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Together transforming the inner city

A study on involvement of residents as citizens in
a process of urban transformation

Master Thesis

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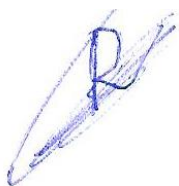
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Preface

Voor u ligt mijn masterscriptie van de master Human Geography, met de specialisatie Economic Geography van de Radboud Universiteit, Nijmegen. Deze scriptie geldt als afsluiting en daarmee het laatste onderdeel van de master. Een bewogen jaar met interessante vakken op het gebied van steden, ruimte en economie. Een persoonlijke favoriet was het vak City- en Regiomarketing, wat me ook heeft doen besluiten om me met de scriptie verder in dat onderwerp te verdiepen.

Graag wil ik ook een aantal mensen bedanken voor de hulp en kennis die jullie mij boden in het maken van deze scriptie. Allereerst wil ik het team Economie van de gemeente Doetinchem bedanken voor het aanbieden van deze stageplek, de prettige werksfeer en het kennis laten maken met nieuwe werkwijzen rondom het project 'Aanvalsplan binnenstad'. In het bijzonder gaat mijn dank daarbij uit naar Bart Teunissen en Sanne Ruiter. Als specialisten op het gebied van het Aanvalsplan en de Doetinchemse binnenstad kon ik met de vele vragen die ik daarover had bij jullie terecht. Jullie maakten graag tijd vrij om punten van mijn scriptie te bespreken en het plezier waar mee jullie met de binnenstad bezig zijn, maakte het fijn om daar deel van uit te mogen maken. Ook wil ik Gert-Jan Hospers bedanken voor het voorstellen van mij aan de gemeente Doetinchem, de interessante kijk op plaatsen waar je mij kennis mee heb laten maken, het doorkijken van mijn scriptie op momenten tussendoor en het zijn van mijn scriptiebegeleider. Daarnaast wil ik Edwin van de Wiel bedanken voor het zijn van mijn 'tweede' scriptiebegeleider, je kritische oog voor de structuur van toegestuurde stukken en de momenten op vrijdag dat je met je Twentse paardenauto naar Doetinchem kwam om mijn scriptie te bespreken.

Robbert Mantel



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Summary

Middle sized cities in the Netherlands are facing problems to keep their inner cities an attractive place. In a time of bankruptcy of multiple store chains that were part of most inner cities, the growth of e-shopping and a society that is becoming older with demographic changes as result, inner cities have more vacant stores and less visitors, which brings it in a state of decline. Municipalities of middle sized cities are therefore searching how to solve the problems that face the inner city. Will the inner city remain the same as it was the last decades or does the inner city have to change to become economically viable once more? And what has to change to make the inner city economically viable? These questions are in the centre of attention for city officials dealing with the inner city. In this thesis we will zoom in on Doetinchem: a middle sized city in the east of the Netherlands, which also needs to deal with these problems and decided to find solutions together with local entrepreneurs and residents of Doetinchem. With 12 working groups and 72 members of these working groups, consisting of citizens, local entrepreneurs and city officials. Focused on 12 different topics which were important for the residents of Doetinchem, based on information among others from a residents' panel. These working groups are the researched case in this thesis.

The research objective is to identify the motivations of residents to participate and how this had an effect on their participation in the place marketing process of inner city transformation and to see if their role as citizens affect their attitude towards the inner city. The research objective is therefore twofold, to investigate the motivations and experiences with the working groups that were formed around the different topics which were taken up in the process of transforming the inner city of Doetinchem and to find how their role as political active citizens in a place marketing process has influence on their role as ambassadors of the city. Place marketing is in this thesis explained as a long-term process and/or policy instrument based on a customer-oriented philosophy that is aimed at attracting and retaining specific target groups for a particular place. The research question, following the research objective, of this thesis is: **how are citizens participating in a co-creating process of place marketing to transform the inner city of Doetinchem and how does their role as citizens influence their role as ambassadors of the place?**

Interviews with citizens participating in the working groups was held to answer the research question. Of the 35 residents that participated in the working groups 10 respondents were selected to get a good overview of the citizens in the different working groups. On the basis of the data retrieved from these interviews conclusions are made which factors had a determining role in their participation and what the influence of their participation is on their role as ambassadors of the place. Based on a theoretical framework of citizen participation and place marketing a conceptual model was made with different factors that should have influence on forms of political participation, as is the case with the working groups. In the interviews was found that the civic skills and sense of place were important determining factors in the participation of the citizens. The civic skills, which were seen by Verba et al. (1995), Lowndes et al. (2006) and many others as an important factor in participation, was for the respondents seen as a tool to be able to contribute to the (outcomes of) the working groups. The other determining factor was sense of place, and especially the place attachment and place identity. The respondents confirmed the conclusions of Manzo and Perkins (2006) that place attachment can enable a sense of empowerment to emerge which will let people participate in projects within their neighbourhood, which is strengthened if people's identity and

values are influenced by the place. The bond that the respondents had with Doetinchem had a positive impact on their choice to participate in the project of the working groups. The other two included factors in the conceptual model, the social network and the expected success of the participation, did not play a role in the decision for most of them to participate.

The participation in the role as citizens did not have a direct effect on the ambassadorship of the place. It seemed logical that participation leads to a bigger ambassadorship of the place for the respondents and a more positive word-of-mouth, which was also stated by different scholars as well (Braun et al. 2013; Freire 2009; Insch & Florek 2008), although without empirical evidence. This research shows that, in the case of Doetinchem, the word-of-mouth had not changed and that the citizens who participated in the working groups weren't prouder on the inner city than they were before their participation. An important point is that the plans of the working groups were not yet implemented, which had as result that the respondents could not see something in the inner city to which they had contributed. Although it is not yet the case, the respondents mentioned that they would become more proud on the inner city when the plans will be implemented and they will see their contribution in it. Further research should conclude if this is the case and what the effect will be on the ambassadorship of the respondents when the plans of the working groups are implemented.

Samenvatting

Middelgrote steden in Nederlanden hebben te maken met problemen om hun binnensteden een aantrekkelijke plek te laten blijven. In een tijd van faillissementen bij meerdere winkelketens die onderdeel waren van de meeste binnensteden, de groei van e-shopping en een samenleving die ouder wordt met demografische veranderingen als gevolg, hebben binnensteden meer lege winkels en minder bezoekers, wat het in een staat van achteruitgang brengt. Gemeenten van middelgrote steden zoeken daardoor naar hoe de problemen van de binnenstad op te lossen. Blijft de binnenstad nog hetzelfde als het de afgelopen decennia was of moet de binnenstad veranderen om economisch rendabel te blijven? En wat moet er veranderen om de binnenstad economisch rendabel te maken? Deze vragen zijn in het middelpunt van de aandacht van ambtenaren die met de binnenstad te maken hebben. In deze scriptie zoomen we in op Doetinchem: een middelgrote stad in het oosten van Nederland, dat ook te maken heeft met deze problemen en besloot om samen met lokale ondernemers en inwoners van Doetinchem oplossingen te vinden voor de binnenstad. Met 12 werkgroepen en 72 leden van deze werkgroepen, bestaande uit burgers, lokale ondernemers en ambtenaren van de gemeente. Gericht op 12 verschillende onderwerpen die belangrijk waren voor de inwoners van Doetinchem, gebaseerd op onder andere informatie van een inwonerspanel. Deze werkgroepen zijn de onderzochte casus in deze scriptie.

Het onderzoeksdoel is om de motivaties van inwoners om te participeren te identificeren en hoe deze een effect op de participatie in het place marketingproces van binnenstad transformatie en om te zien of de rol van burgers van invloed is op hun houding ten opzichte van de binnenstad. Het onderzoeksdoel is daarom tweevoudig, het onderzoeken van de motivaties en ervaringen met de werkgroepen die rondom de verschillende onderwerpen gevormd waren die onderdeel uitmaakten van het proces van transformatie van de binnenstad van Doetinchem en om te vinden hoe de rol van politiek actieve burgers in een place marketingproces invloed heeft op de rol van ambassadeurs van de stad. Place marketing wordt in deze scriptie uitgelegd als een langetermijnproces en/of beleidsinstrument gebaseerd op een klantgerichte filosofie die gericht is op het aantrekken en behouden van specifieke doelgroepen voor een bepaalde plaats. De onderzoeksvraag, die volgt op het onderzoeksdoel, van deze scriptie is: **hoe participeren burgers in een co-creatief proces van place marketing om de binnenstad van Doetinchem te veranderen en hoe heeft hun rol als burger invloed op hun rol als ambassadeur van de plaats?**

Interviews met burgers die participeerden in de werkgroepen zijn gehouden om antwoord te vinden op de onderzoeksvraag. Van de 35 burgers die participeerden in de werkgroepen zijn 10 respondenten geselecteerd om een goed overzicht te krijgen van de burgers in de verschillende werkgroepen. Op basis van de data die uit deze interviews kwam konden conclusies gemaakt worden welke factoren een bepalende rol hebben in de participatie en wat de invloed is van hun participatie op de hun rol als ambassadeurs van de plaats. Gebaseerd op een theoretisch kader van burgerparticipatie en place marketing is een conceptueel model gemaakt met verschillende factoren die invloed zouden hebben op vormen van politieke participatie, zoals het geval is in Doetinchem. Uit de interviews werd duidelijk dat de burgerlijke vaardigheden en de 'sense of place' belangrijke bepalende factoren waren in de participatie van burgers. De burgerlijke vaardigheden, die door Verba et al. (1995), Lowndes et al. (2006) en vele anderen als een belangrijke factor in participatie gezien wordt, werd door de respondenten gezien als een middel om bij te kunnen dragen aan de

(uitkomsten van) de werkgroepen. De andere belangrijke factor was de 'sense of place', en vooral de plaatsgehechtheid en plaatsidentiteit. De respondenten bevestigden de conclusies van Manzo en Perkens (2006) dat plaatsgehechtheid een gevoel van ergens toe in staat zijn te activeren welke mensen zal laten doen participeren in projecten in hun omgeving, welke versterkt wordt als iemands identiteit en waarden beïnvloed worden door de plaats. De binding die de respondenten hebben met Doetinchem hebben een positieve impact op hun keuze om te participeren in het project van de werkgroepen. De andere twee genoemde factoren, het sociaal netwerk en het verwachte succes van de participatie, speelden geen rol in de beslissing voor de meeste respondenten om te participeren.

De participatie in de rol van burgers had geen direct effect op het ambassadeurschap van de plaats. Het lijkt logisch dat participatie tot een groter ambassadeurschap van de plaats leidt bij de respondenten en een positievere mond-tot-mond reclame, wat ook genoemd wordt door verschillende geleerden (Braun et al. 2013; Freire 2009; Insch & Florek 2008), echter zonder empirisch bewijs. Dit onderzoek laat zien dat, in het geval van Doetinchem, de mond-tot-mond reclame niet veranderd is en dat de burgers die in de werkgroepen participeerden niet trotser op de binnenstad zijn geworden dan zij voor de participatie in de werkgroepen waren. Een belangrijk punt is dat de plannen van de werkgroepen nog niet uitgevoerd waren, wat tot gevolg had dat de respondenten niets in de binnenstad konden zien waar zij aan hadden bijgedragen. Ondanks dat het nog niet het geval is, benoemden de respondenten wel dat zij trotser op de binnenstad zouden worden wanneer de plannen uitgevoerd zouden zijn en zij hun bijdrage daarin kunnen zien. Verder onderzoek moet concluderen of dit inderdaad het geval is en wat de effecten zijn op het ambassadeurschap van de respondenten wanneer de plannen van de werkgroepen zijn uitgevoerd.

Table of Contents

Preface	ii
Summary	iii
Figures and tables	ix
Chapter 1 – Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Societal relevance	2
1.3 Scientific relevance	3
1.4 The case: Doetinchem	4
1.5 Research objective and questions	5
1.6 Structure of the thesis	6
Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework	7
2.1 Definition of place marketing, place branding and place management	7
2.2 Perspectives on and development of place marketing	10
2.3 Customer-oriented place marketing	12
2.4 Participation in consumer-oriented place marketing	14
2.5 Citizen participation: from what to who?	16
2.6 Citizen participation in the Netherlands	20
Chapter 3 – Conceptual Model	25
3.1 Conceptual model: explaining the concepts	25
3.1.1 <i>Determining factors for participation</i>	25
3.1.2 <i>Experience with the working groups</i>	28
3.1.3 <i>The effect of participation on the ambassadorship of the place</i>	29
3.2 The conceptual model	30
Chapter 4 – Citizen participation in Doetinchems working groups	31
4.1 Methodology of the research	31
4.1.1 <i>Operationalisation and preparing interviews</i>	31
4.1.2 <i>Taking the interviews</i>	32
4.1.3 <i>Analysing the data</i>	33
4.2 The context of the working groups	33
4.3 Analysis of the research data	34
4.3.1 <i>The respondents' backgrounds</i>	34
4.3.2 <i>Determining factors for participation</i>	35
4.3.3 <i>Experience with the working groups</i>	42
4.3.4 <i>The effect of participation on the ambassadorship of the place</i>	45

Chapter 5 – Conclusion.....	48
5.1 Answers on the research questions	48
5.2 Reflection and limitations	53
5.3 Recommendations for practice	53
5.4 Points for further research	55

Figures and Tables

Figures

Figure 1: The participation ladder of Arnstein	17
Figure 2: Conceptual model	30
Figure 3: Determinants of participation in the working groups	43
Figure 4: The relation between participation and ambassadorship of a place	48

Tables

Table 1: The four subquestions	6
Table 2: Four forms of 'geographical marketing'	10
Table 3: The model of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (2001)	22
Table 4: The model of Pröpper and Steenbeek (1999)	23
Table 5: The different Dutch participation models combined	24
Table 6: The operationalization scheme of Baarda & De Goede (2011)	31
Table 7: Answers on the question "If the score you gave to these skills was lower, do you think you had still taken part in the working groups?"	37
Table 8: Answers on the question "Are there people in your surroundings who experience negative consequences of the current state of the inner city?"	39
Table 9: Answers on the question "What were your expectations of the working groups before they started?"	41
Table 10: The division of the subquestion	

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Creating an inner city which is hospitable and in a surrounding of green and water. Working out ideas to create that inner city with entrepreneurs and residents. 12 working groups with 72 working group members. This is in short how the municipality of Doetinchem mentioned the process of making the inner city of Doetinchem more attractive. This process seems to follow on a call by two scientific disciplines for more involvement of citizens, which are the discipline of citizen participation, based on the development of the Dutch “participatiemaatschappij”, and the discipline of place marketing, based on the development of consumer-oriented place marketing.

In the last years there seems to be a call for involvement of citizens in government plans and the creation of these plans. In 2013, the Dutch king stated in his throne speech that the classical welfare state was slowly changing into a so-called “participatiemaatschappij”. This participation society is a society in which everybody can take responsibility for his or her own life and surroundings. The government takes a facilitating role in this society. Since then the term “participatiemaatschappij” is part of many discussions about the role of the government and society and the involvement of society in decision-making and politics. Those discussions are not only in a political context, but also in a scientific context is citizen participation and the role of government and society part of many discussions. Different forms of collaboration between government and other stakeholders are formed to solve collective issues and to improve certain situations. But how do governments, often seen as the actors who create and transform cities and other urban forms, work together with other actors that also have benefit of changing particular situations?

Changing the way a city looks like, making the residents of a particular city more proud of that city, and how to let a city stick into the minds of people in a positive way. These issues are in the center of place marketing, a form of marketing which is focused on attracting and retaining specific target groups for a place. In the place marketing literature, and journals as *Journal of Place Management and Development*, there is a request from different scholars to stakeholders’ involvement in place marketing and especially the involvement of residents. Place marketing can therefore be seen as a long-term process and/or policy instrument based on a customer-oriented philosophy that is aimed at attracting and retaining specific target groups for a particular place.

In this thesis the question of how residents as citizens¹ are involved in place marketing and how the involvement influences their role as ambassador of the place will be central. This research can help local governments in their collaboration with residents as citizens to see what the motivation of residents is to participate in urban transformation processes, how they experience such a process and what the influence of participation is on the way that residents look at the place. This case study in Doetinchem, in which the local government involves citizens in a process of inner city transformation which is a collaborating process between the local government of Doetinchem and

¹ In this thesis there is a difference between residents and citizens. With the term ‘residents’ the residents of a place are mentioned, while with the term ‘citizens’ the politically active residents are mentioned. The resident as citizen is therefore seen as a specific role of the resident, in which resident is politically active (Braun et al. 2013).

the local population, is of course not representative of other collaborating processes between local governments and local populations, but this research can shed new light on this form of citizen participation in which citizens are actively involved by the local government to help and form the policies of the local government. It therefore can offer a helping hand to local governments who are experimenting with these forms of actively involving citizens in the political decisions which have to be made by the local government.

To do this, a theoretical framework of place marketing and citizen participation on how residents as citizens can be and are actively involved in governance processes will be used. With help of this theoretical framework, the current situation in Doetinchem with the contemporary urban transformation process of the inner city from a perspective of place marketing and the role and perspective of citizens participating in this process will be the research topic.

1.2 Societal relevance

There are two relevant societal developments which are connected in the case of Doetinchem and which makes the Doetinchem case an interesting point of research. The main problem for Doetinchem, and the main reason to start the process, was the problems that are facing the inner city. Doetinchem is not a unique case in that sense. Most city and town centres face the same problems as the inner city of Doetinchem faces. The problem of store vacancy is something that hits most inner cities of middle and smaller sized cities and towns. Following the bankruptcy of many chains as V&D, shoe chains as Invito or a sport chain as Perry Sport, it seems that the “verblokkerisering” or McDonaldization of inner cities, as the phenomenon of similar inner cities with the same shops in the Netherlands and other countries is called, has led them to the same problems as the same shops as disappeared out of the landscape of the inner city. Every middle sized city is nowadays searching for and experimenting with ways to overcome this problem and make their inner city more attractive and vital again. Insight in such an experimental way can help to see what works and what does not work in that way of working. These insights will help the inner city of Doetinchem as well as other inner cities to find a good answer to the problems these inner cities face.

The other relevant societal development is the way how the municipality of Doetinchem tries to improve the inner city, namely with citizen participation. In recent years, local governments are experimenting more and more with different forms of citizen participation, such as in healthcare and urban transformation. The local government is searching for an answer on how to deal in the best way with local initiatives by citizens of their city or town. Citizens are working together to improve their local neighbourhood and are taking action themselves. Local governments are interested in these initiatives because they see that not all of the societal problems can be solved by the government anymore. Active participation of citizens is therefore welcomed as a solution for a lack of social cohesion, anti-social behavior, social exclusion and as a method to reduce the gap between the citizens and government (Tonkens, 2006 and 2009). The local government tries to stimulate and facilitate initiatives of the local population. They try to focus on what the local population can do and what they like to do; they don't try to fill in the involvement of residents as citizens, but to complement to the involvement which comes out of residents themselves (Verhoeven & Oude Vrielink, 2012).

Next to this well-known way of citizen participation, local governments start to include residents as well in policy and in political decisions that have to be made and seen as important by governments themselves. The policies that have to be made for the changing inner city of Doetinchem is an example of that. Residents are actively involved as citizens by local governments to make sure that the decisions and policies made by the local government are in line with what the residents want. To reduce the gap between residents and government, local governments are experimenting with ways to involve citizens in the daily work of governments not only during election time but also when there are no elections.

