

## **'Everyone has his own belief of what citizen participation is'**

A research into what citizen participation means and contains in current society

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Already in the Speech from the Throne in 2002, Queen Beatrix mentioned the importance of citizens participating actively in society. She stated that citizens are too soon and too often relying on the government to fix their problems and take away risks, but at the same time, they are less accepting that the government is the one making all the decisions. To quote her: ‘society can only function if citizens pay attention to what they can do for each other, before looking at the government for help’ (Rijksoverheid, 2002).

King Willem-Alexander took it a step further in his Speech from the Throne in 2013. He no longer only focusses on participation, he even goes as far as to state that citizens should take their own responsibility, that citizens should take care of themselves. His speech states that everyone who is able to do so, is asked to take responsibility for their own lives and their own environment (Rijksoverheid, 2013).

This proves not only that there is a growing interest in citizen participation in the Netherlands, but also that there is no alignment in the definition of citizen participation. This seems contradicting: how can you expect citizens to participate more and more, while you can’t even make clear what it is exactly? This article studies citizen participation, focusing on three subjects: the change in government communication (as one of the causes for the rise of citizen participation), an explanation of the phenomenon citizen participation (and what it contains), and the current situation regarding citizen participation in terms of causes and results.

### How government communication leads to citizen participation

Next to the focus being more aimed at citizen participation (as seen in the Speeches of the Throne by both Beatrix and Willem-Alexander), the way the government communicates with their citizens is also a cause for the rise of citizen participation. This is mostly because of the shift from one-way communication –delivering information from the government to the citizen, to two-sided communication: citizens being able to communicate to their government, which in turn leads to participation (see Table 1 for a representation of this shift). But next to this shift, communication is important for citizen participation because communication is the way in which citizens can learn about the existence and execution of citizen participation (McLeod, Scheufele, & Moy, 1999, pp. 316-317).

Table 1  
*Public participation continuum*

PUBLICITY	PUBLIC EDUCATION	PUBLIC INPUT	PUBLIC INTERACTION	PUBLIC PARTNERSHIP
Building public support	Disseminating information	Collecting information	Two-way communication	Securing advice and consent
← PASSIVE →				ACTIVE →

(Parker, 2003)

As Table 1 shows, communication from the government has changed from a one-sided way of communication (informing – ‘publicity’ in the continuum by Parker (2003)) to a two-sided way of communication (dialogue – ‘public interaction’ and ‘public partnership’ in the continuum by Parker (2003)). Where informing includes the government only bringing (in their eyes) needed information across to citizens, dialogue is regarded as a permanent process of informing, consulting and deliberating, which includes all phases of government tasks (Gemengde Commissie Communicatie, 2005, p. 4).

To see how this development took place, you have to look back to the 50s and 60s. Back then, the government used press officers as an intermediary, to get information across to citizens. Even though press officers were part of the process, they could not be considered as players in the game (Rijksvoorzichtingsdienst, 2000).

Government communication began to develop significantly, starting in September of 1968, when the commission Biesheuvel was installed. This commission was there to optimize the communication between government and citizens, thereby enhancing the understanding of government power. The goal was to enhance citizens' knowledge of governmental issues, by giving more transparency. Only when there is complete transparency, voters and co-producers can form an accurate opinion about the government (and its actions) and clients and subordinates can get informed about the rights and duties they have to fulfill (Commissie Toekomst Overheidscommunicatie, 2001, p. 36). This transparency fits into the WOB (Wet Openbaarheid Bestuur) which was installed in the 70s, which contents the arguments that citizens have a right to receive information from the government, and that the government has the duty to provide citizens this information. The importance of both the right of citizens as the duty of the government is important in the Netherlands: it is important that citizens can approach the government easily for information (Rijksoverheid, 2014a); main purpose of government communication is to fulfill this right of the citizen. When this right is fulfilled, citizens can judge and influence the government (Rijksoverheid, 2014b).

Then, in 1983, government communication was redefined by the government. This redefinition started with the cabinet of Den Uyl. Starting in May 1973, this cabinet decided that welfare was becoming the new keystone of society, as an addition to prosperity. While the 60s were about the upcoming of welfare being incorporated into the state, in the 70s, doubt about this welfare state started to rise, which lead to a quite unexpected solution in the 80s: less government (Van der Lans, 2014, p. 17). The cabinets Lubbers were working on a no-nonsense approach, which contained going back to the core: decentralization and free market were key, which resulted in local governments and the market having to take over (Van der Lans, 2014, p. 17). From then on, the government used informing for two purposes: (1) as a policy instrument; and (2) for the promotion of participation. Within the purpose of informing as a policy instrument, the government tried to influence her citizens. This seemed to be going good, but at a certain time during the 90s, people starting criticizing this mass type of influence and started to appreciate the direct and personal approach more. During all this time however, there was still the notion of one-sided communication. Everything communicated was in the interest of the government. It was still the government deciding (Rijksvoorzichtsdienst, 2000).

Halfway through the 90s, interactive policymaking arose: citizens could now comment on the work of the government before it was installed, hoping to persuade the government to do something with their opinion, instead of merely commenting on something that was already decided upon (Rijksvoorzichtsdienst, 2000). In other words: citizen participation evolved. Citizen participation started out in a form which was labeled as the first generation. This form contains involvement in already established policies – in other words: objecting after the policy has already been determined. The citizen can be considered in this generation as merely a chooser of its representation in politics. The second generation – as it arose in the 90s – contains interactive policymaking, by which the initiative emanates from the government. The citizen can be considered a co-producer: thinking along with the government – at the request of the government – to come to better solutions. The third generation contains initiatives from citizens. Therefore, the citizen can be considered an active client, by actively designing new policies (Peters, Voutz, Schalk, Meijneken, & Mensinga, 2012; Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013, p. 13; Beukenholdt-Ter Mors et al., 2002, in: Schotsman, 2010, p. 19). As Van Dijk (2010, p. 5) states, it is important to keep in mind that the role of government gets smaller with every new generation. There seemed to be a shift from citizens participating in government's business towards governments participating in citizens' business. In other words: where at first, citizens were helping governments with governments' tasks and ideas, governments are nowadays helping citizens with their tasks and ideas (Van Baardewijk & Hoogenboom, 2011, p. 120). Important to mention is, that even though the term generation suggests that these are three types following each other, this is not the case. The name is merely chosen because of the fact that the generations have developed after each other. In practice, the three generations can exist along each other (Van Dijk, 2010, p. 5).

As stated before: the continuum by Parker (2003) showed the development from one-sided government communication, through two-sided communication, to citizen participation. Even further, the continuum can be seen as the summary of both the development to citizen participation, as well as the developments of different generations within citizen participation. This is visualized in Table 2.

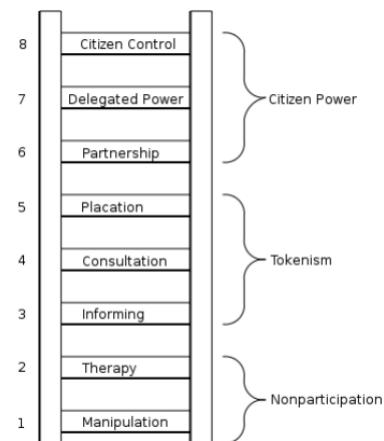
Table 2

*Developments in government communication and participation by the participation continuum by Parker (2003)*

Continuum Parker (2003)	Developments government communication	Developments within citizen participation
Publicity	One-sided government communication	-
Public education	One-sided government communication	-
Public input	Two-sided government communication	First generation citizen participation
Public interaction	Two-sided government communication	Second generation citizen participation
Public partnership	Two-sided government communication	Third generation citizen participation

### Citizens vs government

Within citizen participation, there are several degrees of both the power for the citizen as the power for the government. The level of citizen involvement is often indicated through the participation ladder by Arnstein (1969). Since not all of the steps on this ladder are considered participation, not all steps will be discussed. Nowadays, the terms of the participation roles are changed, while the meaning stays the same. The lowest stage of participation is informing: the government determines the agenda, and informs her citizens about decisions made. Second stage is consulting, in which politics are mostly determined by the government, but where citizens are sporadically used as discussion partner. In the third stage, advising, citizens are able to give advice about upcoming policies, after which government should argue whether or not (and why) to use this advice. The fourth stage is about co-producing, in which decisions are made together. Fifth and last stage, co-decision, gives citizens the most power: citizens initiate decisions, while the government has an advising role (ParticipatieWijzer, 2014; Numansen, 2010, p. 38; Verlet & Hulsmans, 2004, p. 57).



(Arnstein, 1969)

Alongside these roles by citizens, there are the roles that can be played by the government. The styles go from the facilitative style (in which the citizen relatively has the most power) to the open authoritarian style (in which the citizen relatively has the least power). Table 3 gives an overview of the government styles (with their explanation), in combination with levels of citizen involvement.

Table 3  
*The roles of government in citizen participation*

Government style	Explanation of government style	Citizen involvement level
Open authoritarian style	The government makes their own policy, on which they provide information and try to convince citizens about	Informing
Consultative style	The government asks the participation about a closed question	Consulting
Participative style	The government asks for an open advise, in which there is a lot of room for discussion and input	Advising
Delegating style	The government gives participants the power to make decisions, with in earlier determined framework	Coproducing
Co-operating style	The government works together with other parties, based on equality	
Facilitative style	The government gives support and assistance	Co-decision

(Pröpper, 2009, pp. 66-67; Schotsman, 2010, p. 22)

### Designing citizen participation

After having established the citizens' and government's role, there are some other factors that should be decided on. First, at what point of the decision making process can the citizen be involved? Literature shows that five moments can be determined where participation can take place (ParticipatieWijzer, 2014; Rijksoverheid, 2010; Leyenaar, 2009; Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005). First, there is the moment of agenda setting, because 'there lies the seed for new policy' (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005, p. 13). Second, the moment of preparation, which is considered to be the most successful moment, because at this moment, citizens are involved in the design of policy (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005, p. 27). Third, the moment of decision making, which should be included based on the idea of direct democracy in which citizens decide directly for themselves (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005, p. 47). Fourth, there is the moment of implementation. After having decided on the design together, the implementation should also be done together. And fifth and last, the evaluation, because participation in this stage gives insight into the quality of service as well as the (potential) perceived gap between policy and implementation (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005, p. 71).

