Facilitating Participation.
A New Citizen – Administration Relationship? The Role of German Municipal Participation Guidelines.

Master Thesis M.Sc.

JEMES CiSu
Joint Erasmus Mundus Environmental Studies Cities and Sustainability

Author:	Lea Kohlhage
Supervisor:	Enza Lissandrello (AAU)
Co-Supervisor:	Prof. Dr.-Ing. Kerstin Kuchta (TUHH)
Delivered:	08.06.2018

Contents

Abstract

1. Description of the problem

Conflicts on large infrastructure projects [Glaab, 2016], disappointment and mistrust illustrate the deficiencies of formal participation and representation in German municipal decision-making. As reaction many municipalities are engaged to redefine the citizen – administration relationship, introduce quality criteria and rules of interaction, and create institutions to management informal participation as complementation. It is expected that these actions facilitate the creation of a new participation culture and improve the relationship.

2. Why is the problem relevant

These actions are an important issue in Germany at the moment and present a series of challenges in research. The endeavors influence the public discourse on citizen participation in planning, on public conflicts, costs and democracy. But worldviews of administration, planners and citizens differ [Innes & Booher, 2004; Dahl, 1961; Thompson, 1997; Selle, 2015] including expectations and understandings of participation and legitimacy of decisions. It is important to analyze the citizen-administration relationship considered desirable by the municipalities and its compatibility with the different actors' expectations. In case of larger discrepancy, these actions risk to be mere expressions of good intention and significant larger impact on the situation. Practice motivations for this thesis (see page 4) are issues of trust and cost and relationship change options through the creation of participation guidelines.

3. Research question

This thesis focuses on the underlying rationalities behind these actions to understand their power in creating a new participation culture. The question is developed through three main axes. Firstly, it seeks for an understanding of how participation is manifested and which citizen-administration relationship is considered appropriate (in the guideline documents). Secondly it looks for an understanding of legitimacy of citizen engagement as decisive for the attitude of administration towards citizens and it shapes administrations' perspective drawing from literature on public participation. Thirdly, this redefinition of this administration relationship highlights power relationships, challenged by other constraining factors that might reduce the guideline documents to function as statements of good will. It is assumed that understandings of legitimacy (validity) and participation purposes (communication content, input categories) influence the attitude of both administration and citizens about participation and about each other. The lense of discourse theory is used to analyze these implicit citizen-administration relationship ideas, how a particular idea of relationship is rendered dominant (power), and how more inclusive participation ideas could be facilitated (change).

How is the citizen-administration relationship shaped by communication content, concepts of validity & power and which options for change exist therein?

4. Main focus of thesis

This thesis focuses on participative democracy [Roth, 2016] and uses the lense of discourse theory [Richardson, 2002] to analyze implicit citizen-administration relationship ideas and power mechanisms. The focus on legitimacy concepts and purposes is essential to structure the debate to facilitate communication amongst actors with very different world views. Awareness of the range of legitimacy ideas and possible applications of participation enables public negotiation on the formats and their management. Whether this awareness is existent and communicated in German municipalities jumping to action to improve participation culture is investigated.

5. Cases to be explored & why

German municipalities include in their actions lately the publication of participation guidelines [Klages, 2011]. The participation guidelines are created in participative processes, involving politicians, administrative staff and citizens or their representatives. This relatively new phenomenon[1] is part of the actions mentioned and intends to redefine the citizen-administration interaction. These documents as texts provide hints on underlying rationalities of the authors. They are part of the participation debate on a municipal level and part of the actions aimed at creating a better participation culture [Gigerenzer, 2018; municipal websites; guidelines self-definition]. They serve as practical application of the developed theoretical synthesis.

6. Main argument of paper

The citizen-administration relationship is shaped by concepts of validity and communication content, by participation definitions. Mechanisms of dominance and power control the introduction of other definitions, ideas and rationalities. It is claimed that participation concepts and municipal guidelines intending to improve the local participation culture have to embrace the actors' differences in rationality, show respect for all three legitimacy dimensions [Glaab, 2016] and consider the full range of possible citizen input categories (purposes). This provides a sound basis for participation design, trust restoration and a more open, integrative, structured and reflective participation debate and is the precondition to yield participation's benefits to address the complex challenges of our times.

Introduction

1. Description of the Problem & its Context

Conflicts on large infrastructure projects, disappointment and mistrust illustrate the deficiencies of formal participation and representation in German municipal decision-making. As reaction many municipalities redefine the citizen – administration relationship, introduce quality criteria and rules of interaction, and create institutions to management informal participation as complementation. It is expected that these actions facilitate the creation of a new participation culture and improve the relationship.

Practice motivations drive the research: issues of trust and cost and relationship change options:

- TRUST: Existing experiences with participation from formal and various informal formats contributed to a relationship that ranges in some places between skepticism, mistrust, antagonism and political apathy caused by disappointment and misunderstandings [Glaab, 2016].
- COST: It is intended to implement high quality dialogue wherever necessary [guidelines commitments]. But the cost issue is mentioned often along with effective administration, time and budget constraints which suggest to reduce participation to cases of acute or expected conflict.

---

[1] One document dates back to 2002, most date in 2010 and later, many municipalities are in the production process [Netzwerk Bürgerbeteiligung, 2018]

- CHANGE: Options to improve the relationship by changing the discourse in making the rationalities explicit and subsequently more inclusive and reflective: from the formal one-way, one-shot interaction towards dialogue, collaboration and deliberation. Internal and contextual factors influence discourse and determine the municipal actions' role and power in this endeavor.

2. Presentation of Argument – research question

In this work it is proposed to combine three perspectives on the definition of the citizen-administration relationship: dynamics of discourse domination[2], exclusive concepts of validity and determination of communication content within the participation processes. It is claimed that the citizen-administration relationship is shaped by ideas of validity and communication content.

It is demonstrated that municipalities intending to improve the local participation culture theoretically benefit from embracing the actors' differences in rationality, in addressing all three legitimacy concepts [Glaab, 2016][3], and in considering the full range of participation input categories. On this informed basis participation design, trust restoration and a more open, integrative, structured and reflective participation debate is facilitated - a precondition to yield participation's benefits to address the complex challenges of our times.

3. Brief context of problem & argument

This thesis focuses on participative democracy, understood as one of five elements of democracy along with representative democracy (elections and representatives), direct democracy (referenda), social movements (and protests and initiatives) and voluntary engagement (various formats) [Roth, 2016]. The participation debate is ongoing in Germany and many actions have been implemented. The effectiveness of the municipal actions has to be observed.

Literature on participation is broad and coming from various disciplines and approaches and based on different definitions of participation [Nabatchi et al., 2012]. Various systems to structure the topic have been proposed [Fung, 2003, 2006, 2007; Nabatchi et al., Weiksner et al., 2012; Selle, 2015; Glaab, 2016; Roth, 2016; Innes & Booher, 2004]. Many try to combine multiple factors shaping participation and end up with concepts that are complex and hard to communicate to practitioners. This thesis is concerned with three problems in participation theory and practice and offers approaches. The first two refer to structure and understanding and the last one refers to power. (1) Structuring participation along participation purposes is plausible but risks suffering from ambiguity and normativity [Fung, 2006; Nabatchi et al., 2012]. Focusing on different actors' communication content, i.e. input categories or contributions instead provides concreteness[4]. (2) Different worldviews contain different priorities on legitimacy dimensions and are thus in chronic conflict [Selle, 2015]. The discussion framework for validity of voice and influence in participation used here is based on Glaab's differentiation of political legitimacy. In 2016 she proposed to structure the participation debate along three sub-concepts of political legitimacy of decision procedures: input, throughput and output legitimacy. This relatively recent idea provides potential to improve understanding between different world views. It can be a basis to express priorities and to combine different legitimacy dimensions, to negotiate and to select participation procedures and formats and to reach agreement on the weight of input in the final decision. (3) Discourse theory is used here to talk about power, exclusion, contextual conditions and reflexive practice, worldviews, rationalities and change. It is used with focus on text and practices [Richardson, 2002:353]. Discourses are a set of ideas and concepts, competing with each other, being produced, transformed, reproduced through the everyday practices [Richardson, 2002 referring to Foucault, 1973]. The municipal participation

---

[2] Mechanisms of dominance and power control the introduction of other rationalities.
[3] See page 29
[4] See page 26.

debate is involved in such continuous power struggles over meaning, too. Using the discourse theory lense facilitates reflexivity of all actors and, assuming all municipal actors are committed to a new participation culture, this reflexivity is beneficial for the relationship creation, maintenance and its inclusivity[5].

4. What is the focus in this thesis

This thesis focuses on participative democracy [Roth, 2016] and uses the lense of discourse theory [Richardson, 2002] to analyze implicit citizen-administration relationship ideas and power mechanisms. The focus on legitimacy priorities and input categories is essential to learn about the citizen-administration interaction and to structure the debate to facilitate communication amongst actors with very different world views. Awareness of the range of legitimacy ideas and possible applications of participation enables public negotiation on the formats and their management. Whether this awareness is existent and communicated in German municipalities jumping to action to improve participation culture is investigated exemplarily.

This thesis uses the discourse theory approach to analyze implied citizen-administration relationship and to investigate how this relationship idea is rendered dominant as well as how the municipal actions (here: guidelines) could potentially facilitate the broad application of more inclusive participation ideas, drawing on participation literature. A brief outlook will be given on the role contextual conditions might play in shaping and transforming this relationship.

5. Contribution of this thesis

This thesis contributes with a theoretical framework combining different aspects of participation theory and discourse theory into a holistic approach. It proposes a method to study implicit legitimacy priorities and participation. It offers ways to structure the participation debate and facilitate mutual understanding and clarification. A research gap analyzing the power of the participation guidelines[6] is highlighted to form the relationship between citizens and administration in the municipal context. Analyzing the participation guidelines of German municipalities contributes to the international knowledge on participation endeavors, facilitates mutual understanding and learning among practitioners and researchers.

For practice in Germany this work provides insights for municipalities interested in a new participation culture on how to structure the public debate and create bridges of understanding amongst different actor groups and their respective interests and rationalities. It points out the influence of contextual conditions and it highlights again the necessity for more intense practice-research exchange: references to participation research and expertise from outside of the own municipality are almost absent in the analyzed sample[7], which might slow down the relationship improvement.

6. Structure of the thesis: what is done in each section

This thesis presents the research design with research questions and theoretical framework (A), followed by a literature review and a theoretical synthesis (B): It assesses the citizen-administration relationship and ways to systematically differentiate participation processes. Input categories are identified as appropriate as proxies for participation purposes. Discourse theory is introduced along with relationship and change implications and legitimacy concepts from participation theory are presented and associated with different world views. Methodology and the case study (C) are followed by the analytical results to the sub-questions and to the main research question, and a

---

[5] See page 36.
[6] As joint commitments of all three municipal actors (citizens, administration and politicians) and elements of action
[7] Potentially revealing a common pattern

discussion (D). Conclusions, recommendations, this thesis' contribution, limitations, and a research perspective complete the thesis (E).

A) Research Design

The research design presents the main research question and its sub-questions (1) and concludes with the presentation of the theoretical framework (2).

1. Main RQ

How is the citizen-administration relationship shaped by communication content, concepts of validity & power and which options for change exist therein?

Sub RQ 1: Communication content

How do **input categories** in participatory events define influences, characterize actors & and what are the implications for the citizen-administration relationship?

Sub RQ 2: Validity

How do **legitimacy concepts** define the relationships and preconditions for understanding?

Sub RQ 3: Power & dominance

Which **power mechanisms** shape the relationships and preconditions for changes?

It is claimed that conflicts in the citizen-administration relationships are caused by differences in understandings of purpose and the scope of influence: participation designs provide certain influence and fuel different expectations[8] which regularly clash before, during and after informal participatory events. Different world views explain these clashes at two points, so-called rationalities: Firstly, the criteria of what makes a plan or decision legitimate. Prioritizations amongst legitimacy dimensions are part of world views; and secondly, the appropriateness of different citizen input categories in the interaction.

In discourse theory power is restructured, maintained and controlled through processes of institutionalization and structuration. Compiling text, such as participation guidelines for many municipalities is one way to render a perspective dominant. Power prioritizes validity dimensions and attributes relevance; it constitutes appropriateness to communication content within participatory events.

---

[8] Glaab suggests: citizens understand participation events as options of influencing policy which is a major motivation for them to participate. They expect responsiveness for their input: to see their direct influence one political decisions. [Glaab, 2016]

2. Theoretical framework
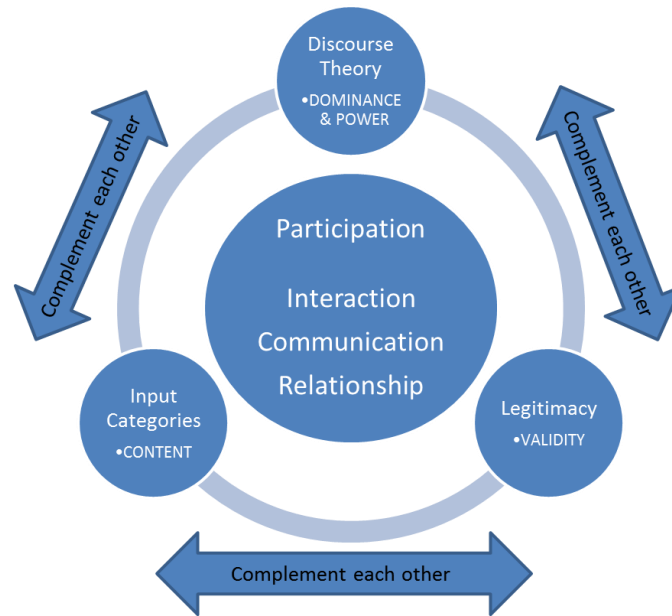
Figure 1: Theoretical framework.

Texts are accessed through document analysis to provide data to identify the range of input categories and legitimacy concepts considered, and to identify dominance mechanisms as shown in the theoretical framework in Figure 1. The first two sub-questions assess the kinds of rationalities rendered dominant and the second assesses how this happens. All three aspects contain role attributions, influence the relationship and bear options for its change. The input categories allowed in a conversation determine the communication content, function and construct the actors. Legitimacy priorities indicate how differences in authority are considered justified and whose input is considered valid. The discourse theory approach helps explaining how certain rationalities are rendered dominant and shape the relationship. It also underlines the importance to consider contextual conditions that influence the actor's attitudes and values, and indirectly shape the relationship. Direct relationship statements in the documents are not considered. The underlying rationalities of validity and communication content are assumed to be an alternative and grounded source of relationship information, revealing much more of the underlying power distribution.

The following section will present the literature review that led to the theoretical synthesis behind the theoretical framework (Figure 1).

B) Literature Review & Theoretical Synthesis

The literature review grounds the theoretical synthesis behind the theoretical framework (Figure 1). A description of the citizen-administration relationship in historical and legal context, research on formal and informal participation formats and potentially involved world views are presented (1). The range of participation categorization is described with a focus on participation purposes and communication content and suggests input categories as a proxy (2). The legitimacy understandings (3) are followed by the discourse theory approach and preconditions for changes (4).

1. The Citizen – Administration Relationship Development

This section presents the evolution of the citizen-administration relationship since the 1960s in Germany [Dieterich, 2006; Gertz, 2017; Hood, 1995]. And it presents researchers perspectives on formal participation and dialogue formats. Formal participation formats are characterized largely as one-way and one-shot character whereas more experimental formats focusing on dialogue,

deliberation and collaboration facilitate clarification, transformation and social capital growth [Innes & Booher, 2004].

In principle, the municipal context for citizens' participation consists of three main actor groups: local politicians in the council, the public in form of individuals and organized interests from civil society, and the administration including its departments and public planners. Typical interactions and relations in representative democracy and participative democracy [Roth, 2016] are illustrated in Figure 2.
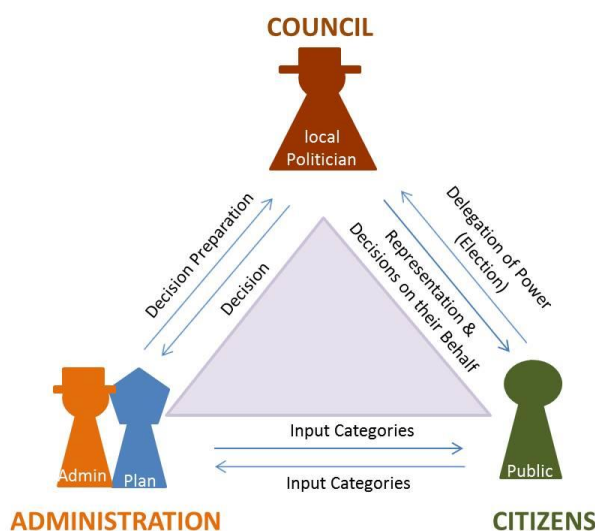
Figure 2: The triangular relationship between citizens, administration and local politicians.

Administrative procedures are of high relevance for the citizen-administration relationship in everyday life [Seibel, 2018]. Citizens might experience their everyday life a more direct contact to administration than to local politicians including the reception of information and the invitation to participate with determined input categories because participation involves primarily the public and the administration to prepare the decisions for the council [Selle, 2015]. In many dialogue processes observed by Selle, politicians outsource participation, they're either absent or silent in the event and citizens learn few about the representatives' arguments and concerns and thus cannot consider these in their decision preparation [Selle, 2015].

Historical and Political Context

The citizen-administration relationship changed throughout history and the development since the 1960s in Germany [Dieterich, 2006; Gertz, 2017; Hood, 1995] is this section's focus. Despite the emergence of numerous dialogue-oriented formats, the majority of participatory events are public hearings and reviews. And a brief glance at the experience level of participative processes illustrates how it shapes future interaction, characterizations and attitudes [Laws & Forester, 2015].

The idea of participation of citizens in municipal decision-making is very old and took many different forms and shapes throughout history. In the 1960s processes of individualization took place and in the 80s citizens were constructed as consumers (New Public Management). Later an increased awareness of benefits of dialogue formats emerged [Dieterich, 2006; Gertz, 2017; Hood, 1995]. Despite the latter, their implementation was not as broad as expected neither in Germany nor elsewhere, the majority of participatory events remained public hearings and reviews [Glaab, 2016; Innes & Booher, 2004]. International endeavors like the Local Agenda 21 emphasized the potential to use participation to address complex contemporary and future challenges. Conflicts on large public infrastructure projects fuelled a growing mistrust within several social groups in Germany and went as a major issue into the German participation and democracy debate.

The principles of citizen participation originate in **ancient Greece**, the cradle of democracy and are stated in the founding papers of the United States as well as in many other important documents since then: constitutions, reform programs and transnational initiatives. Participatory experiments are part of ongoing development of democracy.

60s-90s

For the case of Germany, the administration researcher Selle presented the historical development of participation practices, different ways of communication applied between planners and the public between the 1960s and 1990s (Figure 3) [Selle, 1996a referred to in Gertz, 2017:43].
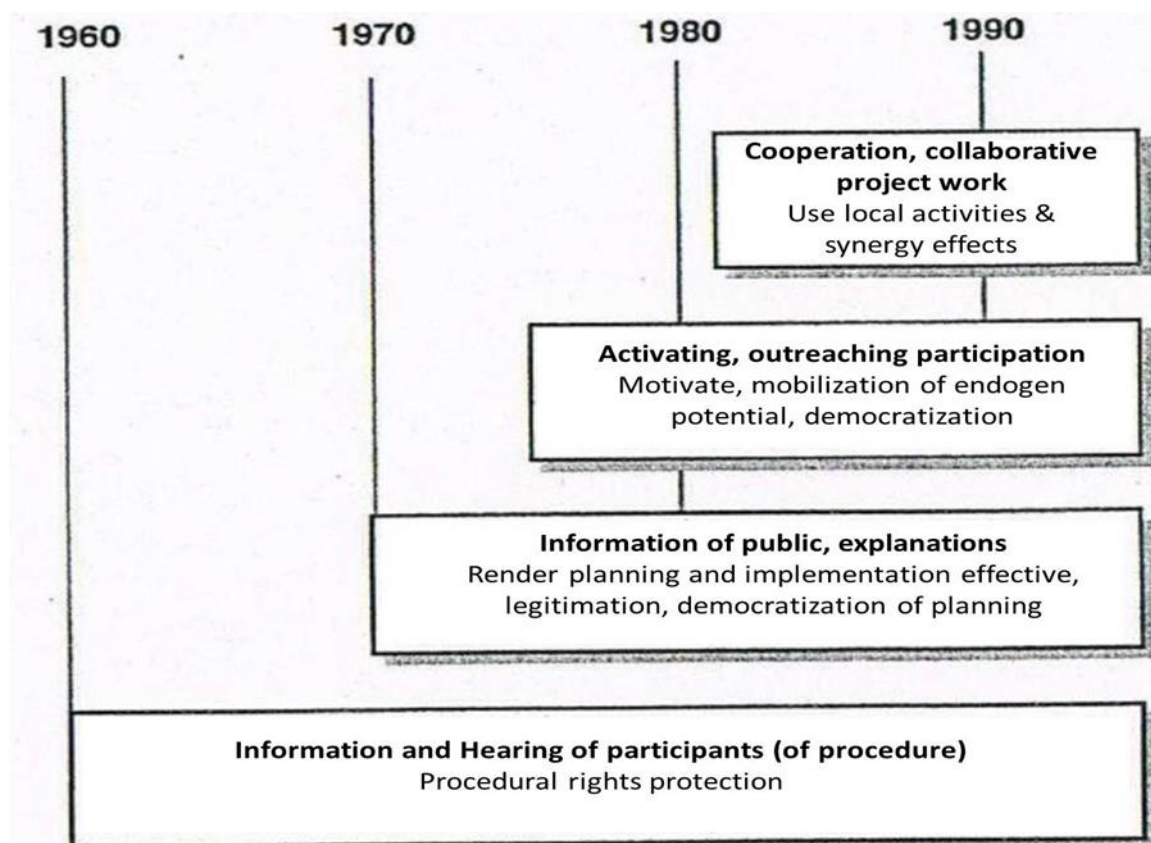
Figure 3: Communication between planner and public in Germany [Selle, 1996a:n.d., own translation].

60s

Germany's citizen-administration relationship in the early 1960s was influenced by emerging theories that constructed the individual as a central element for societal processes[9]. This came accompanied with massive growth in prosperity that expanded the room of options for the individual, including one's opportunities to participate and shape social processes [Dieterich, 2006:19]. The participatory practices were formal and focused on the protection of procedural rights of the affected [Selle, 1996a]. In 1970s the information provision was expanded, explanation was provided and focus set on legitimation, effectiveness and democratization of planning [Selle, 1996a].

80s

In the 1980s the relationship between citizens and administration was influenced by the New Public Management (NPM) idea [Hood, 1995]. This contains a construction of citizens as customers in a passive role or as shareholders of government in a direction-setting role with indirect participation

---

[9] Multiple steps of societal individualization occurred in Germany [Dieterich, 2006]. She claims that these options of individual action are potential freedom but simultaneously cause expectations of self-optimization and performance according to desired behavior which shifts entire responsibility for well-being to the individual [Traue, 2004:18 in Dieterich].

through the election of officials. In Germany participation formats of activation and outreach appeared, aiming at mobilization and motivation [Selle, 1996a].

90s

Initiatives of leaders gave rise to new models of participation and **collaborative approaches** before the 2000s [Innes & Booher, 2004:426 referring to Bryson & Crosby, 1992; Chrislip & Larson, 1994] and they differed from formal participation methods: More difficult problems were addressed in spaces for stakeholders dialogue (civic leaders, citizens, and government and interest groups) [Innes & Booher, 2004:422; Bryson & Crosby, 1993; Hajer, 2004; Innes & Booher, 2003]. Similar practices appeared in Germany in the 90s, including focus on potential local synergies [Selle, 1996a].

2000s-2010s

It is however important to remark that the ways of communication presented by Selle [1996a] (Figure 3) were applied rather exceptionally and without a comprehensive framework in these years although being discussed and researched broadly. Researchers found that collaborative participation was still underrepresented in practice in the 2000s [Innes & Booher, 2004] and even much later [Glaab, 2016]. The increasing interest in deliberative civic engagement (especially since 2000) is driven by a "confluence of forces: the new political, social, and economic conditions facing public leaders and managers; shifts in expectations and capacities of ordinary people; and the realization that the old ways of dealing with public problems no longer work. growing complexity, incessant change; In short, deliberative civic engagement provides a potential solution to the varied and complex problems and challenges faced today." *[Nabatchi et al., 2012a*:10].

Despite increased interest in participation only irregularly implementation[10] followed, and simultaneously alienation of voters from their formal government was registered [Innes & Booher, 2004]: declining voter turnout [ibid.] and for the case of Germany increasing votes for an opposition (AFD) [Der Bundeswahlleiter, 2017] that criticizes established governmental procedures, and accuses them as serving exclusive interest groups and having lost the connection to the citizens. The government is perceived as unresponsive to specific voices and as biased [Innes & Booher, 2004:420]. Forms of formal participation do not alleviate this pain and they might even exacerbate the situation. Another problem is the decline in citizenship [literature review for the US context: Nabatchi, 2010]: A "decline in the political engagement, civic dispositions, and social capital of the public [...] decline of public involvement in other political activities, such as working for political parties, signing petitions, attending political rallies or speeches, and running for office" as well as relatively low voter turnout rates [Nabatchi, 2010:378]. The situation in Germany shows similarities: a decline of traditional association membership was observed [Stiftung für Zukunftsfragen, 2014]. Other sources identify an increase of active citizens in general although only slightly within the traditional associations since 2006 [BMFSFJ, 2017] and mainly in other forms of engagement that are more informal and spontaneous. Innovative engagement formats also require new ways of quantitative estimates of engagement.

International statements like Local Agenda 21 [1992] created new spaces for local stakeholders and facilitated capital building: social, political, and intellectual [Innes & Booher, 2004:427 referring to Khakee, 2002; Vasconcelos et al., 2002] and the agenda's principles for local sustainability implementation were further developed and published in the Aalborg Charta [1994], the Lisbon Declaration [1996] and the Aalborg Commitments [2004]. After the UN-Sustainability Conference in Rio in 2012 emphasized role of municipalities in sustainability implementation [Umweltbundesamt, 2015], the German local sustainability strategy [2002] started early and was updated in 2016 [Die Bundesregierung, 2017], emphasizing broad and inclusive citizen participation.

---

[10] This suggests a rather large gap between research and municipal practice.

Complementing the mandatory formal participation (public hearing & review & information provision) in urban planning with informal participation measures (workshops, world cafés, forum, citizen consultation etc.) in urban, infrastructure & industry planning is considered state of the art in many German municipalities today [Brennecke, 2015]. The current legal regulations[11] leave much freedom for the conductors of informal public participation. As a result, participation designs differ vastly in degrees of public deliberation and therefore met different expectations about the purpose and the scope of influence that regularly clashed before, during and after informal participatory events. As a reaction to citizens' growing protest and mistrust around planning many municipalities acted and one outcome are guidelines and recommendations on high quality informal participation. These have been issued jointly by council politicians, administration and planners as well as citizens or citizen representatives in Germany to manage informal participation and provide guidance to improve the relationship and create a new participation culture. For Selle however, participation culture is only one element of a new culture needed, which involves new ways to plan, to do projects, to decide and to interact with each other [Selle, 2015].

Many different forces shaped the relationship between citizens, administration and government so far. Some of them strengthened the role of collaboration, but not always the relationship improved and distancing reactions by the population has negative effects. The next section presents formal and informal participation formats in more detail.

Formal Participation

As shown above, since the 1960s in Germany formal participation was applied e.g. in land use and development planning. Formal participation is the mandatory interaction with the public according to public participation regulations in municipal planning laws, county legislation and national law. It thus represents a routine activity for all involved actors. The formats allow clearly defined input of citizens: public feedback, interests, opinions, preferences or comments. Many scholars point out the rather limited contributions of formal participation [Innes & Booher, 2004]. Usually there is no possibility to clarify, justify or rephrase statements characterizing this one-way one-shot communication [Innes & Booher, 2004]. Top-down information and education is followed by rather reactive statements of citizens to proposed plans, restricting heavily the kind of contributions admitted. It may resemble a decide-announce-defend procedure [cf. Selle, 2015]. It was observed that one of the responsible landscape architect reacted with increased defense of his plan the more people were opposing it [Laws & Forester, 2015. The most common processes are public hearings, reviews and comment procedures.

