

# TECHNOLOGICAL CITIZENSHIP IN HORIZON 2020

DIFFERENCE AND AMBIVALENCE BETWEEN  
CITIZENSHIP UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN HORIZON  
2020 AND CITIZENSHIP UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT  
IWORKSPACE, GREEN WISH AND THE UITDAGING

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## FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is written as a completion to my master degree in Public Administration at Universiteit Twente. The research I have completed deals with citizenship under construction in Horizon 2020, and how this construct relates to citizenship under construction at iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

*“Democracy is about more than fixing and tweaking and nudging incentives to make markets work better.”* Michael Sandel

This thesis deals with citizenship under construction in Horizon 2020, and how Horizon’s construct of citizenship relates to citizenship under construction in three projects in the Netherlands. The three projects, iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging, are discussed later on in the introduction. Horizon 2020 is the financial instrument implementing the Innovation Union, aimed at securing Europe’s global competitiveness<sup>1</sup>. In Horizon 2020 the European Union seeks to address all kinds of societal, economical and structural problems (“grand challenges”). Policy innovations such as citizen participation are part of the solution to tackle the grand challenges, which will lead to a socially stable and prosperous Union (European Commission, 2013). Other policy innovations or instruments that should boost economy are for instance resource and development, industrial challenges, open science and technological innovation. I will focus on participation and technology as innovation policies because their underlying beliefs might teach us something about the type of citizenship under construction. All Horizon 2020 policies are clenched in the powerful objective to end Europe’s “sluggish growth [and] difficulties to implement reforms in favour of innovation and employment” (European Commission, 2013, p. 5). Europe must literally grow itself out of the crisis. In Horizon 2020, participation is about involving EU-citizens. Citizens are addressed as participants, who should be motivated and encouraged to help attain certain goals, the objectives of Horizon 2020. It seems rather neutral, and business as usual, that governmental policy addresses citizens in a goal attainment fashion. Nowadays governmental problems are in definition shared problems. Loss of biodiversity is a problem that affects us all; climate change is a matter that should concern us all; safety problems require every ones attention, and so on. But governmental definitions of a problem or solution are far from neutral. Through definition and language ‘governmental problems’ are structured and valued, which often implies that citizens are addressed in a specific way. This development is questionable since it seems inevitable and offers little opportunity to escape from. At the same time this development is constituted as realization of choice, autonomy and individual freedom. The area of tension that arises from this development is also visible in the

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<sup>1</sup> Horizon 2020 focuses on the Innovation Union (a so called 2020 strategy flagship initiative) which is presented as the key “to creating more jobs, building a greener society and improving our quality of life, but also to maintaining our competitiveness in the global market” (European Commission, 2015).

Netherlands, where the participation debate was renewed when the cabinet presented their idea of 'the participation society' in 2013. "When people shape their own future, they do not just add value to their own life but also to society as a whole" (Algemene Zaken, 2013). Although it remains unclear what is meant precisely with participation society, the essence is centred on notions about self responsibility, autonomy, individual freedom, choice etcetera, and from another perspective involves ideas about well-being and happiness. Critics argue that Dutch government misuses concepts of responsibility and autonomy to cut spending in the social domain. In this view Dutch government simply introduced the participation society to do less with even lesser money. What used to be governmental tasks should now be taken over by citizens – the participation society is nothing more than a policy instrument (Kruiter, 2014). Often this view is attended by the government's assumed desire to control. In this way, governmental policies are more of a discipline exercise than 'redistributing' individual freedom or organizing actual self-rule. To some the retreating government represents a more positive message – or perhaps it is more truthful to argue that to some the government's retreat *also* signifies a positive message. It is an opportunity for civil society organisations and citizens to regain the public domain from state and market. On a personal level participation's positive message signifies the growing well-being of individuals in local communities. Because the state is not providing for everything any longer, the individual feels s/he is addressed in a more meaningful way<sup>2</sup>. The real question seems to be: how do we build these local communities? (Kruiter, 2014) In 'commons' terms this question is answered through self-organisation of groups. Ostrom (2000) finds communities' strength in honouring difference and variance of self-organisation. In line with commons environmental scientists like Levidow and Neubauer (2014) call for participation of diverse actors, and for diverging definitions of sustainability. Horizon's one-dimensional emphasis on eco-efficiency and techno fixes leads to a technological and ideological lock in (van den Hove, McGlade, Mottet, & Depledge, 2012) which is considered dangerous, because technological development is depicted as synonymous with the growth of civilization, as the laying out of a closed immanent frame through which human beings will flourish (Taylor, 2007). This lock in, Heidegger uses the words enframing technology, depicts the things in the world as a standing reserve. The technological variant of commons, digital commons, might be regarded as a way to re-enframe technology, because digital commons' objectives differ from Horizon 2020 objectives. The thesis' objective is to gain practical

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<sup>2</sup> This idea is used in both perspectives and remains indistinctive if we fail to look at their respective intentions.

knowledge from situating the three projects that support citizen and/or societal initiative in Horizon's context. This orientation tells us something about difference and ambivalence between Horizon's construct of citizenship and the projects' construct of citizenship. Furthermore the projects' orientation tells us something about possible overlap with the perspective of commons. I expect the projects to have more overlap with concepts of self-organisation and self-rule (commons perspective) than overlap with concepts of self-responsibility and autonomy (Horizon 2020 perspective).

The projects that support citizen and/or societal initiative are iWorkspace, Green Wish and De Uitdaging (the Challenge). Their common objective is generally speaking to foster citizen and/or societal initiative, and through this support make society 'better'. But Horizon 2020 also aims for a better society, a better society that can be created with help of technology and participation, where technological innovation is situated as the heart of economic growth, as the political answer to the question of how Europe should safeguard its prosperity, and where participation is depicted as successful collaborative efforts of society with the market. Projects such as iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging can easily be translated into 'Horizon 2020 language'. iWorkspace for instance seeks to design participation through increasing the ability to better cope for oneself. With help of iWorkspace the participant/citizen becomes less depending on the government, and more on himself. Being less dependent the citizen is able to design his own life and make his own choices, unhindered by any other force but himself. The autonomous individual is now able to independently co-design and collaborate in societal problems. His ability to help society and notice opportunities in society is highly regarded – in a similar fashion his role as active citizen should be understood. Perhaps the 'Horizon description' of iWorkspace does not convince as much as the actual description of iWorkspace would but it signifies a sort of discursive connection between both perspectives.

### 1.1. ELEMENTS OF CITIZENSHIP

Levidow and Neubauer (2014) and van den Hove et al. (2012) deem Horizon's notion of participation and technological innovation controversial and problematic. Pursuing prosperity through technological solutions puts citizens in the position of economic subject. This position is construed as the driver's seat, proclaiming autonomy and individual freedom, but rather contains characteristics of a pre-designed route that seeks to responsabilise citizens' actions. A second element of critique points at the self understanding of citizens, which is unfluenced,



perhaps even prescribed, by notions such as Horizon’s participation notion. Discussion about self understanding in a democratic context leads to the question how we define citizenship. Michael Sandel offers vital ideas to discuss present citizenship. With help of these concepts I hope to stress the importance of this subject and the importance of my research question, which I will state hereafter. Sandel (2009) argues that western society has developed from having a market economy to becoming a market society. A market society is a place and “a way of life where market relations and market incentives and market values come to dominate all aspects of life”. It is a place where we think of ourselves as consumers – as economic participants with private interests. Governments have started mimicking the market, because “it seems to offer a way of making political choices without making hard and controversial choices” (Sandel, 2009). Market mimicking governance is presented as non judgemental, decisions are made based on math and calculation, but decision power has shifted from politicians to experts. The shift in power is recently secured in new laws which further limits political interference in markets (Streeck, 2013). The non judgemental impulse is in more than one way an anti democratic force. “The attempt to empty politics of moral controversy may seem to be a way of respecting our differences but it is actually corrosive of democratic life” (Sandel, 2009). Actual citizenship is about a politics of the common good. It is about a public life that engages more directly with moral and spiritual questions; it is about deliberation and discussing preferences. Sandel (2009) states: “Market mimicking governance takes people’s preferences as given and fixed, but when we deliberate as citizens, when we engage in democratic argument... The whole point of the activity is critically to reflect on our preferences, to question them, to challenge them, to enlarge them, to improve them”. The type of citizenship under construction amplifies the kind of society we wish to create. Will this be a Horizon 2020 society in which citizenship diminishes to serving political societal goals, where public goods are commodified and moral controversy is depoliticized? Or will this be a society where we engage in a rich public life, deliberate our preferences, and learn to shape our lives and attitudes through moral controversy?

## 1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND APPROACH

The main question this thesis seeks to address is:

*What type of citizenship is under construction in Horizon 2020, and how does this construct relate to the type of citizenship under construction at three projects in the Netherlands?*

Through relating both constructs I am able to situate the projects' construct of citizenship in the context of Horizon 2020. I want to know whether the projects' construct of citizenship fits Horizon's presuppositions of citizenship or rather matches principles of commons. To gain understanding of the projects' construct of citizenship I will discuss ambivalence between both constructs as well. In general I expect to find results similar to the commons perspective, encouraging different forms of self-organisation and opposing Horizon 2020 objectives; I expect to find results that support critical remarks about Horizon's ideological and technological lock in (see end of page 5). The sub questions this thesis seeks to address are (1) what are the theoretical presuppositions (e.g. entrepreneurial self, regulated autonomy and responsabilisation) of citizenship as articulated in Horizon 2020?; (2) what are the underlying beliefs of technology in Horizon 2020; and (3) what are the implications of these policy innovations? To answer the sub questions I will use governmentality theory. This theory enables me to analyse Horizon's discourse; it enables me to build a construct of Horizon 2020 citizenship. To situate technology in this conceptual framework, the rationale of technology and its contributions to Horizon 2020 citizenship are examined.

In this thesis I will approach Horizon 2020 in a discursive way: I will use the method of discourse analysis to construct citizenship. Horizon's discourse gives meaning to notions, to participation, citizenship and technology; they become socially desirable, appreciated, condemnable or inconvenient. I am interested in Horizon's discourse but I am also interested in the projects' 'discourse' which I will construct based on interview material. With the latter construct I hope to find out whether the projects' local practices resemble Horizon or commons related objectives. I will look especially for ambivalence between Horizon 2020 and the projects' construct. This ambivalence teaches us something about the projects' specific employment of theoretical concepts, therefore improving the projects' understanding in the context of Horizon 2020 and commons.

### 1.3. OUTLINE

In the following chapter concepts of governmentality theory are introduced and discussed. Governmentality concepts are deployed to analyse Horizon's notions about participation. Heidegger's concept of technology is used to analyse Horizon's notions about technology. Last but not least, concepts of commons are introduced to develop an opposite understanding of

citizenship under construction in Horizon 2020. After the theoretical chapter methodology is discussed. The methodology chapter lays the groundwork for the main question formulated above. It discusses the data used; the instruments that provide data; and discusses the methods shortcomings. The fourth chapter of this thesis analyses citizenship under construction in iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging, using the theoretical concept described in chapter 2. This chapter provides an answer to the sub questions mentioned above. In conclusion a final chapter formulates an answer to the main question and discusses novelty, insight and value of the outcome. Last but not least, reflections are made on the practical implications for iWorkspace to maintain/become a substantial player in (the field of) supporting citizen initiatives, in terms of strategy and policy instruments.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

*“In its precision of argument, it speaks the language of command.”* Richard Sennett

In this chapter I will make use of governmentality theory to interpret Horizon 2020<sup>3</sup> discourse. By using governmentality concepts I am able to construe Horizon 2020 citizenship under construction, which is needed to relate Horizon’s construct of citizenship to citizenship under construction at iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging, which in turn is required to answer the main research question. Furthermore technology as phenomenon is discussed whereby a shared rationale between Horizon’s participation notion and technology is developed, and Horizon’s construct of citizenship is further specified. Besides linking governmentality concepts to Horizon’s discourse, I will introduce a diverging perspective that counterbalances Horizon’s participation and technology’s shared rationale. This diverging perspective is known as commons; its technological offspring is known as digital commons. Concepts of commons might fit citizenship under construction at iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging – therefore commons is important for discussing my research results. To conclude I will sum up the chapter’s theoretical insights in a final paragraph.

### 2.1. PENETRATING SOCIETY

In the wake of technological innovation, societies and policies in Europe innovate along. Through “engagement of citizens, civil society, enterprises and users research and innovation and the promotion of coordinated research and innovation policies” society and policy develops and innovates further (European Commission, 2013, p. 5). Horizon 2020 presumes a reciprocal relation between technological and societal innovation; both are connected through the citizen-subject and through specific citizenship. Everyone should be included in this policy innovation for “Europe’s future prosperity and sustainability largely depends on the ability to take advantage of the potential of all generations” (European Commission, 2013, p. 14). To put it different: the EU population should be engaged in an “epic struggle for survival” and is thus “inscribed within the laws of scarcity” (Dean, 2010, p. 114).

