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THE DEMOCRATIC QUALITY OF CO-PRODUCTION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A pilot study in the Rabot neighbourhood in Ghent, Belgium.

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I. INTRODUCTION: PROBLEM STATEMENT & RESEARCH QUESTION

As the experts of their community, it is assumed that citizens can more easily provide answers and solutions to societal issues, called ‘wicked’ problems, e.g. health inequality, social exclusion and a fragmented, individualized society (Brandsen, Trommel, & Verschuere, 2014; Durose, 2011). As government is no longer able to respond to these complex social issues alone, citizen participation projects and initiatives have steadily grown (Blakeley & Evans, 2009; Halvorsen, 2003; Wagenaar, 2007). Several theories, of participatory democracy, deliberative democracy and social capital, claim that involving these citizens leads to a better democracy, as citizen involvement is considered a virtue in itself (Bakker, 2015; Michels, 2011; Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014). These theoretical concepts assert that this gives citizens empowerment, thus increasing the legitimacy of decisions (Buckwalter, 2014; de Graaf, van Hulst, & Michels, 2015; Fung, 2004; Halvorsen, 2003), that it leads to better inclusion of citizens in the process (Agger & Larsen, 2009; Lombard, 2013; Michels, 2011; Young, 2000) and equity in the results (Cuthill, 2010; Fung, 2004; Herian, Hamm, Tomkins, & Zillig, 2012; Jakobsen & Andersen, 2013; Webler & Tuler, 2000).

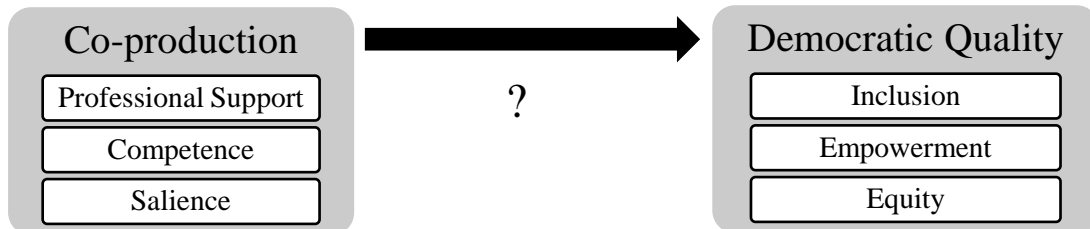
In the larger field of participation literature, numerous empirical studies have already studied the more pessimistic viewpoints: for example that the ‘typical participant’ is predominantly the white middle-aged middle-class man (Sidney Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995), that people will most commonly act out of self-interest (e.g. the tragedy of commons, prisoners’ dilemma) and that those who already hold a strong position in the community will gain even more (Matthew effect) (Michels, 2011; Van Dooren & Thijssen, 2015; Weinberger & Jutting, 2001).

However, whether co-production actually resolves any of those ‘wicked’ problems of our current society and if that connection with democratic quality is justifiable, as often discussed by newspaper articles (Jawando, 2015; Teasdale, 2008; Vermeij, 2015), or if the results are more pessimistic, remains unstudied. Specifically in the field of community development, where the co-production effort focuses on derelict neighbourhoods and hard-to-reach populations, there is little to no research on effects. And yet, this is exactly where factors of democratic quality, such as inclusion, empowerment and equity, need to be attained. That is why, in this case study we will turn to co-production in community development projects and study their democratic quality.

A previous literature review (Vanleene, Verschuere B., & Voets, 2015) already identified three important variables - professional support, competence of the citizens and salience of the project - as elements for co-production as well as possible influences of democratic quality. This research also defined democratic quality with the help of three translations: inclusion, empowerment and equity. In this case study, the main research question is: Do certain elements of co-production influence the democratic quality of a co-production project? To answer this we have two research questions that need to be answered first. Firstly, how is the co-production case constructed and to what extent are the elements of co-production present. Secondly, what is the democratic quality of the case, how much inclusion, empowerment and/or equity is present in the co-production project.

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter we shall discuss the definition of co-production and democratic quality, the two main concepts present in our research question: Do certain elements of co-production influence the democratic quality of a co-production project? The first is a concept with an abundance of different definitions from which we carefully selected one (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015). The second, democratic quality, is a compilation of concepts as discussed in literature. For a more extensive literature review we can direct you to the 2015 EGPA conference paper “The democratic quality of coproduction: a theoretical review and initial research design.”



A. CO-PRODUCTION

Co-production has become a well-established topic that has been receiving a flurry of academic interest in the recent decades. Early scholars like Parks et al. (1981) and Ostrom (1996) built the foundation of this concept, which finds itself at a crossroads of different disciplines (e.g. sociologic research, public management research and studies in the voluntary sector), making it a crowded subject of research (Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff, 2012). By now there are a multitude of existing definitions of the concept, Brandsen and Honingh (2015) discussed this comprehensively. In this case study, we continue with their definition, defining co-production as *the relationship between (groups of) individual citizens and paid employees of a (public or non-profit) organisation that requires direct and active contribution from these citizens in the design and/or implementation of core services on a local level.*

Three significant elements can be considered as requirements for co-production to exist. Each finds their origins in our base definition. Where we read the *'relationship between (groups of) individual citizens and paid employees of a (public or non-profit) organisation'*, the necessity for professional support as well as need for competent citizens can be found. The salience of the project can be considered a requirement to achieve that *'direct and active contribution'*. As they are often described as significant independent variables in literature, the intensity of these elements within a case could also be a potential influence of the democratic quality of the project (Blakeley & Evans, 2009; de Graaf et al., 2015; Michels, 2015).

PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT

From previous research we find that professional support is significant in obtaining citizen participation. More specifically, they are needed to enable, ask and respond, as discussed by de Graaf et al. (2015). In this paper, we consider professional support as *the employee's ability to enable and ask* (de Graaf et al., 2015; Denters & Klok, 2010; Durose, 2011; Herian et al., 2012; Jakobsen, 2013; Jakobsen & Andersen, 2013; Simmons & Birchall, 2005; Wagenaar, 2007). This implies that the professionals can make it easy for citizens to get involved, by supplying the knowledge and resources needed for co-production –enabling- (Jakobsen, 2013; Jakobsen & Andersen, 2013; Wagenaar, 2007) and can mobilise citizens via direct invitation –asking-, and not simply by providing the option without any further action on their part (Denters & Klok, 2010; Herian et al., 2012; Simmons & Birchall, 2005). This idea of enabling can be connected with 'competence'. By engaging with those groups who are excluded, lacking the competence to participate, professional support can aid in strengthening the skills, knowledge and capacity needed to participate (Durose, 2011). Lastly, one more important note to make here, is the possibly negative influence of professional support. This is mentioned by Agger and Larsen (2009) who call it 'discursive exclusion', and refer to the fact that the power of the decision lies in the hands of the planners (the professionals). More specifically, they can select which issues to undertake and are more likely to direct themselves towards those areas where it is easier to achieve results, i.e. they focus on those participants with whom it will be easier to reach

an agreement. An issue Lombard (2013)'s research on participation at a neighbourhood level in Mexico attested to as well.

COMPETENCE

A very important aspect, competence, is in literature often depicted one of the main reasons behind inequity in citizen participation (de Graaf et al., 2015; Jakobsen & Andersen, 2013; John, 2009). Webler and Tuler (2000) divided the concept into two requirements: "access to information and its interpretations and use of the best available procedures for knowledge selection" (Webler & Tuler, 2000, p. 571). This way the concept can be linked back to professional support, as access to information is the view from the citizens' side, whereas professionals need to provide said information. An important remark here, is that the citizens' perception of their competence, efficacy, also plays a major role in their willingness to participate (Blakeley & Evans, 2009; van Eijk & Steen, 2014). According to Simmons and Birchall (2005) by allowing development, training and schemes that help build citizens' skills and confidence, professionals can strengthen both competence and efficacy, thus potentially attracting more participants. In this case, competence will thus be interpreted as *the access to and understanding of resources and knowledge and self-confidence* (Denters & Klok, 2010; van Eijk & Steen, 2014; S. Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 2000; Webler & Tuler, 2000).

SALIENCE

Lastly, in deprived neighbourhoods, where citizen competence is low, the influence of salience can be considered even more important. After all, high levels of deprivation may motivate residents to participate, counteracting the issue of competence (Denters & Klok, 2010; Fung, 2004). As Pestoff (2012) explains citizens will consider the importance of the service for them, their family and friends, as well as its effect on their lives and life chances. They need to like to participate and have a sense of attachment to the project (de Graaf et al., 2015). That they have an interest in the issue the project is trying to address is one of the most important influences. To create or enhance this interest, professional support can be once considered an passage, as citizens need to be able to share their vision and create shared goals with the professional organisation (Frieling, Lindenberg, & Stokman, 2014). Thus we outline salience as when the project is *significant for the co-producer and their family and friends, that it is a durable project and that it affects their daily lives* (Blakeley & Evans, 2009; Denters & Klok, 2010; Fung, 2004; Simmons & Birchall, 2005).

B. DEMOCRATIC QUALITY

The view that citizen participation is directly connected to democracy, originated with Rousseau, who believed that the involvement of each citizen is vitally important for the state to function. Since then modern theorists have expanded on this theory, adding that this participation should stretch even further, into workplaces and local communities (Bakker, 2015; Michels, 2011). When researching the literature, three aspects shape an encompassing definition for democratic quality of co-production (Vanleene et al., 2015). These are inclusion, empowerment and equity and though they might appear under different names, e.g. fairness (Webler & Tuler, 2000), or no obvious name at all, their definitions imply similar concepts and thus collectively become democratic quality.

INCLUSION

Inclusion refers to the possibility for everyone, minorities included, to participate. The democratic legitimacy of participatory decision-making is thus dependent on the degree to which those affected by the decisions are included in the process and have an actual influence in the outcome (Young, 2000). Rousseau, but since then Robert Putnam as well argues that simply letting citizens participate already leads to more inclusion which in turn then leads to a more democratic country (Michels, 2011). Thus we define inclusion as *the opportunity for those who are affected by the co-production project to be included in the design and implementation phases*. (Agger & Larsen, 2009; Lombard, 2013; Michels, 2011; Putnam, 2001; Young, 2000).

EMPOWERMENT

An important aspect of democratic quality is the citizens' sense of empowerment, meaning they feel able to express their viewpoint and influence the discussion and their input is treated with respect by a transparent and trustworthy government (Herian et al., 2012; Webler & Tuler, 2000). Fung (2004) even notes that the option of 'power' can convince disadvantaged citizens who would be considered less competent, to participate when there is an urgent

issue. Buckwalter (2014) notes that direct and frequent interactions with professionals could lead to a sense of empowerment for the citizens. However, having the option or venue to participate does not guarantee a voice. Thus, he agrees with the statement of de Graaf et al.(2015) that citizens need to be informed and made aware of their impact on the project (Buckwalter, 2014). Halvorsen (2003) supports this view, claiming that when the government offers the option of participation, but then disregards the citizens' input, the effects could be worse than when there is no option for participation at all. when uncertain citizens are offered enough information about the project, this can positively influence their evaluations of the professional organisation (Herian et al., 2012). We interpret empowerment, as the variable where *the co-producers' perceive they have an actual voice in the process and actual influence on the outcome* (Buckwalter, 2014; de Graaf et al., 2015; Halvorsen, 2003; Webler & Tuler, 2000).

