



## **'Self-management' and 'Ageing in place',**

*Collaborative planning in a local care-context.*

August 2012

Course	Master thesis
University	Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
Tutor	Dr. Roos Pijpers
Student	Paul Cuijpers
Studentnr.	S0406309

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## **Preface**

This master thesis is the result of half a year of research on 'ageing in place', under the supervision of Dr. Roos Pijpers as representative of the Radboud University Nijmegen. Research is said to be a dynamic process full of ups and downs. In this respect this thesis is just like any other: there were moments when I was making quick progress, but also moments where I found myself stuck. The writing of this report has been a personal challenge. I experienced some troubles in the clear and structured formulation of the case specific context in relation to various lines of thought, as well as the analysis of empirical findings in relation to the used scientific theories. In addition to these typical research related challenges, I also experienced some ups and downs in relation to the probability of realizing the so desired personal next step: the enrollment into an educational Master to become a geography teacher.

The fact that I finally succeeded, of course is not only a personal performance. There are many people, for whose cooperation I have to be thankful. In first place, I would like to thank Roos Pijpers, who got me back on track when I was stuck. She kindly helped me in structuring my thoughts without 'thinking for me' also she provided well founded and fair critique on my writings. She raised the level of this paper up to my personal potential. Not only did she do this, but I noticed among my fellow students she also was available for conversations more often and more quickly than seems to be usual.

A second word of thank goes to the university's research group on 'test-gardens' for their kind and cooperative attitude. A special word of thank for Prof. Dr. George de Kam, who allowed me to participate in this greater research project. He also contributed a lot in the swift revision of this thesis.

Third, I would like to thank all the interviewees for the time and effort they spend on the interviews. Without exception they did so with enthusiasm, which made the empirical part of research more fun than I had expected.

Fourth I would like to thank my fellow students, especially Mike van der Linden and Robbert Vossers for the talks we had on my thesis, but also and maybe even more important the many cups of coffee we pleasantly shared.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my girlfriend Petra Horsch because she was, as always, there for me.

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## Summary

Because of the expected growth of the (expensive) demand for health care a social-geographical shift in the organization and thought on elderly healthcare has gained ground in the Netherlands. This shift is expressed in the general concept of 'Ageing in place'. Instead of caring for elderly in expensive centralized retirement homes, care is brought to the homes of the elderly. Hereby saving costs and providing even better elderly healthcare. This current Dutch idea of 'ageing in place' has led to several local projects in which several actors (mainly local care-organizations, housing organisations, municipalities and welfare-associations) had to collaborate in order to supply local 'care-arrangements'. To get a better insight in how (and if) the 'ageing in place approach' contributes to health, well-being and a reduction of societal health costs a national research project has been initiated. A large comparative study of ten local projects and four 'control areas' has been accommodated and initiated by the SEV (a Dutch 'experimental housing steering group') in cooperation with the Radboud University Nijmegen, the University Medical Centre Groningen (UMCG) and the HAN University of applied sciences. The studied projects are referred to as 'test-gardens' in this thesis. A 'test-garden' is a neighbourhood in which the optimal conditions are to be provided in order for inhabitants to live 'independently' in their own homes for as long as possible, despite the discomforts that come with age.

### The focus of this thesis

This thesis relates to the mentioned national study and will make use of some of its collected data (18 'elderly narratives', under the supervision of the Radboud University). It will focus on the outstanding case of the so-called 'test-garden Peel and Maas'. This case stands out because of its positive results. The test-garden is a highly regarded and price-winning 'best practice'. It therefore seems its local arrangement of care-supply somehow interlocks better with the care-demand of elderly than it does elsewhere. For this reason it seems a further study of this case could provide insight, which could be beneficial for other projects of 'ageing in place'. In the case of 'test-garden Peel and Maas' the notion of 'self-management' is considered a central policy concept. This concept therefore might be of influence on the successful results of this case. For this reason this thesis will zoom in on the case of 'test-garden Peel and Maas' and its' policy of 'self-management' with the intention to provide both practical and scientific conclusions and recommendations.

## **A practical and a scientific storyline**

Within this thesis two entangled story-lines can be distinguished. There is a practical story-line and a scientific story-line. Both will be shortly addressed here.

The practical 'storyline' of this thesis will evolve around the potential lessons that can be drawn from the 'best practice' of 'test-garden Peel and Maas'. This practical method of using the knowledge of a 'best practice' to deal with a problem is in another place often used in management. It is considered important to understand the context of a 'best practice' in order to make this method work. Solutions which 'work' in a certain context can be inappropriate for another context. This thesis will make an effort to provide a better understanding of the context in which 'test-garden Peel and Maas' became a 'best practice'.

The scientific 'story-line' of this thesis will evolve around the critical discussion of Healey's assumptions on collaborative planning. The test-garden will be viewed as a local case of collaborative planning in a care-context. Healey's idea's on collaborative planning focus on the political and interactive aspects of planning as a process. Healey emphasizes the importance of three aspects of planning throughout her 10 conditions. These are the rationality of the actors, the importance of discourses and the ideal of broadly supported consensus. The critique on this approach has been focused on exactly those modernist assumptions (Allmendinger, 1998). Because not all actors are always rational, there's more to planning than a selection of discourse might show and the ideal of consensus certainly is not always achievable.

This critique on Healey's 'ideal' of collaborative planning will be traced within test-garden Peel and Maas. Therefore the meaning of the notion of 'self-management' for both elderly care-users and care-supplying organisations will be analysed. Bourdieu's field theory will be used to perform this analysis. Bourdieu's theory of a 'fields' is applied to the apparent division between elderly 'care-users' and 'care-supplying organisations'. The things both 'groups' are able to do and think are quite different, they both seem to operate in their own 'fields'. The meaning of 'self-management' therefore is a rather elusive concept, its subjective meaning and the actual level of autonomy depends on the positions of actors. Bourdieu calls the misrecognition of differences of positions and possibilities 'symbolic violence'. This concept will be used in the critical analysis of this case.

## **Research objective and questions**

In order to draw both practical and scientific conclusions and recommendations from this case study the following research objective has been formulated:

*“To critically unravel the roles and ‘categories of thought’ of actors in the relatively successful ongoing construction of ‘test-garden Peel and Maas’ and to interpret these findings in relation to Healy’s assumptions of collaborative planning ”*

The achievement of this objective will not be possible without the guidance of a central research question. The main question of this case-study is formulated as following:

*“In which way does the meaning of ‘self-management’ differ among the elderly ‘care-users’ and ‘care-supplying organizations’ involved in the ongoing construction of ‘test-garden Peel and Maas’, and what does this mean for their autonomy in the collaborative decision-making processes?”*

Of course this main question is divided into several sub questions, concerning the roles of both elderly ‘care-users’ as well as ‘care-supplying organisations’ within the collaborative decision-making process. These sub questions will be answered within the two storylines of this thesis.

## **Methodology**

Discourse analysis is the main methodological instrument used to get an idea of the differences in the meaning of ‘self-management’ among the elderly ‘care-users’ and ‘care-supplying organizations’ as well as the implications for the collaborative decision-making processes. This methodological instrument will be applied to different sources (policy-documents, expert-interviews and elderly narratives). The main empirical source of information is formed by expert interviews. In this case representatives of the care-supplying organisations (care, welfare, and housing) are treated as experts. The main concepts which emerged within these expert-interviews are coded and then traced within two main policy-documents; *‘Life in the village 2012’* and *‘The development of a self-managing and vital community 2012’*. These policy-documents are selected because they are thought to be the most appropriate documents to get insight in the broad philosophical vision of self-management on the one hand, and more concrete information of the development of the test-garden on the other hand. The critical remarks of experts are also coded; these codes are then used as a critical lens on the already mentioned elderly narratives (18 narratives provided by the national research project). After this final part of the analysis both practical and scientific conclusions and recommendations have been formulated. These will now be described briefly.

## **Practical conclusions and recommendations**

The policy of ‘self-management’ originated at the level of *‘directors and managers’*. They were the ones initiating the institutional changes. The elderly care-users within the communities learn of

these new rules and categories of thought in different manner. They are confronted with the institutional changes but do not know their exact causes, nor do they use the associated terms of rather abstract categories of thought. This doesn't imply they will judge the policy is unjust, the opposite is the case. As long as they perceive their needs are met they perceive the structure as just. In this sense there is a certain extend of symbolic violence present in the term 'self-management' and the discourse surrounding it. Though there might be a certain extend of symbolic violence present within this approach, it has definitely opened up space for the facilitation of some remarkable successful initiatives of volunteers from within communities. It seems the idea of 'self-management', although it is still a somewhat 'impossible' ideal, inspires actors to reach remarkable results. In the evaluation of the positive results of this collaborative approach in a care-context one should note the importance of the gradual accumulation of several forms of capital (social, cultural, symbolic, linguistic and economic). It has become evident that without the necessary time and investment in these various kinds of capital the 'self-management' approach might become a 'true' form of symbolic violence, a philosophical excuse for budget cuts. In order to keep up the good work in 'Peel and Maas' and maybe also in other places the following recommendations have been formulated:

**1. Propagation of management is all about adjusting to new contexts; customize it!**

As Steven a de Groot (2004) remarked, the implementation of a best practice is often supply-oriented and too little adapted to the needs of potential users. The danger of a simplistic copy and paste of the policy of 'test-garden Peel and Maas' should be noticed in this respect. Especially because the policy is inherently demand-oriented

**2. Inspiring ideas work if they become more than words; just do it!**

This second point is closely related to the first, in the sense that the various policy concepts should become more than fancy buzz words in circulating in visions and conversations. They should actually be brought into practice. This process doesn't happen overnight and does take a lot of investment and guts from all participants involved.

**3. Without sufficient social capital 'self-management' is difficult; be realistic!**

The self-management approach is build upon this elusive form of capital. Places with less social capital, might not benefit at all if they try to install this 'best practice'. In this respect one might think of areas with less cultural homogeneity and more mobility of inhabitants, such as cities. To put it differently a 'rural' solution might not be suitable for an 'urban' context.

### **Scientific conclusions and recommendations**

Based upon the empirical findings within the case of 'Peel and Maas' Healey's 10 assumptions on collaborative planning have been critically discussed. An effort is made to expose the limitations of her image of individual actors and their interactions. Throughout this critical discussion five main points of interrelated critique have been addressed:

1. the neglect of different levels of autonomy
2. the overestimation of the rationality of actors
3. the overestimation of actors' 'willingness' to participate.
4. the overestimation of the possibility of (cultural) inclusion
5. the overestimation of the possibility of consensus

These points of critique fit the already formulated critique of Allmediger (1998), however not all of these points might have been exposed in equal strength. It has proven to be hard to trace these abstract points of critique in empirical reality. Further research might be necessary to make these claims stronger. In this respect it might be useful to pick one specific point of critique and focus all research efforts in exposing this single point.

To conclude based upon the exposure of these deficits one might view Healey's assumptions of collaborative planning as a form of symbolic violence as well. From a scientific point of view it would be commendable to acknowledge these deficits.

## **A guide through this thesis**

In chapter one an introduction is given into the context of the empirical case-study of 'Peel and Maas', the scientific and societal relevance of this research as well as the research objective and research questions. Chapter two will present the theories used towards the development of a original perspective. This perspective will be used throughout the analysis of the case-study. The research strategy and methodology are discussed within chapter three. Here the choice for a discourse-analysis of various sources is explained. In chapter four the empirical analysis of the case of 'Peel and Maas' is presented. Throughout this analysis interview quotes and theoretical concepts are used. Chapter five entails the critical discussion of Patsy Healey's scientific assumptions on collaborative planning. This discussion is based upon the empirical findings presented in chapter four. In chapter six, a personal, critical reflection on this thesis is presented.

# 1 Introduction

In chapter one an introduction is given into the context of the empirical case-study of 'Peel and Maas', the scientific and societal relevance of this research as well as the research objective and questions.

## 1.1 The context of this thesis

This is an introduction into the main subject of this thesis 'ageing in place'. The introduction has been structured via several headers; together they will illustrate the context of this thesis.

### 1.1.1 The Netherlands, an ageing country

*"In the next decennia the number of people which have an age of over 65 will double: from 2 million now up to four million in 2040. At the same time the number of people with an age between 15 and 65 remains somewhat the same. The cabinet concludes we are dealing with a demographical time-bomb."*

*Jan Marijnissen, 2004*

Although a bit dated this claim remains valid, but since 2004 a policy towards a decommissioning of this 'demographical time-bomb' has been developed. To deal with an increase of senior Dutch inhabitants a broad array of the societal structure will have to change. The main challenges which are addressed in state-policy are housing, health care and welfare (Ministry of VROM, 2005). Because of the expected growth of the (expensive) demand for health care a social-geographical shift in the organization and thought on elderly healthcare has gained ground. This shift is expressed in the general concept of 'Ageing in place'. Instead of caring for elderly in expensive centralized retirement homes, care is brought to the homes of the elderly. Hereby saving costs and providing even better elderly healthcare, at least this is the basic assumption in this approach.

### 1.1.2 The idea of 'Ageing in place'; well-being, health and low societal costs

The 'Ageing in place' approach (according to Smith, 2009) assumes that elderly well-being and health are positively influenced by place. Elderly often are members of a social network which is embedded in place, the conservation of membership of this social network is considered positive for their well-being. Also elderly are often considered to be physically and psychologically attached to their knowledge of the physical surrounding. If elderly have to move to a different

location because of a need for care both their position within the local social network as well as their 'physical insideness' is considered to be affected negatively. Thus the possibility to remain within place, despite the discomforts which come with age is considered to positively influence both the health and well-being of elderly. Elderly should be able to maintain a higher degree of competence if they are enabled to age in place by the supply of customized care. But in the current Dutch approach the basic ideas about 'Ageing in place' aren't limited to terms of health and well-being alone. As mentioned the idea is really 'Dutch' in the sense that the consequences of ageing in place are also considered positive in reduction of the societal costs of healthcare. 'Happy' elderly are considered to be healthier, thus in need of less expensive health care. Furthermore the longer elderly are able to remain in place, the less time they need to spend in expensive retirement homes. Only if they really are too dependent on professional care, they should be taken out of their 'place' into a hospital or nursing home (which is preferable located relatively nearby or within the region of habitation to minimize negative effects).