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<sup>3</sup> Horizon 2020 is a funding program of €80 billion aimed at the Europe 2020 strategy. This strategy aims for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. I will focus on Horizon 2020 chapter 13, ‘Europe in a changing world – inclusive, innovative and reflective Societies’, and specifically look for participation and technology as innovation policies.

Dean (2010) argues that *“the rise of a liberal political economy and the Malthusian emergence in the discourse on population both signalled something of an end to the type of constellation of ideas, concepts, habitual ways of thinking and techniques that made up the episteme of government during the baroque period (...)”* (p. 114).

Liberal political economy and Malthusian theory<sup>4</sup> marked the start of thinking of economy as an objective; it marked the start of the formation of autonomous and quasi-natural realities such as 'society' (Dean, 2010). The invention of society meant the creation of a whole new non-political domain with its own independent reality. Governmental thinking altered and governmental techniques were configured to penetrate society and to visualise societal problems.

## 2.2. GOVERNMENTALITY THEORY

Horizon 2020 depicts participation as connection between several (constructed) domains - society, market and government. Participator is the citizen, member of society. S/he should spread his/her wings and fly past societies borders to collaborate on urgent matters with actors outside society. His priorities are governed in a distinct assembly of structures, each with multiple power centres, through the notion of participation and technology as means to a vital economic goal. The strength and consequences of this rationale can hardly be overestimated for it demands gifted citizens and an outlook on citizenship in accordance with the EU participation notion. A fundamental critique that highlights this rationale is known as the governmentality theory. The composition of the words 'gouvernor' (governing) and 'mentalité' (modes of thought) indicate *“that it is not possible to study the technologies of power without an analysis of the political rationality underpinning them”* (Lemke, 2001, p. 190). Governmentality applies to a specific form of representation; a discursive field defined by government to 'rationalize' exercised power.

*“This occurs, among other things, by the delineation of concepts, the specification of objects and borders, the provision of arguments and justifications etc. In this manner, government enables a problem to be addressed and offers certain strategies for solving/handling the problem. In this way, it also structures specific forms of intervention. For a political rationality is not pure, neutral knowledge which simply "re-presents" the governing reality; instead, it itself constitutes the*

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<sup>4</sup> Malthusian theory argues, in short, that population growth is restricted by available resources.

*intellectual processing of the reality which political technologies can then tackle. This is understood to include agencies, procedures, institutions, legal forms etc. that are intended to enable us to govern the objects and subjects of a political rationality” (Lemke, 2001, p. 190-91).*

Some political technologies are dubbed as exponents of the neo-liberal state. A singular definition of the neo-liberal state lacks, to the point where it is argued that neo-liberalism as a concept holds no value to the debate, but the majority of authors have been able to deduce three schematic lines of critique regarding neo-liberalism (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009). The first line of critique treats neo-liberalism as a wrong knowledge, an ideology incapable to understand the true laws of society, economy and politics. The second line of critique extends economy into the domain of politics, “the triumph of capitalism over the state” (Lemke, 2002, p. 50). Here neo-liberalism is configured as economic-political reality. Streeck (2013) argues that capitalism - financial investors together with the EU - successfully restricted discretionary political powers to intervene in the market: the triumph of capitalism over mass democracy. The third line of criticism is based on the ‘disintegrating’ effects of neo-liberalism on individuals, on the destruction of public spirit and the process of individualisation and responsabilisation. When we return to governmentality theory, a second important feature, beside the discursive power to rationalize power, refers to “forms of power and processes of subjectification”, to government as conduct, or conduct of conduct, thus ranging “from governing the self to governing others” (Lemke, 2002, p. 50). Here we see an overlap with the third schematic line of neo-liberalism. I will discuss the idea of subjectification and conduct of conduct in more detail after the next section. In the next section I will focus on authors who have written about Horizon 2020.

### 2.3. HORIZON 2020: SUSTAINABILITY AND EFFICIENCY

A few authors have written about Horizon 2020 specifically and about citizenship implicitly. Levidow and Oreszczyn (2011) question the dominant sustainability agenda that leaves very little room for divergent definitions outside the narrow 'eco-efficiency' view. Instead of eco-efficiency as narrow concept, a plural understanding of sustainability should be created combining definitions of different actors (Levidow & Oreszczyn, 2011). Divergent definitions resolve the immediate emphasis on eco-efficient solutions and 'technofixes'. Sustainability as a multitude of definitions initiates doubt and opens up possibilities to tear down dominant power structures. To Levidow and Neubauer (2014) participants are co-designer of differing definitions about sustainability. They argue that Horizon 2020 offers “in its margins” changes to alter

dominant views on sustainability, using settings in which multiple actors with multiple definitions participate. "(...) Horizon 2020 creates some opportunities to develop joint knowledge production (through the multi-actor approach), as well as to explore responsibility for innovation trajectories (e.g. through Responsive Research Innovation)" (Levidow & Neubauer, 2014, p. 408). As a whole however, Horizon 2020 is written in the sphere of economic growth through technological innovation whereby citizenship diminishes to user needs in techno-societal challenges: "Emphasis will be placed on interactions and convergence across and between the different technologies (e.g. nano, bio, ict) and their relations to societal challenges. User needs shall be taken into account in all these fields" (European Commission, 2014b). The few opportunities to alter Horizon's dominant discourse show its tenacity.

Van den Hove et al. (2012) criticize the dominant discourse on innovation. They argue that innovation is not an end but a means. Innovation objectives should include higher end goals such as well-being and social sustainability, instead of the current notion of innovation "as solely a means of bringing products or services to the market" (van den Hove, et al., 2012, p. 74). According to the authors the underlying and unspoken hypothesis is that "innovation leads to more products and services in the marketplace, which leads to more consumption, hence to growth and more jobs, which in turn lead to increased well-being, improvements in the quality of life and better health" (van den Hove, et al., 2012, p. 74). Another Horizon-assumption on technological innovation concerns the reliance on techno-fixes and solving potential in social and environmental problems, thus creating a false sense of security and a wait-and-see attitude. Solutions are defined in terms of efficiency while "ultimately, it is effectiveness that matters" (van den Hove, et al., 2012).

#### 2.4. PARTICIPATION AS IDEAL AND AS TECHNIQUE

In Horizon 2020 participation is defined as an active state of being. To be actively involved implies a certain attitude, to pro-actively deal with whatever is deemed necessary to contribute to. When described as self-esteem, participation also describes "a movement away from reified systems of domination and debilitating states of dependency" (Ryan, 2011, p. 765). So participation signifies states of autonomy and self-directed action. As a whole participation is an ideal "that stands in opposition to domination" (Ryan, 2011, p. 765). This ideal is referred to as a quality of neo-liberalism. It might prove fruitful to gain understanding of participation through the notion of self-esteem. Cruickshank argues that programs which seek to enhance self-esteem,

through self-help and empowerment, “are also practical techniques for the subjection of individuals” (Cruikshank, 1993, p. 327). An example of technologies of the self is self-esteem. Such technologies link personal goals and desires to social order and stability. In similar ways the Horizon’s participation notion links personal goals and desires to growth, stability and employment. The European Union “has to rise to the challenges (...) which strongly affect its capacity to ensure economic growth and more jobs, social stability and a recognised diplomatic position in world matters. However, it suffers from sluggish growth, difficulties to implement reforms in favour of innovation and employment (...)” (European Commission, 2013, p. 5). To fulfil governmental objectives Horizon 2020 seeks a way to produce a citizen best suited for the task. Citizens' objectives are aligned with governmental objectives through the organized practice of participation, through which subjects are actually governed. The alignment of objectives through technologies of the self (participation, self-esteem, empowerment) is an important observation in relating Horizon 2020’s construct of citizenship to citizenship under construction at iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging. Identically bound up with Horizon 2020 objectives (growth, employment, social stability) and thus with participation, is technological innovation. Whereas participation involves citizens' self-governing capabilities, technological innovation manifests as technology of the market. Technology fills in (user and market) needs and automatically seeks equilibrium, if conditions are right. The European Union is 'aware' of this balance: Horizon 2020 sets conditions right so investments in technology can improve. It should for instance be easier for private investors to invest in academic research. Dutch policymakers invest in the same vision (Ministerie van OC&W, 2014). The increasing blurred lines between what is public and what is private is seen as a typical phenomenon of neo-liberal policy. This practice offers 'legitimate' opportunities to transfer private sector habits to the public domain. Interaction between private and public habits combines technologies (of the self and market) to develop a new self-understanding. The ability to pronounce, or rather to coincide with this self-understanding, depends upon these technologies. It becomes clear that participation is more than an ideal; it is also a practice manifesting as technique, creating behavioural norms that constitute a neo-liberal social order. Horizon 2020 is a comprehensive agenda that penetrates all domains. For example, Horizon 2020 will “also help to bridge the gap between research and the market by helping innovative enterprises develop their scientific and technological breakthroughs into viable products and services with real commercial potential” (European Commission, 2014a). Elaborating on this specific language, a viable idea might be that participation bridges the gap between society and the market, through supporting active citizens



who develop their technological breakthroughs... and so forth. To do so the citizen-subject is to be equipped with self-governing capabilities. Important capabilities are enterprise and autonomy (Rose, 1998). To better understand, in the first place, how these terms - including fulfilment, responsibility and choice - have gained such political strength and momentum, a further exploration of governmentality is necessary. Governmentality combines three interlinked dimensions (Rose, 1998). The first dimension, which Rose refers to as roughly political, contains

*“the complex of notions, calculations, strategies, and tactics through which diverse authorities - political, military, economic, theological, medical, and so forth - have sought to act upon the lives and conducts of each and all in order to avert evils and achieve such desirable states as health, happiness, wealth and tranquillity”* (Rose, 1998, p. 152).

The capability of the citizen, as subject, as self, resonates as a central target and resource for authorities. The autonomization of the self “is itself a central feature of contemporary governmentality” (Rose, 1998, p. 152). The second dimension is roughly institutional and signifies the direction of 'human technologies' toward certain goals. Practical rationalities underpinning institutional behaviour (at school, work, in prison, asylum) “attempt to simultaneously maximize certain capacities of individuals and constrain others in accordance with particular knowledges (medical, psychological, pedagogic) and toward particular ends (responsibility, discipline, diligence, etc.)” (Rose, 1998, p. 153). Knowledges is an important concept for the main research question since knowledges are also used to support initiatives. The third dimension, Rose (1998) refers to this dimension as roughly ethical in the sense of “modes of evaluating and acting upon oneself”, signifies the means “by which individuals come to construe, decipher, act upon themselves in relation to the true and the false, the permitted and the forbidden, the desirable and the undesirable” (p. 153). It is along this dimension that participation as technique frames understanding and improving ourselves in relation to that which is true, permitted and desirable. The desired path of Horizon 2020 leads to “new forms of innovation that can play a big role in overcoming the crisis and opportunities for growth”, by means of the “engagement of citizens, civil society organisations, enterprises”, others actors and policies (European Commission, 2013, p. 5). As a self-governing capability 'enterprise' forms a connection between the three domains of governmentality. The concept of enterprise links up the desired self and the criticised institutional and political reality, all lacking sufficient enterprising features. The connection of domains enables enterprise to formulate specific programs and “problematize organizational practices in many different social locales, and

provide rationales and guidelines for transforming them” (Rose, 1998, p. 154). The transformation of social locales also involves the citizen-subject who is now to participate in an entrepreneurial context, pursuing technological innovation. This context was shaped earlier on by a management doctrine (e.g. based on Maslow) that sought to conquer organisational problems and “to ensure dynamism, excellence and innovation by activating and engaging the self-fulfilling aspirations of the individuals who make up the workforce” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 194). This mode of thought has been transported to other domains, to the point where global and national problems (depicted as enterprise/market problems) seem to concern the citizens who make up the ‘stateforce’.

*“Enterprise can thus be given a 'technological' form by experts of organizational life, engineering human relations through architecture, timetabling, supervisory systems, payment schemes, curricula, and the like to achieve economy, efficiency, excellence and competitiveness” (Rose, 1998, p. 154).*

The atomic entrepreneur and competitor is an important concept in understanding Horizon 2020 citizenship under construction. The citizen-subject is construed as an entrepreneur of his own life, and relates to others as competitors. In this organized self-relation, participation as individual autonomy is a technology to perform social control. Governance through enterprise organises individuals in such a way that apparent autonomy is not violated (McNay, 2009). This implies that discipline and individual freedom are not opposites but connected through the form of regulated autonomy. The entrepreneurial self is itself but only through a specific notion of self-responsibility. What might appear as merely an employment of economic order proves to be a highly functional rationality dictating society's objectives. The result of this rationality is a preconditioned route to solutions, success, order and the like, and the merging of these patterns into a substantial rationality.

