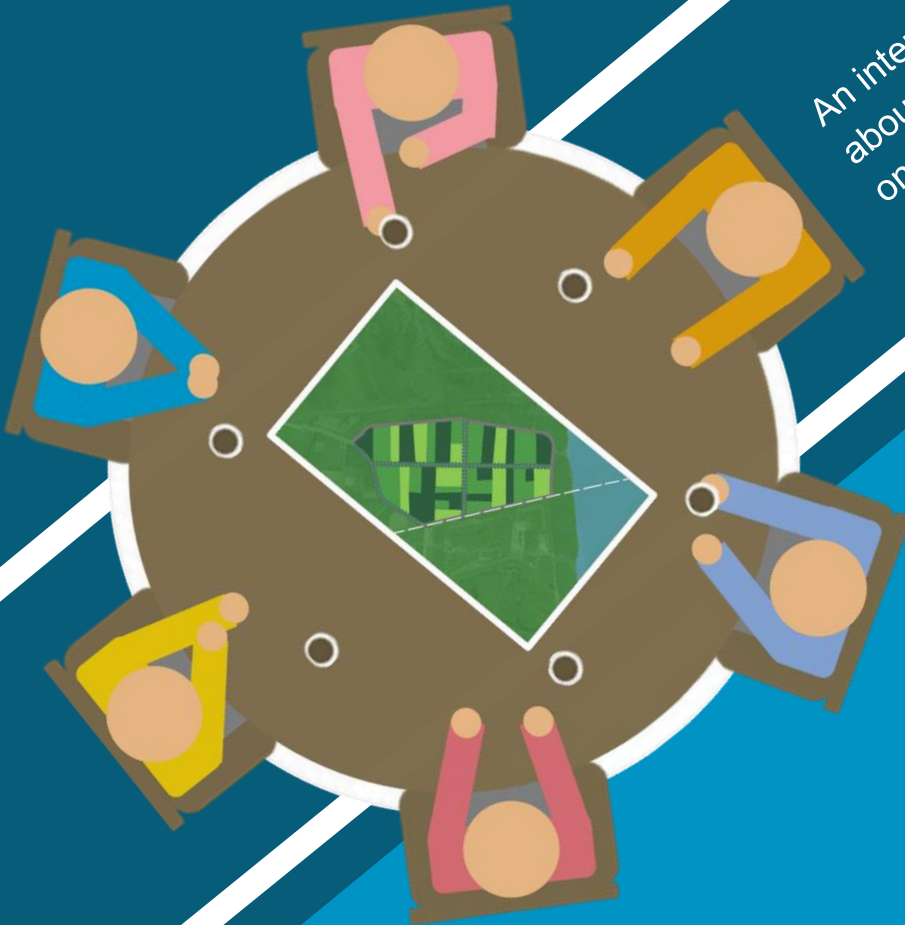


Putting the perspective
of the citizen
back into
citizen participation
research

*An interpretive case study
about the citizens' perspective
on citizen participation based
on heuristics*



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Gemeente Mook en Middelaar

Preface

Before you lies my master thesis *“Putting the perspective of the citizen back into citizen participation research: an interpretive case study about the citizens’ perspective on citizen participation based on heuristics”*, which is the end product of my master’s degree in Spatial Planning, specializing in planning, land and real estate development at the Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. The thesis is about citizen participation, a subject that always had my interest. This interest was fueled by my internship at the municipality of Mook and Middelaar. When I started there, the intention was to write a thesis about the process of creating a municipal environmental vision (Omgevingsvisie): one of the requirements of the new Environment and Planning Act. Since this was a long term requirement, however, other, short term requirements like formulating a citizen participation policy turned out to have more priority. This is why I chose to change the subject of my research into citizen participation: a subject that I found interesting, and was a more urgent matter. It made me feel like I could really contribute to (positively) changing the way the municipality works. Looking back, I am very happy that I got the opportunity to delve into the subject of citizen participation. Now that I am working at the municipality of Mook and Middelaar, I can really see how important it is to involve citizens. It creates more trust, it fosters creativity amongst citizens, and it prevents objections and reproaches afterwards.

This thesis is the result of a long and demanding process. It would not have been possible to finish it without the support and guidance of several people who I would like to thank.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor at the Radboud University, Henk-Jan Kooij. His feedback showed me that it is possible to step away from the common, prescribed path for doing research, and from using only regular research methods. It helped me to conduct this research in a way that actually worked for me personally. Even though I have been struggling a lot during the writing process, his support, patience and enthusiasm helped me to keep going forwards.

I would also like to thank my supervisor at the municipality of Mook and Middelaar, Mark Jansen, and my other colleagues there. Sparring with them helped me a lot during the writing process. It made me realize how important citizen participation is, which allowed me to see the real-life value of my research. It was nice to always have people to listen to my questions and to discuss the findings.

Special thanks to my family, friends, and especially to Roy for their unconditional support and patience. They were always there for me when I got stuck, and they have always had confidence that I would succeed eventually.

Lastly, I want to thank the respondents that participated in this research. Even though the circumstances were weird because of the Covid-19 pandemic, they were all hospitable and honest, which was very valuable for this research.

I wish you all a pleasant read!

Myron Albering

Summary

The new Environment and Planning Act that takes effect in 2024 obliges municipalities to formulate a citizen participation policy. Since there are no requirements or guidelines on how to do that, a lot of municipalities are struggling with it. Oftentimes, municipalities notice that there is a mismatch between citizen participation on paper and citizen participation in practice: even though all the necessary steps are taken and every prescribed criteria is met, citizens are not happy with how they were involved, and/or are unsatisfied with the outcome of the participation process. Existing academic literature and recommendations by government agencies focuses primarily on how to optimize participation on paper, while almost no research has been done on how to improve citizen participation in practice. Citizen participation in practice is more effective if it responds to the perspectives and expectations of the citizens. Therefore, this research wants to find out which perspectives on citizen participation there are amongst citizens, and to help municipalities identify and understand them.

A case study in the municipality of Mook and Middelaar was conducted, and two different participation processes were investigated. Ten citizens that were involved in these participation processes were interviewed about their experience. To prepare for that, a short desk research and two expert interviews were conducted, but the researcher mostly went in without any foreknowledge so that citizens were encouraged to tell their own story. By using the heuristic of grounded theory, every transcription was coded initially, a memo about the preliminary results and other thoughts about the research was kept, and theoretical sampling was used in new interviews. In order to operationalize 'the citizen', and to make sense of all the different perspectives, Cultural Theory was used to structure the initial codes. According to Cultural Theory, every social situation, including citizen participation, can be perceived by either one of four rationalities: egalitarianism, individualism, hierarchism, and fatalism. Every interview was divided into passages depending on the topic, tone and direction of the conversation, and every passage was either assigned one of these rationalities or declared not applicable for this research. The story of the egalitarian, individualist, hierarchist, and fatalist perspective on citizen participation was written based on code groups that were formed out of the initial codes in every rationality. Within every respondent, multiple rationalities were present. In Mook and Middelaar, the fatalistic rationality was the dominant rationality through which citizens perceived citizen participation; the egalitarian rationality was very common as well, just like the individualistic rationality; only the hierarchist rationality was not used very often.

The egalitarian perspective can be summarized as "I will participate because I find it important". Egalitarian citizens are close to, and care for their neighbors, they like to do things together, and encourage each other to take action. In participation processes, they prefer personal conversations, and find transparency and honesty important. They worry easily, and they are not afraid to express their worries and concerns. Egalitarian citizens want to be up to date at all times, and appreciate as much feedback as possible. They find local residents the most important stakeholders, and they want to set their own criteria for new developments. The most important thing is that they are listened to. Therefore, they propose a mediator to smoothen the participation process.

The individualistic perspective can be summarized as "I will only participate if that can benefit me personally". Individualistic citizens are not close to their neighbors, unless they need something from them. They do not want to unite, unless they have to. Individualistic citizens are proactive and assertive, but they will only speak up and participate if they are affected personally. They do not need to know everything, but they think that communication is important and can be improved. According to them, local residents are the key stakeholders, but they do not need to be involved in the early stages of plan making.

The hierarchist perspective can be summarized as “I will participate but I do not understand why”. Hierarchist citizens like to live by the rules, and they think that the municipality is the only one that should make the rules. They prefer honesty and transparency. Hierarchist citizens do not understand citizen participation, because the municipality knows everything best. According to them, there is no need for citizens to interfere or be involved. Most important for them is that participation gives you rights.

The fatalistic perspective can be summarized as “I do not want to participate”. Fatalistic citizens experience negative feelings all the time: they worry, feel misunderstood and unheard, frustrated, and foremost powerless. They think the municipality is inert and evil, and deliberately does not share certain information with them. They think citizen participation is a charade, and that participation processes are all fake: according to them, the municipality does not want citizens to be involved.

There are seven common aspects that were mentioned in every perspective: 1) the definition of citizen participation, 2) outsourcing participation, 3) how to participate, 4) information provision and communication, 5) processing citizen input (listening), 6) trust, and 7) organizational changes. Of course, the opinions on and recommendations for these aspects differ greatly between the aspects.

Aspects 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 are all expectations that citizens have for new participation processes. Together with aspects 6, trust, these expectations determine the willingness to participate in future participation processes. They contribute to an underlying theory that is applicable on all four perspectives: every perspective on citizen participation depends on trust and expectations derived from earlier experiences. These expectations and the level of trust might change after a new experience with citizen participation, and this might change the willingness to participate as well. It is actually an ongoing iterative process. Municipalities can do justice by every perspective on citizen participation by keeping this iterative process in mind while formulating a citizen participation policy. It is important to find out how much trust there is, and what citizens' expectations are. The only way to do that, is to look at how they experienced previous participation processes.

A citizen participation policy will always be clumsy, because it can never be a perfect fit for every perspective. However, with this contribution to an underlying theory in mind, it will at least be informed by every citizens' perspective.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This first chapter provides an introduction of the research. It starts with the motivation and the research problem statement. After that, the research aim will be set out, followed by the research question(s). Then the societal and scientific relevance of the research will be discussed. The chapter ends with an outline of the rest of the research.

1.1 Research problem statement

1.1.1 Background

On the 16th of June, 2014, the Dutch government introduced the new Environment and Planning Act. Its aim is to integrate and simplify environmental and planning laws. Multiple policy areas with their own rules will be bundled into one new law. The general idea is that this integration of regulations will lead to simpler administrative processes and procedures (Informatiepunt Leefomgeving, 2023). This should make it easier for citizens and authorities to understand policies and comply with regulations. More decision-making power is devolved to the local level, so that provinces and municipalities will gain more authority in planning and environmental issues. All of this goes hand in hand with the use of new digital tools and applications that should make it easier to access information and that should facilitate communication between authorities and citizens.

It is understandable that municipalities find it hard to incorporate the new Environment and Planning Act, including all new policy instruments that come with it. The fact that the entry date has been postponed multiple times proves that most municipalities are not yet well enough prepared and equipped to start to work with it. The new law comprises a paradigm shift in all policy fields that are concerned with the physical living environment: it prescribes a whole new way of working for civil servants in these fields. They are forced to work together, to coordinate procedures while there are more actors involved than before, and to judge new initiatives in a more integrated way.

One of the greatest challenges of the new Environment and Planning Act has to do with one of its key objectives: citizen participation. Authorities are obliged to set up a participation policy that encourages transparency and engagement with citizens during decision-making processes. According to the VNG (2023), it is about giving citizens more trust and influence, which implies a new and different distribution of responsibilities. Comprehensive spatial plans call for an inclusive decision-making process, in which not only authorities have decision-making power, but also the people that are somehow affected by the decision. The Environment and Planning Act does not provide a framework or guidelines for municipalities on how to organize citizen participation. Municipalities are free to give their own interpretation, meaning that they have to decide for themselves what choices they make in setting up a participation process.

1.1.2 The current situation

A lot of municipalities already have some rules or guidelines on how to involve citizens in decision-making processes. The 'Monitor citizen participation 2018'¹ shows that 53,9% of the municipalities has a formal memorandum on citizen participation (ProDemos, 2018). Most municipalities used 'open' participation methods like information evenings (97,8%) and surveys (70%), but 'selective' methods like citizen panels (34,8%) and selective surveys (44,8%) were also used (ibid). Overall, municipalities are willing to apply citizen participation into their daily workings. In 2022, 75% of all the Dutch municipal governments indicated in

¹ There is a new monitor citizen participation (2023), but this monitor is not published yet.

their coalition agreements that they intend to do 'something' with citizen participation (Berenschot & VNG, 2023). Applying citizen participation methods to some separate initiatives, however, is not the same as writing a formal citizen participation policy. The obligation to write a formal policy forces municipalities to really think about a long term vision on whether, how and when they want to involve citizens to make their plans and policies better. Legalizing citizen participation in a policy (framework), memorandum, or directive means that citizens can derive rights from it. An actual overview from Parolo (2023) shows that there are still a lot of municipalities in which citizen participation is not legalized². Some municipalities do have policy frameworks, memoranda or directives on citizen participation, but these are not Environment and Planning Act-proof yet. There are also municipalities that just set up a new policy, but they did not evaluate whether it is successful or not. Clearly, a lot of municipalities are still struggling with it.

For smaller municipalities, their limited financial and human resources are the biggest problem (Ianiello et al, 2019). They do have closer community engagement and flexibility than medium-sized and large municipalities though, which makes it easier to have intimate relationships and close communication lines with their citizens. For medium-sized municipalities, the biggest problem is to balance the resources that they have. Their population is more diverse so there are more different interests and needs to please, but resources are still not as abundant as in larger municipalities (ibid). For large municipalities it is hard to engage and represent every community, and even though they have more resources, they also have more bureaucratic structures and hierarchies, which may slow down the decision-making process (ibid).

1.1.3 The mismatch between theory and practice

A lot has been written about citizen participation. Multiple studies were conducted that offered conclusions and recommendations on how to organize and improve citizen participation (Voorberg et al., 2014; Brody et al, 2003; Bryson et al., 2012; Honingh et al., 2020; Schafer, 2018). The 'Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten' (2019 and 2023) also provided a cheat sheet, a general guideline, memoranda for different target audiences like municipal management and council members, and a general guidance document (Berenschot and VNG, 2023). Next to that, 'Informatiepunt Leefomgeving' and 'Aan de slag met de Omgevingswet' (2023) also provide a lot of information on citizen participation. Most of these studies and publications assume it is best to use an objective, and fixed model for citizen participation. Even one of the earliest and widely known authors on the subject of citizen participation, Sherry Arnstein, presents citizen participation as making a choice between one of the steps on a ladder (1969). These studies all constrain themselves by using systematic and fixed prescriptions of the citizen participation process. Some authors, like Ianiello et al (2019), do point at some obstacles for citizen participation, and state the importance of making choices dependent on contextual factors. Stringer et al (2006) argue that every organization has a different social, political, and institutional situation, which means that every organization might need a different form of participation. Hurlbert and Gupta (2015) acknowledge this and recognize the necessity of different degrees of citizen participation, depending on the nature of the problem, the nature of learning needed, the relevance of trust and information flow, and whether management or governance is desirable. Although these studies look beyond organizational arrangements and process management patterns, they still fail to see the possibility of dynamic instead of fixed processes. They assume that it is eventually possible to define one citizen participation policy that works for everyone.

On the contrary, following these recommendations often leads to a mismatch between methods and expectations, or between participation on paper and participation in practice.

² Every municipality is present in this overview, but it does not provide a specific percentage of how many municipalities did or did not legalize citizen participation. An educated guess is that about 35% of the Dutch municipalities did not legalize citizen participation yet.

From the perspective of the government or municipality, the citizen participation process is considered a success if the prescribed steps are followed and a decision has been reached on a certain plan or policy. For citizens, however, the definition of a successful participation process might be totally different, which is why not everyone will agree that it was a success. Some of them might even consider it a failure. Policy controversies like this happen a lot: they are the product of competing and contradictory public values (Nabatchi, 2012). Citizen participation can actually be a useful instrument to help administrators understand policy conflicts and dilemmas. However, all of the studies and recommendations that were mentioned earlier focus on the perspective of the government, and ignore the expectations from the ones involved in citizen participation processes, namely *the citizens*. Citizen participation is likely to be more efficient and effective if it is not only legitimized by policy makers, but also by participants (Lane, 2005). Despite that, not much attention has been given to what citizens find important in a citizen participation process, even though they are the subject of it (Nabatchi, 2012). Because of this lack of (academic) attention, there are few recommendations that help governments identify and understand the perspective of the citizen. Without such recommendations, it is hard for municipalities to formulate a successful citizen participation policy; that is, a citizen participation policy that matches the citizens' perspectives and expectations on citizen participation.

1.2 Research aim and questions

1.2.1 Research aim

As can be read above, this research is based on the assumption that a successful citizen participation policy does not necessarily provide one solution that fits all cases - which is impossible - and does not have to rely on prescribed and fixed models. Hartmann (2012) argues that although most policies will always be clumsy, they can still be successful as long as they respond to the perspectives of all the parties that are involved. A citizen participation policy can thus be successful if it responds to citizens' perspectives and expectations. This realization does not help municipalities much, until they know what these perspectives are. Therefore, the aim of this research is twofold. It wants to find out what different perspectives on citizen participation there are on the one hand, and it wants to provide municipalities with some recommendations on how to identify and understand these perspectives better on the other hand. This might help municipalities in formulating a citizen participation policy that complies with the new Environment and Planning Act.

1.2.2 From a general aim to specific questions

Since it is beyond the scope of this research to study every municipality in the Netherlands, a case study in the municipality of Mook and Middelaar was conducted. Two cases were investigated³. Mook and Middelaar is one of the smallest municipalities in the Netherlands. It has a small civil service, and limited financial resources, which is why they do not have a citizen participation policy yet. The municipality consists of four smaller villages that each have their own identity. The municipality finds it hard to make sense of all the different opinions on citizen participation.

In order to meet the research aim, citizens of Mook and Middelaar were asked about previous, real world experiences with citizen participation processes. To make sense of all the different opinions, their stories will be structured according to Cultural Theory (CT). In chapter three the argumentation for this theory will follow. CT is a social-constructivist theory that is based on the idea that there are four ways - or 'rationalities' - to perceive social situations, namely:

³ More on these specific cases can be found in the methodology.

- 1) Egalitarianism
- 2) Individualism
- 3) Hierarchism
- 4) Fatalism

In the egalitarian perspective, values like solidarity, community, unanimity, and equality of condition are important; in the individualistic perspective, it is all about self-reliance, individual freedom, individual responsibility, and equality of opportunity; in the hierarchist perspective, only one thing is important, namely a strong, stable, expert-led and synergistic regulation of the betterment of all; and in the fatalistic perspective it is about power struggle, mutual distrust, atomization, social exclusion, and cynicism (Schoop et al, 2020)⁴. Since citizen participation is a social situation as well, it can be perceived through either one of the four rationalities, which means that four different stories, or perspectives, about citizen participation can be told. See chapter two for a more elaborate discussion on Cultural Theory.

1.2.3 Research questions

In order to meet the research aim, there is one main question that needs to be answered:

What different perspectives on citizen participation are there amongst the citizens of Mook and Middelaar, and (how) does a better understanding of these perspectives help the municipality in formulating a new citizen participation policy?

The following sub questions are posed in order to be able to answer the main question:

- 1) *What story do egalitarian respondents tell about the citizen participation process they were in and concerning citizen participation in general?*
- 2) *What story do individualistic respondents tell about the citizen participation process they were in and concerning citizen participation in general?*
- 3) *What story do hierarchist respondents tell about the citizen participation process they were in and concerning citizen participation in general?*
- 4) *What story do fatalistic respondents tell about the citizen participation process they were in and concerning citizen participation in general?*
- 5) *What characterizes fatalists, egalitarians, individualists, and hierarchists, and what similarities and differences are there in their perspective on citizen participation?*

1.3 Societal relevance

Citizen participation is nothing new. It has been on the agenda from local, regional, national and even multi-national organizations and governments for many years. It takes many different forms and is used in many different ways. Sadly, it is difficult to translate examples of successful participation processes to a new case. Not only because the context and circumstances might be different, but also because there are always other actors involved. In the field of spatial planning, most plans and policies on the physical living environment are called 'wicked' problems (Rittel and Webber, 1973, p. 160). These problems are not only undefinable, but also interrelated. One of the properties that make spatial planning problems wicked, is that different groups of individuals hold different values. Most governments have experience with involving specific interest groups (the 'greens', religious groups,

⁴ More on the four rationalities can be found in the theoretical framework.

corporations, etc.), and they know what to expect when these actors are involved in a participation process. Involving citizens in general is a lot harder, because it is difficult to say who these citizens are exactly, and what their perspectives on citizen participation are. It is crucial to gain insight in what these citizens expect from a citizen participation policy. Without knowing that, one of the most important goals of setting up a citizen participation policy - empowering citizens - will never be reached.

A lot of research in the field of sociology has been conducted on the question 'who is the citizen?' (Dufrasne and Patriarche, 2011; Ghose, 2005). For example, Ghose (2005) argues that citizenship is based on multiple political and socio-cultural locally contingent factors like history, religion, ethnicity, language, etcetera, that affect citizenship (p. 72). A successful citizen participation policy should take all these different citizens into consideration. That is hard, however, because there are so many ways to operationalize 'the citizen', and the composition of citizens that is involved in a participation process might differ from case to case. This research tries to create more insight on who 'the citizen' is by structuring the different perspectives on citizen participation according to Cultural Theory. The egalitarian, individualistic, hierarchist, and fatalistic perspective on citizen participation are not only present in Mook and Middelaar though, but also in every other neighborhood, village, city, or even country. These perspectives on citizen participation might be applicable to other cases as well. The findings of this research might not only provide the municipality of Mook and Middelaar with guidance in how to define a new participation policy; they might also help other governments or organizations that are struggling to legalize citizen participation. The study creates more insight into how 'the citizen' thinks about citizen participation. This insight can be valuable for anyone that wants a better understanding of citizen participation processes.

1.4 Scientific relevance

This research firstly wants to contribute to other research on citizen participation in a way that Nabatchi (2012) wanted to contribute to public values research. It aims to step away from fixed models on citizen participation, in order to find out how to put citizens back into citizen participation research. Visser et al (2019) argue that a lot of academic literature on citizen participation focuses on the role of government, because citizen participation is firstly meant to enable the decision-making process. According to Nabatchi (2012), however, enabling the decision-making process is only the end goal, and it can only be achieved if citizens actually feel empowered. Fung (2015) argues that the effect of participation on legitimacy is still unclear, and that this will remain the case until the public is put back into governance.

Like Nabatchi, there are other authors that tried to do something similar in other research fields. Tritter and McCallum (2006) try to move beyond the static image of Arnstein's ladder as well, but in relation to user involvement in health. They point to the value of different relevant forms of knowledge and expertise, and to the fact that for some users, participation itself may be a goal. Another example is the research of Rosen and Painter (2019) who describe a co-production participation model for inclusive participation - one that requires adaptive and enduring processes - in order to move beyond Arnstein's ladder. However, they focus on political and economic power relationships between authorities and the community as a whole, instead of looking more closely at what the different people in that community want and need. In the field of spatial planning, there's a lack of studies on citizen participation that focus on the perspective of the citizen.

Next to that, this research also tries to contribute to the existing knowledge on Cultural Theory and its applicability in the field of spatial planning and the concept of citizen participation. More and more researchers acknowledge the existence of plural rationalities within society, and point to the dilemmas in spatial planning that arise as a result of that (de

Roo & Silva, 2010; Davy, 2008; Hartmann, 2011 and 2012; Hartmann & Jehling, 2019; Verweij & Thompson, 2006; Ney & Verweij, 2015).

However, not many studies have been conducted that apply Cultural Theory to spatial planning processes. Some examples are Verweij (2017), who tried to explain the restoration of the Rhine by looking at plural rationalities in regional water politics, and Hartmann and Jehling (2019) who tried to unravel pluralistic rationalities in urban design.

Even less studies directly link the existence of plural rationalities to the concept of citizen participation. Dang (2018) and Grendstad et al (2003) apply Cultural Theory to participatory processes in the field of environmental governance. However, they look at large groups of people - or even countries in the case of Dang's research - and they look at multiple cultural factors and predispositions. Hartmann and Jehling (2012) use Cultural Theory to operationalize citizens and they look at participation processes, which is why their paper comes closest to this research. It provides recommendations on how to combine citizens' motives to participate with the purpose of the participation process in order to resolve wicked planning problems. The paper is not based on any empirical evidence though, and is written in the form of an essay. Besides the motives, they do not discuss how the different rationalities feel about different aspects of a participation process.

This research highlights the different perspectives that shape participation on the local and individual level, based on real world experiences. Brownill and Parker (2010, p. 279) already mention that it is important to reveal and explore people's experiences, in order to improve the understanding of regional and local instances of participation. There is a need for new theoretical understanding and reflection on why most examples of citizen participation have such different outcomes.

1.5 Thesis outline

The following chapter, chapter 2, provides the theoretical framework of this research. It elaborates on the concepts of citizen participation and Cultural Theory. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology of the research: it introduces the philosophy, research strategy, and research methods. Chapter 4, 5, 6, and 7 contain the findings of the research. Chapter 4 is about the egalitarian perspective on citizen participation, chapter 5 is about the individualist perspective on citizen participation, chapter 6 is about the hierarchist perspective on citizen participation, and chapter 7 is about the fatalistic perspective on citizen participation. Chapter 8 compares the different perspectives, and elaborates on the differences and similarities. The conclusion can be found in chapter 9. This chapter includes a proposed contribution to a new underlying theory. Finally, chapter 10 provides a reflection on this research, and some recommendations for further research and for the municipality of Mook and Middelaar and/or other municipalities.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the most important academic literature related to this research. There are two important theoretical concepts that are on the basis of this research: citizen participation and Cultural Theory.

The first paragraph elaborates on the relevant literature about citizen participation. Wagenaar (2011, p. 250) argues that conceptual knowledge is always a world of confusion until the results of the field work will make sense of it. Since the conclusion of this research brings about a whole new theory on citizen participation, the relevant literature that will be discussed in this chapter is limited to some background information on why citizen participation became such a widely accepted method of governance, on the definition of citizen participation, and about why citizen participation is supposed to be important.

The second paragraph elaborates on the existing literature about Cultural Theory. It starts with explaining where Cultural Theory comes from, and what its most important assumptions are. After that, the four 'rationalities' from this theory will be explained more in depth.

2.2 Citizen participation

2.2.1 The rise of citizen participation in spatial planning

Over time, citizen participation has become a widely accepted method of governance. That has not always been the case. For this research to make sense, and in order to understand why the new Environment and Planning Act made citizen participation such an important topic, it is important to understand how and why citizen participation became a central future of making and implementing policy.

It is often said that the rise of attention for citizen participation goes hand in hand with the shift from government to 'governance', which is the result of the transformation of modern states. Within these modern states, new problems arose within the economic, political, and social spheres. To manage these new, complex and dynamic problems, a top-down planning by the state, and market-mediated anarchy are not efficient enough anymore (Jessop, 2002, p. 43). Governance is not only about the government anymore, but also about fluid action and layers of power in society. The nation state is 'hollowed out' and multi-level governance emerges (Rhodes, 1997). The rise of 'governance' can also be seen as a shift from technocratic decision-making to democratic decision-making. In technocratic decision-making, professional experts use technical knowledge, expertise, techniques, and methods to solve problems and make decisions, while in democratic decision-making, everyone that is affected by a decision gets the opportunity to contribute to the solution (DeSario and Langton, 1987). There are multiple forms of 'governance'. The most important one for this research is collaborative governance. In essence, governance can be semanticized as collaboration (Wang and Ran, 2023). The nature of governance signifies that both governmental and nongovernmental institutions are important, and that collaborative relationships are necessary to deliver public policies and services.

However, collaborative governance specifically grew out of the concern for participation of civil society in public governance. Collaborative governance is a governing arrangement in which one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process, and that is consensus-oriented and deliberative (Ansell and Gash,

2008, p. 544). It is based on trust, power-sharing, diversity, consensus, inclusiveness, and deliberativeness. There cannot be collaborative governance without citizen participation.

In today's modern and democratic states, citizen participation cannot be ignored anymore. In the field of spatial planning, this is particularly true. Citizen participation is largely determined by the nature of the planning enterprise being undertaken (Lane, 2005). Spatial planning is not only about technical issues, but about distributional and ethical issues as well. There is a range of approaches within the field of spatial planning that acknowledge the importance of citizen participation. In transactive planning, developed by Friedmann (1973), citizen participation is central to the planning method. Transactive planning is about face-to-face contact, interpersonal dialogue, and linking knowledge to action. Its objective is mutual learning. In order to decentralize institutions and empower people, citizen participation is not only a method anymore, it is also a goal to be attained (Friedmann and Kuester, 1994). There is also advocacy planning, in which public participation is a fundamental objective. Advocacy planning is about making unheard or invisible interests heard, and about accommodating them in the decision-making process (Mazziotti, 1982). Since there is no unitary public interest, only political plurality, planners should act as facilitators that stimulate the participation of inarticulate actors. Also in the bargaining model, the participation of interested citizens is fundamental. The bargaining model recognizes the political nature of planning, and the uneven distribution of power, but insists that the plural nature of most planning situations means that all participants in the bargaining process have the capacity to influence decisions (McDonald, 1989, p. 333). Citizen participation does not have a particular function, such as the provision of information to the planner. Instead, citizen participation is the principle ingredient, or central dynamic of decision-making. In communicative planning theory, there is also a substantial role for citizen participation. In communicative planning theory, it is not about individualized, and subject-oriented reasoning, but about inter-subjective communication (Healey, 1992). Communicative theory is based on Habermas' notion of communicative rationality, Dryzek's concept of discursive democracy, and Giddens' notion of dialogic democracy. Participation is fundamental in this theory, because in order to plan, one needs to communicate, to argue, to debate, and to engage in discourse. In communicative theory, planning is impossible without citizen participation.

2.2.2 Citizen participation in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, citizen participation has been discussed since the 1970s, when awareness for environmental issues rose, and new policies on environmental issues were made (RIVM, 2008). Before that, the Dutch democracy remained relatively stable. Society was divided along religious and socio-economic pillars, but the elites of these pillars were permanently looking for ways to cooperate. Lijphart (1979, p. 99) called this 'politics of accommodation', which means that politics was seen as serious business in which there were rules, and in which disputes did not stand in the way of getting things done. Citizens were passive and accepted the authority of the elites. After the depillarization, caused by broader movement for democratization, anti-traditionalism, and resistance to authority, and by the increase in education levels and the role of television, new social movements came to the front (Michels, 2006). Political participation, however, was still the privilege of highly educated men. Even though citizens made their voices heard through non-traditional forms of participation, the political elites remained wary of citizen participation. During the second half of the 1980s, there was a growing concern amongst politicians about a widening gap with the public, and there were some changes in the policymaking process: 1) social organizations and companies were becoming increasingly involved in defining policy problems and finding solutions, 2) there were national and subnational practices with interactive policymaking, public-private partnerships, and policy-networks emerged, 3) towns, hospitals, schools, and housing organizations were granted more authority to

determine their own policies, and 4) government organizations paid increasing attention to their transparency and accountability towards citizens (Michels, 2006, p. 329). Van Eijk (2014) distinguishes between three 'generations' of promoting citizen participation that have been implemented since then (which did not occur successively). The first generation represents measures based on 'inspraak', or making your voice heard, at the end of decision-making processes. The second generation represents measures based on 'inspraak' at the beginning of decision-making processes. The third generation represents measures that enable citizens to initiate policy discussions themselves (ibid.). The 'right to participate' has been legalized in the Constitutional Law, the Electoral Law, the General Administrative Law, and the Provincial and Municipal Law. Since 1994, article 150 of the Municipal Law obliges municipalities to have a consultation regulation (Kennispunt lokale politieke partijen, 2023). In 2019, the government announced a change in article 150. Municipalities should set up a participation regulation, instead of a consultation regulation. In this participation regulation must be described not only how citizens will be involved in preparing municipal plans and policies, but also how they are involved in executing and evaluating them. At the same time, the 'Right to Challenge' was announced. Through this Right to Challenge, citizens can take over municipal duties, if they think they can do it better, smarter or cheaper (ibid.). These developments occurred simultaneously with the attempt to strengthen citizen participation in the field of spatial planning through the new Environment and Planning Act.

2.2.3 The definition of citizen participation

Citizen participation is a very broad, and controversial concept. In academic literature, multiple definitions of participation can be found. The variety is due to the fact that in participation-related studies, the term 'citizen' is often replaced by other terms like 'public', 'community', or 'civic'. Similarly, instead of the term 'participation', other terms like 'involvement', 'empowerment', 'co-production', and more are used very often. Therefore, citizen participation can mean multiple things (Malek et al, 2019). One of the very first authors on the subject of citizen participation, Arnstein, sees citizen participation as a 'categorical term' for citizen power (1969). According to her, citizen participation is about having the power to make an impact on the outcome of a decision-making process. The World Bank defines citizen participation as a two-way interaction between citizens and governments (Luyet et al, 2012). In addition to that, Callahan (2007, p. 1181) defines citizen participation as an interaction between citizens and administrators that focuses on policy delivery and service delivery. According to him, citizen participation goes further than the electoral process: it is more than voting or contacting elected officials. Indeed, other authors agree that citizens are democratic participants that possess multiple rights, like voting, providing input, and defining policy goals (Simonofski et al, 2017). Taken these definitions together, citizen participation is about citizens having the power to exercise their right - in whatever form⁵ - to influence the outcome of a decision-making process about a certain policy and/or service.

Citizen participation can play a role in multiple policy areas. In this research, citizen participation in (spatial) planning processes is central. It is important to realize that decisions about spatial planning projects can have a direct impact on citizens. Therefore, the definition of Reed (2008) is valuable for this research as well. He describes citizen participation as a process in which citizens can choose to play an active role in decisions that they are affected by. This also suggests that not every citizen might find it necessary to exercise influence over spatial planning decisions: it is their decision when they choose to do so. In line with this train of thought, the definition of citizen participation that this research is based on, is an

⁵ There are too many degrees, forms and examples of citizen participation to elaborate on in this theoretical framework. It is not the goal of this research to test or evaluate existing forms of citizen participation, so it is not relevant to describe all the options here.

alteration on the definition from Visser et al (2019, p. 4): *“citizen participation is a process in which citizens can choose to exercise influence on spatial planning issues and/or decisions that they are affected by”*.

2.2.4 Why citizen participation?

There are many motives and reasons why governments would want to incorporate citizen participation in the decision-making process. Describing all of them is beyond the scope of this research. Therefore, three main rationales are distinguished and elaborated on. Democratic theory offers two rationales for citizen participation in decision making: 1) citizen participation is likely to produce better decisions, and 2) citizen participation is likely to produce better citizens (Pateman, 1970). Drazkiewicz, Challies and Newig (2015) add another rationale, namely that 3) citizen participation improves the quality of implementing decisions (p. 215-216).

Citizen participation is likely to produce better decisions, because multiple interests, ideas and experiences can be taken into account. Decisions will be more informed and accommodated, because the knowledge that they are based on is more complete and correctly articulated on the one hand, and more locally adjusted on the other hand (Innes and Booher, 2004, p. 422). Without citizen participation, some interests might not have been available, and relevant local knowledge might not have been included in the decision. Glucker et al (2013) argue that citizens have a better understanding about how certain policies work out in their neighborhood, simply because they experience the positive and negative consequences every day. It makes sense to incorporate these experiences, so that new policies and decisions can turn the negative experiences into positive ones. Citizen participation might also lead to more creative and innovative solutions (Drazkiewicz et al, 2015). Governments tend to do things like they are used to, whilst citizens think outside of the box more often. Citizens are not bound by existing rules and power relations, and can be more progressive (p. 214).

Citizen participation also improves the personal development of the participants. Because they take part in formulating and/or implementing decisions, citizens might feel more responsible for these decisions (Pateman, 1970). During a participation process, citizens might also learn a lot. They need to work together, resolve conflicts, and overcome conflicting interests (Glucker et al, 2013). Citizen participation might lead to ‘social learning’: a process in which social interaction leads to a better understanding of the problem, and therefore to a better solution (Webler et al, 1995). Lastly, citizen participation might also contribute to a more inclusive society. There are always certain groups - often the ones with the lowest voluntary participation grade - that feel left out, because they think that their problems are not public problems (Schneider and Ingram, 1993). At the same time, there are also groups that make themselves heard about every little thing. Involving a representative group of citizens might empower the more passive groups.

Citizen participation facilitates the process of implementing decisions as well. Since more diverse interests and concerns are accommodated through citizen participation, compliance is enhanced. Citizen participation is likely to enlarge public support, and to reduce the amount of objections (Hurenkamp and Tonkens, 2020). Innes and Booher (2004) also point to the fact that citizen participation might enhance the legitimacy for public decisions. They claim that citizen participation advances the fairness and justice of the decision-making process, which may increase acceptance (p. 423). Open and transparent communication contributes to that. Citizen participation might also lead to more appreciation of other people’s interests and capacities, which fosters cooperation and the creation of networks (Drazkiewicz et al, 2015). This might not only facilitate the implementation of the decision at hand; it also helps in creating long lasting partnerships and mutual trust that might be beneficial in future participation processes.

Multiple motives for incorporating citizen participation can be present at once. The rationale(s) largely depend(s) on the nature of the planning enterprise at hand. It depends on the definition of the planning problems, the types of knowledge that are necessary and used, and the planning and decision-making context (Lane, 2005, p. 284).

No matter what the definition of or motive for incorporating citizen participation is, there is one thing that is always present - or it would not have been called 'citizen' participation - namely citizens. But who are these citizens? Especially in big planning enterprises, the group of citizens that is involved may be diverse, and they might all expect something different from the citizen participation process that they are in. In order to make sense of these different expectations, the paragraph below elaborates on Cultural Theory, a theory that can help structure all the different and competing opinions.

2.3 Cultural Theory

2.3.1 What is Cultural Theory?

Cultural Theory is founded by Mary Douglas, an anthropologist. It is a social-constructivist theory. Together with Aaron Wildavsky, Douglas started developing a cultural theory of risk (Douglas and Wildavsky, 1983). Later on, other authors like Ellis and Thompson (1997), Schwarz and Thompson (1990) and Thompson et al (1990) developed the theory of risk to what we now know as Cultural Theory (CT). In its early years, the theory was called grid-group analysis, but the awareness grew that it was more than a method. CT is also called 'the theory of sociocultural viability' (Thompson et al, 1990). CT was brought to the field of spatial planning by Benjamin Davy (1997 and 2008).

The general idea behind CT is that every social situation can be described in terms of four 'cultures' or 'rationalities': individualism, egalitarianism, hierarchism, and fatalism. Social and political relations, actions, values, and beliefs within each of these rationalities are interdependent or related. These same relations, actions, values, and beliefs between the four rationalities are mutually contradictory, and jointly exhaustive (Schwartz and Thompson, 1990). This means that for people within a certain rationality, only their perspective is rational, whilst the other rationalities are irrational. All the rationalities are somehow present within every social situation. This is called the 'impossibility theorem' (Thompson et al, 1990, p. 87).

CT is a theory that enables researchers to analyze social interactions and cultural diversity without doing complicated ethnographic analyses (Hartmann and Jehling, 2019, p. 59). CT is therefore applicable to every social situation in the world. The different rationalities can be perceived or acted out by individuals, groups of individuals, or institutions. It is important to realize though, that the *rationalities should be assigned to situations, not to individuals, groups or institutions* (Davy, 2008). This means that someone's actions are influenced by certain situations, and not the other way around (situations are not determined by people's actions). The same individual, group, or institution can act out one rationality in one social situation, and another rationality in another social situation.

The four rationalities are based on a grid-and-group scheme (see figure 1). According to CT, every social action can be assigned to two interdependent dimensions: grid and group. While other social scientists think that grid and group are inversely related or lying on opposite ends of the same continuum, CT scholars think that the grid and group dimensions are independent of each other (Swedlow, 2014). More grid thus does not necessarily mean less group, or the other way around. The group dimension reflects the extent of

collectivization, or the extent to which people in a pattern of social relations make ‘us’ versus ‘them’ distinctions. It is about a person’s commitment to a social unit, and the extent to which that commitment constrains that person’s thought and action (Gyawali et al, 2016). The grid dimension reflects the extent of individual autonomy, or the extent to which individuals in a pattern of social relations are free from externally imposed structure, rules and regulations, and prescription. It is about a person’s ability to be free to act as they want (Swedlow, 2014, p. 469). Together, the grid and group dimensions form a diagram with two axes and four quadrants:

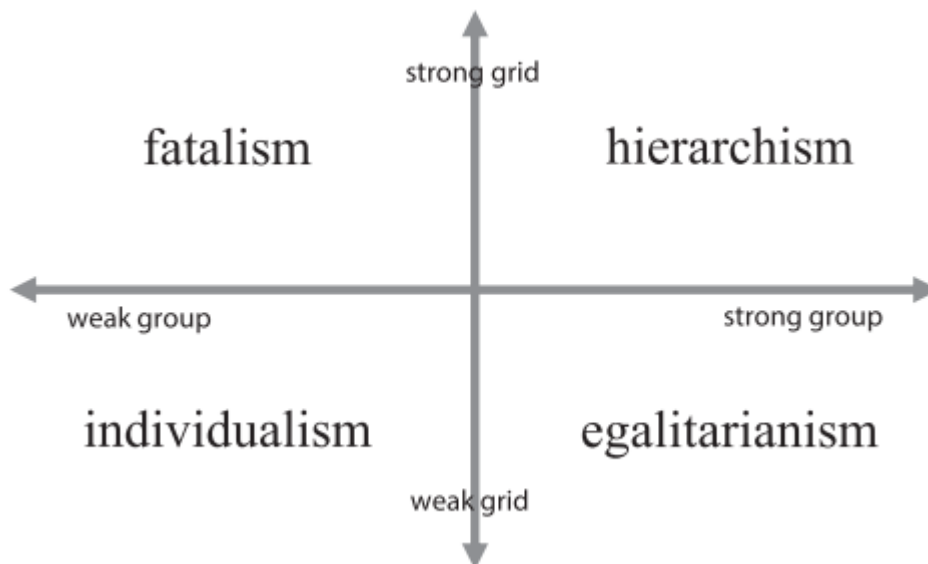


Figure 1: The rationalities of Cultural Theory ('grid and group' scheme)
 Derived from Hartmann and Jehling (2012, p. 60)

Each rationality can be described by a combination of the two dimensions.

2.3.2 Egalitarianism

The egalitarian rationality has a strong group and weak grid. It assumes that humans are essentially altruistic and caring, but also corruptible by money, status and power (Verweij, 2011). It sees justice as equality of condition, and sees risk as something that needs to be minimized. It rejects authority, because complete equality of condition can only be achieved by a life without coercion or authority (Wildavsky, 1987). Reduction of differences (between race, income levels, gender, age, etc.) is preferred.

People in this rationality want to retain their autonomy by giving everyone an equal voice in collective decisions. They decide together (Swedlow, 2014). The egalitarian rationality has a strong emphasis on the community, which means that governmental interventions and/or market schemes are neglected. They like to live a life of minimal prescription, but they are part of collectives as well. As a member of a group, they are bound by group decisions. This means that governments can intervene in economic differences, but not in social life (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 7). They would like to see less law and regulation, and more consensus and cooperation in spatial planning (Hartmann and Jehling, 2019).

2.3.3 Individualism

The individualistic rationality has a weak group and weak grid. It assumes that humans are intelligent and informed, but also egocentric and materialistic (Verweij, 2011). It sees justice as equality of opportunity, and sees risk as an opportunity to be more efficient. Competition and self-regulation are important in this rationality (Wildavsky, 1987). Equal opportunity is important to facilitate arrangements with a minimum of external interference. Social and economic intervention are unnecessary.