1.3 Scientific relevance

This thesis can contribute to the academic debate of place marketing and citizen participation. Since the earliest literature on place marketing the group of residents is included in the academic debate, mainly as a target group (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; van den Berg and Braun, 1999; Kotler et al., 1993). However, this assertion of a target group inappropriately has a limiting effect on the role of residents in place marketing. Residents were foremost seen as a target group, who you need to attract to a specific place. Many scholars are nowadays arguing that residents could also be vital participants in the place marketing process (Braun et al., 2013; Kavartzis, 2012; Eshuis et al., 2014). That residents are seen as vital participants is because they can play an important role as brand supporters and ambassadors of a place (Braun et al., 2013). This leads most of the time to the participation of residents in the creation of the brand of that city, and that's it for the participating residents (Bennett & Savani, 2003). This research will build further on the first steps taken by some scholars (Eshuis et al., 2014) who argue that participation of residents can go further than just advising marketers and city councilors about what must be included in the brand. By including scientific literature based on citizen participation a new insight on how participation of residents can be included in more parts of the place marketing process than what happens nowadays can be given. This will be done by researching a case of urban transformation and place marketing where citizen participation goes further than in most other cases.

The place marketing literature has not made many connections yet with the literature on resident initiatives and participation, despite the fact that participation of residents is shifting to a central point of discussion in the place marketing literature. Participation is often seen as having a positive impact on the ambassadorship of residents of that place (Braun et al. 2013; Freire 2009; Insch & Florek 2008; Zenker & Erfgen 2014). However, without empirical data or references to other authors on place marketing. Therefore, there seems to be a gap in the literature on this point. This thesis takes a closer look at the relation between participation and the opinion of participants towards the place, such as their feeling with the place, their opinion on the place and their word-of-mouth on the place, to see the influence of participation on their opinion and attitude towards the place. In this way, this thesis will set a first step in researching the influence of participation on the role as ambassador that residents play in place marketing. The role as ambassador is here seen as described by Braun et al. (2013) in which the views of residents are significant for external target markets as they are naturally considered informal, authentic and insider sources of information about the place. To be more concrete the relation between two of the roles citizens can play in place marketing, as

citizens through their citizen participation and as ambassadors through word-of-mouth and the information they give to external markets about the place.

By combining the two academic disciplines of place marketing and citizen participation and offering a case study of the researcher's own research on citizen participation within a collaborating process of place marketing, empirical insights can be offered on how residents as citizens participate in a place marketing process from a local government and how their role as citizens influence their role as ambassadors of the place. This is relevant to the question of how residents can improve the place marketing and brand of a specific place, which is needed to improve the success of the place marketing (Braun et al., 2013; Kavaratzis, 2012).

1.4 The case: Doetinchem

In this thesis the city of Doetinchem will be the case of this research. Doetinchem is a city in the east of the Netherlands with around 50.000 inhabitants. It is the central and biggest place in the region "Achterhoek". The "Achterhoek" is one of the few shrinking regions in the Netherlands, in which a population decline has started in the last years. The inner city of Doetinchem is compact, good accessible and formed in the shape of an egg. Many residents of Doetinchem and surrounding places visit the inner city of Doetinchem. However, unless the inner city still has a same pattern as centuries ago, it has a lack of historic sights and buildings because of WO II bombings. The inner city also doesn't have a crowd-puller and the image of the city is somewhat pale, which results in a short-during stay of most visitors. Within the inner city are many shops, especially store chains, and restaurants and cafés. However, due to the economic crises, demographic decline and the increase of e-shopping many stores went bankrupt, especially in the last year, and disappeared out of the city centers in the Netherlands. This had the effect of creating empty stores within the inner city of Doetinchem and other middle-sized cities like Doetinchem. This was also the starting point for the municipality of Doetinchem to improve the inner city in collaboration with entrepreneurs and residents of Doetinchem. The municipality of Doetinchem chose specifically at the beginning to include many other stakeholders in the long-term process to improve the inner city. This thesis and research will explicitly focus on the working groups (phase 3) which consist of city officials, local entrepreneurs and residents. The first phase of this process was an analysis by external researchers of the situation of the inner city. In the second phase group meetings of city officials, entrepreneurs, residents and youngsters were used, together with a survey via a residents' panel, to gather ideas for the inner city. After these ideas were gathered and selected, the selected topics were worked out by working groups in the third phase. After the proposals of these working groups were approved by the city council, the fourth phase, which is the implementation phase of the proposals.

The process of inner city transformation in the municipality of Doetinchem is partly a process of place marketing as well, in which the first two phases of the process, which were used to analyze the strong and weak points of the inner city and to get input from citizens, local entrepreneurs and municipal officials on what they wish the inner city would have, concretized the 'new' image of the inner city of Doetinchem, a hospitable inner city in a setting of green and water. Following the principle of marketing of "who chooses gets chosen", Doetinchem chooses a particular image of their city to attract more visitors to go to Doetinchem. In the third phase, municipality, citizens and local entrepreneurs worked together to form concrete and realistic ideas to make the inner city a hospitable place in a setting of green and water. The collaboration with residents in a place

marketing process goes further than in most other place marketing processes and campaigns, where residents are sometimes asked about their opinion about the city to create the image which is used in campaigns, or where collaboration between residents and municipality is completely absent. A further collaboration in a place marketing process between residents and the municipality, as in Doetinchem, is rather new.

A collaboration between government and society in this way is also not widespread in the Netherlands and therefore it is interesting to see how this works out in practice and to see the opinion of citizens on this process and the collaboration to create this inner city with a particular image together. The collaboration with different stakeholders, which is argued as the way place marketing has to be practiced according to different place marketing scholars, is therefore more practical which can help other municipalities who have a place marketing department or other organizations dealing with the concept and process of place marketing, to include this collaboration with different stakeholders further in their own place marketing processes.

For the municipality of Doetinchem this research can help in the evaluation of the working groups and offers some insights for the part of the process which is yet to come. Other processes which will be started in a similar way by the municipality can also benefit from the evaluation of the working groups and the motivations of residents to participate in collaborating processes between municipality and the local population. By gathering the motivation of residents to participate, how they experience such a collaboration with the municipality and how their participation influences the way they look at the city is fruitful information to understand these processes and the way they are seen by the participating residents of Doetinchem.

1.5 Research objective and questions

In my master thesis I will do research on the role that residents as citizens play in the co-creating process started by the municipality of Doetinchem to transform the city centre in a process formed by place marketing. My research objective will be to identify the motivations of residents to participate and how this had an effect on their participation in the place marketing process of inner city transformation and to see if their role as citizens affect their attitude towards the inner city. The research objective is therefore twofold, to investigate the motivations and experiences with the working groups that were formed around the different topics which were taken up in the process of transforming the inner city of Doetinchem and to find how their role as political active citizens in a place marketing process has influence on their role as ambassadors of the city. To achieve this research objective, the following research question will be used: **how are citizens participating in a co-creating process of place marketing to transform the inner city of Doetinchem and how does their role as citizens influence their role as ambassadors of the place?**

To answer this research question I will use four subquestions:

- What is the role of residents in place marketing processes according to place marketing literature?
- Which factors determine the participation of citizens in a collaborating process between government and civil society?

- How do these factors influence the participation of citizens in the working groups on inner city transformation in Doetinchem?
- How does participation in a place marketing process affect the attitude towards the place?

The first two of these four subquestions are theoretical and based on the theoretical framework which will be used in the research. The third and fourth subquestion are based on the research that will be conducted in Doetinchem. Next to dividing these subquestions in theoretical and base don own research, these 4 subquestions can also be divided in two questions which will answer the first part of the main research question, which are the second and third subquestion, and the second part of the main research question, which are the first and fourth subquestion. As a result, the main research question can be answered by a combination of theoretical insights and results from the research in Doetinchem. As with the second and third research question, based on the literature factors which should determine if citizens will participate in a joint process of government and civil society will be tested in the case of Doetinchem to see how they had an influence in this specific case. The insights from the academic literature which will help to answer the second subquestion can be combined with insights from research on the citizens and local entrepreneurs who are actively involved in the process in Doetinchem itself to answer the first part of the main research question.

Table 1: The four subquestions

	Theoretical	Empirical
How are citizens participating in a co-creating process of place marketing to transform the inner city of Doetinchem?	Which factors determine the participation of citizens in a collaborating process between government and civil society?	How do these factors influence the participation of citizens in the working groups on inner city transformation in Doetinchem?
How does their role as citizens influence their role as ambassadors of the place?	What is the role of residents in place marketing processes according to place marketing literature?	How does participation in a place marketing process affect the attitude towards the place?

I.6 Structure of the thesis

In chapter 2 of this thesis the theoretical framework can be found. Chapter 3 shows the conceptual model with the different concepts which are part of the conceptual model. Chapter 4 will present the empirical research that is done for this thesis. Finally, in chapter 5 the conclusions and answers on the main research question will be presented. The recommendations for praxis, evaluation, limitations and points for further research will also be discussed in chapter 5.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework

For the theoretical framework of this thesis, the place marketing literature, especially the literature where the consumer-oriented form of place marketing and citizen or stakeholder participation are central, is combined with literature that is focused on citizen participation. The place marketing literature forms the starting point for the theoretical framework in this thesis. For the definition of place marketing the definitions of Lombarts (2008) and Braun (2008) are combined. Based on the development of the place marketing discipline and the definition used the background of consumer-oriented place marketing is presented. In this consumer-oriented place marketing articles from Insch and Florek (2008), Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker (2013) and Kavaratzis (2012), which pay attention to the role of residents within consumer-oriented place marketing show the topic of participation within place marketing. The case of Doetinchem will be showed from this perspective of participation within place marketing. The articles on consumer-oriented place marketing therefore show what is the role of residents according to the literature in place marketing processes. This literature is in this thesis combined with literature on citizen participation itself. To create a theoretical framework to understand the participation of citizens within the case of Doetinchem the place marketing literature on citizen participation is too narrow. By combining this literature with literature on citizen participation, participation in itself can be theoretically framed to understand participation in the case of Doetinchem better. A conceptual model on the participation of residents will be created, based on the citizen participation literature, in which especially Verba et al. (1995) and Lowndes et al. (2006) are the groundwork. Other influences for this conceptual model come from Tonkens and Verhoeven (2011), Specht (2013), Manzo and Perkins (2006) and Putnam (1993).

The first section of this chapter is focused on a definition of place marketing, one of the two basis disciplines of this thesis. As the topic place marketing is not always clearly bounded, a definition is needed to make clear how place marketing is seen in this thesis. In the second section the discipline of place marketing itself is described. In the third and fourth section, participation within place marketing will be central, which is the part of place marketing in which this thesis is situated as well. In the fifth section the focus will be on the discipline of citizen participation, where the ladder of Arnstein is taking as a starting point to see how the discipline of citizen participation has changed from answering the question what is citizen participation to who participate in citizen participation. In the sixth section, citizen participation within the Netherlands is in the spotlight, to understand the context of the case of Doetinchem which is researched. This chapter, focused on the theoretical framework, helps to create and understand the conceptual model, discussed in chapter 3, and the research that is done on the case of Doetinchem.

2.1 Definition of place marketing, place branding and place management

In scientific articles about place branding, place management and place marketing the definitions of these three terms are often different in every article. Since the start of these disciplines there is discussion about the definitions of these terms, especially the terms place branding and place marketing have many different definitions and these concepts also sometimes intertwine. The need to clarify those terms is therefore not new in these disciplines and different articles have raised this problem (Lucarelli & Brorström, 2013; Skinner, 2008), which is also based on the different

approaches that are formed within these disciplines (Hospers, 2010; Kavaratzis, 2012; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2008; Lucarelli & Brorström, 2013; Skinner, 2008). A definition of the term place marketing and its differences with place branding and place management is needed to make sure it is clear how place marketing is seen in this thesis.

For place marketing there are many different definitions of which some of them are actually definitions for city marketing. The difference between city marketing and place marketing is, as already showed in the name, that city marketing takes the city as the place for which the marketing is for, while place marketing can be seen as the 'family name' for the marketing of cities, neighbourhoods, regions, rural areas, states and so forth (Braun 2008). The definition that Braun (2008, p. 43) gives of city marketing is: *"the coordinated use of marketing tools supported by a shared customer-oriented philosophy, for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging urban offerings that have value for the city's customers and the city's community at large"*. Braun does however use the same definition for place marketing in an article of him, together with Jasper Eshuis and Erik-Hans Klijn. Therefore, apart from that place marketing contains multiple forms of place there seems to be no difference in city marketing and place marketing. Another definition that comes from city marketing, and is used by different scholars, is from Lombarts (2008, p. 15) in which she defines city marketing as *"the long-term process and/or policy instrument including all those different, related activities that are aimed at attracting and retaining specific target groups for a particular city"*. Another definition of place marketing was published in a rapport of the European Place Marketing Institute (EPMI), consisting of different well-known scholars in the place marketing debate as Andrea Insch, Mihalis Kavaratzis and Sebastian Zenker. The definition of place marketing offered by them is *"the scientific discipline and field of practice responsible for developing and implementing a managerial process that assists places achieve their objectives by adopting a market-oriented philosophy"* with as overall objective of place marketing the welfare and satisfaction of the place's residents (EPMI, 2015).

The other often used term, but from a different discipline is the term "place branding", which is a specific marketing-instrument that sees places from a more hedonistic approach in which the goal of branding is to add value to a specific place (Boisen et al., 2011). The definition that EPMI (2015) gives for place branding is *"a process that enhances the image and reputation of the place by developing a comprehensive place brand identity based on the realities and features of the place and its marketing offerings"*.

The main difference between place branding and place marketing is that place branding tries to influence the perception that people have of a place, while place marketing tries to influence the behavior of people in favor of the place for which the place marketing is mentioned. Place branding is therefore just a part of place marketing, which is merely focused on the promotional aspects (Skinner 2010).

Another important term which is frequently used in this scientific field is the term place management. Place management is a term which is the broadest term in this discipline. It relates to the whole process of improving places and in the place marketing discipline it is used to refer to the wider issues which are concerned with changing the perceptions of the place within specific target markets (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). Thus, place management is the whole process of improving a place where place marketing and place branding is part of.

In this thesis place marketing is the term and discipline that is part of the theoretical framework. In the process of inner city transformation in Doetinchem place marketing is where the current participants are working on, the focus is on working with a customer-oriented view on improving the inner city and what the inner city has to offer. The discipline of place branding, in which the focus is on developing a comprehensive place brand identity is not the case in Doetinchem. It therefore has more resemblance with place marketing and place management and can be positioned between place marketing and place management in the sense of broad the process is. Because place management is a very broad concept and process, it can be used for almost everything that a municipality does. The boundaries that are set by place management therefore stretch too far for the urban transformation process that is happening at the moment in Doetinchem. Place marketing is in between place branding and place management and has a better scope to analyze the inner city transformation of Doetinchem.

Recent forms of place marketing are broadening their scope as well, as shown by the manifest of EPMI (2015) in which the overall objective of place marketing is the welfare and satisfaction of the place's residents. However, the definition of EPMI is missing the more concrete description as the other two definitions have. There are more managerial processes that assists places to achieve their objectives. Every place has more managerial processes at the same time that assist the place to achieve a certain objective. The market-oriented approach which is mentioned as well is therefore the only thing which may help to define place marketing as different from other processes. The definitions of Braun and Lombarts are more concrete about what place marketing is, in which the definition of Lombarts is a more practical one than the definition of Braun. The definitions of Braun and Lombarts both have some positive points and can strengthen each other to get the good points of both definitions. The definition of Braun points at the customer-oriented philosophy which defines the philosophy place marketers should have (which will be explained later in this chapter), but the second part of the definition of Braun is still broad and vague in what we can see as place marketing. *"Creating, communicating, delivering and exchanging urban offerings that have value for the city's customers and the city's community at large"* is perhaps too broad to come to the core of place marketing. Lombarts is more clear in her definition, in which she defines the activities that can be seen as place marketing as *"aimed at attracting and retaining specific target groups for a particular place"*. Lombarts points at this process which is a long-term process, but the customer-oriented philosophy that is needed to understand the form of place marketing that is taking place in Doetinchem is missing in her definition. Therefore, I will combine the definitions of Braun and Lombarts to describe place marketing, which results in the following definition:

Place marketing is the long-term process and/or policy instrument based on a customer-oriented philosophy that is aimed at attracting and retaining specific target groups for a particular place.

In this definition it is mentioned that place marketing is a process that takes some time and is based on a way of thinking and doing that has a demand driven orientation. The second part of the definition shows what the aim of place marketing is, that place marketing is aimed at attracting and retaining specific target groups for a particular city.

To better understand the definition of place marketing, and especially the concept 'customer-oriented philosophy', that will be used in this thesis, I will first show the traditions and disciplines that have an influence on the place marketing discipline to see how the approach of customer-

oriented place marketing has come into existence. The customer-oriented place marketing will be explained after that to give the theoretical background for the definition mentioned above.

2.2 Perspectives on and development of place marketing

The place marketing discipline has in these years become an interdisciplinary discipline with academics from the disciplines of marketing, human geography, tourism, urban studies and business administration. The constant debate between these different disciplines has developed the place marketing discipline into the discipline it is nowadays (Lucarelli & Brorström 2013). The basis of place marketing is formed by the marketing discipline, with Philip Kotler as one of the first who wrote on the marketing of places. In his pioneering work he wrote with Sidney Levy they stated that: "Marketing is a pervasive societal activity that goes considerably beyond the selling of tooth paste, soap and steel" (Kotler & Levy 1969, p.10). In that article they argued to broaden the concept of marketing, which was until then mostly seen as a business activity. In their article they pointed at some of the activities of non-profit and public organizations which were quite similar to marketing activities in the business community.

Almost 20 years later the first attempt to approach the marketing of places as a different concept from other forms of marketing was started by Gregory Ashworth and Henry Voogd in 1987. A concept which they named 'geographical marketing' in which they recognize four different forms of policy (see Table 2).

Table 2: Four forms of 'geographical marketing'

Target groups	Geographic area	
	Maintenance	Adjustment
Current target groups	<i>Consolidation</i>	<i>Quality</i>
New target groups	<i>Expansion</i>	<i>Diversification</i>

In the first form of 'consolidation' the place that is the product of the geographic marketing remains the same and the target groups who get the attention of the marketing tools are the people who are already living, working or visiting the place. In the form of 'quality'-focused policy the people who already make use of the place are again the target group where the marketing tools are focusing on. However, in this policy form the quality of the place will be improved to make the product, which is the place, more attractive for its customers. The two other forms of policy focus with their marketing tools on new target groups. In the policy-form of 'expansion' the place remains the same as it was, but the marketing tools focus on target groups which do not live or work in or visit the place already. In the other policy-form of 'diversification' the place changes and the marketing tools focus on new target groups for that adjusted place (Ashworth & Voogd 1987).

These four different forms of 'geographical marketing' can be seen as broad forms in which the different marketing tools, policies and practical cases can be placed. Because these 4 categories are broad, it is possible to make further distinctions within these categories. However, to retain the broader picture of strategies for place marketing in mind these four categories will be used to see

further on in this chapter where scholars writing on customer-oriented place marketing are pointing at and where the case of Doetinchem is situated in this schema of Ashworth and Voogd.

One of the first who coined the term “place marketing” was again Philip Kotler. In the book "Marketing Places" Kotler, Haider and Rein came up with place marketing as a new approach to revitalize towns, cities, regions and nations who came into trouble due to economic and financial problems (Kotler et al. 1993). This book placed place marketing on the map as an approach to attract more residents, businesses and tourists to places to solve their economic problems by becoming more attractive. How places succeed with their place marketing is, argued by Kotler, Haider and Rein, when citizens, workers and business firms derive satisfaction from their community, and when the place meet the expectations of visitors, new firms and investors (Kotler et al. 1993). The book of Kotler fit in well in the way places were managed and therefore helped to expand the place marketing to point at other possible target groups than only visitors of the place. Places became more competitive and urban governance became increasingly preoccupied with new ways how to foster and encourage the local development of the place and how to create more employment within the city. The urban governance style had changed from managerialism to an entrepreneurial style of governance, in which local development and boosting the local economy became central (Harvey 1989). Next to the visitors, ‘new’ target groups got more attention in the form of businesses, inhabitants and investors, with the creative class and other higher-educated groups in the 2000s, after the book of Florida (2002) had been published, as another target group.