## 2.5. POWER RELATIONS

The partner up strategy of Horizon 2020 is a governmental practice known as social partnership. This partnership was earlier formed with civil society organisations. The trend from the mid 1980s was to vitalize the 'social dialogue' and develop a 'social platform' of social partners with the Union (Heidbreder, 2012). But in fact it proved an effective way of absorbing sources of friction to carry out neo-liberal policies. It was believed that social policy would arise anyway

from the footprints of a well functioning free market system. EU attention therefore mainly focussed and remains focussed on the functioning of the market (Streeck, 2013). The idea of a social platform enabled the state to let civil society organisations embrace state goals. In fact “the main body of current social movement represents the mirror image of civil society as collaborative participant in EU policy making, activated by the Commission, namely organized bottom-up activism that challenges EU governance” (Heidbreder, 2012, p. 20). It seems paradoxical but also social sciences have often elaborated or reinforced EU policy assumptions, especially promoting techno-scientific innovation and global competitiveness as essential means for societal progress. Together such roles have served to close down issues, reduce innovation to techno-fixes and facilitate a societal acceptability of new technologies, e.g. through public-engagement activities (Levidow & Neubauer, 2014). The engaging citizen participant thus actually is a citizen-subject, serving other people's goals. His identity and being is regulated by delusive autonomy and choice; and his esteem of citizenship reflects as an objective “to know, support, enable, and constrain in accordance with general social trends and particular situations” (Ryan, 2011, p. 767). Horizon 2020 strongly appeals to the citizen's right choice to participate and embrace market logic. All citizens should join the 'game between inequalities', and compete with each other, for no participant is to be excluded from the opportunity to compete and succeed (Ryan, 2011).

## 2.6. TECHNOLOGY AS PHENOMENON

In Horizon 2020 technological innovation is instrumental; technological innovations should boost economic growth and employment. Perhaps most striking is the fact that technological innovation is something we have to engage in: no questions asked. As a phenomenon technology represents a certain instrumental rationality; we look at technology as a means to an end. This view on technology has expanded in our thinking. We tend to look at the things in the world through an instrumental lens. Technology strengthens and thrives on this view. Even our desire to control technology is based upon the same rationality. Compare for instance Schumpeter's idea of creative destruction and our persistence to create better technologies to perform better. We should therefore seek other ways to relate to technology (Heidegger, 1977).

Heidegger (1977) argues that technology qualifies the world and the things in the world as a 'standing reserve', as a resource to be used by men. This even applies to humans themselves

(think for instance of human resource<sup>5</sup>). Taylor (2008) follows Heidegger's analyses of 'enframing technology':

*"[W]hen we turn away from living among things, and formulating what they co-disclose in art, and identify them as context-free objects, susceptible of scientific study; and even more so when we are swept up in the technological way of life and treat them as just standing reserve. If we make these our dominant stance to the world, then we abolish things, in a more fundamental sense than just smashing them to pieces, though that may follow (Dreyfus & Wrathall, 2008, p. 451).*

Enframing technology 'reveals' the things in the world in a specific way; objects enter our experience only in so far as we notice their usefulness in the technological system; this mode of revealing becomes the truth (Feenberg, 2005). A truth that suddenly dictates our thinking in that

*"[W]e can come to see the growth of civilization, or modernity, as synonymous with the laying out of a closed immanent frame; within this civilized values develop, and a single-minded focus on the human good, aided by the fuller and fuller use of scientific reason, permits the greatest flourishing possible of human beings" (Taylor, 2007, p. 548).*

We should re-enframe technology en re-learn other modes of revealing. According to Heidegger we should learn to reveal the things in the world as an artist does, abandoning the means to an end view. According to Taylor we should look at technology through the moral frame of an ethic of benevolence, by which he means a sense of practical or universal benevolence, instead of seeing technology "in the context of an ever-increasing control, of an ever-receding frontier of resistant nature" (cited in Redhead, 2002, p. 9). Instrumental reasoning that springs from this framework enables us to live our technology very differently.

Verbeek (2013) offers another, perhaps more practical understanding of technology. In his view technology lacks a 'social infrastructure', a way to learn from and deal with technology. Due to the instrumental logic of technology, human relations change dramatically. His example is that of a diagnostic technology known as obstetric ultrasound. Obstetric ultrasound constitutes the fetus and its parents in specific ways. The fetus is seen as a possible patient; congenital abnormalities are seen as preventable; and "expecting a child is translated into choosing a child"

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<sup>5</sup> One of the craziest examples is that ethics and altruism should be treated with restraint. After all, we do not want to deplete this kind of human resource (Sandel 2009).

(Verbeek, 2013, p. 86). So far a direct consequence of the scan has been for example that fewer babies with a cleft lip were born. Through the scan the cleft lip is constituted as preventable. We might argue here that preventing a baby to be born with a cleft lip is unnatural, but is a misleading argument. After all, technology provides us with many (unnatural) practices, for instance practices that reduce infant mortality rate, which we all welcome. Instead of the 'unnatural argument' we should ask ourselves whether this practice is beneficially to humans and to society. What is needed here, Verbeek (2013, p. 87) argues, is "a repertoire of 'technologies of the self', to deal responsibly with the new ways in which antenatal diagnostic technologies help to shape pregnancy and the moral decisions that come with it." This repertoire can only be shaped in a society where 'the good life' is discussed outside the private realm. But if we merely highlight individual choice and autonomy, public discussion remains rather thin. Technological development takes this liberalist ideal to its limits (Verbeek, 2013, p. 87).

I would like to argue that technological innovation in Horizon 2020 is a technology of the market in the sense that society 'needs' competitive technological products and these products are only created if 'natural' and 'neutral' market laws are applied. Apart from the fact that market laws are far from natural or neutral (Streeck, 2013), the political will to get society, through participation, involved in creating competitive market products is a radical example of the growing commodification of social life. Technologies of the self, as enterprise, and technologies of the market, as technological product innovator, have merged into 'technological citizenship' combining the worst of two worlds: the subjectification of the citizen with its regulated autonomy and the depiction of things in the world as resource through enframing technology. This view of humanity is distorted (or partly paralyzed<sup>6</sup> (van den Donk, 2009)) and intensified as we further objectify the world with our instrumental reason.

## 2.7. COMMONS AND DIGITAL COMMONS

However dark and pessimistic this may sound, there is another side to this with a different view of humanity. A view that might identify technological innovation in a more positive way: as a possible catalyst of a self-ruling society. The academic groundwork of 'commons', a strong initiative for self-organised groups, was formulated in the 1990's, when Ostrom altered 'the tragedy of the commons'. Before Ostrom it was thought that self-organisation and public

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<sup>6</sup> "[E]en halfzijdig verlamd mensbeeld"

ownership were doomed to fail. Conventional theory of common-pool resources interpreted commons as a single theory with predictable supply of resource units, complete information, homogeneity of users, their maximization of expected profits, and their lack of interaction with one another or capacity to change their institutions (Ostrom, 2000, p. 31). In this theory the homo economicus would pursue only his self-interest leaving the common-pool (finite) resources (such as grazing land, forests and irrigation waters) depleted. For a while it was thought that private property constructions were the only way to avoid a tragedy of the commons but theory assumptions were far too rigid and one-dimensional to depict public ownership as commons' tragedy essential carrier. In this view of the world there was no variance in the performance of self-organized groups. Yet empirical evidence tells us that "considerable variance in performance exists and many more local users self-organize and are successful than is consistent with the conventional theory" (Ostrom, 2000, p. 29). Commons principles such as 1) ensure that those affected by the rules can participate in modifying the rules, and 2) develop a system, carried out by community members, for monitoring members' behavior, honor difference and variance in self-rule. The technological variant of commons, digital commons, is suggested a pivotal role in making the world more commons.

## 2.8. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

In this chapter I discussed Horizon 2020 policy innovations through engaging in governmentality theory and its specific concepts. Horizon 2020 policy innovations regarding participation and technological innovation construct a type of citizenship which I referred to as technological citizenship. Technological citizenship consists of technologies of the self (participation) and technologies of the market (technological innovation), representing the worst of two worlds: the subjectification of the citizen with its regulated autonomy and the depiction of things in the world as resource ready to be used by men through enframing technology.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will articulate how the theoretical predictions formulated in the previous chapter can be translated into the measurable data required to answer the main research question. The chapter's goal is to show and discuss, step by step, how abstract ideas can be translated into particular concepts to measure and collect data. In part this exercise consists of transforming scholarly language to 'street level' language in a methodological sound way. By using the method of discourse analysis I am able to build a construct of citizenship through the use of interview data, which in turn enables me to find an answer for the main research question. To gather interview data I will make use of semi-structured interview questions. In the first paragraph I will discuss method and implications of discourse analysis. Secondly, I will discuss how, when and from whom I gathered my data. Thirdly, I will discuss the translation of theoretical concepts to measurable concepts. Last, research activities contributing to answering the main question are summarized.

#### 3.1. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In general discourse analysis focuses on producing knowledge about a) social realities (in particular social identities and social relations) constructed through discursive practices; and b) how these constructions can become self-evident (van den Berg, 2004). Discursive practices are all kinds of practices in which language is involved. I will define discourse analysis as the practices in which meaning is attributed through language. Two common aspects are visible in discourse analysis: the object of study and the way it is treated. The main assumption is that language forms an independent reality which should be treated as social behaviour. Van den Berg (2004) argues that this specific approach of language has several implications. The most important implication is that language as particular form is depicted as construction of a reality, not as mere reflection or expression of it. The second implication is that meanings stretch beyond intentions or the simple use of words. Our language is not just a configuration to transmit messages to others; language inherently contains value loaded messages. Acts of language can have far reaching consequences – third implication. For instance, through language unintended meanings can be constructed. A consequence of this implication might be that expectations of constructed meanings are lived up to: the so-called self-fulfilling prophecy. The last implication of a discursive approach derives from the fact that behaviour in language is context dependent. Depending on for instance, your role in an organisation, you 'get' to speak

about certain issues in a certain way. Language behaviour is just like other behaviour regulated by social rules. If you are unaware of these rules, you might misinterpret the message, which regularly happens when two cultures meet – true ingredients for a misunderstanding. So the theoretical object of discourse analysis is regarded as the way in which social relations and identities are constructed through our language; and the discourse analysis is simultaneously a theoretical perspective and research method (van den Berg, 2004). This is not to say that specific research methods in discourse analyses do not differ, but their approach is generally speaking the same. In this chapter I am looking for ways to gather meanings and realities that construct a form of citizenship, just like Horizon 2020 constructs a specific form of citizenship. My goal is to find out how Horizon 2020 citizenship relates to the citizenship construct of three projects that support citizen initiatives. To do so I have to collect data from the projects that enables me to assess similarity and dissonance between both constructs.

### 3.2. DATA COLLECTION

Data collection can be performed in many ways. For instance a survey is a data collection instrument suited for extensive research purposes, in which comparisons are made between the units of observation. A case study on the other hand, is an instrument suited for intensive research purposes, in which comparisons can be made within the unit of observation. Both methods and many others, such as mixed-methods, are valid forms of data collection and suited for specific research questions. I have chosen to conduct a case study which means that attention is directed to a specific social phenomenon. The disposition of the main research question and the use of discourse theory make the application of case study techniques suited for the research goal: to gather meanings and realities that construct a form of citizenship. My case is the support of citizen initiatives embodied in three projects in the Netherlands. The social phenomenon is the type of citizenship under construction, which is analysed through use of discursive data. To gather discursive data I will make use of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews offer the possibility for a researcher to keep an open mind and stay flexible. In fact abstaining from pre-fixed procedures of data collection is an essential feature of case studies (Swanborn, 2010). Stoecker (1991) defines case studies as “those research projects which attempt to explain (w)holistically the dynamics of a certain historical period of a particular social unit” (cited in Swanborn, 2010, p. 17). Other features of case studies include the focus on detailed descriptions, interpretations and explanations; the use of several sources of data and



the fact that research occurs in its natural surroundings (Swanborn, 2010). Although data collection in case studies is refrained from pre-fixed procedures, two ground rules of semi-structured interviewing need to be taken into account. First, it is essential that the researcher is not tempted into any form of guidance. This may speak for itself, but in an interview the phenomenon of guidance requires extra attention – the interviewee’s data should be obtained freely and unhindered which means that the interviewer’s role is modest and open. Secondly, the interviews should be held in more or less fixed time-frame.

### 3.2.1. PRACTICAL INFORMATION

In total 12 interviews were held, which means that per project 4 interviews were held. The interviews took place in June in 2015. The average interview time was around 35 minutes per interview (beforehand I limited the interview time to 45 minutes). I limited my question list to 8 questions, which means that interviewees in general had 5 minutes to answer (what derived from) the question. The interviews were recorded on a digital device so I could work out specific interview phrases. Per interview I drew up a summary (see Appendix B) of one page A4 format and collected 10 to 15 quotes that, in my opinion, epitomized the essence. During the interview I made notes, easing the summarizing en quote searching part. I selected my respondents based on involvement in the projects. All projects had program managers involved; two projects had volunteers involved. I selected both managers and volunteers for each project, prohibited they were involved for over 6 months. Concerning the project without volunteers (Green Wish), I was able to select managers and freelancers.