People in this rationality want to retain their autonomy by making individual choices. They decide for themselves (Swedlow, 2014). People within their individualistic rationality see themselves as part of networks. These networks can represent either big or small groups of individuals, because power differences are common in individualistic relations. Between networks, they favor bidding and bargaining in order to reduce the need for authority (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 6). They prefer minimum authority. They want just enough authority to maintain rules for transactions. They do not reject authority: if authorities do not bother them, they will not bother them either. The individualistic rationality prefers market approaches instead of regulations and/or collaborative governance, and could be called a libertarian rationality (Hartmann and Jehling, 2019).

2.3.4 Hierarchism

The hierarchist rationality has a strong group and strong grid. It assumes that humans are sinful without some form of imposed guidance and restraints, and that they are highly differentiated when it comes to morals and intelligence (Verweij, 2011). It sees justice as those at the top aiding those at the bottom, and sees risk as something that needs to be managed. Inequality is justified because specialization and division of labor enables people to live together with greater harmony and effectiveness than some alternative arrangements do (Wildavsky, 1987). It has a sacrificial ethic: separate parts are supposed to sacrifice themselves for the whole. Therefore, it favors redistributive measures, even if that means that governments need to intervene in matters of personal morality.

People in this rationality do not need to retain their autonomy: they prefer structured, and highly organized relations, in which their individual identities are subsumed in organizational roles. Decisions are made by the proper authority (Swedlow, 2014).

The hierarchist rationality prefers rules and regulation as mode of governance, and therefore finds the integrity of institutions very important (Hartmann and Jehling, 2019). These institutions do not need to be official (governmental) authorities, it can be every institution that fits within a prescribed system, like a school, sport club, or a hospital. Authorities must be respected, because equalization of status destroys hierarchy (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 7).

2.3.5 Fatalism

The fatalistic rationality has a weak group and a strong grid. It assumes that humans are unpredictable, deceitful, and amoral (Verweij, 2011). It sees justice as everything that is necessary for survival, and sees risk as something that cannot be eradicated, so it should be shed unto others. This rationality assumes that there is no control over what happens.

People in this rationality are tenuous and capricious. They think that retaining autonomy is not possible, because it is always others that decide (Swedlow, 2014). The fatalistic rationality can be called 'passive', and it prefers a 'laissez-faire' governance approach. Every social situation is complex, and unpredictable, which is why this rationality feels powerless to take action or to influence the rules (Hartmann and Jehling, 2019). They see no point in having an opinion on public policies, because whatever they think or prefer, will not matter anyway. They do not need to know anything, except what others tell them to do: they are

prescribed to, not prescribing (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 7). Their number one response to almost everything is apathy.

In the next chapter, the methodology of this research will be discussed. It will become clear that some theoretical knowledge on citizen participation was necessary in order to prepare for the (expert) interviews, and theoretical knowledge on Cultural Theory was necessary in order to conduct the deductive coding step.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Following the theoretical aspects that were set out in the previous chapter, this chapter will set out the methodological approach that was used in this research. First, the research philosophy is set out. Then, the research strategy will be discussed. Within this research strategy, the concept of 'heuristics' instead of methods is introduced. Next, the methods to collect and process the data are discussed. The chapter ends with some considerations on validity and reliability, and on research ethics.

3.1 Philosophy

It is not possible to write a methodological chapter without defining the paradigm of the research. A paradigm is a set of basic beliefs, also called metaphysics, that deals with ultimate or first principles (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 107). A paradigm is the result of the answers to three interconnected questions, namely the ontological, the epistemological, and the methodological question (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p. 4). The ontological question is about the form and nature of reality; the epistemological question is about the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known; and the methodological question is about how the researcher is going to find out what he or she believes can be known (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The questions are interrelated, which means that answering one question limits the way the other questions can be answered.

This research has a relativist ontology. The underlying assumption of a relativist ontology is that reality exists in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). Cultural Theory assumes that in a certain situation, every individual perceives or acts according to one of the four rationalities that were discussed in the previous chapter. This is a relativist assumption, because it suggests that there are multiple versions of the truth. This is in line with what Moses and Knutsen (2023, p. 10) argue, namely that individual or social characteristics might obscure or facilitate a given perception of the world.

Knowledge can be understood as the product of how the researcher gathers and interprets the information that he got from his research object (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 111). The researcher and his research object are interactively linked, which makes research findings subjective in the sense that they can be understood in different ways, depending on the researcher's interpretation. The data from this research is gathered by conducting interviews, and processed by inductive, and deductive coding. Both could have gone differently under different circumstances, or when they were done by another researcher.

Lastly, this research has a hermeneutical and dialectical methodology. Citizens all have a different understanding, or *Verstehen*, of citizen participation, which makes them think and act differently from each other. The point of the research is to make sense of these different opinions. Interaction with respondents can elicit and refine individual constructions, which should lead to a final consensus construction that is not better, but more informed and sophisticated than previous constructions (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 111).

Taken together, the underlying paradigm of this research is social constructivism. Constructivists argue that objective knowledge and truth are the result of perspective. The constructivist paradigm is based on the interpretivist paradigm. Interpretivists believe that knowledge is socially constructed, and therefore discovered by the mind. Constructivists go further, and argue that knowledge and truth are not only discovered, but also created by the mind (Schwandt, 1998, p. 236). In social constructivism, the focus is on the collective

generation of meaning, as shaped by social processes. Subdividing the opinions of citizens into four groups of collective meanings - the four rationalities of Cultural Theory - is a way of making sense of individual understandings about citizen participation.

3.2 Research strategy

According to van Thiel (2014), it is important to set out a research strategy. The research strategy is the overall guideline for the research, a logical procedure that must be followed. The research strategy depends on several considerations, like the subject of the study, the research aim, and what is already known about the research topic.

3.2.1 In-depth qualitative and inductive research

Interpretive and constructivist research often goes hand in hand with qualitative research methods. According to Creswell (2009), qualitative research is a means to investigate social problems by exploring and understanding the meaning that individuals (or groups) ascribe to the problem at hand. The research aim of this research is to understand and make sense of all the different perspectives on citizen participation that citizens of Mook and Middelaar have. Especially the understanding part of this research aim fits with a qualitative research design. Qualitative research is about more than observing, documenting and analyzing data, it is also about interpreting and understanding the data.

The research has an in-depth character in the sense that it is about getting a thick, detailed description of these different perspectives. It is not possible to fully understand every perspective and the differences between the different perspectives, without an elaborate description of every aspect of citizen participation that is found to be important. Every relevant remark⁶, no matter how small they were, is included in the four perspectives, in order to present the full story. As a result - but in order to do justice to the research's in-depth and qualitative character - the word count of this research is on the high side.

Interpretative research also often employs an inductive approach. An inductive approach starts with data and tries to derive a theory about the phenomenon of interest from the observed data (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 35). According to Wagenaar (2011, p. 267) an explanatory theory is a system of dynamic relationships within a research domain, as enacted by the research subject that constitutes the research problem. In this research, the research subjects are the citizens of Mook and Middelaar, and the research problem is the lack of information on their perspectives about citizen participation. Any explanatory theory should therefore provide something new and interesting about the different perspectives on citizen participation. This research tries to make sense of these different perspectives by using Cultural Theory in order to tell four new stories (the egalitarian, the fatalistic, the individualistic, and the hierarchist story on citizen participation).

3.2.2 Case study research

This research is a case study research on citizen participation in the municipality of Mook and Middelaar. Case study research is an in-depth investigation of a problem in one or more real-life settings over an extended period of time (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 40). Its main advantage is its high applicability to human situations and the context of real life, which is why they are widely used in interdisciplinary areas (Ferreira et al, 2020). Case studies offer an in-depth understanding of a problem in which multiple opinions and variables can be taken into account. This makes the case study suitable for this research as well.

⁶ A remark was considered relevant if it was mentioned by more than one respondent in the same perspective.

In this research, only citizens that have experience with the 'problem' at hand, namely citizen participation, were included. The concept of citizen participation is not easy to grasp for citizens that do not have any experience with it. In order to keep the conversation going and to make sure that citizens would tell their own story, only 'experienced' citizens were chosen as respondents.

There are two cases that were investigated for this research. Both cases are spatial developments within the municipality of Mook and Middelaar. In both cases, citizen participation was applied before the final plans were approved. In order to prepare for the interviews it was necessary to get some background information on these cases. This background information was retrieved by desk research and expert interviews with civil servants that were involved.



Figure 2: Location of the Groesbeekseweg case development site in Mook

The first case is the redevelopment of the old Rabobank-building in Mook into eighteen apartments (see figure 2). Originally, the destination plan did not allow for apartments on the first floor, and the maximum building height was ten meters. A change in destination was necessary to realize the new plans, and the municipality asked the developer to take the lead in involving the local residents in this process. The new destination plan 'Groesbeekseweg 19, Mook' has a paragraph about dialogue with local residents, and about how they were involved in the realization of the plans (Buro SRO, 2021). There was a dialogue with local residents that lasted from the 17th to the 25th of January 2019 (Herrendal Staete, 2019). During this period, the developer visited eight local residents in their homes to talk about the sketch plan. According to the municipality and the developer, these conversations, together with discussions with other advisory bodies, led to a change in the plans. The number of apartments was reduced from 23 to 18, and the design and architectural style changed as well. The new plans were presented at an information evening on the 18th of June, 2019. Local residents got a personal invitation, but there was also a public notice in the local newspaper, claiming that everyone that was interested in the plans was welcome. People got the opportunity to submit a written response to the new plans. Two responses were received, one from a direct neighbor, and one from a new interest group that called themselves 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber'. According to the developer, the questions in these responses were answered, and negative feedback was refuted

(Herrendal Staete, 2019). There were no changes in the plans anymore. The final plans led to five formal objections. One of these objections led to a change in the explanatory part of the destination plan; the other objections were refuted.

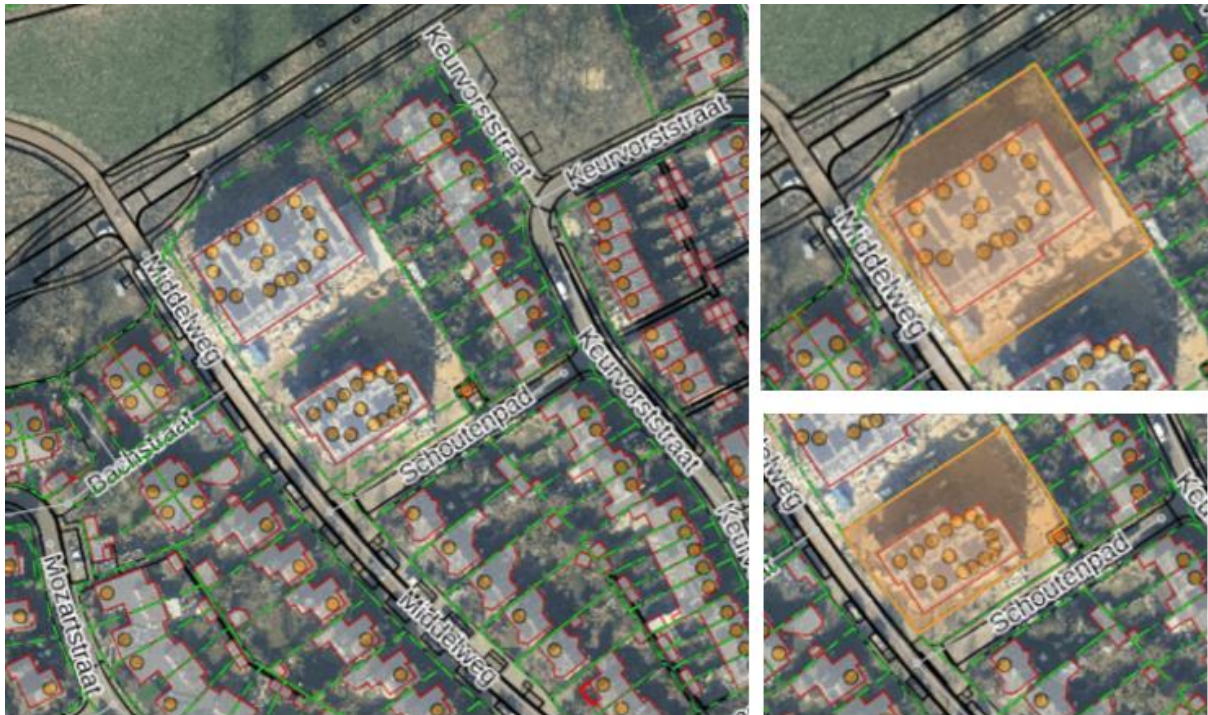


Figure 3: Location of the Middelweg case development site in Molenhoek

The second case is the redevelopment of the old gas station in Molenhoek into two apartment buildings: one with rental apartments, and one with owner-occupied apartments (see figure 3). Originally, the destination plan only allowed for companies and existing company houses. Just like in the other case, a change in destination was necessary, and the municipality asked the developer to take the lead in involving local residents in this process. In the new destination plan, 'Middelweg 100, Molenhoek' there is a paragraph about the dialogue with local residents (Kubiek Ruimtelijke Plannen, 2021). Because of the Covid-19 pandemic, the developer invited every local resident separately to come and see the sketch plan in September 2020. The comments and worries that came to the front during these conversations, were integrated in the final plans. There is a chart in the new destination plan that summarizes every comment and the associated adjustment (ibid.). Most of the adjustments were about public space (greenery, flood prevention, and parking spots), but there were also some adjustments to the design of the building (different balconies and terraces, and indoor storage areas). In November and December of 2020, the developer invited local residents again to come and see the changes between the sketch and the final plans, and he gave an explanation if that was necessary. There were no formal objections to the final plan.

These case descriptions reflect the story of the municipality and the developer(s). It is information that was already known before the research was conducted. This research aims to find out if citizens will have the same story, or if they experienced things differently.

3.2.3 Heuristics instead of methods

The strategy in this interpretive research is in line with what Wagenaar calls Practice Theory and experiential learning theory (Wagenaar, n.d.). Practice Theory posits that our practical engagement with the world is what constructs (our knowledge of) reality. Experiential learning theory specifically places the student's experience at the center of the research. The focus in experiential learning theory is on heuristics as a research strategy. Methods are an important part of heuristics, but have a subordinate role. In this research, desk research, two expert interviews and the semi-structured interview were used as a method for data collecting, but the process of data processing and further theorizing was done based on heuristics.

One of the most powerful heuristics in interpretive inquiry is that of grounded theory (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 270). Charmaz (2006, p. 6) argues that grounded theory, which was initially defined by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss in 1965, made qualitative methodology a real kind of research. Grounded theory will be explained more in depth in the paragraphs on collecting and processing the data. There are three more heuristics that are worth mentioning in this paragraph:

1) Set yourself up for novelty (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 243)

This heuristic recommends organizing the research in such a way that you create the conditions for surprise. This heuristic has been met by only conducting a rough literature review on citizen participation. Foreknowledge on citizen participation models, prescriptions, solution mechanisms, guidelines was not used to test, interpret, or judge the data. Of course, this knowledge was not ignored either, because it was used to write down some general themes and questions for the interviews, in order to make sure that the conversation did not get stuck.

2) Sample for relevant diversity (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 270)

Wagenaar recommends to anticipate on what will produce different explanatory configurations, and then design a sample that includes all levels of these configuring determinants (ibid). Citizens from different villages within the municipality of Mook and Middelaar might have different opinions and experiences with participation processes. Also, citizens that had a positive earlier experience with a participation process, might have different opinions than citizens that had a negative earlier experience. This is why respondents were selected that were involved in participation processes in different villages and with different outcomes: the one in Molenhoek was a success story, the one in Mook was less successful.

3) Make a reversal if necessary (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 270)

The initial idea for this research was to use a standard framework with building blocks for citizen participation, and then ask citizens how they feel about the different indicators. However, in this strategy there was no room for surprise. The interview guide would be predetermined, citizens would have to give their opinion on themes that they do not even find interesting or relevant, and differences in importance for different themes or indicators would be blurred because every indicator had to have equal attention in the interview. Next to that, the initial idea was to place every respondent into one rationality, by letting them fill in a survey that was set up to rank their score on the different rationalities⁷. The survey turned out to be too difficult to fill in quickly after the interview, and when the researcher came back another day to retrieve them, a lot of respondents lost it. Later on the realization came that this method would also ignore the fact that a certain rationality should not be assigned to individuals but to situations. One respondent might express multiple rationalities during the interview, depending on the direction of the interview. Therefore, the operationalization scheme from Schoop et al (2020) was eventually used to divide the interviews in different passages (see below).

⁷ See appendix 2 for the survey that was eventually not used.

3.3 Research methods: data collection

In this paragraph, the methods for collecting and processing the data are set out. The data was collected by conducting (expert) interviews. The recordings were transcribed, and the transcriptions were used for processing the data. The data was processed by using grounded theory. Memo writing and theoretical sampling were applied, and there were three different coding steps.

3.3.1 The semi-structured interview

Kitchin and Tate (2000, p. 213) argue that semi-structured interviews are one of the most commonly used qualitative methods. Semi-structured interviews are used often in policy research, especially when researchers want to delve deeply into a topic and want to thoroughly understand the answers provided (RAND Corporation, 2009, p. 27). This is in line with the research problem and question of this thesis. For this research, the definition of a semi-structured interview of Longhurst (2010) was used: *“A semi-structured interview is a verbal interchange where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions. Although the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined themes of questions, semi-structured interview unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the chance to explore issues they feel are important”* (p. 103).

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this research did not have as many respondents as was hoped for. The respondents had to be citizens that were involved in the participation processes of one of the cases. This narrowed the respondent pool down quite a lot, because only citizens that live very close to the development site were involved. There were no known contact details from these local residents, so they were approached by going door to door. This was done three times in both neighborhoods. When local residents were not at home, a note was left with an explanation of the research and they were asked to contact the researcher if they wanted to take part in the research. None of them did that. It was also important to have in-depth, personal conversations with them, in which the respondent would feel comfortable enough to be open and honest. Therefore, the safest environment to conduct the interview was the respondents' own home. Not every local resident wanted that due to the Covid-19 restrictions. There were also people that wanted to schedule another time, at which it was possible to create safe circumstances. Eventually, ten interviews with local residents were conducted: five with local residents from Molenhoek, and five with local residents from Mook. The length of the interviews varies from fifteen minutes to one and a half hour. The interviews were all in Dutch.

When it comes to formulating questions for a semi-structured interview, there are no hard and fast rules to be followed (Valentine, 2005). Longhurst (2010, p. 106) advises inexperienced researchers to brief yourself fully on the topic before conducting the interview, and to work out a list of themes with some actual questions in case the conversation dries up. This advice was followed up by doing a literature review on citizen participation, and a desk research and expert interviews on the specific cases. The most important themes and some possible questions were set out in the interview guide beforehand⁸. The overall method for the interview was the funnel method (RAND Corporation, 2009, p. 50). This method starts with broad questions, in this case about a specific part of the citizen participation process, and continues with more pointed questions. This method fits the research problem, because it is appropriate for sensitive topics (ibid.). The opening question for every respondent was: ‘Can you please tell me if you participated in development plans in your neighborhood before, and if so, how did that go?’ Such a question is called a grand tour question, because it encourages the respondent to speak, and might include multiple

⁸ See appendix 1 for the interview guide

interpretations, depending on how the respondent interprets it (Leech, 2002, p. 667). For every broad theme or question, there were multiple sub questions, or mini tour questions, about a specific element. Most of the sub questions were open, and the ones that were not, were followed up by open questions. Probes were also used to keep the interview going. Probes can be used for clarity, specificity, or completeness (RAND Corporation, 2009, p. 46). Examples are: can you be more specific, what do you think, can you explain that for me, tell me more, etc.

When one compares the interview guide with the transcriptions of the interviews, it becomes clear that none of the interviews went 'according to plan': new topics were introduced during the conversations, some topics were not discussed at all, and some topics were discussed way more in depth than expected. It turned out that most respondents were very willing to talk about the citizen participation processes that they were in, and they came up with most of the topics, or totally different topics for that matter, themselves. Following the heuristic of theoretical sampling (see below), the interview guide was complemented in between several interviews with new topics that came up in earlier interviews to help the interviewer prepare for the next interview. The interview guide in appendix 1 is the result of all these additions.

According to Wagenaar (2011, p. 251), monitoring the quality of the interview material is more important than asking questions. There are some performance errors that should be avoided. Since this was the researchers' first interview, it was too much to take all performance errors into account. Special attention was given to talking non-suggestively, listening, paying attention, and being nonjudgmental. The tone was conversational and informal, in order to get an open response from the participant. The questions were simple, but were always posed in such a way that respondents would provide as many details and examples as possible.

As was set out before, there were also two expert interviews. These interviews were not (semi-)structured beforehand, and were more informal and spontaneous. The expert interviews were held before the semi-structured interviews with local residents, since they were meant to give the researcher some background information. In the table below, an overview of all the conducted interviews can be found.

Name	Role	Date interview	Length interview
Bert Tolkamp	Project manager Groesbeekseweg case (municipality of Mook and Middelaar)	17-11-2021	35 minutes
Marlou Heffels	Project manager Middelweg case (municipality of Mook and Middelaar)	24-11-2021	30 minutes
Respondent 1	Local resident Molenhoek	25-11-2021	25 minutes
Respondent 2	Local resident Molenhoek	25-11-2021	20 minutes
Respondent 3	Local resident Molenhoek	26-11-2021	15 minutes
Respondent 4	Local resident Molenhoek	26-11-2021	45 minutes
Respondent 5	Local resident Molenhoek	09-12-2021	55 minutes

Respondent 6	Local resident Mook	10-12-2021	60 minutes
Respondent 7	Local resident Mook	21-12-2021	15 minutes
Respondent 8	Local resident Mook	21-12-2021	20 minutes
Respondent 9	Local resident Mook	21-12-2021	90 minutes
Respondent 10	Local resident Mook	22-02-2022	75 minutes

Table 1: Overview of conducted interviews

3.3.2 Transcribing the data

A basic process integral to qualitative research is transcription. Transcription has received little attention in research literature, and researchers seldom make mention of transcription processes (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999, p. 65). In this research, the transcription process and result is not a research goal, but a necessary step to be able to make sense of citizen's perspectives on citizen participation. Transcribing is therefore done verbatim - as if a gold standard of bedrock truth exists (Poland, 1995, p. 291). Poland criticizes this choice, by arguing that it ignores the emotional context and nonverbal communication. This was prevented, however, by paying attention and pointing to the emotional context and nonverbal mimics during the interview already. This includes some kind of sensibility for underlying emotions, and asking further questions when necessary (Gorden, 1980). The verbatim transcript of such an interview will then include these nonverbal aspects, and if not, then that is a shortcoming of the interview, not the transcript. Verbatim transcribing does not mean that the research is not interpretative. It is still about interpreting and understanding the data, only not in the process of transcribing, but in the process of coding, and analyzing the codes. Next to the verbatim transcript, the general tone of the conversation, and any remarkable or surprising expressions in the interview will be noted immediately after the interview. Vocal paralinguistic behavior such as laughing, throat-clearing, and excessive loudness will be indicated in square brackets in the transcript.

3.4 Research methods: data analysis

Data analysis was done according to the heuristic of grounded theory. Hildenbrand (2000) defines grounded theory as a triadic and circular process: "theoretical concepts which are developed during an investigation are discovered in the data and have to prove themselves in the data" (p. 18). Wagenaar (2011, p. 260) calls grounded theory a 'method of discovery'. The basic idea is that the researcher enters into dialogue with the data, and develops analytical interpretations early in the research process. Further data collection is based on these early interpretations. This way, the theoretical analysis can be developed and refined more and more. Theory becomes a strategy for handling data.

Charmaz (2006, p. 163-172) and Wagenaar (2011) both agree that theoretical preconceptions on the research topic should not be imposed on the research and analysis at hand. Using the heuristic of grounded theory implies that the literature review and writing the theoretical framework are delayed until after completing the analysis. Wagenaar (2011, p. 270) argues that this avoids getting stuck in theory, and Charmaz argues that it encourages the researcher to articulate his or her own specific ideas. In this research, a rough literature review on citizen participation was conducted beforehand, in order to prepare for the interviews. It was not necessary to have a lot of specific and theoretical knowledge on citizen participation before the field work started, because it was an open and interpretive research. Citizens were not asked about specific topics or concepts, they were only encouraged to tell

their own story. After the conclusion was written, there was another literature review to locate, and evaluate the claims in the conclusion. The literature review on Cultural Theory was conducted after the data was collected, and before the data was processed. Theoretical knowledge on Cultural Theory was necessary to operationalize the four rationalities, and to be able to code the interviews deductively (see below).

There are three analytical steps of grounded theory, namely: coding the data, writing memos, and theoretical sampling. Their application in this research is described more in depth below. The coding process that will be described next, was all done with ATLAS.ti, a qualitative data analysis programme. This programme stores all the collected data so it stays at one place, it makes the coding process easier, and you can also write a memo in it.

3.6.1 Coding the data

Wagenaar (2011, p. 262) argues that coding sets up a dialogue between theory and data. The researcher selects, separates, and sorts data in order to make connections that the researcher was unaware of before. According to Charmaz (2006, p. 43), coding is a process of categorizing segments of data, in order to develop a theory to explain the data. Coding means that a particular instance of empirical reality gets elevated to a higher level of abstraction. In this research, instances of the transcriptions of the interviews were coded in order to make sense of the collected data. Such an instance can be a word, a sentence, or a side-story. In this research, most parts of the interviews were coded by sentence. A code organizes the data because it creates a conceptual category in which the particular sentence fits. At the same time, it explains the data. Good codes summarize and account for each piece of data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43). They also stick close to the data. In this research, most initial codes show preferred courses of action, thoughts, feelings and/or emotions, statements, or context descriptions.

Step 1: Initial coding

The first step in the coding process of this research was initial coding (Charmaz, 2006) or open coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). This involves a close reading of data in order to identify concepts and properties. The goal is to remain open to all possible theoretical directions. During this first step, each segment of the interview transcriptions was processed. This is also called line-by-line coding. Strauss and Corbin (1998, p. 119) argue that this is a suitable method in the beginning of a study, because it helps to generate categories quickly, which helps in the process of theoretical sampling. Charmaz (2006, p. 50) recommends the method for detailed observations and interviews, and for research problems that ask for an implicit identification of concerns and/or explicit statements. Every interview was transcribed and coded directly after the interview took place. This helped to capture thoughts and feelings better, but it also helped to fill theoretical gaps in the research, which could be taken into account in later interviews. This thesis was the researchers' first attempt at coding, which is why it makes sense to choose a time consuming but precise method. After the initial coding process, there were 1530 initial codes⁹. The codes that turned out to be relevant for this research (see below why some codes were not), can be found in appendix 3. The initial codes are all in Dutch, because the interviews and transcriptions are in Dutch as well. At the focused coding step, the language switched to English.

Step 2: Deductive coding

The second step in the coding process was a side step, which is not described in the literature on heuristics that was mentioned before. This side step was necessary in order to structure all the different opinions on (aspects of) the citizen participation process that

⁹ There are 1535 codes in the codebook, but five of these codes are actually structuring codes (see step 2).

respondents were in. In order to do that and make sense of all the different perspectives on citizen participation, they were structured by Cultural Theory. This deductive coding process is based on the coding scheme for discussion observations from Schoop et al (2019):

Code	Description
1.1 Fatalism	<i>View of nature:</i> capricious <i>View of risk:</i> everywhere <i>Preferred course of action:</i> nothing, apathy, no hope, disinterested, denying urgency, claiming unpredictability, not my problem <i>Example:</i> “Well, I don’t think anyone can do anything about it, it’s just the way it is”
1.2 Hierarchy	<i>View of nature:</i> robust within limits <i>View of risk:</i> plannable, avoidable in the long term <i>Preferred course of action:</i> abiding by experts or government directives, following rules and laws, wanting more rules and laws, more law-enforcement by the authorities, listening to parents, teachers, and other elders <i>Example:</i> “The government has to decide what’s the best course of action for everyone”
1.3 Egalitarianism	<i>View of nature:</i> fragile <i>View of risk:</i> imminent <i>Preferred course of action:</i> immediate and inclusive action by all members of society, responsibility for everyone, working together, giving up individual rights and freedoms for the good of the collective <i>Example:</i> “I believe that if we all get involved we can really change things”
1.4 Individualism	<i>View of nature:</i> robust <i>View of risk:</i> negligible <i>Preferred course of action:</i> experimentation and exploration, to each their own, belief in market forces, companies to be supported and money to rule the world, people following their own judgment, and not being restricted by directives <i>Example:</i> “Everybody has to decide for themselves what they want to do about it”
1.5 Not applicable	Choose if none of the categories above capture the dominant bias

Figure 4: Coding scheme for structuring the transcriptions according to Cultural Theory
Derived from Schoop et al (2019, p. 629)

Schoop et al (2019) tested Cultural Theory through structured observation of political disagreement in the classroom. In their coding scheme, they describe some general characteristics of the four rationalities of Cultural Theory, that were already mentioned in the theoretical framework. What makes their coding scheme unique, however, is that they also describe the preferred course of action of people within the rationalities, and some examples of how that may sound. This stands closer to reality than the theoretical characteristics that other authors ascribe to the four rationalities, which makes the scheme applicable to this research that consists of citizens’ actual stories and experiences. The literature review on Cultural Theory was also conducted before this step in the coding process. Next to the coding scheme, this knowledge also contributed to the structuring of the transcriptions.

By using the coding scheme, the interview transcriptions were divided into passages. Every passage consists of one or more sentences, and reflects one of the preferred courses of action. In other words: a passage is defined by the rationality it reflects, and was therefore coded with that rationality as well. Next to fatalism, hierarchism, egalitarianism, and individualism, there is also a fifth category, called ‘not applicable’. Passages that were coded with ‘not applicable’ had no dominant reflection of one of the rationalities. These passages either did not reflect any value judgment or preferred course of action, were repetitions of what the respondent or interviewer said before, or they were not about citizen participation at

all (off-topic passages). After the deductive coding process, there were 296 passages in total:



Figure 5: Overview of passages coded by rationality

After step 2, the interview transcriptions were thus coded twice: over every initial code, there is a second 'structuring' code. This means that all the 1530 initial codes are now assigned to one of the rationalities:



Figure 6: Division of initial codes between the rationalities

The initial codes in every rationality (or in the category 'not applicable') do not exactly add up to 1530. This is because some initial codes are used more than once, and can therefore be assigned to different passages and rationalities. This means that they will be included in the analysis of multiple rationalities. The 254 initial codes in the category 'not applicable' were left out of the research. They are not included in the analysis, or in the codebook in appendix 3, unless they are in one of the other categories as well.

Step 3: focused coding

The third step in the coding process was focused or selective coding. Focused or selective coding is about using the most significant or frequent initial codes to sort, synthesize, integrate, and organize large amounts of data (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The goal is to pinpoint and develop the most salient categories in the large batch of data, thus formulating core conceptual categories (Charmaz, 2000, p. 58). Strauss and Corbin (1998, p. 145) call it a process of integrating and refining the theory. In this research, focused coding was done for every rationality. It did not go exactly as Charmaz (2006) and Strauss and Corbin (1998) prescribed. The core conceptual categories were not the most frequently used or salient initial codes, but they are overarching categories (code groups). It turned out that most initial codes were expressions, reflections or examples of something bigger. After studying the data intensively, almost every initial code was assigned to a bigger code group. These code groups can be seen as overarching themes within the concept of citizen participation within a certain rationality. They differ per rationality, which makes sense, because it was expected that not every perspective would be the same.

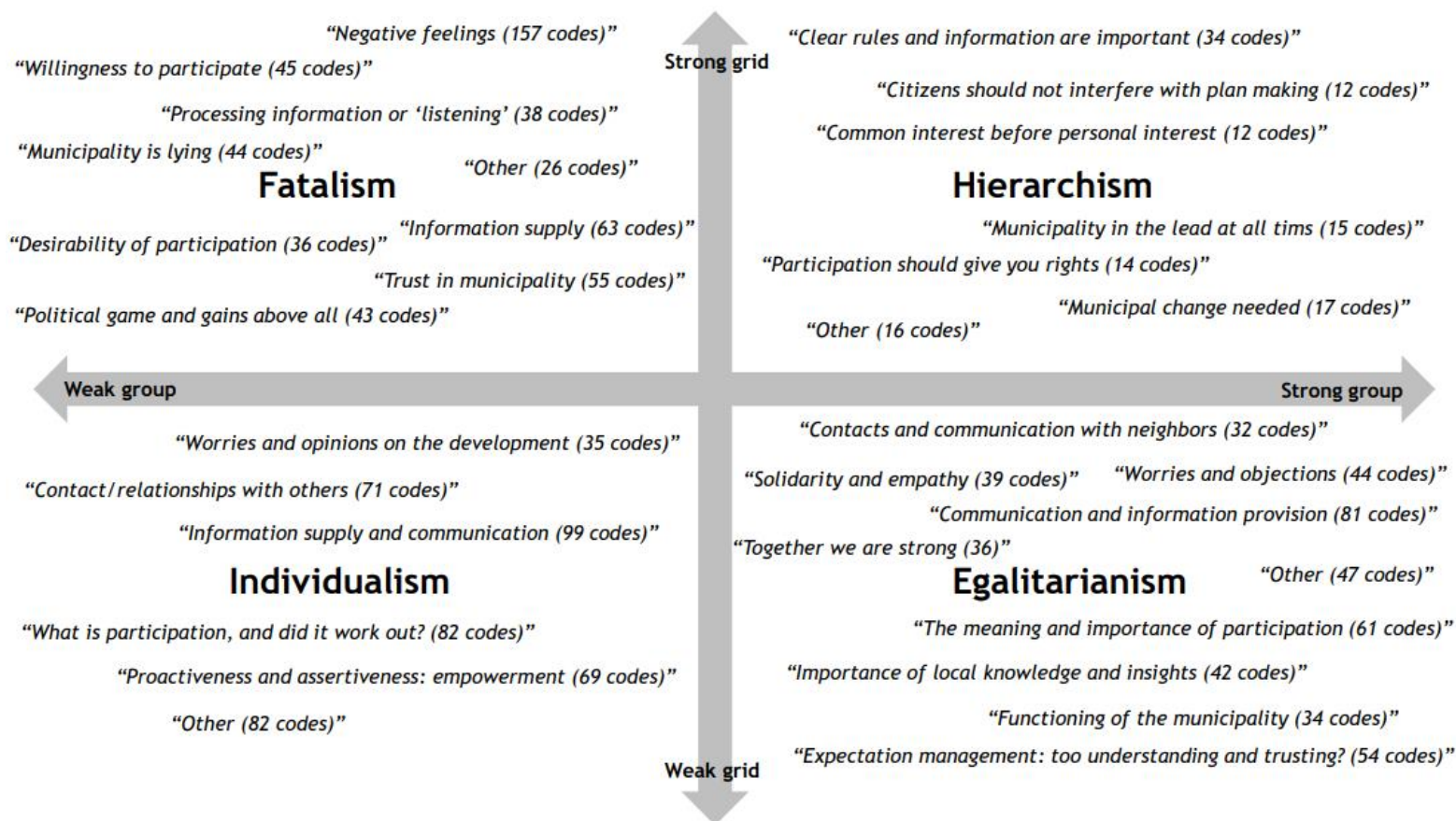


Figure 7: Code groups after the focused coding process (categorized per rationality)

The overarching code groups are used as the framework for the four different perspectives or stories on citizen participation, and the initial codes are used as content for these stories. These stories represent the final findings, or explanatory theories of this research: they are the answer to the sub questions of this research. Within every rationality, there were some codes that did not fit in the overarching themes. They were put in the code group 'other'. This does not mean that they are irrelevant though, and they are included in the findings as well. The findings can be found in chapter 4, 5, 6, and 7.

3.6.2 Memo writing

A memo is a record of the researcher's analysis, thoughts, interpretations, questions, and directions for further data collection or analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 110). Memo writing is the first step into the integration of categories and properties, or codes, that were found in the data (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 262). In this research, memo writing was necessary because there was a lot of empirical material. Transcribing and coding the data was done as soon as possible after the interview. However, the interviews took place during a period of two months. Therefore, after every coded interview, the possible connections with prior interviews, and hunches about future interviews were written down in a memo. If necessary, topics that were not mentioned in the interviews before, but were worth exploring, were included in the remaining interviews. Indeed, as Charmaz (2006, p. 135) argues, memo writing may direct the researcher to new and unexplored ideas, which may revise your interview schedule or makes you explore new literature. Because of memo writing, new conceptual connections may come to the fore, taken-for-granted conceptual boundaries are challenged, and preliminary understandings are clarified or revised (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 267). This process of exhaustively analyzing the data, made it easier to make

generalizations in the focused coding process, and to create explanatory theories later on. Memo writing is not a separate method next to coding. It is part of the circular coding process. There is no given method for memo writing, it is important to make it spontaneous, not mechanical (Charmaz, 2006, p. 80). The memo accompanying this research has an informal and unofficial language. Like the coding schemes, it is in Dutch, because this made it easier to describe hunches and considerations.

3.6.3 Theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling means seeking pertinent data that can help in developing an emerging theory (Charmaz, 2006, p. 96). During the coding process, categories are identified that can constitute a theory. This theory should be elaborated on and refined, which is why categories need to be saturated with new data. Theoretical sampling is not the same as conventional qualitative sampling or initial sampling. Theoretical sampling is not where you start, but directs you where to go (Charmaz, 2006, p. 100). Theoretical sampling is also cumulative (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 203). In this research, most attempts at theoretical sampling added to the previous data collection and analysis. Theoretical sampling was applied whenever a tentative idea came up during the coding process. Memo writing helped in predicting where supplementary data was necessary to saturate categories. Theoretical sampling was applied in new interviews, by asking or leading the conversation to the missing information. In the transcriptions it becomes clear that during the interviewing process, new aspects of existing themes come to the fore. The final explanatory theories would not have that much explanatory power if the variables or categories were not examined extensively. Since the research problem of this research consists of a knowledge gap, theoretical sampling is extra important. Strauss and Corbin (1998, p. 202) argue that theoretical sampling enables the researcher to choose avenues of sampling that can bring the greatest return in theoretical insights, which is especially important in exploring new or uncharted areas. It is also possible to add new participants, extend the case study to new settings, or ask earlier participants new or further questions about experiences that were not covered before. Due to time restrictions, these possibilities fell beyond the scope of this research.

3.5 Validity and reliability

In qualitative research, validity and reliability are more difficult to assure than in quantitative research, because analyzing or interpreting the data takes place in the researcher's mind (van Thiel, 2014). The same critique is often expressed towards case study research: the researcher's emotional involvement and presence in the data collection and interpretation process may bias these processes, which lowers the credibility, confirmability, and transferability of the research (Ferreira et al, 2020). It is important to pay attention to these critiques.

3.7.1 Validity

There are two types of validity: internal validity and external validity. Internal validity is about whether the researcher measured what he/she intended to measure (van Thiel, 2014). The theoretical concept has to be operationalized adequately, and the causal relationship should not be influenced by other factors or variables (ibid). Internal validity is not that relevant in this research, because the concept of citizen participation was not operationalized beforehand, and there was no underlying theory that predicted the perspectives of citizens on citizen participation. In other words: the researcher went in with a blank sheet. The research was set up in such a way that every possible outcome would be acceptable. External validity is about the extent to which the research can be generalized (van Thiel, 2014). In qualitative and interpretive research this is hard to achieve, because the results are

dependent on the interpretations of the researcher. A different researcher might have given the interviews a different direction, might have coded differently, and might have analyzed everything differently. To assure the external validity as much as possible, triangulation was used (see below).

3.7.2 Reliability

Reliability is about the accuracy and consistency with which the variables are measured. If the accuracy and consistency are high, results will not be coincidental and arbitrary, but systematic and representative (van Thiel, 1014). Accuracy is about using measurement instruments that capture the variables as precisely and correctly as possible; while consistency is about repeatability and the chance that the same measurements, under the same circumstances, will lead to similar results (ibid.).

Yin (2009) argues that reliability is high when someone that copies the research, using the same research strategy and methods, finds the same results. In case study research, it is hard to achieve this kind of objectivity. Accuracy can be improved by using multiple operationalizations, data sources, researchers or methods (van Thiel, 2014). This is called triangulation. In this research, the semi-structured interviews are used in conjunction with the heuristic of grounded theory. Consistency can be increased by documenting everything, and making every step operational (Yin, 2009). In this research, almost every train of thought and the decisions that followed are documented in the memo. According to Boeije (2014), consistency can also be increased by saturating the collected data where possible. In this research, data saturation is done by theoretical sampling.

The use of the heuristic of grounded theory, accompanied by memo writing and theoretical sampling - improved the reliability of this research as much as possible.

3.6 Research ethics

Bhattacharjee (2012, p. 137-140) describes some of the expected tenets of ethical behavior that are widely accepted within the scientific community, namely 1) voluntary participation and harmlessness, 2) informed consent, 3) anonymity and confidentiality, 4) disclosure, and 5) analysis and reporting.

As was explained in the paragraph on the semi-structured interview, all the respondents participated in this research voluntarily. If either the interviewer or the respondent deemed it necessary, the appropriate measures were taken to assure the safety of both. It is also important that respondents felt free to talk freely and expose their feelings to a stranger. Hopf (2000, p. 209) argues that the first minutes of an interview are decisive to ensure that. This is why a short introduction was given before every interview. In the introduction, respondents were assured that it was an independent research, commissioned by the Radboud University, that was conducted to finish the master Spatial Planning. On the account of confidentiality, it is important that the data that was collected will be kept secure and locked and that information remains confidential (Longhurst, 2010). Data was kept confidential by storing it on the computer of the researcher, which can only be accessed by password. On the account of anonymity, it is important that respondents remain anonymous and that they can withdraw from the research at any time (ibid.). It is also common practice to share the results of the research with the participants in some way. In this research, anonymity was guaranteed by not asking any personal details other than details that the participants came up with themselves. The participants were differentiated by granting them a number that connects the right interview with the right survey. There are no references to any personal information in the findings chapters, only to respondent numbers. The results of the research are published on the thesis repository of the Radboud University, which is accessible for everyone.

Chapter 4: “Participation and egalitarianism”

After dividing the interviews in passages according to the framework of Schoop et al (2020), there were 436 initial codes that could be placed within the egalitarian rationality. These codes were derived from 74 passages. The egalitarian rationality was present within all ten respondents, and is the second most common rationality within this research. Egalitarianism is a close second next to fatalism, meaning that the egalitarian perspective is also used very often to review the participation process.

The first four paragraphs of this chapter are about how egalitarian respondents live and communicate together and about how that works out if they become part of a participation process. After the most important characteristics of egalitarian respondents are set out in paragraph 1 to 4, the following paragraphs are about how they feel about the development (paragraph 5), and what they think of certain aspects of the participation process (paragraph 6 to 8). Paragraphs 6 to 8 are also about how egalitarian respondents think the participation process can be improved. Lastly, paragraph 9 points to some other notable remarks.

4.1 Nothing remains secret

Egalitarian respondents talk to their neighbors regularly, so they know each other pretty well. They discuss with each other what happens in the neighborhood and they are curious about what other neighbors think about certain topics. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 2.1 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Controversial developments make egalitarian respondents closer to each other

The developments seem to have made egalitarian respondents even closer than they were before. In the Groesbeekseweg case, the neighbors are very close and talk to each other on a regular basis. There is even a Whatsapp-group with all the neighbors, in which they can discuss what is going on in the neighborhood. They share information, worries and concerns about the development. One respondent is even up to speed with how some new neighbors that did not live there during the participation process think about the development. In the Middelweg case, all respondents mentioned that they talked to at least one other neighbor about the development. One respondent moved to the neighborhood right before the participation process started. Afterwards, he/she contacted the other neighbors about their objections and about whether the developer listened to them. When they confirmed the latter, this changed his/her view on the developer and took away some worries about the development. Also in the Middelweg case, the respondents seem to know exactly who kept information and pictures from the development site.

