within certain conditions (Vermeij 2012, 258), or voucher arrangements, that promises financial support for interesting plans. Research shows about 50% of Dutch communities make this kind of agreements with neighbourhoods. Civil budgets are a promising instrument to increase participation and a certain level of self-responsibility, although not without complications, and sometimes with disappointing results (Vermeij 2010, 259). Stimulating would also be organizing competitions for the most interesting plan, and let people from the neighbourhood vote for their favourite one (Denters et al 2012, 25). Sometimes governments take the role of facilitator, for instance by appointing a staff member as coordinator or project manager (Kramer 2010, 17). Professional should not take over the initiative, but contribute to the development of it, with a modest attitude and putting the citizens in the centre (Denters et al. 2012, 7). This approach is in favour of policymakers that fear too much interference and do not want to take over the initiative. In case of spontaneous initiatives and motivated initiators, facilitating is an effective approach. Coproducing would be an intensive cooperation between citizens and organisations, based on a mutual interest to realize an initiative. Citizens and civil servants become partners with different competence, but with shared goals (Denters et al 2012, 30). Clear distinction between these strategies is exceptional rather than common as they usually overlap, mainly because objectives of initiatives change in time. However, because the strategies have considerable differences in the approach towards citizen initiatives, the distinction is useful (Denters et al 2012, 25).

stimulating,	facilitating	coproducing
Professional stimulus -enthusiasm -communication -publicity -social events -consulting hours -meetings Incentives -neighbourhood budget -voucher arrangement -competition for the best plan Advising	Professional support -knowledge -experience -assistance (bureaucratic obstacles) Financial support Advising Coordinating -communication with authorities -organisational structure	Intensive cooperation -(civil servants – initiators) Open, receptive attitude Informal relations Mutual trust Mutual respect -working methods -capacities -limitations

Support -basic help (bureaucratic obstacles; applications) -executing plans Using network -housing corporation -community organisation -external contacts	Using network -additional to citizens network	Investing -time -money -means
Government strategies to approach citizens initiatives; Based on Denters et al 2012, 25-30		

Evaluating these strategies is based on cases and is not general applicable. But it shows some important information that supports the distinction in these three strategies, and refers back to the issues as described in this chapter.

In general professionals tend to aim for one of the strategies, but citizen initiatives are diverse and develop unpredictably. Each situation is different and needs a specific reaction that should be 'tailor made' (Denters et al 2012, 35).

Stimulating (Denters et al 2012, 25-28):

Frequent contact; support highly appreciated, more positive image of government; growing expectations; improved contact between (groups) of citizens; opportunity to think along.

Conditions: the effort of the professional should meet the expectations of the citizens (don't stimulate when they want to be facilitated); always do what is promised; being clear what citizens can expect and what is expected from them; even enthusiastic citizens sometimes need support; best result when citizens are able to do it themselves.

Facilitating (Denters et al 2012, 28-30):

Professional support appreciated, if not too much, citizens want to keep in control and hold the initiative; service orientated attitude as citizens are reasonably capable; more need for expertise than help;

Coproducing (Denters et al 2012, 30-32):

Overlapping agendas, competence and responsibilities, but different powers; initiators often have the same socio-cultural background; difference in style: creative, targeted, networking (citizens) versus tasks, rules and procedures (civil servants); tension because of difference of competence (who has the most knowledge and expertise) and expectations (civil servants have to stick to the rules as citizens are more free, for instance to talk to the press); some tension is positive, more debate, better founded compromises, civil servants seek opportunities within the rules, citizen respect limitations when the reason is explained.

3.4.2 Citizen's position related to the government's appeal for citizens initiative.

Historical examples of citizen participation in the Netherlands

Citizen participation should start with the notion that voting for representatives in parliament is a major participation of citizens in creating the conditions for the life they want to live. However, describing the history of this achievement is beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, the development of different 'generations' of citizen participation is

briefly reviewed. The first generation of citizen participation can be described as consulting, where the government invites citizens to give their opinion on plans through hearing committees or in writing. The second generation of citizen participation is described as interactive decision-making, where planners and citizens meet at the start of a process to discuss the conditions for a plan.

Before reviewing the third generation of citizen participation, the development in planning is looked at. On issues of planning the government has gradually stepped away from central ruling, and involved other parties to achieve the goals they had set. Communities and housing corporations were given more freedom to react on local conditions. The following step was to guarantee more freedom of choice and influence of citizens on housing projects. The economic climate and technological developments created a condition to acknowledge the interests of the future inhabitants of those houses more as consumers (Kullberg 2012, 163).

Citizens were to take responsibility for their living conditions, for instance by organizing themselves on a neighbourhood level, or by being the principal actor for the design and building of their own houses. The obligation of the government was to assure involvement of citizens in the early stage of plan making, and to assure a transparent market to enable citizens to participate, have influence and make choices. These opportunities (for citizens) come with obligations regarding collective values. So citizens were stimulated to design their house, fully to their taste, but the design had to meet general rules of size, position, orientation, as well as regulations regarding safety and security (Kullberg 2012, 164). In other words, the government becomes an advocate for more participation of 'house consumers', to improve the quality of houses and subsequently living conditions. At the same time this government considers itself a necessary partner to realise the conditions that are not provided by the free market (Kullberg 2012, 165).

Citizens should have more control on the process of planning and building, a process that in The Netherlands is often controlled by parties that own the land, and execute the building of houses in large numbers. The opportunity to 'built your own house' is regarded as an interesting counter movement, with positive effects on the satisfaction of citizens, and on the architecture. Building your own house was stimulated in two forms, individually or collectively (Kullberg 2012, 168).

An evaluation of sixty 'self built' projects showed that the money that no longer had be spend on a developer and a real estate agent, was invested in higher quality. It also showed that collective building created social cohesion among the participants. And finally it showed that mainly high-educated people between 45-55 years old were interested (Kullberg 2012, 170).

So far, the government has improved the position of citizens in the field of planning from a consumer who is depending on producers, to producers themselves. But as producers they still depended on the government's decisions about location, main functions of the site or the area, the involvement of others, or agreements that are made with a housing company or a water board.

The government has increased the involvement of citizens in the planning practice. This may very well be the result of external forces, but up to the second generation of citizen participation, there was no intention of shifting responsibilities from government to citizens. The third generation of citizen participation is based on a new model of responsibilities between government and citizens.

What do citizens expect?

Research shows that Dutch citizens support the principle of more self-responsibility (Vrooman e.a. 2012, 12). The so-called third generation of citizen participation seems to be especially challenging to citizens that want to act instead of talk or negotiate (Vermeij 2012, 254). When asked what their primary intentions are, initiators respond: living conditions in the neighbourhood, like maintenance and safety, and solidarity, mostly with groups in the neighbourhood or in developing countries (Hurenkamp e.a. 2006, 20). Citizens initiatives are based on different motivations, like social, developing something with others; targeted, contributing to the quality of living conditions in the neighbourhood; or self-interest, mostly more personal, like learning something new, or meeting new contacts (Denters e.a., 2012, 36).

“The image of the active citizen, from international and national research, is that of high educated autochthonous people, over fifty years of age. They vote, are active in public participation, or interactive policymaking, and contribute to improve living conditions in their community by joining organisations for tenant, or owners” (Denters e.a. 2012, 19). Citizens do not tend to picture great perspectives for the future, but prefer to work on improvements of their living condition on a small, comprehensible level. (Hurenkamp, 2006, 65). Citizens may only develop an active attitude in cases of certain self-interest (Van Noije e.a. 2012, 318), and feel initiatives as something of their own, and so generate energy, coherence and support. The grass-route feeling is important, but for anything beyond the street festival or the neighbourhood barbeque, some influence of the government is needed when money, permits or knowledge is acquired (Vermeij 2012, 260).

Citizens seem positive, but at the same time have reservations and concerns.

The same citizens that support the principle of more self-responsibility are less enthusiastic about concrete proposals. Only then do they seem to realize what is expected of them and what disadvantages it might have (Van Noije e.a. 2012, 312). The principle of individual and personal responsibility is generally supported, but taking over governments responsibility is not (Ridder en Dekker 2012, 295).

Citizens fear a burden of tasks and need to be convinced that the responsibility they take is within their capacity and that it is inevitable and meaningful (Van Noije e.a. 2012, 313). Citizens also fear that not everybody is equally capable to fulfil these tasks. There will always be vulnerable groups, which will have difficulties when taking more responsibility, like disabled; low educated; and new citizens from abroad. The present crisis increases their vulnerability. The government is needed in some situations. Only helping those who need it can prevent inequity between citizens who are able to take responsibility, and citizens who are not (Van Noije e.a. 2012, 317).

Regarding neighbourhood facilities, they favour a guiding government because of its expertise and because it guards common interest. No one wants to depend on the cunning neighbour who will fix it (Schnabel 2012, 12).

An important concern is that the opinions of citizens are too divers to come to a decision. The city council should come to decisions, because they are better equipped and guard the interest of all citizens (Ridder en Dekker 2012, 293).

In short, citizens are positive about more freedom of choice, less government interference, less bureaucracy, less costs and they realize that people get more aware of the consequences of their choice. They are negative towards possible inequity (because

money, brains, skills and ‘a big mouth’ might favour some over others) and possible chaos (too much, too diverse opinions) (Ridder en Dekker 2012, 295).

The risks citizens fear to take over responsibility from the government might determine the decisions they make on which and how much responsibilities they accept (Vrooman e.a. 2012, 26). Possible limited capacities are a risk for the government too. The attitude and receptivity of policy makers, especially on a local level, are crucial to activate citizens in taking responsibility (Vermeij 2012, 261). This attitude can be inviting towards citizens, by hearing their wishes and ideas, and being clear on what is expected from them. Taking over the initiative will have a de-motivating effect.

Types of citizen initiatives

Like the government, citizens use strategies to achieve their goals, as a reaction to developments in their environment (Van Dam e.a. 2010, 16). In general citizens combine different strategies, but they all start with contacting people in their surroundings, to get sympathy and support, and to connect the first ideas with possible other issues people are concerned about (Van Dam e.a. 2010, 80). This enables the initiators to get informed, to meet others that might want to join, and to estimate the level of support and possible volunteers. Other, generally used strategies are lobbying, public presentation, broad communication and organizing festivities (Van Dam e.a. 2010, 81). These strategies are not always planned, but developed by intuition, pragmatism and improvisation, as reaction to external developments (Van Dam e.a. 2010, 85). Van Dam e.a. (2010, 84) distinguish three types of strategies: principal, interactive and operational. Principle strategies are at the basis of the initiative, which is not discussed by the participants and is the general direction for the development of the initiative. The interactive strategy is based on action – reaction with external events, to gain power, to built trust and support with policy makers and succeed in obtaining subsidies. Operational strategies focus at a variety of activities to promote the initiative and collect response.

Hurenkamp et al have distinguished four types of initiatives (2006, 30-34, 60-65), based on the relationship between solidity, the level of internal contact in a group (‘binding social capital’) and interrelation, the level of external contact with other groups and organisations (‘bridging social capital). The level of solidity is determined by frequency of contacts, the habit of involving other members in case of personal issues, and the length of the period the members have been a group. The level of solidity is determined by the frequency of cooperation with other organisations, external relations of the members, for instance membership of a political party or societal organisation, and if a group receives subsidies.

These types of initiatives are related to what citizens expect of the government. This is important in order to determine what the capability of a group is, how much and what kind of support they might need. But also to find out in which societal domains citizen are likely to take initiative, and where the government should be more present.

	High external contact	Low external contact
High internal contact	Federative initiative	Cooperative initiative
Low internal contact	Network initiative	Light initiative
Tabel: Types of citizen initiatives (Hurenkamp e.a. 2006, 33)		

A brief explanation of these types of initiatives is as follows.

Light initiatives: low contact, internal as well as external; usually attentive but solitary operating citizens. Involvement from the government is most welcome, but no complicated structures or bureaucratic procedures, easy access to contacts and information, small financial support and most of all appreciation are important.

Network initiatives: low internal contact but high level of contact and cooperation with government and other organisations; target orientated. These citizens want a hearing ear and acknowledgement for their ideas. Government and especially neighbourhood organisations can benefit from these target-orientated groups, by offering some professional support.

Cooperative initiatives: high level of internal contact, low external contact; more binding capital than bridging capital. These initiatives are best stimulated by recognition and appreciation. Incentives like rewards or publicity for their initiative have a strong positive effect.

Federative initiative: solid, interrelating groups, with binding as well as bridging social capital. These initiatives are of larger scale than the others, and more interrelated.

Subsidies are the main demands from the government. The group is generally well educated, which means they know how to apply for permits and financial support, and they can account for it. Research shows this type of initiative is most common.

To decide on 'what to do', the government should know what type of initiative it is dealing with in order to address initiatives fruitfully. The scheme of Hurenkamp et al gives insight in possible types of initiative.