2.2.1 Sales and marketing approaches

In recent years one can distinguish to different streams within the place marketing literature, which are a sales approach and a marketing approach (Eshuis et al. 2014). The sales approach is a classical approach that is focused on communicating the strengths of a particular product in order to sell the product (Lees-Marshment, 2004). A typical sales approach on place marketing is a top-down communication process in which the qualities of a place are central. In this sales-oriented approach place marketing is seen as a matter of sending messages to influence the image of a place among target groups. The influence of stakeholders is limited in the sales approach. Stakeholder involvement mainly takes place through market research to improve the way how to reach the target groups best and which images of the product are most persuasive for them. The product is in the center of the way of thinking and working with a sales-oriented approach.

Within a marketing approach not the product but the customer-value is in the center of the approach. The idea in the marketing approach is that people do not buy a product, they buy customer-value (Kotler & Armstrong, 1991). Therefore, it is crucial to know what customers value in a product. In this approach a customer-oriented philosophy is central in place marketing, which aims to create a place that satisfies the needs and wishes of its users (Braun, 2008). Within this marketing approach stakeholders are much more involved than in the sales approach. In the marketing approach place marketers are often or constantly in dialogue with stakeholders and they even can become involved in product development (Zenker and Seigis 2012).

2.3 Customer-oriented place marketing

An approach that is not only about sending, but also about receiving, should know what customers of that place want. These customers should be consulted or involved in a particular stage of the development of a product (Arvidsson 2006). The involvement of customers in the development of place marketing is therefore one of the central points of the customer-oriented place marketing. First, the consumer-oriented place marketing was mainly focused on external target groups, as visitors, businesses and residents as employees (Kotler et al. 1993). In recent literature, many academics try to push the customer-oriented place marketing in a more internal consumers focused direction. Bennett and Savani state for example that when a brand is aimed specifically at potential new residents, the current residents may oppose the branding and marketing efforts (Bennett & Savani 2003). Since the current residents form an integral part of the place brand in the mind of targeted new residents a resident gap can be created when targeted new residents may avoid moving to the place due to the inability of the brand to identify with the values and culture of the current residents, while current residents may find reason to leave the place (Braun et al. 2013).

Insch and Florek argue as well for the importance of the city's residents in place marketing. They even state that a city's resident population is strategically the most valuable target group for place marketers. It is even argued that residents' quality of life and the satisfaction with the city they live in should be the ultimate aim of place management, because a resident's level of satisfaction with their experiences in the particular place they live can influence their decision to remain in that place (Insch & Florek 2008). Insch and Florek (2008) see cities as depending on their residents for their economic, social, cultural and environmental vibrancy, which shape a crucial position for residents in the city and put residents in a position in which these residents are crucial for place marketing, not only as a target group which should be maintained for the city but also as stakeholders who need to be included in the place marketing process.

Hospers (2010) shows, based on Dutch migration data, that residents and firms show spatial self-preference and do not easily move to another place which is not close to the place where they are currently situated, which makes the ultimate goal of place marketing, as argued by Insch and Florek, a better reachable goal than attracting newcomers to the city. Hospers argues that place marketers should investigate in residents and firms which are already situated in their place instead of attracting new residents or firms, which is a shift from "cold" place marketing to "warm" place marketing (Hospers 2010). Customer-oriented place marketing therefore is likely to have a smaller target group than other forms of place marketing in which the 'outside' group is often the target group instead of the 'inside' group, or as we compare it with the schema of Ashworth and Voogd (Table 2) the policy forms of consolidation and quality are more suitable within customer-oriented place marketing than the policy forms of expansion and diversification. Research has shown that two-third of the Dutch place marketers see current residents (very) often as a target group for their marketing activities (Eshuis et al. 2014). It seems that most place marketers see the importance of the current residents as a target group. However, visitors of the place are still the most targeted group with marketing activities in the Netherlands (Eshuis et al. 2014).

As argued within this customer-oriented place marketing residents of the place are probably the most important target group for place marketing. They are at the same moment vital participants as well as a very important target group for the place marketing (Braun et al. 2013). This target group is not only involved, in the way of receiving marketing messages about the place, but they can have

multiple roles in a place marketing process. Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker (2013) have identified three different roles that residents of a place can have:

- Residents as integrated part of a place brand.
- Residents as ambassadors for their place.
- Residents as citizens.

In the first of these three roles, residents as integrated part of a place brand, the residents are seen as the “bread and butter” of places. The interactions of residents with each other, with the place itself and with people who do not live in that place form the social milieu of that particular place. The social milieu facilitates in combination with the physical setting how a given place is experienced (Warnaby 2009a). The city of Berlin was one of the first cities who really integrated the point of view of residents in the place brand. The “BeBerlin” campaign that was launched in 2008 by the city of Berlin was innovative with its place marketing practices because the residents of Berlin were offered the chance to express their views on Berlin through the telling of personal stories that connected them to the city. These personal stories were used in the place marketing and “BeBerlin” campaign (Collomb & Kalandides 2010). The image of the place, in the case of Doetinchem “a hospitable capital in a surrounding of green and water”, is in this first role for the residents formed by the input (stories, anecdotes, opinions, feelings, etc.) of residents on their own place. They are part of the place brand through their role in the social milieu.

In the second of these three roles, residents as ambassadors for their place, the residents have a role in the place marketing through word-of-mouth. The perceived authenticity and trustworthiness of word-of-mouth from residents of the place make it a powerful tool to make or break the place marketing of cities (Braun 2011). External target markets experience the views of resident as informal, authentic which give insiders’ information on the place. The residents can therefore be seen as ambassadors of the place if their word-of-mouth is positive about the place.

The third role that is mentioned by Braun et al, residents as citizens, is seen as the most neglected role in place marketing and branding theory and practice. Residents choose local politicians, have political power, pay taxes and participate in political decisions. Place marketing is a process which fits this participation of residents pretty well. The support and assistance of residents in a place marketing campaign cannot be taken for granted as was visible in the case of Amsterdam, in which the campaign of “IAMsterdam” was quickly followed by a counter campaign of some residents who argued to rename the brand into “IAMsterdamned”. This is an example of the political influence residents have, which is mentioned by Braun et al. (2013) as citizens. Another example is the case of Doetinchem in which residents, together with local entrepreneurs and city officials come up with multiple ideas or suggestions to improve the inner city and strengthen the idea of Doetinchem as a “hospitable capital in a surrounding of green and water”. These suggestions were even explained in the council meeting. Residents, in their role as citizens, can therefore influence the place marketing process through political decisions they make.

According to Braun et al. (2013) the role of residents as ambassadors of the place calls for involvement and participation in the process of place marketing, as such involvement increases the chance of becoming an ambassador of the place. However, to make this last statement and point at the positive relation between involvement and participation and a higher chance of becoming an

ambassador of the place, the authors point at an article of Katz from 1964. Daniel Katz, an organizational psychologist, offered in this article an analytical framework for understanding the complexities of motivational problems in an organization. Although the article of Katz is from high-quality and widely cited by many authors, it is not related closely to place marketing and place branding. Also other authors point at the positive relationship between participation of residents and the ambassadorship of the place, however without any empirical data (Freire 2009; Insch & Florek 2008; Zenker & Erfgen 2014). There seems to be a gap in theory on this exact relationship between participation and becoming an ambassador. In my thesis I will take a first step to analyze this in the case of Doetinchem, to see how the participation of residents in the working groups influences the ambassador role they can have for the city. To understand how participation works in place marketing processes I will first take a further look on what has been written about participation in place marketing, and the related discipline of place branding. To get further theoretical knowledge on the context of citizen participation in Doetinchem, I will combine the literature on citizen participation in place marketing with the literature on citizen participation within the Netherlands and on the motivation of residents to participate in society. The participation of residents, as citizens, within a part (the working groups) of the place marketing process where Doetinchem is in can therefore be analyzed from the perspective of residents within a place marketing process.

2.4 Participation in consumer-oriented place marketing

Within the consumer-oriented place marketing, participation of stakeholders, and especially residents, is seen as an excellent tool to create customer value in the product. Participation of residents and other stakeholders' fits to the original aim of marketing, which is to understand and satisfy the customer's needs and wants (Kotler & Levy 1969). It also fits to the aim of place marketing, which is described by Lombarts (2008) as attracting and retaining specific target groups for the place. To understand the customer and the needs that the customer have, is part of the same mindset that most of the place marketing tools have (Zenker & Seigis 2012). Residents and other stakeholders are also customers of the place and specific target groups to retain for the place. However, the participation of stakeholders is often not very well included in the place marketing process. Kavaratzis (2012) argued that there is "an urgent need to rethink the role of stakeholders towards a more participation and involvement-orientated practice" (Kavaratzis 2012, p. 8). Where he sees in practice that stakeholders are paid "lip service" and are seen as a necessary evil in a place marketing process, he argues that stakeholders should be seen as a necessity to make the place marketing successful (Kavaratzis 2012). The most successful place marketing and place brand seems to be those where a wide range of local stakeholders is influenced and energized (Aitken & Campelo 2011; Houghton & Stevens 2011; Kavaratzis 2012).

Participation in place marketing processes are therefore seen in a very positive way, although it is hard to measure if stakeholder participation really has a positive impact on the place brand and marketing, and especially how big the impact is. In reality the participation and influence of residents in place marketing processes is relatively low. Research among Dutch place marketers has shown that political executives, private companies and the local council have far more influence on the content of place marketing. Just around 15% of the place marketers states that residents had significant influence on the content of place marketing, while this is between 35 and 60% for the other groups (political executives, private companies and the local council). However, when residents

were involved the place marketing was taken more into account in other policies, such as spatial planning (Eshuis et al. 2014).

In the place marketing literature, it is however argued that participation of residents should have a positive impact on the authenticity of the brand and marketing and the sustainability of the brand (Aitken and Campelo 2011). They suggest that a bottom-up approach based on co-creation should be taken to create a place brand and that the ownership of the brand is determined by the extent to which the representation of the place meets the experience of the community of that place (Aitken & Campelo 2011). To create authenticity in the place brand and the message that is send out via marketing tools, it is seen as important to include residents in the place marketing process. Especially since the residents' expectations of the place brand are very different from the expectations city officials have (Merrilees et al. 2009). If this authenticity is not included in the place brand and the marketing process, a place brand will not be successful, because residents do not recognize the actual place in the brand (Braun et al. 2013).

Kavaratzis (2012) argues that there are three reasons offered by stakeholder-oriented place marketing literature to include more stakeholder participation in the place marketing process. These three reasons are:

1. Place marketing is largely understood as a linear process of managerial decision making with steps that have to be taken in turn. However, place marketing is a more complex and dynamic phenomenon. Place marketing is a collective exercise in which stakeholders are involved (Kavaratzis & Hatch 2013).
2. Place marketing is often seen as a communication-promotional tool. The place brand is often seen, in an authoritative way, as something that can be forced upon people, to think of the place in this way. This role is too limited and people cannot be convinced that these messages are true. Stakeholder participation can show that place marketing is more than a communication-promotional tool and creates another idea, less authoritative, of how to bring the place in the minds of people (Ashworth & Kavaratzis 2009; Kavaratzis & Hatch 2013).
3. Place marketing is often focused on external audiences and the communication messages are largely disconnected from the internal audiences, which leads to a disconnection in the "sense of place" (Aitken & Campelo 2011).

Next to these three reasons, Kavaratzis (2012) offers three additional reasons to include stakeholders in the place marketing process. The first is that place marketing is a public management activity. These activities often need support for the public for social and political reasons. Another reason that Kavaratzis offers is the recent turn to participatory branding in general. Recently, the emergence of a service-dominated logic has put co-creation in the heart of marketing and place marketing and branding as well (Warnaby 2009b). In participatory branding there is a need to empower stakeholders to contribute to the brand and be involved in the marketing. Another point of participatory branding is that there is increased transparency in the branding efforts and meanings if stakeholders are involved in the process, which shows that there is a shared ownership of the co-created brand of the place. The third reason offered by Kavaratzis is the advancement of digital and online technologies. As Florek (2011, p. 83) states, "web 2.0 provides services that invite users to engage in direct and strong participation" and "with the advent of user-generated content, every

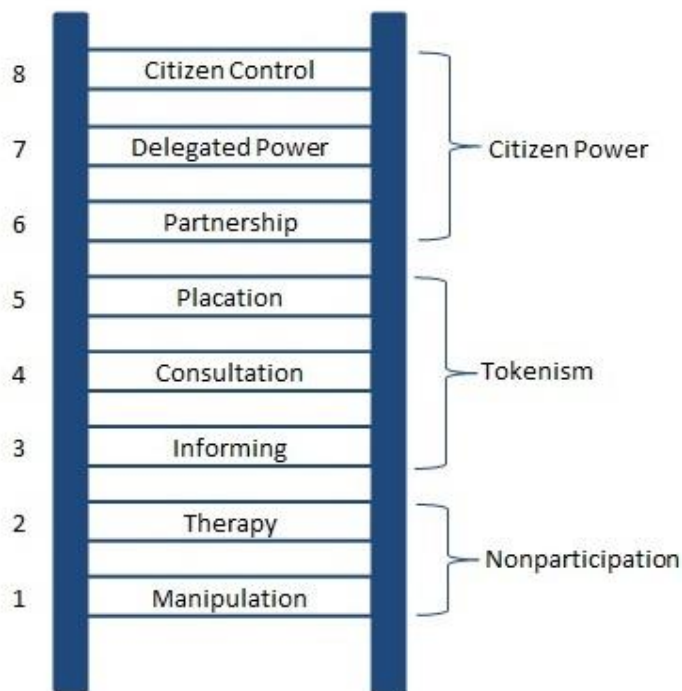
individual might potentially influence the way in which a place is perceived and evaluated". The image of a place has always been influenced in multiple ways and by different people. The place marketer has never been the only one who has influence on that, and certainly not today (O'Guinn & Muniz 2010). The even increased possibility of individuals to influence how people perceive a place, have made it more important to include stakeholders, and especially residents, to be included in the place marketing process.

The type of participation is in that sense not the most important in creating citizen satisfaction and a positive 'word-of-mouth' about the place. The most important in creating citizen satisfaction in participation is the feeling of being respected. Even when there is no binding character in the participation, citizens want to feel respected, even if city authorities happen to make a decision totally counter to the opinion of the citizens who participated. It therefore seems that just being asked and respected is more important for participants than the type of participation (Zenker & Seigis 2012). It is therefore not just about participation of citizens. The residents that are participating as citizens in the place marketing process want to feel respected. They want to be taken serious when they bring in arguments or ideas. Next to the influence that participation has on the ambassadorship of residents, it is also important to know how participants experiences the process where they are part of. In the case of Doetinchem the experiences the participants had with the working groups are analyzed to see their impact on the attitude towards the place. In the next part of the theoretical framework I will take a closer look on citizen participation in the Netherlands and other factors which have an influence on participation.

2.5 Citizen participation: from what to who?

One of the first, and since then most influential, writings on citizen participation comes from Sherry Arnstein. At the end of the 1960s there was a heated controversy in the United States on citizen participation. With the article "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" from 1969, Arnstein reacted on this controversy which followed the call of citizen participation by what she calls "have-nots", the groups that did not have power at the political level, which were especially Afro-Americans and Mexican-Americans. In her article Arnstein (1969) stated that citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. She sees citizen participation as "the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parceled out. In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society." (Arnstein 1969). Citizen participation is in her definition seen as the tool to redistribute the power, so the have-nots can also share in the benefits which the ones who have the power get. To analyze citizen participation and especially the different programs by the government in which citizen participation was mentioned, she came up with her famous ladder of citizen participation (see figure 1).

Figure 1: The participation ladder of Arnstein



With this ladder she makes a difference between different forms of citizen participation based on the real power that citizens have in that form of citizen participation. How higher on the ladder, how more power citizens have in this form of participation. The bottom rungs on the ladder, manipulation (1) and therapy (2), are mentioned as citizen participation but do in fact have no power for citizens at all. The real objective of these two rungs is to enable powerholders to “educate” the participants. Arnstein therefore sees those two forms as nonparticipation. The forms of participation in the third, fourth and fifth rung of the ladder are nothing more than gestures towards the inclusion of members of minority groups with nothing more than not to be accused of social discrimination, also called tokenism. With informing (3), consultation (4) and placation (5) the have-nots are allowed to hear and have a voice, but they lack the power to eventually decided. The power to decide is still with the powerholders. When the citizens do have power, the form of participation is at one of the upper rungs. When citizens are into a partnership (6) they are enabled to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with powerholders. On the seventh rung is the delegated power (7) in which have-not citizens have the majority of decision-making seats, while with citizen control (8) have-not citizens have full managerial power.

The ladder of Arnstein is also a critique on most programs that were claiming that they had citizen participation. As citizen participation was for Arnstein a term for citizen power, only the highest three rungs on the ladder are for her real citizen participation and although she chose a ladder to show the different levels of citizen participation it cannot be actually climbed as a ladder and therefore one should not start at the bottom and climb up the ladder. Arnstein mentioned this explicitly as she saw the first five rungs not as a way to get to the highest rungs on the ladder. In the decades that followed many ladders and other forms have made by others, but the concept of power was often take out of these analyses or not as important as in the ladder of Arnstein, since this

power was strongly interwoven with the focus on the have-nots. An often heard critique on Arnstein was that her ladder addresses urban black ghettos, rather than different urban, suburban and rural situations (Connor 1988). Another change which has happened through the years is the blurring of the distinct categories from Arnstein into a continuum of participation in other ladders, which re-legitimizes the tokenism and nonparticipation forms (Stoecker 2014).

However, the work of Arnstein had a big impact on planning and the role of the planner. The participatory methods that were used in participatory methods of planning changed with a broadened access to planning processes as result, while the role of the planner even changed. The role of the planner as an expert changed to a new role of the planner as a facilitator. The planner needed to identify and mediate between different interest groups which would be affected by planning decisions, in which the planner was in search of protecting the 'public interest' (Hague & Jenkins 2005).

Citizen participation nowadays is often seen differently as it was seen by Arnstein. The American context of urban ghettos with the so-called have-nots, which is the basis for the article of Arnstein is not the standard for citizen participation as it is nowadays. Citizen participation therefore isn't focused on a specific group as in the case of Arnstein and it became a broader term than when it was coined by Arnstein. The central question has also changed from what is citizen participation to which citizens participate in citizen participation.

There are nowadays five approaches which explain why citizens do or do not participate (Pattie et al. 2004). The first one is the cognitive engagement theory, which has as basic idea that participation is for an important part determined by the access to information and their ability and willingness to use that information to make rational choices. In the cognitive engagement theory, the way the citizen is seen is related to the ancient Greek ideal of a citizen at the polis (Pattie et al. 2014). The cognitive engagement theory however does not pay attention to reasons to participate when citizens have enough access to the information.

The second approach is the general incentives theory, which pays somewhat more attention to the "incentives" for citizens to participate. In the general incentives theory there are five different incentives (Pattie et al. 2014):

- Collective incentives, citizens are motivated to participate for collective goods.
- Selective incentives, citizens are motivated to participate for profits only participants become.
- Group incentives, citizens are motivated to participate for a profit of a group of citizens.
- Social incentives, if citizens live in a social context where non-participation is the norm it will have a negative impact on the chance of participating themselves.
- National incentives, citizens are motivated to participate because of loyalty to their country.

This approach pays, as well as the cognitive engagement theory, much attention to the individual considerations of participation. The social context has some influence, but the incentives remain something on which you can react as individual or not.