“Daar hebben we het zeker vaker met elkaar over gehad.” (Respondent 9)

Egalitarian respondents encourage each other to form and express their opinion

When something huge happens, like the new developments in the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case, some egalitarian respondents go even further than simply discussing it with their neighbors. They actively start to collect their neighbors' opinions, or they start to encourage other neighbors to take action. In the Middelweg case, one of the respondents was very eager to know how the other neighbors were thinking about the

development site, even before the developer started making plans. He/she also encouraged another respondent to use his/her right to speak at a council meeting. This respondent also took a little tour around the neighborhood to collect other neighbors' opinions, and tried to express his/her and these other opinions at the council meeting. The difference between these respondents is that the first respondent contacted his/her neighbors to improve and smoothen up the participation process, and the second respondent did that because he/she was worried about the development. Apparently, there can be multiple reasons to keep in contact with your neighbors. In the Groesbeekseweg case, there was one respondent that also saw his/herself as some sort of mediator between the local residents and the municipality. He/she tried to transfer information between both parties, and tried to mediate when tempers ran high.

Close contacts can also give egalitarian respondents one-sided information

As stated before, in the Groesbeekseweg case there was one person, the founder of 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber', that stirred up the other neighbors to unite. The respondents do not only know this person well personally, they also got their information about the development and the participation process from this person. Because of this, the respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case did not always have correct information and/or an accurate view on what was happening during the participation process. They believe that the developer made a lot of 'sneaky' decisions that were not discussed with the local residents. Every respondent pointed to this same person as their main source of information, and some specifically point to this person as the one that came to convince them to join 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber'.

"Ik weet dat van de buurvrouw, die heeft contact opgenomen ..." (Respondent 2)

"En ze communiceren, wat ik van de buurman begreep, heel slecht ..." (Respondent 7)

4.2 Together we are strong

Close contacts and short communication lines between neighbors can easily evolve in neighbors associating together, when the circumstances call for it. The upcoming developments at the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg are examples of such circumstances. Especially in the Groesbeekseweg case this led egalitarian local residents to create a strong feeling of unity against the municipality and the developer. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 2.2 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Egalitarian respondents like to take action together - either actively or passively

In the Groesbeekseweg case, there was one person that was crucial in forming 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber', namely the person that lived right near the development site. He/she tried to convince the other neighbors to join him/her in his/her objections and protests against the municipality and the developer, and he/she succeeded. Interestingly, joining 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber' did not mean the same for every egalitarian respondent. Some egalitarian respondents took an active role in the activities of the interest group. One respondent told about how he/she went to city hall to have a personal conversation with the public officials and proclaim the opinion of the local residents, even though it was in the middle of the Covid-pandemic. Another respondent talked about how he/she wrote letters to council members to explain the situation and to invite them to the development site so that they could visualize the plans better. This same respondent also talked about the information evening, where he asked the architect multiple questions about the plans.

Most egalitarian respondents took a more passive role in the activities of the interest group. After the information evening, the members of 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber' discussed the plans and officially submitted their opinions in one document that everyone agreed on. This official document was written by the founder of the interest group. Most egalitarian respondents did not actively want to write or contribute to this petition, but signed it anyway. A lot of egalitarian respondents talk about everything that happened as if they were just bystanders, using formulations like 'they did this...', and 'they thought this...'. Egalitarian respondents have different reasons for only passively participating. One of them argues that because of his/her age, he/she has to pick his/her battles. Another respondent argues that he/she likes it when someone else takes the lead. Yet another respondent argues that he/she participated only to support his/her neighbors. In the Middelweg case, there was no opportunity to unite, because every local resident was invited to take a look at the plans separately because of the Covid-19 measures. They all claim to be fine with that. When they were asked about whether they would rather have participated in a group - in a situation in which Covid-19 did not exist -, most egalitarian respondents from the Middelweg case admit that they would.

"Nou, we hebben wel allemaal getekend." (Respondent 6)
"Ja, alleen de rest gesteund." (Respondent 7)

Egalitarian respondents are not only united in action, but also in their opinion

Egalitarian respondents have a big sense of unity more in general. They think that they are all on the same page when it comes to the development plans, and that they all agree with each other indefinitely. Some objections and arguments are so obvious that everyone has to share them eventually, according to egalitarian respondents. Egalitarian respondents do not want to badmouth any of the other neighbors, and they are convinced that others will not do that to them either. They are curious about what other neighbors said during their interviews, as if they want to be sure that they do not say anything to undermine what their neighbors already said. They are very eager to be on the same page. Furthermore, egalitarian respondents talk in the 'we-form' a lot. They use expressions like 'we all think something has to happen', and 'we all agree on this or that'. The dangerous traffic situation is mentioned multiple times as something they all agree on. They all know someone that encountered a dangerous situation, and use others' experiences as an argument for their own statements. This sense of unity is not always legitimate. When they were asked about whether some people initially had another opinion but chose to join the interest group anyway, one respondent claims to be sure that everyone agrees for one hundred percent with the views of the interest group. He/she also thinks that everyone has the same objections. When they were asked about the attendance of the information evening, one of the respondents was sure that everyone in the neighborhood attended the evening. Both of these statements turned out not to be true.

4.3 Care about your fellow man

Overall, egalitarian respondents show a high degree of solidarity, or community spirit. They feel this way not only about their close neighbors, but about the whole village. Egalitarian solidarity manifests itself in a high understanding of, and empathy, support and appreciation for other and future citizens. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 2.3 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Egalitarian respondents care about their neighbors

Close contacts and taking action together makes egalitarian respondents very understanding of and empathic with each other. This sense of empathy and appreciation is strongest in the Groesbeekseweg case. Egalitarian respondents are especially empathetic with the founder of 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber', one of the neighbors that already moved. They pity the trouble and misery that the new plans caused this person, and they do not understand how the municipality and the developer let such an invasion of his/her privacy happen. More in general, egalitarian respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case think that multiple neighbors moved because of the new development, and they regret that.

In the Middelweg case, egalitarian respondents are also empathetic with their neighbors, but they do not mention it as much as respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case. If they do, they mostly use other people's situation to strengthen their own statements. These egalitarian respondents mostly feel empathy for the nuisance and invasion of privacy from other neighbors. They also have a lot of sympathy for their elderly neighbors. There are some other projects - unrelated to this research - that came up during the interviews. Egalitarian respondents also show empathy for the people involved in or affected by these other projects.

Egalitarian respondents are everything but selfish

Egalitarian respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case in particular - but also some egalitarian respondents from the Middelweg case - almost solely think in the interest of others, and obliterate themselves. These 'others' can be their neighbors, but also the community as a whole, or even future residents. Road safety is a recurring topic for respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case in which this 'community spirit' becomes clear. Egalitarian respondents cannot believe that the municipality does not make any changes to the already dangerous intersection next to the development, and thereby brings future residents of the new houses in danger. They find these problems so important, that they keep coming up with this topic, even though the questions were about something else completely. Egalitarian respondents stand up for other groups in the community that are usually disadvantaged. One respondent argues that the development is a success mostly because there is also space for social renting apartments. The 'Not In My BackYard (NIMBY) principle' also comes up multiple times. Egalitarian respondents do not like people who talk like that, because they think it is a never-ending discussion that leads to nothing. One respondent literally says that it makes sense to think about your own interests, but it is important to also look at the overall context

"Dat het niet om ons eigen hachie gaat ook, als wij klagen, maar vooral ook voor de mensen die er komen wonen, want daar heeft de gemeente natuurlijk óók verantwoordelijkheid voor ... Het gaat ook helemaal niet om ons, het gaat om die mensen..." (Respondent 10)

4.4 Is it possible to be too understanding and trusting?

In general, egalitarian respondents are easily satisfied and very understanding. If something does not go as they hoped or expected, they do not complain immediately, and when they do express their objections, they try to do that in a civil and personal way. This can sometimes leave them disappointed, since not everyone shares these characteristics. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 2.4 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Egalitarian respondents always see the positive side of things

Egalitarian respondents from the Middelweg case are mostly content with how the developer set up the participation process, while respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case are only content with some very small parts, and are overall dissatisfied. When things did not totally work out as they preferably wanted, egalitarian respondents are mostly understanding and accepting of these semi-optimal situations. The respondents from the Middelweg case all are very understanding of the fact that they had to participate on their own because of the Covid-19 pandemic, for example. When egalitarian respondents mention something they are not that happy with, they immediately see that there is also a positive side to it. If there is no positive side, like with the nuisance from the demolition and building activities, they are still very accepting. Egalitarian respondents are also capable of putting things in perspective, which is why they do not fall into the victim role that easily, and why they do not complain so much. They are also quick to trust someone if they had one good experience with that person, which is why the respondents from the Middelweg case trust the developer.

“Ik snap wel dat het moeilijk is...” (Respondent 1)

“We hebben ook een hoop herrie gehad van ze, maarja dat hoort bij dat slopen.” (Respondent 5)

Egalitarian respondents keep their hopes up

Egalitarian respondents are not only understanding and accepting when things go wrong, they also keep hoping that it will change for the better. Respondents from the Groesbeekseweg had a lot of moments when they remained hopeful, even when things did not look so good. For example, when the information evening was a deception, they orchestrated a personal meeting with the public officials to hear from them straight what they thought of the plans. The public officials did not give their honest opinion during that conversation, but egalitarian respondents kept hoping for mutual understanding. They hoped that they would receive a letter, or that there would be a new conversation in which everything was explained. One of the reasons that they keep hoping is that they might be too trusting or gullible. One respondent argues that he assumed that changes were possible when the developer showed him the first plans, simply because he knew the developer personally. Another respondent was convinced that the political parties that he/she spoke to would vote against the plans, simply because they told him. In the Middelweg case it was clear that the demolition activities would not be finished any time soon, but one respondent keeps hoping that the activities will stop the week after the interview, because that is what the developer promised him/her.

Egalitarian respondents are not that good in managing expectations

Even though none of the egalitarian respondents admits it, they keep having too high expectations, and end up feeling disappointed. Some of them felt deceived by the developer and the municipality when things did not turn out to be what they expected, and they are very disappointed in the public officials and politicians. They expected mutual understanding, transparency and honesty, but got none of these things. A high degree of understanding and acceptance, and too high expectations does not only lead to disappointment, but also to incomprehension. Egalitarian respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case sometimes feel unheard, misunderstood and offended by the municipality because they were fobbed off multiple times. One respondent argues that public officials and politicians made fun of him/her by joking about people with big houses like him/her, saying that they should not complain about anything at all. Egalitarian respondents also do not understand why the public officials share their concerns, but do not take any measurements to follow up on them.

This incomprehension is not only directed towards the municipality, but also towards the developer. They do not understand why the developer only thinks about his own interests, namely making money, and not about the interests from the local and future residents of the neighborhood.

“Dat zou ik verwachten van iemand die het echt helemaal netjes speelt, maarja...” (Respondent 9)

4.5 Expressing worries and objections: they do not stop talking

Now that the main characteristics of egalitarian respondents were discussed in the previous paragraphs, this paragraph discusses the worries and objections that egalitarian respondents have about the developments, and how they expressed that. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 2.5 of the codebook in appendix 3.

The biggest concerns of egalitarian respondents are traffic safety and parking

Egalitarian respondents have a lot of worries about traffic safety and the future parking situation. Traffic safety is a well-known problem in the Groesbeekseweg case, but also the respondents from the Middelweg are familiar with this problem, because of the traffic situation at the Ringbaan, another road that is close to the Middelweg. In the Groesbeekseweg case, these worries are more than just objections against the new development: they are deep-rooted concerns that are keeping some respondents up at night. One respondent mentions that he/she scares every time he/she hears the sound of squeaking tires, and how he/she is relieved when it turns out nothing bad happened. Another respondent has been in a small accident at the Groesbeekseweg him/herself. The parking situation at the new development makes egalitarian respondents worry as well, because there is no separate exit, and future residents need to turn onto the dangerous road backwards to drive away. They also blame the municipality for not upholding parking standards. According to them, there are not enough parking spots for the residents and their visitors, which is why they are worried that visitors are going to park in the nearby streets. Egalitarian respondents would rather have seen a parking garage, so that no one will experience any nuisance, and everyone will be safe.

Egalitarian respondents have different worries depending on the case

Next to traffic safety and parking, egalitarian respondents in both cases mention multiple other worries and objections. In the Middelweg case, egalitarian respondents are worried that they will lose their sense of freedom and their privacy. They are also worried about the public space around the new buildings. One respondent is wondering whether the drainage will be sufficient, another whether there will be enough greenery, and yet another whether the sounds of the street will resonate back against the buildings right into the respondents' gardens. Egalitarian respondents from the Middelweg case are also worried about the target audience, especially because one of the buildings contains only social housing apartments. In the Groesbeekseweg case, egalitarian respondents worry about the height of the new four floor-building. They do not understand why the municipality did not uphold the three-floor maximum from the previous destination plan. The lack of greenery in the final plans is also something that concerns egalitarian respondents in the Groesbeekseweg case. Since it is such a big building on a very small plot, there is no room for bushes and trees next to all the bricks. Because the development is located at the edge of the woods, they think it does not fit in the environment. Another important issue for egalitarian respondents is the preservation of the monumental artwork that is sitting on the outer walls of the current building.

Respondents are worried it might be damaged or destroyed during the demolition activities. They are also unhappy with the intended new placement of the artwork - namely on a wall in front of the parking lots - because it will not be visible there.

“De mensen maken zich veel zorgen over de cliëntele die in de sociale woningbouw komt ... we hebben al een paar dronkhoofden hier.” (Respondent 3)
“Nou, daar schrok iedereen van.” (Respondent 6)

Egalitarian respondents easily express their worries and concerns

Egalitarian respondents do not have any problems expressing their concerns, either to neighbors, or to the developer or municipality. In the Middelweg case, all the respondents shared their worries, objections and even local knowledge with the developer when they were invited to take a look at the first drawings. They told the developer everything that bothered them, even the smallest details. It is hard to tell if they would also have done so if they were not personally invited by the developer, even though some respondents claim that they would. It might have been easier for respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case to express their concerns, because they channeled all the objections via ‘Stichting de Wolkenkrabber’. Their opinions were collected during discussion moments with the whole neighborhood, and they were processed in the official objection letter. Next to that, however, a lot of egalitarian respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case expressed their concerns directly to the developer as well, during the first conversation or during the information evening. There were also people that wrote their own objection letter in addition to the joint objection. As was stated before, there were a couple of respondents that talked directly to the public official and expressed their own and the neighbors’ concerns during that conversation. The fact that these people have been in ‘fights’ with the municipality before, and the fact that there is already a new joint initiative against the new bike park, proves that egalitarian respondents do not bottle up their feelings, but express them when it is necessary.

4.6 Information is key

The previous paragraphs set out the most important characteristics and worries of egalitarian respondents. The following paragraphs are about what they think about the participation process. The first aspect of the participation process that will be discussed is communication and information provision. All egalitarian respondents find communication, information provision, and especially feedback important. They prefer a personal approach, short communication lines, and a trusting atmosphere. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 2.6 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Egalitarian respondents want to know everything and actively search for information

Communication and information provision are very important, according to egalitarian respondents. They are very eager to know everything, and want to be up to date about everything that happens in the neighborhood. Logically, they have a lot of local knowledge and insights. Very remarkable for egalitarian respondents is that when they do not get the information they want, they actively go look for it themselves. They know how to use the computer, so they know how to attend a council meeting online, how to look information up online, and how to send emails. They do not only read and watch the official media like the (local) newspaper, they also use ways that take extra effort. In the Middelweg case, respondents talked about email-contact with civil servants and council members. Sometimes

the interviews went a bit off-topic, and other development projects that are not even in the neighborhood came up. The respondents seem to know a lot about these projects as well. Egalitarian respondents do not only want to know everything, they also collect every piece of information that they got, and keep that safe in case they need it later.

Egalitarian respondents' satisfaction with information provision is case specific

Overall, egalitarian respondents in the Middelweg case are satisfied with the information provision from the developer, and they do not feel like they missed out on anything before, during and after the participation process. They were informed not only about the design of the building, but also about the design of the public space, about the target audience, and about the decision making process until and after the plans were final. Still now, the developer is easy to contact, which makes the threshold for asking questions low. They also get updates about when the demolition and building activities start. Egalitarian respondents from the Middelweg case did not talk about communication and information provision from the municipality that much. They think the developer is in the lead, and the municipality should just facilitate and provide information when citizens specifically ask for that. One respondent talked to a civil servant during the participation process, and argued that this civil servant explained the process and some specific details pretty well.

In the Groesbeekseweg case, things were different. Egalitarian respondents do not feel informed, and there were, and still are, a lot of uncertainties about the development. They blame the developer for not providing any information anymore after the first visit. They did not get the missing information from the municipality either, even though they actively asked for it more than once. They never got an explanation from the municipality why the height regulations from the previous destination plan were broadened, for example. They also do not know any specifics of the plan, like how many apartments there will be exactly, whether the parking and traffic safety problems will be resolved, whether the developer got a permit, and when the demolition and rebuilding process starts. One respondent does not even know who the developer is.

“Dat heeft Janssen Groesbeek uitstekend gedaan.” (Respondent 4 on information provision)

“Ja, ik kan het nu fout vertellen hoor, maar aanvankelijk zouden er 17 appartementen komen en dat is teruggebracht naar een aantal minder.” (Respondent 6)

Egalitarian respondents appreciate feedback - especially from the municipality

It is very important for egalitarian respondents to get regular updates on the decisions and changes that were made in the plans, especially when things did not go according to plan. In the Middelweg case, respondents are happy with the information and feedback they got from the developer. In the Groesbeekseweg case, respondents are angry with the developer, because they did not get any feedback at all. He only showed up once, and respondents did not hear anything from him, even though he promised them that he would consult them again after he processed their first input. This is where egalitarian respondents expected the municipality to step in. They go to the municipality for clarity if their questions are not answered by others. Egalitarian respondents in the Middelweg case hardly tried to contact the municipality, because they got all the information they needed from the developer. They were also able to ask him questions. When they were asked what they would have done if that was not the case, they did argue that they would try to go and get their answers with the municipality. Overall, egalitarian respondents seem to blame the municipality more than the developer for not providing any feedback.

Egalitarian respondents prefer personal conversations and informal communication

Egalitarian respondents find personal contact very important. In the Groesbeekseweg case, respondents argue that they would very much have liked a (second) personal, informal conversation with the developer, just to ask questions and create some mutual understanding. One respondent argues that even though the outcome was not what he/she wanted, he/she appreciated the fact that they got invited to have a personal conversation with the public officials. In the Middelweg case, there was a lot of informal and personal communication before the developer even started the participation process. One of the respondents had personal conversations with the owner of the previous garage, with an earlier developer, with this developer, and with his fellow council members about how local residents felt about the development. This respondent was not the only one with short communication lines. Multiple respondents know someone who knows someone who heard something about the development. Most of the time this is a good thing, but it might also lead to prejudices. There are three respondents that literally said that they heard someone say that communication within and from the municipality is bad.

Egalitarian respondents acknowledge that transparent information provision is difficult

Finally, there are some specific remarks that egalitarian respondents made in relation to communication and information provision, which can be used as points of improvement. Egalitarian respondents are sensitive to the atmosphere during a conversation or a meeting. They have bad memories of moments when the atmosphere was unpleasant, so a positive atmosphere might create a more positive attitude towards the participation process. Egalitarian respondents also acknowledge that sometimes it is hard for the municipality to inform citizens, because not everyone is equally interested. Young people are especially hard to reach, they argue. They also point to the fact that it is not always about whether a piece of information is provided, yes or no, but also about how and by whom something is formulated. They think the municipality can be more thorough, clear and transparent in their information provision, so that the information is understandable for everyone. They also think it is important that the information does not get hijacked by certain interest groups, for example, because then the information is no longer objective, and a lot of people do not realize that.

“Die journalistieke kant is ook belangrijk, omdat zoveel mensen het niet begrijpen ... dat je bijna iemand van communicatie of een tekstschrijver daarop zet ... Best veel onduidelijkheden. Grotere gemeenten hebben dat wel hé, dat je die informatie ergens kunt vinden.” (Respondent 9)

4.7 What does ‘the ideal participation process’ look like?

This paragraph is about what the ideal participation process should look like, according to egalitarian respondents, and about how important egalitarian respondents think that citizen participation is. Overall, egalitarian respondents want to be involved early in the plan making process, and they want to make an actual contribution to the plans. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 2.7 and 2.8 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Egalitarian respondents think that local residents are the most important stakeholders

Not surprisingly, egalitarian respondents think that local residents are the most important stakeholders when it comes to a participation process. They think that they know the local situation best, meaning they know it better than everyone else because they are the ones that experience it every day. Some respondents literally say that, others are more prudent and argue that their story might be different than that of non-residents. Especially the municipality, but also the developer is accused of not knowing what really happens within the neighborhood. Egalitarian respondents find it frustrating that the municipality does not acknowledge that the theoretical situation might be different than what happens in practice. Other people or parties can be stakeholders as long as they also have relevant new knowledge. Egalitarian respondents acknowledge that every situation is different. That is why they find it important that it is clear from the beginning who the stakeholders are, and what their interests are. Not only so that they know who else is involved and why, but also so that other stakeholders know that they are involved and why.

“Ze kennen niet de verhalen eromheen.” (Respondent 8)

Egalitarian respondents want to make their own framework for developments and policies ; a framework that developer and municipality should adhere to

Egalitarian respondents find it important to have a clear definition of ‘participation’, and think that the most important part in that definition should be that every stakeholder - thereby meaning every local resident - gets an opportunity to share their ideas and opinions before the municipality or developer is going to work out their plans. They really want to think and talk along about policies and developments. They also want to contribute to a better participation policy, which is why most of the respondents agreed to do the interview in the first place. Since there is no clear definition now, egalitarian respondents are often confused about when and about what they can participate, about what is expected from them, and about what the value of their ideas is. In the ideal situation, egalitarian respondents consider citizen participation as something that citizens do together, without involvement from the municipality or developer. Local residents that have an interest in a specific policy or development should think and talk about the possible outcomes, alternatives, and potential problems together. The framework they come up with can be used by the municipality or developer to make plans and decisions. The specifics and the details are for the municipality or developer to decide, they argue. Egalitarian respondents are willing to make compromises, just as long as they get a fair chance of thinking along. In the Groesbeekseweg case, multiple respondents literally argue that even though they did not actually want the development, they could accept it as long as they could have a say in the plans. In the Middelweg case, one respondent makes it very clear that when there would be deviations from the framework that are not discussed with the local residents, the municipality and developer could expect some official objections.

Egalitarian respondents think that citizen participation is about listening

There is another aspect that egalitarian respondents find very important in the ideal participation process, namely listening. It is useless to set a framework and to discuss aspects of the policy or plan at hand, if the municipality or developer does not listen to it, or does not want to listen to it, they argue. Egalitarian respondents argue that listening means more than just hearing citizens out. Only hearing people out is not participation; listening means doing something with the information from local residents. For example, filtering the information for usable additions to the plan, and making connections between input from different citizens, so it becomes clear what is actually important, and what is not. Egalitarian

respondents find it important that they can make an actual contribution to the plan, and that their input makes an actual difference. They think that listening to local residents, and processing their knowledge and experience into the plans is what actually makes plans better. One respondent argues that without input from local residents, the municipality would definitely forget some crucial insights.

“Tot a hebben we geparticipeerd, en daarna, tot z, hebben we niets meer in kunnen brengen. De definitie van participatie is toch ‘het deelnemen aan..’, dat is wat het letterlijk betekent. Horen en wederhoren.” (Respondent 10)

Egalitarian respondents are willing to invest a lot of time and effort in participating

In both the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case, egalitarian respondents find citizen participation very important. Before the participation process even started, respondents from the Middelweg case spent a lot of their free time searching the internet for information about the development site. They did not hesitate to accept the invitation from the developer to come look at the plans, and argue that they also would have participated if participation would have been in some other form, like in a working group or citizen panel.

In the Groesbeekseweg case, egalitarian respondents also spent a lot of time and effort into participating, even though, as one respondent puts it, they knew it was not going to make a difference. They did their own research into the traffic safety and parking situation, they made maquettes that showed the difference between the current and new situation, they actively tried to convince council members to vote against the plans, and they had conversations with public officials and civil servants about the plans. All but one respondent went to the information evening, and during that evening, they all asked questions and made pictures.

“Ik heb meteen een rondje met alle bewoners eromheen gedaan. En ik ben naar een... ik heb mijn spreekrecht bij de gemeente benut in een raadsvergadering.” (Respondent 2)

4.8 Something has got to change

Another aspect of the participation process that was mentioned multiple times by egalitarian respondents, is the functioning of the municipality, and how that can be improved. There are three parts within the municipal organization that should function differently in order for citizen participation to work, according to egalitarian respondents. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 2.9 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Egalitarian respondents expect council members to listen better, and show more involvement

Some egalitarian respondents think that political parties, and more specifically the council members, should play a bigger role when it comes to improving citizen participation. They think that political parties should collect the opinions from their members and electorate, and act and decide in line with these opinions. According to them, council meetings should be more interactive when there are citizens that exercise their right to speak during a meeting.

Council members should ask these citizens more questions, instead of just hearing them out, so that both experienced and non-experienced speakers get a fair chance of being heard. Egalitarian respondents do not understand that when a plan has reached the council, all there is left to discuss are the political gains and losses for the political parties, and that council members do not care about the whole content and every detail anymore. This is why egalitarian respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case were so surprised that the council suddenly changed its opinion from what they promised the local residents earlier. Apparently, egalitarian respondents think that citizen participation is not limited to just making the plan, it should be expanded to the moment when the council is deciding on the plan as well.

Egalitarian respondents want more transparency and honesty from public officials

According to egalitarian respondents, the executive board is responsible for all the plans and policies that are made within their reign, which is why they have high expectations from them. Egalitarian respondents try to contact the public officials very quickly when things are not going the way they want. In the Groesbeekseweg case, none of the respondents are happy with the way the public officials handled their concerns. Some of them feel ignored because they did not get a reaction, others feel misunderstood because the public officials did not do anything after they heard their story. This means that no matter what sort of citizen participation fits for a specific plan or policy, it might be good if public officials would communicate more, and would make more and earlier statements, to prevent what happened in the Groesbeekseweg case. The respondents accuse them of making sneaky decisions and only thinking about financial gains, simply because they did not make any other statement to disprove that. For egalitarian respondents, the image that they have of the citizen participation process would have been different if the attitude of public officials would have been different, and if their interests would have been more clear.

“En als dat het hele proces dan zo bij iedereen leeft, dan zou dat toch bij de wethouders aan moeten komen en dat ze daar iets mee doen.” (Respondent 9)

Egalitarian respondents would like a mediator to smoothen the participation process

Egalitarian respondents also think that there are some changes necessary within the civil service in order to improve citizen participation. They acknowledge that there are limits to what is possible, because Mook and Middelaar is a small municipality with a small civil service and a small budget. However, they think that in instances like the Middeweg and the Groesbeekseweg case - cases with a lot of consequences for local residents - there should be more municipal civil servants involved than just a project manager. More specifically, they talk about including someone that can act as a mediator. They think a mediator can do things that the project manager does not have the time for, like write down all the arguments from local residents, compare them, make the necessary connections, and select the arguments that are most common and important as bullet points. Such a person could also provide extra information when necessary, and give every stakeholder feedback on why certain choices are made. Egalitarian respondents argue that if there were such a person that had actually listened to them, and that had given them extra information and feedback when they needed it, it would have made them more understanding towards the plans.

4.9 Last remarks

There are two things worth mentioning about egalitarian respondents, that did not fall within one of the other theories or that are not directly related to citizen participation. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 2.10 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Egalitarian respondents are suspicious of (social) media

For egalitarian respondents, media and media attention is also a recurring topic. They think the media are extremely powerful, not only traditional media like the newspaper and television, but also social media. The bigger and the more sensational the story, the more media coverage, they argue, which is why the media can never be objective. According to them, newspapers are too selective in their news coverage. Social media does cover smaller issues, but egalitarian respondents think that social media is mainly for the younger generation, not for everyone. Egalitarian respondents do not think that all the above is going to change, but they do hope that people will be more aware of the fact that what is being told in the media, is just a filter, and not the truth.

Egalitarian respondents make a lot of comparisons with other or earlier experiences

Like fatalistic respondents, egalitarian respondents also compare their situation with other or earlier experiences very often. Sometimes they compare the participation process to another participation process or to their work situation, and sometimes they compare the development to another development like Molenhoek Zuid. Unlike with fatalistic respondents, they do not make these comparisons to show how bad everything was or is, but to understand the new situation better, and to find things that can improve the new situation. For example, one respondent wanted to be part of this research, because he/she also wrote about the topic of citizen participation, and that made people more understandable of the topic.

Chapter 5: ‘Participation and individualism’

After dividing the interviews in passages according to the framework of Schoop et al (2020), there were 391 initial codes that can be placed within the individualistic rationality. These codes were derived from 56 passages. The individualistic rationality was present within 9 out of 10 respondents, and within 8 out of 10 respondents when it specifically came to the subject of citizen participation. Even though it is slightly less common than fatalism and egalitarianism, the individualistic perspective is still used very often by citizens of Mook and Middelaar to perceive the participation process.

The first paragraph of this chapter is about how individualistic respondents feel about things that happen in their neighborhood, because this might influence how they perceive the participation process. The same goes for the second paragraph about contacts and relationships with others. After that, the third paragraph is about how individualistic respondents behaved during the participation process. The fourth and fifth paragraph are about how individualistic respondents think about the participation process and how that might be improved. The last paragraph points to some other interesting remarks that did not fit within the other paragraphs.

5.1 Not in my backyard please

Individualistic respondents are not that concerned with everything that happens in their neighborhood. When something new is about to happen, they tend to see the positive side of it, just as long as it does not affect them personally. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 3.1 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Individualistic respondents do not worry easily

Many individualistic respondents, in both the Middelweg and in the Groesbeekseweg case, are positive about the development. They already knew that something was going to happen and they were happy with that, because they did not like the old gas station at the Middelweg and the vacant building at the Groesbeekseweg. Individualistic respondents worry most about parking problems, and there are some other aspects of the development that they find important, like the target audience, privacy, and nuisance. They do not see these things as a reason not to pursue the new plans, however. For individualistic respondents, the new developments are an opportunity to improve the existing situation, and they formulate their worries not so much as critique, but as points of attention. Their not having many objections is mostly due to the fact that individualistic respondents do not see any direct consequences for their personal situation. Especially the fact that the new residents do not have a direct view in their home, which means that they can keep their privacy, is something that is mentioned multiple times. Individualistic respondents more easily overlook things, as long as it does not create a problem for them personally.

“Als ik er geen last van heb, hoeft hij niet aan mij te vragen wat ik daarvan vind. Hij heeft het recht om dingen te doen.” (Respondent 1)

Individualistic respondents express the classical NIMBY-view

Some individualistic respondents are okay with the development, but they would rather see it somewhere else instead of in their neighborhood. Without literally saying it, they seem to

think about the development in the classical Not In My BackYard-view. They keep wondering out loud why the developments had to be in their neighborhood, while other locations would be more suitable to realize (social) housing. Especially individualistic respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case find the appearance of their neighborhood very important. They are very proud to be living in a green and wooded part of the municipality, and a lot of them moved to the neighborhood precisely because of its green appearance. They consider Mook a village in which tourists come to rest and recreate, and they see their neighborhood as the entrance to that area. According to them, a huge and high building does not fit in that picture, and it deteriorates the area. These individualistic respondents also argue that no one explained to them why it had to be their neighborhood, and not anywhere else. Both individualistic respondents from the Middelweg and the Groesbeekseweg case proposed other locations for the apartment buildings multiple times during the interview.

5.2 Friends with benefits

This paragraph discusses the contacts and/or relationships that individualistic respondents have with others, and how that influences the participation process. Even though the two neighborhoods in this research are totally different, there is a red line in how individualistic respondents feel about their neighbors. In both cases, they would rather do everything on their own, but they acknowledge that sometimes you need your neighbors to get the result that you want. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 3.2 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Individualistic respondents do not have many close contacts with others

Most individualistic respondents argue that they do not know their neighbors or other fellow citizens very well. Especially in the Middelweg case this is true. They do not see or speak to their neighbors very often. Some of them mention not having contact with specific neighbors because they are in some kind of dispute. Others only have good contacts with one or two specific neighbors, but not with the rest. One respondent literally mentions that he/she is just living in Molenhoek because it is close to Nijmegen, and that he/she does not like the village-feeling of knowing your neighbors and knowing everything that happens at all. Another respondent from Mook argues that he/she would rather be objective about the problem at hand, than being sucked in the subjective arguments that neighbors come up with. According to individualistic respondents, they do not want and do not need to be friends with their neighbors, because they are perfectly capable of solving their problems themselves, and to stand up for themselves. They do not need neighborly support, and they do not want to know other people's opinion. This reflects in the fact that they have a lot of negative comments on the village council. They should feel represented by such a council, but they actually have no idea what the village council does, or what their role was in the participation process.

“Ja, nou in ieder geval ehh ... wij wonen hier ... wij voelen ons niet echt vertegenwoordigd door die club hier. Ja, en toen hebben we een beetje afscheid genomen van hun en toen hebben we ook rechtstreeks met de gemeente gecommuniceerd.” (Respondent 5)

Individualistic respondents do not want to unite unless they absolutely have to

It is striking that individualistic respondents literally mention that they think that they do not have the same opinion about the participation process as their neighbors, and that they

probably experience things differently than others. They do not feel like they are aligned, and they think that they have different arguments for (not) wanting the development - or any other policy or plan for that matter - than others. During this research it became clear that this is not true: there are differences between the rationalities, but within the rationalities - the individualistic one as well - there are a lot of similarities between respondents' thoughts and experiences. For individualistic respondents, however, it feels as if they are on their own, because you cannot unite if you do not have the same interests.

There is a group of individualistic respondents - mostly from the Groesbeekseweg case - that did unite to form a stronger front against the developer and the municipality. There were several reasons for that. The most important reason is that they are very result-oriented, and at the time, uniting was the best way for them to accomplish their goals. Their goal was to convince the municipality and the developer to change the plans, and to prevent something that they did not like from being realized. Uniting did not cost them much time and effort, since they only had to sign the joint objection document. This joint objection document was prepared with professional help, so they could not have done it better by themselves. Individualistic respondents argue that if uniting would not have been an option, they would have taken action on their own to accomplish this goal. They do not necessarily need a group to express their opinion. They also argue that even though uniting was the best option at the moment, they would have never taken the lead in it, because their stakes were not as high as that of their neighbors.

Individualistic respondents only contact others if they need something from them

Finally, there are also individualistic respondents that do have or want contacts with others. Most of them have contacts or form relationships because it is beneficial to them. When respondents from the Middelweg started wondering what would happen with the site of the old gas station and whether that would have any consequences for their personal living situation, they contacted the owner and some neighbors to discuss the possibilities for that location. They are convinced that short communication lines are useful if you want to get things done, and that it is the quickest way to get the information you want. They also think that the municipality should use these short communication lines more often to get things done, instead of always following formal procedures.

A lot of individualistic respondents contacted and collected opinions from their neighbors to make their own argument stronger. Next to that, they contacted the municipality, the developer, or the village council if they could not get the information they needed elsewhere. In the Middelweg case, the respondents contact the developer pretty often about the progress of the demolition and building activities. Most of the individual respondents in the Middelweg case do have a good relationship with respondent 4, because they think he/she is doing a good job representing them in the city council, and helps them in other ways as well. One of them argues that such a relationship might be beneficial one day if he/she needs respondent 4 to put in a good word for him/her. Respondent 4 him/herself also benefits from this relationship because it gives him/her a good reputation.

5.3 Everyone should feel empowered

This paragraph is about the behavior of individualistic respondents, and about how that influences them if they become part of a participation process. What is most striking is that individualistic respondents are very proactive and they are also assertive. If they have a personal interest in something, they will not let anyone walk all over them. They also expect this behavior from others. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 3.3 of the codebook in appendix 3.

It is in individualistic respondents' nature to be proactive

Individualistic respondents are always quick to take action, instead of waiting for someone else to take action or for the problem to go away. As was described before, individualistic respondents are result-oriented and they do not like wasting time for no reason. They think that being proactive brings the best and quickest results. One can see that very clearly with the respondents from the Middelweg, who started to define their own framework even before they were asked to do anything. It also shows in the actions of some of the respondents from the Groesbeekseweg, who wrote their own formal objection, next to the one that was set up by 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber'. If things are unclear, individualistic respondents are not afraid to ask for more information or to ask questions to find out what is happening. They do not care who they have to go to in order to get their answers, even if they have to go directly to the public official(s) or council members. When they ask the municipality for something and they do not get it, they do not give up or just sit back and wait: they do their own research or find their own solution, and present that to the municipality. Individualistic respondents feel like they have to do something if they feel disadvantaged or threatened. One respondent formulates it perfectly by saying that writing to the municipality was the only 'just' way to act. They see participating in making a plan or policy as taking your responsibility, which is why they will probably take every chance they get to participate, as long as the plan or policy has direct consequences for them.

There is something that can keep individualistic respondents from being proactive: they do not like to complain about things that do not concern them, and they preferably do not want to meddle in someone else's business. Some respondents in the Groesbeekseweg do not live close enough to the development site to experience nuisance, for example, which is why they did not make any personal objections. Even though some of them signed the joint objection, they deliberately took a step back when discussions became too heated.

"Dus ik vind ook.. Als ik het niet heb gevraagd, heb ik het niet geweten." (Respondent 4)

"Daar heb ik wel wat van gezegd, dat vond ik heel raar." (Respondent 7)

Individualistic respondents are assertive, but do not let emotions get the best of them

Next to being proactive, individualistic respondents also dare to open their mouths to defend their opinion. If something happens or if someone says anything that they do not agree with or that is opposed to their opinions and beliefs, they stand up for themselves and dare to disagree. They find it important that everyone is empowered like this, and they condemn others - even council members - that are not. In the Middelweg case, one respondent encouraged all the others to speak up and use their Right to Speak. Another respondent makes a comparison in which he praises the guy that confronted a big company like Schiphol with the truth about their emissions. Individualistic respondents are also assertive in that they give their opinion or share information if they think that is necessary to prevent any problems or if they know it will benefit them later. Moreover, they think it is important to make your interests and intentions clear as soon as possible, to prevent unclarity and delays later on.

When it comes to participation, individualistic respondents will participate in order to meet their own interests first, and after that, they will think about others' interests and reflect on the bigger picture. For this reason, they would rather participate on their own, than in a group. Some individualistic respondents mention that they did not necessarily want to participate, but they felt obliged to do so, because they simply could not let it pass without trying to stop it. These respondents do not want to be in the spotlight, but definitely speak up when they strongly disagree with something. Individualistic respondents are not afraid to be honest about their intentions, even when that might hurt others. They do prefer a friendly and professional discussion over heated and emotional arguments though. They value

reasonable conversations in which both parties express a certain degree of understanding for the others' point of view, without losing your cool or being aggressive. Some individual respondents in the Groesbeekseweg case thought that their neighbor, the founder of 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber' was a bit too uptight and unpleasant sometimes, which did not work in his favor during the participation process. On the other hand, they think that the municipality was not used to this kind of friction and therefore overreacted. They should have reacted less irritated and angry with him in order to keep the participation process objective. Individualistic respondents argue that the municipality should be more open to criticism.

5.4 Being a know-it-all, being left in the dark, or something in between?

The previous paragraphs made it clear how individualistic respondents think about and act on things that happen in their neighborhood. Knowing that, makes it easier to understand how they think about the participation processes they were in (or about citizen participation in general). This paragraph is about one specific aspect of the participation process, namely information supply and communication. It becomes clear what individualistic respondents thought of information supply and communication from the developer and the municipality during the participation process, and about how they think it can be improved. Individualistic respondents point to some specific flaws in information provision and communication that they would like to see improved in order to improve the whole participation process. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 3.4 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Individualistic respondents do not need to know everything, but expect(ed) more information from the municipality

Individualistic respondents find it important to know what is going on when plans or policies have direct consequences for their personal living situation. Most of them think that the instigator of such a plan or policy should be the one that is leading the participation process, and should therefore also provide the necessary information. In the Middelweg case, the developer was in the lead, and individualistic respondents are satisfied with his information provision. Most of them did not get any information from the municipality, but they did not mind because it was not necessary. In the Groesbeekseweg case, the developer was in the lead as well. Individualistic respondents in that case are not satisfied at all with his information provision. This is why they turned to the municipality for additional information, but they did not get it there either. Individualistic respondents think that the developer should have provided the information in the first place, but when he did not do that, the municipality should have stepped in. Next to that and more in general, they would like a heads up when the municipality decides to do something, like creating a new bus stop, directly in their personal living environment. They do not necessarily want to participate in such a decision, but they do not like to be taken by surprise or to be ambushed without any notice either. Things are different for information on plans and policies that do not concern them directly, and for information about things that are not important yet. Individualistic respondents do not need to receive this information personally, because they do not need to know everything in detail. When they do want to know something, they go search for it themselves, either on the internet, or they ask neighbors or other contacts about it. Individualistic respondents do point to some specific pieces of information that they missed during the participation process, and that they miss more in general though. Contrary to egalitarian respondents who just want to know everything, individualistic respondents make a distinction in what sort of information they need. Foremost, they want to know the reasons and motives behind certain decisions, so that they can better understand the interests of either the developer or municipality. For example, they want to understand why political parties would vote contrary to their own beliefs. Also, individualistic respondents would like more information about (municipal) rules,

procedures, and information about how the municipal organization works. Sometimes this information is available, but they do not know where, or they do not understand it. For example, in the Middelweg case the respondents had no idea that there was also a municipal project manager. Even more striking is that all but one individualistic respondent did not know that they were in an official participation process, and what they could expect of it. More information on the meaning of citizen participation would have prevented skewed expectations, and would have made it more clear to local residents what their rights were.

“Ik weet niet hoe de samenwerking is tussen die twee, maar mijn ervaring met de gemeente is dat me dat moeite koste om daar inzicht in te krijgen.” (Respondent 1)
“Als je dan hoger wilt gaan, dan moet je een uitzondering maken.. Maar dan is natuurlijk, als burger, meteen de vraag: waarom sta je dat toe?” (Respondent 9)

Individualistic respondents suggest improvements for municipal communication

Individualistic respondents in the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg have different opinions on how the developer and the municipality communicated. In the Middelweg case, they found the developer honest, transparent, reachable, and forthcoming, and they have no complaints about the way he communicated. They did not get much feedback, but they did not mind, because everything went well. Individualistic respondents in the Middelweg case did not communicate much with the municipality, and do not have much to say about communication in relation to this participation process. They do point to the fact that everyone feels like the municipality does not communicate well in general. They have heard multiple stories about the municipality not being reachable and not reacting to questions. Only the field service gets a compliment from one of the respondents. In the Groesbeekseweg case, individualistic respondents are not happy with the way the municipality communicated. During the participation and decision-making process, the municipality did not reply when they posed questions, and when they did get an answer, it was vague and everything but understandable for the ‘normal citizen’. Apart from the case at hand, they think the municipality should communicate more and especially earlier about what they are planning to do, instead of waiting for someone to complain or ask questions. Not surprisingly, they are also disappointed in the communication style of the developer. Not only because he was not honest and transparent, but also because he was not open for questions and they could not reach him in the period between the first conversations and the information evening.

More in general, individualistic respondents from both cases criticize the means of communication that the municipality used, like the information evening and posts in the municipal newspaper. Not all individualistic respondents read the municipal newspaper, and the ones that do, think that the column with notices on municipal plans is too brief and too nondescript. They think that an information evening in itself is a good means of communication, but it was not organized the right way in the Groesbeekseweg case. Most of the respondents knew that it would take place, but it was accessible for too many people, and they would have liked a setting with only direct stakeholders. One respondent also argued that it would be nice if there were more than one of such information moments, because he/she is never available at evenings, because he/she has to take care of the children. Individualistic respondents also would have liked it if the developer would have been there personally, so that they could approach him directly with their questions.