EQUITY

When the benefits of the co-production project are evenly and fairly distributed, particularly for those with lower socio-economic status we reach equity (Cuthill, 2010; Jakobsen & Andersen, 2013). In literature, fairness is often considered as similar or identical to equity (Fung, 2004). Thus, here we consider equity implies that the citizens are *equally free of risks and dangers and have equal access to the resulting benefits of the project* (Fung, 2004; Herian et al., 2012; Webler & Tuler, 2000).

IN SUM

We will measure democratic quality as (1) *the extent to which the citizens who are affected by the co-production project are included*, (2) *free of risks and have equal access to the resulting benefits of the project as well as* (3) *an actual voice in the process and influence in the outcomes*.

The variables discussed in this conceptual framework are all derived from a combination of co-production and participation literature. However, in this case study we will allow the option of other, as-of-yet unmentioned variables to appear during the study. Thus we follow a combination of semi-inductive research, analysing the data with an open mind, and semi-deductive research, having the theories and concepts ascertained in participation literature as a guide throughout the study. Now that the concepts have been clarified, these first need to be operationalised. That operationalisation was derived from previous research, as well as discussions between researchers and professionals, which ensures a clear research method that can be replicated in future case studies (see Annex 1).

III. METHODOLOGY

In this paper we will focus on co-production in the sector of community development. Thus following the example of many of the preceding studies that have discussed the issues of deprived neighbourhoods (Denters & Klok, 2010; Frieling et al., 2014; Fung, 2004). We posit that projects of urban regeneration and community development, i.e. projects that try to reverse neighbourhood decline and include those groups with a lower socioeconomic status, provide an interesting empirical setting for researching the effects of co-production on democratic quality.

This case study, a pilot study, allows us to test and refine the different concepts, instruments of data collection and data analysis. In this explorative case study three steps will be taken. First a document analysis of the case's official documentation will create a solid base that provides a first idea concerning the elements of co-production and the democratic quality of this specific case. Secondly, expert interviews will answer uncertainties concerning the construction of the co-production project and will provide the professionals' viewpoint on the second and third research question. Thus the elements of co-production will be depicted and the democratic quality of the case explained. Lastly, by means of focus groups, the citizen co-producers will be interviewed, which allows for their viewpoint to be directly present in the results. We assume that this combination of mixed methods, collecting diverse types of data, as stated by Creswell (2009), best provides a solid and thorough answer to the research questions.

A. THE PILOT CASE: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN ‘T RABOT

The pilot case is the Rabot neighbourhood in Ghent, Belgium. Here, front-line workers team up with the residents in developing and implementing public services (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015). Across the neighbourhood different projects can be found, organised by the city as well as non-profits, all aimed at reversing neighbourhood decline, counteracting crime rates and/or social exclusion and increasing liveability. In this pilot study two subcases are selected. The first subcase, The Site, is one of the first projects in the neighbourhood and considered a success story, often portrayed as a best practice example in Europe. The second subcase, The Farmstead, is a smaller and newer project, that followed The Site's example but was initiated by the residents themselves. Because the Farmstead is still a young project, and originated from the citizens themselves, it is a very interesting project to compare to the well-known Site (Doc17).

