CROWDSOURCE THE CITY?

a thought experiment in the context of Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal

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"Yet I worry that the need for continuous civic engagement, intellectual struggle, and vigilance is not well understood in some of our mature democracies [...] We have to avoid slipping into a naïve sense that democracy – once established – will continue on its own momentum."

- Elinor Ostrom 2000, The Future of Democracy

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Synopsis:
Taking different forms and varying in emphasis, civic crowdsourcing platforms centre around the aim to increase citizen's involvement in giving shape to their neighbourhoods. Under rhetoric such as "putting the community in the driving seat" (Spacehive.com), they claim to offer tools that can be used to unleash and build upon the creative potential of a diverse citizenry, strengthen community ties and enhance ownership over the public sphere. Putting those claims to question, this research uses a participatory governance perspective to investigate how civic crowdsourcing can be understood from an urban governance context, and what they imply for the democratic qualities of citizen participation processes at the local neighbourhood scale. Given the prime importance of context-specificity in this question, the case of Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme (Områdefornyelse) is used to anchor the analysis.

Overviewing international examples of existing platforms allows us to characterize the wide variety of approaches to civic crowdsourcing, and to distil patterns into a threefold typology. Drawing upon desktop study methods and exploratory interviews, their democratic effects and the controversies they give rise to are characterized along the five core democratic notions of access, accountability, public deliberation, adaptiveness and development of political identity. Two workshops, each with a discussion and a prototyping round, are held with a diverse set of Copenhagen's urban actors, in order to test how these controversial features of civic crowdsourcing are perceived, and to what extent and under what conditions this method can (not) provide value in participatory processes in Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme.

This research finds that while civil society actors and municipal actors include remarkable different emphases in their prototyped platforms, common ground is found in the importance to connect online arrangements to strong offline counterparts, and methods of bridging between municipal actors and citizens. In both ways, the envisaged platforms go beyond the examples that are currently observed internationally. In the hypothetical case of operationalization of a prototype along these lines, this might constitute its greatest risk for failure, or turn out to be a major strength.

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CONTENT

CHAPTER 1 THE RISE OF CIVIC CROWDSOURCING

7:15AM, imagine you are riding your bike on the way to work, just as any other day. The city is slowly awaking in the mist of the morning. When the cycle path reaches the multi-laned motorway you have to cross, you turn right to take the usual detour to the nearest bridge to the other side. Your eyes catch, like every morning, the massive structure of the flyover carrying streams of cars over the motorway, right above your head. You think of what you have read the other day in the newspaper: the city wants to demolish the structure to redirect traffic. It will cost 3-4 million to tear down the old flyover. Then suddenly an almost tangible 'click' in your brain: "Wait, isn't it insane to destroy this beautiful shaped structure for a hell lot of money, if we could also keep it as a bicycle lane and I could ride it over the motorway?" A smile hushes over your face while you dream how it could be to ride down along the curves of the flyover, inhabited by small shops and pocket parks. Then another thought crosses your busy mind and the picture vanishes somewhere in the back of your head.

Experiences like this one leave a tacit knowledge in us. And it is this everyday-knowledge of the cities we live in, which is for the urban planners who builds them, one of the hardest things to access. How should a planner get this creative spark, when he never experienced the problem of crossing the road, acting as a barrier for everything smaller than a two ton heavy automobile? The thought that the 'wisdom of the crowd' (Surowiecki 2004) could genuinely inform the planning process is not new. It has been one of the main rationales behind inclusion of citizens in the planning process that has been taking place since decades, albeit with changing faces throughout the different prevailing paradigms of planning. Finding workable ways to draw fruitfully on citizen participation has remained a constant challenge for planners. Continuous engagement with this challenge from public officials and planning practitioner's side brought about a diverse landscape of practices through which citizens are - to a varying degree of depth - involved in planning. Equally common and well-documented are the experiences that involvement processes did not run as they were envisaged. In some contexts, this led to a "downscaling of expectations" of planner's ambitions with citizen participation, sticking to the minimum legal obligations. In other places, it fuelled further quests for innovative participatory governance arrangements.

Crowdsourcing in the urban realm

In 2006, Jeff Howe wrote an article in the Wired magazine called "The Rise of Crowdsourcing", where he drew upon observations and developments in Web 2.0 technology, "open source" development models, and processes of innovation, on how the internet could be used to connect

to a huge audience and employ the 'wisdom of the crowd' for the creative solving of any kind of task. He baptised this thought 'crowdsourcing', a blend of the words 'crowd' and 'outsourcing' and defined it as *"the act of a company or institution taking a function once performed by employees and outsourcing it to an undefined (and generally large) network of people in the form of an open call. This can take the form of peer-production (when the job is performed collaboratively), but is also often undertaken by sole individuals. The crucial prerequisite is the use of the open call format and the wide network of potential laborers."* (Howe 2006). The idea and the term were taken up with enthusiasm and in many disciplines, leading to web platforms like e.g. threadless.com, a t-shirt company that crowdsources the phase of t-shirt design, via its website where "the crowd" can send in their design, rate designs that they like, and buy t-shirts with their preferred design, after which part of the profit feeds back to the designer.

In parallel, also crowdfunding established itself as a widely popular sub-form of crowdsourcing, building upon the same idea: by approaching a wide audience with a funding problem for e.g. a start-up company, the crowd can solve your problem by donating small amounts of money, comfortably and efficiently transferred over electronic payment systems. While the first web-platforms based upon this mechanism started in 2006, they got most known through the 2009 launched platform Kickstarter.com, hosting start-up projects to connect them with a potential audience of investor-customers.

The tools of crowdsourcing and crowdfunding quickly found translations to the urban space. Kickstarter, for instance, hosted from the start also inherently urban projects, such as a rooftop farm in Mumbai or a portable open-air reading room for New York (Lange 2012). In 2011, UK-based Spacehive.com was the first to launch a crowdfunding platform specifically for civic projects, followed in the US by neighbor.ly, citizinvestor.com and others. Through those platforms, individuals or community associations can propose projects as diverse as community centres, urban gardens, bicycle sharing systems, and regularly raise successfully the required amount of money for their realisation, appealing to citizens who are framed as investors in the public spaces and services that they wish to see become reality. Also the flyover project mentioned at the start has recently raised in Liverpool its funding goal of £40,000 to conduct further feasibility studies and promote the idea.

Davies (2014) explores the meaning of the word 'civic' and finds that it can either point at individuals' memberships of a community and the responsibility following out of it, or at a collective action for a common goal. Also the exact boundaries of the term "crowdsourcing" remain contested. Looking at the urban context in particular, web-based methods aiming at increasing civic engagement took various forms in the last couple of years. While the earlier examples were often based on the collection of dreams and ideas, like e.g. giveaminute.info where the platform audience was asked to use one minute of their time to write down their dreams, other new platforms contain functionalities which move beyond that, by allowing also for qualifying them through discussion, prioritizing between them through voting mechanisms, organizing real-life meetings around them and even mobilizing resources, like volunteering work; or funding[1]. Prominent examples drawing on this broader menu are changeby.us and neighborland.com, which aim at helping communities to organise projects from within themselves and mobilize the need-

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[1] hence our classification, throughout this report, of crowdfunding as a specific type of crowdsourcing

ed resources for their realisation. Building upon Howe (2006) and Brabham (2009), Seltzer & Mahmoudi (2013) propose five criteria before one can speak of crowdsourcing. A slightly adapted[2] version of their definition is used in this report:

> **1. A Diverse Crowd.** An effort to cultivate a diverse, heterogeneous crowd composed of experts and non-experts.
> **2. A Problem Area.** The crowd needs to be provided with a task, a notion of what is being desired, what the crowdsourced activity aims at.
> **3. Ideation.** The crowd must be able to submit ideas so that other crowd members may see them.
> **4. Internet.** The process should utilize an easily accessible and broadly understood Internet platform.
> **5. Selection.** The crowd knows from the outset how projects or ideas will be selected, either by those who "hold" the problem (formulated in a broader or narrower sense) or through a process involving the crowd itself, like voting.

Civic Crowdsourcing and Public Participation: associates or discrepants?

Blogs and online articles were fast in applying Howe's term 'crowdsourcing' also to urban platforms (Quirk 2012; Lange 2012; Reiss 2012), and also the platforms themselves identified with the buzz word (e.g. Brickstarter.org or bristolrising.com). Scholarly work by for instance Brabham (2009), Bugs et al. (2010), Foth et al. (2011) and de Lange & de Waal (2013), also links the potential of interactive online media to community development, increased ownership of collective urban issues, and participatory processes of co-creation. From their perspectives, the urban space is de facto becoming a "hybrid": the classical dichotomy between the physical space and the online space does not correspond to the way it is used and perceived by large proportions of its citizens. Rather, digital space are characterized as an extension of the physical urban space, "augmenting" the urban space into the digital dimension, so beyond its physical place-ness (Aurigi & De Cindio 2008). According to these authors, this calls for innovative, digital ways of involving citizens and fostering engagement in giving shape to the city they live in, enabled by the interactivity of Web 2.0 technologies, online social media networks, and mobile technologies.

Other authors point at crucial mismatches. Seltzer & Mahmoudi highlight that crowdsourcing and citizen participation might have similar goals, but are by far not the same. They argue that both "seek information and insights that only members of the crowd possess. However, crowdsourcing does not rely on the attitudes of any but the sponsors for conferring legitimacy on solutions. Further, whereas citizen participation is expected to give voice to those most affected by plans and planning decisions, and to provide a means for those likely to be excluded, intentionally or not, from making plans, crowdsourcing has no such brief" (2013: 10). Jarett (2008) warns that interactivity of these technologies do not at all guarantee genuine openness. Drawing on Foucault's conception of social control and the disciplining techniques of power, she argues

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[2] The main difference between these criteria and the version proposed by Seltzer & Mahmoudi lies in the extent to which the "problem" is formulated in a narrow sense by a specific "problem holder". When applying this to the urban sphere, in many of the examples of in our opinion civic crowdsourcing, the "problem" is defined broadly scoped in terms of "what does your neighbourhood need?", pointing to an equally broad "problem holder" as the entire community of neighbourhood stakeholders.

that Web 2.0 technology may just as well function as "a disciplining technology within the framework of a neo-liberal political economy" (Jarett 2008: 1).

These points go to the heart of this research premises: the phenomenon of civic crowdsourcing cannot be seen as free from the political angle of legitimacy. Platforms are appearing, often initiated by private actors, and while being coordinated online, the urban initiatives that they enable do generate 'offline' effects. When a project is realized through crowdsourcing, when networks mobilize and aggregate attention to influence decisions, or when user patterns of urban services are shifting, the city is changed. The initiatives they give rise to often side-step government institutions while the use of these technologies is not spread evenly among the population. Thus, they imply shifting power balances, between citizen who have access to the new technology, and those who don't; and between educated experts and elected officials held accountable via the mechanisms of representative democracy, and technology-skilful citizens who manage to aggregate their voices, navigate their desires and wishes into the urban reality.

This research takes point of departure in these democratic tensions inherent to civic crowdsourcing. Also in the Danish context[3], the call has been made for urban governments to take up "nowadays" methods for involving citizens in more active ways. Civic crowdsourcing can be seen to fit in this emerging paradigm. However, a careful investigation of what these new tools of web-based approach imply - most notably in terms of democratic legitimacy - remains pertinent. This research takes up this analysis, investigating the implications of civic crowdsourcing from an urban governance angle.

This study's purpose and research questions

The basic premises underlying this research are that (1) CCPs are potentially impactful arrangements in urban governance; and (2) their democratic effects are a priori far from clear, and require detailed examination. Given the prime importance of context-specificity in this question, the case of Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme (in Danish: Områdefornyelse) is used to anchor the analysis.

The final purpose of this research is to interpret and understand how civic crowdsourcing functions as a participatory governance arrangement, and to identify and assess its democratic implications.

Under an interpretive research design, we developed the following research question structure, starting off with the overarching question:

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[3] A few weeks ago the big Danish think-tank Mandag Morgen published a series of articles around the topic, indicating that a number of Danish municipalities are reconsidering their framing of citizens as users, who should be provided with efficient service delivery, in favour of a perception of a more active citizen role (Andersen 2014). Interesting was also the recent reaction of the Danish minister for Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs Carsten Hansen, when the state-initiated think-tank BYEN 2025 (engl. The City 2025) published their report with 13 recommendations for the future of Danish cities. On the homepage of the ministry his first reaction is quoted: "City life is not only about using the city, but also about creating it - together. I would like to work further with the proposals of the think tank to strengthen the temporary usage of space, the early and digital dialogue with citizens and to build more housing, which invites for more community and space between the buildings. I believe, the digital opportunities, including social media, will change our physical city life and create complete new connections between the city and the different groups of people" (MBBL 2014, translated by the authors).

How do actors affiliated to Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme perceive the phenomenon of emerging civic crowdsourcing platforms?

which is split it up into three working questions, each with a specific methodological angle.

WQ1: What is the platform architecture of current examples of civic crowdsourcing platforms?

WQ2: What controversies do civic crowdsourcing platforms give rise to when viewed from a democratic perspective?

WQ3: If crowdsourcing would be introduced in Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme, how do municipal and civil society urban actors perceive (a) its controversial aspects and (b) its platform architecture to interplay with existing participatory practices?

Given that there is no civic crowdsourcing platform present or emerging in Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme, the analysis treats a 'Copenhagen crowdsourcing platform' as a thought experiment. While the first two working questions are pursued with desktop research methods, the third working question is taken up by gathering and drawing upon the diversity of perceptions from the urban actors and their experience with participatory approaches in Copenhagen's area-based integrated Urban Renewal programme.

Structure of the report

In order to answer these questions, the report is structured in seven chapters. After this introduction, the second chapter outlines the theoretical foundations on which the research is built. To understand the implications of civic crowdsourcing in the urban context, governance theory is taken as the point of departure, and we perceive civic crowdsourcing platforms as particular arrangements of participatory governance. As the concept of participation is inherently situated in the tension between efficiency and legitimacy, we argue that in order to assess its democratic performance; a transparent criteria-based framework is needed that is rooted in modern democratic theory. The last section of this theoretical chapter engages with operationalising these theoretical stances to provide a guiding framework for a civic crowdsourcing-geared analysis.

The third chapter treats our research design and starts by lying open our ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions, determining our choice of research design. The research purpose and premises affect the angle of investigation, which translate in the way we use the theoretical concepts: as analytical tools that allow for 'sensitized' mapping, while the democratic assessment framework introduces an evaluative dimension. In the final section we describe the concrete methodologies and data collection strategies pursued to answer our three-tiered research question, consisting of a desktop research on the platform architecture of a sample of civic crowdsourcing platforms (CCPs), desktop research and exploratory interviews to identify controversies and two workshops with Copenhagen urban actors to 'test' the controversies and prototype the architecture of a 'useful' CCP as a thought experiment.

The fourth chapter gives a brief introduction to the case of Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal (CIUR), where we first outline the overall framework, then move to the concept of social capital and how it structures the CIURs work and finally outline what participatory governance in the context of area-based urban regeneration implies.

The core of this research follows in chapter 5 in the form of the analysis. The first section is dedicated to a descriptive analysis of the platform architecture of currently existing civic crowdsourcing platforms, the second to the identification of democratic controversy surrounding civic crowdsourcing, and the third is engaging with the application in relation to Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal Programme. The fourth section draws together these different lines in the conclusionary section of the analysis.

Finally chapters 6 and 7 contain the discussion and the report's conclusions respectively. The discussion is set up as a reflexive chapter, taking up our aims, methods and results from different perspectives. The conclusion summarizes the research approach, and puts the core outcomes together, formulating the essence answers to our research questions.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL FRAME

Viewed from the perspective of how they affect urban space, civic crowdsourcing platforms (CCPs) can be regarded as new modes of participatory governance. Acknowledging the variety in purpose and methods of those platforms (cf. chapter 5), two central principles throughout the various operationalization of facilitating civic/urban crowdsourcing over web-based tools are:

(1) the aim to give shape to the city through enabling the creation of local urban projects, thereby moving (partially) onto what is traditionally the domain of public urban planning, and

(2) an emphasis on the involvement of different urban actors (citizens in particular) into the creation of these local urban projects, where "creation" is perceived sometimes more narrow and sometimes more broad, comprising the phases of ideation, design, financing and/or execution.

In both ways, the CCP challenges (to a more or lesser extent) the established mode of governance over the urban space. By going with the parole of "making better neighbourhoods and cities" (cf. changeby.us, neighborland.com, brickstarter.org), adapted to the needs and wishes of the local population through their direct involvement, civic crowdsourcing platforms situate themselves in the same realm as area-based urban renewal programmes do (cf. chapter 4) – albeit drawing on different mechanisms. For this reason, we draw on the governance literature in planning theory to investigate the phenomenon of civic crowdsourcing.

Section 2.1 elaborates on the theoretical and analytical notions comprised in governance theory, linking it to questions of participation in a local urban regeneration context, characterizing the practices in a continuum of potentially enhancing as well as harming objectives of efficiency and legitimacy in the neighbourhood regeneration process.

Overviewing the potentials of and difficulties with participatory arrangements in local urban renewal, points towards the need for an evaluative framework to assess the performance (and the democratic performance in particular), of participatory arrangements based on crowdsourcing in local urban renewal. Section 2.2 draws on democratic theory to argue for a transparent criteria-based assessment framework, that takes a more evaluative stance towards CCPs.

The descriptive theoretical notions of participatory governance arrangements from section 2.1, and the evaluative democratic assessment framework from section 2.2 are then further operationalized in section 2.3, to serve the CCP-geared analysis in chapter 5.

2.1 PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE FOR LOCAL CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT: BETWEEN EFFICIENCY AND LEGITIMACY

In different contexts from global to local scale, governance theory has proven to be a useful framework for studying the processes of mobilisation of collective action, the allocation of power and mechanisms of verifying performance (Cars et al. 2002; Le Gales, 2002). From this (essentially analytical) perspective, there are always governance processes, and one can analyse different modes of governance that are manifest in a particular time and place (descriptive analysis), or address the political question which modes to pursue in a particular instance or in relation to specific concerns (evaluative analysis).

Beyond this analytical angle, "governance" also holds the notion to point at a particular shift in these processes, from state-centred government, as a bureaucratic-led delivery of public services, to more blurred boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues. In this conception of governance, capacity to "get things done" does not rest on the exertion of government authority alone (Stoker 1998), but also stems from the inclusion of non-state actors in the decision-making, introducing more "entrepreneurial" modes of governance that also rest on market logics and networking (e.g. Harvey 1989, Jessop 1999, 2002). Also termed governance "beyond-the-state" (Swyngedouw 2005), these governance arrangements typically take the form of networks between private actors from the economic field, civil society actors (citizens, NGO, association) and (part of) the state apparatus - in which the latter draws on new tools and techniques to steer and guide (Stoker 1998).

In our view, CCPs constitute governance networks that include actors beyond the state, and we refer to this notion with the term "participatory governance arrangements"[4]. The study adheres to the analytical understanding of governance, drawing on Healey's (2006) vocabulary to characterize governance arrangements and study their transformation processes. Conceptually, she describes participatory governance arrangements to interweave along two "layers": (a) the networks, discourses and practices that the participatory governance arrangement comprises and (b) the deeper cultural assumptions that underpin the (a) layer; assumptions that regard what is considered an appropriate agenda for actions, how existing practices of governance are perceived and evaluated, and how the legitimacy of the participatory governance arrangement is constructed and judged - all of which happens by both the "insiders" of the participatory arrangement, and the wider public consisting of the different social groups in society. These detailed distinctions of what a governance arrangement comprises, can function as an analytical

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[4] We distinguish participatory governance from collaborative governance. Where the term participatory is understood to describe the situation of involvement of non-state actors in decision making processes without further connotation, collaborative governance indicates more specific participatory arrangement in line with principles and values from the collaborative strand in planning thought (Healey 1997, Innes and Booher 1999, building on Habermasian-inspired communicative underpinnings translated to planning thought and analysis by Forester 1993 and Sager 1994 among others).

tool, providing the vocabulary to analyse the functioning of particular governance arrangements in a specific time and context, or to frame and understand transformations in governance arrangements from a sociological (relational) institutionalist perspective (Healey 2006, see also Gonzalez & Healey 2005).

Local urban regeneration programmes constitute an area, where the occurrence of participatory types of governance can be observed throughout Europe (see for instance Leary and McCarthy 2013, for an overview). Participation of non-state actors in the decision making process, and in the case of local urban regeneration, of citizens in particular, can take place under different rationales. Agger & Hoffman (2008) distinguish between two poles, between which the often-cited reasons for why to involve citizens in decision making can be situated. On the one hand, these can stem from concerns about the democratic *right to be heard* when political decisions affect you directly. This strand of reasons for participation closely connects to the desire to enhance legitimacy of the decisions taken - the governed (those affected) taking part in their governance as the cornerstone of democracy (Arnstein 1969). On the other hand, participation can be seen as *improving* the decision making processes: more resources (and in particular 'everyday knowledge') are brought into the process, the solutions developed are more directed, and the risk of post-decisional conflict between decision makers and affected citizens is reduced. This corresponds to an efficiency-grounded viewpoint on participatory processes.

Other reasons for participation can be framed as in-between these poles: participation can empower citizens' capabilities to participate in political life, it enables mutual learning processes between state and non-state actors, and it can create more ownership over the decisions taken and the public goods they concern (Agger & Hoffman 2008). These can be seen as desired improvements in different dimensions, efficiency and legitimacy among others. At the same time, legitimacy and efficiency are also in itself inherently interrelated. As Kearns and Paddison note, the legitimacy of an urban government "rests to a large extent on their judicious and efficient use of tax-payers' resources" (2000: 848).

So while participatory governance arrangements from these perspectives hold great potential to "do good", shifts towards more participation can also be perceived to harm legitimacy and efficiency aspects of the decision making process. On the efficiency side, research in the Danish context documented that while considered important in many municipal administrations, citizen inclusion is also often seen as "a troublesome burden not leading to better solutions" (Munthe Kaas 2014: 1). Participation is perceived as a time-consuming challenge, while the inputs that result from it were considered hard to use and ill-fitting to the professional planning practices and procedures (Munthe Kaas 2014). Along the same line, Sehested (2009) found that the role of the collaborative/communicative planner was in general perceived as difficult to perform by the planners in the study because they lacked the competences to fulfil it and/or didn't find it possible or desirable in all planning situations. On the legitimacy side, one of the main critiques is that actual participation patterns are often biased towards under- and overrepresentation of certain population groups (they tend to, for instance, exclude members of ethnic minorities, are gender-bias towards men, are often age-biased towards the middle-aged, and favour citizens and representatives with resources (political networks, knowledge, or time); Agger & Løfgren 2008, Fung 2004, Norvig-Larsen 1999). Swyngedouw argues that the traditional mechanisms

guarding legitimacy, lying in the organisation of entitlement, representation and accountability, remain often blurred in new forms of participatory governance, thus endangering the legitimacy of the policy actions taken in a governance environment that, "at the best of times, only reflects a partial representation of civil society." (2005: 2001)

The tensions between efficiency and legitimacy, as well as the experienced difficulties with both objectives, point in essence to a number of open questions regarding the democratic functioning of participatory governance arrangements. Especially when "new" types of participatory governance arrangements - with new discourses, new regulatory practices, and new arenas or networks - challenge (to a more or lesser extent) the established governance framework and its cultural assumptions, they can give rise to concern - and democratic concern in particular: Which role and which decision power should be delegated to participatory arrangements? Under what conditions is participation desirable, and under what conditions does it do harm to set objectives? How to ground the 'right to participate'? Who holds this right, on what basis, and under what conditions? How to deal with private interests in the participatory process? What mechanisms of accountability come in play in participatory governance arrangements?

The answers to these questions will vary with context and depending on one's interpretation of what is (more) democratic, depending on whether one adheres to e.g. more representative versus more direct democratic models, or holds a minimalist versus a maximalist interpretation of democracy. These essentially normative questions of assessing the performance of participatory governance arrangements, thus requires a clear evaluative framework on the notion of democracy. This is taken up in the next section.

2.2 STUDYING NEW PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS: A DEMOCRATIC PERSPECTIVE

Swyngedouw (2005) argues that participatory governance arrangements are fundamentally Janus-faced with respect to democracy: they are (1) potentially fostering inclusive development processes: enabling new state-civil society relationships to emerge and develop, and shifting power in potentially democratising ways. At the same time, they (2) redefine citizenship, the state-civil society relationship, and thereby democracy itself, in a not necessarily harmless way.

Which 'face of Janus' a particular participatory arrangement gives rise to, depends from (1) varying conceptions of what exactly is democratic, and (2) context specificity, as historical background influences the contours of new democratic arrangements and institutions through processes of path dependency. We treat these two aspects in turn, the first by distinguishing between more aggregative versus more integrative perspectives on democracy, and the different implications on participation they imply, the second by outlining some specificities of the Danish context through a brief background characterization based on Hoffman and Agger (2008) and Hall et al. (2009).

March and Olsen (1989) summarize the different definitions of democracy - each with different emphases, criteria and terminology - along two basic perspectives of integrative and aggregative democracy. The aggregative approach, most famously articulated by Schumpeter (1950), is

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primarily connected to mechanisms of voting: through an electoral system, preferences of citizens translate into politicians being elected, who are then in charge and held accountable for making decisions. In-between elections citizens can participate in decision processes based on their democratic right to be heard, yet their role is primarily to feed their input, views, and perspectives to politicians, who can - based on a thus enlarged knowledge - improve the decisions and the political process. In this respect, the decision power remains at the political level, and it's not necessarily a problem if the citizens participating are not fully representative for the affected citizens, because the politicians are the ones making the final decision and held accountable for it.