5.5 The ideal participation process

This paragraph is about what the ideal participation process should look like, according to individualistic respondents. It is about who they think should participate, in what case, and why. It is also about what the process itself should look like. Who starts it, and what are the do's and don'ts, for example, and how, when, and about what can people participate? The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 3.5 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Individualistic respondents think that local residents are the key stakeholders

Individualistic respondents have a pretty clear idea about who can participate, and who cannot. The most - and in the eyes of most individualistic respondents the only - important stakeholders are local residents that live close to the development site. Some individualistic respondents cannot even think of other stakeholders, and others clearly answered 'no' when other possible stakeholders were suggested. They think it should be a small, select group of people that is dedicated to making the participation process work because of their personal interest with the case. The bigger the plan or policy at hand, the bigger this select group can be, because more people will have an interest.

An important addition, according to individualistic respondents, is that it is useless to put time and effort in making local residents participate who do not want to. Apparently, they do not find a representative group of stakeholders important. Another addition is that they do find it important that every local resident gets the chance to participate. It is then their own responsibility if they do so or not. If they want to, they should be facilitated wherever that is necessary. In both cases, the individualistic respondents did not miss the input of other parties. They think that a participation process does not work if everyone or too many people can participate, because then it would take too long to reach an outcome. The end goal of making a decision should be reached as efficiently as possible. Individualistic respondents do not like the fact that other parties that make a lot of fuss about something, get a chance to participate - or at least have a say - only because they are screaming for attention. Individualistic respondents do consider the municipality as a stakeholder with its own personal interest. The only difference between themselves and the municipality as a stakeholder is that the municipality can be the instigator as well, so the municipality has a double role.

Individualistic respondents want to participate if they are affected personally

If it is their own choice and responsibility to participate, what makes individualistic respondents want to participate then? Individualistic respondents mainly want information and want to participate when the development is really nearby, when the development is of a reasonable size, and when there are personal consequences for them. An important personal consequence that was mentioned very often is the loss of privacy. Another one is a decreased value of their own home. Individualistic respondents only want to participate if the development includes changes for their normal way of living. Completely new buildings or homes are examples of projects that they definitely want to participate in. Reasons for not wanting to be involved even though there are personal consequences, are not mentioned very often. One respondent talks about not wanting too much negative attention. Another one argues that he/she always makes a trade-off between the time it costs him/her to participate and the benefits it might bring.

“Als je er zelf dichtbij woont, vind ik wel dat je betrokken moet zijn, maar voor de rest doet het me niet zoveel.” (Respondent 6)

Individualistic respondents don't need to be involved in the early stages of plan making

There are some specific things that individualistic respondents find important in a participation process. They do not necessarily need to think and participate from scratch: they want to be involved when there is a framework and some sort of concept plan. The instigator of a plan or policy sets the overarching framework, which has to be communicated to the stakeholders before the participation process starts. Individualistic respondents like to be prepared before formally participating. They want to know the possibilities and impossibilities beforehand. They prefer honesty about which aspects of the plan are open for debate, and which aspects are fixed, so that they can spend their time as efficiently as possible.

Individualistic respondents prefer a personal approach, but they do not mind if they have to write a letter instead of having a personal conversation, or if they get a common invitation instead of a personal one, for example, as long as they get a fair chance to participate in comparison to others. Individualistic respondents had to participate on their own in the Middelweg case, because of Covid-19. They had no problem being honest and straightforward in this setting, and they even argue that it was easier to express their personal interests, because there were no other people they could offend.

Individualistic respondents think that citizen participation entails multiple things

According to individualistic respondents, citizen participation can have multiple meanings. First of all, they want their involvement to be of use, so they did not participate in vain. The developer or municipality has to act on their input, meaning that something has to change or adjustments have to be made. Secondly, participation is also about listening to the participants, according to individualistic respondents. They think participation is more than just showing interest. When it is not possible to act on something, the developer or municipality should at least give you some feedback on how your input was processed in the outcome, and why it was not possible to do something with it. Thirdly, individualistic respondents think that participation is about creating support for a certain plan or policy. By support, they do not mean a widespread consensus, but a mutual understanding that makes it possible to make compromises. This relates to the second point, since a compromise makes participants feel heard, even though they did not totally get their way. Lastly, individualistic respondents argue that participation also often means accepting that you cannot make everyone happy, and that there will always be some people that are disappointed. They acknowledge that a clear definition is missing, which is why some people think that participating means getting your way, while in fact, that is not what citizen participation is about at all.

“En daar moet een mooi midden tussen gevonden worden en dan heb je het gevoel dat er naar je geluisterd is, ondanks dat we het liever lager hadden.” (Respondent 9)

5.6 Last remarks

Lastly, there are some remarks that individualistic respondents made that were not directly linked to the previous paragraphs, but that are worth mentioning. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 3.6 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Individualistic respondents recommend some changes for the municipal organization

Individualistic respondents have multiple opinions on politics and the municipal organization. Firstly, they think civil servants should step up against their superiors (the public officials) more often, instead of only following their orders and asking for their approval. They should be more impartial, and should be making their own decisions.

Secondly, individual respondents think that public officials should not act too emotional or get personally involved when making policy decisions. They have to act professional at all times. They also think that public officials sometimes do not dare to make decisions, and that there is no consistency in a lot of policies. Thirdly, they think that the opposition in the municipal council is only looking for flaws that might undermine the coalition parties. Political parties in general should be more dedicated to be up to date about every policy matter, and listen more to their voters. Lastly, individual respondents think that the municipality should use the media more often to also show the positive sides of certain decisions. They also think the municipality finds it hard to solve 'long time' and/or 'big' problems because of its small size.

Individualistic respondents make a lot of comparisons with other or earlier experiences

Just like egalitarians, individualistic respondents compare the participation process with other or earlier experiences. They often compare living in the municipality of Mook and Middelaar with living in another municipality, and with their work situation. They also compare municipal politics with national politics (and they are not amused about either). Individualistic respondents make these comparisons not to actually compare the two situations or experiences or to make a point about which one is better, but more to show that they understand the questions, know a lot about the topics, and that they have something interesting to tell.

Chapter 6: “Participation and hierarchy”

After applying the framework of Schoop et al (2020), the researcher was able to place 116 codes within the hierarchist rationality. These codes were derived from 18 passages. The hierarchist rationality was clearly present within 4 out of 10 respondents, and three more respondents used it occasionally. The hierarchist perspective is used considerably less to perceive participation processes than the other three perspectives.

Hierarchist respondents actually barely review the participation processes they were in at all. Paragraphs 1 and 2 are about the fact that they prefer clear rules and information, about how they think that worked out during the participation process, and about how they behaved because of it. The rest of this chapter has a more hypothetical character. Paragraph 2 is about whether hierarchist respondents think participation is a good thing or not, and paragraph 3 is about what participation should look like in the future. In paragraph 4 are some remarks that cannot be placed within the other paragraphs, but that are important nevertheless.

6.1 Clear rules and honest information: what more does a person need?

Not surprisingly, hierarchist respondents like clear rules and information. They prefer clear rules and information on everything in every situation, and therefore also when they are in a citizen participation process. They do not only know the rules well, they also follow them at all times. Although they find transparency very important, they do not dare to accuse the municipality of not being honest, even though they do have their suspicions. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 4.1 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Hierarchist respondents do not know what to do without rules

Hierarchist respondents argued multiple times that they find it important that the municipality engages in active policy making, instead of only facilitating other people’s initiatives. The municipality should make the rules, and these rules have to be clear and easy to find, they argue. They have confidence in the municipality and its decisions, and they always expect positive outcomes, as long as official procedures are followed. Moreover, they expect things to go wrong if there are no rules or arrangements. For example, they think that the developer in the Groesbeekseweg case could do everything he wanted, because the municipality did not give him any guidelines. For this reason, hierarchist respondents find it very important that a participation policy - and all the rules and guidelines that come with it - is laid down by law. It follows that hierarchist respondents also know the rules very well. They know how the municipality works and what every procedure entails. They also know what they have to do, or where they have to go, if they encounter a problem. The fact that hierarchist respondents find rules important does not mean that they take over everything the municipality wants indiscriminately. They do dare to object, but they will always follow the official ways to do so. They know their personal rights, so they are aware of the fact that they can submit their opinion or make an official objection. Hierarchist respondents in the Middelweg case were very surprised when they could tell the developer what they would like to see differently in a personal conversation: this was very new to them.

“Die regels moeten vast staan, wat je wel en niet aan je woning mag veranderen.” (Respondent 1)

Hierarchist respondents like honesty and transparency

Hierarchist respondents also find information provision very important. Multiple respondents said that they appreciate being informed timely, meaning that as soon as something is official, they want to be informed. They do not need to participate in or be informed about every discussion before that, unless they specifically ask for it. They do appreciate transparency about the municipality's intentions, and some respondents suspect that the municipality is not always open and honest about this. Hierarchist respondents think that information provision is something that the municipality is responsible for. For this reason, they think that the municipality should be more clear about what participation actually is. They do not like the vagueness surrounding this topic.

Hierarchist respondents in the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case have different views on the information supply from the developer and the municipality during the two participation processes. Respondents in the Middelweg case argue that they were aware of the municipality's plans on time, so they could prepare for what was coming. They are satisfied with the municipality's information provision on the official procedures. They were also surprised, because a lot of other information came from the developer. They had to get used to the personal approach that was used. Respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case were more skeptical. They mention multiple times that they have this weird feeling that things were not totally transparent, but they do not make any further or specific accusations towards the municipality.

6.2 Citizen participation is not desirable at all

The reason that hierarchist respondents do not have much to say about the participation processes in the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case, might be that they hesitate whether citizen participation is a good thing. There are two main lines of reasoning that underlie this doubt. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 4.2 and 4.3 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Hierarchist respondents think that citizens should not interfere with plan making

Hierarchist respondents feel like the municipality has the experience and expertise to make policy, and citizens do not. According to them, ignorant citizens should not put themselves in place of the actual policy maker, and they should not interfere in decision making on important policy issues, simply because they are not capable. Hierarchist respondents think that local knowledge and experience are not comparable to policy making experience and expertise. Next to that, they think that citizens will not take responsibility like the municipality does. Hierarchist respondents think that citizen participation should only be applied in the implementation phase, when there are only simple decisions left. Most of them never even thought about citizen participation beyond the implementation phase.

Hierarchist respondents think that citizen participation is a nice ideal in a democracy, but it is also an illusion and unrealistic. They think that a municipality should make quick and hard decisions if circumstances (like a crisis) ask for that. According to them, citizen participation only slows that down. They think making decisions is impossible if you let every stakeholder give their opinion. They see no other stakeholders than the municipality and maybe some consultancy agencies, because of their expertise. When hierarchist respondents were asked about outsourcing citizen participation to developers, they were very clear that that would be

unthinkable, because the municipality is the only one that can handle the responsibility of making these kinds of decisions and of leading a citizen participation process.

“Dat betekent dat je op de stoel van de gemeente gaat zitten, en gaat beslissen over wat er gaat gebeuren ... ik weet niet of dat verstandig is.” (Respondent 5)

Hierarchist respondents find the common interest more important than their personal interests

In addition to the statement that citizen participation slows down decision making, hierarchist respondents also think that most policies are not strict enough as they are. They think that policy making has become too much about personal interests. According to them, citizen participation would amplify that process. They think policy making should be about ideals, and about politicians that try to make solid and strict policy plans in line with their party ideals. Political parties promote the common public interest, so hierarchist respondents do not see why their opinion should be complemented with citizens' personal interests. There is one respondent that brought up that citizen participation might create more support for certain decisions, but then he/she took that back by reasoning that it is not possible to make a plan that satisfies everyone. This line of reasoning is followed by more hierarchist respondents: it does not matter if you apply citizen participation or not, because in either situation, you can never please everyone. Hierarchist respondents resign themselves to this fact, which is why they - even in the Groesbeekseweg case - accept the development even though they are not happy with it. They trust the municipality in that they will make the right choices that are best for everyone, so they do not submit their opinion or make a formal objection.

6.3 If we really have to ...

Hierarchist respondents realize that having a citizen participation policy is obliged when the New Environmental Law enters into force. There are three aspects that they would like to see differently in comparison to the current situation. These aspects will be discussed below. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Hierarchist respondents want the municipality to be in the lead at all times

Hierarchist respondents, as stated before, are convinced that the municipality should not outsource anything, especially not plan making. They think the municipality should hold the strings at all times, also when it comes to citizen participation. Not only should the municipality act tougher and be stricter in general, the municipality should also be more active in setting up citizen participation processes. When they were asked about what they would like to see differently in future participation processes, the first thing hierarchist respondents said was that participation process should never be led by a developer, but always by the municipality. On the one hand, this is because they trust the municipality to act responsible and in the general interest, whilst they do not trust developers in general. They think a developer is nothing more than a stakeholder with its own interests, so if you let them lead a participation process, you might as well abolish citizen participation at all, because they will only follow their own interest anyway. On the other hand, hierarchist respondents think that developers do not want to be in charge of setting up a participation process. They think that they do not know what to do, and because they do not care as much as the

municipality, the participation process will be rushed and sloppy. In that case, there is also no added value to a citizen participation process anymore.

Hierarchist respondents were asked what they would do if they were the municipality and they had no choice but to outsource the participation process to the developer. They argued that, again, clear requirements and guidelines are key. These guidelines should be a precondition for selling land or property to a developer, and if it is already in their possession, it should be a precondition for agreeing on changing the development plan. Hierarchist respondents think that the municipality should give the developer a strict framework for what can and cannot be realized in that location, and on what specific topics there can be input from citizens. Especially hierarchist respondents in the Groesbeekseweg case think that the fact that the municipality did not do that, is why the developer could do whatever he wanted.

“Ja nee want die vinden het wellicht helemaal niet belangrijk om naar omwonenden te luisteren, die willen winst maken. Maar dat vonden ze zelf ook, dat zeiden ze ook in een aantal van die gesprekken hoor. Dat dat raar was, dat ze het gek vonden.. Maar dat is de wet, dat is eigenlijk ehh ja boven hun afgeroepen toch?” (Respondent 9)

Hierarchist respondents think that participation should give you rights

So if there is no way out of it, what should be prescribed in a participation policy then? According to hierarchist respondents, the most important things are that the definition of citizen participation is clear, and that it becomes clear when and how it is applied. They want to know what they can expect from the municipality, and what the municipality expects from them, so they can prepare for the changes. Hierarchist respondents find it especially important that - whatever the content of the participation policy may be - the participation policy is legally defined, so that they can derive rights from it. They find it important that they can invoke their right on citizen participation, and that people who violate these rights will be held accountable somehow. This will prevent everything that went wrong in the Groesbeekseweg case, according to hierarchist respondents, because if there would have been legal requirements for the developer, the municipality could have enforced these requirements and punished the violations.

Hierarchist respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case are a bit skeptical on whether there will be an official citizen participation policy: they feel like it is just an empty promise. Making citizen participation legal would convince them that the municipality keeps their promise. Hierarchist respondents from the Middelweg already had a taste of how citizen participation might benefit them, and even though it is not legally defined yet, they are positive and surprised about how the developer led the participation process. This might be an indication that the wish to have legal policies and rules about everything stems from negative experiences with situations in which that was not the case.

Hierarchist respondents acknowledge that some things might have to change in the municipal organization

Hierarchist respondents admit that not everyone knows the rules, and that, if you do not know them, it can be hard to find this information or find the right person to ask a specific question to. It is not always clear which civil servant does what, and who is responsible for specific policy areas. For citizen participation to work, hierarchist respondents find it important that citizens know how and to whom they have to direct their questions. Not every

citizen is an expert on every topic, so they need to know where they can get additional information so that they can participate well prepared.

Hierarchist respondents also acknowledge that citizen participation is a serious challenge for civil servants, and that they have to incorporate it in their way of working, which means that the municipality might not have enough capacity to adhere to a strict participation policy.

According to them, citizen participation will only work if the municipality hires (a) specialist(s) who know(s) how to deal with this new way of working, and who can support the other civil servants in this new way of working. One or more extra employees also means that there is more time to provide citizens with feedback on what happened with their input.

On the subject of politics, hierarchist respondents recommend that the behavior of the municipal city council should be changed. Hierarchist respondents think that council members should be more active, should prepare better for council meetings, and should pay closer attention during those meetings. They think that citizen participation has no use if the body that has to make the actual decision has the wrong attitude and does not have enough expertise on the subject to judge whether citizen participation did actually go well or not.

“Maar dan nog moet je als gemeente goedkeuring geven. En zij hebben goedkeuring gegeven ... want ze hebben dus wel dingen gesteld wat wel en niet mocht, maar daar houden ze helemaal geen rekening mee. En wie handhaaft er dan?” (Respondent 10)

6.4 Last remarks

There is one last thing that needs to be commented, and that does not fit within the other paragraphs. It does correspond to the previous chapters, and is therefore worth mentioning. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 4.7 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Hierarchist respondents make a lot of comparisons with other or earlier experiences

Hierarchist respondents also compare the participation processes that they were in with other or earlier experiences. They often compare municipal politics with national politics or other countries' political systems, especially on the subject of strict rules and policies. Hierarchist respondents also compare the participation processes with other municipal issues or problematic topics in the municipality. They do that to emphasize that citizen participation does not work in its current form. They do not make any literally negative comments, however, as if they do not dare to badmouth the municipality. Hierarchist respondents do make a lot of negative comments on national policy issues though. These comments are mostly about the national government not being strict enough. They argue that citizen participation might be meant to improve democracy, but it actually does the opposite, because it slows the decision making process down, and it causes non-expert (citizen) arguments to mingle in substantive discussions, which does not improve the quality of the discussion.

Chapter 7: “Participation and fatalism”

After the framework of Schoop et al (2020) was used to restructure the interviews, there were 454 codes from the initial coding process that can be placed within the fatalistic rationality. These codes were derived from 84 passages. The fatalistic rationality was present within all ten respondents, and is the most common rationality within this research. This means that local residents from the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case review the participation process mostly from a fatalistic perspective.

After an intensive inductive coding process, the 454 codes were reduced to seven paragraphs with theories on how fatalistic respondents think and behave, and about how they perceived the citizen participation process. The first paragraph is an introduction on how fatalistic respondents come across and react. The second paragraph is about their suspicions against the municipality. Paragraph 3 and 4 are about how they think about different aspects of citizen participation (information provision and communication, and processing citizens input). Paragraph 5 explains how fatalistic respondents think about citizen participation now, and paragraph 6 is about the question whether that will change in the future. The last paragraph is about some other interesting remarks that could not be placed within the other paragraphs.

7.1 Negativity and fear everywhere

Fatalistic respondents experience a lot of negative feelings when they think and talk about citizen participation. It is important to describe these feelings before elaborating on how they feel about certain aspects of citizen participation, because it sets the tone for their attitude towards citizen participation. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 1.1 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Fatalistic respondents experience worries and fears

Fatalistic respondents are very suspicious about everything and everyone, which is why they automatically assumed that the new developments at the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg would be a bad thing. Most of the worries or fears are about the developer and his intentions. In the Groesbeekseweg case, fatalistic respondents think of the developer as unreliable, indecent, dishonest, and not well behaved. They also think the developer conspires with other - unknown - parties, that he wants to manipulate people and that he tells hard lies. They even compare the developer to Donald Trump, because they think that he will ‘accidentally’ break the artwork on one of the buildings that has to be preserved, just like Trump did with one of the buildings he bought. In both cases, there are also worries or fears about the development itself and about the traffic situation in the neighborhood. Fatalistic respondents think the development is an invasion of their privacy, that it is too high and massive, and they are worried about the target group. Lastly, there are some general concerns about society in general (modern technology and social renting for example).

Fatalistic respondents experience feelings of misunderstanding

A lot of fatalistic respondents feel misunderstood by either the developer or by the municipality. They complain about the developer being selfish and therefore not seeing the common interest of the neighborhood, and they think the municipality does not want to understand their view on things like the dangerous traffic situation. They feel ignored, or even dismissed, when they try to explain the actual situation. Some fatalistic respondents claim that the municipality has prejudices about them, and that this is the reason that they do

not want to listen to them. There are also fatalistic respondents that expected a certain reaction from the municipality, but got something very different. Some of them expected a special treatment because they are immediate neighbors, but they were treated the same as everyone else. Others expected feedback or adjustments to the plans, but this did not happen either. They argue that promises were made by politicians, but none of these were kept.

“Nee, nee. De gemeente vindt mijn mening niet interessant.” (Respondent 3)
“Ja dan denk ik bij m’n eigen van ehh.. ja dan ben ik niet echt serieus genomen.” (Respondent 5)

Fatalistic respondents feel like participating is pointless, and give up in the end

Many fatalistic respondents, especially from the Groesbeekseweg case, feel discouraged by previous bad experiences with participation processes, and think nothing is going to change the next time. They feel like the personal conversations they had with experts, for example, are a waste of time, since nothing has happened since. They get tired and lose their interest in the issue. They do not call it ‘participating’ anymore, but use words like ‘protesting’, ‘arguing’, and even ‘fighting’. These feelings of despondency often escalate, which is when fatalistic respondents start to think that participating in general is pointless. Most of the time they do give their opinion, go to meetings, or share their concerns, because others expect them to, but they do not have expectations from the participation process anymore. Finally, these feelings evolve in fatalistic respondents giving up on participating completely. They become indifferent, and settle for an outcome they are not happy with without making any effort to change it. At this point, they just want to be done with it, and some of them do not even want to hear anything about it anymore.

“ ... Kijk op een gegeven moment zet je er een kruis achter hé.” (Respondent 6)
“We accepteren het maar.. ik laat het over me heen komen.” (Respondent 8)

Fatalistic respondents feel powerless

During the participation process in the Groesbeekseweg case, fatalistic respondents were made to believe that they could have a say twice. When it turned out that their comments on the first sketch plan were not incorporated because the draft plans were totally different, they were already disappointed. Then, when it turned out that also their comments on the draft plans did not change the final plans at all, it made them feel powerless. They think that it was all a set up, and that the developer and the municipality never intended to actually incorporate their comments. They feel turned down and laughed at for thinking they could make a difference.

Fatalistic respondents from both cases also express feelings of powerlessness more in general. They think it is unfair that they are disadvantaged by decisions or measures that were taken in the past. Sometimes decisions were made when they did not live there yet, or they missed the timeframe in which they could give their opinion. Time also seems to be a reason that fatalistic respondents feel powerless. They find it hard to just wait and see what happens. Fatalists do not only feel powerless against the municipality or its decisions, but also against the developer. They feel like he is playing a game that is all about money.

Fatalistic respondents feel frustrated and irritated, and they talk with a lot of sarcasm

There are a lot of feelings of frustration and irritation, especially towards the developer. The most common frustration for fatalistic respondents is that the developer is blind to the common interest, and only thinks about his/their own interest, which is making money. They also accuse him/them of not being transparent, and not keeping promises. One respondent confronted him with the changed plans after the first proposal, and told about how he lied and made up excuses in reaction, which frustrated him/her even more. Fatalistic respondents are also irritated about how dependent they are on the developer, just because the municipality outsourced the participation process. They find it outrageous that the municipality can do that. In reaction, a lot of respondents start to make jokes to hide how disappointed they are.

“Ja, dus het enige groen dat ze hebben, is het groen van de burelen [lacht], dus daar boffen ze mee [lacht nog harder]. Oh nee er komt ook een boompje geloof ik op de parkeerplaats ... één miezerig boompje ... Maar ik betwijfel zelfs al of dat boompje er wel komt” (Respondent 10)

7.2 The municipality is not to be trusted

Not surprisingly, and as a consequence of the negative feelings that they experience, there is another characteristic of fatalistic respondents that became evident during the interviews. Fatalistic respondents have little confidence in other people, and when it comes to the two participation processes in the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case, it became clear that especially their level of trust in the municipality is very low. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 1.6 and 1.8 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Fatalistic respondents think the municipality is inert and lacks perseverance

The main reason for fatalistic respondents' mistrust in the municipality in general, is that they think that the municipality is not capable of getting things done. This feeling is mostly caused by fatalistic respondents' experience with earlier long-term projects that did not end well, or did not end at all. Especially the traffic problems at the Ringbaan and Groesbeekseweg - problems that still are not solved - contributed to it. Because of this, fatalistic respondents lost faith in the municipality's problem solving capabilities. They also do not understand why the municipality has to ask and wait for the opinion of other governments, interest groups and other advisory parties. According to fatalistic respondents, this slows everything down. Another reproach is that fatalistic respondents think that the municipality does not want to make decisions on controversial issues. They think the municipality tries to postpone everything as long as they can, so that they do not have to offend anyone. Fatalistic respondents do not see any problem in making unpopular decisions, especially in times of crisis. They also seem to think that the municipality is rusty, meaning that it is stuck in doing things the way it has always been done, and therefore not being open to new suggestions. The fact that the municipality outsourced citizen participation to the developer in the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case, led to a contradicting response amongst fatalistic respondents. In both cases they do not seem to understand why the municipality did that. They think that the municipality tried to shirk its responsibilities, even more so because it did not give the developer any guidelines on how to arrange everything. In the Groesbeekseweg case, fatalistic respondents still regard the municipality as the one responsible for the outcome, not the developer. They argue that the municipality lost grip on the developer, so that the developer could do anything he wanted. In the Middelweg case, however, fatalistic respondents seem to trust the developer more than the municipality. They are relieved that

the municipality was not involved, because they think the developer takes the participation process more seriously and personally. Their trust in the municipality did not grow, but their trust in a positive outcome did.

“... Daar moeten ze iets mee doen. Dat vind ik onprofessioneel ... dat vind ik jammer. Ik zeg altijd maar zo: dat zijn de laaghangende fruiten, die kun je zo pakken. (Respondent 3)

Fatalistic respondents think that public officials are evil and politicians are lazy

Fatalistic respondents come up with a lot of negative remarks about politics in general. Politicians are too partisan and do not have an own opinion, a lot of new politicians are inexperienced or too focused on one specific issue, and politics has become too hard for certain people to keep themselves standing. Political parties and council members are also called untrustworthy. They think political parties do not adhere to what they state in their election programs, because they do not have the guts to actually make a decision or write an action programme. Their expectations from council members are very low: they think that skilled council members are the exception, and that most of them do not read the documents they are supposed to prepare. According to fatalistic respondents, they are bad representatives, because they do not feel involved and they cannot be trusted. In the Groesbeekseweg case, the local residents invited council members and convinced them that there were a lot of shortcomings in the plans. They thought they convinced them, but when the council members had to vote, they voted in favor of the plans anyway.

Fatalistic respondents' trust in public officials and the executive board is also very low. The remarks that fatalistic respondents make on the public official that is responsible for spatial planning go even further than 'not trusting' him/her. They have had very bad experiences with him/her, and even call him/her evil, and a dictator. They claim that there is a lot of gossip about this public official, which makes them believe that he/she is too partisan and engages in favoritism. According to some fatalistic respondents, he/she does not only lie to citizens, but also to civil servants and the council. One respondent argues that he/she only cares about his/her own interests, and that there are all kinds of secret bonds between public officials and council members to achieve that. Most fatalistic respondents are convinced that public officials do not listen to their civil servants, and that they do not make the right choices for the municipality, only the right choice for themselves. Not all public officials are called evil, but they do call the other public officials followers, in the sense that they did not dare to go against the public official in charge with the two developments.

“Nou die wethouder is duidelijk niet op onze hand, die wil uitsluitend bouwen, bouwen, bouwen... zoveel mogelijk ruimte, zoveel mogelijk inwoners, zodat die kas gespekt wordt.” (Respondent 6)

Fatalistic respondents question the role of civil servants in a participation process

Fatalistic respondents do not think that civil servants add much value to the participation process. They think that civil servants do not have their own opinion, and that they are just an instrument used by public officials. According to fatalistic respondents, civil servants should put up a fight more often when they disagree with their public officials. Civil servants' loyalty towards public officials makes them untrustworthy in the eyes of fatalistic respondents. They think that this 'problem' particularly manifests itself in small municipalities,

because communication lines are shorter, which makes it hard for civil servants to disagree with public officials without making it personal and creating problems for themselves. Some fatalistic respondents also argue that it is difficult to trust civil servants because some of them are only working part time, and others are temporarily hired. As a consequence, these civil servants cannot reach consensus in time, some agreements are only made half, and most promises are not kept. Some fatalistic respondents believe that civil servants only feel responsible when they are personally involved with the matter at hand. If not, they will not help you. Because of these kinds of experiences, they do not see the use of a personal conversation with a civil servant, or asking them for help.

Next to the 'normal' civil servant, fatalistic respondents also have a clear opinion on the ones that manage the larger projects, like the developments in this research. Like normal civil servants, they are believed to be just foot soldiers, or executors of the public official's will. In the case of the Groesbeekseweg, however, they are even presumed to be puppets of the public officials, put in place with specific instructions and orders that cannot be altered.

“Kijk, als je bij zo'n ambtenaar iets neerlegt, dan moet ie toch weer terug naar de wethouder en dan is hij gewoon een filter ... hij vertelt met zijn eigen woorden hoe de wethouder er tegenaan kijkt.” (Respondent 4)
“Oh er was ook nog zo'n discipel van de gemeente bij.” (Respondent 6)

7.3 No transparency, no honesty, and no one cares

Now that it is clear that fatalistic respondents experience a lot of negative feelings, and that they do not have much trust in the municipality, it is easier to understand the way they perceive specific aspects of the participation process. One of these aspects is information provision. Fatalistic respondents accuse both the developer and the municipality of hiding information, but they do not seem to care about the consequential information shortage. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 1.2 and 1.7 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Fatalistic respondents think that they deliberately did not get enough information

When it comes to information provision from either the municipality or the developer, fatalistic respondents are not satisfied at all. They feel like the municipality is not only untransparent, but also dishonest and sometimes they even accuse the municipality of lying. They feel like the municipality deliberately tried to conceal information, and they think that civil servants and public officials concealed their actual opinions and interests. Some respondents from the Groesbeekseweg talked about how they did not get information from the municipality even when they requested it formally via the Freedom of Information Act. Other respondents talked about how civil servants simply did not want to answer their questions. They accuse the project manager of only saying what public officials want him to say, and they argue that the municipality knew that the plan had some shortcomings, but deliberately tried to disguise that. Fatalistic respondents also think that financial interests are always most important for the municipality, but that they do not want to admit that. They think it is all about building as many houses as possible, so that the municipality can earn money. In the Groesbeekseweg case, fatalistic respondents feel misinformed by the developer as well. According to them, he only visited local residents that lived very close to the development site with the first proposal for the plan, and when people were not at home, he did not try again. Communication after the visits was also difficult: they did not hear from the developer again until the information evening for everyone that was interested. There was no

special meeting only for local residents, and there was no feedback or extra information in between the information moments. All of this made fatalists suspicious about the developer. They accuse him of deliberately sharing no information. Fatalistic respondents seem to be more indignant about the municipality not sharing information, than about the developer doing the same. For some reason, they have higher expectations from the municipality.

*“Vanuit de gemeente heb ik helemaal niets gehoord.” (Respondent 1)
“Niet dat ik weet? Zelfs tijdens de raadsvergadering, tijdens mijn spreektijd, ben ik daar niet achter gekomen...” (Respondent 2)*

Fatalistic respondents are not interested in reducing the information shortage

Fatalistic respondents in the Groesbeekseweg case had and still have a lot of uncertainties and knowledge gaps after the participation process ended and the development plan was officially agreed on. For example, they do not know whether the developer already has a permit, if and when the building process starts, how many apartments there will be exactly, and what the target audience will be. Such an information shortage causes only more negative feelings amongst fatalistic respondents. Some fatalistic respondents claim that it is hard to find the right way in, or that they do not understand information that they hear or find online. They hope that others will take action and get information for them, and then when they do, they take this information from others for truth, without checking it or asking questions. Because of this, there are a lot of prejudices and speculations: things that multiple respondents mention, but that no one actually experienced. They start to gossip, and start to assume the worst, because they do not know better. One of the local residents had a personal conversation with a public official, but because he did not get the information he came for, he left the meeting with only more questions, taking these to the whole neighborhood. Other fatalistic respondents do not seem to care, and do not want to talk about it anymore. For them, the chapter is closed, because nothing can be done about it anymore. There are no expectations anymore when it comes to openness or transparency from the municipality.

7.4 Processing citizen input: is anyone actually listening?

Another aspect of the participation process is the way citizens' input is processed by the municipality and/or the developer. The fact that there was a major information shortage in the Groesbeekseweg case during and after the participation process, and the fact that fatalistic respondents do not trust the municipality at all, does not mean that fatalistic respondents never gave their opinion and input. In both cases, they did express their concerns, expecting that the developer and/or municipality would process these into the final plan. In this paragraph one can read how that worked out. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 1.3 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Fatalistic respondents think that nobody actually listened to them

Overall, fatalistic respondents from both cases are not happy with how the developer and the municipality dealt with their input. A lot of them talked about how they gave their input or opinion on the development, but nothing changed accordingly. They claim that their concerns and opinions were only heard, but not really listened to. In their opinion, listening means actually trying to understand the arguments, and making a real effort to incorporate

them in the plans. They feel ignored, because that is not what happened. Either they heard nothing after they gave their opinion, or there were some questions to follow up, but these did not lead to changes in the plans. In the latter case, there was never a satisfying response as to why that did not happen. Fatalistic respondents in the Groesbeekseweg case are especially dissatisfied about how the developer handled their input on the project. According to some respondents, the reason that the developer visited some local residents was not to ask their opinions so that he could incorporate that in his plans, but to get a sense of how much resistance there would be on the plans that he already made. He did not incorporate the first opinions of the local residents in the draft plans at all: in fact, the draft plans were even more alarming for them. These respondents also expected more from the municipality. They think that forming 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber' scared the municipality, which is why they reacted defensively. One respondent told about how the public official for spatial planning made the founder of 'Stichting de Wolkenkrabber' look bad in front of the council by telling lies about why he could not be there during a council meeting. Fatalistic respondents in the Middelweg case argue that they could only give their opinion on small design choices. They think that's a facade, because they were promised that they could give their opinion on the plan as a whole. They do not have that much to say about how the municipality processed their input. They do have something to say about that in relation to earlier projects, or more in general (see below).

“Ik denk dat de bedoeling is dat ze kunnen aantonen van ‘nee maar we hebben de bewoners gehoord’ en vervolgens hebben ze het boek gesloten. Dat willen ze alleen niet hardop zeggen.” (Respondent 10)

Fatalistic respondents are not happy with how the municipality processes citizen input

The feeling that the municipality only 'hears' what citizens have to say and does not actually 'listen' to them, is not something that fatalistic respondents only feel in relation to this development. They have an overall negative image of the municipality when it comes to citizen participation and processing citizen input. Some of them think that the municipality does not listen to individual citizens, because that takes too much time. Others think that civil servants do not use all the information they get, but only the pieces that are in line with the plans that they already (secretly) made. This makes fatalistic respondents wonder why the municipality keeps asking for their opinion, when it is already clear beforehand that nobody can or wants to actually listen. Some fatalistic respondents argue that councilors and political parties do not listen to them as well. According to them, politicians do not make any effort to really dive into the arguments, and they only care when it affects their personal situation or political party interests. Councilors are accused of making informal side-deals, and being hard to reach.

There have been multiple participation processes in which fatalistic respondents noticed these things, which is why they were extra suspicious in the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case. Instead of going in with a positive attitude, they already assumed that no one would listen to them. These suspicions turned out to be true in the Groesbeekseweg case, because after the visits from the developer, they were waiting for the municipality to collect their opinions and input. The municipality was not clear about the fact that the developer was leading the participation process. When the draft plan was presented at the information evening, a plan that did not contain any input from local residents, fatalistic respondents felt like they were ignored by the municipality. Because of experiences like this, fatalistic respondents become more and more reluctant to share their input and opinion, and may not want to anymore in future participation processes. One fatalistic respondent already called this experience the last straw that breaks the camel's back.

7.5 Citizen participation is a puppet show

All fatalistic respondents were asked how they think that citizen participation can be improved in a new participation policy. None of these respondents came with a constructive answer: they all thought it would be a waste of time to try and improve citizen participation, because it will only work if everyone - including the municipality itself - wants it to work. Not surprisingly, they are convinced that that will never happen. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 1.5 and 1.8 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Fatalistic respondents think that the municipality does not want citizen participation

Fatalistic respondents do not beat around the bush about this topic. They make it clear multiple times that they think that the municipality does not want participation. First of all, they think that both the council and the executive board do not find it important, because they are fine with how things work without citizen participation. One respondent even calls them orthodox for not understanding the value of citizen participation. Secondly, since fatalistic respondents believe that there are all kinds of secret side deals and agreements, they think that the municipality does not want citizens snooping in their business. As was set out in a previous paragraph, fatalistic respondents do not believe that the municipality is either honest or transparent, and they think that with this attitude, citizen participation can never be more than a charade. When they were faced with the fact that the municipality chose the two cases in this research because they wanted to learn from it, they did not believe that, and were convinced that it was just a coincidence.

“Het was alleen maar afvinken ... in het extreme, dat je kon zien nou we moeten dit nou eenmaal doen... Ze willen niet, ze willen die hele participatie niet.” (Respondent 9)

Fatalistic respondents think all participation processes are fake

Since they were in a participation process themselves, fatalistic respondents cannot deny that the municipality at least tried to make room for citizen participation in the two decision making processes. They are convinced, however, that it was just ‘participation on paper’. According to them, the municipality was forced to do something with it because the topic gained more and more publicity now that the new Environmental Law will come into effect. This is why they pretended to find it important and set up a fake participation process. By fake, fatalistic respondents mean that there was never an intention to actually do something with whatever came out of the participation process. One respondent describes it as ‘ticking boxes’, meaning that the municipality only did what really had to be done, and nothing more. This way, it looks as if all necessary steps are checked. Another respondent calls it a puppet show, or ‘a play’: it looks as if everyone can play a part, but in reality, every action and even the outcome was already determined in advance. Some respondents from the Groesbeekseweg case go even further, and think that the whole participation process was a vicious game. A game that was set up to mislead the participants, and to conceal that the developer had all the power. For example, they think the information evening was a set up, and that the municipality hired actresses to pose as starters on the housing market, who were very pleased to see that the municipality was working so hard to do something about the housing shortage.

The main reason that fatalistic respondents think that the participation process they were in was not real, is that they do not know what participation (can) mean(s), because nobody gave them a clear definition. Even when they were shown the participation ladder, they did not understand that ‘informing’ or ‘consulting’ citizens are also forms or levels of

participation. They see participation as a fixed thing: a concept with only one meaning, and to them, it clearly means more than informing or consulting.

*“Ik vind het maar een parade, een spelletje bedoel ik.” (Respondent 3)
“Ja, leuk dat ze ons dat hebben laten denken.” (Respondent 10)*

Fatalistic respondents think it is all about politics

There is a third reason why fatalistic respondents think that the municipality does not want citizen participation: they believe that citizen participation will never work, as long as there are political interests that are more important. According to them, decision making processes are not about the actual content anymore, but about the political gains that come along with voting yes or no. Citizen participation has no place in the political game, because any new, content- and reality-related arguments, will never weigh up against the political gains and/or losses. Local knowledge from citizens is only interesting for politicians if it is in line with their policy goals. In both the decision making and participation processes of the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case, fatalistic respondents are frustrated because political parties only served their own interests. They mention three specific political gains that were found more important than the interests of local citizens: losing/gaining votes, spending money, and previous deals and agreements. Multiple respondents accuse council members of colluding and conspiring, and they developed a lot of resentment against politicians. Fatalistic respondents seem to think that in small municipalities like Mook and Middelaar it is even harder to set aside these political gains.

Fatalistic respondents lost faith in the political system, because they think that this political game will never change. They also believe that long-term issues will never be resolved, because political interests and the political playing field change every four years. For fatalistic respondents, citizen participation is nothing more than a hot-topic shout out that benefits political parties in the upcoming elections. They see this as another reason why the municipality at least pretends to set up participation processes.

*“Zolang het in zijn eigen achtertuin gebeurt is hij heel betrokken, maar zo gauw het ergens anders gebeurt en er veel financiën aanhangen, dan is het een heel ander verhaal.” (Respondent 2)
“Ze denken aan hun achterban...” Respondent 5)*

7.6 Do they even want to participate?

Fatalistic respondents clearly doubt that the municipality is actually going to do something with their input (see previous paragraphs). Because of this, they become more and more reluctant to give their opinion. Next to that, they are also not very interested in everything that happens around them. Together, these two facts make that fatalistic respondents' willingness to participate is very low. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 1.4 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Fatalistic respondents do not care about what happens in the neighborhood

Fatalistic respondents are uninterested in most things that happen in the municipality and in their neighborhood. They do not care about municipal elections, for example, and they do not care about what is being built in their own or in other neighborhoods. It is not that they are unaware of everything that is going on, they simply do not want to know all the details, and they do not want to have anything to do with it. They do not see the use of that, because it will not make a difference anyway. Some fatalistic respondents even seem indifferent. They do not have many objections in relation to the development, because they do not find it important. If they do not live very close to the development, they seem to care even less about what is going to happen exactly. Fatalistic respondents do not know which civil servants were involved, and they do not know what other neighbors think about the development. They also did not make any effort to find that out. Fatalistic respondents also forgot a lot of things that happened during the participation process, and they seem indifferent about the final plans and about whether other peoples' remarks were incorporated in them.

Fatalistic respondents do not want to be involved

The degree in which fatalistic respondents are interested seems to be related to the degree in which they want to be involved. There are few fatalistic respondents that did show some interest and willingness to participate during the participation processes at hand or earlier participation processes. In the Middelweg case, some respondents gave their opinion because they were invited anyway. Most of them did not give constructive input, but only criticism. They do not remember much of the participation process, and everything they do recall comes out in sarcastic remarks. When they were asked if they would have wanted to participate earlier in this participation process or other participation processes, one respondent replied that he/she did not want to be involved in this case to begin with, and does not want to be involved in any other case as well. In the Groesbeekseweg case, there were also a couple of fatalistic respondents that did show a bit of willingness to participate. Most of them did that, because one of the neighbors did all the hard work, and they lifted along. They had no intention of doing anything more than that. Some of them did express their opinion just to make a point, but they do not care about whether it was actually incorporated in the plans.

There are a couple of reasons why fatalistic respondents did not want to be involved in these participation processes, or any previous or future participation processes for that matter. Most of them agree that traffic and parking are huge problems within the municipality, but they do not want to participate (anymore), because they presume that the municipality is not interested in their opinion. Some respondents are tired of previous participation processes that cost them a lot of time, but led nowhere, and do not want to 'waste their time' again. Another reason for not wanting to participate is that some respondents know that they will be moving out of the neighborhood within a couple of years, so they decided to just sit their time out. Yet another reason is that they do not have time to be involved, because they have a very busy private life. They find that more important than being involved or participating in every neighborhood problem. Sometimes it is not only that fatalistic respondents do not want to be involved, but also that they do not have the opportunity to participate. They do not bother to find out when an information evening takes place, if they already know they cannot come during evenings.

“Ik heb daar ook op geantwoord dat ik wel bezwaar wil maken, maar ik ga niet met een spandoek of wat dan ook er staan, dat haalt allemaal niks uit.” (Respondent 6)

“Ik hoop dat je iets aan me hebt, ik ben niet een mega betrokken persoon.” (Respondent 7)

“We hebben onze mening gegeven ... en dat is voldoende.” (Respondent 8)

7.7 Last remarks

Lastly, there are some remarks from fatalistic respondents that did not belong to one of the other theories, but are still worth mentioning. The codes that this paragraph is based on, can be found in paragraph 1.9 of the codebook in appendix 3.

Fatalistic respondents are stuck in a negative picture of almost everything

During the interviews, every time that there was a negative undertone in the question that was posed, fatalistic respondents were very quick to agree on that, and to go along with that negative point of view. When the question was posed positively, they tried to turn it around into something negative. There are also a lot of issues that fatalistic respondents keep coming back to, even though the question is about something completely different. The traffic and parking situation are examples of such issues. They are convinced that they will never be resolved, and they blame the municipality for it. Fatalistic respondents also have an overall negative image of other people. They think that citizens of Mook and Middelaar do not think for themselves, and simply follow the ones that scream the loudest, and that they will never act 'just' without some kind of a reward. They also think that normal citizens underestimate the power of (social) media, and they think that the media are a part of the game that was set up by the municipality. In light of the participation processes in the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg, fatalistic respondents make all kinds of (negative) assumptions about the development, even though it is not even there yet. In the Groesbeekseweg case, respondents presume that they will never hear from the developer again, and in the Middelweg case, they presume that the high prices of the new houses and the size of the apartments will scare potential buyers and renters away.