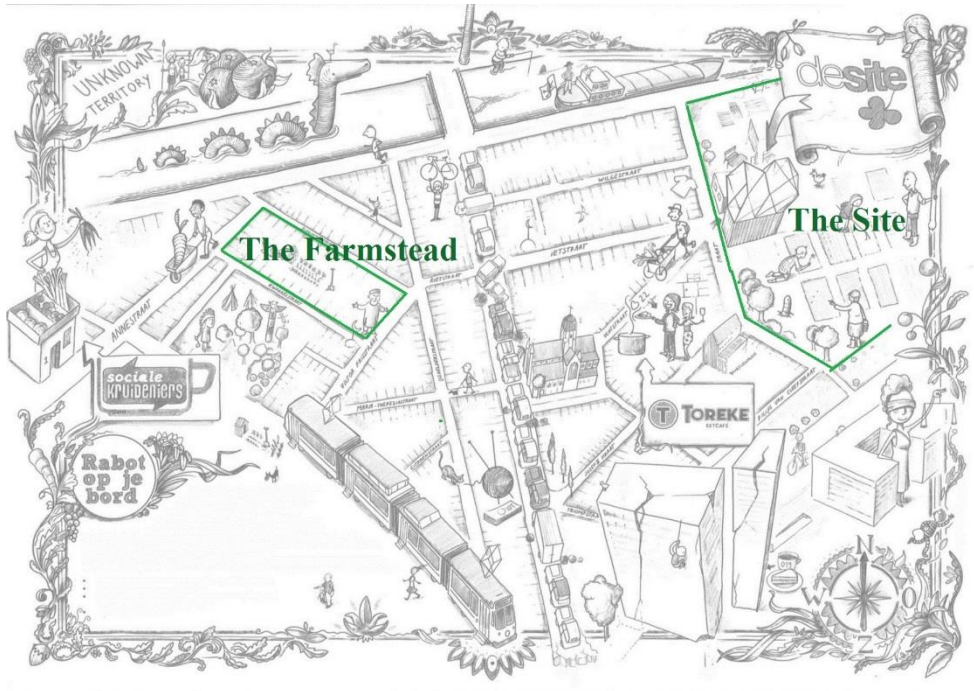


FIGURE 1: MAP OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AT RABOT

PROJECT 1: THE SITE

In 2007, the Site was created by a group of non-profits who realised they weren't getting anywhere using the typical citizen participation method. Considering their background, a majority of Turkish residents originate from a farming region in Turkey, the non-profits decided on a green, sustainable project: the Site, a venue to test different methods on how to involve different groups in the various projects (Doc13; Int1). By way of a covenant with the City of Ghent these professionals of Community Development Ghent are funded to maintain The Site, the Farmstead and other projects in the neighbourhood (Int3; Int4; Doc41). This temporary project is located on an old concrete factory floor and included a 3000 m² city field, mini-gardens, a multipurpose sports field, a conservatory, storage containers and a free shop. The project is temporary, as the lot is being redeveloped into a new residential area the next few years. However, because of the success of the co-production project, the redevelopment plans now include a new space for city gardens and professionals are still in conversation for even more co-production possibilities (Int2; Int4).

In 2011 a new initiative was introduced in the neighbourhood, "Torekes", a complementary currency that aims to attract citizens from minority groups to co-produce. The coin, Torekes, is not solely earned by neighbours who keep their street clean and/or put flowers on the windowsill. On the Site, co-producers can participate on workdays by helping to cleaning the streets and parks, weeding or planting on the city field and so on, in exchange for a mini compensation (2.5 euro/hour) with which they can then rent a city garden, or shop with at the local grocer (Doc23; Int1).

The target audience here are the residents living near the Site, but even more, those vulnerable groups often left out, such as people with a replacement income, children and young people from poor families, asylum seekers, single seniors or undocumented migrants (Doc4; Doc6). By working in the gardens co-producers get the opportunity to broaden their social networks and diversify. The Site aims to increase the new residents' integration and break through their social isolation, as well as promote the empowerment of vulnerable groups (Doc22).

PROJECT 2: THE FARMSTEAD

Until recently, the Farmstead was an inner area encircled by houses that held some 80 dilapidated garages. When the city bought the space to create a new public parking space and arrange for private gardens to be bought, they had not taken the opinion of the nearby residents into account. Some engaged citizens, who had seen what happened at the Site, decided there was more need for green space in their street as well, and assembled against the city's proposal (Vervae, 2016). Along with a Masters' student in Architecture the citizens, naming themselves Farmsteaders, petitioned against the decision and started designing their ideal green space, even planting a symbolic tree in the middle of the planned parking space (Doc11; Doc17). Four months after their first uprising, the citizens achieved victory as the city repealed the planned parking space.

As spring 2016 arrived the Farmstead is being built into that green space for its residents. Under the guidance of Community Development Ghent, there are city gardens for the neighbours to rent, and a play and rest area and still more green to come (Doc11). As a means to rent the gardens, the complementary coin has been introduced here as well. And there are now workdays, organised by Community Development Ghent, on which that coin can be earned (Int3).

The Farmstead is an interesting subcase to compare the Site with. Not only is it younger, smaller and less known, but the main group of participants are middle class citizens, who experience and participate differently in the co-production effort. The need for professionals could be considered different, as these citizens had already achieved their main goal, to get a green space, the presence of professionals is thus less important compared to that of the Site (Int1). Both subcases have included the complementary currency, yet where citizens in the Site often participate because of the reward, the residents of the Farmstead were less enthused about the option, believing they do not need the compensation as much (Int3).

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Once a research plan was made, several of the employees from the non-profit organisation 'Community Development Ghent' were invited to provide input concerning the research plan and ask their cooperation during the process. Based on their feedback the operationalised questions were honed. Subsequently we began a document analysis, collecting and analysing official documents (26%), webpages (45%), magazine (17%) and newspaper articles (2%), research papers (6%) and theses (2%) to create a thoroughly researched basis for the case. Informal meetings with employees allowed us to enlarge our data, and offered background information when necessary. These informal meetings also led to a first selection of expert interviews. The documents were uploaded onto Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis program, and with the use of a data tree as well as inductively some rudimentary links to the research questions could be made (see Annex 6 for the data tree).

Following this first data collection, the document analysis was supplemented with in-depth interviews with employees of the co-producing organisations. Two field workers and two administrators were selected to help us understand the issues and specifically answer the research questions (Creswell, 2009). These interviews aim to provide specific information and the professional's perspective on the implementation and goals of the co-production project that the document analysis could not provide (Yin, 2009). Each interview was done separately and took at least one hour. Because of the busy schedules, particularly of the over-asked field workers, the interviews prolonged this second phase with a month.

Lastly, these in-depth interviews were followed up by standardised interviews with groups of citizens, representative of the population participating at the projects. For a duration of three months, we were present at the Site and the Farmstead to connect and win the trust of the residents as well as select focus group participants. Though there were several cancelled workdays, due to bad weather, and a noticeable drop in participation during the summer months, as attested by the professionals, we were able to hold two focus groups with ten Turkish

participants, where the conversation was led and translated by a local, and one Dutch-speaking focus group with five participants of the Farmstead. The Site focus groups were split into one group of Turkish men and one of Turkish women. The focus groups participants were used to each other and often worked together on The Site, we thus aimed to achieve a homogenous response. Contrarily, the Farmstead focus group was mixed in gender but here four of the five participants had been essential in the creation and running of the Farmstead, the group was also homogeneous in its socioeconomic compatibility (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook, 2007).