In an integrative perspective, the emphasis lies on the deliberative dialogue that is turned to finding a solution seeking the best for all, the collective good. Moreover, the deliberation is necessary to get a fuller understanding of other's perspectives, a precondition before the best decision can be attained. These communicative processes are important in itself, because they shape participants' preferences before they are aggregated, emphasizing the value of the building of political capability (March and Olsen 1995). As put by Hall et al. "much of what the aggregative approach regards as input to the political system is considered to be a part of the political system by the integrative approach." (2009: 520)

Both aggregative and integrative perspectives can be implemented in more direct forms (individual citizens participating) and more representative or 'mediated' forms (cf. Table 2.1). This gives rise to a typology that allows for characterizing (national) 'systems' of democracy that usually consist of different types of democratic forms.

Table 2.1: Typology of democratic perspectives; based on Hall et al. (2009: 520)

	Aggregative	Integrative
Organised interests (Mediated)	Pluralist networks	Traditional corporatism
Citizens (Direct)	Parish councils, user boards	Open citizen networks and collaborative planning schemes

Hoffman and Agger argue that the historical tradition in Denmark has been one of integrating the aggregative and the integrative perspectives at different levels. Since decades, traditional corporatism (as a type of integrative democracy where deliberations are held between a limited number of strong civil society organisations such as labour organisations, that mediate between government and the citizens they represent) has been combined with a representative electoral system. During the last 20-25 years, however, different decentralisation movements have driven public administrations from more representative conceptions of citizen participation towards more systems of direct and integrative democracy, with citizen steering groups and local councils being installed in different contexts (e.g. elderly care, local neighbourhood level). New frameworks and arenas are being created with the aim of citizen dialogue, where deliberation

and argumentation come first. More traditional methods such as public hearings are comple-mented with experimental forms, such as the citizen juries and free trials that organisations such as Supertanker introduced in the Copenhagen context (Brandt et al. 2008). Hall et al. (2009) state that the scholarly work on governance and democracy in Denmark characterizes current shifts towards more network-based governance through participatory arrangements "as a com-plement to existing institutions", and that "these arrangements have existed in the past" (2009: 523).

Nevertheless, together with the shift towards more integrative modes of democracy comes also the need to re-interpret democratic rights and duties of various actors. While transparency and accountability are pivotal democratic values in representative democratic systems, they might become more compromised in participatory governance arrangements. In contrast, integrative systems of democracy put emphasis on the formation and development of the political capabili-ties and democratic identity of citizens (achieved through dialogue) as a core value of democra-cy.

This points to the need for performing a democratic assessment of the innovative participatory governance arrangement with criteria that adapt to changing emphases in the conception of democracy. Together with an operationalization of the vocabulary to describe CCPs as partici-patory governance arrangements, the next section draws upon such a democratic assessment framework to be applied to the subject of our analysis, i.e. civic crowdsourcing tools.

2.3 OPERATIONALISATION: MAPPING CCPs AS PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS AND ASSESSING THEIR DEMO-CRATIC EFFECTS

As argued above, for the purpose of this research we understand civic crowdsourcing platforms as new participatory governance arrangements, that (1) need to be understood at their two-levelled structure that includes the functioning of the governance arrangement as well as the cultural assumptions it is rooted in, and (2) require an evaluation in terms of their democratic effects to gain deeper insight on which fronts and through which mechanisms they potentially challenge established governance frameworks on their cultural assumptions regarding what is considered democratic - translating into controversies. Following this rationale, this section has two parts; a first one (section 2.3.1) in which we describe how we operationalised the theories to map point (1), and a second one (section 2.3.2), where we describe the criteria of the chosen democratic assessment and develop for each criteria a set of questions, that guides the analysis afterwards.

2.3.1 MAPPING CCPs AS PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS

Using Healey's (2006) analytical vocabulary of participatory governance arrangements, we map what CCPs imply from an urban governance perspective. Drawing the researcher's attention to the entirety, multi-layeredness and complexity of what a governance arrangement constitutes, the integrality of Healey's different concepts together draw the picture of 'ideal' information re-

quired for mapping the types of governance arrangements that different operational CCPs constitute. While acknowledging that this ideal information level cannot be reached for the size of our sample and using the desktop study methods available, we are aware that our mapping exercise remains inevitably incomplete. Nevertheless, keeping the entire picture in scope enhances our awareness about its more "known" and more "unknown" parameters throughout the analysis. Our operationalized guiding questions for the mapping exercise (cf. below) are therefore deliberately comprehensive.

The functioning of the governance arrangement

Healey pinpoints three concepts, which are central to understand the functioning of governance arrangements. Those are (a) the *practices* they enable, (b) the *discourses* they frame, and (c) the *networks* they are embedded within. In relation to CCPs as the subject under analysis, we term those three together the *platform architecture*. As figure 2.1 shows, the practices and the discourse are seen to take place on the platform, whereas the network of the platform operator, the municipality and the platform audience are framed around. We look from an overview level, with little focus on details, on a sample of civic crowdsourcing platforms, and apply each of the three concepts in turn. To guide our analysis we develop a set of question for each.
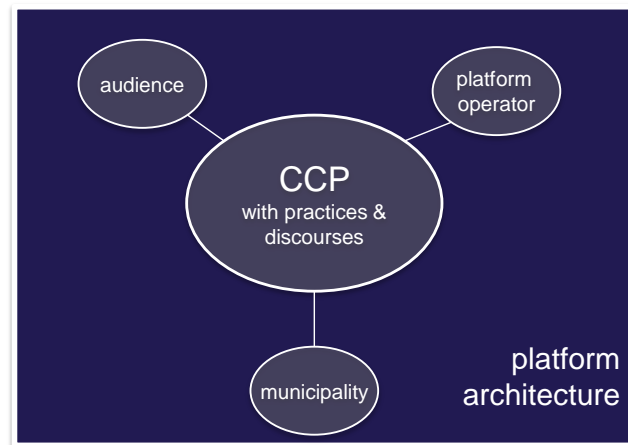
Figure 2.1: Platform architecture with practices, discourses and the network of actors

In regard to (a) the practices CCPs enable, we start by making the assumption that a central part of the practices taking place on an online platform can be derived, to a for this research sufficient level of detail, from the functionalities contained on the platform. Here we understand a functionality as a visible element on the platform, which allows for interaction in terms of allowing the user to either input or acquire information, or both at the same time. We understand each of those functionalities to result in a practise, once the users start to interpret and use those functionalities in a certain ways, thereby filling them with a meaning. To analyse the concept of practices we therefore ask: *What functionalities do the CCPs in our sample contain? Are there stronger or weaker forms of the practices, resulting from the functionalities?*

In regard to (b) the discourses CCPs frame, we limit our analysis to points, which do not aim to perform a discourse analysis as such, but rather explore the framing circumstances of the discourse. An assumption and simplification we take here is, that the kind of discourse a platform frames, is strongly dependent on the practices the platform contains. We therefore treat plat-

forms with similar practices in an accumulated way[5]. The questions our analysis asks are: *What are the main topics of the discourses raised and which examples of our sample unfold this type of discourse? Does the platform speak out, which implications the discourse has on the planning process? Is the engagement of the platform users stemming from the discourse rather 'thick' or 'thin'?[6]*

In regard to (c) the networks CCPs are embedded in, we look at a simplistic network model that includes the platform operators', the municipality's and the platform audience's relation to the platform interface (ignoring at the same time the relations between those actors that form independent from the CCP). In specific we ask here: *Who are the initiating and driving actors behind the platforms? How do municipalities relate to the sampled CCPs? Who is the audience of the platform and what drives them to participate?*

The cultural assumptions underpinning the governance arrangement

This component of governance arrangements actually underpins the previous one and can yet be easily overlooked. Trying to assess these would imply asking: *What underlying cultural assumptions and norms guide the platform's operation? What is the underlying agenda for the city? How is power allocated? How is legitimacy and accountability constructed and judged? How are these elements being perceived by platform users and the wider public?*

However, all of these questions hint at the type of observations that are hard to impossible to observe with desktop research methods. Instead, we limit ourselves to the more particular dimension of democratic assumptions, through an exploration of the democratic controversies they give rise to. We assume that these controversies emerge when the underlying assumptions regarding democracy underpinning the CCPs, are (perceived to) challenge established frameworks and practices of (participatory) governance in the contexts where they appear.

Thus, the identified controversies - through screening of newspaper articles, blog entries and exploratory interviews (cf. section 3.3.3) - serve as our closest 'way in' to map the democratic assumptions that CCPs can comprise.

In order to frame, disentangle and assess these controversies, we draw upon the framework developed by Agger & Løfgren (2008), which is outlined in the following section. While this framework outlines an essentially normative, criteria-based approach that allows for an evaluation of democratic performance of participatory processes, we initially use it to unravel the different democratic values that are touched upon in the stated controversies. The criteria are in that sense also used as lenses, used to clarify the core democratic notions underlying the different controversies that we came across.

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[5] Along the typology that is developed in the course of the analysis, and in section 5.1.2 in particular.
[6] In this characterisation of engagement we draw on Zuckerman (2013), who describes ways of participating along an axis from 'thin' to 'thick' engagement, whereas 'thin' means that it result in a weak tie to the local community, and 'thick' a strong tie.

2.3.2 ASSESSING DEMOCRATIC EFFECTS

For this purpose, we employ the criteria-based approach developed by Agger & Løfgren (2008), which provides a framework for a democratic assessment of collaborative planning processes, based upon a synthesis of modern democratic theory (including Dahl, 2000; March and Olsen, 1995), and the thoughts embedded in the collaborative planning tradition (the strand of planning thought that engaged most explicitly with democratic values and concerns). They come to the following set of criteria for assessing the quality of democracy in collaborative processes: (1) access (2) accountability (3) public deliberation (4) adaptive institutions (5) political identity.

This chapter discusses each of the 5 criteria in turn, summarizing what they imply, how they have been reflected upon in the literature, and how they can be applied to investigate civic crowdsourcing, resulting in formulation of the guiding questions used in the evaluative analysis in chapter 5.

2.3.2.1 Access

The idea to make the process of political decision making accessible is one of the key democratic ideals. It can be considered one of the core motives, both behind liberal democratic political systems based on representation (Dahl 2000), and for establishing networks for citizen involvement (Agger & Løfgren 2008). For citizen involvement in area-based urban renewal, the idea is to establish extra-parliamentary realms to include 'the governed' in the governance of their area more directly, going beyond the usual way of working with a group of representatives elected for certain posts.

Besides designing governance arrangement that aim to open up the decision making process to a broader circle of citizens, access also concerns looking at (patterns of) actual participation. Even though many formal participatory governance arrangements could in principle be open to participation by any involved citizen, the way the participatory governance arrangement is organised, the methods and instruments that are employed, and the form of deliberation that is used (together termed the "choice of institutional design" by Agger & Løfgren 2008) can influence who actually participates.

Different settings, methods, instruments used for citizen participation attract different types of citizens (Pløger 2004, Agger 2012) and exclude others (Agger & Larsen 2009). A growing body of literature identifies the lines along which citizens engaging in participatory governance arrangements are not always representative for the concerned population as a whole (Larson & Lach 2008). A relation appears between the resourcefulness of citizens in terms of their political know-how, time, professional knowledge, and the extent to which they tend to participate (Schelcher & Torfing 2010, DeSantis & Hill 2004). While aiming to reach all and formally granting the right to participate to every citizen concerned, participatory governance arrangements may - by their institutional design - exclude certain actors, and with them certain issues and viewpoints, affecting the actions that are taken and influencing eventually the substantive outcomes of the process (Connelly & Richardson 2004). Rather than assessing formal access, it is therefore also relevant to look at actual participation, and be aware of the obstacles that prevent people from participating even when they have the formal possibility.

In this respect, the discussion on the 'digital divide', the gap between people with effective access to digital ICT and those without (Selwyn 2002, 2004), is quite relevant. As Hilbert notes, "the idea of a digital public sphere without equal access to ICTs is highly questionable" (2009: 104).

Two approaches could be distinguished that somehow aim to deal with the observed discrepancy between formal and genuine access to the decision making process. First, the idea of representation, where non-participants are represented by 'peers', so that their viewpoint, ideas and interests are included in the decision making process. Second, participatory governance arrangements could vary in the methods and instruments that are employed throughout the process, thereby attracting different kinds of citizens and allowing for bringing in different kinds of knowledge into the process (besides technical and expert knowledge, Healey (1997) emphasizes also tacit knowledge, practical and moral types of knowledge).

Summing up, evaluating the 'access' criterion of CCP implies asking the following questions:

- *To what extent are the CCP open to participation from affected stakeholders?*
- *To what extent are those concerned actively participating in the CCP?*
- *In the case where the CCP employs representation, how is representation conceived, implemented and verified?*
- *To what extent are different participation methods appealing to different kinds of knowledge employed in the CCP's functionalities?*

2.3.2.2 Accountability

Related to access and representation, is the extent to which participants in the participatory governance network are held accountable for what they do in the network, by those who they represent. Swyngedouw (2005) notes that in participatory governance arrangements it is very difficult to verify whether representation is effective, arguing that the alleged insertion of civil society organisations into civil society is difficult to disentangle. As such, the lines and mechanisms of accountability have to be assumed. The combined outcome of the two difficulties of (1) verifying representation and (2) installing accountability, can lead to "more autocratic, non-transparent systems of governance that—as institutions—wield considerable power" for those who are participating.

Agger & Løfgren acknowledge the difficulty of assessing accountability in a context of citizen participation, pointing at "the problems of upholding this classical chain of accountability since collaborative networks, albeit actively engaged in policy-making, are not always accountable to the citizenry for their performance" (2008: 157). Based on March and Olsen (1995), they propose to evaluate two important aspects related to accountability: information and sanctions.

An essential precondition for accountability and its information angle is transparency. It can be debated to what extent and under what circumstances information from within the participatory governance arrangement should be 'opened up' or made accessible for a wider audience - especially when it concerns sensitive information that is the topic of negotiation. Nevertheless,

transparency of the way that the participatory governance arrangement impacts the political decision making processes in planning remains an essential democratic feature.

A second, more difficult to apply to the context of civic crowdsourcing is the issue of democratic sanctions. These can be both based on formal rules and contracts (formal punishment) or stem from a more informal sense of community (giving rise to sanctions such as guilt or a loss of self-respect). According to Agger & Løfgren, "it should ideally be possible to identify some chain of accountability where sanctions can be imposed. A network for citizen involvement operating in an accountability void is not favourable to democracy" (2008: 157). It remains nevertheless difficult to establish what kind of sanctions can be deemed appropriate in a context of the participatory governance setting that CCP aim at.

One way around this difficulty is to note that the accountability of participatory governance arrangement can be enhanced when they include elected politicians (Torfing & Sørensen 2005). Their argument could count for CCP: with the involvement of public authorities in the CCP, its functioning and the processes it gives rise to then includes actors (politicians and civil servants) that can be held accountable through traditional mechanisms of accountability.

Evaluative questions regarding accountability thus include:

- *To what extent is (1) the functioning of the CCP itself and (2) the processes through which its projects go, transparent to the wider public?*
- *Does the CCP employ any formal or informal sanctioning mechanisms?*
- *Does the CCP include participation of elected politicians and civil servants?*

2.3.2.3 Public deliberation

Public deliberation on CCPs can both take place on open online discussion boards or fora, as well as using online functionalities to announce, spread, and invite for meetings related to the projects held face-to-face in the offline space.

Appraising the qualitative democratic aspects of deliberation encompasses three elements.

First, it is relevant to look at the roots of why having deliberation that goes further than simple voting: the values of public deliberation: tolerance (from Habermas 2003; cf. Thomassen 2006), reciprocity (from Mouffe 2000; cf. Bond 2011) and social transformation and learning (Young 2002) are exactly those values that stem from human interaction, face-to-face meeting, speaking and listening. It is therefore valid to raise the question in this context whether online deliberation can bring about these values in the same way face-to-face meeting does.

Second, the impact of the dialogue can be assessed in terms of its effectiveness: whether it is visible that the deliberation makes a difference to the decision-making process. When a direct influence is absent between what is being said in the deliberative space (whatever form it takes) and what is being decided, implies a short-cutting of the democratic quality of the process. Agger & Løfgren quote in this respect Innes' (2004) examples, such as participants sensing a higher degree of 'network power' or 'glue of collaboration'.

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Third, the openness of the debate is of crucial importance: including a space where it is possible to contest ideas, decisions, directions, allows to use and draw upon productive agonism. The end goal of the deliberation does therefore not need to be consensus. In line with Mouffe (2000), also Agger & Løfgren state that "conflicts are inevitable, and striving for consensus might in fact undermine the quality of the deliberation process, as it may set up certain 'frames' for the dialogue too early in the process, thereby suppressing other views and assertions." (2008: 155).

The summing-up questions with regard to public deliberation are therefore also threefold:

- *Does the CCP provides spaces where dialogue and deliberation can take place (either online or offline)? It is genuinely open for contestation and divergent opinions?*
- *Are values of tolerance and reciprocity reached in the dialogue (rather than mere complaining)?*
- *Is there a real impact on the decision making process? Does the deliberation that is taking place on the CCP make a difference to the outcome that is generated?*

2.3.2.4 Adaptive institutions

The criterion of adaptive institutions holds two slightly contradictory notions. On the one hand, drawing on March & Olson (1995), the importance of stability can be emphasized: participatory governance arrangements should be stable, predictable, and able to continue functioning through internal situations of conflict or external shocks of political or economic change. This refers to the importance of clear and long-term commitment to well-anchored modes of citizen involvement, leading to their advocating of "the presence of mechanisms (and subsequently rules) for making the network more than just the erection of yet another tomb in the crowded 'project cemetery'" (Agger & Løfgren 2008: 156).

On the other hand, this compromises on the possibility of change. In order to deal with conflict, to integrate learnings, to adapt to changing situations, participatory governance arrangements "cannot become stable and rigid institutions" (Agger & Løfgren 2008: 156). And as Healey (2006) argues, they aren't. Healey's framework therefore provides the analytical tools to gain deeper insight in the transformative shifts that urban governance arrangements make, in order to "both assess these evolutions of 'governance on the move' and as aids to those actively involved in struggles for transformation" (Healey 2006: 317).

The questions summarizing the issue of adaptiveness are therefore equally two-fold:

- *To what extent are CCP equipped to deal with conflicts and changing circumstances, to foster a stable and sustainable participatory process?*
- *To what extent do CCP transform institutions and existing participatory governance practices?*

This democratic criterion treats the political identity formation that empowers the citizens in the participatory governance arrangement. Agger & Løfgren argue that through (among others) participation in democratic deliberation and decision making, citizens can learn 'what is good, who they are, who they want to be, and the kind of community in which they want to live' (March & Olsen 1995: 76). This leads to the formation of citizen's institutional capital, comprising knowledge aspects (intellectual capital), relational aspects (social capital), and aspects related to working collectively for agreed ends (political capital).

The assessment criterion can be summarized as whether participating citizens in CCP feel that their participation has fostered their access to (and ability to make a difference in) the decision process, and contributed to the development of a democratic identity.

The question to assess CCP in the dimension of political identity and capability formation is thus

- *To what extent do the CCPs contribute to the development of political capabilities and democratic identity?*

2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

We use the five criteria both as 'lenses' to unravel the democratic values underlying controversies, and as normative criteria on which an evaluative assessment can be based (cf. also section 3.2). For the latter use, it's important to note that occasions might occur where trade-offs take place between the different norms and criteria (Agger & Løfgren 2008). Fishkin (1999) also pointed this out with respect to Dahl's (2000) criteria: "furthering some criteria may require the sacrifice of others" (Fishkin 1999). Agger & Løfgren, even from a purely theoretical outlook, see that a high 'score' on one of these norms automatically means a low score on another norm. In this sense, it remains appropriate to assess the participatory processes also with regard to the (democratic) aims they put forward.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter presents the methodological considerations we took into account while conducting data collection and interpretation in this research. We start by outlining underlying assumptions, which we as researchers carry, and how they are reflected back to the research design (section 3.1). Section 3.2 treats how we used the theories in an analytical framework and section 3.3 outlines in more detail the methodological approaches and concrete steps, which were conducted to obtain our results.

3.1 ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING THIS RESEARCH AND CONSEQUENCES FOR RESEARCH DESIGN

Dealing with multiple ontologies

We take point of departure in the awareness, that we as researchers bring our own worldviews and paradigms into this study, which reflect back on the way we design the process, analyse data and interpret observations. With other words, we embrace the ontological stance that reality is multiple and (inter)subjective. This created the wish for our research, to report reality as seen by the participants of this study, in order to bring out different perspectives and relate them to each other. In concrete this wish translated into two data collection strategies; (1) we conducted twelve explorative interviews to both gain a feel for the manifoldness of views as well as to challenge our own perceptions, which we deemed an important preparation before we (2) designed and conducted a workshop methodology (see below for more elaborate methodology description) as the gravitational point of our data collection strategy. The workshops were organised with the aim to let participants relate their different views against each other in a setting of open dialogue and with space for differing views, while minimizing the influence of our own perception of reality.

Epistemological Approach

The research is developed from a constructivist frame, taking the stance that categories of knowledge are actively created through social relationships and interactions. As a precondition

for interpreting our data adequately, we therefore needed to 'come closer' to the subject of our research (Creswell 2012). We tried to implement this in three ways. First, we performed a desktop-study of civic crowdsourcing platforms (CCPs), engaging actively by registering on the various online platforms and interacting by trying out different functionalities (cf. section 3.3) and aimed for inter-observer consistency by discussing our observations about the platforms between ourselves as well as with peers and professionals[7] currently looking into the same domain. Second, we carried out semi-structured exploratory interviews with a diverse range of Copenhagen urban actors active in processes of area-based urban development, in order to get a feel for the functioning of and perceptions about the city's participatory practices and to get to know the different people who we would afterwards also invite to our workshops. Third, we wanted to observe how the actor groups in our workshop setting perceive the phenomenon, construct and attribute meanings around it, and therefore recorded and transcribed all discussions taking place among the participants in the different workshop rounds, in order to get the full richness of thoughts and arguments behind the "outcomes" of the workshop. Finally, we note that we do not regard the perceptions of the interviewees and workshop participants as fixed or constant, but as a temporal understanding shaped by the situation, the participants and the way the conversations were unfold. In that sense we see the two workshops as 'snapshots', which give indications for knowledge generation, without holding the final answers or covering our research question in a final or exhaustive way.

Axiological considerations

Concerning the normative assumptions underlying this research, we take the axiological stance, that our personal perception of values took strong influence on the shape of this research. While designing the setup, we were guided by an interest and concern about whether or when civic crowdsourcing should become a part of the urban governance 'scene' and/or bring change to urban governance, that included the normative stance that in such a scenario it should be 'for the better' and immanent traps for democratic governance should be avoided. We were inspired by Healey's (2006) conceptualisations of changing governance structures and took up her understanding, that both the level of practises, networks and discourses (the platform architecture), as well as the underlying cultural assumptions are relevant to understand the dynamics of governance arrangements. Those two axes were then significant to give shape to our research.

After mapping and characterizing the platform architectures of existing CCPs, the assessment of the second layer (how cultural assumptions that go behind CCPs are constituted - and in what sense these assumptions generate democratic controversy) required an essentially normative framework. This led us to take up democratic theory as the theoretical backbone in this research. Choosing a criteria-based framework (as developed by Agger & Løfgren 2008), is to agree that the different dimensions to democracy should be guarded. At the same time we are

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[7] Most prominent here was a cooperation with two employees from Kuben Management, who are currently conducting together with Dansk Byplan Lab a project called "Sæt strøm på dit kvarteret" (http://www.byplanlab.dk/node/1837), which has an overlapping scope with our research. We were invited for a common working day, where we reflected together on our different approaches, viewpoints and findings, which then fed back into our research strategy.

aware that the researchers preparing the assessment framework were themselves guided by their own axiological understandings. The choice for democratic theory also had implications for our methodologies; for instance it required that during the workshop, the discussion rounds were perceived as open and of sufficient length, so that these underlying assumptions and normative stances towards the topics of discussion could be brought up and discussed in the group.

Being aware that these choices were guided by normative understandings, we can step back, be critical towards their validity, and move on to a more nuanced discussion of controversies arising from CCPs and the different perceptions of it. We see ourselves as guided by our axiological frames, but at the same time we are critical towards them and distance ourselves from any claims of "wanting to sell a used car" to anyone.

Implications for research design

With those considerations in mind we prescribed ourselves to a interpretative research design with qualitative data strategy, where we embraced complexity and approached empirical data with hermeneutic cycles of sense-making, ordering, describing, developing inductive reasoning, which interacted again with our theoretical framing. This led to a spiral of deeper understanding, where choice of theory and interpretation of empiri informed each other mutually (Jacobsen 2007: 251). While our research required gathering data initially from a desktop study, the core of our data collection strategy was, in accordance with the qualitative design, to regard the participants in our study as agents with valued knowledge.

This led us to use an emergent research design (Creswell 2012): the first data collection phase (carried out through exploratory interviews and a desktop study of a sample of CCPs) was set up before the final methodological research strategy was fixed. While the research strategy and design crystallized more clearly after the exploratory interviews, we still allowed to constantly feedback experiences in e.g. the adoption of the interview guides and workshop material, the refinement of the choice of theories in our theoretical framework, and the formulation of our research questions. Being adaptive was also especially needed in the choice of participants, where we had to be pragmatic to mobilize in the face of the short time frame of the study the level of participation aimed for in order to capture a certain diversity (in both ontological and normative stances) in our empirical material (cf. section 3.3).

3.2 PURPOSE AND PREMISES OF THE STUDY AND OPERATIONALISING THEORETICAL GUIDANCE

The purpose of this research is to interpret and understand how civic crowdsourcing functions as a participatory governance arrangement, and to identify and assess its democratic implications. The basic premises underlying this purpose thus include that (1) CCPs are potentially impactful participatory arrangements in the context of urban governance; and (2) their democratic effects are a priori far from clear, and require detailed examination.