Further, boundary conditions should be made clear, because these can sometimes limit the way and degree of citizen participation. Within the factor of boundary conditions, there are several factors that should be kept in mind, e.g. duration, group size, communication towards the citizen and government's capacity (ParticipatieWijzer, 2014; Rijksoverheid, 2010; ProDemos, 2014; Jager-Vreugdenhil, 2010). The importance of these boundaries is stated by several: 'even though boundary conditions do not fit with the idea of third generation citizen participation, it can be desirable for the government to establish them, because in this way, the cohesion between the initiative and other policy sections can be secured' (Schotsman, 2010, p. 48); 'a successful collaboration cannot exist when both parties do not know what their roles, responsibilities and tasks are, which agreements are leading and what they can expect from one another' (Ahmic, 2013, p. 82); 'greater clarity and specificity of state mandates can improve the quality of local plans and planning processes' (Burby et al., 1997, in: Brody, Godschalk, & Burby, 2003, p. 247).

After having established these factors, a form of citizen participation can be chosen. In literature, there have been made several categorizations of types of participation designs (see inter alia: Rijksoverheid, 2010; Bos, 2014; Dinjens, 2010; Peeters, 2012; Loyens, 2006; Ossewaarde, et al., 2008). Table 4 gives an overview of examples of participation designs.

Table 4

*Examples of participations designs*

<b>Participation design</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Advisory	A small amount of citizens are asked – based on their expertise or their representation of an organization – to advice on certain specific policy issues (Ossewaarde et al., 2008, p. 18)
Citizen jury	A group of citizens (preferably representational for society) are asked to give advice on a policy issue. They do so by discussing the issue for several days with experts and witnesses. In the end, and advice is formed in either positive or negative form (Dinjens, 2010, p. 30)
Citizen panel	A small group of citizens (preferably by representation of society) will exchange ideas, thoughts, etc. about policy issues. Mostly, governments come up with the subject of the discussion, on which the panel can react (Dinjens, 2010, p. 30)
Internet panel	Similar to citizen panel, except for the fact that it occurs online, which causes the frequency to be able to be higher (Loyens, 2006, p. 49)
Survey	A large-scale investigation in which the government tries to assess the opinion of a representational group of citizens (Loyens, 2006, p. 58)
Referendum	In a referendum, a governmental decision is presented to a public election (Loyens, 2006, p. 94)
Consultation meeting	A night, on which citizens get the possibility to react on governmental decisions. Governments are obliged to take citizens' opinions into account (Peeters, 2012, p. 46)
Inspection meeting	A tour around the physical places were problems are to be found by citizens, to make sure that problems are no longer abstract for the government (Peeters, 2012, p. 45)
Education meeting	A meeting in which citizens are provided with information about upcoming governmental decision (Ossewaarde et al., 2008, p. 18)
Citizen initiative	An initiative submitted by citizens, on which the government has to decide (Ossewaarde et al., 2008, p. 19)
Political involvement	All information collected by direct, physical meetings between government employees and citizens (Ossewaarde et al., 2008, p. 19)
Focusgroup	Multiple, focused conversations are held in a safe environment, with specific stakeholders and/or citizens who are experts through experience (Loyens, 2006, p. 62)

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Citizen platform	Twenty interested citizens (preferably representational for society) are put together, to formulate an advise for a specific policy domain (Loyens, 2006, p. 107)
Internetforum	An online forum on which everyone can react on existing discussion statements, or create new statements (Peeters, 2012, p. 45)
Expertpanel	A small group of experts will deal with a highly technical or highly complex policy issue, with the goal to form an advice (Loyens, 2006, p. 84)

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### Causes of citizen participation

After having established how the design of citizen participation is formed, the following sections will focus on the causes and results of citizen participation, together with concerns concerning these factors. As explained, the changing relationship between government and her citizens in the form of government communication was a cause for the rise of citizen participation. Next to this cause, there are several other causes: budget cuts from the government and the consequences that come from that, the Dutch law about citizen duty, the changing society and the changing citizen.

First, the Dutch government had to make choices regarding budget cuts that were needed to reduce the budget shortfall that the Netherlands experiences (Rijksoverheid, 2013; Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013, p. 18). Van den Hoek (2012) explains how these budget cuts in turn lead to decentralization: when budgets are cut, tasks are also cut. National government will no longer be able to do all the tasks they did before, they have to go back to their core tasks (Van den Hoek, 2012, p. 10). As a result, the local government will be burdened with more tasks. At their turn, however, the local governments seem to lack the resources to fulfill these tasks, whereupon citizens are approached to play "their" part. This was mentioned by the King in his Speech of the Throne in 2013 (Rijksoverheid, 2013), but emanated already in 2003 when the government started their project 'Another government' (in Dutch: 'Andere overheid'). In this project, there was stated that problems that are facing the Netherlands cannot be solved by the government alone. Citizens should help, as far as they are able to. To do so, citizens should take more responsibility, while the government should take a step back (De Graaf, 2003, p. 2).

Second is Dutch law about citizen duty, there are two components that help the rise of citizen participation: citizenship and the incorporation of citizen participation into the Dutch law. Citizenship can be defined into two parts: citizenship as status – which refers to the rights and duties of the citizen, and citizenship as social role – which is about the responsibilities citizens have towards society (Ahmic, 2013, p. 9). With the first part, one of the rights of citizens is transparency: main purpose of government communication is to fulfill the right of the citizen. When this right is fulfilled, citizens can judge and influence the government (Rijksoverheid, 2014b). Second, citizens are expected to fulfill their responsibilities towards society 'by taking more own initiative, while the government is there to facilitate those initiatives' (Ahmic, 2013, p. 9). Next to the incorporation of the right of transparency into Dutch law, there is also the incorporation of encouragement of actual citizen participation. The Dutch law states that every municipality should draft a regulation in which citizen participation is taken care of (Numansen, 2010, p. 17). To demonstrate that citizen participation is not merely a Dutch phenomenon: in the USA there is a similar law, called the Administrative Procedure Act. This law 'sets forth the basic elements of rulemaking, grants the public a statutory right to participate directly in the process' (Noveck, 2004, pp. 215-216).

The third and fourth factor are two that can be seen as related. Third factor is the changing society. Society nowadays is found to revolve more around four aspects. First is individualization, which means that people are more independent from their direct environment (Peters, Voutz, Schalk, Meijneken, & Mensinga, 2012). Second is

informalization, which causes relations to become more informal; authority and respect are not bound to a formal position, but should be earned: governments are followed with more criticism (Peters, Voutz, Schalk, Meijneken, & Mensinga, 2012). Third: market principles: politics are now more listening to what the citizen wants, trying to fulfill their needs, instead of only thinking about their own goals (Van der Lans, 2014, p. 105). And fourth, the power of the media: since the rise of the Internet, people are able to be better connected to society and better able to work together. Result of these changes is that the government should go more towards demand-aimed help (instead of the current supply-aimed help) (Peters, Voutz, Schalk, Meijneken, & Mensinga, 2012).

The fourth factor, the changing citizens, emanates from (among other factors) the third factor – changing society. Citizens nowadays are considered to be higher educated and more articulated (Peters, Voutz, Schalk, Meijneken, & Mensinga, 2012; Van der Lans, 2014; Pröpper, 2009), and therefore more emancipated: since the Dutch citizen nowadays is better educated than ever before, he is better able to stand up for himself and ask questions (instead of blindly accepting what he is told). Therefore, his autonomy has enhanced (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2010, p. 14).

Besides these general developments, there are personal factors that could cause a citizen to start participating. These factors are explained by the CLEAR model by Lowndes & Pratchett (2006):

- Can do—have the resources and knowledge to participate;
- Like to—have a sense of attachment that reinforces participation;
- Enabled to—are provided with the opportunity for participation;
- Asked to—are mobilized through public agencies and civic channels;
- Responded to—see evidence that their views have been considered.

The factors ‘enabled to’, ‘asked to’ and ‘responded to’ can be influenced, or at least controlled somewhat by the government. This can be done by supporting citizens by means of money, locations or personnel, through trying to make sure that there is a diversity in societal organizations and through keeping a good communication line with organizations (Lowndes et al., 2006; in: Jonker, 2008, p. 36).

Lastly, there is the motivation to start citizen participation because of the desire to gain one of the advantages that come from citizen participation. These advantages will be discussed later.

### Concerns

When it comes to causes of citizen participation or starting citizen participation, there are some concerns that should be kept in mind. First, there is the concern of improbability: citizens would not be willing to participate (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013; Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005; Stegeman, 2008; Roberts, 2004; King, Feltey, & Susel, 1998; Callahan, 2007). Stokes (2010) states that there are four reasons for this improbability:

1. ‘Citizens have a negative image of local authorities;
2. Citizens don’t know the possibilities for participation and sometimes don’t have the resources or opportunities to participate;
3. Citizens feel like they are not being listened to;
4. Citizens feel like it is nothing for them’

(Lowndes et al, 2001, p.450-454, in: Stokes, 2010, p. 28)

Reason two as mentioned by Stokes (2010) – citizens not knowing the possibilities or not having the resources – comes down to the following two concerns regarding the existence of citizen participation: citizen participation would be unrealistically: citizens would not have the knowledge and expertise needed to participate (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013; Roberts, 2004; Callahan, 2007); and the issue of ambiguity: when people don't fully understand what citizen participation is, they are probably not willing to start (Jonker, 2008; Glass, 1979). Fourth and last, the cost versus the benefits should be considered: do the costs outweigh the benefits? (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005; Callahan, 2007; Kweit & Kweit, 1984; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004)

### Results of citizen participation

As discussed above, one of the reasons to start citizen participation is wanting to gain one or more of the advantages that come from citizen participation. Most important (and most used (ProDemos, 2014)) results are those directly affecting policy: the increase of legitimacy (ProDemos, 2014; Van Dijk, 2010; Michels & De Graaf, 2010; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Glass, 1979; Michels, 2011), the enhancement public support (ParticipatieWijzer, 2014; ProDemos, 2014; Rowe & Frewer, 2000; Koontz & Thomas, 2006; Glass, 1979) and the generation of ideas and information (Hardina, 2003; ParticipatieWijzer, 2014; ProDemos, 2014), which in turn leads to the increase of policy quality (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005, p. 8). Regarding legitimacy, it is argued that 'as citizens participate in governmental affairs and give their consent to decisions, they legitimate those decisions and the regime that makes them' (Pateman, 1970; Salisbury, 1975, in: Roberts, 2004, p. 323). Participation can enhance the public support, because involving citizens in the decision making process will lead to them being less inclined to be hindering or fighting the policy (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005, p. 8). Lastly, providing information from citizens can give for another view on aspects, since citizens look at aspects from another perspective than government employees do (Glass, 1979, p. 182).