### 3.2.2. THE PROJECTS

I have chosen iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging as my units of analysis because they support citizen or societal initiative. The choice for iWorkspace was logical since Arcon initiated iWorkspace and offered me the possibility to write my thesis. iWorkspace focuses on practically all citizen initiatives with social intentions. iWorkspace volunteers hold weekly office hours in the local library whereby they support initiatives with knowledge, network and financial support. Specific knowledge is gathered through the participation of students. Like iWorkspace, Green Wish is a non-profit organisation; Green Wish offers specific attention to sustainable initiatives – a segment that, as we have seen before, is represented in scholarly writing and thinking about Horizon 2020. Green Wish offers, mostly to entrepreneurs with sustainable ideas, coaching, knowledge, experience and network through one of their advisors. The Uitdaging is a non-profit

project that stems from collaborating local private sector organisations that want to contribute to socially desirable initiatives. The Uitdaging formulates local challenges and organises local involvement. All three projects share the idea of creating a 'better' society, through a sort of renewed connection; connecting citizens or already existing initiatives to knowledge, network and other means, to amplify the sustainable, social and 'good'. The selection of three projects implicates that external validity is not guaranteed. From the other hand, through this method I am able to gain in-depth understanding of citizenship under construction, which hopefully enables me to answer the thesis' main research question.

### 3.2.3. INTERVIEW EXPECTATIONS

The respondents' position is important in understanding the interview outcomes. Just like other behaviour, language behaviour is regulated by social rules. My expectations of interview outcomes were therefore partially based on the respondent's position. Almost all interviewees are directly involved in personal encounters with initiators, social entrepreneurs or social organisations. Their position in the field of supportive action consists of practical, street-level work. Because of this experience I expected my interviewees to be street-wise people – able to connect societal developments with practical examples. For iWorkspace I interviewed one manager, two volunteers, and an employee who volunteers at the same time. My choice for these four respondents was based on expertise and convenience (travel distance). My expectations with iWorkspace interviewees were largely based on earlier encounters and findings, and not so much based on their respective roles. I expected the iWorkspace interviewees to be very open and forthcoming; I expected the managers to be more knowledgeable than the volunteers; and I expected the volunteers to be open and enthusiastic. For Green Wish I interviewed managers and freelancers. In this case I was introduced per mail by someone from Arcon to a Green Wish manager. The Green Wish manager then helped me to arrange three other interviews at Green Wish in Utrecht. Regarding my expectations I thought both managers would be experts at initiative support and perhaps be a bit distant. After all I was examining their project. Yet their attitude was not distant but passionate and forthcoming. Regarding the freelancers I expected a loyal attitude towards Green Wish and therefore some hesitation to be open, yet they were open and forthcoming all the time. For the Uitdaging I interviewed different managers. In this case I approached 8 managers by telephone and/or mail. I selected my possible respondents based on travel distance; the first four who reacted became my interviewees. My interview expectations were in line with the above. I expected the program

manager to be knowledgeable but a bit reserved; and I expected the local managers and facility manager to be loyal and therefore less open. But, again in line with the above, all interviewees were open, passionate and forthcoming. Looking back on the interviews with Green Wish and the Uitdaging I believe that during the conversation my interviewees relaxed. Partly because conversations tend to ease as they continue and partly because my interviewees realised that my goal was far from criticizing their project. Furthermore I tried to follow basic interview techniques to make the interviewee feel respected and comfortable, by listening with extra attention, avoiding interruptions, yet keeping an eye on a clear narrative, and so forth.

### 3.3. DATA ANALYSIS

This paragraph describes the way in which I will seek to analyse retrieved data, the method of analyzing. The actual choices for this method were made earlier, during the steps of operationalisation. In order to analyse the data I had to translate abstract theoretical concepts into interview questions. In the process of translation a systematic logic should appear of how measurable concepts are derived from abstract ideas: an analytic scheme. Babbie (2007) defines operationalisation in four steps: 1) Conceptualization (What are the different meanings and dimensions of concept X); 2) Nominal definition (Define X); 3) Operational definition (How will we measure it); and 4) Measurements in the real world. So at first I need to get hold of my main concepts' different meanings and dimensions. To do so I will articulate indicators that 'define X' and sort of prelude the interview questions. When summarizing the relevant parts of the research question for this chapter, three questions surface:

Question:	Main concept:
What type of citizenship is under development?	View of humanity
What are the underlying beliefs of technology?	Technology's role
What are the implications of current policy innovations?	Future citizenship

The questions each represent a main concept that interferes in the theoretical presumptions described in chapter 2. I would like to see the dimension of 'view of humanity' in the sense of two counterparts: the subject-citizen with regulated autonomy and the 'commons-citizen' who seeks origins of self-rule. 'Technology's role' is regarded as the way in which technology contributes to project goals and the project contributes to technological innovation. With 'future citizenship' I hope to learn whether the project's intentions are meant to last, and I intend to orient the project in the antithesis regulated autonomy and self-rule. The main concepts are still

too abstract to formulate interview questions. Therefore I formulated *real* nominal concepts with the abstract concepts in mind. Each nominal definition is specified with 2 or more operational definitions. The operational definitions usher in the respective interview questions (see Appendix A). The first (1) interview question is a conversation starter and therefore not pictured in figure 1.

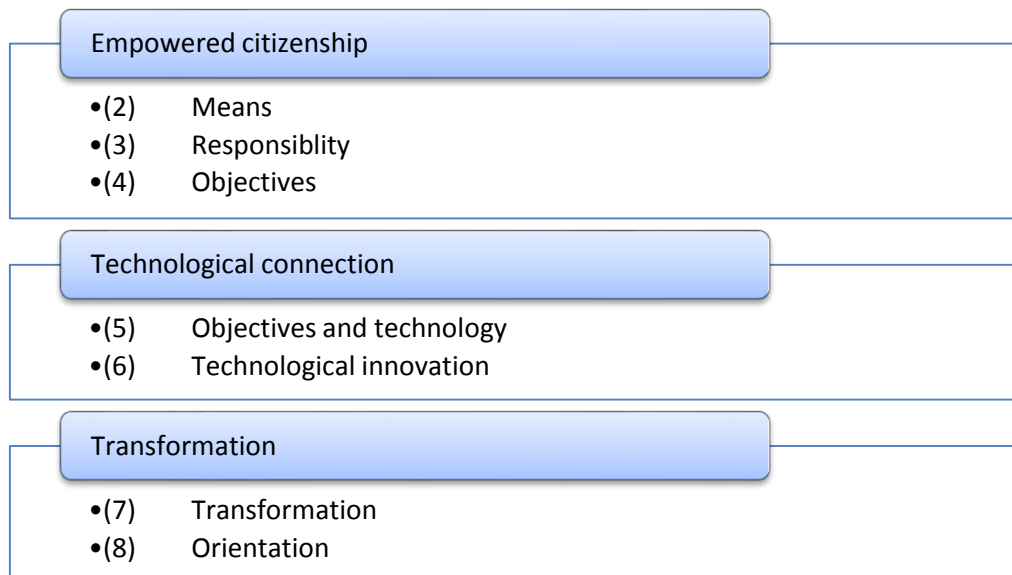


Figure 1: The three nominal concepts and their respective operational definitions, precluding the interview questions.

### 3.4. PLAN OF ACTION

In this last paragraph I will formulate a plan of action to show how my research activities contribute to answering the thesis' main question.

- Through carefully chosen interview questions a certain 'language image' of iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging arises;
- This image is used to construct a certain type of citizenship;
- Citizenship under construction at iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging is compared with citizenship under construction at Horizon 2020;
- By comparing both constructs ambivalence and difference become apparent, by which the main question, *what type of citizenship is under construction in Horizon 2020, and how does this relate to the type of citizenship under construction at three projects in the Netherlands*, can be answered.

## 4. ANALYSIS

In this chapter citizenship under construction at iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging is construed by using interview data. Through this construct of citizenship I am able to relate to technological citizenship under construction in Horizon 2020, and answer the main research question. I will discuss the interview data in a very practical manner. Through concrete examples, understanding and new insights regarding the projects' construct of citizenship are developed. I will especially seek for any ambivalence of concepts, which I hope to find in the practical and everyday support of citizen and societal initiatives. I will structure this chapter in four themes. The first theme describes the alignment of personal and societal objectives. The second theme seeks to get hold of the influence of money in supporting initiatives. The third theme describes the idea that social innovation follows from technological innovation. The last theme describes the concept of participation through the eyes of my interviewees. After describing the themes I will discuss the constructed image of citizenship and any ambivalence with technological citizenship. This chapter ends with a final answering to the sub questions formulated in the introduction.

### 4.2. GOAL ALIGNMENT

In this paragraph I will discuss contributions of my interviewees about goal alignment, and relate to goal alignment in Horizon 2020. First I will describe the objectives of iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging. Secondly, a specific project from Green Wish, Empowering People, is discussed. Thirdly, I will discuss self-responsibility of the initiators. Last, the connection of initiatives to institutional knowledge is discussed.

#### 4.2.1. OBJECTIVES OF IWORKSPACE, GREEN WISH & THE UITDAGING

In this paragraph I am looking for the projects' objectives. iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging place their own emphasis in supporting initiatives, focussing on different 'target groups'. My interviewees see their respective projects as examples of a new thinking that opposes an old rigid way of thinking. The goal of iWorkspace is "to shake up society and put people in their own vigour" (translation of 'eigen kracht') (i3). This vigour can be understood as a passion, a certain intensity, which gives meaning to people's lives and at the same time gives meaning to society. Inherent to the projects' objectives is the wish to create a better society, from an inward perspective that symbolises individual passion and vigour to an enduring, sustainable society. The leading idea is that if we are able to put people in their own vigour, we

will be able to renew society in a sustainable way, socially, economically and environmental wise. “I’m convinced that sustainable development is only achieved if people do what they think is important.” (i4). Since the Uitdaging mainly works with organisations the emphasis on the individual motive of the initiator is less apparent. The Uitdaging started with the idea to combine two worlds: the world of entrepreneurs, “people who see opportunities and exploit them”, and the world of “community organisations and voluntary work.” (i7). Crucial for the Uitdaging is a so called ‘matchgroep’ in which matches ‘support questions’ from societal organisations with materials, advice or whatever is needed. Members of the match group are successful entrepreneurs with an extensive network and young professionals who can learn from the entrepreneurs and broaden their personal network. After providing for instance materials, the aided organisation is challenged to return a favour<sup>7</sup>. “But reciprocity one-to-one is extremely difficult. The fact that you’re trying to create consciousness is a big step forward.” (i7). In fact, all three organisations are looking for a system of reciprocity. The idea of reciprocity is regarded as very attractive by my interviewees; it is something all managers wish to incorporate in the process of supporting initiatives. One of my interviewees daydreams of a “perhaps too utopic idea” of reciprocity where local communities are self supporting and iWorkspace has become redundant (i2). Another interviewee considers reciprocity as act of equality, and avoids the phrase of ‘helping an initiative’; “Helping signifies that you are blind for the fact that someone’s initiative is relevant for you.” (i4). In sum the projects’ objectives are hard to compare with societal-political objectives of Horizon 2020 such as economic growth, employment and social stability.

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#### 4.2.2. PROJECT EMPOWERING PEOPLE

In this paragraph I will discuss ambiguity of a Green Wish project named ‘Empowering people’ that seeks to change governmental practices through personal encounters and learning. Public servants are coupled to a suited initiative and initiator. “We let governments experience what it means to facilitate initiatives.” (i12). Empowering people is a way for governments to affiliate with society’s energy and with initiators’ individual vigour. At the same time initiatives open up

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<sup>7</sup> Last year the matches created an estimated value of 2.6 million euro. This year expected value is over 5 million euro.

possibilities for governments to fulfil task settings. There is some contradiction in the fact that insight and overview of initiative trends is suggested as governmental monitor tool (to better affiliate with society). After all, neo-liberal government is often described as a structure with an urge and desire to monitor and control. Here monitoring is suggested as mechanism to cooperate better. Starting point may be the information of ‘Sustainable Tuesday’. On this day a suitcase with initiatives and suggested initiatives collected through a website, is presented to the State Secretary. In this way all kinds of sustainable initiatives become apparent and any trend visible in this information can be used by government to improve policy. As a whole however small initiatives are likely to be ignored by government and government-like organisations.

Take for instance an initiator in Zwolle who operates an electronic moped cab. This person’s intention is twofold: 1) he is reluctant to apply for social security and 2) he wants to help elderly and socially isolated people by taking them to the hospital, grocery shopping and so forth. This initiative produces valuable social effects on a small scale, yet institutions find it difficult to estimate small initiatives such as these at its true value. Rather than a failed exercise to install the right self-governing capabilities and align objectives, my interviewees suspect that a top-down realm and ‘system-thinking’ causes little recognition from institutions for small initiatives. To conclude this paragraph it is fair to say that Empowering people might be able to give small initiatives a voice; on the other hand actual monitoring of initiatives by government may develop as an instrument to perform social control.

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#### 4.2.3. SELF-RESPONSIBILITY OF THE INITIATOR

In this paragraph ambivalence between vigour and self-responsibility is discussed. Facilitation of initiatives through iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging is based on as less criteria as possible. Almost all initiatives are welcome. The language of the organisations is progressive (“new society”), societal (“make societal organisations work better”), or a combination of both. In terms of responsibility, initiators are responsible for their initiative, at any time without exception.