In line with our interpretive research design, the knowledge object of our analysis is understanding the meaning-making of the human urban actors with respect to (1) the potentials and weaknesses of CCP, and (2) CCP's (un)desired effects with respect to held democratic norms and practice - anchored to the context of Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal Programme.

We operationalise the theoretical guiding framework based on two main theoretical strands (cf. section 2.4). First, we draw on Healey's sociological-institutionalist understanding of governance arrangements to develop the vocabulary necessary to comprehensively describe and analyse what exactly constitutes participatory governance arrangements in urban context. The concepts serve as analytical tools in the sense of 'sensitizing concepts' (Blumer 1954; as quoted in Bryman 2012): they provide a general sense of reference or guidance when we approach the empirical material at hand (i.e. the civic crowdsourcing platform) - giving indications for what to look for, and acting as a means for inquiring the variety of forms that the phenomenon of CCP can assume. Second, the criteria-based framework from democratic theory as developed by Agger & Løfgren (2008) is used both as an analytical and an evaluative assessment tool. On the one hand, it allows structuring thinking about the relevant 'democratic effects' in a fine-grained way. On the other hand, it enables judgement with respect to the democratic performance of, in this case, participatory governance arrangements, on the basis of the scholarly work carried out in modern democratic thought and political philosophy.

In line with our research aim to interpret rather than to make a definitive evaluation, the democratic framework is used more in the analytical way (using the five values as lenses to identify, disentangle and characterise the different democratic controversies) than in the evaluative way (as criteria that allow to formulate answers to basic questions of "what is good/better or bad/worse" about CCPs from a democratic perspective). Yet it does allow us to point at a number of crucial warnings as well as on identifying potential strengths for the democratic functioning of CCPs.

Given the above perspective with respect to our core aims and set-up of our research, the next and final section of this chapter outlines in more detail our concrete methodological approach and empirical data strategy with respect to addressing the different research questions.

3.3 METHODOLOGY AND DATA STRATEGY

To address our research question, a three-tiered methodology is developed, closely aligned to the different working research questions. In this section we outline, for each of the three approaches used, the methodological issues regarding the identification of data sources, and the ways in which the data were collected, processed and employed in the analysis. These include a desktop study of civic crowdsourcing platforms (section 3.3.1), the distillation of controversies regarding CCPs' democratic functioning (section 3.3.2), and the unfolding, applying and testing of the thought experiment concerning a civic crowdsourcing platform in Copenhagen's IUR context (section 3.3.3).

3.3.1 DESKTOP STUDY OF CIVIC CROWDSOURCING PLATFORMS

The first part of our methodology takes up our first working question:

> *WQ1: What is the platform architecture of current examples of civic crowdsourcing plat-forms?*

Answering this research question implies developing a structured understanding of the core concept of this study, civic crowdsourcing platforms. More concrete, our analysis starts from researching examples of CCPs whereas we take point of departure in a non-exhaustive list of cases presented by Hill & Boyer (2013) in combination with the list in Seltzer & Mahmoudi (2013). Building upon these lists, we research further cases, which we spot by performing web searches on newspaper articles, blog entries and research articles on the initial cases, where often parallel cases are mentioned. Furthermore explorative interviews with actors in Copenhagen are held to identify Danish cases our interviewees are aware of.

To narrow from this broader list down to a sample of relevant platforms, we use the two principles that we use to define civic crowdsourcing: (1) the aim to give shape to the city through enabling the creation of local urban projects, thereby moving (partially) onto what is traditionally the domain of public urban planning, and (2) an emphasis on the involvement of different urban actors (and citizens in particular) into the creation of these local urban projects, where "creation" is perceived sometimes more narrow and sometimes more broad, comprising the phases of ideation, design, financing and/or execution. Furthermore we chose to include platforms from a Danish context, even though they meet the criteria to a lower degree than other international examples. The rationale behind that approach is to open up the discussion how to build upon existing approaches and to draw conclusions on the differences compared to a wider context. The full list of CCPs in our sample can be found in appendix 1.

Our analysis of the selected cases is carried out by registering as users on the different platforms and exploring what elements of the platform architecture are traceable via their online interface (the functionalities that are offered to the platform user, the Q&A sections, the team, advisory board or steering committee behind the platform, etc.), while also mapping which elements remain 'unknown' to us (e.g. often the relationship with the municipality). The observations that were possible, were mapped in a growing excel sheet, on the basis of which a pattern of three 'model types' emerged, which served for further characterisation (cf. section 5.1.2).

3.3.2 DISTILLING CONTROVERSIES

The second part of our methodology revolves around operationalizing the working question 2, which is:

> *WQ2: What controversies do civic crowdsourcing platforms give rise to when viewed from a democratic perspective?*

We operationalise this by identifying controversies over three different channels, in particular:

- An analysis of the functioning of the platform architecture (insofar visible) from the perspective of the 5 democratic lenses described in section 2.3.

- Searches for newspaper articles and blog entries, which describe the cases of the platforms and their impacts and consequences, sometimes in enthusing ways, sometimes in problematizing ways. The issues brought up in this media coverage were also analysed through the democratic lenses.

- 12 exploratory, semi-structured interviews[8] with Copenhagen urban actors directly or indirectly involved in Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal (CIUR) programme. Besides enquiring about existing participatory practices, part of the interview was dedicated to their perception of civic crowdsourcing (after a brief introduction into the subject through a presentation of an example platform).

These three parallel tracks lead to the distillation and categorisation of key controversies in regard to democratic effects of civic crowdsourcing, as presented in section 5.2.

3.3.3 APPLYING IN CONTEXT: A THOUGHT EXPERIMENT FOR COPENHAGEN'S IUR PROGRAMME

As further elaborated in chapter 4, Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal project was chosen as 'ground' to enable more context-specific investigation of how a CCP is perceived and desired to function, through the form of a thought experiment.

Our guiding research question hereby is

> *WQ3: If crowdsourcing would be introduced in Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme, how do municipal and civil society urban actors perceive (a) its controversial aspects and (b) its platform architecture to interplay with existing participatory practices?*

For this purpose, we organised two workshop sessions with two different actor groups: the first with actors from civil society who operate in a similar realm as Copenhagen's IUR (referred to in the following as civil society actors)[9], the second with municipal actors with a strong affiliation to the CIUR programme (referred to in the following as municipal actors)[10]. The rationale behind

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[8] The list with interviewees as well as the interview guide for the semi-structured interviews can be found in appendix 2.

[9] We invited urban actors, which are familiar with the facilitation of processes similar to the ones a CCP in Copenhagen's IUR programme could support to facilitate. The participants were: Jesper Koefoed-Melson from Givrum.nu (an organisation facilitating the use of vacant space for temporary usage), Sofie Hugo and Astrid Le Bækgaard from Kuben Management (an engineering company who also facilitate and plan usage of urban space) and currently carrying out the project "Sæt strøm på din kvarteret", Louise von Müllen from 12byer (a consulting and analysis company, which has a specific focus on alternative ways of citizen participation, with a focus on the young).

[10] We invited actors with a strong affiliation to Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme. The participants were: Line Jensen Buch who is responsible for the coordination of the CIUR programme within the Municipality of Copenhagen, Sia Boesen from the CIUR in Sundholmskvarteret, Signe Spelling Østergaard from the CIUR in Fuglekvarteret, Line Falk Tranberg from the CIUR in Gl. Valby, Katja Lange

this two-fold approach is to discuss the perceptions on a CCP from different angles. In this sense, the selection of the workshop participants (as to whom we have sent invitations - 13 persons from the civil society group and 12 for the municipal group in total[11]) was set up with the aim of capturing different viewpoints and perspectives to the topic. However, the actual workshop participants cannot be seen as representative for the two groups we aimed to cover, as self-selection might have taken place by each person's decision whether or not to attend, possibly based on individual interest.

The discussions between the participants were transcribed to serve as input to the analysis. The core building blocks of the workshop were the following three rounds:

First, the workshop started off with a presentation round of the example CCPs (cf. appendix 1), in order to familiarize workshop participants with the diversity of CCPs in different contexts.

Second, several discussion rounds in small groups (3-4 participants) were held, centring around the identified controversies that stemmed from our analysis. Here, a methodology was used in which three papers, each with a potentially controversial statement (cf. appendix 3), were handed out in each discussion group at the beginning of each round, after which the participants selected themselves which controversie(s) they found most relevant and wanted to revolve discussion around. This implied that some controversies were treated more in-depth, while others remained undiscussed if no workshop participant drew the attention to it in the discussion.

Third and last, we organised a round with the purpose that participants, again in small groups, prototype a concept for a CCP that they perceived, from their own viewpoints and experiences, as 'useful' prototype to function in the local urban context in Copenhagen (where 'useful' was left deliberately broad and for the participants to choose whether that implied to directly support their or others' current working methods in a supplementing way, or rather to complement existing working methods). Participants were provided with 'CCP building blocks' in the form of platform functionalities and platform design principles[12] distilled by us from the sample of existing platform examples (cf. appendix 3), between which they could prioritize a limited number, or add on to the provided options with own building blocks of what they believed lacked and fitted to the prototype they developed. This round of prototyping served to make the thought experiment as concrete as possible. Through shifting the stance from reflective (required in the previous round) to slightly more experiential, prototyping was used to "create a microcosm that allows for exploring the future by doing" (Scharmer 2009). The questions guiding the workshop participants during their work on the prototypes were: Who are imagined to be the most important user groups

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from the Local Council in Kongens Enghave/Vesterbro, Berit Haahr Hansen and Tina Hjøllund from the City of Copenhagen's Environmental and Technical Administration

[11] not counting the possible forwards of the invitation of which we remained unaware (which we explicitly mentioned in the invitation e-mail, however without track this further in detail)

[12] The prototyping exercise was meant to build a comprehensive platform architecture, based on 'the platform functionalities' (the front-end of the platform, visible from the interface) and the 'design principles' behind them (the back-end of the platform, not directly visible from the interface, but underpinning what the platform can do). Both are inherently related and together constitute the platform architecture (see section 2.3 for the terminology overview); however, as they differ in 'tangibility' they were distinguished for the purpose that both would be covered during the workshop.

of the prototyped platform? Are the platform users obliged to state their real identity? How do platform users and planners interact on the platform? Who should operate the prototyped CCP? Which resources should it draw upon?

A more detailed outline of the material that the different workshop rounds drew upon can be found in appendix 3.

The two workshops (taking place on April 24th (civil society actors) and May 8th (municipal actors) respectively), followed this same structure - with the only difference that for the second workshop, the analysis and therefore the material (in terms of controversies and prototype building blocks) had been refined, resulting in some slight changes in wording and categorisation.

CHAPTER 4
INTRODUCING COPEN-HAGEN'S INTEGRATED URBAN RENEWAL

To prepare for the application to the case of Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal (CIUR) programme in our analysis, this chapter sketches a rough outline of the CIUR programme and through which practises it is manifested.

Framework

With similar rationales as it was done in other European countries, the Danish Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs introduced in 1997 - quite late compared to other countries - a programme for urban regeneration, which is since carried out in Danish municipalities. Like urban regeneration programmes elsewhere, the CIUR programme has its goal in "improving citizen's quality of life and strengthen local sustainability" (Engberg et al. 2008: 12) in geographically-limited areas of distressed neighbourhoods, by means of project-based, holistic and decentralised interventions and thereby "touch upon a broad range of different topics, e.g. physical renewal of dwellings, job creation, traffic planning, environmental improvements, and various third sector activities aimed at the social integration of residents" (Engberg & Bayer 2001: 3). Central to the CIUR programme is the element of collaboration between municipal and non-municipal actors, in the creation and implementation of the development strategy, through various partnerships, presence in steering committee and public-private investments. With the aim to facilitate and encourage "local engagement, responsibility and sense of ownership - both generally in the neighbourhood and specifically towards the new investments of the programme in question" (Agger & Larsen 2009: 1085) - the programme is one of the most explicitly participatory governance arrangements in the Copenhagen urban planning context. From the start, it was empha-

sized that the participation processes were about bottom-up, consensus-based decision-making (Munk 1998).

The Ministry allocates the funds13 for the specific area-based urban renewal projects on the basis of a number of criteria and priorities. These include for example an above-average share of small outdated flats, poor conditions of urban amenities, high unemployment and problems of integration (Københavns Kommune TMF 2012: 8-11). The City of Copenhagen aims at initiating one or two CIUR programmes each year, whereas each renewal programme has a time frame of six years. This time frame comprises three phases; the start-up phase, the implementation phase and the anchoring phase. First, the start-up phase is dominated by developing a district plan and defines thereby the direction for the urban renewal project. It is worth to note that the district plan is made by a steering group that consist among others of local residents, which together with planners, members of the local council and political representatives sketch concrete projects as well as more broad visions for their area. After the district plan is discussed and approved, the second phase of implementation can start. Here it is about qualifying the initial ideas and aiming for implementation, again with high inclusion of local residents and interest groups. Third and last it is attempted to secure that the initiated activities continue beyond the six years of the renewal project - referred to as the anchoring phase. (Københavns Kommune 2012a)

Bonding, bridging and linking as a strategic approach

A theoretical conceptualisation that was mentioned several times by CIUR planners during the interviews and workshops - carried out for this research - and was characterized as guiding for their work, are the terms of bonding, bridging and linking. In theoretical literature they are presented as the three forms of social capital building (Hawkins & Maurer 2010). While bonding means the establishment of relations between similar actors in a network, bridging refers to relationships between network members with considerable difference in factors such as socio-economic factors or age. Linking is finally described as the degree to which individuals form relationships to institutions having relative power over them. Both bonding and bridging within the local community can be seen as central elements of the IUR planners facilitative work during the course of an urban renewal, containing the hope that the increase in 'social capital' of the local community during the CIUR programme activates also processes in the neighbourhood afterwards. While all activities of the CIUR planners in the neighbourhood could be seen as increasing the capacity of linking residents to the municipality as a power-holder, linking was by the planners also perceived as a very important process of feed-backing learnings to other CIURs and to the main office of the municipality (Leonardsen & Christensen 2014). Leonardsen & Christensen (2014) outlined that this led in the past to processes, where learnings of the area-based IURs were fed into the making of central policies influencing the planning approaches for the whole city; most prominently the policy for disadvantaged neighbourhoods from 2012 (Kø-

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[13] The Ministry contributes about ⅓ of the total costs of the IUR, and the City of Copenhagen the other ⅔. An important part of the preliminary work involved in the area-based renewal application procedure therefore consists of drawing up an investment statement covering the possibilities for both private and public investment

benhavns Kommune 2012), which was exceptional in its success to be a cross-sectoral policy, politically supported by all Copenhagen mayors.

Participatory governance arrangements in area-based urban regeneration: governance dilemmas, coordination problems, and unresolved challenges

Just as in international experience with area-based urban renewal (Leary & McCarthy 2013, Dargan 2009, Davies 2002, Raco 2000 among others), the Danish programme has also been the subject of evaluative analysis with mixed outcomes and conclusions (Larsen 2013, Engberg & Larsen 2010, Agger & Larsen 2009, Andersen et al. 2009, Andersen & Kielgast 2003). These studies assess the results and effects from area-based urban regeneration drawing along different lines with respect to the focus of analysis. A first strand of studies investigates the physical, place-based outputs, others look at the results in the form of the benefits that area-based regeneration programmes translate to the neighbourhood's residents (people-based outcomes), or the evolution of general perception of the neighbourhood. A still different strand of evaluative analysis explores the effects on organisational change within the municipal administration, assessing how traditional power structures and decision-making processes are potentially altered by area-based renewal programmes that start off from rather untraditional premises (adopting an integrated approach, a holistic view that includes socio-economic dimensions, and far going participatory aims in its focus on processes and inclusion of stakeholders in decision-making).

Overviewing the Danish and international evidence of benefits to residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, Larsen (2013) summarizes documented effects including that people move out of the neighbourhood when their socio-economic situation is ameliorated for instance by finding employments; or original residents remain in unchanged social circumstances "but find themselves displaced to other less attractive districts by gentrifiers if the area becomes attractive". In line with Van Gent et al. (2009), Larsen summarizes that "all in all, there is only limited if any evidence for the hypothesis that area-based approaches successfully alleviate poverty, social exclusion and under-average labor market participation in the targeted neighbourhood, at least for people living in the targeted neighbourhood" (2013: 403).

On the governance-innovation side, the evidence remains more open. The planning approach pursued by the CIUR programme with its strong focus on citizen participation as well as public-private partnerships is challenging. The basis for all efforts is to reach consensus among the involved parties, as any unresolved conflict brings the process to halt. Engberg & Bayer (2001) termed this need for a governance process aiming at agreement "consensus steering", and identified several governance dilemmas resulting from it. Examples of dilemmas include for instance that a broader consensus among stakeholders in the area is hard to overrule by the public employees, even though they represent the political power of decision making; or that newly established partnerships between municipal actors and local agents have a risk to lead to relatively closed decision making, which are hard to access for actors who were initially not part of the arrangement. (Engberg, Bayer & Tarnø 2000)

Engberg & Larsen (2010) identify a number of coordination issues stemming from the tensions and power conflicts inherent to the city's governance system as a whole. Along Scharpf's (1999)

distinction between input-orientated and output-orientated means of participation[14], they argue that the strong emphasis on new area-based interventions has resulted in an input overload, causing coordination problems such as difficulties with involving (and maintaining the involvement over time) of local communities; or conflicts between bottom-up demand for resources and existing budgeting procedures.

To deal with this overload, Engberg & Larsen recommend a greater emphasis on the strategic integration and coordination of output-orientated governance mechanisms. However, this is an inherently difficult reform that goes against "the basic problem that the governance system creates an incentive structure which is inhibitive to cross-departmental cooperation due to the multiple conflicts in the model" (Engberg & Larsen 2010: 566).

From this governance perspective, area-based urban renewal programmes can be seen to challenge the functional/sectoral organisation of public service delivery, or "silo mentality" of administrations. Thereby, "momentum is generated to create more linkages between policy fields as they impact on the places and connectivities of urban areas, expressed as a search for "policy integration" and "joined up government" (Healey 2007: 5) - or, essentially, a restructuring of the administration "from within".

Larsen argues, however, that there is "the risk that innovation in governance becomes an end in itself rather than a means to achieve better municipal service delivery and physical and social improvements in the urban environment" (2013: 407). Drawing the attention to the substance of urban regeneration, he outlines a number of recommendations regarding the securing of effective and efficient community participation, including, among others, an increased focus on the existing potentials in the neighbourhoods, facilitating their growth and success. He suggests building upon the work of local community and market-based actors who will have to ensure long term sustainability in the community and highlights the need for advice and support (in technical issues, fundraising and/or project management) in order to avoid that local actors' efforts are diminished by deadlocks.

In this research, Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme is perceived as an interesting setup for unfolding the thought experiment of using a civic crowdsourcing platform. Relating both to the goal of legitimate, efficient and effective community participation as to the governance questions and dilemmas that surround participatory arrangements, the experience with and openness towards new forms of citizen involvement in a complex and often messy urban governance context led to the identification of the CIUR programme as the most adequate soil to ground the thought experiment in. The results from this exercise are elaborated on in section 5.3

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[14] In this distinction, under an input-oriented model, "political choices are legitimate if and because they reflect the 'will of the people' - that is if they can be derived from the authentic preferences of the members of a community... *[while under an output-oriented model,]* … political choices are legitimate if and because they effectively promote the common welfare of the constituency in question" (Scharpf 1999: 7).

CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS

This chapter is structured in parallel with the threefold working questions. In the first two sections (5.1 and 5.2) we focus on a sample of civic crowdsourcing platforms (CCP), which are analysed in two ways.
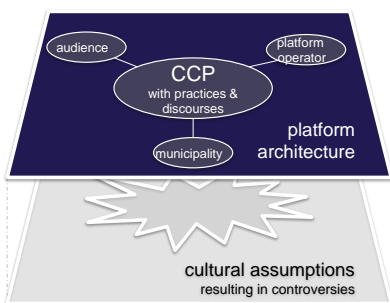
We start by dealing with working question: 1) *What is the platform architecture of current examples of civic crowdsourcing platforms?* To answer this questions we characterize the platform architecture, in line with Healey's theoretical lense, as constituted out of three parts: in section 5.1.1 we look at the practices that the platforms enables (asking 'What?'), which we delimit to the ways in which the platform allows for interaction between the platform's users, through the web interface; in section 5.1.2 we crystallize from the platform practices a classification of three platform types, and describe the different discourses they employ (asking 'How?'); finally we look in section 5.1.3 into the network around a CCP (asking 'Who?'), namely the platform operator, the relation to the municipality and the platform audience.
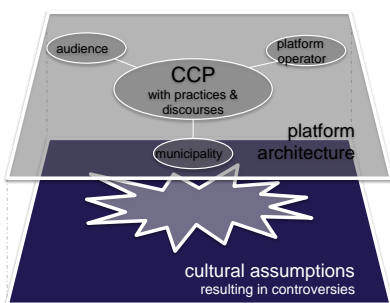
From there we move on to the second working question: *What controversies do civic crowdsourcing platforms give rise to when viewed from the perspective of a democratic assessment?*

Here we focus on Healey's second dimension, the underlying level of cultural assumptions. While virtually impossible to fill it with sufficient empirical content from the assessed international examples, section 5.2 addresses this dimension by assessing the (potential) effects CCPs give rise to from a democratic perspective, identifying controversial aspects along the five criteria outlined in the analytical framework.

After this first part of the analysis, section 5.3 explores the thought experiment of a civic crowdsourcing platform within the Integrated Urban Renewal programme in Copenhagen (CIUR). We posed the following working question: *If crowdsourcing would be introduced in Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme, how do municipal and civil society urban actors perceive (a) its controversial aspects and (b) its platform architecture to interplay with existing participatory practices?*

To answer this question our methodology encompassed two workshops: a first one with civil society actors and a second one with actors closely affiliated to CIUR programme. By revolving discussions around the controversies identified in the previous section, we take two 'snapshots', in which we try to capture a small part of what Healey refers to as underlying assumptions.

In section 5.3.1 we describe those snapshots, without reducing the broadness of viewpoints the workshop participants hold.

This sets the scene for the second set of snapshots we took in the workshops by employing a prototyping methodology, resulting in the participant's perception of a potential platform architecture. Section 5.3.2 describes those prototypes, taking commonly agreed upon perceptions of the controversies into account.

Finally the second part of the analysis is rounded up in section 5.3.3, by relating the findings from analysing the two snapshots to each other and hinting at some patterns.

5.1 THE ARCHITECTURE OF CIVIC CROWDSOURCING PLATFORMS

As we argued at the beginning of this report, we have to take a closer look at the core elements of our research, in order to create ground for answering our research question. After having taken a quick glance at the first element in our research question, Copenhagen's Integrated Renewal programme, we turn now towards studying the second element, the architecture of CCPs. Here we aim to answer our first working question: *What is the platform architecture of current examples of civic crowdsourcing platforms?*
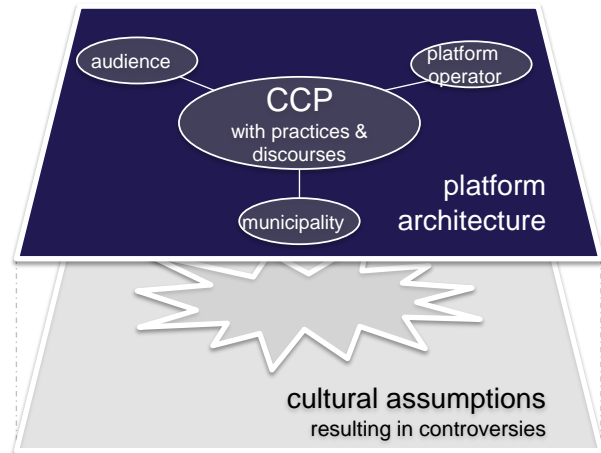
To answer this question, we selected, as outlined in the methodology section (see 3.3), a sample of 14 international cases of civic crowdfunding platforms, operationalised in cities in Brazil, USA, UK, Belgium, Finland and Denmark. A list of those can be found in appendix 1, where each of them is described with some higher degree of detail than what is possible in this section, as well as with a visual reflection[15]. The sample is analysed through a desktop study of their interface, the background information they provide on their functioning, the media coverage they received and other research done on the topic before. This knowledge feeds into the three next sections, describing the platform practices, a classification of types and the related discourses and finally a brief characterization of the network around the platforms.

5.1.1 PLATFORM PRACTICES

As outlined in the analytical framework, we assume that the practices are to some extent observable by looking at the ways the user can interact with the platform.

Taking a closer look at the sample of CCPs shows that the general lay-out of a CCP takes more or less the following two-tiered structure:

- a main page presenting, listing and sorting the hosted ideas or projects, and
- sub-pages for each project or idea, where in-depth descriptions are given and most of the functionalities are located.

Within both types of pages, different ways of interacting with the platform are embedded, enabling certain practices. Our analysis identified the following list:

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[15] Still we perceive the approach of giving a paper-based description of the object of study, namely online civic crowdsourcing platforms, pretty limited in its goal to give the reader a feeling for this phenomenon. We invite therefore the reader unfamiliar with the cases at hand, to gain a more holistic hands-on experience by visiting for example the platforms spacehive.com, ideoffensiv.dk and nyc.changeby.us, which should give a good first impression.

FUNCTIONALITIES ENABLING PRACTICES	DESCRIPTION

Collecting raw ideas
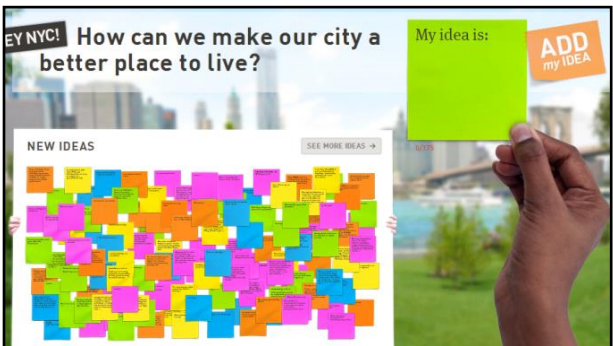
© nyc.changeby.us

The practice to allow the platform user to input their ideas (either in relation to a concrete challenge, or in general in regard to their city/neighbourhood), without requesting from the idea giver specific details, like who would support the idea, or where it should be located. This allows for all kind of ideas, also wild and unrealistic ones.