Further, there are the indirect results. Results that influence something else than policy itself, but indirectly could influence policy: enhancing the government's image, improving the relationship between government and citizen (Van Dijk, 2010; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004) and increasing social cohesion (Van Dijk, 2010; ParticipatieWijzer, 2014; Roberts, 2004; Gaventa & Barrett, 2010). Image is, as Cole states, anticipated to be enhanced after conducting citizen participation (Cole, 1975, p. 770). While this could be considered an additional advantage, the improvement of the relationship between government and citizen is considered to be high on the local governments' agenda (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 2006, in: Stegeman, 2008, p. 10). In the bigger picture, not only the relationship of the citizen with the government is improved, also social cohesion is improved: a citizen can reach a better relationship with his community (Callahan, 2007, p. 1180).

Lastly, there is the individual advantage that the citizen can gain from participating: being better educated, or least gaining more knowledge (Michels, 2011; ParticipatieWijzer, 2014; Michels, 2011; Webler, Kastenholz, & Renn, 1995; Michels & De Graaf, 2010; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Callahan, 2007; Glass, 1979): 'the more one participates, the more one develops the attitudes and skills of citizenship' (Roberts, 2004, p. 323).

### Concerns

As with causes of citizen participation, the results also bring along some concerns that should be kept in mind. The first concern is the fact that citizen participation is often found to be selective, because not a lot, and only a certain type of citizen participates (Jonker, 2008; Van Ankeren, 2009; Callahan, 2007; Michels & De Graaf, 2010). As a result, the participants are not a representation of society. Second is undesirability, because citizen participation would endanger democratic criteria (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013; King, Feltey, & Susel, 1998). Third concern is the presence of expectation management: governments have to make sure that citizens know what they are getting into (in terms of all aspects, e.g. level of involvement, and associated tasks), to make

sure the results achieved are the actual results you wanted to achieve (Loyens, 2006; Michels & De Graaf, 2010; Brody, Godschalk, & Burby, 2003). Last concern can be labeled as competence: the ability of the process to reach the best decision possible given what was reasonably knowable under the present conditions (Webler & Tuler, 2000, p. 568).

### Research question

As discussed, citizen participation has gone through changes and is subjected to a lot of factors, like degree of influence and moment. This paper tries to find out if citizen participation is the established phenomenon that literature makes it appear. To find out, citizen and local civil servants will be interviewed, since exploring the real situation is the only way to show if theory is still relevant.

Next to wanting to see if citizen participation is done changing, or different from current theory, citizens and local civil servants will be compared. This comparison is made to see if citizens and local civil servants are at the same page, when it comes to citizen participation (and its developments). Assumption made, is that citizen participation is adopted in several steps: first the theoretical part; and second the practical part, consisting of first the internal network (local civil servants), and second the external network (citizens).

The following research question will be answered:

*What do citizens and local civil servants of a municipality in the East of the Netherlands think about the current situation of citizen participation, both in terms of causes, as well as in design and results?*

Belonging to this research questions, are the following sub-questions:

1. What definition do citizens and local civil servants have of the term 'citizen participation'?
  - a. How does this match existing literature?
2. What aspects (in terms of causes, designs, results and concerns) do citizens and local civil servants believe are involved with citizen participation?
  - a. How does this match existing literature?
3. What differences and similarities in opinion are there between citizens and local civil servants?

### Method

As stated before, a qualitative research method was used to answer the research question. Thirty interviews were conducted in a municipality in the East of the Netherland. The interviews were divided into fifteen interviews with local civil servants and fifteen interviews with citizens. As explained, both respondent groups are asked to see if they are on the same page, regarding citizen participation. Respondents asked were all in the age category between twenty and thirty-five. The choice for this age group is made because an expectation for the research is that citizen participation is subjected to changes, and because there is a belief that change is absorbed by the younger (and not that experienced) generation earlier. The interviews were based on the earlier discussed literature, to see if the existing literature about citizen participation fits the current situation.

The research will restrict itself to finding out the answer to this question in a municipality in the East of the Netherlands. This municipality is chosen because of three reasons. First, there is a notion in literature that mostly regional and local government work with interactive collaborations, under which citizen participation belongs (Edelenbos et al., 2006; in: Van den Hoek, 2012, p. 24). Second, for practical reasons: it is not doable to conduct this type of qualitative research in a big area like the Netherlands as a whole. The research should start small and could be (in the future) broadened to a bigger area. The surveyed municipality is a good starting point as it concerns a

municipality with a population over 150.000 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2014), which makes it a relatively big city (in the Netherlands).

Respondents were approached with a request to participate as a respondent for the study, but were not told the subject of the interview. They have been told how much time it would take, and that the interview would focus on opinions and attitudes. This choice is made to exclude the possibility for respondents to look up information beforehand, thereby giving socially desirable answers, while the research is intended to find out what the current situation is: what do respondents know about citizen participation when asked about it on the spot.

### Procedure

Respondents were approached with a request to participate as a respondent for the study, but were not told the subject of the interview. They have been told how much time it would take, and that the interview would focus on opinions and attitudes (and would therefore be easy to answer for everyone). This choice is made to exclude the possibility for respondents to look up information beforehand, thereby giving socially desirable answers, while the research is intended to find out what the current situation is: what do respondents know about citizen participation when asked about it on the spot.

Since the subject of the interview was unknown to all respondents, an explanation of what the interview would be about was needed before the interview could start. Citizens were told that the interview would be about citizen participation, without giving a definition of citizen participation. The definition is not given, because the first question of the interview asked respondents about their definition of citizen participation. To do so, a Q-sort was used. The choice for a Q-sort was made, to make the subject as concrete as possible for respondents. For this Q-sort, respondents received sixteen cards with examples of citizen participation, which they had to place on a pyramid, in ascending order (see Figure 1). Table 5 shows the cards used for the Q-sort (together with their foundation in literature). Based on the way the respondents placed the cards on the Q-sort, each card could obtain a score. Because each card had belonging aspects from literature, these aspects could also obtain scores. The results of the Q-sort can answer the first sub-question.

*Figure 1*  
Scores in Q-sort

		0				
		-1	0	1		
		-2	-1	0	1	2
-3		-2	-1	0	1	2
						3

Table 5

*Q-cards*

Q-card	Generation	Ladder	Moment
Going to the municipality because you need help with an idea for a playground	3rd generation	Co-deciding	Agenda setting
Filing a plan for better signage in a new neighborhood	3rd generation	-	Agenda setting
Citizens and municipality determining together what a new neighborhood should look like	2nd generation	Co-producing	Decision
The neighborhood determining what to do with the budget the municipality gave you	3rd generation	Co-producing	Decision
Filing a complaint about new rules/legislation	1st generation	-	Evaluation
Evaluating existing citizen participation, to see what and how it can be improved	1st generation	-	Evaluation
Restoring vacant property at own initiative	3rd generation	Co-deciding	Implementation
Fulfilling tasks that the municipality used to fulfill – like taking care of a sick family member	3rd generation	-	Implementation
Taking place in a citizen panel	2nd generation	Advising	Preparation
Indicating what qualities the new mayor should have according to you	2nd generation	-	Preparation
Participation in an advisory board to discuss with the municipality about new legislation	2nd generation	Advising	Decision
Receiving a weekly newsletter about decisions and/or changing in municipal policy	1st generation	Informing	-
Getting a working visit from the municipality	1st generation	Informing	-
Participating in a referendum	-	Consulting	-
Voting for the municipal council	-	Consulting	-
The municipality providing two options for a new plan to citizens, to see which they like better	2nd generation	Consulting	Preparation

Following this Q-sort, the interview started asking questions about the following five subjects: (1) causes of citizen participation, (2) results of citizen participation, (3) concerns with citizen participation, (4) design of citizen participation and (5) more general questions about citizen participation. The interview scheme was open ended, which allowed respondents to set forth their own views and experiences. Answers regarding these subjects can answer the second and third sub-question.

## Coding

A first version codebook was based on the literature found (as discussed earlier). This framework was tested on a triad of interviews, which resulted in a second version codebook. This codebook was the framework for the coding of both the first and second coder. After calculating the Cohen's kappa, this codebook was found not reliable enough, so adjustments were made, which resulted in a third version codebook. This codebook was (after calculating the Cohen's kappa) to be found reliable and was therefore used by one coder, for the coding of the entire dataset. This open coding, in which all speech was coded, generated 1171 citations spread over 5 categories, including 36 codes.

## Data analysis

For all variables, Cohen's Kappa was found to be acceptably high. This however was only the fact after some adjustment to the codebook. Table 6 shows the Cohen's Kappa for each category before, and after adjustments.

Table 6

*Cohen's Kappa for categories concerning citizen participation*

Categorie	Cohen's Kappa	
	Before adjustments	After adjustments
Causes of citizen participation (7 aspects)	.908	.935
Results of citizen participation (9 aspects)	.700	.961
Concerns of citizen participation (11 aspects)	.697	.873
Role division in citizen participation (5 aspects)	.486	.835
Other (2 aspects)	.933	1.

As can be seen in Table 6, not all Kappa's needed adjustments in the codebook. However, since adjustments were needed for some categories, a decision was made to adjust the entire codebook. Every explanation/definition was looked at, and made as unambiguous as possible, by making it detailed and explicit.

## Results

Below, the outcomes of the Q-sort will be discussed first. After that, all different categories are discussed one by one. The complete overview of the results can be found in appendix I (Q-sort) and appendix II (coding).

## Q-sort

As mentioned, the interviewed started with a Q-sort, to see what respondents considered to be citizen participation. As a result of this Q-sort, all theory aspects obtained a score (how this score was calculated can be found under *Method*). These scores – divided by respondent group – can be found in Table 7 for generation, Table 8 for participation ladder and Table 9 for moment of participation.

Table 7  
*Overview ranking participation generations*

#	Generation	Overall score	Local civil	Citizens
1	Third generation	141	92	49
2	Second generation	43	22	21
3	First generation	-145	-79	-66

When talking about generation in citizen participation, one of the local civil servants made a remarkable observation: "I think the most citizen participation... Officially, the definition of citizen participation is citizens reacting to a municipality's or government's initiative. And what you have hear, are some initiatives that are actually government participation, which would be the last step of the ladder. So I'm not sure if I can call these citizen participation. For example this one: fulfilling task that the municipality used to do – with that one, the municipality is facilitating, that is more government participation" (Local civil servant11). In other words: the respondents believe that some of the examples are not citizen participation, but government participation.