*“If someone comes to me with an idea or initiative I hand him things he can proceed with, but he himself has to establish contact with the organisations.” (i1)<sup>8</sup>*

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<sup>8</sup> i1 is an indication of interview 1; i2 indicates interview 2; i3 indicates interview 3; and so forth. Brief summaries of the interviews can be found in Appendix B.

This sounds rather ambivalent. After all self responsibility is regarded as value of the neo-liberal state. Yet here responsibility is regarded as the only way to respect the initiator's project. "The idea remains with the initiator, which is a core value of our support." (i9). Leitmotiv is passion and vigour, not the opportunity to compete. There is no preconditioned route to completion either:

*"Every initiative differs in terms of what we do and how we do it. The main thought is: you have an initiative, you want to get there, you have an idea about the route; and how can I support you to get there in your way. It isn't like, you have to do this and that and take that path, because then you are deforming the initiative and taking away people's energy."* (i12)

*"We go along with the initiator's reality."* (i11)

Without ownership of the initiator the initiative loses its intrinsic motivation. In this regard iWorkspace's, Green Wish's and the Uitdaging's concept of responsibility is very different from the neo-liberal idea of individual responsibility. In sum Horizon's instrumental outlook on citizens is not shared by my interviewees: "Participation doesn't mean that people have to yield a profit." (i5).

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#### 4.2.4. CONNECTION TO INSTITUTIONAL KNOWLEDGE

In this paragraph ambivalence of power-knowledge relations is discussed. Horizon's participation notion demands gifted citizens with the right capabilities. Yet there are many citizens unable to approach an initiative in the suggested way. On the one hand well educated citizens are able to connect their initiative to governmental programs; they speak the institutions' conceptual language and have a vast personal network. On the other hand less educated citizens are less familiar with institutional language and have a smaller network. When supporting citizen initiatives our first reaction would probably be to connect less educated better and firmer with institutional facilities; they need a little more guidance. Yet it turns out that initiators among this group are not looking for connection with organisations. They are not looking to apply for funds either. Their concern, although this may be unclear from the start, is to keep their initiative small in size and to stay disconnected because connection would mean planning, conditions, and future perspectives and so on.

*"They are afraid to lose their passion because all of a sudden they have to comply, and speak a conceptual language that is not theirs."* (i3)



*“I call it de-organizing. Make sure you fit in with people’s own objectives. Or make sure people start to feel committed to an objective and act from there on.” (i3)*

Reviewing the governmentality concepts and the interview results, there is a striking ambivalence in connecting initiatives to organisations and knowledge. In chapter two it was discussed that individuals’ capacities are constrained or maximized in accordance with particular knowledges toward particular ends. These knowledges are institutional in the sense that institutions use practices (activities, procedures, judgements, norms) “that put in play certain assumptions and objectives concerning the human beings that inhabit them” (Rose, 1998, p. 152). Although my interviewees make a point for equivalence between initiator and institution, the ambivalence of power-knowledge relations remains. One of them anticipates this ambivalence stating that significance of expert-knowledge will diminish in future society – practical and experimental knowledge will grow in significance. The ambivalence of support through knowledge could clarify the hesitation of some initiators to connect to institutions – they don’t want to be constrained with particular knowledges and they don’t want to be guided toward particular ends. Important is that some initiators feel that collaboration with institutions means they would lose their passion, and thus lose the initiative’s mainspring. The consequence of disconnection is that solutions are found in the presence of a perhaps relatively small personal network, oblivious of procedures, judgements and norms. In other words, in some cases ambivalence between connecting initiators to knowledge and the risk of power-knowledge relations is noticed, yet as a whole this ambivalence remains strong.

#### 4.3. SOCIAL-ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND THE INFLUENCE OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Financial support is a distinct issue in supporting citizen or societal initiative. Although there is no real ambivalence between the role of financial support and the concepts discussed in chapter two, I have chosen to discuss the topic because the absence or presence of money is crucial to the initiative’s success; and since Horizon 2020 distributes financial support it seems worthwhile to consider the topic as well. I will discuss the projects one by one, starting with the Uitdaging, then Green Wish and ending with iWorkspace. When discussing Green Wish’s experience with financial support I will also discuss their support of social-entrepreneurship.

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##### 4.3.1. THE UITDAGING

The Uitdaging works with 'closed purses'. Only some of the founders of the Uitdaging donate money, which is used to pay the local managers for about 8 hours a week, depending on the municipality's size. The rest of the organisation is involved on voluntary basis. In case of the Uitdaging in Zutphen for instance, 60 volunteers are involved "to make the local society better and more liveable." (i6). The Uitdaging stresses the idea that collaboration between social organisations (such as sports clubs, the food bank and so forth) and local entrepreneurs is only vital if 1) social organisations ask for materials, advice and other support instead of money, and 2) social organisations approach small to medium-sized enterprises (SME) instead of multinationals. The match group is an elaboration of this idea; questions for the match group are always non-financial, and solutions are found in the local SME-network's possibilities. "When we receive a question for support, we try to innovate the idea." (i5). Thus through creative thinking societal initiatives are supported and local society is supported. "Eventually the Uitdaging is about the fact that it's powerful to work together in a local setting." (i5).

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#### 4.3.2. GREEN WISH

When Green Wish started in 2003 they were a subsidized organisation, supporting hundreds of initiatives a year. After a few years they realized this route was finite. Not because subsidies had stopped (yet) but because initiators were unable to cut in, in the system of governments and civil society organisations.

*"For a long time we supported initiatives with subsidies, with external money. Initiatives developed as 'islands' because collaboration was not necessary due to external money. At a certain moment we realised that if we were unable to get civil society interested in and responsive to cooperation with initiators, we would support new islands that would sink below sea level if subsidies stopped."* (i12)

What I want to highlight here is the fact that external money has deteriorated the initiatives' embedding. This may sound as a common place but it is a crucial element in supporting durable initiatives. Embedding also asks for continuity of the initiative. Green Wish's initiative supporting business currently lies in supporting social entrepreneurs. Partly because subsidies have dried out (initiators pay for the 1.5 hour conversation) and partly because they believe that people who want to earn money from their sustainable initiative have serious intentions.

*“At forehand we study the plan, read up on it, think along with it, and gather relevant contacts, formats, those things. Then in a 1.5 hour conversation we try to support them as good as possible, with tips and tricks, structuring and so forth.” (i10)*

Green Wish’s focus on social-entrepreneurial initiatives causes ambivalence with the concept of the entrepreneurial self: the citizen-subject who relates to others as competitors and who understands himself as entrepreneur of his own life. I would have difficulties to argue that enterprise strategies caused the moped cab driver (see above) to start an efficient ‘enterprise’. My guess is that ambivalence would differ from social-enterprise to social-enterprise, depending on notions of genuineness, character, intention and the like. It is striking however that present social problems are more and more seized by social-entrepreneurs. With the rise of social-entrepreneurs we might get an idea of what a new civil society looks like. “This is the new social professional.” (i3).

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#### 4.3.3. IWORKSPACE

I would like to return now to the other subject of this paragraph, the influence of financial support on embedding initiatives. One of my interviewees argues that “financial support isn’t always the solution; it can even impede the initiative.” (i3). This thought is exemplified with two examples. In the first example 50 thousand euro was granted to a ‘bewegingstuin’ (an exercise garden) in Zwolle. It meant a rapid development of the citizen’s initiative from here on: construction activities were scheduled; materials were ordered; costs were accurately estimated and so forth. In a few months the garden was completed and ready for use. Yet at the same time it meant that people and community disengaged from the garden. In commons terms: there was a huge lack of public ownership. Although the garden belonged to the community, it felt like someone else his garden. The citizen’s initiative ended, how contradictory, with social work trying to create engagement through social programs. In the second example, also in Zwolle, a similar garden was created, yet the initiators only had one thousand euro to spend. Instead of finding ways to enlarge the budget, they looked for alternatives to accomplish the garden. They asked for help from the neighbourhood, and got materials and manpower in return for free. When the garden opened, neighbours prepared snacks and drinks to celebrate the opening. It turned out that the garden, as a sort of shared object of concern, an object of public ownership, had brought neighbours together. The garden’s impact is still noticeable: the neighbourhood runs a lively whatsapp-group to discuss neighbour-related issues and help each other out.

*“Real collaboration without money involved... Initially to try and support each other, that’s going to be a big movement. I see it in many forms already.” (i9)*

The garden example speaks for itself. They illustrate the influence money can have on embedding initiatives. The examples show that involvement of the neighbourhood during the garden’s development is crucial. When a citizen’s initiative or social project is supported with financial support, extra attention should be paid to involvement. I have argued earlier that this is a common place. Probably due to a top-down realm and system-thinking based on clear policy, institutions and governments are hesitant to allow real involvement. Real involvement will cause contradictions, fractures and incalculable consequences; it will cause failure, ambiguities and unanticipated costs. According to Sennett (2012) the standpoint of real involvement and personal encounters means “honouring the mess of informality, countering the fetish of making killer assertions.” If this happens, “then a space opens up for the sort of participation that consists in finding out what to do together, rather than being ‘guided’ by someone else’s version of truth” (Sennett, 2012).

#### 4.4. TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION

In this paragraph I will discuss interpretations of technology and technological innovation. By technology I mean the role of ICT in supporting initiatives. By technological innovation I intend to discuss the assumption that technological innovation leads to social innovation. But first I will repeat some concepts of chapter two.

In describing technology as phenomenon I stressed the fact that technology strengthens our instrumental outlook on the world. Enframing technology depicts the things in the world as standing reserve, as context-free objects. Although the conceptualisation of technology has proven helpful to understand technological innovation in Horizon 2020, I find the concepts of revealing, and enframing technology too abstract to relate in a concrete way to the interviews. I will use the assumption about technological innovation leading to social innovation instead.

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##### 4.4.1. THE SUPPORTIVE ROLE OF ICT

In this paragraph I will look at how technology reinforces citizen and/or societal initiative. Technology, especially information and computer technology, is seen as a vital instrument for a ‘new society’. Internet offers immense possibilities to spread and strengthen initiatives, for

instance via YouTube, Twitter and crowd funding platforms. Thanks to internet technology people are able to start initiatives without institutional support. Thanks to internet and mobile applications new initiatives have developed, sometimes with enormous social effects – think for instance of UberPop and Airbnb. Also thanks to internet people are able to find each other much quicker. “This is visible in share and exchange initiatives. There are many physical offline breeding grounds which are supported and strengthened by online breeding grounds.” (i10). Thanks to internet initiatives can learn from each other and strengthen each other. “The connection of initiators to each other and other organisations is an important feature for us.” (i11). Dissemination is seen as important feature of ICT. Through dissemination, brought together in an online environment, initiatives can help each other, search for best practices, gather relevant contacts and so forth. My interviewees are constantly looking for ways to make better use of ICT’s potential.

*“As much exchange as possible; minds, ideas and ‘act-force’ (translation of ‘doe-kracht’) combined. That’s the promise of internet technology.” (i2)*

To conclude this paragraph it is fair to say that technology is believed to have an enormous potential in reinforcing initiative (support) and creating a new society with a digital commons perspective.

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#### 4.4.2. SOCIAL INNOVATION

In Horizon 2020 it is argued that technological innovation leads to social innovation. The underlying and unspoken hypothesis is that “innovation leads to more products and services in the marketplace, which leads to more consumption, hence to growth and more jobs, which in turn lead to increased well-being, improvements in the quality of life and better health” (van den Hove, et al., 2012, p. 74). The EU-assumption about technological innovation more or less resembles an earlier EU-assumption that socially policy would automatically develop if attention was focussed on letting markets functioning better. So in the 1990’s: more economy as a means for social policy, and now: more technological innovation as a means for social innovation. The arguments are basically the same. The paradox here is that my interviewees also expect technological innovation to lead to social innovation.

*“Don’t underestimate the amount of Willie Wortels (Gyro Gearlooses) in this world. They invent the most brilliant things companies will not invent. There is a lot of technological innovation in society, which automatically generates social innovation.” (i4)*

Yet social innovation is regarded by my interviewees as sustainable innovations towards a new society. Here innovation objectives include higher end goals such as well being and social sustainability. The EU's concept of social innovation is aligned with objectives of growth, employment and social stability; basically a cover up for economical goals.

One of my interviewees argues that "real (social) innovation is reached when existing and widely accepted technology is used." (i3). Again this is exemplified by the exercise-garden in Zwolle, through which neighbours started to connect with each other. They used a whatsapp-group to get all garden's activities geared to one another. After completion of the garden the whatsapp-group served as communication tool to discuss neighbour-related issues and help each other out. The application of simple technology can therefore be seen as social innovation. 'Simple' technology also helped to introduce a local currency as valid means of payment in Zwolle. Tips and tricks (the city of Bristol has a local currency for many years now) were gathered from the internet. It sounds almost trivial to describe the advantages of internet technology, yet the social effects are far from trivial.