3.5 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework is composed of different parts of the literature review. The main part of this framework is the scheme of Denters et al (2012) about strategies for the government to approach citizen participation, including attitudes and actions. The scheme does not suggest only one strategy is valid or best, nor does it suggest that a specific strategy should be chosen. In practice strategies get mixed or one follows the other, like stages, as the initiative develops.

The Research Question will be answered through three sub questions on the approach of the government towards citizen initiatives: goals, strategies and control. Denters' scheme is used to analyze possible strategies, and other reviewed literature is used to analyze possible goals and elements of control, especially from paragraph 3.4.1.

Not all literature that is reviewed in this thesis will be used for the framework, but appeared to be relevant to present the general picture of the different subjects and the issues that are related, for example the 'ladders' of Alexander and Edelenbos&Munnikhof. Burns' ladder will be used to give an understanding of the level of participation, and the ROB's ladder to give an understanding of the level of government participation.

When relevant references to the literature will be made in the analysis, like to the scheme of Hurenkamp, which give an understanding of the type of citizen initiatives in the cases.

4



RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

C O N T E N T

4.1 Multiple Case Study

4.1.1. Case study

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- *Conditions of a multiple case study*

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- *Selection*
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4.3.1. Selection criteria

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- *Emma's Hof*
- *IJsselhoeven*

4.4 Data analysis

4. Research Methodology

4.1 Multiple-case study

4.1.1 Case study

The relation between government's encouragement and citizen initiatives within planning and building the built environment will be examined in two Dutch cases. These cases are selected to provide information to answer the research question. Eisenhardt (1989, 548) says that case studies are particularly well suited to new research areas. The subject 'citizen initiatives' is not a new research area, as already mentioned in Chapter 1 and 3. However, the impact of the government's encouragement is not documented in relation to actual cases of citizen initiatives for the built environment in the Netherlands.

Two cases are selected that will be analysed separately. The research is not designed to compare the two cases. The cases are different and by analysing them similarities and differences can be found. This might result in different arguments for the answer on the research question, or even different answers. It can also be interesting for discussion or further research.

There are four arguments for doing a case study. First, it is a research strategy that focuses on understanding the dynamics within single settings. The dynamics of government's encouragement, like goals, responsibilities and strategies towards citizen initiatives, and the dynamics of citizens initiatives like expectations and strategies when initiatives are taken. "(...), it can involve either single or multiple cases, and can employ an embedded design, that is, multiple levels of analysis within a single study." (Eisenhardt 1989, 534). Second, the information to use for the analysis is based on different sources. Case studies combine different data collection methods such as archives, interviews, questionnaires, and observations, providing both qualitative (e.g. words), as quantitative (e.g. numbers) information (Eisenhardt 1989, 534-535).

Third, the cases will not be compared between each other, but the differences are interesting, as motivated above. These differences are partly based on contextual conditions: differences in environment (urban and rural), in policies, the people are different and so are the subjects of the initiatives. A consideration to do a case study is when "(...) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study (Baxter and Jack 2008, 545). Finally, case studies can be used to accomplish various aims: to provide description, test theory, or to generate a theory. This research aims to provide insight, by describing two Dutch cases of citizen initiatives for the built environment, and analysing the impact of the encouragement in the cases by the local governments.

4.1.2 Single- and multiple cases studies

Yin considers "(...) single- and multiple-case designs to be variants within the same methodological framework (...)", and the choice as one of research design (Yin 2008, 53). For this research a multiple-case study is designed. The choice is based on a judgement of the advantages and limits, as well as on the applicability regarding the conditions connected to a multiple case study. In comparison with a single case study, a multiple case study may have substantial analytical benefits. Studying two cases can help to avoid uniqueness or the artificial surroundings of a case, as in a single case study (Yin 2008, 61-62). The evidence of a multiple-case study design is often more compelling, the overall study is regarded as robust (Yin, 53). It is important to state that

this study is about two cases, which is not as robust as three, or even more cases. But the aim is to provide insight, not to design or test a theory. Nor is the aim to generalize the findings in this research. Still, more cases give more insight. However, the cases are selected, based on the criteria explained in paragraph 4.3, and it appears there are not many cases that meet these criteria. Also, to be able to identify the dynamics in these cases it was needed to get into a certain level of detail, which would have been too much time consuming to study more cases.

Conditions of a multiple case study

According to Yin a case study design should be considered when the focus of the study is to answer a “how” or a “why” questions (Yin 1994, 9). This is consistent with the research question: How do government approaches to encouraging citizen initiatives impact these initiatives in two Dutch cases for the built environment? Another condition mentioned by Yin is that “*A how or why question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control*” (Rowley 2002, 17). As explained further in Chapter 5-Cases, the selected cases are contemporary in different ways: either in a stage of maintenance after completion or in an ongoing stage of consecutive projects. In one case (Emma’s Hof), the aim to realize a public garden is reached, and now neighbourhood members maintain the garden. In the other case (IJsselhoeven), the initiative has developed into an ongoing process of projects that has grown beyond the original initiative. Yin states that the logic underlying a multiple case study is replication, and each case should be selected either to predict similar results or contrasting results for anticipatable reasons (Yin 2008, 54). The intention of this research is not to provide generalizing answers. Two cases do not represent all dynamics related to the question of the impact of government encouragement on citizen initiatives.

4.2 Empirical Research

A substantial part of the information on the cases was found at their websites, and is gathered from documentation the initiators presented. The information is completed with interviews (see 4.2.2). Information about government’s encouragement and citizen initiatives is gathered through literature (see 4.2.1). Information on specific issues about government’s encouragement related to the cases is gathered in the interviews.

4.2.1. Literature

In the preface of this study, literature was explored to get an overall idea of the issues concerning the policies of the government concerning citizen initiatives. Besides literature on theory and practice, comments were explored as well as publications on projects of citizen participation and initiatives. Based on this exploration the subject of this research is determined. Next, literature is selected about the government’s new conditions to approach citizen initiatives, like what its goals are and what policies and attitudes they develop. And literature is selected about the viewpoint of citizens towards these new conditions, like their expectations, acceptance, capacities and strategies. Citizens and government are overall terms and need to be defined related to the research and the selection of data. In this thesis, citizens are not examined as individuals, but as groups, and more specifically, groups related to initiatives. There is a great variety of these groups, their background, their aim, their capability and level of internal organisation. Information on relevant aspects is selected by the same criteria that are used to select the cases (see 4.3).

Government has three levels: central or national, provincial, and local or municipal. Next to what is officially 'government', there are government-like or government-related organisations, such as water boards and housing corporations. The focus of this study is on local government, that is the board (mayor and aldermen), the council of elected representatives and their administration. Although downsizing government is a central (national) policy, ministries and advisory boards have presented strategies, means and data for local governments concerning citizen initiatives. Data is selected to gain information on these strategies and the possible implementation on local level. Finally, information on existing projects of citizen initiatives has been reviewed, for two purposes. First to present an overview of different kinds of citizen initiatives, providing some insights in the variety of aims, scale, method and relationship between citizens and government, and second, to select cases that are consistent with the definition of 'ad-hoc' initiatives by the WRR (2012) (see Problem Statement).

4.2.2. Interviews

The interviews are conducted with people involved in the cases. For each case a representative of the initiating group, and two representatives of the local government are selected. Interviews are conducted in the way Bryman (2008) describes interviewing in qualitative research. A semi-structured type of interview was held with the different interviewees. This type of interview is chosen because of the 'freedom' the interviewer has. Specific topics are covered by a set of questions, chosen prior to the interview. But the researcher has a great deal of leeway in how to reply. This means that questions that are not included in the set, can be asked by the researcher, for example as a reaction to a given answer. The interview process in this way is flexible. Semi-structured interviewing is also called in-depth interviews, or qualitative interviews (Bryman 2008, 438). Interviews were conducted face-to-face with the interviewees, and recorded with their permission. This qualitative method has led to detailed description of the cases of citizen initiatives, the process within these cases and the relation with the local governments.

Selection

A major criterion for the selection of interviewees was their involvement in the selected case, in order to be able to research the subject in greater detail. As the research focuses on the way the government encourages citizen initiatives and how that encouragement is of impact, the emphasis would be on government representatives. This has led to the selection of two representatives of the local government and one representative of the initiating group, of each case. The representatives were selected in the following way. A first contact was made through the information on the website of the cases. A contact person was asked for cooperation, or, if not possible to mention someone willing to be interviewed. This person then was asked to point out some key players within the government, that were involved in their project. These persons then were approached and interviewed.

So for the case Emma's Hof, a citizen from the initiating group has been interviewed, as well as representatives of the local government: a project manager from the Urban Development Office, and the board advisor of the alderman for planning. For the case IJsselhoeven the project leader was interviewed as a representative of the initiating group, as well as the alderman of one of the municipalities in the IJsselvalley, and the civil servant for planning in the rural area.

Questions.

The information acquired to answer the research question, is about the relationship between government and citizens in cases of citizen initiatives. More specifically, how much did the local government control, what goals did they have, what was their strategy and what was their overall role in the process. This has led to more questions about attitude, communication, dependency, and influences from both sides, as well as to questions of review, or judgment on the result and on the process. Also opinion-like questions were asked, such as about the key factors of success, or possible directions in which the relationship between government and citizens will develop. These questions were structured in themes, as will be explained in paragraph 4.4.

To approach the cases in the same way, the same set of questions, which were set prior to the interviews, were asked. Interestingly is that all interviewees agreed that the government should be facilitating. But individually they have different opinions on how, what and why. There were two sets of questions, one set for the initiators, the other for government officials. Because the interviews were semi-structured the following-up questions were different.

4.3 Case selection

4.3.1. Selection criteria

As explained in the introduction, there are different kinds of initiatives, even among those for the planned and built environment. The focus of this thesis is on initiatives for the built environment, especially those that are consistent with the definition of 'ad-hoc' initiatives by the WRR (2012) (see Problem Statement).

The selection of the cases was done in two parts. A first, rough selection was made based on the definition of the WRR: the type of citizen participation that is most distant from influence or involvement of the authorities.

A second selection was based on multiple criteria:

- the cases are Dutch cases because the encouragement of citizen initiatives by the Dutch government is subject of this research.
- the cases are operating in the field of urban planning with goals concerning the built environment.
- the initiatives aim to develop a result with a scale beyond the maintenance of public space, but it aims for a change in the built environment that is to improve the living conditions.
- the cases are relatively recent.

4.3.2. Selected cases

Two cases are selected for this research: one in an urban area (Emma's Hof) and one in a rural area (IJsselhoeven). Although it may seem that a comparison is more difficult with different surroundings, the focus is on the projects itself not on the surrounding area.

Case Emma's Hof

One case is Emma's Hof, a project located in an urban area in The Hague.

The project is already finished. The citizens pursued their idea of changing a building complex (abandoned warehouse) into a park. Currently the initiative, or better, the end result (the park) has to be maintained: permanent maintenance of the park, a wide range of activities, involving the neighbourhood and local communities. There are currently no plans for the site to change except for some small facilities. The scale isn't

only big in spatial terms, so not in the size of the land on which the project is situated (how many square meters for example). Substantial in this case means the change is big: buying and demolishing an abandoned warehouse, changing the zoning plans, and changing the site into an urban park is considered to be a substantial change. The overall look of the area changed. The project is a relatively recent. It started in 2007, with the initiators forming a group. The demolishing of the old building and building the park started in 2010. The park was finished in 2011.

Case IJsselhoeve

The other case is the IJsselhoeve. This case is situated in the IJsselvalley, a rural area in the provinces of Overijssel and Gelderland (in the East of the Netherlands). Citizens created a foundation to prevent decline of the historical estates of land owning farmers. It started out as a small project, with no change in the built environment. In time it evolved into more, separate projects that form a project as a whole. It can be seen as an on-going project, meaning that the initiative is substantial, in terms of the size of the area involved and in terms of the changes that are (to be) achieved. The cases will be described in further detail in Chapter 5- Cases.

4.4 Data analysis

Two sources of information are analysed. As stated above, the empirical research is focussed on literature and interviews (see 4.2), which both are structured by themes. The literature review is structured by themes related to the government's approach towards citizen initiatives, like the paradox of a top down encouragement for a bottom up initiative, the dilemma of representative versus participative democracy, and the adaption of their internal organisation to the new conditions where citizens initiate changes in the built environment to improve their living conditions.

The questions for the interviews were also based on these themes. The semi-structured interviews were recorded, from which a transcript was made. The answers are arranged according to subjects/themes that were used for the analysis.

From the literature review a scheme is used to analyse the strategies of the governments in both cases to approach the initiatives. The scheme distinguishes different characteristics that are related to a specific strategy. The structured data from literature and interviews are compared with the conditions in the scheme to identify these characteristics.

5



CASES

CONTENT

5.1 Case: Emma's Hof – The Hague

5.1.1 Site

5.1.2 Citizen initiative

5.1.3 Government involvement

5.1.4 Interviews

-The initiators

-The government

-Inequity?

-Safety net

-Success

-Sustainable strategy

5.2 Case: IJsselhoeven

5.2.1 Site

5.2.2 Citizen initiative

5.2.3 Government involvement

5.2.4 Interviews

-The initiators

-The government

-Inequity?