The third approach is the civic voluntarism model of Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995). Verba et al. (1995) found that there are three answers to the question why people don't participate: they can't, they don't want to or nobody asked them to. The reason that people can't participate is the lack of

time, the lack of civic skills or the lack of money. The answer “they don’t want” is given by people who aren’t interested in the topic in which they can participate, while the third answer “nobody asked them to” comes from being isolated from the networks that mobilize people. Verba et al. (1995) differentiated three forms of participation: voting, donating and volunteering. While donating has a strong correlation with income, the other two forms of participation they had researched (voting and volunteering) were more related to the civic skills that people possess and the interest they have for the topic. The outcome of the research of Verba et al. point to the higher-educated people who participate in citizen participation. It seems therefore that the people who participate are citizens who already participated before. Citizen participation seems therefore to be done by the same group as the group who already participated before a specific citizen participation started (Specht 2013). A critique on the civic voluntarism model comes from the equity-fairness theory and social capital theory which points that personal skills and capacities are in the civic voluntarism model more important than social structures (Pattie et al. 2014).

The equity-fairness theory and the social capital theory are much more focused on these underlying social structures. In the equity-fairness theory people compare their lives to other peer groups in society. An inequality in comparison to these peer groups can lead to frustration, which can lead to protest and aggressive participation. In the social capital theory, the work of Robert Putnam is central. According to Putnam social capital are “features of social organization, such as social trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Putnam 1993, p. 167). Social capital makes collaboration between individuals possible and through this collaboration social problems can be solved easier.

In this thesis and in the conceptual model the civic voluntarism model and the social capital theory are the ones who will be used. The cognitive engagement theory doesn’t pay much attention to the reasons for citizens to participate, while the equity-fairness theory is based on an aggressive form of participation which is not the case in Doetinchem. In an overall view of these five approaches it seems that there are as well internal motivations to participate as well as external motivations. Since the civic voluntarism model of Verba et al. (1995) better combines the internal motivations of individuals with external motivations than the general incentives model, the model of Verba et al. seems to be more complete on the motivations for citizens to participate. The social capital theory, eventually, isn’t focused on the motivation to participate but more on the success and the way the participation goes.

However, where Verba et al. (1995) are specifically focused on political participation there are many different forms of participation which do not have the same conclusions as Verba et al. had. Some scholars who investigated citizen participation in the last years find in their research that the conclusions that Verba et al. made do not hold in the cases they did research on (Specht 2013; Tonkens and Verhoeven 2011). Residents that they didn’t expect to participate when seen from the criteria from Verba et al. did participate in the cases they researched. The research on citizen participation, especially in the last years in the Netherlands, is more focused on forms of citizen participation which is started by citizens themselves. The “do-democracy” is focused on developments which comes from citizens themselves instead of governmental institutions, which shows that in different forms of citizen participation different people participate. Since the case of Doetinchem seems to be more a form of political participation instead of a form of participation

which suits the “do-democracy”, the civic voluntarism model can be seen as relevant for the research on the Doetinchem case.

Another often-cited article on citizen participation is from Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker (2006), who came up with a diagnostic tool to help policy makers to investigate the strengths and weaknesses of their existing participation infrastructure. With this CLEAR-model the authors focused explicitly on the situation for local governments. The CLEAR-model stands for:

- Can do, the resources and knowledge to participate;
- Like to, a sense of attachment that reinforces participation;
- Enabled to, provided with the opportunity for participation;
- Asked to, mobilized by official bodies or voluntary groups;
- Responded to, see evidence that their views have been considered.

The CLEAR-model is in that sense broad and covers more explanations and factors for citizen participation than offered in most other articles, such as Verba et al. (1995), Tonkens and Verhoeven (2011) or Barkan (2004). It covers most of the different explanations that are given to citizen participation. The factors ‘can do’, ‘like to’ and ‘asked to’ were already covered by Verba et al. (1995), but the factors ‘enabled to’ and ‘responded to’ are added in the CLEAR-model. These two factors also overlap with the critique on the explanations of Verba et al. by other scholars (Mathews 1999; Specht 2013). The comprehensive model of Lowndes et al. (2006) is therefore a good but broad answer on the question which people participate in citizen participation.

2.6 Citizen participation in the Netherlands

As was already visible in the article of Arnstein (1969), the context of citizen participation has an important impact on the way we look at citizen participation, the form of citizen participation and the participants of citizen participation. Therefore, it is necessary to take a look at the developments of citizen participation in the Netherlands to understand the context of the citizen participation in the case of Doetinchem on a national scale.

In 2013, the Dutch king stated in his annually throne speech that the Dutch welfare state is slowly changing into a so-called “participatiemaatschappij”. This participation society is a society in which everybody who can take responsibility for his or her own life and surroundings takes this responsibility in being active to improve the community. The government takes a facilitating role in this society. Since then the term “participatiemaatschappij” is part of many discussions about the role of the government and society and the involvement of society in decision-making and politics. The “participatiemaatschappij” has come up in a time that the government is taking a step back. The reason why the government is taking a step back is food for discussion, some argue it is for financial reasons (Specht 2013), while others argue it is for ideological reasons (Tonkens, 2010; Uitermark, 2015) or it can be a combination of both. In the Netherlands, the national government pays much attention to the citizen initiatives and active citizenship which are part of the “participatiemaatschappij”. Different reports are produced on this topic and in the end of 2013 the government even had an Implementation Plan which was called ‘Do-democracy’.

This form of participation, which stands for the so-called “participatiemaatschappij” is the third generation of citizen participation in the Netherlands (Van der Heijden et al., 2007; Tonkens,

2010; Lenos et al., 2006). The first generation of citizen participation started in the 1970s and was often applied in spatial planning. The government prepares a particular decision and in the end citizens can give their opinion on it. In the second generation of citizen participation this has evolved into a more interactive form of decision-making. The government does still have the initiative, but citizens are consulted in an earlier stage of the process so they can think about the policy- and decision-making. Within these two generations the initiative is still in the hands of the government. With the third generation of citizen participation this initiative has moved from the government to the society (Van der Heijden et al., 2007). The society has a more active role and comes with own initiatives. When the government gets involved in this initiative it becomes a form of third generation citizen participation. The roles of government and society have changed in this third generation and instead of citizen participation we can also speak of government participation in this third generation.

The third generation of citizen participation also introduced a negative perspective on the role of the government in citizen participation. The government should only facilitate in the initiatives of citizens and they should not interfere any further in these initiatives. The government should give the tools and financial possibilities to society to make sure the initiatives which are started by citizens become sustainable and any further influence on the initiative is a step too far. The government has a role as facilitator in these third generation citizen participation, which is the new role for the government in the “participatiemaatschappij”. The models of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (Table 3) and of Pröpper and Steenbeek (Table 4), which still have some similarities with the ladder of Arnstein, make clear how the role of government has changed with third generation citizen participation.

Table 3: The model of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (2001)

Level of participation	Form of democracy	Role of government	Role of participant
Deciding	Direct democracy	Does not set the agenda, but only advises the participants.	Decision-maker
Co-production / co-creation	Interactive democracy	Governments and participants set the agenda together, they are collaborating to come up with solutions which are implemented as policy.	Collaborating partner
Advising	Participation democracy	Sets the agenda, but participants can bring in problems and solutions. The government should have good arguments to deviate from these problems and solutions	Advisor
Consulting	Participation democracy	Sets the agenda, but sees the participants as a partner in conducting the policy. Results of this consultation are not seen as binding.	Consultor
Informing	Representative democracy	Conducts an independent policy and gives information about this to the participants.	Target group of a research or notification.

Table 4: The model of Pröpper and Steenbeek (1999)

Governing style/ Role of the management	Role of the participant
Interactive styles	
<i>Facilitating style</i> Offering support	Initiator
<i>Collaborating style</i> Collaborating partner	Collaborating partner
<i>Delegating style</i> Setting prerequisites for the participants.	Codecision
<i>Participating style</i> Asks the participants for an open advice.	Advisor
Non-interactive styles	
<i>Consultating style</i> Consults the participants with a closed question.	Consultor
<i>Open authoritarian style</i> Conducts an independent policy and gives information about this to the participants.	Target group of a research or notification.
<i>Closed authoritarian style</i> Conducts an independent policy and does not give information about this to the participants.	None

The first generation of citizen participation, in which citizens could only give their opinion on a particular decision made by the government, can be placed on the second step of the model of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (Table 3), which is called 'consulting'. The citizens are consulting the government, but in an advanced stage which reduces the influence of the citizens. The second generation of citizen participation, in which the government still has the initiative but with consultation of citizens in an early stage of the process, can be categorized in the third step of the model of Edelenbos and Monnikhof. The level of participation is that from citizens as advisors, in which the government still have the initiative but citizens can bring in problems and solutions. The fourth step in this model does not come back in the overall accepted division of three generations of

citizen participation. In these models the role of the government has changed with the third generation to the highest form on the ladder. In the model of Edelenbos and Monnikhof the level of participation of third generation citizen participation is described as deciding and is a form of direct democracy. The government does not set the agenda anymore, but leaves that to the citizens. The role of the government has reduced to an advising role, while the citizens are the decision-makers. From the second generation ('advising' in the model) to the third generation ('deciding' in the model) the level of participation of co-production or co-creation is missed.

If we compare the three generations of citizen participation with the model of Pröpper and Steenbeek we see the same gap as we saw in the model of Edelenbos and Monnikhof. In the first generation of citizen participation the government is not interactive and has a consultating style, the government consults the participants on decisions that are made by the government. In the second generation of citizen participation the government takes on a participating style, they ask the participants for advice in which the participant can make a definition of the problem and in which way the solution has to be found. With the third generation of citizen participation the most interactive style of governing is used by the government, which is the facilitating style. The government offers support to the participants who are the initiators. In the model of Pröpper and Steenbeek even two governing styles are skipped between the second generation and third generation of citizen participation. The delegating style, in which the government sets the conditions for participants to take own decisions, and the collaborating style, in which the government and participants are partners on equal terms, are somewhere in-between the second and third generation. In table 5 the models of Edelenbos & Monnikhof and Pröpper & Steenbeek are placed next to the generations of citizen participation to see how these models relate to each other.

Table 5: The different Dutch participation models combined.

Edelenbos & Monnikhof	Pröpper & Steenbeek	Generations of citizen participation
Deciding	Facilitating style	Third generation
Co-production/co-creation	Collaborating style	
	Delegating style	
Advising	Participating style	Second generation
Consulting	Consultating style	First generation
Informing	Open authoritarian style	
	Closed authoritarian style	

The three generations of citizen participation are widely used to check the evolution of citizen participation in the Netherlands. It therefore seems that in the Netherlands some styles or levels of participation are skipped by the governments in the Netherlands.

Chapter 3 – Conceptual Model

In this third chapter the conceptual model of this thesis will be presented. In the first section the concepts which are part of the conceptual model will be explained. In the second section the conceptual model is presented.

3.1 Conceptual model: explaining the concepts

The empirical part of this thesis consists of three different parts which will together answer the main research question, how are citizens participating in a co-creating process of place marketing to transform the inner city of Doetinchem and how does their role as citizens influence their role as ambassadors of the place? In the first empirical part the motivation and reason why citizens participate in a collaborating process between government and society is divided into different concepts to grasp the motivation of the citizens within this process into a theoretical framework. This theoretical framework will give an answer on why citizens participated in this project for the inner city of Doetinchem. In the second empirical part the working groups will be evaluated based on the data gathered from interviews with citizens. The concept of social capital is introduced next to the concepts introduced in the first empirical part. The first and second empirical part will together answer the first part of the main research question. The second empirical part will be combined with the theory on ambassadorship within place marketing, the third empirical part, to answer the second part of the main research question.

3.1.1 **Determining factors for participation**

Many books and articles are written to unravel which factors determine if someone will participate or not. The forms of participation that were the object of these researches are very broad. Many different forms of participation came back in this researches, which is partly a reason why there are these many articles and books on this topic. It is therefore not satisfactory to use one particular model and to don't let the particular form and situation in Doetinchem come back in the conceptual model of this thesis. In this thesis the book of Verba et al. (1995) and the article of Lowndes et al. (2006), which are both seen as important writings on factors that determine participation, will be the basis of the concepts used in the conceptual model. The book of Verba et al. (1995) is probably the most referenced book which focuses on the factors that determine participation. Political participation, which is participation in which participants have political influence, is the central form of participation in the case of Verba. The form of participation in Doetinchem also has a political part in it. The outcomes of the working groups are approved by the local council and form the basis of the agenda of the inner city of Doetinchem for the next years. Because of the political aspect, the book of Verba et al. (1995) is one of the two basic models for this part of the conceptual model, together with the CLEAR-model of Lowndes et al. (2006), which is also often referred to. The article is based on an investigative audit of the practice of public authorities in engaging their citizens in decision making and consultative processes at the local level and therefore is well connected to the case of Doetinchem as well. Next to the factors which are based on Verba et al. and Lowndes et al. the concept of 'sense of place' is added to specify for the particular situation in Doetinchem.

3.1.1.1 Skills and resources

A first factor which determines the reason to participate can be seen in the skills and resources that someone has. People want to be able to really do something, for which they need the skills that they possess. These socio-economic factors are most often used to explain the variations in local participation rates (Verba et al. 1995; Barkan 2004; Lowndes et al. 2006). The particular skills range from the ability and confidence to speak in public, to encourage other people of their ideas, to understand the discussions and information which are held within governmental institutions or in public debates and other social capabilities. The resources that are mentioned are having available time to participate, having money to make certain things financially possible and access to streams of information (Verba et al. 1995; Barkan 2004; Lowndes et al. 2006). These skills and resources are in the CLEAR framework of Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker seen as the factor 'Can do'. The skills and resources determine if someone is able to fully participate. Alongside having these skills the self image is important as well. In general there is a strong relation between the self image that someone has on their own capabilities to have (political) influence (subjective competence) and the degree of how (politically) active someone is (Van Regenmortel 2008).

The skills and resources are mostly found in the group of higher-educated, which have a higher level of cognitive capacities and better social circumstances, which results in an overrepresentation of higher-educated people in participation and political participation in particular (Pattie et al. 2004; Denters et al. 2013; SCP 2014). Bovens and Wille (2011) also see an over-representation in the Netherlands of higher-educated people in political participation, which they call a diploma democracy. Political participation can be seen as a form of participation to influence political decisions. In other forms of participation, related to the "do-democracy" and the third generation citizen participation, there is no overrepresentation of higher-educated people (Tonkens & Verhoeven 2011; Specht 2013). However, since the people who participated in the working groups were creating and influencing the policy of the local government and having political influence on the decisions that are made for the inner city of Doetinchem, it seems that the situation of Doetinchem relates more to the point made by Verba et al., Bovens and Wille and others. Therefore, it seems the level of education has an indirect, through the skills and resources, effect on the reason and choice to participate in the working groups.

3.1.1.2 Social network

A second factor which is often mentioned as having an important role in explaining variations of local participations, is the access to a strong social network. Mostly argued, a social network asks a person to participate which creates an urgency for someone to participate (Verba et al. 1995). There are interdependencies within a social network which activate people to come in action for other actors within that network. Research from Tonkens and Verhoeven (2011) in Amsterdam has showed that the most important motivation for initiators of citizen initiatives is the wish to do something for other people. When something happens to an actor in someone's social network, this can trigger someone to participate to help someone (Specht 2013). When someone has a broader social network there are people or groups within that social network that ask to participate, but it is also possible that different groups within the same social network of a person ask for participation in the same field. This can enlarge the chance that someone will participate (Lowndes et al. 2006; Marshall, 2004). This means that the participants in the working groups feel an urgency from their social network or are even asked by their social network to participate in the working groups.

3.1.1.3 Expected success of participation

Another factor, argued by Lowndes et al. (2006), is the expected success of participation. People have to believe it is possible to change something by participation, that their participation makes a difference. If they believe that society will listen to them and the government is likely to respond to the participation and the ideas of someone, there is a high rate of expected success of participation, what makes it more likely that a person will participate (Verba et al 1995; Lowndes et al. 2006). It is not necessary that the ideas and things that these people say have to be agreed upon, but people want to be at least convinced that their view has been taken into account. Who discovers that he or she can make a change through participating, gets motivated to go through. This is often mentioned as the 'power of possibility' (Mathews 1999, p.132). Who discovers that he or she can make a change through participating, gets motivated to go through. Successful participation results in more participation, because it gives motivation, new insights and solutions.

3.1.1.4 Sense of place

In the case of Doetinchem there is a clear defined spatial aspect in the topic where the working groups are working on: the inner city of Doetinchem. The message to participate that was sent out by the municipality of Doetinchem had as reason why people should participate: to make the inner city more attractive in a time of empty stores and other problems that face the inner city. It therefore seems that there is some kind of relationship with a specific spatial place, in this case the inner city, which has an impact on the participation of people in the working groups. If the same people were asked to participate for another inner city on the other side of the Netherlands, they would probably not respond because there is, in most cases, no relationship between them and the other place.

There are many concepts of this relationship with a place, which are often covered by the umbrella term 'sense of place' (Shamai 1991; Jorgensen & Stedman 2006). Sense of place encompasses the meanings and attachments that places hold for people (Semken & Freeman 2008). This umbrella concept of 'sense of place' can be divided in three other concepts, which are place attachment, place identity and place dependence. The concept of place attachment is defined by Low & Altman as "the emotional bond between a person and a particular place" (Altman & Low 1992, p. 2), and focuses on the emotional relation between people and place (Nielsen-Pincus et al. 2010). Manzo and Perkins (2006) argue that place attachment has an influence on the participation of people which can cause participation in the form of resistance as when proposed development projects can be perceived by community as a threat to place attachments they have because they will change the physical fabric of a neighbourhood. Place attachment can enable a sense of empowerment to emerge which will let people participate in projects within their neighbourhood (Manzo & Perkins 2006). Although not all of the citizens who participated in the working groups live in the inner city of Doetinchem, the inner city, with its different functions from other neighbourhood, is the centre of the place that the citizens who participated in the working groups live in and therefore as citizens of Doetinchem they can have attachment to the inner city as well. In an earlier research via the residents' panel of Doetinchem it is also confirmed that the residents who want to participate in one of the working groups have a relatively strong degree of place attachment to the inner city (Ruiter 2016). Next to place attachment, the other two concepts have an influence on participation as well, according to Manzo and Perkins (2006). Place identity can be defined as the belief about the degree to which place is reflected in the self (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001). Agreeing with Pretty, Chipuer and Bramston (2003) Manzo and Perkins (2006) suggest that if people's identity and values are indeed informed by places,

the bond's that those people have with those places will have a positive impact on their engagement in such places, which can be to maintain or improve them, respond to changes within them or simply to stay in that place (Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston 2003). The other concept, place dependence, can be defined as a functional attachment that reflects the importance of a place in providing features and conditions that support specific goals or desired activities (Williams & Vaske 2003, p. 831). In contrast to place attachment and place identity, Manzo and Perkins (2006) and other authors didn't mention a relation between place dependence and participation. However, the role of place dependence is often seen in different ways. Sometimes, place dependence is seen as an independent part of sense of place such as place identity and place attachment and other authors see place dependence as captured within the terms place attachment and place identity (Nielsen-Pincus et al. 2010). In this thesis the term 'sense of place' is operationalized via the three different concepts (place attachment, place identity and place dependence) to see what the role of sense of place was in their reason to participate and which of these three concepts plays a role in the reason and motivation for the participants to become active in the working groups.

3.1.1.5 Trigger

A critique on the way Verba et al. (1995) look at the factors that determine if someone will participate is offered by Specht (2013). He argues that although there are many factors which influence if someone will participate or not, in which he refers to the factors of Verba et al. (1995), there is always a trigger which leads to participation. In the cases he had seen, he didn't recognize the factors argued by Verba. Participation in those cases came from other people than the factors of Verba et al. argues, which are mostly people who were already or had participated in other projects. However, the participation that Specht saw came from resident initiatives and the topics were very broad, where the participation from Verba et al. is politically-focused and more part of the political structures. Specht mentions that participation follows the trigger. The trigger is seen as necessary and the starting point of participation. This starting point is a specific incident – a specific decision, a message that is send out or an event – that rouses people to start acting. This trigger is itself not the participation, it is a tipping point that can be seen, in retrospect, as the starting point of participation (Specht 2013).