Table 8  
*Overview ranking participation ladder*

#	Participation ladder	Overall score	Local civil	Citizens
1	Co-producing	84	50	34
2	Co-decision	59	40	19
3	Advising	24	9	15
4	Consulting	-48	-40	-8
5	Informing	-107	-46	-61

Table 9  
*Overview ranking moment in decision making process*

#	Moment	Overall score	Local civil	Citizens
1	Decision	100	55	45
2	Agenda setting	70	46	14
3	Implementation	57	39	18
4	Preparation	-16	-9	-7
5	Evaluation	-38	-33	-5

### Category A: causes of citizen participation

Having discussed causes of citizen participation with respondents, the results show that there can be established five causes of citizen participation: budget cuts, Dutch law about citizen duty, changing citizen, dissatisfaction and changing society, which exists of three individual causes: individualization, informalization and power of the media. Table 10 shows how many citations were found belonging to these causes.

Table 10

*Frequency respondents' citations on causes of citizen participation*

Local civil servants		Citizens	
Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency
Dutch law	33	Dutch law	28
Changing society	32	Changing society	26
Informalization	18	Individualization	15
Individualization	9	Informalization	9
Power of the media	5	Power of the media	2
Budget cuts	29	Budget cuts	20
Changing citizen	14	Dissatisfaction	17
Dissatisfaction	6	Changing citizen	12
<i>Total</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>103</i>

As can be derived from Table 10, respondents (both local civil servants, as citizens) discussed the Dutch law most as a cause. The rest of their ranking is quite similar, except for the causes dissatisfaction and changing citizen.

When it comes to the most discussed cause – Dutch law leading to the duty for citizens to participate –, there are three assumptions made by respondents. Main assumption, as discussed by twenty-three of thirty respondents, is the belief that actively participating is something that should be decided upon by citizens themselves. It may definitely not be imposed on them. “Mostly at own initiative. Because what you see is, that if it comes from own initiative, there is more motivation” (Local civil servant2). However, of these respondents, fourteen state that in the ideal situation, citizen participation should be something that is regarded as normal and natural: “We all want a happy life, and I believe that to reach that, you have to do something yourself. It is too easy to say: the government should take of that” (Local civil servant7). “I think it should become more like a social awareness/consciousness” (Citizen11). The only difference is assumption between citizens and local civil servants regarding this cause, is the fact that citizens believe that it is a municipal task to motivate citizens. The local civil servants discussing this assumption however, state that they realize that not all citizens feel the same about participating, which results in some of them do feeling the need, while others don’t. “There are just different kinds of people, to say it really simply. And you can categorize them: some do feel the need, others feel that less, or not even at all” (Local civil servant2).

The second most discussed cause is the changing society. This cause is divided into three different causes: individualization, informalization and power of the media. When talking about individualization, half of the respondents (both citizen as local civil servant) believe that it is indeed the case that citizens nowadays think more

about their own needs. This can come in two forms. The first is a form, in which citizens feel the need to do things they find important, because the municipality lacks to do so: "I think that people might feel like the things they find important, were not carried out enough by the municipality" (Local civil servant2). Five of the respondents however also see the negative side of this phenomenon: "Earlier, you were responsible for your own piece of land. Nowadays, people expect everything to be done for them by the municipality, even when the street is right in front of your house" (Citizen4). The second cause regarding the changing society is about the informalization of the municipality. All respondents talking about this cause believe that this informalization can indeed lead to citizen participation: "I do believe that because the municipality has a more informal attitude, citizens will approach the municipality easier to state their opinion. If there is a strict hierarchy, people will hesitate to do so" (Citizen3). However, there is a nuance made by four local civil servants: there is a lack of informalization in some situations, and while this is regrettable, informalization is simply not always possible.

Last cause coming from the changing society is the power of the media. This cause however is not considered as important as the other two, as can be derived from Table 9. Three of thirty respondents (two local civil servants and one citizen) talk about this cause, stating that the current media environment gives citizens more opportunities to express themselves: "Society has changed because there are more ways to communicate. For example, us having our own Facebook-page as a municipality, and citizens having Facebook, and therefore being more able to connect. And maybe responding anonymously" (Local civil servant11). Next to that, one of the local civil servants states that social media could serve as an acceleration: "it explodes so quickly. If they are calling, they have thought about it, again, and again. (...) And then, the problem has decreased automatically. And what is easier than spilling your guts on Facebook?" (Local civil servant7).

Budget cuts is mentioned as third most important cause. Most mentioned assumption, by fifteen respondents (both local civil servants as citizens) is that budget cuts indeed lead to citizen participation. However, eleven of them also state that they believe that budget cuts lead to forced change, which cannot be labeled as citizen participation. "Because it are mostly things, that were done by the municipality before, and of what you think that they belong to the municipality, but what is done by citizens. The first thing that I think about then, is: it will probably cost too much money" (Citizen4); "That is no participation, that is a forced change" (Local civil servant1). Next to that way of budget cuts causing citizen participation, both respondent groups mention that the budget cut itself can be the subject of citizen participation: "If you have to make choices about how to spend your money, you could ask citizens to help make that choice" (Citizen10). Two local civil servants further state that budget cuts sometimes not directly cause citizen participation, but can cause an acceleration: "I believe it serves as an acceleration. The process was already going on, but budget cuts have accentuated it more" (Local civil servant11). Contradicting the upper assumptions of budget cuts being a cause, five local civil servants state that they do not see this relationship, because they believe citizen participation does the opposite: costing money. "You could say you are cultivating savings, but that isn't directly the case. You have to invest to make it happen" (Local civil servant13).

Next to the changing society being mentioned as a cause for citizen participation, respondents also believe that the changing citizen leads to citizen participation. Eighteen respondents believe citizens nowadays are believed to be more assertive, therefore expressing their opinion more often: "Citizens stating their opinion more. That will contribute to citizen participation: the more assertive, the more you state your opinion" (Local civil servant5). Further, eight respondents (five local civil servants and three citizens) state that the citizen is also better educated, and therefore better able to find their way to the government. However, there are three citizens who believe that a more assertive and better educated citizen is a bad thing: "At the other hand, I believe that there is a roughening. A negative way of stating your opinion. At that is useless, that is not constructive" (Citizen11).

Last cause is dissatisfaction. Half of the respondents (local civil servants and citizens) believe that dissatisfaction leads to citizen participating: "I believe that dissatisfaction leads to citizens wanting to improve something. And that leads to thinking along, and taking own initiative" (Local civil servant5). Four citizens state that dissatisfaction can also lead to citizen participation, because asking citizens on beforehand what they think of decisions, while cause less

criticism afterwards: "Maybe because the municipality noticed that citizens were not pleased with what they have decided. That mistakes have been made, that could have been prevented. Citizen participation could help prevent these mistakes" (Citizen7).

#### Category B: results of citizen participation

Following the causes of citizen participation being discussed, respondents were asked about results of citizen participation. Local civil servants and citizens established nine results of citizen participation: enhancing public support, increase of legitimacy, generation of ideas and information, enhancing government's image, improving the relationship between government and citizen, increasing social cohesion, individual citizen's advantages, improving living environment and enhancing citizens' self-reliance. Table 11 shows how many times these results are mentioned by all respondents (divided per respondent group).

Table 11

*Frequency respondents' citations on results of citizen participation*

Local civil servants		Citizens	
Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency
Enhancing government's image	25	Enhancing government's image	23
Enhancing citizens' self-reliance	19	Generation of ideas and information	21
Increasing social cohesion	18	Increase of legitimacy	19
Improving the relationship between government and citizen	16	Increasing social cohesion	17
Enhancement public support	15	Enhancement public support	15
Improving living environment	15	Individual citizen's advantages	14
Generation of ideas and information	14	Improving the relationship between government and citizen	10
Individual citizen's advantages	14	Improving living environment	9
Increase of legitimacy	13	Enhancing citizens' self-reliance	8
<i>Total</i>	<i>149</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>136</i>

As Table 11 shows, local civil servants and citizens have mentioned enhancing government's image the most. After that, local civil servants talk more about results that also have advantages for citizens, while citizens talk more about those results that have main advantages for the municipality.

Most discussed result of citizen participation is the enhancement of government's image. Respondents (both local civil servants and citizens) mainly talk about how the possibility for citizen participation has a positive influence on the image: "I think being heard causes a good feeling, and that it will reflect positively on the municipality" (Local civil servant9). However, a third of both respondent groups also state that this possibility is not always there: "the current image of the municipality is, that they are dismissing a lot of tasks, and that citizens have to do it themselves (...). If they don't do this in a friendly way, it could harm their image" (Citizen6); "I believe that people are thinking

like: we can participate, but in the end, they will decide for themselves, so my input hasn't done anything" (Local civil servant4).

Social cohesion as a result of citizen participation has also scored high for both respondents groups. Twenty-three of thirty respondents believe that better social cohesion is a goal of citizen participation. Three of them (two citizens and one local civil servant) also see the other side – social cohesion being a cause for citizen participation: "if you're a close neighborhood, it could be that you are more inclined to do something together. On the other hand, it could be that you are aiming for that closeness, which you want to achieve through citizen participation" (Citizen8).

Another result of citizen participation concerning relationships is the relationship between local civil servants and citizens. Sixteen respondents believe this is a result of citizen participation, in that way that it causes a more equal relationship between the municipality and the citizen, instead of the hierarchy that was there before: "Not placing the municipality above the citizen, but being there together" (Citizen13). Striking about this assumption is the fact that it mostly comes from local civil servants. Only five citizens have stated this to be true. One of the local civil servants however, doubts this improved relationship being a good thing: "I don't know if you want that good of a relationship with your citizens" (Local civil servant15).

Another result having advantages for citizens as well is the knowledge citizens are supposed to gain from participating. This knowledge would cause more understanding and appreciation, for the government and its tasks and choices: "I think it will give you more insight into what the municipality does, how much it does. Because it goes from picking up the garbage, to renovating buildings, almost everything has something to do with the municipality. I don't think everyone is aware of that. So in that way, citizen participation will give you more insight" (Citizen3).

Following results goes a step further: the citizens gains not only knowledge and understanding, but gains the needed qualities to become more self-reliant. In other words: to make the citizen so qualified, that they don't always need the government anymore. Seventeen respondents believe this is a result coming from citizen participation: "By doing things yourself, participating in municipality issues, you feel more in control and able to organize things yourself, and therefore less dependent on the government" (Citizen3). This is however more mentioned by local civil servants (11) than citizens (6).

Improving living environment is also mentioned as a cause of citizen participation. Half of the respondents (both local civil servants and citizens) have mentioned this. One of the respondents explains the motivation behind this result: "you would want to have livable neighborhoods, townships and business sites in (municipality). You don't want areas, where people are walking through, thinking: I don't want to be here, I want to leave as soon as possible. Because that leads to criminality, which leads to other things: people become alienated, might start doing alcohol and/or drugs. And that will cause much bigger problems for society, than livable neighborhoods would" (Local civil servant3).