-Safety net

-Success

-Sustainable strategy

5- Cases

As mentioned in the research Methodology (4.3) two cases are selected that are identified as 'ad-hoc connections', based on the definition of the WRR, and that are identified as recent Dutch cases of citizen initiative for the built environment, to meet the other criteria. One case, Emma's Hof, involves the redevelopment of a site, and the other case, IJsselhoeven, started on the scale of individual buildings but evolved into the redevelopment of the area in which these buildings are located.

In this chapter the cases are described, based on information from different sources (see footnotes) and interviews. The participants in the case Emma's Hof that were interviewed are: Marjolein Kramer (MK), member of the board of Emma's Hof; one of the initiators, living in the neighbourhood. Ilse Menkhorst (IM), project leader in the planning department of the municipality of The Hague, appointed to guide the process. Femke van Gerven (FG), board advisor for the alderman of planning, speaks on behalf of the alderman. The participants in the case IJsselhoeve that were interviewed are: Cor van den Berg (CB), alderman in Olst Wijhe, one of the municipalities that was positive about the initiative. Gerard Hendrix (GH), project leader of the foundation IJsselhoeven. Henk Posthuma (HP), civil servant of the section 'strategy and development'. He is the contact person for municipal policy in the rural area.

5.1 Case: Emma's Hof – The Hague⁴

The Emma's Hof is a case of citizen initiative in an urban context. Hof is Dutch for court, in this case a court inside an urban block, named after Queen Emma (1858-1934), who was regent for her daughter Queen Wilhelmina (1880-1962).

Citizens took initiative to create a garden inside this urban block of houses and shops. They organized four main issues: support to change an existing plan to built houses, agreement from the city council to change the zoning plan, funds to realize the project and agreement on official maintenance of the garden by citizens.

5.1.2 Site

The site is a typical urban block in an early twentieth century extension of the city of The Hague, called Regents Quarter (Regentessekwartier). The urban scheme in this period, 1885-1910, was based on so called urban blocks. The quarter is composed with these blocks that have a clear distinction between private place on the inside, and public place on the outside. Private place in this area means small gardens, often combined with an extension of the house. Public space was created with streets and squares. The main street had shops, workplaces, restaurants, café's and public facilities. The squares were situated alongside the main street, as centre of neighbourhoods (parts of the quarter), with grass in the middle, some trees and occasionally a statue. In time traffic claimed more space in the streets and the squares, and the supermarket changed the way people do their shopping.

The houses are so called double houses: one house at the ground floor, with possible extension in the garden, and the other house in two or three stories on top. The houses were mainly built for families with a middle income and are relatively huge, up to 90-100m², because the families were big, parents and four to six children. These double houses have in total three to four floors, which make it profitable to split. The architecture is rich, with fine details in masonry and wood, with bay windows, balconies and lofts.

With seventy-five houses per hectare, the housing density of the quarter is more than twice the average of the city of The Hague. Families are smaller now then they were in the beginning of the 20th century, but many of the big houses are split up in independent storeys or studios. So Regents Quarter is still a densely occupied area, with about twelve thousand inhabitants. It is also a mixed neighbourhood. Thirty-eight percent of the population originates from Suriname, the Antilles, Turkey or Morocco, and 'new Europeans', citizens from countries in Eastern Europe that have recently become member of the European Union, are settling in Regents Quarter.

Public parks were mainly created on the scale of the city, or city-section. Park facilities are scarce for the quarter, and even less for neighbourhoods as part of the quarter. So the balance between the busy (and noisy) public site and the quiet private site was important for life conditions in the quarter. In time the space inside the urban blocks were used for extensions of the houses, or for storage buildings.

The urban block in which Emma's Court is situated has on one side a street with shops and rented apartments above the shops, up to four stories. On the other side it has a street with single-family houses in two stories and an attic, with small front gardens. On

⁴ The information used in this chapter is a compilation of information; see reference – cases: Emma's Hof.



The Hague: position Regents Quarter



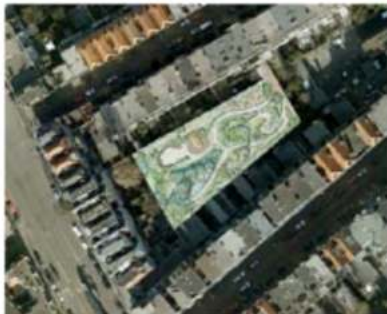
Regents Quarter (part): urban blocks



Patronates building inside urban block



Old zoning plan: allowed building inside the urban block



Emma's Court: design



the opposite side it has double houses, up to four stories, and apartment houses connected to a collective open staircase (portico). Inside the block a so-called patronate-building was built in one of the corners, which was later used for neighbourhood activities. This development broke with the concept of the urban block where private and public are separated. In 2007 the building was already abandoned for some time, except for a boxing school, which used part of the building. A private development company owned the site and the building. The site is 1700m² and accessible by two gates.

5.1.2 Citizens Initiative

Citizen initiatives have a history in the Regents Quarter. In the early nineties a neighbourhood development company (Buurt Ontwikkelings Maatschappij) was founded (Wijdeveen and Hendriks 2010, 39). Citizens no longer wanted to negotiate with the municipality and started to organize things themselves. Now they clean the shopping street five days a week, paid by the shopkeepers, they organized a handyman project so people can have small things done in the house, they realized a tennis court for the neighbourhood, and managed to get the old swimming pool redeveloped into a theatre: De Regentes.

In the case of Emma's Hof, people living in the urban block noticed that the patronates building was out of use. The site was secured and was not publicly accessible and did not cause any nuisance. The building was planned to be demolished and houses were going to be built, all according to the plans of the private development company that were approved. For the people living around the site, this was an unpleasant perspective. However, the development was delayed because of the economic crises. The owners of the houses around the site saw this as an opportunity for an alternative development. To their opinion the neighbourhood had almost no green playground facilities within a reasonable distance. The park "De Verademing" is too far, especially for families with young children and for older people. Also they realized that places to meet and interact are scarce. With a mixed population they felt this to be a shortcoming. A small group discussed the wish for green space in the vicinity and saw opportunities, because the developer owning the patronates building had delayed his plans. The group decided to explore the possibilities.

"We started without a concrete plan, we had no cost calculation, only an idea and volunteers. The municipality helped a little, with advice, naming persons to contact and most with the financial issues." (MK)

Six people from the neighbourhood joint together and formed the initiating group. Their aim was to create a green space, a garden, with flora and fauna, to meet, for young children to play, to sit and enjoy the tranquillity, read a book or listen to the birds. The garden was also meant for neighbourhood activities and was to be maintained by the neighbourhood members. The garden was meant to be public.

In one week, the initiating group collected 250 autographs to support the plan for a public city garden, and gained wider support from the neighbourhood organisation, shopkeepers and cultural institutions around. With this support they approached members of the city council and the aldermen for built environment, finance and culture.

"Members of the city council were enthusiastic and persuaded the alderman." (FG)
They gained their support, and the support of the developer and owner of the site, who agreed to cooperate. The original idea of the initiating group was to present a plan and

ask the local government to realise it. However, it turned out the government wishes the group to continue with their initiative.

“Intentionally we hoped the municipality would realize the idea, but we are now happy we did ourselves, because they will never be able to achieve this quality level. We did, with thousands of hours work by volunteers” (MK)

“The alderman did not want to realize the idea of the citizens, based on a broader development within the municipality: the crisis; there is less money to spend so we initiate less and lean on external initiatives, which we facilitate.” (FG)

The group then became part of a project group with civil servants and the developer. The project group made a plan for the garden and for a financial strategy. This enabled the initiating group to start negotiating for financial support, to organise information and presentations, and to advertise their initiative to press, local radio and television.

“At the start things went slower; we were not high on the agenda and working with part timers. We were able to speed up the process because we determined our steps and actions ourselves.” (MK)

Almost two years after the first meeting of the initiating group the foundation ‘Stadstuin Emma’s Hof’ was created. *“The foundation is registered at the notary.” (MK)*

The foundation is qualified as an institution that aims for general, societal avail (ANBI)⁵. This means the foundation is not obliged to pay taxes on income from gifts, subsidies, legacies and heritages. The foundation can also claim refund on energy tax.

The foundation provided the legal basis for their activities, mainly fund raising. A total of 1.4 million euro was needed; so all possible funds were approached. These funds were positive about the initiative, especially after the municipality was the first to donate a substantial contribution (see government). When the money was raised, the initiators selected designers and contractors, negotiated on price and results and had the garden realized. The funding for this initiative is presented in table 1.

Fundings Emma’s Hof

Municipality of The Hague: through alderman Norder	€ 500,000
Community Centre Segbroek	€ 40,000
European Union; Regional Development Fund	€ 450,000
Ministry of Planning and Environment (VROM): programm Beautifull Netherlands	€250,000
The VSB fund for the creation f he garden	€96,000
Foundation Fund 1818	€80,000
Ars Dodandi/Russel ter Bruggefonds	€45,000
Koninklijke Nederlandse Heidemaatschappij for the design of the garden	€22,000
www.uitvinderswijk.nl	€5,000
De Rabobank donated two benches each €2,000	€2,000
Theater De Regenvalk euro to maintain the plaster object from the patronats building.	€1,500
Fund for citizenship in the municipality	€1,200
Oranje Fonds	
Price (18.04.2013) Oranje Fonds Kroonappel	€50,000

<http://www.emmashof.nl/paginas/view/27>

Tabel 1

⁵ ANBI: een Algemeen Nut Beogende Instelling; see: www.belastingdienst.nl

The garden is completed, and neighbourhood members are now involved in maintaining the garden and organizing activities. These activities have different goals. Some have social intentions, like meeting people from other cultures, treating older people on a special outing, and gathering with the neighbourhood. Other activities are organized to raise funds, mainly for maintenance, but also to make some changes to garden and to build a toilet facility. Maintenance is done with a group of about thirty volunteers. The maintenance is completely financed by the foundations, occasionally with help from the municipality.

“The municipality agrees to some small investments, for instance to realize a toilet facility, but we keep searching for other funds and recently we won a prizes, that will be spent on this facility and other improvements.” (MK)

The garden is owned by the foundation Emma’s Hof. It is not a public garden but public access is guaranteed. A public garden would mean it belongs to the municipality that maintains it. However it is a privately owned site that is open for public during daytime and is maintained by the foundation Emma’s Hof. By using one of the gates the garden can be closed between 18.00 pm and 9.00 am for reasons of security.

The initiators created a website: (www.emmashof.nl), to provide practical information such as opening hours, contact address, what is allowed and what is not, and how to join the group of volunteers. The background information tells the story about the initiative, its history, the process and the result. The site gives information about involved parties and supporting funds. The site has news items, an event calendar, and a photo gallery. The site is used for information not for discussion or reactions. It is a presentation of the initiative and the present situation. It is helpful in finding financial support, because it gives information for people that want to donate a gift, or that want to become a so-called ‘friend’. Volunteers maintain the site.

5.1.3 Government involvement

The city aims for an image of The Hague as a ‘green’ city, but it has no program to realize public parks or gardens. The initiative to create green space fitted well in this policy, but:

“If the citizens had not taken the initiative, the municipality would not have created the garden.” (FG)

From the start the government made clear that it would not develop the garden. The site was privately owned (see site), and the municipality had no funds to buy the site. The initiative also fitted in the policy on citizen participation, and it was supported by members of the council as well as by members of the board. So the alderman responsible ordered the administrators to cooperate and facilitate. The first step was made by organizing a project group (see above), that explored the possibilities to realize the initiative. A second step was to appoint a project leader inside the planning department, who guided the initiative through the different sections of the department. For instance, the zoning plan needed to change in order to allow the creation of a public garden instead of building houses. Not all sections within the department welcomed the change, because it would reduce the economic value of the site. Also issues on safety and security needed to be checked. Finally the government promised to support in the search for money and to donate a starting capital of €500,000, if other funds were found as well. The fact that the city made the first move helped others to follow. The support of the government came with some more conditions, such as legal conditions concerning the zoning plan and issues of safety and security. Additional conditions concerned the

fact that besides support from the public office, also public money was spent. So the garden was to be publicly accessible and the initiators had to account for all spending. The government does not control the use of the garden, but the official neighbourhood organisation keeps an eye on it, as does the neighbourhood police officer.

5.1.4 Interviews Emma's Hof

The interviews provided a lot of information. During the interviews the opportunity was taken to evaluate the process, the roles of involved parties and the result. Several issues were frequently mentioned and presented in the next subparagraphs.

The initiators

First, the initiators were well organized. They knew how to set up a project, which arguments to use and how to approach key persons in the decision-making. They consider themselves a good and highly motivated team.

"The team had complementary skills. One knew its way in the offices of the municipality; another knows how to apply for subsidies." (MK)

The members are all well educated with several skills, so each could be responsible for a specific task.

"I did not need to explain how things worked; they told me when I was needed." (IM)

"The initiators have presented their plan in a way that is costume within the planning department, which made it easier to value the initiative." (FG)

The government

A second, frequently mentioned issue was the ambition of the alderman that the initiative would succeed.