3.1.2 Experience with the working groups

To understand how participation has an influence on someone's ambassadorship of the place it is important to know what the experience of someone is with the participation, in this case the working groups. If someone's experience with the working groups is positive, he will be more positive on the project and it therefore may seem that the ambassadorship of that person for the specific place has become greater than it was before, while at the same time someone who is more negative on the working groups will be more negative on the project and it may seem that the ambassadorship of that person for the specific place has developed different than the ambassadorship of someone who was more positive on the working groups. The experience with the working groups is in this thesis divided in three points: the participation in the working groups (where the concepts of skills and resources, social network and sense of place is part of), the expected success of participation and social capital.

3.1.2.1 Participation in the working groups

The skills and resources that someone has influence the way that someone participate within the working groups. When someone has more time available, he can spend more time doing things for the working group, or when someone has more capacities and can better substantiate his arguments the way of participating within the working group is different from when that person cannot substantiate his arguments very well. Trust on the own capabilities and possibilities is also an important aspect which helps to create participation and the process of discovering, developing and learning to trust on the own capabilities also influences the participation of a person (Wagenaar & Specht 2010). The social network that someone has plays a kind of similar role in the way of participating in and the experience of the working groups. The conversations that someone has with others within their social network or by involving someone from their social network the way of participating and experiencing the social network can become different. The sense of place that someone has with Doetinchem can possibly also influence the way how participants experience the working groups. The ideas that are created by the working groups shall have a particular impact on the inner city of Doetinchem when they will be realized. When those ideas have a positive impact on the place according to that person, it can have a positive impact on the experience of that person with the working groups.

3.1.2.2 Expected success of participation

The expected success of participation has a more direct relation with the experience of the working groups. The participants have a particular expectation of how the working groups will be or what the outcome of the working groups will be. When someone expect more success of the participation than someone else does, the first person can be less positive of the same outcome than the person who had lower expectations.

3.1.2.3 Social capital

Another concept which is important in the experience with the working groups is social capital. Social capital refers to features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, networks and reciprocity. These features of a social organisation improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam 1993, p.166). A group whose members trust each other can accomplish more than a group of people who do not trust each other or when a group has a broader network it is able to accomplish more. The social capital of groups of people therefore has an effect on how the collaborations within groups goes and what they can accomplish. Working together on a basis of trust and reciprocity, creates a better environment to work or participate in (Tam 1998). When the group can accomplish more and people can participate in an environment where the different individuals are working together on a basis of trust and reciprocity, people will have a more positive attitude (Tam 1998). It therefore seems that when there was a high degree of social capital within these working groups, they will have a more positive experience with the working groups.

3.1.3 The effect of participation on the ambassadorship of the place

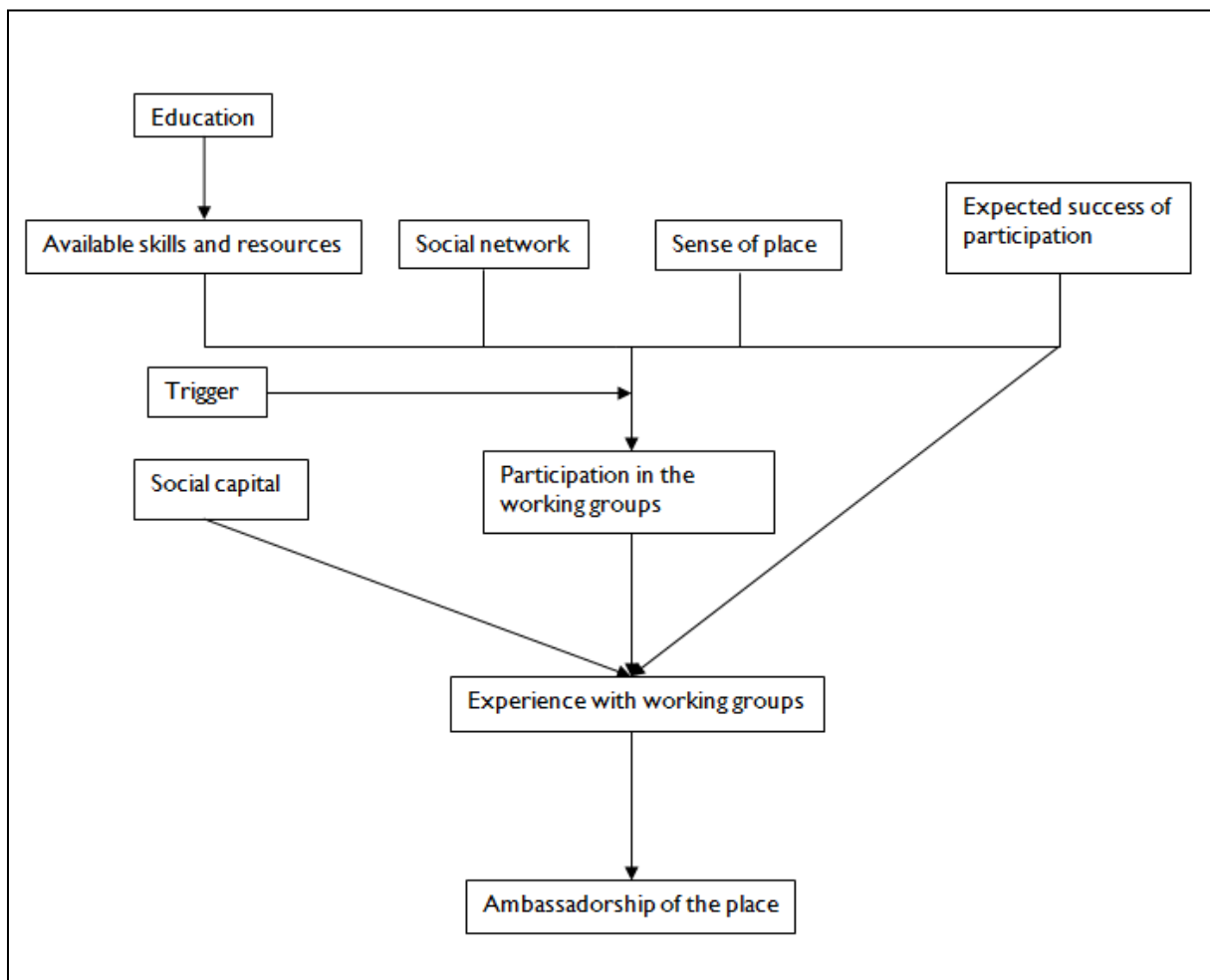
As mentioned before, different place marketing scholars point at a positive relationship that would exist between participation of residents and the ambassadorship of the place, however without any empirical data (Braun et al. 2013; Freire 2009; Insch & Florek 2008). It is therefore interesting to investigate how this relation between participation and ambassadorship of the place works in the case of Doetinchem. Zenker and Seigis (2012) for example show, based on empirical data that it

seems that neither the satisfaction with the project nor the type of participation makes a difference with regards to citizen satisfaction, but simply the condition of being asked. They argue that the feeling of being respected is the mediator in this process. This relationship between participation and citizen satisfaction point at a specific point within this relation that determines when participation leads to citizen satisfaction. It is interesting to go deeper into the relationship between participation and the ambassadorship of a place.

3.2 The conceptual model

The determinants described in section 2.5 are showed in the conceptual model (see figure 2). The conceptual model was the basic framework for the questions asked to the respondents in the interviews.

Figure 2: Conceptual model



Chapter 4 – Citizen participation in Doetinchems working groups

In this fourth chapter of the thesis the empirical results of the research will be presented. In the first section the methodology of the research will be explained. In the second section, the context of the working groups will be explained for some extra background information to understand the results. In section 3 these results will be presented.

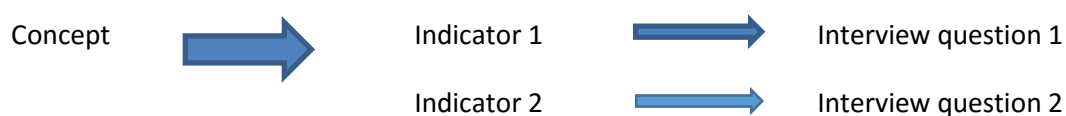
4.1 Methodology of the research

4.1.1 Operationalisation and preparing interviews

In the collection of data for the empirical part of this thesis, a qualitative method was used as the method through which the relevant and required data was collected. The qualitative method which is used in this thesis is the qualitative interview. Through qualitative interviews it is possible to receive a lot of information from the interviewee in a relatively short period of time. The difference between qualitative and quantitative interviews is that there is much greater interest in the interviewee's point of view in the qualitative interview than in the quantitative interview which more reflects the researcher's concern (Bryman, 2008). By using the qualitative interview, the point of view of the interviewee is central, which offers a better way to understand the opinion of the interviewee about the urban transformation project and the working groups which were set up by the municipality of Doetinchem and how the interviewee sees his role in these working groups and the way it changed their view on the inner city. The interviews will be, more specifically, semi-structured interviews in which an interview guide is used to cover the specific topics that are interesting for this research, but questions do not have to follow on the schedule. Replies of the interviewee will partly influence the structure of the interview as long as all the topics included in the interview guide are covered. A disadvantage from semi-structured interviews is that only information will be received from what stands in the interview schema. To create the possibility for interviewees to bring in important points for them many open questions are included in the interview schema. The interviewee is with open questions less bounded in his answers than with more closed questions (Baarda & De Goede 2001).

The interview questions are related to the different concepts which are part of the conceptual model. The concepts were operationalised into interview questions, to make the concepts into measurable terms (Baarda & De Goede 2011). This has created an interview schema in which the interview questions are linked to the theory. This resulted not only in a rich description of the researched case, but also in a relation between theory and practice. The operationalisation scheme is added in the appendices of this thesis. In this scheme the operationalisation is made in two steps (Baarda & De Goede 2011, p.25).

Table 6: The operationalisation scheme of Baarda & De Goede (2011)



In the first step the concepts (such as ambassadorship and skills and resources) were made more concrete into indicators (such as the ability to speak in front of a group or what to tell about the place). These indicators were in the second step translated into interview questions (such as a Likert-scale question “Ik kan goed spreken voor een groep/I can speak well in front of a group” or an if-question as “If I were a resident of Zevenaar, I don’t come often to Doetinchem and I don’t know Doetinchem that well. What would you tell me about Doetinchem?” The interview questions were also formed by the information the researcher had of the process. By having the municipality of Doetinchem as internship organisation it was easier to explore the whole process on the urban transformation of the city centre of Doetinchem. The municipality of Doetinchem started this process and is in the whole process one of the stakeholders. There was a lot of information about this process available at the municipality which could be used to form the interview questions and correctly analyse the data.

4.1.2 Taking the interviews

The 10 respondents are selected on the basis of acting within the working groups from a position within the society. The choice to focus on working group members who were participating as citizens in the working groups is based on the topic of this research, which was citizen participation. City officials from the municipality and store owners within the city centre of Doetinchem were not included as respondents, because of their work which forms their role as actors within the working groups. With a focus on working groups who participated as citizens the empirical data was related to the theory, which is needed to answer the research question of this thesis. The respondents that were interviewed were residents of Doetinchem or had a company which is not directly related to the inner city of Doetinchem, such as a communication consultancy bureau. The respondents were chosen with a targeted sample, to exclude the working group members who were employees of the municipality or store owners within the inner city. Other working group members were more participating from their role as residents of the place or members of society. The choice for the 10 respondents with whom the researcher took interviews was based on the information the project leaders of ‘Aanvalsplan Binnenstad’ had from the working group members to see which members matched the condition of participating from their role as residents of the place or members of society, without being employees of the municipality or shop owners in the inner city of Doetinchem. Of the 72 members of the working groups, 35 members matched the condition of participating from the role as citizen. The 10 respondents who were chosen for the interviews were selected to get members of most working groups as respondents to get in the end a good overview of most of the working groups and the position of citizens within these working groups. The interviews were held in May and the first days of June of 2016. To assure the validity and reliability of the data, all interviews were recorded and transcribed as rich text files.

Before the interviews started the researcher expected that his position as a neutral researcher could be questioned by the respondents, because of the internship at the municipality. The people who were interviewed have a certain position to the municipality and this position can have an influence on the data which is collected with the interviews. This notion was also a warning to don’t get biased and to get the same viewpoint as the municipality has on this process. Every stakeholder has a particular viewpoint on this process and as researcher you should not adapt to one particular point of view. What can form another bias is to become too focussed on how the process is evolving in the

way it is and not opening up for opportunities for another way the process will evolve. The interviewees can be biased by this, but the researcher should be open to all the sketched versions of interviewees on how the process can evolve. After the interviews the conclusion of the researcher is that the position of the researcher didn't have a negative influence on the data collected. In none of the interviews the researcher noticed a reserved attitude from one of the respondents. Before the interviews started the researcher asked if the interview could be recorded for research purposes and that the information will not be spread to any of the city officials with their name on it. Almost all reactions of the respondents were that it wouldn't have been a problem for them even when the researcher spread the information they gave to the city officials with their name on it. The respondents therefore certainly not had a reserved attitude and the reaction can also be seen as a positive indication for the relation between the respondents and the project leaders from the municipality.

4.1.3 Analysing the data

To analyse the data narrative analysis is used. Narrative analysis is concerned with the search for and analysis of the stories that people employ to understand their lives and the world around them (Bryman, 2008). The focus is not on 'what actually happened?' but more on 'how do people make sense of what happened?'. By making use of narrative analysis, the focus will be on how the citizens that were participating in the working groups make sense of how the working groups were for them and what the effect of the working group is on them. This is important to answer both parts of the research question, how they participate in the process and how their role as participating citizen influences their role as ambassador of the place. The interviews provided information which is used to help explore the relationships that are showed in the conceptual model. The analysis, conducted with Atlas.ti software (ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development GmbH, Berlin, Germany), followed three distinct steps: open coding, theoretical coding and selective coding (Boeije 2008). With open coding the collected data is divided into fragments. In the second step, theoretical coding, the fragments are selected on their relevancy to reflect on the theory used, based on the operationalisation of the concepts of phase 2. Selective coding is used to bring structure in the data, with emphasis on integration and to lay links between the different categories (Boeije 2008). The English citations in the empirical chapter of this thesis are translations of the researcher of the Dutch answers the respondents gave.

4.2 The context of the working groups

Before the data of the interviews will be analysed it is needed to understand the working groups itself and the context of it. If we compare the working groups to the Dutch citizen participation models, the researcher has found that the working groups can be placed in the category of co-creation in the model of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (2001), with a delegating style (seen from the model of Pröpper and Steenbeek (1999)). However, the case of Doetinchem clearly shows that the new third generation in citizen participation in the Netherlands (Van der Heijden et al. 2007) takes a big step, with passing some forms of citizen participation, on generally accepted participation ladders of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (2001) and Pröpper and Steenbeek (1999). The governing style and level of citizen participation that is used in Doetinchem seems to be between the second generation

and third generation of citizen participation. Thus, the three generation idea, which is widespread in the documents of governmental institutions, does not suit the case of Doetinchem.

In the case of Doetinchem the municipality has taken up a delegating style in which the municipality gives the participants the authority to take, between boundary conditions, decisions themselves. The municipality is in this case prepared and willing to give participants real influence and to take over the policy of the participants in their own work, even if the municipality had made a different choice themselves. The municipality also knows what it wants and is able to make this clear to the participants by imposing substantive conditions. They expect from the participants a contribution to the policy based on their own ideas and experiences, such that the policy becomes clear and concrete for the specific target group.

The working groups themselves were from December 2015 until February 2016. There were 12 different working groups with every working group having an own topic. In these working groups participated 73 people, which was a mix of residents, entrepreneurs and city officials. 13 of the working group members were related to the municipality. Of the other 60 members of the working groups were 25 of them active in the working groups in their role as entrepreneur, while 35 of the working group members participated as citizens in the working groups. In every working group was a different division of city officials, entrepreneurs and citizens. Some groups had none or just one citizen in the working group, while another working groups existed of only citizens. This was caused by the interest citizens and entrepreneurs had for specific working groups and the interest of the municipality. The working group of parking for example had more city officials because of parking being a municipality matter. Therefore, the researcher chose of the 35 citizens 10 respondents who took part in different working groups. With information of the project leaders from the municipality on which citizens were very active in the working groups and which were less active the respondents were selected, to get a group of respondents who were representative for the 35 citizens that participated in the working groups.

4.3 Analysis of the research data

In this section the collected data of the research done in Doetinchem will be presented and analysed following the concepts in the conceptual model, to be able to make a structured overview of the connections of the theory and the collected data.

4.3.1 The respondents' backgrounds

The education background of the respondents shows a wide variety of different studies and levels of education. Some of the respondents have done a study on university level, while most of the respondents have finished a study on what is now an HBO level in the Netherlands and some on what is now an MBO level. The point of a diploma democracy, with an overrepresentation of higher-educated people, as Bovens and Wille (2011) made is therefore disputable in the case of Doetinchem. However, two of the respondents also mentioned that they were formed "in the practical world" and although they didn't do a study on university level they had worked in managing functions for most of their work life, with which they stated that the level of education does not say a lot in their case. Of the 10 respondents that were interviewed, were 7 respondents who are 55 years

or older. In comparison with the group of 35 citizens, the group respondents were somewhat older. The average age of the respondents was between 55 and 60 years, while the average age of the complete group of participating citizens is around 50 years.

The work background of the respondents also shows a wide variety of jobs with (former) store owners, a teacher, a bank employee, head of HRM, service engineer etc. However, there are some commonalities between the work backgrounds. Of the 10 respondents 6 work or have mostly worked in a managing function. In these functions they had experience with doing projects and having responsibility for the company or departments of a company. Working on a project within the working groups and being partly responsible for the outcomes is therefore not new and in line with their work background. Another commonality between some of the respondents is that 4 of them are retired and are using a part of their free time they got since they are retired for volunteer work and other society related activities. For them the working groups and being part of the process of the inner city is such an activity as well. Of the other 6 respondents, 2 of them are currently jobless and therefore do have more time as well to spend on other things such as the working groups. One of the respondents who does have a job does point at the effect of work for the time that can be spend in the working groups.

“I mean I do something, but that is in the margin and I think that is the case for everyone who is, next to his normal job, active in the working groups”. (Citizen A)

However, between the respondents who still work and most of the other respondents who do not work is not a lot of difference in the time that they spent on the working groups. Most of the respondents spent a few hours per week on the working groups. Only two of the respondents who spent more than a few hours on the working groups, both a day per week. These two respondents are both retired, but in general does the factor work not make much difference in the time that is spent on the working groups.

4.3.2 Determining factors for participation

4.3.2.1 Skills and resources

To test if the respondents had the skills that they might have needed in the working groups a set of questions was formed which were answered with the help of a Likert-scale. With this Likert-scale different skills were questioned as speaking in front of a group, understanding information which was sent by the municipality to the working group, the capacity to convince others of their ideas and the capacity to oversee what the interests of different persons and organisations is. The Likert-scale was made in 5 steps or answer categories which were strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree and strongly agree. Of all the answers on the Likert-scale questions only one answer was filled in with the answer category ‘disagree’. Three answers were filled in with the answer category ‘neither agree nor disagree’ and all the other 66 answers were filled in with ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’, which means that according to the respondents they have the skills which could be helpful in the working groups. The answers given by the respondents therefore show that the civic skills, meant by Verba et al. (1995) are possessed by the respondents. Because all the respondents agree that they have these skills it seems reasonable that other citizens who participated in the working groups will possess these skills as well.

In the interviews the questions about education were after two interviews broadened to the education and work background, instead of only the educational background. This choice was made because, based on the answers given in the first interviews, the work background was related to the socio-economic status in the same way as the educational background is related to the socio-economic status in participation related literature (SCP 2014). The educational background and the work background were in the other interviews both questioned on the relation with the score given for the capacities in the Likert-scale questions. The respondents mentioned that especially their (former) work had a great impact on the score that they gave for their skills. Skills as speaking in front of a group or convincing others of ideas they have were skills that some of them had to use in their work as well. The positive score they gave on these skills therefore had a strong relation with their work. However, some respondents also argued that it was not just their work or education that caused that they had these skills. The skills were seen as character traits. If they can speak in front of a group was therefore dependent on who they are, what kind of character. Education was seen as a tool to improve those character traits, but is not seen as the primary reason why they had those skills.