Public hearings

Fung describes the typical public hearing as open to all via self-selection [2006]. He presents this format as a possibility for some citizens to express their views on a given issue, hope that their views and recommendations influence the final decisions and most other participants can listen, inform and educate themselves[12]. Public hearings invite for verbal comments as reaction to a rather detailed plan. They usually use a process design that provides participants with limited time to speak; the format does not do justice to the different kinds of knowledge [Innes & Booher, 2004]. For civil participants, this format requires strong rhetoric skills and knowledge about the determining factors of the planning process to use their one-shot opportunity to speak effectively to influence the decision. This implies **privileges based on communicative skills and language**. The general disadvantages for the board members are little learning about reasons for strong opinions or participants' conceived options to resolve differences [Innes & Booher, 2004]. Also, the topics to be

---

[11] In 2018 a goal identification phase was added as a possible service in construction contract law (BGB §650p (2)) and the fee structure for architects and engineers lists some services of participation management and planning but both regulations leave the details to parties' negotiation (HOAI 2013 §§18-19).
[12] This depends i.a. on the time frame available, the language used and the overall design of the participation event.

addressed are constrained: only those determined on the agenda are permitted which ignores differing probable problem definitions [Innes & Booher, 2004]. Expressing but not developing preferences is possible, participants are not entitled to discuss amongst them during the hearing [Innes & Booher, 2004; Fung, 2006]. Neither collaborative solution creation nor enlightening discussions are facilitated. And spaces for negotiation remain largely unexplored or object of interpretation by planners [Innes & Booher, 2004]. The challenge of a formal public hearing lies also in the format itself which facilitates a certain behavior and subsequently suggests interpreting statements in a certain way [Thompson, 1997]: The physical process layout and the rules of speaking are seen as a visualization and manifestation of power distribution. This argument was supported by a survey amongst participants in public hearings that perceived disempowerment through process design [Innes & Booher, 2004:424-425 referring to survey by Campbell & Marshall, 2000]. In order to get listened to, participants may feel inclined to use extreme statements because moderate words might make participants get overheard, or their issues perceived as less urgent. Thus, the format of the public hearing encourages mainly passionate participation by those who feel threatened by the municipal project [Innes & Booher, 2004] and civil participants unfamiliar with this behavior may feel ignored or alienated. Also non-representative but well-organized civil groups[13] may try to dominate a topic and pressure the municipal board to decide on their behalf [Innes & Booher, 2004:424]. To summarize, antagonism is fuelled rather than consolidated. This atmosphere reduces the attractiveness of such events for planners and public officials, too as they expect statements to be repeated, protest to be expressed and issues to be framed in polarizing ways with a tendency to choose extreme terms and this was shown to reduce their opinion of the citizen voices [Innes & Booher, 2004]. There is a need for objective and neutral facilitators between city officials and residents to avoid adversary dynamics within the process [Laws & Forester, 2015].

Review & comment procedures
Review and comment procedures are processes of participation that allow written comments such as an environmental review in reaction to detailed plan. Although the agency is legally required to respond to the citizen input, there is no coercion to take the comments seriously. And this leaves the solutions creation up to the sponsoring agency. And a not well elaborated although essentially valid point might be overruled. Mandatory changes may emerge however, e.g. if civil society shows that project violates the law, the required procedure or if interference with other legal issues is detected. Thus, to challenge municipal projects, expertise in law is required. And again, different power amongst civil groups may distort community representativeness of the feedback: well-informed and organized citizens may force the agency to make changes in projects, threatening them or forcing them with lawsuits. [Innes & Booher, 2004]

These procedures come along with various challenges: they might still provide low accessibility: without proactive invitation of citizenry and progressive information channels, instead mainly via formal announcements in newspapers and displays. This indirectly restricts access to the event. The design of formal participation spaces also facilitates exclusiveness: mainly fuelling polarizing behavior and exaggeration, participants feel that it is necessary to get their voices heard on expense of or in competition to other present voices. The efficacy of rhetoric skills advantages participants from the elites and this leads to a failure of representation of the community's diverse voices despite the self-selection of participants.

Informal Participation
Informal participation is something additional, complementary to formal participation requirements. The informal nature lies in the currently absence of a regulation making its implementation mandatory. Also the methods, scope, participants are not prescribed. Whether, when, how and with

---

[13] For example home owners who considered themselves representatives of the community while excluding the tenants [referring to Campbell & Marshall, 2000]

which authority the citizens are invited to participate in decision-making is open to choice of the agents in charge. Although informal participation also often uses one-way communication [Innes & Booher, 2004], its potential ability to meet the various participation purposes is much higher if it offers multiple-way communication. Procedures may resemble the engage-deliberate-decide approach [Selle, 2015]. There is a multitude of formats of informal participation[14], in general, scholars and practitioners refer to informal participation as dialogue-oriented, collaborative processes. While some researchers underline the need for substantial empirical proof of the benefits of collaborative dialogue participation [Innes & Booher, 2004:430] other scholars, participatory planning practitioners and citizen organizations highlight potential benefits of deliberative civic engagement for sustainable urban development & urban environmental justice [Pearsall & Pierce, 2010].

Complementing the mandatory formal participation in urban planning with informal participation measures in urban, infrastructure & industry planning[15] is considered state of the art in many German municipalities today [Brennecke, 2015]. The current legal regulations[16] leave much freedom for the conductors of informal public participation. As a result, participation designs differ vastly in degrees of public deliberation and therefore meet different expectations, potentially causing disappointment and mistrust.

There are **advisory committees** which are also potentially informal and allowing more discussion amongst the selected members [Innes & Booher, 2004]. **Citizen bodies** offer formal multi-way discussions, on still largely constrained topics and not allowing free flowing dialogue. Examples here are citizen-based commissions e.g. for zoning and planning. **Open meetings in the US** suffer from regulations and design constrains to deliberation[Innes & Booher, 2004]. An agenda has to be published days before the meeting determines the discussion topics and not object of discussion, which all other issues and approaches. Public officials can't allow the meetings to develop into deliberative dialogues. The advantage however is increased transparency in the governing bodies and the possibility to inform oneself ahead of the meeting, to be aware of coming decisions and to assess their subjective relevance, to prepare appropriate comments. An improved public hearing are **Study Circles** in Idaho according to Fung [2006; Goldman, 2004]. Their participants are recruited with diversity focus and working mode are small groups. Through the provision of background materials on policy alternatives and trade-offs the preference development is facilitated and so is the creation of a public consensus and resulting policy support. There, officials gather the public advice on **controversial issues and problems of unknown public** sentiment. **Citizen Juries** and **Planungszellen** rely on improved the representativeness and thus legitimacy of participants through random citizen selection, **21st Century Town Meetings** use targeted recruitment [Gastil & Levine, 2005]. A formal form of power is not considered necessary in such events if their purpose is to clarify misunderstandings and misperceptions [Gastil & Levine, 2005].

Independent form the specific format of interaction, the preconditions for meaningful citizen participation are (1) sufficient interest and motivation of councils & administration for citizen participation: to give voice to citizens, to listen to them [Selle, 2015; Laws & Forester, 2015; Klages, 2011]; (2) procedures that are trustworthy for all participants; a procedural reliability and consistency as a basis for trust to prevent arbitrary decisions on and implementations of participation [Glaab, 2016; Klages, 2011]; (3) timely information on processes and projects in municipality & administration [Klages, 2011]; (4) continuous and frequent offer of citizen participation with participation processes that build onto each other [Klages, 2011]; (5) careful documentation of

---

[14] See page 17.
[15] Also applied for integrated city development concepts, for dialogue based tendering, for urban and regional development strategies, structure concepts, socio-spatial orientation, participatory budgeting etc.
[16] BGB §650p (2) "Zielfindungsphase"; HOAI 2013 §§18-19

participation results to be considered in the subsequent planning steps and decisions is necessary for efficient and effective participation [Klages, 2011]. Innes & Booher emphasize that best practice should be followed to secure the **process quality** [Innes & Booher, 2004[17]].

A specific understanding of participation (limited input categories) is applied in formal participation procedures, the citizen-administration relationship is rather antagonistic by design. Informal participation is various and deliberative processes might include any citizen input category, depending on the project and goal and might promote collaborative relationships.

Worldviews: Pluralist & Collaborative, Material & Procedural

Participation formats are connected to their origin in different world views [Innes & Booher, 2004]. Different participation researchers identified worldviews of administration, planners and citizens differ [Innes & Booher, 2004; Dahl, 1961; Thompson, 1997; Selle, 2015] and each holds potentially different priorities in legitimacy, expectations on participation and ideas about an appropriate citizen-administration relationship. Presented here are the pluralist model [Dahl, 1961] versus the collaborative model and the material versus the procedural world view.

The Pluralist Model versus the Collaborative Model

The pluralist model, based on Dahl's political *theory* of pluralism [Dahl, 1961], conceptualizes the government acts as mediator between diverse interest groups in the political sphere. The rather mechanistic idea conceptualizes stakeholders pushing the government. Representatives, elite and strong interests dominate, as they may push harder than the ordinary citizen. This results in a perceived lack of legitimation of the government from the citizen perspective. Also this duality between government and other stakeholders creates irresolvable dilemmas and adversary which can be observed in the use of partisan and war metaphors: us, the citizens against them, the decision-makers. This model of government might be perceived as potentially effective but it is slow in changes and close to stagnancy [Innes & Booher, 2004]. Formal participation such as public hearing, review and comment methods falls into this concept. The use of language is formal [Thompson, 1997].

Instead of suggesting antagonistic behavior, the collective model uses peaceful imageries [Thompson, 1997]. It may draw on formal or informal language [Innes & Booher, 2004]. The collaborative model is considered more appropriate in addressing participation dilemmas and in meeting participation purposes as it facilitates the transformative power of dialogue dialogue, network building and institutional capacity building [Innes & Booher, 2004].

The transformative power of dialogue

It was observed in the Choice Work Dialogue and research [Innes & Booher, 2004:428[18]] and requires certain quality criteria: the empowered of all, authentic dialogue, informed, listening and respectful participants. The process is conceptualized as a task of shared interest that allows advocating for one's own needs and facilitates preference development [Fung, 2006].

Network building

It allows increasing social capital, private and professional connections for the participants which might lead to long-term benefits for the local community [Innes & Booher, 2004:428 referring to Innes & Connick, 1999]. The collaborative processes attribute power to processes and create new forms of power [Booher & Innes, 2002]. They originate in understanding each other's opinion and view and potentially build trust and identify or generate shared understandings within networks and in new ways of self-organizing decentralized action [Innes & Booher, 2004:428] and in establishing 'empowered participatory governance' [Innes & Booher, 2004:431 referring to Fung & Wright, 2003].

---

[17] referring to: Lowry et al., 1997; Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution, 1997; Susskind et al., 1999
[18] referring to Roberts, 2002; Qankelovich, 1999; Forester, 1999:115-153

Institutional capacity growth

It is composed of political, social and intellectual capital [Innes & Booher, 2004:428[19]], grows and spreads through collaboration. Networks and feedback loops may increase civic capacity of a society, which in turn increases participants' knowledge and competence, and trust in their power to make a difference. These citizen participants are then perceived as more reasonable, rational and experienced [Innes & Booher, 2004:428 referring to Mandell, 1999]. Even community development and the attraction of massive private funding might be facilitated by strong community building institutions [Innes & Booher, 2004:428 referring to Bogart, 2003].

The legitimacy of the results is significantly increased but the process itself is perceived as rarely effective, because it is more time intensive, might thus require the investment of larger funds with unknown benefits [Innes & Booher, 2004].

The Material vs. the Procedural Model

Selle identifies two other largely differing worldviews within urban planning and development [Selle, 2015]: While citizens take a material approach administration takes a procedural one. Participation is interesting for citizens because want to create and develop the environment they live in whereas planners need citizens for procedural reasons like legal requirementa and to solve specific and pre-defined planning problems. More procedural participation will thus not be able to meet citizens' expectations [Selle, 2015].

Offering more, continuous and reliable participation options on local level is considered necessary to secure improved citizen involvement possibilities [Glaab, 2016 referring to Vetter et al., 2013] to improve performance according all world views e.g. in systematically connecting formal participation with additional informal participation processes. Additionally, it is important to acknowledge these coexisting differences in focus and to structure the debate around citizen participation in city planning accordingly (see page 64).

After this general introduction of the citizen-administration relationship a review of participation theories follows. As shown above, there is a multitude of informal participation formats. This makes specifications on the kind of relationships facilitated difficult. Systematic classification of participation is necessary.

2. Systematic Differentiation of Participation

A multitude of formats, numerous potentials, different definitions and understandings of participation exist and they make a systematic differentiation necessary for any analytical approach. A general introduction to the inherent problems of democratic governance in representative & democratic institutions (Justice, Legitimacy & Effective Administration), is followed by differentiation categories proposed in literature. Purposes as one of these categories are discussed and it is suggested to classify them into input categories of the involved actors. These proxies for purposes define in a clear way the citizen-administration interaction in respective participation process.

Problems of democratic governance: Justice, Effective Administration & Legitimation

The three inherent problems of democratic governance in representative and bureaucratic institutions are justice, legitimacy and effective administration they are also important democratic values [Fung, 2006].

Effective administration

Participation is relevant for public officials because they need information, know-how, resources and creativity to solve public problems and provide for the future [Fung, 2006 referring to Cohen & Sabel, 1997]. Non-professional citizens may provide useful support for the authorities: their local

---

[19] referring to Cars et al., 2002; Chaskin, 2001; Gruber, 1994; Khakee, 2002

capabilities may increase available problem-solving resources. Citizens contribute local knowledge generated by close exposure and experience of context where problems evolved [Fung, 2006]. These local resources may also help to detect hotspots. Innovative framing of problems and priorities, innovative approaches and strategies may interrupt professionals' conceptions, free from professional lens and perspective and maintain a closer reference to clients' needs, values and preferences. Thus, new angles to problem-solution can be introduced into the discussion and practice is forced into a new approach. The inclusion of clients in coproduction potentially improves **service quality** significantly [Fung, 2006:73]. The civil input may increase the **decision quality** [Fischer, 1993, 2002 referred to in Innes & Booher, 2004]. The focus and coordination of other city resources is facilitated, e.g. in form of cross-departmental resource mobilization. And additional options and different priorities will be introduced.

Justice

Political inequality and injustice are closely linked [Fung, 2006]. Fung focuses on questions of equality and justice of influence on the political agenda and decision-making, the actors' access to relevant information to assess the suitability of alternatives to meet one's own needs, and the distribution of the powers to challenge unsuitable alternatives.

The origins of inequalities in urban planning lay in the role of private resources in policy making [Fung, 2006]: lobbying for own interests, racialized & gendered exclusion from influential positions. Different interest group systems influence the organization degree of the interest representation in decision-making processes, either diffused as consumers or concentrated as producers [Fung, 2006 referring to Stigler, 1971; Wilson, 1980]. Additional mechanisms are power and access. To address these challenges, and increase political equality Fung proposes to either exchange biased personnel making the decisions, or to redistribute influence and direct authority [2006]. Approaches are to increase electoral or group system quality (institutional changes), to replace unjust decision-makers with direct citizen participation, to create of public pressures to force authorities to increase justice of their actions through participatory influence, to offer incentives for disadvantaged to participate and be heard. The problem of corruption and exclusion, advantaging the privileged are barriers to justice as well as the absence of direct authority for civil participants where advises and recommendations are usually ignored [Fung, 2006:72]. Ideas of random selection of civil society participants and lay stakeholders as decision-makers are considered solutions to balance inter-citizen competition, to increase community representativeness, and to improve legitimacy of the input. In this definition justice comes with counting the votes, not with deliberation [Fung, 2006:73].

Legitimacy

Legitimacy of a decision or plan is fulfilled when citizens are provided with solid arguments to support it, when they feel the government is responsive to the public interest and not corrupted by elites [Fung, 2006:70]. Government might be unable to performing according to public will because of representation deficits and inclusive participation formats with informed and representative participants and facilitation of dialogue or preference development are stated as mitigation measures [Fung, 2006]. Public deliberation is considered appropriate in case of divisive issues [Goldman, 2004]. The reflections on legitimacy are expanded in section 4 on page 26.

Differentiation Categories in Literature

There is a variety of ideas on participation, process designs and methods and several scholars offer differentiations. Starting with a list synthesized from participation literature, this section discusses Fung's Democracy Cube [2006] to structure participatory events along three axes: participants, communication and authority. Then one of the most prominent and plausible differentiation categories is described: the purpose or intention of the event. But participation purposes are rather ambiguous and interconnected. There is no clear distinction against benefits, principles, quality criteria, preconditions, functional outcomes, and democratic values possible (see Figure 9). Later in

this section input categories are proposed as potential solution to dilemma in describing the communicative content of citizen-administration interaction in participation processes[20].

General Categories

The following list of differentiation criteria is synthesized from Nabatchi et al. [2012 referring to: Bingham, Nabatchi & O'Leary, 2005], Weiksner et al. [2012], Fung [2006], Glaab [2016], Nanz & Fritsche [2012, referred to in Glaab, 2016]:

- **Purpose** & intention & functional outcomes
- **Convener** (by individual group/organization, consortium, administrative officials, elected officials, others) [Nabatchi et al., 2012:3]
- **Organization: Locus of action**[21], **scope** of action, duration, size of group, costs
- **Participants & selection process**[22]
- **Communication**[22]**:** information exchange pathways & deliberative methodology choice[23], decision-making within participatory event[22]
- **Contact to policy process** and influence on public action/policy [Nabatchi et al., 2012] is determined by
  a) point of contact with policy process [Nabatchi et al., 2012] and location in process: Timing of B. in policy making cycle [Weiksner et al., 2012]; moment & point in process
  b) Connection to policy process (explicit links to policy & decision-makers, intention to ignite changes in individual attitudes/behavior, initiate collective action) [Nabatchi et al., 2012:4]

A table structuring these criteria can be found in the appendix (page 74).

Structuring Participation Purposes

Structuring participation purposes is a reoccurring theme in participation research and theory, the Democracy Cube is a prominent example and so is the proposal to differentiate participation by its moment in the decision process, by design choices, participation functions and purposes.

The Democracy Cube

Fung proposes to structure institutional designs along three axes to locate different process designs of participatory events within his Democracy Cube [2006] (see Figure 4). This framework facilitates the analysis of institutional possibilities, the structured investigation of appropriate participation varieties in governance, governance choices (what's feasible, what's useful), to compare more professionalized mechanisms and participatory arrangements, and to plot mechanisms of governance into a three-dimensional space [Fung, 2006]. For the most common participation processes this has been done [Barrett, Wyman, & P. Coelho Vera Schattan, 2012]. Instead of focusing on the intrinsic values of increased public participation for politics, Fung is interested in the instrumental benefits of participation for democracies; including solving problems with the three values of democracy: effective administration, justice and legitimacy. Potentially the Democracy Cube facilitates the creation of synergies between participation, representation and administration to achieve desirable practices and results of collective action and decision-making [Fung, 2006:66].

---

[20] For more details see page 26.
[21] within organization, social network, neighborhood, community, municipality, state/nation, international level
[22] These three are also modeled in the Democracy Cube by Fung [2006] and referred to as participants' influence and roles as policy impact: Participants play different roles according to different institutional designs [Weiksner et al., 2012]. The process design and the deliberative methodology choice belong here as differentiation criteria by Nabatchi et al. as well [2012:3-4].
[23] different formats: intimate dialogues, short discussions or complex processes like multi-stage decision-making

Participation is necessary in case of: "authorized set of decision makers […] is somehow deficient" [Fung, 2006:67]. This deficiency is expressed in an inability of commanding compliance due to a lack of information, knowledge or competence, an absence of resources or public purpose or respect. Participation in Fung's view would be appropriate in any case of decision makers' deficiency and not only in case of conflicts. It can compensate deficits in legitimation & increase political legitimation [Selle, 1996; Glaab, 2016].
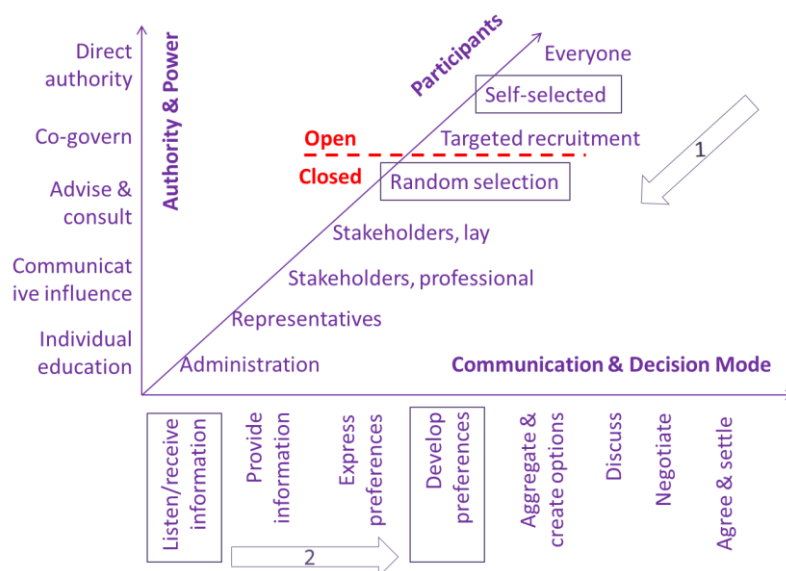
Figure 4: Increased Representation (1) and increased Intensity of Communication (2) [adapted from Fung, 2006:71]

The first axis is participants[24] and the remedy for deficient decision-makers depends on the participant choice. The second axis is modes of communication & decision-making[25] within a participatory situation. Here, design follows the necessary type of knowledge generation for process. There are several modes of communication and decision-making that differ in the degree of intensity of commitment, investment & knowledge of participants that is necessary [Fung, 2006:69]. The third axis is authority & power as idealized points on a spectrum describing the influence on public action, authority & policy.

Achieving descriptive representation is the intent of random selection of citizens [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012: referring to e.g. Fishkin's Deliberative Polls], targeted recruitment focuses on diversity [referring to Study Circles Resource Center]. Both intend to create a more representative composition of participants for their neighborhood (arrow 1) [Fung, 2006]. The random selection is cost and time intensive if done properly and it may exclude some highly interested and motivated individuals that are committed to work on the issue constructively [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012] and that would only be able to participate in open formats. Arrow 2 shows the different communication modes: from the passive reception of information, to mere expression of preferences to preference development. Arrow 2 shows the preconditions and direction for increasingly informed and reflective discussions, which marks the transition from one-way one-shot communication towards dialogue and deliberation.

Any decision-making process usually consists of several different subsequent participatory situations with different participants, formats and voices. A good example is administrative rulemaking where

---

[24] Lay stakeholders: unpaid, deep interest in public concern, invest much time and energy to serve as representatives; Professional stakeholders: paid, represent organized interests; public officials, private planners, mediators
[25] information reception: announcement or explanation

public comments to proposals in public hearings are succeeded by exclusive expert decisions. And complex urban development projects take place in multiple arenas of interaction [Fung, 2006:67]. Another example is the public hearing, a common formal participatory event e.g. in land use planning. The "stated purpose of most public hearings" [Fung, 2006:69] is to provide advice and consultation (authority & power axis): participants provide input to officials in expressing preferences or suggestions and officials remain in control. Figure 5 visualizes exemplarily different phases of a decision applying a public hearing.
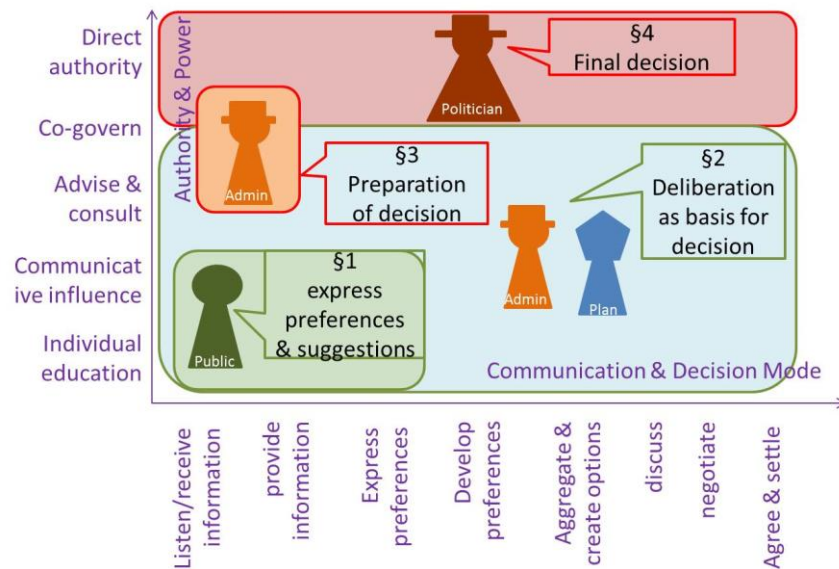
Figure 5: A public hearing (planning participation square, based on Fung [2006])

Moment in Planning Process

Following a chronological procedure of a generalized planning process, different participation approaches follow, i.e. citizens can contribute at different moments. The following list structures participation along a timeline and is based on Nabatchi et al. [Nabatchi et al., 2012:8].

1. **Information & data collection**
2. **Value priorities & needs assessment**: identify, weigh, prioritize and frame the problem
   It might include, a requirement elicitation with citizens and secondly a criteria development with them and is comparable with briefing and needs assessment.
3. **Solution collection,** co-creation and option development
4. **Solution discussion**: weigh pros, cons, trade-offs and the "systematic application of relevant knowledge and values to each alternative"
5. **Decision or independent judgment**: choice of best option based on new knowledge through anterior deliberative process; arrival at well-informed judgments
6. **Collaborative implementation**: action planning: participants help to implement generated options

Design Choices

Fung [2003] proposes to structure participation along ten functional outcomes (see Figure 6). Weiksner et al. go further and suggest that influential factors shape design choices which in turn shape the functional outcomes of the participatory process [2012], as illustrated in Figure 6. Design determines largely the outcome of deliberative events [Weiksner et al., 2012] and these design choices shape public officials' understanding and identification of the involved public values and are thus essential for mutual understanding [Nabatchi, 2012b referred to in Weiksner et al., 2012:11].
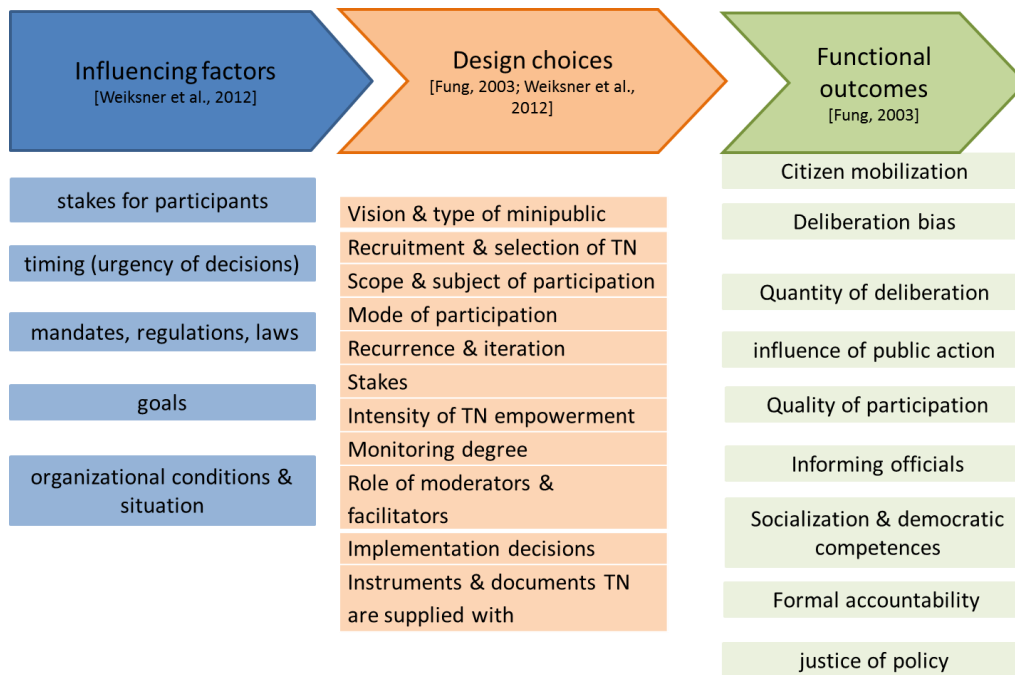
Figure 6: Dynamics and factors influencing participation [based on Weiksner et al., 2012; Fung, 2003]

The design choices are not independent from the context and may be reactions to goals in form of purposes, hopes, motivations of deliberation. They might be reactions to stakes for participants, i.e. the motivation and perceived weight of problem. Or they depend on organizational conditions and situation, namely budgets, resources including personnel, technologies and logistical options [Weiksner et al., 2012]. Notable influential design choices within the participation event are the instruments and documents participants are supplied with, the role of moderators and facilitators, and the implementation decisions including timing, venues, logistics and reporting [Weiksner et al., 2012; Fung, 2003].

Several additional dynamics and factors influencing participation are listed by Nabatchi et al. [2012]: They consider different actors' levels: the community level and public leaders, administration and public officials, and the policy level with process design and the preconditions transparency and accessibility. The Individual level refers to the participants' own material & symbolic costs and benefits: Peoples' commitment to participation is assumed to be based on cost-benefit considerations, a rational calculation of costs and benefits, drawing on assumptions introduced by Downs "An Economic Theory of Democracy" [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012]. When costs are lowered and or when the benefits are increased a start of commitment is probable [Nabatchi et al., 2012:11]. Now, which factors add into this cost-benefit balance? Ryfe & Stalsburg [2012] found three variables that influence participation considerably: socioeconomic status, proximity to social networks and formal education. Also of relevance is ideological intensity [Nabatchi et al., 2012:11]. Numerous studies showed that education and participation have a positively reinforcing relationship. The so-called participation bias[26] reveals that in many participatory events a specific well-educated social group is overrepresented as participants.