### **1.1.3 The strategy towards 'ageing in place'; decentralized collaborative projects**

This current Dutch idea of 'ageing in place' has led to several local projects in which several actors (mainly local care-organisations, housing organisations, municipalities and welfare-associations) collaborate in order to supply local 'care-arrangements'. Of course these regional care-arrangements aim to realise the assumed positive consequences of 'Ageing in place'. These decentralized and collaborative projects had and still have a very open-ended character, in the framework of the new law of societal support, the so-called 'WMO', there are no statutory claims regarding the municipal duty of care (Min. VWS, 2005). The goal of the new 'WMO' (2007) is to enable vulnerable citizens (in this case elderly) to participate in society for as long as possible.

#### **Law of societal support, WMO**

In this new law of societal support three previously separated instruments are fused: the welfare law, the law on support for individuals with a handicap, and some parts of the general law on exceptional medical expenses. This law enables municipalities and societal organizations to set their own priorities in the spending of collective budgets. There are no statutory claims regarding the municipal duty of care, this means there is high degree of permissiveness. Municipalities can't be forced to provide support. Also the WMO is a budget agreement; this means the level of income of care-consumers will be taken into account.

*Min. VWS, 2005*

Municipalities are responsible for the performance of this law. They have to make a policy concerning nine separate subjects all related to care and welfare (see attachment 1; 'Fields of performance'). Citizens as well as care-providing organisations are supposed to be involved in the construction of this policy. As it proves the construction of the facilities to sustain 'Ageing in place' is a highly creative process, which results in different arrangements, provided by different organisations in different local contexts. What all these projects share however is the aim to facilitate 'ageing in place' as optimal as possible.

#### **1.1.4 A national research providing insight**

To get a better insight in how (and if) the 'ageing in place approach' contributes to health, well-being and a reduction of societal health costs a national research project has been initiated. A large comparative study of ten local projects and four 'control areas' has been accommodated and initiated by the SEV (a Dutch 'experimental housing steering group') in cooperation with the Radboud University Nijmegen, the University Medical Centre Groningen (UMCG) and the HAN University of applied sciences. In the framework of this national research the local projects of 'Ageing in Place', are referred to as 'test-gardens'. A 'test-garden' is a neighbourhood in which the optimal conditions are to be provided in order for inhabitants to live 'independently' in their own homes for as long as possible, despite the discomforts that come with age. This policy is supposed to ensure a higher quality of life for inhabitants with limitations; many elderly (minimum age 70) are included in this group of individuals with limitations. To stay in 'place' for as long as possible, is supposed to provide a good quality of life because it enables elderly care-users to stay in contact with friends, family and acquaintances. It is supposed to enable the elderly to participate in the social networks of communities, which could be beneficial for the physical and mental health of the individual, the local economy, societal cohesion and the collective costs of healthcare. In the development of the facilities to ensure the sketched goal, many different organisations have to collaborate. Think of care-organisations, housing-organisations, welfare-organisations and the municipality. They all come up with their own collaborative solutions to facilitate 'ageing in place'. By studying the implementation of new ideas and policies in these test-gardens the actual value of a certain 'solution' is evaluated. If a concept seems to work as it was originally intended the stage is set for a more large scale introduction. One of the test-gardens which stands out in the national comparative research is the case of 'test-garden Peel and Maas'. This case will be elaborated on in the next paragraph.

#### **1.1.5 Project-framework of 'test-garden Peel and Maas'**

According to the SEV case description (p.4, 2011) it is a successful collaborative 'test-garden':

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*“In this rural municipality within the province of Limburg a broad coalition is constructing a decentralised structure for 10 years now, with great support of the local population. For each village an arrangement of facilities is tailored upon a network of local support. The ‘test-garden’ of ‘Peel and Maas’ operates with the use of concepts and initiatives like, ‘permanent at home’, ‘the town doctor’, and ‘Dialogue with the town.’”*

Both small scale initiatives such as dinner-points, day-time activities, a mobile ‘town-doctor and elderly advisers as well as large scale housing projects enable elderly to live in their village for as long as possible (‘permanent at home’). Elderly have a say in the organisation of these initiatives, there is a dialogue between the ‘supply’ and ‘demand (‘dialogue with the town’). This test-garden case stands out because of its positive results. It therefore seems its local arrangement of care-supply somehow interlocks better with the care-demand of elderly than it does elsewhere. For this reason it seems a further study of this case could provide insight, which would be beneficial for other projects of ‘Ageing in place’.

The mentioned initiatives of ‘ageing in place’ are formal components of the municipal policy of ‘Life in the village, housing, welfare and care’. This policy has won the ‘stimulation price of Utrecht’ (2003-2003). Also the policy was used as a provincial and national example of ‘Innovative policy-development’ by the Province of Limburg, the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports as well as the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment (2002-2006). Furthermore the ministry Health, Welfare and Sports in coöperation with the association of Dutch municipalities has granted a pilot project to the municipality in the framework of the WMO for the performance-field “Enhancement of social cohesion and liveability of vilages and neighbourhoods” as well as the theme ‘Supervision by the municipallity” (2005-2008).

### **1.1.6 ‘Test-garden Peel en Maas’ a policy of ‘self-management’**

In the case of ‘test-garden Peel and Maas’ the notion of ‘self-management’ is considered a central policy concept. Within this case of ‘ageing in place’, there is a focus on the self-management of the elderly care-user, despite the discomforts which come with age, elderly are considered to remain ‘self-managing’ in place. Secondly, ‘self-management’ is of importance to all participating actors in the ongoing construction of the test-garden. The care-supplying organisations are supposed to be ‘self-managing’ to great extend in the collaborative organisation and design of the test-garden. ‘Self-management’, however, clearly is a broad concept which allows for

different interpretations. The meaning of self-management can signal very different levels of actual autonomy of its 'subjects':

*"At one extreme the term 'subject' is interpreted as the 'subjugated', the externally determined self, whereas at the other it is interpreted as the 'subject', as the origin and agent or author of its own free actions."*

*Ernste, H., p, 438, 2004*

Philip McCann, a professor of economic geography at the University of Groningen, already briefly questioned the meaning of 'self-management' in relation to 'self-determination'. Within a 'Nicis' presentation (van Dijken, 2012, p26) he not only questioned the successes of citizen participation in recent years, but also toned the expectations of new 'high' forms of citizen participation such as 'self-management'. This thesis will embark on his critical remarks; the meaning of the 'self-management' for both the elderly 'care-users' and the 'care-supplying organisations' within the case of 'Peel and Maas' is studied.

### **1.1.7 The focus of this thesis, two entangled storylines**

This thesis will zoom in on the case of 'test-garden Peel and Maas' and its' policy of 'self-management' with the intention to provide both practical and scientific recommendations.

The practical 'storyline' of this thesis will evolve around the potential lessons that can be drawn from the 'best practice' of 'test-garden Peel and Maas'. This practical method of using the knowledge of a 'best practice' to deal with a problem is in another place often used in management. It is considered important to understand the context of a 'best practice' in order to make this method work. Solutions which 'work' in a certain context can be inappropriate for another context. This thesis will make an effort to provide a better understanding of the context in which 'test-garden Peel and Maas' became a 'best practice'.

The scientific 'storyline' of this thesis will evolve around the critical discussion of Healey's assumptions on collaborative planning. This test-garden and its policy of 'self-management' will be viewed as a local case of collaborative planning in a care-context. Healey's idea's on collaborative planning focus on the political and interactive aspects of planning as a process. In order to prevent difficulties in the planning process she propagates wide stakeholder collaboration. Furthermore the approach suggests stakeholders to be highly capable to equally collaborate in the planning process. This approach is based upon a high level of individual autonomy; actors are considered to be active, rational, able and willing to influence their

environments. The differences between the assumptions of rational and active actors in Healey's 'ideal' collaborative planning processes and the empirically observed properties of the interaction between elderly care-users and organisations providing care-supply will be analysed using Bourdieu's field theory. Because field theory is explicitly 'open' to the different 'categories of thought' it considered a particularly suitable theory in the analysis of Healey's rather 'closed' assumptions on collaborative planning.

Both the practical and scientific storyline are entangled, because they both are based upon the same case-study of 'test-garden Peel and Maas'. Because this is the starting point of both story-lines this case will be further introduced within the next paragraph.

## 1.2 A further introduction of 'Peel and Maas'

'Peel and Maas' (fig. 1) is located in the south of the Netherlands in the province of Limburg. Within this province it's located in the north between a nature conservancy area known as 'the Peel' on the east-side and the river 'the Maas' at the west-side (hence the name 'Peel and Maas'). The northern border is formed by the 'A67' highway, in the south the municipality borders to the municipal 'Leudal'.

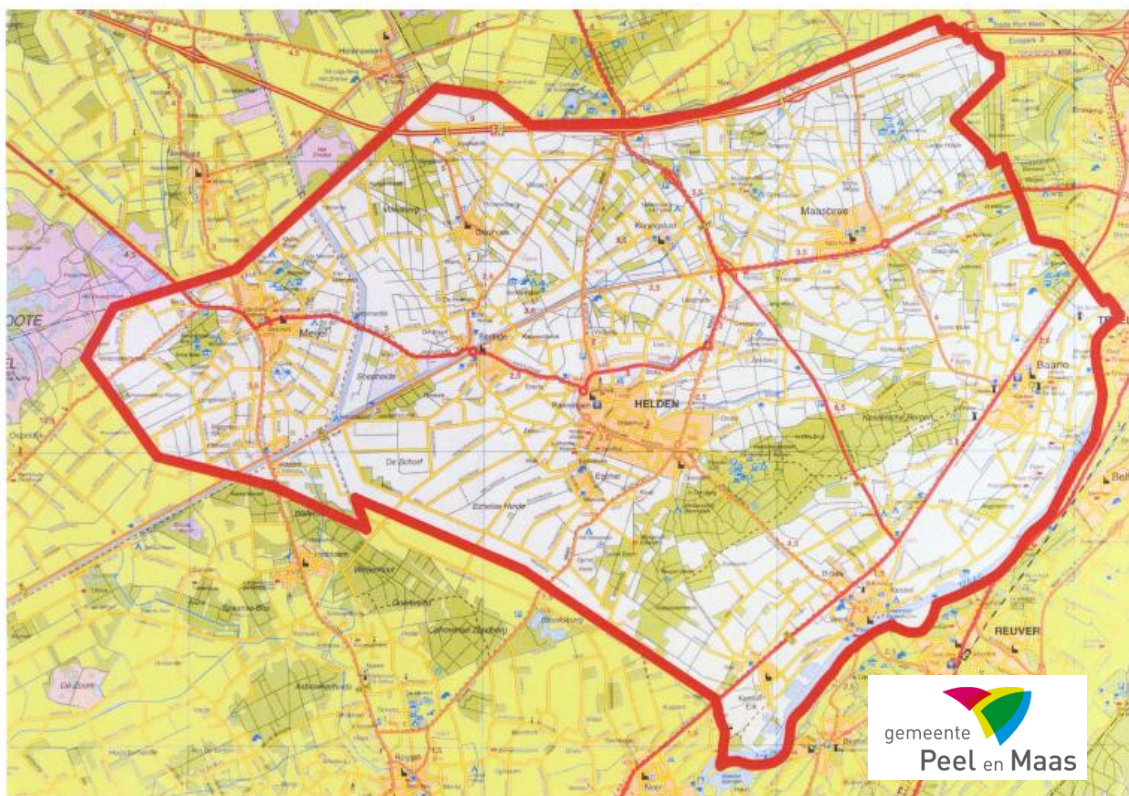


Figure 1 - Map of "Peel and Maas"

The municipality of 'Peel and Maas' has come into existence through the official fusion of four neighboring and relatively small municipalities on January the first of 2010. 'Peel and Maas' is a rural municipality formed by eleven villages: Baarlo, Beringe, Echel, Grashoek, Helden, Kessel, Kessel-Eik, Koningslust, Maasbree, Meijel and Panningen. These villages used to be divided among the administrative districts of the previous existing municipalities of Helden, Kessel, Maasbree and Meijel. The original 'test-garden' was located in the municipal of 'Helden' within the villages of Helden and Panningen, currently the same collaborative policy of 'ageing in place' is applied to all villages of the 'new' municipal of 'Peel and Maas'. 'Peel and Maas' is an ageing community, currently 17% of its population has an age of 65 or more (see table 1). According to the conclusions of the CBS agency ( Nicolaas and Aalders, 2007), this percentage will rise above 25% in the year 2025. Apart from the general rise of the number of inhabitants aged over 65, there will be an increase of the separate age-categories of elderly above the age of 75 and 85 as well. It is the increase in these categories which is especially important, because elderly aged above 75 are more often in need for special support to maintain their lives 'in place' (SEV, 2011).

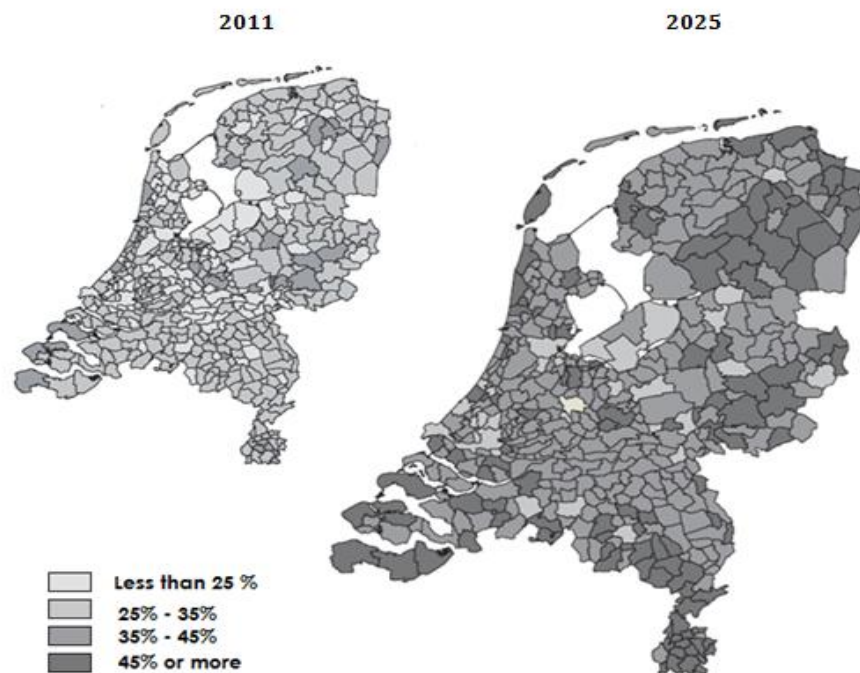
Number of inhabitants	43.272	432,72
<20	9.976	23,05%
20 - 64	25.998	60,08%
65 - 74	4.307	9,95%
75 - 84	2.330	5,38%
>85	661	1,53%

**Table 1 - Elderly inhabitants of "Peel and Maas" in absolute and relative numbers**

### **1.2.1 Arguments for the selection of a rural case**

Within the Netherlands there are big spatial differences (see fig. 2); in most of the peripheral municipalities the relative percentage of inhabitants aged above 65 is almost five times above average according to the CBS agency (Nicolaas and Alders, 2007). This is an important observation in relation to the spatial focus of this thesis. There seems to be a societal relevance to study ageing in rural areas, because these are the primary spatial locations of the ageing phenomenon.