"I have always said something if I didn't agree with something, so it is maybe also who you are. But it improves because of your education of course." (Citizen G)

When we take a closer look at the relation between skills and resources and the participation within the working groups, it is already clear, as mentioned before, that all the respondents claim that they have most or all of the skills that were questioned with the Likert-scale. The skills seem therefore to be, in the case of Doetinchem, something that all the respondents say they have. However, to see if it is necessary to have these skills to participate in the working groups, the respondents were questioned if they participated in the working groups when they had given their skills on the Likert-scale a lower score. The opinions of the respondents were not unanimous. 6 of the respondents stated that they would personally not have participated in the working groups when their skills would have been lower, while the other respondents stated that they would have participated if that was the case (see table 7).

Table 7: Answers on the question "If the score you gave to these skills was lower, do you think you had still taken part in the working groups?"

Question	If the score you gave to these skills was lower, do you think you had still taken part in the working groups? (n=10)	
Answer	Yes (n=4)	No (n=6)
Explanation	The role in the working group would have been less prominent than now, but it would not have withheld them from participating. Being interested is for them more important than the capacities they would have in determining if they will participate or not. However, they mention as well that they want to have some input in the working groups even when their skills would be lower.	When they participate they want to give input in the group. They do not want to participate with a feeling of not being able to contribute enough to the working group.

All the respondents say that they have those skills, for which it seems in that case necessary to have those skills to participate in the working groups. Seen from this point having or not having these skills seem to have a determining role in the choice to participate. However, with two notes to be made. The first one is that it was not possible to really measure the skills in the interview, therefore it was based on how the respondents thought of it themselves. Since this self-image also has a strong relation with the degree of being (politically) active (see Van Regenmortel 2008) it is not sure in how far the participants really have those skills and what the influence of the self-image is on the score they gave. Another point is that 4 of the respondents stated that they still would participate if they had rank the score they gave for their skills lower, but they mention that they still want to have input in the working groups. Since the other 6 respondents answered that they would not have participated with less skills, because they could in that case not contribute to the working group, the feeling of being able to contribute and have input in the working groups is important. The skills are in that sense a tool to be able to contribute. Since they all have those tools it still seems that these tools are needed to contribute to the working groups, something that all the respondents wanted.

The skills are a tool to be able to contribute and being able to contribute is an important motivation to participate.

4.3.2.2 Social network

The social network of someone is an important motivator for that person to start participating, according to the literature referenced to in this thesis. The social network creates an urgency for people to participate. The relations and interdependencies they have with people from their social network activate them to come in action for others (Verba et al. 1995). Research from Tonkens and Verhoeven (2011) in Amsterdam showed that the most important motivation for initiators of citizen initiatives is the wish to do something for other people. However, this seems not to be the case in Doetinchem.

The citizens who participated in the working groups did speak, before they started participating in the working groups, with friends and acquaintances about the situation of the inner city. But these conversations were not intended to get ideas what they could do for the inner city, but were more about problems as empty stores that the inner city was facing or the atmosphere and attractiveness of the inner city and not what they could do to solve these problems. These conversations did not

The social network of the respondents seems not to have been of any importance in the decision to participate in the working groups.

lead to the respondents starting citizen initiatives or other things to improve the inner city, but the point that is made by Tonkens and Verhoeven (2011) that the wish to do something for other people is an important motivation for active citizens cannot be seen as incorrect in the case of Doetinchem. Most of the citizens do not have people in their social network that were disadvantaged by the

situation of the inner city. The people who were disadvantaged by the situation of the inner city were seen, by many of the respondents, to be the entrepreneurs who had a store in the inner city. These people were not part of the social network of 9 of the respondents who participated in the working groups. Therefore, there was no call of the social networks of these 9 respondents to do something for them related to the inner city of Doetinchem. The important motivation, the wish to do

something for other people, does in the case of these 9 respondents not play a role. Just one of the respondents had these people in his social network, since he has had a store in the inner city himself as well and although he does not have that store anymore he is still active in the association for entrepreneurs within the inner city. He is also the only respondent that is asked by his surroundings to participate in the working groups. All the other respondents weren't asked by their surroundings to participate, most of them were just asked by the municipality via the citizens' panel. The social network of the respondents seems therefore not to have been of any importance in the decision to participate in the working groups.

Table 8: Answers on the question "Are there people in your surroundings who experience negative consequences of the current state of the inner city?"

Question	Are there people in your surroundings who experience negative consequences of the current state of the inner city? (n=10)	
Answer	Yes (n=1)	No (n=9)
Explanation	One respondent is a former shop owner and is still active in the association of entrepreneurs. The respondent is asked by his surroundings to participate in the working groups because of the negative consequences for people in his network.	The people who experience negative consequences by the current state of the inner city are the entrepreneurs according to the respondents, but the respondents do not have local entrepreneurs in their social network.

4.3.2.3 Sense of place

There is a clear defined spatial aspect in the topic where the working groups are working on: the inner city of Doetinchem. The message to participate in the working groups that the municipality of Doetinchem sent out to the residents of Doetinchem stated that the goal of the working groups was: to make the inner city more attractive and to strengthen the inner city as a hospitable place in a surrounding of green and water. It therefore seems that the 'sense of place' has an impact on the participation of people in the working groups. Sense of place can be divided in place attachment, place dependence and place identity.

The place dependence is in the case of the respondents not very remarkable. Of the 10 respondents 5 of them are sure that they want to live in Doetinchem for the next years and just 3 of the 10 respondents mentioned that they maybe will live in another city as Deventer or Nijmegen in a couple of years. An important point with which Doetinchem shows itself as a nice place to live is the green area which surrounds the city. All the respondents like to spend their leisure time outside of the city in the green areas of the Achterhoek, which is seen by two of the respondents as an almost unique green area in the Netherlands. To live in such a green area these two respondents are therefore dependent on Doetinchem and surroundings, while the other respondents don't see the green areas as unique. The answers that were given in the interviews did not gave the idea that place dependence played a role in the decision of the respondents to participate in the working groups.

The description that the respondents gave about the inner city of Doetinchem and the identity the city had in their eyes, before the working groups started, is an inner city which was not so special, by some even seen as dull, but as a cosy place. 9 of the 10 respondents saw that there were some things that could be improved on the inner city, although they were not very critical on the inner city. The place attachment that 6 of the respondents have with Doetinchem shows itself in the feeling that they want to make the inner city of Doetinchem a nicer place. Although the city is not so special and by some seen as dull, these respondents feel the urge to make the inner city of Doetinchem more attractive and to make it special. The lack of attractiveness of the inner city that is felt by the respondents is the attachment to Doetinchem that is a part of the motivation for 6 of the 10 respondents to take part in the working groups. However, just for 2 of these 6 respondents the lack of attractiveness of the inner city of Doetinchem that is felt by them was the main part of their motivation to participate in the working groups. For the other 4 respondents it was just a small part of their motivation.

Almost all, 9 of the 10, respondents see Doetinchem as their place and identify themselves with Doetinchem. However, of these 9 respondents there is only one who can see himself back in the identity he gave from the inner city. The other respondents do not have this self-identity, however these 9 respondents have an inner city of Doetinchem in mind for over a couple of years in which the plans of the working groups will be implemented which does reflect themselves. They therefore hope to create this self-identity in the end with a more attractive inner city. However, the place attachment and place identity together seem to create a sense of place which has influence on the decision to participate in the working groups.

If we look at the three concepts which form the sense of place together, the three concepts differ in being part of the motivation of the respondents to participate. Place dependence does not have influence in the decision to participate in the working groups for the respondents, while place attachment and place identity have influence on the decision to participate. The data confirms the outcomes of the research of Manzo and Perkins (2006) who found that place dependence and place identity had influence on the decision to participate of citizens, while this was not the case of place dependence.

4.3.2.4 Expected success of participation

Another concept which is part of the conceptual model is the expected success of participation. When people believe that their participation makes a difference and that it is possible to change something by participation this will have a positive effect on the chance that they will participate (Verba et al 1995; Lowndes et al. 2006). Following these scholars, it would seem that in the case of Doetinchem that when the participants believe that the municipality is likely to listen to them and respond to the participation and the ideas of a participant, there is a high rate of expected success of participation, what makes it more likely that a person will participate in the working groups. However, just one of the respondents actively searched for what he himself could contribute to the process to make his decision if he would participate in the working groups. It must be said that 5 of the other respondents stated that they would not participate when they have less skills than they have now, which would mean that these 5 respondents already knew in an early stage that they can contribute with their participation. Most of the respondents, 7 out of 10, also decided to join the working groups without having an expectation how these working groups would be and therefore most of them did not have any idea of what to expect of the working groups and the outcomes of the

working groups. They stepped in the working groups without having an idea of what they could expect from it.

“Actually I have not imagined what it would be. You subscribe for a working group, you go there and you hear what the ideas are and then you’ll say I join the group. You still do not have an expectation of what the outcome will be, because it is of course something very unknown when a municipality asks you to participate in something”. (Citizen J)

Table 9: Answers on the question "What were your expectations of the working groups before they started?"

Question	What were your expectations of the working groups before they started? (n=10)		
Answer	Somewhat positive (n=1)	Unknown (n=7)	Somewhat negative (n=2)

Because this long-term process with the inner city of Doetinchem is a rather new collaboration between municipality and society and at least unknown in Doetinchem, the respondents did not know what to expect from taking part in such a process. This newness of the process is however also a reason why some of them chose to participate in the process.

“I honestly didn’t know what to expect. I thought I go there and I will see. Because often when a municipality comes with an initiative, there is some interest in the beginning, but that interest fades away very quickly. I went there out of interest. I thought the municipality is starting this project and I’m curious how they will deal with it. My expectation was wait and see. Let’s say it developed during the ride.” (Citizen C)

As mentioned here, the respondent didn’t know what to expect of it. The expected success of participation therefore didn’t play a role in the decision of the respondents to participate in the working groups. It was more the interest than the expectations they had that helped in their decision to take part in working groups. The conceptual model therefore didn’t cover the whole motivation of citizens to participate in the working groups. Next to the interest in the process in which the municipality and society are together involved, some of the respondents also partly decided to participate in the working groups because they want to contribute to the society and they see the working groups as a way to do that. Another respondent saw it as a duty to take part in the working groups, to make sure that there are citizens participating in the working groups as the municipality takes that initiative.

4.3.2.5 Trigger

Participation starts with a specific trigger, according to Specht (2013). A specific incident, moment or event that can be seen in retrospect as the starting point of the participation. For 7 of the 10 respondents the starting point of their participation to do something for the inner city of Doetinchem were the working groups. The other 3 respondents started their participation to improve the inner city in another way, one of them in the time he was a shop owner in the inner city, another one as former municipality official and a third one from a project that already had been started before with his work as well. Their work played an important role in their earlier participation. The other

respondents started to participate actively by the working groups itself. However, the reaction on the message that was sent out by the municipality was by most of them not seen as the actual starting point, or as Specht (2013) calls trigger, for them. They did react on the message of the municipality and went to the first meeting, but still not sure if they would participate in the working groups. The first meeting, which had according to the respondent who were at the first meeting an enormous positive atmosphere from the municipality as well as from the other group members, which was for them eventually the moment when they decided that they would take part as a member from the working groups.

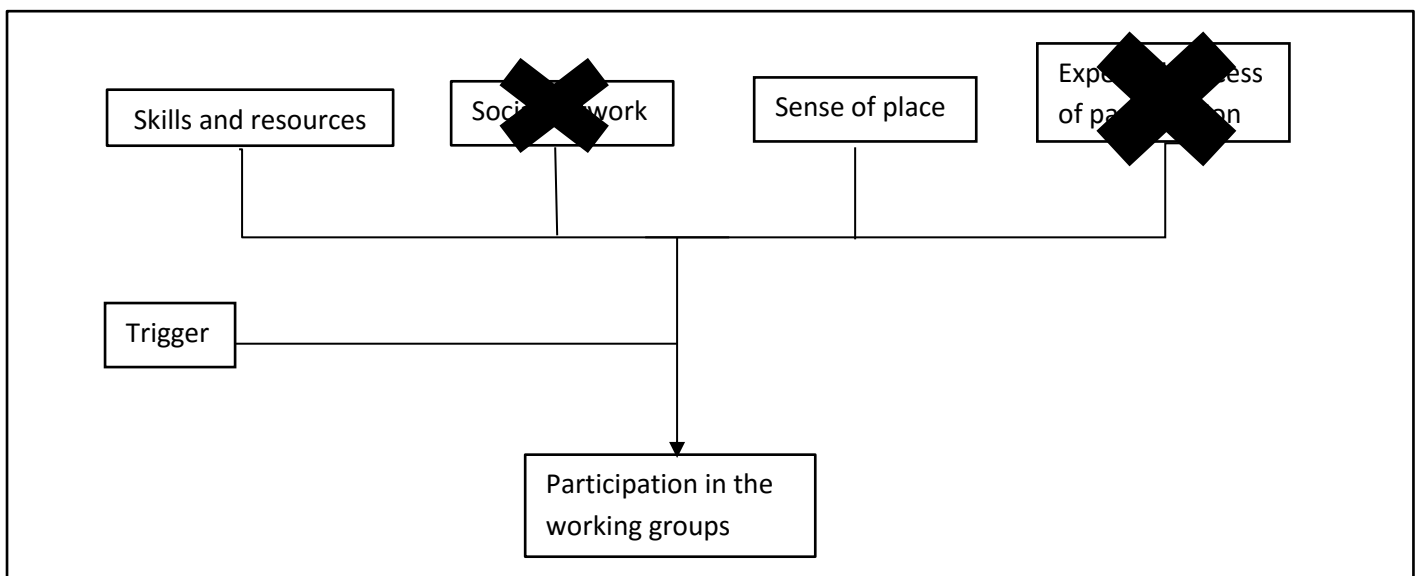
In the trigger was a specific part that had a major influence on the decision to participate in the working groups as well. The specific topic of the working group was for 3 of the respondents to participate in the working groups. These 3 respondents didn't take part in the working groups for the same reason as the municipality want to work on the inner city. The topic of the working group in which they are in is more important and is the reason why these respondents chose to participate in the working group. They chose to participate because of the specific topic of that specific working group. If that specific topic would not have been the topic of a working group, these 3 respondents would not have participated in the working groups. With the invitation to take part of the working groups the municipality already showed which working groups there would be so participants could choose in which working group he or she want to take part. This had a positive effect on the participation of the respondents for two reasons. The first reason was that those 3 respondents took part in a specific working group since they were interested in the topic of that specific working group, without being interested in the inner city itself. When there would not have been a working group with that specific topic, some of the citizens wouldn't have participated. Another reason is that most of the residents specifically chose for a particular working group which is the most interesting for them or the topic was something of which the respondents thought that it could really improve the inner city of Doetinchem. When citizen F saw events as a crucial point in making an inner city attractive, that citizen chose for the working group events. When citizen J saw the key in making the inner city more attractive in the role of the Oude IJssel, the river which is next to the inner city, that citizen chose for the working group of the boulevard. By offering citizens themselves the choice in which working group they want to be, they could choose for the topic that was most interesting to them and which fits to their idea of how making the inner city more attractive. It seems that when it was unclear which working groups there would be, the number of citizens which would participate in the process would be less.

The trigger or the starting point to participate is in the case of Doetinchem two-folded for the respondents. The first part of the trigger is the invitation sent out by the municipality to start in the working groups. By naming the different topics in the invitation 3 of the respondents decided to participate in a working group, which they wouldn't have done if there was not a working group on that topic. The second part of the trigger was the positive atmosphere of the first meeting. 5 of the respondents had still not decided if they would participate in the working groups and after the first meeting all the 5 respondents stated that it was the positive atmosphere of the first meeting which triggered them to participate in the working groups.

4.3.2.6 Conclusion of the determining factors for the participation

In the conceptual model (see figure 3) there were 4 determinants for citizen participation in the working groups, which were skills and resources, social network, sense of place and the expected success of participation. Two of these four determinants, the social network and the expected success of participation, are according to the data collected from the interviews no determining factors for citizen participation in the case of the working groups. The other two determinants, skills and resources and the sense of place, are indeed as the literature suggests determining factors in citizen participation.

Figure 3: Determinants of participation in the working groups



4.3.3 Experience with the working groups

4.3.3.1 Expected success of participation

As mentioned, 7 of the 10 respondents started the working groups without any expectations on the outcomes of the working groups itself. Therefore, there were no expectations that play a role in how the respondents look back at the working groups. After the working groups, all the respondents were in general positive on the outcomes of the working groups. Although 7 of the respondents did not have specific expectations on what the outcomes of the working groups would be, the outcomes were higher than they thought it would be. Just one of the respondents had the feeling that there was a lot of talking on all the topics, but that it in the end it not yields as much as the respondent had thought at the start. While 2 other respondents stated that they had thought it would be a lot of talking without a lot of action and in the end it turned out to be better than they thought.

Nevertheless, there is still some doubt if the plans that came out of the working groups will be realised and implemented. Especially if these plans will be realised in a way that the respondents think will work. The positive outcome of the working groups therefore does not have a positive effect on the expected success for the next phase of the process. Unless the success of the next phase is still doubtful for some, all of the respondents chose to participate in the implementation phase. They want to work further on the ideas they started with and be involved in the implementation of these plans as well. The power of possibility, mentioned by Mathews (1999), as the point that who finds

out that he can make a change through participating, in this case the participation in the working groups, is motivated to go through with the participation. Therefore, the success of the participation leads to motivation to keep participating.

4.3.3.2 Social capital

Another concept which is integrated in the conceptual model as having effect on the experience with the working groups is social capital. The social capital was measured with the focus on collaboration, trust and reciprocity. When a group is working together on a basis of trust and reciprocity, it is able to accomplish more than when the collaboration, trust or reciprocity towards each other is less (Putnam 1993). This will lead to a more positive attitude as well (Tam 1998). It therefore seems that when there was a high degree of social capital within these working groups, they will have a more positive experience with the working groups.

In almost all the working groups where one of the respondents was in, there was a good collaboration between the working group members. These respondents stated that they saw their working group changing into a team in which every group member did his best. Just 1 of the 10 respondents sometimes missed a good collaboration between the members of the working group he was in, although this improved later on. The collaboration with city officials, who had positions as working group members or as one of the project leaders, was seen as very positive as well by all the respondents. Especially the enthusiasm of all the working group members was seen as one of the most positive points and together with the diversity of the working group members seen as the main reasons for the good outcomes of the working groups. The enthusiasm also helped to make the respondents more enthusiastic and more open for further participation.

“Yes, the working group was very positive. You also notice, and that is remarkable, at the last meeting on ‘t Pannenkoekschip [place where the meeting was], our working group in fact wants to go through directly. They want to make steps, not a break so it will prolapse. At the moment when you see that the enthusiasm of everyone is so huge and the cooperation you get from the government is good. That is how it’s got to be.” (Citizen J)

Only one of the respondents took part in a working group in which the collaboration between all the members could have been better. This was also a downside of the process of the working groups for this respondent.

Within all the working groups the different working group members trusted each other as well. An important reason for that was the open communication within the working groups and with the city officials who were involved as working group members and project leaders. Another important reason for the trust in each other was that everyone was working for common interests, which were in the end more important than everyone’s own interests. Different respondents mentioned that they saw that other working group members, especially local entrepreneurs had their own interests as well, it was not seen as a problem as long as it was not dominant in comparison with the common interests of the group.

Reciprocity, the third part of social capital which was measured, was in the case of the working groups by the respondents especially seen as listening to what all the other working group members had to say. The reciprocity within the working group was seen by them in a very positive way as well, since they recognised that in their working groups everyone had the possibility and did come up with

ideas for the topic they were thinking of, while the working group members listened to the ideas other members had. Therefore, the respondents saw that everyone listened to each other and they discussed as a group the ideas that were brought in by the members of that group.