Participation Functions

Figure 7 shows Selle's concept of participation functions structured along different areas or actors. The functions mentioned might also be called purposes or motivations. It is a helpful framework to understand what drives different actors to join, allow, convene or request participative events. It reveals that motivations differ significantly in the different areas, and awareness, transparency and

---

[26] See page 37.

clear communication is necessary to avoid misunderstandings in participation debates. It also illustrates the different world views of planners and citizens.
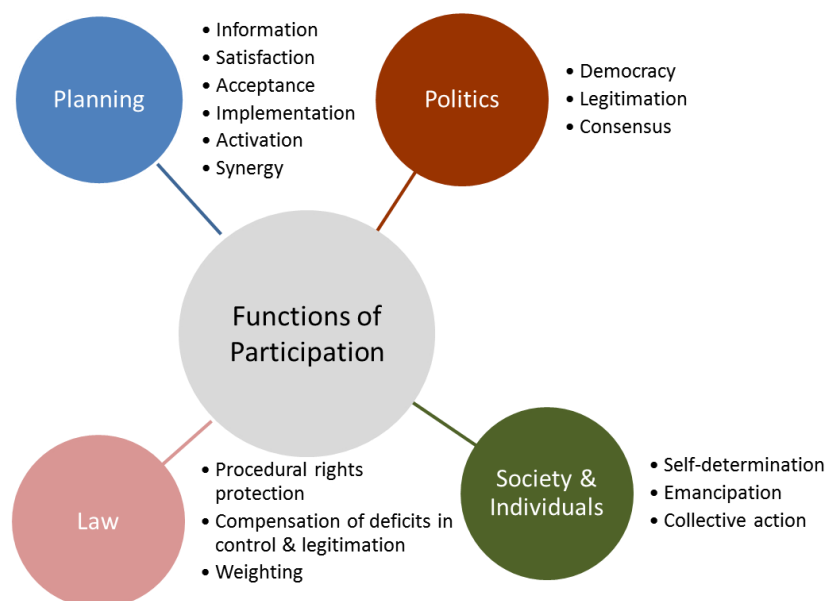
Figure 7: Functions of participation in planning [Selle 1996c:171; own translation].

Purposes

Finally the purposes, functions, intentions, motivations and potentials of participation are assessed in more detail. The enthusiastic view about the potentials of participation includes very diverse ideas about its nature. Statements range from ideas on decision-participation, co-creation, the activation or mobilization of support or behavioral shifts in a community or group, to the contribution to change with own resources or to the improvement of the local urban condition in adjusting it to residents' needs.

Professor Klages, researcher in administration science at Speyer University, Germany sees essential, i.e. joint municipal goals of participation in having citizens accompanying the entire planning and preparing a council decision that can be approved by the majority, and in increasing trust of citizens into administration and politics [Klages, 2011].

Innes & Booher [2004] describe five purposes of participation and securing decisions' legitimacy might be the most in line with Klages' approach. They add the compilation of knowledge about public interests, the use of local, citizen knowledge to improve decisions, the promotion and achievement of justice and fairness and the performance according to legal requirements.

Another much discussed aspect is whether "deliberation make[s] better citizens" [Pincock, 2012][27]. Studies revealed positive results of confronting individuals with an increased diversity of ideas, caused by one's own diverse social networks or "face-to-face discussions with strangers" [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012]. A tendency to be more open-minded and to learn from each other was observed. Learning ways of deepening the consideration of issues, engaging in this and increasing the political knowledge and the "robustness of their opinions" were witnessed by researchers [Ryfe, 2012:n.d.]. And this might be true for citizens as well as other participants of the deliberative events: planners, administration and council politicians. It could provide an additional motivation to join or invite for dialogues.

Addressing **controversial choices** through diverse methods of communication and deliberation may facilitate the development of public consensus on (previously) decisive topics and subsequently

---

[27] Gastil et al.,2010; Gastil, 2008; Melville et al., 2005

create public support [Goldman, 2004; Fung, 2006]. Benefits might easily turn into participation motivations and desirable outcomes and purposes, depending on the actor's perspective and intentions. An event can have one specific purpose, which does not exclude its influence in other realms [Fung, 2006].

Mutz [2008] summarized hypotheses of deliberative democracy (Figure 8) in listing desirable outcomes of participation on the right side and quality criteria and aspects considered preconditions for successful deliberation on the left side. It illustrates the debate, where knowledge and assumptions on requirements as well as on theoretical and experienced benefits exist but control of the latter remains difficult and clear causal relations remain missing. The graph shall illustrate the ambiguity of participation purposes.

Requirements invoked as necessary to deliberative success

Accuracy of information in discourse
Civility
Public (versus private)

Reflection

Group-based
Rule-governed

Face-to-face

Reason-giving

Equality of reason-giving/participation
Disagreement with others
Interactivity of discourse
Link to political action (binding/consultative/none)
Collective versus individual
Equal-status participants

Desirable outcomes linked to deliberative processes

Awareness of oppositional arguments
Political tolerance
Perceptions of legitimacy of opposition
Knowledge/information gain/sophistication
Empathy
Willingness to compromise
Participation/civic engagement
Opinion change toward more "public-spirited" view
Opinion consistency
Faith in democratic processes
Political self-efficacy
Consensual decision
Social capital/feelings of community
Social trust
Depth of understanding of one's own positions

Figure 8: hypothesis of deliberation: requirements and benefits [Mutz, 2008].

Figure 9 diagram text:

Build civil society [5]
Adaptive, self-organizing polity [9]
Collective needs & interests
Civic capacity, informed & effective
Practiced democracy

Activate citizenry, increase & improve public participation [1;7]

Provide influence & authority

Citizen emancipation

Societal development

Conflict resolution & improvement of group relations [4]

Facilitate collaborative action [4], complement hierarchy & individualism with community & equality [7 p.9]

Reduce gap: citizens vs. Government [1;7]

Deliberation training

Qualify participants: input and collaborative mindset, socialization [1]

Long-term support of decisions [3; 7]

Increased satisfaction & approval

public interests, priorities & citizen preferences (mitigates government out of touch with citizens) [5]

Reduce conflict

democratic governance [3]

Creates contact, Create understanding, respect [4]

Creates knowledge about citizens' needs, about locality [5], About alternative problem definition

Reelection probability [7]

Output Legitimacy [3;6]

Increase quality of decisions

Decision making support by citizens [4;10]; explore a topic [4]

Promote public agency's activities [5]

Legitimacy of decisions [8; 10]

Throughput Legitimacy [6]

• Access to information
• Transparency [10]
• Openness [10]
• Quality execution [1]

Perform according to legal requirements [5;7], foramal accountability

Improve justice of decisions [1; 8]

Input Legitimacy [6]

Authority to democratically legitimized agents

Voice to everyone [5]; activate citizenry, integrate usually unheard voices [5]

Create inclusive spaces, Support voices, give effective voice to weaker groups [8]

Fairness, justice, equality [2;5;7]

Conflict resolution [4]

Voice to representative participants

Effective administration [2;5]

Conflict avoidance [7]

• Enabled public officials
• Informantion
• Ingenuity
• Know-how
• resources

Better plans, ownership by citizens, reduced maintenance costs, less vandalism,

Cost & time efficient

REFERENCES
[1] Fung, 2003 referred to in Weiksner et al., 2012
[2] Fung, 2006
[3] Nabatchi et al., 2012
[4] National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation, 2008 referred to in Nabatchi et al., 2012]
[5] Innes & Booher, 2004
[6] Glaab, 2016
[7] Weiksner et al., 2012
[8] Nabatchi et al., 2012:9; referring to Elster, 1998; Fung, 2003, 2005; Gutmann & Thompson, 1996, 2004
[9] Rittel & Webber, 1973 referred to in Innes & Booher, 2004
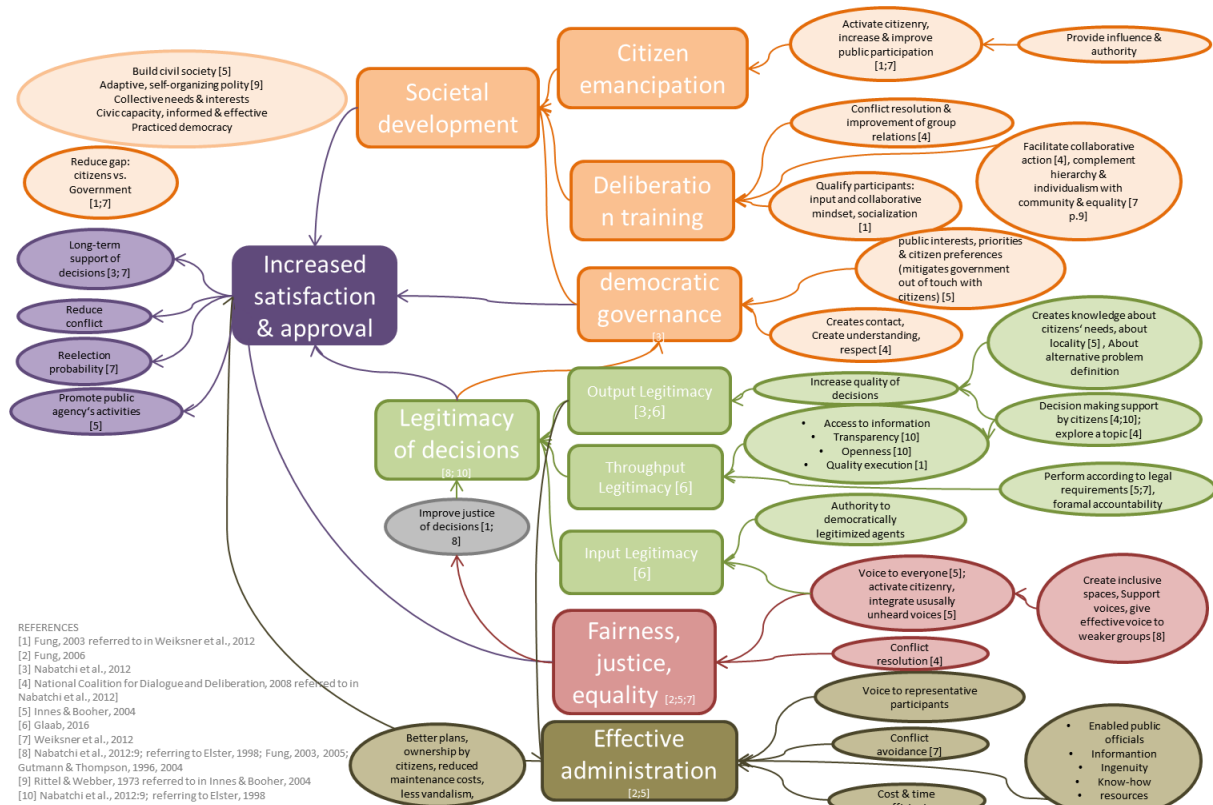[10] Nabatchi et al., 2012:9; referring to Elster, 1998

Figure 9: "Overview" on participation purposes.

Participation literature provides many suggestions on how to structure or differentiate participation and its purposes specifically. Figure 9 summarizes mentioned benefits, purposes, preconditions, principles and desired outcomes according to the discussed participation theory. It shows the interconnectedness and illustrates the ambiguity inherent in the participation purpose discussion.

As a combination of several theories[28] and for pragmatic reasons of plausibility the suggestion to structure participation along its purposes is not dismissed completely. But to avoid ambiguity, organization along the actors' input categories is proposed to clarify the communicative content exchanged within the participation process.

INPUT CATEGORIES
As shown above, differentiating participatory events along purposes or intentions provides rather ambiguous data. As a solution to this dilemma, this thesis focuses on input categories which describe the communicative content of administration-citizen interaction. These categories are related to Fung's information exchange pathways and communication methods [2003, 2006]. Citizens and administration staff exchange different kinds of information, e.g. usages of spaces, on improvements needed. Local knowledge on hotspots or informal community activities threatened by a municipal intervention is exchanged. The kind of information given and the kind of questions asked to elicit this information determines the kind of influence attributed. This defines the citizen-administration interaction and it describes the participation process simultaneously.

Input categories Citizens
There are numerous reasons to involve citizens in municipal planning and decision-making. Many reasons are based on the kind of input and contribution citizens can provide for planners, administration and decision makers. Here, the functional outcome "informing officials" [Fung, 2006]

---

[28] Fung, 2003, 2006; Innes & Booher, 2004; Klages, 2011; Mutz, 2008; Nabatchi et al., 2012; Selle, 1996; Weiksner et al., 2012

is elaborated further. Figure 10 and Figure 11 show a range of differentiation options of participatory processes according to the input categories of citizens or administration.

REFERENCES:
[1] Fung, 2006
[2] Nabatchi et al., 2012
[3] National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation, 2008 referred to in Nabatchi et al., 2012]
[4] Innes & Booher, 2004
[6] Weiksner et al., 2012

Problem Definition & Framing — approaches & perspectives, problems & root causes of problems [3], point out existing marginalization & hotspots

categories — Sections, aspects

Input for Planning [4;1] — Knowledge & Information "Expertise" — Perceived injustices, marginalizations / Needs, uses, observations / Local experiences & knowledge: problems, hotspot, conflicts, potentials and resources

Option Creation "Solution Support" — Solution ideas, option creation, innovation

Feedback & Opinion on Options "Decision Support" — Opinion, interest, preference, choices, priorities, wishes, fears, feedback [4; 3]

Dialogue & its Transformative Power — deliberation, preference development / defend own, social group's or collective needs / conflict resolution, creation of settlement agreements / Assist administration to overcome bounded rationality [2]; control process [6]

"Other Resources", "Implementation Support" — Citizens' capabilities, knowledge, skills, engagement , resources / representation of social group; presence legitimizes event / network / Provide support for a plan/proposal/policy; approval; trust
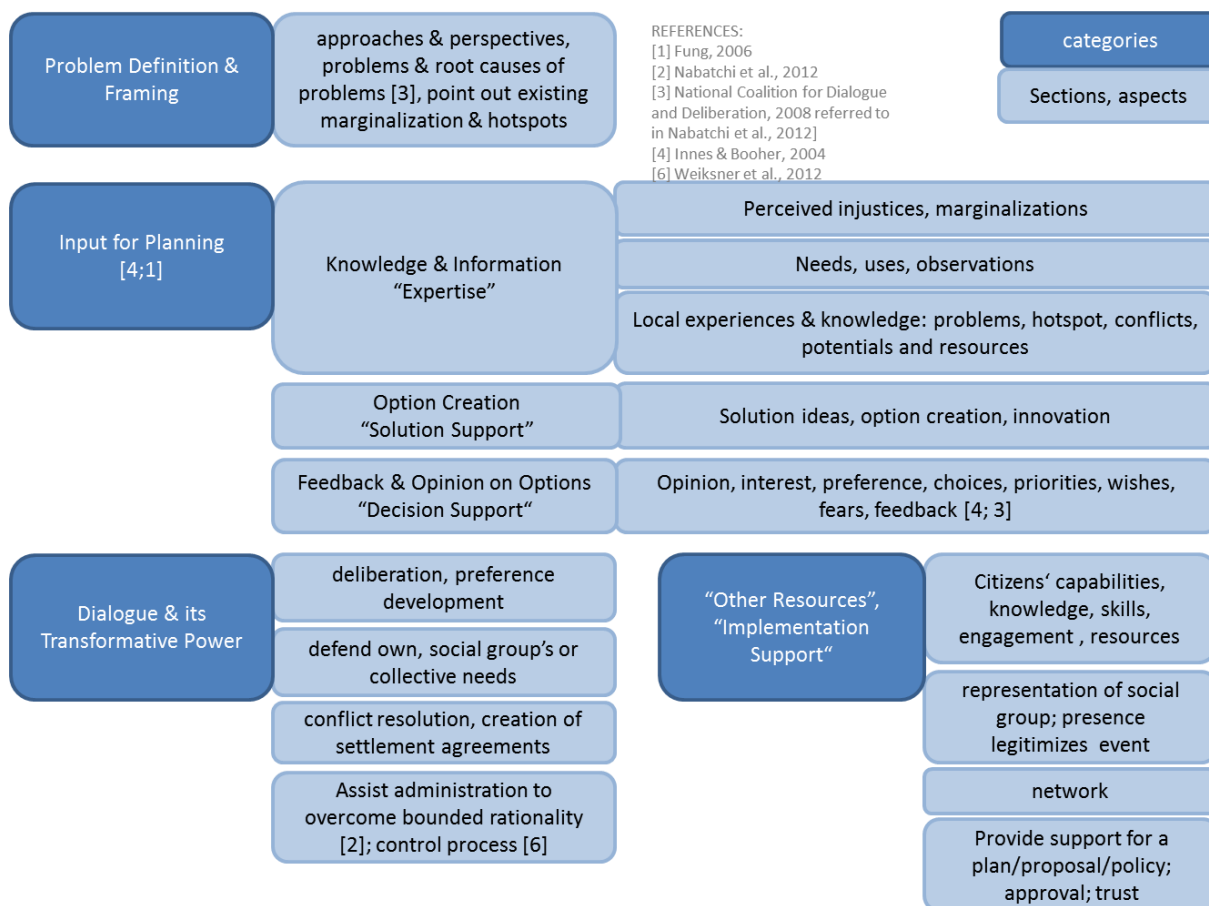
Figure 10: Different types of citizen input and contribution.

Citizen input potentially interrupts professionals' conception of problem definition and framings; it might correct professionals' view and approach, introduce new perspectives and complete the needs assessment. Providing local knowledge to planners allows awareness on local resources and potential, to detect hotspots and to correct otherwise gathered data. It makes sense because planners do not know all social spaces within the physical space[29] which they intend to change with their planned intervention. Based on the social constructionist approach, participation of local actors appears to be even more relevant to gain information on the different social spaces and to allow the planners contribute in a more informed way to improve the living conditions through their projects. Planners need assistance by local actors e.g. in problem framing, gathering local knowledge and listing usage requirements. Citizens might contribute innovative solutions, approaches and additional options or strategies. Residents are primary data source for local interests, opinions, values, preferences and priorities.

The various possible citizen inputs that are defined by the convener of the event allow differentiating participatory formats: whether feedback is requested (as it is in formal participation) or whether preference development and the generation of compromises are necessary (as in dialogue events). It makes sense to refer explicitly to the kind of input citizens are invited to contribute during a participatory event. It clarifies the kind of influence for the citizens, the degree of openness, it makes

---

[29] A physical space is perceived differently depending on the actor, because a **physical space** can be the **location of several discourses** and policies; Space is *socially* constructed and co-existence of several social spaces within the identical physical space is possible, following the social constructionist approach. Through discourse theory allows to analyze how certain spaces get connected to exclusive or inclusive practices and discourses [Richardson, 2002:358]; see discourse theory approach page 29.

conveners more sensitive about the kind of questions they need to ask to improve the plans and justice and legitimacy of the decisions, to increase of satisfaction, approval and efficacy. It is necessary that the other actors recognize the value of citizen input for their own goals.

Participation is not only about input from citizens to administration. It is a complementary relationship. Besides access to information and knowledge, the convener must provide opportunities and the project in question must offer room for action for the citizens to shape it to some degree. Rather invisible contributions are the coordination, network, and management of participatory events, including the provision of own or external moderation and mediation expertise.

Access to Information & Knowledge	Process transparency
	Decision transparency
	Accessibility of information (simple language)
	information on legal, subject-specific, other constraints

Provide opportunities	For deliberation, preference development
	inclusive spaces
	conflict resolution, creation of settlement
	For self-selected citizens to participate
	Sufficient time availability for learning processes
	Keep room for manoeuvre in planning process open to listen & to consider citizens; openness

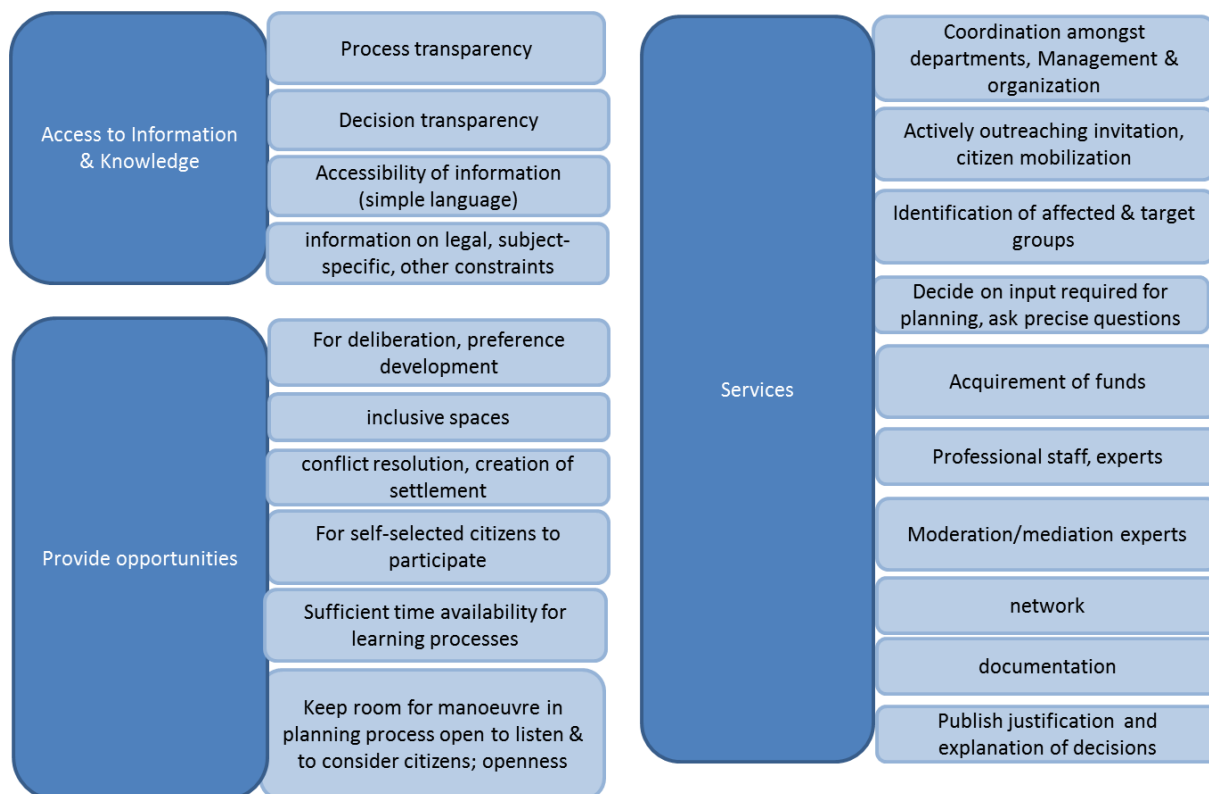| Services | Coordination amongst departments, Management & organization |
	Actively outreaching invitation, citizen mobilization
	Identification of affected & target groups
	Decide on input required for planning, ask precise questions
	Acquirement of funds
	Professional staff, experts
	Moderation/mediation experts
	network
	documentation
	Publish justification and explanation of decisions

Figure 11: Input and contribution by administration and planners.

Also, additional information provision (e.g. on alternatives and respective trade-offs is an administrative input category [Fung, 2006]) and facilitation of discussion shall support preference development and finally inform officials on public will. However most of administration input categories are the preconditions for citizen participation.

Systematic differentiation of participation is necessity and various kinds of approaches exist in research. Purposes as one of these categories is discussed and it is suggested to classify them into input categories of the involved actors. This section demonstrated input categories' determination of the actors' roles and influences, the relationship definition and the structuration of participation processes. The second perspective of the theoretical framework will discuss the democratic value legitimacy in breadth.

3. Legitimacy Concepts

Fung elaborates on three problems and important democratic values[30] [Fung, 2006]. This chapter presents different concepts of legitimacy in detail. The first section organizes legitimacy concepts following Glaab in separating political legitimacy into input, throughput and output legitimacy [2016].

---

[30] A general introduction to the three inherent problems of democratic governance in representative and democratic institutions is made Problems of democratic governance: Justice, Effective Administration & Legitimation (justice, legitimacy, effective Administration).

The following section connects legitimacy concepts or rationalities to actors' roles and participation purposes. An association of different legitimacy concepts and world views concludes.

One understanding of legitimacy of municipal action considers with whether citizens have valid reasons to support a specific public policy [Fung, 2006]. Another understanding sees legitimacy and democratic legitimation[31] as aspects influencing the goal achievement potential of participation [Weiksner et al., 2012]. It is suggested that understandings of what makes a decision legitimate differ between citizens and administrative staff (and politicians) and are causes for conflict, mistrust and dissatisfaction [Selle, 2015]. Legitimacy would not be a large issue in the citizen-administration-politician relationship, if it wasn't for particular challenges involved and partly ignored: Firstly, the **representation bias**: the participation events display significant social selectivity [Kersting, 2016]. Either the participant selection or the recruitment method for the participation event may facilitate the exclusive serving of selective interests [Fung, 2006][32]. This illustrates a potential discrepancy between the idea of representativeness and the assumed pursuit of common good by these individuals. And secondly, the **representation deficit**: the issue of communication and contact refers to the "unintentional rift between officials and the broader public" [Fung, 2006:70] which makes officials unsuccessful in identifying or reacting to public will. Also the rift increases as political decision makers operate in areas ever more distant from citizens.

Political Legitimacy

Glaab proposes to distinguish three dimensions of political legitimacy of the participatory events: input, throughput and output legitimacy [2016], see Figure 12.
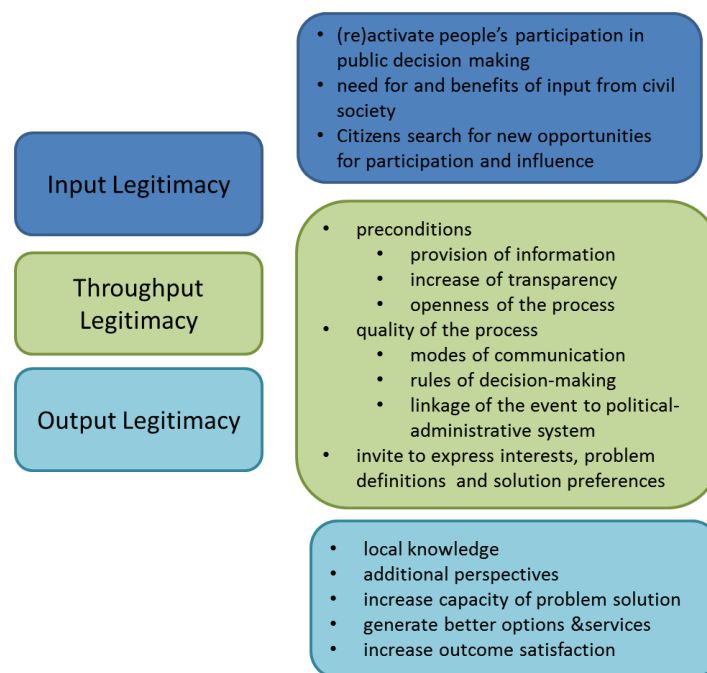

Figure 12: Glaab's sub-concepts of political legitimacy [2016], own summary and translation.

---

[31] Namely the representativeness of participants and the weight of their contributions

[32] The socio-economically precarious population groups show lower participation rates in elections and other democratic events [Gaab, 2016:19; referring to: Glaab, 2010; Geißel, 2012; Schäfer et al., 2013]. Even the current and more innovative forms of deliberative events attract mainly higher-educated middle classes [Gaab, 2016:19 referring to Petersen et al. 2013:57] and continue to exacerbate the polarization: primarily for the well-off these new methods offer additional stages to express their interests.

Throughput legitimacy refers to the decision-making process itself and it may ameliorate the citizens' impression of legitimacy of the democratic processes[33]. It includes the preconditions and the quality of the event itself.

The provision of information, increase of transparency [Bentele, 2016] and an openness[34] of the process are considered essential **preconditions** for its success:

- The access to information increases involvement opportunities of individuals [Glaab, 2016] and enables meaningful participation [Innes & Booher, 2004].
- Increased transparency allows to trace all decisions and aspects of an issue considered throughout the process, it includes the explanation and justification of decisions and it finally improves the legitimacy of the decision [Glaab, 2016, referring to Pickel, 2013:168 as contesting this]. Increased transparency might restore trust and it usually increases acceptance [Bentele, 2016].
- The decision must be open (theoretically) to provide space for citizen involvement, room for manoeuvre and action.

The quality of the process depends on the **modes of communication, the rules of decision-making, and the linkage of the event to political-administrative system**. The latter is independent from theoretical openness and demands timely information on problem definitions, interests and solution preferences [Glaab, 2016]. The participatory events create spaces for deliberation and action, provide accessibility & inclusiveness for different voices & different input categories, it shall invite citizens to express interests, problem definitions and solution preferences (see Figure 10) [Glaab, 2016:6].

But does a legitimate process alone lead to the perception of a political decision as more legitimate? The quality of the political decision is described as outcome legitimacy below [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012].

ii. *Output Legitimacy – Better Plans*

Output legitimacy is the generation of better plans and decisions, the increase of service quality, the optimization of resource consumption referring to local needs and solutions to local problems. This may lead to instrumental benefits like increase of capacity of problem solution and outcome satisfaction [Glaab, 2016:7], approval and acceptance. All of this contributes to effective administration. The everyday knowledge, local knowledge, additional perspectives, experiences and observations can be used to challenge expert knowledge of professionals and produce "socially robust knowledge" [Glaab, 2016 referring to Nowotny, 2003]. Participation can be seen as **consultation of policy** [Glaab, 2016:17]. A 'democratization of expertise' [Saretzki, 1997 referred to in Glaab, 2016] occurs when multiple knowledge forms are included and a multi-perspective problem understanding is facilitated that broadens range of solution options. Within the consultative participation processes, discourse and preference development aim at understanding. And negotiation processes intend to achieve unanimous agreements [Martinsen, 2009:142 referred to in Glaab, 2016]. Other approaches propose to differentiate dialogue processes into dialogues for consensus creation (in case of structural conflicts) and preparation of decisions (in case of apparent conflicts) [Kersting, 2008 referred to in Glaab, 2016; Becker-Strunk & Bimesdörfer, 2016].