*"Through technology people can connect with each other and mean something to each other. Through the whatsapp-group you can see that people are connected in a very nice, approachable manner. In this way technology has real surplus value." (i3)*

In sum technology is seen as social innovator, especially existing technology, and always in a social context. This relates to Verbeek's (2013) idea of a social infrastructure, of a repertoire that is needed to deal responsibly with new technologies. Without this repertoire technological development would not lead to social innovation but rather to social destruction.

#### 4.5. PARTICIPATION AS DEVELOPMENT

In this paragraph I will discuss my interviewees' personal interpretation of participation and (citizen/societal) initiative. Like in the previous paragraphs I will look for ambivalence between my theoretical concepts and the interview results. Before presenting the interview results, I will recall the meaning of participation in Horizon 2020.

Participation, in the context of Horizon 2020, signifies an ideal that stands in opposition to domination. It signifies states of autonomy and self-directed action. Yet in its working participation manifests as technology of the self "to know, support, enable, and constrain in

accordance with general social trends and particular situations” (Ryan, 2011, p. 767).

Participation is positioned in the context of competitiveness because Europe must overcome the crisis and seek opportunities for growth. Participation signifies the fact we are all included in the opportunity to compete and succeed. In the Netherlands public debate about participation is foremost connected with cutbacks in the social domain (see Introduction), less with growth and competitiveness. “The primary reason for initiative is eagerness. Cutbacks did lead to a kind of trigger, people thought: ‘than I will do what I think is important.’” (i4). One of my interviewees argues that participation was necessary since self-responsibility and self-organisation decreased over the last decades. In the argument for more self-responsibility we might see ambivalence with the neo-liberal concept of self-responsibility that represents constraint and discipline, yet this does not look like an argument for reponsibilisation.

*“They [the citizens] have to take back what is theirs. (...) Everything you do is self-responsibility, responsibility with your group, family and local community, with them you organise your life. We created a safety net for the things that didn’t work out. This safety net became the main thing, and we are by degrees undoing that.” (i2)*

Participation is also depicted as having a clear downside. In the introduction I discussed the argument that vulnerable individuals will suffer the most from participation if strong local communities fail to develop. “The way it is happening now... People are simply thrown in the deep end. ‘Good luck with that, that’s not our department.’” (i1). One of my interviewees argues that a large part of society is unable to participate. “Do we want those people to participate [in governmental practices and projects]? Will that make them happy?” (i5). If participation is to be successful, government should also be careful in framing participation.

*“I used to work as representative. In this field of work people have always discussed self-decision, the ability to things independently, self-direction. These phrases are now framed by government; they have become synonymous with: ‘who cares?’ So now people don’t want self-direction, they want to be pampered, while this is not what they want at all. The phrase is framed in a wrong way.” (i3)*

Yet there is a strong conviction that society mostly is changing for the better. Even though there are uncertainties about a new society. One of the interviewees observes that the role of citizens, companies, universities and so forth, is changing. Interests of different actors are getting more

and more intermingled. How are we going to relate to that? If the citizen's role changes into a more diverse and diffuse role, would that change our idea of citizenship?

Another interviewee also observes a change in society. "More and more people are willing to make an endeavour to change society together." (i7). My interviewee reads the concept of participation as something the Uitdaging has been doing all the time. "We challenge entrepreneurs, who challenge others, eventually to improve local environment and well-being. Together we make the world a little better every time." (i7). "The more we do, the more people we make enthusiastic." (i6).

I would like to conclude this paragraph with a quote stating that especially young people have started to critically re-think society and its objectives.

*"Young people want freedom to decide what they think is important; what they want to do with their time, talents and possibilities. It's freedom in the sense of not being directed towards what is considered important. It derives from examples they encounter; there's more and more appreciation..., people are now cool if what they do is relevant. Social status and a lot of money have become less relevant to young people."* (i11)

In sum, personal interpretations of participation and initiative are coupled to a new society, not to Horizon 2020 objectives.

#### 4.6. ANALYSIS CONCLUSION

In the previous paragraphs I discussed interview data that in my view epitomize the essence of citizenship under construction in the projects reviewed. Citizenship under construction in iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging draws a clear line in terms of goal alignment and subjectification. The projects' objectives are oriented toward a new society; a society in which people are connected through personal motives and objectives. This type of citizenship strongly differs from technological citizenship. Yet there is ambivalence between both types of citizenship. I found ambivalence in the concept of power-knowledge relations, and to a lesser extent in the concepts of self-responsibility and social-entrepreneurship.



## 4.7. ANSWERING OF THE SUB-QUESTIONS

The last part of this chapter consists of an answer to my thesis' sub-questions. In this answer I will first summarize the theoretical presuppositions of citizenship as articulated by the EU. Secondly, I will summarize the rationale of technology and any interplay with the theoretical presuppositions of citizenship. Last, I will discuss the implications of participation and technological innovation as policy innovations.

### 4.7.1. THEORETICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS OF EU-CITIZENSHIP

In chapter two I discussed the theoretical presuppositions of citizenship as articulated in Horizon 2020 with help of the governmentality theory, using specific concepts of the theory such as technologies of the self and regulated autonomy. In doing so I intended to answer my first sub-question: what are the theoretical presuppositions of citizenship as articulated in Horizon? Horizon 2020 policy innovations of participation and technological innovation construct a certain type of citizenship. This type of citizenship is attended by a specific form of self-understanding. In governmentality theory self-understanding is shaped through practices by which individuals represent to themselves their own self-understanding. I have argued that Horizon's practice of participation resembles practices which seek to enhance empowerment and self-esteem. Moreover enterprise strategies have defined citizens' self-understanding in a convincing way. Enterprise strategies link private economical values to personal actions and create an entrepreneurial understanding of the self. Individual objectives are aligned with social-political objectives, in Horizon 2020 with growth, employment and social stability. The alignment of objectives through governmental practice and expert knowledge signifies the creation of a citizen-subject. Although modern societies proclaim freedom of choice, autonomy and individual freedom, governmental practices seek to responsabilise citizens through a predestined route of competition. No individual should be excluded from the satisfying opportunity to compete. The construction of the citizen-subject as entrepreneur of his own life signifies his capability to compete. This organisation of the self with all its relevant capabilities is a technology to perform social control. Individuals are regulated in such a way that apparent autonomy is not violated (regulated autonomy). This implies that discipline and individual freedom are not opposites but connected through the form of regulated autonomy. What might appear as merely an employment of economic order proves to be a highly functional rationality dictating society's

objectives. The result of this rationality is a preconditioned route to solutions, success, order and the like, and the merging of these patterns into a substantial rationality.

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#### 4.7.2. UNDERLYING BELIEFS OF TECHNOLOGY

Based on the second sub-question, what are the underlying beliefs of technology in Horizon 2020, I aim to understand technology as phenomenon. Furthermore I aim to link the rationale of participation to technology's rationale.

Using Heidegger's concept of revealing I depicted technology in Horizon 2020 as instrumental, as a means to an end. Horizon 2020's end is to maintain growth and development; Horizon 2020's means is technological innovation, firmly linked to Horizon's objectives. We have grown accustomed to looking at the things in the worlds as standing reserve. Yet the essence of technology does not lie in the production of goods or manipulation of materials, but in revealing. Heidegger suggests we should abandon the means to an end view and reveal the things in the world as an artist does. Taylor suggests we should re-enframe technology and re-learn other modes of revealing, instead of seeing technology in "the context of an ever-increasing control, of an ever-receding frontier of resistant nature" (cited in Redhead, 2002, p. 9). Instrumental reasoning that springs from this framework, from revealing technology as an artist does, from revealing technology through the moral frame of an ethic of benevolence, enables us to live our technology very differently.

Verbeek (2013) points at a shortcoming which he names 'social infrastructure'. The instrumental logic of technology has changed human relations dramatically. Yet humans lack the repertoire needed to deal responsibly with new technologies and moral questions that come with it. Our liberal society has failed to construct a repertoire of technologies of the self to relate to technology, because 'the good life' is not discussed outside the private realm. Public discussion remains thin if we persist to highlight individual choice and autonomy. Technological development takes this liberal ideal to its limits. The interplay of self-understanding and technological understanding strengthens instrumental reasoning, directed at growth and employment objectives. I have called this appearance technological citizenship. The implications of technological citizenship are discussed hereafter.

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#### 4.7.3. IMPLICATIONS

In this last sub-paragraph I will answer the third sub-question: what are the implications of these policy innovations? The rationale of participation strengthens technology's rationale and vice versa through the common denominator of instrumental reasoning. Instrumental reasoning is intensified through technologies of the self, as enterprise strategy, and technologies of the market, as technological product innovator, creating an ever-lasting economical urge to produce, grow and achieve efficiency, resulting in a substantial rationality that is hard to break through. The consequence of this rationale is what Sandel (2009) has defined as the market society. In a market society social life is commodified and depoliticized, because governments have started mimicking the market. Mimicking the market is presented as a non-judgemental way to make hard and controversial political choices, since people's preferences are given as fixed. The market society implicates a corrosion of democratic life because democratic argument is secured in one-dimensional models of competition. This type of citizenship is socially, economically and democratically passive, superficial and distorted. The implication of technological citizenship is presented in the mirror image of a public life where we engage more directly with moral and spiritual questions, and deliberate and discuss our preferences. In this mirror image we learn to shape our lives and attitudes through moral controversy. Horizon's notion of participation and technological innovation is all of that in a distorted, alienated version of citizenship.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have tried to construct two different types of citizenship through the method of discourse analysis. The first type of citizenship was constructed based on the EU-document Horizon 2020; the second type of citizenship was constructed based on interviews with three projects that support citizen and social initiative in the Netherlands: iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging. Regarding the first type of citizenship I looked at the theoretical presuppositions of participation and technological innovation in Horizon 2020, and found a way to interpret these presuppositions in governmentality theory, which argues in short that governmental practice creates realities and rationalities that may result in a situation where citizen-subjects are created and self-understanding is aligned with governmental objectives. Regarding the second type of citizenship I tried to test assumptions of governmentality theory and as such relate to my interview data. I especially looked for ambivalence in concepts between Horizon-citizenship and the type of citizenship resulting from my interview data. The results I gathered, together with the theoretical presuppositions, should enable me to formulate an answer to the main question:

*What type of citizenship is under construction in the European Union, and how does this construct relate to the type of citizenship under construction at three projects in the Netherlands?*

In the remainder of this chapter I will first formulate an answer to the main question. Secondly I will discuss the answer in relation to the debate on citizenship. I will discuss insights and value of my findings. Last, I will reflect on the practical implications for iWorkspace to maintain/become a substantial player in the field of supporting citizen initiatives, in terms of strategy and policy instruments.

### 5.2. ANSWERING THE MAIN QUESTION

In this thesis I characterized Horizon 2020 citizenship as a highly instrumental outlook on the world. Through participation as technology of the self, citizens' personal goals are aligned with typical Horizon 2020 objectives such as growth, employment and social stability. The alignment of objectives strengthens as technological innovation manifests as technology of the market, in the sense of a neutral way to fulfil naturally given user needs. Technological innovation as a market demand is presented as underlying source of social innovation, resulting in an ever-

lasting urge to produce and consume, to increase so called well-being. Through instrumental reasoning the things in the world are depicted as standing reserve, as a resource ready to be used by men. Enframing technology reveals the things in the world through their usefulness to the technological system. The rationale of technological citizenship has at least two severe consequences:

1. People are not free. Their goals are dictated through governmental practices; and their self-understanding is construed as an opportunity to compete and succeed from which no one should be excluded. Freedom of the citizen-subject in fact is a way to perform social control;
2. Since people's preferences are given as fixed, prescribed by market logic, social life is more and more commodified and depoliticized. Without being able to discuss and deliberate our preferences, without being able to discuss 'the good life', we fail to learn how to shape our lives and attitudes through moral controversy.

In the analysis I discussed citizenship under construction at iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging. I concluded that this type of citizenship (hereafter referred to as iGU-citizenship) is very different from technological citizenship. Particularly the alignment of personal and governmental objectives is far off from iGU-citizenship. iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging adjust to the personal objectives and passions of people. The idea is that if people find their passion, they will renew society together in a sustainable way, for personal passion is directed at 'the good'. In the definition of passion as motive for the good, and in the conviction that initiators should carry out their initiative in their way, there is acknowledgement for diversity and variance, thus honouring 'the mess of informality.' In commons we find similar beliefs about respecting variance (for performance of self-organized groups). Yet there are also ambivalences between iGU-citizenship and technological citizenship. For instance, personal passion is coupled to own vigour (*eigen kracht*), a sort of self-responsibility needed to carry out the initiative. The initiator remains 'self-responsible' all the time for his/her initiative. At the time this ambivalence weakens if we consider the fact that iWorkspace, Green Wish and the Uitdaging are not looking for ways to responsabilise or control the initiator. Their argument for 'self-responsibility' signifies the belief that only the initiator's personal passion can push along the initiative. A second ambivalence concerns the connection to institutional knowledge. Governmentality theory expects power-knowledge relations from institutional connection. Yet in everyday practice connection with institutions and knowledge is seen as an important means to

support initiatives. Although my interviewees make a point for equivalence between initiator and institution, the ambivalence of power-knowledge relations remains.