All interviews were transcribed, uploaded onto Nvivo and coded based on our literature review, while allowing for some inductive coding as well. By comparing the references made in the expert interviews with those in the focus groups, as can be seen in annex 6, we could obtain a more robust result that included both viewpoints as well as positive and negative remarks concerning the concepts. We use the same program and the same manner of working as in the document analysis in order to ensure a thorough and transparent analysis process. A second researcher analysed one focus group interview, to check the reliability of the codes. Those scores for Cohen's Kappa was fair to moderate (Stemler, 2001) (See Annex 6). That they were not of high agreement could be because the researcher did not know the research as well as we did, and thus coded the text fairly broadly, or because they were limited to coding only one text.

IV. MAIN FINDINGS

1. THE SITE

A) CO-PRODUCTION CONSTRUCTION

We begin with a descriptive analysis of the three elements that are considered essential for successful co-production and could be influences on the democratic quality of this project.

PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT

The professionals ascribe themselves more in-depth roles than only the two of "asking" and "enabling" that we derived from literature. Firstly, in order to achieve a successful co-production project, they believe the professional needs to be physically present in the neighbourhood, thus allowing easy access to their person, witnessing the neighbourhood's issues and understanding the citizens' needs and characteristics (Int1; Int2). The focus groups were positive about this tactic, attesting that they do turn to the professionals when issues or questions regarding the project or in their personal lives arise (FG1;FG3).

"We call that presence politics. That's actually in the street, ensuring that you are away from that desk, talking on the streets and with the people and getting started with those people." (Int1)

We can place this type of professional support, found in literature as well, where it is stated that citizens need to be able to share their vision and create shared goals with the professional organisation (Frieling, Lindenberg, & Stokman, 2014). Secondly, with the information gathered from these presence politics, the professional then represents the neighbourhood in the outside world, addressing and remedying the issues they have seen (Int1; Int3; Int4). Here, those issues pertain to what will happen to the Site now that it is turning into a residential area (Int1; Int4).

Next, the professional attempts to enable and motivate the neighbourhood in co-production (Int1; Int2; Int4). They adopt two additional roles for this, one as the enabler, where, for example, they quickly offer one of The Site's containers to enthusiastic residents who wanted to start a 'free shop' (Int1; Int2). The second, where they take the role of the leader, and guide residents to the co-production project (Int1). However, in conversation with the focus groups, it seems the citizens are less agreed on this enabling ability of the professionals. Here, the male focus group specifically remarks on the professional support as overbearing (FG3).

COMPETENCE

When researching the citizens' competence, in this case study we find a clear distinction is made between physical and psychological access. For the first we find only positive responses both by the professionals and the participants (Int2; Int3; FG1; FG3). In fact it is agreed that the threshold to participate has been made so low, by having no requirements, no physical boundaries and rewarding co-producers with complementary coin, not only residents but people from everywhere find their way to the Site.

“Also, many homeless that belong to the neighbourhood, or not, I don't know, but they come here for their favourite café or favourite spot here, or their network of people is here and they participate. But also, people who arrived last week, straight from Bulgaria, who actually know nothing, they come here.” (Int2)

Secondly, there is the psychological access, the knowledge and abilities the citizens need to be able to participate. Though the professionals agree that citizens are able to participate, using the tools offered by the organisation, whether they actually comprehend the (professional) aim of the project is disagreed upon. Here only one expert is convinced that the co-producers comprehend these goals towards community development (Int3). However, in conversation with the citizens, it would seem that they are underestimated by their professional counterparts. When researching the citizens' efficacy, their self-confidence in participating, both focus groups seem sure of their own abilities. They mention the social advantages of the project, the ease of participation as well as the professionals' initiatives that teach them more on plants and the upkeep of their gardens (FG1; FG3). This could imply, as stated in literature, that a project that makes room for development and training, helping to build citizens' skills and confidence, in turn contributes to their positive feelings towards government, their community and democracy as a whole (de Graaf et al., 2015; Simmons & Birchall, 2005).

SALIENCE

Lastly, there is the salience of the project, which means, that which keeps citizens co-producing. According to the experts, the complementary currency, that is offered in exchange for co-production, is one of the main reasons for the success of the project. When citizens' main income goes to paying the rent, this incentive allows them to put food on the table, as well as provide medicine from the local apothecary which in winter time can make the difference. But, it is not only the money that has a huge impact on the citizens' personal lives: refugees or illegal citizens can work here in safety rather than being mistreated on the undeclared labour circuit, citizens who like gardening participate either for a city garden or the simple pleasure of being outside, the green space can also be considered significant for their family, a safe place where the children can play and the unemployed and retired can keep busy (Int1; Int2). This last reason was emphasized in both focus groups, it seems that their heritage, as Turkish farmers, is still relevant today and what draws them in is the simple pleasure of being outside and working with the earth (FG1; FG3). In this case it appears salience is not that clearly defined, as it is distinctly personal and not always agreed upon. Here, the professionals consider the currency the driver behind their project, while the focus group place the salience on the content of the project, gardening.

FG3.2: “Basically, us Turkish people, in Turkey we also were always working the land, we like to work with the soil. We do not come for that reward. Just to be engaging with others, to be in contact with soil.”