"The municipality was involved as well as in control. Involved, because it was politically wanted: the alderman emphasised he wanted this initiative to succeed. In control, because public money was spend and we had to account for it." (IM)

This enabled the project leader within the department to overrule some resistance.

"It is important that someone is appointed to guide the process. In doing so I came across some resistance based on compulsion to regulate." (IM)

For instance, the economic section within the planning department was hesitating to cooperate in changing the zoning plan, because the change into a park-function would mean loss of economic value of the site. Another example is the extra effort that had to be made to secure the fund of 500,000,- euro, because other funds would only submit if the fund of the municipality was secured before a certain date.

"The initiators would have collected the money, but the trigger was the fund from the municipality. It is easier when a reliable party has shown confidence in the initiative. It was our condition that supplementing funds were found. We gave a large amount; we cannot do it again." (FG)

The first is an example of an obstacle because of different responsibilities between sections in the planning department. The second is an example of an obstacle because of bureaucratic procedures and possibly of working habits within the department.

"As citizen I know what is right or not for this particular place; for a civil servant it is just another project." (MK)

Inequity?

Involved parties are aware of possible inequity, on different levels.

“There was a big self interest for the initiators, because the zoning plan allowed for houses to be built next to their private gardens.” (IM)

The initiators had to show their initiative did have a wider support in the neighbourhood, in which they succeeded by presenting 250 signatures. The government insisted that the garden was publicly accessible, to assure that not only a small group would benefit from the financial support given by the municipality.

Some of the people living around the garden feared that groups of young people would hang around and make noise. This issue was solved among the initiators and the neighbourhood members, without interference of the government.

“In the beginning, it appeared to be difficult to determine how one should behave in the garden. In cases of nuisance there comes a moment to address each other, which is what people do now. Contact gets more personal when people meet in this garden.” (MK)

Safety net

The interviewees were asked if the municipality would take over the maintenance in case the foundation was no longer able to. This “if-then” question is of course difficult to answer, but the agreement between the government and the foundation is clear: the site is owned by the foundation, so the government has no obligations. Of course, as some remind us, the investment the municipality made is public money and cannot be ‘thrown away’.

“We do worry a little about the future: can we go on, will there be enough volunteers?” (MK)

But when the garden is a well-appreciated facility in the neighbourhood, most likely this will not happen and if so, hopefully a new citizen initiative will follow.

“I don’t think the municipality will take over the maintenances of the garden in case the citizens are no longer able to do so. On the other hand, half a million euro is invested, so there is reason for the municipality not to waste it. Most likely attempts will be made to activate citizens somehow, so it will stay a citizens project.” (IM)

“In case the foundation is longer able to maintain the garden, the municipality will not take over that responsibility. Most likely the citizens will start a new lobby towards politicians. It is difficult to predict what will happen.” (FG)

Success

When asked what contributed to the success of the initiative, the following aspects were frequently mentioned.

The capacity of the team of initiators was mentioned in terms of professional, good organisation and communication, knowing the field they operate in, and drive.

“In this case the citizens were organized well and knew their ways in politics and the planning department. They guarded their own initiative.” (FG)

These qualities helped to organise an efficient process, with clear goals, and created confidence for others.

“The alderman looks carefully to whom he promises his support; he needs to be confident that the project is in good hands.” (IM)

Confidence in a good result helped, for instance because policy and decision makers were more likely to persuade others in their turn. Without that confidence they would have been cautious because a failure could be damaging for them as well.

The personal support from the alderman is mentioned as major factor of success by all interviewees.

"What really helped was the political support. The alderman directs the civil servants to support the initiative, so they are allowed to spend their time on it." (IM)

Opportunity was another factor for success. Emma's Hof came at the right moment. The development of the site had been stopped, mainly because of the crises. The crises was not yet very deep, so still some funds were available. Nobody would object to more green space in the area, especially no politician. The 'town hall' was searching for successful initiatives to promote citizen participation. Also the subject: a green space in a densely built neighbourhood was a factor of success, because

"Which member of the city council would oppose 'green', especially when citizens want to realize it?" (FG)

Finally, the effort of volunteers was mentioned as a major contribution to the success of the initiative.

"Living in the neighbourhood you will spend time and energy to improve your environment. The municipality was clever to let us do it. If all the hours made by volunteers had to be paid for, it would have been impossible." (MK)

Their labour was huge and unpaid for. Had the project been realized with paid labour, the costs would have been high, too high for the government. One can argue that the government benefits, but one can also argue that society does.

Sustainable strategy

When asked if the government would approach a next initiative the same way, the answers show different aspects as unofficial evaluation of the process.

"The initiative is seen as an example for others, but there is no policy to communicate this." (IM)

It is mentioned that civil servants had to learn how to approach an initiative. Much is based on the assumption that they are the professionals that citizens need to develop the initiative.

"Citizens often need involvement from the government, to help them see through the tangle of rules and find ways to get financial support. When we like the initiative we want to help and then sometimes tend to take over the initiative. That is hard to stop, it happens with the best of intentions." (FG)

"Sometimes the feeling predominates that we are the professionals, we know how to deal with the matter, so let us do it and it will be all right. That is not said aloud, but the citizens feel it. We have to learn to step back." (FG)

The alderman's board advisor also states that in some neighbourhoods professionals from the municipality help citizens to initiate and develop projects. These people want the presence of the government, because they realize they do not know how to deal with bureaucratic procedures.

"One can recognize two movements within the municipality. One, partly because of the crisis and partly because we want to be a modern organisation is not doing everything ourselves, but invite developers, institutions and citizens and facilitate them. And two, give room to citizens and help them when needed. We try to deliver tailor made. In fact, the government would like to avoid the interference of private project managers that make themselves indispensable, but mainly care for their job." (FG)

5.2 Case IJsselhoeven⁶

IJsselhoeven is a case of citizen initiative in a rural context. Citizens created a foundation to prevent decline of the historical estates of land owning farmers. These estates are called IJsselhoeve, e.i. IJssel farmhouse. The citizens wanted to maintain and develop the characteristic mansions, including their courts and yards, for now and future generations, as a reference to the specific history of the IJsselvalley (IJsselvallei).

5.2.1 Site

IJsselhoeven is the name of the farmhouses, including their site, in the IJsselvalley. The valley originates from the for-last ice age, about 200.000 years ago. The ice shaped valleys by 'pushing' soil to the sides. This way high grounds arose that later became the banks of the river IJssel. The oldest remains of domestic occupation date from the Stone Age. In Roman times vessels were able to use the river. In the early Middle Ages, farmers settled on the higher areas and in the late Middle Ages the river became an important connection between the so called Hanze cities. In 1300 – 1400 a dike was made alongside the river.

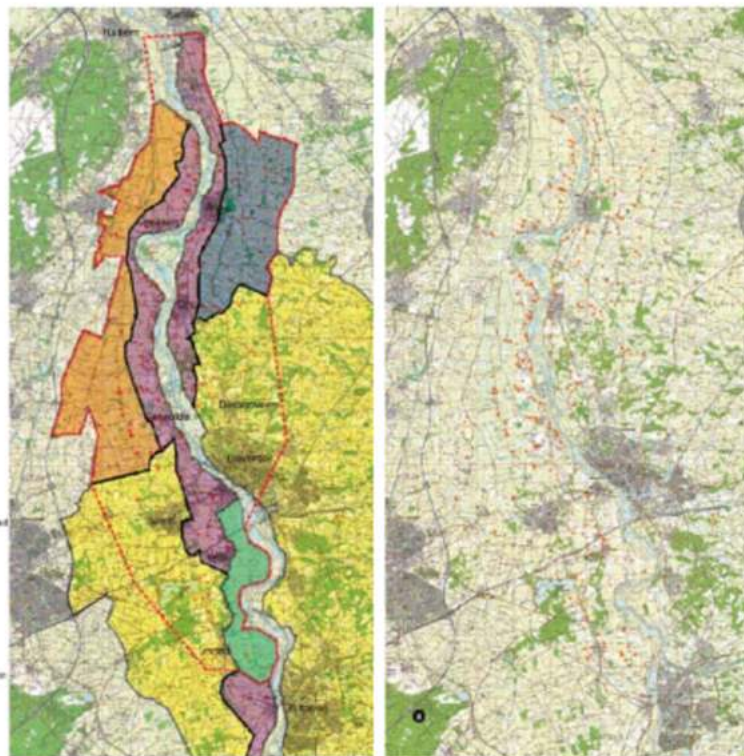
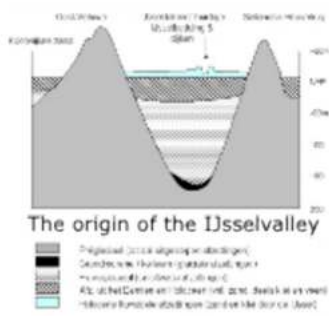
The IJsselvalley has from that time mainly been an agricultural area. Fruit cultivation has been an important economic business, which still has some remains in the area. The higher grounds were used for cattle. The grass areas produces hay and the cows produced milk.

In the ninetieth century most of the farmhouses we are dealing with in this case were built. Typical IJsselvalley farmhouses have a T shaped floor plan. They belong to the so called 'hall type' houses, the most common type in Dutch farmhouse building. Their special appearance is the front house, built cross wise in front of the stable and storage unit. In front of the house is a formal shaped garden with flowers and lime trees. The absence of tree rows and high plants creates an open connection with the surrounding landscape.

During the twentieth century, farming was scaled up to a more efficient size, which led to restructuring the agricultural landscape. As the size of the farms grew, there was need for bigger and more efficient stables and production buildings. Small farms tried to survive and generate other sorts of income, for instance by starting a camping. The original farmhouses became out of use and declined, because they were no longer maintained. Some sites were abandoned. The living conditions in the area were under pressure, because, the farms developed into industrial-like production units, and because the number of families living in the open land shrunk.

Civilians started occupying some of the farmhouses. They brought a new culture to the site: families that have no economic basis in the area and try to develop a social basis. 'Import', they are called, and not everyone welcomes this development. However, they do succeed in re-using the original farmhouses. New functions developed in the agricultural setting, such as small farm-related campsites, offices and collective housing for older people. This change is thought to be necessary to allow the owners of the farmhouses some income to pay the investment for restoring and maintaining the IJssel farmhouses. The change is wanted, at least in the view of some, to improve the liveability of the area, and to secure that in future the area is still occupied and in use.

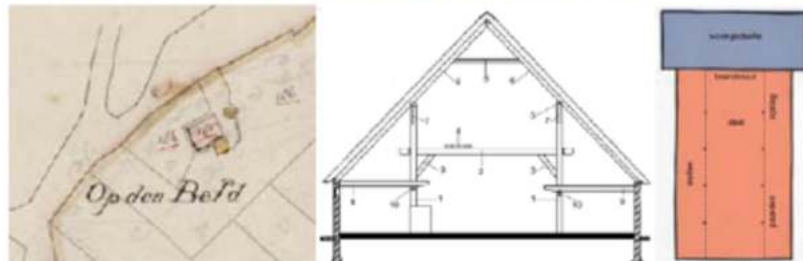
⁶ All information used in this chapter is a compilation of information; see reference – cases: IJsselhoeven.



Landscape of the IJsselvalley ▶

sites of the farmhouses in the IJsselvalley ▶▶

History of the IJsselvalley farmhouse: site, typical section and floorplan ▶



Agricultural business gets bigger and looks more industrial

Examples of restored IJsselvalley farmhouses



This way, the 'import' contributes to establishing an acceptable level of living condition for the area.

5.2.2 Citizen initiative

The initiative started with a couple that settled in one of the IJssel farmhouses, and noticed the decline. In their research on the causes of this decline, they discovered two main reasons: loss of agricultural activities and costs of maintaining the buildings and the site. The buildings are huge and old and because they are not registered as monuments, financial funding is difficult.

They wanted to restore the original farmhouse, but lacked information on how to do so. In their search for information they realized that the object of their search was actually much bigger. During their research they involved other owners of the typical farmhouses, and organisations, like Het Oversticht, that provides knowledge and advise on planning issues from landscape to architecture and from government to citizen. They also approached Gerard Hendrix who became their full time and paid project manager. In 2003 they formed a foundation mainly to obtain subsidies and to have a formal position in negotiation and meetings with authorities. The foundation is qualified as an institution that aims for general, societal avail (ANBI)⁷. This means the foundation is not obliged to pay taxes on income from gifts, subsidies, legacies and heritages. The foundation can also claim refund on energy tax.

The work of the IJsselhoeven foundation developed over different stages. The group started with gathering, sharing and documenting information about the buildings, the building sites and the surrounding landscape. They involved other owners and approached governments in the area. They created a network and aimed to increase the involvement of other citizens in the surrounding area and of the government. In the following stage they focussed on realizing projects, and supported the owners of the IJssel farmhouses in activities of building and restoring the buildings and the site. In the next stage the foundation managed to buy farmhouses, rebuilt them, and adjust them to new conditions of use. The foundation bought an IJssel farmhouse with private investments and rebuilt it into a so-called care-farm, a farmhouse for older people that need nursing and some medical support.