**The percentage of Dutch inhabitants aged 65 or more**



**Figure 2 - Spatial differences**

Scientific literature on ‘spatial ageing’ reaffirms this spatial observation (Hart et al, 2005):

*“Older adults are overrepresented in these rural places and their proportion of the population is growing faster than in urban areas.”*

Accessibility of care-services is considered a key-element in a successful process of ageing in space, the rural area seems to provide additional challenges:

*“Elderly who live in rural areas face additional challenges. These include lack of transportation such as rides for essential trips, medical appointments, business errands, shopping and senior activities; lack of access to medical care; unavailable cultural and social services; and lack of adequate housing.”*

*Cloke et al, 1997*

Based upon both statistics and more qualitative scientific literature the rural area is a relevant geographic context to study the social implications of ageing. In addition to this, 'test-garden Peel and Maas' seems to be leading in the way it deals with these general rural challenges.

### 1.3 Societal relevance

As mentioned in the previous paragraph other projects of 'Ageing in place' might benefit from a better insight in the 'best practice' of 'test-garden Peel and Maas'. This practical method of using the knowledge of a 'best practice' to deal with a given problem is often used. One only has to 'google' the phrase and 1.310.000.000 hits are found. However the 'best practice' of a certain organisation is not necessarily the 'best practice' for another organisation. A good insight in the context and conditions fuelling the 'best practice' is essential:

*The phrase 'best practice' is so popular in management circles and among consultants that they are sometimes mis-applied by well-meaning individuals"*

*Obxerve, 2008*

To get a good insight in the 'best practice' case of this thesis, one should know what a best practice is, and what the risks of such an approach are. Van Voorst tot Voorst and Mathijsen (1998) define best practices as:

*"A complex product of organisational, institutional and cultural factors."*

They also point out that "best practice" implies that a comparative analysis has been completed, whose conclusion is that the "practice" in discussion is considered to be better than any other known alternatives. More often than not, such comparative analysis is non-existent or, at best, flawed. Even in scenario where such comparative analysis exists, "best" needs to be put within context. They recommend the description of the case-specific development of a best practice, because such a description could be useful to actually learn what has occurred in a certain case. Furthermore such a description could prevent the simplistic copy of a certain approach. A better understanding of the context and conditions of a best practice could improve the application of a similar approach in a different setting.

Although this thesis concerns a single case-study, it can be of use in the comparative analysis within the broader framework of the national research. This claim is made because this thesis could provide insight in the context of this best practice. As mentioned in paragraph 1.1.4, in the national research local projects of 'ageing in Place' studied and compared. If a concept seems to work as it was originally intended the stage is set for a more large scale introduction. This thesis could provide valuable insight in the context of implementation of new ideas and policies of a specific case. Thereby contributing to a better management of 'ageing in place'

## 1.4 Scientific relevance

In this paragraph the scientific relevance of a critical discussion of both the concepts of ‘ageing in place’ and ‘collaborative planning’ will further explained.

### 1.4.1 ‘Ageing in place’

What does the idea of ‘ageing in place’ mean? As Smith (2009) puts it:

*“For older people who have invested all or a substantial part of their lives in one location and where there is little interest in moving or lack of opportunity to move, the continued development of a sense of community, identity and attachment in any form might be important for psychological well-being.”*

By emphasising the continued development of ‘sense of community, identity and attachment’ the process of ageing is depicted as active and emotional. This ongoing development of identity can be challenged due to physical and mental restrains, which are related to the process of ageing. The accessibility of care-services in this regard is seen as a key-element in a successful process of ageing in space:

*“Both community and personal enabling resources must be present for use to take place. First health personal and facilities must be available where people live and work. Then people must have the means and know-how to get to those services and make use of them.”*

*Anderson, p.2, 1995*

The quality of services thus can be argued to rely on ‘enabling recourses’ and their mere ‘availability’. The ‘enabling resources’ if sufficient are supposed to provide the access of elderly to care-services. For this reason a closer look at ‘enabling recourses’ seems justified:

*“One concern about enabling resources is that organisational factors are not given enough attention.”*

*Anderson, p.2, 1995*

This observation dovetails to the second element of this discussion of scientific relevance, the role of elderly in the ‘collaborative planning’ of the care-facilities. This thesis study of this role, aims to unravel some of the influence of ‘organisational factors’ on ‘enabling resources’. In particular the degree of institutional participation is critically analysed. Here the meaning of

'self-management' is considered to be important, does it only illustrate the availability of enabling resources, or is the participation in the very organisation of these enabling resources of importance as well? Here the difference between the rather vague notion of 'self-management' and actual autonomy becomes clear.

#### **1.4.2 Relation to the collaborative planning debate**

The role of elderly within the policy process is also interesting because of a more general academic debate on the way planners now a day are supposed to collaborate with other societal organisations in order to 'plan' society. In this respect I would like to refer to the so-called post-modern 'turn'. This 'turn' indicates a new conceptualization of 'the project of modernity' and the way it was developed: During the eighteenth century, and into the nineteenth century, a new emphasis was given to the idea of the individual as autonomous of religious and governing structures (Hall and Gieben, 1992; Giddens 1990):

*"Through notions of the autonomous individual and the materialist focus of science, it was possible not merely to challenge and defeat the overweening monarchies and church hierarchies which had dominated economic, political and social life in Europe for so long. It was also possible to release the innovative forces of technological invention and economic organization which lead to the industrial period itself."*

And;

*"People, in these conceptions, were homogenized into a mass of similar individuals, with broadly similar behaviours. Such an undifferentiated conception of people was typical of the planning ideas of the early post-war period."*

The 'project of modernity' was criticized during the 1980s for its narrow-minded thinking of society as homogeneous, rational and utility-maximizing. Instead a new stream of thought was launched, labelled the post-modern movement (Moore Milroy, 1991):

*"Which is deconstructive in the sense of questioning and establishing a sceptical distance from conventional beliefs and, more actively, trying both to ascertain who derives value from upholding their authority and to displace them: antifoundationalist in the sense of dispensing with universals as bases of truth; nondualistic in the sense of refusing the separation between subjectivity and objectivity along with the array of dualisms it engenders including the splits between truth and opinion, fact and value: and encouraging of plurality and difference."*

This post-modern shift had its implications on the practice of planning. The European planning practice turned from 'command and control' into collaborative forms (Healey, p. 1532, 1997). The previously clear divisions between public and private were blurred, the hierarchical top-down forms of organization became (more) flat (Healey, p. 1533, 1997):

*"It is now widely acknowledged that government, whether national or local, cannot meet all these demands (for social and environmental qualities of cities) by itself. This has led to policies to involve business and community agencies of various kinds."*

This new practice of collaborative planning thus does explicitly view society as heterogeneous. Planning processes should allow access to different actors within this heterogeneous society in order to produce appropriate results. However the criticised modern assumption of rational and utility maximising actors still seems to linger on in this 'new' approach, as an illustration of this claim the 10 basic assumptions of collaborative planning (paragraph 2.3), will be tackled in this thesis.

According to Healey the importance of collaborative approaches in place-making initiatives is to be found in its potential of achieving more effective and durable transformations. Collaborative approaches thank this potential to (Healey, p. 1531, 1997):

*"Building new policy discourses about the qualities of places, widening stakeholder involvement beyond traditional power elites, recognizing different forms of local knowledge, and building rich social networks as a resource of institutional capital through which new initiatives can be fostered rapidly and legitimately."*

### **1.4.3 Conclusion on scientific relevance**

In conclusion, within the collaborative approach planning elderly have to be seen as a diverse group of active (utility-maximizing) and *rational* people. Their opinions and 'local knowledge' in relation to a project of place-making are suggested to be of importance to the eventual (experienced) quality of this place. At the same time within the 'ageing in place' approach the continued development of a sense of community, identity and attachment is suggested to be important for psychological/emotional well-being of elderly. The collaborative planning perspective and the 'ageing in place' perspective on elderly well-being seem to complement each other. They both argue for the active participation in the construction of place, because it will enhance both the quality of 'place' and 'life'. The collaborative planning approach according to Healey stresses the importance of active participation from a rational point of view, whereas the

‘ageing in place’ perspective stresses the importance of active participation from a psychological/emotional point of view. But although they both stress active participation in the ongoing construction of place both perspectives might not be that complementing. Whereas collaborative planning focuses on the decision-making processes, ‘ageing in place’ focuses on the mere presence of ‘enabling resources’ instead of ‘organisational resources’. This difference raises questions about the extent to which the collaborative planning perspective is suitable when projected on a care-context. In my research of scientific literature, I haven’t found empirical founded publications on the application of collaborative planning in a care-context. However, the results of a study of collaborative planning in retail supply chain processes (Petersen, Ragatz and Moncka, 2005) show that effective collaborative planning is dependent on the level of trust and the quality of information shared between firms. These rather unsurprising results may apply to collaborative planning in a care-context as well, but it will probably be more important to analyse what specific aspects of the process are necessary to produce this ‘ideal situation’ of trust and good communication. Allmedinger and Jones (1998) even question if consensus (as a result of trust and good communication) is possible or even desirable in a world of increasing difference. They note ironically that a process concerned with transparency in communication seems to impose assumptions upon the process, such as participatory democracy ‘good’, representative democracy ‘bad’. This ironic remark might indicate that the participatory assumptions which are central to collaborative planning somehow conceal the need for processes of representation. This in turn implies the neglect of different levels of autonomy. To put it simple; if for some reason one might not be able or willing to actively and rationally participate in the decision-making process, this implies somebody else will decide for you.

## 1.5 Research objective and questions

In order to draw both practical and scientific conclusions and recommendations from this case study the following research objective has been formulated:

*“To critically unravel the roles and ‘categories of thought’ of actors in the relatively successful ongoing construction of ‘test-garden Peel and Maas’ and to interpret these findings in relation to Healy’s assumptions of collaborative planning ”*

The achievement of this objective will not be possible without the guidance of research questions. Therefore the research questions are presented in this paragraph as well. The main question which will be addressed in the case-study is the following:

*“In which way does the meaning of ‘self-management’ differ among the elderly ‘care-users’ and ‘care-supplying organizations’ involved in the ongoing construction of ‘test-garden Peel and Maas’, and what does this mean for their autonomy in the collaborative decision-making processes?”*

In order to provide insight into this main question the following sub questions will be answered:

1. How do the various actors participate in the ongoing construction of the ‘test-garden’?
  - 1.1 What do they think of their competence and ‘role’ in this respect?
  - 1.2 What do they think of the competence and ‘role’ of other actors in this respect?
  - 1.3 What does this mean for the level of autonomy of different actors?
2. What kind of risks and mismatches can be traced within this specific case?
  - 2.1 What kind of risks and mismatches do ‘care-suppliers’ perceive?
  - 2.2 How do these risks and mismatches affect the everyday lives of elderly care-users?
3. What kind of practical conclusions and recommendations can be drawn?
4. What kind of deficits does this case-study expose in relation to Healy’s ideal assumptions of collaborative planning?
  - 4.1 What does this mean for her image of an actor?
  - 4.2 What does this mean for her image of planning processes?
5. What kind of scientific conclusions and recommendations can be drawn?

These research questions will be answered with the use of a theoretical perspective. This perspective will be explained in the next chapter.

## 2 Constructing an original perspective on collaborative planning

In this chapter an outline of the used theory will be given. All the theoretical concepts which are described in this chapter are selected to be of use in answering the questions of this research. This thesis has the aim to produce an analysis, which fits a so-called 'post-structural' perspective a short introduction into this concept is given in the first paragraph. In the second paragraph Bourdieu's field theory as it is used in this thesis is explained (Benson, 2005). In the third paragraph the basic assumptions of collaborative planning according to Healey (2006) are presented.

### 2.1 Introduction into post-structural thought

A few remarks on the origin of post-structuralism, as the philosophy behind the 'post-modern turn' have already been made in the description of the emergence of collaborative planning (paragraph 1.2). In this introduction a deeper grasp of the scientific implications of the post-modern turn is the objective.

Paul Harisson (2009) sketches two routes from 'the claim of sovereignty of reason claimed by the enlightenment' to contemporary philosophy. One route is labelled the 'analytic tradition', which includes logical positivism and critical rationalism among other streams of 'structural thought'. This tradition is characterized by its focus on ontological questions. To know reality, to know 'the truth' is to ask the right questions and use the right methodology. The truth is thought to be revealed objectively. Reality is measurable, law-like in its functioning, and independent to large extend from what we think of it.

The second route sketched is labelled 'post-structural thought', this tradition is characterised by its focus on epistemological questions. This route shows more interest in epistemological questions, reality is considered a subjective 'construct', what we think of it does matter. Think of scientific approaches as constructivism, interactionism and subjectivism. This thesis too views reality as an at least partial subjective social construct in which various ideas do matter and interact. According to Harrison the task of research within this 'route' is to provide a new perspective on a case of 'subjective reality'. Bourdieu's field theory in this respect is considered an appropriate analytical tool to take this research on this second 'route'. It will hopefully provide an original perspective on the 'subjective reality' of an empirical case of collaborative planning, as well as the assumptions which are used by Patsy Healy to frame such processes.

## 2.2 Bourdieu's field theory

In sociology an influential theory that explains the dynamics between people and between groups of people is field theory. Its most important advocate is French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu argues that reality is a social concept. To exist is to exist socially in relation to others. What is real is relational, and everyone defines him/her self by marking the differences between observed phenomena. The modern western reality has come into being through a process of differentiation into semi-autonomous and increasingly specialized spheres of action. He calls these spheres 'fields', and says that power relations *between and within* these fields structure human behaviour. So in order to understand how humans behave it's important to understand in what kind of power relations they take part. In the spirit of this case-study one could view his notion of a 'field' as an institutional context (care-supply and care-demand). Given that it structures its subjects to its rules (partly unconscious). In one of his articles he offers a working definition of a 'field' (Benson, 2005):

*"A field is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the position they will take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either conserving or transforming the structure of relations of force that is constitutive of the field."*

According to Bourdieu there two theoretical principles are responsible for the structure of a societal field. He calls these principles habitus and doxa. Both principles will be explained in the following paragraphs.