Last three results discussed focus on the municipality's policy, and its policy makers. Nineteen respondents stated to believe that getting support for regulations is one of the main goals of citizen participation. As one of the respondents states: "because you are doing it for the citizens, in the end. You want to do something that offers the citizens something they can be happy and content with" (Local civil servant12). Next to the support the municipality gains from citizen participation, respondents also state that it helps prevent getting complaints. "So if you can do something that is supported by several parties, that is better than accomplishing something that is complained about afterwards, I believe" (Local civil servant12).

Next to support for the policy, respondents also discussed the support for policymakers. Respondents differ in their opinions. On the one hand, there are the proponents (twelve respondents, both local civil servants and citizens), who believe that citizen participation indeed leads to more support for the policymaker: "If choosing their council will lead to more support? Yes. Definite yes. Because then, they are a part of it, they can decide how the future will

be. That is definitely important" (Local civil servant10). On the other hand, eleven respondents (again both local civil servants and citizens) state that being able to choose your policymakers, does not always have an actual effect/influence: "What I wonder, is if people find back what they have voted for. Often, a coalition is formed, and compromises are made. And you have voted because you agreed with that one stream. So I don't know if that is optimal citizen participation. On the long run, the thing you have voted for, can change" (Local civil servant5). A citizen even goes as far as to state that if citizen participation is at its most optimal form, choosing a municipal council is unnecessary: "What they want, they can make happen with citizen participation" (Citizen10).

Last result mentioned is the generation of ideas and information by citizens. The main assumption, stated by almost all respondents, is the fact that involving citizens makes you see the 'real' situation: "if you decide everything from above, it might be that your decisions don't fit the reality. And by doing citizen participation, you hear what is really going on, what is really important" (Local civil servant8). One of the citizens confirms this: "sometimes, things are seen as quite complicated or really simple by the municipality, while the citizen thinks the complete opposite" (Citizen9).

#### **Category C: concerns of citizen participation**

As discussed during the theoretical section of the paper, causes and results of citizen participation come with certain concerns. Respondents stated that there are eleven concerns surrounding citizen participation. These concerns, together with the frequency of citations regarding these concerns, are shown in Table 12.

Table 12  
*Frequency respondents' citations on concerns of citizen participation*

Local civil servants		Citizens	
Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency
CLEAR-model (Can do – Liked to – Enabled to – Asked for – Responded to)	30	Ambiguity	30
Appreciation	19	Appreciation	25
Expectation management	18	Selective participation	21
Own versus general interest	18	CLEAR-model (Can do – Liked to – Enabled to – Asked for – Responded to)	21
Flexible outcome	17	Expectation management	8
Ambiguity	12	Own versus general interest	8
Selective participation	11	Costs outweigh benefits	5
Costs outweigh benefits	10	Abuse	3
Continuity	9	Continuity	3
Abuse	0	Flexible outcome	3

Barrier	0	Barrier	2
<i>Total</i>	144	<i>Total</i>	129

As Table 12 shows, local civil servants and citizens quite differ in their ranking in importance of the concerns. One concern, which was mentioned a lot by both local civil servants and citizens, is appreciation. Twenty-three of thirty respondents state that appreciation is indeed needed, because they believe citizens 'need' this, and are happy to hear it: "I think it will be nice for those who participate" (Citizen8). Even further, local civil servants and citizens believe that appreciation could serve as a motivation for more citizen participation: "It helps. It makes enthusiastic people stimulated to think about even more participation" (Citizen7). One of the citizens even goes as far as to state that a lack of appreciation could cause negativity: "We have all freedom, but if what we do isn't appreciated, it could serve as a danger" (Citizen6). Five local civil servants however, state that appreciation should come from fulfilling the process, and that it should not be expressed explicitly: "achieving success together should be appreciation enough, because of the satisfied feeling it gives you" (Local civil servant9).

Another concern regarding communication from the municipality to its citizens, is expectation management. It is mostly local civil servants who bring up the subject, because they believe that there are frameworks that serve as hard dividing lines, of which citizens should be made aware to prevent disappointment. Citizens however seem to agree to this idea. "Citizens could be screaming all sorts of ideas, but when there is no budget, it cannot be done" (Citizen14). The difference in local civil servants and citizens is that citizens see possibilities and conditions as the same subjects, while local civil servants explicitly separate these two.

Most mentioned concern by citizens is ambiguity. While one half of the respondents (both local civil servants and citizens) believes it is a matter of not knowing, the other half believes it is a matter of not knowing how (to start).

Not knowing:

"I think it is a municipal duty to make people aware of the possibilities. Because I think not a lot people know them, but are willing to participate" (Citizen11)

"That is a huge problem: how do you make sure you are reaching every citizen?" (Local civil servant11)

"Everyone has his own belief of what citizen participation is. But I believe it is a municipal duty to make clear what it is, and what is expected of you when participating" (Citizen15)

Not knowing how (to start):

"What you heard a lot was: 'we want to, but we don't know how. So if you will organize it, we will do it'" (Local civil servant1)

Five respondents however state that ambiguity could also come from citizens being used to the municipality doing things for them: "We always did so much for the citizen, that the citizen has become used to that. If you want to stimulate citizen participation, you have to explain how and why" (Local civil servant9).

Local civil servants mentioned the CLEAR-model most as concern. This is not an actual concern, but is something that should be taken into account when it comes to citizen participation. This concerns the fact that citizens don't always have all the necessities, needed to participate. The need for necessities is mentioned by all respondents. According to them, citizens need two things: first is the need for the municipality being the one to make people aware of the possibilities for citizen participation, and second, the need for the municipality providing a platform,

where citizens can ask questions, ask for contacts and ask for needed means and funds. Citizens tend to seek this help from the municipality, while local civil servants believe that it is only the municipality's task to provide a network, in which citizens can find help. "If we are going to allow everything that the citizens want, we have to make sure we do as much as possible to make it happen. If a citizen comes, and says: I need a building, we will say: can you pay your rent, etc. And then we will come to a solution. And if the next one says: I need someone who can do my administration. We will help them too. That does not mean that we will do it, but maybe we know someone who can. So you are becoming an information center, more than the actual source of help" (Local civil servant10).

Another concern mentioned is the general interest versus the citizen's individual interest. This concern is mentioned by twelve respondents, all local civil servants. While the individual and general interest could come in conflict, one of the local civil servants also sees the advantage: "I believe the citizen is the expert of his own environment, while the municipality keeps an eye on the general interest. That causes a good balance" (Local civil servant9). Six citizens only talk about how the general interest can collide with their individual interest. They state that a compromise never works for anyone: "I can image that you can't come to a good compromise with your fellow citizens. (...) And that you will come to a compromise that doesn't make sense (...). If that's the case, maybe you shouldn't do anything at all" (Citizen1). Another citizen states "that there are always proponents and opponents. The political game that is played when making decisions, might not work if there are too many players" (Citizen5).

Selective participation is also an important concern to take into account, according to both local civil servants and citizens. Seventeen respondents state that there is also a certain group that does participate, and a certain group that never does. As a result, you never hear what the population as a whole wants, because you always talk to a certain group: "I think the biggest disadvantage is, that you have to realize if you have the right reflection of the population. If you're talking [to people], you have to realize that not all people involved are there, while they might have a complete different opinion. You have to keep that in mind. Because there a lot of groups who are not present, but who do have an opinion" (Citizen10). One of the citizens states that selective participation sometimes also works the other way around: certain groups being left out. "Students come with really fresh ideas. But we are excluded, forgotten, because they don't think students have enough knowledge because we're still at school" (Citizen13).

Another concern regarding the participating citizen, is continuity. This concern is mentioned by twelve respondents, of which eight are local civil servants and four are citizens. These respondents believe that you should take into account that you should not count on a small number of citizens to carry the burden, because it leaves you very vulnerable: "You shouldn't rely on two or three citizens (...). It should be carried out by more people" (Local civil servant10), because "the municipality is quite easy: if I were to fall out, they will replace me. But if a citizen falls out, it could be that no one is there to replace him" (Local civil servant2).

Flexible outcome is a concern regarding the process and outcome of citizen participation. The assumption is, that the municipality should be that flexible, that the outcome could be different than what they had in mind at first: "If we believe citizen participation is important, we should accept what is happening. It could be that the outcome is different than what we imagined. (...) And that isn't bad, but is something we have to think about" (Local civil servant15). They also state that they try do so, as much as possible. "If you say, we are going to leave the choice to citizens, than you have to let them free, and not have a veto at the end" (Local civil servant12). One citizen however does not quite see this: "I feel like the municipality thinks citizens are inconvenient and annoying" (Citizen11). One of the local civil servants can image how this assumption can occur, because sometimes, citizen participation is only done because they have to, because "it is a buzzword" (Local civil servant6).

Another concern regarding the process of citizen participation is the costs versus benefits. Fifteen respondents (mostly local civil servants) state that the costs can be described as a slower decision making process, and it being harder to maintaining an overview. "I believe, that if everyone wants to participate, that it will cause different problems" (Local civil servant1). One of the citizens also sees another concern regarding costs: "If it goes wrong, the municipality will discuss whether or not to do it again" (Citizen2). Four local civil servants however also see the benefit: "in the end, I believe that it causes you to make a good decision, which can be implemented and executed faster, because it will cause less criticism and hassle" (Local civil servant12).

Last two concerns are mentioned by only two respondents. One citizen talks about the abuse that could occur with citizen participation. Another concern this citizen mentioned, is also mentioned by another citizen. This regards the barrier with citizen participation. One of these respondents believes that a barrier should be a good idea for some (important) functions. The other respondent however believes that the municipality should do as much as possible to lower the barrier "Nowadays, the barrier is that high, that you think: I don't have time for that" (Citizen1).

#### **Category D: design of citizen participation**

Upper sections have discussed phenomenon surrounding citizen participation. This section in turn will discuss the contents of citizen participation: of what does citizen participation exist? Within this category, five design aspects are established: responsibility, power of decision, citizens' role: participation ladder, citizens' role: moment and policy. Table 13 shows the frequency of citations talking about these design aspects.

Table 13  
*Frequency respondents' citations on design of citizen participation*

<i>Local civil servants</i>		<i>Citizens</i>	
<i>Code</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Responsibility	39	Power of decision	15
Policy	31	Citizens' role	16
Citizens' role	20	Step on participation ladder	9
Moment of participation	11	Moment of participation	7
Step on participation ladder	9	Responsibility	11
Power of decision	19	Policy	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>109</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>43</i>

As Table 13 shows, citizens talk more about the actual power they can have, due to citizen participation. Local civil servants on the other hand, talk more about theoretical aspects: responsibility for both groups, and policy.