In the present stage they aim for a broader scoop by drawing attention to the specific characteristics of the area, creating a vision on the future development of the IJsselvalley area and by organizing cultural activities connected to the characteristics and the vision.

"In the mean time it has become much more than maintaining the farmhouses. The site of the farmhouses has become equally important. It has developed into a cultural project." (CB)

The approach of the foundation, their working method, as well as the success that was gained, inspired citizens in the south part of the valley to begin a similar initiative.

The board of the foundation has a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer. The foundation is viewed as a project-group with citizens from the area.

The foundation is now a professional organisation, with a paid project manager (Hendrix), raising their own funds, including subsidies from governments and other funds. *"Some wealthy inhabitants have invested with loans."* (GH)

They cooperate with other professional societal organisations.

⁷ ANBI: een Algemeen Nut Beogende Instelling; see: www.belastingdienst.nl

With the inspiration it has given to others, this citizen initiative seems to have developed towards a citizen movement. The foundation is developing in a more professional and institutional way. The initiative has become an enterprise and the foundation aims for total independence from external finance.

“The foundation now owns one of the old farmhouses, that was otherwise lost. They bought it with private capital; they did not even ask the municipality to contribute.” (CB)

Restoring the buildings and the site around the buildings is expensive. Because the farmhouses are privately owned, public money, as from the local government, is not likely to be invested. Except for specific goals like low energy use for instance. Some organisations, such as a heritage foundation aim for similar goals as the foundation does, and give subsidies as well. The municipalities in the area had different policies, with different subsidies and different conditions for financial support.

“In one municipality you will find considerably more IJssel farmhouses than in the other. In one municipality the initiative is considered more important than the restoration of the farmhouses. The initiators have to tune their applications to this reality.” (HP)

The IJsselhoeven foundation was (and still is) able to organise professional support to search for these funds and create applications with a good chance for success.

“I was surprised about the subsidy they received from the province to realize thatched roofs. We, the municipality, would never be able to do that. The provinces have been positive with financial support; more than the municipalities.” (CB)

In some cases the foundations that provide these funds helped to create a successful project-plan as basis for financial support.

“Our application for subsidy was denied by a certain fund, because we focused to much only on the farmhouses as solitary buildings. We re-wrote the application with a focus on the buildings and their immediate surroundings: the yard and its position the landscape. That was successful.” (GH)

One of the plans that is subsidised this way is ‘IJsselhoeven switching and connecting’ (IJsselhoeven, schakelen en verbinden).

The initiators created a website: (www.ijsselhoeven.nl), to provide practical information such as contact address, about involved parties and supporting funds, and how to join the group of volunteers. The background information tells the story about the initiative, its history, the process and the results. The site has news items, an event calendar, and a photo gallery. The site is used for information not for discussion or reactions. It is a presentation of the initiative and the present situation. It is helpful in finding financial support, because it gives information for people that want to donate a gift, or that want to become a so-called ‘friend’. Volunteers maintain the site.

5.2.3 Government involvement

The area is located in the boundaries of five municipalities and two provinces.

At the start of the initiative some local laws had already been accepted by the different city councils, after an intensive and extensive democratic process. It was not likely these laws would change within the expected time frame of the initiative, if they would change at all. For not all communities had the same vision regarding the future development of the rural area.

“A characteristic of this initiative is that it concerns multiple municipalities. The policy differences between the municipalities can create obstacles for initiatives.”
(HP)

“The initiative is aiming to change an existing situation. This means they will face prevailing regulations. Especially in the past, regulation barely anticipates new developments.” (HP)

Roughly speaking there are two points of view. One, claiming the area should keep its agricultural function, and the other pointing out that the area should be dynamic and life is changing. For municipalities that supported the first point of view, the initiative was alarming. Not because old farmhouses were restored, but because the restorations also brought new ways of using the farmhouses, which brought other functions into the area. For the initiative this point of view was an obstacle, because developments that did not fit in the government policy could not be approved. So some initiatives, located in those municipalities were not approved as others were.

“Some municipalities allow more functions in the area, not related to agriculture. That is needed nowadays, because the farmhouses are not equipped for farming anymore.” (CB)

In the case of IJsselhoeven control on general planning issues, like zoning plans and assuring democratic procedures, remained government business, as did granting building permits for instance.

“We do have an obligation to control, regulate and maintain, like with zoning plans. But what is determined today needs to be evaluated tomorrow. When there is a reason for change we accept that. Otherwise we control, regulate and maintain.”
(HP)

“Between controlling and ‘letting go’ it is hard to choose, especially in some sections of the municipality. The general policy is not the problem, but when should I control and when not; who makes that decision?” (HP)

Because of the differences between the municipalities, politicians, policy makers and initiators communicated about ambitions and possibilities within the boundaries of law and policy. For instance they discussed interpretations of local policies, to explore some room for manoeuvre that would help the initiative and would still be approved.

The local governments looked at the initiative as a private enterprise, and treated it much the same way. Ruling and controlling when necessary or obliged, facilitating when possible and not interfering when not needed.

“There is no need to let go all control, but be sure not to obstruct the initiative.”
(CB)

“Are we needed? Why interfere? Support and don’t build barriers that do not serve the goal” (CB)

It was possible that specific parts of the initiative fitted the government policy, like low energy use. The initiators explored possibilities to combine restoration with measures to reduce energy use. For the local government this was an argument for some financial support. Some policy makers had a positive approach towards the initiative, precisely because it developed from restoring buildings into visions on the future development of the rural landscape. They allowed for small non-agricultural functions in the area, such as civil houses, not related to farming and small office space connected to the house. A condition was that these new functions did not attract more traffic.

The initiators had to account for all financial support, as this was public money and those who granted the money had to account for it themselves.

To get approval and gain financial support the initiators had to ‘think like the government’, as they put it.

“The initiators look at the IJsselvalley as a whole, where all things are connected, as the government has policies and targets on specific issues. This lead to a strategy to first, create a vision on the scale of the landscape and second, divide this vision into several projects.” (GH)

5.2.4 Interviews IJsselhoeven

Also during the interviews in this case the opportunity was taken to evaluate the process, the roles of involved parties and the result. The issues that were frequently mentioned are presented in the next subparagraphs.

The initiators

The initiators had an ambition, a desire, but they were ‘on their own’. They started as amateurs, in the good sense of the word: driven, passionate, and involved. Around them they gathered support from the area and professional support from organisations and a full time project manager. Taking a professional project manager on board enabled a more professional approach. This project manager organized the group and the process, and represented the group in meetings with the government and other involved parties and institutions. He could spend all his time on the initiative, on meetings, preparing, presenting, discussing and negotiating. This way the initiative was represented on the same level as the government; there was no imbalance in time, energy and professionalism. But,

“At a certain moment we realized we were losing the government. We were so occupied with initiatives and we were successful, it felt like ‘we can do without the government. But we need them; they have the money.’” (GH)

The government

“The viewpoint of citizens is different than the viewpoint of the government: integrated view versus departmental view, and focus on result versus focus on process.” (GH)

It is mentioned that the government controlled what had to be controlled and left the initiative entirely to the citizens.

“The involvement of the government did not change our initiative. But, for instance at one point we applied for financial support to restore all the T shaped farmhouses. The suggested we should focus on those that are strategically located. This change made the application successful.” (GH)

Politicians and member of city councils that were positive about the initiative occasionally used their network, attempting to avoid obstacles because of the differences between the municipalities about the future and possible changes in the area.

Inequity?

Possible inequity was avoided, according to some, because the initiative was only supported when it fitted in the policy of that moment and that site. This policy was based on democratic decisions. Including financial support, which was based on government programs, and available for all citizens, not only for the initiative. Subsidies for restoring private buildings and allowing the owners to earn money with non-agricultural business may appear to be awarding self-interest, and so creating

inequity. The argument is that self-interest is the engine of the initiative, which contributes to improve living conditions in the area.

"Self interest is a sensitive point for politicians, but I think it is a good thing. These people live here. Good conditions, good connections are in their interest. Local initiatives are able to regulate and control themselves." (GH)

"It is the interest of the initiators that the people in the area agree with their plans. That is what we notice. Basically this is democratic too." (CB)

The initiators spend time and energy to tune their ideas and ambitions with the people around them, including the farmers. This was also part of their self-interest. Without solid support of other inhabitants and users in the area, their aim to improve living conditions would fail.

Safety net

For this issue the quotes from the civil servant and the project leader show the difference in position towards the initiative:

"Should the initiative fail it is unlikely that the government takes over, with so many municipalities and all the differences." (HP)

"The government should give room to citizens to create their own conditions. It should not be afraid the initiative would fail. Our professionalism is also our continuity, self control and knowing where to get the information we need." (GH)

Success

Professionalism was mentioned as factor of success, like in the case of Emma's Hof. A full time project manager knows how to judge the 'piles of official documents', knows how to present a plan more realistically, knows whom to approach, were a few of the arguments. Another argument was that

"A paid project leader also takes some bureaucratic burden from the civil servants." (HP)

Other factors that contributed to the success of the initiative were the inexhaustible effort of volunteers.

"The initiatives depends on the ones that spend their time and energy, even when sometimes things do not develop as planned or hoped. Without enthusiastic volunteers it becomes difficult." (CB)

Also IJsselhoeven came at the right moment, just as Emma's Hof.

"When we started there was money. We only had to label it to the right subject. We had to be clever. Now it is more difficult: it only works with small projects, small initiatives and small amounts." (GH)

There was need for a vision on the future development of the area, and at the start there was money, *"as long as you knew how to label the project"* (GH)

Sustainable strategy

The alderman is positive about citizen initiatives and believes this is, or ought to be the future.

"I am positive about people that voluntarily organize things, whether is for their on interest or for a more general interest. I like the idea of people taking responsibility, instead of asking the authorities to solve the problem." (CB)

"In my experience from the recent past it has become too much government, while people can do a lot of things themselves, and most of the time quicker and more efficient." (CB)

"We start to realize that maybe we should have less 'helicopter view.'" (CB)

The civil servant adds:

"The government is not a trendsetter; therefore we need citizen initiatives." (HP)

"Citizen initiatives are another way of achieving governments goals. An important 'extra' is the quality standard that is achieved" (HP)

But the alderman also mentions that when the central government changes its policies every year, it becomes almost impossible to create a long-term commitment between municipality and citizens, based on mutual trust.

"The difficulty is that to day we have a fine arrangement to realize things, and tomorrow it has changed. Some arrangements are barely implemented and a new one is designed." (CB)

"Every four year the subjects and conditions for subsidies are different. Timing is essential." (GH)

What will happen in the future is another concern. The project manager has doubts whether the success of citizen initiatives will really result in another position for citizens to develop their own plans.

"Now there is a crises. When the government thinks the old times will return, and they can rule again because they have money to do so, then all has been in vain. Government and market will come back and citizen initiatives will have no chance." (GH)

"When in future the financial conditions get better, the developers will come back; I'm pessimistic about that." (GH)

6



ANALYSIS

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-Neutral Impact

-Limiting Impact

-Promoting impact

6. Analysis

In this chapter the impact of government approaches to encourage citizen initiatives within the cases of Emma's Hof and IJsselhoeven, is analyzed in order to answer the research question:

How do government approaches to encouraging citizen initiatives impact on these initiatives in two Dutch cases for the built environment?

To define encouragement three sub questions will be answered:

- which goals of the government can be identified?
- which characteristics of the government's strategy, or strategies can be identified in the cases? There is a possibility that more strategies were used, because of changes in the cases or in the approach of the involved government.
- which attempts from the government to control the initiative can be identified?

All sub questions will be discussed on the one hand by empirical research e.g. the cases, and on the other hand by assessing the scientific literature and national reports on citizen initiatives. To be able to answer the question, impact is defined as neutral, limiting or promoting. Neutral means the encouragement of the government had no impact at all. Limiting means that the encouragement limited the development of the initiative, either at the start or during the process, and promoting means that the development of the initiative was promoted by the encouragement.

The cases will be analyzed separately.

6.1 Analysis case Emma's Hof

6.1.1 Sub question 1: which goals of the government can be identified in the case of Emma's Hof?

Reducing costs

As mentioned in the literature review, the government has more than one goal for encouraging citizen participation and initiatives (3.4.1). One of these goals is reducing the costs, to meet shrinking budgets. Related to this goal, the fund of 500,000 euro that was given is remarkable. The money may be well spent, that is not the issue. The issue is: did the municipality reduce its costs by supporting the initiative?

Costs can only be reduced when costs are to be made. This would be so, when the municipality owned the site and made budget reservations for maintenance and some kind of development. Or when the municipality indented to create green space in the neighbourhood and made (or had to make) budget reservations to do so. Based on two arguments it looks like no budget reservations were made and therefore supporting this initiative reduced no costs.