Discussing ideas/projects (with connection to other social media)
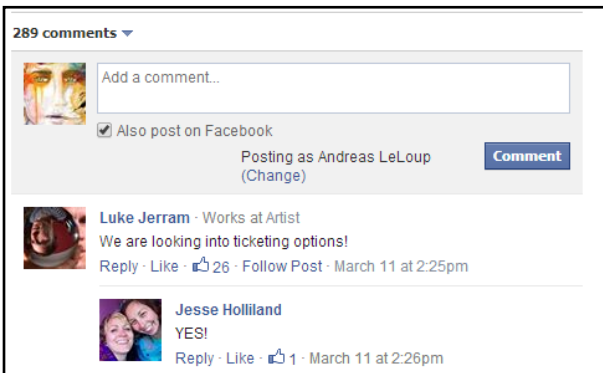
© spacehive.com

A practice to discuss ideas and projects among the users, which can lead to a better understanding of the idea/project, add new ideas to make it stronger, highlight weak points, link to additional information relevant to the idea/project and ultimately, to keep the idea/project alive and owned by the platform users. A strong form of this mechanism includes the connection of the discussion to other social media, to increase the likelihood of reaching a wider audience.

Voting for ideas/projects in order to prioritise
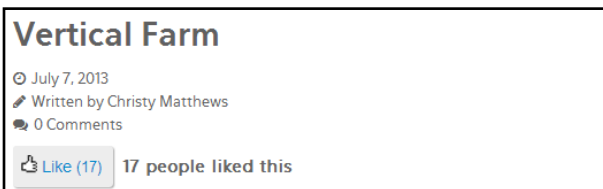
© bristolrising.com

A practice to allow the platform user with a click on Vote/Like to qualify between different ideas/projects. This gives an indication which ideas/projects are more desired by the platform users, which could for instance feed into a planning discussion about which projects to take forward. It can also serve the platform users to orientate themselves and find the more realistic and popular ideas/projects.

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Pitching of the ideas/projects with a text description (and a video)
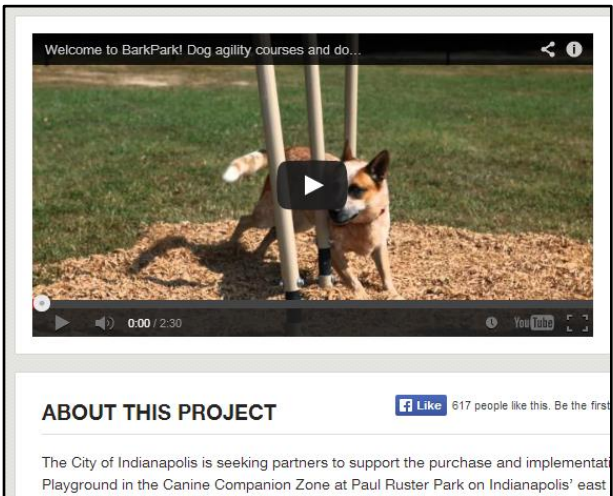
© citizinvestor.com

A practice to convince others with a pitch of the project to gather support for it. A pitch implies, that the project has moved beyond the idea state, as there are people forming support around the project and drawing more concrete lines, what the idea could look like. On platforms with a strong version of this mechanism, a video pitch is included, which introduces the idea, often professionally presented.

Locating the project on a map
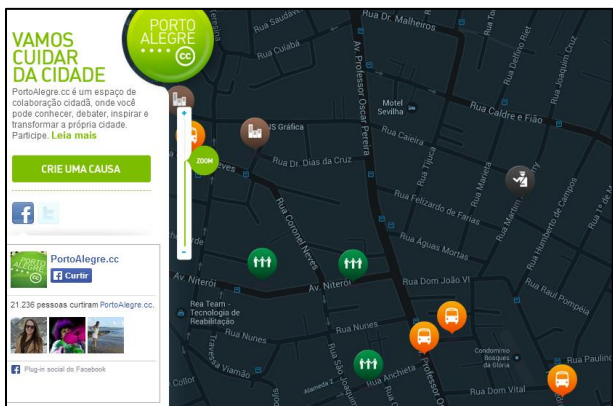
© portoalegre.cc

A practise to locate projects on a map. This makes it possible to gain overview as a platform user, which activities are going on in his/her specific neighbourhood and therefore create awareness and ease the connection to local initiatives. Some platforms put this practice in the centrum of their design, by showing a huge map on their homepage

Connecting to other social media

© Portoalegre.cc

A practice to make it easy to share projects or events on the CCP with peers from other social networks, like facebook or twitter. This potentially increases the 'reach' of the platform and might also remind platform users to come back to the CCP, when they receive messages from it on their preferred social networks.

Arranging meetings (with proceeding documents available)
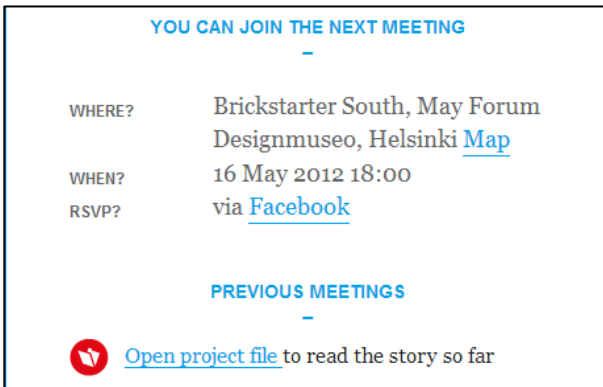
© spacehive.com

A practice to arrange offline meetings around a project. Platforms which provide this project management tool indicate the wish to combine online and offline in a meaningful way, recognising that the online space has its limitations, which face-to-face communications can deal with more effective. A strong versions of this practice includes the option to upload proceedings of meetings, to grant access to the information on the progress of a project.

Organizing volunteering work & material (with description what is needed)
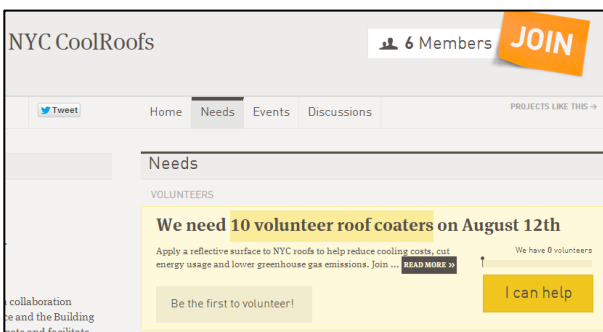
© nyc.changeby.us

A practice to organize volunteering work and needed materials for a project over the platform. This implies, that the CCP wants to empower local projects, by easing project management and resource organisation. A strong form of this practise includes the option to specify on the platform in detail the required material or the volunteering task and when there is need for it.

Crowdfunding (with cost breakdown | with visibility of who donated how much)
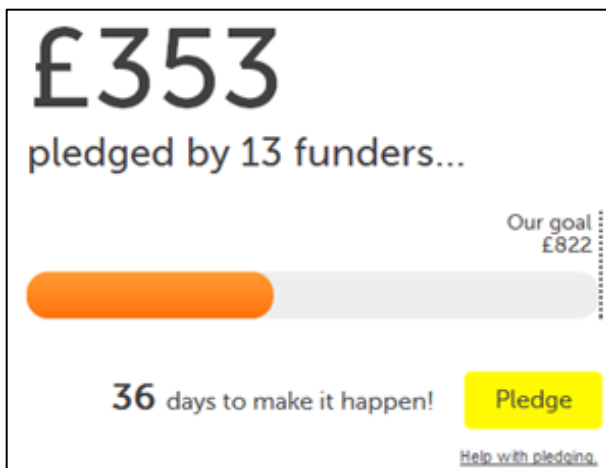
© Spacehive.com

A practice to pledge money to fund a project. The specified funding goal has to be reached in a certain time span, in order for the money to be transferred to the project organizer. The operator of the CCP keeps typically 4% to 5% of the reached funding sum. The motivation is here to make projects possible, which normally do not receive (sufficient) funding. Some platforms put strong emphasis on accessing funding from both citizens and foundations or companies. A strong form of this practice includes a detailed cost breakdown of the project as well as the visibility of seeing the name of donors and the pledged amount.

Displaying the network of people around a project (with their role)

© Brickstarter.org

A practice to visualize the network of people who support a project. This might make it easier to build an online community, which is connected to the offline neighbourhood. To meet peers on the platform might increase the motivation to participate yourself more actively. The visualisation makes it also possible to get a feeling of the size of a project. A strong form of this practice includes to distinguish between different 'roles', like e.g. project coordinator, volunteer or counsellor.

Showing existing plans and permits, create the understanding & awareness about them
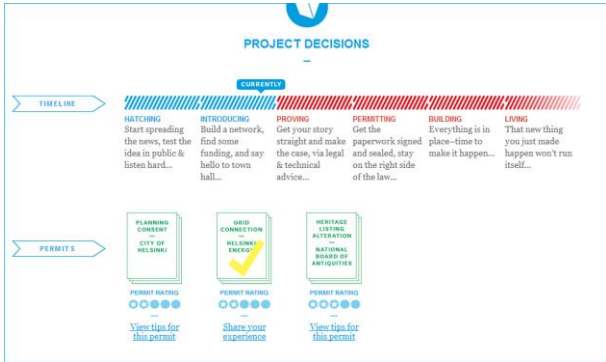
© Brickstarter.org

A practice to show existing plans that the municipality has in relation to the project or to show permits which have to be granted. This functionality tries to make it easier to establish the link to municipal planning and find a 'common language'. It is one of the very rare practices, which we could only find on two of the sampled CCPs.

This list makes it possible to get an impression of how CCPs translate planning practises into an online interface, but it does not allow yet getting a picture of how those practices are combined on a CCP. The next section tries to shed some light on this.

5.1.2 EMERGING PATTERNS OF PRACTICES: DISTINGUISHING THREE PLATFORM TYPES AND THEIR DISCOURSES

Not surprisingly, some of the practices are common to many platforms while others remain rarer. We start this section by presenting in table 5.1 an overview showing this, with on the one axis our sample platforms versus on the other axis the practices identified on each of them. Having in mind that our sample of 14 platforms is just representing a fraction of the CCPs that are operational in the fast growing field, some patterns can be distilled from the researched examples. We try to make this visible for the reader, by giving different colour shadings where we see patterns emerging. It becomes visible that the different platforms of our sample cluster into three different groups, which focus each on a certain set of practices.

Platform	Operator	miscellaneous practises							resource coordination related practises			
		Collecting raw ideas	Discussing ideas/projects (with connection to other social media)	Voting for ideas/projects in order to prioritise	Pitching of the ideas/projects with a text description (and a video)	Locating the project on a map	Showing existing plans and permits	Connecting to other social media	Arranging meetings (with proceeding documents available)	Organizing volunteering work & material (with description what is needed)	Recruiting new project members & displaying the network (with roles)	Crowdfunding (with budget, with visibility of who donated how much)
futurebristol.co.uk	University & City Council	x	x (-)	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
idéoffensiv.dk	City Council	x	x (-)	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
tagdel.dk	Non-profit	x	x (-)	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
bristolrising.com	Developer	x	x (-)	x	x (-)	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
portoalegre.cc	University & City Council	x	x (x)	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
possiblecity.co	Non-profit	-	x (-)	x	x (-)	x	-	-	-	-	x (-)	-
neighborland.com	NGO/For-profit?	-	x (-)	x	x (few)	x	-	x	x (-)	x (-)	x (-)	-
nyc.changeby.us	City Council	x	x (-)	x	x (-)	x	-	x	x (-)	x (x)	x (-)	-
ioby.org	Non-profit	-	x (-)	-	x (-)	x	-	x	-	x (-)	-	x (x,-)
neighbor.ly	For-profit	-	x (-)	-	x (x)	-	-	x	-	-	-	x (x,-)
citizinvestor.com	For-profit	x	x (-)	-	x (x)	-	-	x	-	-	-	x (x,-)
growfunding.be	University	-	-	-	x (x)	-	-	x	-	-	-	x (-,-)
spacehive.com	For-profit	-	x (x)	x	x (x)	x	-	x	-	-	-	x (x,x)
brickstarter	Think-tank research	-	x (x)	x	x (x)	x	x	x	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)	x (?,?)

caption	type #1	type #2	type #3

Table 5.1: Overview over the functionalities the sampled CCPs contain

Some of the functionalities contain a second/third criteria, which is as outlined above indicating, that a stronger form of the practice is present on the platform. What this stronger form implies is stated in brackets behind the practice description. The presence/absence of the stronger form is indicated, either with a '-' for absence or 'X' for presence, in a bracket behind the checkmark for the specific functionality.

Taking a closer look at what the clusters (indicated in table 5.1 by the same shading colour) imply, we classify the researched CCPs in the following three types;

- type 1: 'idea collection & discussion'-centred platforms

- type 2: 'supporting offline networks'-centred platforms

- type 3: crowdfunding-centred platforms.

We are aware that this is not the only thinkable way of making this classification; but as our research did not come across any existing attempts to classify the different emphases that CCPs take, we try to contribute here with our version.

In the next sections we treat the three types in turn. In line with our theoretical framework, we regard it as helpful to focus hereby on the analytical perspective of the discourse those three types unfold. As described in 2.3.1, the questions we move along for each type are: *What are the main topics of the discourses raised and which examples of our sample unfold this type of discourse? Does the platform speak out, which implications the discourse has on the planning process? Is the engagement of the platform users stemming from the discourse rather 'thick' or 'thin'?*

5.1.2.1 TYPE 1: 'IDEA COLLECTION & DISCUSSION'-CENTRED PLATFORMS

Main topics of the discourses

This type of platforms is characterised by the practices to collect raw ideas for the urban realm, to discuss them and to prioritise between them via a simple voting mechanism. Some platforms provide filters to find specific discussion topics, enabling the platform user to engage only into the discussions that s/he finds most interesting. The main topics of the discourses on this platform type are therefore wide, open and directed discussions to qualify ideas.

From our sample futurebristol.co.uk, portoalegre.cc, bristolrising.com and the two Danish platforms ideoffensiv.dk and tagdel.dk can be characterised as framing this type of discourse. Changeby.us and citizinvestor.com hold a practice of a type 1 platform, as they collect raw ideas from the user, but their point of gravity is in the other types.

'Spokenness' of the implications on the planning process

Only few examples are framed around specific challenges, which are put forward by a problem holder (e.g. Egedal Kommune asks on tagdel.dk for ideas to the question "How can we celebrate this year's nature day?); normally platforms of this type ask open questions of the type "How can we make our city a better place to live?", allowing for all kind of discussions and ideas, even though they might be not very realistic.

Simultaneously, all the platforms in our sample left unspoken what limitations (e.g. in monetary terms) there are for actually realizing ideas. This might lead to misunderstandings. Serdoura et al. also remark this point and argue that it is important to "realize that these platforms might confuse people about knowing the difference between collecting ideas and building consensus"

(2012: 10). This might be of special relevance, when a municipality is directly involved in the operation of the CCP. The platform users might build up the expectation that their proposal has to be handled in some way. For a public authority it might be hard or impossible to live up to that claim, as the sheer amount of ideas requires significant resources to process through the traditional channels of handling citizen requests. The set-up of this platform type is therefore sometimes intended as a temporary tool (as e.g. in the case of futurebristol.co.uk).

This can be exemplified with the example of ideoffensiv.dk from Skanderborg Kommune, where the interface might not be perceived as a neutral space for idea collection and discussion, but with a bias in the direction of the platform owner. The citizens are asked to propose and discuss concrete ideas to solve challenges, which the municipality faces, without being informed how their input is handled afterwards. The proposals of the citizens are then mostly left uncommented, and only a few ideas are tagged by the municipality as 'actions'. The selection criteria of your idea being elevated to become an action, remains again unspoken. The municipality deals with an 'action' by treating it in the usual bureaucratic channels of a meeting in the town hall with city officials and attaches a document with the meeting notes to the ideoffensiv.dk platform. Those platform practices seem to have a resemblance with the traditional relation between citizens and planning authorities and shows that culture is "heavy" (Lilliendahl Larsen 2014), resulting in a high inertia towards change.

'Thick' or 'thin' engagement following out of the discourse

The discourses initiated by this platform type can be described as being located before any planning process and have therefore a quite hypothetical character. The user therefore does not make any commitments towards becoming part of a project connected to his idea; it is about shouting ideas out and waiting if someone joins in for the discussion of them. In this respect the platforms in our sample did not succeed in remaining lively over longer periods of time; often several weeks passed between single discussion contributions. This rather limited set of practices and the weak tie to concrete actions in the community, makes us describe the engagement as being rather 'thin'.

5.1.2.2 TYPE 2: 'SUPPORTING OFFLINE NETWORKS'-CENTRED PLATFORMS

Main topics of the discourses

Platforms of this type have a strong focus on mobilizing resources for projects in the local neighbourhood. Therefore they contain practices such as recruiting new project members, organising volunteering work and physical items, like e.g. materials which are needed for the project, and arranging meetings for discussing the project in the offline space. The aim is to empower their users to actively engage in shaping the urban space and the struggles to realize an idea. The main topics of the discourses on this platform type are therefore how to create and support networks and connections, both between the people (interested) in a project and between different projects in the same neighbourhood or city, introducing the potential to share resources or approaches to common challenges.

Neighborland.com and changeby.us are the two platforms from our sample that put strong emphasis on gathering broadly resources to support projects and are therefore classified as being part of this type. Possiblecity.co shows characteristics of this type, but has only rather weak practices of mobilizing resources for a project; the main contribution is here a long list of vacant spaces in the neighbourhood. While ioby.org also hits on this category, as it tries to engage volunteers for its projects and builds up a strong connection to the local community, it also contains the element of crowdfunding and can therefore be described as a hybrid, which fits also in the next type.

'Spokenness' of the implications on the planning process

The projects listed on this platform type are typically carried in a bottom-up way: it is citizens or associations updating and using the project pages within the platform, with the goal to attract potential contributors to their project. From what can be read on the platform, it is not at all clear at which stage the projects that affect the urban space 'get connected' to municipal planning, and are being faced with what conditions and regulations have to be met. On some of the platforms (e.g. neighborland.com), the platform operators are very active in connecting to the users by putting up projects and advising them how to carry them forward. Still, there seems to be a danger that when a project has evolved to a stage where a meeting with municipal authorities needs to take place that the project idea might be already fixed in the heads of the group carrying the project, and adaptation to required regulation seems difficult.

'Thick' or 'thin' engagement following out of the discourse

While the goal of the first platform type was to explore raw ideas together with little limitations on their viability, this type of platform focuses on gathering people around 'more articulated' ideas (i.e. projects that are more delimited in their scope and/or place and have one or several persons behind the project committing to it). This hints at a higher commitment in regard to contributing to a project with a bigger share of their time.

At the same time this platform type tries to reduce the threshold to get and stay 'on board' of a project by reducing the need to attend meetings in order to be able to keep track of what happens around the project but input only certain resources. When there are specific parts in which the engaged citizen wishes to contribute, s/he can equally opt out of the parts s/he likes less. This holds the promise of reaching the participation of citizens, who do not wish to go through the negotiation of a project, but want to contribute to its realization, or of citizens who because of all kinds of reasons wish to join in on a running project when it is already in a later stage of development, for instance newcomers to the neighbourhood.

It can be argued, that this platform type ties together a diverse set of practices in which citizens can contribute, either over the platform itself, or in the offline space, resulting in stronger ties between the platform user and his neighbourhood. We therefore describe this platform type as contributing to a 'thick' engagement of its users. At the same time the crowdsourcing element (that by reaching a larger audience than those directly involved, a wider array of ideas and resources can be mobilized) is not equally developed as in the platform types 1 & 3.

5.1.2.3 TYPE 3: 'CROWDFUNDING'-CENTRED PLATFORMS

Main topics of the discourses

Unlike the second platform type, which focused on the coordination of gathering diverse resources around a project, the last identified platform type puts specific emphasis on gathering one specific resource input, namely crowdfunding. Following the principle of the English phrase "Look after the pennies and the pounds will look after themselves", the central idea is here to gather small monetary contributions from a big amount of people in support of a project. To reach this goal, this platform type also has the task to advertise a project in need of funding to as many people as possible. Therefore all platforms contain a strong praxis of pitching the project with an extensive description and a well-made video presentation as well as a practice of linking to other social networks. The main topic of the discourses on this platform type is therefore to advertise and test how desired an urban project is, and ultimately to 'sell' urban projects to the platform users. On the platform spacehive.com this is phrased in the following way: "Spacehive creates a vibrant marketplace where you can discover great projects and make them happen with the click of a mouse. Forget battling bureaucracy - transforming your area can be as easy as buying a book online." (Spacehive 2014a)

Examples from our sample unfolding this kind of discourse are neighbor.ly, citizinvestor.com, growfunding.be and spacehive.com. The never-implemented research prototype brickstarter and ioby.org combine the functionalities from this platform type and the before mentioned type 2 and can therefore be named as hybrid exceptions.

'Spokenness' of the implications on the planning process

The fact that projects search for funding over this type of CCP, can mean basically two things: either the project ideas has evolved already to a quite ripe state and monetary resources are one of the last things needed to move towards implementation; or the project seeks funding for carrying out an advertising campaign, feasibility studies or design proposals to reach e.g. support from the public authorities. The crowdfunding campaign for the flyover project mentioned at the start of this report, is an example of the latter.

As projects on this platform are likely to require planning permits, projects proposed by the platform users undergo first a screening process, which guards that both the standard of an attractive project's presentation, and the rules of the platform operator are complied. The platforms in our sample differ in regard to those rules; some platforms require that the one proposing a project is a neighbourhood organisation, a non-profit or a local government (neighbor.ly); others verify the liability of the projects, but do not clearly specify what the rules are (spacehive.com).

The project holders trying to get funding support from the crowd normally lay very open what problems the project currently faces and what the funded money would be used for. Four out of the six platforms in our sample oblige the project owners to present a cost breakdown to gain legitimacy what the crowdfunded money is used for. Some go even a step further in transparency and show a more detailed description of the contributions the different crowdfunders have made (see figure 5.1.).

How will the money be spent?

Total
£40,848

		About the cost breakdown
Detailed Design (27%)	£11,050	This shows how money raised for the project will be spent.
Stakeholder engagement (24%)	£9,600	These costs have been confirmed by the project's Delivery Manager and verified.
Other Fees (15%)	£6,000	
Business Plan (11%)	£4,350	
Surveys (6%)	£2,650	
Detailed Design - in-kind (5%)	£2,000	
Surveys - in-kind (5%)	£2,000	
Pre Planning application fee (2%)	£900	
Other (6%)	£2,298	
Total	£40,848	

Who's pledged what?

Our goal
£40,848

£43,981 pledged by 350 funders

£0 still needed

12.24% St. John's shopping centre £5,000	StJohns
12.24% Curtins (in-kind) £5,000	Ccurtins
12.24% Different (in-kind) £5,000	different
12.24% Experian £5,000	Experian
58.71 % Everybody else (346 funders) £23,981 cash and in-kind	

Figure 5.1: Cost breakdown and raised funding sums by a project on spacehive.com (the flyover project in Liverpool introduced at the start of the report) (Spacehive 2014b)

'Thick' or 'thin' engagement following out of the discourse

CCPs of this platform type implement the basic principle of crowdsourcing, to reach out for a huge platform audience, in the most complete way of all three platform types. The crowdfunding mechanism makes it possible to reach an audience living far away from the project, which have a weak tie to the project and engage only over the 'thin' platform practices of funding and commenting, as well as the local community, whereas the crowdfunding campaign of the project can form a strong tie between the supporters and the project, both online and offline (Davies 2014). Here it is also remarkable that some of the crowdfunding platforms (spacehive.com, citizinvestor.com, neighbor.ly) define the 'crowd' broad and successfully raise high sums from foundations and private organisations. This mixed picture makes us see the crowdfunding-centred type as being located somewhere between 'thin' and 'thick' engagement, depending strongly on the success of the project holders to reach out for the local community, but as far as our desktop research methods allowed to see, the engagement of most of the users stays rather 'thin'.

5.1.3 NETWORKS AROUND A CCP: WHO IS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PLATFORM INTERFACE?

After casting a look on platform practises and discourses on the three platform types, this section completes the troika of platform architecture elements by shedding some light on the network around a CCP. In specific we ask here: (1) Who are the initiating and driving actors behind the platforms? (2) How do municipalities relate to the sampled CCPs? and (3) Who is the audience of the platform and what drives them to participate?

5.1.3.1 Initiators and operators of the platform

We start by turning towards the first question of the initiating actors and platform operators, which seems to be quite central to the topic of CCPs and its democratic implications on participatory processes. While it seems impossible to give a final answer, it is interesting to look at how the existing platforms handle this question; and it appears that the platform types show different behaviour in this respect.

A first observation is that platforms of the 'idea & discussion'-centred type have a tendency to be operated either directly by municipal actors, or actors who are closely affiliated to the municipality; three out of five of our sample platforms match this observation (futurebristol.co.uk, ideoffensiv.dk, portoalegre.cc). A possible explanation might be, that idea collection and discussion is a mode of governing participatory processes, which planners are already performing in public hearings and other participative approaches. This conceptual closeness of offline meetings and the online counterpart might reduce barriers of engaging with the new possibilities of CCPs.