Policy is only discussed by local civil servants, which is logical, because they are more (if not only) aware of this policy. Regarding this policy, every local civil servant explains the same way of dealing with citizen participation, but all of them also state that there is no actual defined policy. The focus on citizen participation comes from the coalition agreement: "if you search for the word participation in our coalition agreement, you will find it a lot. And that serves as a guideline for the way we work" (Local civil servant3). The way they work can be described as having a fixed core, with a flexible shell. This way of working however, is not determined city-wide, but has been divided

into five districts. These districts “give advice to the rest of the municipality, about you can get citizens involved. And citizens can come to use with ideas and initiatives” (Local civil servant5).

When talking about responsibility, citizens seem to believe that there is always some form of participation possible for citizens. They do acknowledge the fact that, in some cases, it can be more than in others. Local civil servants however seem to think in terms of conditions: participation is only possible if conditions are met. “That depends on the subject. If citizens want an entire new road, with a new route – that can’t be decided upon by citizens, a professional should do that. But if it’s about their own neighborhood, a professional should still keep an eye on it, but they can have a lot more freedom” (Local civil servant8). Further, twelve respondents (mostly local civil servants) state that some tasks should remain governmental: “we have those people at the municipality, precisely to do those things” (Citizen1). Local civil servants confirm this idea: “as municipality, you have a determined policy for a reason” (Local civil servant6); “there are regulations that you have to oblige to, it isn’t ours to decide either” (Local civil servant12).

A step further than responsibility lies the power of decision. Twenty-five respondents talked about this design aspect, resulting in the following divide:

- The municipality has the power of decision: 10 respondents  
“That’s why we have a chosen board, a municipal council” (Local civil servant3)
- The citizen has the power of decision, with a veto/supervision from the municipality: 9 respondents  
“They can give a very binding advice. I mean, if it fits between the frames” (Local civil servant5)
- The citizen has the power of decision: 5 respondents  
“No, they can make decision. Definitely. They are doing that with neighborhood budgets: they are deciding where to spend the money. The ideal would be to translate that to the municipal budget” (Local civil servant5)
- The municipality and citizen have the power of decision, together :1 respondent  
“With the smaller things, who don’t have an influence on the bigger picture, citizens can decide for themselves. (...) But the bigger decisions, with greater influence on the city, should be done by the municipality” (Local civil servant4)

Besides the actual decision, there are more moments in the decision making process, in which participation could be an option. Regarding these moments, respondents believe that it should be looked at per case. However, the preferred moment is considered to be in the beginning of the process, since that phase “has the least fixed decisions” (Local civil servant14).

Another design aspect that should be looked at per case, is the step on the participation ladder. The fourteen respondents discussing this subject believe that there is always some sort of influence possible for citizens, and that the degree of influence is higher when the project is more concrete. “Every citizen is able to do some sort of citizen participation. I don’t think everyone can do everything, but that isn’t necessary, since there are always others who can do that. You have to find something that fits you. It shouldn’t be something that you will have to learn something new for. There is always something you can do” (Citizen11).

#### Category E: other factors of citizen participation

All subjects discussed during the interview that could not be placed in one of the upper categories were placed in category E: other factors of citizen participation. Within this category, two subjects were discussed: citizens’ own experience and the future. The frequency of citations about these subjects are shown in Table 14.

Table 14

*Frequency respondents' citations on other factors of citizen participation*

Local civil servants		Citizens	
Code	Frequency	Code	Frequency
Future	19	Citizens' own experience	18
Citizens' own experience	0	Future	17
<i>Total</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>108</i>

Starting with the code concerning citizens' own experiences, it seems obvious why only citizens talk about it: local civil servants cannot talk about someone else's experience. Discussing this subject, it became clear that not a lot of citizens are actively involved in citizen participation. The most frequently mentioned action was voting for the municipal council (nine citizens). Next to that, there were five citizens who were more active, either by volunteering, or taking part in an actual project. The citizens taking part in a project did however state that they did so, because of their own interest involved: "I only did it because I was involved in a research surrounding the topic" (Citizen4). One citizen stated to have done nothing that can be labeled as citizen participation.

Last subject discussed with respondents is the future of citizen participation: what can we expect to become of it? Regarding the future, almost all respondents agree on the fact that citizen participation should stay in the future. Respondents do however have some remarks about how it should develop. Five respondents (local civil servants and citizens) believe that it is important to keep track of (digital) developments, so that citizen participation can develop with it. Further, almost all local civil servants argue that the municipality should become even more open to citizens and citizen participation: "If it were up to me, the government would let go more. Have a more facilitating attitude, leaving even more to citizens" (Local civil servant1). Next to that, five citizens state that being more open is not enough. The municipality should try to reduce the effort citizens have to take before participating: "It would be great if the municipality would have an app for smartphones and tablets, by which they can ask citizens. And that citizens could respond in four clicks" (Citizen1). On the other hand, there are two local civil servants and one citizen who believe that there is a limit to which citizen participation can grow/develop: "The focus is now almost completely on citizen participation. And that is a good development, but there is a limit. I think there will come a moment, when at least some municipalities will say: this is not what we want, we are going to have to do more ourselves" (Local civil servant7).

### Discussion

This paper has shown the increasing emphasis on citizen participation. The aim of the paper was to see if (and how) citizens and local civil servants of a municipality in the East of the Netherlands differ in opinion on the current situation of citizen participation, and if these opinions are in line with the existing literature on the subject. The research question belonging to this aim, is the following:

*How do citizens and local civil servants of a municipality in the East of the Netherlands think about the current situation of citizen participation – in terms of causes, design and results, and how do these opinions match the existing literature on citizen participation?*

To answer this question, three sub-questions need to be answered:

1. What definition do citizens and local civil servants have of the term ‘citizen participation’?
  - a. How does this match existing literature?
2. What aspects (in terms of causes, designs, results and concerns) do citizens and local civil servants believe are involved with citizen participation?
  - a. How does this match existing literature?
3. What differences and similarities in opinion are there between citizens and local civil servants?

The first sub-question can be answered by looking at the results of the Q-sort. Looking at these results, respondents considered the third generation and the higher steps on the participation ladder the most citizen participation. This matches theory in that way that these are the forms where citizens have the most room and influence. Another reason could be the ‘newer is better’ assumption. Because, if the older way was good, why invent a newer way? Regarding the moment of participation, the results of the Q-sort show that respondents regard the decision moment the most ideal. Although respondents consider this the ideal moment, they also believe that it is exactly that: an ideal. This belief is based upon the doubt about the readiness of both society, as local civil servants and citizens. Respondents’ ideal moment however does not match theory, which states that the moment of preparation is the most ideal moment for citizen participation. At the preparation phase, citizens are involved with the design of policy (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2005, p. 27). Remarkable is the fact that during the rest of the interview, respondents mentioned that the beginning of the process is more ideal for citizen participation, since that phase “has the least fixed decisions” (Ambtenaar16, 2015).

Important to mention with this conclusion, is the fact that the scores coming from local civil servants were higher (both in the positive numbers, as in the negative numbers), than those of citizens. This means that local civil servants were in closer alignment regarding their top three, both on the positive as the negative side. In other words: local civil servants mutually agree more on what citizen participation is, while citizens are more diverse. This assumption is even expressed by one of the citizens: “Everyone has his own belief of what citizen participation is. But I believe it is a municipal duty to make clear what it is, and what is expected of you when participating” (Burger15).

Looking at sub-question two, regarding the causes, design, results and concerns surrounding citizen participation, citizens and local civil servants are acknowledging the established aspects from literature. However, their responses show that more aspects are involved, and that these aspects can contain ambiguous explanations. Figure 2 gives a visual overview of the aspects (and their sub-subjects) involved with citizen participation.

Figure 2. Visual overview of findings

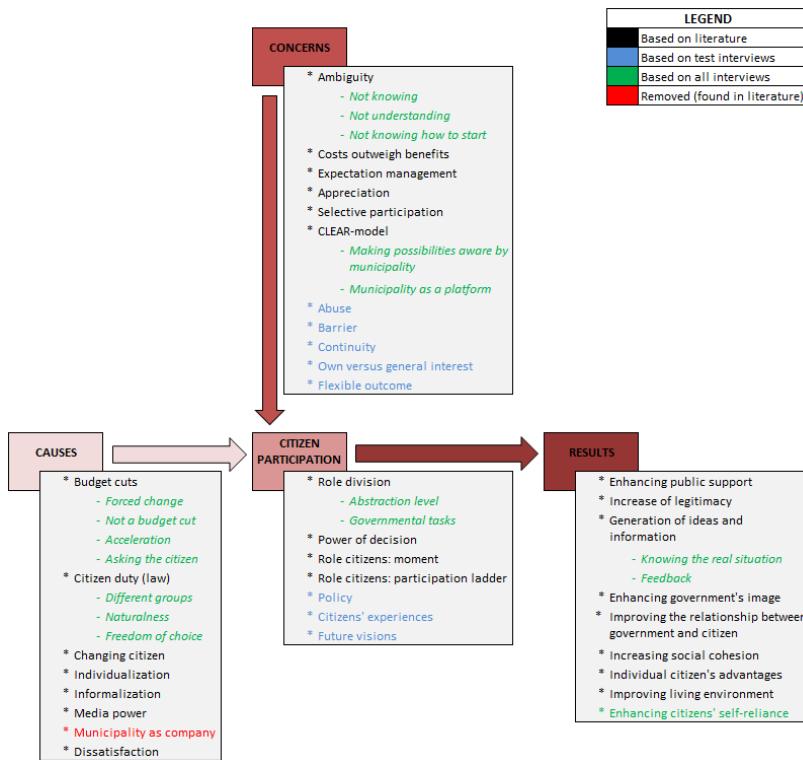


Figure 2 shows that some of the aspects contain several sub-subjects. This is because respondents believe that the aspect cannot be considered in one particular view. This either means that citizens and local civil servants differ in opinion, both from each other as within one respondent group, or that there are both positive, as negative assumptions.