### 2.2.1 First structuring principle; Habitus

Agents within a field all occupy a position, each position carries with it different dispositions and likely or potential courses of action for the agent. The position of the agent is determined by a number of things. Firstly there is the notion of 'habitus' (Benson, 2005):

*"A structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices"*

Bourdieu contends that every individual agent's personal history, preferences and dispositions placed in the context of the surrounding social reality form a structure that to a certain extent predetermine the agents' individual potential courses of action. Elements such as social class, education, upbringing and past choices all form part of this structure.

### **2.2.2 Second structuring principle; Doxa**

The second structuring principle in the theory of fields is 'doxa', which Bourdieu defines as (Benson, 2005):

*"The universe of tacit presuppositions that organize action within the field"*

These are the rules of the game, like habitus these rules exercise a limiting influence on the potential courses of actions of agents within the field. Agents in the same field will share a set of rules/norms (common doxa) for as far they consider the game worth of playing (values do matter).

### **2.2.3 The importance of various forms of capital in relation to habitus**

In these fields of power and influence, actors need capital. This involves not only economic capital, but also cultural, social, symbolic and linguistic capital. The combination of these resources creates a certain position within the field which enable an actor to act in a certain way. This position is referred to as the 'habitus' of an individual. The 'habitus' is often taken for granted by its possessor, the dispositions to act, think and feel in certain ways, in a certain field are internalised. They have become a self-evident element of the 'doxa', the rules of the field

### **2.2.4 Struggle within the structure; change in habitus, doxa and fields**

However in Bourdieu's version of field theory agents do not always agree on the doxa. In his definition Bourdieu also says that agents occupy positions aimed at either conserving or transforming the structure of relations and forces in a field. Agents who take positions aimed at transforming the power relations will try to change the rules of the game to their own benefit. The agents who are attempting to conserve the status-quo of the doxa will not agree with this and a struggle will result. Bourdieu says that in this struggle players make use of their power or capital (social, economic, cultural, symbolic and linguistic) to impose the rules that favour them the most.

### **2.2.5 Symbolic violence**

Societal inequalities within a field can be explained using both 'structuring principles'. Both habitus and doxa are interrelated, and they can account for tacit almost unconscious modes of cultural/social domination occurring within the every-day social habits maintained over

conscious subjects. This domination is referred to as ‘symbolic violence’ and includes actions that have discriminatory or injurious meaning or implications, such as gender dominance and racism. Symbolic violence maintains its effect through the misrecognition of power relations situated in a given field. Symbolic violence, therefore, fundamentally means the imposition of categories of thought and perception upon dominated social agents who, once they begin observing and evaluating the world in terms of those categories (and without necessarily being aware of the change in their perspective) then perceive the existing social order as just, thereby perpetuating a social structure favoured by and serving the interests of those agents who are already dominant.

### 2.2.6 A critical remark

The main critique on Bourdieu’s theory of fields is focussed on the structuring principle of the habitus. As Anthony King (2002) contents:

*“For Bourdieu, the habitus which consists of corporal dispositions and cognitive templates overcomes subject-object dualism by inscribing subjective, bodily actions with objective social force so that the most apparently subjective individual acts take on social meaning. Although Bourdieu believes that the notion of the habitus resolves the subject-object dualism of social theory, in fact, the habitus relapses against Bourdieu’s intentions into the very objectivism which he rejects.”*

There seems to be a tension between Bourdieu’s concern for ‘openness’, the theoretical space he creates for tacit and irrational behavior, and his almost paradoxical conclusion these ‘fields’ of possibilities result in statistically measurable phenomena (Benson, 2005):

*“A field is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions **that statistically determine** they will take with respect to the field”*

This critique might be correct, surely it’s hard to overcome the subject-object dualism, nevertheless his attempt to create theoretical ‘openness’ is arguable among the best known in social theory today. For this reason his theory will be used in this thesis.

## 2.3 Collaborative planning

In Bourdieu’s field theory, the ongoing construction of societal fields is theorised. In collaborative planning actors from different ‘fields’ are assumed to cooperate and find consensus. This means they should be open to opinions originating from different contexts. The

collaborative planning approach in this respect makes an 'idealistic' effort to open up the institutional context to many actors Healey (p.152, 1992):

*Collaborative planning approaches emphasise the importance of building new policy discourses about places, via wide stakeholder collaboration. Collaborative planning is all about the institutional capacity in territorial political communities to engage in place-making activities.*

In this respect Healey considers planners, or at least collaborative planning processes, to be able to connect and restructure different societal fields. To do so, collaborative planning should take place in a specific manner. The main 10 assumptions underlying this approach are given by Healey (p.154, 1992):

1. Planning is an interactive and interpretative process
2. Planning is undertaken among diverse and fluid discourse communities
3. The methods require respectful interpersonal and intercultural discussion
4. Focuses rest on the "arenas of struggle" (Healey, p.84, 1993) where public discussion occurs and where problems, strategies, tactics and values are identified, discussed, evaluated, and where conflicts are mediated.
5. There are multifarious claims for different forms and types of policy development.
6. A reflective capacity is developed that enables participants to evaluate and re-evaluate.
7. Strategic discourses are opened up to include all interested parties which, in turn, generate new planning discourses.
8. Participants in the discourse gain knowledge of other participants in addition to learning new relations, values, and understandings.
9. Participants are able to collaborate to change existing conditions
10. Participants are encouraged to find ways of practically achieving their planning desires, not simply to agree and list their objectives.

Healey emphasizes the importance of three aspects of planning throughout her 10 conditions. These are the rationality of the actors, the importance of discourses and the ideal of broadly supported consensus. The critique on this approach has been focused on exactly those modernist assumptions (Allmendinger, 1998). Because not all actors are always rational, there's more to planning than a selection of discourse might show and the ideal of consensus certainly is not always achievable.

## 2.4 An original perspective

In this thesis the criticized collaborative planning 'ideal' will be confronted with Bourdieu's unconscious and tacit presuppositions supposed to be underlying any 'rational' thought or act. Discourse in this respect is viewed as an important element of the institutional context, but not necessarily very rational or open to 'new input'. In this critical respect, this thesis will try to expose the limits and deficits of the described collaborative planning ideal. In order to do so the following research design will be followed (see figure 3).

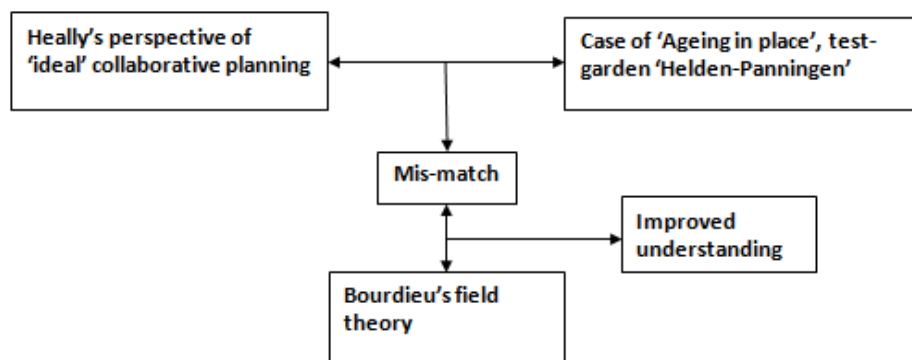


Figure 3 – Research design

The 'ideal' assumptions of collaborative planning will be compared to the empirical observations within the case of test-garden 'Peel and Maas'. The hypothesized result of this comparison is a mis-match between the collaborative 'ideal-type' and empirical reality. To analyze this mis-match Bourdieu's field theory will be used. His concept of a 'fields' will be applied to the apparent division between elderly 'care-users' and 'care-suppliers'. The things both 'groups' are able to do and think are probably quite different, they both seem to operate in their own 'fields'. Because the construction of a 'test-garden' is of importance to both 'fields', the degree of institutional interaction between both fields is very interesting in order to study the different levels of autonomy. The current cast between 'elderly care-users' and 'care-supplying organisations' will be traced in the way actors in both 'fields' write, speak and think about 'self-management', each other and their participation in the construction of the test-garden. The next chapter will elaborate on the steps which will be taken to perform such an analysis.

### 3 Methodology

In this chapter the research methodology will be presented. The first paragraph will explain the research strategy; the second paragraph will explain the choice of the research methodology.

#### 3.1 Research strategy

To gain insight the research strategy of a single case-study will be undertaken. The aim of this single case-study is to unravel the ongoing construction of test-garden 'Peel and Maas', as a case of collaborative planning in a local context. This case clearly has a history in which different concepts and initiatives have gradually come into existence (for more information about these initiatives, see *'Life in the village', 2008*.) According to the aim of this research an effort will be made to trace the emergence of these concepts and initiatives in relation to the collaborative setting. A single case study is an adequate strategy because it allows for detailed study without the restriction of intended comparability (Flick, 1995). This means at least within theory it should be able to fully use the potential of the used methods. At the same time this does lead to problems of generalisation. The insights of the research might be of interest for other cases, but no hard claims can be made based upon the selective data-collection and interpretation.

#### 3.2 Research methodology

Discourse analysis is the main methodological instrument used to get an idea of the differences in the meaning of 'self-management' among the elderly 'care-users' and 'care-supplying organizations' as well as the implications for the collaborative decision-making processes. This methodological instrument will be applied to different sources. In this paragraph firstly the choice for discourse analysis will be discussed. Secondly the choice for the different sources of information (policy documents and interviews) will be elaborated on.

##### 3.2.1 Discourse analysis

The empirical focus of discourse analysis is on the "content of talk, its subject matter and with its social rather than linguistic organisation" (Edward and Potter, 1992, p. 28). A special emphasis is on the construction of versions of the events in reports and presentations. This makes this method especially adequate for the unravelment of ongoing construction of the 'test-garden' of 'Peel and Maas'. The various interpretative repertoires (or in the terms of Bourdieu 'different categories of thought') which are used in such constructions are analyzed. Discourse analytic procedures can refer to a broad scale of 'events'; think of transcriptions of everyday

conversations, interviews, and in this case for instance policy reports. By carefully reading the documents and transcripts a coding of the discourse is established. This coding can then be analyzed, guiding questions throughout this process are, according to Potter and Wheterell (1987, p. 167):

1. *Why am I reading this passage in this way?*
2. *What features of the text produce this reading?*

In the following paragraphs, an answer to the use of these important questions within this thesis is given.

### **3.2.2 Expert interviews providing a lens to view policy documents**

In this case the critical questions of Potter and Wheterell will be used to critically analyse policy documents, narrative interviews and expert interviews (see table 2). The main empirical source of information is formed by the expert interviews. Meuser and Nagel (2002) discuss the expert interview as a specific form of applying semi-structured interviews. In contrast to narrative interviews, here the interviewees are of less interest as a (whole) person than their capacities as experts for a certain field of activity. They are integrated into the study not as an individual but representing a group. Experts are described as (Deeke, 1995, p. 7):

*“Those persons who are particularly competent as authorities on a certain matter of facts.”*

In this case representatives of the care-supplying organisations (care, welfare, and housing) are treated as experts. Experts from different organisations involved in the ongoing construction of the test-garden were interviewed to ensure a good overview. The number of interviewed experts grew thanks to what is called the snowball-method; experts recommend talking to other experts. Within the interviews the experts are asked to give their view on the construction of the test-garden. Because they were also challenged to be critical about this process the names of the expert remain confidential. This way they could speak freely about potential risks and problems. The interviews were transcribed literal and fully. In the discourse-analysis of these interviews the subjective relevance in relation to the formulated research questions is used to formulate codes. This way an image of important policy-concepts as well as critique on policy assumptions and the positions of various actors is acquired. The main concepts which emerged within these expert-interviews are coded and then traced within two main policy-documents; *Life in the village 2012* and *The development of a self-managing and vital community 2012*. These policy-

documents are selected because they are thought to be the most appropriate documents to get insight in the broad philosophical vision of self-management on the one hand, and more concrete information of the development of the test-garden on the other hand. The selection of these two documents is the result of an desk-research, in which four previous publications of *'life in the village'* were taken into account, as well as two publications in the policy framework of *'Welfare, housing and care for elderly in Helden'* dating back to the year 2000. Finally these two main documents were selected based upon the subjective insight of the researcher, as well as the recommendations of a highly regarded member of the group of 'experts'. The fact the publications were recent and provide an extensive overview, were decisive.

<b>Expert interviews</b>	<b>nr. of interviewees</b>
Welfare organisation 'Vorkmeer'	2
Catholic elderly Union 'KBO Helden'	1
Housing organisation Wonen Limburg'	2
Municipality 'Gemeente Peel en Maas'	2
Care-organisation 'De zorggroep'	2
Care organisation 'Dichterbij'	1
<b>Policy-documents</b>	
<i>'The development of a self-managing and vital community'</i> (Schmitz, G, van der Coelen, W, Ahaus, K, van de Wetering, A, TNO Management Consultants 2012)	
<i>'Life in the village'</i> (Genders, R, Janssen M.J.H, Companen , 2012)	
<b>Elderly narratives</b>	<b>nr. of interviewees</b>
Elderly inhabitants of the 'test-garden'	18

**Table 2 – Overview of sources**

### **3.2.3 Expert interviews providing a critical lens towards every-day lives of elderly**

Via discourse analysis an image of important policy-concepts as well as critique on policy assumptions and the positions of various actors is acquired. The critique on the policy assumptions and the positions of various actors is the main source through which the elderly narratives (which were already conducted in the frame work of the national research, see paragraph 1.1.4) are analysed. The critical remarks of experts are also coded; these codes are then used as a critical lens on the elderly narratives. According to Flick (2009) in narrative interviews informants are asked to present the history of an area of interest, in which the

interviewee participated. It is the task of the interviewer to make the informant tell a consistent story including all relevant events from its beginning to its end. This method of interview was developed out of scepticism about the extent to which subjective experiences may be tapped in the question and answer scheme of 'traditional' interviews. Narratives in this respect should allow the researcher to approach the interviewee's subjective yet structured view of reality in a comprehensive way. Because the narrator will try to make sure the listener is able to understand and follow the story it is considered more likely personal background details will be provided. These details might be somewhat awkward and not likely to be mentioned in a more structured interview but therefore they represent an important element of the personal subjective experience (Schutze, 1976, p.225):

*"Narrators of unprepared narratives of their own experiences are driven to talk also about events and action orientations, which they prefer to keep silent about in normal conversations and conventional interviews owing to their awareness of guilt or shame of their entanglement of interests."*

This final part of the analysis is supposed to expose the differences and relations between the 'fields' of care-supply and care-demand, as well as the differences and relations between 'ideal' policy assumptions and empirical reality. The exposed discrepancies and risks will be analysed using the theoretical lens of this thesis. Based upon this theoretically grounded analysis practical conclusions and recommendations will be formulated. Furthermore, in a separate chapter (chapter 5) the exposed discrepancies and risks will be used as empirical evidence to expose the deficiencies of Healey's scientific assumptions of collaborative planning. Based upon this second analysis, scientific conclusions and recommendations will be formulated.