“As someone came with an idea the others listened to what he had to say. And sometimes it was: you have a good idea, but I would do it on this and that way. So there were good conversations with each other, there were discussions and we listened to each other. That was really good.” (Citizen D)

Since 9 out of 10 respondents stated that there was a good collaboration in the working group they were in, with members who trusted each other, listened to each other and were able to have good discussions, there was, according to the respondents, social capital within the working groups. As Putnam (1993) stated this has as result that there will be more accomplished. This seems the case since the respondents were positive on the outcomes of the working groups, while there was also a positive attitude towards the working groups. The point made by Tam (1998) that more social capital leads to a more positive attitude seems to be the case in Doetinchem as well. However, since there was only one respondent who wasn't very positive on the social capital within the working group that person was in, it is not possible to see if there is a difference in the outcomes between the working groups with a high level of social capital and the working groups with a lower level of social capital. It is therefore not sure what the exact effect if of social capital in the case of the working groups.

After the working groups were finished almost all participants want to participate in the project teams, which is the next phase of the process in which the ideas will be implemented, as well. In the meantime, other people have asked as well if they can participate in the process. As a result, the project leaders of the whole process have added these new participants to the groups as well. This is by some of the respondents seen as a threat for the social capital within these groups, which can undermine the good atmosphere and the social capital in these groups as well. It is important that these new developments with new people in most of the groups will be managed, since the social capital and therefore the trust and collaboration in these groups is important in the experience that the members have with the process.

Although there seem to be a good level of social capital within the working groups, the social contact between the working groups seems to be missing. There was rarely any contact between the groups, which resulted in the fact that most of the respondents didn't know what all the other working groups did (except for what was in the proposals book). There was rarely any collaboration between the working groups and the groups were therefore separated blocks instead of a building of blocks together. Out of the data of the interviews there is nothing to say on the trust and reciprocity between the different working groups, but if the collaboration is an indicator for social capital, the social capital does not transcend the working groups. If a group can accomplish more when there is a high level of social capital (Putnam 1993), the lack of collaboration between the working groups can have a negative impact on what will be accomplished in the whole process of the inner city.

4.3.3.3 Participation in the working groups

The way the respondents participate in the working group can have an impact on the experience of the working group as well. Therefore, the effect of the earlier mentioned concepts of skills and resources, social network and sense of place are analysed as well on their impact on the experience respondents have with the working group. Since the skills of the respondents are all positively

answered a difference between the respondents on the effect of their skills is hard to see. The important resource that is measured, time, has led two of them to be more active in the working groups with a role as chairman of a working group. They also spend more time in the activities for the working group, which resulted in more connections with others and more information.

The social network of the respondents played a small role in the way they participated in the working groups. Although one of the respondents even asked someone from his social network to join the working group, while some of the other respondents spoke people from their social network to get information which they could use to improve the outcome of the working group.

The respondents are enthusiastic on most of the ideas from all the working groups, and especially enthusiastic on the idea of their own working group. All the respondents see the ideas of the working groups as having a positive effect on the inner city of Doetinchem. The working groups will therefore have a positive impact on the inner city of Doetinchem which they find more attractive when those ideas are implemented. This does lead to a more positive experience with the working groups for the different respondents, who look positively and sometimes even surprised to the quality of the outcome of the working groups.

4.3.4 The effect of participation on the ambassadorship of the place

The participation within the working groups had the effect that the respondents were thinking more on the situation of the inner city and the problems that face the inner city, than they had done before their participation in the working groups. They became more concerned with the content of developments related to the inner city of Doetinchem. The working groups, as was the intention of the concept of the working groups, let the respondents think on what has to be done to make the inner city of Doetinchem more attractive and which tools can be used for that. The respondents became also more conscious of the changes that happened in the inner city. When another store became empty, the respondents saw that, which wasn't always the case before they were members of the working groups. They look on a more critical way to the inner city than they did before. This change in the way they react on the inner city is also mentioned by one of the respondents:

“Because of the process I went more often to the inner city. Here and there I drank cups of coffee to hear from the entrepreneurs what their opinion on the process was. You look in a more conscious way, like oh that is a nice corner of which you can make a nice place. Your consciousness grows.”
(Citizen C)

One of the respondents stated that it even changed the way how the respondent looks to every inner city. Not only the way he looks at the inner city of Doetinchem has changed for the respondent, but he became more aware of what he likes of an inner city and what he doesn't like.

“I started looking differently to the inner city and the perception of a city, also by reading about pop-ups. In retrospect I asked myself why did I like the “9 straatjes” [Amsterdam] and now I ascertain that those streets are shopping streets which you do not see in other cities. I experienced that as pleasant and now I ascertain why this was the case and that is because of the working group.” (Citizen I)

However, the participation in the working groups does not have an effect on their ambassadorship of the place yet. The respondents are mostly positive about the working groups and the plans that are

made by the working groups. Most of them are also positive on the role of the city officials in the process overall and it seems that participation in the working groups has made some of the respondents more positive about the municipality than they were before the working groups started. But the participation and the role they had as citizen in this process has not led yet to a change in their role as ambassador of the place. A crucial point here is that when the interviews were held (May and June 2016) none of the plans of the working groups were realised yet. The first plans, such as a city beach and a reduction of the parking fee, were implemented in the end of June. The respondents therefore didn't see any change in the inner city since the working groups had presented their plans to the municipality council.

Zenker and Seigis (2012) showed that the feeling of being respected is a mediator between citizen participation and citizen satisfaction. When participating citizens feel respected their satisfaction, commitment and trust with the project they are participating in. In the case of Doetinchem the respondents feel respected in their role as stakeholder in the process and most of them are satisfied with the project until so far. Even all of the respondents decided to participate further in the project, which shows a form of commitment to the process. Although the feeling of being respected can be a mediator between citizen participation and citizen satisfaction with the project in the case of Doetinchem, the feeling of being respected is not a mediator between citizen participation and the satisfaction with the inner city itself. The respondents have not yet become bigger ambassadors of Doetinchem because of the participation within the working groups. Their proudness of the inner city of Doetinchem has not risen according to the respondents. The average grade the respondents gave to show their proudness of the inner city was a 6,9 before the working groups had started. At the moment of the interview (May-June 2016) this grade has been stable with a 6,8. None of the plans that came out of the working groups had been implemented at the time of the interviews. The respondents saw that as the reason why their proudness of the inner city has not risen. All the respondents argued that nothing has changed yet, so the inner city was still the same. The small decrease from a 6,9 to a 6,8 is due to the fact that during the working groups more stores got empty, in which especially the end of the warehouse V&D was mentioned.

Their proudness of the inner city of Doetinchem has not risen according to the respondents.

Two points were mentioned by the respondent how they can become more proud and a bigger ambassador of the inner city. The first is that there has to be something in the inner city of Doetinchem that makes it different from all the other places. Something that is unique for Doetinchem and distinguishes Doetinchem from other places and attracts people to come to Doetinchem for that specific thing in the inner city. The other point, which is the key to make the respondents prouder of the inner city and to make them bigger ambassadors of the inner city of Doetinchem, is the implementation of the plans which came out of the working groups. Most of the things that the respondents want to see in the inner city is part of the topics of the working groups, the groups therefore are in line with the things that make the respondents prouder of the inner city. If we compare this outcome to what place marketing scholars (Freire 2009; Insch & Florek 2008; Zenker &

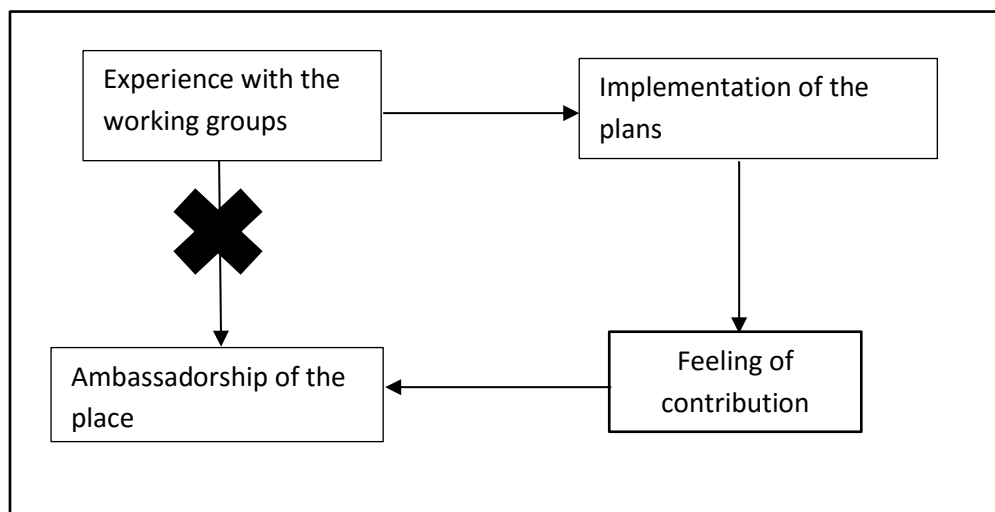
The respondents have participated and are positive on the working groups, but they want to see their plans implemented before they become more proud of the city and become bigger ambassadors of the place.

Erfgen 2014) suggest, the case of Doetinchem shows that participation does not lead directly to a change in the ambassadorship of the place. The respondents have participated and are positive on the working groups, but they want to see their plans implemented before they become more proud of the city and become bigger ambassadors of the place.

“If at least by means of indeed implementing certain things they show that there is listened to the society and that they are involved. Than you will get the solidarity and everyone has the feeling of I have contributed to that and see now how cosy it is.” (Citizen F)

As this respondent mentioned it is for him important to see that he can see something back in the inner city of which he can say “I have contributed to that”. So he can see something in the city to which he had contributed and which makes the inner city he cosier place. Although it seems that for most people their proudness of their city grows when it is a nicer place, based on the experiences of the respondents before they participated in working groups or other activities for the inner city, it seems that there will be a stronger growth in the proudness of the respondents because they have contributed to these changes that are planned to come in the inner city of Doetinchem. According to the respondents, the relation between participation and the ambassadorship of a place therefore only seems to have an effect after the place actually has changed, in which the participants see that they have contributed to that change of the place. Further research however needs to be done to further understand this relation when the plans of the working groups have been implemented in the inner city of Doetinchem.

Figure 4: The relation between participation and ambassadorship of a place



Chapter 5 – Conclusion

Chapter 5 forms the conclusion of this thesis. In the first section the research questions will be answered. Section 2 forms the evaluation and limitations of the research. In the third section recommendation for Doetinchem and for similar projects in other middle sized cities will be mentioned. In section 4 the points for further research will be discussed.

5.1 Answers on the research questions

5.1.1 Introduction of research topic

Inner cities in the Netherlands are facing persistent problems which decrease the attractiveness of these inner cities. Empty stores and fewer visitors are nowadays the outcome visible in inner cities which derive from developments as e-shopping, which make it less necessary for people to visit the inner city. Especially middle-sized cities are facing these problems. Where the empty spaces in cities as Amsterdam, Utrecht, Haarlem and Maastricht are filled again in a short period of time, inner cities as Doetinchem, Sittard, Den Helder and Roermond don't fill their empty stores as easily as it was before. Especially these cities are searching for ways to make their inner city more attractive to sustain the inner city as an economically interesting place for shop owners and a good place to go to for visitors. The municipality of Doetinchem tries to do that in collaboration with residents and entrepreneurs and therefore chooses for the way of citizen participation.

5.1.2 The research questions

The basis for the research done in Doetinchem on the working groups of the project “Aanvalsplan binnenstad” is the following research question: **how are citizens participating in a co-creating process of place marketing to transform the inner city of Doetinchem and how does their role as citizens influence their role as ambassadors of the place?**

To give an answer on this research question, it can be split into four subquestions which are used in this thesis:

- What is the role of residents in place marketing processes according to place marketing literature?
- Which factors determine the participation of citizens in a collaborating process between government and civil society?
- How do these factors influence the participation of citizens in the working groups on inner city transformation in Doetinchem?
- How does participation in a place marketing process affect the attitude towards the place?

These four subquestions were divided in theoretical subquestions and empirical subquestions, as shown in table 10.

Table 10: The division of the subquestions

	Theoretical	Empirical
How are citizens participating in a co-creating process of place marketing to transform the inner city of Doetinchem?	Which factors determine the participation of citizens in a collaborating process between government and civil society?	How do these factors influence the participation of citizens in the working groups on inner city transformation in Doetinchem?
How does their role as citizens influence their role as ambassadors of the place?	What is the role of residents in place marketing processes according to place marketing literature?	How does participation in a place marketing process affect the attitude towards the place?

5.1.3 The theoretical subquestions

The first theoretical subquestion that was mentioned is: which factors determine the participation of citizens in a collaborating process between government and civil society? This subquestion is included in this thesis to find out which, based on the theory, factors play a role in the choice to participate in a form of participation as the working groups in Doetinchem. Many scholars have written on this topic and the first choice to find the correct factors was based on the form of participation which was written about. In the case of Doetinchem, the citizen participation in the working groups can be named political participation since the citizens have with their participation influence on the decisions made and the policy for the inner city. With their participation and the outcomes of their participation they create the content of the policy and political decisions. The form of citizen participation was then political participation, which is a different form of citizen participation than the citizen participation which is related to the “do-democracy”. The basic model for political participation is the civic voluntarism model of Verba et al. (1995). In this model civic skills, the social network and the expected success of participation are seen as the most important factors in determining which citizens will participate and which will not. Lowndes et al. (2006) worked further on this model to create a model which helps local governments to foster citizen participation and to crystallize the factors that determine the participation of citizens, which is named the CLEAR-model. Not only the factors of civic skills (Can do), social network (Asked to) and expected success of participation (Responded to) were included, but also ‘Like to’ and ‘Enabled to’. The factor Enabled to resonates with another factor often used for participation which is Putnam’s (1993) social capital. The model of Lowndes et al. (2006) is in that way a good overview of different factors named which should have a determining influence on the participation of citizens and forms as the basis for the conceptual model used in this thesis. The factor ‘Like to’ is related to the topic where the participation is focused on, which is in the case of Doetinchem the inner city. The concept ‘sense of place’ was therefore included to cover the ‘Like to’ factor of Lowndes et al. (2006). However, these factors show when someone ‘can’ participate or would like to participate. Specht (2013) argues that next to these factors offered by Verba et al. and Lowndes et al. that participation always has a starting point, a certain trigger, which triggers participants to start participating. This

trigger is included in the conceptual model as well, to better understand the start of the participation for the participating citizens of Doetinchem.

The second theoretical subquestion in this thesis is: what is the role of residents in place marketing processes according to place marketing literature? The answer on this question is in the place marketing literature that is focussed on citizen participation. The role of residents in place marketing has grown in the last two decades. First the residents were only seen as a target group for place marketing, but with the introduction of customer-oriented place marketing this has changed. Residents are not only seen anymore as on the receiving side of place marketing messages, but their role as creators and as a part of the place and the place marketing has made them far more important stakeholders in the place marketing process than they were before. Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker (2013) divided the involvement of residents in place marketing into three different roles:

- Residents as integrated part of the place brand. The interaction of residents with each other and outsiders form the social milieu of a place. The combination of the physical setting and this social milieu forms the experience of someone in that place (Warnaby 2009a).
- Residents as ambassadors of their place. For external target markets the views of residents are important as these views are considered as informal, authentic and insider sources of information about the place.
- Residents as citizens. Residents have with their citizenship political power. They choose local government officials and can also show their influence by participating in political decisions, as in the case of the working groups in Doetinchem.

With these three roles residents have influence on the creation of place marketing via their role as citizens, they are an important part of the place via the social milieu that outsiders get in touch with and they send out their opinion on the place via their role as ambassadors of the place.

5.1.4 The empirical subquestions

The two theoretical subquestions can be seen as the theoretical framework for the empirical subquestions in this thesis. The first empirical subquestion builds therefore further on the first theoretical subquestion on determining factors in the participation of citizens. The empirical subquestion related to this topic is: How do these factors influence the participation of citizens in the working groups on inner city transformation in Doetinchem? To answer this question, the theoretical concepts which were included in the conceptual model were investigated during semi-structured interviews with 10 respondents who are part of the group of citizens who participated in the working groups.

This research, in which the data was collected during interviews with residents participating in the working groups, has shown that the factors that have a determining influence on their participation are the skills and resources they possess and their sense of place. The determining influence of the social network and the expected success of participation is rather small.

The influence of the skills and resources is based on the will to contribute to the working groups. The skills and resources were seen by the respondents in this research as tools to be able to contribute to the working groups. The influence of the sense of place is based on the place attachment and place identity. When the respondents started participating in the working groups there was a lack of

attractiveness of the inner city and the respondents could not identify themselves with the inner city. Because 9 of the 10 respondents feel bonded to Doetinchem the feeling to make the inner city of Doetinchem more attractive was a part of the motivation and for 2 of the respondents even the main motivation to participate in the working groups.

The social network of the respondents does not have a determining influence on the participation of the respondents. Just one of the respondents, who is a former shop owner in the inner city and still active in the association of entrepreneurs, stated that he was asked by his surroundings to participate in the working groups. For the other respondents their social network didn't play a role in their decision to participate in the working groups. The expected success of participation did also not have an influence on the participation of the respondents, since they didn't know what to expect from the working groups and the outcomes of the working groups.

For most of the respondents the trigger to participate for the inner city of Doetinchem was twofold. The first part was their acceptance of the invitation of the municipality to join the working groups. In which especially the topics of the different working groups had an important effect on the respondent to participate, as some decided to start participating because of a particular topic which would be one of the working groups. The second part was the positive atmosphere of the first meeting which was for these respondents the moment when they definitely decided to participate. Another factor which influenced the participation of the respondents is social capital, however this factor played a role during the working groups and had no role before the start of the working groups. Because of the good collaboration between the working group members, with trust in each other, there was social capital within those working groups which has a positive influence on what the working groups could achieve.

The second empirical subquestion is: How does participation in a place marketing process affect the attitude towards the place? Different scholars point at a positive relation between participation of citizens and a bigger ambassadorship of the place (Braun et al. 2013; Freire 2009; Insch & Florek 2008). However, there is no empirical evidence for this statement in these articles. In the place marketing process of Doetinchem, there is not yet this positive relation as stated in different articles. The participation of residents has not changed their ambassadorship of the place, with no change in the proudness of the inner city of these interviewed residents and the word-of-mouth from these residents has also not changed by their participation in the working groups. Participation has therefore, in the case of Doetinchem, not a direct effect on the ambassadorship of a participant. However, when the plans made by the working group will be implemented in the inner city, it will have, according to the respondents, a positive effect on their ambassador role of the inner city of Doetinchem. The respondents stated that they become more proud on the inner city when the plans of the working groups will be implemented, which gives them a proud feeling that they have contributed to that.

5.1.5 Main research question

With all of the subquestions answered an answer to the main research question can be given as well, building further on the answers given on the empirical subquestions. The main research question of this thesis is: **how are citizens participating in a co-creating process of place marketing to transform the inner city of Doetinchem and how does their role as citizens influence their role as ambassadors of the place?**

The process to transform the inner city of Doetinchem was started by the municipality to make the inner city face the problems it has and to make it more attractive and distinct. In that way the municipality wanted to attract more visitors to the inner city than there were at the beginning of the process. From the start this process was set up to involve the citizens and entrepreneurs of Doetinchem. In the third phase of this process the working groups were set up and the invitation of the municipality was sent out to local entrepreneurs who have a shop in the inner city and to citizens of Doetinchem as well. A number of 35 citizens took part in the working groups, which was almost half of the working group members. This research had shown the determining factors for the citizens to participate. From the factors included in the conceptual model the civic skills and their sense of place were the most important. The respondents who were interviewed had confidence that they had civic skills which could be helpful in the working groups. This matches the statement of Verba et al. (1995) that civic skills are needed to participate in political participation and correspond with the 'Can do' factor of Lowndes et al. (2006). Without these civic skills the respondents stated that they would not have been able to contribute to the working groups, which shows that the civic skills are a tool for citizens to participate in the working groups for the inner city. The other determining factor for citizen participation in the case of Doetinchem is the sense of place, and especially the place attachment and place identity. The respondents confirmed the conclusions of Manzo and Perkins (2006) that place attachment can enable a sense of empowerment to emerge which will let people participate in projects within their neighbourhood, which is strengthened if people's identity and values are informed by the place. The bond that the respondents had with Doetinchem had a positive impact on their choice to participate in the project of the working groups. The social network of these citizens and the expected success of the participation, which were the other two included factors, did not play a role in the decision for most of them to participate.