While our sample size for the second platform type is too small to see indications in the direction of driving forces behind operation and ownership[16], the crowdfunding-centred type shows some interesting tendencies. First, none of the sampled platforms of this type shows direct involvement of municipal/governmental actors. This can be of course related to legal constraints, as municipalities are mostly not allowed to raise money from private actors for their own activities. Still it is remarkable that government does not seem to take part in the initiation of platforms of this type. Crowdfunding-based platforms have a clear tendency to be owned by for-profit organisations, which applies in our sample for neighbor.ly, citizinvestor.com and spacehive.com. The exception proving the rule is growfunding.be, which stems from a research project[17]. As taken up below, both ownership models might have implications on the democratic effects of a CCP.

While it is out of the scope of our research to assess the amount of resources CCPs require to operate, an indication is given by the size of the teams behind the platforms, which varies in the examples where the homepage is giving information about it, from three to 18 people employed for an unknown amount of hours. Among the supporters of the CCPs often big foundations are mentioned (e.g. ioby.org names the Rockefeller Foundation, Deutsche Bank Americas Founda-

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[16] even though an interesting example is given by changeby.us, which is operated by the City of NYC

[17] which is strictly said also true for Brickstarter, even though it is rather a hybrid between platform type 2 and type 3. Also ioby.org is a type 2/type 3 hybrid and is operated by a non-profit organisation.

tion and many others). This leads to the unproven assumption, that the resources required both to launch and also to operate and moderate a CCP should not be underestimated. Especially platforms of the third type therefore try to generate revenue out of their operation, which is normally done by charging fees from the projects funded over the platform, often a certain percentage of the crowdfunded sum between 4% and 5% (Davies 2014).

5.1.3.2 Relation to the municipality

The fact that some CCPs, especially of the third type, are dominated by private actors and still engage in the classically public-sector-activity of shaping the urban space, also poses the question, which role public planning should play towards them. In the following we will take a look how this relation is manifesting in regard to our platform sample.

A first observation is that municipalities overall 'dare' to engage with the new type of web-based practices CCPs comprise. As discussed above, especially platforms of the 'idea collection & discussion'-based type are often initiated 'close' to the municipality; still our observation was, that planners participate only seldom in the discourses on them. The example of ideoffensik.dk showed also that type 1 platforms initiated by the municipality have a tendency to merely translate the formal style of the 'offline' procedures of handling citizens' requests, in the online space.

While our sample again contains too few examples of platform type 2 to condense clear indications, an interesting example is given by the New York based version of changeby.us, which is initiated and operated directly by the office of the city's mayor. It contains strong forms of platform practices around the mobilization of non-monetary resources and the networking between active civil society groups. Even though this platform is provided to the citizens in the good intent to empower community groups, the planners remain rather passive on the CCP and do not actively engage in the hosted projects.

The case is somehow different in regard to the relation between the third type of crowdfunding-based platforms, which is dominated by for-profit organisations as driving actors. Here it is often the operators of the CCP, which perceive the municipalities as an important partner in their efforts and try to engage with them, only with limited success though. As Davies analysis from a big data set of civic projects hosted on crowdfunding platforms demonstrates, 10% of the reviewed examples "mentioned a partnership with public agencies, for investment, permitting and development purposes" (2014:109). Those partnerships also start to take innovative shapes; e.g. a campaign on Neighbor.ly was initiated by a civil society organisation to expand a park in the neighbourhood. The City of Taylor pledged support by guaranteeing, that if the project raises its funding goal of $130,000, the city will overtake the responsibility of maintaining the park ongoing (Neighbor.ly 2013). Other partnerships models are e.g. proposed by citizinvestor.com, where the municipality should match each dollar funded by the crowd with one dollar from their own budget. Some municipalities also started to put their own urban projects on a CCP to expand their funding (as e.g. on citizinvestor.com) or contribute themselves 'as the crowd' by pledging funding over a type 3 CCP to projects, which are in line with their policy goals (as e.g. on spacehive.com). Another option of contribution, which we could not identify in any of the researched examples, could be that the municipality contributes by providing time resources in the form of advice and counselling for 'making projects better'.

Another aspect, which is important in regard to the relation between municipality and a CCP is the question, if the listed projects should be pre-screened to fulfil a certain set of indicators before they are made accessible. This approach is pursued for instance by platforms like space-hive.com and neighbor.ly, which assess together with the municipal authorities, if a proposed project would have a chance 'to live'. Another way this issue could be handled is by leaving the process of 'weeding out' to the platform users, which determine via their activity on certain projects, which should be carried on and which not.

5.1.3.3 Audience of the platform

The third actor group in our simplified interpretation of Healey's notion of network is the platform audience. This part of the network seems due to its 'size' and diversity the hardest to understand. Echoing Agger (2012), questions on both 'who' participates, as well as 'how' the participation takes place are crucial in order to understand a participatory process better; and ultimately to "tailor" it to live up to the democratic argument of representativeness of the affected. Unfortunately there has been little research inquiring along those two lines in terms of the new emerging phenomenon of CCPs and our desktop research methods were too limited to aim for adding new knowledge to those questions. We therefore opt for a more discussion-reflexive approach here, first carrying together the scarce evidence we could find and second, relating different profiles of citizens to the platform architecture and trying to anticipate how it might affect their involvement.

Who is participating on CCPs?

A prominent sub-question of "Who is participating on CCPs?", is "Who is participating on crowdfunding based CCPs, where participation is directly connected to monetary contribution?". An interesting investigation on the topic has been made by the operators of the crowdfunding platform citizinvestor.com (listed above as a type 3 platform), who wanted to know if the platform audience in rich neighbourhoods engages stronger in the funding of projects in their neighbourhood, than the communities living in poorer areas. Their answer was that there is no significant relation (Citizinvestor 2014a). Unfortunately their approach just looked at funded projects in general, independent of the 'monetary size' of a project. It could therefore be, that richer neighbours indeed 'invest' more on crowdfunding CCPs, but that the projects proposed there are simply more ambitious.

A second sub-question to understand the "Who?" better is, "What deeper motivation is driving participants?". Jordan Raynor, one of the founders of citizinvestor.com, emphasises that citizens engaging in funding projects in their neighbourhood, do it out of love and loyalty for their home town (Citizinvestor 2014b). This claim got confirmed by Evans-Cowley, who found in a case study for a crowdsourcing platform, "that people chose to participate for altruistic reasons, such as an opportunity to contribute to the community, to contribute their knowledge, and that they wanted to be part of a conversation on the topic" (2011: 1).

In both pieces of evidence presented above, the underlying claim is that it concerns local people supporting local projects in their own neighbourhood. But does the claim hold true? Other web-platforms framed around the realisation of creative projects, like e.g. Kickstarter.com as the big-

gest example of generic crowdfunding activities, attract 'crowdfunders' from geographic regions far away from the project location. As Davies (2014) points out (focusing only on type 3 CCPs) that both exists in terms of civic crowdfunding. There are crowdfunding campaigns, which successfully mobilize funding from users living far away from the project, and therefore he argues have a 'weak tie' among the supporters; but there are also campaigns, which focus very strongly on the local community and build up offline support along the crowdfunding campaign. Ioby.org is one example of a CCP, which requires specifically that project initiators live in the city of their project. On the endeavour to understand if the underlying hope of creating 'strong ties' among project supporters is holding proof, ioby.org analysed its data sets on the project supporters and found that they live in average within a two miles radius of the project (Davies 2014). A practice several CCPs employ to link the platform audience to projects around them, is to include a map of the different project locations.

How are citizens participating on CCPs?

As in any participatory process, the 'crowd' in crowdsourcing can and should not be assumed to be homogeneous; different citizens hold different habits of how (and if) they participate. This has been of course studied from different angles in hindsight to 'normal' participatory processes. An especially nice disentanglement of the on first view intermingled crowd, has been done by Agger (2012). Drawing together from a variety of previous research on the topic, she present the following typology of citizens:

- **the expert citizen** has rich experience in participating in local processes and is often also engaged in other associations and local politics; s/he brings in agendas from his other activities and claims often more decision making power and has a tendency to complain on a political level, if her/his claims are not taken up; s/he can be seen as 'the usual suspects' showing up at every community event

- **the everyday-maker** is a citizen who is participating in one specific project and for a limited time frame; s/he has often only limited experience in participation, does not have a support base of associations holding her/him accountable and carries a positive attitude towards the municipality and the amount of delegated power

- **the social entrepreneur** has a strong ability to identify needs in his/her community and seizes opportunities to turn them around into projects; s/he is skilled in mobilizing resources and build networks around projects; her/his motivation stems from the wish to help the community and build social capital

- **the disengaged citizen** has basically the resources to participate, but chooses not to due to different reasons, e.g. the rationale of the
    - **monitorial citizen**, who is content with critically observing what is going on and only intervening in cases deemed absolutely necessary
    - **young people**, who are described as being alienated from the current shape of political processes and rather pursue their political participation over other channels, like being a political consumer or regularly signing and forwarding petitions.

Attempts to arrive at a similarly nuanced perspective for the participants on CCPs have unfortunately, to our knowledge, not yet been carried out. A much rougher picture for the online space is given by "Sturgeon's Law", which says "that idea generation via crowdsourcing follows the 1:10:89 rule - for every 100 people participating on a website, one will generate something useful, 10 will engage in refining and promoting the idea, and 89 will passively consume" (quoted in Seltzer & Mahmoudi 2013: 9). Even though it is quite rudimentary, it seems to be a helpful first conceptualisation and it does not fall into the common trap of research on participants, that it addresses only the active citizens (Delli Carpini et al. 2004, quoted in Agger 2012). Howe interprets Sturgeon's Law in the direction that the audience of crowdsourcing should be diverse (2008), as the one person proposing something meaningful, needs the ten others, to engage further with it. Especially in an urban context also the 89 passive consumers can be seen as important, as their awareness of ongoing processes in their neighbourhood might also affect, how they perceive their area and interact with it in the future.

Can we now use Agger's elaborate picture to enrich Sturgeon's simple conceptualisation of initiating, elaborating and observing users? An obvious line of argument could be to assume that the different citizen as observed by Agger, would of course reappear in the online space, as it is none the less the same humans engaging on a CCP, who before engaged (or not) in offline processes. Taking the assumption one step further, it could be guessed that expert citizen and social entrepreneurs have the highest chance to be the 1 person initiating in Sturgeon's view, the everyday maker relates the most to the 10 people elaborating and the disengaged citizens have similarities with Sturgeon's 89 observers, with the difference that the young people might potentially feel more engaged by the new means of political participation and become part of the 1% of initiators or the 10% of elaborators. At the same time it might be the case, that more social entrepreneurs might get mobilized by a CCP, as they share the common goal of benefiting the community. All this are of course only first attempts of getting a richer picture of the platform audience, which should be taken up for thorough research.

5.2 CONTROVERSIES

In this next section of the analysis we try to get an understanding of Healey's dimension of underlying assumptions, which might crucially influence the democratic functioning of a CCP. As this is hard to observe, especially in an aggregated view of a range of different platforms, we look at controversies that CCPs are causing from a democratic perspective. Here we are assuming that the controversies are a consequence of the underlying assumptions, which we can observe.
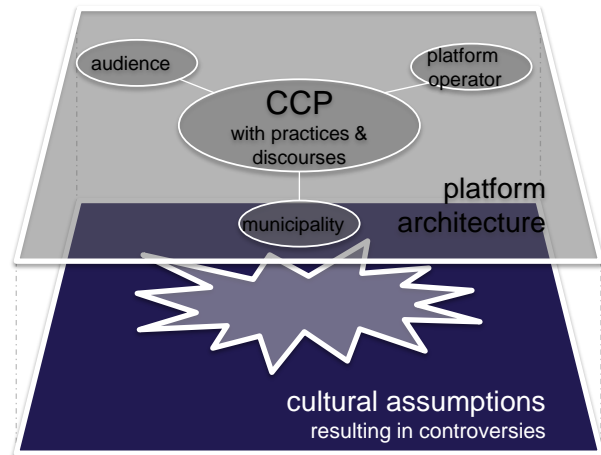
The structure of this section is given by moving along the five lenses of the democratic assessment framework presented in section 2.3, as this framework was also guiding in the identification of the controversies. While we follow this line, we aim at answering the working question:

> *WQ2: What controversies do civic crowdsourcing platforms give rise to when viewed from a democratic perspective?*

5.2.1 ACCESS

For the identification of controversies in the access angle, point of departure is taken in the questions developed in the theoretical framework's section 2.3.2: *To what extent are the CCP open to participation from affected stakeholders? To what extent are those concerned actively participating in the CCP? In the case where the CCP employs representation, how is representation conceived, implemented and verified?[18] To what extent are different participation methods appealing to different kinds of knowledge employed in the CCP's functionalities?*

CCPs are formally open to the participation of everyone, but this does not mean genuine access is equally distributed. When the platforms explicitly appeal to specific resources, the ones who are more resourceful in this respect can be expected to have higher access than those who are less resourceful. In this realm, three controversies are identified, where the first controversy addresses the resource of money in general, while the second treats the role of private companies in particular. The third controversy takes a broader stance towards resources, including time, political and technical know-how and social capital.

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[18] As our platform sample did not include examples with an (explicit) role for representation, the question concerning the mechanisms of representation was not taken further in the analysis.

Controversy 1: 'Crowdfunding as an indicator for how much projects are desired' or 'A way of letting money decide'

This controversy is one of the most prominent in discussions over civic crowdfunding. While crowdfunding platforms present their tool as a "faster, more democratic way of getting things done that puts communities in the driving seat" (Spacehive 2014b), opponents argue that the extent to which citizens are willing to fund a certain project cannot be taken as an indicator for whether it is the right project to do, as it will by definition be too heavily influenced by certain groups:

> *"Crowdfunding in its current form also requires that participants have real dollars to 'vote' with and this fact alone may skew participation. The presence of real money introduces differential agencies — an individual with more resources is able to increase their influence over the process — and undermines the notion that crowdfunding is an egalitarian form of preference expression (or in economic terms, a means of revealing preferences) as opposed to simply a funding mechanism" (Davies 2014: 110)*

Controversy 2: The role of for-profit organisations on CCP: 'providers of resources' or 'buyers of influence'?

A second, related to the above but also more specific, controversy in the realm of access is given by the question which role for-profit organisations should be allowed to play on a CCP. Local companies are urban stakeholders, who on this basis can be included in participatory arrangements that concern the area they operate in. Moreover, they are often (at least in monetary terms) more resourceful than citizens and tend to care about a positive image for their customers. In the crowdfunding examples, this combination proves indeed to give rise to significant sponsorship from for-profit organisations to projects taking place in their immediate surroundings (see e.g., Spacehive 2014b), which can make the difference between whether the required amount for the crowdfunded project was collected or not.

On the other hand, by providing the monetary resources these actors might get a disproportionate influence on what type of projects are being carried out in their neighbourhood. In an extreme case, they could manipulate the character of their neighbourhood in their interest (e.g. by attracting more resourceful households to their surroundings and into their customer base). The platform bristolrising.com can be mentioned as an example in this context. This platform is being operated by a developer of upmarket property in the city centre, which through establishing and maintaining a CCP also aims to influence the attractiveness of the public space surrounding the apartments they sell in downtown Bristol, Connecticut.

Controversy 3: Non-monetary crowdsourcing: 'aggravating existing power imbalances' or 'a mean to invite 'the unusual suspects' in participatory processes'?

On the one side it can be argued that the functionalities usually included in CCP are mostly speaking to the population groups that already today exercise asymmetrically more influence, thereby contributing to already existing power imbalances in political decision making. The most

prominent example is of course related to the digital divide, the observation that access to ICT is unevenly spread towards the wealthier, younger and better educated levels of society, not only globally but also on city scale (Graham 2002). More subtle exclusion mechanisms might occur when a platform appeals to a very specific type of knowledge (technical, political, professional) that is associated with higher influence in decision making.

On the other side, it has been argued that the menu of functionalities CCPs offer (cf. section 5.1) tries to comprise ways of engaging, that are traditionally not part of a participatory process, and might also allow 'unusual suspects' to participate in participatory process, for instance people with limited time resources who would have difficulty coming to face-to-face meetings, or people who do not like all the parts of participatory processes and wish to engage with their specific resource (e.g. drawing posters, or constructing outside furniture) to the process.

5.2.2 ACCOUNTABILITY

While identifying controversial aspects of CCPs in hindsight to the angle of accountability, point of departure is taken in the questions developed in the analytical framework: To what extent is (1) the functioning of the CCP itself and (2) the processes through which its projects go, transparent to the wider public? Does the CCP employ any formal or informal sanctioning mechanisms? Does the CCP include participation of elected politicians and civil servants?

Ongoing from there we found the following controversy:

Controversy 4: 'Anonymous participation' or 'Real identities'

Typically the projects listed on CCPs do not stem from a public institution backed up by a political mandate, but are initiated by private actors, who are generally hard to be held accountable. This might get further enforced, when CCPs allow users to choose anonymous profiles or avatars, which make their real identity invisible (most of the examples in our CCP sample do so).

On the flipside, forcing the use of real identities might at the same time limit users in speaking their voice or in their creative expression of ideas. But real identities could also improve both motivation to engage (e.g. when friends or colleagues are on the platform), as well as the accountability, when e.g. politicians and urban planners are part of the process.

5.2.3 PUBLIC DELIBERATION

Assessing the dimension of public deliberation departs from the following questions: Does the CCP provide spaces where dialogue and deliberation can take place (either online or offline[19])? It is genuinely open for contestation and divergent opinions? Are values of tolerance and reciprocity reached in the dialogue? Is there a real impact on the decision making process? Does the deliberation that is taking place on the CCP make a difference to the outcome that is generated?

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[19] For the purpose of this exercise, we only looked at the online component of deliberation. While CCP often include the functionality of organising, spreading and inviting for offline meetings, the deliberation taking place there is not considered here.

Starting from these questions, we identified three controversies. Controversy 5 concerns the occurring practice of "pre-screening" the ideas and projects that are put on the platform. Controversy 6 addresses how values of reciprocity and tolerance in dialogue might become compromised when the face-to-face component of dialogue is lacking. Controversy 7 addresses the relation between the professional planners, and citizen-laymen participating on the platform.

Controversy 5: 'Platform operators pre-screen content' or 'Everything can be voiced'

While less relevant for platforms of the first two types, all platforms of the crowdfunding-centred type employ the practice to pre-screen whether projects that are put in by citizens are in line with legal regulations imposed on public space or are not too unrealistic in their aim. There are different rationales for conducting the pre-screening. In this way, project that are doomed to fail or impossible to gain the necessary political support or legal permits, are avoided.

On the other hand, one could argue that the pre-screening reduces the openness to "crazy" ideas, that in itself might not prove realistic, but can inspire other ideas or bring up an issue that requires attention, without having the "right" solution ready.

Controversy 6: 'Networks of discontent' or 'Yes-in-my-backyard'

The question of whether online modes of deliberation can (not) provide similar qualitative values as face-to-face deliberation with regard to tolerance and reciprocity, is the subject of a significant body of literature that includes both optimistic and pessimistic accounts (Jansen & Kies 2005, Kim 2006, Min 2007, Gordon & Manosevitz 2011). As Serdoura & Almeida (2012) point out, the absence of public governance in combination with new web-based media can easily lead to empower 'networks of discontent'. Citizens who might already hold a critical attitude towards processes in their neighbourhood could use the easy accessible online platform to speak their frustration, maybe due to an anonymous online setting even more critical than they would normally. In this setting, it seems hard to guard values of reciprocity or tolerance towards the other's opinion. It might be more desirable to handle those conflicts in an offline meeting, where a skilled facilitator can engage.

On the flipside several of the CCPs in our sample explicitly take up the notion of turning around Not-in-my-backyard attitudes. ioby.org's name is an abbreviation for "in our backyards" and Brickstarter choses the slogan "turning NIMBY into YIMBY (Yes-in-my-backyard)". Brickstarter argues that going a step further in the direction of decision power being shared between public authorities and citizens, fosters a pro-active stance, bringing forward and carrying the ideas and projects that address perceived problems, over a reactive stance of voicing opposition against existing situations but expecting another actor to take the initiative (Hill & Boyer 2013).

Controversy 7: Expert-Laymen dialogue: 'knowledge-enhancing' or 'devaluing expert knowledge'?

This controversy seems inherent to any participatory process, where citizens bring in their everyday knowledge. Experts such as planners and architects hold a lot of tacit knowledge about

what are workable solutions, what is sustainable (Healey 2008), or what is aesthetically pleasing in specific environments. When laymen discuss ideas and projects, the absence of this knowledge might affect the quality of the proposals. This brings to questioning whether handing over more decision power to citizens is actually desirable from an aesthetic/sustainability long term perspective on the city. On the other hand, it is often argued (Agger 2012) that citizens hold the everyday knowledge that experts coming from outside can only hardly attain. This controversy therefore comes down to the deliberative dimension - whether it possible to create the space for dialogue between experts and citizens in a mutually-knowledge-enhancing way so that citizen's consideration can feed into the dialogue.

While this remains an open question in both online and offline participatory processes, the extent to which professionals are engaging in the platform, processing citizen's input and/or going into the dialogue with them, is a relevant topic in a democratic assessment of CCP. Particularly in platforms of type 1, where input and deliberation is the main purpose of the platform, transparency on how and when the deliberations on the platforms provide input to the decision making process on the topic, is relevant yet often absent.

5.2.4 ADAPTIVE INSTITUTIONS

Looking at the dimension of adaptive institutions, the following two questions were used to trigger the identification of controversies: To what extent are CCP equipped to deal with conflicts and changing circumstances, to foster a stable and sustainable participatory process? To what extent do CCP transform institutions and existing participatory governance practices?

With that focus we found the following controversy:

Controversy 8: 'Eroding existing institutions' or 'An additive innovation'?

Lange (2012) and Brabham (2009) argue that crowdfunding (and this line of reasoning can to some extent be extended to crowdsourcing more generally) relates to the erosion of public institutions. In this reasoning, the emergence of crowdfunding is both a response to, and reinforcing, the decline of municipal spending and faith in government services. They warn that the resulting shift to event-based priority setting is not in line with the kind of investments communities need in the long run.

An alternative view is offered by Reynolds (2013), arguing that crowdsourcing is an add-on to existing institutions, offering tools that are complementary to the government's. Davies (2014) presents in this light the proposition that success of crowdsourcing can also stem from a perceived inability or unwillingness of certain institutions to address specific needs or wishes, and can therefore be seen as an additive innovation rather than replacing existing structures.

5.2.5 POLITICAL IDENTITIES

The question to assess CCP in the dimension of political identity and capability formation was phrased quite broadly as: To what extent do the CCPs contribute to the development of political capabilities and democratic identity?

Within the scope of this question, we identified two relatively opposing stances on this theme.

Controversy 9: 'click participation' or 'enlightened citizenship'

Some CCPs offer functionalities, which make the voicing of your opinion very easy. It does not take more than e.g. the click on a Vote/Like-button or a quick transfer of a donation. This quite shallow engagement might draw away the attention from deeper forms of participation, where the citizen engages in-depth in the complex challenges his neighbourhood faces, and develops thereby a stronger political identity and understanding. While especially type 1 and the popular type 3 platforms have a stronger emphasis on contributions requiring low engagement, type 2 platforms try to keep people engaged longer throughout the course of a project (cf. section 5.1.2).

On the other side, Boyer & Hill (2013) argue that a CCP - on the condition that the platform includes functionalities that give deeper insight into the municipal planning process, such as making visible which permits are required and how the planning process around a certain project advances over time - can cause citizens' "urban literacy" to grow. The idea that a higher awareness about and familiarity with the complexities in planning - including the different perspectives that can be held to the issues it deals with - can enhance citizens' public-minded democratic engagement, corresponds closely the notions of "enlightened understanding"[20] (Dahl 1989), or "considered judgement"[21] (Smith 2009), which has been quoted e.g. in the context of the participatory budgeting deliberations in Porto Alegre (Baiocchi 2003, Smith 2009). This can be seen as an "information"-counterpart of Young's (2002) notion of the socially transformative potential of interaction, whereby communication provides opportunities for learning from difference, and self-interests shift to a common good, or interests unify – cf. section 2.3.2.3 Public Deliberation.

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[20] Enlightened understanding is defined by Dahl as follows : "Each citizen ought to have adequate and equal opportunities for discovering and validating (within the time permitted by the need for a decision) the choice on the matter to be decided that would best serve the citizen's interests" (Dahl 1989:112)

[21] "Beyond good technical knowledge, considered judgement requires that citizens are not limited by their private interests, but reflect on the views of other citizens, who may have vastly different social perspectives, in other words, cultivate 'enlarged mentality'." (Smith 2009:173)

5.3 A CROWDSOURCING PLATFORM IN COPENHAGEN'S INTEGRATED URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME?

In this last part of the analysis we report from our thought-experiment within Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal, trying to understand the controversies, potentials and implications for participatory urban a CCP might cause. We treat thereby the third working question:

> *WQ3: If crowdsourcing would be introduced in Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme, how do municipal and civil society urban actors perceive (a) its controversial aspects and (b) its platform architecture to interplay with existing participatory practices?*

As outlined in section 3.3.3, our methodological approach to answer this question was the organisation of two workshops with urban actors - one with civil society actors and one with municipal actors. We see the workshops hereby as an arena, where the underlying assumptions came to play. We start in section 5.3.1 by discussing how the controversies were perceived. Here, the aim is to lay open the breadth of the discussed opinions and considerations and we try to avoid putting in too much of our own meaning-making. We see those descriptions therefore as an attempt to make a unique snapshot, highly depend on context, moods and interpersonal dynamics between the participating actors.

Snapshot
Civil society group
24-04-14

Snapshot
municipal group
08-05-14

In section 5.3.2 we present then the results of the prototyping exercise, in which the choices made in the paper design of a "useful" CCP (cf. below) are put forward, underpinned, and interpreted, which constitutes a second set of snapshots.

5.3.1 PERCEPTION OF THE CONTROVERSIES

In the workshops the controversies identified in Section 5.1.3 were formulated as provocative statements, biased in the direction of either emphasising the democratic shortcomings of a CCP, or claiming its positive effects (cf. appendix 3). In this form, they served to "spark" the discussions during the workshop's "controversy round" into taking a certain stance towards them - meant to capture underlying assumptions with respect to perceived democratic functioning vs. preferred democratic functioning. This section summarizes the main discussions, agreements and disagreements on the controversies, along the structure of the five democratic lenses.