## 4 Unraveling ‘test-garden Peel and Maas’

In this chapter the discourse analyses of policy documents, elderly narratives and expert interviews (as explained in the previous chapter) will be presented. This analysis might unravel the context of ‘collaborative planning’ in the local case of test-garden ‘Peel and Maas’. A few key-concepts will be used to do so. When asked about the interaction with the elderly care-users (and vulnerable civilians in general) policymakers from different organisations (representatives of the municipality and housing-, care- and welfare-organisations) stress the importance of ‘*self-management*’, ‘*citizenship*’, ‘*care-demand*’, ‘*good supervision*’ and ‘*good communication*’. These concepts are not mentioned in the narrative interviews which were conducted among the elderly care-users in the framework of the national research (see paragraph 1.1.4). The elderly interviewees obviously are not aware of the precise policy assumptions and their causes. Therefore it is even more interesting what these central concepts mean to policymakers on the one hand, and how these assumptions affect every-day life of the elderly care-users on the other hand.

Throughout this chapter of empirical analysis the first three research questions of this thesis will be answered:

1. *How do the various actors participate in the ongoing construction of the ‘test-garden’?*

Described in the first four paragraphs.

2. *What kind of risks and mismatches can be traced within this specific case?*

Described in the fifth paragraph.

3. *What kind of practical conclusions and recommendations can be drawn?*

Described in the sixth paragraph (conclusions) and seventh paragraph (recommendations).

To describe the interaction between the ‘fields’ of policymakers and ‘elderly care-users’ the research model is followed (paragraph 2.4). This means first the collaborative ideal among policymakers, as it is developed in this case, will be described firstly. Secondly the main empirical critique of this ideal as formulated by those same policy-makers is sketched. The hypothesized mis-match between the collaborative ideal and the empirical reality thus emerges. This critique also provides critical ‘codes’ to analyse the narrative interviews among elderly care-users. This way we move from a policy ideal, towards its empirical consequences for both

policymakers and elderly care-users. Throughout this analysis the theoretical concepts as formulated in Bourdieu's field theory will be used to conceptualise this process. The ultimate goal of this endeavour is to provide relevant information and insights for actors involved in the ongoing construction of test-garden 'Peel and Maas' as well as those involved in similar processes in other regions struggling with the facilitation of 'ageing in place'.

#### **4.1 A philosophical vision on 'good supervision' and 'self-management'**

As early as 1992 (twenty years ago already) a project was initiated by the municipality of 'Peel and Maas'. Based upon the 'self-management' philosophy of Cornelis (1934-1999) a desirable vision of the future relation between the municipality, societal organisations and civilians was sketched. Self-management is described by Cornelis as the power of people to use their own conscious mind to reflect on feedback together and translate this into new collective values and norms. There was an argument made for more governmental distance and respect to the everyday life of civilians, communities should be able to 'think' for themselves. Citizens in this respect are considered to be active members of active communities ('the development of a self-managing and vital community', 2012, p.8):

*" 'Citizenship' means people should take their own responsibility for the way they together construct the common public life. If the willingness to take this responsibility is present, society and government can support and equip people in becoming and being responsible, in becoming and being active citizens. "*

Self-management thus requires a certain mentality, a willingness to take responsibility. To use the words of Bourdieu the rules of the envisioned 'self-managing field' requires a specific habitus. The importance of the development of this habitus cannot be neglected. Without this 'willingness' the vision can never take the form of an organised reality ('life in the village', 2012, p.5):

*"If one wants to build a ship don't select people to bring wood, draw worksheets, arrange coordination and make plans. Teach people to desire the endless sea."*

*Antoine de Saint Exupery*

To install this kind of responsible and purposeful habitus among citizens and communities the development of 'good communication' is stressed as essential ('the development of a self-managing and vital community', 2012, p.9):

*“For the development of self-managing communities it is essential to create self-managing communication. Within this kind of social system people discover they need each other to really learn new things and get to new insights”*

‘Good communication’ in this respect should mean societal organisations and the local government should respect and listen to the concerns and ‘demands’ of these communities, instead of expecting communities to take their ‘professional’ direction. This way communities learn they can change their environments themselves, in a way which suits them. Both this insight and the actual empirical results of this process are supposed to gradually ‘empower citizens’. In the words of Bourdieu this kind of collaborative planning should gradually internalise the required habitus among its participants. This vision clearly implies the gradual normative growth of the level of responsibility and autonomy for civilians as members of communities (‘the development of a self-managing and vital community, 2012, p.12):

*“The more a social system is decentralised, the more intelligent it becomes. The number of decision points multiplies because of self-management and communication. The most decentralised social system is communicative self-management; here people no longer are the recipients of a decision, but the decision-owners or at least a necessary benchmark.”*

This vision of ‘self-management’ of civilians and communities is not restricted to certain groups of civilians or organisations in certain ‘fields’. In this case one could think of the field of ‘housing’, ‘care’ and ‘welfare’ (‘the development of a self-managing and vital community’, 2012, p.8):

*“All developments and phenomena within the community are viewed and approached in their interdependence. The key-concept in this respect is the ‘integral approach’. This means people and communities should not be divided into compartments. It’s about the willingness to see things beyond the borders of protocols and organisations.”*

One could very well say its aim is to efface what Bourdieu called the increasing specialised spheres of semi-autonomous action within modern western reality. Because communities (villages) are considered as autonomous wholes, they should be treated as such (‘the development of a self-managing and vital community’, 2012, p.13):

*“The philosophy of communicative self-management, ‘being boss within your own brain’ is driving straight through the mental barrier, which is the twentieth century wall of materialism, social rule-*

*systems, the division of knowledge in compartments of specialisation without communication. Self-management is the philosophical spur of emancipation. The most important to man was denied by the twentieth century, self-knowledge and knowledge of his environment”*

The practical implementation of this ideal requires both professional organisations and the municipality to be aligned in their interaction with these communities. To do so both the idea and practice of ‘network-governance’ is very important and often mentioned, although no really clear definition is given by policy-makers. Miles and Coleman (1992) strikingly defined network-governance as:

*‘Coordination characterized by informal social systems rather than by bureaucratic structures within firms and formal contractual relationships between them, to coordinate complex products or services in uncertain and competitive environments’*

Previously different organisations were operating in their own fields (in this case housing, care and welfare) the functioning of these professional institutions was restricted to the borders of these fields, to large extent. In recent years the borders of these fields are stretched to span around the communities, ‘networks of professionals and civilians’ have become more interconnected:

*“Welfare used to be fragmented, divided into different compartments, there used to be a youth worker, a project worker....there were all kinds of services. We provided those throughout the complete municipality, very divers, all with our own expertise. Now we said we are going to do this differently. Today we expect our ‘community workers’, as we now call them, to be more solidly present within the village and informed about all things which occur in a village. Only if necessary we can provide a separate specialist. This change occurred in recent years and we are still in the middle of it actually.”*

*Representative welfare organisation*

Without this normative vision of ‘self-management’ and ‘integrality’ the development of more interconnected network-governance could not have thrived in Peel en Maas in general, and especially in the object of this thesis; the test-garden (‘Life in the village’, 2012, p.15):

*The management of the municipality takes place as a kind of supervision which acknowledges ‘self-management’, ‘citizenship’ and ‘wholeness’.*

Both the pro-active inclusive character and the importance of 'rational' communication show strong resemblance to Healey's collaborative planning ideal. That is, in the sense that active participation, rational reflection on the interaction between different discourses and finally consensus is considered possible. In this sense, test-garden 'Peel and Maas' really is a local case of collaborative planning in a care-context.

#### **4.2 'Good supervision' means collaborative supervision**

Test-garden 'Peel and Maas' thus has made a clear choice for a certain collaborative approach in dealing with vulnerable civilians, in this case elderly care-users. It is an approach of self-management. The municipality has taken the lead in the construction and implementation of this approach, although it certainly was an inclusive process of collaborative planning from the start up until the present ('life in the village', 2012, p.1):

*"On 9 January, 2003, 33 stakeholders signed the covenant 'living in the village, housing, welfare and care'. The covenant had a turnaround of four years. In 2006 a trajectory called 'taking stock' has started. In this trajectory in 2008 a regional framework of agreements is determined by covenant stakeholders. This trajectory has been a transition period towards a re-assessed covenant, next to this covenant the policy document 'living in the village, housing, welfare and care 2008-2012; "Going beyond borders, together and innovative' has been established."*

The early active and serious involvement (starting 2002) of societal partners and civilians even is considered the key element of the policy. Just as one would expect according to the inclusive and pro-active collaborative planning 'ideal' as propagated by Healey ('life in the village', 2012, p.47):

*"Communicative 'self-management' means actors, when elaborating their initiatives, should involve other actors as soon as possible. This way a constructive dialogue and a shared plan are ensured."*

A key-point in communicative self-management is the existence of ('life in the village, 2012, p. 8): 'equal and reciprocal relations', between the three main categories of actors: supervisors (municipality and founders), societal partners and citizens (communities). This normative cast between societal partners, government and (vulnerable) civilians as members of a community is described as 'the golden triangle' (see fig. 4) among policymakers.

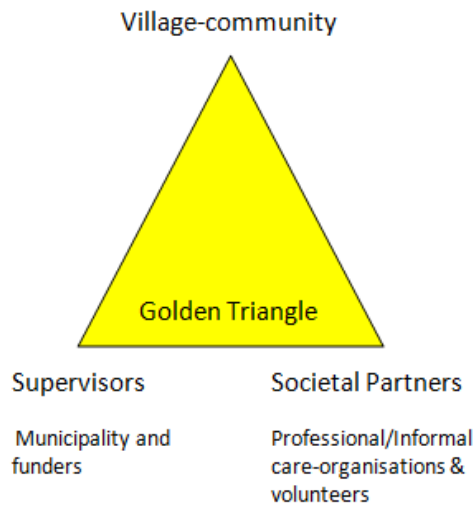


Figure 4 - The 'Golden Triangle'



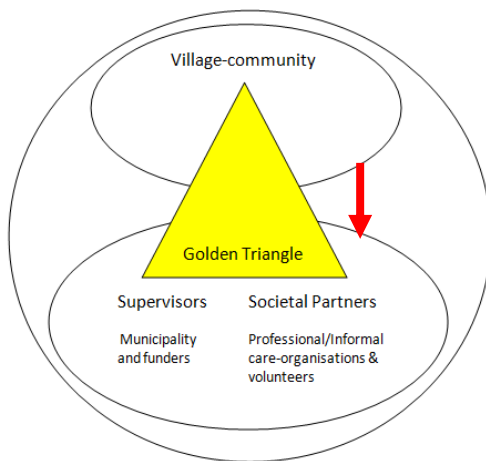
Figure 5 - Operating in 'one' field

This conceptual image of the relations between different actors reaffirms both the collaborative assumptions as well as the idea of 'network-governance'. Because actors are supposed to involve each other in their plans as soon as possible they no longer are divided by their own specialised compartments. These new collaborative rules imply they all have to become players within an 'interconnected network' which is placed within shared fields shaped around different village communities (see fig. 5). However, as already mentioned, there was an argument made for more governmental distance and respect to the every-day life of civilians, communities should be able to 'think' for themselves:

*"You ask me what this approach means for elderly, you should ask them. They (the elderly) are the ones who organise this. There is a vision behind all this, it is more or less the cooperative philosophy, it is very close to 'self-management' that is a word which is very prominent in our vision."*

*Representative welfare organisation*

In the ideal situation all action of actors at the bottom of the triangle should be initiated by/or at least suit the (care-) demands emerging from outside the various village communities (fig. 6).



*"It doesn't matter where an idea is developed; everybody is in dialogue within the triangle. But it has to fit the care-demands; we never start from the side of care-supply."*

*Representatieve welfare organisation*

**Figure 6 - Two fields? The 'ideal' interaction between care-supply and care-demand**

### 4.3 'Care-demand' and the interaction with elderly care-users

As mentioned more responsibility and autonomy is expected from civilians in general. When it comes to elderly care-users, this means they are basically expected to take action themselves if they are in need of support. The 'care-demand' should in first instance be placed within the community, because vulnerable civilians too are considered active and rational members of an active community ('the development of a self-managing and vital community, 2012, p.12):

*'When one practices self-management in ones work, health, learning and questions of welfare one can no longer blame a boss, a government, a municipality. For as long as one blames somebody else, one does not learn, because one doesn't self-manage things. All management is self-management.'*

Professional organisations and the municipality should only become actively involved if the elderly person in need for some form of care isn't able to actively and rationally demand care, and the community is not able to provide sufficient support on its own. It is the task of the municipality, and societal organisations to expose and listen to this individual care-demand. Hereby they are supposed to support the individual elderly in realising his/her own demands and therefore taking some degree of own responsibility. If the individual elderly is not able to express his or her concerns, one should listen to his/her relatives. Only in the extreme case where the individual has no possibility to express him- or herself and there are no relatives professional organisations and or government are 'forced' to decide for a 'vulnerable citizen' (in this case an elderly person).