First, a private company owned the site. The alderman's board advisor made clear in the interview that the municipality would have been content when the site stayed as it was, and did not want to take over the initiative. The municipality also did not want to become the owner of the site. Based on the private ownership no budget from the municipality was necessary to develop or maintain the site. Second, in a recently presented zoning plan for the neighbourhood, in fact for a much larger area then in the surroundings of Emma's Hof, no creation of any public space is part the planning. Based on the zoning plan no budget from the municipality was needed to develop a green site in the neighbourhood. In other words, supporting this initiative did not seem to reduce

any costs because no budget reservations were made for the site or for a green space in the neighbourhood.

Again, this is not questioning if the money is well spent or a judgement on the legitimacy of the subsidy (the government did guard public interest with the condition for the subsidy that the garden should be publicly accessible); it is an observation related to the government's goals for encouraging citizen initiatives.

An advantage, financially, is the effort by volunteers, who invested time and energy and didn't cost any money. However, this advantage is for the initiative and not for the government because there are no savings on any budget. On the contrary, the municipality paid the costs for the civil servants in the task force and for the project leader.

Improving citizenship

A positive effect on citizenship is another goal for encouraging citizen initiatives. The comments made by the interviewees indicate that the initiators were a group of committed and involved citizens. The encouragement of the municipality seemed not necessary for this achievement. One of the aims of the initiative was to provide a meeting place for all people in the neighbourhood, with its mixed population. Mainly because a government's condition for support was a publicly accessible garden, this can be seen as a positive effect on citizenship.

A last goal for encouraging citizen initiatives, bridging the gap between citizens and politics, is defined as the difference in the way politicians and citizens experience reality. In this case such difference is not found. The alderman was personally involved, with the support of the city council. Citizens and politicians worked with a shared perspective. According to the alderman's board advisor this is not the case in other parts of the city, where citizens keep a distance from authorities and are offered help of professionals from the municipality to organize themselves.

The government's opinions about citizens capability and preparedness for a new model of responsibilities, in this case is that these citizens are up to it (third opinion). The initiative seems to fit in Hurenkamp's 'assumption of spontaneous citizenship' (Hurenkamp et al 2006, 9), and is consistent with his claim that it will select highly educated people who want to improve their living conditions.

Based on the high levels of internal and external contacts, the initiative would be qualified as federative in the scheme of Hurenkamp (see 3.4.2): a solid, interrelating group, with binding as well as bridging social capital.

Regarding the fact that the intention of the initiators was to present a plan that was to be realized by the municipality, and the municipality gave the initiative back to the initiators, it is also consistent with the government's assumption that drawing back puts emphasis on the self-responsibility of citizens.

6.1.2 Sub question 2: which characteristics of the government's strategy, or strategies can be identified in the case of Emma's Hof?

Based on Denters (2012) three strategies are distinguished: stimulating, facilitating, co-producing. Although in practice these strategies are mixed or combined, the characteristics of these strategies are identified separately.

Characteristics of a stimulating strategy

Denters et al (2012, 25) defines stimulating as professionals, possibly assigned by the government or some institution, that are active in promoting and realizing citizen initiatives. Characteristics of a stimulating strategy were not found in this case. The initiators of Emma's Hof came up with their own plan and were very well aware of what they wanted. So they didn't need professional stimulus. Neither did they need incentives from the government to be stimulated. In Burns' analogy of a theatre play; the initiators aimed to write and direct the play and not just watch it (Burns et al. 1994, 154). They did get advice from a project leader from within the government on how to deal with bureaucratic obstacles and on the funds to apply to. But this advice was during the process and not at the start of the initiative as to stimulate the project. The government supported the initiative by appointing a task force within the planning department as is explained related to the facilitating strategy. Related to the stimulating strategy it should be mentioned that the initiative was originally presented as a project to be taken over by the government. Within the planning department there was no intention to do anything about the location, which belonged to a private company. Because politicians and policy makers were generally enthusiastic about the initiative, the initiators were stimulated to continue as citizen initiative.

Characteristics of a facilitating strategy

This strategy is characterized as a service orientated attitude from the government towards citizens that keep in control (Denters et al 2012, 28).

Professional support

Professional support given by the government is one of the aspects of a facilitating strategy. In the case of Emma's Hof this support was given by appointing a taskforce/project group within the department by the alderman. The interviewees frequently mentioned the ambition of the alderman to make the initiative a success and his status that helped to continue the initiative. The project leader of this group helped to overcome bureaucratic obstacles and to guide the initiative through different sections of the planning department. It may be better to describe the project leader as a process manager: the initiators were in control and they would let the process manager know where and when they needed help. The project leader shared knowledge about funds to apply to for financial support and about the way to approach these funds.

Financial support

Financial support, another aspect of the facilitating strategy, was given in different ways. The planning department paid the costs of the civil servants and project leader in the task force. This is indirect financial support. Direct financial support came with a funding of 500,000 euro. With the funding the local government played an important part, and has given the biggest amount of money of all parties, as is stated by the interviewees. The fund is seen as boost for the start of the project because the

investment of a reliable party, the government, was a trigger for the other donators and funds.

The board of Emma's Hof calculated, with the help of the task force that a budget of 1.4 million euro was needed to realize the project. The city of The Hague had requirements when giving the money: the first was that the garden was open for the public (still a privately owned site, so the foundation could implement opening and closing hours).

And second, and an important one, was that the 500,000 would only be given if the board could find other parties to fill in the rest of the money that was needed.

Although the role of the government is thought of as small, according to the initiators and other interviewees, it played a crucial part in the financing of the project.

The funding was until the realization stage of the project; the garden is now maintained, without money from the government. This is not cost saving for the municipality, because they did not own the site and still don't, so maintenance was no obligation for the municipality so no budget reservations are made for the maintenance.

The tax exemptions and refunds, based on the qualification of the foundation as ANBI (see 5.1.2) is a form of financial support.

Using network

The initiators were in power and part of the taskforce. Coordinating activities by the project leader of the government were internal. The government network was used to help searching for available funds. Next to that, the members of the city council approached the alderman, what can also be seen as helping the initiative with internal networking.

Characteristics of a coproducing strategy

'Coproducing' would be an intensive cooperation between citizens and organisations, based on a mutual interest to realize an initiative (Denters et al 2012, 30).

In this case civil servants and citizens worked together in the task force. This was not an intense cooperation. According to the interviewees within the government, the people were very capable to do it themselves. The group of initiators was very professionally organized and got considerable respect from the government people they were involved with.

The ambition of the aldermen created the opportunity for the task force, which was positive for the initiative. It is not clear how the initiative would have developed without the strong support of the aldermen. The need for a project leader that helps to overcome bureaucratic obstacles may very well imply that there were no conditions for a strong cooperation between citizens and civil servants.

Co-producing comes close to the collaborative approach from Callahan (2007) and Innes and Booher (2004). The main difference with Callahan's co-producing is that she defines this as collaboration between citizens and administrators in an active partnership with shared responsibilities. The difference with Innes and Booher is that collaborative processes incorporate citizens, as well as organized interests groups, profit-making, and non-profit organizations, planners and public administrators. The cooperation between citizens and civil servants in the task force was not based on Callahan's conditions for a collaborative approach, and for the conditions of Innes and Booher too little parties took part in the cooperation.

6.1.3. Sub question 3: which attempts from the government to control the initiative can be identified in the case of Emma's Hof?

Officially the site of Emma's Hof was a private area. The government's role was to check possible developments with the existing zoning plan. The original zoning plan defined the area as an area for the use of business. Only government can change the zoning plan. This keeps the government in control. First, whether to change the zoning plan or not and second, to decide what developments are possible in the new zoning plan.

The initiative fits into the policy of The Hague as a green city and into the policy to increase citizen participation. Especially the first is an aspect of control, because an initiative can only be supported when its result is something the government wants. In this case a qualification should be made, because the policy of the government is a greener city, but at the same time the location was not going to be developed by the government.

The conditions for the financial support are also aspects of control: first the fund was only given if other funds would contribute to the initiative, and second, the garden had to be publicly accessible and not to be used only by a selective group.

In spite of these aspects of control by the government, the initiative can be placed high on the Burns' ladder. The initiative was in control of the subject, the process and of its financial position. The qualifications, made by Burns et al "Maximum legal and financial autonomy from institutions in sphere 3 (the local government)" would place the initiative between rungs 11 and 12. The ROB staircase about government participation ranks from high (heavy government involvement) to low (minimum of government involvement). An initiative with a high position on the Burns' ladder will have a low position on the ROB staircase. The case Emma's Hof can be placed as low as the second stair, indicating a facilitating government, according to its definition (see 3.2.3): when the governments values initiatives from other parties it will facilitate the initiative. Finally, to realize the plan it had to be according to regulations from the police and the fire department on safety and security. For instance, the number of emergency exits is determined by the maximum amount of people possibly present together at one time. This is checked and approved by the departments.

In this case aspects of control are the necessary change of the zoning plan, the checks on regulations of safety and security and the conditions for the financial support. The change of the zoning plan did fit in the general policy of the city, and the checks were somewhat like standard procedure. The conditions for the financial support were to assure that the public fund was spend on a facility that was publicly accessible, although within the limits of private decisions about opening times.

6.1.4 The impact on the initiative in the case of Emma's Hof: neutral, limiting or promoting.

Neutral Impact

Indicators of a neutral impact, meaning that the initiative has developed independently from government's encouragement, are not identified. The initiative needed the support of the municipality, at least to approve the necessary change of the zoning plan, from an economic use to the use for a publicly accessible garden. Project for the built environment can face these changes that can only be realized if all involved parties agree to the change. In this case the change had some impact, because if the municipality

would not have approved the change, the initiative could not continue. Some control mechanisms had a neutral impact. For example the regulations of the fire department, which caused a change: from having one exit to having two. This change was easily adopted in the plan so can be considered as small, without impact on the development of the initiative.

Limiting Impact

Indicators of a limiting impact, meaning that the encouragement limited the development of the initiative, were not found in the case of Emma's Hof. The initiating group got help and assistance to overcome bureaucratic obstacles and rules and regulations did not limit the development of the initiative. One of the conditions for the financial support of 500,000,- euro was that other funds had to be found to reach the needed budget of 1,4 million euro. The planning department cooperated in the search for other funds and with bureaucratic procedures, and other funds were found. The condition did not limit the development of the initiative.

Promoting impact

Instead many indicators for a promoting impact, meaning that the government's encouragement helped the initiative to develop, were found. The personal involvement of the alderman, the support from the city council, appointing a task force and a project leader within the planning department can all be seen as a promoting impact of government's encouragement. The necessary change of the zoning plan did fit in the policy to emphasise the image of The Hague as a green city. As explained in 5.1.2 this is a general policy, but in the zoning plan for the neighbourhood no plans for green spaces are presented. The promoting impact was possible, among other reasons, because creating a garden was a contribution to that image, and because there seemed no gap between citizen and politicians in this case. The financial support is possibly the most obvious indicator of a promoting impact. As said in the interviews, the capability of the initiators gave confidence for a good result, and the financial support was therefore seen as a good investment. The positive attitude from the municipality can be seen as a promoting impact, because it made the initiative realizable.

6.2 Analysis case IJsselhoeven

6.2.1 Sub question 1: which goals of the government can be identified in the case of IJsselhoeven?

Reducing costs

The government has more than one goal for encouraging citizen participation and initiatives, as mentioned in the literature review (3.4.1). One of these goals is reducing the costs, to meet shrinking budgets. The initiative did fit the policy of some of the municipalities, but there was no government program to restore the IJsselvalley farmhouses. This was regarded as a private matter. Also the possible functional changes in the IJsselvalley, especially in the agricultural area, were seen as the result of private developments and not of public investments. This means that on the government's side there were no costs foreseen, and no budget reservation were made. Consequently no cost reductions were realized. The costs of the civil servant as contact person were not related to the initiative.

Improving citizenship

Another goal for encouraging citizen initiatives is to improve the quality of citizenship. As the interviewees mention, the initiators were committed and involved. The encouragement of the government was not needed to reach this goal. The initiators had to organize their support, for which they needed the qualities of citizenship, as the government prefers. Also, the initiators had to communicate frequently and intense with the people in the IJsselvalley and with politicians of some of the municipalities, because not all inhabitants of the area were pleased with the possible changes that were part of the initiative. The gap between citizens and politics, defined as the difference in the way each experiences reality, was modestly present. To some politicians the reality was an area that should keep its agricultural function, as others realized that allowing other functions could prevent the decline of the area. All parties were concerned with the future of the IJsselvalley and took part in the debate on how that future would develop. So the gap seemed not too big to bridge.

The opinion of the government about citizen's capability and preparedness for a new model of responsibilities in this case, is that these citizens are up to it (third opinion). They were not seen as unpredictable, making the wrong choice, nor as citizens that needed the government. In the scheme of Hurenkamp (see 3.4.2) the initiative would be qualified as federative: a solid, interrelating group, with binding as well as bridging social capital, based on the high levels of internal and external contacts.