In regard to the democratic criteria of access, there was broad consensus among the participants, that online methods in itself are more accessible for groups of citizens who dispose over more resources, and might therefore disfavour citizen groups that already today are less represented in participatory arrangements. Hence CCPs were seen throughout the workshop as one among the many tools necessary for involving people; only the combination of different approaches can establish a system of citizen participation that lives up to the democratic notion of equal access, and never a CCP by itself.

> *"Crowdsourcing is about the resourceful people; a planning process should also account for the people, who cannot put in something into the process"* (participant-sc2)

> *"No matter how, there must be always someone overviewing, that every kind of people is given a chance, somehow. But you always have to do that."* (participant-mun5)

> *"Therefore platforms would never be standing alone. They would never be the only source of new planning in the city."* (participant-mun1)

On the question what type of citizens the platform would attract more specifically, and what type of citizens would not engage in civic crowdsourcing, opinions diverged more. Some participants indeed agreed to the statement that crowdsourcing might speak most to those people who often are already taking part in participatory processes, or already have a certain degree of access to decision making processes.

> *"t's not only crowdfunding, but any time you have a citizen meeting, it will be the well-educated people, the old man who has the time - time is an important resource. It's the same, and you have to be aware of that"* (participant-mun5)

Other participants thought it might actually enable access for groups that are currently less reached by citizen meetings, i.e. "the unusual suspects":

> *"We have the problem when we want to go into dialogue with people, that we always get the same people. And the big question is: how do we get the unusual suspects? And I think this can be a way of making a platform, so that we can get the people, who don't go to meetings."* (participant-mun7)

Clearer spell-outs of who the unusual suspects were expected to be, lead to the identification of three groups in particular who could potentially be reached more with online methods over meeting-based methods: (1) students, younger generations; (2) social entrepreneurs, people with ideas and energy but usually not sticking very long in current participatory processes, and (3) time-restrained people with an interest in their neighbourhood but usually not attending the meetings.

Based on experience with youth-centred participatory urban planning processes, (participant-sc4) however questioned the potential of reaching the young audience with open, crowdsourcing methods. Young students in particular, were often found to be very hesitant to make their

contributions on discussions or ideas that would be publicly visible or heard. (participant-sc3) agreed that for many young people, communities of 'peers' are very important, offline as well as online, and the openness and public visibility of crowdsourced contributions could rather scare young people away than attract them.

> *"... young people often have the idea that there are expectations from the adults, that they should be writing things in a certain way, or think in a certain way, and they try to live up to that. Even though it would be better if they just spoke their mind – but they don't feel comfortable with that, they need to have some trust or confirmation before they are willing to do that."* (participant-sc4)

Whether the CCP would delegate further power to often more resourceful citizens, was acknowledges as an inherent difficulty of the platform design, but was at the same time also seen as an opportunity by some participants: it would allow to 'draw' on people's energy, while the municipality also retains a certain control over which ideas are realised and which need further qualifying (participant-sc1).

5.3.1.2 Public Deliberation

In terms of the openness of the debate, there was a general consensus that the pre-screening should be as limited as possible and that all ideas deserve a place on a crowdsourcing platform, including those deemed unripe or too crazy to be realised.

> *"It gives the planners an idea of what are the present needs. Maybe good ideas can come from unrealistic dreams"* (participant-sc4)

Nevertheless, addressing how fruitful dialogue can be held between expert-planners and lay-men-citizens was deemed relevant and topical, as more and more local projects based on citizen engagement, where the citizens are willing to carry out the project mostly on their own (participant-mun3). This was not perceived as a bad evolution as such, but how to integrate the respective knowledge that citizens and experts hold, without downgrading expert-knowledge on what is sustainable, feasible, or aesthetic from urban planning professionals, was perceived as a challenge.

> *"The question is not whether this[22] is true or not – because it is – it's more about how to make these dialogues easier, develop new ways to handle this. Because the tendency of people engaging in local neighbourhood initiatives is a positive thing – for democracy as a whole, but also for the quality of the city"* (participant-mun3)

From the perspective of the citizen trying to engage in a local project, (participant-mun5) notes that it is sometimes very hard to understand, why certain ideas are not accepted. As such, the discussion in the municipal group was geared at finding ways of making this dialogue easier.

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[22] [The fact that when planner's expert knowledge is missing in the process of project development, this weakens the technical, sustainable or aesthetic qualities of the outcome - as stated in the controversial statement under discussion]

"How can we support them better, in another way, to make [their ideas, projects] more sustainable, to make it easier to make the "right" or sustainable choices, because it's not that they don't want to, it's just that they don't know." (participant-mun6)

Also in the group with civil society actors, the role of experts knowledge in citizen projects was acknowledged and valued.

"It is a challenge we also face, that in these open source projects, it lacks the 10-20% 'extra', the part that an expert person knows about new technology, environmental, social, what is sustainability, ... and this extra knowledge can make the difference" (participant-sc1)

Nevertheless, the formal distinction between 'the expert' and 'the layman' was also problematized, and the hierarchy between these notions was seen as potentially harming to the dialogue. A more equal dialogue setting was envisaged, where the value of and limitations to the different types of knowledge that parties bring to the dialogue would be acknowledged. This was mainly seen as a process where there is large openness for ideas from citizens, which would be further qualified together with experts.

"What I think could be a way to have the best of the two worlds, could be an open process where you have the platform for citizen involvement, and the experts add to this [...] It should be focused on establishing the relationships between the citizens and the experts. So that they understand each other in this process of sharing ideas and knowledge, and then find a common solution. But the key issue is that it's the citizens owning ideas, because if you turn it around, for instance with an expert panel selecting loose ideas, the ideas are not "owned" enough by the people to take care for them in the rest of the process." (participant-sc1)

Another proposed way to take this forward was the idea of providing a "resource bank"

"There could be a "resource bank" – where you could apply for counselling advice from experts. What we experience a lot is that citizens have many ideas but don't know how to get it started and need some advice on their way. This could be a way of qualifying and making their proposals and ideas more sustainable. Not taking projects away by pre-screening but help the nice proposals and make them better on the way." (participant-sc4)

In both discussion groups (municipal and civil society actors) the difficulty was brought up of striking the right balance between "enabling the dreaming" while at the same time, not let people expect that they can do everything (participant-sc2). The need for transparency on what is possible and what not was emphasized: to lay open what the frame of action is to realize the given ideas. This was argued to "make people less reluctant to accept decisions" and enable a setting where "civil society actors do not only contribute with ideas, but also in realizing the ideas; if you put this responsibility on the people, they will suggest less wild ideas and dreams, which are connected to the real world" (participant-sc1).

The third controversy in the public deliberation, finally, on the extent to which the Habermasian values in dialogue of tolerance and reciprocity could be achieved online, was only addressed relatively briefly, as most workshop participants agreed that online modes of public deliberation can never replace a face-to-face dialogue.

> *"I don't think the online will ever remain if there isn't real meeting. This is where people get the drive for actually doing stuff."* (participant-sc4)

Also the role of a facilitator was discussed. Ideally, input should be followed by a curious process from the facilitator side (of the type "yes! Interesting, how should we do this? How can I help you?", (participant-sc1)) which might be harder to achieve in online deliberations:

> *Many people generally love their neighbourhood as it is and are afraid about what is going to change; the most important thing the online platform can do, is to create the dialogue; but conflicts on an online platform might here be even more critical, because they are very hard to control; it needs actually also really good offline facilitators, to mediate conflicts face-to-face* (participant-sc2)

5.3.1.3 Adaptive institutions

The discussion on the feedback-effect from crowdsourcing platforms to existing institutions (cf. controversy 8) was taken up in the discussion of the statement "If crowdfunding proves to work and raises significant money, the public funds for local urban regeneration might get reduced accordingly". The discussion provoked here, treated both the characterisation of what assumptions underlie current decisions on what to allocate money for, and a normative appraisal of it.

While one participant noted that the potential to reduce funds somehow "fits" the current paradigm of Copenhagen municipality ("the municipality has this strategy to some extent – that something is good when it lowers the cost", (participant-sc1)), another participant emphasized that it is important to reflect and criticize the reasons *why* participation in the sense of more self-organisation are sometimes promoted by public authorities:

> *"I like the do-it-yourself culture, and I like the results that come from it, but I don't like it when it comes down to outsourcing, as a way to lower the expenses in the public sector. This shouldn't be a strategy as such. It can be nice to make cities this way... But everything depends on how you look at it why it's a good idea: to have less on your own table as a municipality? Or because we believe we could make a better city with it?"* (participant-sc4)

Closely related, the idea of crowdsourcing was expected not to fit very well to cultural norms and assumptions in Danish society:

> *""There is an entire cultural dimension to the whole thing of making people doing things for themselves. Denmark is different from the US and UK, because the welfare state made us used to a different culture of participation - a more passive one because of the mechanisms in the representative democracy, I think. If crowdsourcing should work in*

Denmark, the municipality has to put something in, too: committing, for example, "if you put in your ideas, we will put in our work hours to advise you." This would be necessary to counter the idea among Danish citizens of "why should I do this, if I already pay my taxes?" or "why should other citizens pay for my idea" – it's something we expect the municipality to do. So there has to be some public commitment." (participant-sc4)

In the discussion among the municipal group the same argument was made from the opposite perspective:

"Before a platform would come up where the municipality is somehow involved, it's really important that the municipality has reflected upon its role in it. It's a problem if the municipality then frames it as 'we don't have the responsibility – it's up for the citizens to do this'. It shouldn't look like we want citizens to take on responsibilities that are actually the municipalities." (participant-mun4)

Apart from that, increasing attention towards user-driven processes - of which crowdsourcing would in any case be only a part - were in general not really expected to save significant resources in the short term.

"To do user-driven processes is complex and resourceful, costly in money and time-investment. Yet they should be prioritized. [...] Because then, it's a cultural and mental change that is necessary for both the citizens and the public sector: that we need solutions to be open to influence from the citizens in order to be better solutions. [...] Maybe in the longer run it might reduce the costs. There is a transition period in which it will need much money because it will require a lot, but in the end when it works... why not draw more on citizen involvement and allocate more money to the basic services of government? I don't think that's so frightening." (participant-sc1)

5.3.1.4 Accountability

The issue on transparency was taken up from two different angles. First, with respect to transparency about money, it was argued that it is in-transparent right now, where the money from private investors comes from. In that sense, *"crowdfunding could provide some mechanisms to make this more transparent; it is a way to democratise the funding aspect, which is positive"* (participant-sc2).

The involvement of private actors who contribute with money was also discussed extensively. The workshop participants noted that this type of public-private partnerships is not uncommon in the current framework.

"Copenhagen already does that, for instance with the opera. [...] But that is not only bad, e.g. the SEB-Bank, they have created this beautiful place which is now a skateboarding hotspot and I don't think this was the idea in the first place; but they gave something to the city and they are maintaining it, so in some ways in is not only a problem." (participant-mun2)

However in crowdfunding mechanisms, the monetary power stemming from citizens' contributions can start to seem very humble in comparison to companies. Adequate mechanisms of 'control' over what is being funded and what not would then be adequate.

"It is nice that every contribution counts, but it is rather small in comparison to what big actors can provide as input" (participant-sc2).

"When individual citizens who come with an idea based on good knowledge about what they want in their neighbourhood, it's difficult and often not possible without funding from outside. Crowdfunding could be an option then" (participant-mun4).

"And really interesting, because we don't see it very often. For example that city garden raising money [Lykkehavnen, a crowdfunder on booomerang.dk], normally we just turn to the local council and ask for some money and you will probably get it, so it's really interesting that they are trying to crowdsource it. [...] I was just thinking that when we are trying to make these public-private-partnerships... maybe this is even better, because it is associations and people who set out the limits of the participations of the companies, because if they are just supposed to put the money into a project, then the neighbourhood decides what the projects should be" (participant-mun2).

The second controversy regarded whether the identity of participants in the online platform should be visible or known, or not. Both identifiability and a certain degree of anonymity were advocated for:

"When I participate in projects I don't really want to put in my whole person, because I also have a professional career and don't want to have everything so transparent that it's immediately tied to my whole person" (participant-sc2).

"*On facebook sites of politicians, people write the most inappropriate things…*" (participant-mun1) *"... But it's only worse if you do it under a nickname. If you have your real name up there, you can only write things that you really mean"* (participant-mun5).

In general, workshop participants agreed that the degree of identifiability could depend on what is being contributed. While anonymity can be OK for simple contributions like a vote, a more full identity could be required in discussion boards. An idea that came up to enhance one's online identity was to include the option that a certain citizen-specialty or interest could be stated, such as "I'm handy" or "I'm good with plants" (participant-mun1).

5.3.1.5 Political Identities

The issue was discussed whether civic crowdsourcing could enhance political identities or whether a shallow involvement through a mere 'click' was actually harming the development of political identity.

In general, voting was seen as a less preferable mode of involving people when it came to more complex issues where ideally a certain degree of depth should be reached. However, according

to the workshop participants there could also be occasions where it's the more suitable option, when it's important to reach more people.

> *"This is actually paralleling current discussions of democracy in social housing associations, where they let people decide to yes/no decision over online means. For them, the problem is then that people are taking even less responsibility"* (participant-mun2).

> *"But on the other hand if you can just click, you might get a lot of people involved, who would never come to a citizen meeting. So there is pros and cons. And it depends, if it is an idea platform, then just voting or clicking is maybe okay, but if it is really about active participants then you wouldn't want to use it"* (participant-mun4).

Whether using CCPs for the construction of new areas for making available information, deepening insight into procedures and regulation, thereby creating and enhancing "urban literacy" or knowledge would enhance 'enlightened citizenship' (cf. section 5.2.5) was discussed to a lesser extent. For dealing with not-in-my-backyard reactions, a participant mentioned that that spirit can be turned around, by asking:

> *"You can ask the angry citizens what they want to happen here? Then you can try to engage those people and give them the feeling, that they are involved in decision making"* (participant-sc1).

In general, the aim to open up planning processes, giving insight into the stage of the process was perceived as a nice feature with the important back-draw of being very consuming in terms of time (participant-mun3).

In conclusion, the participants in the municipal group deemed it a nice feature that was however not very realistic to be maintained as a general strategy.

5.3.2 IMAGINED PLATFORM ARCHITECTURES: 4 PROTOTYPES

Moving one step further towards an answer to our research question, we were interested in taking a second set of snapshots[23] helping us to understand better if a CCP is perceived as a useful tool for the work in Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme. We therefore asked our workshop participants, with the discussion of the controversies still fresh in mind, to assemble a 'paper prototype' of a platform that they thought could be most useful in the Integrated Urban Renewal in Copenhagen. This broad scope required the participants to identify, from their own viewpoints, whether the

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[23] In contrast with section 5.3.1, we move this time a step beyond describing and fill the snapshot with our meaning-making, having the assumption in mind, that we can still observe a 'shadow' of the previous controversy discussion round.

'most useful' meant to support their own or others' current working methods (working as a complement for the same goals), or rather supplementing existing working methods (targeting an 'uncovered area' of participation).

The setup of the workshop is elaborated in more detail in the methodology section 3.3. Here we briefly repeat that the prototyping exercise was meant to build a comprehensive platform architecture, based on 'the platform functionalities' (the front-end of the platform, visible from the interface) and the 'design principles' behind them (the back-end of the platform, not directly visible from the interface, but underpinning what the platform can do). Both for the functionalities and the design principles, participants could either choose between provided 'options' (cf. Appendix 3) or add on to these (cf. hand-written additions in figures 5.2 and 5.3). The questions guiding the workshop participants during their work on the prototypes were: Who are imagined to be the most important user groups of the prototyped platform? Are the platform users obliged to state their real identity? Should the inputs of the platform users be pre-screened/censored in any way, before they are published on a CCP? How do platform users and planners interact on the platform? Who should operate the prototyped CCP? Which resources should it draw upon?

This section treats how both the civil society group (Section 6.3.2.2) and the municipal group (Section 6.3.2.2) prioritised the functionalities and design principles, when constructing their platform prototypes. In each workshop the group was split up in two sub-groups assembling one prototype each, which resulted in totally four different platform prototypes.

GROUP 1
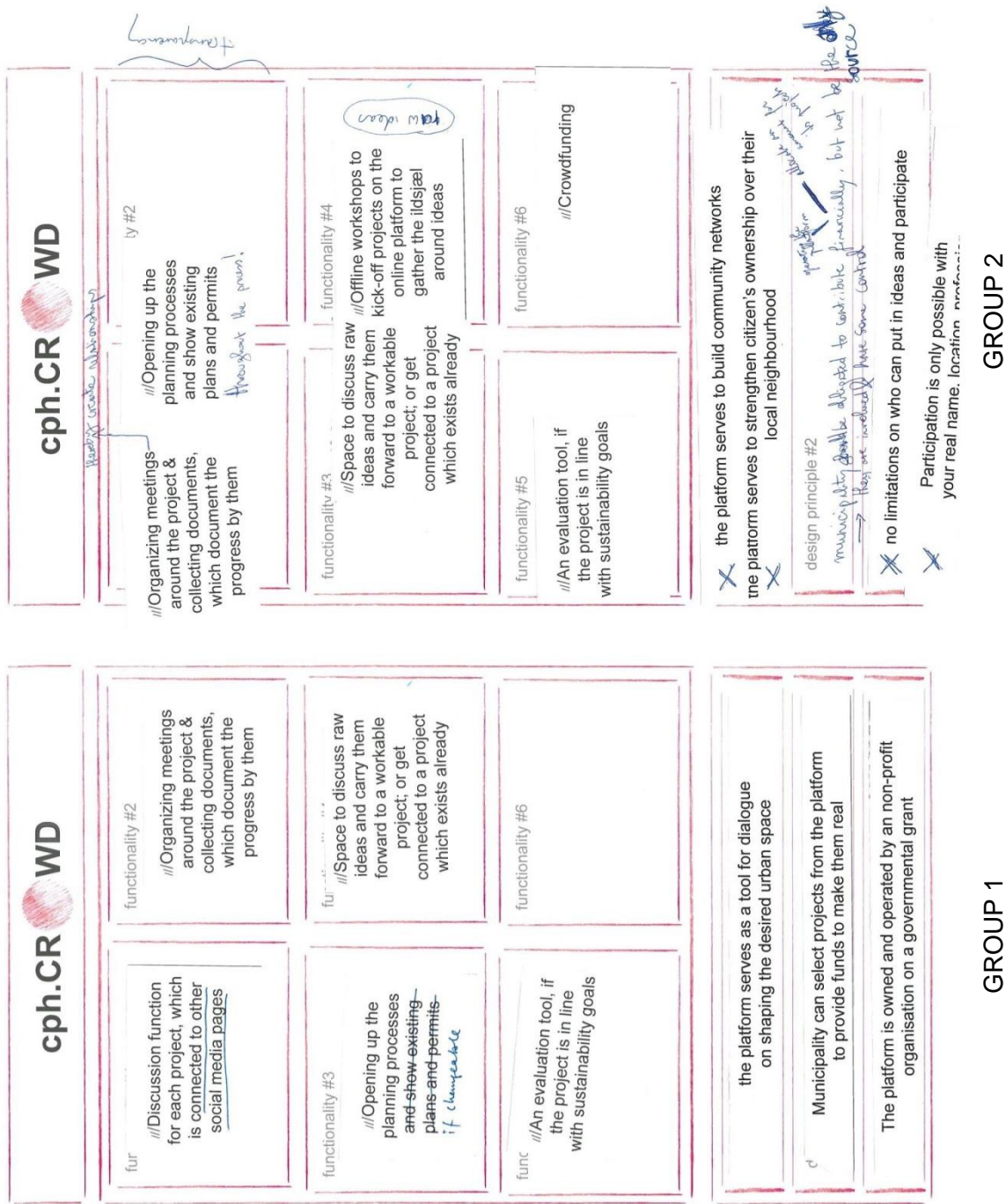
GROUP 2

Figure 5.2: Civil society workshop platform prototypes

In the workshop with civil society actors the two groups (1 and 2 in figure 5.2) developed relatively similar prototypes. Main emphasis was put on collecting raw ideas for projects in the local neighbourhood, and on using the CCP to revolve discussion and deliberation around them.

> *"It should be a good place to discuss raw ideas. Just throw something up in the air and see if it gets caught by someone…"* (participant-sc2).

At the same time the participants in both Group 1 and 2 emphasized the need to connect the platform strongly to the 'offline' community, through a culture of meetings, and facilitated workshops to generate raw ideas that afterwards can feed into the platform.

> *"I don't think this online thing will ever remain if there isn't real meeting. This is where people get the drive for doing stuff"* (participant-sc4).

To keep discussions on a CCP active, Group 1 stressed the necessity to link the prototyped platform strongly to other social media platforms, like e.g. facebook and twitter, in order to create an easy embedding into presently dominating habitual ways of using the internet. For instance, (participant-sc2) emphasized the prime importance of accessibility in stating that that the discussions on the CCP should be reached with "as few clicks as possible".

Even though acknowledged as most controversial during the earlier discussions, Group 2 included the element of crowdfunding in their prototype, as a potentially helpful feature to help the launching of concrete ideas. Yet they attributed it rather low priority.

> *"Crowdfunding came up late in our discussions, which was a bit surprising, but we actually didn't think that this is the most important in order to create a good platform for engaging in the city"* (participant-sc1).

Both groups mentioned the 'synchronisation' of discussions held online and offline (so that offline discussions feed back to the project's online page and vice versa), by means of functionalities where the process was 'opened up' (for instance by having the documents from meetings and decisions available online). This synchronisation was seen as holding the advantage, that it made the current status of the project and the discussions around them easily accessible and traceable. The underlying assumption was, that through these aspects it would be more easy for new platform users to "join in", and that throughout the duration of discussions or projects this could result in a wider audience reached.

In regard to the operation and ownership model of the CCP, the participants agreed that the platform should be run by a non-profit organisation, which receives the means for doing this through a grant of the government. At the same time the participants stated that, ideally the relation between the municipality and the organisation running the platform should be quite close, as the output of the platform would relate strongly to the municipal domains of operation. The participants in Group 2 proposed therefore a model in which the municipality should engage al-

so with financial means in the platform's projects, for instance by establishing a budget and allocating it to desired platform projects. This was seen by the participants to be a more passive way of steering the platform, requiring a more facilitative role of the planners.

> *"I'd want them [the municipal planners] to be more searching, instead of them creating the platform. Maybe they better go on a platform that is there, and not on their conditions, and see themselves as a partner"* (participant-sc4).

In regard to the question of the relation between the municipality and a CCP, both groups included in their prototype the idea that - where relevant for the project or idea under consideration - information on applicable regulation could be made available, for instance by showing current plans for the neighbourhood. As highlighted by Group 1, this should be done in a way that only those plans are shown, which are possible to take influence on, in order to avoid unnecessary conflicts. Furthermore Group 2 imagined a process of screening raw ideas, which should be performed after ideas have been voiced openly, and then in team with the platform users and planners:

> *"[The screening process] should be focused on establishing the relationships between the citizens and the experts, so that they understand each other in this process of sharing ideas and knowledge, and then find a common solution where the best of the two worlds is combined"* (participant-sc1).

This led to a longer discussion with agreement on the point that a basic premise for a CCP would be to redefine the relation between citizens using the platform and planners. The planners were to a large extent perceived as facilitators and counsellors, putting their capacities to give advice, qualify the projects, while letting citizens carry their ideas further eventually into realization.

> *"The municipality has to put something in, too; committing, for instance, "if you put in your ideas, we will put in our work hours to advise you." This would be necessary to counter the idea among Danish citizens of "why should I do this, if I already pay my taxes?" or "why should other citizens pay for my idea" – it's something we expect the municipality to do. So there has to be some public commitment"* (participant-sc4).

With regard to the audience, no a priori target groups were envisaged, and the participants stressed the importance to monitor closely who is active on the platform and who is not, in order to balance it by other means and participatory methods.

Summing it up

While using a surprisingly high number of similar building blocks, the groups diverged slightly in the main purpose of the platform. In the prototype of Group 1, dialogue itself was the key goal or outcome of the platform, while in the prototype of Group 2 the functionalities of dialogue and

offline meeting were meant to support the building of community networks, and strengthening citizens' ownership over their community, putting more emphasis on empowerment and carrying capacity of the citizens in bringing their ideas a step further.

Overall, the platforms prototyped by the civil society actors, resembled an extended version of the "idea collection & discussion"-centred platform (type 1). Similar to the case of ideoffensiv.dk from Skanderborg Kommune, the emphasis - particularly in Group 1 - was on presenting and discussing ideas within the community, while keeping at the same time a link to the political level in the municipality. A crucial difference to the type 1 platforms in our sample is that the prototyped platform models had a strong emphasis to not remain restricted to the online sphere, but serve to support processes that essentially take place in the offline community. At the same time the concrete coordination of projects and resource gathering as fostered by platform type 2, as well as the crowdfunding mechanism from type 3 seemed less important to the participants.