Fatalistic respondents make a lot of comparisons with other or earlier experiences

Fatalistic respondents compare the participation process and the development with other or earlier experiences a lot. One of the respondents compares the development with developments he/she has seen abroad. Because of that, he/she thinks that this project is primitive and does not see any use in participating in it. Another respondent compares this participation process to the one where a decision had to be made on how to collect people's garbage. Citizens did not care that much in the beginning, but after one or two people started to make complaints and aroused the rest, they suddenly were against the proposal. He/she sees that as a barrier for participation. Yet another respondent compares the decision making process with the corona policy, and compares the Netherlands to Spain and Italy. He/she claims that strict regulations paid off there, and prevented people from protesting and resisting proposals, while that happened here all the time. Fatalistic respondents make these comparisons to emphasize how bad they think the developments and the participation process are/were in both cases. They seem to think that everything is better elsewhere.

Chapter 8: Characterization, differences and similarities

Now that the different stories on citizen participation of fatalistic, egalitarian, individualist and hierarchist respondents are told in the previous chapters, it is possible to characterize the different rationalities in this case study and to compare their views on citizen participation. Are there specific aspects of citizen participation that were mentioned by multiple rationalities, and if so, what are the similarities and differences in opinion on these aspects?

8.1 Characterizing the different rationalities

8.1.1 Fatalists

Fatalistic respondents fit within the classic 'grid-group'-division. They have an overall negative world view, they feel alone and misunderstood, and they do not trust other people or the municipality. Their sense of 'group' in this case study is low. They are not interested, and they do not feel involved in everything that happens in their neighborhood, simply because they do not care or because they do not have the time and find their private life more important. Fatalistic respondents feel like everything is out of their hands, and that everything that happens is determined by coincidence or luck. They think that others are in control over policy and rules, and it frustrates them that they are powerless. Their sense of 'grid' is high. They feel like everything that the municipality does is already set in stone. Time to time they do things because they are expected to do so, or because they feel like it could be important for them, but they always assume that it is not going to make a difference anyway. Fatalistic respondents make a lot of negative assumptions, and they think that everyone has bad intentions, which is why they assume that no one acts 'just', simply out of principle, and that outcomes will never be in their favor.

8.1.2 Egalitarians

Egalitarian respondents also fit within the classic 'grid-group'-division. Their sense of group in this case study is very high. They know their neighbors well, have strong feelings of solidarity and belonging, are empathetic and worry and care about other peoples' well-being a lot. Egalitarian respondents act as mediators in times of trouble and they encourage each other to participate. Their sense of grid is low, because they think informality, a personal approach, and a fair chance for everyone works better in solving problems than an emphasis on norms, rules, and structure will. It is hard for them to understand the political system in which it is all about political gains and losses, while they prefer honesty and transparency at all times. Egalitarian respondents are understanding and accepting when things go wrong or sideways, because they can put things in perspective.

There is a difference between respondents from the Middelweg case and Groesbeekseweg case. Both are interested and involved in what happens in their neighborhood, but in the Middelweg case, this interest seems more sincere, whilst in the Groesbeekseweg case, egalitarian respondents are more suspicious about every new development. In the Groesbeekseweg case, respondents have lived there for a long time. They have had some bad experiences with earlier participation processes, and they are used to 'taking on' the municipality. Their average age is higher than that of respondents from the Middelweg case. Most of them are retired, which is why they have more time to search and find information. In the Middelweg case, respondents are younger, have busier lives, and oftentimes have not lived in Molenhoek for a long time. They seem to be more used to changes, probably because Molenhoek has known more changes in destination, and more developments than Mook.

8.1.3 Individualists

Individualistic respondents fit within the classic 'grid-group'-division in broad terms. Their sense of group is low most of the time. They do their own thing, and they do not need other people to be successful or feel happy. Individualistic respondents can be selfish from time to time. They do not always understand why certain decisions are made that disadvantage them, and ask questions like 'why do they make an exception here' and 'why not somewhere else'. Sometimes, individualistic respondents do want to unite with others. They do that to form a stronger front against a common enemy (in this case study either the developer or the municipality). They believe this is the most efficient way to get what they want. Their sense of grid is also low. Individualistic respondents do not like official procedures, and they do not like to follow rules, because they feel hindered by them. They do not have a problem with breaking the rules if that benefits them somehow. This is because they are entrepreneurial and professional. They find (earning) money very important, sometimes even more important than principles and rules. Individualistic respondents are also progressive, and they believe that everything can change for the better, as long as you work hard for it. They find knowledge, science, and research important, and they think that an argument based on that is always superior. They also like to take part in research themselves, and they are always well prepared for their task. If they do something, they will take it seriously.

8.1.4 Hierarchists

Hierarchist respondents also fit within the classic 'grid-group'-division. Their sense of group is very high. They outweigh their personal interests against the general interest all the time, and they are convinced that others will do that too. This is why they believe that the municipality always has everyone's best interests at heart. Individualist respondents' sense of grid is also very high. They love rules, structure, order, and control, and they are wary of initiatives like citizen participation in which these things are mostly absent. They prefer a centralized authority like the municipality, and they have a lot of respect for that authority. Hierarchist respondents are the typical law-abiding citizens: they will follow the municipality's orders blindly and they never question anything that the municipality does or says. They tend to hold on to how things used to be, and they do not like change: one might call them conservative.

8.2 Contradicting opinions on the most important aspects

This paragraph provides a more in depth comparison between the rationalities. There were a couple of aspects of the citizen participation process that were mentioned by (almost) all the respondents from all the rationalities. Respondents from the different rationalities have different opinions on these aspects.

8.2.1 The definition of 'participation'

During the participation processes and also more in general, it was and is not totally clear for the respondents what citizen participation actually means. They were surprised to hear that there were multiple 'steps' or 'forms' of citizen participation, and that it might be different in every situation. Especially hierarchist respondents are irritated about this lack of a clear definition, and they think that formulating a definition is the most important thing for a new participation policy. They want it to be laid down in law(s), so that citizens can derive rights from it, but also so that perpetrators can be punished. They do not talk about what they think this definition should be. Individualistic respondents do talk about this, and they even have multiple definitions. According to them, citizen participation is about listening and giving feedback, about creating support, and about making compromises. It is not about getting your way, or about finding out how much resistance there is against a plan or policy.

They think citizen participation is a way to create something that everyone can agree on. They also acknowledge that this process might be different, depending on the situation. Egalitarian respondents think that citizen participation means that citizens, but also other stakeholders, together, set up a framework for a plan first. Everyone should have the opportunity to give input for it. They do not realize that only informing or consulting citizens and other stakeholders after the plans are made, is also a 'form' of citizen participation. Fatalistic respondents do not care about the definition of citizen participation. They think it does not matter, because the municipality does not want it. No matter what the definition is, it is always a lie, or an empty promise.

8.2.2 Outsourcing participation

Typical for both cases in this case study, is that the participation process was outsourced to the developer. For fatalistic respondents, this does not make a difference, because they think the developer is also playing games, just like the municipality. Hierarchist respondents do not understand why the municipality would outsource anything to a developer, because they are convinced that the municipality is the only one that knows everything and can bear the responsibility. Also, they think that a developer will not have the common interest in mind, only his own. They do not get why citizen participation is necessary in general, but when it is outsourced to another party than the municipality, they absolutely do not understand the use of it anymore. As was said before, egalitarian respondents want to set up their own framework before the plan-making process starts. For them, it does not matter who makes the plan or leads the participation process for that matter, as long as the initiator of a plan makes sure that it fits within the framework, and that he consults the local residents that set up the framework about whether they can agree with the plan. They are fine with the municipality outsourcing the participation process to a developer. The same goes for individualistic respondents, although they do not need to be involved in making a framework. According to them, the developer is just as capable of making an overarching framework and a draft plan than the municipality is. For them it makes sense that the one that makes the plan, also leads the participation process, since they are the expert.

8.2.3 How to participate

There are a lot of different ways in which citizens can participate. In the Middelweg case, respondents were invited personally. In the Groesbeekseweg case, there was a common information evening. When it is up to egalitarian respondents, they want to participate as early as possible. They preferably want to participate in a group, but they will also participate alone when they have to, because it is in their nature to be interested and involved in everything that happens around them. They feel most comfortable expressing themselves in a safe and supportive environment, together with other citizens. They find it important that local residents are seen as the most important stakeholders, and that everyone knows that. Other stakeholders are welcome to give their opinion after they do. Egalitarian respondents find it important that everyone has a say, or at least gets represented by someone else. Individualistic respondents only want to participate when they are personally affected by the policy or plan. They do not want to meddle in someone else's business if not necessary. Not surprisingly, individualistic respondents prefer to participate alone. They do not need a group to express themselves, and they do not want it either, because their honesty might offend others' and they are not that good in considering other people. Individualistic respondents do think that everyone should have a chance to participate, but they do not find representativity important: only citizens that want to participate should participate. They think that local residents are the key stakeholders, but other stakeholders - including the municipality - should have an equal chance to exert their influence if they also have an interest in the plan or policy. Hierarchist respondents think that participation is only possible when plans or policies are already official. They think that citizens should not interfere in the plan making phase, and that the municipality is the only stakeholder in this process. Citizen participation

may be possible in the implementation phase in the form of feedback from the end users. Participation in earlier phases is unnecessary, according to hierarchist respondents. Fatalistic respondents go even further, and think that citizen participation is not only unnecessary, but also impossible and unrealistic. If they really have to, they prefer to participate alone, but they would rather run away from it.

8.2.4 Information provision and communication

In both cases, information provision and communication from and with the municipality was difficult. In the Middelweg case, this was compensated by the open communication style and honesty from the developer. In the Groesbeekseweg case, the developer only made citizens' accusations of dishonesty and non-transparency worse. What are the respondents' expectations for future participation processes on this subject?

Egalitarian respondents simply want to know everything: they want regular and detailed updates and feedback on every decision with definite consequences, and they want to know what is going to happen in their neighborhood far in advance. Individualistic respondents do not need to know everything: they only want to be informed in detail if the plan has direct consequences on their personal living situation. In that case, they are especially interested in the motives behind certain decisions (why there?). They do not need to know what happens in the plan making phase, and want to be involved when there is already a draft or concept plan. Hierarchist respondents want to be informed even later. When plans or decisions are official, they can derive rights from it, so only then it becomes interesting for them. Fatalistic respondents are convinced that they will never get the information they want anyway, so they do not care about when they are informed.

Both egalitarian and individualist respondents think that the instigator of the plan is the one that should supply information and feedback about it. If the municipality is not the instigator, the municipality should step in and give additional information when the developer fails to provide enough information. For hierarchist, only the municipality can be the instigator, so in broad lines they agree with egalitarian and individualistic respondents, and think that the responsibility for information provision lies with the municipality. For fatalistic respondents it does not matter who provides the information, because they do not trust anyone with this responsibility. Egalitarian respondents are the only ones that also keep each other informed, and that want to have personal contacts with council members, public officials and civil servants. Like egalitarian respondents, individualistic respondents also prefer personal contact and short communication lines instead of official procedures, although for them this has a practical reason, namely that this is the quickest way to get things done.

Respondents from every rationality find honesty and transparency important. For hierarchist respondents, these things go without saying: they assume that the municipality is honest and transparent at all times. Not surprisingly, fatalistic respondents think that everyone, including the municipality, lies. They think that transparency is impossible, so they do not want to put any effort in changing that by asking questions or searching for information themselves. This is exactly what egalitarian and individualistic respondents tend to do when they are not satisfied with the amount or sincerity of the information they get: these respondents actively go and try to find the information they want themselves. Egalitarian respondents like to ask their neighbors about it, while individualistic respondents would rather search the internet. When it comes to the internet and/or other (social) media, there is also a difference in opinion amongst the different rationalities. Hierarchist respondents only read or look at information from official sources like the public broadcast stations, and renowned newspapers. They think these official sources publish the truth, and other media only publish nonsense. Fatalistic respondents think that all media are dangerous. Every medium is a part of the game that the government and municipalities play, according to them. Egalitarian respondents value different opinions and different ways of looking at things. They read and look at different forms of media, and they use social media a lot. They are aware that the media are just a filter and might not always show the truth, but they do not find that a reason to abolish them. They do think that people should be aware of this. Individualistic

respondents are even more aware of the fact that the media are not always objective. They do not think that this is dangerous though. In fact, they see it as an opportunity. They think the municipality should use the media to show the positive side of plans and policies.

8.2.5 Processing citizen input (listening)

During the participation processes in this case study, people were given the opportunity to give their input on the plans. Hierarchist respondents do not understand this. They are convinced that the municipality knows everything, and always acts in the common interest, even when the plan-making and participation processes are outsourced to a developer. They do not see how individual opinions can contribute to something that is already great. Most respondents, however, expected that the developer or municipality would do something with this input. A lot of them were disappointed and confused when it turned out that they were not listened to at all. After all, as one respondent wonders out loud, why take the effort and ask people for their opinion if you do not intend to do something with it? For fatalistic respondents, the answer to this question is clear: both the developer and politicians only care about personal gains, so they do not want to listen if it costs them money or votes. They simply perform a play, to make themselves look good. Individualistic respondents think that both the developer and the municipality find it difficult to receive criticism. They overreact, and get angry or irritated, and are not able to give substantial feedback anymore, even though they did intend to do that. According to individualistic respondents, they should work on that, because listening is more than just showing interest, it is about doing something with people's input. They do not elaborate on how one should do that then. Egalitarian respondents are the most disappointed, especially the ones from the Groesbeekseweg case. Personal contact makes them feel heard, and in the Groesbeekseweg case, there was only one common information evening. Unlike individualistic respondents, egalitarian respondents do provide some examples of how the developer or municipality can do something with citizens' input, the most important one being that they should hire someone that can act as a mediator.

8.2.6 Trust

Almost every respondent from every rationality referred to an earlier or similar experience that they had with citizen participation or to a different encounter with the municipality or developer. Hierarchist respondents are the only ones that did not talk about these bad because they trust the municipality no matter what. Despite, or maybe exactly because of this trust in the municipality, they did not become more positive about citizen participation. For egalitarian respondents, the opposite is true. Their level of trust in the one that sets up the participation process has a lot of influence on their willingness to participate. Even one good experience increases the level of trust that they have in the municipality or developer, and the more trust they have, the more positive they become about participating. On the other hand, a negative experience - even something small - lowers their trust in and support for the one responsible for that experience, and also their desire to participate. Individualistic respondents do not consider something a 'good' or a 'bad' experience, but label it as either useful, or unuseful. In both cases, their level of trust in other people or parties that were involved does not increase, because individualistic respondents consider themselves responsible for whether something turned out useful or not. Who was involved or whether something was (un)useful does not have any influence on individualistic respondents' willingness to participate the next time. Fatalistic respondents consider everything a negative experience. None of them named one positive experience. Their level of trust does have an influence on their willingness to participate, however, but in a negative spiral-form. The more negative experiences, the lower their trust, the higher their suspicions, and the less willing they are to participate in a new participation process.

8.2.7 Organizational changes

The question of how citizen participation fits within the current municipal organization was something that was brought up frequently during the interviews. Fatalistic respondents are very clear on this topic: the municipal organization does not function well enough to make citizen participation work, and it never will. Since it is all about politics and money, citizen participation will never be real, and it is pointless to waste time and effort on improving things. As for the other respondents, there are multiple recommendations and suggested improvements for the municipal organization to make citizen participation more successful. There is one thing that egalitarian, individualistic and hierarchist respondents all agree on: city council members should be more active and dedicated. They all think that council members should prepare meetings better, listen more seriously to citizens that use their Right to Speak and to input from participation processes, and be more up to date about what is going on in the municipality. Contrary to egalitarian and individualistic respondents, hierarchist respondents do not dare to suggest changes in the behavior of public officials. They do suggest something else though that is in line with what egalitarian respondents think. Both hierarchist and egalitarian respondents think that the municipality should hire 'experts' on citizen participation to help them with the citizen participation process. Egalitarian respondents think that these experts should be added to the team of civil servants that is involved in projects and cases like the Middelweg and Groesbeekseweg case. They should act as mediators between citizens and the other civil servants and public officials. Hierarchist respondents think that these experts should educate council members so that they can take the extent to which citizen participation was executed successfully into account in the decision making process. Individualistic and egalitarian respondents also suggest a change in the behavior of public officials. Egalitarian respondents suggest that they should be more approachable, and that they should make more and earlier statements about their opinion and interests in a certain plan or policy. Since they are very understanding, they would rather hear something that they do not like, but that is honest, than something vague or nothing at all. Individualistic respondents think that public officials should act more professional, and less emotional. They think public officials should act in their political party's interests more, and less in their personal interest. They also think that civil servants should step up against public officials more when these things are not improved.

8.3 Similarities between the perspectives

Considering the existing literature on Cultural Theory, it is not surprising that the different perspectives on citizen participation are also competing. Despite the different opinions on the previously mentioned aspects, the fact that they were present in (almost) every perspective, is also a similarity between the perspectives.

Another similarity is that the aspects also seem to serve the same purpose in every perspective on citizen participation. Most of them are expectations about future participation processes, except for the aspect of 'trust'. Every perspective seems to be based on these expectations, and the level of trust that people have in either the municipality or the developer. Together, these expectations and the level of trust influence people's willingness to participate. The expectations that people in this case study have are based on previous experiences, and consist of thoughts about what they think the definition of participation should be, about how they feel about outsourcing citizen participation, about how they preferably want to participate, about the information and communication they prefer, about how they want to be listened to, and about the organization changes that they think are necessary. When they become part of a citizen participation process again, they have a new experience, with new thoughts about everything that was mentioned before. Their previous

expectations are either revised or confirmed. When the participation process is over, it becomes a new starting point for other, future participation processes. Their trust, expectations and willingness to participate might be different, depending on the earlier experience.

For egalitarian respondents in this case study, their perspective on citizen participation can be explained as follows. There was not that much trust in the municipality and the developer, and their expectations were low, based on their previous experience. Their willingness to participate was low as well. Their experience during the participation processes in this case study was positive: they felt involved and responsible for their neighborhood, and they liked doing something together. Their level of trust went up a little bit, and their expectations became much more positive. Considering this experience as a starting point for a new participation process, their willingness to participate will be much higher. Despite some minor differences between the two cases, this can be captured in the flowchart below:

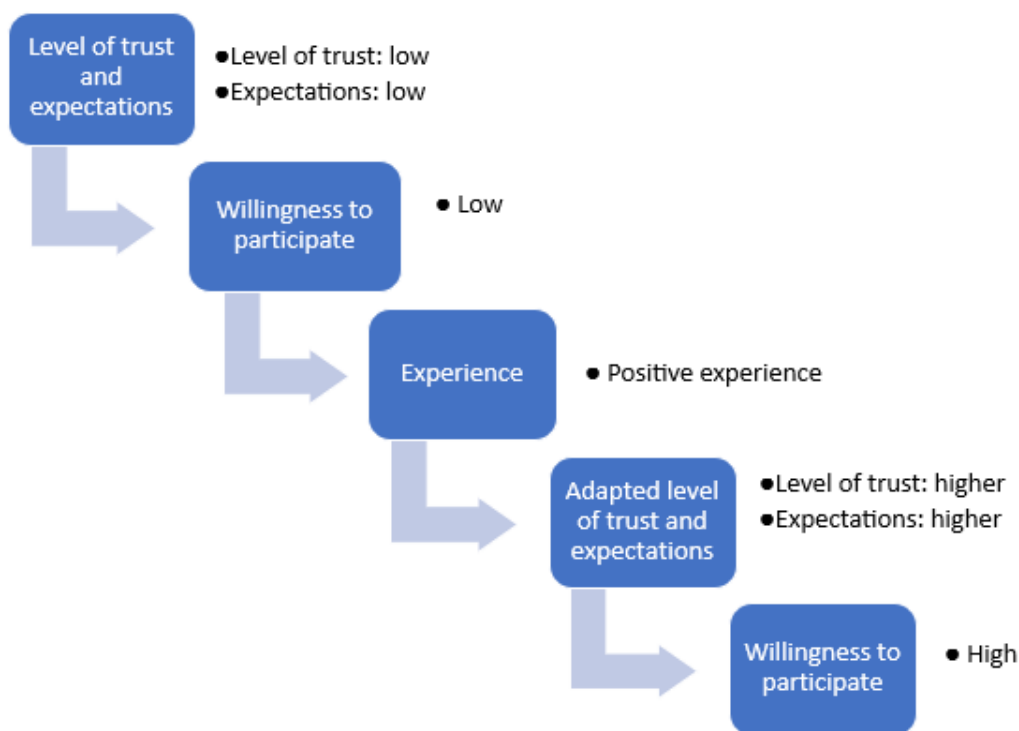


Figure 8: Flow chart of the egalitarian respondents' experience of the participation processes

For individualistic respondents in this case study, their perspective on citizen participation can be explained as follows. There was little trust in the municipality, and they had negative expectations, based on earlier experiences. Their willingness to participate depended on their personal interest. During the participation process, their expectations were confirmed. Their expectations and their willingness to participate will be the same in a new participation process: they will only participate if they have a personal interest. Despite some minor differences between the two cases, this can be captured in the flowchart below:

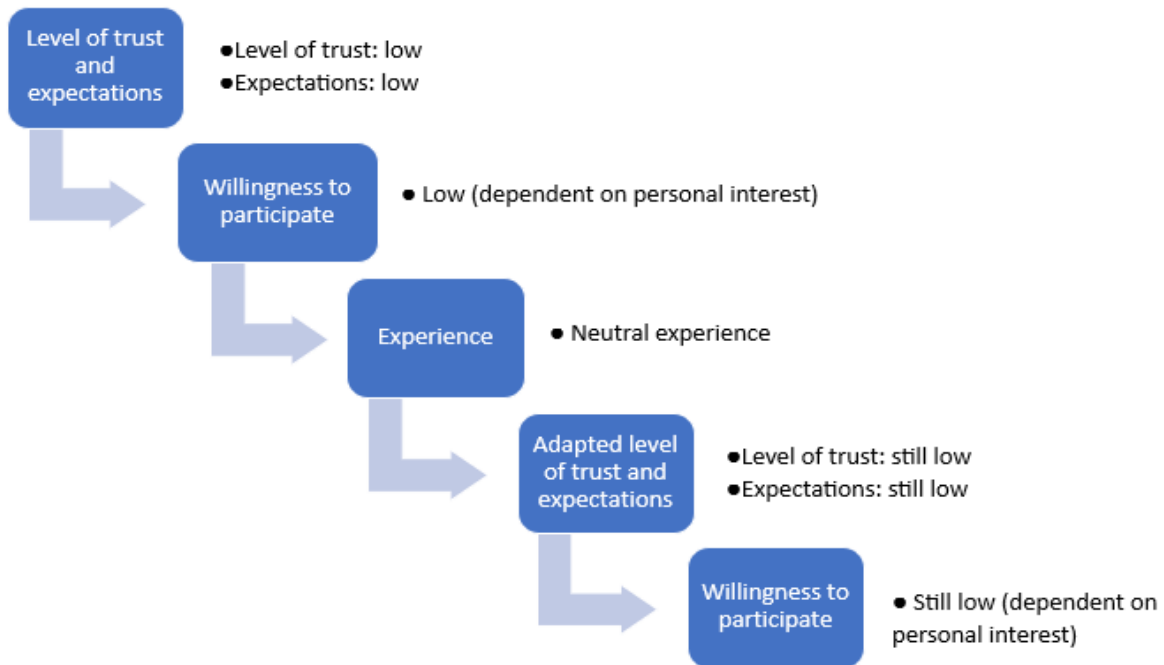


Figure 9: Flow chart of the individualistic respondents' experience of the participation processes

For hierarchist respondents in this case study, their perspective on citizen participation can be explained as follows. Their expectations were low, but their level of trust in the municipality is always high, so they participated anyway. Their expectations got confirmed, because they still do not see the use of a participation process. Based on this, their willingness to participate in a future participation process will be low again, but as long as the level of trust remains high, they will participate anyway when they are obliged to. Despite some minor differences between the two cases, this can be captured in the flowchart below:

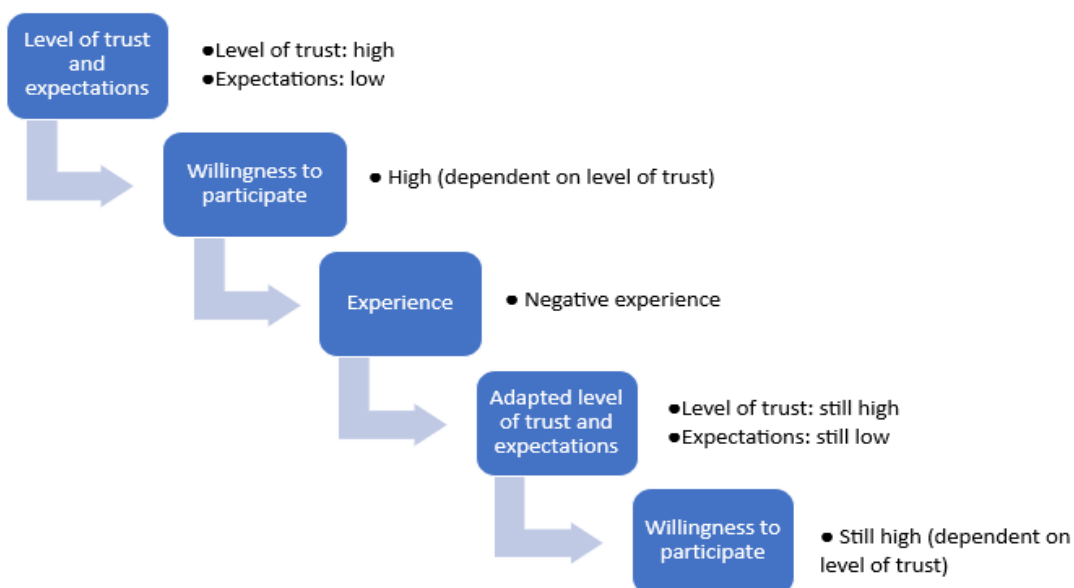


Figure 10: Flow chart of the hierarchist respondents' experience of the participation process

Lastly, for fatalistic respondents in this case study, their perspective on citizen participation can be explained as follows. There was little trust in the municipality and the developer and

they had negative expectations, which is why their willingness to participate was low. Since they either did not participate at all or the participation process that they were in was conceived as a failure, these negative expectations were confirmed. It was a bad starting point for new, future participation processes, because they have the same, or even more negative expectations, and their willingness to participate has lowered even more. Despite some minor differences between the two cases, this can be captured in the flowchart below:

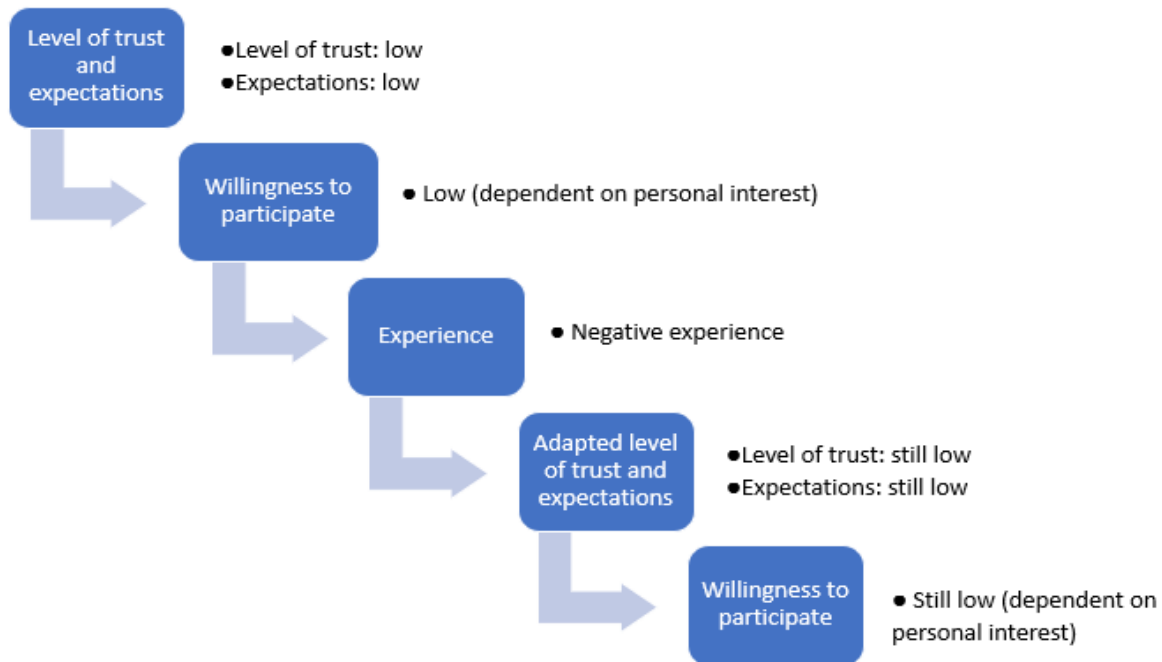


Figure 11: Flow chart of the fatalistic respondents' experience of the participation process

There are also some other similarities between the different rationalities. Both egalitarian and individualistic respondents think that citizen participation - the involvement of citizens in municipal policy making - is important and useful in the sense that it can make policy and plans better. They also think that citizen participation can be successful without too much interference from the municipality. On the other hand, hierarchist and fatalistic respondents do not see the use of citizen participation (although they have different reasons for this). They both think that it is even more useless if it is carried out by another party than the municipality (for example a developer).

It seems as if 'grid' has a higher predictive value on how citizens look at citizen participation than 'group' has. There are not that many similarities between egalitarian and hierarchist respondents or between individualistic and fatalistic respondents that actually change the basic way they look at citizen participation, and their willingness to participate in future participation processes.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

In this research, the different (and competing) perspectives on citizen participation amongst the citizens of Mook and Middelaar were investigated by conducting semi-structured interviews with local residents from two different case studies. The interviews were transcribed and coded immediately after the interviews. In order to structure these different codes, the transcripts were divided into passages. Every passage reflects one of the rationalities of Cultural Theory. After that, it was possible to start the focused coding process, and analyze the data within every rationality more closely. This led to four different stories on citizen participation.

In this chapter, the main research question “*What different perspectives on citizen participation are there amongst the citizens of Mook and Middelaar, and (how) does a better understanding of these perspectives help the municipality in formulating a new citizen participation policy?*” will be answered.

9.1 Different and competing perspectives on citizen participation

As expected, there are different and competing perspectives on citizen participation present amongst the citizens of Mook and Middelaar. After structuring the transcripts according to Cultural Theory, it became clear that even within one respondent, their perspective on citizen participation can change during the conversation. Within one interview transcript, there were always multiple rationalities present. This means that Davy (2004) was right: multiple rationalities can be present within one person, and it depends on the direction of the conversation and/or on how someone feels at that moment which rationality he/she carries out.

Based on figure 5, there are some first conclusions that are worth mentioning. The fatalistic perspective seems to be the dominant rationality through which the citizens of Mook and Middelaar perceive citizen participation. The egalitarian perspective is also a common rationality to perceive citizen participation through, just like the individualistic perspective. The hierarchist perspective is the least common rationality through which citizen participation is perceived amongst citizens of Mook and Middelaar. It is considerably less common than the other three rationalities.

The egalitarian perspective on citizen participation can be summarized as “I will participate because I find it important”. It consists of the following explanatory theories (derived from the coding process):

- 1) Controversial developments make egalitarian respondents closer to each other
- 2) Egalitarian respondents encourage each other to form and express their opinion
- 3) Close contacts can also give egalitarian respondents one-sided information
- 4) Egalitarian respondents like to take action together - either actively or passively
- 5) Egalitarian respondents are not only united in action, but also in their opinion
- 6) Egalitarian respondents care about their neighbors
- 7) Egalitarian respondents are everything but selfish
- 8) Egalitarian respondents always see the positive side of things
- 9) Egalitarian respondents keep their hopes up
- 10) Egalitarian respondents are not that good in managing expectations
- 11) The biggest concerns of egalitarian respondents are traffic safety and parking
- 12) Egalitarian respondents have different worries depending on the case
- 13) Egalitarian respondents easily express their worries and concerns
- 14) Egalitarian respondents want to know everything and actively search for information

- 15) Egalitarian respondents' satisfaction with information provision is case specific
- 16) Egalitarian respondents appreciate feedback - especially from the municipality
- 17) Egalitarian respondents prefer personal conversations and informal communication
- 18) Egalitarian respondents acknowledge that transparent information provision is difficult
- 19) Egalitarian respondents think that local residents are the most important stakeholders
- 20) Egalitarian respondents want to make their own framework for developments and policies; a framework that developer and municipality should adhere to
- 21) Egalitarian respondents think that citizen participation is about listening
- 22) Egalitarian respondents are willing to invest a lot of time and effort in participating
- 23) Egalitarian respondents expect council members to listen better, and show more involvement
- 24) Egalitarian respondents want more transparency and honesty from public officials
- 25) Egalitarian respondents would like a mediator to smoothen the participation process
- 26) Egalitarian respondents are suspicious of (social) media
- 27) Egalitarian respondents make a lot of comparisons with other or earlier experiences

The individualistic perspective on citizen participation can be summarized as "I will only participate if that can benefit me personally". It consists of the following explanatory theories (derived from the coding process):

- 1) Individualistic respondents do not worry easily
- 2) Individualistic respondents express the classical NIMBY-view
- 3) Individualistic respondents do not have many close contacts with others
- 4) Individualistic respondents do not want to unite unless they absolutely have to
- 5) Individualistic respondents only contact others if they need something from them
- 6) It is in individualistic respondents' nature to be proactive
- 7) Individualistic respondents are assertive, but do not let emotions get the best of them
- 8) Individualistic respondents do not need to know everything, but expect(ed) more information from the municipality
- 9) Individualistic respondents suggest improvements for municipal communication
- 10) Individualistic respondents think that local residents are the key stakeholders
- 11) Individualistic respondents want to participate if they are affected personally
- 12) Individualistic respondents do not need to be involved in the early stages of plan making
- 13) Individualistic respondents think that citizen participation entails multiple things
- 14) Individualistic respondents recommend some changes for the municipal organization
- 15) Individualistic respondents make a lot of comparisons with other or earlier experiences

The hierarchist perspective on citizen participation can be summarized as "I will participate but I do not understand why". It consists of the following explanatory theories (derived from the coding process):

- 1) Hierarchist respondents do not know what to do without rules
- 2) Hierarchist respondents like honesty and transparency
- 3) Hierarchist respondents think that citizens should not interfere with plan making
- 4) Hierarchist respondents find the common interest more important than their personal interests
- 5) Hierarchist respondents want the municipality to be in the lead at all times
- 6) Hierarchist respondents think that participation should give you rights
- 7) Hierarchist respondents acknowledge that some things might have to change in the municipal organization
- 8) Hierarchist respondents make a lot of comparisons with other or earlier experiences

The fatalistic perspective on citizen participation can be summarized as “I do not want to participate”. It consists of the following explanatory theories (derived from the coding process):

- 1) Fatalistic respondents experience worries and fears
- 2) Fatalistic respondents experience feelings of misunderstanding
- 3) Fatalistic respondents feel like participating is pointless, and give up in the end
- 4) Fatalistic respondents feel powerless
- 5) Fatalistic respondents feel frustrated and irritated, and they talk with a lot of sarcasm
- 6) Fatalistic respondents think the municipality is inert and lacks perseverance
- 7) Fatalistic respondents think that public officials are evil and politicians are lazy
- 8) Fatalistic respondents question the role of civil servants in a participation process
- 9) Fatalistic respondents think that they deliberately did not get enough information
- 10) Fatalistic respondents are not interested in reducing the information shortage
- 11) Fatalistic respondents think that nobody actually listened to them
- 12) Fatalistic respondents are not happy with how the municipality processes citizen input
- 13) Fatalistic respondents think that the municipality does not want citizen participation
- 14) Fatalistic respondents think all participation processes are fake
- 15) Fatalistic respondents think it is all about politics
- 16) Fatalistic respondents do not care about what happens in the neighborhood
- 17) Fatalistic respondents do not want to be involved
- 18) Fatalistic respondents are stuck in a negative picture of almost everything
- 19) Fatalistic respondents make a lot of comparisons with other or earlier experiences

Despite the differences in these perspectives, there are also some common aspects: aspects that were mentioned by (almost) all the respondents, and that appear in every perspective. These aspects are:

- 1) the definition of ‘participation’
- 2) outsourcing participation
- 3) how to participate
- 4) information provision and communication
- 5) processing citizen input (listening)
- 6) trust
- 7) organizational changes

Even though they were mentioned in every perspective, the opinions and points of improvement on these aspects differed greatly between the four perspectives.

9.2 Contribution to a new underlying theory

Based on the findings in chapter 8, this research contributes to a new underlying theory, which can be formulated as follows: *“The citizens’ perspective on citizen participation depends on trust and expectations derived from earlier experiences.”*

The second part of the main question is about whether a better understanding of the different and competing perspectives may help the municipality with their task of formulating a citizen participation policy. On their own, these different perspectives do not help much, because it is not possible to incorporate every explanatory theory in a new policy. However, delving deeper into the data, and comparing these perspectives actually led to an underlying theory that applies to all the rationalities. Keeping this underlying theory in mind in formulating a new citizen participation policy is a starting point in doing justice to all the different perspectives.

Even though the egalitarian, individualistic, hierarchist, and fatalistic perspective are different and competing, there were also some common aspects (see above). We have established that the opinions and points of improvement on these aspects are different for every perspective (see paragraph 8.2), but we have also established that they serve the same purpose in every perspective (see paragraph 8.3). Aspects 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7 are all expectations that citizens have for a new participation process, based on previous experiences. Aspect 6 is somewhat different, because it is not about the participation process, but about how participants feel about the one that is leading the participation process.

In paragraph 8.3, four flowcharts were presented that reflect this process for the participation processes that the respondents of this research were in. Each flowchart depicts another perspective. In theory, these flowcharts can go on forever, as long as the citizens keep being part of new participation processes. There's a certain level of trust and there are expectations, this leads to a certain willingness to participate, which - as long as it is not zero - will lead to a new experience with citizen participation, that leads to a new (adapted) level of trust and to new (adapted) expectations, and so on.

Even though the content of these components will be different for every perspective and after every new experience with citizen participation, the components are the same. Therefore, the flowcharts can be depicted as an iterative process as well:

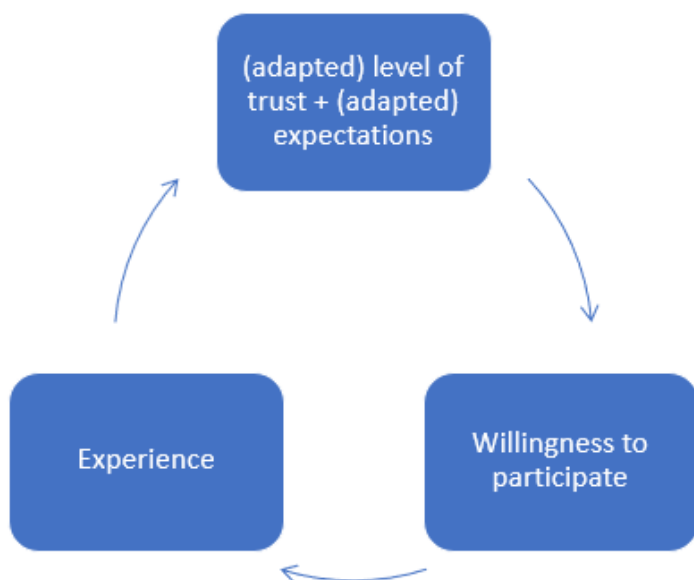


Figure 12: Iterative process of every citizens' perspective on citizen participation

The expectations and level of trust can only change after a new experience with citizen participation. If they are so low that there is no willingness to participate anymore, then they will not participate anymore. Only then, the iterative circle is broken.

This model is a starting point in doing justice to all citizens' perspective on citizen participation, because it is applicable to every citizen in every situation. Every citizens' perspective on citizen participation consists of certain expectations and the level of trust they have in the municipality (or in this case the developer). In this case study, there were six common expectations, and some more rationality-specific expectations. In all perspectives except the hierarchist one, the level of trust was low. These things can be different in other cases in the municipality of Mook and Middelaar, when circumstances are different and/or

there are other citizens involved with other experiences. These things can also be different in other municipalities. It is not the content of the components that was derived from this case study that is the starting point, it is the fact that despite the different content, the underlying process was the same. In other words, the starting point for formulating a citizen participation policy that does justice to all citizens' perspectives on citizen participation, is to find out how much trust there is, and what citizens' expectations are. The only way to do that, is to look at how citizens experienced previous citizen participation processes that they were in.

It is important to realize that a new citizen participation policy will not change citizens' level of trust and their expectations all of a sudden. They will always have to experience it for themselves first. If the experience was positive, their level of trust and expectations may become more positive than they were before, which in turn influences their willingness to participate in a new participation policy. When the arrows in the iterative process all represent a positive effect, one can say that the participation policy was a success. Chances are small that such a positive effect cycle will exist for every citizen that was involved. What Hartmann (2012) argued is true indeed: solutions will always be clumsy. However, following the line of reasoning of this study, the solution will at least be informed by the subject of whom it was meant for: citizens. Following this line of reasoning gives you the chance to put citizens back into your citizen participation policy.

Chapter 10: Reflection and recommendations

This chapter first reflects on the research process and its conclusions. It will be about the choices that are made, and the research' limitations. Both these aspects influence the direction of the research. It is also about how this research can be placed within the existing research on and practice with citizen participation.

After the reflection, some recommendations for the municipality and for further research will be discussed.

10.1 Reflection on the research process

This research was a qualitative and interpretive research on two cases of citizen participation in the municipality of Mook and Middelaar, based on semi-structured interviews and the heuristic of grounded theory. In interpretative case studies, especially the ones that are inductive, it is hard to reach external validity. The results depend on the way the researcher interprets the data. In this research, the only way to assure its validity was the use of triangulation. The combination of conducting semi-structured interviews and the use of grounded theory, worked for me personally. During the interviews, it was sometimes hard to stay objective. Even though I managed to keep my opinions to myself as much as possible, during most interviews I was drawn into the story that the respondents were telling me. Since the initial coding process was done right after the interviews took place, the experience was still very clear in my mind. In order to stay objective, it might have been better to wait a while, so that I would not have that much personal feelings about a person or about their stories anymore. However, waiting with the transcriptions and initial coding, would have made it impossible to use theoretical sampling. Next to that, memo writing also helped to stay more objective. After transcribing the interviews, the sense that I got about the interviews was written down in the memo, so that I could focus on the things that people actually said during the coding process, instead of getting distracted by their tone. Only when I did not understand a certain passage, I listened to the recording again, in order to get a better sense of the situation again. Personally, I think it is a shame that people found it hard to fill in the survey that I initially made to place them in a rationality. This would have increased the validity and reliability of the research, since it is a whole new method. Making the survey also helped me to better understand the differences between the rationalities, because it was not only about citizen participation and spatial planning, but about a whole range of different policies. Looking back, however, I think it was the right choice not to go through with the survey. The fact that people found it hard to fill in the survey, was probably a confirmation of the fact that there are always multiple rationalities present within one person (depending on the direction of the conversation). This realization made me decide to add another (deductive) coding phase. Dividing the interviews into passages turned out to be a good method to find out the multiple rationalities within the respondents, and also to get a broader understanding of every perspective (or rationality) on citizen participation, since it was based on the statements from multiple respondents. The descriptions of the four perspectives on citizen participation would have been even thicker, if they were based on the stories of more than 10 respondents. Sadly, this was not possible because of the Covid-19 pandemic. I consider this the biggest shortcoming of the research.