6.2.2 Sub question 2: which characteristics of the government's strategy, or strategies can be identified in the case of IJsselhoeven?

Based on Denters (2012) three strategies are distinguished: stimulating, facilitating, co-producing. Although in practice these strategies are mixed or combined, the characteristics of these strategies are identified separately.

Characteristics of a stimulating strategy

Stimulating is defined by Denters et al (2012, 25) as professionals, possibly assigned by the government or some institution, that are active in promoting and realizing citizen initiatives. For the IJsselhoeven initiative the authorities organized no stimulus. It was

not necessary because the initiative came totally from citizens. These citizens experienced a condition and a possible future development that could be improved, in their view. This was not the view of all municipalities involved. Some of these were even hesitating to support the initiative or were opposed to it. The municipalities that were positive about the initiative did provide some financial support, but not as incentives. As motivated, this initiative did not need incentives to be stimulated. Advice given by the government or civil servants concerned issued of policy, law and applications for subsidies. Advise at the start, to appoint a professional project leader, was given to stimulate the initiative. Support from the municipalities that were positive about the initiative was mainly focussed on communication and coordination between the communities and the provinces. The official network of the municipalities was not involved, but because of different views between the communities, some inter-governmental connections were used to gain better understanding and broader support for the initiative.

Characteristics of a facilitating strategy

A service-orientated attitude from the government towards citizens that keep in control is the description of this strategy (Denters et al 2012, 28).

Professional support

An aspect of a facilitating strategy is professional support given by the government, like knowledge on the subject and/or on procedures, experience in that field and assistance to deal with bureaucratic obstacles. In the case of IJsselhoeven a professional project leader, independent, and selected by the foundation of the initiators, supports the initiative. The project leader is well acquainted with the issues concerning the use and future of the area. He knows the policies of each municipality and each province. He has knowledge of processes concerning the built environment and is able to create and present plans in such a way that the fit in the policy of the government. Some professional support came from a civil servant with knowledge especially on historic buildings. There is no mention of direct contribution to the initiative with experience of government offices. Some non-governmental organisations exchanged their experience in helping to re-write applications and permits “in the language of the authorities”. The project leader is experienced in the field of planning and in organizing groups of people to come to a result. The project leader was accepted as representative of the foundation and his contribution was respected and valued by government officials. It is noticed that some of the work that is done by the project leader, made the work for civil servants less or easier.

Financial support

Another aspect of a facilitating strategy is financial support given by the government. The project leader is not paid directly by any of the municipalities or provinces involved. However, as the civil servant mentions in the interview it is difficult to determine whose money is spent to pay the project leader, because the foundation receives some financial support from municipalities, provinces and non-governmental organisations, next to private investments by the farmhouse owners.

Some subsidy has been given by one of the municipalities for external advise on low energy use, mainly because this issue fitted in the policy of that municipality. The advice on low energy use became part of the plans for restoring the farmhouses, which made applications for subsidies from other organisations successful.

A next aspect of a facilitating strategy is advice provided by the government. The advice to organize professional support was suggested by the authorities. As mentioned, several officials from government as well as societal organisations, helped the initiative to apply for support and subsidies “in the language of the authorities”. This meant that the goals and methods of the foundation were tuned to local policies and that applications were presented in a way the authorities would understand. Because some parties were actually involved in co-writing, this can also be valued as co-production. The tax exemptions and refunds, based on the qualification of the foundation as ANBI (see 5.2.2) is a form of financial support.

Coordinating

Coordinating the initiative by the government is also an aspect of a facilitating strategy, either by using communication lines within the government’s structure, and/or by offering the use of its organisational structure to the initiative. Not all municipalities in the IJsselvalley valued the initiative because their policy was to keep the area mainly for agriculture. Other municipalities however, were about to change their policy about the functions in the valley. They had already developed a more liberal attitude towards possible alternatives. As mentioned in the interviews, the first group of municipalities would (potentially) frustrate the initiative. Therefore, in the second group some politicians realized the need for meetings, coordination and if possible, persuasion to support the initiative. The involved municipalities held regular contact to coordinate their policies and practical issues, including the development of the initiative. The municipalities did not offer facilities to support the organisational structure of the initiative, nor did they appoint a contact person within their offices. One civil servant is the contact person for all issues related to the agricultural grounds in general.

Characteristics of a coproducing strategy

The strategy of co-producing is based on intense cooperation between civil servants, representing the government, and citizens to realize an initiative (Denters et al 2012, 30). An open, receptive attitude, informal relations, mutual trust and respect are characteristics of co-producing.

In this case the initiative was taken in an area spread over five municipalities and two provinces. There was no continuous collaboration with one of these parties, or with other organisations like a water board or a landscape foundation. Instead, collaborations were subject related and had different levels of intensity. Usually the project leader would start to contact one of the provinces, and from there a strategic choice was made for possible cooperation with one of the municipalities. The provinces have the overview and the support from a higher office can help.

The authorities and civil servants of the municipalities that supported the initiative generally had an open and receptive attitude. This was helpful but did not result in co-production. Except for the help that was given to re-write the applications for support, permits and subsidies “in the language of the authorities”.

People find each other more easily in small communities. The interviews revealed no informal relations between government and citizens. But one of the aldermen is now member of the consultative group, as is the civil contact person. This might imply a formalized previously informal relation.

“When citizens want to improve certain things in their neighbourhood, the government should not restrict their wishes, but be a sparring partner in how to achieve these

improvements”, is a statement by the alderman. His presence in the consultative group indicates some mutual trust and (at least to some extent) a dialogue between government and citizens.

6.2.3. Sub question 3: which attempts from the government to control the initiative can be identified in the case of IJsselhoeven?

As explained, the initiative for the IJssel farmhouses implied changes in the area that did not fit in the policy of all involved municipalities. Whereas other municipalities practiced a more liberal approach and allowed modest changes (see interviews). These municipalities supported the initiative, because they felt responsible for the liveability in the area on the long term. The alderman confirms that a broad vision on the future of the area is the responsibility of the government, but also states *“Gradually we discover that we can do with less top down policy. Let in come bottom up, and see if there is a reason at all to give our opinion”*.

Still, the condition that the initiative should fit in the planning policy of the municipalities, in the zoning plans and in the ‘image quality plans’, can be seen as a form of control. Just as limiting the functional changes in the area: no supermarket and no extra traffic (see interviews).

The zoning plans, which are the formal documentations of the planning policies, are important instrument in planning, and which every individual can rely on. They are determined by the city council, the elected representatives, on behalf of all citizens of the municipality. Checking if developments are consistent with the plans is an obligation of the government towards its citizens.

According to the interviewees rules and regulation from central government did not have influence on the initiative. The alderman however mentions that policies from central government sometimes change so often, that it becomes difficult to support initiatives on a consistent basis.

The initiative can be placed high on Burns’ ladder, in spite of the aspects of control by the government. The initiators were in control of the subject, the process and of its financial position. The “Maximum legal and financial autonomy from institutions in sphere 3 (the local government)” of the initiative would place it between rungs 11 and 12. As the ROB staircase about government participation ranks from high (heavy government involvement) to low (minimum of government involvement), an initiative with a high position on the Burns’ ladder will have a low position on the ROB staircase. In this case some municipalities valued the initiative, which would place it as low as the second stair, indicating a facilitating government. Other municipalities did not want to change the agricultural function of the area, which would place the initiative on the top of the staircase, with a regulating government (see 3.2.3).

6.1.4 The impact on the initiative in the case of IJsselhof: neutral, limiting or promoting.

Neutral impact

A neutral impact means that the initiative has developed independently from government’s encouragement. Indicators of a neutral impact in the case of IJsselhoeven would be that the initiative is seen as a request or proposal similar or much like projects

from societal organisations or private companies. The government's role then would be to check the project with the planning law, and with general rules and regulations that count for every project. This might not be defined as encouraging, but it is an obligation of the government, and cannot be avoided or passed as part of the encouragement.

Limiting impact

A limiting impact would mean that the encouragement limited the development of the initiative. This can be straight from the start, when the initiative would be labelled as unwanted, or during the process, when the initiative develops in a way not consistent with local policies. The initiative started with a focus on restoring the IJssel farmhouses, to which no one did object. The initiative developed into a vision on the future of the area. Not all municipalities shared this vision. At this stage there was a risk of discouragement. Not as a result of encouragement, but because of different opinions between municipalities, and to some extent the two provinces. No indicators were found that the encouragement from the municipalities and province that supported the initiative did limit its development. The government did not force the initiative to reach its goals and practiced no control that would frustrate the initiative. The government's strategy was mainly facilitating. Stimulating was not necessary, neither was co-producing, because the initiators were highly motivated and practiced a professional approach with a full time project leader.

Promoting impact

A promoting impact means that the government's encouragement helped the initiative to develop. Providing small funds, helping to write applications for financial support, membership of the consultative group are indicators of a promoting impact, although modest. From the interviews it becomes clear that the initiative did get almost no special treatment, at least not very different than plans from societal organisations or private companies would get. Perhaps the biggest impact was the advice, given at the start, to professionalize, which has resulted into a foundation that functions independently from government encouragement.

7



CONCLUSION and RECOMMENDATIONS

C O N T E N T

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Chapter 7. Conclusion and recommendations.

As is stated in the Problem Statement, this study aims to provide insight in the role of the (local) government in two Dutch cases of citizen initiatives for the built environment.

In the literature review the different aspects of this subject are presented, from which the most important aspects and schemes are used as a theoretical framework. Different sub-questions are introduced to answer the Research Question: *How do government approaches to encouraging citizen initiatives impact on these initiatives in two Dutch cases for the built environment?*

First, an overview is given of the starting point of this research, the issues related to citizen participation and to government encouragement, as outlined in the first two chapters. Second, an overview is given of the answers from the interviews related to the different sub-questions. The analysis of the cases that will help to answer the Research Question, is the third part: the conclusion. Last, the relevance of and recommendations from the research will be outlined.

7.1 Recap of problem statement

7.1.1 Citizen participation

Citizen participation can take many forms, as explained in chapters 1 and 2, but this thesis focuses on citizen initiatives, and especially on the so-called ad-hoc initiatives as defined by the WRR. These initiatives are what Kramer (2010, 29) calls the third generation of citizen participation, where citizens take the initiative and are directly involved in the process, instead of being reactive (first generation) or interactive (second generation). The WRR acknowledges the great value of citizen initiatives, and several sources have documented neighbourhood developments of citizen initiatives (VNG/BZK 2010; WRR 2005). Also, several studies show that not all citizens value the opportunity to participate or initiate a project. To summarize some critical remarks: not all citizens like to delegate their interests to the next-door neighbour; the participating citizens are often a selective group; citizens fear that some interests will get more attention than others and not all citizens are well organized or can deal with the complexity of a problem.

7.1.2 The government's encouragement

The government encourages citizen initiatives, for several reasons and aims to redistribute responsibilities. Meaning citizens should accept to be responsible for conditions and developments that are (or were) the responsibility of the government. The government may have good reasons for redistributing responsibilities, but it faces some struggles in realizing it. To summarize: possible conflicts between representative and participative democracy, especially for the elected members of the city council; fear that initiatives are being smothered in the over-organised society; the risk of societal inequity if only initiatives from well organized citizens become successful.

Besides these critical remarks on citizen initiatives and the struggles of the government, it should be noted that citizen initiatives encouraged by the authorities is somewhat paradoxically a top down approach for bottom up developments. As long as the authorities set the goals to be reached, it becomes an instrument of the authorities.

7.1.3 The research

The issues mentioned in the paragraphs above are not the subjects of this research. They are identified as part of the dynamics of the cases, and not studied in detail. In both cases the initiators were a selective group, but they assured support from other citizens and were able to deal with the complexity of the projects. If the initiators got more attention than other initiatives is not investigated. A possible conflict between representative and participative democracy is also not investigated. But in the case of IJsselhoeven some municipalities aimed to keep the agricultural function of the area, and this aim was documented in a democratically determined zoning plan. It is possible that some elected members of one of the city councils felt they had to choose between supporting the initiative and holding on to the zoning plan.

The initiatives were not smothered, and there are no signs of risk of this happening. If the initiatives caused any form of inequity between citizens is not examined. But in the case of Emma's Hof the support of the municipality was based on the support of the neighbourhood that was organized by the initiators, and was given with conditions to assure the public use of the garden during opening times. In the case of IJsselhoeven no special arrangements to avoid inequity were identified.

7.2 Recap analysis

The encouragement of the government is defined by three sub questions about 1) the goals for encouraging citizen initiatives, 2) a strategy to approach the initiative and 3) means of control over the initiative. In both cases the goals on improved citizenship were identified, although a causal relationship between government's encouragement and improved citizenship cannot be claimed. The citizens in both cases were highly motivated and the citizens easily approached policy-makers as well as politicians. If the goal on reducing costs was reached in these cases could not be determined. Because the subjects of the initiatives were not on the agenda's of the governments, no financial reservations had been made, so there were no costs foreseen that could be reduced. In the case of Emma's Hof it seems the municipality even ignored this goal. The effort of unpaid volunteers is potentially cost reducing for the government.