5.3.2.2 Municipal actors

In the workshop with the municipal actors the two groups (for further reference Group 3 and Group 4 throughout this section) emphasized relatively different goals of their prototypes (see figure 5.3). We treat the two prototypes in the following in turns.

cph.CR●WD

functionality #4
///Collecting raw ideas

functionality #4
///Organizing volunteering work & needed material

fur...
///Discussion function for each project, which is connected to other social media pages

functionality #1
///Possibility to discuss raw ideas and carry them forward to a workable project

functionality #3
///Crowdfunding

functionality #5
///Opening up the planning processes: show existing plans and permits, create the understanding & awareness about them

desi | the platform serves to mobilize resources (money, time) from private actors for urban projects

des | no limitations on who can put in ideas and participate

de | the platform serves to build networks between projects / resources / neighbours

des | The platform audience should be representative for the population of the city

c | Participation is only possible with your real name, location, profession ①

GROUP 4

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cph.CR●WD

fur
///Organize the offline-component: announce & invite openly for meetings around the project

fun
///Offline workshops to kick-off projects on the online platform to gather the idsjæl around ideas

functionality #6
Work with the visual elements

fur
///Organizing volunteering work & needed material

fu
///Opening up the planning processes: collecting documents, which log & track the progress of the project

ft
///An advanced functionality to see the people engaged in the project
Find find other projects

the platform serves to build networks between projects / resources / neighbours /network

des | The platform is owned and operated by an non-profit organisation on a governmental grant

Find similar ideas → participate (Bridging) Local
"Start your own" "Join this project" All over Cph

de | the platform serves to mobilize resources (money, time) from private actors for urban projects

the platform aims at participation from time-restrained people (with a busy job or family)

By being time-flexible, the platform targets a specific type of people (creative, taking initiative, self-organising), complementing other participatory methods which aim for other audiences

GROUP 3

Figure 5.3: Municipal actor workshop platform prototypes

Group 3 put strong emphasis on using a CCP to support existing local initiatives carrying out their ideas and dreams.

> *"I think this platform is about: what is happening in the neighbourhood; and is there someone who can help me; and not so much about making someone else do it"* (participant-mun2).

This goal was imagined to be given shape by following a two-tracked approach: first, by including functionalities, which are supporting to carry out essential parts of project management; this includes functionalities to announce and invite for meetings, as well as to collect documents, which log & track the progress. Second, the platform should facilitate the formation of tighter networks to other resourceful actors.

In that regard the participants deemed important to feature a functionality to show the people engaged in the project, which should make it easier to connect between themselves. This connection should be manifested by offering a functionality making it possible for the platform user to sign up both for volunteering tasks, as well as to contribute needed materials or tools, which have been announced before hand by the project initiators.

According to the conception of their platform prototype, the Group 3 workshop participants deemed that the generation of new ideas should be rather carried by offline workshops, which could be added as new projects on the online platform.

Platform practices and discourse as imagined by Group 4

The other group (Group 4 in figure 5.3) in contrast put the collection of raw ideas in the centre of the prototype CCP; the platform could then be used to bring them towards a more workable shape by discussing them in the online space.

In line with Group 3, functionalities to mobilize resources were prioritized, both the organisation of volunteering work and crowdfunding were seen as useful mechanisms that a web-based tool could facilitate. One participant stated, that *"mobilizing resources [from non-municipal actors] is much more difficult today [...]. Here the added value of the platform would be largest"* (participant-mun1). The participants in Group 4 also thought it was interesting to link to the municipal level by showing existing plans and permits and making it therefore visible in which context your ideas are in and "why some ideas are better or more easy to get realized than others" (participant-mun5).

In parallel to the workshop with the civil society actors, Group 4 participants stated here that discussions should be tied closely to other social media networks in order to increase their reach.

In terms of operation of and ownership over a CCP, the participants highlighted that the municipality would be legally not allowed to gather monetary resources, and would therefore be not the right operator of a platform that included crowdsourcing. The favoured model was to have a non-profit organisation operating the platform, which is operated on the base of public funding. It was for instance proposed that it could be funded by all IUR projects together, but used for each urban renewal project individually, which was said to be also economically more feasible. Other participants saw equally high chances of realising a CCP, when a for-profit company would take up the challenge and financing its functioning by taking a certain percentage from crowdfunded sums, thereby "proving" its use more powerfully also loose from subsidies.

In regard to the question on the relation between platform audience and the municipality, the participants perceived a CCP to be a more permanent tool to link initiatives on the very local level with the urban planners. As one of the key challenges of an Integrated Urban Renewal programme is to sustain the created networks and activities in the area, it was hoped that this link could contribute in the effort to 'anchor' the work in a specific CIUR programme. The planners in the central city administration could look into the local initiatives hosted on a CCP and support the ones that connect to policy goals on the strategic level, both by taking a counselling role and while doing so also considering if a monetary support of the project is feasible. This linking from bottom-up initiatives to the top-down planning was also imagined in the other direction; policy makers could call over the platform for local projects matching a certain policy goal and thereby try to inject initiatives that could then also be granted funds.

In terms of audience of the platform, some participants stated, that an online platform would reach in the first place only people who are interested in the shaping of their neighbourhood already. When the participants of Group 4 delimited the targeted audience for the prototyped CCP, they thought that the flexible access to a platform might enable the participation from time-restrained people (with a busy job or family). This was imagined to be supported by platform functionalities, which do not require a time-intensive engagement (like voting or crowdfunding) or the possibility to sign up for a few hours of volunteering without any commitments afterwards. Also, the platform was expected to appeal mostly to a specific type of people (creative, taking initiative, self-organizing) and could somehow function in support of project that they initiate and carry, thereby complementing other participatory methods which aim for other audiences (not reached by an online platform). In Group 3 participants mentioned that - while acknowledged as not very realistic - a platform should still aim with its design and the provided functionalities to reach an as representative population of the city as possible, and not be geared too explicitly to one specific group. Both Municipal groups argued that people should be obliged to participate in discussions with their real identities, without needing to have many personal data made visible (and users should be able to choose what to make visible to the rest of the platform audience).

Summing it up

In sum it can be said, that the platform of Group 3 resembles strongly a platform for "supporting offline networks" (type 2 in our typology of section 5.1.2): the functionalities chosen are relatively

similar to what e.g. the platform nyc.changeby.us offers[24]. In the terminology of social capital building by bonding, bridging and linking (cf. chapter 4), the emphasis is here on supporting the bridging work. This was perceived as especially relevant, as it could be part of a strategy to anchor the newly formed networks and working methods in the local community at the end of an CIUR programme. The platform of Group 4 by contrast aims to unite element of all three platform types, assuming thereby that all of them have features, which can be useful to facilitate over the online space.

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[24] with the small difference, that nyc.changeby.us has also a (rather weak) functionality to collect raw ideas

5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS WITH RESPECT TO A CCP IN THE CIUR CONTEXT

In this last section of the analysis chapter, we draw together the different lines from the analysis and make a reflective comparison. First, we compare the outcomes of the two workshops (section 5.4.1), after which we frame these findings, by relating them back to the international experiences with civic crowdsourcing and the context of the Integrated Urban Renewal programme (section 5.4.2).

5.4.1 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PROTOTYPES OF CIVIL SOCIETY ACTORS AND MUNICIPAL ACTORS

In sum there was wide agreement between civil society and municipal actors in many relevant points.

All groups agreed to the importance of complementing the online arrangement with a strong offline counterpart. According to the participants of both workshop, community spirit and a drive for taking up initiatives are things that are built offline rather than online.

Crowdfunding as one of the currently prevailing features on CCPs in the international examples, was taken up by two of the four assembled prototypes, but with rather low priority and more as an add-on than as a central feature.

Both civil society actors and municipal actors emphasised the importance of openness: all projects should be accommodated for at a platform, and attention should be paid to the qualifying process from raw and maybe unrealistic ideas to a potentially workable project.

Moreover, all groups agreed that the platform should be operated by a non-profit organisation, distinctly from the municipality, but that there should be some relation between the municipality and the platform - and that this relation should be clear to the user of the platform. This is quite notable as it marks a difference between most of the platforms in our international sample and what the workshop participants perceived as the right thing.

Also, the imagined CCPs were embedded in and connected to other social media networks used, for enhancing visibility (e.g. sharing via twitter, inviting for meetings via facebook), keeping it active and accessible, and for decreasing unnecessary overlap (the prototypes did not aim to "compete" with other means of organising social initiative in the city, but rather provide something novel - what was not possible yet before).

Broad agreement also existed on the topic of identifiability or anonymity: users should be obliged to participate with their real name, which was seen as a degree of identifiability which is important for achieving community goals, while the user should keep some discretion over what parts of his/her identity are publicly visible.

Differences

While the workshop participants saw no a priori problems with a municipality being involved in the platform's architecture, the groups did differ in the "closeness" between the municipality and the platform's day to day functioning (none of the groups argued for the model where the platform would be operated by the municipality itself). It is interesting to note here, that the civil society groups advocated a close tie with the municipality, in which there is a significant commitment to contribute "something" to the platform from the municipal side: financial resources to make some really good ideas for projects happen, or working hours from the planners' side, to help, advise or assist project initiators with qualifying their idea to a workable shape, while the responsibility to bring it to realisation is left with the initiators. In this sense, the platform was seen to function as a tool for more communication and tighter relations between citizens and the city, in the form of facilitation and counselling from the municipal side and increased carrying capacity from citizen's side. The municipal groups on the other hand, saw a lower degree of involvement from the municipality's side. A real commitment to allocating resources to it (either in money or in time) was discussed and seen as potentially beneficial, but equally the IUR planners warned that it is an invisible line that makes it hard to know, that when the citizen projects started to become more difficult or go wrong, whether to take over (to save what all actors invested already in terms of time and/or money) or to let it fail:

> *"It's important to be conscious of where is the limit of what we can do. Because when you help the citizens in making their project, you help them where you can, and very quickly you get dragged in and end up by doing the work for them, because you want it to be a success for them. All these small things, It's difficult to be conscious: where's the limit, and now we just let it fall."* (participant-mun3)

Instead, the municipal group emphasized the need to enforce and support community networks in itself - loose from direct help and assistance from a municipal body (e.g. by having a CCP containing resource coordination related functionalities, like the option to organise volunteering work or arrange meetings). We come back to this in the second part of this section, where we relate the findings back to the context of CIUR programme.

The differences were primarily situated in the question of what the main purpose of a CCP would be and, connected, where it would situate its point of gravity compared to the three platform types. The prototypes of the civil society groups emphasized the importance of ideas, dialogue and discussion - the earlier stages of project formation - and this in strong communicative relation to the municipality (see above). The main focus of the municipal group was on community building from within, and the organisation of resources in communities.

The civil society actors saw also a greater role for effects from "opening up" of planning processes and enhancing understanding - while the municipal group saw the benefit of this option in some occasions and it should be possible where it is necessary, but not be a goal as such, when it actually demands the allocation of significantly more time and resources to keep this up to date.

In a final step, we relate our findings to the context of CIUR programme. Drawing upon both our observations from looking at international examples of civic crowdsourcing and distilling the workshop participant's perceptions, there appear to be compatibilities as well as incompatibilities with respect to the goals and aims of CIUR programmes.

Essentially, crowdsourcing has to do with drawing upon the diverse resources of the crowd, in order to get the sort of input for a problem that goes beyond traditional approaches and solutions. In a sense, crowdsourcing thus speaks to the resourceful people, where resources have to be understood in the broadest sense: from time, to skills, to different types of knowledge. Yet, one of the key concerns in citizen participation in CIUR is finding ways to include less resourceful people, empower them to take action, form community and break vicious circles of physical degradation and socio-economic problems in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

While this seems to indicate at anti-poles, from a theoretical point of view one could argue that the incompatibility only holds as long as the types of knowledge and skills held by the people traditionally regarded as "less resourceful" are not appealed to in the type of problems, challenges, or actions that are crowdsourced. Nevertheless, in the international examples of CCPs, we did not come across platforms that operationalize crowdsourcing in this broad sense that they draw upon a large variety of skills, knowledge and resources. Rather, platforms seem to target a particular type of them: money, opinions, volunteering time, network connections, or creative problem solving.

The democratic value of *genuine access* is thus one over which vigilance should probably be the highest when regarding civic crowdsourcing as a participatory governance arrangement. Civic crowdsourcing should thus always be in complement to other techniques of involvement and engagement - much in line with the conclusions from the participants in our workshops.

Another apparent incompatibility was identified that the do-it-yourself-spirit of CCPs in the anglo-saxon world was culturally distant to the Danish mind-set of welfare state reliability. This points again at the relevance of assessing context-specificity, and start from identifying the needs and strengths in a particular setting rather than copying operational examples from another context. Care should also be taken for not overstretching these real cultural differences between citizens in different parts of Europe to a higher or lesser potential for individual civic engagement as such. Research documenting, for instance, strong civic volunteering traditions in Denmark[25], points rather towards *differing* traditions of civic engagement.

Beyond the awareness over these limitations, there were also some apparent compatibilities identified between CIUR goals and CCP methods.

The CCP allowed mechanisms of bonding, bridging and linking to extent into the augmented space. Making actions and connections visible, intelligible and open to outsiders to join in, were

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[25] Koch-Nielsen et al. (2004) state for instance that the amount of voluntary work is considerable when it comes to structured and organised activity in community-based organisations, voluntary associations, non-governmental organisations, etc.

some of the elements of CCP that were perceived to support IUR goals. These perceived strengths relate mainly to the democratic values of accountability and - under certain conditions - to the development of political capabilities.

Further potential was seen in an 'idea collection & discussion' orientation of CCPs in the Copenhagen context, in particular also discussion and communication between citizens and municipal planners. Participants in both workshops indicated that this is needed for several reasons including urban professionals getting a better view on what are the needs and ideas of citizens, and increased community agency and ownership over the city's public spaces and services. We would add the element of 'agonistic pluralism' here and agree with DiSalvo, that the capacity for dissent and disagreement in decision making is critical in processes of community co-creation and co-design (2010). This relates mainly to the democratic criteria of public deliberation, but has also to do with adaptive institutions, and closely connected, the building of political capabilities.

Nevertheless, disclaimers apply also with regard to these potential compatibilities. Compared to the international examples, the envisaged prototyped CCPs are more complex than the platforms in our sample. It can be said that the most active (or successful) CCPs can be found in the domain of crowdfunding. This could be because targeting a simple and transparent resource such as money is easier than targeting thicker, more qualitative resources. As the prototyped CCPs contained more complexities and nuances in the types of engagement they target, this might be a difficult aim to operationalize successfully.

CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION

In this reflective chapter, we treat our interpretations and considerations with respect to the research carried out in the chapters 2 to 5. This provides the opportunity to revisit "the forest", putting the trees of our analysis back into perspective. In section 6.1 we briefly reflect back on the theoretical framework that has been guiding the analysis. Ex-post considerations concerning our methodological choices and how these affect our outcomes are treated in section 6.2. Section 6.3, takes then point of departure in our results, relating them to a number of different perspectives and opening up new questions.

6.1 THEORY

Layers and criteria

We aimed to combine two theoretical frameworks, each with a quite distinct purpose: the analytical-descriptive conceptualisation of governance arrangements, in particular as defined and elaborated by Healey (2006) and normative-evaluative elements from democratic theory, in the form of the criteria-based framework developed by Agger & Løfgren (2008) in particular. The two strands of theory employed have thus very different purpose and thereby different way of applying. Our choice to combine them in a two-tiered structure also induced a methodological division throughout the research (see also section 6.2). These elements might have an obscuring effect on the coherency of the research to the reader. Essentially, this can be traced back to our research question, which included the dual dimensions of descriptive analysis (characterizing, dissecting elements) and assessment against a normative framework (necessary to underwrite the discussion of controversies). The connecting 'bridge' between the two theories - comprised in our argument that the 'underlying assumptions' of civic crowdsourcing platforms (CCPs) are hard to observe, for which we (a) delimit ourselves to the 'underlying assumptions with regard to democracy', (b) trying to capture these rather indirectly, by means of identifying and discussing the controversies regarding democratic functioning that CCPs give rise to - is essentially an attribution of meaning from our side that can of course be challenged.

Apart from the conceptual bridge between the two theoretical approaches, which is up for debate, we are also aware that our theoretical choices gave rise to a number of limitations. For instance, in comparison to the depth and richness of the distinctions, meanings and considerations implied in Healey's framework and vocabulary for characterizing governance arrangements, we remain relatively 'on the surface' as we could impossibly capture the full extent of how CCPs function as participatory governance arrangements. An entire study could be devot-

ed to studying the meaning and effects of one operational CCP from a participatory governance perspective. The same limitation with regard to depth applies to the democratic assessment, where the analysis is primarily geared at disentangling contrasting opinions and perceptions, rather than coming to qualified answers of the kind 'this is more democratic than that".

In this sense, our analysis comprised a lot of 'base work', sometimes rough, and always up for discussion. Nevertheless, this was somehow required by the relatively recent nature of our topic, as an established framework for understanding CCP's functioning and implications to the urban sphere was largely absent and required a lot of mapping and 'building up' of this perspective from scratch.

Efficiency and legitimacy

While starting off with these notions with a trade-off in mind, it became quickly clear that (increased) participation can have both enhancing and weakening implications in both dimensions, depending on the way that the participatory arrangement is set up.

Optimistic accounts of civic crowdsourcing techniques argue that online methods can foster enhancements in both dimensions at the same time (Brabham 2009). Online deliberation might theoretically hold some promise to integrate aggregative and integrative approaches to democracy (Hilbert 2009), while features that allow drawing on the wisdom of the crowd (Surowiecki 2004) have been argued to enhance effectiveness of developed solutions (Seltzer and Mahmoudi 2013). While these are defendable theoretical positions, the concrete translation of these ideas into operational CCPs that function in a specific context imply that it is equally possible that harm is done to both dimensions, depending on the design of the CCP and the way it is used by the citizens. To qualify these implications in a more nuanced way required a theoretical framework that went beyond (the feigned trade-off between) these two dimensions of efficiency and legitimacy. This eventually led us to use the theoretical notions from Healey's conceptualisation of participatory governance in combination with the democratic lenses.

6.2 METHODOLOGIES

Validity, reliability, and trustworthiness

Traditionally, the quality of the research and the methodological approach in particular are judged along the concepts of validity (in qualitative research generally interpreted as whether the research is carried out in an accurate and systematic manner - so that the association between data and conclusions is valid) and reliability (whether methods and theoretical concepts used in the research are consistent with what is observed, identified, "measured").

Bryman (2008), based on LeCompte & Goetz (1982), distinguishes between internal validity (do the observations match with the theoretical ideas that are developed?) and external validity (are the findings generalizable?) as well as internal reliability (whether the different observers in the research team agree upon what is being observed and interpreted - the inter-observer consistency) and external reliability (the degree to which a study can be replicated).

While we can assess the internal dimensions of both concepts with respect to this research (quite some attention was paid to inter-observer consistency - cf. section 3.2; and empirical observations were tied to and guided by the theoretical concepts by paying special attention to the operationalization (section 2.3)), it remains inherently difficult to the nature of qualitative research to replicate findings or to generalize outcomes to broader spheres or contexts than where they have been analysed. Despite trying to guard representation in our selection of international examples of CCPs and diversity in urban actors and their background and opinions in the selection of interviewees and workshop participants, we are also aware that we essentially capture not more than a snapshot of the situation and that our results might also depend upon who eventually showed up in the workshops, and how the people who were present interacted.

As an alternatively way to assess qualitative research, Bryman (2008) puts forward the concept of trustworthiness. Evaluating the trustworthiness of the research implies asking whether its results are credible, transferable, dependable, and confirmable. The different ways in which these can be enhanced include triangulation, respondent validation, and rigour, transparency and coherence (for credibility), attention for context, process and presence of "thick descriptions" (for transferability), accessibility of information the research draws upon including transcripts (for dependability), and transparency and awareness about ontological, epistemological and axiological stances (for confirmability).

This research has aimed for these methodological qualities, on some of which it has performed of course weaker, while on others stronger. As an example, methods of triangulation - the use of more than one method or source of data - was a difficult aim in the context of a thought experiment in the Copenhagen context. Instead, we opted for approaches of respondent validation (the report was sent to the participants of the workshops for possible commentary with the direct quotes we used upfront to check whether they agreed with our framing and interpretation of their input), and transparency about methods, interpretations of theoretical concepts and empirical data. The extent of transferability of this research remains a largely open question to us. On the one hand, the application of CCP to Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal (CIUR) is most probably relevant too in other contexts. However, context-specificities such as cultural norms - in particular with respect to democracy - remain difficult to fully lay open in descriptions. Confirmability considerations, finally, were taken up in the research and addressed in section 3.1.

Reflections on methodological choices

This sections treats a number of the more particular methodological choices made in this research, which can be discussed. Both with respect to mapping/descriptive analysis of international examples and to the more in-depth treatment of the Copenhagen thought-experiment, it can be discussed how our methodological choices affected the results.

With respect to the selection of international examples of CCP in the sample, our criteria were not giving definite guidance, as an established or confirmed definition of what exactly constitutes crowdsourcing is still absent from the literature. We chose a relatively open definition of crowdsourcing (cf. section 1). In this sense, our selection of platforms in the sample could have

been stricter. As the term crowdsourcing is not completely defined and opinions diverge on what is exactly the boundary of the term, we preferred a (too) broad scope over a (too) narrow one. Closely related is our relatively surprising finding of the low occurrence of platform examples of type 2 in our sample. These would also be the first ones to be scoped out it more narrow definitions of crowdsourcing. On the one hand, this could lead to a debate whether this is a real type occurring. On the other hand, it might well be that we did not succeed in identifying more, because they are only relevant to the very local community and therefore do not really pay attention to high visibility beyond the community.

The methodological choices made with regard to our application concerns mainly the difficulty of treating a thought experiment. No directly applicable data were available to validate with, and in order to harvest their input in the discussions, the workshops had to include an element of transmitting knowledge to the participants, while keeping the introduction as free as possible from value and analysis. We also noted, finally, the discrepancy in the level of depth between the overviewed examples and the CIUR-grounded thought experiment. The possible alternative, to have complemented the Copenhagen thought experiment with a more in-depth case study of an existing platform, would have been another valid option, yet would also have affected awareness about the diversity that crowdsourcing platforms can take, both in our own analysis as in the workshops, thus influencing also the outcomes of the latter.

6.3 RESULTS AND BEYOND

In this last section, we cherry-pick some of the interesting results and discuss them a step beyond the scope of this report. First we tap into an efficiency-geared discussion about CCPs, questioning what they are generally adding to a participatory process. Next we relate findings of the first part of the analysis to the findings from the workshops to discuss the capacity of a CCP to bridge bottom-up and top-down approaches to planning. Finally we dare a glance at the 'online platform cemetery', looking at why fears of failure of a CCP might be justified.

6.3.1 GOING BACK TO START: ONLINE AUGMENTING THE OFFLINE?

At the end of this research we also want to revisit the phenomenon of CCPs as such. Beside the considerations on its legitimacy, which we investigated by applying Agger & Löfgren's democratic assessment, we want to question here the notion of efficiency in connection with CCPs. As emphasised by our workshop participants, in the Copenhagen context a CCP should not seek mere outsourcing of tasks and reducing municipal responsibilities. This indicates that the term crowdsourcing, when translated to the civic realm, leaves behind some of its "business case" connotations. While similar considerations are reflected for instance by the choice of the CCP ioby.org to re-term their activity to "crowd-resourcing", the angle of reducing government as a goal in itself can be implied in a choice for civic crowdsourcing. Contexts where this is generally not the desired main purpose might therefore require vigilance with regard to the way in which the CCP is envisaged to function.

A next critical stance could be to ask, what CCPs are actually adding to a participatory process, in comparison to what is possible without its online tools and methods? This is a fair question

and looking at the practices prominent on CCPs, our research indicated that indeed the extent to which the CCP adds truly innovative features to participatory processes is rather limited. The most innovative element would arguably be the introduction of crowdfunding in urban planning. But also here, a parallel could be drawn with community charity activities, where for instance a community association fundraises small to significant amounts for necessary investments in community infrastructure (mentioned for instance by one workshop participant to occur in the smaller municipalities in Jutland).

Perhaps a CCP could be argued to make most change in the potentially different dynamic it generates. Davies frames this as follows: "The fact that the process allows groups to organize more cheaply and at greater scale increases the spectrum of projects being proposed and has the potential to build new agencies rather than simply being a voice for existing ones." (2014: 108). Drawing on Ostrom (1992: 32), he argues further, that "social capital is often invisible until it is in use — and can disappear if not called upon". These dynamics could be argued to be observable from the successful platforms, but there are also many examples, which do not thrive and die young. The point Davies touches upon in the quote above that a CCP reduces the workload for project management, might be true from the community side, but as a workshop participant pointed out, maybe not for the municipal side. If increased citizen-municipality cooperation would be a large component of the envisaged CCP, this would most probably mean an increase in work from the side of the public administration.

6.3.2 BOTTOM-UP AND TOP-DOWN CONNECTION: CAN A PLATFORM CONTRIBUTE TO BRIDGE?

Another discussion to take up is the question of the 'bridging'-ability of a CCP. The idea to 'bridge' between bottom-up and top-down initiatives and create synergies between both approaches is of course value-laden and one should be aware of the shortcomings this direct link might have. Nevertheless, looking at the evidence from both our international overview (where we find that municipalities start to actively engage in the possibilities CCPs offer; either by (being part of) initiating them, or by using the services offered e.g. by the for-profit organisations operating crowdfunding CCPs) and the opinions from workshop participants (pointing at a wish from both civil society actors and municipal actors to "connect" more), it can be said to constitute a regularly voiced aim of CCP.

More unexpected were the kind of participatory governance arrangements that the participants imagined. In line with the finding that platforms of the "idea collection & discussion"-type often have a strong affiliation to the municipality, we would have expected the municipal actors to have more tendencies to draw up a prototype corresponding to that type. In contrast, they saw more value in drawing on the broad menu of functionalities, which CCPs take, and especially the functionalities to assist communities in mobilizing resources and activating social capital. A CCP as imagined by them was therefore rather seen as a 'help for self-help'. This would at the same time enable planners to have an overview over civil society activities, whereas planners could connect to and support concrete projects/ideas, which are in line with policy goals. A reason for that might be found in the fact, that the CIUR programme has the goal in its core to experiment with innovative governance arrangements. In addition the CIUR planners are perform-

ing many of the tasks in their daily work, which are aiming at building social capital and activate resources. In contrast to that the civil society workshop participants saw stronger value in a CCP as a tool to initiate dialogue between the municipality and citizens, where the online methods and tools would have their strong counterpart in the offline space. This was again surprising for us, as we expected the civil society actors to embrace functionalities strengthening their resource base. An explanation might be found in the fact that actors in the civil society workshop group are used to work with communication methods, and therefore had a stronger focus on seeing communication gaps, both within the community but also to the municipality, within the current system.