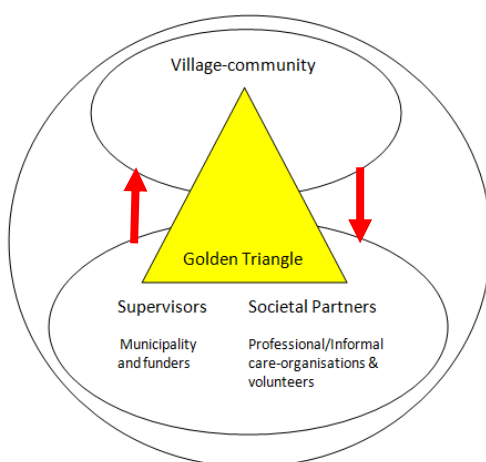
#### 4.4 From idealism towards implementation

This collaborative ideal (strong and self-managing' communities, with the support of external organisations) is considered to turn the traditional cast of the so-called welfare-state around. Within the 'welfare-thought' the professional organisations and the government were in charge. They were supposed to determine what communities needed and how these needs should be accommodated. Within this new collaborative approach of self-management communities are supposed to determine what they need and how these needs should be accommodated. Such a radical turn in governance, as is the proposed ideal, here does ask for changes in the interaction between care-supply and care-demand. But even more importantly it asks a switch of mentalities of all members of the so-called golden triangle. In the previous paragraphs the idealistic vision of more governmental distance and respect to the every-day life of civilians was elaborated on, it has become clear communities should be able to 'think' for themselves. Quite paradoxical to the apparent meaning of the word 'self-management' however, the idea of 'self-managing communities' is implemented through a strong collaborative vision and supervision which originates from outside the every-day lives of civilians and communities:

*"Starting from this vision we initiated a board of 'housing, welfare and care', there were a number of directors involved, they had strong influence in getting things done. To get societal partners involved and paying attention. So something arose there, among directors and managers, at that level."*

*Representative municipality*

This means the municipality and professional organisations were and still are very important in the realisation of this 'transition' (fig. 7).



*"The municipality has a good supervision; they can force actors to cooperate and communicate. They only provide a permit if an initiative is based on care-demand. There were some care-farms in this region which couldn't prove there was a need for their service."*

*Representatieve welfare organisation*

**Figure 7 - Supervision within transition**

These ‘external’ organisations, stimulated by the municipality, have initiated all kinds of ‘collaborative’ changes (such as the organisation of dinner points, day-time activities, and so on) in their interaction with communities to this end. The effects of these changes however are affecting actors in both fields (fig. 7), because both policymakers and elderly care-users as members of communities are forced to take new institutional positions which imply new habitusses. In this respect one could think of the new and intensified cooperation between those actors at the base of the pyramid (supervisors and societal partners) and the foundation of several village councils within the communities. But the question remains; how is this new form of governance implemented? Among policymakers the term ‘appreciative inquiry’ is considered a key-concept in order to understand this process.

#### 4.4.1 Appreciative inquiry

The essentially externally driven process of constructing a new form of ‘network-governance’ and simultaneously stimulating ‘self-management’ within communities is often referred to by policymakers as a process of ‘appreciative inquiry’. Such an inquiry is an interactive attempt to *expose* the needs of communities, to *propose* ways of tackling these needs and finally to *mobilise and politicise* communities in taken direction (McFarlane, Colin, 2011). This policy tool was used within the interaction with elderly inhabitants of the ‘test-garden’ as well:

*“This inquiry has begun in 2003 and provided us with a lot of information about the needs of elderly above the age of 55; it was conducted for each village. And within this inquiry people were also asked if they were prepared to take responsibility for the needs they observed. This resulted in a huge response. This was caused by the way the inquiry was done, a kind of action-research, people were already participating in projects before the research was finished. That’s also how the ‘core-teams’ were developed, in each there were key-figures among elderly attracted.”*

*Representative welfare organisation*

There are four main practical points which are thought to be essential to this process of ‘appreciative inquiry’ and which have to take place more or less simultaneously (‘life in the village, 2012, p.55):

1. the active inquiry of (care)-demand priorities among elderly in various communities, based upon a extensive survey,
2. the ‘early’ collaboration on a shared vision of the future governance of ‘care-supply’.

*‘Self-management’ and ‘Ageing in place’, collaborative planning in a local care-context.*

3. the launch and support of civilian 'core-teams' as (democratic) representatives of communities,
4. the stimulation and facilitation of the new increasingly networked interaction throughout the 'golden triangle',

The fact that there are positive 'self-management' results in a broad array of societal issues, such as elderly care, is thought to be a result of this kind of 'good supervision'. 'Good supervision' in this case means the implementation of the rules and institutions necessary for the described 'visionary' form of collaborative governance via a process of 'appreciative inquiry'. It is a kind of supervision which should position citizens as part of communities to decide for themselves:

*"When for instance a care-supplying organisation comes along and says: just pass this question on to us, we will take care of it...it will be fine. At such a moment you have to say, and we did, as supervisor from both the municipal and the care-office: No, that is not the way it is going to happen. The village should decide; they first have to think about what they need, with support if necessary. With this question we can then negotiate with care-supplying organisations, so they can realise what citizens think is important. Not the other way around. **This way you create a feeling among citizens of equality towards professional organisations**, which otherwise would take charge to soon."*

*Representative of the Municipality*

#### **4.5 Empirically based critique on the collaborative ideal of 'self-management'**

In the previous paragraphs an image was sketched of the policy ideal and its implementation. Although policymakers are able to sketch and use this ideal approach with some remarkable successful initiatives as result, not all is a bed of roses. When asked they also mention a number of mis-matches and risks which (could) hinder the 'ideal situation'. These should be taken into account in order to provide 'good supervision' and thus to prevent non-committal or too open-ended use of the concepts of 'self-management' and 'care-demand'. These mis-matches will be described and illustrated based upon expert interviews conducted among 'care-supplying organisations' and narrative interviews conducted among elderly inhabitants of the 'test-garden'. Throughout this analysis quotations will be used to illustrate the claims made.

The critique on the 'ideal situation' was derived from expert interviews. When tracing this critique within the elderly narratives a difference in style and focus was observed. As you will

notice in this paragraph the interviewed elderly speak with a completely different style and focus than the experts did. The general scope of the elderly narratives was limited to their own personal experiences and problems, to large extend. This means they do address the details of their specific personal experiences but have a limited view of the policy process. On the one hand this makes it difficult to prove the everyday importance of various claimed mis-matches, on the other hand it does clearly show the 'gap' between the 'fields' of care-supply and care-demand. Furthermore there are no hard claims made in this paragraph, the number of elderly narratives used (18) is too small to be representative. With this methodological remark being made, six mis-matches will now be discussed.

#### 4.5.1 Volunteers under pressure?

Especially vulnerable people (elderly) are often unable to take an active 'self-managing' role. The able-bodied citizens in a community are supposed to support and represent them. But all this has to be done on a voluntary basis. This expectation of solidarity seems to be very ambitious in with regard to the still very present influence of trends like individualisation:

*Actually what is happening is the following: in a time when people have no time, because they have to participate in the economy, they are asked to take care of their neighbours. You know; we need to work until we are 67, we need to become care-volunteers for our elderly, our parents and we need to provide childcare, because that too is becoming unpayable. So it is safe to say we have to be very busy."*

*Representative care-organisation*

At the same time however in the narratives elderly show a high participation in voluntary work, they make no claims about a lack of volunteers. Based upon the narratives most retired elderly are volunteers themselves:

*"I do some cooking at the day-programme of Vorkmeer (welfare-organisation), just cooking and pouring some coffee"*

*"I have done a lot of different things, first I did some societal counselling of families. At a certain point this became too juridical. Than I did the guidance of 'newcomers' but then the money ran out."*

*"As members of the volunteers of the football club, so that is where we are if things need to be solved. Mowing the grass, pruning those kinds of things."*

It seems active elderly take an important part with the supportive role of communities themselves. And their efforts aren't restraint to 'care' they are active in all kinds of activities. Of course this is not a bad thing at all. However it might signal a limit to the 'ideal' solidarity or mere recourses of 'busy' working members of communities, as was proposed by the representative of a care-organisation. Also from a more methodological point of view these results may indicate the narratives were held among relatively active elderly, which might lead to a biased image. The opinions and concerns of less active elderly might be underrepresented.

#### **4.5.2 The undervalued importance of family**

The discourse on 'self-management' is all about communities, in everyday-life reality of the test-garden many tasks of (mantle-) care are not taken up by the community. The role of direct family is considered at least equally or even more important among some experts:

*"If elderly have a large family to rely on, they can be represented and cared for in a good way. But if this somehow changes or they just haven't got children it gets more difficult. You know, in many cases here it is the family who provides social support. I do think this is not an exception, but a common property"*

*Representative care-organisation*

This claim is confirmed to some extent within the elderly narratives, the following quotes should illustrate this:

*"Ok, and do you also maintain contact with your neighbours? No, no, that I don't. I just am no type for such a thing. Never had the time to do so. There just are people who do such a thing more easily. I do have contact with family, but not just with everybody, that's just not my cup of tea."*

*"I have a daughter who speaks very easily, I don't, I am just not such a person, in words I cannot express myself that good and everything, but she can. And she fixes things for me. "*

The care and support provided within families illustrates both the reduced level of competence autonomy of the elderly care-users, as well as the limitations of community solidarity. Neighbours might be supportive and caring but often not to the extend family members are.

#### 4.5.3 Professional direction and expertise under pressure?

The care-demand should be answered within the community in first instance, while professional knowledge often is located outside this community. Elderly still have to 'learn' to cope with their changing environment; this implies there is a need for 'teaching'. Potential difficulties encountered in the demand for professional direction may lead problematic situations:

*"Most elderly advisors from welfare-organisations are no longer there, because of budget cuts. This means a part of 'self-management' has been installed, but now it has become more difficult for elderly to formulate and communicate their demands."*

*Representative Welfare organisation*

*"The community is supposed to help formulate the care-demand now that is something which concerns me. They sure can help, but I think it's too much to expect them to formulate the care-demands. You need a formal education to do this."*

*Representative Care organisation*

*"You have to draw a line somewhere, if someone wants to participate in the daytime-programme as a volunteer, but this person actually should be a participant then other participants will protest. Who can take such a decision? That's what professionals are for, also in care, if someone needs a lot of care a decision has to be made. "*

*Representative of the KBO, a Catholic elderly union*

*"I do think it is getting more difficult in several places to find people for a town-council, a neighbourhood-council, because the municipality says ok you are representatives of your villages and then there are expectations like would you like to think about a future vision, and then they have to read policy-documents and that's quite a lot of difficult work"*

*Representative housing organisation*

The importance of guidance and professional expertise also shows within the narratives. Often it seems elderly have very limited knowledge of care-facilities until they 'suddenly' need them. When this happens they seem to need and appreciate external guidance very much:

*What do you think of the housing? Well what do I think...I really don't know what to think actually I don't know that branch. I can see there is some development here and there but whether or not the*

*numbers are correct, I don't know, I do think the things they build are very good because it enables people to live on their own for as long as possible.*

*Do you think there are sufficient facilities for elderly in 'Helden-Panningen'? I actually don't know this is the difficulty you are dealing with someone who is still very healthy, I never thought about it.*

*I moved because otherwise there would have been a lot of modifications, this all went according to the WMO of the municipality. And then a man came and he told what was going to happen....and then they called at half past four, eh, to tell me this house was available for me, I was delighted to hear that.*

These quotes don't only illustrate the importance of professional direction and expertise, but they also show the acceptance and even necessity of different levels of competence and autonomy in the cast between care-suppliers and elderly care-users.

#### **4.5.4 Without already existing communities, there's no 'self-management'**

Self-management' is heavily reliant on the existence and further development of tightly knit communities with a sufficient percentage of active and competent (elderly) citizens/volunteers. The rural areas in general and especially 'Peel and Maas' probably have an advantage in this respect to many more urban regions. Urban area's often have a higher mobility of its inhabitants as well as a higher degree of cultural heterogeneity:

*"What I have noticed here is that we try to stimulate the relations between people, which actually originate in the rural culture. Before this I worked in Breda and Kaam, Breda really is a city and Kaam really is a village. And there you really saw this difference, you know. In Breda it was really hard to initiate these kinds of projects, although the municipality was quite active there as well. In Kaam it didn't take a lot of effort to get things going."*

*Representative care-organisation*

*"To me it's irrelevant what exactly causes social cohesion. I think it is simply related to the fact there is a community, whatever you call it, and if it is not there you can't bring it into existence out of the blue. And that's something which is maybe expected here and there in new legislation."*

*Representative housing organisation*

*"Why do you think this approach has worked here? Because it is a village ...because it is a village.....it's that simple."*

*Representative of the KBO, a Catholic elderly union*

The importance of 'rural' social cohesion also shows itself within the elderly narratives. But elderly don't address it as such, rather they tell about different forms of voluntary work they perform, the different community associations in which they participate, and so on. Even if elderly claim to dislike community associations they often express other 'social acts'. In this respect it seems a certain level of social cohesion is very much taken for granted, as a norm with the rural culture:

*"I do well, eh ... a lot... well it is not such a big deal actually, I am a member of an association, and sometimes there are some neighbourhood activities, and there is carnival and sometimes something with the children, grandchildren or from the neighbourhood if it is necessary."*

*"X: The only thing she does is in welfare...Y: Yes and that's only once in every 14 days, and only in the afternoon. X: And we are always open to questions, if it is possible we do it. We regularly visit a nun and have some coffee, that's fun. Yes elderly people like old stuff, you know. And then all kind of things emerge. We are open to everything, without obligations. The only obligation I have always put upon us is to do something for other people."*

Of course there are individual exceptions to the sketched image of 'rural' social cohesion, never the less it is hard to deny the importance of a certain level of social cohesion for the development of any form of collaboration. Especially care-suppliers explicitly mention the necessity of this condition.

#### **4.5.5 Social exclusion can exist despite the inclusive self-management discourse**

'Self-management' is supposed to be the opposite of 'paternalism'. It opens space for the knowledge and initiative of civilians. At the same time however those who aren't able or willing to use this space are excluded to some extent:

*Yes, actors are challenged to participate, to think together, but always according to a basic ...eh... attitude, basic principles, but we are always involved. If an actor doesn't want to participate, well then it is also their own responsibility. But all right, then they maybe do make it a bit more difficult for themselves.*

*Representative welfare organisation*

*"There is a large group of modern elderly who can take care of themselves, especially the coming generation of elderly. But within this generation of elderly aged 75 or more, there are a lot of elderly who just never have done this."*

*Representative care organisation*

*"I think it is also a pity we don't encounter foreigners...how this is possible....good question...we do invite them for everything...I think they just want to stick to their own church communities."*

*Representative KBO, a Catholic elderly union*

As these quotes illustrate some actors might decide not to participate in social community activities, despite the open 'self-management discourse'. The reason for this decision can be very different, elderly can just don't like the hustle and bustle, they might lack experience and also more profound cultural differences (foreigners/locals) seem to matter. Within the narratives some clues to these points can be found as well, especially the cultural difference between 'Limburgers' and 'non-Limburgers' is mentioned frequently:

*"No no I never could be socially active. Because I was always travelling....I could participate, but I was never there...and it stayed this way...I am not in to it...I can deal with people quite well but I just don't feel the need. "*

*"Yes those Limburgers...We don't speak the language, it is like this, you're talking to them and someone comes along, they start talking to this person in their own little language, about things they know about each other and you're just completely ignored. At a certain moment I told my husband, we are not doing this, let them have it. They are so stupid and jealous, you can't imagine. "*

*"Yes on Saturdays we often meet acquaintances, but those are all from the province of Holland as well, so. You don't easily mix with people from the province of Limburg. I understand it, they got their own friends here, and that club is big enough for themselves."*

Inclusive collaborative planning seems to benefit from homogeneous communities. Equal and reciprocal relations are more frequent and stable among 'group members'. The required respectful interpersonal and intercultural discussions among different cultural groups don't easily take place. It takes a certain skill and willingness to engage in these kind of collaborative discussions, not all actors possess these skills or intentions.