### 5.3. RELATION TO THE DEBATE

In this paragraph I will discuss my contribution to the debate, and discuss value and insight of my findings. First I will discuss my contributions to the scientific debate<sup>9</sup>. I will argue that my contribution can be found in the conceptualisation of technological citizenship, using different scientific vocabularies. Secondly I will value my findings, summarized in the ambivalences between technological citizenship and iGU-citizenship. Last I will discuss new insights and make an argument for examination of EU social policy development.

My thesis' contribution to the scientific debate can be found in the use and combination of different scientific vocabularies. I was able to use vocabulary from sociology, environmental science and (political) philosophers to understand what (technological) citizenship is about. Although most concepts are derived from sociology, the different vocabularies enabled me to link independent findings and their respective concepts to one another. For instance, the debate about consequences and underlying beliefs of Horizon 2020 is primarily cranked up by environmental scientists. They argue that narrowed down definitions of sustainability have led to a technological and ideological lock-in. The idea of an ideological lock-in is more or less similar to the idea of a single mode of 'revealing', used by philosophers. 'The mess of informality' criticizes a similar framework, and so does commons with its principles for variance. With use of different languages I have developed a robust understanding of technological citizenship. I agree with van den Hove et al. (2012) that Horizon 2020 leads to a technological and ideological lock in. The absence of diverging definitions in Horizon 2020 leads to the development of narrow minded concepts, which seem hard to counter. I agree with Taylor (2007) when he argues that we can come to see the growth of civilization as the laying out of a closed immanent frame in which values like Horizon 2020 values develop, providing the greatest flourishing possible of human beings. I agree with Sennett (2012) that we need to allow and encourage informality, ambiguity and contradiction instead of top down clear policy. I feel that Ostrom (2000) with her idea of commons has succeeded in doing so through organizing 'policy' locally in self-organized groups.

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<sup>9</sup> Because my results are not very practical I assume that my contribution to the social debate is small.

My findings should primarily be found in the ambivalences I discovered between governmentality concepts and iGU-citizenship (see ‘answering to the main question’). The ambivalences show some overlap, yet technological citizenship and iGU-citizenship strongly differ. Findings also include descriptions of and small scale comparisons between iWorkspace, Green Wish and Uitdaging, through which understanding of each project has improved.

An important insight I would like to rearticulate here derives from the EU-assumption that technological innovation leads to social innovation. Streeck (2013) discusses a similar EU-assumption in the time of Jacques Delors when it was thought that social policy would automatically develop from making markets function better. Sandel (2009) argues that governments have started mimicking the market because it seemed “to offer a way of making political choices without making hard and controversial choices.” Precisely these choices have been neglected by letting market logic decide for us. I think technological innovation will not lead to social innovation if attention remains focussed on making markets function better. We stopped to practice and learn what it means to relate to technological and moral controversy, because the market decided for us, because preferences were given and fixed. Now is the time for the European Union to start a debate about social policy. A fundamental debate about social policy, about ‘the good life’, discussing and deliberating preferences, would free us step by step from the devastating effects of instrumental reasoning and cause real social innovation.

#### 5.4. STRATEGY AND POLICY

In this paragraph I will reflect on the practical implications for iWorkspace to maintain/become a substantial player in the field of supporting citizen initiatives, in terms of strategy and policy instrument.

If Europe fails to start a fundamental discussion about social policy, which is likely, others will continue to fill that gap. iWorkspace and iWorkspace-like organisation are able to fill the gap and start discussion locally by supporting and stirring up citizen initiatives, thus creating a vibrant appeal to join community life. So iWorkspace has an important task to fulfil in a Europe dominated by neo-liberal discourse. In terms of strategy I would suggest Arcon to get involved in European programs. iWorkspace’s objectives can be easily translated into Horizon 2020 discourse (see Introduction) but because of ambivalences remain loyal to its social character. It would be very interesting to see if whether Horizon 2020 calls are granted to iWorkspace. Granted calls to iWorkspace and iWorkspac-like organisations, even when translated to ‘the right

language' would signify the fact that Horizon 2020's effect, as far as its practical implications concerns, is not that devastating after all.

With citizen initiative support in local libraries iWorkspace has created a sort of niche for itself. I think Arcon/iWorkspace can strengthen this niche by gathering experience and developing insights from the self-organisation of groups. iWorkspace has already supported self-organised groups through citizen initiative support (see for instance the street/neighbourhood whatsapp-group on page 34). In this example digital technology was used spontaneously to support a form of self-organisation. Embedding and using technology so as to support self-organisation of groups is known as digital commons. My advice to Arcon/iWorkspace and its partners (academies and university) is to seek to develop new insights about performances of self-organised groups in a digital context. Further exploration of digital commons in the context of iWorkspace and iWorkspace related practices will serve as antidote for technological citizenship. Furthermore this strategy enables Arcon/iWorkspace and its partners to become a leading player in supporting self-organized groups through digital commons.



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## APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Per interview question I will briefly discuss what I intend to find out and how this relates to my theoretical framework.

- (1) *Would you be so kind to introduce yourself and tell something about the project?*

Interview starter.

- (2) *Could you tell me something about the ways through which your project supports citizen/societal initiative?*

With this question I am looking for means, especially for the role of knowledges in supporting initiatives. In governmentality theory connection to knowledges equals constraining or maximizing individuals' capacities through procedures, institutions, legal forms, norms and so forth. I intend to find out the projects' logic in possible connections to knowledges.

- (3) *Could you tell me something about the initiator's role? (What do you expect from him or her?)*

In governmentality theory responsibility equals responsabilisation. Commons counters the mechanism of self-responsibility with forms of self-organisation. With this question I intend to find out how the initiator's responsibility is looked upon.

- (4) *Could you tell me something about the goals of the project?*

This question elaborates on question 2. Constraining or maximizing individuals' capacities in accordance with particular knowledges results in alignment of personal objectives with Horizon 2020 objectives. With this question I intend to understand the projects' objectives in relation to Horizon's and commons' objectives.

- (5) *Could you tell me something about the role technology plays in realising the project's goals?*

With this question I intend to show the impact technology can have on the projects' objectives. Digital commons considers digital technology as vital means for making the world more commons. In how far do my interviewees consider digital technology as such?

(6) *Could you tell me something about the ways through which your project supports technological innovation?*

With this question I intend to understand how technological innovation shows in the practical context of initiative support. Is technological innovation regarded as a means to an end view, resulting in more growth and employment?

(7) *How would you describe the development directed towards more participation and initiative?*

With this question I intend to let my interviewees speak freely about their personal outlook on participation and initiative. I assume that the personal outlook of my interviewees is more commons related than Horizon related. Beforehand it is difficult to specify this relation but I assume for instance that goal alignment is readily rejected by distinguishing governmental motives to participate from personal motives to participate.

(8) *How would you place your project in this development?*

With this question I hope to further orient the project in the antithesis regulated autonomy and self-rule.

### INTERVIEW 1: IWORKSPACE

My first interviewee volunteers at a local iWorkspace in Twente. My interviewee studies SPH (social work) and almost graduated. From her friend she heard about iWorkspace – and together with her friend she runs this local iWorkspace. She was immediately interested since iWorkspace is also about building a network. My interviewee wanted to build a network herself too. In the beginning there were some difficulties adjusting to a good role, in terms of “what is suited for this particular initiative and how can I support them.” My interviewee argues she primarily aims at providing a lot of information: information whether this idea is fruitful; whether Saxion (academy, partner of iWorkspace) can support the idea through knowledge. She also supports initiators to tell their story at the regional radio station (another partner of iWorkspace). Furthermore support in contacting crowd funding and funds is possible. My interviewee hopes that soon ROC Twente will become a partner as well. This academy is probably able to bring in a dimension of practical support to iWorkspace.

My interviewee stresses that the initiative should really be effectuated by the initiator. She can provide contact information and even make the first contact for the initiator but then it is up to the initiator. Afterwards my interviewee calls or mails the initiator to ask how thing went; and to see if new questions have arisen iWorkspace can help with. It often happens that initiators think iWorkspace will work out the initiative for them. It is unclear where this expectation is founded on.

My interviewee argues that in most initiatives technology plays a bigger and bigger role. Through more involvement from Saxion’s technical studies she expects more technological innovation as well.

My interviewee argues that iWorkspace is a good way to deal with the participation society. As a whole she seems more skeptical than hopeful about the development of the participation society: “The way it is happening now... People are simply thrown in the deep end. ‘Good luck with that, that’s not our department.’”

## INTERVIEW 2: IWORKSPACE

Interviewee 2 works at Arcon as manager. He is involved in policy decisions about iWorkspace and other Arcon programs. My interviewee is not involved in day-to-day iWorkspace related practices. He argues that iWorkspace's most important role is that of contact point and sparring partner. But also other roles are important. He argues that this mix of competences might be too much asked for one volunteer. iWorkspace therefore looks how two volunteers can complement each other.

My interviewee argues that initiators shouldn't expect "super solutions" from iWorkspace. In the end initiators have to take initiative. Important to iWorkspace is to refrain from any sort of demand – "no barriers." People with initiative should be welcomed not scared off by barriers or demands.

Sub-goal of iWorkspace according to my interviewee is the creation of strong, enduring, local communities. The kind of initiative iWorkspace attracts, lies in sphere of cohesion. My interviewee sees that certain 'WMO' objectives match iWorkspace goals about 'barrier free' participation.

My interviewee sees a marginal role at this moment for digital technology supporting citizen initiative. iWorkspace facilitates digital interchange of ideas and practical information through google drive, but is looking for a higher level whereby ideas between initiators and stakeholders are interchanged. Important to my interviewee is the fact that technology remains a matter of conduct. Technology in his view is muddling through, trial and error; in advance it is difficult to say whether particular technology meets with approval.

My interviewee argues that governments are retreating from the social domain, in any case as co-ordinator. Society needs to pick up from here. The actual reason of participation is not financial; it is the fact that people won't find more well-being and happiness when everything is done for them. Citizens have to take back what is theirs. "Everything you do is self-responsibility, responsibility with your group, family and local community, with them you organise your life. We created a safety net for the things that didn't work out. This safety net became the main thing, and we are by degrees undoing that." My interviewee argues that iWorkspace is located at the centre of civil society: not top down or with public money. It may be utopic my interviewee states, but what if in ten year iWorkspace functions well, than Arcon's support may not be needed any longer.

### INTERVIEW 3: IWORKSPACE

My third interviewee is advisor at Arcon and volunteers at iWorkspace. When an initiator arrives for support, my interviewee first asks for the bigger picture. In what context does the initiator place his initiative? Concrete objectives are derived from this context, so that it becomes clear how iWorkspace can support in accessing knowledge and network. Often initiators are initially looking for money, funds and so forth. However, my interviewee signifies money as the lowest in rank. A lot can be done within the inner circle of an initiator; this is also an effective way to strengthen support. In most cases, after a personal network is addressed, the problem of financial support diminishes fully or lesser money than expected is needed. The effects that arise from an initiative whereby solutions are worked out in a personal network are far more effective and enduring than the effects that arise from a heavily money-supported initiative: after completion commitment stays at a high level.

My interviewee expects from the initiator to be the initiator. This means that one cannot give away an initiative. The goal of iWorkspace is to put people in their own vigour and from thereon seek ways to make society sustainable, socially, economically and environmentally. My interviewee sees that some initiators lose their passion, their vigour, when they are connected to institutional knowledge. These initiators don't speak the conceptual language of institutions. My interviewee sees technology as a way to connect people with each other. The example of the street/neighborhood whatsapp-group exemplifies this view. But technology is also very important in the rollout of a local currency. If technology is translated in the conceptual language of institutions it sorts out similar effects as described above. Nevertheless technology has absolute potential to connect people in a very accessible way.

My interviewee sees that people are eager to do a lot of things, yet when it's preconditioned or organized by someone else, it will only attract people who like to do things in an organized setting. According to my interviewee we need to be aware of framing: "I used to work as representative. In this field of work people have always discussed self-decision, the ability to do things independently, self-direction. These phrases are now framed by government; they have become synonymous with: 'who cares?' So now people don't want self-direction, they want to be pampered, while this is not what they want at all."

#### INTERVIEW 4: GREEN WISH

My fourth interviewee works at Green Wish as manager. The mission of Green Wish is to make room for people to initiate sustainable projects. In short this means that actors who profit from initiatives, think of institutions and municipalities, should get involved in the process. Here involvement is about the idea of supporting people with knowledge and experience; supporting people in what they are already doing – thus starting from a personal motivation. Although there is more readiness and openness from institutions, compared to ten years ago, it is still unclear how institutions are going to deal with citizen and/or societal initiative. My interviewee argues that we have to value peoples' initiative like we value initiatives/innovation at companies, because sustainable development is only then achieved if people do what they think is important. According to my interviewee technological innovation origination from society will deliver automatically social innovation. "Don't underestimate the amount of Willie Wortels (Gyro Gearlooses) in this world. They invent the most brilliant things companies will not invent. There is a lot of technological innovation in society, which automatically generates social innovation." But 'systems' have difficulties valuing small initiatives - innovation budgets primarily go to big companies.