10.2 Reflection on the conclusions

The reason that this research has an inductive character, is that there are few other studies about citizen participation that operationalize 'the citizen' by using Cultural Theory, and there are even less studies that are based on citizens' opinions and real world experiences on the

local level. Because there were no underlying theories, there were no expectations about the outcome of the research. As expected, the stories of the four different perspectives on citizen participation were totally different. Within each perspective, different opinions on different aspects of the citizen participation process were mentioned. This is in line with every author that wrote about different and competing rationalities within spatial planning or citizen participation: citizen participation - like other processes and policies within the field of spatial planning and the physical living environment - will always be clumsy, because the process can never be designed in such a way that it is a perfect fit for every rationality. There were no surprises there.

After the interviews were conducted, transcribed, coded initially, and coded deductively, I was not sure whether the results would lead to something useful for the municipality of Mook and Middelaar. It looked as if only egalitarian respondents wanted citizen participation. Fatalistic respondents simply do not want to participate, individualistic respondents will do what they want anyway, and hierarchist respondents do not see the use of participation, because they think the municipality knows best anyway. Clearly, I did not dive deep enough into the data yet. It was only after the focused coding process, and comparing the different stories, that I found out that some aspects were mentioned in every perspective. These aspects are definitely worth paying attention to for the municipality of Mook and Middelaar.

In other studies that apply Cultural Theory to decision-making processes in spatial planning, researchers point to some specific aspects within the decision-making process that are perceived differently by the four rationalities as well. Even though their research is not about citizen participation specifically, Ney and Verweij (2015) adapted a scheme from earlier authors with some design principles for decision making processes. Although not directly, some aspects that were found within this research correspond to the design principles from Ney and Verweij. Aspect 3 from this research - how to participate - corresponds to the design principles 'who should contribute?', 'when, where and with whom to contribute?', 'how to divide tasks?', and 'how to handle time?', for example. Aspect 4 from this research - information provision and communication - corresponds to the design principles 'which technology to use?', 'what information to use?', and 'how to determine agenda?'. Ney and Verweij were cited by multiple other authors that wrote about Cultural Theory and designing participation processes as well. For example, Santegoets and Stobbelaar (2016) apply the design principles to their research on imperfect participation in nature management. They suggest that imperfect participation processes, based on the design principles from Ney and Verweij, are most successful. Aspect 1 - the definition of participation - is not mentioned by Ney and Verweij, but does come back in the literature on clumsy solutions and expectation management. For example, Hartmann (2012) discusses the different purposes of a participation process, which correspond to aspect 1. The purposes are examples of what citizen participation can be, namely a process to improve the quality of a democratic process (egalitarian perspective), a process to gather knowledge in the quality of plans (individualistic perspective), or a process to increase legitimacy (hierarchic perspective). Avoiding participation can also be a purpose (fatalistic perspective).

What is striking though, is that the other aspects that were found in this research, aspects 2, 5, 6, and 7, were not mentioned in the research field that applies Cultural Theory to approach citizen participation. They were never pointed to as aspects that the different rationalities might have different ideas about, and no guidelines for participation processes are based on them yet. Aspect 5, 6, and 7 - processing citizen input (listening), trust, and organizational changes - were the most important aspects within this research. That is, these aspects were criticized most by all the respondents. It is not possible to prove this statement, since I did not divide the passages or questions and answers by deducting them to the aspects afterwards, but the statement is based on my own recollection of the interviews. The fact that these aspects were not mentioned in citizen participation research in relation to Cultural Theory, does not mean that these aspects were not mentioned in literature on

citizen participation at all. In other citizen participation research - research that I only studied broadly before the interviews, but studied more in depth afterwards - these aspects are actually very often part of the design guidelines for citizen participation processes. Aspect 5, listening, is something that can be compared to design guidelines on evaluation and monitoring the participation process during and after the process (Visser et al 2019), and to design guidelines on engaging and exchanging views to promote learning and understanding (Bryson et al, 2012). Aspect 6, trust, corresponds to design principles based on developing context-sensitive designs (Ianiello et al, 2019), but also to design principles that focus on building social capital by building connections, enhancing relationships, and fostering trust, in order to foster future collaboration and communication (Bryson et al, 2012). Aspect 7, institutional changes, corresponds to design guidelines on balancing power relationships between participants and authorities and on minimizing the influence of bureaucratic influences (Visser et al, 2019), to design guidelines on involving knowledgeable facilitators (Ianiello et al, 2019), and to design guidelines on placing the participation process within the institutional and political context (Kalandides, 2018).

It makes sense that aspect 2 - outsourcing participation - was not mentioned in relation to Cultural Theory before. The importance of this aspect might be unique for this case study, because in both cases, citizen participation was outsourced to a developer, which is why respondents were asked about it every time. In the end, only hierarchist respondents think it makes a difference whether the municipality, or another party like a developer, sets up the participation process.

10.3 Recommendations for further research

The underlying theory (see figure 12) that was found in this research turned out to be true for all the citizens in this case study, no matter what perspective on citizen participation they have. It is expected that the theory is generalizable to other cases. However, to prove that, more research like this research is necessary. To increase the external validity, it is recommended to involve more respondents than this research did (more than 10). This will make the four different stories or perspectives thicker, and the results will be more reliable.

In the iterative process model, the specific aspects that were found in this research were not mentioned. It is very well possible that citizens' expectations can differ, according to local circumstances. The absence of existing literature on aspect 2 proves that: this aspect is case-specific, and might not be present in other cases. It is very well conceivable that there are other aspects that might be important in other cases or municipalities, that are not found in this research. The 'expectations' for this research are clear now, but in order to use this model in other cases, these expectations need to be operationalized first. That is: the aspects that are specific for that case must be revealed first. In order to work with the underlying theory, further research to reveal the relevant aspects in that specific case is necessary.

Some of the aspects that were discovered in this research, were already mentioned in Cultural Theory-based guidelines for decision-making processes. For some aspects, however, that is not the case. Since this research is a case study, it remains unclear whether they are case-specific, or present in other cases as well. Because they are mentioned in other literature on citizen participation, it is expected that they will be present in other cases as well. It is therefore recommended to repeat this research for other cases in other municipalities, in order to see if aspect 5 (processing citizen input; listening), aspect 6 (trust), and aspect 7 (organizational changes) are found to be important there as well. If these aspects are indeed discovered in multiple cases, these aspects might become more

can be added to the Cultural Theory-based design choices for decision-making processes¹⁰.

When this research is repeated elsewhere, it is recommended to go in with a blank sheet, instead of focusing on / testing the aspects that were found here. This research did not focus on existing knowledge, and because of that, it was possible to find new results. Even when the framework with design choices is broadened with the new aspects that were found in this research, this does not mean that other, case-specific results are not important. On the contrary: every aspect is part of the expectations that citizens have for future participation processes, and in every case, these expectations are different. It is not possible to eventually create one overarching framework with design choices that is universally applicable, and one should not pursue such an unrealistic goal.

10.4 Recommendations for the municipality of Mook and Middelaar (and/or other municipalities)

This research gives the municipality of Mook and Middelaar an overview on the different perspectives on citizen participation amongst the citizens of Mook and Middelaar. As expected, all four rationalities from Cultural Theory were present, and the perspectives that were based on these rationalities all tell a different story on citizen participation. Despite the differences, there are some aspects that were mentioned in every perspective. The municipality should definitely pay attention to these aspects of citizen participation in order to set up a participation policy that is more widely supported. A first recommendation for a new participation policy, is to at least think about these aspects and incorporate them somehow. In most perspectives, citizens mention some improvements that can be made for these specific aspects. Aspects that are less common are not necessarily not useful, but one should be alert that paying attention to these aspects of citizen participation might only get a specific group of citizens involved.

This research does not prescribe how to formulate a citizen participation policy. There are still a lot of choices that need to be made, and it is up to the municipality which perspective they want to serve. For example, it is up to the municipality to choose whether and if there will be organizational changes. If they choose not to, they do justice to the fatalistic perspective; if they encourage council members to be more active and dedicated, they do justice to the other three perspectives. It is also up to the municipality if they want to choose one thing for every situation, or if they formulate their citizen participation policy in such a way that a different choice can be made, depending on the situation.

It is important to realize that the four perspectives are based on two things: trust and expectations (based on earlier experiences), which is why they are not fixed. The respondents in this research all had negative previous experiences with citizen participation, which is why their expectations for the participation processes in the Middeweg and Groesbeekseweg case were low. This time, not everyone had a negative experience: egalitarian citizens had a positive experience, individualistic citizens had a neutral experience, and hierarchist and fatalistic citizens had a negative experience. The perspective that they have now, is based on these new experiences (in comparison with the previous ones). It might change again after they participate in a new participation process. They might not find the same aspects important anymore, or they might have changed their mind about them. After these citizens have been in a new participation process, the

¹⁰ These extra aspects will not make the final design of the participation process less clumsy. Just like with the other aspects, the four perspectives will all prefer a different choice on them, and it is impossible to please them all. The final design will be more informed though, because more differences between the four perspectives were taken into consideration. The final design will respond better to the perspectives of everyone involved.

municipality should reassess whether their expectations and trust levels changed. If so, it might be necessary to revise the citizen participation policy.

More in general, when a municipality wants to involve certain citizens in a participation process, and wants to know if they are willing to participate, it is recommended to find out whether they were involved in a previous participation process before or not, how that participation process went, and whether their level of trust is low or high. This gives you an insight on their expectations for the new participation process and their willingness to participate.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Introductie

Mijn naam is Myron Albering en ik ben student aan de Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen. Ik doe de masteropleiding planologie en ben bezig met het schrijven van mijn masterscriptie.

De opleiding planologie is erg breed, maar ik heb besloten om me via mijn thesis te focussen op het thema 'burgerparticipatie'. Participatie is sinds de introductie van de Omgevingswet een onderwerp waarover veel gepraat wordt en gemeenten moeten er ineens verplicht een beleid over schrijven. Veel gemeenten, waaronder de gemeente Mook en Middelaar, hebben wel enige ervaring met participatie, maar hebben nooit officieel beleid gemaakt. Voor mijn scriptie wil ik de mogelijke inhoud van zo'n participatiebeleid gaan bekijken vanuit het oogpunt van de burger. Er is vaak wel ervaring met het betrekken van belangengroepen en dergelijke, maar de doelgroep 'burgers/inwoners' wordt altijd lastig gevonden, omdat deze erg divers is. Het doel van mijn onderzoek is om in een kleine gemeente te beginnen en te kijken wat de burger nou belangrijk vindt in een participatieproces. Dit zou ik graag van u horen.

Na het interview heb ik nog een korte vragenlijst met 10 vragen voor u. Deze worden gebruikt om de informatie uit de interviews makkelijker te kunnen sorteren.

De onderzoeksresultaten worden gedeeld met de gemeente en ik hoop dat zij hiermee hun voordeel doen. Uw input blijft natuurlijk anoniem: er worden geen namen genoemd of gegevens gedeeld. Het uitwerken van de interviews en verwerken van de informatie wordt gedaan aan de hand van respondentnummers. Wanneer mijn scriptie goedgekeurd wordt, zal deze na mijn afstuderen geplaatst worden op de repository van de universiteit. Hier kunt u alles terugvinden. Als u dat wenst, kan ik u ook eerder de definitieve versie van mijn thesis mailen. In dat geval moet u uw e-mailadres even voor mij opschrijven.

Bent u onder deze voorwaarden akkoord met het gegeven dat ik het interview opneem via mijn telefoon? De originele opname wordt verwijderd na het afronden van mijn scriptie.

Beginvraag

"Kunt u mij vertellen of u al eens mee mocht praten over ontwikkelingsplannen in uw buurt en hoe u dat vond gaan?"

Vervolgfragen / thema's voor respondenten die al eerder geparticipeerd hebben

Algemene indruk

- Vindt u burgerparticipatie belangrijk?
- Waarom wel / niet ?

- Wat is volgens u de meerwaarde van burgerparticipatie?
Kunt u zich er iets bij voorstellen dat inwoners nooit mee mogen praten en de gemeente alles zelf zou beslissen? Wat zouden we dan mislopen volgens u? Kunt u dat verder uitleggen?

- Welke verwachtingen had u van tevoren en zijn die uitgekomen?
Wat liep er anders dan u had gedacht?

- Wat zou u de volgende keer graag anders willen zien?

- Heeft u nog andere opmerkingen?

Communicatie en informatie

- Hoe bent u op de hoogte gesteld van de voorgenomen plannen? Heeft u daarbij meteen een uitnodiging ontvangen om te participeren, of kwam dat op een ander moment?
*Heeft de gemeente of ontwikkelaar contact met u opgenomen?
Wat hebben ze u verteld dat er zou gaan gebeuren?
Hebben ze meteen duidelijk gemaakt dat u mocht meedenken? Moest u daarnaar vragen?*

- Vond u dat op tijd, of was u liever eerder of later betrokken geraakt?
Waarom?

- Welke informatie kreeg u?
- Was dit duidelijk en begrijpbaar voor u?
- Had u het idee dat dit volledig en eerlijk was?
*Welke informatie miste u nog?
Waren alle belangen duidelijk?*

- Heeft u zelf nog dingen moeten opzoeken of navragen?
Zo ja, wat dan? Hoe heeft u dat gedaan?

Mate van inspraak

Participatieladder laten zien.

- Kent u de participatieladder?
Bij nee een kleine uitleg over dat gemeenten een keuze kunnen maken in de mate waarin ze burgers willen laten participeren. Hij loopt van weinig tot veel invloed voor de burgers.

- Hoeveel invloed had u tijdens het participatieproces waar u deel van was? Bent u daar tevreden mee?
Bij ja: Waarom?

Bij nee: Hoeveel invloed vindt u dat u en andere inwoners eigenlijk hadden moeten hebben? Waarom vindt u dit?

- *Maakt het volgens u een verschil hoe groot de ontwikkelingsplannen zijn?
Hoe had u hierover gedacht als het om een braakliggend stuk grond ging waarop één of twee nieuwe woningen zouden komen?
Hoe had u hierover gedacht als het niet om woningbouw ging, maar over de aanleg van parkeerplaatsen ; de bouw van een speeltuin ; het verleggen van een weg ; toestaan van horeca op een bepaalde locatie of een andere aanpassing in de fysieke leefomgeving?
Hoe had u hierover gedacht als het ging over het verlenen van een vergunning voor een uitbouw aan uw buurman?*

Wie mag participeren? Representativiteit.

- *Wie mochten er allemaal meepraten over de nieuwe plannen?*
- *Heeft u iedereen gezien tijdens de inloopavond / online bijeenkomst ?
Denkt u dat iedereen die een uitnodiging heeft gehad, hier iets mee heeft gedaan?
Waarom denkt u dat sommige mensen niet mee hebben gedaan?*
- *Hadden ze meer moeite moeten doen om van iedereen een reactie te krijgen?
Hoe hadden ze meer mensen kunnen bereiken?
Kunt u iets bedenken waardoor u of uw buren toch hun mening hadden gegeven?*

- *Hadden er nog andere mensen mee moeten praten?
Alleen de buurt, de hele wijk, het hele dorp, of de hele gemeente?
Niet alleen volwassenen, maar ook jeugd?
Andere partijen of belangengroepen?*

Onderlinge invloed

- *Heeft u het met uw buren gehad over de ontwikkelingen?*
- *Waren zij het met u eens of oneens? Wat vond u daarvan?*
- *Heeft u het idee dat u eerlijk uw mening kon geven?*

Online vs. fysiek participeren?

Bij eerder online:

- *Hoe heeft u online geparticipeerd?
Vragenlijst? Maasburen? Online bijeenkomst?*
- *Was u hier tevreden over of zou u liever fysiek participeren?*
- *Waarom? Wat maakt de één voor u fijner dan de ander?*

Bij eerder fysiek:

- *Hoe heeft u fysiek geparticipeerd?
Persoonlijk gesprek? Focus groep? Inloopavond?*
- *Was u hier tevreden mee of had u liever online willen participeren?*
- *Waarom? Wat maakt de één voor u fijner dan de ander?*

Uitkomst van het proces

- Wat is er volgens u gebeurd met uw meningen en ideeën?
- Was dat wat u van tevoren had gedacht/gehoopt?
Zo nee: hoe had de ontwikkelaar/gemeente om moeten gaan met uw input?
- Heeft u een verslag gekregen over hoe het proces verlopen is?

Evaluatie

- Is er aan u gevraagd wat u vond van het participatieproces?
- Welke op- en aanmerkingen had u in dat geval meegegeven?



Informereren = u heeft informatie gekregen over bepaalde plannen maar bent niet actief gevraagd daar een mening over te geven: dat had u op eigen initiatief moeten doen.

Raadplegen = u bent gevraagd uw mening te geven over bepaalde plannen, maar het was niet zeker of daar ook iets mee gedaan zou worden.

Adviseren = u hebt uw mening of advies gegeven over bepaalde plannen en deze input is door gemeente of ontwikkelaar gebruikt bij het maken van keuzen of beslissingen

Coproduceren = u heeft actief met de gemeente of ontwikkelaar samengewerkt om een probleem op te lossen; de nieuwe plannen bevatten uw ideeën

Meebeslissen = u heeft alleen of samen met andere inwoners de invulling van bepaalde plannen bepaald; uw mening was doorslaggevend voor de uitvoering van het plan

Appendix 2: Unused survey

Respondentnr.

1. Wat is uw geslacht?

- Man
- Vrouw
- Anders
- Zeg ik liever niet

2. Wat is uw leeftijd?

- Jonger dan 25
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65-74
- Ouder dan 75
- Zeg ik liever niet

3. Wat is uw burgerlijke staat?

- Gehuwd
- Partnerschap; niet samenwonend
- Partnerschap; samenwonend
- Alleenstaand
- Gescheiden
- Weduwe
- Zeg ik liever niet

4. Heeft u een opleiding aan het hoger onderwijs (hogeschool of universiteit) afgerond?

- Ja
- Nee
- Zeg ik liever niet

5. Wat is uw (gezamenlijk) maandelijks netto inkomen (het bedrag dat u per maand ontvangt)?

- Minder dan 1.500
- 1.500 tot 3.000
- 3.000 tot 5.000
- 5.000 of meer
- Zeg ik liever niet

6. Wat is uw woonsituatie?

- Inwonend of onderhuur bij vrienden of familie
- Huurwoning (sociaal)
- Huurwoning (particulier)
- Koopwoning (hypotheek)

- Koopwoning (eigendom)
- Anders
- Zeg ik liever niet

Let op: Bij deze laatste tien vragen moet u per antwoord 1, 2, 3 of 4 punten toekennen

7. Welke uitspraak over besluitvorming past het best bij u?

- Beslissingen worden altijd op hoger hand genomen en daar heb ik weinig over in te brengen. Ik heb weinig binding met de buurt of andere verenigingen en clubs, dus het maakt me ook weinig uit wat er besloten wordt.

... punt(en)

- Degene(n) die ervoor geleerd hebben, moeten beslissen: zij hebben niet voor niets een hogere functie. Ik vind het fijn om dingen samen te doen met de buurt, in een vereniging of club, mits taken en verantwoordelijkheden goed verdeeld zijn.

... punt(en)

- Iedereen moet een kans krijgen om mee te beslissen en als je maar hard genoeg je best doet, zal dat ook lukken. Mijn buren en verenigings- of clubgenoten moeten zelf weten wat ze doen, maar als ze in de weg staan van mijn ambities, zal ik de competitie zeker met ze aangaan.

... punt(en)

- Beslissingen worden gezamenlijk gemaakt voor en door iedereen die het aangaat, vaak door iemand die mij representeert en daar eerlijk voor verkozen is. Ik voel mij echt onderdeel van de gemeenschap en ik vind het belangrijk dat de mensen die het iets beter hebben, de mensen helpen die iets minder hebben, zodat iedereen gelijke kansen heeft.

... punt(en)

8. Hoe zouden bedrijven hun werknemers moeten laten profiteren van een eventuele winst?

- Een bonus die afhankelijk is van prestaties: werknemers die het meeste geld in het laatste brengen voor het bedrijf, krijgen de hoogste bonus.

... punt(en)

- De winst moet eerlijk verdeeld worden tussen alle werknemers.

... punt(en)

- Er is geen eerlijke manier voor het verdelen van winst. Meestal gebeurt dit willekeurig en krijgt iemand meer omdat de baas of collega's hem of haar graag mogen.

... punt(en)

- Een bonus die afhankelijk is van je rank in het bedrijf en hoe lang je in dienst bent: hoe meer verantwoordelijkheid en dienstjaren, hoe meer je krijgt.

... punt(en)

9. Hoe zouden we om moeten gaan met grote gezondheidsrisico's en crises, zoals de COVID-19 uitbraak?

- De overheid heeft het recht niet om zomaar regels op te stellen die onze vrijheid beperken. Iedereen kan voor zichzelf bepalen hoeveel risico hij/zij neemt en moet genoeg nemen met de gevolgen van zijn/haar eigen handelen.
... punt(en)
- Het zal vaak een kwestie van pech of geluk zijn of dit soort risico's mij treffen. Aangezien ik er toch geen controle over heb, kan ik me ook niet druk maken over dit onderwerp.
... punt(en)
- Beslissingen over zulke belangrijke zaken moeten we overlaten aan experts, zoals het Outbreak Management Team en het RIVM.
... punt(en)
- We moeten vertrouwen op ons gezondheidssysteem. Wat er ook gebeurt, iedereen heeft recht en toegang tot zorg en daardoor zijn de risico's minimaal.
... punt(en)

10. Waar kunt u zich het meest in vinden als het gaat om een eerlijke verdeling van invloed en macht?

- Het is het beste voor de maatschappij als de regering regels opstelt waar iedereen zich aan moet houden en de overheid de mensen straft die dat niet doen.
... punt(en)
- De maatschappij heeft er baat bij als invloed en macht eerlijk verdeeld zijn tussen iedereen.
... punt(en)
- De overheid zou niet zoveel restricties voor bedrijven en individuen moeten opstellen en iedereen de kans moeten geven zichzelf te bewijzen.
... punt(en)
- Het maakt niet uit wie macht of invloed heeft: zij zullen dit toch wel misbruiken.
... punt(en)

11. Hoe zou het belastingstelsel er volgens u uit moeten zien?

- Het belastingstelsel moet ervoor zorgen dat er meer gelijkheid tussen inkomens is.
... punt(en)
- De vorm maakt niet uit, het belastingstelsel zorgt er toch wel voor dat rijke mensen nog rijker worden.
... punt(en)
- Het moet opgezet worden door experts – mensen die daarvoor gestudeerd hebben – en moet gebaseerd zijn op wat de regering een eerlijke inkomensverdeling vindt
... punt(en)
- Het belangrijkste is dat mensen die hard werken en risico's nemen daar via een gunstig belastingstelsel voordeel van hebben en vice versa.
... punt(en)

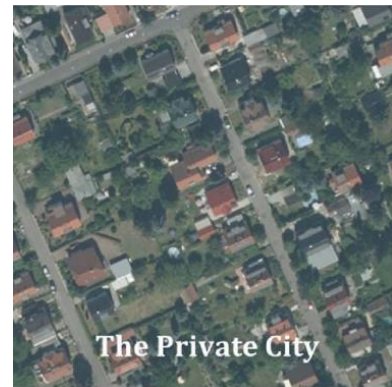
12. Wat is de beste manier om de gevolgen van klimaatverandering te bestrijden?

- Waarschijnlijk helpt niets: we zullen met de gevolgen moeten leven.
... punt(en)
- Om de maatschappij draaiende te houden, is minder uitstoot uitgesloten. We kunnen wel belasting heffen op de uitstoot van broeikasgassen, zodat de vervuiler betaald en zich misschien vanzelf gaat verdiepen in schonere energie.
... punt(en)
- Nationale of wereldwijde regels om uitstoot te verminderen en meer geld stoppen in experts die bezig zijn met onderzoek naar nucleaire, wind- en waterenergie.
... punt(en)
- Boetes voor mensen die met hun manier van leven bijdragen aan de hoge uitstoot van broeikasgassen (bijvoorbeeld mensen die veel vliegen).
... punt(en)

13. Welke ruimtelijke indeling spreekt u het meest aan? Lees ook de eigenschappen die eronder staan ter uitleg.

- De private stad
Iedereen heeft zijn perceel en mag daarmee doen wat hij/zij wil (zolang het bestemmingsplan het toelaat). Er zijn geen restricties en samenwerking is niet nodig. De grond- en huizenprijzen zijn hier hoog, dus om dit te bereiken moet je erg hard werken en heb je weinig vrije tijd.

... punt(en)



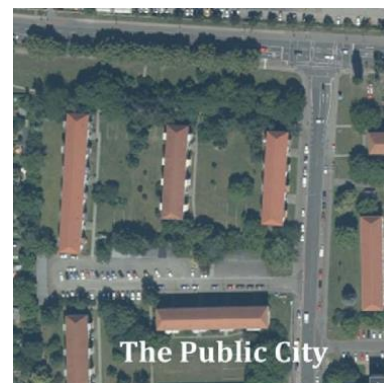
- De gemeenschapsstad
Huizen staan rondom een gemeenschappelijk terrein, dat voor iedereen toegankelijk is (ook als je er niet woont). De bewoners hebben een goede band met elkaar, onderhouden de buurt samen en kunnen daardoor veel zelf beslissen over het gebruik en de indeling.

... punt(en)



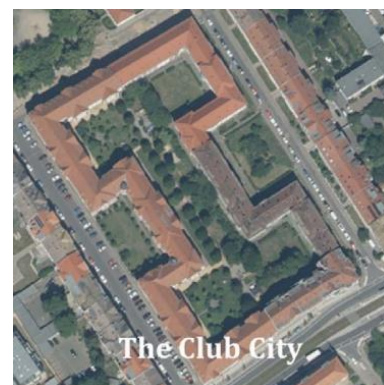
- De publieke stad
Deze buurt is vrij toegankelijk en iedereen kan doen en laten wat hij/zij wil. Bewoners hebben weinig contact met de buren en voelen zich niet verantwoordelijk voor elkaar. Om vandalisme tegen te gaan, is de woningcorporatie niet alleen verantwoordelijk voor het onderhoud, maar bepaalt zij ook het uiterlijk en gebruik van de woningen en openbare ruimte.

... punt(en)



- De exclusieve stad
De openbare ruimte in deze buurt is alleen toegankelijk voor de bewoners, dus bewoners hebben weinig contact met andere dorpsgenoten, maar worden ook niet gestoord. Er is een buurtraad die voor de rest van de buurt beslist welke regels er gelden wat betreft gebruik, uiterlijk en indeling van de buurt.

... punt(en)



14. Hoe denkt u over technologische ontwikkelingen zoals zelfrijdende auto's en robots, die steeds meer taken van ons als mens overnemen?

- Ik denk dat deze ontwikkelingen gevaarlijk zijn, want de mensheid heeft ook altijd kunnen voortbestaan zonder dit soort technologieën. Bovendien zijn dit soort uitvindingen zo duur, dat toch niet iedereen ervan kan profiteren, en dat vind ik niet eerlijk.

... punt(en)

- Ik zie geen gevaar in deze ontwikkelingen, ik zie ze eerder als een kans om nog productiever te worden. Het wordt voor ondernemers veel makkelijker om alles draaiende te houden.

... punt(en)

- De overheid en experts op het gebied van deze technologieën hebben gezegd dat er vooral voordelen zijn en weinig gevaar, dus dat geloof ik. Als ze vaker goedgekeurd en toegepast worden, zal dit vast en zeker de kwaliteit van leven bevorderen.

... punt(en)

- Technologische ontwikkelingen hebben nooit alleen maar voordelen, er zal altijd iemand benadeeld worden. Om te zorgen dat ik dat niet ben, houd ik mij er zover mogelijk buiten, net zo lang tot ik er echt niet meer onderuit kan.

... punt(en)

15. Wat is volgens u de beste manier om dingen te leren?

- Je leert het best onder begeleiding van een ervaren docent.

... punt(en)

- Het maakt niet uit hoe je het best leert, je bereikt er toch niets mee.

... punt(en)

- Je leert het best in een veilige, open omgeving met steun van collega's.

... punt(en)

- Je leert het best in je eentje, door het nemen van risico's en af en toe fouten te maken.

... punt(en)

16. Welke maatregelen om de gevolgen van toekomstige overstromingen tegen te gaan, spreken u het meest aan?

- Investeren in betere technologie, zodat er vooraf een risicoanalyse gemaakt kan worden. Een crisissituatie is een kans om te laten zien wat je waard bent, dus iedereen met expertise en toegang tot hulpmiddelen moet meteen in actie komen.

... punt(en)

- Een crisisorganisatie inrichten met duidelijke structuur en taakverdeling, zodat iedereen weet wat hij moet doen. Ter preventie moeten er vaker controles en technische inspecties plaatsvinden.

... punt(en)

- Preventie is zinloos, er zijn overal over de wereld gevallen waaruit blijkt dat je natuurrampen toch niet kan voorspellen. Tijdens een crisis kun je het best afwachten tot de chaos is gaan liggen, want tegen die tijd heeft iemand vast wel bedacht wat het beste plan van aanpak is.

... punt(en)

- Informatie beter en sneller delen, ook met andere gemeenten. Tijdens een crisissituatie moet iedereen samenwerken en dingen aanpakken waar mogelijk, desnoods zonder officiële goedkeuring. De normale regels en procedures kunnen we tijdelijk vergeten.

... punt(en)

Appendix 3: Codebook

Groupless 5 Codes:

- 1.1 Fatalism ○ 1.2 Hierarchism ○ 1.3 Egalitarianism ○ 1.4 Individualism ○ 1.5 Not applicable

1. Fatalism: 454 Codes

1.1 Fatalism - Negative feelings: 157 Codes

1.1.1 Worries and fears - 29 Codes:

- Baseert mening over gemeente op vooroordeel ○ Denkt dat kunstwerk 'per ongeluk' vernield zal worden ○ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar de ingediende zienswijze persoonlijk opvat ○ Ervaart overlast door verkeerssituatie ○ Heeft het idee dat er allerlei illegale dingen gebeuren ○ Heeft weinig vertrouwen in moderne technologie ○ Individuen die hard schreeuwen juttten onwetenden op ○ Is bang voor inbreuk op privacy ○ Keurt veranderde grootte en massiviteit af ○ Maakt zich zorgen over ontwikkeling ○ Ondervindt meerdere soorten overlast van Ringbaan ○ Ontwikkelaar heeft geen goede eerste indruk gemaakt ○ Ontwikkelaar is niet eerlijk en wil mensen beïnvloeden ○ Ontwikkelaar is onfatsoenlijk ○ Ontwikkelaar spant samen ○ Suggereert eigenlijk liever helemaal geen woningbouw te zien op locatie ○ Vergelijkt ontwikkelaar met Trump ○ Vertrouwt ontwikkelaar niet ○ Verwacht geen verbetering verkeerssituatie in korte tijd ○ Vindt aanpassingen van ontwikkelaar niet voldoende ○ Vindt Groesbeekseweg gevaarlijk ○ Vindt hoogte van initiatief een probleem ○ Vindt Nederlanders betweters ○ Vindt ontwikkelaar 'geen brave man' ○ Vindt ontwikkelaars mensen die keihard liegen ○ Vindt sociale huurwoningenbeleid problematisch ○ Wil geen jongeren, dronkaards of drugsmisbruikers in sociale huurappartementen ○ Ziet veel beren op de weg ○ Ziet vleermuiskasten aan voor vlaggenmasten

1.1.2 Misunderstanding - 33 Codes:

- "Niemand begrijpt dat hier geen parkeergarage komt" ○ Begrijpt niet hoe en waarom alle buurtbewoners genegeerd konden worden ○ Denkt dat er vooroordeel (hoogopgeleide, rijke mensen) rust op buurt ○ Gemeente neemt argumenten niet serieus ○ Ging er vanuit dat er nog veranderingen zouden komen, maar werd teleurgesteld ○ Grapt over dat kleine aanpassingen het probleem niet oplossen ○ Had heel veel geaccepteerd maar niet dít ○ Heeft andere belangen/problemen met verkeer dan belangengroep Ringbaan ○ Heeft andere ervaring met werkelijke situatie dan gemeente ○ Heeft geen speciale behandeling gekregen op inloopavond of op een ander moment (als omwonende) ○ Heeft geen veranderingen gezien nav opmerkingen buurt ○ Is dingen beloofd die niet nagekomen werden ○ Is gefrustreerd dat gemeente niet erkent dat theorie anders is als praktijk ○ Is het oneens met stelling gemeente dat er meerdere aanpassingen zijn gedaan ○ Is niet tevreden met inhoudelijke reactie op zienswijze ○ Is teleurgesteld in niet nagekomen beloftes politieke partijen ○ Kreeg geen begrip bij gemeente ○ Kreeg geen terugkoppeling vanuit gemeente ○ Ontwikkelaar dacht ten onrechte dat respondent het eens was met eerste plannen ○ Ontwikkelaar heeft alleen financiële belangen; ziet algemeen belang niet ○ Ontwikkelaar kiest eigen belang voor belang buurtbewoners ○ Ontwikkelaar/initiatiefnemer is tegenstander van buurt ○ Politiek doet geen moeite om situatie echt te begrijpen ○ Teleurgesteld in ontwikkelaars kennis van omgeving ○ Vindt bestaande plan om kunstwerk te behouden een slecht idee ○ Vindt dat buurtbewoners verkeerd behandeld zijn ○ Vindt dat gemeente niet juiste uitgangspunten heeft genomen in verkeersveiligheidsproblematiek ○ Vindt kleine aanpassingen niet genoeg ○ Voelt zich afgescheept door gemeente ○ Voelt zich genept doordat eerste tekeningen totaal anders waren dan uiteindelijke plan ○ Voelt zich niet serieus genomen ○ Vond reactie op zienswijze nietszeggend ○ Wethouder gebruikt als argument dat het elders nog slechter gesteld is

1.1.3 Despondency, pointlessness, and giving up - 46 Codes:

○ Denkt dat het geen zin heeft om participatie te proberen
○ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar niet met oplossing gaat komen
○ Denkt niet dat iets wat als zes of zeven jaar zo is, nu ineens gaat veranderen
○ Denkt niet dat nieuwe medewerkers/functies verschil gaan maken
○ Dorps- of buurtraden zijn zinloos; ook daar wordt niet naar geluisterd
○ Geen enkel bezwaar (ook niet van officiële adviespartners) heeft iets geholpen
○ Geloof niet dat persoonlijk gesprek zinvol was
○ Had geen succes met zienswijze over inkijk
○ Heeft alles zo maximaal en officieel mogelijk aangepakt, maar tevergeefs
○ Heeft er een kruis achter gezet (moedeloos)
○ Heeft er geen vertrouwen in dat er nog iets veranderd
○ Heeft er geen vertrouwen in dat gezamenlijk bezwaar een verschil gaat maken
○ Heeft er geen vertrouwen in dat gezamenlijke actie iets uit gaat halen
○ Heeft het opgegeven om discussie met gemeente aan te gaan
○ Heeft mening/bezwaren geuit en vindt het prima als het daarbij blijft
○ Heeft rechtstreeks contact gehad met verkeerskundige (maar tevergeefs)
○ Heeft zich erbij neergelegd
○ Heeft zich neergelegd bij afwijzing zienswijze, maar zit hem/haar duidelijk nog hoog
○ Is blij nu geen onderdeel van belangengroep oid te zijn
○ Is er helemaal klaar mee
○ Is er niet uitgekomen samen met gemeente
○ Is gelaten
○ Is moe van eerder geruzie met de gemeente en wil daarom niet nogmaals actief op de bres
○ Is moe van en klaar met het protesteren
○ Is moe van het eeuwige discussiëren met gemeente
○ Kijkt er niet met fijn gevoel naar terug omdat geen enkel bezwaar succes had
○ Kon mening geven tijdens inloopavond maar wist al dat het geen verschil ging maken
○ Lacht problemen weg
○ Lacht teleurstelling weg
○ Legt zich neer bij resultaat
○ Legt zich snel bij dingen neer
○ Lijkt moedeloos te worden van uitstellen plannen door geldgebrek
○ Maakt een grap van het feit dat uiten van zorgen zinloos gebleken is
○ Neemt genoeg met minder (iéts ipv niets)
○ Ontwikkelaar doet niets meer dan echt moet
○ Persoonlijk overleg haalt niets uit
○ Probeert afstand te nemen van het gebeuren maar weet alles nog precies
○ Vindt dat discussie met gemeente teveel tijd en energie kost
○ Vindt het allemaal wel best
○ Vindt het zinloos om mensen om hun mening te vragen als er toch niets mee gedaan wordt
○ Wil zich niet bemoeien met nieuw participatiebeleid
○ Woont al lang in Mook en heeft veel meegemaakt
○ Wordt moedeloos van proces rondom verkeersproblematiek
○ Ziet geen andere opties voor parkeerprobleem
○ Zit al 10-15 jaar in een participatieproces zonder einde over verplaatsen weg
○ Zonder definitie is alles participatie en verandert er niets

1.1.4 Powerless - 20 Codes:

○ Baalt dat niemand bezwaar heeft gemaakt tegen eerdere besluit
○ Denkt dat buurtbewoners tegen elkaar uitgespeeld zijn door ontwikkelaar
○ Geen inspraak mogelijk over algemene regels
○ Heeft het gevoel dat inwoners de ontwikkelaar niks kunnen opleggen
○ Heeft niets kunnen veranderen aan bestaande plan
○ In je eentje bereik je niks tegen gemeente
○ Kan alleen maar wachten tot onderzoek is afgerond
○ Omwonenden hebben niets in te brengen vanwege financiële afweging ontwikkelaar
○ Ondanks alle actie en bezwaren heeft het niets uitgehaald (geen concessies)
○ Ontwikkelaar speelt een spelletje
○ Vindt het lastig dat ambtenaren er vaak maar tijdelijk zitten
○ Voelde zich machteloos
○ Voelde zich machteloos dat alles ineens al vaststond
○ Voelt zich afgewimpeld door gemeente
○ Voelt zich benadeeld door eerder genomen besluit
○ Voelt zich de dupe van eerdere maatregelen
○ Voelt zich machteloos over parkeersituatie
○ Voelt zich machteloos tegenover gemeente
○ Voelt zich uitgelachen door gemeente
○ Werd pas betrokken toen veel (negatieve) zaken al vast stonden

1.1.5 Sarcasm, frustration, and irritation - 32 Codes:

○ Buren voelen zich bedreigd
○ Doet veel sarcastische uitspraken over grootte gebouw en tekort aan groen
○ Ergert zich aan vrijblijvende coronabeleid
○ Ervaart overlast door verkeerssituatie
○ Had liever meer groen gezien dan één boompje op de parkeerplaats
○ Houdt graag anderen verantwoordelijk voor 'slechte uitkomst'
○ Houdt zich lang stil ondanks ergernis
○ Is gefrustreerd dat gemeente niet erkent dat theorie anders is als praktijk
○ Is verontwaardigd over hoe makkelijker ontwikkelaar hem/haar afwimpelde
○ Maakt allerlei aannames zonder situatie helemaal te kennen
○ Maakt grappen over dure appartementen
○ Maakt zich boos over krantenartikel waarin wordt gesteld dat gemeente mening van inwoners gaat vragen voor verkiezingen
○ Ontwikkelaar denkt alleen maar aan centen
○ Ontwikkelaar denkt alleen maar aan financieel belang
○ Ontwikkelaar is niet transparant

Ontwikkelaar komt afspraken niet na
 Ontwikkelaar probeert onder verplichtingen uit te komen
 Ontwikkelaar verzint smoesjes
 Ontwikkelaar wil alleen maar geld verdienen
 Vindt dat er meerdere dingen zijn gebeurd die niet door de beugel kunnen
 Vindt dat ontwikkelaar zich overal uit praat
 Vindt financiën geen argument voor gedane veranderingen
 Vindt het 'gelul en geklets' dat er vleermuizen in gebouw zitten
 Vindt het ironisch dat iedereen het erover eens is dat woningbouw past op locatie maar dat ontwikkelaar geen handreiking kan doen
 Vindt het tergend dat aangeleverde informatie en argumenten werden genegeerd
 Vindt ontwikkelaar onprofessioneel
 Vindt totale verandering conceptplan geen fraaie actie
 Vindt veranderingen van ontwikkelaar onfatsoenlijk
 Voelt zich voorgelogen
 Vond het een gore streek dat 'concept' nog helemaal veranderd werd
 Vond het een schande dat gemeente participatie uitbesteed heeft zonder voorwaarden mee te geven
 Ziet gebrek aan kennis als onprofessioneel

1.2 Information supply - 63 Codes:

○ Baseert mening over ontwikkelaar op vooroordeel
 ○ Begrijpt belangen/motivatie gemeente niet
 ○ Begrijpt niet waarom gemeente winst voor ontwikkelaar toestaat
 ○ Benadrukt graag meest negatieve scenario
 ○ Burgers laten zich niet goed genoeg informeren voor ze ergens mee instemmen
 ○ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar bewust geen informatie deelt
 ○ Doet suggestieve uitspraak
 ○ Geen contact gehad met ontwikkelaar tussen persoonlijk gesprek en inloopavond
 ○ Geen informatie gekregen voorafgaand aan bijeenkomst
 ○ Geen terugkoppeling over geuite zorgen gehad
 ○ Gemeente heeft verkeerde informatie verspreid / gelogen
 ○ Gesprek met wethouders riep alleen maar meer vragen op
 ○ Heeft een tweede persoonlijk gesprek gehad
 ○ Heeft geen gesprek aan huis gehad met ontwikkelaar
 ○ Heeft geen informatie gekregen van gemeente of ontwikkelaar
 ○ Heeft geen terugkoppeling gehad van ontwikkelaar
 ○ Heeft geen terugkoppeling over participatieproces gehad van gemeente
 ○ Heeft 'gehoord' dat eerste tekening heel anders was dan het tweede (ontwerp)plan
 ○ Heeft korte lijntjes
 ○ Heeft meer informatie nodig om te begrijpen wat er aan de hand is
 ○ Heeft niemand van gemeente gesproken of gezien
 ○ Heeft niets meer van ontwikkelaar gehoord sinds indienen zienswijze
 ○ Heeft ontwikkelaar niet gezien of gesproken
 ○ Heeft persoonlijk gesprek gehad met ontwikkelaar
 ○ Heeft speciale behandeling gekregen die averechts werkte
 ○ Hooft veel slechte verhalen over wethouder
 ○ Is geïnformeerd
 ○ Kreeg geen terugkoppeling vanuit gemeente
 ○ Maakt allerlei aannames zonder situatie helemaal te kennen
 ○ Neemt geen contact op met gemeente voor missende informatie
 ○ Ontevreden over communicatie met of van gemeente
 ○ Slechte informatievoorziening vanuit gemeente
 ○ Speculeert vaak
 ○ Verwacht al helemaal niks (qua informatie) nu buurman verhuisd is
 ○ Vindt het frustrerend dat inwoners zonder nadenken petitie tekenen
 ○ Vindt het lastig dat commentaar vaak pas achteraf komt
 ○ Vindt inwoners te afwachtend
 ○ Vindt persoonlijk langsgaan en informeren geen participatie
 ○ Vindt publicatie niet voldoende om te informeren over bestemmingsplanwijziging
 ○ Vindt veel inwoners meelopers
 ○ Vond communicatie met ontwikkelaar niet goed
 ○ Vond communicatie vanuit ontwikkelaar eenrichtingsverkeer
 ○ Vond het onduidelijk wat de regels nou precies waren
 ○ Vond participatie van ontwikkelaar alleen informeren en dus onvoldoende
 ○ Was verbaasd dat er zonder weten van omwonenden van alles gebeurd en veranderd was
 ○ Was zo verbijsterd door plotselinge veranderingen aan plan dat hij/zij geen commentaar heeft gegeven tijdens inloopavond
 ○ Weet niet goed hoe officiële procedures werken
 ○ Weet niet helemaal wat participatie is
 ○ Weet niet hoe het er nu voor staat
 ○ Weet niet precies hoeveel appartementen er gaan komen
 ○ Weet niet precies wat doelgroep van het initiatief wordt
 ○ Weet niet waarom aantal appartementen is teruggebracht
 ○ Weet niet wat ontwikkelaar precies met bezwaren/input van buurt gedaan heeft
 ○ Weet niet wie allemaal een persoonlijk gesprek gehad heeft
 ○ Weet wat een wob-verzoek is
 ○ Weet wie ontwikkelaar is
 ○ Wethouders doen/regelen veel maar zeggen weinig/leggen niks uit
 ○ Wil graag een definitie van participatie
 ○ Wist hoe hoog er vroeger gebouwd mocht worden
 ○ Wist niet dat bestemmingsplanwijzigingen ook precedent scheppen voor andere ontwikkelingen
 ○ Wist niet dat maximale bouwhoogte in bestemmingsplan veranderd is
 ○ Wist niet wie contactpersoon bij gemeente was
 ○ Ziet eerste plan niet als iets serieus