#### 4.5.6 There are costs before benefits

The idea of 'self-management' as it was developed in the recent years in 'Peel and Maas', basically is not linked to financial models. Of course in the end this type of governance is supposed to be profitable financially, but it primarily focuses on social benefits. Under the understandable pressure of the current economical recession it seems the 'national' focus has switched strongly to the financial benefits. This development produces an evident risk: budget cuts may precede the necessary organisational investments and time. 'Self-management' like any other organisational change is in need of time, and investments:

*"Listen we started in 2001, back then there was no such thing as an economical crises and therefore no budget cuts. We really started because of a vision; this vision is not oriented at doing more with less. But it did provide the necessary trust among organisations to deal with the current challenges."*

*Representative of the Municipality*

*"Within the network 'Welfare reinforced' we recently have been reflecting, what makes the difference? Why are cases coming to a solution now, and why didn't they previously, why were doors closed? I think it is strongly related to knowing each other, knowing who is doing what and with what and why, as an organisation but also as a person."*

*Representative of a Housing association*

*"Other places may still have a lot of work in front of them, and that just takes time. To get things started from within the municipality. You see, 'Peel and Maas' has got a lead on other places. That's what investment is."*

*Representative welfare organisation*

Within the narratives the gradual changes of policy is noticed, and appreciated. Elderly don't address the abstract concepts which fuel the policy, rather they signal concrete results and express trust towards the general organisation:

*"Also 'Helden' used to be the most important village, but then 'Panningen' began to expand and slowly started to dominate the rest. Now there are twenty thousand people living here and they all collaborate, this is really going very well. A lot has changed, and when it comes to elderly, yes, they organise what they can, they organise everything."*

*"I believe that we witnessed a positive development within this municipal when it comes to health-care. We used have a lot of general practitioners spread across the area, now there is a medical centre, the pantaleon. Those are good developments."*

The gradual development of a new organisational structure as well as new care-facilities however is an ongoing process. Societal initiatives have to be facilitated continuously, the need for external supervision and investments therefore seems to be more permanent as the ideal of 'self-management' might advocate.

#### **4.6 Practical conclusion, mis-matches and risks, but a success nevertheless**

In this chapter we moved from an idealistic vision of 'self-management' towards an empirical reality, within this trajectory several risks and mis-matches emerged. To start there seems to be a conceptual mis-match between the idealistic discourse of 'self-management' and the actual process of 'transition'. This observation will be elaborated firstly, secondly there are to six empirically expressed risks to the policy of 'self-management'. Most of these risks refer to what Bourdieu might call the basic 'resources' necessary for the approach to 'work'. These risks will be viewed as contemplations on the necessary levels of social, economic, cultural, symbolic, linguistic capital.

##### **4.6.1 Symbolic violence?**

First of all the level of inclusion and collaboration of actors within the societal field of the so-called 'golden triangle' is characterised by an internal inconsistency. On the one hand relations should be equal and reciprocal, but on the other hand the road towards this ideal is necessarily paved by a form of governance from outside the every-day lives of citizens and communities. The institutionalisation of the rules of collaborative (network) governance and the habitus 'self-management' has not yet been able to efface the borders between all actors surrounding communities. Especially the border between the top, in this case elderly care-users, and the base of the so-called 'golden triangle' remains. This shows in the way policymakers speak on the one hand and the elderly on the other hand. Based upon the differences of competence, time and resources between both 'groups' one can doubt if these relations will ever become truly equal and reciprocal. Furthermore based upon the same differences one could doubt if such an egalitarian relation would be beneficial and desirable.

In this respect one could argue whether the term 'self-management' does represent a certain extent of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence, fundamentally means the imposition of

categories of thought and perception upon dominated social agents who, once they begin observing and evaluating the world in terms of those categories — and without necessarily being aware of the change in their perspective — then perceive the existing social order as just, thereby perpetuating a social structure favoured by and serving the interests of those agents who are already dominant.

The process of ‘self-management’ originated at the level of ‘*directors and managers*’ (representative of the municipal) which obviously are positioned within the field at the bottom of the so frequently mentioned golden pyramid. They are the ones initiating the institutional changes, which are accompanied by new categories of thought. The agents within the communities learn of these new rules and categories of thought in different manner. They are confronted with the institutional changes later and do not know their exact causes, nor do they use the associated terms of rather abstract categories of thought. This doesn’t imply they will judge the policy is unjust, the opposite is the case. As long as they perceive their needs are met they perceive the structure as just.

In this sense there is a certain extent of symbolic violence present in the term ‘self-management’ and the discourse surrounding it. One could argue the visual placement of the community at the top of the pyramid might suggest a positive place in the institutional process just as the discourse does. But this remains an ideal, and until present the actual management has originated from the bottom. In this respect the opposite image might be a more just representation (with the ‘golden pyramid’ flipped upside-down). As mentioned one can question true self-management will ever be reached, it seems the word ‘transition’ could indicate a more permanent process than one might think:

*“And what happens if communities become truly self-managing? Then we would be out of work...hahaha... No seriously, I think there will always be a role for professional organisations, there is always the need for professional facilitation, and there are always new initiatives and projects to be guided.”*

*Representative Welfare Organisation.*

Though there might be a certain extent of symbolic violence present within this approach, it has definitely opened up space for the facilitation of some remarkable successful initiatives of volunteers from within communities. The policy certainly is not a complete sham. It seems the idea, although it is still a somewhat ‘impossible’ ideal, inspires actors to reach remarkable results (see paragraph 1.1.5). The level of enthusiasm among policymakers as well as the

provisional positive results of the national comparative research (SEV, Radboud University, HAN, UMCG) are proof of this claim. To me personal this shows in a way all ideals when projected on reality can be viewed as a form of symbolic violence, but this doesn't mean one necessarily has to be cynical about them. In this respect even the term 'symbolic violence' might be interpreted as a form of 'symbolic violence'.

#### **4.6.2 Risks and 'resources'**

In evaluating the positive results of this special collaborative approach in a care-context one should note the importance of place and time. The policy of 'self-management' was initiated in 1992 already and the policy of 'living in the village' started in 2002. The success of the test-garden thus can be viewed as the outcome of a place-specific and temporal process. But it doesn't stop here; mere time and policy-ideas are not enough to foster the growth of a successful test-garden. There is a need for the existence of (or at least the gradual accumulation) of several forms of capital. First of all the successes are constructed upon the already existing strong 'rural' social cohesion. A resource of social and cultural capital which might not be available in other test-gardens to the same extents. Secondly the 'good supervision' surely is a factor of success. But this 'good supervision' is an ongoing process which started approximately 10 years ago. The generation of the current institutional framework started off with a strong collaborative vision, which has been used to express and connect different actors as well as different categories of thought. Categories of thought such as the philosophy of Cornelis, theories of network-governance, economical models of cost and benefits, social models of human interaction and so on. The accumulation of these symbolic and linguistic resources has proven to be very useful in construction of the current status quo of the test-garden. Thirdly it is extremely important to be aware of the current risk on the side of economical capital. Although the 'self-management-approach' is often described as a policy-line which enables budget cuts it is still in need for a budget. Firstly it takes both time and money to facilitate volunteers to a point they become more or less autonomous. Secondly most of its benefits will be indirect, that is they won't be visible immediately. To conclude, it has become evident that without the necessary time and various kinds of capital the 'self-managing' approach would become a 'true' form of symbolic violence, a philosophical excuse for budget cuts. If the policy of 'self-management' is implemented in other regions in a non-committal or too open-ended manner, the use of the concepts of 'self-management' and 'care-demand' would become concepts of harsh symbolic violence. Although this is not the case in 'Peel and Maas', based upon the real investments in institutional reform and the currently available resources. However, there are signs of non-committal interpretations within this region as well:

*"It has to be profitable, you know, it does take a lot of time of people. I don't know really, it is somewhat of a shift these days isn't it. I think you already heard people from the municipality about this, the shift of money flows that's essentially the whole policy, and ok, they turn it into a nice philosophy which says now it becomes a property of the village"*

*Representative of a housing association*

Dealing with these risks is the responsibility of professional organisations and the municipality to great extent. It is not, and cannot be the mere responsibility of 'communities', this means that in the strive for 'self-managing communities' the true importance of 'good supervision' as well as 'necessary recourses' should never be disregarded.

#### **4.7 What kind of practical recommendations can be drawn?**

As mentioned in paragraph 1.2, the societal relevance of this thesis is to be found in its contribution to the application of a so-called 'best practice'. Voorst tot Voorst and Mathijssen (1998) argue for a better understanding of the context and conditions of a best practice, in order to improve the application of a similar approach in a different setting. The empirical analysis presented within this chapter could be viewed as a description of the context and conditions of the best practice of 'test-garden Peel and Maas'. Personally, I believe a true understanding of context is to be found in between the lines of this thesis and perhaps in related documents as well. One should explore and learn oneself to actually understand, this thesis could be one of the instruments to do so. Nevertheless, with respect to the societal relevance of this thesis, an effort is made in this paragraph to highlight three potential lessons:

##### **1. Propagation of management is all about adjusting to new contexts; customize it!**

As Steven de Groot (2004) remarked, the implementation of a best practice is often supply-oriented and too little adapted to the needs of potential users. The danger of a simplistic copy and paste of the policy of 'test-garden Peel and Maas' should be noticed in this respect. Especially because the policy is inherently demand-oriented. Notice the explicit importance of the concept of 'care-demand' within the empirical analysis, as well as the emphasis on the 'self-management' of citizens to take their own decisions. To formulate their own priorities, to build their own context depended 'best practice'.

##### **2. Inspiring ideas work if they become more than words; just do it!**

This second point is closely related to the first, in the sense that the various policy concepts should become more than fancy buzz words in circulating in visions and conversations. They

should actually be brought into practice, otherwise they become examples of ‘symbolic violence’. This step toward the actual implementation of new ideas is arguable the hardest transition to make. It requires a change of the status-quo, a change of mentalities, organisations and cooperation. A change, in this case, from a supply-oriented approach towards a demand-oriented approach, a radical turn as is claimed in this chapter. But it doesn’t stop here. A new approach doesn’t work without the necessary resources; these are not limited to symbolic, linguistic and organisational resources. There also the need for a coherent management of the economic capital. Money flows should follow the intentions of the policy. In this case, they should support the principles of demand-orientation and self-management. This means initiatives should be financially supported only if they can prove there is a societal need for them. Also this societal need should be formulated by citizens instead of planners. It has proven that this form of self-management as well requires investments. Citizens have to be challenged, questioned, informed (educated), and connected before they can formulate their context-specific needs and translate them into demands. This process doesn’t happen overnight and does take a lot of investment and guts from all participants involved.

### **3. Without sufficient social capital ‘self-management’ is difficult; be realistic!**

This third point too is closely related to the previous points, however it is less inspiring and optimistic. Under point two, the importance of capital investment is stressed. For instance; if there isn’t enough money it is easy to conclude it isn’t possible to facilitate ambitious plans. But there are forms of capital which are less clear. In the case of ‘test-garden Peel and Maas’ the high level of social and cultural cohesion is stressed as the key to trust and collaboration. The self-management approach is build upon this elusive form of capital. Places with less social and cultural capital, might not benefit at all if they try to install this ‘best practice’. In this respect one might think of areas with less cultural homogeneity and more mobility of inhabitants, such as cities. To put it differently a ‘rural’ solution might not be suitable for an ‘urban’ context.

## 5 Reassessment of the core-assumptions of collaborative planning

Throughout this chapter of scientific reassessment the fourth and fifth research question of this thesis will be answered:

4. *What kind of deficits does this case-study expose in relation to Healy's ideal assumptions of collaborative planning?*

Described in paragraph 1.

5. *What kind of scientific recommendations can be drawn?*

Described in paragraph 2.

The critique formulated in this chapter is closely related to the findings in the previous chapter. In this respect the empirical analysis of 'test-garden Peel and Maas' is used as evidence to tackle Healey's assumptions of collaborative planning.

### 5.1 Critical discussion of the 10 'ideal' assumptions

As already mentioned (paragraph 2.3) Patsy Healey (p.152, 1992) clearly makes an 'idealistic' effort to open up the institutional contexts to include many actors Healey:

*"Collaborative planning approaches emphasise the importance of building new policy discourses about places, via wide stakeholder collaboration. Collaborative planning is all about the institutional capacity in territorial political communities to engage in place-making activities."*

But what are the limits of this approach, what aspects of reality are neglected by this selective emphasis? In this chapter the empirical findings of this thesis case-study will be used to expose the deficits of Healey's idealistic emphasis. The main 10 assumptions underlying this approach are given by Healey (p.154, 1992), based upon the case-study of test-garden 'Peel and Maas' they will each be discussed critically:

- 1- Planning is an interactive and interpretative process

Although the level of interaction differs among various actors this assumption remains valid in the case of 'Peel and Maas'.

- 2- Planning is undertaken among divers and fluid discourse communities

*'Self-management' and 'Ageing in place', collaborative planning in a local care-context.*

This assumption too remains valid in the case of 'Peel and Maas'. However within this case the process of planning is basically initiated and guided in a community of professionals equipped with a certain set of capital and 'consumed' in a community of citizens equipped with a different set of capital. The term planning itself therefore stands for different levels of autonomy and this might be made more clear in its description as proposed in assumption one; planning is a interpretative, interactive process and implies different levels of autonomy for various actors.