---

[33] For a review of empirical literature see Delli Carpini et al., 2004; and Ryfe 2005

[34] The decision-making process is **never completely open-ended** [Glaab, 2016:18]: there are legal restrictions, anterior political decisions, etc. that restrict the range of solutions.

Output legitimacy depends on citizen input. Using their capabilities, local experts' knowledges and experiences enables administration, planners and authorities to create better plans. It sharpens the solutions and makes the intervention more effective and goal-oriented and potentially corrects the planner's own misunderstandings about the locality. Focusing on output legitimacy also allows anticipating challenges and including local potentials and resources. An overview of citizen input categories to improve the plans is presented in Figure 10. The participants' knowledge has a contextualizing and complementing effect on the municipal considerations [Innes & Booher:430]. The creation of innovation is possible [Innes & Booher, 2004 referring to Connick & Innes, 2003; Healey, 1993, 1997]. Higher input quality through dialogue processes can be facilitated through increased time availability in the process e.g. through a continuous process. This offers learning opportunities and allows knowledge generation and knowledge exchange. Planners also gain more detailed knowledge about public preferences – and this knowledge if it reaches politicians it may mitigate the representation deficit or gap of representative democracy [Selle, 2015]. Collaboration may solve problems, contribute and yield benefits in the process [Innes & Booher, 2004 referring to Straus, 2002]. Community surveys and workshops may optimize proposals e.g. for budget recovery and public spending and produce agreements that finally possess the sufficient **political feasibility** [Innes & Booher, 2004 referring to Weeks, 2000] or that meet the plan's purposes more effectively. It may lead to a reduction of maintenance costs and vandalism which contributes to cost savings in the long run.

It is not suggested here that planners themselves do not strive to create the best plan within their possibilities. But additional knowledge, perspectives and information on e.g. additional social spaces in physical spaces [Richardson, 2002], informal usages, and local hot spots of injustice, bad design or inaccessibility might escape the view of the planner but are decisive for a plan's potential to improve the local conditions. Thus output legitimacy is highly dependent on the convener input, too: problem definition, the openness of the decision, the questions asked and contributions invited during the participative event. Planners need to be aware which kind of input they consider necessary to optimize their plans. Not to restrict citizens contributions but to gather information on separate aspects collectively, to pool knowledge on local conditions, experience & expertise.

iii. Input Legitimacy

Inclusiveness and representativeness are input legitimacy issues concerned with whose voice is how legitimate to influence the decision. It contains the two dilemmas that have to be mitigated or solved: Firstly, citizens' lack of mandate to speak for the public versus elected officials' representation deficits. The intention is overcoming deficits in representation [Glaab, 2016] in making the participation process inclusive for the community's diversity [Fung, 2006]. And secondly, there is a dilemma between desiring and increasing influence of lay public in policy and the wish for "high standards of technical input and formal political representation" Nabatchi et al. [2012:14].

Inclusiveness along with fairness and justice are increased by providing assistance to weaker stakeholders [cf. Innes & Booher, 2004 referring to Verba et al., 1995]. The increase of interest of currently politically uninvolved population is intended as well as the reduction of barriers to access the process to raise the quantity of involvement in turns of public attention and participation. The urban planning process can be seen as an opportunity to (re)activate people's political participation in public decision making and thus revitalize local political interest and democratic practice, besides merely electing representatives [Glaab, 2016]. Citizens search for new opportunities of participation and influence. Input legitimacy as an aspect of political legitimacy of participation receives mayor agreement within the current participation discourse [Glaab, 2016].

Representation, the **legitimacy** of a deliberative group, is dependent on "how well it represents a broader constituency"[35] [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012:2] and representation in deliberative processes is included in the political theory on **representation**. The participant selection method is relevant for this concept of legitimacy [Fung, 2006:67]. "To date, however, this conversation has largely ignored the central question of *who* deliberates" [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012:5; original emphasis], which relates to representation bias (page 26). The problem with civil participants in municipal planning & decision making is: they do not receive representative authority, they are **not mandated to speak for the public** [Glaab, 2016:18]. Thus the results cannot be legally binding; they are consultative or advisory, preparatory, at maximum co-creative. Dialogue will always be imperfect in representation, especially because some formats require smaller group sizes for effective working and a limited number seats creates challenges for the participant recruitment, as self-selection is uncontrolled and as each participant shall be a proxy for her social group [Range & Faas, 2016]. These considerations motivated scholars and practitioners[36] to develop and evaluate recruitment strategies for participation initiatives [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012]: selecting individuals (1) that are mandated by their groups of organized interest; (2) according to their community's socio-economic, gender and cultural composition. Target recruitment and random selection are common methods. The latter closes the process (see Figure 4), and engaged, knowledgeable, experienced, powerful interest representatives, forgotten groups or challenging voices will be most likely. Closing the process excludes (1) voices that need to speak and this causes a justice problem[37]; (2) people who made up their mind about the planning task and this causes an information quality problem. This risks that the small group with limited knowledge and limited time might not be able to do justice to complex issues. Also they might have less power or confidence to request more radical changes from administration than organized citizen initiatives would have [Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2017]. They might be less critical to the arguments of rhetorically skilled conveners of the event that might have their own interests. The selection method may influence the processes outcome [Nanz & Fritsche, 2012:26 referred to in Range & Faas, 2016]. A feedback event to validate the dialogue results through larger group of citizens can mitigate this problem.

Whether the diversity of the community is considered and **representation bias[38]** are mitigated successfully **depend** on the participant **recruitment.** But what is it that stops other socio-economic, gender, age and cultural groups to appear in the participatory events? And does random sampling compensate these barriers? Is it the information that other selected participants most likely are as inexperienced as oneself that makes participation more attractive? Would this knowledge ease the first contact? Is it the personalized invitation that makes the difference? In short: does random sampling really succeed to include those usually absent in participation? What remains is the high time investment participants have to do e.g. in continuous discussion circles or committees. And this may exclude precarious existences and time constrained citizens. The scheduling of the meetings may exclude families, children and shift workers. The general interest lies in making participation events more inviting for all, with emphasis on the usually absent groups. Some degree of selectivity will remain. The different perspectives heard inform politicians and it is their task to consider those groups in their final decision that were absent [Selle, 2015].

---

[35] [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012]

[36] [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012]

[37] Closed processes shall only be applied when sufficient knowledge on affected groups and their interests is available to planners so that they can guarantee their involvement [Range & Faas, 2016]
.

[38] Socio-economically precarious groups show lower participation rates in elections and other democratic events [Gaab, 2016:19; referring to: Glaab, 2010; Geißel, 2012; Schäfer et al., 2013] and more innovative forms of deliberative events mainly attract higher-educated middle classes [Gaab, 2016:19 referring to Petersen et al. 2013:57] and thus continue to exacerbate the polarization. Primarily for the well-off the dialogue methods offer additional stages to express their interests. This specific social group is sometimes cartooned as the white male teacher in his fifties.

Another issue with representativeness is the assumption that citizen organization representatives would be an approximate proxy for the interests they organize. But that assumes that these organizations are organized democratically. Depending on their size, they might lack the connection to their members' needs. The issue of representativeness also strongly supports the legitimacy of decisions in the hands of democratically elected officials, because this format of citizen engagement (election) still involves the highest share of the population, and thus is assumed be most representative [Glaab, 2016]. Considering the sum of participants contributing to a decision assumes that with quantity comes representativeness.

There is additionally the problem of a lost connection between citizens and decision-makers: the **representation deficit** of (1) "problems of official misunderstanding and misperception" and (2) issues that emerge after an election or (3) issues "cut across the platforms and ideologies of parties and candidates" [Fung, 2006:70]. Also, (4) decision-makers operate in arenas that are further away from citizens' everyday life [Fung, 2006]. In these cases, officials do not possess sufficient information on the public will and cannot represent perfectly. To close the gap and translate political agendas or new issues into local decisions might require additional citizen input. Participatory events shall fix the lost connections in creating more inclusive spaces. Other instruments of direct democracy and informal participation can complement the decision-making process and help administration to prepare the decision with well-grounded information and potentially inform politicians about needs of those don't take part in municipal elections [Selle, 2015].

The differentiation proposal by Glaab form 2016 is relatively new so it is not expected to find explicit references to the three concepts. But clues can be found in e.g. ideas on representativeness, mandates, assigned roles and voices to citizen, in inclusiveness, in transparency, in stated participation purposes and in input categories considered as well in the proposed links of participation results to decision-making processes. Differentiating political legitimacy into the three sub-concepts structures the discussion on legitimacy and reduces misunderstandings. Depending on the world view of the participants, e.g. procedural or material, the hierarchy amongst the legitimacy concept differs: for the former, throughput (process) and input legitimacy (mandates) would be most important, whereas the latter is more interested in output legitimacy, in better plans, in significant improvements of one's neighborhood through the planned interventions. In general, imperfections in one legitimacy aspect can be compensated within other aspects as Figure 13 shows.

The **responsiveness issue** is another phenomenon of different understandings of legitimacy: Glaab [2016] suggests that citizens are motivated to join participatory events because they expect to receive options to directly influence policy. This is the so-called expectation of responsiveness. This describes an e**mbedded conflict**: We have a misunderstanding in participation between citizens expecting responsiveness [García-Espín & Ganuza, 2017] in exchange for their input and administration and decision-makers that understand input from participatory events as merely consultative because the event's participants were not democratically representative and thus not mandated to speak for the public. This mine field can be navigated only in **providing justifications** from the decision-makers whenever they do not follow a citizen proposal. The justification is the response. And transparency and reliability shall provide a framework for this expected responsiveness.
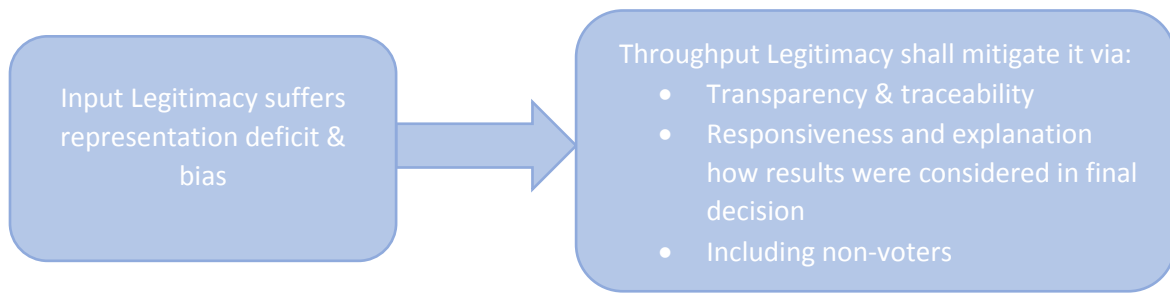
| Input Legitimacy suffers representation deficit & bias | → | Throughput Legitimacy shall mitigate it via:
• Transparency & traceability
• Responsiveness and explanation how results were considered in final decision
• Including non-voters |

Figure 13: Legitimacy concepts can complement each other

To summarize: The link to policy process (throughput legitimacy) is dependent on degree of bindingness of participation results. Results of participatory processes (consultation) cannot be binding because citizens are not mandated to represent (input legitimacy). The power of the results is connected to the attributed legitimacy of voice to participants within the decision-making process. Elected officials are constructed as most representative and receive more powerful voices in the ultimate decision, except in direct democratic measures. Participation results to be consultative, i.e. **preparing the decisions** and this happens e.g. in surveys, conferences, Planungszellen and participatory budgeting.

Legitimacy, Roles & Participation Purposes

The actors' priorities amongst legitimacy dimensions may vary and remain largely unnoticed and in this case produce potentially misunderstandings and conflict. This thesis suggests paying special attention to the different legitimacy priorities of involved actors (1) to structure the discussion, (2) to avoid misunderstandings, and (3) to facilitate the creation of a joint commitment to consider all three legitimacy dimensions in participation process design[39]. Figure 14 illustrates Glaab's three dimensions of legitimacy and their connection to participation purposes, benefits and principles. Legitimacy priorities of actors or within documents can be identified through statements on representativeness, mandates, responsibility and authority, assigned roles and voices of citizen, assumed expertise, inclusiveness, transparency, stated participation purposes and input categories provide clues as well as the proposed links of participation results to decision-making processes[40]. Legitimacy rationality can further be detected within the way participation is defined and the kind of processes proposed. Figure 14 shows only some of the numerous participation purposes. Innes & Booher [2004] point out the potential of dialogue-oriented procedures to meet multiple legitimacies and participation purposes.

---

[39] Some participation processes designs or combinations of methods may meet multiple legitimacies better than others.
[40] See also Table 4 for analytical questions providing data on legitimacy priorities.
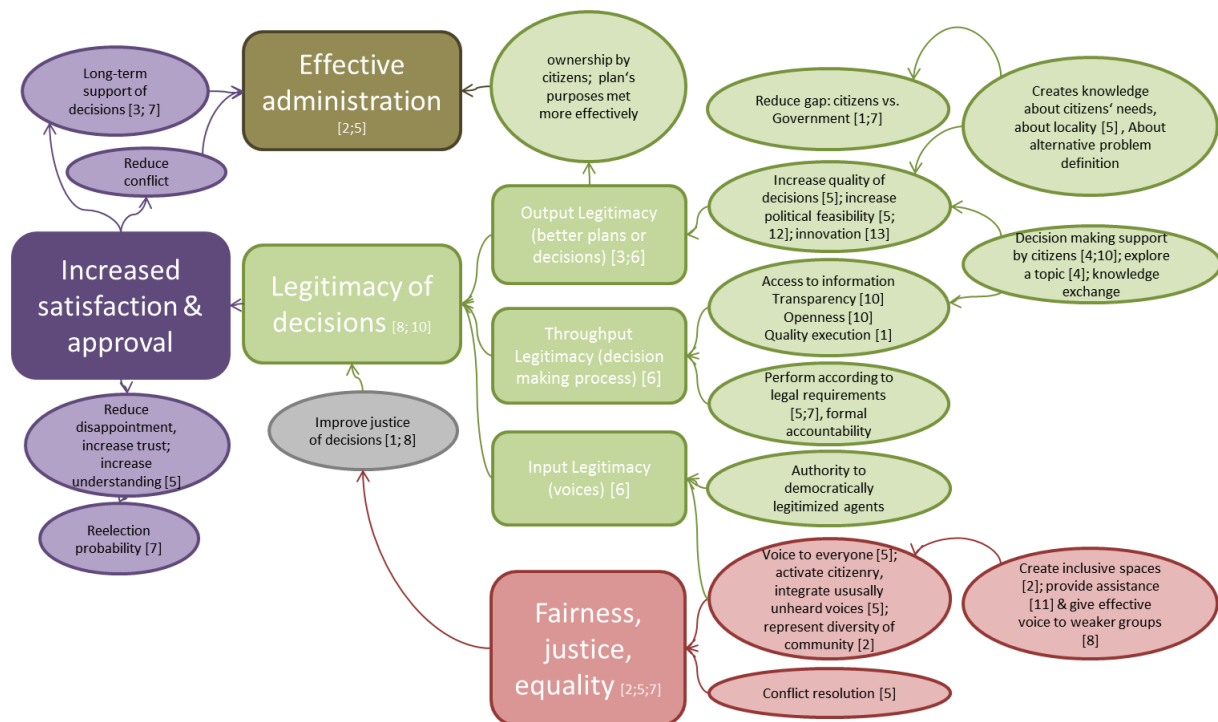
Figure 14: Political legitimacy & its influence on satisfaction & approval of decisions[41]

Different World Views – Different Understandings of Legitimacy

In politics there is usually not one single discourse structuring all participants statements within a political discussion, instead it is a combination of components that belong to different discourses and many discourses serve as references in political debate [Hajer, 2005a:304]. But one discourse within them usually claims more power. The legitimacy issue is observed to be a reoccurring topic in participation debates [Selle, 2015].

Depending on the participants' world views, be it pluralist, collaborative, material or procedural, legitimacy priorities differ. A proceduralist might prioritize throughput (process) legitimacy whereas a materialist would be more interested in input legitimacy, i.e. having the option to influence the planned interventions (Table 1).

Table 1: Worldviews, legitimacy priorities, concerns and relationships.

	Pluralist	Collaborative/dialogue	Material (citizens)	Procedural (planners)
Primary focus	Input Legitimacy	Throughput & Output Legitimacy	Input Legitimacy	Throughput Legitimacy
Secondary focus	Input Legitimacy: stakeholders push government	Input Legitimacy: to increase inclusiveness, fairness, justice	Throughput Legitimacy: traceability	Input Legitimacy: formal authorities and hierarchies, procedures
Concern	Representative Power; No Authority of Non-Elected & Non-Professionals	Process Quality	Create and develop own living environment	legal requirements, solve planning problems
Relationship	Adversary	collaborative, dialogue	Self-centered or collective-oriented	Pragmatic

---

[41] REFERENCES: [1] Fung, 2003 referred to in [7]; [2] Fung, 2006; [3] Nabatchi et al., 2012; [4] National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation, 2008 referred to in [3]; [5] Innes & Booher, 2004; [6] Glaab, 2016; [7] Weiksner et al., 2012; [8] Elster, 1998; Fung, 2003, 2005; Gutmann & Thompson, 1996, 2004 referred to in [3] page 9; [9] Rittel & Webber, 1973 referred to in [5]; [10] Elster, 1998 referred to in [3] page 9; [11] Verba et al., 1995 referred to in [5]; [12] Weeks, 2000 referred to in [5]; [13] Connick & Innes, 2003; Healey, 1993, 1997 referred to in [5]

| Scholar | Dahl, 1961; Thompson, 1997 | Innes & Booher, 2004; Thompson, 1997 | Selle, 2015; Roth, 2016 | Selle, 2015 |

As shown above, different world views contain different ideas on what it takes to make a decision and process legitimate in the first place. The legitimacy priorities suggest which participation formats would be most appropriate to create legitimate decisions and legitimate action, thus they heavily influence the participation debate. Some claim the legitimacy of a participation format to be dependent on its precision in meeting the participation purposes and challenges [Innes & Booher, 2004] and following the logic of this thesis, the legitimacy of a format would depend on its appropriateness in multiple legitimacy dimensions. Dialogue results are more likely to be approved and less contested in subsequent public assessments [Innes & Booher, 2004], which indicates their high performance in several legitimacy dimensions.

It can be assumed to be a shared interest of all actors, to increase the overall legitimacy of decisions although with different understandings about it. Building trust and a positive relationship can be facilitated in paying attention to all three dimensions of political legitimacy in the decision procedure and designing participation processes accordingly.

4. Discourse Theory Approach

Power mechanisms shape the citizen-administration relationship and processes of construction of meaning are part of it. The production of texts attempts to render a particular perspective dominant (page 36), other reconstruction of dominance can happen through institutionalization, structuration and definition of knowledge, i.e. in defining valid references. Discourse theory approach illuminates possibilities to change a discourse and its characterization of the actors that determines the relationship (page 37). It considers the context (page 39).

Definition

Discourse theory (not discourse analysis) is applied to put "the spotlight on the boundaries of thought and action" [Richardson, 2002:354]. According to Foucault, discourses are practices that systematically construct the objects of which they speak [Foucault 1973:74 in Dieterich]. Richardson uses Foucault's idea to interpret discourses as a set of ideas and concepts, competing with each other, being produced, transformed, reproduced through the everyday practices [Richardson, 2002]. Discourses provide meaning to the social and material world [Richardson, 2002:354]. Discourse creates practices that receive the status of objective truths or facts in social life [Bublitz, 2001:227][42]. Discourse analysis hosts a vast array of methods and perspectives. It allows innovative analyses of policy-making processes resulting in the illumination of new dynamics and sites of politics [Hajer, 2005a:314]. Discourse needs to refer to **truth and knowledge** which makes its production fundamental to discourse production [Richardson, 2002:355]. But what is taken into account as explanation, what counts as knowledge? A critical understanding and inquiry of how things get produced and constructed is necessary. Then the production tools of knowledge get importance, e.g. the application of analytical tools in planning (models, impact assessments, evaluations, cost-benefit analyses …). "Discourse theory puts the spotlight on the boundaries of thought and action" [Richardson, 2002:354]. Through discourse theory, the creation and maintenance of these boundaries can be noticed as well as the consequences of the boundaries' existence observed. The processes of construction or attribution of meaning and relevance to objects and spaces is discursive and it is not a question of whether there is a meaning attached but rather a question of which one (or ones). Discourse theory challenges these attributed meanings, it challenges things taken for granted and facilitates a reflective practice. It considers dynamics of power that render some perspectives more dominant than others. This thesis investigates the potential creation of new

---

[42] Every process to attribute significance simultaneously is a constituting process [Bublitz, 2001:231].

"social structures [that] create conditions for thought, communication and action." [Richardson, 2002:355].

Discourse theory is an "inquiry into the way objects are seen through different mental structures or worldviews, how they are interpreted in different social circumstances and understood" [Fisher, 2003b:48 in Farthing, 2016:20]. It is the way people make sense of their world, assuming consciousness and reflectivity of individuals.

In politics there is usually not one single discourse structuring all participants statements within a political discussion, instead it is a combination of components that belong to different discourses. Many discourses serve as references in political debate [Hajer, 2005a:304]. But one discourse within them usually claims more power.

Planning can be seen as an "arena of constant struggle over meanings and values in society" and this approach facilitates the reflexivity of the planners' practice [Richardson, 2002:353]. And Richardson argues that discourse theory is very valuable for planning as a tool of reflexive practice and critical analysis [Richardson, 2002:353]. So in using discourse lenses, the events, constellations & practices in planning can be investigated, challenged and potentially changed. Formerly allegedly routine things will reveal their inherent complexity through discourse theory and thus the idea of the status quo is challenged, the involved actors will need to work out and revise their values that drive their actions [Richardson, 2002]. Using research on a specific topic such as participation input categories or legitimacy helps to open the perspective and make the selectivity of particular discourses visible and questionable.

What is it that planners take for granted? What is constructed as beyond scope, diffuse or irrelevant, which ideas cannot be expressed or implemented within certain contexts of meaning (systematic exclusion)? Discourse theory helps to identify **how more inclusive spaces can be constructed within these constraining conditions** [Richardson, 2002]. It opens possibilities to think about the current and potential natures of planning practice.

Fisher adds that "to accurately explain social phenomena, the investigator must first attempt to understand the meaning of the social phenomenon from the actor's perspective" [Fischer, 2003:50 in Farthing, 2016:20]. An understanding of peoples' sense-making of their own actions precedes the explanation and understanding of these actions by the researcher [Farthing, 2016]. Healey proposes that the social world consists of socially constructed individuals, "Ways of seeing and knowing the world, and ways of acting in it, are understood as constituted in social relations with others, and, through these relations, as embedded in **particular social contexts**. Through the particular geographies and histories of these contexts, attitudes and values are framed. It is in these **relational contexts** that frames of reference and systems of meaning are evolved" [Healey, 1997:55-56 in Farthing, 2016:23]. Thus, a concept of reality accompanied by a specific way of reasoning is created to make sense of events and to contextualize them. She contrasts this view with the idea of autonomous individuals, directed by their own preferences and the goal of material satisfaction, that constitute the social world. For her preferences do not exist, but **ways of observation and understanding the world** do which in turn shape context-specific social relations with others that generate to attitudes & values [Farthing, 2016:23] that then guide actions. Healey contrasts two ontological assumptions[43]: given preferences versus generated context-specific values and attitudes. This differentiation allows locating terms and logic used within argumentation about participation. This differentiation includes definitions on the roles and the input categories expected from participants. It essentially influences the perceived usefulness of dialogue practices. For example formal participation (the gathering of comments and preferences of citizens to a given question) is

---

[43] The underlying ontological assumption defines the roles and the kind of input expected from participants and this is decisive for the perceived usefulness of dialogue practices.

declared sufficient, then it is based on the idea that there are fixed preferences. This understanding might also consider dialogue unnecessary, as preference development or change are unlikely, deliberation would thus not be a beneficial exercise. Conceptualizing the world according to Healey's proposal in contrast (context-specific generated values) would allow the imagination of developing new relations in different, e.g. deliberative contexts and the probable change of seeing things.

Why citizen input is necessary
Because planners do not know all social spaces in a physical space where they intend to intervene with their plan. A physical space is perceived different by different actors, because a **physical space** can be the **location of several discourses** and policies. Crush points this out in his analysis of mine worker settlements which were designed implementing the panoptic idea. Several discourses were identified. Besides the obvious one of control and surveillance, coercion and repression – as intended by the planners, they developed into locations for the "development and practice of rich oppositional cultures" [Crush, 1994:320 in Richardson, 2002:358]. The present and continuous local power struggles facilitated this counter development. This highlights the *social* construction of space and the possible co-existence of several social spaces within the identical physical space. This is the so-called social constructionist approach. Discourse theory allows to analyze how certain spaces get connected to exclusive or inclusive practices and discourses [Richardson, 2002:358]. Based on this approach, participation of local actors appears to be even more relevant to get access to the different social spaces and to allow the planners to identify on how to improve the living conditions through their projects or how to minimalize the negative impacts of planned interventions on local social spaces respectively. Besides, design changes of the settlement would probably be requested by the residents as to increase privacy and personal freedom and limit control and surveillance. Thus planners need assistance by local actors e.g. in problem framing, gathering local knowledge and listing usage requirements. Planners can profit from citizen input to reflect, challenge and redefine their understandings of the context, add different perspectives, interrupt patterns of thought and broaden concepts such as legitimacy of decisions.

Discourse theory approach allows analyzing the meaning planners attribute to participation, to citizen input, to places and to legitimacy. Assessing the way different actors see the world allows understanding them and gathering information on their values and attitudes. It also allows identifying the roles attributed to different actors. The reflection of actors' own world conceptualizations is facilitated. And planners can profit from citizen input to reflect, challenge and redefine their understandings of the context, add different perspectives, interrupt patterns of thought and broaden concepts such as legitimacy of decisions.

Rendering a Discourse dominant
Discourse allows considering the production of texts as attempts to render a particular perspective dominant (page 36). Other practices are institutionalization, structuration and discourse coalitions. Institutionalization expresses the materialization of a discourse into particular institutional arrangements or organizational practices. Structuration uses rhetorical strength of the discourse to achieve acceptance by the central actors. The approach can be used to investigate what makes a specific discourse more dominant than others. This chapter focuses on the power and mechanisms of discourse shaping the citizen-administration relationship.

Both institutionalization and structuration in combination create the dominance of a discourse. The institutionalization of a discourse again facilitates its reproduction. Powerful discourses can be reproduced in institutionalizing practices [Richardson, 2002 referring to: Hajer, 1993 for acid rain; Roy, 1999 for dam projects]. The kind of data generated manifests the impression that a specific object is *the* desirable form of development, something worth building or implementing. This suggested perspective is reinforced by not mentioning or not even investigating less favorable information on the object, such as the promoted projects' real costs [Richardson, 2002:357]. In

general, impressions of something as natural, self-understanding and right are constructed with tools, which suggests the continuous reflection of their application, the reproduction of some knowledge while other information is not included, mentioned or it is devalued [cf. Richardson, 2002]. Now, how does the reconstruction of discourses occur as systematic exclusion is required, something equal to constant maintenance? Richardson claims the first mechanism to be the **compilation of texts**: their number and similar content creates statute like, unchallenged character and authority. This is called a **textual field** emerging. The second mechanism is located in the nature and discipline of planning itself: it offers definitions of appropriateness, of relevance of methods, and of policy issues. There are for example practices that emphasize particular numbers while not including or even gathering others, the attitude towards a certain topic, e.g. a big dam, can be shaped so consistently that "it has been made unthinkable, and unsayable, that big dams are a bad thing" [Richardson, 2002:356]. And "actors who have been socialized to work within the frame of such an institutionalized discourse will (often unwittingly) use their positions to persuade or force others to interpret and approach reality according to their own routinized institutionalized insights and convictions" [Hajer, 2005a:303]. Final stages of institutionalization are the appearance of things as a way of reasoning that is normal, traditional or natural, the same accounts for 'natural social facts' [44] [Hajer, 2005a:303].

The conditions necessary to render a discourse dominant within a given political realm or for a discourse coalition to reach dominance are: (1) discourse structuration: the rhetorical strength of the discourse has to lead to acceptance by the central actors and (2) institutional practices within the political domain have to solidify the new discourse. Discourse institutionalization means that ideas of this discourse direct actual policy processes [Hajer, 2005a:305].

Discourse coalition is an approach to describe "an ensemble of story lines, the actors that utter these story lines, and the practices through which these story lines are expressed" [Hajer, 2005a:304]. It claims that politics is a process of coalition forming around particular story lines by actors with different backgrounds [Hajer, 2005a:304]. Discourse politics are a constant attribution of meaning within a socio-physical world that is ambiguous. Participation is ambiguous (see section 0). The instruments are story lines and social practices which create structuration of experience within a specific area [Hajer, 2005a:305]. The advantages of the discourse coalition approach are (1) the analysis of strategic action against the backdrop of particular socio-historical discourses as well as institutional practices; (2) the reference to interests is completed by the assessment of the playing out of interests within organizational practices and particular discourses [Hajer, 2005a:305]; and (3) understanding the reproduction or opposition towards existing bias by actors and organizational practices. A coordination of these actions within discourse coalitions is not considered a requirement neither is the sharing of essential values [Hajer, 2005a:305].