Looking at differences between citizens and local civil servants (for answering sub-question three), four out of five categories contain differences. Starting with the category regarding causes, it seems that differences come from the fact that local civil servants have access to 'behind-the-scenes'-information (information that is not public). In that way, they have a better overview and are therefore better able to make comparisons with earlier situations (earlier, other forms of citizen participation), between citizens and have a better view on conditions and/or restrictions. Citizens however, only see (and only seem to focus on) their own situation and their needs and advantages. This difference in available information will cause citizens and local civil servants to come to different conclusions. This is based on the fact that different conclusions will come from different (amounts of) information. This category however does contain an exception: the changing citizens as a cause. With this cause, local civil servants only seem to talk about the positive outcomes of this change, while citizens also see the negative outcomes. This negative outcome comes down to the fact that citizens think their needs will be overshadowed by the more assertive citizens. This matches the earlier mentioned conclusion about citizens only focusing on their own situation. Remarkable however is the fact that local civil servants do not see, or acknowledge this. This does not fit the assumption that they have access to more information and a better overview. When they would have a complete overview, they would have noticed this. Looking at frequency, local civil servants and citizens seem to agree on the ranking in importance of aspects.

Looking at the category results, there cannot be found any differences between local civil servants and citizens. This can be a result of the fact that the information in this category is all public. Everyone has the same access to (the same amount of) information, and will therefore come to the same conclusions. This is in contrast to the other categories, in which some information is only available for local civil servants, causing citizens and local civil servants to come to different conclusions. There are however differences in the ranking of frequency, talking about results. Both respondent groups mention enhancing government's image most as a result of citizen participation. Next to that, local civil servants mention those aspects that benefit the citizen more, while citizens talk about aspects that mainly (if not only) benefit the municipality.

The third category, which is about concerns of citizen participation, is again a category containing a lot of differences between local civil servants and citizens. Only three out of eleven aspects contain agreement on conception. For the other aspects, it seems that again, differences in conclusions come from having access to different (amounts of) information. This difference in access comes from the fact that citizens seem to focus on their own situation and benefits, while the municipality sees the bigger picture, trying to benefit everyone equally. The ranking of frequency of mentioned aspects differs most in this category. Most remarkable is the fact that citizens mention ambiguity as biggest concern, while local civil servants rank this concern sixth (based on frequency of mentions). In other words, citizens state that the biggest problem is not exactly knowing what citizen participation is, or how you could start participating.

Regarding design, there is only one aspect on which local civil servants and citizens differ significantly: responsibility. Citizens focus on their own situation, believing that there is always some room for citizen participation. Local civil servants however, thinks in terms of conditions, because they have access to more information and therefore see the bigger picture. This category however does contain two aspects on which local civil servants and citizens do not differ in conception. The most outstanding one is the fact that both citizens and local civil servants are stating that there is no one-size-fits-all method for citizen participation. Both parties state that the moment of participation and the level of involvement should be determined per case. Added to that belief is the remark that the more concrete, the more room there is for citizens. Another aspect that does not contain differences is policy. Information about policy is only available for local civil servants, which causes citizens not having discussed this subject. Looking at ranking the aspects by frequency in mentions, local civil servants seem to focus on the general overview and more abstract factors, while citizens talk more about their (possible) concrete influence and role.

When looking at the last category, which contains the aspects future and citizen's experience, the conclusion can be drawn that local civil servants (and the municipality) think about the general interest, while citizens only think about their own situation. This again can be lead back to the conclusion that local civil servants have access to more and different information, and will therefore come to different conclusions than citizens do. Regarding citizens' experience, it seems obvious that only citizens discuss this aspect.

Putting all the upper results and conclusions together, the following main conclusion can be drawn: citizen participation is not nearly the clearly defined and common accepted phenomenon as some make it appear. There are three conclusions that underpin this statement. First, there is the ambiguity when it comes to the definition of citizen participation, which consists of two factors. Most important is the fact that multiple phenomena (which are indeed different) are labelled as citizen participation. This was to be expected, since the difference in definition between Queen Beatrix and King Willem-Alexander was the motivation for the interview. Even though one respondents stated during the interview that he was confused, because some of the examples labeled as citizen participation, were in his opinion government participation, there was no further mentioning of labeling multiple phenomena as citizen participation. However, both the Q-sort as answers given during the rest of the interview show that citizens especially do not mutually agree on what they consider to be citizen participation. Local civil

servants however don't seem to acknowledge this existing ambiguity. Second, respondents are inconclusive about which moment should be best for participation. In accordance with the results of the Q-sort, the decision itself is considered the best, while during the interview, respondents state that the earlier stages of the decision making process are the best moment(s).

Second conclusion underpinning the main conclusion is the difference between citizens and local civil servants. Citizens seem to focus mainly on their own situation, while local civil servants see the bigger picture, trying to make the situation as ideal as possible for everyone. The view that local civil servants handle is the one citizen participation aims at. The view that citizens' have should change, they should see citizen participation in terms of it benefitting everyone involved, instead of merely themselves. This is first of all an attitude problem, which cannot be changed by anyone else than the citizen itself. However, there are some things the municipality can do. As results show, citizens need accessible (and understandable) information about citizen participation – in all phases of the process, and they need citizen participation to be as concrete as possible.

Third conclusion concerns the readiness for citizen participation, in terms of design. First of all, there are issues with the amount of participators. On the one hand, when there are too many players, the way citizen participation is designed currently, cannot work. On the other hand, too many participators can cause problems, because there is too much pressure on them, and because it leaves the process vulnerable – a participator that leaves, will not automatically be replaced. Second, the citizen got used to the (help of the) municipality. Therefore, they need a lot of guidance when it comes to citizen participation. At the moment, there is no such a guidance, since there is no policy for citizen participation. The municipality does acknowledge the importance of citizen participation, and states it serves as a guideline for the coalition agreement, but it lacks an actual policy. Third, results show that citizens do not (yet) think citizen participation is something they should be doing. This is not only shown through their current non-participation, but is also actively expressed during the interview. This is related to the factor of readiness, but can also come from the earlier discussed ambiguity. Fourth, and maybe most important, respondents seem to think that, at the moment, there is no room enough for citizens. In other words: citizen participation should develop in such a way that it leaves more room for citizens' influence.

The upper three conclusions underpinning the main statement of the research, lead to some steps that have to be taken to finish citizen participation. First, regarding ambiguity: citizen participation should be better defined and framed, to distinguish it clearly from other (comparable) phenomena. Second, the municipality should try to make the citizen look wider, and focus not only on their own situation, but also on others'. Third and last, society should be made more ready for citizen participation, by establishing an actual policy and offering citizens more guidance and more room for influence.

#### Limitations and future research

A few remarks regarding this research should be made. As discussed as conclusion, the biggest problem with citizen participation nowadays, is the fact that there is no alignment in its definition. However, this research wasn't conducted in such a way that it can explain why this alignment is lacking. In the ideal situation, it would have, so it could offer a solution to the problem. Future research could look into this, hoping to form an advice on how to reach for better alignment.

Another limitation regarding the lacking alignment in definition, is the fact that respondents seem to contradict themselves in the ideal moment for citizen participation. The results from the Q-sort say that respondents believe the actual decision is the best moment for citizen participation. However, during the interviews, respondents stated that the preparation phase was the best moment. This was (regrettably) not discovered until the analyzing stage of the research. As a result, there was no opportunity to ask respondents about this discrepancy, which leads to the

conclusion about the best moment being not that reliable. A solution for this could have been to ask respondents directly about what they perceive as the best moment.

Next to limitations regarding the definition, there is a limitation regarding the current participation of respondents. As stated, most of the citizens did not participate in any significant way – next to voting for the city council. This however is the only data received. The interview was not designed in such a way that it asked about motivations behind the (non-)participation. As a result, there cannot be drawn any conclusions about why respondents participate as less as they do.

Fourth limitation concerns the method. As the method has described, the research concerns only one municipality in the Netherlands. Therefore, the conclusions cannot be generalized. The same applies for the small amount of respondents involved. For both respondent groups, only fifteen respondents have been interviewed. This means that there can be made no generalization. To find out if the outcome of this research can be labeled generalizable, quantitative research is needed.

Lastly, the discussion section ended with steps having to be made in order to finish citizen participation. These steps should indeed be taken, as they are based on the research done and can be underpinned. However, the research has not been designed in such a way that it can state that these steps are sufficient. In other words: there might be more steps needed to finish citizen participation. Further research is needed in order to see if and what these further steps should be.

Next to the option for future literature that can be derived from the limitations accompanying this paper, there are some other suggestions for future research. First is the suggestion for a quantitative research, to find out if the aspects found to be surrounding citizen participation in this paper, have a significant influence on the phenomenon.

The second suggestions is somewhat similar. This paper concluded that the differences in citizens and local civil servants can (often) be lead back to having access to different information. To see if this assumption can be significantly proved (and therefore generalized), quantitative research is needed.

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## Appendices

### Appendix I: Total results of Q-sort

	Beweg-wijzering	Kwaliteiten burgemeester	Klacht	Adviesraad	Nieuwsbrief
<b>GM1</b>	-1	-2	-3	0	0
<b>GM2</b>	2	-1	-3	0	-2
<b>GM3</b>	0	-1	-1	-1	-2
<b>GM4</b>	1	-1	-2	0	-3
<b>GM5</b>	0	1	-3	2	-2
<b>GM6</b>	2	0	-1	-1	-3
<b>GM7</b>	0	-2	-1	0	-3
<b>GM8</b>	0	0	-3	2	-2
<b>GM9</b>	1	0	-3	-1	-2
<b>GM10</b>	-1	1	-1	2	-2
<b>GM11</b>	1	-1	-3	0	-2
<b>GM12</b>	2	-1	-2	0	-1
<b>GM13</b>	0	-1	-2	1	-3
<b>GM14</b>	0	1	-3	0	-1
<b>GM15</b>	0	-1	-1	0	-3
<b>GM16</b>	X	X	X	X	X
<b>GM17</b>	2	0	-3	1	-2
<b>Totaal</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>-8</b>	<b>-35</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>-33</b>
<b>B1</b>	1	-2	-1	-1	-3
<b>B2</b>	1	-1	0	0	-1
<b>B3</b>	0	1	-1	1	-2
<b>B4</b>	1	0	-1	0	-3
<b>B5</b>	1	-1	1	2	-2
<b>B6</b>	1	-1	0	2	-3
<b>B7</b>	-2	-2	0	0	-3
<b>B8</b>	0	-1	-1	3	-2
<b>B9</b>	1	0	-2	3	-3
<b>B10</b>	1	0	-1	-1	-2
<b>B11</b>	1	-1	-1	0	0
<b>B12</b>	1	0	1	-1	-2
<b>B13</b>	-1	-1	2	0	-3
<b>B14</b>	0	-1	-1	0	-2
<b>B15</b>	1	2	-2	3	-2
<b>Totaal</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>-8</b>	<b>-7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>-33</b>