### 3- The methods require respectful interpersonal and intercultural discussion

The methods certainly require such conditions, but in the case of 'Peel and Maas' the rather homogeneous (monocultural) composition of communities is viewed as an important determinant of the successful collaboration. It was even noted that it proved hard to reach minorities of different cultures (foreigners and non-Limburgers in this case). One could ask how feasible it is to expect these requirements to be met in social reality. There seems to be a tension between the rational imperative of inclusive intercultural discussion and the more tacit and subjective process of exclusion based upon cultural differences. This phenomenon is known in social sciences as 'othering', a person's definition of the 'Other' is part of what defines or even constitutes the self (in both a psychological and philosophical sense) and other phenomena and cultural units. It has been used in social science to understand the processes by which societies and groups exclude 'Others' whom they want to subordinate or who do not fit into their society (Kramsch, 2012).

### 4- Focuses rest on the "arenas of struggle" (Healey, p.84, 1993) where public discussion occurs and where problems, strategies, tactics and values are identified, discussed, evaluated, and where conflicts are mediated.

This point remains valid, but the same critique as formulated on the previous assumption can be applied here. If some actors don't like to step into these arenas of struggle, based upon difference in culture or differences in their interpretation of an ideal planning process in general, the arenas of struggle remain partial or even segregated. The arenas of struggle therefore can be torn apart by the very problems and conflicts they should enable to be identified, discussed, evaluated and mediated.

### 5- There are multifarious claims for different forms and types of policy development.

In the case of 'Peel and Maas' this is certainly true. As illustrated different categories of thought have had an influence on the policy development and implementation. However the mere observation of multifarious claims might be too little. Certain discourses have had a bigger influence than others, for instance in 'Peel and Maas' the pro-self management discourse is very dominant. Therefore certain claims have bigger influence than others. It might well be even in this case-study the high-ranking claims were pre-dominantly discussed.

6- A reflective capacity is developed that enables participants to evaluate and re-evaluate.

This assumption obviously is fairly idealistic, first of all one could doubt the extent to which actors are able to develop a reflective capacity. Especially in the case of elderly care-users this assumption is problematic; most of them are not able to discuss the policy of the test-garden in abstract reflexive manner. Most of their re-evaluation is problem- and person-specific with little regard for the broader context. Apart from the question if reflexivity can be developed among all actors, one can also question what the fruits of reflexivity are. Will this reflexivity always result in the active participation of actors? It is likely there are lots of cases in which mere representation is considered a fine outcome. Furthermore, even if actors are able to reflect and re-evaluate perfectly this doesn't always imply they will think consensus is the best solution. Often some degree of 'force' is needed in order to convince actors to take the desirable position. In the case of 'Peel and Maas' one could think of the management of money-flows in relation to the requirement of 'care-demand'.

7- Strategic discourses are opened up to include all interested parties which, in turn, generate new planning discourses.

Here Healey implicitly acknowledges the differences of autonomy within the field of planning, because she signals the use of strategic discourses. The 'self-management' discourse in this case of 'ageing in place' can be viewed as such a strategic discourse. And it did prove to be open to other categories of thought. However only those categories of thought which complement the strategic discourse are adapted, actors with different ideas for instance might not be included exactly because of the strategic discourse. In the case of 'Peel and Maas' this is not very visible, with a small exception for the remark on cultural minorities. However the 'invisibility' of different discourses might be a logical result of their exclusion.

8- Participants in the discourse gain knowledge of other participants in addition to learning new relations, values, and understandings.

Here again one should be aware of that the mentioned '*knowledge, values, understandings and relations*' have to fit within the strategic discourse. Also it should be noted again that the reflexive capacity to learn different understanding within new relations doesn't imply consensus will be reached. Especially without a form external 'force' actors can easily decide to focus on their own interest despite of their knowledge of the interests of other participants.

9- Participants are able to collaborate to change existing conditions

In 'Peel and Maas' it showed that participants were only those actors who were able and willing to collaborate under the rules of the strategic discourse of 'self-management'. Also as already mentioned under point 6; often some degree of 'force' is needed in order to convince actors to take the desirable position. Participants might be able and willing (often by 'force') to collaborate to a certain extent, but this doesn't imply '*all interested parties*' (assumption nr. 7) are. This assumption therefore is implicitly exclusive. Furthermore in the case of 'Peel and Maas' it has become evident not all actors are equally competent or willing, therefore not equally 'able to collaborate'.

10- Participants are encouraged to find ways of practically achieving their planning desires, not simply to agree and list their objectives.

In the case of 'Peel and Maas' this certainly is true, the whole 'self-management' discourse revolves around this assumption. And although this strategic discourse has resulted in remarkable bottom-up initiatives (such as 'self-managed' day-time activities, dinner points and transport of otherwise immobile elderly), here again the term participants might exclude those (potential) 'interested parties' which rather '*simply agree and list their objectives*'.

## 5.2 Scientific conclusions and recommendations

As already mentioned in paragraph 2.3 Healey emphasizes the importance of three aspects of planning throughout her 10 conditions. These are the rationality of the actors, the importance of discourses and the ideal of broadly supported consensus. The critique on this approach has been focused on exactly those modernist assumptions (Allmendinger, 1998). Because not all actors are always rational, there's more to planning than a selection of discourse might show and the ideal of consensus certainly is not always achievable. In this thesis the collaborative planning ideal has been confronted with Bourdieu's unconscious and tacit presuppositions supposed to be

underlying any ‘rational’ thought or act (see paragraph 2.2). Throughout the critical discussion of the 10 assumptions in the previous paragraph five main points of interrelated critique have been addressed:

*1. the neglect of different levels of autonomy*

Within this case of test-garden ‘Peel and Maas’ the process of collaborative planning is basically initiated and guided in a community of professionals equipped with a certain set of capital and ‘consumed’ in a community of citizens equipped with a different and limited set of capital. The idea of collaborative planning itself therefore, at least in this case, implies different levels of autonomy and this might be made more clear.

*2. the overestimation of the rationality of actors*

Especially in the case of elderly care-users the assumption of rationality is problematic; most elderly care-consumers are not able/willing to discuss the policy of the test-garden in abstract reflexive manner. The narratives illustrate this problem because of their general tendency towards problem- and person-specific focus.

*3. the overestimation of actors’ ‘willingness’ to participate*

Collaborative planning certainly requires a certain willingness to participate, but in the case of ‘Peel and Maas’ the rather homogeneous (monocultural) composition of communities is viewed as an important determinant of the successful collaboration. It was even noted that it proved hard to reach minorities of different cultures (foreigners and non-limburgers in this case). One could ask how feasible it is to expect the required willingness to participate to be present in social reality. There seems to be a tension between the rational imperative of inclusive intercultural discussion and the more tacit and subjective process of exclusion based upon cultural differences.

*4. the overestimation of the possibility of (cultural) inclusion*

Only those categories of thought which complement the strategic ‘self-management’ discourse are adapted, actors with different ideas for instance might not be included exactly because of the strategic discourse. In the case of ‘Peel and Maas’ this is not very visible, with a small exception for the remark on cultural minorities. However the ‘invisibility’ of different discourses might be a logical result of their exclusion.

##### 5. *the overestimation of the possibility of consensus*

One can also question what the fruits of the supposed reflexivity are. Even if actors are able to reflect and re-evaluate perfectly this doesn't always imply they will think consensus is the best solution. Often some degree of 'force' is needed in order to convince actors to take the desirable position. In the case of 'Peel and Maas' one could think of the management of money-flows in relation to the realisation of demand-orientation.

These points of critique fit the already formulated critique of Allmediger (1998), and can be viewed as an empirical example of the limits of the collaborative planning ideal. However not all of these points might have been exposed in equal strength. It has proven to be hard to trace these abstract points of critique in empirical reality. Further research might be necessary to make these claims stronger. In this respect it might be useful to pick one specific point of critique and focus all research efforts in exposing this single point. With this methodological remark being made, we now move towards a final conclusion and following recommendation. Based upon the argued exposure of deficits, one might view Healey's assumptions of collaborative planning as a form of symbolic violence. Scientific and theoretical assumptions often suggest a form of objectivity. In the case of Healey's assumptions it might be necessary to recognise that these assumptions are fuelled by an ideal instead of the desire to 'objectively' represent the empirical reality of a planning process. There is nothing wrong with idealistic models for as long as they are not presented as a 'true' recipe for dealing with 'empirical realities'. In the previous chapter I remarked that in a way all ideals when projected on reality can be viewed as a form of symbolic violence and that this didn't mean one necessarily has to be cynical about them. Therefore without being cynical I would like to conclude with the following scientific recommendation:

When using fixed assumptions on the requirements of collaborative planning, such as those formulated by Healey; one should explicitly recognise and represent their deficits and limits, such as those addressed in this thesis. Especially if one does so in a scientific context and values "*a reflective capacity that enables to evaluate and re-evaluate*" (Healey's assumption nr. 6).

## 6 Critical reflection on this thesis

In this chapter I briefly discuss my research experiences. Based upon these experiences some suggestions for possible deficits and improvements are made. Also a few recommendations for further research are made. This chapter will be structured by several headers, which discuss different elements of the process of research.

### 6.1 Literature

The selection and use of literature was not easy, mostly because my focus was located in between two different kinds of subjects. On the one hand it is a case of ‘collaborative planning’ on the other hand it is a case of ‘ageing in place’. I have struggled to make a clear connection between both subjects. The link certainly can be made, but it has not been done before. At least I couldn’t find really specific literature on such a special case of collaborative planning. Within ‘Ageing in place’ literature however it became clear some authors (for instance; Anderson, 1995) did recognize the ‘organisational factors’ weren’t given enough attention. In collaborative planning literature, a critique on the prescribed pro-active rational role was found. The relation between these two ‘organisational’ critiques was presented as what I considered a blind spot within scientific research. It proved difficult to expose what one thinks is a blind spot in research, for the simple reason blind spots haven’t been written about previously. One can therefore question if this blind spot is truly there and, if so, what its’ importance to the understanding of ‘ageing in place’ is. This thesis does make an argument for this important presence, but this doesn’t mean this can’t be criticized.

### 6.2 The research design

The design of the research was one of the difficult parts of this thesis. It forced me to frame and constrain my thoughts into a clear model. A few theoretical models were removed, and the remaining theory was more clearly related. I do think the resulting theoretical lens has been appropriate for the research. However, the importance of ‘network thought’ within discourse has made me doubt. Maybe a network-approach could have been included in the theoretical framework. Maybe a network-approach could have been the primary approach. At the same time I do think the used perspective is more original as well as appropriate to explore contextual properties. Most network-approaches seem to focus on interaction, less attention is given to the context of these interactions.

### 6.3 Methodology

The choice for a single case study enables the thorough analysis of one case but also leads to problems of generalisation. The insights of the research might be of interest for other cases, but no hard claims can be made based upon the selective data-collection. The study of two or more cases however would probably have been too much for an individual thesis. Never the less the inclusion of more cases could provide better and more valid insights. Discourse analysis has been the main method to unravel the ongoing construction of the 'test-garden' in this single case study. The use of discourse analysis on two different types of interviews (narratives and expert interviews) as well as policy documents was very convenient. It allowed me to look at different types of data critically and separated, at the same time the use of this methodology made the connection between these different types of data possible. The narrative interviews in this respect were distant from the more policy oriented data, both in content and in the secondary manner of distraction. On the one hand discourse analysis allowed me to bridge this gap and compare these 'distant' source of data, on the other hand one could question this method. Maybe it had been better to conduct more structured interviews among elderly care-users. Maybe in this way more explicit opinions about the policy of 'self-management' could have been exposed. At the same time however the fact these explicit opinions on policy did not emerge 'naturally' within the narratives can be viewed as an import result as well. It exposes the difference between the 'field of policy-making care-supply' and the 'field of every-day lives of elderly care-users'. This difference is an important element in both the analysis of the ongoing construction of the 'test-garden', especially in relation to the theoretical concept of symbolic violence. For this reason I do think the indirect and 'distant' origin of the narrative interviews among elderly care-users is not necessarily of negative influence for the research validity. Although I have to admit it proved to be difficult to connect everyday-live stories to the more abstract and structured 'story' of the empirical analysis.

### 6.4 Fieldwork

The fieldwork consisted out of 10 interviews with different actors active within the field of 'care-supply'. These interviews were very useful because they allowed me to get a feel for the practical implementation of the policy. In a way, the concepts used by these actors also functioned as a critical lens towards the policy-documents. Within these documents a lot of different concepts are extensively discussed, but only a few 'core-concepts' actually return in the discourse among the interviewees. The quality and quantity of the interviews was sufficient to reach a level of saturation.

## 6.5 Data-analysis

It was the first time I performed such an extensive discourse analysis; it is hard to say if I did so in the proper way. It was a challenge to process the great amount of information and the various interrelated concepts into a structured story. I tried to do so without excluding important information, but I am very aware of the fact this is an impossibility. Many different 'categories of thought' are running through what in the previous chapter has been framed as the strategic discourse of 'self-management'. Although many of them have been discussed within the empirical analysis, these discussions remain superficial. It is also likely that not all influential concept and idea's were exposed and threaded. Therefore the empirical analysis remains a selective and partial 'story'. It would have been interesting to try to expand the scope and dept of the research further. For instance to include important 'categories of thought' like the network-approach more solidly into the theoretical framework. Or to try to expose potential excluded actors and their 'categories of thought'. In this case the suggestion of a certain extent of cultural segregation is made, but not elaborated on.

## 6.6 A final word on personal engagement

The process of writing and doing research has been strongly connected to my personal interest and intuition. The formulation of a subject, a focus and so on, to me clearly is a personal matter. The actual result might be build upon various sources of information, but they were all selected and interpreted by an individual. To me personally it seems a totally objective research is impossibility. This might seem to be a bad thing to say in my role as researcher, but I think it has to be said in order to prevent the pretence of complete objectivity. Of course personal interest isn't just a bad thing; it can be useful in the answering of questions which could be of bigger societal and scientific relevance. Personal engagement at least makes it easier to invest time and effort in the research process.

## Literature

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## Attachment 1 - 'Fields of performance'

The WMO describes societal support in nine fields of performance, of policy areas. Municipalities have to formulate policies on the following nine subjects:

1. The stimulation of social cohesion and vitality within villages and neighbourhoods.;
2. Support of youth who encounter problems while growing up and the support of parents who encounter problems in raising their children;
3. How to provide information, advice and individual support;
4. The support of mantle/care and volunteers;
5. The stimulation of participation in society and the 'self-reliant' functioning of people with a handicap or a chronically psychological/psychosocial problem;
6. The organisation of facilities for people with a chronic psychological or psychosocial problem in order to enable them to remain 'self-reliant' in their participation of within society.
7. Societal shelter, such as the intake of female victims of domestic violence;
8. The stimulation of public psychological health-care, with exception of psychosocial support in case of disasters;
9. The stimulation of addict-policy.