IN SUM: THE CO-PRODUCTION CASE

The site is a co-production case where citizens and field workers work together in order to obtain a closer-knit community, a nicer neighbourhood and an outdoor space they can claim for themselves. The level of professional support here is high, though the need for it is dependent on whose viewpoint is taken. Professionals consider themselves indispensable for the continuation of the project. Certain citizens disagree and would ask for more responsibility, considering the support too high. This disagreement flows over into the reflection of competence. We notice that the majority of professionals does not consider the citizens knowledgeable and self-confident (enough). From the research, it would seem that they might be underestimating their co-producers, as most of these citizens portray themselves as confident in their own abilities. The salience of this project should be nuanced. Here the complementary currency brings an interesting motivation to the surface, one that is considered the key reason to co-produce according to professionals. But whether that actually is the most significant purpose to participate is unclear in analysis as citizens repeatedly state their desire to working outside and keeping busy.

As we can find all elements of co-production present in this case, we can thus conclude that it is a successful co-production project, however, there are still improvements that could be made.

B) WHAT IS THE DEGREE OF DEMOCRATIC QUALITY?

INCLUSION

From the demographics in the document analysis (Doc30) we found that from the +/-8334 residents in the neighbourhood (Doc30), about 300-350 people participated at The Site last year (Int2). However, Rabot is known as an arrival district, which means there is a general rotation of 10% of the residents every year (Int2; Int3; Int4). Secondly, not only the residents of the neighbourhood are participating. The complementary currency also attracts more specific segments of vulnerable groups such as the homeless and asylum seekers (Int2; FG3). Thus, the numbers cannot give a clear idea of the inclusion of neighbourhood residents. As found in official documents on the projects (Doc1; Doc4; Doc5; Doc6; Doc8), the main target audience here are the citizens often left behind, the vulnerable groups. From the expert interviews (Int1; Int2; Int3; Int4), previous research and the demographics of the focus groups (FG1;FG3), it would seem this project does reach its target audience.

EMPOWERMENT

Considering empowerment, the field workers and policy advisor of community development Ghent have several examples of instances where citizens could suggest changes to the design by approaching the field workers as well as other professionals (Int1; Int3). For example when citizens noticed the need for a pharmacy to join in the complementary currency exchange system, they went to ask the owner themselves (Int2). However, when discussing empowerment with the focus groups, a disparity appeared both between the focus groups mutually as well as between citizens and professionals. The female focus group was predominately satisfied with their options and preferred to follow the professionals' instructions where little or no input was required from them (FG1). Contrarily, the male respondents were a lot less satisfied. This focus group was vocal and irritated about the lack of autonomy, responsibility and influence they had (FG3).

FG3.2: "We propose things, but we never get permission. We have lots of propositions, we want to do lots of things, but because we aren't allowed, we don't. Many people want to come here in the evenings, for example, they want a space for their own, to be given access to, but it doesn't happen."

There are two potential explanations for this discrepancy between professionals and citizens and citizens mutually: As discussed in literature, professionals should ensure that they are offering enough information about the way the project works, thus positively influencing the more negative evaluations of the professional organisation (Herian et al., 2012). Secondly, professionals need to show the co-producers the positive results of their participation. Previous research agrees that without evidence of their influence citizens will get disheartened and lose interest in the project (Buckwalter, 2014; de Graaf et al., 2015).

EQUITY

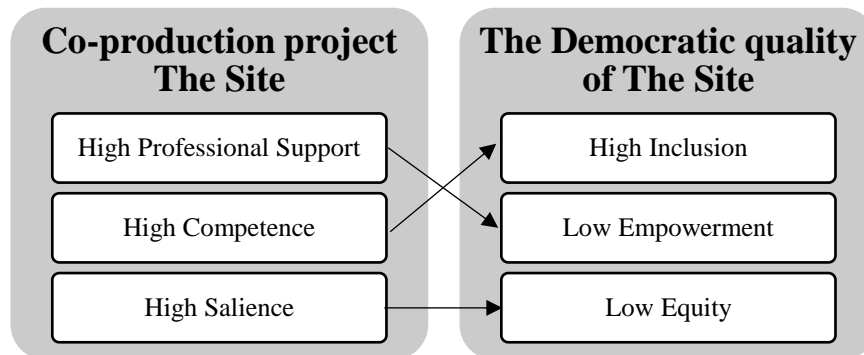
Lastly, there is equity, the use of a complementary currency guarantees that co-producers receive identical benefits, yet, from the conversation it becomes obvious that access to those benefits is not identical. As field workers explain (Int1; Int2), they adjust the work to what each citizen can handle, hoping to achieve equal access to the benefits of the project regardless of one's abilities. However, this tactic can also be abused by lazy or deceitful participants, an issue that was mentioned by both professionals and co-producers. After all, those citizens who work less during the workday, who take cigarette breaks, hide behind the shed or talk longer, are awarded equally as those who work hard, or are even awarded more than those who work on the days that no complementary coin can be earned (Int1; Int2; Int3; Int4). The frustration around this issue was evident in the first focus group who felt it was unfair and had brought this up with the professionals on numerous occasions (FG1).

IN SUM: THE DEMOCRATIC QUALITY OF THE SITE

The democratic quality of this case is dependent on whose viewpoint to consider. Taking both opinions into consideration we find that the Site's democratic quality is high when considering the inclusion of the target population, moderate when researching the citizens' sense of empowerment and mostly experienced as low in equity of the benefits.

C) IS THERE A LINK BETWEEN CO-PRODUCTION AND DEMOCRATIC QUALITY?