1.3 Processing information ('listening') - 38 Codes:

○ Begrijpt niet hoe en waarom alle buurtbewoners genegeerd konden worden
○ Betwijfelt of er iets met inbreng gedaan wordt
○ Denkt dat ze er bij andere reactie gemeente misschien samen uit waren gekomen
○ Gemeente doet niets met informatie buurtbewoners
○ Gemeente doet niks met informatie
○ Gemeente gaat niet in op individuele ideeën
○ Gemeente had zich over groepsvorming heen moeten zetten
○ Gemeente luistert niet naar inwoners
○ Gemeente luistert wel maar doet er niets mee
○ Gemeente moet serieuzer luisteren en niet alles over één kam scheren
○ Gemeente neemt argumenten niet serieus
○ Had wel de kans om zijn/haar zegje te doen, maar daar bleef het bij
○ Heeft één keer alles gezien en mening gegeven maar hoorde daarna niets meer
○ Heeft eerder meegemaakt dat gemeente niks doet met input buurtbewoners
○ Heeft geen speciale behandeling gekregen op inloopavond of op een ander moment (als omwonende)
○ Heeft niets meer van ontwikkelaar gehoord sinds indienen zienswijze
○ Heeft ook schriftelijk vragen gesteld, maar kreeg geen antwoord
○ Heeft persoonlijk gesprek gehad met ontwikkelaar
○ Kreeg geen respons van gemeente over suggesties
○ Ontwikkelaar heeft niet goed geluisterd
○ Persoonlijk langskomen was niet bedoeld om nieuwe input op te halen
○ Politiek luistert niet
○ Projectleider geeft niet thuis bij vragen
○ Raad en politieke partijen zijn lastig te bereiken
○ Vindt bij twee mensen langsgaan geen 'meningen vd buurt verzamelen'
○ Vindt dat buurtbewoners verkeerd behandeld zijn
○ Vindt dat om mening vragen geen zin heeft als er toch niks mee gedaan wordt
○ Vindt de huidige definitie van participatie niet goed genoeg
○ Vindt het geen verrassing dat buurt en gemeente er niet uit kwamen
○ Vindt het kwalijker dat gemeente niet heeft geluisterd dan ontwikkelaar
○ Vindt het tergend dat aangeleverde informatie en argumenten werden genegeerd
○ Vindt het zinloos om mensen om hun mening te vragen als er toch niets mee gedaan wordt
○ Vindt participatie een toneelstuk als je er geen gevolg aan geeft
○ Vindt persoonlijk langsgaan en informeren geen participatie
○ Voelt zich afgescheept door gemeente
○ Voelt zich niet gehoord door ontwikkelaar
○ Ziet participatie als afvinken (alleen aanhoren maar niets doen)
○ Zonder korte lijntjes met politiek is het lastig om ze aan te spreken

1.4 Willingness to participate - 45 Codes:

○ Bemoeit zich er liever niet mee
○ Deelt algemene zorgen niet met gemeente
○ Denkt er weinig mee te maken te hebben gehad
○ Geeft leeftijd als reden om zich er niet meer teveel mee te bemoeien
○ Geeft niets om zelfde hoogte op andere locatie
○ Geen concrete ervaring met inspraak bij gemeente
○ Geen invloed gehad op ontwikkelingen (wil dat ook niet)
○ Had geen behoefte om mee te praten
○ Had weinig bezwaren
○ Heeft bezwaar gemaakt bij gemeente samen met buurt
○ Heeft eigen oplossing geopperd bij gemeente
○ Heeft geen inspraak gehad over doelgroep
○ Heeft geen moeite gedaan om actief betrokken te zijn
○ Heeft geen tijd om overal achteraan te gaan
○ Heeft mening/bezwaren geuit en vindt het prima als het daarbij blijft
○ Heeft niet gehele participatietraject meegemaakt
○ Heeft niet genoeg tijd om het op te nemen tegen gemeente
○ Heeft specifieke zorgen of vragen gedeeld met ontwikkelaar
○ Heeft wel ideeën, maar spreekt ze niet uit
○ Hoeft geen inspraak over doelgroep
○ Houdt zich lang stil ondanks ergernis
○ Ideeën gedeeld met ontwikkelaar
○ Is niet geïnteresseerd in participatiebeleid want helpt gedane participatieproces toch niet meer
○ Is niet geïnteresseerd in welke ambtenaren betrokken waren
○ Is onverschillig
○ Neemt gemeentelijke verkiezingen niet heel serieus
○ Niet goed op de hoogte van plannen
○ Niet meegepraat tijdens planontwikkeling
○ Niet op de hoogte van ervaringen andere buurtbewoners
○ Ongeïnteresseerd (onvoorbereid)
○ Probeert ontwikkelingen rondom Ringbaan te volgen
○ Spreekt zich niet uit over onderwerpen waar hij/zij niet veel vanaf weet
○ Veel beleidskwesties interesseren inwoners niet
○ Vindt kleine details niet belangrijk
○ Vindt meepraten over kleine details nutteloos
○ Vindt zichzelf geen betrokken persoon
○ Was er wel achteraan gegaan als hij/zij er dichterbij woonde
○ Was niet actief betrokken
○ Weet dat burens wel actief betrokken waren
○ Weet niet meer met wie tweede persoonlijke gesprek was
○ Weet niet meer precies hoe het participatieproces gelopen is
○ Wil gezamenlijke bezwaar wel ondertekenen maar niet bewust actie ondernemen
○ Wil niet alle vrije tijd besteden aan discussie met gemeente
○ Wil zich niet bemoeien met nieuw participatiebeleid
○ Ziet het niet als zijn/haar probleem

1.5 Desirability of participation - 36 Codes:

○ De gemeente wil eigenlijk helemaal geen participatie
○ Denkt dat alleen het hoognodige gedaan is aan participatie, omdat het nou eenmaal móét
○ Denkt dat participatie geen zin heeft want wethouders willen toch niet
○ Denkt dat raad en college participatie niet belangrijk vinden
○ Denkt dat raadsleden helemaal geen participatie willen (alleen horen en klaar)
○ Denkt dat wethouders zich in de kaart gekeken voelen door participatie
○ Er was alleen maar participatie omdat het móest
○ Geloof niet dat gemeente participatie oprecht wil verbeteren
○ Gemeente deed alsof
○ Gemeente 'doet alsof' bij participatie
○ Gemeente maakt zich er gemakkelijk vanaf
○ Gemeente wil geen extra moeite stoppen in een representatieve participatiegroep
○ Gemeente wil niet dat iedereen meepraat
○ Heeft er weinig vertrouwen in dat participatiebeleid dingen beter gaat maken
○ Heeft wethouder horen zeggen dat informeren voldoende 'participatie' is
○ Is ervan overtuigd dat wethouder niet écht participatie wil
○ Mensen van de oude stempel willen geen participatie
○ Noemt het toeval dat ik mijn onderzoek hier(over) doe
○ Participatie gebeurt nu alleen omdat het móét
○ Participatie had hier beter anders kunnen heten
○ Participatie is een verkiezingskreet; een loze belofte
○ Vindt het opmerkelijk dat politiek zégt dat ze participatie willen, maar het eigenlijk niet willen
○ Vindt participatie een toneelstuk als je er geen gevolg aan geeft
○ Vindt participatie maar een spelletje (parade)
○ Vond het alleen participatie op papier; geen echte participatie
○ Vond het participatieproces een extreem geval van 'afvinken'
○ Vond inloopavond een schijnvertoning
○ Vond participatie niet oprecht: omdat het móest
○ Wethouder bepaalt zelf of hij inwoners wel/niet wil aanhoren
○ Wethouders willen geen participatie
○ Wethouders zijn niet overtuigd dat participatie belangrijk is
○ Wil graag een definitie van participatie
○ Ziet inloopavond als een spel/ facade
○ Ziet participatie als afvinken (alleen aanhoren maar niets doen)
○ Zonder definitie is alles participatie en verandert er niets
○ Zou het participatieproces onderaan participatieladder plaatsen

1.6 Trust in municipality - 55 Codes:

○ Aanwezigheid ambtenaar zorgt er niet voor dat burgers zich gehoord voelen
○ Ambtenaar heeft geen toegevoegde waarde in participatieproces
○ Ambtenaren moeten meer tegengas geven aan wethouder
○ Ambtenaren voelen zich sneller persoonlijk aangevallen in kleine gemeente
○ Constateert een verschil tussen de wethouders
○ Denkt dat ambtenaar in kleine gemeente eerder volledig achter wethouder staat dan in grote gemeente
○ Denkt dat ambtenaren geen tegengas geven om problemen te voorkomen
○ Denkt dat korte lijntjes (ons kent ons) nadelig is voor objectiviteit gemeente
○ Denkt niet dat het gaat lukken kunstwerk op goede manier te bewaren
○ Denkt niet dat nieuwe medewerkers/functies verschil gaan maken
○ Geen enkele politieke partij durft beslissing te nemen of actie te ondernemen
○ Geen vertrouwen in de gemeente
○ Gemeente heeft geen geld om nieuwe (verkeers)plannen uit te voeren
○ Gemeente heeft geen invloed op plannen van ontwikkelaar
○ Gemeente is vastgeroest
○ Gemeente is verkeerd bezig geweest zo zonder duidelijke afspraken met ontwikkelaar
○ Gemeente kan lange-termijnzaken lastig oplossen
○ Heeft er geen vertrouwen in dat verkeersproblematiek snel opgepakt gaat worden
○ Heeft gemeente niet gemist bij participatieproces
○ Heeft liever te maken met aannemer dan met gemeente
○ Heeft niet veel op met de wethouder
○ Heeft projectleider gemeente persoonlijk gesproken
○ Heeft weinig vertrouwen in huidige politiek/ambtenaren
○ Heeft weinig verwachtingen van politiek in gemeente
○ Is teleurgesteld dat gemeente niets doet
○ Kreeg geen hoogte van projectleider
○ Kundige gemeenteraadsleden zijn de uitzondering
○ Lijkt moedeloos te worden van uitstellen plannen door geldgebrek
○ Mist daadkrachtigheid in politiek
○ Ontwikkelaar had vrije hand - gemeente deed niets
○ Persoonlijk overleg haalt niets uit
○ Projectleider geeft niet thuis bij vragen
○ Projectleider gemeente is marionet van wethouder en College
○ Stelt zuchtend dat niemand voeten in het zand durft te zetten
○ Teveel inspraak zorgt voor vertraging in beslissingen maken
○ Twijfelt aan kundigheid gemeenteraadsleden
○ Uitbesteden van participatie is verantwoordelijkheden afschuiven
○ Vindt ambtenaar onbetrouwbaar omdat hij loyaal is aan wethouder
○ Vindt dat alles te lang duurt bij gemeente
○ Vindt dat gemeente veel uitstelt en afstelt
○ Vindt dat gemeenteraadsleden verzaken en niet betrokken zijn
○ Vindt dat onderzoeken en betrokkenheid andere gemeenten/provincies voor vertraging zorgt
○ Vindt dat

projectleider weinig tegengas gaf aan wethouder ◦ Vindt gemeente 'ondergeschikt' politiek orgaan ; afhankelijk van provincie ◦ Vindt het ´een zwak punt´ dat uitspraken Gelders Genootschap genegeerd zijn ◦ Vindt het lastig dat ambtenaren er vaak maar tijdelijk zitten ◦ Vindt leden van gevestigde partijen te partijgebonden (geen eigen mening) ◦ Vindt oplossen van probleem belangrijker dan goede band met gemeente ◦ Vindt projectleider gemeente slechts een uitvoerder ◦ Vindt sommige wethouders meelopers ◦ Vindt wethouder 'slecht' ◦ Vond het een schande dat gemeente participatie uitbesteed heeft zonder voorwaarden mee te geven ◦ Vond zowel ontwikkelaar als gemeente fout ◦ Wethouder en ambtenaar spannen samen ◦ Wethouders en ambtenaren voelen zich niet verantwoordelijk

1.7 Municipality not honest/transparent or lying/misleading - 44 Codes:

◦ Afspraken worden niet nagekomen ◦ Ambtenaren geven geen inzage (ook niet na wob-verzoek) ◦ Denkt dat buurman bewust slecht neer werd gezet ◦ Denkt dat buurtbewoners bewust misleid zijn ◦ Denkt dat de politiek de boel bedisselt ◦ Denkt dat er actrices ingehuurd zijn door gemeente om verhaal/belangen te versterken ◦ Denkt dat wethouder de raad bespeelt/voorliegt ◦ Gelooft niet dat projectleider gemeente eerlijk was ◦ Gemeente gebruikt alleen informatie die in hun straatje past ◦ Gemeente had andere belangen ◦ Gemeente heeft verkeerde informatie verspreid / gelogen ◦ Gemeente is niet eerlijk over haar intenties ◦ Gemeente is niet transparant ◦ Gemeente komt beloften niet na ◦ Gemeente probeert op slimme manier burgers te misleiden ◦ Gemeente was niet eerlijk ◦ Gemeente was niet over te halen ◦ Gemeente werkt mee aan initiatieven vanwege financiële belangen ◦ Gemeenteraadsleden zijn niet eerlijk ◦ Gemeenteraadslid heeft gelogen ◦ Hoort veel slechte verhalen over wethouder ◦ Is dingen beloofd die niet nagekomen werden ◦ Is extra teleurgesteld doordat besluitvorming ongenueanceerd was ◦ Is wantrouwend over reden afwijzen bezwaar ◦ Kent belangen gemeente wel maar gelooft ze niet ◦ Kwam er tijdens informatieavond achter dat gemeente niet eerlijk was geweest ◦ Media/journalisten en gemeente spelen samen een spel ◦ Politiek gewin boven eerlijk toegeven zorgen/bezwaren ◦ Suggereert dat gemeente meewerkte in misleiden inwoners ◦ Suggereert dat wethouder er bijna wel iets mee moet verdienen ◦ Verwacht niets van gemeente vwb openheid of transparantie ◦ Vindt dat gemeente niet juiste uitgangspunten heeft genomen in verkeersveiligheidsproblematiek ◦ Vindt het ´een zwak punt´ dat uitspraken Gelders Genootschap genegeerd zijn ◦ Vindt kleine gemeenten kliekjes die geen buitenstaanders dulden ◦ Voelt zich afgescheept door gemeente ◦ Voelt zich afgewimpeld door gemeente ◦ Voelt zich bespeeld door projectleider gemeente ◦ Voelt zich genept doordat eerste tekeningen totaal anders waren dan uiteindelijke plan ◦ Vond besluitvorming rondom plan maar een voorstelling ◦ Was verbaasd dat er zonder weten van omwonenden van alles gebeurd en veranderd was ◦ Wethouder verdraait de waarheid ◦ Wethouder wil alleen maar zoveel mogelijk bouwen ◦ Wethouders doen/regelen veel maar zeggen weinig/leggen niks uit ◦ Wethouders wilden zich niet uitspreken over het plan

1.8 Political game and gains above all - 43 Codes:

◦ Denkt dat burgers steeds meer weerzin hebben tegen politiek ◦ Denkt dat de politiek de boel bedisselt ◦ Denkt dat iedereen wethouder een dictator vindt ◦ Denkt dat je een bepaald type mens moet zijn om geschikt te zijn als wethouder ◦ Denkt dat politieke partijen samenspannen ◦ Denkt dat politieke voorkeur er voor raadsleden niet toe doet (gaat om politiek gewin) ◦ Geen enkele politieke partij durft beslissing te nemen of actie te ondernemen ◦ Geen vertrouwen in het systeem ◦ Gemeente kan lange-termijnzaken lastig oplossen ◦ Gemeente kiest eigen belang boven belang inwoners ◦ Gemeente wil alleen beleidsdoelen halen en kijkt daarbij niet goed genoeg naar de locatie ◦ Gemeenteraadsleden stemmen mee met belangen partij ◦ Heeft voorkeur voor gevestigde partijen want meer kundige mensen ◦ Houdt niet van nieuwe partijen (op elk bestuurlijk niveau) ◦ In politiek wordt een spel gespeeld ◦ Is extra teleurgesteld doordat besluitvorming ongenueanceerd was ◦ Is teleurgesteld in inzet politieke partijen ◦ Is teleurgesteld in niet nagekomen beloftes politieke partijen ◦ Is zich ervan bewust dat overal politiek achter zit ◦ Maakt een grap van het feit dat uiten van zorgen zinloos gebleken is ◦ Media/journalisten en gemeente spelen samen een spel ◦ Mist daadkrachtigheid in politiek ◦ Noemt politiek 'hard' ◦ Participatie is een verkiezingskreet; een loze belofte ◦ Politiek denkt alleen aan eigen belangen ◦ Politiek gewin boven eerlijk toegeven zorgen/bezwaren ◦ Politiek is een

spelletje○ Projectleider gemeente is marionet van wethouder en College○ Stelt dat participatie nep voelt voor de burger○ Suggereert dat wethouder er bijna wel iets mee moet verdienen○ Vindt dat alles in kleine gemeente veel persoonlijker gemaakt wordt○ Vindt leden van gevestigde partijen te partijgebonden (geen eigen mening)○ Vindt participatie maar een spelletje (parade)○ Vindt wethouder 'slecht'○ Vond besluitvorming rondom plan maar een voorstelling○ Wethouder gebruikt als argument dat het elders nog slechter gesteld is○ Wethouder is partijdig en doet aan vriendjespolitiek○ Wethouder moet beter communiceren om roddels tegen te gaan○ Wethouder speelt met raadsleden○ Wethouder vindt politieke belangen belangrijker dan welzijn inwoners○ Ziet alles nadat het plan vaststond als een 'politiek spelletje'○ Ziet dat er twee kanten zijn aan korte lijntjes / kleine gemeente○ Zonder korte lijntjes met politiek is het lastig om ze aan te spreken

1.9 Other - 26 Codes:

○ Accepteert geluidsoverlast bouwwerkzaamheden○ Denkt dat burgers invloed van media onderschatten○ Denkt dat initiatiefnemer pas later bezwaren gaat behandelen○ Denkt dat media niet zouden kunnen bestaan als ze alleen maar eerlijke verhaal vertellen○ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar al vergunning heeft○ Denkt naast zichzelf ook aan milieu○ Geeft toe dat buurman af en toe ook wel lastig was○ Geeft toe dat er toch een paar aanpassingen zijn gedaan na bezwaren○ Haalt er steeds meer uitzonderingssituaties bij○ Hapt graag op suggesties interviewer○ Heeft bezwaren tegen nieuwe weg (variant 5A)○ Heeft er geen vertrouwen in dat mensen uit zichzelf (zonder verplichting) 'juist' handelen○ Heeft zelf ook geen oplossing voor parkeerprobleem○ Informatieavonden over nieuw beleid hebben lage opkomst○ Komt toch telkens weer met zelfde punt (parkeren en hoogte)○ Media opzoeken zorgt dat je aandacht krijgt○ Media/journalisten en gemeente spelen samen een spel○ Ontevreden over grootte en betaalbaarheid nieuwe woningen○ Vergelijkt met andere of eerdere ervaringen○ Vergelijkt met werksituatie○ Vindt media sensatiezoekers (en dat gaat niet veranderen)○ Vindt veel inwoners meelopers○ Vindt woningbouw beter dan leegstand of een stadspark○ Vond het initiatief per definitie al niets (primitief)○ Ziet voors en tegens○ Zou liever mooi groot huis zien ipv appartementencomplex

2. Egalitarianism - 436 Codes

2.1 Contact and communication between neighbors - 32 Codes:

○ Blijft als raadslid graag op de hoogte van opinies van de buurt ○ Buurman is slechts deels verhuisd door ontwikkeling ○ Corona is nadelig voor participatie omdat sociale leven weg is ○ Denkt dat buurman sowieso een keer was verhuisd ○ Denkt dat nieuwe burens niets van negatieve proces hebben meegekregen ○ Heeft buurman/buurvrouw aangespoord inspraakrecht te benutten ○ Heeft contact met andere buurtbewoners over de casus ○ Heeft contact met burens ○ Heeft goed contact met burens ○ Heeft het niet met nieuwe burens over ontwikkeling gehad ○ Heeft meningen bij de buurt opgehaald ○ Heeft samen met buurt geëvalueerd ○ Heeft van buurman gehoord dat communicatie slecht is ○ Heeft weinig direct naaste burens ○ Heeft zorgen in de buurt meegekregen ○ Is blij met buurt ○ Is door burens benaderd mee te doen in 'protest' tegen gemeente ○ Kent de meeste burens ○ Kent niet iedereen uit Wolkenkrabber persoonlijk ○ Kent situatie van de burens goed ○ Officiële bestemmingsplan niet gezien ○ Onderhoudt graag contact met burens ○ Ontwikkelaar probeert stiekem plan aan te passen ○ Op de hoogte van ervaringen van anderen ○ Spreekt namens buurt ○ Spreekt vaak met buurtbewoners ○ Vindt het 'een zwak punt' dat uitspraken Gelders Genootschap genegeerd zijn ○ Wijst buurman aan als aanjager belangengroep ○ Wil graag meer aansluiting met buurt ○ Zag zichzelf als mediator ○ Ziet buurman als degene die het meeste contact had met gemeente ○ Zit in een buurtgroepsapp en vindt dat fijn

2.2 Together we are strong - 36 Codes:

○ Buurt heeft zich verenigd om bezwaar te maken ○ Denkt dat alle burens bij inloopavond zijn geweest ○ Denkt dat alle buurtbewoners ongeveer dezelfde bezwaren hebben ○ Denkt dat burens het allemaal eens zijn ○ Denkt dat er altijd wel een aantal argumenten zijn die door iedereen gedragen worden ○ Doet (graag) veel samen met de buurt ○ Doet graag iets samen met de hele buurt ○ Durft uit te komen voor andere mening ○ Heeft alleen geparticipeerd ○ Heeft de buurt verenigd tegen gemeente ○ Heeft gezamenlijk zienswijze ondertekend ○ Heeft na inloopavond met buurt overlegd en bezwaarbrieven geschreven ○ Heeft persoonlijk (namens buurt) met wethouders gesproken ○ Heeft petitie Stichting Wolkenkrabber getekend maar was geen actieve aanjager ervan ○ Heeft samen met burens vragen gesteld tijdens inloopavond ○ Heeft samen met buurt de wethouder en gemeenteraadsleden persoonlijk uitgenodigd ○ Heeft samen met buurt geëvalueerd ○ Heeft samen met buurt wethouder langs laten komen ○ Heeft vereniging binnen Stichting Wolkenkrabber als iets positiefs ervaren ○ Heeft zich vaker herenigd met buurt ○ Heeft zich verenigd met buurt ○ Heeft zienswijze namens belangengroep ondertekend ○ Heeft zowel persoonlijk als in groep zorgen geuit ○ Iedereen was het eens over grote lijnen ○ Is het eens met bezwaar van buurman over drempels ○ Is het ermee eens dat er een ontwikkeling nodig is ○ Participeert liever in een groep ○ Samen met buurt meerdere argumenten tegen plan ○ Stipt aan dat andere burens het met hem/haar eens zijn ○ Verenigt zich graag met buurtbewoners ○ Vindt het prima als anderen de leiding nemen en doet dan wel mee ○ Voelt zich verbonden met iedereen die zelfde overlast ervaart ○ Was lid van stichting Wolkenkrabber, maar niet actief (alleen om rest te steunen) ○ Wil burens steunen maar vanwege leeftijd en verleden alleen passief meedoen ○ Zou in rol raadslid liever in groep participeren ○ Zou indienen zienswijze/bezwaar liever met anderen samen doen

2.3 Solidarity (community spirit) and empathy - 39 Codes:

○ Begint uit zichzelf over gevaar voor verkeersveiligheid ○ Begrijpt niet hoe privacy buurman zo erg geschonden kon worden ○ Begripvol naar andere buurtbewoners ○ Constateert zowel materiële als mentale schade bij omwonenden ○ Denkt dat ontwikkeling geleid heeft tot meerdere verhuizingen ○ Empathisch ○ Gemeente doet moeite voor sociale huurders en starters ○ Gemeente voelt zich niet verantwoordelijk voor toekomstige bewoners ○ Heeft geen bezwaar tegen woningbouw aan sich ○ Heeft medelijden met buurman ○ Heeft twee petten op ○ Heeft woord gedaan namens buurt/buurman ○ Houdt niet van vooroordelen over mensen ○ Is begaan met toekomstige bewoners ○ Is benieuwd hoe de rest van de burens erover denken ○ Is bezorgd om negatieve effecten voor nieuwe buurtbewoners ○

Is meelevend over inkijkprobleem van mensen die er vlak naast wonen ◦ Kijkt ook naar het grote geheel ◦ Maakt zich ondanks weinig hinder toch zorgen over onveiligheid en ongelukken ◦ Maakt zich vooral druk over veiligheid anderen (niet zichzelf) ◦ Maakt zich zorgen over kinderen die gevaarlijke Groesbeekseweg over moeten steken ◦ Maakt zich zorgen over veiligheid toekomstige bewoners ◦ Meer interesse vanuit gemeente(raad) wenselijk ◦ Ontwikkelaar houdt geen rekening met bestaande situatie ◦ Snapt andere mensens zorgen om doelgroep wel ◦ Vindt alle doelgroepen prima ◦ Vindt dat omwonenden niet bepaalde doelgroepen mogen uitsluiten ◦ Vindt het schande dat gemeente moedwillig gevaarlijke situatie creëert ◦ Vindt NIMBY-principe flauw ◦ Vindt verhuizen burens jammer ◦ Vindt welzijn nieuwe bewoners belangrijker dan eigen welzijn ◦ Vond planschade niet toereikend ◦ Voorspelt dat toekomstige bewoners zullen klagen bij gemeente ◦ Waardeert moeite die buurman erin gestopt heeft ◦ Was lid van stichting Wolkenkrabber, maar niet actief (alleen om rest te steunen) ◦ Wethouder moet staan voor algemeen belang ◦ Wijdt verhuizingen burens aan (gang van zaken rondom) nieuwe plannen ◦ Zegt niet alleen voor zichzelf, maar ook voor toekomstige bewoners te klagen ◦ Ziet in dat woningbouw belangrijk is en altijd wel iemand benadeelt

2.4 Expectation management: too understanding and trusting? - 54 Codes:

◦ Accepteert geluidsoverlast bouwwerkzaamheden ◦ Begrijpt dat NIMBY problematisch is voor gemeente ◦ Begrijpt niet hoe privacy buurman zo erg geschonden kon worden ◦ Begrijpt niets van hoe de wethouder de plannen door heeft laten gaan ◦ Begrijpt waarom situatie zo is als hij is, maar niet waarom er niks verandert ◦ Begripvol algemeen ◦ Begripvol naar gemeente ◦ Bleef hopen op eerlijke mening en uitleg wethouder ◦ Dacht een aantal politieke partijen aan hun kant te hebben, maar bleek niet zo te zijn ◦ Dacht na eerste gesprek met ontwikkelaar dat alles nog open stond en het nog niet definitief was ◦ Denkt dat dit soort dingen overal voorkomen ◦ Ervaart geluidsoverlast door sloopwerkzaamheden, maar 'dat hoort erbij' ◦ Ervaart overlast maar zegt er niet meteen zelf iets van ◦ Geeft toe dat er wel kleine aanpassingen gedaan zijn ◦ Had aanpassingen verwacht nav opmerkingen omwonenden ◦ Had geen probleem met de ontwikkelaar en zelfs een open/informeel gesprek ◦ Had het gevoel dat er vragen gesteld konden worden tijdens inloopavond ◦ Had hoge verwachtingen van inloopavond ◦ Had hoop/verwachting dat gesprek met wethouder tot meer zou leiden ◦ Had meer verwacht van inloopavond ◦ Had terugkoppeling verwacht van gemeente ◦ Had verwacht ontwikkelaar vaker te zien/spreken ◦ Heeft alle vragen kunnen stellen ◦ Heeft alleen geparticipeerd ◦ Hoort vanuit gemeenteraad dat hij/zij niet mag mopperen met zo'n groot huis ◦ Houdt niet van klagen voor het probleem er daadwerkelijk is ◦ Is niet snel tevreden met antwoord/reactie gemeente ◦ Is niet tevreden met reactie wethouder ◦ Is tevreden met één verdieping minder zoals het plan nu is ◦ Kan niet geloven dat gemeente nieuwe plaats van de friezen goedkeurt ◦ Ontwikkelaar heeft aanpassingen gedaan naar aanleiding van wensen omwonenden ◦ Ontwikkelaar kiest eigen belang voor belang buurtbewoners ◦ Positief over participatietraject vanuit ontwikkelaar ◦ Stond achter initiatief ◦ Teleurgesteld in de politiek ◦ Teleurgesteld met resultaat inspanningen belangengroep ◦ Tevreden met compromis ◦ Tevreden over omgang met bezwaren door ontwikkelaar ◦ Vertrouwen in ontwikkelaar ◦ Vertrouwen in ontwikkelaar vertoont scheurtje ◦ Verwachtte terugkoppeling en aanpassingen na het eerste gesprek ◦ Vindt het bot dat ontwikkelaar geen betere oplossing voor bewaren friezen heeft bedacht ◦ Vindt het jammer dat alle groen uit eerste tekeningen ineens verdwenen was ◦ Vindt het jammer dat ze niet meer tegen hebben houden dan één verdieping eraf ◦ Voelde zich niet gehoord na gesprek met wethouder ◦ Voelt zich beledigd door uitspraak dat mensen met grote huizen niet moeten zeuren ◦ Voelt zich niet gehoord door gemeente ◦ Voelt zich onbegrepen ◦ Vond inloopavond niet nuttig ◦ Was te goed van vertrouwen omdat hij/zij ontwikkelaar kende ◦ Werd overvallen door uiteindelijke ontwerpplan ◦ Wethouder deelt zorgen, maar doet er niets mee ◦ Wethouder heeft het niet netjes gespeeld ◦ Ziet voors en tegens

2.5 Worries and objections and how they were expressed - 44 Codes:

◦ Bezorgd ◦ Denkt in eerste instantie weinig bezwaren te hebben ◦ Durft wel vragen te stellen aan gemeente ◦ Gemeente doet alsof bijna-ongelukken niet belangrijk zijn ◦ Gemeente moet eerder actie ondernemen om gevaar tegen te gaan ◦ Gevaarlijke parkeersituatie bij plan baart hem/haar zorgen ◦

Gevoel vrijheid te verliezen ◦ Had meerdere kritiekpunten tav het plan ◦ Heeft discussie gehad met wethouder over overlast en veiligheid voor toekomstige bewoners ◦ Heeft gesprek aangevraagd met wethouder(s) over de kwestie ◦ Heeft liever groen en natuur dan groot gebouw ◦ Heeft ook over andere thema's 'gevochten' met gemeente ◦ Heeft parkeer- en verkeersbezwaren geuit bij wethouder ◦ Heeft specifieke zorgen of vragen gedeeld met ontwikkelaar ◦ Heeft toch nog een ander groot bezwaar ◦ Heeft veel kritiek op parkeren en verkeer ◦ Heeft zelf aanrijding gehad ◦ Houdt niet van klagen voor het probleem er daadwerkelijk is ◦ Is boos dat friezen die bewaard moesten blijven nu op het muurtje op de parkeerplaats komen ◦ Is ervan overtuigd dat beoogde parkeersituatie onveilig is ◦ Is geschrokken van enormiteit van het plan zoals bewezen door maquettes ◦ Maakt bezwaar wanneer dat echt nodig is ◦ Maakt zich ondanks weinig hinder toch zorgen over onveiligheid en ongelukken ◦ Maakt zich veel zorgen over verkeersveiligheid ◦ Maakt zich zorgen over bezoekers die voor de deur komen parkeren ◦ Maakt zich zorgen over ontwikkeling ◦ Maakt zich zorgen over verkeersveiligheid ◦ Noemt tekort aan groen als gebrek/kritiek op het plan ◦ Ontevreden over grootte en betaalbaarheid nieuwe woningen ◦ Ontwikkelaar probeert stiekem plan aan te passen ◦ Onzeker vanwege veranderingen ◦ Te weinig parkeerplaatsen met bezoekers meegerekend ◦ Teleurgesteld over kleine details van het initiatief ◦ Vindt behoud van parkeerplaats gevaarlijk ◦ Vindt dat gemeente niet goed genoeg naar parkeren heeft gekeken ◦ Vindt dat meerdere dingen anders zouden moeten ◦ Vindt het 'een zwak punt' dat uitspraken Gelders Genootschap genegeerd zijn ◦ Vindt parkeren belangrijkste argument ◦ Vindt situatie nu al gevaarlijk; vooral voor fietsers ◦ Vindt verkeer en parkeren extreem belangrijk ◦ Vindt verkeersveiligheid het allerbelangrijkste argument ◦ Vond gebouw op tekeningen inloopavond te hoog ◦ Ziet casus Groesbeekseweg als extra 'bijzonder' vanwege kunst-historische waarde ◦ Zorgen over doelgroep nieuwe plannen

2.6 Communication and information provision - 81 Codes:

◦ Blijft tussendoor graag op de hoogte ◦ Buurtbewoners hebben geprobeerd gemeenteraadsleden te benaderen ◦ Denkt dat er een hele verdieping af is gegaan ◦ Denkt dat er meerdere doelgroepen komen ◦ Denkt dat er op inloopavond 'besloten' is dat er minder appartementen zouden komen ◦ Denkt dat er veel meer appartementen afgegaan zijn (en eerst zouden komen) ◦ Denkt dat informatie op inloopavond niet compleet was ◦ Denkt dat jongeren informeren extra moeilijk is ◦ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar boos is vanwege alle protesten/bezwaren ◦ Eerst communicatie met buurt, dan binnen gemeente ◦ Eerst persoonlijk op de hoogte, toen pas via Raad ◦ Er gebeurt van alles zonder de buurt te informeren ◦ Gemeente heeft verkeerde informatie verspreid / gelogen ◦ Gemeenteraadsleden zijn persoonlijk benaderd ◦ Haalt informatie uit gemeentekrantje (rubriek bekendmakingen) ◦ Had bezwaren liever eerst informeel met ontwikkelaar besproken ◦ Had terugkoppeling verwacht van gemeente ◦ Had tot inloopavond nog maar weinig informatie gehad ◦ Had verwacht ontwikkelaar vaker te zien/spreken ◦ Heeft actief om informatie en verduidelijking gevraagd ◦ Heeft contact opgenomen met gemeente nadat ontwikkelaar niets meer liet horen ◦ Heeft eigen correspondentie met gemeente wel netjes bewaard ◦ Heeft geen evaluatiemoment gehad met gemeente ◦ Heeft gesprek aangevraagd met wethouder(s) over de kwestie ◦ Heeft korte lijntjes ◦ Heeft na eerste gesprek nooit meer contact gehad met ontwikkelaar ◦ Heeft openbare raadsvergadering online bijgewoond ◦ Heeft persoonlijk (namens buurt) met wethouders gesproken ◦ Heeft raadsvergadering online bijgewoond vanwege corona ◦ Heeft recht op de man gevraagd wat wethouder zelf vond van het plan ◦ Heeft samen met buurt de wethouder en gemeenteraadsleden persoonlijk uitgenodigd ◦ Heeft samen met buurt wethouder langs laten komen ◦ Heeft tekeningen gezien op inloopavond ◦ Heeft van buurman gehoord dat communicatie slecht is ◦ Informatievoorziening door belangengroepen kan gekleurd zijn ◦ Is geïnformeerd ◦ Is op de hoogte van kleine details ◦ Is positief over contact met ontwikkelaar ◦ Kan met computer omgaan ◦ Kent zijn/haar rechten ◦ Korte lijntjes binnen gemeente ◦ Makkelijk contact krijgen met ontwikkelaar ◦ Mist geen informatie ◦ Moet zelf naar gemeente gaan, gemeente komt niet naar mensen ◦ Officiële bestemmingsplan niet gezien ◦ Ontwikkelaar beloofde terugkoppeling, maar kwam het niet waar ◦ Ontwikkelaar en gemeente hebben bewust informatie achter gehouden ◦ Ontwikkelaar heeft aanpassingen teruggekoppeld naar buurt ◦ Overtuigd van eigen kennen en kunnen ◦ Persoonlijk contact projectontwikkelaar ◦ Persoonlijk contact wethouder ◦ Persoonlijke

contact Hegeman ◦ Raadsleden hebben cruciale rol in informatievoorziening ◦ Rol van ambtenaar is faciliteren en informatie verstrekken ◦ Soms heeft dubbele petten/korte lijntjes ook nadelen ◦ Teverden over communicatie met of van ontwikkelaar ◦ Verwachtte terugkoppeling en aanpassingen na het eerste gesprek ◦ Vindt 'weten hoe de vork in de steel zit' belangrijk ihkv participatie ◦ Vindt dat gemeente meer zou mogen evalueren achteraf ◦ Vindt het belangrijk dat dingen begrijpbaar naar buiten worden gebracht ◦ Vindt het positief dat wethouder makkelijk te benaderen is ◦ Vindt het verkeerd dat zelfs informeren al moeizaam ging ◦ Vindt informatievoorziening belangrijk maar niet via belangengroepen (want gekleurd) ◦ Vindt inwoners informeren lastig omdat elke partij iets anders zegt ◦ Voelt zich op de hoogte gehouden ◦ Vond de sfeer op inloopavond onprettig ◦ Vooraf voorkeuren geuit ◦ Vraagt zich af of het daadwerkelijk die week af gaat zijn ◦ Vraagt zich af waarom gemeente actief bestemmingsplan wilde aanpassen ◦ Weet niet hoe het er nu voor staat ◦ Weet niet of je ter plekke bezwaar kon maken op inloopavond ◦ Weet niet precies hoeveel appartementen er gaan komen ◦ Weet niet wat huidige stand van zaken is ◦ Weet niet wie er allemaal op inloopavond waren ◦ Weet niet wie ontwikkelaar is ◦ Weet precies wat er in gemeenteraadsvergaderingen is/wordt besproken ◦ Weet precies welke 'doelgroep' waar komt te wonen ◦ Wil graag alles weten ◦ Zag meerdere stappen met definitieve gevolgen die teruggekoppeld hadden moeten worden ◦ Zag zichzelf als mediator ◦ Ziet alles graag duidelijk en transparant uitgelegd

2.7 The meaning and importance (spent time and effort) of participation - 61 Codes:

◦ Actief ingezet voor buurtbelangen ◦ Actieve rol in participatieproces ◦ Al actief voor officiële participatietraject ◦ Besteed (vrije) tijd aan informatie zoeken over plannen gemeente ◦ Bewust naar gemeente gestapt ◦ Buurt heeft eigen onderzoek parkeren en verkeer gedaan ◦ Buurt heeft veel moeite gedaan om ontwikkelaars ongelijk te bewijzen ◦ Buurtbewoners hebben geprobeerd gemeenteraadsleden te benaderen ◦ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar niet zoveel gedoe had verwacht ◦ Eigen kaders gesteld voor officiële participatieproces ◦ Gedreigd met bezwaren bij overschrijding normen omwonenden ◦ Gehoord voelen betekent aanhoren maar ook wederhoren ◦ Gemeente heeft geluisterd ◦ Gemeente/ontwikkelaar heeft niets met burgerparticipatie te maken ◦ Gemeenteraadsleden zijn persoonlijk benaderd ◦ Had graag vooraf meegedacht ◦ Heeft contact opgenomen met gemeente nadat ontwikkelaar niets meer liet horen ◦ Heeft door vele protesteren ook verandering teweeggebracht ◦ Heeft eerste tekeningen nog bewaard ◦ Heeft ideeën over stedelijke inrichting ◦ Heeft met wethouder gesproken ◦ Heeft ondanks gevoel machteloosheid toch actie ondernomen ◦ Heeft samen met burens vragen gesteld tijdens inloopavond ◦ Het allerbelangrijkst voor een participatiebeleid is het woord 'participatie' beter omschrijven ◦ Is moe van eerder geruzie met de gemeente en wil daarom niet nogmaals actief op de bres ◦ Is naar inloopavond geweest ◦ Laat invulling van kaders bij projectontwikkelaar ◦ Legt vooraf kaarten open op tafel ◦ Maquettes gemaakt om te bewijzen hoe ernstig de veranderingen tov eerste tekeningen waren ◦ Ongenoegen is omgezet in actie ◦ Participatie gaat nu niet verder dan mensen één keer aanhoren ◦ Participatie is 'deelnemen aan', ofwel horen en wederhoren ◦ Participatie is deelnemen tijdens het hele proces ◦ Participatie lukt alleen als eigen belangen aan de kant gezet worden en er echt geluisterd wordt ◦ Participatie moet zijn "iets doen met de kennis uit de omgeving" ◦ Participatie werkt alleen als iedereen (ook bestuurders) echt willen en openstaan ◦ Participatie zou meer moeten zijn dan alleen aanhoren ◦ Participatiebeleid/regels zijn niet nodig als men maar echt wil ◦ Positief over participatietraject vanuit ontwikkelaar ◦ Teleurgesteld met resultaat inspanningen belangengroep ◦ Twijfelde niet om naar inloopavond te gaan ◦ Vanuit uitersten tot een gedragen plan gekomen ◦ Vindt 'weten hoe de vork in de steel zit' belangrijk ihkv participatie ◦ Vindt alleen luisteren en op basis daarvan geen keuze maken geen participatie ◦ Vindt dat buurman veel moeite heeft gedaan ◦ Vindt dat 'gehoord worden' iets anders is dan een bezwaar indienen ◦ Vindt dat je naar iedereen moet luisteren en de steekhoudende argumenten eruit moet filteren ◦ Vindt dat participatie betekent dat iedereen samen meedenkt- en praat over oplossingen en alternatieven ◦ Vindt écht luisteren het allerbelangrijkst bij participatie ◦ Vindt participatie een toneelstuk als je er geen gevolg aan geeft ◦ Voelt zich gehoord door ontwikkelaar ◦ Vroegtijdig betrokken ◦ Vroegtijdige betrokkenheid boekt positief resultaat ◦ Weet dat participatie gaat veranderen onder Omgevingswet ◦ Wil actie zien en niet in onzekerheid blijven ◦ Wil

bijdragen aan beter participatiebeleid ◦ Wil graag meepraten ◦ Wil vroegtijdig betrokken zijn ◦ Wil vroegtijdig meedenken ◦ Wilde ontwikkeling alleen als hij/zij ook mee mocht denken ◦ Ziet burgerparticipatie als iets wat burens onderling doen