Challenging Dominant Discourse through Reflexivity

For Richardson [2002] the deficiency of reflexivity in planning explains the shortfall of vision in planning, the lack of argument to defend and test one's own values. This lack of reflexivity leads to stagnancy in situations of change and uncertainty and a lack of knowledge within planning of how movements are created [Richardson, 2002]. This suggests a lack of knowledge on how change in the citizen-administration relationship can be achieved, including a shift of conception of the contributions of participation for society, especially for administration and policy. This section summarizes conditions for change from the sections above and provides additional aspects.

---

[44] The terms in which a problem is discussed influences peoples' conception of it. E.g. air pollution: named as 'urban smog' and the chosen term structured institutional practices: it concentrated the monitoring or air quality within cities and it made monitoring air pollution at the countryside appear an irrelevant proposal [Hajer, 2005:303].

For Richardson, not becoming proactive and strategically involved in discourse shaping would lead to a role as "passively or naively complicit" in reproducing undesired discourses [2002]. He proposes to acknowledge that politics might be more effective than rationality and good intentions. To introduce strategic efficacy in the construction of discourse (in which everyone is involved anyway) means to take a more proactive stance, facilitated by an increased understanding of discursive interactions in the everyday practice of planning.

While a proactive attitude is essential, changing a discourse is a difficult and complex endeavor. It may contain **embedded ideas** which are hard to change. Healey defines this as a powerful policy idea, as discourse, as a way of framing meaning and thus determining the perception of a problem and adequate solutions: Discourse for her is something that "refers to the policy language and metaphors mobilized in framing, justifying and legitimating a policy programme or project" [Healey, 2007:22 in Farthing, 2006:56]. An embedded idea is one that became particularly influential and that is highly resistant to change [Farthing, 2016][45]. The approach of the embedded policy idea also allows focusing on explaining the **reasons for this embeddedness and the factors that created it**. In Healey's view these were **cultural values** [Healey, 2007 referred to in Farthing, 2016]. This concept is closely related to Hajer's 'structured way of seeing' a problem (e.g. air pollution as an exclusively urban problem), that has to be interrupted in order to get another way of conceptualizing the problem on the agenda (e.g. the existence of acid precipitation on the countryside) [Hajer, 2005a:303].

The core topic in Hajer's studies of discourse [2005a] lied in the **role of expertise and science** in policy-making, in the principles of environmental regulation. He observed that the discourse of ecological modernization was never institutionalized and the government refrained from establishing a general **precautionary principle** (a discourse institutionalization) or a new conceptualization of science, so the **science-policy relationship** remained as before. Although in cases such as the acid rain, the ecological modernization discourse position shaped the creation of new policies, and measures were taken to address the pollution, no **cognitive shift** towards this discourse followed. In the case discussed by Hajer, the traditional-pragmatist discourse remained dominant with its "deeply embedded institutional commitment" and the axiom that pollution was absent or harmless until it was scientifically proven otherwise [Hajer, 2005a:311-312].

In analogy to this, changes of conceptualizing citizen input and legitimacy were investigated in contrasting newer statements (guidelines) with the formal citizen-administration relationship to see whether there was a cognitive shift from the pluralist to the collaborative discourse, e.g. in principles of participation?

Interrupting 'structured way[s] of seeing' a problem require conceptual innovations [Hajer, 2005a:303]. This is not impossible in general but sometimes, these conceptual innovations, such as the acid precipitation as a form of air pollution, have a hard time to become institutionalized and face resistant **scientific establishment** within the arena [Hajer, 2005a:308]. Conceptual innovations challenge dominant discourses but do not always succeed. New topics can of course be introduced into a discourse, although there are distinct limits on the kind of knowledge and ideas to be legitimate and to be used and repeated in practice, depending on the dominant way of framing and understanding. This is how "discourses get produced and reproduced, knowledge is framed, and practices are put in place." [Richardson, 2002:355]. Too challenging topics might face exclusion or opposition, be ignored or devalued [cf. Richardson, 2002] and thus not change the dominant discourse.

---

[45] Using the example of the green belts around cities as a policy idea: the protection of this spatial pattern requires redirecting all requests for other urban development to other areas [Farthing, 2016:56].

To change the conditions it is necessary to analyze the events and show the power relations behind the existing social conditions and micro-political situations in planning that **reproduce some perspectives on the world while excluding alternatives**. What are the many strategic measures that fit together and act together to create the oppressing conditions?

Richardson [2002] showed that some numbers were emphasized over others, that some data was devalued or excluded from considerations. This illustrates planners like everyone else have limited '**objectivity'.** Questioning 'objectivity' builds on the **post-positivist** idea and requires the investigation of logic, reasoning and prevailing world views. Knowledge is conceptualized as socially constructed [Flick, 2011] through the attribution of meaning to observed situations, following the idea of **interpretivism** [Farthing, 2016:19]. For this thesis, the conceptualization of legitimacy plans and decisions is investigated as well as the validation of specific references for evaluation. The definition of truth, knowledge and expertise is searched.

To summarize: Understanding how particular perspectives and concepts are rendered dominant allows identifying counter-measures or correctives to construct more inclusive spaces within constraining conditions [Richardson, 2002]. Researching specific topics like participation input categories or legitimacy opens the perspective and makes the selectivity of particular discourses visible and questionable. Discourse theory is relevant whenever a planner perceives a condition as inevitable or a situation unquestionable. Resisting pressures to follow hegemonic ways of thought and action that "accompany the privileges of being an insider" in academy or practice [Richardson, 2002:360]. Claims exist that administration shall resist its privileges against citizens to not continue to disadvantage them [Seibel, 2018] (page **Error! Bookmark not defined.**).

This chapter now presents the **contextual conditions** shaping the discourse [Farthing, 2016] and investigates the potentials of change to **facilitate new relationships.**

Contextual Conditions influencing Participation

Discourse considers the context and contextual conditions shape attitudes and room for action to implement meaningful participation [Farthing, 2016; Richardson, 2002; Weiksner et al., 2012; Healey, 1997, 2007; Glaab, 2016]. They shape the citizen-administration relationship and factor into different world views and also reinforce them. Some contextual conditions are introduced here, some are presented above: political, legal factors, historical and practice experience. Along with a description how they shape the discourse [Farthing, 2016] a investigation of change potential to **facilitate new relationships** follows**.**

Especially Farthing and Healey recommend the study of contextual conditions [Farthing, 2016; Healey, 2007]. Figure 15 illustrates these and other contextual factors. Contextual conditions contain different forces that shape the administrative world view, attitudes, values and finally the idea of participation.
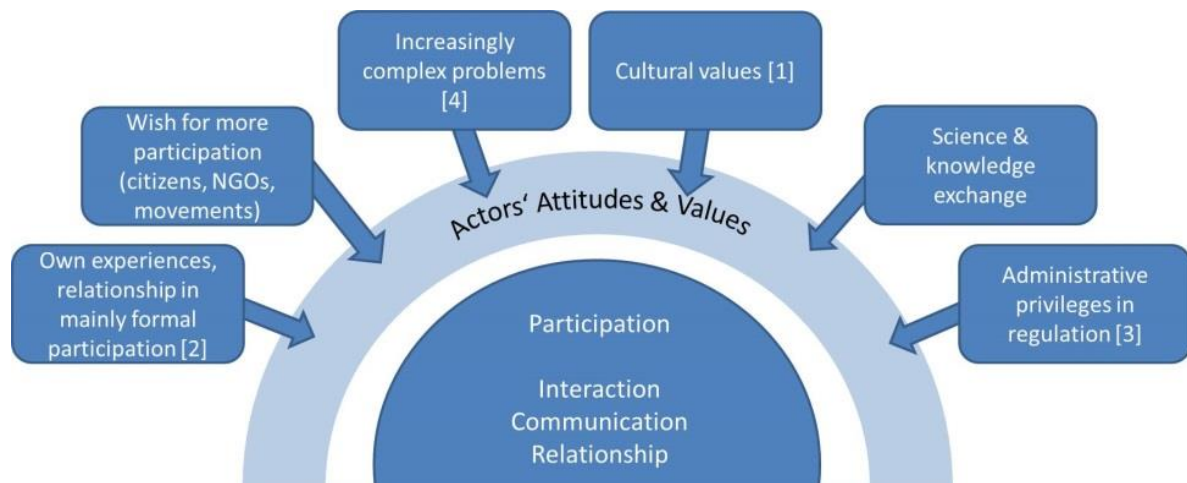
The system context shapes the governmental responses and emerging administrative procedures that limit the impact of participation and its development independently from the specific event design. It is useful to distinguish system design from process design to describe the links of participation to policy processes[47] [Weiksner et al., 2012].

A CALL FROM SOCIETY & SCIENCE

- There is a call for a new citizen-administration relationship from both society and science [Glaab, 2016]. There is enthusiasm and skepticism in science and practice.
- Research and practice exchange may change attitudes and relationships: In pooling collective experience & scholarly knowledge, staying up to date with ongoing civic experimentation is possible [Nabatchi et al., 2012:15]. Public officials and civic reformers interested in increased public deliberation may find support for their arguments in research publications [ibid.] It also opens views and introduces new thoughts and allows learning form others' experiences.
- The increasing complexity of problems of the presence and the future make hierarchical authority less effective [Castells, 1996 in Innes & Booher, 2004] and suggest collaboration. And **controversial choices** need diverse methods of communication and deliberation [Innes & Booher, 2004]. The public, ordinary people continuously change their capacities and expectations and leaders as well as managers face changing political, social and economic [Weiksner et al., 2012] and new environmental conditions. Business as usual structures and procedures are no longer appropriate. Fast changes in political, economic, environmental & social conditions pose significant challenges to government [Weiksner et al., 2012].

EXISTING EXPERIENCE

The formal participation format influenced the citizen-administration relationship significantly. Seibel [2018] points out that the discussion on citizen participation in Germany and its role in controlling administration should consider existing forms of participation. These existing forms suffer from insufficiently realization by administration.

The physical layout of traditional formal public hearing facilitates rather antagonistic relationship between actors [Thompson, 1997 in Innes & Booher, 2004] and makes the imagination of collaboration difficult. New experiences in more inclusive physical and methodological designs might change actors' attitudes.

---

[46] Legend: [1] Healey, 2007; [2] Thompson, 1997 in Innes & Booher, 2004; [3] Seibel, 2018; [4] Castells, 1996 in Innes & Booher, 2004

[47] The question of where in the policy cycle deliberative events are most effective drives the decisions.

Cultural values created and embedded powerful policy ideas [Healey, 2007 in Farthing, 2016] that are highly resistant to change [Farthing, 2016][48]. The 'structured way[s] of seeing' a problem, have to be interrupted in order to get other ways of conceptualizing the problem on the agenda [Hajer, 2005a:303].

ADMINISTRATIVE PRIVILEGES IN REGULATION

The legal situation shapes the citizen-administration relationship in defining rights, duties and liabilities (or avoiding them) [Seibel, 2018]. The widespread privileges for administration in the current regulations[49] need to be resisted, a continuous and arduous work [Selle, 2015], and eliminated [Seibel, 2018]. Administrative legislation in Germany is an area with many tasks left undone and many aspects to correct [Seibel, 2018]. This task is not new and parliaments and politicians have to correct this situation still.

He shows for the legislation procedure how the administration is structurally privileged in laws and regulations. There is a significant imbalance within the guiding legal frameworks of citizen-administration interaction requires administration to actively correct or balance this. The drafts for new laws are not created by the parliament, representatives or their staff but usually by ministerial administration[50]. This leftover from pre-democratic times in Germany when the executive was responsible to write laws and when the large administrative bodies were created led to an overrepresentation of administrative interests in the legislation process and resulted in generous privileges for administration in the public domain. Some regulations seem to strengthen citizen rights against administration reveal in their details that these rights are washed out or even reversed with exceptions. [Seibel, 2018].

For Seibel [2018] the legislation on administrative procedures (Verwaltungsverfahrensgesetz) is of much higher relevance for the citizen-administration relationship in everyday life and additional participation cannot compensate for this ever. For him there is very little advantage in requesting more participation from administration while the legally required forms of participation are significantly weakened or washed out: Several legal issues disadvantage the citizen against the administration: the so-called tolerance of procedural errors: Firstly, when an administration ruled over a specific case of a citizen, this decision is still valid even though the way it ruled may be proven illicit. This validity can only be reversed after the affected party successfully contested it. While this might be a way to stabilize administrative processes, it illustrates a severe asymmetry of power between citizens and administration. Secondly, there is barely any way to cancel a decision by administration that involved procedural errors while ruling over a specific case, based on that reason only. For the administration the **result** of the decision is considered most relevant, errors in the procedure to obtain it do not justify a cancellation (§ 46 VwVG). This means that administration does not need to take its administrative procedures too seriously, which is a highly ironic statement within the legislation on administrative procedures. It substantially weakens the participatory options of citizens in everyday interactions, because the most available tools for citizens to evaluate plausibility of administrative actions are exactly these regulations on administrative procedures. Seibel calls for a correction of this situation with a **new legislative action**. To implement this, politicians would have to take initiative and stand up for it against the ministerial administration and request a proposal for a law that supports citizen rights against administration; a tedious and maybe less attractive task for

---

[48] Green belts around cities is a policy idea, and the protection of this spatial pattern allows redirecting to other areas all requests for further urban development [Farthing, 2016:56].

[49] See page for details.

[50] Recently, Rheinlan-Pfalz, a German county implemented a participatory processes to create a proposal for a new transparency law [Becker-Strunk & Bimesdörfer, 2016].

politicians that would have significant effects on citizens' everyday life and the quality of citizen-state relationship.

According to Seibel [2018] the legislation on administrative procedures is especially in points of citizen rights full of exceptions. For example § 28 (1) requires in administrative decisions the opportunity for formal participation (hearing) by affected citizens. But numerous exceptions follow (2): not required if the specific situation suggests differently, e.g. in case of imminent danger or if a relevant deadline does not allow comments; or if someone could be negatively affected by changes of the decision; or if administration intends to launch these decisions in large scope or to create a new regulation; or if the decision is about measures to execute administrative decisions; or (3) there won't be a hearing if compelling public interest would suggest differently. Additionally, if a required hearing within administrative procedure is not offered, there are very few sanctions. Administration can make up for it in opposition proceedings or in administrative trials. This suggests that legislation does not consider citizen participation especially necessary; also, because many of the terms are ambiguous and allow different interpretations of the law by the administration. In short: the right to a hearing is rather a bluff [Seibel, 2018:8]. Seibel [2018] points out that this is not an exception but that this rationality and idea of a specific citizen-administration relationship is to be found at other places in the legislation, too. E.g. the right to access records, the right to access to information is severely constrained. In simplified terms, it is up to the administration to grant the right or to apply one of the numerous exception rules. The legal situation privileges administration and provides freedom for interpretation and large rooms for action to it, leading to collisions of interests that are tolerated by law; and which in case of doubt will lead to disadvantages for the citizen.

The constitutional law in Germany grants citizens the right to maximum **information** on their state and its actions (§ 20 GG). To improve the citizen-state relationship, **transparency** amongst citizens, politicians & administration is essential. The access to information and transparency are major issues in the citizen-administration relationship in Germany. Their provision is duty of administration and they are precondition for administration's ability to learn from errors of performance or judgment, e.g. when damage is inflicted on citizens. These errors have to be investigated to create knowledge on how to prevent them. Unfortunately the absence of investigation in cases of severe errors is not uncommon. The cases of administrative errors leading to fatalities comprise e.g. the Duisburg Loveparade in 2010 mass panic, the collapse of the ice skating hall in Bad Reichenhall, 2006 as well as the collapse of the city archive in Köln, 2009. None of these cases were investigated by any parliamentary investigation committee or special investigator, although county government could have initiated it at any time. An inacceptable situation; while fundamental needs for clarification are not respected in these cases, how can improved design of citizen participation outweigh this shortcoming?

In 2005 a new national law on freedom of information was created in a long process between politicians and ministerial administration and it was not fully translated into county law until 2015. Unfortunately, this new legislation still provides only limited rights to citizens against administration: the provision of information is only mandatory for terminated processes and administration is allowed to charge fees of up to 500€. The merger of the data protection and information freedom commissioner represents another legally tolerated collision of interests because "information freedom and data protection are in natural competition against each other" [Seibel, 2018:11; own translation].

Many duties of administration remain due until today: administration's tasks to strengthen citizen rights (participation, co-determination, information, transparency) are not realized or even avoided regularly. Additional participation would not change this context. So it is first and foremost task, "homework" of administration to utilize its room for action in the issues of transparency and

participation in favor of citizens. New forms of participation will remain weak without changes of the laws & regulations on which every interaction is based.

ATTITUDES & VALUES

Some knowledge on the current attitudes of administrative staff originates in behavioral science and public administration research [Nabatchi, 2010[51]], driven by the concerned about factors that influence the attitude of individuals, groups and administrative staff. Laws & Forester document distrust, respect, professional arrogance as well as interactions fraught with assumptions [2015:323]. Planners revealed attitudes indicating their expert view to weight more than the view of simple citizens, e.g. when planners say: "Well, you have to trust me on this." [Laws & Forester, 2015:329]. Dilemmas of trust were the reaction of citizens: "We have to trust you on this, we have to trust you on that […], and what we see is that you are not taking our points seriously, so we feel that we can't trust you!" [ibid:329]. For example confronted with change, uncertainty and risk, administrative staff shows a tendency towards risk aversion and miss out on more optimal choices [Gigerenzer, 2018].

Surveys on council members' attitudes and perceived effectiveness of citizen dialogue events as decision support [Kersting, 2016], could show that dialogue was rated significantly more positive than direct democratic formats and much more positive than decisions based merely on administrative preparation.

Numerous contextual conditions shape a specific perspective which includes attitudes towards other actors as well as self-concepts which both determine the kind of relationships considered possible, appropriate or necessary. Assessing the options to change contextual conditions of dominant discourses broadens the spectrum to change 'structured way[s] of seeing' problems [Hajer, 2005a] and changing discourses. The assessment of factors shaping the citizen-administration relationship and underlying concepts of participation and the assessment of the conditions for a new and more collaborative relationship are part of this work.

Applying discourse theory reopens possibilities to think about the current and potential natures of planning practice. So in using discourse lenses, the events, constellations and practices in participation can be investigated, challenged and potentially changed. It forces the involved actors to work out and revise their values that drive their actions. Identifying different definitions of actor relationships is important. Considering the contextual conditions opens up additional ways to change discourse. Planners can profit from citizen input to reflect, challenge, redefine their understandings of problems, planning, context and interrupt patterns of thought and broaden rationalities.

C) Methodology & Case

The methodology (1) presents the research question and puts the sub-questions RQ1- RQ3 in relation to the research framework. The exemplary and exploratory case study (2) defines the documents analyzed, provides the justification for the document analysis and explains the texts' appropriateness from a discourse theory perspective.

1. Methodology

An exploratory qualitative document analysis (content analysis) is used to investigate the chosen theories presented in chapter B) Analytical questions refer to the theory review on legitimacy (page 26), discourse (page 26) & input categories (page 24). The theoretical framework is discussed in chapter 0. The conceptualization of the subject is illustrated in Figure 16.

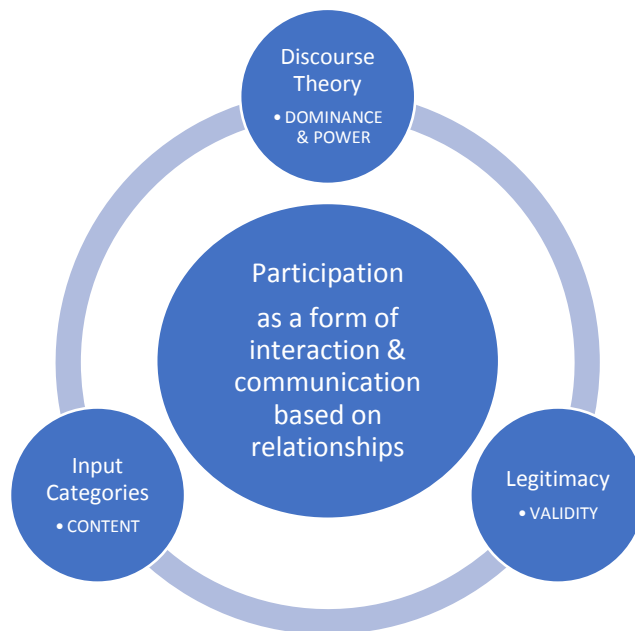[51] see e.g. references to Bingham, Nabatchi & O'Leary, 2005; Bingham & O'Leary, 2006; Roberts, 2008

Main research question: How is the citizen-administration relationship shaped by communication content, concepts of validity & power and which options for change exist therein?

Answers to each research sub question are compiled through analytical sub-questions for the document analysis. The first two sub-questions reveal the kind of perspective on/definition of the citizen-administration relationship that is expressed in the documents and the third research question investigates how this perspective is reconstructed and rendered dominant.

RQ 1: Communication Content

How do input categories in participatory events define influences, characterize actors & and what are the implications for the citizen-administration relationship?

The answer informs on the kind of relationship including how open/integrative it is.

Analytical sub-questions: Insight will be drawn from explicit reference to the content of communication during participatory events and from implied input categories and their range to identify the roles attributed.

RQ 2: Concepts of Validity

How do legitimacy concepts define relationships and preconditions for understanding?

The answer informs on the kind of legitimacy rationalities presented including how open/integrative it is and which relationship implications it contains.

Analytical sub-questions: Insight will be drawn from explicit references to legitimacy and implicit statements on transparency and access to information for participation events, on roles and voices to citizens indicating ideas of representativeness and mandates and on links of participation results to the decision-making processes. Other information sources are statements on inclusiveness, responsiveness, contact and dialogue. RQ 1 (input categories) as form of communication content inform about legitimacy ideas and so do references on laws.

RQ 3: Power (& dominance)

How does the discourse theory perspective reveal relationships and preconditions for changes?

The answer informs on the kind of relationship implied including how open/integrative the discourse is and which options for changing it exist.

Analytical sub-questions: The rationalities rendered dominant were discussed in RQ 1 for the communication content and in RQ 2 for validity ideas. But how are these concepts reconstructed dominant? Insight will be drawn from references that reveal definitions of truth, knowledge, expertise and function to restrict or control input to the discourse. Data was generated on from where dominant actors draw their knowledge from, which participation purposes and input categories they consider relevant compared to the broad range discussed in research. The introduction of new institutions, principles and actor constellations shows dynamics of institutionalization and structuration. The guideline production phenomena itself produces a compilation of text that render something dominant.

To summarize, the first two sub-questions reveal the perspectives on/definitions of the citizen-administration relationship expressed in the documents. The third sub-question investigates how this perspective is reconstructed and rendered dominant. All three RQ collect rather implicit relationship statements. Table 4 summarizes the operationalization of the research question. Within this force field, changes may emerge from multiple angles which will be discussed below.

2. The Case Study

The cases study is an exploratory one. A qualitative document analysis is used, performing a content analysis to answer the main research question through three sub-questions exemplarily. This thesis focuses on participative democracy [Roth, 2016] and uses the lense of discourse theory [Richardson, 2002] to analyze implicit citizen-administration relationship ideas and power mechanisms. A document content analysis is applied rather than an investigation of linguistic organization [Edwards & Potter, 1992:28 referred to in Flick, 2011]. This thesis uses the discourse theory approach to analyze implied citizen-administration relationship and to investigate how this relationship idea is rendered dominant, which rationality lies behind the municipal actions to create a new participation culture. The focus on legitimacy priorities and input categories is essential to learn about the citizen-administration interaction and to structure the debate to facilitate communication amongst actors with very different world views. Awareness of the range of legitimacy ideas and possible applications of participation enables public negotiation on the formats and their management. Whether this awareness is existent and communicated in German municipalities jumping to action to improve participation culture is investigated exemplarily.

The case contains a sample of eight documents, produced by eight different municipalities of different sizes and geographical location in Germany. These documents as texts provide hints on underlying rationalities of the authors. They are part of the participation debate on a municipal level and part of the actions aimed at creating a better participation culture [Gigerenzer, 2018; municipal websites; guidelines self-definition]. They serve as practical application of the developed theoretical synthesis, to reveal legitimacy priorities and potentially exclusive participation definitions.

Definition of the Guidelines

German municipalities include in their actions lately the publication of participation guidelines. The participation guidelines are created in participative processes, involving politicians, administrative staff and citizens or their representatives. This relatively new phenomenon[52] is part of the actions mentioned and intends to redefine the citizen-administration interaction. These documents as texts provide hints on underlying rationalities of the authors. In all but one[53] case the guidelines were presented in public meetings and subsequently communicated as publicly approved, all documents went through approval by the municipal council and are in effect. A joint understanding can thus be assumed. They are part of the participation debate on a municipal level and part of the actions aimed

---

[52] One document dates back to 2002, most date in 2010 and later, many municipalities are in the production process.
[53] For the guideline for Ditzingen, no data is available.

at creating a better participation culture [Gigerenzer, 2018; municipal websites; guidelines self-definition]. They serve as practical and exemplary application of the developed theoretical synthesis.

To compensate the insufficiency of formal participation in complex municipal decision-making, many German municipalities developed in local (laborious) participatory[54] processes participation guidelines. This way, new systems were introduced to manage informal participation, to increase and qualitatively secure their application, and to complement representative democracy. They redefine the citizen-administration interaction. These documents are relatively new as phenomenon, most were approved after 2010 [Netzwerk Bürgerbeteiligung, 2018] and can be understood as municipal endeavors to manage diverse formats of participation reliably, transparently and consistently. Many municipalities shall start a process of implementing frameworks to manage participation reliably, transparently and consistently, and e.g. produce guidelines [Klages, 2011]. Administration researcher Klages envisions an area-wide standard in Germany a result of current endeavors and future developments and these participation frameworks are the start [Klages, 2011]. In his understanding these guidelines do not need to be identical, because every city has a different setting. The individual municipal guidelines are local experiment to navigate the complexity and ambiguity of participation. As Fung [2006] and others showed, a prioritization of some participation purposes over others has to take place, as there are **trade-offs** and thus decisions unavoidable (see page 16). The precise nature of guidelines is not relevant to him [Klages, 2011]. Klages claim that the guideline's existence is more important than their precise content [2011] is contested here because the guidelines do influence the dominant idea on how citizens and administration should interact and what value participation brings. Their precise nature is decisive for the kind of citizen-administration relationship and eventually for the strength of dialogue promotion.

The guidelines fulfill several roles:
- They are a compilation of the information the municipal administration provides on participation, in many cases they are the only or simply the most detailed municipal information on the issue and on all web pages references to the guidelines could be found. This suggests that the guidelines function as the central communication and definition document in the local participation discourse.
- The documents express commitment and announce action of their authors. For example, often administration and council promise to become more open, to allocate budget for p. coordination, to make participation more comprehensible, accessible and municipal decisions more transparent through rendering decision explanations mandatory. Some municipalities announce to report the effects of p. on the project. Intention is to create a culture of participation and provide orientation for all participants. The guidelines are also used to announce different regulations of inner-municipal procedures to standardize the management and coordination of collaborative forms of participation, including the introduction of new institutional structures to manage participation: an administrative coordination center, a mixed members' advisory board, and a departmental employee as project-specific participation responsible. New communication tools are project-specific participation concepts, a public project list and a status table for internal cross-departmental coordination in more complex projects. In one case a concept on staff qualification for participation is announced, open government is supported and standardized publication, documentation and analysis of participation events considered necessary.

---

[54] involving politicians, administrative staff and citizens or civil representatives, sometimes NGOs and external experts; The guidelines are a **point of contact** between different actors (see Figure 2) and their respective concepts of reality.

- They educate e.g. on responsibilities, procedures, competences and hierarchies and inform citizens about their various possibility to influence decisions.
- The importance and application of participation shall be increased. They are tool to be applied by all to promote and facilitate participation.
- The guidelines are binding for municipal projects, they contain clear and binding rules for participation they clarify them, provide a reliable and binding basis for participation and include in some cases quality criteria. Involving all actors in the guideline creation already improves their relationship [Selle, 2015]. Reliability shall facilitate to involve more citizens.
- They shall facilitate the effective design of existing room for action in planning and either complement or improve formal participation.
- They function as recommendation to other project initiators such as private investors and may be included in contracts.
- The guidelines perform according to § 23 municipal law (Gemeindeordnung NRW) to provide information on relevant municipal projects[55].

For the development of a reliable participation infrastructure, a trialogue process is considered necessary, that is involving citizens, administration staff & council members (see Figure 2) [Klages, 2011]. The documents are a great achievement through laborious processes involving these different actors. Their participatory origin might suggest that all three actor groups within the municipality had been appropriately represented. The guideline production process is a point of contact between the main actors' different ways of seeing the world!

For Klages, the guidelines are part of the citizen-administration relationship change [2011]. He supports the network[56] idea, as it could facilitate mutual exchange of knowledge and experience and as such an acceleration of the learning process [Klages, 2011]. Klages suggests a **coordination committee** that accompanies the planning process and guarantees sufficient citizen involvement; This committee could be responsible for the documentation of participation results [Klages, 2011]. Participation would be neither efficient nor effective if results are not considered in the subsequent planning steps and decisions; although exactly that happened in the past [Klages, 2011]. Citizens shall be accompanying the entire planning and preparing of the result; so that in the end of the planning process, when the decision is made in the council, it is likely be approved by the majority of the citizens [Klages, 2011].