From the analysis we could derive a first set of links between the dependent and independent variables.



COMPETENCE COULD LEAD TO INCLUSION

It is agreed by both citizen focus groups and professionals that the project is inclusive. From their answers we could derive that this is mainly because of the project's ease of access, lack of boundaries and easy co-production effort (FG1;FG3; Int1; Int2; Int4). This means that competence, or specifically the physical access to the project here leads to a higher inclusion rate of the target population. In literature, this is also considered one of the main reasons behind exclusion in citizen participation, and this even more so when the project relies heavily on the input of the service user as in co-production (Jakobsen & Andersen, 2013). It could thus be theorised that a project adapted to the neighbourhood's competence could lead to more inclusion of the neighbourhood's residents.

"I believe closeness is important. There are no thresholds. People don't have to walk far. They know the language, understand the theme's and there's a plot to garden. (Int2)"

TOO MUCH PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT COULD LEAD TO A LACK OF EMPOWERMENT

Considering the response on empowerment of the project, we notice that the professionals and citizens do not agree. Here, those citizens who want to become more involved (FG3) felt a restriction to do so. There could be several reasons for this. As experienced by the focus group, this could be a possible excess of professional support which in turn leads to a sense of being monitored. Here, professionals might be underestimating some of their participants, believing them to be less competent, lacking knowledge (Int2; Int4), and in need of a permanent leader (Int1). From this focus group we ascertained that this level of professional support, which makes the professional the decision maker in all things, could impede co-producers to become more empowered (FG3). This possibly negative influence of professional support, could be found in previous research as well. It was mentioned by Agger and Larsen (2009) that as the power of the decision still lies in the hands of the professionals, they are also more likely to focus on those participants with whom it will be easier to reach an agreement. It could thus be that in the case of the Site the professionals (subconsciously) exclude certain citizens.

FG3.2: "we get tasks, and once it's done we try to do things ourselves but then (one of the field workers) comes and says, you have to do this, and that and this, constantly giving us new assignments."

SALIENCE COULD LEAD TO NEGATIVE EQUITY

In the Site, a third link can be seen when considering salience and equity. Both concepts received a lot of attention in conversation with professionals and citizens, specifically the first focus group. When considering the complementary currency, and what co-producers can achieve with it, as the salience of the project, we notice a rise in their sense of inequity (Int2; Int4; FG1). As one professional states: *"It becomes so equal that people themselves start to discriminate (Int2)"*. For those citizens where the currency is the goal, not the gardening or the hobby, this equitable distribution of money leads to a sense of unfairness. Here, it is the importance of this one specific benefit resulting from the co-production effort that could thus lead to a negative perception of equity.

FG1.2: "There are people who don't do anything, and they are rewarded the same amount."

FG1.3: "They hold a shovel, hide and refuse to work while we do our best, and they are paid the same."

2. THE FARMSTEAD

A) HOW IS THE CO-PRODUCTION CASE CONSTRUCTED?

PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT

In conversation, it is immediately obvious that there are more issues at the Farmstead. The professionals admit that because this project originated from the citizens themselves, the dynamic between the two is different and it would seem they have not figured out their role in that yet. They seem unaccustomed to citizens who know what they want, have loud opinionated debates about them and expect to be treated as equals, often referring to the co-producers as ‘difficult to handle’(Int1; Int2; Int4). On this difficult dynamic the citizens agree, feeling the communication with the field workers is difficult and unresponsive (FG2). This issue reflects what Frieling et al. (2014) claim, that professional support is needed, as citizens need to be able to share their vision and create shared goals with the professional organisation. In this case it would seem the communication between the two is difficult.

FG2.5: “We know where to find them, but there’s little response.”

FG2.2 “It’s very difficult to make arrangements with them, very difficult.”

FG2.4 “ If you ask something, it’ll take a long time, that’s true.”

And yet experts and the focus group both mention the positive aspect of professional support too. In this specific case, they both note that the professionals manage to include those neighbours who have less ‘voice’, are less aware or even unaware of the co-production project in their neighbourhood (Int1; Int2; FG2). Here the example that was repeatedly given was that Community Development Ghent arranged larger gatherings where there noticeably were citizens who had not been part of the original “farmsteaders” (Int1; Int2; FG2).

A last aspect of professional support here, is the support of the city itself. In the beginning of this citizen initiative, and before community development became responsible of the project, the ‘farmsteaders’ needed a mediator who could aid them in the creation of the project and their struggles with hesitant politicians. Someone who could appeal for their cause with an objective viewpoint (Int4). Since that difficult start-up, the district director’s efforts do not go unnoticed, as the citizen focus group was particularly positive about him and his presence on their facebook group (FG2).

FG2.2: “The city, that’s mainly through the district director. He’s on that page as well and posts stuff sometimes, and in that way he does show us that he’s following the process, but he’s not interfering, he’s showing us he’s following, but not interfering...”

FG2.5: “Yes, practical posts, about rules and stuff.”

FG2.1: “Or when those guys wanted to do something with a city project, and he responded immediately.”

FG2.5: “That way the city is easily reachable actually.”

COMPETENCE

Both physical and psychological access to the Farmstead is less than at the Site. This may be due to its youth (Doc46), the Farmstead is not yet well-known. But could also be because the Farmstead is an inner area, where only the neighbours who look out over it, or live near its entrance know of its existence (Int1; FG2). However, once you know where to go, it is easy to access. The psychological access is different as well, this citizen group are assertive, educated, middle class citizens who have fought for it and seem to comprehend the reasoning behind such a community development project (FG2; Doc17; Int3; Int4). Thus, for them both the psychological as well as the physical access is high. However, outsiders might have trouble understanding, or even finding ways to participate. Being part of the inner circle, or at least of the Facebook group, is a requirement to find the knowledge and resources to co-produce here (FG2).