Another observation stems from the attempt to match profiles of citizens with their online participation patterns (cf. 5.1.3.3). There we assumed that a CCP might be a bridge for younger people, who tend to exercise political engagement more via e-petitions and online discussion in comparison to other age groups, and who might want to expand their engagement by connecting to the political level over a CCP. Experience from our workshop participants pointed that this would not be very straightforward, as young people are also often still more insecure about what they write in publicly accessible web areas. Also social entrepreneurs were identified as having a good match with the approach a CCP is taking and could therefore be part of bridging to planners. Assessing these assumptions extends however beyond the scope of this research, and should be investigated more profoundly before a claim could be made.

Nevertheless, drawing these lines together, expectations exist, both internationally as in the Copenhagen context, that a CCP could be part of the puzzle to reach different audiences than the ones currently reached in participatory processes, and to establish links between today rather unconnected actor groups.

6.3.4 THE ONLINE PLATFORM CEMETERY OR FAILING BETTER

Another valid concern is that from overviewing the international CCP scene, we by definition observe mainly the successful cases, the ones that are visible and operational, therefore introducing a bias. While this bias is certainly present in our selection (the failed platforms, which never reached to fulfil their aims and 'died young' are more difficult to find), we could also make some observations of failures from within our sample. This allows us to state, that there are indeed non-negligible chances for failure whenever a new CCP is launched. While our research has not enabled us to say how high the 'mortality rate' for CCPs is, we gained an understanding for different reasons for failure:

First, there are platforms that aim too high. Brickstarter, the CCP in our sample with the biggest ambition to encompass almost all practices together, could be an example of that kind. In exploratory talks between the Brickstarter team and Helsinki municipality it appeared, that the municipality regarded that the changes that implementing Brickstarter would require to their working procedures, as quite radical and not realistic (Hill & Boyer 2013). Yet equally, there are platforms with too low ambitions. An example is futurebristol.co.uk, where the user can do nothing despite looking at two future scenarios and then post loose ideas, free from any structure. Furthermore the platform keeps hidden, if your idea feeds into discussions at a relevant place, re-

sulting in quite low degree of participation and interaction. A third reason for failure could lie in the competition with other platforms. The number of services that the web delivers is growing rapidly and all are rivalling for attention from the web user. In a Danish context there are web platforms encompassing similar approaches like CCPs, e.g. the idea collection and discussion board tagdel.dk (which is also partly directed towards urban issues, but not in specific) or the crowdfunding platform booomerang.dk. By introducing a CCP and thereby adding another option to the menu, could also spread the attention of the users and weaken all platforms. This points at a basic conclusion that a platform should be really perceived as needed by the different users it aims to bring together, and as bringing a clear added value. The added value can lie in different dimensions, but risk of failure can be expected to decrease with the extent to which the added value is thoughtfully delineated, clearly communicated, and being lived up to by the platform operator(s).

All this hints at the need to carefully consider if a CCP could be employed as a useful tool, what the goal would be and how the platform architecture would need to be constituted for that. With CCPs being still a quite young phenomenon (the sampled examples have been mostly established in the last two or three years), and research being scarce, this means behaving on experimental grounds. On the other hand the pain of failing might be low, compared to the chance of adding another brick to the puzzle of how a city could incubate active citizens, who engage together with passion and creativity in shaping their neighbourhood towards a colourful and sustainable urban future.

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSIONS

This research started from the premises that (1) civic crowdsourcing platforms (CCPs) are potentially impactful arrangements in urban participatory governance; and (2) their democratic effects are a priori far from clear, and require detailed examination. Prime importance of context-specificity in this matter led us to ground the investigation in the context of Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal (CIUR) programme in the form of a thought experiment. Based on these starting points, the research was guided by the following question:

> *How do actors affiliated to Copenhagen's Integrated Urban Renewal programme perceive the phenomenon of emerging civic crowdsourcing platforms?*

The first part of our analysis investigated a sample of 14 CCPs from Brazil, USA, UK, Belgium, Finland and Denmark. Translating Healey's (2006) vocabulary to analyse governance arrangements to the case of crowdsourcing platforms, we structured the analysis around the different components of what we termed 'the platform architecture': (a) the practices they contain, (b) the discourses they frame, and (c) the networks they are embedded within. Mapping these three dimensions indicated a wide variety in the ways CCPs are operationalized. Nevertheless certain patterns could be identified, allowing us to distil a classification along the structure of (1) 'idea collection & discussion'-centred platforms (2) 'supporting offline networks'-centred platforms and (3) crowdfunding-centred platforms. Each of these types differs inherently as to what phases in the course of the urban project are facilitated, and what type of engagement is expected from the platform user, thus appealing to different groups of citizens as an audience. While platform types (1) and (3) target a wider audience than traditional participatory methods, using crowdsourcing in its original definition to ask for a specific and thereby 'thinner' type of contribution, platform type (2) targets the affected local community, and is geared towards connecting people and projects, needs and resources, and facilitating more 'thick' modes of engagement.

The second part of the analysis took up a framework rooted in democratic theory to distil, structure and assess the controversies that surround civic crowdsourcing methods. Aligned to Healey's conceptualisation of governance arrangements, we situate the emergence of these controversies at the level where underlying assumptions of a CCP clash with underlying assumptions and democratic practices in the existing governance framework. Based on Agger & Løfgren (2008), we identified and discussed controversies around five key democratic values, (1) ac-

cess, (2) accountability, (3) public deliberation, (4) adaptiveness, and (5) the development of political identities and capabilities. Along each of the five lenses, controversies could be identified, serving to reveal the different, conflicting stances with respect to the democratic effects of CCPs. We found that significant democratic controversy centres around the issue of access, pointing at how civic crowdsourcing alters balances of influence on processes of local urban decision making. Moreover, concern rises when an online platform aims to replace the 'offline component' of civic engagement and dialogue, as this can endanger the quality of public deliberation that lies in face-to-face conversations. At the same time, the potential of civic crowdsourcing to increase the transparency of planning processes' regulatory and financial aspects has been argued to enhance aspects of accountability and the development of political identity through the provision of more easily accessible information.

On this abstract level, these remain however theoretical arguments and an evaluation of the democratic performance of a particular CCP requires a detailed context-specific assessment. This context-sensitivity was attempted by developing on a thought experiment of a Copenhagen civic crowdsourcing platform grounded in the city's Integrated Urban Renewal programme. For this purpose, we hosted two interactive workshops, once with municipal actors and once with civil society actors, discussing the identified controversies as well as prototyping a Copenhagen CCP.

Our findings include that for all workshop participants, a prerequisite for a civic crowdsourcing platform was to firmly anchor it in the existing participatory practices that they were familiar with, as to "augment" these into the online space. In this sense, the civil society actors put more emphasis on a CCP that would facilitate and enhance early dialogue between the municipality and citizens, through prototyping 'idea collection and discussion'-centred types of platforms (resembling the formerly identified "type 1" CCPs). Participants from the municipal side and its Integrated Urban Renewal programme in particular, perceived most added value in a CCP that would allow communities to organize themselves more efficiently, connecting people, projects and different types of citizen resources (thereby more tending towards "type 2" platforms). This could be interpreted as a slight but potential mismatch, particularly with regard to the perceived role of municipal planners on the platform. At the same time, however, both actor groups prototyped platforms that went significant steps further in comparison to today's scene of CCPs, by (1) emphasizing the importance of complementing the online arrangement with a strong offline counterpart, and (2) seeing a role for using it as a way to further bridge working methods between municipal actors and citizens.

While this seems to indicate that operationalizing a CCP in the Copenhagen context would include moving on to experimental terrain, in which the risk of failure is always comprised, it also points at a shared conception that highest added value of civic crowdsourcing lies exactly in tweaking the operationalization towards democratically ambitious goals.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: OVERVIEW PLATFORMS

We believe that the richest experience is given by taking a hands-on approach and exploring some of the platforms yourself. Still we give here a quick overview over the platforms from our sample.

futurebristol.co.uk

A university project to create discussion around two different future scenarios for Bristol (UK) with support from the City Council. The contribution the user can make is to put in ideas and discuss them with other platform users, which the platform misses to connect with the graphically nice visualisations of the two possible futures. The inputs given by the user feed into research (and eventually policy making), while the users themselves are not called to action. The platform is not used very actively.

bristolrising.com
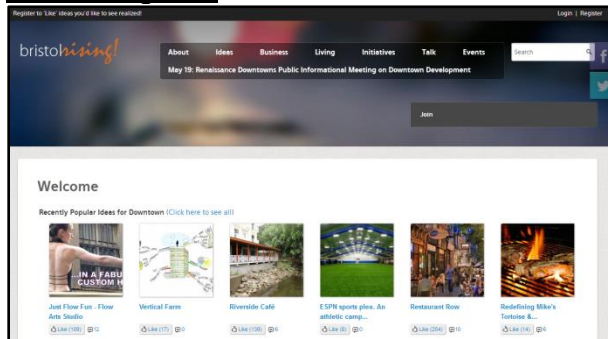
An urban developer tried to use this web-based platform to gather project ideas how to revitalise the downtown of Bristol (US/CT). The platform puts emphasis on helping small-scale business to asses and increase their market and realize their business idea. While the platform generated rich inputs, it's overall approach should be at least put to question.

portoalegre.cc

A Brasil example of a web platform initiated by a university and supported by the local city council. It aims at collecting ideas how to improve spaces, which have to be tied by the platform user to a certain location on the map of Porto Alegre.

ideoffensiv.dk
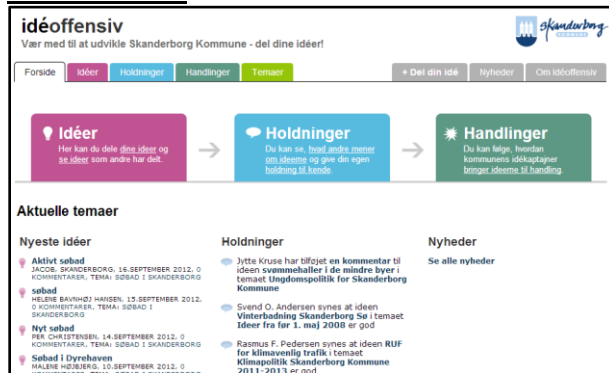
An experiment to collect ideas and revolve discussions around them initiated by Skanderborg Municipality. An exception in that sense, that it is a top down approach to innovate with social media usage to crowdsource. Working mainly on the level of proposing new ideas for the municipal work and framing discussions around them. The ones gaining the strongest support are taken up by municipal actors and are answered by a formal letter, which breaks a bit with the loose style of discussions.

tagdel.dk Byen

A Danish crowdsourcing platform, which mainly aims at framing discussions around societal important topics. Relatively few people contributing in the discussions. A few organisations utilizing the platform to get ideas and support for their projects.

possiblecity.co
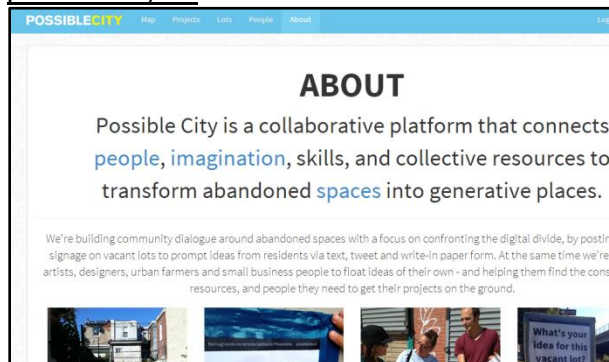
A community-carried online platform in Philadelphia, which lists 50.000 vacant spaces (both publicly and privately owned) and tries to connect them with project ideas/project initiators. To intertwine online and offline, the operators of the platform are also putting up signs on the vacant spaces to fuel the discussion directly in the urban space.

neighborland.com

An interesting web platform, which tries to gather people behind (quite raw) project ideas. The platform tries to raise discussion around those ideas and connect them to action, by linking to fundraising campaigns or petitions supporting the same cause. The platform has also a functionality to organise 'offline' meetings around the project idea. The platform operator, a private organisation, is pretty active to support the projects and other offline campaigns.

nyc.changeby.us

Change by Us is located in New York & Memphis and is operated by the local municipalities, which is a rather rare example. It is trying to engage people by adding ideas for their local neighbourhood, give an overview of what local projects are already going on and get engaged in them. The platform tries to make this engagement as easy as possible, by offering several ways of becoming part of the project; it coordinates volunteering work, shows upcoming meetings and online discussions.

ioby.org

A CCP originating from NYC but in the meantime spread over the whole U.S., which is initiated by three college students who wanted to improve urban space making. The platform is aiming at collecting resources, mostly funding and volunteer work, from the crowd. The platform operators try to support the project holders with their technical expertise and training workshops
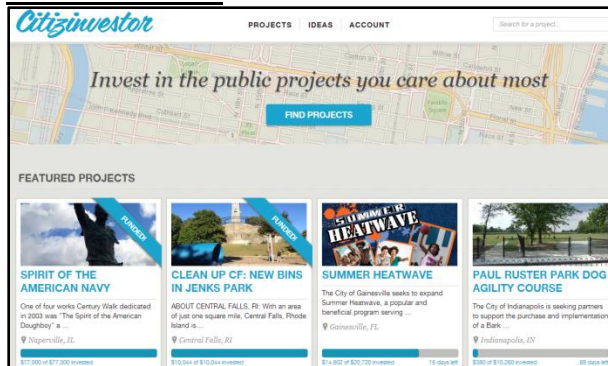
neighbor.ly
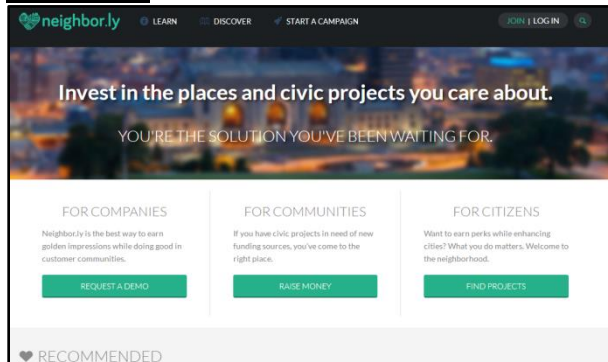
One of the first civic crowdfunding platforms, which is mostly hosting projects around the area of of Kansas City (US). Municipalities, associations and neighbourhood organisations can propose projects, which get screened by the platform operators, before they go online for a crowdfunding campaign. The platform hosts many infrastructure projects, like the restoration of sidewalks or fountains on central squares, which classically find funding from public resources.

citizinvestor.com

A civic crowdfunding located in the U.S. with many similarities to the above described neighbor.ly. Interesting is that the platform allows also 'matched' crowdfunding, where a partner of the project (e.g. a municipality) adds one dollar of funding for each dollar raised over the platform. Another interesting feature is, that users can input also raw ideas, which might inspire others to start a crowdfunding campaign.

growfunding.be

An urban crowdfunding platform, which was operational for only 2 month as a research project in Brussels supported with funds by the region of Flanders. Right now the evaluation of the experiment is taking place. The few listed project achieved high funding sums and got almost all funded.

Brickstarter
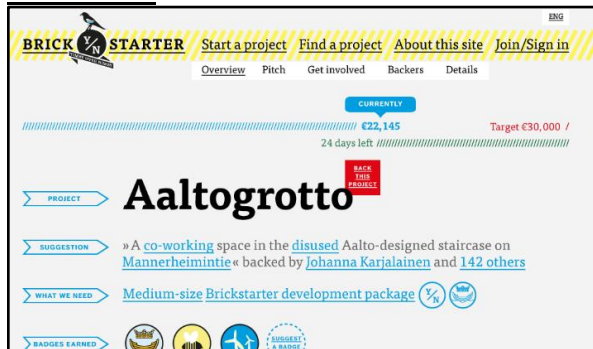
An interesting attempt by a Finnish innovation tank called Sitra. They saw the phenomenon of emerging civic crowdfunding platforms quite early; and also the fact that a range of controversies can be caused by those platforms. In order to arrive at a riper model for such a platform, they crafted a prototype called Brickstarter, which got significant media attention, but never became a real operating platform.

spacehive.com

A UK based platform featuring and funding successfully also relatively big infrastructure projects. Its birth was supported by big funds. The social enterprise maximises funding sources by allowing cash to be raised through the site to be combined with grants and other funding streams, which seems pretty smart and effective, which results in high funding sums of up to several hundred thousand pound. The platform hosts also many creative projects, like art exhibitions in public toilets or a big water slide.

A last example is given by the Danish crowdfunding platform booomerang.dk. As it is clearly not a civic crowdfunding platform, we scoped it out of our sample; still, due to the relevance for the Danish context, it should still be mentioned here:

booomerang.dk
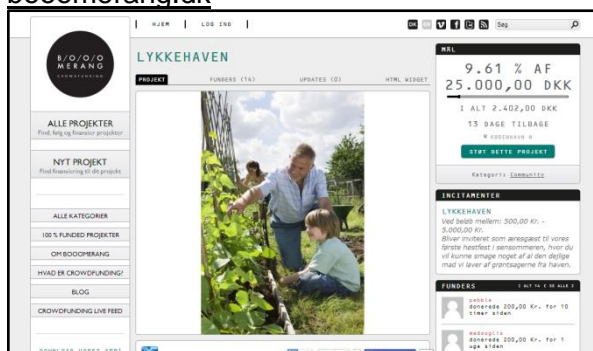
The first Danish crowdfunding platform. It is mostly used for funding cultural and art projects of medium size (mostly between 5.000 and 50.000 DKK) and encompasses only very few projects, which engage in urban place making (e.g. a crowdfunder for an urban garden project). Booomerang introduced in 2012 the offer to host curated crowdfunding, which means that an organisation which is interested to have a webspace dedicated to only their own projects can buy this service from the platform operator. Several municipalities were approached with the offer to get a crowdfunding space for their projects, but no partnerships were formed.

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APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EXPLORATORY INTERVIEWS

During February and March 2014, twelve semi-structured exploratory interviews of approximately 1 hour length were conducted with Copenhagen urban actors who were directly or indirectly involved in participatory processes in Copenhagen and the city's Integrated Urban Renewal programme in particular.

Interviewees

- Sara Matikainen, Områdefornyelsen Vesterbro
- Øystein Leonardsen & Eva Christensen, Områdeløft Sundholmskvarteret
- Line Jensen Buch, KK TMF Fuldmægtig Område- og Byfornyelse
- Line Falk Tranberg, Områdefornyelsen Gl. Valby
- Manja Sand, citizen member steering committee Områdeløft Sundholmskvarteret
- Jesper Koefoed-Melson, givrum.nu
- Jan Lilliendahl-Larsen, Supertanker
- Ana Santini & Victor Aalund-Olsen, Creative Roots
- Charlotte Korsgaard, KK TMF
- Jesper Christiansen, Mindlab
- Jürgen Habermas, Frankfurter Schule (as a thought experiment)
- Peter Munthe Kaas, Aalborg University
- Jacob Norvig Larsen, Aalborg University

Interview guide

(A) On the participatory processes

What criteria do you use to assess whether the contact and collaboration with citizens <in your work> was successful?

What do you believe are the top three challenges <in your work> with respect to the participatory aims put forward?

How do you see citizen participation develop in the future?

(B) After a brief introduction of the CCP Brickstarter.org

Do you see any controversies a platform like this might cause in Copenhagen?

APPENDIX 3: SET-UP AND PARTICIPANTS TO THE WORKSHOPS

General structure

- presentation on the "state of the art" with respect to civic crowdsourcing - introducing the platforms of Appendix 1
- discussion round of the controversies (the identified controversies were translated to the following 12 provocative statements which were up for discussion:

controversy 11: the desirability of openness

/// Online openness about the stage and developments with urban projects being prepared can do these more harm than good.

>>> For some more ambitious projects, the chance of success depends on whether it is communicated at the right time and with the right "ripeness"

controversy 10: role of local companies

/// Not only individual citizens, but also associations and private companies should be able to join the platform and undertake action.

>>> For example a local company can be a resourceful actor to sponsor a project in their immediate surroundings.

controversy 9: pre-screening of projects

/// The projects that can be displayed on the platform should be pre-screened and selected strictly. There is no use of having projects on the platform that are just unrealistic dreams.

>>> For example because they are not in line with the legal regulations imposed on public spaces, overly ambitious or expensive, or not in line with the policy goals formulated by the city.

controversy 8: click participation desired?

/// An online civic crowdsourcing platform can weaken the depth of the participation - much in the same way as "click activism" does.

>>> Having a voice becomes so easy that the power of it fades away. Engagement becomes more superficial, drawing citizen's attention away from more complex in-depth engagement with the challenges the city faces.

controversy 7: incompatible with practice

/// The layman-driven, project-centred, and time-continuous way of working of online civic crowdsourcing is incompatible with the structure of an Områdefornyelse programme.

>>> i.e. the usual making of the kvarterplan & projects within.
>>> The margin in which there could be successful cooperation between citizen urban regeneration ideas and urban planning is very small

controversy 6: aggravating power imbalance

/// The users of an online crowdsourcing platform will be the population groups that already today exercise most influence.

>>> The tool will thus further empower the already strong, while the goals of Områdefornyelse is exactly to incorporate the voice of population groups who are traditionally more vulnerable.

controversy 5: private vs. public funding

/// If crowdfunding proves to work and raises significant money, the public funds for local urban regeneration might get reduced accordingly.

controversy 4: "enlightened citizenship"

/// Opening up and documenting the planning process on an easy accessible online platform, increases the citizens' ability to engage in the political process of creating the future of the urban space.

controversy 3: money and democracy

/// Agreeing to civic crowdfunding implies letting the money decide, and poses a serious threat to democracy.

>>> the extent to which citizens are willing to fund a certain project cannot be taken as an indicator for whether it is the right project to do, it will by definition be too heavily influenced by certain groups.

controversy 2: expert vs. laymen

/// A well-functioning platform for citizen projects disempowers the expert-planner, and the knowledge s/he holds about what is actually sustainable.

>>> Handing over more power to citizens in this way is therefore not necessarily desirable, it can lead to less sustainable urban development.

controversy 1: costing or saving

/// a crowdsourcing platform would require the investment of extra time and money, but when functioning well, it could also hand over a part of planners' current work to citizens, thereby saving time and money.

>>> the choice whether or not to invest in a crowdsourcing platform should depend on whether it's expected to save or cost money/time.

controversy 12: only ideation vs. carrying

/// An online platform can keep people engaged throughout the whole course of a project, from ideation, to realisation and even maintenance of a project.

>>> Some of the existing platforms put emphasis on capturing citizen's ideas and discussion inputs and leave the translation to the planner. Others aim to include throughout the whole process.

Provided "building blocks" during the prototyping round

Platform functionalities

- Collecting raw ideas
- Prioritization between project(idea)s takes place on the platform (e.g. via voting)
- Possibility to discuss raw ideas and carry them forward to a workable project
- Offline workshops to kick-off projects on the online platform
- Organizing volunteering work & needed material
- Opening up the planning processes: show existing plans and permits, create the under-standing & awareness about them
- Opening up the planning processes: collecting documents, which log & track the pro-gress of the project
- Organize the offline-component: announce&invite openly for meetings around the project
- Crowdfunding
- Discussion function for each project, which is connected to other social media pages
- An advanced functionality to see the people engaged in the project
- Gamification elements, which makes the user engaged in collecting certain rewards
- An evaluation tool, if the project is in line with sustainability goals

Background design principles

On the main purpose of the platform: the platform serves as a project idea catalogue // the platform serves as a tool for dialogue on shaping the desired urban space // the platform serves to mobilize resources (money, time) from private actors for urban projects // the platform serves to build networks between projects / resources / neighbours

On the pre-screening of projects: no limitations on who can put in ideas and participate // pre-selection to a limited number of really good ideas with best potential to be realized // pre-screening based on rules, all projects that fulfill these can go on the platform

On the audience that the platform reaches: By being time-flexible, the platform aims at partic-ipation from time-restrained people (with a busy job or family) // By using the online & social media modes of communication, the platform aims to speak to young people in particular // The platform audience should be representative for the population of the city // The platform targets a specific type of people (creative, taking initiative, self-organising), complementing other partic-ipatory methods which aim for other audiences

On whether platform participants are identifiable: Participation is only possible with your real name, location, profession // Participation in submitting ideas and discussing is possible under a nickname / avatar / anonymously

On the resources that the platform draws upon: Municipality can select projects from the platform to provide funds to make them real // No municipal resources are allocated to platform projects, the platform shows its relevance by functioning by itself // The municipality provides

time resources to platform projects, in the form of advice & counselling for making projects better // The platform is owned and operated by the municipality // The platform is owned and operated by an organisation that generates a revenue out of the platform's service // The platform is owned and operated by an non-profit organisation on a governmental grant

Participants to the workshop with civil society actors (24/04/2014)

Jesper Koefoed-Melson, Givrum.nu
Sofie Hugo, Kuben Management
Astrid Le Bækgaard, Kuben Management
Louise Von Müllen, 12byer

Participants to the workshop with municipal actors (08/05/2014)

Line Jensen Buch, KK TMF Fuldmægtig Område- og Byfornyelse
Sia Boesen, KK TMF Områdeløft Sundholmskvarteret
Signe Spelling Østergaard, KK TMF Områdefornyelsen Fuglekvarteret
Line Falk Tranberg, KK TMF Områdefornyelsen Gl. Valby
Katja Lange, Lokaludvalg Kongens Enghave/Vesterbro
Tina Hjøllund, KK TMF
Berit Haahr Hansen, KK TMF Local Agenda 21
Astrid Le Bækgaard, Kubexn Management (as observer)