Justification of document analysis with discourse theory

A critical understanding and inquiry of how things get produced and constructed is necessary [Richardson, 2002]. The guidelines are part of such a production process. The guidelines constitute a textual field, and thus automatically execute one mechanism to render something dominant in a discourse [Richardson, 2002]. Dominance could be achieved also by institutionalizing and embedding rationality: including control on the participation debate through the introduction of new facts (institutions), principles and axioms, and the active involvement in the participation debate through online publications, workshops, and conferences all referring to the guidelines and of course through the guidelines themselves. But which specific reasoning is rendered dominant in the documents, which reasoning underlies the municipal actions to create a participation culture? The guidelines are contributions to the public discourse on increased citizen influence in municipal decision making. Content-wise, the guidelines suggest their function to manage a citizens-administration relationship and contact. Also, the documents are relationship statements: they define the kind of citizen-

---

[55] Here the third sentence of this law is interesting: That even if information was not provided prior to the decision the legality of the decision would remain intact. For more on municipal law in Germany see Seibel [2018] in chapter B) on page 11.
[56] He refers to "Netzwerk Bürgerbeteiligung" initiated by the charitable foundation "Stiftung Mitarbeit" [https://www.netzwerk-buergerbeteiligung.de/]

politicians-administration interaction, they attribute roles and some contain commitments of the actors.

Guidelines are location of language and metaphors mobilized to frame a policy: new administrative structures and tasks organizing informal participation, potentially initiating a (new) participation culture. The documents structure the discourse on participation, summarize it or dominate it with a particular understanding. This idea and management structure can be mobilized to frame all participation requests. And the specific interaction proposal contains ideas of legitimacy, it might not be the most inclusive relationship and it might fail to recognize the range of possible participation formats, the range of possible input categories. Alternatively, the guidelines can be understood as an attempt to create a joint local understanding of participation to some degree, an approximation between different actors and their positions within the public debate. Potentially, the creation of a new dominant discourse is possible, one that is highly inclusive and acknowledging different perspectives, welcoming reflection and evaluation. So, which kind of relationship is promoted, reconstructed, rendered dominant and institutionalized in guidelines: a (new) form of the old formal (one-way, one-shot) relationship, or one that embraces dialogue's potential to address contemporary & future complex challenges?

In this micro-political research events and arenas of struggles that challenge policies and practices are the focus of investigation, that goes beyond the text alone, and it allows a potential location of the research object within broader societal discourses and struggles [Richardson, 2002:356].

Guidelines as Case Study

This thesis investigates the attitude towards participation that is articulated in the guidelines, because these documents are part of the discourse: they necessarily include ideas on legitimacy (validity) as well as definitions of participation (communication content: input categories) and they can suggest specific ways of citizen-administration interaction. The document can initiate and strengthen participation culture and reestablish trust, potentially introducing a new relationship or new way of contact in everyday interactions amongst all actors, attribute citizens a specific role and authority. This change could happen through the promotion of more inclusive understanding of participation: acknowledging multiple participation purposes (using input categories as a proxy) and validity concepts and thus bridging different world views.

The creation of the participation guidelines involved politicians, administrative staff and citizens. They redefine the citizen-administration interaction. Object of analysis is the kind of (new) relationship in terms of validity ideas (legitimacy concepts) and communication content (input categories) defined appropriate and how these rationalities receive dominance. In comparing the participation rationality of the guidelines with both formal participation and dialogue and participation research, absent information is identified and spaces for reflection are opened to evaluate and potentially change the dominant understanding of participation. Bridges between different actors' world views could be created and the participation discussion could address underlying assumptions.

Below, the results of the document analysis to all three sub-questions are combined to answer the main research question. A discussion on important issues in interaction management concludes.

D) Results, Analysis & Discussion

Starting with a presentation of answers to all three sub-questions (1) and a combination to answer the main research question (2), the discussion section (3) addresses central issues of interaction management: responsiveness, participation beneficiaries, trust and disappointment, transparency and access to information. The chapter concludes with a section on change consideration contextual conditions and how they might shape and transform this relationship.

1. Results

Most guidelines admit the trust problem between citizens and administration, some indicate the issue. The majority wishes to initiate a culture of participation in the municipality.

How is the citizen-administration relationship shaped by communication content, concepts of validity and power and which options for change exist therein?

Starting with the first two sub-questions reveals the kind of perspective on/definition of the citizen-administration relationship that is expressed in the documents and the third research question investigates how this perspective is reconstructed and rendered dominant, and which options for change are used.

RQ 1: Communication Content

How do input categories in participatory events define influences, characterize actors and what are the implications for the citizen-administration relationship? Explicit references in the guidelines to the content of communication during participatory events are completed with implied input categories derived from other statements. Focus lies on the citizen input categories here to illustrate the potential benefits for administration and politicians. For citizen input, Figure 10 is relevant, for administration input it is Figure 11. Results are emphasized in Figure 23 and Figure 24 in appendix.

INPUT CATEGORIES

While none of the 8 guidelines of the sample referred to the category Problem Definition & Framing, most documents focused on Input for Planning, i.e. on existing planning ideas. Within this category, in section "Expertise" most mentioned was the contribution of *local* experiences, knowledge & expertise. Problems, hotspots and conflicts however were not considered input categories of citizens but rather conclusions drawn by the conveyer or already existing knowledge in the department. Also not mentioned but closely connected with the previous point: perceived injustices, marginalization, and needs, uses and observations. This is surprising because these are relevant to make sense of other input. In the section "Solution Support", the creation or gathering of solution ideas, improvements as well as perspectives and visions were considered. This might also include assisting administration in overcoming bounded rationality. In the section "Decision Support" opinion, interests, priorities, concerns, feedback and comments were mentioned. The category Dialogue was mentioned at three occasions: in deliberating and preference development of citizens, in consensus identification, and in conflict resolution including settling agreements. Controlling the process was not a topic, but tracing, understanding and finally approving the proposed plans was, which counts into the last category: "Other Resources", "Implementation Support". Reference to citizen expertise was understood as helpful for planning. And much emphasis was on residents' function to represent their social group or an interest community and thus improve the representativeness of the participation process. Additionally, feedback to the participation event was something conveners invited citizens for, either oral or written to state the subjective satisfaction level, and whether in their perception the quality criteria for participatory processes were met; for the purpose of evaluation. In one case, the reporting of the participation results to the council was offered to an elected representative out of the group of deliberating citizens [Berlin-Mitte].

The input categories of administrative staff refer first and foremost to Access to Information & Knowledge: the provision of information[57] and process transparency, decision traceability and knowledge provision on legal, subject-specific and other issues relevant for the planning project. For some municipalities this is considered an essential precondition for citizen participation, for others it is a type of participation, along with solution development and decision[58]. For some even information

---

[57] Most municipalities approve timely information of the public. The common definition of timeliness requires publication at least three months before the first discussion of the project in council.
[58] Decision = direct democratic methods

campaigns are participatory events (Stuttgart) but this is clearly contradicting most participation theories. The oldest guideline in the sample (Ditzingen, 2002) makes an exceptionally clear statement: every participation process needs at least three meetings, less is merely information provision. The provision of information is discussed intensively in all guidelines referring to timely information. The creation of a project list is discussed in depth. This list usually includes all municipal projects and informs on whether and if so which kind of citizen involvement in the decision is planned. Each project is explained on 1-2 pages. Different formats of publication offered are online, apps, public display and print media at the city hall[59], updated up to 4 times a year. Accessibility is a prominent topic that reflects on the reduction of language and physical barriers of the process for second-language speakers, physically or hearing-impaired citizens.

Within the category Providing Opportunities major tasks of administrative staff considered are: providing space for participants to deliberate and develop their preferences, to learn and to explain their positions, which clearly exceeds the formal participation format. The category Services includes administration's main task: the coordination, management and organization of participation processes. To realize coordination some municipalities introduced a status table for knowledge compilation and cross-departmental exchange on each project. Participation is understood to be cross-sectional. To realize management and organization administration has to decide on the scope of participation, choose methods in a reflected way and come up with appropriate process designs. In most guidelines, a participation concept summarizes these considerations. It explains the rules of the game and guides the participatory process. Tasks of administrative staff are also the identification of affected and target groups, and the actively outreaching invitation and citizen motivation. This includes *guesses* on the needs & interest of the affected population and whether this group holds a unanimous view or whether there is conflict and the creation of compromises is necessary. It also includes the definition of who might appropriately represent the diversity of the affected community. Additional administrative inputs are the acquirement of funds and the provision of experts in the specific topic and in moderation (and mediation). The moderators are in some cases recruited from within the administration[60], in other cases from outside. Documentation is in most cases fulfilled by protocolling, processing the participation input and by reporting it to the council. The explanation of council's decisions, the publication of its justifications is embraced as a natural task of administration (see responsiveness page 56). Evaluation and continuous improvement of participatory processes are task of administration, too.

The reports on participation risk including misinterpretations. Without options provided to the involved citizens to correct the report, the report might turn the whole event into another one-shot input from citizens to council. Being aware of this risk, some municipalities allow citizens to present the deliberation results to the council themselves; others encourage their technical and political deciders to be present or involved in the participation prior to the decision. Heidelberg understands the participation process as a "Trialog", involving citizens, administration and the council to prepare the decision.

In all guidelines, many additional options to influence decisions and shape one's neighborhood were mentioned: methods of direct democracy, jury or board membership, lay consulting positions, filing of official complaints, appearance to public question times or talking as affected citizen in committees. Some municipalities even suggested to join or found a political party or voluntary association and even to run for mayor.

An interesting administration input is offered, as an exception, by the city of Detmold. It gathers and publishes citizen input that is outside of the participation events' scope in two lists. The first collects ideas and proposals, which comes quite closely to the input category of problem framing. The second

---

[59] Several municipalities offer to send the documents to residence by request.
[60] "Neutrality" is assured by moderation from professionally uninvolved departments.

collects projects and voluntary engagement. Both might facilitate networking within the civil society and thus strengthen community life.

ACTOR CHARACTERIZATION and RELATIONSHIP

The reception of sufficient and timely information qualifies non-professionals for participation, while in other municipalities this is considered insufficient. Communication skills, expertise or social networks are necessary additionally. Very interesting in some cases is the creation of multiple reports: one for internal use[61], one for the council and one for the participants. This suggests an information hierarchy which indicates a certain degree of mistrust against the citizens, maybe a fear of criticism [Bentele, 2016]that could draw arguments from these reports.

In order to be considered an organized interest and potentially receive a seat with a representative voice, one municipality requires civil associations to be at least five years old, charitable and explicitly mentioning urban development in their statute. This municipality constrains voice severely with this participation barrier, as if it was afraid of too much citizen involvement.

The input categories considered in the guidelines are much broader than in formal participation, although not yet including the whole spectrum possible (as proposed on page 24).

Citizens are expected to provide information to planners, specify and localize the development of the public good and create a decision basis for the council. Their input within the participatory events is limited, e.g. problem framing and the identification of injustices and conflicts is not part of their input. It remains object of interpretation by administration or politicians. The potential citizen influences are discussed in opening the frame of consideration to all kinds of municipal engagement including voluntary engagement and running for mayor. **Administrative staff** shall provide information on all major municipal projects through a project list and publish a council-approved participation concept. For internal coordination, a status table is introduced, evaluation and reporting tasks are clarified. It shall also share competences, exchange knowledge and facilitate processes of learning each other's perspectives and increasing understanding. There is awareness that high quality deliberation needs rather small working groups and if not everyone affected can be involved in these (cost & time constraints), the obtained results shall be exposed to the general public for feedback, guaranteeing the opportunity to comment to everyone. Some municipalities show mistrust against citizens in creating information hierarchies and participation barriers.

RQ 2: Concepts of Validity

How do legitimacy concepts define relationships and preconditions for understanding? Very few explicit references on legitimacy were detected but much information was drawn from implications and indirect statements. References to e.g. transparency, access to information, responsiveness, contact, dialogue and links of participation results to decision-making processes indicated throughput legitimacy. Ideas on representativeness, mandates and inclusiveness, roles and voices to citizen indicated input legitimacy. Further implications were found in input categories considered (see above). References and the production process of the guidelines allowed deriving knowledge on legitimacy rationalities. The structure of the answers refers to Figure 14.

1. Output legitimacy

Increased participation would lead to better plans, improved projects and finally higher result acceptance, because the created solution is approvable by many [Berlin-Mitte]. Collaboration and dialogue aim to achieve optimal results for municipal planning processes. Goal of participation is to qualify and prepare the council's decision through citizen input. While the compilation of information improves the planning outcome it also communicates ideas of citizens better to administration and council. It reduces distance between residents and deciders. Learning each other's perspective and

---

[61] to evaluate the participatory event and as basis for council reporting

increase understanding is reached through representative surveys to identify broad interests and through discussion. Several municipalities focus on making citizens understand the authorities' decisions. Another outcome mentioned is the improved sustainability of the projects in increasing civil acceptance, a way to increase the efficacy of interventions.

2. Throughput legitimacy

Process acceptance is central to most municipalities to legitimate decisions. As stated above, timely access to complete information, transparency, openness of the project and quality execution are largely considered preconditions for participation. Some municipalities add traceability of result treatment, appropriate and careful process design and reflected choice of methods. Participation concepts shall translate these quality criteria into a well thought-through deliberation process. Skilled and neutral moderation are considered fundamental ingredients for good participation processes by all municipalities, although differences in definition of neutrality[60] and moderation skills exist! Some municipalities see administrative staff as capable of do these jobs after receiving some training. Other communes prefer the recruitment of external facilitators. Informative on underlying legitimacy concepts are emphasizes on reliability, bindingness, responsiveness or resonance, including rigorous consideration of participation results by decision makers. Very prominent are references to laws, regulations and legal requirements, to formal accountability, and to many other formats of social and political engagement for citizens in representative democracy.

3. Input legitimacy

Let all speak and representatives decide! This statement summarizes the numerous aspects of input legitimacy discussed in the guidelines. Authority[62] is emphasized and participation is not meant to replace political competition. It shall accompany planning and decision-making and participation results shall simulate, provide a basis and essential inputs for the council's decision. Thus the authority of democratically legitimized agents (the council) is and remains central. Only measures of direct democracy, committee membership or a representative position can permit citizens to make decisions. A goal mentioned is to enable emancipated social and political participation by every municipal resident, again as a basis to strengthen, enrich and complement representative democracy and not stand in competition to it. Participation is a fundament for an agile democracy.

Administration decides on who is affected. And participation of all is planned for all big and future-oriented projects. Generally it is intended to improve residents influence on the development of their neighborhood. The role of citizens and advisory boards[63] is strengthened in most guidelines. Many municipalities commit to invite and allow every citizen or resident to contribute to the project, to motivate and activate the citizenry.

Communes agree on the need for inclusive spaces, suitable for young, families, impaired and disadvantaged. Daytime has to be chosen carefully, as well as information, venue, language use and the process design.

As indicated above, the issue of representativeness is an important one in all guidelines. The participatory guideline production process included participants as 'representatives' of their respective group of actors: citizens[64], administration and local council politicians and the acquirement of public feedback. This procedure constructs representativeness of the guidelines as participation results, emphasizing input legitimacy. Validity or legitimacy in general is understood to be achieved through guaranteeing the participation results' representativeness, either through random selection, target recruitment, large groups, relying on civil representatives. In almost all

---

[62] administration head and council
[63] mixed members: politicians, administrative staff, citizens
[64] Sometimes citizen representatives, i.e. head of associations

cases a subsequent feedback from the general public completes the validity and guarantees everyone an opportunity to comment.

FAIRNESS, JUSTICE, EQUALITY

The topic of fairness, justice and equality is touched by some guidelines, e.g. in proposing that all affected groups are to be involved equally and justly to achieve target appropriateness. Conflict resolution is included as participation purpose in some cases, mostly it is advised to consult mediators and resolve it separately. In listening to citizen input, conflicts may be identified early and dealt with constructively, in collectively identifying a consensus or working out a compromise. In the worst case stands an agreed dissent [Stuttgart] and then decisions will be made, either by the council or via direct democracy.

CHARACTERIZATION and RELATIOINSHIP

Generally, justice and all three legitimacy concepts shall increase the political legitimacy of the decisions and finally lead to increased satisfaction and approval. This increases trust, reduces conflict, improves atmosphere and potentially the identification with the local community. The creation and strengthening of a local participation culture is declared goal of the majority of the municipalities. The creation of trust and participation culture receives special attention within the guidelines. There is an administrative and a civil approach. The first suggests reduced disappointment and frustration if citizens were properly informed on the goal and purpose of the respective participation process. The second suggests reliability, bindingness and responsiveness as most essential elements to build and restore trust. The reliability includes the concentrated consideration of participation results, the traceability and the mandatory justification and explanation in case of a deviating decision. The rules of the game are clarified and the agreed-upon results are presented as a shared basis for further steps. Respect by everyone involved for both is to be guaranteed. Trust in and contact to decision-makers can be improved in involving them in the participation process from the very beginning [Berlin-Mitte]. Finally, a not unsubstantial interest of participation conveners is to increase the efficacy of interventions and potentially accelerate planning through conflict mitigation [Stuttgart].

In emphasizing input and throughput legitimacy, the guidelines stay rather within the procedural worldview. They try to correct many of its shortcomings, admitted. But the material world view of many citizens focuses on input legitimacy, on contributing to decisions that affect their needs and to improve the local living conditions. Most municipalities do not yet acknowledge participation's full potential but they moved far beyond the formal understanding of it. It is a process of approximation.

INCLUSIVENESS of RATIONALITIES

A very integrative legitimacy understanding is articulated by the municipality of Bonn stating that good results would come from processes that allow thinking in all directions, including all perspectives. With this statement, all three legitimacy concepts are connected: Throughput and input legitimacy have to be guaranteed to achieve output legitimacy. The narrowest legitimacy rationality might be attested to the municipality of Heidelberg, which emphasizes authority and lists numerous legal, financial and other arguments that might make a participation process inappropriate at a specific time. And there are many reasons that make representatives of civil interest groups more appropriate conversation partners than the regular citizen. This suggests a main focus on input legitimacy and there on representativeness instead of inclusiveness and very little focus on output legitimacy.

RQ 3: Power (& dominance)

Which conclusions on relationship and preconditions for its change in participation can be derived from a discourse theory perspective? Which dynamics of power and dominance are identifiable? In the first two sub-questions (pages 49 & 51) the dominant perspectives were identified. But what do the guidelines do to reconstructed them and assure their dominance? New institutions and actor constellations were initiated, new communication tools introduced. And the guideline production

phenomena itself represents a compilation of text, and this is the first mechanism to render something dominant [Richardson, 2002] and either a common argument of the guidelines is made dominant or the idea that guidelines can create the new participation culture is made dominant. References were analyzed to derive definitions of truth, knowledge and expertise and restriction or control of input was identified. Boundaries of meaning were constructed through exclusion. Based on planning practices as "arenas of discursive conflict" [Richardson, 2002:357]. Guidelines are understood as such **strategic action** in a particular context of socio-historical discourses and institutional practices which consist until now mainly of the formal participation practices and associated administration culture.

Conflicts of definition surface in the guidelines. The first example is neutrality: An administrative staff member is considered neutral as long as he is not professionally involved in the project he moderates. The second example is expertise: Some municipalities consider administrative staff perfectly capable of doing moderation after some qualification through skill upgrade.

Simultaneously, the provision of high quality participation processes is emphasized. In this logic and to avoid any doubts, moderation should come from a more neutral point, from outside of administration or council. If it does not, an over-representation of a specific world view could create disadvantages for citizens.

REFERENCES

Essential to the kind of knowledge produced and excluded is the framing of an issue, the setting of criteria and parameter of analysis and the processes design. It is of course difficult to identify something that is excluded. The search focused on general references to external experiences, expertise and knowledge such as science, participation experts and other municipal participation practices. Although exclusion is generally hard to prove, the nearly 100% absence of references to participation research and experiences from outside of the municipality were far too obvious. A control of input to the discourse is suspected. Most references were made to legal regulations. This emphasis is understandable. But considering the character of these regulations[65], this reference might not contribute positively to the citizen-administration relationship unless administration proactively choses to not use its own privileges. Also references to existing and future experiences within the own municipality were prominent, e.g. as basis for guideline evaluation. That is somewhat problematic for two reasons. Firstly, as most own experiences so far were with formal participation this might bias the idea of an appropriate citizen-administration relationship. And secondly, new own experiences risk that quality deficiencies and beginners' errors produce negative experiences exacerbate the situation [Range & Faas, 2016] and that lead to wrong conclusions because references to other municipalities or experts is excluded and along with this the options to locate, validate and evaluate own experiences properly. Many other municipalities worldwide apply dialogue and collaboration successfully for a long time already [see e.g. Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2017 on participatory budgeting]. Germany's municipality could accelerate their learning significantly in building on those experiences.

INCLUSIVENESS and RELATIONSHIP

The guidelines use structuration & institutionalization to create a different discourse[66] and render it dominant. Citizen participation in municipal decision making receives different and in general more important roles than before, a participation culture shall be introduced. Consequently, the guidelines might attempt to interrupt the individual actors' structured ways of seeing a problem [Hajer,

---

[65] On the production of most of the regulations see page 11. It contains many privileges for administration over citizens.
[66] Different from formal, pluralistic, procedural, collaboration or material world view

2005a][67] in order to reach an approximation between the different world views. This thesis suggests the guidelines are a **consensus voice**, a newly created product of a discourse coalition. The guidelines are the result of a process of social construction of structures of practice and interpretation. The new structure proposed in the guidelines may still be seen as one societal consequence of mechanisms of dominance [cf. Keller 1999:4 referred to in Dieterich, 2006] that results in differing documents in each municipality, depending on the local distribution of power.

It is suggested to investigate how actively administration is trying to challenge its own understandings of participation. Not becoming proactive and strategically involved in shaping discourse would lead to a role as "passively or naively complicit" [Richardson, 2002] in reproducing undesired discourses and constructing world views like procedural and material as inherently in conflict, i.e. excluding visions of collaboration and synergies.

COGNITIVE SHIFT

From the formal participation/pluralist view to the dialogue world view – is there a cognitive shift expressed in the guidelines? Such a cognitive shift could theoretically be revealed by comparing the formal participation ideas (page 12) to the description of participation in the guidelines. As shown in the first two sub-questions, the understanding of participation in the guidelines is significantly broader than formal participation. It is in average more inclusive. So there was some approximation, but not enough to call it a cognitive shift yet.

Focusing on the intended introduction of a participation culture, it may be assumed that the guidelines wanted to create discourse coalitions or consensus voice and be part of a compilation of text to dominate the discourse, to render a *highly* inclusive discourse dominant, one that emphasizes transparency, reliability and responsiveness and offers all input categories and accessibility. This would improve the citizen-administration relationship significantly. It is in this context necessary to analyze how proactive strategic action (institutionalization and structuration), the promoted legitimacy concepts and participation definitions (proxy: input categories) contribute to the new and desired participation culture.

To answer this question, an assessment of the role of the **contextual conditions** play in shaping the citizen-administration relationship is necessary. They influence the relationship's capacity for change e.g. towards a new participation culture. These forces might facilitate a specific discourse or a specific reading of someone else's discourse. This is done below. The next section compiles the answers to the three sub-questions to reply to the main research question.

2. Analysis Main RQ

Most guidelines state their intention to create a participation culture and improving mutual trust and reducing disappointment. Central for participation success is for the municipality of Heidelberg clarity on goals and tasks in participation[68], while for the city of Bonn it is mutual trust. Before, as a result of missing guidelines, participation designs differed vastly in degrees of public deliberation and therefore meet different expectations[69] about the purpose and the scope of influence that regularly clashed before, during and after informal participatory events.

How is the citizen-administration relationship shaped by communication content, concepts of validity & power and which options for change exist therein?

---

[67] Here: How a municipal decision is made, whose voice is supposed to be legitimate and receive authority, which input categories of different actors are considered appropriate.

[68] This assumption on the source of mistrust makes the citizen somewhat responsible for its disappointment, now: it is because he/she did not read the participation concept and had wrong expectations that were not justified. This ignores other potential sources of mistrust, some of which might require administration to admit responsibility, e.g. overly restrictive problem framings and too little room for influence.

[69] See page 55.

Power shapes the kinds of validity concepts considered relevant as well as the communication content considered appropriate within participatory events. This power, based on a discourse theory approach, is restructured, maintained and controlled through processes of institutionalization and structuration. Compiling text, such as the creation of guidelines for all municipalities in the nation is one way to render a perspective dominant. The introduction of new principles (traceability, information transparency) and actors (coordination center, advisory board, participation responsible) are other ways.

Three things were found out: Firstly, the concepts of validity as well as communication contents are more inclusive compared to formal participation interactions in all guidelines. Secondly, each guideline is dominated by a slightly different perspective on validity and communication content definitions; which suggests that some municipalities have already come to a more collaborative relationship amongst their actors or are more committed to do so. And thirdly, references to participation research and expertise from outside of the own municipality are almost absent, which is surprising as they might facilitate the acceleration of relationship improvement.

DISCOURSE INCLUSIVENESS & SELF-REFLECTEDNESS
1. Considering the definition of knowledge and expertise:
   a. The basis for evaluation of local participation is relevant.
   b. Administration can allegedly provide competent facilitators and neutral moderators though qualification. The first contradicts the guidelines' emphasis on quality. Moderation and facilitation are professions that require training and experience. The second ignores the inherent world views of administrative personnel and thus potentially disadvantages citizens.
2. Considering the definition of validity, namely legitimacy: the range of legitimacy concepts considered by the municipalities is larger than in formal and classic world views but not yet embracing the full range as research would suggest. And legitimacy choices are neither made transparent nor explained and thus excluded from the debate. Potentially, different legitimacies complement each other and one municipality shows awareness of this and thus shows the most integrative legitimacy rationality [Bonn].
3. Considering the definition of communication content (input categories): the range of input categories is significantly larger than in formal participation and seems to represent an approximation between the different world views. But it is not yet embracing all input categories research suggests: problem framing, hotspot detection, needs assessment (as opposed to interest gathering) and conflict identification.

Some emphasized issues were detected within the sample and are discussed in the next section.

3. Discussion

The findings are discussed and put into perspective by referring to the contextual conditions. Some issues were revealed to be of special relevance for the guideline authors. Those that contain interesting information on the citizen-administration relationship are addressed now.

RESPONSIVENESS

Meaningful participation depends on **responsive** administrative and political context [Innes & Booher, 2004]. The responsiveness issue is another phenomenon of different understandings of legitimacy. Glaab [2016] suggests that participation events are understood by citizens as political participation opportunities. The option of influencing policy is a major motivation for civil participants, they want to shape and adapt urban space to their needs, to increase their quality of life [Selle, 2015]. Citizens expect to see their input directly influencing the political decision. The issue of responsiveness is a major source of conflict and disappointment between citizens and administration and council. There is a misunderstanding in participation between citizens expecting responsiveness

[García-Espín & Ganuza, 2017; Glaab, 2016] in exchange for their input and administration and decision-makers that understand input from participatory events as merely consultative because the event's participants were not democratically representative and thus not mandated to speak for the public. Scholars are aware of the necessity to acquire approval and increase representativeness of dialogue results, through public feedback sessions and that the ultimate decision will remain with the elected officials [Innes & Booher, 2004:430]. The mine field can however be navigated only through transparency, reliability and traceability. In **providing justifications** from the decision-makers whenever they do not follow a citizen proposal, the justification works as the response. Documentation of participation, justification of decisions and traceability are presented as a natural duty of the municipalities. It allows citizens to see the influence of the participatory process on the final decisions and how the project was shaped by them [Selle, 2015]. Tracing decisions and explanations is a response, although an indirect, a written one. These reports misunderstand citizen input or the dialogue result and distort it. If there are no options provided to the involved to correct the report it could turn into another one-shot communication from citizens to council. Being aware of this risk, some municipalities allow citizens to present the deliberation results. Others encourage their technical and political deciders to be present or even involved in the participation prior to the decision [Berlin-Mitte]. Heidelberg calls participation a trialog, involving citizens and administration and the council to prepare the decision. Dialogue allows direct responses and resolves misunderstandings.

PARTICIPATION BENEFICIARIES

Some municipalities implicitly see participation as something done *for* the citizens [Heidelberg] while others go further and claim it to be done *with* the citizens [Bonn]. The potential and necessity of participation in supporting administration and deciders is mentioned at some places but the benefits could be made much clearer still. It seems all parties are still in the middle of a learning process to combine the benefits of participation for citizens with those for administration and council. To come up with appropriate designs is a joint challenge.

Who is involved in dialogue and deliberation and who's absent? Only in some municipalities politicians and administration (planners) are invited explicitly to be present or even involved in the participation process[70]. In other cases they read the deliberation report and give written feedback instead of being present in person. And the communication from administration and politicians' arguments is mainly happening after the deliberative event though the explanation of the decisions. In the majority of sample's proposed participation processes, it is primarily the citizens that discuss, deliberate and propose solutions. But only those who deliberate benefit from the transformative potential of dialogue and potentially become better participants. An opportunity to be yielded by authorities, too!