The participation started with a specific trigger, as Specht (2013) had mentioned, although the starting point for their participation was seen by the respondents in two parts. The first part was the acceptance of the invitation of the municipality to join the working groups and the choice for a specific topic. The second part was the positive atmosphere at the first meeting which made them definitely decide to participate. During the participation the collaboration within the working groups were seen by the respondents as good, with group members who trusted each other and a form of reciprocity between the members of the working groups. There was social capital within these working groups, which according to Putnam (1993) makes it able to accomplish more. Since all the respondents were positive on the outcomes of their working groups, the social capital seems to have the same impact in Doetinchem as well. Although, since all the respondents were positive on the outcomes it is not possible to see the precise effect of social capital on the outcomes, because a comparison between groups with a high level and groups with a low level of social capital could not be made.

The participation in their role as citizens did however not have a direct effect on their ambassadorship of the place. However, it seemed logical that participation leads to a bigger ambassadorship of the place and a more positive word-of-mouth, which was also stated by different scholars as well (Braun et al. 2013; Freire 2009; Insch & Florek 2008), although without empirical evidence. The respondents in Doetinchem stated however that their word-of-mouth had not changed and that they weren't prouder on the inner city than they were before the working groups started. An important point is that the plans were not yet implemented, which had as result that they did not see something in the inner city to which they had contributed. Although it is not yet the case,

the respondents mentioned that they would become more proud on the inner city when the plans will be implemented and they will see their contribution in it.

5.2 Reflection and limitations

The research was conducted between March and July 2016, with the interviews taken in May and the beginning of June 2016. The interviews were taken 3 months after the last meeting of the working groups, which were held between December 2015 and February 2016. The respondents were therefore able to look back at the whole process of the working groups and still had many good remembrances of the meetings and the process. All the participating residents who were asked for an interview were positive on the request and only some of the residents could not give an interview for practical (time) reasons. However, the research could have been improved when there would have been interviews with the respondents before the working groups as well. The difference in the answers given before the working groups and after the working groups would have been more accurate than as it was now with questions related to which grade they would give to their proudness on the inner city before the working groups started for example.

The interviews itself were largely based on open questions. Respondents were therefore more open in the answers they gave than with the more structured questions. However, the answers on the open questions showed that there were other factors which influenced the motivation to participate and the experience with the working groups of the respondents, which were not included in the conceptual model. Because of the variety of answers on the open questions, which differentiated with every respond, was sometimes difficult to get a grip on. Especially the questions related to the concept of sense of place where too open for the respondents to make a real distinction between the place identity and the place attachment. The influence of sense of place remained therefore a bit unclear. With more balance between open questions and closed questions the research answers and conclusions could have been more concrete. However, the variety of factors which play a role in the decision of residents to participate also corresponds with the variety of factors and motivations argued in the literature.

Since all the residents were generally positive on the working groups it was not able to see distinctions between respondents who were positive and respondents who were negative on the process of the working groups. This would have been helpful to even better analyse the participation of residents in the working groups. This has raised questions on how residents who first reacted on the invitation of the municipality to participate in the working groups but eventually didn't take part until the end of the working groups look back on these working groups, their motivation to react on the invitation and their decision to not take part in the working groups in the end.

5.3 Recommendations for practice

Next to the conclusions of this research there are also some recommendations that can be done to the project of 'Aanvalsplan Binnenstad' in Doetinchem, as well as to similar projects in other middle sized cities which deal with the same problem as Doetinchem.

5.3.1 Recommendations for Doetinchem

This research shows insights which can help to further improve the process of 'Aanvalsplan Binnenstad' of which the working groups were the third phase. The recommendations of this thesis for the 'Aanvalsplan Binnenstad' are related to the collaboration between the working groups and the goals of the working groups.

The first recommendation is to improve the collaboration between the different working groups. The respondents stated that the collaboration in the working groups was good and they were able to openly discuss the things that were said in the working groups. Collaboration and contact with the other working groups was however minimal. Many of the respondents although argued that they want to lay the connection between the working groups, to work together and to strengthen the ideas for the inner cities by making connections between the different plans and ideas. Two of the respondents also argued that they have tried to make connections with the other working groups, but that the other groups were working on their own. As a good collaboration within the working groups had a positive effect on the outcome and the atmosphere in the working groups, which is in line with the theory of Putnam (1993) on social capital, it seems that it can also strengthen the outcome of the project as a whole when the collaboration exceeds the level of the working groups. The project itself can then be more seen as a group instead of separate working groups. Since the respondents stated that their pride of the inner city will rise when they see something in the inner city of which they have the feeling that they have contributed to that, their pride will probably rise more when they see more things coming back in the inner city to which they have contributed. When feeling more a member of the project as a whole than feeling a member of a particular working group, they can see more things in the inner city to which they have contributed.

The second recommendation, which is related to the first recommendation as well, is to make the goals of a working group or parts of the project clearer. The respondents were part of a workgroup which had a specific tool as topic which was a tool for the greater goal making the inner city more attractive and distinct from other cities by creating a hospitable inner city in a surrounding of green and water, to attract more visitors to the inner city. In the working groups every working group was focussed on their specific topic, which had the effect that the topic of a working group was sometimes seen by the working group members as a goal on itself instead of a tool to reach a greater goal. This was partly influenced as well by the goal the working group got, which was focussed on making an idea or plan for that specific topic, and in which it was not always sure what the goal of that specific tool to reach that bigger goal. For example, in the working group of 'pop-ups' it was not clear if the goal of the pop-ups was directly to make Doetinchem more distinct from other cities or that it had as goal to decrease the number of empty stores in the inner city which can help to reach that greater goal of the project. Working to reach a specific goal is for many of the respondents, because of their management and project-based background, a familiar way of working. Working towards a specific goal with that particular topic as tool can therefore be more fruitful for the whole project than all the working groups working with as goal to get that specific topic in the inner city of Doetinchem.

5.3.2 Recommendations for other cities which deal with inner city problems

For other local municipalities of middle sized cities which deal with a similar challenge for the inner city as Doetinchem, including residents in these projects in a way that they can contribute to the project and the outcomes of the project seems as a good way to create support for the policy and changes in the inner city. Earlier research already shows that citizen participation improves the place marketing of a place (Aitken & Campelo 2011; Braun et al. 2013; Freire 2009; Houghton & Stevens 2011; Insch & Florek 2008; Kavaratzis 2012). Empirical data from this research adds that the residents who participate in these projects are convinced of their civic skills and have a sense of place that wants them to make the place better. Residents are therefore able to contribute to the project and do that with improving the place as common interest in mind. Since the whole project is not finished yet, the exact outcome of the project is not sure, but the way to the outcome seems to have multiple important aspects as well. The relation between the participating residents and the municipality can change in a positive way because of the collaboration between them. The participants get to see how the municipality works and which problems the municipality have to deal with, which makes that they can better understand the municipality. Another important aspect is that the respondents are concerned about the inner city, which creates that more people feel the urge to improve the inner city.

5.4 Points for further research

This research has given an insight in the perspective of participating residents in collaborating projects of government and society. In this thesis the motivation and determinant factors in the choice to participate are investigated and answered and the experience of participating residents in such a project is investigated as well. However, the respondents who were interviewed in this research were all positive on the project and the working groups. For further research it would be interesting to do research on the residents who were not positive on the project or in the case of Doetinchem who stopped participating during the process of the working groups. By investigating why this stopped participating or in other projects why residents are negative on the project the perspective of the residents can be seen from the viewpoint of less positive residents to broaden the view of the perspective of residents in such projects.

This specific research case can also be a starting point for further research to understand how the implementation of the plans of the research group has an effect on the pride and ambassadorship of participants in relation to the place. The interviews on which the empirical data from this research is based were held before the implementation of the plans of the working groups. When the same respondents would be interviewed when some of the plans of the working groups are implemented and also when the project 'Aanvalsplan binnenstad' has implemented all or most of the plans of the working groups, it is possible to collect more insight in how the implementation of plans to which the residents have contributed affect the pride and ambassadorship of these respondents and if there is a difference on the pride and ambassadorship between when plans of a working group of which a specific respondent was a member are implemented and when plans of a working group of which a specific respondent was not a member are implemented.

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Appendices

Appendice 1: The interview list

Interviewvragen onderzoek werkgroepen Doetinchem



Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

Interviewer: Robbert Mantel

- Introductie.
 - Allereerst zal ik een korte introductie van mijzelf geven en het doel van dit onderzoek, waarna ik graag wat meer over u zou willen horen, zoals waar u woont, uw gezinssituatie, uw beroep, opleidingen etc. Zodat we elkaars achtergrond een beetje kennen.
- Motivatie om aan de werkgroepen deel te nemen.
 - Na onze introductie wil ik het nu graag hebben over uw motivatie om aan de werkgroepen deel te nemen. Daarvoor pak ik de kaart die u heeft ingevuld op de pannenkoekenboot erbij.
 1. Kunt u uw antwoord op de vraag 'Wat was uw motivatie om mee te doen?' toelichten?
 2. Met wie heeft u vooraf contact gehad over de situatie van de binnenstad en wat heeft u met hen besproken?
 3. Zijn er personen die u hebben gevraagd om in een werkgroep deel te gaan nemen?
 4. Zijn er mensen in uw directe omgeving die nadeel ondervinden van de situatie in de binnenstad?
 5. Zo ja, heeft dit meegespeeld in uw beslissing om deel te nemen aan de werkgroepen?
 6. Als u nu terugkijkt, wat ziet u als het punt waarop u besloot om u actief in te zetten voor een verandering in de binnenstad van Doetinchem?
- Verwachtingen van de werkgroep.
 - We hebben het over uw motivatie om deel te nemen aan de werkgroepen gehad. Ik zou het nu graag met u willen hebben over de verwachtingen die u van tevoren had over de werkgroepen en of er aan deze verwachtingen is voldaan.
 7. Hoe had u verwacht dat de werkgroepen zouden zijn?
 8. Zijn de werkgroepen positief of negatief uitgevallen in vergelijking met uw verwachtingen?
 9. Wat waren van tevoren uw verwachtingen over de uitkomsten van de werkgroepen?
 10. Wat vindt u van de uitkomsten van de werkgroepen als u deze vergelijkt met de verwachtingen die u van tevoren had?
- Evaluatie van de werkgroep.
 - We hebben het over uw verwachtingen betreffende de werkgroepen gehad. Ik wil nu graag met u een evaluatie van de werkgroepen maken.
 11. Hoe zijn de werkgroepen u bevallen?

12. Kunt u toelichting geven op de plus- en minpunten die u heeft aangegeven op de ingevulde kaart van de pannenkoekenboot.
 13. Werde er goed samengewerkt binnen de werkgroepen?
 14. Was er sprake van vertrouwen ten opzichte van elkaar in de werkgroepen?
 15. Hadden de leden van de werkgroepen iets voor elkaar over?
 16. Als u op een schaal van 1 tot 10 een cijfer moet geven voor uw mate van inbreng in de werkgroep in vergelijking met andere leden van de werkgroep, welk cijfer zou dat zijn?
- Skills and resources.
 - Na deze evaluatie van de werkgroepen wil ik u nu graag een paar stellingen voorleggen over vaardigheden die terugkwamen in de werkgroepen.
Antwoordmogelijkheden: Volledig mee eens; mee eens; niet mee eens, niet mee oneens; mee oneens; volledig mee oneens; weet ik niet.
 - 17. Ik durf te spreken voor een groep. (Likert)
 - 18. Ik kan goed spreken voor een groep. (Likert)
 - 19. De informatie die de werkgroep vanuit de gemeente heeft gekregen kan ik goed begrijpen. (Likert)
 - 20. De discussies in de werkgroepen kan ik goed begrijpen. (Likert)
 - 21. Ik deed actief mee in de discussies. (Likert)
 - 22. Ik kan anderen overtuigen van de ideeën die ik heb. (Likert)
 - 23. Ik kan goed overzien welke personen en organisaties belang hebben bij een bepaalde situatie. (Likert)
 - 24. Heeft het niveau van uw opleiding en de soort opleiding die u heeft genoten invloed gehad op de net door u ingevulde vaardigheden?
 - 25. Denkt u dat als u deze vaardigheden niet bezat u mee had gedaan aan de werkgroepen?
 - 26. Hoeveel tijd had u beschikbaar per week om aan de bezigheden voor de werkgroepen te besteden?
 - 27. Wat voor kennis, vanuit uw eigen achtergrond, had u over het specifieke onderwerp waar uw werkgroep zich mee bezig hield voordat de werkgroepen begonnen?
 - Sense of place.
 - Na het terugkijken op de werkgroepen wil ik het nu graag met u over uw binding met de binnenstad van Doetinchem hebben.
 - 28. Als u in de binnenstad van Doetinchem bent, welk gevoel roept dat bij u op?
 - 29. Ervaart u datzelfde gevoel ook als u in een andere binnenstad bent?
 - 30. Is het gevoel dat de binnenstad van Doetinchem bij u oproept verandert sinds de deelname aan de werkgroepen?
 - 31. Hoe zou u de binnenstad van Doetinchem hebben beschreven voordat u mee deed aan de werkgroepen?
 - 32. Hoe zou u de binnenstad van Doetinchem, zoals deze nu is, beschrijven?
 - 33. Hoe zou u de binnenstad van Doetinchem, zoals u verwacht dat deze eruit zal zien, beschrijven?
 - 34. Ziet u in een van deze beschrijvingen uzelf terug?
 - 35. Als u uw huidige werk kwijtraakt, waar zou u dan willen werken?
 - 36. Is Doetinchem voor u, in vergelijking met andere plaatsen, een betere plaats om uw vrije tijd door te brengen?
 - Invloed van werkgroep op hoe u naar de binnenstad kijkt.
 - We hebben het gehad over uw binding met de binnenstad van Doetinchem. Als laatste onderwerp wil ik het graag met u hebben over de invloed van de werkgroep op de manier hoe u naar de binnenstad kijkt.

37. Stel, ik ben een inwoner uit Zevenaar, ik kom niet zo vaak in Doetinchem en ik ken Doetinchem ook niet zo goed. Ik kom met u in gesprek over Doetinchem. Wat zou u over Doetinchem vertellen?
38. Heeft uw deelname aan de werkgroepen invloed gehad op wat u zojuist heeft verteld aan die inwoner uit Zevenaar?
39. Als u voordat u in de werkgroepen actief was een cijfer zou moeten geven op een schaal van 1 op 10 over hoe trots u bent op de binnenstad van Doetinchem, welk cijfer zou dat zijn geweest?
40. Als u nu een cijfer zou moeten geven op een schaal van 1 op 10 over hoe trots u bent op de binnenstad van Doetinchem, welk cijfer zou dat zijn?
41. Hoe zou dat cijfer hoger kunnen worden?

Appendice 2: Operationalisation scheme

Skills and resources	Spreeken voor een groep	Ik kan goed spreken voor een groep. (Likert) Ik durf te spreken voor een groep. (Likert)
	Overtuigen van anderen	Ik kan anderen overtuigen van de ideeën die ik heb. (Likert)
	Discussies begrijpen	De discussies in de werkgroepen kan ik goed begrijpen. (Likert)
	Informatie begrijpen	De informatie die de werkgroep vanuit de gemeente heeft gekregen kan ik goed begrijpen. (Likert)
	Tijd	Hoeveel tijd per week had u verwacht om aan de bezigheden voor de werkgroepen te besteden?
	Toegang tot informatie	Wat voor kennis, vanuit uw eigen achtergrond, had u over het specifieke onderwerp waar uw werkgroep zich mee bezig hield voordat de werkgroepen begonnen? Wat wist u over het specifieke onderwerp waar uw werkgroep zich mee bezig hield voordat de werkgroepen begonnen?
Education	Opleidingsniveau	Wat is uw opleiding? Heeft het niveau van uw opleiding en de soort opleiding die u heeft genoten invloed gehad op uw participatie?

Social network	Wil om iets voor anderen te doen	Zijn er mensen in uw directe omgeving die nadeel ondervinden van de situatie in de binnenstad? Zo ja, heeft dit meegespeeld in uw beslissing om deel te nemen aan de werkgroepen?
	Contact met anderen over bepaald onderwerp	Met wie heeft u vooraf contact gehad over de situatie van de binnenstad en wat heeft u met hen besproken?
	Gevraagd worden om te participeren	Zijn er personen die u hebben gevraagd om in een werkgroep deel te gaan nemen?
Social capital	Vertrouwen binnen een groep	Was er sprake van vertrouwen ten opzichte van elkaar in de werkgroepen? Werd er goed samengewerkt binnen de werkgroepen?
	Iets voor elkaar over hebben binnen een groep	Hadden de leden van de werkgroepen iets voor elkaar over?
Expected success of participation	Verwachte uitkomst	Wat waren van tevoren uw verwachtingen over de uitkomsten van de werkgroepen? Wat vindt u van de uitkomsten van de werkgroepen als u deze vergelijkt met de verwachtingen die u van tevoren had?
	Verwachting van de werkgroepen	Hoe had u verwacht dat de werkgroepen zouden zijn? Zijn de werkgroepen positief of negatief uitgevallen in vergelijking met uw verwachtingen?

Place dependence	Inkomensafhankelijk van plaats	Als u uw huidige werk kwijt raakt, waar zou u dan willen werken?
	Geschiktheid plaats om tijd door te brengen	Is Doetinchem voor u, in vergelijking met andere plaatsen, een betere plaats om uw vrije tijd door te brengen?
Place attachment	Emotie/gevoel die plaats oproept	Als u in de binnenstad van Doetinchem bent, welk gevoel roept dat bij u op? Ervaart u datzelfde gevoel ook als u in een andere binnenstad bent?
Place identity	Identiteit van plaats	Hoe zou u de binnenstad van Doetinchem hebben beschreven voordat u mee deed aan de werkgroepen? Hoe zou u de binnenstad van Doetinchem, zoals deze nu is, beschrijven? Hoe zou u de binnenstad van Doetinchem, zoals u verwacht dat deze eruit zal zien, beschrijven?
	Herkenning in identiteit plaats	Ziet u in een van deze twee beschrijvingen uzelf terug?
Trigger	Startpunt van participatie	Als u nu terugkijkt, wat ziet u als het punt waarop u besloot om u actief in te zetten voor een verandering in de binnenstad van Doetinchem?

Ambassadorship

Positieve houding ten opzichte van de plaats

Als u voordat u in de werkgroepen actief was een cijfer zou moeten geven op een schaal van 1 op 10 over hoe trots u bent op de binnenstad van Doetinchem, welk cijfer zou dat zijn geweest?

Als u nu een cijfer zou moeten geven op een schaal van 1 op 10 over hoe trots u bent op de binnenstad van Doetinchem, welk cijfer zou dat zijn?

Het vertellen over de plaats

Stel, ik ben een inwoner uit Zevenaar, ik kom niet zo vaak in Doetinchem en ik ken Doetinchem ook niet zo goed. Ik kom met u in gesprek over Doetinchem.

Wat zou u over

Doetinchem vertellen?

Heeft uw deelname aan de werkgroepen invloed gehad op wat u zojuist heeft verteld aan die inwoner uit Zevenaar?