	Referendum	Stemmen gemeenteraad	Burgerpanel	Evaluieren BI	Werkbezoek
<b>GM1</b>	-1	0	0	1	1
<b>GM2</b>	-1	-1	0	0	-2
<b>GM3</b>	-2	-3	0	0	0
<b>GM4</b>	-1	-2	0	0	2
<b>GM5</b>	0	-1	1	0	-2
<b>GM6</b>	-1	0	0	0	-2
<b>GM7</b>	-1	-1	0	1	-2
<b>GM8</b>	-1	-1	0	0	-1
<b>GM9</b>	0	-2	-1	0	0
<b>GM10</b>	0	0	1	0	-1
<b>GM11</b>	-2	-1	-1	0	0
<b>GM12</b>	-2	-3	1	0	2
<b>GM13</b>	0	-1	0	0	-2
<b>GM14</b>	-1	-2	2	1	-2
<b>GM15</b>	-1	-2	1	0	-2
<b>GM16</b>	X	X	X	X	X
<b>GM17</b>	0	-1	0	-1	-2
<b>Totaal</b>	<b>-14</b>	<b>-21</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-13</b>
<b>B1</b>	0	0	1	2	-2
<b>B2</b>	0	-3	1	-1	-2
<b>B3</b>	2	1	-2	0	-3
<b>B4</b>	-1	-2	1	0	-2
<b>B5</b>	1	0	0	0	-1
<b>B6</b>	-1	-1	1	0	-2
<b>B7</b>	-1	1	-1	0	0
<b>B8</b>	0	0	2	1	-3
<b>B9</b>	0	2	2	1	-2
<b>B10</b>	0	-1	0	1	-2
<b>B11</b>	-2	-2	0	-1	-3
<b>B12</b>	-2	-3	-1	0	0
<b>B13</b>	0	3	-1	1	-2
<b>B14</b>	1	1	1	-1	-3
<b>B15</b>	1	1	0	-1	-1
<b>Totaal</b>	<b>-2</b>	<b>-3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-28</b>

	Eigen idee speeltuin	Wijkbudget	Nieuwe wijk inrichten	Zelf taken: zorg	Leeg pand	Twee opties
<b>GM1</b>	-1	2	2	1	-2	3
<b>GM2</b>	2	1	3	1	1	0
<b>GM3</b>	1	1	1	2	2	3
<b>GM4</b>	0	1	1	2	3	-1
<b>GM5</b>	1	2	3	-1	0	-1
<b>GM6</b>	1	1	1	2	3	-2
<b>GM7</b>	1	2	1	2	3	0
<b>GM8</b>	1	1	3	1	2	-2
<b>GM9</b>	2	2	1	1	3	-1
<b>GM10</b>	1	3	2	-2	0	-3
<b>GM11</b>	1	2	2	3	1	0
<b>GM12</b>	3	1	0	1	-1	0
<b>GM13</b>	2	2	1	3	1	-1
<b>GM14</b>	0	2	3	0	-1	1
<b>GM15</b>	2	1	1	2	3	0
<b>GM16</b>	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>GM17</b>	3	0	1	1	2	-1
<b>Totaal</b>	20	24	26	19	20	-5
<b>B1</b>	2	0	3	-1	0	1
<b>B2</b>	-2	1	2	1	3	0
<b>B3</b>	0	3	0	2	-1	-1
<b>B4</b>	1	0	2	2	3	-1
<b>B5</b>	-1	2	3	-2	-3	0
<b>B6</b>	1	0	0	3	2	-2
<b>B7</b>	2	3	1	-1	2	1
<b>B8</b>	1	1	2	0	-1	-2
<b>B9</b>	0	0	-1	-1	-1	1
<b>B10</b>	0	2	2	-3	3	1
<b>B11</b>	2	2	1	3	1	0
<b>B12</b>	1	2	0	2	3	-1
<b>B13</b>	1	1	0	2	-2	0
<b>B14</b>	0	0	2	2	3	-2
<b>B15</b>	-1	0	0	-3	0	2
<b>Totaal</b>	7	17	17	6	12	-3

AMBTEENAREN		<i>versus</i>	BURGERS	
26	Nieuwe wijk	<b>1</b>	Wijkbudget	17
24	Wijkbudget	<b>2</b>	Nieuwe wijk	17
20	Eigen idee speeltuin	<b>3</b>	Leeg pand	12
20	Leeg pand	<b>4</b>	Adviesraad	11
19	Zelf zorg	<b>5</b>	Bewegwijzering	7
9	Bewegwijzering	<b>6</b>	Eigen idee speeltuin	7
5	Adviesraad	<b>7</b>	Zelf zorg	6
4	Burgerpanel	<b>8</b>	Burgerpanel	4
2	Evalueren BI	<b>9</b>	Evalueren BI	2
-5	Twee opties	<b>10</b>	Referendum	-2
-8	Kwaliteiten burgemeester	<b>11</b>	Stemmen	-3
-13	Werkbezoek	<b>12</b>	Twee opties	-3
-14	Referendum	<b>13</b>	Klacht	-7
-21	Stemmen	<b>14</b>	Kwaliteiten burgemeester	-8
-33	Nieuwsbrief	<b>15</b>	Werkbezoek	-28
-35	Klacht	<b>16</b>	Nieuwsbrief	-33

**Appendix II: Total results coding**

	A1	A2	A3	A4a	A4b	A4c	A4d	A5
GM2	3	1		2	1			
GM3	2	2	1	1				
GM4	3	2	1	2				
GM5	1	2	1		2			
GM6	2	2	1	1	1			1
GM7	2	2	2		1			
GM8	2	3			2	2		
GM9	1	2	1		1			1
GM10		2	1					
GM11	2	2						
GM12	1	3		1	3			1
GM13	1	2	1		1	1		1
GM14	3	2	1	1	1			
GM15	4	2	1		1			1
GM16	1	2	3	1	3	2		
GM17	1	2			1			1
<b>TOT</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>
								<b>114</b>

	A1	A2	A3	A4a	A4b	A4c	A4d	A5
B1	1	1						5
B2	2	2	1					
B3	2	3	1	2	1			1
B4	4	3		5				
B5		3	1			2		
B6	3		1	3	2			
B7		1	1					2
B8	1	3	1	1				2
B9	2	1	1	1	1			1
B10	1	1		1	1			1
B11	2	1	1	2				
B12	1	3	1		1			2
B13	1	4	1		1			
B14		1	1					1
B15		1	1		2			2
<b>TOT</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>17</b>
								<b>103</b>

	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9
GM2	2	1	1	1		1		1	2
GM3				1	1	3		2	1
GM4		1			1	1		2	2
GM5	1	1	1	2	1	1	1		2
GM6		1		1	1	1	1		2
GM7	1	1	1	3		1	2	1	
GM8		2		2		1		1	1
GM9	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	2
GM10	1	1	1	1	1	2	2		2
GM11			3	2	3	1	1		1
GM12	2	1	1	1		1	1	2	1
GM13	1		1	2	1	1		1	
GM14	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
GM15					1		1	1	2
GM16	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	
GM17	2		1	3	1	1	1		
<b>TOT</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>19</b>
							<b>149</b>		

	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9
B1	3	3	1	2			2	1	
B2			2	4	3	1	1	1	1
B3		2	3	4		2	2	1	1
B4		1	1			2	1	2	
B5	2	1	1	2	1	1	1		1
B6	2		2	2	1	2			2
B7	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	
B8		2	1	2		2	1		1
B9	1	1	1	1	1	2	1		
B10		2	2				2		
B11		2	1			1			
B12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
B13	1	1	3	1	2			1	
B14	3	1		1	1	2	1	1	
B15	1	1	1	2				1	2
<b>TOT</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>
							<b>136</b>		

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9	C10	C11
GM2	2		1	1	1	1				1	2
GM3	1	1	1	3	2	3			2	1	1
GM4	1			1		2					2
GM5	1					1			1	2	
GM6	1	1		1	1	2			1	3	
GM7		1	3	2		2				1	1
GM8	1	1	1	1		2			1		
GM9			3	1		3				2	3
GM10		1	1	1	1	1					
GM11	1	1	2	3	1	2				3	1
GM12				1		4			3	1	
GM13	1	1	2	1	4	1				2	2
GM14		1	1		1	2					1
GM15	1	1				1			1		
GM16			1	2		1				1	
GM17	2	1	2	1		2				1	4
<i>TOT</i>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>
	<b>144</b>										

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9	C10	C11
B1	2			2	3	4		1		2	
B2	2	1	1	2	2						
B3		1		2		1					
B4	5	1		2		1					
B5	1			2	3	1			1	2	
B6	4		2	2							1
B7	3			1	1	1			1	1	
B8				2	1	2				1	
B9		1	2	2	1	3				1	
B10	2			1	8	1					
B11	4	1	1	1		1					1
B12	3			1		3	3	1	1		1
B13	2		1	4	1	1					
B14			1		1	1					
B15	2			1		1				1	
<i>TOT</i>	<b>30</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>
	<b>129</b>										

	D1	D2	D3a	D3b	D4	E1	E2	E3	E4
GM2	5			2	3	4		1	17
GM3	1	2			5	3		1	10
GM4	1	1		1	2	1		1	1
GM5		1	1	1	2	1		2	3
GM6	3	1		2	2	1			2
GM7	3	1		1	1	1		3	1
GM8	4	1			2	1		1	6
GM9	7	2			5	1		3	3
GM10	1	3	2		2	1			6
GM11	4				1	1			
GM12	2	2	1	2		1		1	4
GM13	1	2	2		1	1		2	3
GM14	2				1	1		1	4
GM15	2	2	2	1	1	1		1	2
GM16	1		1	1	1	1		1	
GM17	2	1			2	1		1	3
<b>TOT</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>65</b>
	<b>109</b>				<b>105</b>				

	D1	D2	D3a	D3b	D4	E1	E2	E3	E4
B1	3			1		1	1	2	9
B2		3		1		2		3	5
B3		2		2		1	4	1	12
B4	1	1	1	1		2	2	3	4
B5		1	1			1	1	2	2
B6	3	1	1			4	1	3	5
B7	1		1			10			8
B8		1				3			7
B9				1		1	1	1	3
B10	1	1	2			1	1		3
B11	1	1	1			1	1	1	3
B12	1	1				1	2	1	
B13		1	1			2	1		5
B14		1		1			2		4
B15	1	1	1			1	1		3
<b>TOT</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>73</b>
	<b>43</b>				<b>139</b>				