The understanding of participation as an additional task for administration is very dominant in the guidelines. The guidelines state mostly tasks for the administration, such as coordination, management, conveying and evaluation of participation. Much more coordination is necessary now compared to the times when formal participation was the norm and informal participation was left unspecified and without quality criteria. New institutions[71] and communication tools[72] have to be established and continuously updated. Exactly these n**ew actors, institutions**, and new ways of communication can be interpreted **as** new institutional arrangements and organizational practice and as i**nstitutionalization and structuring of the discourse**. The guidelines render the stated view

---

[70] See page 50 and 55.
[71] coordination center, advisory board, a responsible for participation within the planning department and a neutral mediator (NM)
[72] project list, participation concept, reports, evaluations, status table on projects

on participation purposes (input categories) and legitimacy dominant. In sub-questions 1 and 2 these rationalities are presented. Final stages of institutionalization are the appearance of things as a way of reasoning that is normal, traditional or natural, the same accounts for 'natural social facts' [73] [Hajer, 2005a:303]. And the idea of a new participation culture shows that this is desired by the municipalities.

The new citizen-administration-politician relationship could be illustrated like Figure 17 suggests.
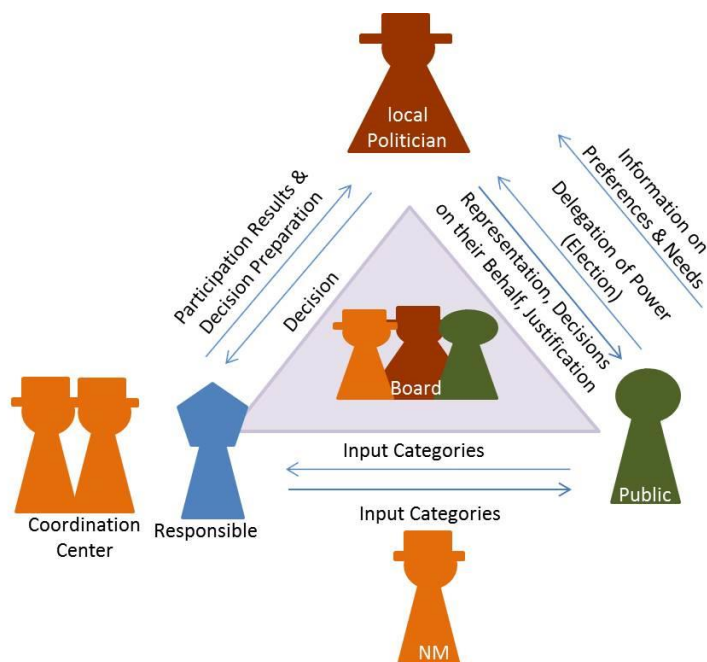
Figure 17: The new triangular relationship between citizens, administration and local politicians.

TRUST & DISAPPOINTMENT

Many guidelines refer to trust as secured once a reliable and inviting participation management structure is established and more clarity is provided to avoid misunderstandings and disappointments[68] as well as reliability and traceability routinized. Focus lies on citizens' mistrust in administration. But there is a surprisingly strong emphasis throughout the guidelines on costs, including personnel, budgets and time. Thus the necessity of participation is in several guidelines reduced to situations of probable or existing conflict. This reduction and the emphasis on costs is somewhat contradictory to the numerous benefits named including the creation of better plans and the increase of legitimacy of decisions and more approval and support for decisions.

The inherent problem with cost-benefit analysis is that for some factors costs and benefits data is available while others cannot be valued[74] and thus do not influence the calculation. This issue is well related to Richardson's second mechanism to reconstruct a discourse though systematic exclusion [2002]. This mechanism is located in the nature and discipline of planning itself that offers definitions of the appropriateness and relevance of methods and policy issues. There are **practices that emphasize particular numbers while not including or even gathering others**. The attitude towards a certain topic, participation, can be shaped so consistently that it is made impossible to not consider [Richardson, 2002:356] costs especially against the chronically tight financial situation in many

---

[73] The terms in which a problem such as air pollution is discussed, e.g. as 'urban smog' makes people conceive air pollution this way and the term structured institutional practices as it concentrated the monitoring or air quality within cities and it made monitoring air pollution at the countryside appear an irrelevant proposal [Hajer, 2005:303].

[74] Benefits like conflict avoidance, increased social capacity and perceived legitimacy of decisions are highly abstract services. The challenge to value abstract services creates numerous dilemmas [Gsottbauer, Logar, & van den Bergh, 2015; Kallis, Gómez-Baggethun, & Zografos, 2013].

communes. And Hajer seems to agree: "actors [administration] who have been socialized to work within the frame of such an institutionalized discourse will (often unwittingly) use their positions to persuade or force others to interpret and approach reality according to their own routinized institutionalized insights and convictions" [Hajer, 2005a:303]. Citizens also have own material and symbolic costs [Nabatchi et al., 2012:11] besides the known benefits of participation. Commitment is activated and a participatory event is joined when costs are lowered and or when the benefits are increased [Nabatchi et al., 2012:11][75]. Now, which factors add into this cost-benefit balance? Ryfe & Stalsburg [2012] found three variables that influence participation considerably: socioeconomic status, proximity to social networks (membership) and formal education. A hierarchy results because some decide the thresholds:

- which costs are acceptable and which exceed the benefits,
- which data to consider in the calculation and which not
- how to include immeasurable benefits

The cost argument is very suitable to reproduce the formal hierarchy. Analog to this works the creation of different documents: one for internal use[61], one for the council and one for the participants. This creation of information hierarchy suggests a certain degree of mistrust against the citizens, a fear of criticism that could draw arguments from these reports. The former experience of being disadvantaged by the application of administrative legislation might be another source of citizen mistrust.

TRANSPARENCY & ACCESS to INFORMATION

Transparency and access to information are long due as explained in the excurse on legislation[76] and it falls favorably in the decade of the open data idea that is already successfully implemented in some cities around the globe. It would be overly enthusiastic to understand the sudden increase of transparency and information provision as achievement of the guidelines or their production process alone. It rather seems unavoidable to finally correct administrative behavior. A detention of information is simply not compatible with the new accent of collaboration. And it is essential as precondition and preparation for any participation. It is however a large step by administration and decision-makers and to be appreciated as such. **It constitutes a change in relationship and improvement of throughput legitimacy.**

CHANGE

A change could be a shift from formal one-way, one-shot participation towards dialogue, collaboration and deliberation. That this development is possible is shown in numerous indications of a new relationship offered compared to the one driving formal participation. A more profound citizen-relationship change might happen through increased participation in the future. Answers to sub-questions RQ1 and RQ2 show how broadly the relationship is redefined. In comparing the acknowledged participation value in the guidelines with the potential contributions of dialogue according to participation literature, spaces for reflection are opened to change the dominant understanding of participation.

The power of the guidelines in **context** to initiate change in relationship, characterizations, legitimacy rationality, and discourse play a role. It is necessary to differentiate internal versus **contextual influential** factors, because changes in context may **facilitate changes in the involved actors' relationships**. Considering the contextual conditions opens up additional ways to change discourse. This force field provides multiple angles for change. Also the way the guidelines were produced is

---

[75] The participating individuals are motivated by a rational calculation of costs and benefits, drawing on assumptions introduced by Downs "An Economic Theory of Democracy" [Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012]. Peoples' commitment to participation is assumed to be based on cost-benefit considerations.
[76] See page 11.

relevant and whether it was inappropriate or ineffective for a fundamental change in a citizen-administration relationship.

Discourse theory considers the context: political, legal factors as well as historical and practice experience shape the citizen-administration relationship and factor into different world views and also reinforce them. Contextual conditions are described and potentials to change those that maintain/"support" the discourse [Farthing, 2016] were investigated. Numerous contextual conditions shape a specific perspective which includes attitudes towards other actors as well as self-concepts that in turn determine the kind of relationships considered possible, appropriate or necessary. Assessing the options to change contextual conditions of dominant discourses broadens the spectrum to influence 'structured way[s] of seeing' problems [Hajer, 2005a], i.e. changing discourses. The focus here is to assess the factors that shape the citizen-administration relationship and underlying concepts of participation. The conditions for a new and more collaborative relationship are assessed. Figure 15 illustrates these contextual factors. Some of the **contextual conditions** of the municipal administration are mentioned here: the different forces that shape the administrative world view, its concept of legitimacy and its relationship to citizens.
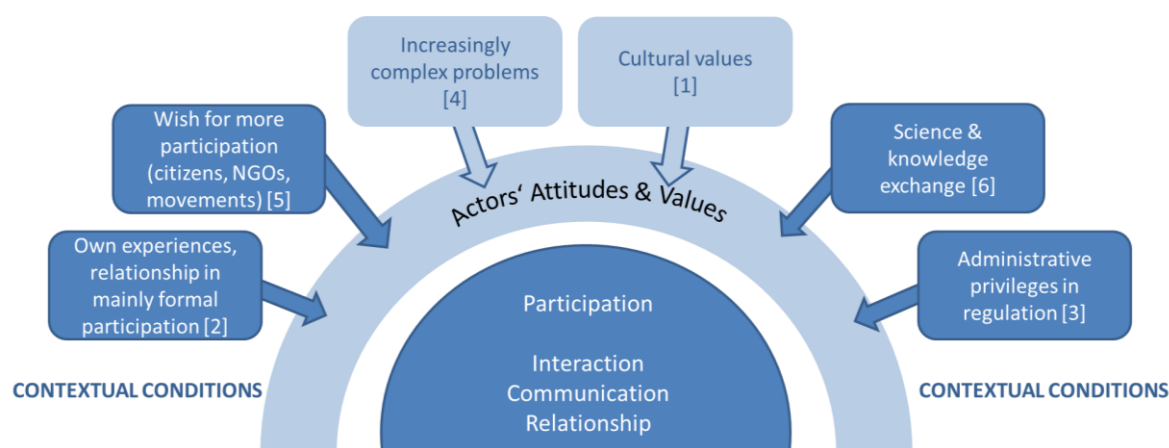

Figure 18: Contextual conditions affecting attitudes & values and ultimately shaping a relationship[77].

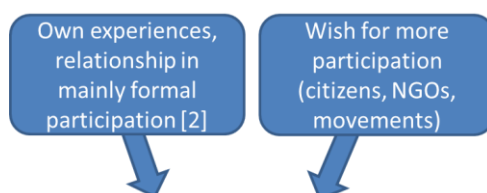*FAVORABLE CONTEXTUAL CONDITIONS*

Figure 19: Favorable contextual conditions.

Most of the contextual conditions are favorable for an improved relationship: The formal participation concept shapes much of the general citizen-administration relationship and it created most of the actors' experiences with participation. Memories of antagonistic atmosphere [Thompson, 1997 in Innes & Booher, 2004] may still make the imagination of productive collaboration difficult if not impossible. The guidelines announce increased implementation rate of dialogue events. This suggests new and positive experiences in more inclusive physical and methodological designs will be generated and change the actors' attitudes. The events should be numerous, well-thought-through and of high quality to cure the antagonism. Some positive atmosphere exists already. Luckily it could be shown in surveys on council members' attitudes and perceived effectiveness of citizen dialogue events as decision support that dialogue was rated significantly more positive than direct democratic formats and much more positive than decisions based merely on administrative preparation [Kersting, 2016].

---

[77] REFERENCES: [1] Healey, 2007; [2] Thompson, 1997 in Innes & Booher, 2004; [3] Seibel, 2018; [4] Castells, 1996 in Innes & Booher, 2004; [5] Glaab, 2016; [6] Nabatchi et al., 2012.
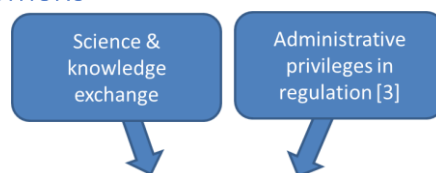
Figure 20: Alternable contextual conditions.

Several contextual conditions are not obstructing a change in relationship and attitude, they merely require appropriate action: Firstly, new knowledge for the participants is a powerful way of inducing change and questioning dominant exclusive concepts. Including research and practice exchange in the discourse might change both attitudes and relationship. Public officials and civic reformers interested in increased public deliberation may find support for their arguments in research [Nabatchi et al., 2012:15]. New insights and learning form others' experiences will open their views and introduce new thoughts. Secondly, the pre-democratic creation of legislation proposals manifested widespread privileges for administration in the current regulations [Seibel, 2018]. Here a more generous attitude of administration and resistance to the privileges is necessary before new laws are set in place. This has to happen simultaneously to the guideline implementation.
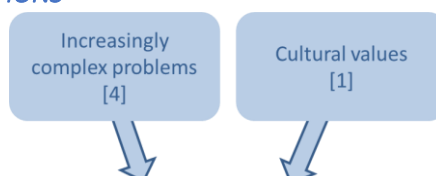
RESISTANT CONTEXTUAL CONDITIONS

Figure 21: Resistant contextual conditions.

Other contextual conditions remain more resistant to change: Although more than 20 years ago Castells pointed out that the increasingly **complex** problems of the presence and the future make hierarchical authority less effective [Castells, 1996 in Innes & Booher, 2004], the dominant rationality in the guidelines might not yet approve this thought. Participation is largely understood as an additional task to increase citizen trust and decision approval (input & throughput legitimacy), something done *for* the citizens and not as essential and valuable support for administration and government (output legitimacy). Also, **cultural values** that created and embedded powerful policy ideas [Healey, 2007 in Farthing, 2016] that are highly resistant to change [Farthing, 2016][78]. These powerful ideas are specific definitions of legitimacy, participation purposes (proxy input categories) and principles. The 'structured way[s] of seeing' a problem, have to be interrupted in order to get other ways of conceptualizing the problem on the agenda [Hajer, 2005a:303]. This is something that cannot be done easily and not by writing guidelines. It is a highly complex and challenging and probably long-term process.

Behavioral science and public administration research [see e.g. Bingham, Nabatchi & O'Leary, 2005; Bingham & O'Leary, 2006; Roberts, 2008 referred to in Nabatchi, 2010] may propose tools to change dialogue obstructing attitudes of individuals and groups, for example how to overcome risk aversion in administration [Gigerenzer, 2018]. The next chapter presents conclusions and recommendations based on these findings.

E) Conclusions & Recommendations

The conclusions summarize the findings, (1) address the trust versus cost issue and dimensions of change. The recommendations (2) propose two ways to structure the participation debate, access to information, direct dialogue and including expertise from outside the municipality. The contribution

---

[78] Using the example of the green belts around cities as policy ideas, it is the protection of this spatial pattern that allows redirecting to other areas all requests for other urban development [Farthing, 2016:56].

(3) of this work is a holistic theoretical framework and data on German municipal participation endeavors. Limitations (4) are located in assumptions and sample size. The research perspective (5) proposes multidisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity.

The citizen-administration relationship is shaped by concepts of validity and communication content, by participation definitions. Mechanisms of dominance and power control the introduction of other definitions, ideas and rationalities. It is claimed that participation concepts and municipal guidelines intending to improve the local participation culture have to embrace the actors' differences in rationality, show respect for all three legitimacy dimensions [Glaab, 2016] and consider the full range of possible citizen input categories (purposes). Three things were found out for the guideline sample: Firstly, the concepts of validity as well as communication contents are more inclusive compared to formal participation interactions in all guidelines. But no explicit consideration of multiple legitimacy priorities is found. Neither was the complete range of categories considered. This means conditions for a local participation culture are more favorable than before. Secondly, each guideline is dominated by a slightly different perspective on validity and communication content definitions. This suggests that some municipalities have already come to a more collaborative relationship amongst their actors or are more committed to do so. Or that the local power constellations differ. And thirdly, references to participation research and expertise from outside of the own municipality are almost completely absent, which is surprising as they might facilitate the acceleration of relationship improvement. The communicative basis for participation design, trust restoration and a more open, integrative, structured and reflective participation debate could be more favorable still in all municipalities investigated. Without building bridges between the different world views, conflicts and misunderstandings will remain and addressing the complex challenges of our times gets even more difficult. And without considering the context conditions, municipalities risk to expect too much from their actions.

1. Conclusion

The factors shaping the citizen-administration relationship and underlying priorities of participation and assessing the conditions for a new and more collaborative interaction and identifying the role the guidelines play in this context. Figure 22 summarizes the findings of this thesis.
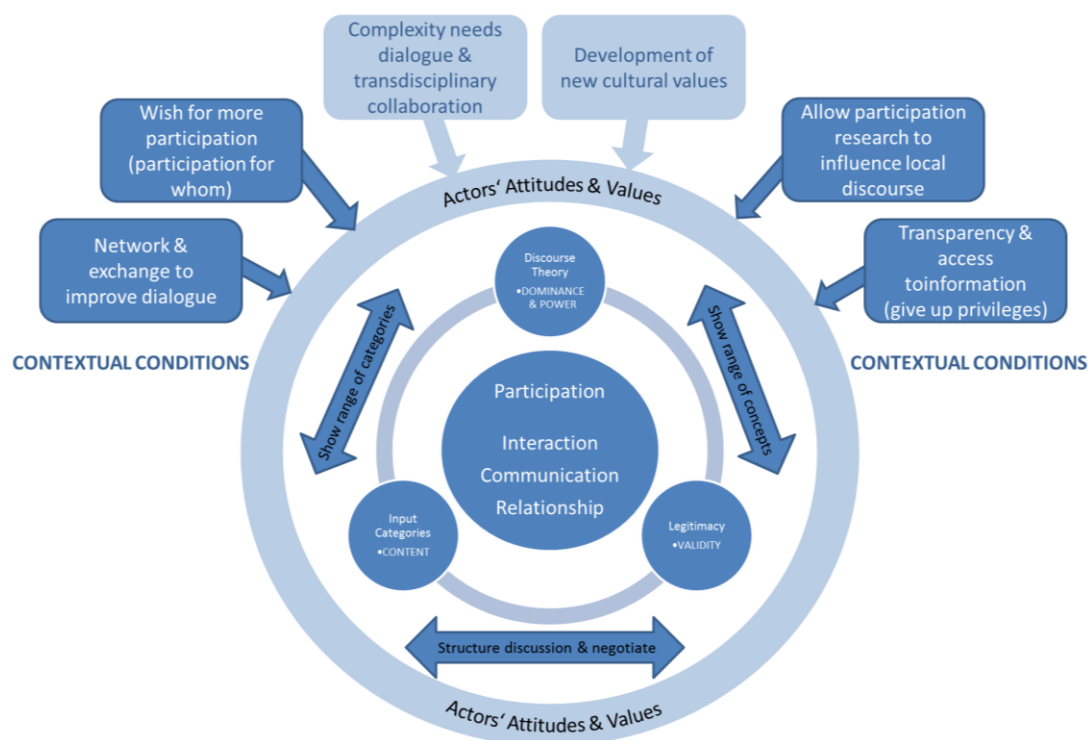

Figure 22: Theoretical conclusion.

To change the relationship between citizens and administration numerous leverage points are possible and addressing them in combination might be effective. To identify a particularly effective, practicable or realistic order requires further research.

Besides the assessment of an existing citizen-administration relationship and the identification of options of change, the practice motivations for this thesis are issues of trust and cost (see page 4). The following section summarizes the main findings on them. The problem of existing rather formal experiences and the necessity to balance them with external input will be discussed in the change section thereafter.

TRUST & COST

The trust issue includes disappointment, misunderstandings and considerations of costs and ideas of effective administration, time and budget constraints. Many guidelines refer to trust as secured once a reliable and inviting participation management structure is established and more clarity is provided on its goals and room for action to avoid misunderstandings and disappointments. But the necessity of participation is in several guidelines reduced to situations of probable or existing conflict. There is a surprisingly strong emphasis throughout the guidelines on costs, including personnel, budgets and time. This reduction and the emphasis on costs is somewhat contradictory to the numerous benefits named including the creation of better plans and the increase of legitimacy of decisions and more approval and support for decisions. Using administration's own staff for moderation and mediation as well as participation concept design origins partly in the idea of saving costs for the municipality. This might be an incomplete consideration of the trade-offs: having less qualified staff that is potentially not recognized as neutral in its position by citizens might reduce the quality of the participation process, which in turn threatens to add negative experiences and thus increases the difficulty of improving the citizen-administration relationship. While positive participation experiences might strengthen the local community for future challenges[79].

The inherent problem with cost-benefit analysis is that for some costs and benefits data is available while others cannot be valued and thus do not appear in the calculation. Emphasizing particular numbers while not including or even gathering others shapes the attitude towards a certain topic, [Richardson, 2002:356]. This is the systematic exclusion mechanism to reconstruct discourse [Richardson, 2002]. A hierarchy results: some decide on which costs are acceptable and which exceed the benefits, which data to consider in the calculation and which not and how to include immeasurable benefits. The cost argument is very suitable to reproduce the formal hierarchy. This example also shows the communication of an emphasis: That **costs are the essential criteria** for decisions, considering the tight financial situation in many communes.

CHANGE

Conclusions follow on the power of the guidelines in their context to initiate change in relationship, rationality, discourse. In the attempt to identify the change potential, internal versus contextual influential factors are differentiated. The change might be a shift from formal one-way, one-shot communication towards dialogue, collaboration and deliberation, creating a new relationship. This possibility is indicated in the answers to sub-questions RQ1 and RQ2. These show how broadly the relationship was redefined and that there is still some room for action to further improve the relationship in expanding the dominant understanding of participation (input categories) and of legitimacy. Both could embrace more integrative definitions in most municipalities analyzed, e.g. to better connect different word views of the actors such as procedural and material.

But besides these rather internal factors, there are also **contextual factors** that shape the relationship between citizens and administration, including the way the guidelines were produced. Considering the contextual conditions opens up additional ways to change discourse. It is about

---

[79] Innes & Booher, 2004; Rittel & Webber, 1973 referred to in Innes & Booher, 2004

assessing the power of the guidelines in context to initiate change in relationship, characterizations, legitimacy rationality. Because discourse theory considers the context: political, legal factors as well as historical and practice experiences do their part in shaping the citizen-administration relationship and factor into different world views and also reinforce them. Numerous contextual conditions shape a specific perspective which includes attitudes towards other actors as well as self-concepts that in turn determine the kind of relationships considered possible, appropriate or necessary. Multiple contextual conditions were presented and discussed along with their potentials to change the contextual conditions because changes in context may facilitate changes in the involved actors' relationships. Assessing the options to change contextual conditions of dominant discourses broadened the spectrum to influence 'structured way[s] of seeing' problems, i.e. changing discourses [Hajer, 2005a]

2. Recommendations

Following the praxis motivations conclusions on trust, cost and change issues this section recommends to structure the participation debate, to improve communication and accessibility, to encourage direct dialogue involving citizens, planners, administration *and* politicians. It is no news that networking, exchange and knowledge input to municipalities is essential but implementation shows gaps and this slows down the implementation of a participation culture.

Structure the Participation Debate

Here, two proposals are made to facilitate understanding within the participation debate. It is necessary to discuss questions of principle publicly [Bentele, 2016]. This may relieve local decision processes from this burden [ibid].

Firstly, it is proposed to consider the entire range of input categories of both citizens and administration to improve decisions and planning. Secondly, the debate should address the different legitimacy concepts used which might depend on different world views. All decisions to reduce the influence of one or another actor or to narrow the understanding of legitimacy should happen in full awareness of the breadth of possibilities, ideally in a transparent way and after participatory negotiations.

DIFFERENTIATE THE LEGITIMACY DISCUSSION

Participation is legitimate and necessary because of several reasons[80]. And different ways of participation facilitate the realization of different purposes and legitimacies. Some participation formats, designs or procedures may succeed to improve multiple legitimacies simultaneously.

1. It compensates representative deficit and bias. Increased inclusiveness for citizens and collaboration with elected representatives boosts input legitimacy. And so does activating citizenry and Contributing to an agile and stable democracy. Citizen participation makes sense as compensation to representative democracy.

2. Throughput legitimacy relies on transparency and access to information, documentation and explicit justifications of political decisions if they deviate from the participation results. But it is not the guidelines that express this commitment by municipal staff for the first time. It is an old promise, with weak legal instruments that hinder requests for transparency to be satisfied. Potentially, access to information makes the local day-to-day political business much more transparent. And this transparency provides citizens with necessary information to learn about politicians' decisions or system constellations also outside of the participatory process. New issues might get put on the political agenda and election preferences might be changed.

---

[80] See pages 28 and 55.

3. Participation in city planning, if motivated to create better plans (Output legitimacy), embraces the consultative character of citizen results much better. Different categories of citizen and administration input can be differentiated and included in the decision preparation.

4. Discussion on what makes some plans better than others (Output legitimacy) is again a political discussion. Concepts like public good, multiple uses, inclusive spaces, sustainable solutions, climate protection and mitigation, planning for the future generations, activation of local resources to enrich social life have to be filled with meaning.

Communication & Accessibility

Until the introduction of the list of projects, information on projects and participation possibilities were rather dispersed and did not reach many readers, except those who regularly appeared in the events, those that characterized the representation bias. Centralizing the information on projects is a first very important step. Potentially the responses by different politicians including the justification for their final decision could be videotaped to ease the accessibility of information. This could also help residents to better connect decision tendencies with the elected council members. And residents can adjust their voting preferences based on this far more detailed information compared to electoral campaigns and political agendas. Additionally many guidelines admit the need for simple language and announce relevant documents to be translated. Most municipalities however perform this only selectively and with a certain delay. The idea however could be connected to integration endeavors and translated into the most common languages of newcomers to inform them on projects in their municipality. Transparent communication facilitates understanding of municipal decision-making and dominant ideas of legitimacy in government.

Direct Dialogue instead of written feedback/justifications by planners & politicians

The call for direct dialogue is closely connected to the above discussed issue of responsiveness. Firstly, responsiveness by the decision-makers generally improves the relationship. Transparency and reliability ensure this. Decision documentations and explanations also function as response, although they are indirect and written. Without options provided to the involved participants to correct the documents distorting effects may occur. And the citizen dialogue is reduced to a one-shot communication from citizens to council. Direct responses require dialogue. Encouraging one's technical and political deciders to be involved in the participation prior to the decision creates this immediate contact (Berlin-Mitte).

Exchange, Networking, Research Input

It is far too obvious that references to participation research and experiences from outside of the municipality are almost 100% absent. To break this suspected control of input to the discourse the range of references, knowledge and orientation must exceed legal regulations and existing own and future experiences within the municipality. Active networks, exchange with participation research institutes and other municipalities with similar endeavors and networks to access international knowledge and experiences in the field are necessary to broaden the horizon and to accelerate the learning process significantly. New knowledge for the participants is additionally a powerful way of inducing change & questioning dominant exclusive concepts.

3. Contributions

This thesis contributes its own theoretical framework in combining different aspects of participation theory and discourse theory into a holistic approach. It proposes methods to detect implicit legitimacy priorities and participation definitions. It offers ways to structure the participation debate

and facilitate mutual understanding and clarification. This thesis addresses a research gap in analyzing the power of the participation guidelines[81] to form the relationship between citizens and administration in the municipal context. And in analyzing the participation guidelines of German municipalities it contributes to the international knowledge on participation endeavors, facilitates mutual understanding and learning.

In focusing on the dominant rationalities of validity and communication content, this paper contributes to the academic debate in suggesting new leverage effects for increasing dialogue implementation in communes. These effects can be caused by two mechanisms: Firstly, through reflection on rationality through a constructive and productive deliberation process on the purposes of citizen engagement and the priorities in legitimacy. Comparing them to the range of definitions discussed in participation research will open the range of possibilities and allow informed negotiation amongst the actors. And secondly, through consideration of the contextual conditions that shape and reproduce these rationalities and underlying attitudes and values. This structure potentially facilitates understanding of angles for potentially effective changes.

For practice in Germany this work provides insights for municipalities interested in a new participation culture on how to structure the public debate and create bridges of understanding amongst different actor groups and their respective interests and rationalities. It points out the influence of contextual conditions and it highlights again the necessity for more intense practice-research exchange: references to participation research and expertise from outside of the own municipality are almost absent in the analyzed sample[82], which might slow down the relationship improvement.

4. Limitations

The limitations of this work are several: the small sample and the assumption that facilitation of participation needs change in the citizen-administration relationship. Also, the analyzed guidelines are subject of revision and only the first versions were analyzed. There might be richer sources of information on the same matter such as listening in during the guideline production and evaluation sessions or witnessing discussions within administration to analyze how a specific perspective achieves dominance. These suggestions are discussed in the following section.

The sample of this study is relatively small, but sufficient to derive a minimum range of answers. A larger sample might present more progressive municipalities. This information could guide a follow up study to see how the more "ideal" guideline affects the citizen-administration relationship and which kind of experiences it facilitates.

The fundamental assumption in this thesis is that for facilitating high quality participation the initiation of a new citizen-administration relationship is necessary. The old relationship, one that has its limits in appealing to all three actors and the different and far apart world views led to mistrust and disappointment.

Within this field of study, different data gathering approaches are possible besides the one used here, they are presented next.

5. Research Perspective

While here only the first versions of the guidelines were studied, a comparison to their revisions would reveal insights, too. The changes would be investigated, those considered necessary to manage the citizen-administration interaction. Equally interesting would be a longitudinal study

---

[81] As joint commitments of all three municipal actors (citizens, administration and politicians) and elements of action
[82] Potentially revealing a common pattern

about the committees' commitment tendencies to inclusive rationalities of participation purposes and legitimacies and about other paths chosen to increase mutual understandings.

A different and potentially richer data generation could come from listening to discussion sessions, preferably with video footage to observe and analyze in more detail the construction of relevance of a specific perspective and the exclusion of other ideas. Material on evaluation sessions revising the guidelines might contain better data on understandings of participation and interpretations of experiences. More explicit statements on the relationship and each other's characterizations could be collected. Witnessing the creation of the participation concepts, including cost discussions and the choice of the moderator would be interesting from discourse theory perspective as well.