Aspects of different strategies were identified in both cases, but the facilitating strategy from the scheme of Denters et al (2012) dominated. In the case of Emma's Hof the facilitating looked to be more active than in the other case, based on the involvement of the alderman and the contribution of the planning department.

Control in both cases was mainly on issues the governments were obliged to control, such as zoning plans and building permits.

Next to the analysis of the government's encouragement, the impact is analyzed, based on three levels: neutral, limiting and promoting. In both case the promoting impact dominated, with some differences between the cases in the attitude of the government towards the initiatives.

7.3 Answering the RQ

The general conclusion on government's encouragement on the two cases is that of a promoting impact. In both cases the strategies of the governments involved were mainly to facilitate the initiative. The promoting impact however is based on different attitudes. In the case of Emma's Hof the alderman and the city council valued the initiative, the municipality supported the project with a considerable financial fund, and with practical assistance from civil servants of the planning department. In the case of IJsselhoeven the

municipalities had different opinions about the need or wish for the initiative, financial support was limited and professional assistance only came from some offices of societal organisations. So, in the case of Emma's Hof the city of The Hague did not take over the project (as was the first intention of the citizens), but it organized everything necessary to continue the initiative, whereas in the case of IJsselhoeven the municipalities and provinces made it their policy not to obstruct the initiative. This can be typified as an active approach versus a passive approach that both fit in the in the facilitating strategy of Denters' scheme. This difference had no effect on the promoting impact on both cases. The answer on the Research Question "*How do government approaches to encouraging citizen initiatives impact on these initiatives in two Dutch cases for the built environment?*" is that the encouragement had a promoting impact.

Findings based on two cases have limited potential to yield generalisations. The cases have much in common and therefore show some aspects of citizen initiatives, while other aspects are not shown. These initiatives show highly motivated groups that were able to organize themselves and the process on a professional level. Initiatives with other conditions and other circumstances may not result in the findings of these cases. Denters' scheme of government's strategies is generally applicable to cases of citizen initiatives, because it distinguishes approaches, attitudes and actions of the government towards any type of initiative.

The social relevance of this research is that it connects government's strategies, including its goals and mechanisms of control, with real life initiatives in the Dutch context. This has given insight in the relationship between government and citizens in cases of initiatives for the built environment. The relevance for the planning departments of municipalities is that the research gives insight in possible roles civil servants can adapt towards citizen initiatives.

The academic relevance of this research is that while there are a lot of reports and evaluations from the government or government related institutions on this topic, there is little theoretical research from the scientific field on the relationship between government and citizens in cases of initiatives related to planning and the built environment.

7.4 Recommendations

7.4.1 Recommendations regarding conditions for citizen initiatives

Based on the interviews two recommendations can be made about the conditions for citizen initiatives. A third recommendation is based on the development of the cases. First, within the offices of government a change of attitude should be established. "*There is a general tendency to take over initiatives, based on professional habits: we know what to do, how it works; they do not and we cannot afford to wait if something good comes out of it.*" This is an observation made by the alderman's board advisor in the case of Emma's Hof. The first recommendation is to actively realize this change of attitude in order to improve conditions for citizen initiatives.

Second, when policies change too often and too quickly, it is almost impossible to make long-term commitments between government and citizens.

"Next year we have elections. The political parties will present ambitious programs, which the board has to deal with. What has been achieved in a couple of years is thrown overboard."

said the alderman in the case of IJsselhoeven. The second recommendation is that the government should practice more consistency and continuity in their policies in order to improve the relationship between government and citizens in cases of citizen initiatives. A third recommendation is that the government should break with the habit of looking at initiatives as a chance for citizens. The research shows that citizens are able to initiate projects for the built environment, and continue the initiatives successfully. Of course for each case a specific approach is needed. But the government should look at the initiative as a chance to improve living conditions in neighbourhoods, from which the entire city benefits. This might also legitimize investments from the governments in these initiatives.

On the other hand, the government has to be careful with their approach of citizen initiatives. When citizen initiatives become a standard, the government might face problems when initiatives are not taken, for instance because the means of others are also scarce. The government might also face the problem that it will rely on a selective group of citizens that see opportunities and are capable to initiate projects, while other, more vulnerable groups are being castigated for not taking initiative, or if taking it, can't complete it or do not reach a certain standard.

7.4.2 Recommendations regarding the research

The research of this thesis gives reason for some recommendations for further research. First, to answer the Research Question, a scheme of government strategies is used, based on Denters et al (2012). The scheme presents approaches, attitudes and actions of the government towards citizen initiatives. When examining the cases it was not possible to find on what decisions the strategy was based, or even if a decision for a preferred strategy was made at all. It seems the strategy sort of developed organically during the process. Insight in decision-making would create the possibility to improve government's approaches towards citizen initiatives. Therefore I would recommend to do research on decision-making about strategies towards citizen initiatives: who makes the decisions for a specific strategy, why is the strategy chosen, what was to be achieved. The findings from this research will be useful for governments to take the role that is most appropriate for the specific initiative.

Second, local authorities seem to be able to make decisions on their approach to citizen initiatives, without involvement of the central government. National rules may not be necessary. Further research can give decisive answers to the need of central ruling. Finally, the two cases that were examined both started before the financial crises. The present economic conditions might very well lead to a different approach. Research on this subject may reveal whether the approach from the government to citizen initiatives is likely to be influenced by these conditions.

Reflection

Citizen initiatives as a subject came to my attention by reading a newspaper article about different kinds of the way citizens initiated projects to improve their living conditions, among them initiatives for the planned and built environment. This was the start of my interest for this subject.

A first scan of available information was made, from which I discovered that the phenomenon of citizen initiatives is not new, that it covered a variety of projects, with different contexts and scale, and that the achievements were variably.

The subject of citizen initiatives and citizen participation is the central theme from the beginning of the research, but the way to approach this subject wasn't clear at that moment.

I will now reflect on three things: first, on the overall process, second, on the research method, and third, on the final result. I conclude with a reflection on recent developments.

Reflection on the overall process.

As stated above, the subject was clear pretty soon, but how to approach it, wasn't. The focus changed several times. It shifted from Community Based Planning in the beginning, to governmental approaches of citizen initiatives in the end.

I got the idea to compare the current practice in the Netherlands with a theory of Community Based Planning from the US. However, further research made clear that Community Based Planning is not really a theory, and that most of the cases did not focus at citizen projects for the built environment, but at community building and group processes. This would not provided the information to make a comparison that would help to get insights in the Dutch cases. I decided to focus only at the Dutch situation. So I changed my focus to citizen participation related to the approach of the government towards this phenomenon within the Dutch context. Changing the focus did cost some time.

Reflection on the research method

I was curious about the working and process of citizen initiatives in practice, that's why I wanted to do a case study. A multiple-case study design was the methodology that matched this kind of study. Two cases are being researched. As explained in the chapter on the research methodology (4.1.2) only two cases because there were not many cases that did meet the criteria for selection (see 4.3), and it was needed to get into a certain level of detail to be able to identify the dynamics in the cases, which was time consuming; it would have been too much time to study more cases. The cases appear to have more in common than was expected. Most likely more than two cases would have been interesting because of the variety of answers and input it might have for the research.

Another aspect of the research method is the use of a ladder of participation. At the start I expected to use such a ladder to measure the level of citizen participation in relation to the involvement of the government. I found the use of the ladder somewhat limited for answering the research question, so I only used it to reflect on the cases. Both cases score high on this ladder. But studying the phenomenon of the ladder has helped me to get more insight in the relation between government and citizens, especially related to the empowerment of citizens and the obstacles the government faces.

Reflection on the final result.

The research does provide information on various issues related to the subject of this thesis. The conclusions are only valid for the cases that have been studied. The cases have more in common than was expected. This research is a contribution to the debate about the involvement of the government in citizen participation and a start for further research.

Reflection on recent developments.

The government, more specific the Ministry of Internal Affairs has recently published a program to 'speed up' the process of citizen participation (BiZa 2013). Optimistically the government has detected *"An increasing self-organizing capacity in society; a government that draws back and an increasing need for social binding"* (Biza 2013, 3). The government exposes positive signs of citizen participation, to legitimize its search for new relationships and new ways of working in what it calls a 'democracy of doing'. At the same time it is acknowledged that not all the answers are known, but this should not be a reason for doubt. Instead, the Ministry proposes to start with this new way of working by "learning while doing". As contribution to a transition towards this 'democracy of doing' it has launched a 'speed-up' agenda that is to put citizens in position and to increase the capacity of the government to connect. Citizens are to be put in position with more attention, support, control and adjustment of rules and regulations. The government capacity to connect will be increased by organizing knowledge, the exchange of knowledge and experience, policy checks and improved responsiveness (BiZa 2013, 4). This doesn't sound that new to me: it is still the government's opinion that it is responsible for the participation and initiatives of citizens.

A recent study of the RMO (Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling) shows another view on the matter. An obstacle for the development of citizen participation and citizen initiatives is that the concept of the social engineered society is still present in the government and its offices, and that this presence plays an important role in the general attitude towards citizen initiatives (Frissen 2013, 9). The RMO proposes to change the perspective of the government from 'welfare state' to 'rule of law'. In other words, to change from 'taking care for ...' to 'taking care that ...'. The RMO presents three 'direction of recommendations', which to me seem more relevant than the government's agenda for speeding up:

- societal initiatives should have more say in the matter and the consequences should be accepted that this will lead to differences in content, scale, identity and quality of facilities;
- new arrangements for financing should be developed, with room for private investments and private initiatives to accept risks;
- societal initiatives should be protected and possible conflicts as result of the accepted differences should be restricted, based on the rule of law. *"When the role of the government as guardian of the welfare state diminishes, its role as guardian of the rule of law will increase"* (Frissen 2013, 10).

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Appendix: Interviews

The interviews are conducted with a representative of the initiating group, and two representatives of the local government of each case. The interviews were conducted face-to-face with the interviewees, and recorded with their permission. The interviews were semi structured (see 4.2.2) by the questions presented below, allowing for follow up questions and some debate.

The interviews started with an introduction on the research, and a brief presentation of the information about the case that was known to me. Before going through the questions, the interviewees were asked if more relevant information was available and if certain issues should be taken into account for the research. At the end of the interview the interviewees were asked if they would cooperate in case some information was needed in a later stage of the research.

The interviews are transcribed and the answers and remarks are arranged according to subjects/themes that were used for the analysis.

I: Interview with representative of initiating group.

Questions

- 1- How would you characterize the approach of the government, between involvement and control?
- 1a- Has this changed during the process?
- 2- Did the initiative need more involvement from the government or less?
- 3- Would the initiative have been successful without involvement of the government?
- 3a- Until what level could the initiative develop without involvement of the government? In what stage was concrete support needed?
- 4- Did government's involvement result in changes or adaptations for the initiative, for instance its strategy or goal?
- 5- Did the initiative result in changes or adaptations for the government, for instance in points of view or in policies?
- 5a- Did the government shift any tasks towards the initiative? Was this relevant for the initiative?
- 5b- Did the government shift any responsibilities towards the initiative? Was this relevant for the initiative?
- 6- Many ideas stay ideas. How come this initiative has progressed?
- 6a- Was this related to the initiators (capacity, organisation etc.)?
- 6b- Was this related to the subject (scale, complicity)?
- 7- Did you and the other initiators think clearly about your role in the initiative and how much energy you were going to spend on it?
- 8- Is your group satisfied about the level of influence on the development of the initiative?
- 9- How do you think citizen initiatives can be supported best, without the government taking over?
- 10- How do you think citizen initiatives can be significant for planning and the build environment?

II Interview with representative of government.

Questions

- 1- How would you characterize the approach of the government, between involvement and control?
 - 1a- Has this changed during the process?
- 2- Did the government aim for more involvement on the initiative or less?
- 3- Would the initiative have been successful without involvement of the government?
 - 3a- Until what level could the initiative develop without involvement of the government? In what stage was concrete support needed?
- 4- Was it clear from the start which role the government preferred towards the initiative, or did the government determine its role during the process?
- 5- Did the initiative result in changes or adaptations for the government, for instance in points of view or in policies?
- 6- Did the government shift any tasks towards the initiative? Was this relevant for the initiative?
 - 6a- Was this related to the initiators (capacity, organisation etc.)?
 - 6b- Was this related to the subject (scale, complexity)?
- 7- Did the government shift any responsibilities towards the initiative? Was this relevant for the initiative?
 - 7a- Was this related to the initiators (capacity, organisation etc.)?
 - 7b- Was this related to the subject (scale, complexity)?
- 8- Many ideas stay ideas. Has the government contributed to the progress of the initiative? If so, how?
- 9- How do you think citizen initiatives can be supported best, without the government taking over?
- 10- How do you think citizen initiatives can be significant for planning and the build environment?

III scheme for arranging answers according to subjects/themes

CASE			
Subject/theme	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
Initiative/project			
Initiators			
Government's approach			
Inequity			
Safety net			
Success			
Sustainable strategy			