2.8 Importance of local knowledge and insight - 42 Codes:

◦ Begint uit zichzelf over gevaar voor verkeersveiligheid ◦ Bekend met eerdere situatie ◦ Belangengroepen hebben veel invloed ◦ Denkt dat buurtbewoners het best weten hoe situatie op locatie is ◦ Denkt dat omwonenden ander verhaal zullen vertellen dan gemeente/ontwikkelaar ◦ Eerst persoonlijk op de hoogte, toen pas via Raad ◦ Er zitten grenzen aan wie mag participeren ◦ Geloof niet dat ontwikkelaar uit omgeving komt, omdat hij er zo weinig mee begaan is ◦ Heeft ervaring met gevaarlijke situatie parkeren ◦ Heeft meerdere argumenten voor de stelling dat casus Groesbeekseweg extra aandacht had moeten krijgen ◦ Heeft ook over andere thema's 'gevochten' met gemeente ◦ Heeft veel kennis over verkeer op locatie ◦ Heeft veel kennis van de omgeving ◦ Heeft zelf aanrijding gehad ◦ Is gefrustreerd dat gemeente niet erkent dat theorie anders is als praktijk ◦ Is niet verbaasd dat ontwikkelaar niet uit Mook en omgeving komt ◦ Is teleurgesteld dat wethouder alleen van formele situatie uitgaat en niet luistert naar ervaringen uit de buurt ◦ Kennis over situatie en omgeving ◦ Maakt grap dat hij zelf wel handelt naar officiële regels ◦ Omwonenden hebben meer kennis over verkeerssituatie dan gemeente ◦ Ontwikkelaar luistert naar bezwaren buurt ◦ Op de hoogte van eerdere principeverzoeken ◦ Op de hoogte van wat er gebeurt in de buurt ◦ Participatie moet zijn "iets doen met de kennis uit de omgeving" ◦ Vindt argument wethouder niet steekhoudend ◦ Vindt dat beslissingen over initiatief voor omwonenden belangrijk zijn ◦ Vindt dat buurtbewoners beste kijk hebben op situatie 'in het echt' ◦ Vindt dat omwonenden altijd belanghebbenden zijn ◦ Vindt dat omwonenden meer en eerder betrokken hadden moeten worden ◦ Vindt dat plan niet in omgeving past ◦ Vindt dat vooral omwonenden die rechtstreeks overlast of hinder ondervinden volledig mogen meepraten ◦ Vindt elke situatie anders en dus verschilt aantal en reikwijdte belanghebbenden ◦ Vindt mening/gevoel in de buurt belangrijker dan feiten ◦ Vooraf moet duidelijk zijn wie belanghebbenden zijn en mogen participeren ◦ Vraagt zich af hoe gemeente advies over verkeersveiligheid kon negeren ◦ Wethouder heeft onveiligheid en andere problemen beaamd maar doet er niets mee ◦ Wethouder wist van gevaarlijke situatie, maar doet er niks mee ◦ Woont al 50 jaar op locatie ◦ Woont al heel lang in de buurt ◦ Ziet in dat sommige dingen de hele buurt aangaan ◦ Ziet omwonenden als belanghebbenden ◦ Zonder input omwonenden zou gemeente urgente dingen gewoon vergeten

2.9 Functioning of the municipality - 34 Codes:

◦ Ambtenaar kan aanvullende rol hebben door uitleg uitvoering ◦ Ambtenaren heb je nodig voor praktische zaken ◦ Ambtenaren zijn uitvoerders ◦ Commissievergadering moeten meer actief ◦ Dacht dat contact met wethouder iets zou kunnen veranderen ◦ Denkt dat de gemeente een mediator nodig heeft ◦ Denkt dat het lastig is om iedereens mening op te halen en te verwerken ◦ Denkt niet dat verkiezingen het politieke spel hebben beïnvloed ◦ Erkent dat 'het politieke spel' overal een probleem is ◦ Geeft aan dat buurman inspraakrecht heeft benut ◦ Gemeente gebruikt zelfde (financiële) argumenten als ontwikkelaar ◦ Gemeente moet input van burgers over verschillende zaken in samenhang zien ◦ Gemeenteraad veranderde onverklaarbaar ineens van mening ◦ Heeft gehoord dat beslissingen stiekem waren zodat men geen weerwoord kon geven ◦ Inspraakrecht benut ◦ Is het ermee eens dat gemeente te weinig capaciteit heeft om participatieproces goed op te zetten ◦ Maakt verschil tussen ervaren onervaren insprekers ◦ Onervaren insprekers moeten écht gehoord worden ◦ Politiek/raad moet actief meningen ophalen ◦ Politieke spel is belangrijker dan principes (voor politieke partijen) ◦ Raadsleden hebben cruciale rol in informatievoorziening ◦ Rol van ambtenaar is faciliteren en informatie verstrekken ◦ Uitoefenen inspraakrecht moet interactief zijn ◦ Vindt feedback belangrijk ◦ Vindt vroegtijdig belangen uitspreken belangrijk ◦ Vond raadsvergadering een politiek spel ◦ Vragen en opmerkinge tijdens raadsvergadering hebben gelijk politiek gewicht ◦ Wethouders moeten iets doen met informatie die hun ten ore komt ◦ Ziet dat er ook grenzen zijn aan capaciteit en kunnen van gemeente ◦ Ziet een grote rol voor raad/politiek in participatie ◦ Ziet in mediator + communicatieadviseur een groot deel van de oplossing ◦ Ziet rol van mediator als argumenten

noteren en beoordelen
○ Ziet verbetering voor participatie in houding van de Raad
○ Ziet wethouder als de verantwoordelijke voor hele ontwikkeling

2.10 Other - 47 Codes:

○ Constateert meerdere verhuizingen rondom plangebied
○ Denkt dat Gelders Genootschap meer had moeten doen
○ Enthousiast vanaf het begin
○ Geen zorgen over doelgroep nieuwe plannen
○ Gemeente heeft niet vooruit gedacht
○ Gemeente moet meer handhaven
○ Heeft ambtenaar gemeente gezien tijdens inloopavond
○ Heeft geen aansporing nodig om over ervaringen te vertellen
○ Heeft het 'eerste plan' niet bewust gezien
○ Heeft inloopavond bijgewoond
○ Heeft niet gehele participatietraject meegemaakt
○ Heeft twee petten op
○ Heeft vooral op tekeningen gelet, niet of ontwikkelaar aanwezig was tijdens inloopavond
○ Heeft vooral tekeningen gezien bij inzage ontwerpplannen
○ Heeft wel ideeën, maar spreekt ze niet uit
○ Houdt van zekerheid
○ Is gastvriendelijk
○ Is niet per se tegen woningbouw op die locatie
○ Is niet tegen woningbouw op locatie (noodzakelijk zelfs)
○ Is snel de draad kwijt
○ Kende de ontwikkelaar al van eerdere ervaring
○ Kent mensen die er gaan wonen
○ Maakt hem/haar niet uit welke doelgroep de nieuwe bewoners zijn
○ Media zou alle kanten moeten belichten
○ Media zou eerder en meer moeten kietelen
○ Milieubelangengroepen krijgen meer aandacht dan andere
○ Onzeker over eigen kunnen
○ Refereert naar NIMBY-principe
○ Tevreden met eerdere situatie
○ Vergelijkt met andere of eerdere ervaringen
○ Vergelijkt met eerdere ruzie met gemeente
○ Vindt het belangrijk dat mensen bewust worden dat de krant een filter is
○ Vindt het bot dat ontwikkelaar geen betere oplossing voor bewaren friezen heeft bedacht
○ Vindt het jammer dat er weinig media-aandacht is voor gemeente
○ Vindt kranten selectief (focus op extremen; te weinig aandacht voor 'klein nieuws')
○ Vindt mijn onderzoeksonderwerp goed
○ Vindt 'rijke' mensen niet alleraardigst
○ Vindt sociale media vooral voor jongeren
○ Voelt zich plots onzeker over negativiteit tov wethouder
○ Voelt zich vanwege ligging woning een eilandje
○ Vond coronatijd een enge tijd
○ Vond inloopavond drukbezocht
○ Vond inloopavond prima georganiseerd
○ Vreest dat media nooit onpartijdig zullen zijn
○ Wie het hardst schreeuwt, krijgt het meeste aandacht
○ Ziet graag jonge gezinnen in nieuwe appartementen
○ Ziet verschil met Molenhoek (Mook verkeersveiligheid; Molenhoek verkeersoverlast)

3. Individualism - 391 Codes

3.1 Worries and other opinions on the development - 35 Codes:

○ Bezorgd
○ Denkt dat het precedent is voor verdere ontwikkelingen
○ Denkt dat het veiliger zou zijn met minder nieuwe woningen
○ Denkt dat plannen schade doen voor huidige buurt
○ Had twijfels over of aantal woningen nodig was voor financiële haalbaarheid
○ Heeft geen last van inkijk
○ Heeft meer argumenten naast verkeer en parkeren
○ Heeft zicht op nieuwe initiatief
○ Hield hoop op goede afloop ondanks negatief advies advocaat
○ Is bang voor precedentwerking parkeren voor zijn/haar deur
○ Is blij dat er 'een' ontwikkeling komt
○ Is niet ontevreden met plan
○ Is tevreden over grootte en hoogte van het complex, omdat het voor persoonlijke situatie meevalt
○ Meer woningen is prima als dat voor jonge gezinnen is
○ NIMBY: waarom niet ergens anders?
○ Ondervindt meerdere soorten overlast van Ringbaan
○ Relatieveert zorgen
○ Vindt dat plan afbreuk doet aan toerische uitstraling van het dorp
○ Vindt dat plan niet past bij uitstraling van het gebied
○ Vindt doelgroep belangrijk
○ Vindt het goed dat rekening is gehouden met geluidshinder
○ Vindt het groene aangezicht belangrijk
○ Vindt het plan te massaal voor de locatie
○ Vindt het zonde dat omgeving verpest wordt
○ Vindt inkijk niet prettig
○ Vindt parkeren belangrijkste argument
○ Was er al op voorbereid dat er iets ging gebeuren
○ Was niet per se tegen dat er iets kwam
○ Was positief over eerste plannen
○ Wijdt verhuizingen burens aan (gang van zaken rondom) nieuwe plannen
○ Wil dat gevoel van wonen in het bos niet verdwijnt
○ Ziet initiatief als iets groots
○ Ziet locatie als toegangspoort naar dorp
○ Ziet urgentie wel, maar begrijpt niet waarom hier wel en ergens anders niet
○ Ziet weinig belemmeringen voor persoonlijke woonsituatie

3.2 Contact and/or relationships with others - 71 Codes:

○ Bekend met eerdere situatie
○ Denkt dat andere burens ook zonder de groep (alleen) actie hadden ondernomen
○ Denkt dat hij anders tegen de kwestie aankijkt dan andere buurtbewoners
○ Denkt dat hij/zij andere argumenten heeft als anderen
○ Denkt dat korte lijntjes voordelig zijn
○ Denkt dat niet alle burens er hetzelfde in staan
○ Doet dingen liever samen maar zou ook alleen in actie komen als dat moest
○ Dorpsraad helpt je niet bij persoonlijke/individuele overlast
○ Dorpsraad moet niet namens inwoners bemiddelen of bemoeien
○ Geeft aan dat buurman gefrustreerd was
○ Geeft toe dat buurman af en toe ook wel lastig was
○ Gemeente kan goed onderhandelen
○ Heeft andere belangen/problemen met verkeer dan belangengroep Ringbaan
○ Heeft bij gebrek aan steun van belangengroep zelf contact met gemeente opgenomen
○ Heeft contact met burens
○ Heeft contact met dorpsraad
○ Heeft geen fijne ervaring met ontwikkelaar
○ Heeft geen groep nodig om zich uit te durven spreken
○ Heeft geschil met één van de burens
○ Heeft goed contact (gehad) met ontwikkelaar
○ Heeft goede woorden voor respondent4
○ Heeft heel weinig warme contacten in de buurt
○ Heeft iemand anders begeleid tijdens één op één gesprekken
○ Heeft informatie vergaard bij burens
○ Heeft korte lijntjes
○ Heeft meningen bij de buurt opgehaald
○ Heeft met een enkele andere buur dan respondent4 contact
○ Heeft met respondent4 gepraat over ontwikkelingen
○ Heeft momenteel geen contact met ontwikkelaar
○ Heeft na participatietraject nog wel contact gehad met ontwikkelaar
○ Heeft niet met alle burens even nauw contact
○ Heeft persoonlijk contact gehad met ontwikkelaar
○ Heeft veel contact met respondent4
○ Heeft weinig binding met dorp Molenhoek
○ Hoorde via buurman als eerst over de plannen
○ Is geen dorpsman
○ Is niet echt op de hoogte van bezigheden dorpsraad
○ Is niet geïnteresseerd in details over andere wijken/buurt
○ Is niet geïnteresseerd in meepraten over dingen die niet dichtbij zijn
○ Je bereikt niks als je je niet kunt verenigen
○ Kennis over situatie en omgeving
○ Kent ontwikkelaar en hij kent respondent
○ Kent ontwikkelaar omdat persoon in Nijmegen gestudeerd heeft
○ Kent ontwikkelaar persoonlijk
○ Kent sommige burens niet of amper
○ Kijkt niet alleen als buurtbewoner maar ook als professional naar de case
○ Korte lijntjes binnen gemeente
○ Korte lijntjes met voormalig eigenaar garage
○ Mist binding met buurt niet in participatieproces
○ Niet actief betrokken bij Dorpsraad
○ Noemt dat iedereen blij was dat één persoon de rest 'aanjaagt'
○ Op de hoogte van ervaringen van anderen
○ Persoonlijke benadering ontwikkelaar
○ Verenigen is lastig als je net andere belangen hebt
○ Verenigen is lastig want zelfs binnen belangengroep is verdeeldheid
○ Vindt het lastig om het alleen op te nemen tegen gemeente
○ Vindt individueel participeren geen probleem
○ Vindt respondent4 een goed raadslid
○ Voelt zich niet begrepen door

belangengroep vanwege specifieke problemen○ Voelt zich niet verbonden met buurt○ Voelt zich niet vertegenwoordigd door belangengroep Ringbaan○ Vond stichting Wolkenkrabber positieve ontwikkeling○ Vond vooral één specifieke buur heel betrokken○ Was gezamenlijk naar ontwikkelaar gegaan als contact met buurt beter was geweest○ Weet dat ontwikkelaar klein/simpel begonnen is○ Weet niet precies wat andere mensen hebben ingebracht○ Weet niet precies wat de Dorpsraad doet○ Wijst specifieke buur aan die het het liefst wilde opnemen tegen gemeente○ Ziet corona als obstakel voor directe contacten○ Ziet dorpsraad als intermediair tussen inwoners en gemeente○ Ziet Molenhoek als buitenwijk van Nijmegen

3.3 Proactiveness and assertiveness (empowerment) - 69 Codes:

○ "Anderen zullen het ook al wel bedacht hebben" dus ik doe er niks mee○ Bemoeit zich liever niet met andermans zaken○ Bestuurders worden boos als ze door 'de gewone burger' ergens op aan gesproken worden○ Blijft twifelen om ideeën met gemeente te delen○ Deelt interesses met ontwikkelaar○ Deelt zonder problemen informatie○ Denkt dat als je zelf actief contact met gemeente/ontwikkelaar zoekt, dat dat je meer informatie geeft○ Denkt dat ambtenaren hun mond niet open durven trekken in kleine gemeenten○ Denkt dat gemeente geen (gegronde) tegenspraak gewend is○ Denkt dat hoogopgeleide mensen beter hun mannetje staan tegen gemeente○ Denkt dat partijen zich niet eerlijk durven uitspreken○ Durft eigen mening te uiten○ Durft mensen/bestuurders om opheldering te vragen○ Eerst inspraak over je eigen aandachtspunten, daarna ook hele context○ Eigen kaders gesteld voor officiële participatieproces○ Geeft toe dat buurman af en toe ook wel lastig was○ Had geen succes met zienswijze over inkijk○ Had wel zienswijze/bezwaar ingediend als hij ontevreden was geweest○ Handelt al snel zonder alle informatie te hebben○ Heeft advocaten ingeschakeld voor hulp met zienswijze/bezwaar○ Heeft al contact gehad met gemeente over geluidsoverlast weg○ Heeft bezwaren geuit tijdens inzagemoment○ Heeft bij gebrek aan steun van belangengroep zelf contact met gemeente opgenomen○ Heeft buurt aangespoord met politiek te gaan praten○ Heeft een eigen schriftelijk bezwaar (zienswijze) ingediend○ Heeft eigen onderzoekje gedaan om gemeente te overtuigen○ Heeft eigen oplossing geopperd bij gemeente○ Heeft geen groep nodig om zich uit te durven spreken○ Heeft gemeente gebeld om opheldering toen hij/zij er kwam wonen○ Heeft ideeën over stedelijke inrichting○ Heeft meningen bij de buurt opgehaald○ Heeft nooit gedacht een zienswijze/bezwaar in te dienen○ Heeft raadslid geconfronteerd met gevaarlijke verkeerssituatie○ Heeft specifieke zorgen of vragen gedeeld met ontwikkelaar○ Heeft tijdens eerste gesprek met ontwikkelaar meerdere dingen meegegeven○ Heeft wel ideeën, maar spreekt ze niet uit○ Houdt niet van mensen die overal bezwaar tegen maken○ Iedereen mag zich uitspreken○ Inwoners moeten zelf initiatief nemen○ Is bewust op zoek gegaan naar informatie (online) over plannen○ Is een denker; geen doener○ Is eerlijk over eigen intenties○ Is niet iemand die snel klaagt○ Kreeg geen begrip bij gemeente○ Kreeg geen positieve reactie op eigen oplossing○ Maakt allerlei aannames zonder situatie helemaal te kennen○ Maakt eigen aannames (onwaar)○ Moet zelf naar gemeente gaan, gemeente komt niet naar mensen○ Noemt dat iedereen blij was dat één persoon de rest 'aanjaagt'○ Partijen durven zich niet tegen de wethouder uit te spreken○ Spreekt zich alleen uit naar gemeente als het echt moet○ Teleurgesteld over afwijzen zienswijze○ Toont begrip voor positie van gemeente○ Trekt mond open als hij/zij het er echt niet mee eens is○ Vindt dat hij/zij 'juist' gehandeld heeft door bezwaar te maken○ Vindt het geen probleem dat mensen zich niet hebben durven uitspreken○ Vindt het iedereen eigen verantwoordelijkheid dat ze participeren○ Vindt het logisch dat je meer tegenspraak geeft als je zelf gevolgen ondervindt○ Vindt het mooi als iemand 'grote bedrijven' met waarheid confronteert○ Vindt ontwikkelaars mensen die keihard liegen○ Vindt vroegtijdig belangen uitspreken belangrijk○ Vindt zichzelf proactief○ Voelt zich verplicht zich uit te spreken vanwege eerdere ervaringen○ Vraagt zich af waarom mensen in de raad zitten als ze niet voor hun belangen opkomen○ Wat je niet vraagt, weet je niet○ Weet hoe je dingen aan moet kaarten bij gemeente○ Weet niet zeker of hij/zij nou zienswijze of bezwaar heeft ingediend○ Zou alleen klagen als de situatie echt te erg wordt○ Zou gemeente aanspreken bij problemen

3.4 Information supply and communication - 99 Codes:

○ Algemene regels vindbaar en duidelijk
○ Als je zo dichtbij woont, moet je wel uitleg of informatie krijgen
○ Ambtenaar kan aanvullende rol hebben door uitleg uitvoering
○ Andere ervaring met ontwikkelaar dan gemeente
○ Andere mensen weten niet wat participatie is
○ Begrijpt niet helemaal waarom argument niet ontvankelijk was
○ Begrijpt niet hoe geen enkele partij tegen heeft gestemd
○ Begrijpt niet waarom gemeente hier wel bestemming verandert maar op andere plekken niet
○ Begrijpt niet waarom specifiek in dit geval een uitzondering gemaakt wordt
○ Besteed (vrije) tijd aan informatie zoeken over plannen gemeente
○ Constateerde veranderingen ontwerpplan tov eerste tekeningen
○ Deelt zonder problemen informatie
○ Denkt dat als je zelf actief contact met gemeente/ontwikkelaar zoekt, dat dat je meer informatie geeft
○ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar mensen heeft afgevaardigd om zijn belangen te behartigen
○ Geeft aan dat het voor de 'gewone burger' lastig is om de juiste weg te vinden / overall achter te komen
○ Gemeente communiceert niet goed
○ Gemeente doet niks met informatie
○ Genoeg informatie gekregen van ontwikkelaar
○ Groenbeheer reageert meteen op klachten inwoners
○ Had graag meer uitleg / informatie gehad
○ Heeft alleen ontwikkelaar gesproken over plannen (niemand van gemeente)
○ Heeft bewust op internet gezocht naar informatie over plannen
○ Heeft de gemeente niet geïnformeerd over het niet eerlijk en transparant zijn van ontwikkelaar
○ Heeft extra informatie vooraf gehad
○ Heeft geen (persoonlijke) uitnodiging gehad voor inloopavond
○ Heeft geen antwoord gekregen van raadslid met verstand van Veilig Verkeer
○ Heeft gemeente gebeld om opheldering toen hij/zij er kwam wonen
○ Heeft genoeg aan informatie ontwikkelaar; gemeente overbodig
○ Heeft informatie vergaard bij bureaus
○ Heeft met ontwikkelaar gepraat nadat gemeente dat had gevraagd aan ontwikkelaar
○ Heeft na inzien eerste tekeningen 2 à 3 maanden niks gehoord
○ Heeft niet rechtstreeks met ontwikkelaar gesproken op inzagemoment
○ Heeft pas na inloopavond contact met politieke partijen gezocht
○ Heeft persoonlijke afspraak (online) gehad met gemeente
○ Heeft vanuit gemeente eigenlijk niets gehoord
○ Heeft veel op internet gezien over plannen
○ Heeft via Dorpsraad niks gehoord over plannen
○ Hoorde via buurman als eerst over de plannen
○ Houdt van duidelijkheid
○ Informatie over doelgroep had voor meer begrip gezorgd
○ Informeren ligt bij beleidsmakers
○ Informeren lukt alleen als het voor mensen heel dichtbij komt
○ Inside kennis over Destion
○ Is bewust op zoek gegaan naar informatie (online) over plannen
○ Is geïnformeerd
○ Is niet alsnog geïnformeerd toen hij/zij naar de buurt verhuisde en de plannen al bekend waren
○ Is niet gevraagd om input door ontwikkelaar, wel naar bezwaren (aan het begin)
○ Is niet goed bekend met procedures voor bestemmingsplan en/of vergunningen
○ Is op de hoogte van kleine details
○ Kon niet naar inloopavond omdat het 'avond' was
○ Leest Ter Sprake
○ Leest Ter Sprake niet
○ Meerdere informatie- en communicatiemomenten door ontwikkelaar
○ Mist goede communicatie tussen gemeente en burgers
○ Mist informatie over beslissingen gemeente
○ Mist informatie over doelgroep
○ Motieven gemeente waren niet duidelijk
○ Ontevreden over communicatie met of van gemeente
○ Ontwikkelaar goed bereikbaar
○ Ontwikkelaar had meer informatie mogen geven
○ Ontwikkelaar is open en eerlijk
○ Ontwikkelaar is transparant en coulant
○ Ontwikkelaar staat open voor vragen
○ Ontwikkelaar was niet persoonlijk op inloopavond
○ Probeert wel op de hoogte te blijven van grote dingen die spelen in de gemeente
○ Slechte bereikbaarheid gemeente
○ Slechte informatievoorziening vanuit gemeente
○ Stelt informatie over grote initiatieven op prijs
○ Stelt informatie over werkzaamheden om/nabij huis op prijs
○ Tevreden over communicatie met of van ontwikkelaar
○ Tijdig informeren is lastig als toekomst onzeker is
○ Vaag op de hoogte van inloopavond
○ Vermoed dat er een gemeentelijke projectleider was, maar heeft die nooit gezien/gehoord
○ Vindt avondbijeenkomst onhaalbaar vanwege kinderen
○ Vindt dat gemeente los van verkeersproblematiek wel ontvankelijk is voor klachten
○ Vindt het belangrijk de situatie in de gaten te houden
○ Vindt het veel moeite kosten om informatie los te krijgen bij gemeente
○ Vindt terugkoppeling/evaluatie niet heel belangrijk omdat het goed is gegaan
○ Vond mededeling/uitnodiging in Ter Sprake over ontwikkeling van zelfde orde als informatiebijeenkomst glasvezel
○ Was graag persoonlijk benaderd
○ Was niet de hele avond op de inloopavond
○ Was niet op inloopavond
○ Was op de hoogte van inzagemoment ontwerpplannen
○ Was zich niet bewust van korte reactietermijn na inloopavond
○ Wat je niet vraagt, weet je niet
○ Weet hoe politieke partij gestemd hebben tav het plan
○ Weet niet helemaal wat participatie is
○ Weet niet hoe het eruit komt te zien
○ Weet niet precies

wat de Dorpsraad doet
○ Weet waar je zaken kunt vinden op internet
○ Weet wie ontwikkelaar is
○ Wijst opiniemakers aan als specifieke groep waar je gebruik van moet maken
○ Wil graag gevolgen voor respondent persoonlijk weten
○ Wil op de hoogte gehouden worden
○ Wist dat er woningen zouden komen
○ Wist niet wie contactpersoon bij gemeente was
○ Zag andere tekeningen op inzagemoment dan eerder bij persoonlijk gesprek
○ Zegt geen zin te hebben politiek te volgen, maar is beter op de hoogte dan de gemiddelde inwoner
○ Zou in toekomst ook niet naar 'avond'bijeenkomst gaan

3.5 What is participation about and did that work out in these cases? - 82 Codes:

○ Aantal belanghebbenden hangt af van omvang van de impact
○ Accepteert dat je niet iedereen kunt mee krijgen
○ Alleen direct aanwonenden zijn belanghebbende
○ Alleen mensen die er écht belang bij hebben, moeten betrokken worden in participatieproces
○ Als je zo dichtbij woont, moet je wel uitleg of informatie krijgen
○ Andere mensen weten niet wat participatie is
○ Denkt dat een representatieve participatiegroep niet haalbaar is
○ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar ook baat heeft bij goed participatieproces
○ Dorpsraad claimt te grote rol
○ Dorpsraad is geen partij in participatieproces
○ Eerst communicatie met buurt, dan binnen gemeente
○ Eerst inspraak over je eigen aandachtspunten, daarna ook hele context
○ Enige rol gemeente is kaders meegeven
○ Er zijn zoveel meningen; daar kun je niet allemaal rekening mee houden
○ Erkent dat niet iedereen individuele gesprekken fijn vindt
○ Geen voorkeur voor één op één gesprek of in groep
○ Gemeente is ook gewoon een partij in het belangenproces
○ Gemeente luistert zelfs niet als iets uit onderzoek gebleken is
○ Had zich gehoord gevoelt als er op z'n minst een compromis was gekomen
○ Heeft alle vragen kunnen stellen
○ Heeft alleen geparticipeerd
○ Heeft geen (persoonlijke) uitnodiging gehad voor inloopavond
○ Heeft geen groep nodig om zich uit te durven spreken
○ Heeft geen sterke voorkeur tussen alleen of met een groep participeren
○ Heeft iemand anders begeleid tijdens één op één gesprekken
○ In je eentje bereik je niks tegen gemeente
○ Inspraak is niet hetzelfde als gelijk krijgen
○ Interesse tonen is niet participeren
○ Is niet geïnteresseerd in meepraten over dingen die niet dichtbij zijn
○ Is verbaasd over hoeveel er naar buurtbewoners is geluisterd
○ Je bereikt niks als je je niet kunt verenigen
○ Je moet vooral niet iedereen (of heel veel) mensen mee laten praten
○ Kaders ophalen voor raadsvergadering
○ Kan geen andere belanghebbenden dan omwonenden bedenken
○ Laat invulling van kaders bij projectontwikkelaar
○ Men zegt heel veel te doen, maar het stelt niets voor
○ Mist binding met buurt niet in participatieproces
○ Omwonenden zijn de voornaamste belanghebbenden
○ Ontwikkelaar heeft aanpassingen gedaan naar aanleiding van wensen omwonenden
○ Ontwikkelaars, College en raadsleden zijn de beleidsmakers
○ Participatie betekent niet iedereen gelijk geven
○ Participatie gaat beter in grote gemeenten
○ Participatie heeft geen zin als het alleen maar afvinken is
○ Participatie is vaak weggegooid geld
○ Participatie kan ook verlamdend werken
○ Participatie ligt bij initiatiefnemer; degene die touwtjes in handen heeft
○ Participatie moet bij direct burens blijven
○ Participatie zorgt voor draagvlak
○ Participatie/inspraak zijn alleen nuttig als initiatiefnemer er ook echt iets mee doet
○ Positief over participatietraject vanuit ontwikkelaar
○ Tevreden over omgang met bezwaren door ontwikkelaar
○ Tevreden over participatieproces algemeen
○ Toch betrokken omdat waarde van huis waarschijnlijk daalt
○ Twijfelt of ontwikkelaar partijen vergeten is in participatietraject
○ Vindt bekendheid reden om niet betrokken te willen zijn
○ Vindt burgerparticipatie belangrijk
○ Vindt burgerparticipatie heel belangrijk (máár)
○ Vindt dat alleen direct omwonenden mogen participeren
○ Vindt dat er geen extra moeite ingestopt moet worden om mensen te laten participeren die niet willen
○ Vindt dat er grenzen zitten aan wie mag participeren
○ Vindt dat er teveel aandacht gaat naar partijen die het hardst schreeuwen
○ Vindt dat inspraak ook betekent dat dingen bijgestuurd of aangepast worden
○ Vindt dat inspraak pas komt als conceptplan er al is
○ Vindt dat kaders bekend moeten zijn voor concrete plannen gemaakt worden
○ Vindt dat vooral omwonenden moeten participeren
○ Vindt één op één participeren prima
○ Vindt het belangrijk dat iedereen eerlijke kans heeft op inspraak
○ Vindt het iedereen eigen verantwoordelijkheid dat ze participeren
○ Vindt het lastig om het alleen op te nemen tegen gemeente
○ Vindt individueel participeren geen probleem
○ Vindt participatie door initiatiefnemer goed
○ Voelt zich gehoord door ontwikkelaar
○ Was graag persoonlijk benaderd
○ Weet dat participatie gaat veranderen onder Omgevingswet
○ Weet niet helemaal wat participatie is
○ Wil alleen participeren als initiatief dichtbij is
○ Wil alleen participeren bij

grote projecten○ Wil alleen participeren bij nieuwbouwinitiatieven○ Wil vroegtijdig betrokken zijn○ Ziet burgerparticipatie als 'inspraak op een plan van iemand anders'○ Ziet dat er altijd tegengestelde belangen zijn○ Ziet participatie niet als vanaf het begin meedenken/coproduceren

3.6 Other - 82 Codes:

○ Als je geld hebt, kun je dingen regelen○ Ambtenaar kan aanvullende rol hebben door uitleg uitvoering○ Ambtenaren zijn uitvoerders○ Begint uit zichzelf over geluidshinder Ringbaan○ Begrijpt niet waarom gemeente hier wel bestemming verandert maar op andere plekken niet○ Begrijpt niet waarom specifiek in dit geval een uitzondering gemaakt wordt○ Begripvol over coronasituatie○ Bestuur (college/wethouder) moet ten alle tijde vriendelijk blijven○ Bestuur (college/wethouder) mogen zaken niet persoonlijk maken○ Betreft participatie op windmolenparken○ Denkt dat ambtenaren hun mond niet open durven trekken in kleine gemeenten○ Denkt dat gemeente via opiniemakers de media kan gebruiken○ Denkt dat plannen schade doen voor huidige buurt○ Dorpsraad is geen politieke partij○ Dorpsraad moet niet namens inwoners bemiddelen of bemoeien○ Duidelijke politieke voorkeur○ Een onpartijdige ambtenaar bestaat niet○ Eerst inspraak over je eigen aandachtspunten, daarna ook hele context○ Enige rol gemeente is kaders meegeven○ Geeft niets om zelfde hoogte op andere locatie○ Geeft vooral om eigen woonsituatie○ Gemeente (wethouder) zou media juist moeten gebruiken○ Gemeente lost 'kleine' problemen snel op, maar grote dingen zijn lastig○ Gemeenteraad spreekt College niet tegen (lijkt afgesproken spel)○ Gemeenteraad zoekt naar foutjes om zittende partijen aan te vallen○ Hecht veel waarde aan kennis en onderzoeken○ Hecht waarde aan groen en natuur○ Heeft (3) kinderen○ Heeft eigen bedrijf○ Heeft geen baat bij eerder genomen maatregelen○ Heeft niet gehele participatietraject meegemaakt○ Heeft persoonlijke afspraak goed voorbereid○ Heeft twee petten op○ Heeft vooral tekeningen gezien bij inzage ontwerpplannen○ Heeft zonder vergunning boom laten kappen om bezwaren te voorkomen○ Het is aan de politiek om afweging tussen belangen binnen gemeente te maken○ Houdt van duidelijkheid○ Informeren ligt bij beleidsmakers○ Is journalist en gebruikt dat als reden voor andere kijk op de zaak○ Is niet geïnteresseerd in meepraten over dingen die niet dichtbij zijn○ Is op de hoogte van belangengroep rondom verkeersproblematiek○ Is soms warrig over wat er nou precies gebeurd is / wat hij/zij precies gedaan heeft○ Is tevreden over grootte en hoogte van het complex, omdat het voor persoonlijke situatie meevalt○ Is trots dat illegaal kappen succesvol bleek○ Kan prioriteiten stellen○ Meer woningen is prima als dat voor jonge gezinnen is○ Neemt graag rustig de tijd voor vragenlijst○ Neemt het niet zo nauw met regels○ NIMBY: waarom niet ergens anders?○ Noemt geld als belangrijkste argument voor opgeven van principes○ Onder de indruk van 'schrijvens' advocaten van buurman○ Ondervindt meerdere soorten overlast van Ringbaan○ Ontwijkt vraag als die te lastig is○ Overdenkt graag; weinig impulsief○ Overtuigt zichzelf ervan dat niet iedereen alles hoeft te begrijpen○ Partijen durven zich niet tegen de wethouder uit te spreken○ Politiek moet meer uitgaan van kennis/onderzoek○ Projectleider gemeente is marionet van wethouder en College○ Stelt informatie over werkzaamheden om/nabij huis op prijs○ Toch betrokken omdat waarde van huis waarschijnlijk daalt○ Vergelijkt inloopavond met die voor glasvezel○ Vergelijkt met andere of eerdere ervaringen○ Vergelijkt met landelijke politiek○ Vergelijkt politiek met werksituatie○ Vindt beleid en monteurs bij andere garage beter○ Vindt consistentie belangrijk; geen zwalkend beleid○ Vindt dat bestuurders geen beslissingen nemen○ Vindt dat garage door eigen toedoen failliet is gegaan○ Vindt dat oppositiepartijen zich niet focussen op inhoud maar alleen op fouten ontdekken in proces○ Vindt dat Schipholverhaal bewijst dat onderzoek en bewijsvoering je ver brengen○ Vindt het bijzonder dat er bekende/gerenommeerde persoon in de buurt woonde○ Vindt officiële procedures hinderpaal○ Vraagt zich af of politiek in de gemeente wel werkt zoals het hoort○ Was verrast door werklui in tuin zonder aankondiging○ Werkt graag mee met onderzoek○ Woont al geruime tijd in de buurt○ Woont nog niet heel lang in gemeente○ Ziet dat er fouten gemaakt worden, ondanks waarschuwingen ambtenarij○ Ziet geen meerwaarde in gemeente○ Ziet graag jonge gezinnen in nieuwe appartementen○ Ziet urgentie wel, maar begrijpt niet waarom hier wel en ergens anders niet○ Ziet weinig belemmeringen voor persoonlijke woonsituatie

4. Hierarchism - 116 Codes

4.1 Clear rules and information are important - 34 Codes:

○ Algemene regels vindbaar en duidelijk ○ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar alles kon doen omdat er vanuit gemeente niets vaststond ○ Gemeente moet regels maken en verder niet bemoeien ○ Had er al rekening mee gehouden dat er woningen zouden komen op locatie ○ Had het goed gevonden als projectleider persoonlijk was langsgekomen ○ Heeft bezwaar/zienswijze ingediend ○ Heeft gemeente middels officiële brief beschuldigd van onbehoorlijk bestuur ○ Heeft het gevoel dat het proces niet transparant verlopen is ○ Heeft kennis over manier van indienen officiële brief aan raad ook gedeeld met anderen ○ Heeft meerdere keren persoonlijk contact gehad met ontwikkelaar ○ Heeft officiële reactie gehad op zienswijze ○ Heeft pas na inloopavond geprotesteerd ○ Heeft wel vertrouwen in juiste afhandeling als het om officiële procedure gaat ○ Het is aan gemeente om duidelijk te maken wat participatie betekent ○ Houdt van duidelijke afspraken ○ Is tevens bezig met protesteren tegen ander plan ○ Kaders vanuit gemeente waren bekend ○ Kent het verschil tussen een klacht en handhavingsverzoek ○ Kent zijn/haar rechten ○ Officiële procedures wel gecommuniceerd door gemeente ○ Raadsleden doen niet genoeg hun best om wethouder tegengas te geven ○ Tevreden over participatieproces algemeen ○ Vindt dat argumentatie gemeente niet strookt met werkelijkheid ○ Vindt het belangrijk dat er regels zijn ○ Vindt het belangrijk dat participatieregels wettelijk vastgelegd zijn ○ Vindt het kwalijk dat intenties/kaders van de gemeente nooit uitgesproken zijn ○ Vindt het vaak onduidelijk hoe, wat en waar je bezwaren en klachten uit ○ Vindt openheid en transparantie belangrijk ○ Vond dat alles wat betreft corona goed geregeld was ○ Weet hoe agenda raadsvergadering eruit ziet ○ Weet precies wat er in gemeenteraadsvergaderingen is/wordt besproken ○ Wil graag alles weten ○ Wil graag op tijd geïnformeerd worden ○ Wil op tijd geïnformeerd worden

4.2 Citizens should not interfere with plan making - 12 Codes:

○ Denkt dat initiatiefnemers geen participatieproces kunnen en willen leiden ○ Had geen verwachtingen tav participatie ○ Had participatie nog nooit zo ver doorgedacht ○ Mist streng zijn (zonder inspraak beslist) in tijden van crisis ○ Vindt coproductie en meebeslissen een ideaalbeeld en onrealistisch ○ Vindt Nederland een land van veel inspraak en ziet dat als nadeel wanneer er beslissingen genomen moeten worden ○ Vindt omgevingswet een slecht idee want niet iedereen gaat verantwoordelijkheid nemen ○ Vindt participatie over veranderingen aan bestemmingsplan ver gaan ○ Vindt vroege inspraak van inwoners niet verstandig ○ Ziet het niet zitten dat burgers op stoel van gemeente gaan zitten ○ Ziet participatie als iets voor bij uitvoering, niet tijdens veranderen beleid/opstellen plannen ○ Zou participatie in planfase wel democratisch vinden, maar gelooft niet dat het kan

4.3 Common interest before personal interest - 14 Codes:

○ Accepteert dat ontwikkeling doorgaat maar vindt het argument waarom maar niets ○ Begrijpt dat je het nooit iedereen naar de zin kan maken ○ Heeft pas na inloopavond geprotesteerd ○ Is niet naar rechter gegaan ○ Legt zich snel bij dingen neer ○ Overheid moet huurders die niet kunnen betalen, eruit durven zetten ○ Participatie zorgt voor draagvlak ○ Stond achter initiatief ○ Verwijt gemeente dat ze geen beslissingen durven te nemen ○ Vindt beleid in Nederland te vrijblijvend; mag strenger ○ Vindt coronabeleid lapzakkerig ○ Vindt dat Nederland te weinig beslissingen neemt (ondanks crisis) ○ Vindt dat politiek steeds meer om eigenbelang gaat en niet om idealen ○ Vindt omgevingswet een slecht idee want niet iedereen gaat verantwoordelijkheid nemen

4.4 Municipality in the lead at all times - 15 Codes:

○ Begrijpt gedachte tav participatie achter Omgevingswet niet ○ Denkt dat gemeenteraad meer had moeten doen ○ Denkt dat initiatiefnemers geen participatieproces kunnen en willen leiden ○ Denkt dat ontwikkelaar alles kon doen omdat er vanuit gemeente niets vaststond ○ Gemeente had bij verkopen kaders mee moeten geven ○ Gemeente had voorwaarden moeten stellen bij verkoop grond/pand ○

Gemeente moet participatie op zich nemen (en actief ook) ◦ Had vooroordeel over ontwikkelaar ◦ Heeft gehoord dat ontwikkelaar het zelf ook gek vond dat participatie bij hen lag ◦ Participatie kun je beter afschaffen als je het bij ontwikkelaar neerlegt ◦ Vindt dat gemeente geen goede eisen meegegeven heeft aan ontwikkelaar ◦ Vindt het raar dat gemeente niet uit zichzelf handhaaft ◦ Vindt participatie over veranderingen aan bestemmingsplan ver gaan ◦ Vindt stellig dat participatie niet bij ontwikkelaar moet liggen ◦ Zegt veel contact gehad te hebben met behandelend ambtenaar

4.5 Participation should give you rights - 14 Codes:

◦ Heeft gemeente middels officiële brief beschuldigd van onbehoorlijk bestuur ◦ Heeft persoonlijke concessies gekregen ◦ Heeft vooroordeel over ontwikkelaar teruggenomen ◦ Is achterdochtig over participatieladder in participatiebeleid ◦ Ontwikkelaar heeft geluisterd én ernaar gehandeld ◦ Vindt het belangrijk dat participatieregels wettelijk vastgelegd zijn ◦ Vraagt zich af waarom er voorwaarden gesteld worden, als die toch niet gehandhaafd worden ◦ Vraagt zich af wat je allemaal mag verplichten in participatiebeleid ◦ Wil graag dat democratie hooggehouden wordt ◦ Wil graag dingen in participatiebeleid waar je je als burger op kunt beroepen ◦ Wil graag een definitie van participatie ◦ Wil graag tastbare dingen in participatiebeleid ◦ Wil graag weten wat er nu al officieel móet in het kader van participatie ◦ Ziet officieel vastleggen als belofte nakomen

4.6 Municipal change needed before participation will work - 17 Codes:

◦ Geeft toe dat participatie goed doen erg veel werk is ◦ Gemeente heeft toestemming gegeven zonder over gevolgen na te denken ◦ Heeft geen terugkoppeling gehad over wat er met input gebeurt is ◦ Mist een controlerende macht in gemeentepolitiek ◦ Mist een medezeggenschapsorgaan in gemeente (politiek) ◦ Participatie werkt alleen als iedereen binnen gemeente ernaar handelt ◦ Raadsleden hebben aansporing nodig ◦ Raadsleden letten niet op en zijn slecht voorbereid ◦ Vindt dat gemeente iemand aan moet nemen die argumenten inwoners kan ordenen naar steekhoudendheid ◦ Vindt dat gemeente moeilijk te bereiken is als je niet precies de regeltjes kent ◦ Vindt dat gemeentepolitiek een soort voorzitter mist ◦ Vindt dat raadsleden verantwoordelijkheid hebben ◦ Weet niet precies wie wat doet binnen gemeenteland ◦ Wethouder is beter op de hoogte dan raadsleden ◦ Wijst burgemeester aan als onpartijdige voorzitter ◦ Wist eerst niet hoe je officieel iets bij de gemeenteraad kunt indienen ◦ Ziet meer taken/verantwoordelijkheden voor burgemeester

4.7 Other - 16 Codes:

◦ Ervaart overlast van nabijgelegen bikepark ◦ Haalt er een andere casus bij waar gemeente onterecht goedkeuring heeft gegeven ◦ Haalt parkeerprobleem ook bij ander plan aan ◦ Heeft meerdere keren persoonlijk contact gehad met ontwikkelaar ◦ Twijfelt of ontwikkelaar zelf aanwezig was bij inloopavond ◦ Vergelijkt met andere situatie/locatie ◦ Vergelijkt met landen waar coronabeleid wel goed gaat ◦ Vergelijkt politiek met werksituatie ◦ Vindt democratie achteruit gaan ◦ Vindt liberale beleid/gedachten vanuit Rijk maar loze woorden ◦ Vindt Nederlanders betweters ◦ Voelde zich gehoord door projectontwikkelaar ◦ Voelde zich overvallen op inloopavond ◦ Was positief verrast over dat hij mocht participeren ◦ Weet niet helemaal wat participatie is ◦ Zag op inloopavond pas officiële ontwerp

5. Not applicable - 254 Codes