From the considered contextual conditions two questions remain[83]: What limits actors understanding of the benefits of dialogue and transdisciplinary collaboration in addressing complex problems? And under which conditions do new values emerge that change the actors' attitude and thus the relationship for the better?

Mounting an interdisciplinary research e.g. in combining public administration research, behavioral science and communication theories might provide more in depth information on aspects influencing the citizen-administration relationship. And especially knowledge for changing resistant behavioral issues and communication patterns is required. Legitimacy theory is closely connected to ideas of justice and could significantly benefit from insights in this old field of research.

Research on economic costs of community conflict or on economic benefits of local collaboration could correct the cost-benefit balances which are now dominated by the few available numbers: the costs of the experts, venue, catering and material – probably complemented by rough subjective estimates on time saved through conflict avoidance etc.

Research on transformation and leadership could contribute to this field significantly: It would additionally be highly interesting which skills, knowledge or support might enable e.g. those who dominate the discourse now to use their power to invite or introduce more inclusive and reflexive rationalities.

---

[83] See Figure 21 and Figure 22.

References

Baiocchi, G., & Ganuza, E. (2017). *Popular Democracy: The Paradox of Participation*. Standford, California: Standford University Press.

Barrett, G., Wyman, M., & P. Coelho Vera Schattan. (2012). Assessing the Policy Impacts of Deliberative Civic Engagement. In *Democracy in Motion: Evaluating the Practice and Impact of Deliberative Civic Engagement*. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199899265.003.0009

Becker-Strunk, J., & Bimesdörfer, K. (2016). "EinKLICK - EinBLICK": Transparenzgesetz Rheinland-Pfalz. In *Politik mit Bürgern - Politik für Bürger* (pp. 157–178).

Bentele, G. (2016). Öffentlichkeit, Akzeptanz und Transparenz. In *Politik mit Bürgern - Politik für Bürger* (pp. 75–90).

Bingham, L. B., & O'Leary, R. (2006). Parallel play, not collaboration: Missing questions, missing connections. Public Administration Review 66 (Suppl. 1), 161–167.

Bingham, L. B., & Nabatchi, T., O'Leary, R. (2005). The new governance: Practices and processes for stakeholder and citizen participation in the work of government. Public Administration Review 65, 528–539.

BMFSFJ. (2017). *Zweiter Bericht über die Entwicklung des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. (Bundesministerium für Familie Senioren Frauen und Jugend, Ed.).

Bogart, W.T. (2003). Civic Infrastructure and the Financing of Community Development. Available at http://www.brookings.edu/es/urban/publications.

Booher, D.E. & Innes, J.E. (2002). Network power in collaborative planning, Journal of Planning Education and Research, 21(3), 221–236.

Brennecke, V. M. (2015). Richtlinie VDI 7000 » Frühe Öffentlichkeitsbeteiligung bei Industrie- und Infra- strukturprojekten « – Empfehlungen für eine neue Planungs- und Dialogkultur, 1–11.

Bryson, J.M. & Crosby, B.C. (1992). Leadership for the Common Good: Tackling Public Problems in a Shared Power World. San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers.

Bublitz, H. (2001). Differenz und Integration. Zur diskursanalytischen Rekonstruktion der Regelstrukturen sozialer Wirklichkeit. In R. Keller, A. Hirseland, W. Schneider, & W. Viehöver (Eds.), *Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse* (Volume I:, pp. 225–260). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-322-99906-1_9

Campbell, H. & Marshall, R. (2000). Public Involvement and Planning: Looking Beyond the Many to the One. Sheffield, Department of Town and Regional Planning: University of Sheffield.

Cars, G., Healey, P., Madanipour, A. & de Magalhaes, C. (Eds.) (2002). Urban Governance, Institutional Capacity, and Social Milieux. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Castells, M. (1996). The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Vol. I: The Rise of the Network Society. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Chaskin, R. (2001). Defining community capacity: a definitional framework and case studies from a comprehensive community initiative, Urban Affairs Review, 36(3), 291–323.

Chrislip, D.D. & Larson, C.E. (1994). Collaborative Leadership: How Citizens and Civic Leaders can make a Difference. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Cohen, J. & Sabel, C. (1997). Directly-Deliberative Polyarchy. European Law Journal 3(4): 313-42.

Connick, S. & Innes, J. (2003). Outcomes of collaborative water policy making: applying complexity thinking to evaluation, Journal of Environmental Planning and Management, 46(2), 177–197.

Crush, J. (1994). Scripting the compound: power and space in the South African mining industry.

Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, *12*(3), 301–324.

Dahl, Robert A. (1961). Who Governs. New Haven: CT Yale University.

Delli Carpini, M. X., Cook, F. L., & Jacobs, L. R. (2004). Public deliberation, discursive participation, and citizen engagement: A review of the empirical literature. Annual Review of Political Science 7, 315–344.

Der Bundeswahlleiter. (2017). Bundestagswahl 2017. Retrieved June 7, 2018, from https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/bundestagswahlen/2017/ergebnisse.html

Die Bundesregierung. (2017). Deutsche Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie - Neuauflage 2016. Retrieved from https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/Infomaterial/BPA/Bestellservice/Deutsche_Nachhal tigkeitsstrategie_Neuauflage_2016.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=26

Dieterich, A. (2006). *Eigenverantwortlich, informiert und anspruchsvoll ...: Der Diskurs um den mündigen Patienten aus ärztlicher Sicht* (WZB Discussion Paper No. SP I 2006-310). Berlin. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10419/47375

Edwards, D., Potter, J. (1992). Discoursive Psychology. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

Elster, J. (Ed.) (1998). Deliberative democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Farthing, S. (2016). *Research Design in Urban Planning. A Student's Guide*. SAGE Publications.

Fischer, F. (1993). Citizen participation and the democratization of policy expertise, from theoretical inquiry to practical cases, Policy Science, 26, 165–187.

Fischer, F. (2002). Citizens, Experts, and the Environment: The Politics of Local Knowledge. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Fischer, F. (2003). Reframing Public Policy: Discoursive Politics and Deliberative Practices. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Flick, U. (2011). *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung* (4th ed.). Reinbeck bei Hamburg: rowohlts enzyklopädie.

Forester, J. (1999). The Deliberative Practitioner: Encouraging Participatory Planning Processes. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fung, A. & Wright, E.O. (Eds.). (2003). Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance. London: Verso.

Fung, A. (2003). Survey article: Recipes for public spheres: Eight institutional design choices and their consequences. Journal of Political Philosophy 11, 338–367.

Fung, A. (2005). Deliberation before the revolution: Toward an ethics of deliberation in an unjust world. Political Theory 33(2), 397– 419.

Fung, A. (2006). Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance. *Public Administration Review*, *66*(Dec.), 66–75. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4096571

García-Espín, P., & Ganuza, E. (2017). Participatory Skepticism: Ambivalence and Conflict in Popular Discourses of Participatory Democracy. *Qualitative Sociology*, *40*(4), 425–446. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-017-9367-6

Gastil, J. & Levine, P. (Eds.). (2005). The Deliberative Democracy Handbook: Strategies for Effective Civic Engagement in the Twenty-First Century. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gastil, J., Deess, E. P., Weiser, P., & Simmons, C. (2010). The jury and democracy: How jury deliberation promotes civic engagement and political participation. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gastil, J. (2008). Political communication and deliberation. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gertz, C. (2017). Planungstheorie. In *Grundlagen der Stadtplanung* (SS17 ed.). Hamburg: Technische Universität Hamburg-Harburg.

Gigerenzer, G. (2018). Verwaltung trifft Beteiligung: Warum Risikompetenz wünschenswert ist. In *Verwaltung trifft Beteiligung. Zwischen Amt und Bürgern: Krisen und Chancen. 1.-2.03.2018* (pp. 1–34). Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung. Retrieved from https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/e-paper_verwaltung-trifft-beteiligung.pdf.pdf?dimension1=ds_verwaltung18

Glaab, M. (2016). Hohe Erwartungen, ambivalente Erfahrungen? In *Politik mit Bürgern - Politik für Bürger* (pp. 3–25).

Goldman, J. (2004). Kuna, Idaho: A Case Study. Unpublished manuscript, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Gruber, J. (1994). Coordinating Growth Management Through Consensus-Building: Incentives and the Generation of Social, Intellectual, and Political Capital. Working Paper No. 617. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California at Berkeley).

Gsottbauer, E., Logar, I., & van den Bergh, J. C. J. M. (2015). Towards a fair, constructive and consistent criticism of all valuation languages: Comment on Kallis et al. (2013). *Ecological Economics*, *112*, 164–169. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2014.12.014

Gutmann, A., & Thompson, D. F. (1996). Democracy and disagreement. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gutmann, A., and Thompson, D. F. (2004). Why deliberative democracy? Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hajer, M. A. (1993). *The politics of environmental discourse: a study of the acid rain controversy in Great Britain and the Netherlands.* University of Oxford.

Healey, P. (1993). Planning through debate: the communicative turn in planning theory, in: F. Fischer & J. Forester (Eds.). The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning, 233–253. Durham, NC: Duke University.

Healey, P. (2007). Urban Complexity and Spatial Stategies. London: Routledge.

Hood, C. (1995). The "New Public Management" in the 1980s: variations on a theme. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, *20*(2–3), 93–109.

Innes, J.E. & Booher, D.E. (2003). Collaborative policy making: governance through dialogue, in: M.W. Hajer & H. Wagenaar (Eds.). Deliberative Policy Analysis: Governance in the Network Society, 33–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Innes, J.E. & Connick, S. (1999). San Francisco estuary project, in: L. Susskind, S. McKearnan & J. Thomas- Larmer (Eds.). The Consensus Building Handbook: A Comprehensive Guide to Reaching Agreement. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Innes, J. E., & Booher, D. E. (2004). Reframing public participation: strategies for the 21st century. *Planning Theory and Practice*, *5*(4), 419–436.

Kallis, G., Gómez-Baggethun, E., & Zografos, C. (2013). To value or not to value? That is not the question. *Ecological Economics*, *94*, 97–105. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2013.07.002

Keller, R. (2004). Diskursforschung, eine Einführung für SozialwissenschaftlerInnen, Band 14, 2. Auflage. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialforschung.

Kersting, N. (Eds.). (2008). Politische Beteiligung. Einführung in dialogorientierte Instrumente politischer und gesellschaftlicher Partizipation. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Kersting, N. (2016). Online- und Offlinebeteiligung als lokale demokratische Innovation - Die Sicht der Ratsmitglieder. In *Politik mit Bürgern - Politik für Bürger* (pp. 91–110).

Khakee, A. (2002). Assessing institutional capital building in a Local Agenda 21 process in Goteberg, Planning Theory and Practice, 3(1), 53–68.

Klages, H. (2011). Leitlinien für Beteiligungsprozesse. Rehburg-Loccum: Stiftung Mitarbeit. Retrieved from https://vimeo.com/56018128

Laws, D., & Forester, J. (2015). Making Participation Work - Seeing New Angles and Other Possibilities: A Profile of Douwe Wielenga. In *Conflict, Improvisation, Governance. Street Level Practices for Urban Democracy* (pp. 323–341). New York: Routledge.

Mandell, M. (1999). Community collaborations: working through network structures, Policy Studies Review, 16(1), 42–64.

Martinsen, R. (2009). Öffentlichkeit in der „Mediendemokratie" aus der Perspektive konkurrrierender Demokratietheorien. Politische Vierteljahresschrift (Sonderheft 42), 37-69.

Melville, K., Willingham, T. L., & Dedrick, J. R. (2005). National Issues Forums: A network of communities promoting public deliberation. In The deliberative democracy handbook: Strategies for effective civic engagement in the 21st century, (Eds.) Gastil, J. & Levine, P., 37–58. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mutz, D. C. (2008). Is Deliberative Democracy a Falsifiable Theory? *Annual Review of Political Science*, *11*(1), 521–538. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.081306.070308

Nabatchi, T. (2010). Addressing the Citizenship and Democratic Deficits: The Potential of Deliberative Democracy for Public Administration. *The American Review of Public Administration*, *40*(4), 376–399. https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074009356467

Nabatchi, T., Gastil, J., Leighninger, M., & Weiksner, G. M. (2012). An Introduction to deliberative civic Engagement. In *Democracy in Motion: Evaluating the Practice and Impact of Deliberative Civic Engagement*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199899265.003.0001

Nanz, P., Fritsche, M. (2012). Handbuch Bürgerbeteiligung. Verfahren und Akteure, Chancen und Grenzen. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.

National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation (NCDD). (2008). Engagement Streams Framework. http://ncdd.org/rc/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/full-streams-hi-res.pdf.

Netzwerk Bürgerbeteiligug (2018). Sammlung kommunaler Leitlinien und Handlungsempfehlungen für die Bürgerbeteiligung. https://www.netzwerk-buergerbeteiligung.de/kommunale-beteiligungspolitik-gestalten/kommunale-leitlinien-buergerbeteiligung/sammlung-kommunale-leitlinien/

Noworty, H. (2003). Democratising experience and socially robust knowledge. Science and Public Policy 30 (3), 151-156.

Pearsall, H., & Pierce, J. (2010). Urban sustainability and environmental justice : evaluating the linkages in public planning / policy discourse, *15*(6), 569–580. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2010.487528

Pickel, S. (2013). Politische Kultur, Systemvertrauen und Demokratiezufriedenheit. Wann fühlen Bürger sich gut regiert? In: Handbuch Regierungsforschung. Korte, K.-R., Grunden, T. (Eds.). 161-174. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Pincock, H. (2012). Does Deliberation Make Better Citizens? In *Democracy in Motion: Evaluating the Practice and Impact of Deliberative Civic Engagement*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199899265.001.0001

Range, J., & Faas, T. (2016). Politische Kultur, Bürgerbeteiligung und wissenschaftliche Evaluation. In *Politik mit Bürgern - Politik für Bürger* (pp. 111–131).

Richardson, T. (2002). Freedom and control in planning: Using discourse in the pursuit of reflexive practice. *Planning Theory and Practice*, *3*(3), 353–361. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649350214953

Rittel, H. & Webber, M. (1973). Dilemmas in a general theory of planning, Policy Sciences, 4, 155–169.

Roberts, N.C. (Ed.). (2002). Research in Public Policy Analysis and Management. Vol. 12: The Transformative Power of Dialogue. Amsterdam: JAI, an imprint of Elsevier Science).

Roth, R. (2016). Praxis und Perspektiven einer neuen Beteiligungskultur. In *Politik mit Bürgern - Politik für Bürger* (pp. 368–388).

Roberts, N. C., (Ed.). (2008). The age of direct citizen participation. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Roy, A. (1999). The Cost of Living. London: Flamingo.

Ryfe, D. M. (2005). Does deliberative democracy work? Annual Review of Political Science 8, 49–71.

Ryfe, D. M., & Stalsburg, B. (2012). The Participation and Recruitment Challenge. In *Democracy in Motion: Evaluating the Practice and Impact of Deliberative Civic Engagement*. https://doi.org/DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199899265.003.0003

Saretzki, T. (1997). Demokratisierung von Expertise? Zur politischen Dynamik derWissensgesellschaft. In: Politische Beteiligung und Bürgerengagement in Deutschland. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen. Klein, A., & Schmalz-Bruns, R. (Eds.). 277-313. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.

Seibel, W. (2018). Bürgerbeteiligung setzt gute Verwaltung voraus. Retrieved May 7, 2018, from https://www.boell.de/de/2018/03/07/buergerbeteiligung-setzt-gute-verwaltung-voraus?utm_source=website&utm_medium=twitter

Selle, K. (1996a). Von der Bürgerbeteiligung zur Kooperation und zurück. Vermittlungsarbeit bei Aufgaben der Quartiers- und Stadtentwicklung, in: Selle, Klaus 1996: Planung und Kommunikation, 61-78.

Selle, K. (1996b). Planung und Kommunikation. In: Selle, Klaus (Eds.) (1996): Planung und Kommunikation. Gestaltung von Planungsprozessen in Quartier, Stadt und Landschaft. Grundlagen, Methoden und Praxiserfahrungen. Wiesbaden & Berlin: Bauverlag, 11-20.

Selle, K. (1996c): Klärungsbedarf. In: Selle, Klaus 1996 (Eds.): Planung und Kommunikation. Gestaltung von Planungsprozessen in Quartier, Stadt und Landschaft. Grundlagen, Methoden und Praxiserfahrungen. Wiesbaden & Berlin: Bauverlag, 161-180.

Selle, K. (2015). Herausforderungen der Demokratieentwicklung vor Ort. Ein Beitrag zum Demokratiekongress 2015 in Stuttgart am 11. Juni 2015. Available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_dmZqouwBlM.

Stiftung für Zukunftsfragen. (2014). Immer mehr Vereine - immer weniger Mitglieder: Das Vereinswesen in Deutschland verändert sich. *Forschung Aktuell*, *35*(254). Retrieved from http://www.stiftungfuerzukunftsfragen.de/de/newsletter-forschung-aktuell/254/

Stigler, G. (1971). Theory of Economic Regulation. Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science 2(1), 3-21.

Straus, D. (2002). How to Make Collaboration Work: Powerful Ways to Build Consensus, Solve Problems, and Make Decisions. San Francisco: Berret-Koehler.

Thompson, R. (1997). Ever since Eden: what cognitive models can teach us about environmental disputes. Dissertation, Berkeley, CA: University of California.

Thompson, R. (2000). Re-defining planning: the roles of theory and practice, Planning Theory & Practice, 1, 126-134.

Umweltbundesamt. (2015). Nachhaltigkeit vor Ort. Retrieved April 10, 2018, from https://www.umweltbundesamt.de/themen/nachhaltigkeit-strategien-internationales/nachhaltigkeit-vor-ort

Vasconcelos, L.T., Baptista, I., & Henriquez, T.R. (2002). Sustainability at the local level—intellectual, social and political capital building. Paper presented at the Association of European Schools of Planning, 10–15 July, Volos Greece.

Verba, S., Lehman Schlozman, K. & Brady, H. (1995). Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vetter, A., Klages, H., & Ulmer, F. (2013). Bürgerbeteiligung braucht Verstetigung und Verlässlichkeit: Gestaltungselemente einer dauerhaften und systematischen Bürgerbeteiligung in Städten und Gemeinden. Dms – der moderne staat – Zeitschrift für Public Policy, Recht und Management 6 (1), 253-271.

Weiksner, G. M., Gastil, J., Nabatchi, T., & Leighninger, M. (2012). Advancing the Theory and Practice of Deliberative Civic Engagement. In *Democracy in Motion: Evaluating the Practice and Impact of Deliberative Civic Engagement* (pp. 45–66). https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199899265.003.0012

Weeks, E.C. (2000). The practice of deliberative democracy: results from four large-scale trials, Public Administration Review, 60(4), 360–372.

Wilson, J. Q. (1980). The Politics of Regulation. New York: Basic Books

Yankelovich, D. (1991). Coming to Public Judgment. Syracuse:Syracuse University Press.

Yankelovich, D. (1999). The Magic of Dialogue: Transforming Conflict into Cooperation. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Table of Figures

Table of Tables

APPENDIX

Table 2: Analytical criteria for participatory events with specifications and examples

Analytical Criteria	Specification & Examples
Purposes, goal, intention, function stated for guidelines as participation event, functional outcomes, type & vision of the minipublic [Fung, 2003]	Information of officials, education; commitments, relationship statements; citizen emancipation; legitimation of decisions
citizen selection process, recruitment [Fung, 2003 referred to in Weiksner et al., 2012:11] 1. Sum **participants** (ratio citizens) 2. Admin: Public planners and others 3. Participation experts (consultants, research) 4. Polititians 5. NGOs, citizen organizations; knowledgeable citizens	Randomly selected from population register, appointed by council 1. ... etc.
Convener, Moderator, Publisher	...
Documentation, Monitoring & Evaluation	monitoring degree of implementation [Fung, 2003], tracking of results

	documentation & evaluation of participatory event
Mode of participation [Fung, 2003] 1. Recurrence & iteration [Fung, 2003] duration of process, nr. of meetings 2. Scope of influence, locus & subject 3. **Decision within participatory event** & voice per participant 4. **Information exchange pathways, communication method**	1. 1 year: 6 meetings in group/3 meetings with public/9 meetings 2. valid for which processes: Creation of guideline proposal for municipal project participation 3. **consensus**, simple majority 4. **receive information, inquiry, acknowledge constraints (legal, financial, personnel), discussion, preference development, negotiation**
Contact to policy process: influence of results; intensity of participant empowerment & stakes [Fung, 2003] 1. Connection to & influence on policy process: Character of result; interference of others 2. Moment in policy process & point of contact to decision-making	1. Guideline proposal to council on process design facilitating informal participation, to be translated into administration regulations; requested changes by council before approval 2. after mayor initiated process, prior to council decision, Council approved guideline proposal

Table 3: Document analysis to answer Sub-RQs

	Content analysis questions	Input Categories	Discourse & relationship aspects	Legitimacy & relationship aspects
			About the guidelines	
7	Guideline creation process • participants • Convener, moderator • Creation procedure, recurrence & iteration [Fung, 2003] duration of process, nr. of meetings • Evaluation procedure, Convener, Basis		• who has voice in meaning construction • Neutral or biased • general appropriateness of the production process with reference to the given contextual conditions of the production situation • Reflective, evaluation	implications
1	definition & scope of guideline (result, impact)		• Self-presentation • Communication • Compilation of text makes discourse dominant • Assess power & contribution, influence on participation debate	
			Content analysis: Analyzing written results of partly participatory processes	
2	Input categories as proxy for participation definition, purposes, motivation	Explicit & implicit input categories	• Make a definition dominant • kind of administration-citizen relationship as well as on the underlying rationality on legitimacy; frames of meaning • Who has which voice • Whose perspective & reasons to realize p. • which expertise • which options are considered • what is considered „appropriate" citizen input • world view • openness or integrativeness of dominant discourse	Which legitimacy concept is used
3, 5	Participation Management structures presented/announced; new institutions& actor constellations		• structuration • institutionalization & render sth. dominant • openness or integrativeness of dominant discourse	• implications, attributed legitimacy
4	References, expertise definition, sources;		• Truth & knowledge definitions, authority for critique & challenging views • Exclusive? • Role of science & external knowledge/experience; What counts as evidence, What is considered off-topic • which voice is dominant, Whose voice counts & receives authority • openness or integrativeness of dominant discourse	information on the applied legitimacy rationality
6	Roles & direct relationship statements; responsibilities; trust & disappointment explanations; priorities in face of constraining factors such as budget considerations		• Definition & restriction of roles • Characterization • relationship assessment, attributed authorities and knowledges	implications • voices in concept creation • citizens as representative • who receives which role/responsibility

Problem Definition & Framing
approaches & perspectives, problems & root causes of problems [3], point out existing marginalization & hotspots

REFERENCES:
[1] Fung, 2006
[2] Nabatchi et al., 2012
[3] National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation, 2008 referred to in Nabatchi et al., 2012]
[4] Innes & Booher, 2004
[6] Weiksner et al., 2012

Categories; present
Sections, aspects; present
absent
absent
absent
new

Input for Planning [4;1]

Knowledge & Information "Expertise"

Perceived injustices, marginalizations

Needs, uses, observations

Local experiences & knowledge: problems, hotspot, conflicts, potentials and resources

Option Creation "Solution Support"

Solution ideas, option creation, innovation

Feedback & Opinion on Options "Decision Support"

Opinion, interest, preference, choices, priorities, wishes, fears, feedback [4; 3]

Dialogue & its Transformative Power

deliberation, preference development

defend own, social group's or collective needs

conflict resolution, creation of settlement agreements

Assist administration to overcome bounded rationality [2]; control process [6]

"Other Resources", "Implementation Support"

Citizens' capabilities, knowledge, skills, engagement , resources

representation of social group; presence legitimizes event

network

Provide support for a plan/proposal/policy; approval; trust

Feedback to participation event

Figure 23: Answer to RQ 1: Citizen input categories

Access to Information & Knowledge
- Process transparency
- Decision transparency
- Accessibility of information (simple language)
- information on legal, subject-specific, other constraints

Provide opportunities
- For deliberation, preference development
- inclusive spaces
- conflict resolution, creation of settlement
- For self-selected citizens to participate
- Sufficient time availability for learning processes
- Keep room for manoeuvre in planning process open to listen & to consider citizens; openness

Services
- Coordination amongst departments, Management & organization
- Actively outreaching invitation, citizen mobilization
- Identification of affected & target groups
- Decide on input required for planning, ask precise questions
- Acquirement of funds
- Professional staff, experts
- Moderation/mediation experts
- network
- documentation
- Publish justification and explanation of decisions
- Inform on other options and rights to influence decisions and shape neighborhood
- Gather & publish other citizen input to facilitate networking
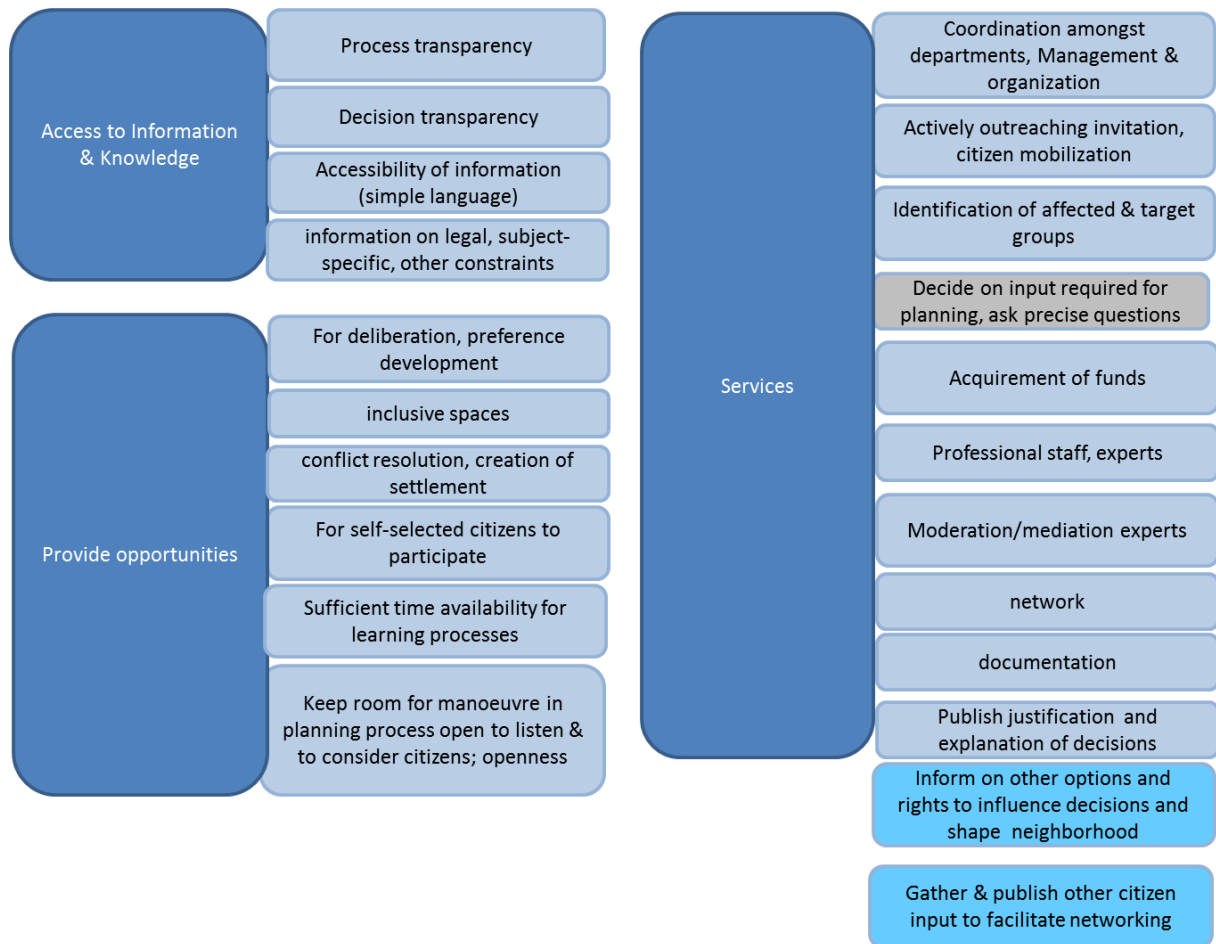
Figure 24: Answer to RQ 1: Administration input categories

Table 4: Operationalization of research approach.

Sub-questions	RQ1	RQ2	RQ3
Analytical quesitions	• explicit reference to the content of communication during participatory events; • implied input categories; • input category range	• explicit references to legitimacy; • implicit statements on transparency, • access to information for participation events, • roles, voices to citizens; • statements on inclusiveness, responsiveness, contact and dialogue; • ideas of representativeness and mandates; • RQ 1; • references on laws; • links of participation results to the decision-making processes	• References and knowledge sources; • RQ1 considered relevant; • RQ2 referred to • new institutions, principles and actor constellations; • production procedure • evaluation procedure; • text characterization and self-description
Results	• roles attributed; • participation rationality applied	• legitimacy concepts / rationality applied	• definitions of truth, knowledge, expertise; • restrict or control input to the discourse; • dynamics of institutionalization, structuration, compilation of text;
	Differences to formal participation		Approximation or cognitive shift
	Differences to participation theory		Kind of relationship facilitated
	Measures to improve relationship: communication content, validity & integrative debate & change of context conditions		