My interviewee sees an important role for technology in supporting citizen and/or societal initiative. "In some cases internet technology is the bread and butter of initiative. Share and exchange platforms have been made possible by internet." Furthermore it has become much easier to mobilize people, for instance through crowd funding.

My interviewee believes the principal reason of initiative lies in peoples' eagerness. Social cut backs did lead to a kind of trigger: 'than I'm going to do what I think is important.' Right now there is shift visible from individual initiatives to group initiatives. Initiatives show what will be main stream in a couple of years. At a certain moment you will see that a public servant is let off to support group initiative. Governments can learn a lot if they stay in touch with initiative developments. My interviewee suggests governments to monitor these developments better, for instance through information from 'Sustainable Tuesday', whereby a suit case with submitted initiatives is presented to the secretary of state for environment. Through better monitoring small initiatives will surface and hopefully become relevant to governments and institutions.



## INTERVIEW 5: THE UITDAGING

My fifth interviewee is local manager at the Uitdaging. After completions of her education she worked for a few big companies, and then started her own company with marketing advice and research. During a meeting on a creative hotspot with entrepreneurs she saw a brochure of the Uitdaging and became enthusiastic about the Uitdaging. The general manager of the Uitdaging challenged her to contact successful entrepreneurs to start a local match group; and so she did and thus started a local Uitdaging.

As soon as question for support is received, my interviewee goes to the questioner to clarify the question. It is her experience that questions are often minimized – people don't want to ask too much. My interviewee sees the match group as a way to locate supply and demand. For instance when a crea-in organisation looked for a location, the Uitdaging was able to find a location that suited the crea-in. The effect has been dual because the crea-in now works together with a care organisation that is located in the same building. So the local knowledge of the match group also strengthens the social value of matches.

My interviewee asks organisations with a support question to actively participate in their request. On the one hand requests are minimized (people are afraid to ask too much) and on the other hand people also over-ask the Uitdaging in their pursuit of perfection. My interviewee also receives requests from people who want to join an existing organisation because they don't want to spend their time on procedures, norms, committee forming and so forth.

My interviewee looks at technology as a new way to tell stories. With internet technology it is possible to actually tell and visualize personal stories of organisations that were successfully supported. This type of storytelling is very important.

My interviewee sees technological innovation in the way requests are 'innovated' in the match group. The match group often thinks of different ways to solve technological questions.

In the eyes of my interviewee participation is not possible for a great amount of people. She sees quick fixes from the national government while actual long term thinking is necessary. On the other hand beautiful initiatives arise, and people connect to each other in new ways. This is the type of long term thinking the Uitdaging supports.

## INTERVIEW 6: THE UITDAGING

My sixth interviewee is coordinator of 'werbegeleidingsplaatsen' at a local Uitdaging. Since 2013 social service works together with this local Uitdaging. At the time my interviewee was unemployed and asked to become coordinator, and work without loss of benefit. After a trial period of a few weeks he committed himself to the Uitdaging for three years, because he is very enthusiastic about the goals of the Uitdaging.

In his view the goals of the Uitdaging are to make local society better and more liveable. In the case of my interviewee, the local Uitdaging doesn't only support organisations but also individuals. This initiative is called the 'huisraadbank'. It consists of a shed with all kinds of furniture. This furniture is handed to the Uitdaging by individuals and furniture companies. Furniture is used to help people with low incomes. For instance refugees are thus provided with a couch, a wardrobe and a bed. To be able to do this for people is in itself a pleasure, my interviewee argues.

Request to the match group are conditioned. A rich foundation will be rejected. Usually organisations that compete with local business are rejected too. But sometimes things work out different. My interviewee tells about a 'care farm' located nearby, run by a couple on freelance basis. This is a commercial initiative, aimed at making money, at the same time it was regarded by the match group as very social and intrinsically good. And after discussion the request from the care farm was granted. According to my interview it is always important to know whether organisations aren't able to receive support via another way.

According to my interview the Uitdaging fits the governmental objective to participate more. My interviewee sees his contribution to the Uitdaging as a form of participation as well. When candidates for the 'werkbegeleidingsplaatsen' are interviewed, his question always is: in what ways do you support the concept of the local Uitdaging? In almost all cases my interviewee was able to find enthusiastic people that remained involved, even after completion of their time at the Uitdaging.

## INTERVIEW 7: THE UITDAGING

My seventh interviewee is manager of the Dutch Uitdaging. She founded the first local Uitdaging, and as manager of the Dutch Uitdaging helped to found new local Uitdagingen, mostly by searching for good local managers and supporting them in the beginning period. It takes about 3 to 9 months to start a new local Uitdaging. Since a few years the Uitdaging is part of a growth program from 'Oranje Fonds'. With help of this program my interviewee is able to spend her time supporting local organisations; since joining the growth program the Uitdaging has grown from a few to over 40 local organisations.

My interviewee defines the Uitdaging as an entrepreneurs' organisation which spots many chances and opportunities. These chances and opportunities are turned into benefits for small social organisations, through which small social organisations can reach further and serve more people. When a request is received the match group always looks for practical and uncomplicated ways to solve the problem.

Just like iWorkspace and Green Wish my interviewee is looking for ways to integrate reciprocity in the concept of the Uitdaging; for instance through challenging the aided organisation to return a favour. Of course this is not obligated and sometimes too difficult to achieve. "But the fact that you're trying to create consciousness is a big step forward."

My interviewee sees the potential of internet technology to support the Uitdaging through dissemination, and the potential to connect local organisations of the Uitdaging to each other. CRM technology is already in use but my interviewee wants to improve knowledge dissemination through digital technology.

My interviewee argues that society has changed. More and more people are willing to change society for the better. The Uitdaging leaped onto this development. The first time participation was discussed my interviewee thought: that's what we are doing. We challenge entrepreneurs, who challenge others, and so forth, to make (local) society a bit better every time. My interviewee sees the Uitdaging as "an enormous catalyst, a candidate winner, for all municipalities."

## INTERVIEW 8: THE UITDAGING

My eighth interview is local manager at the Uitdaging. As a manager she coordinates different parts of the Uitdaging, such as informing the board, managing the match group, coordination of the public relations group and so forth.

The Uitdaging supports societal initiative through bringing into action a vast network. Matches are made in different domains, in business organisations, in civil society organisations and in the field of education. An example is the so-called 'spullenbank', whereby surplus gear is temporarily stored and then distributed over the city. Through initiatives like these surplus value is created, and social infrastructure is strengthened.

Organisations with a request can upload their request via a website or a specific form. Through a telephone call my interviewee seeks to clarify the organisation's request. If the request meets the criteria the match group will discuss the request and search for possible answers. A condition for instance is that projects remain feasible for the applicants. Another condition is that support from the Uitdaging must have an end. The last example of a condition is that the project is beneficial for a larger group of people.

Goal of the Uitdaging is to improve quality of life, to make the city better with initiative, to do good at different fields. Goal is that the social situation of people improves. A simple telephone call can make a difference for people if the right network is available and if you know how to use that network.

Technology supports the Uitdaging by simply recording information – like a CRM program does. At a certain moment it might be possible to establish matches through digital technology. The idea of the Uitdaging is to create a database and by means of technology work on marketing, picturing the target group, and better understand requests.

My interviewee certainly sees ways through which the Uitdaging supports technological innovation. She mentions the creation of special suit designed for the homeless to keep them warm. The Uitdaging supported this initiative by looking for potential producers.

My interviewee argues that people should focus on self-responsibility; through understanding that you can realise things yourself and ask for support if necessary. The dependence of government has lessened. Government should give space to citizens, space to grow and develop, and facilitate where possible. The Uitdaging gives an interpretation to that development.

## INTERVIEW 9: IWORKSPACE

My ninth interviewee volunteers at iWorkspace. His role is both advisory and supporting.

Together with his girlfriend he holds office hours in the local library, whereby people can ask for advice or discuss an idea. My interviewee carefully looks at how an initiative can be supported, through network, financial means or volunteers. An important core value is that an initiative remains with the initiator and that the initiative is not taken over (by the iWorkspace volunteer). If initiators don't wish to proceed with their initiative, then so be it. Using discussion techniques the volunteer needs to create overview and structure.

My interviewee sees iWorkspace as a very approachable concept; if someone has an idea s/he can drop by and together a plan can be made.

In line with the participation society my interviewee argues that it's important to be independent from institutions and governments. Through principles of mutual sharing and concepts such as iWorkspace people can be supported without using lots of money or creating a bureaucratic system. Through these principles peoples' environment improves. The leading idea should be: how can I, independently, set up something with a helping hand. As advisor my interviewee can contact municipalities and be of help for the initiators. Most of the time initiatives are directed at care and wellbeing, ageing and doing something some else. The leading phrase is motivation; motivated people who want to help others, and motivated people with an idea.

My interviewee argues that technology is essential for iWorkspace. Email is very important, just like marketing, the use of social media, twitter and facebook. Through technological innovation initiatives are also supported, think of crowd funding platforms.

My interviewee argues that society is becoming more conscious and the ability to cope for oneself has enhanced. Government is taking a step back and people are living with each other instead of living side by side. iWorkspace operates in line with that.

## INTERVIEW 10: GREEN WISH

My tenth interviewee works for Green Wish, for 6 years now. She advises initiators by paid counselling. “At forehand we study the plan, read up on it, think along with it, and gather relevant contacts, formats, those things. Then in a 1.5 hour conversation we try to support them as good as possible, with tips and tricks, structuring and so forth.” If someone is looking for long-term support, they need to pay for that as well. My interviewee also gives training sessions in advisory support to public servants. Public servants are coupled to initiators so that public servants can learn from initiators and at the same time support them.

The initiator’s role is leading. S/he wants to accomplish something. My interviewee argues that initiators are supported through coaching and asking questions. In the end the initiator will have the most energy for his/her project.

The goal of Green Wish is to make space for sustainable initiatives; and that people with sustainable ideas are able to realise their idea. Green Wish works together with municipalities, national government and other institutions. They believe that once citizens work out their ideas, governmental organisations will see the value of citizen initiative/social entrepreneurship, and as society becomes more sustainable.

Technology plays an important role at Green Wish, for instance through online platforms one can easily share knowledge and find people.

Green Wish’s contribution to technological innovation lies in structuring and organizing processes; in looking for specific contacts in a network, that’s the addition rather than providing specific technological expertise.

My interviewee thinks that social entrepreneurship/citizen initiative will become bigger and bigger. She doesn’t think that we are heading towards a total ‘burgersamenleving’; this would be unwished-for. My interviewee is eager to find ways to actually work together. She likes to see a government that states: ‘Our solution would be this and that, and who has other solutions? Let’s find the best solution and discuss how we are going to shape that together. My interviewee sees Green Wish as an organisation that invites both parties to start a conversation.

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## INTERVIEW 12: GREEN WISH

My last interviewee is manager at Green Wish. She argues that after a certain while she realised that supporting initiatives isn't going to make a difference. If initiatives are going to be successful they need to cooperate with organisations like government and institutions. So Green Wish's job at this moment is to make connections between organisations and people with good ideas.

According to my interviewee it's important that the initiator decides via what ways the initiative takes form. To support the initiative is to mirror the initiative, what is it you want to do and how can I support you to get there. This way of support helps the initiator to stay motivated. Support exists of thinking along with network building, media attention, positioning of the initiative and so forth. To my interviewee it's a good signal when initiators (social entrepreneurs) are looking to make a living from their initiative. This signifies the fact that people are very serious about the initiative; the initiative is sustainable continuity-wise. According to my interviewee the goal of Green Wish is to let people feel welcome to do what they think is important; that we, as society, are open to that. People's motives to start an initiative are very serious; often we are talking about a divorce, death, birth or a resignation – important events in people's lives – from which initiatives develop. It has to do with ideas of giving meaning; why am I on this earth; these are very pure impulses. It is important that we support these people; their impulses are intrinsically sustainable. We cannot wait for governments or institutions to make society sustainable.

Governments innovate and change far too slow. It is two minutes for twelve; I feel a huge urgency; we have to go faster. We have to realize a paradigm shift and create a new paradigm. This has to develop from outside the system. My interviewee argues that the influence of digital technology is enormous; thanks to digital technology dependence on institutions diminishes. A fair part of the initiatives Green Wish deals with has a technological component: water saving, power generation and so forth. It's the R&D of society. My interviewee argues that people think innovation is fun and attractive but it's ridiculous and annoying. Real innovation is unfeasible; it is Galileo, look where he ended. But we take all initiatives serious, even if they look unfeasible. My interviewee thinks we are heading towards a new social order. Roles are changing. Interests of different actors intermingle. She sees a real breakthrough when the world of social initiative and social entrepreneurship is attached to the world of government, companies, social organisations, housing corporations and so forth.