SALIENCE

The salience behind this project was a lot simpler than at the Site: the project is a citizen initiative and the residents' dedication to attain their goals, could already be considered proof of this significance (Doc17). Both the district director (Int4) and the citizens themselves (FG2) attest that they intend to live in that neighbourhood for longer thus the environment in which they co-produce, allowing for nature as well as social bonds to be developed, is significant for them, their friends and their children.

FG2.2: "It's fantastic that we have this chance. For me, really, it changed living here."

IN SUM

The Farmstead is a co-production case where citizens and field workers work together in order to obtain a closer-knit community, a nicer neighbourhood and an outdoor space they can claim for themselves. Here the level of professional support here is low. Professionals admit they have issues with the different dynamic of this project. While citizens would prefer an active partnership as well as sufficient responsibility for themselves. Their need for professional support follows when considering competence. For the original Farmsteaders, competence is high, they are self-confident middle class citizens who know where to go and what to do. For outsiders, for whom competence is low still, the professional support could be a major influence to lower the threshold and include more vulnerable populations. The salience of this project is also high. As this was a citizen initiative, it is easy to understand that the project itself is the salience for these citizens to participate.

As we can find all elements of co-production present in this case, we can thus conclude that it is a successful co-production project, however, specifically where professional support is concerned, there are still improvements to be made.

B) WHAT IS THE DEGREE OF DEMOCRATIC QUALITY?

INCLUSION

Because the Farmstead is so recent, no demographics on the co-producers can be found yet. However, in conversations with the professionals, the focus group and our own observation, the degree of inclusion of this project is still low (Int1; Int4; FG1). The Farmstead is not that far removed from the Site, and yet the co-producers are noticeably different. The focus group is aware that, though repeating throughout that anyone is welcome to participate, the threshold to participate might be higher for people who are not in their direct (physical) neighbourhood, that their friendships might hinder. Professionals too, argue that there is a more obvious barrier to co-produce and that this project needs professionals who can spend their time enticing other neighbours to participate.

EMPOWERMENT

At the Farmstead it would be expected that the empowerment of these citizens was high, after all they begun the project on their own, and have achieved their goal, a green spaces. This was what professionals seem to agree with as well, their experience with these opinionated citizens, though not always positive, had them convinced that these were empowered co-producers (Int1;Int2;Int3; nt4). Yet the citizens, who feel they have an uneasy relationship with the professionals, experience a lack of empowerment. They discuss this as a lack of influence, where they are not being heard, and a lack of autonomy, for they cannot make decisions on their own (FG2).

FG2.1: "Well, I think it's being monitored, CD Ghent has the leading role, and I think that's weird, because we decide, right we'll do this here at the Farmstead... and I think it's weird that they have the final say on it. I think that it's weird we have to ask her, because..."

FG2.5: "It undermines us, and the integrity, the autonomy of ..."

FG2.1 "Yes"

FG2.2 "But maybe, in due time, I think, that's what we're going to try, to become more autonomous and do these things ourselves."

EQUITY

Lastly, when discussing equity the professionals note on the disagreements they try to resolve during meetings. As outsider, the professionals believe they hold a unique position that can help find a middle ground between the discussants, thus trying to achieve a sense of fairness that can please all (Int1; Int2; Int3).

Meanwhile concerning the inequity as it was experienced at the Site, and mentioned by the professionals as well, this focus group seemed less worried. Though they all agree that the complementary currency was nice to have, and issues were mentioned on certain condescending views (that claimed one is “poor” when accepting the currency) it was not an important motivator for this focus group. As they explained, they were working on this before the currency appeared. That not everyone can work the same amount in a certain amount of hours, seemed no issue for this group (FG2).

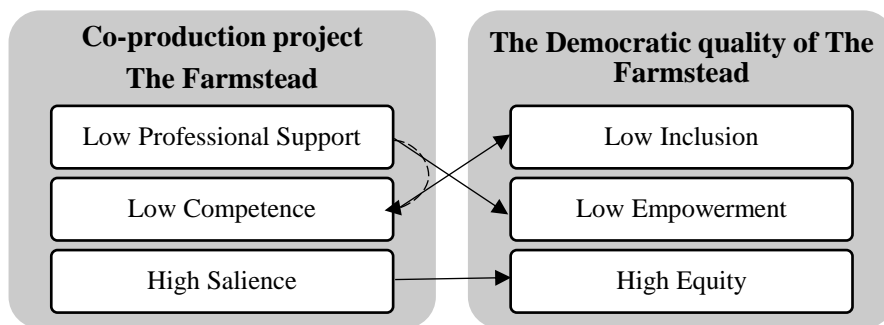
“It’s different from temperament to temperament. One will work harder than the other, but for the 2.5 euros an hour you’re not going to bother, like with these old folk, it’s difficult to demand more, they’re bent over for 30 minutes and their back aches. (FG2.2)”

IN SUM

The democratic quality of this case is not that great. The Farmstead’s democratic quality is low when considering the inclusion of the target population. At the moment, it is still focused on the original participants and vulnerable neighbours will have difficulty participating. The democratic quality is low for the citizens’ sense of empowerment, where they feel autonomy and actual influence is severally lacking. Yet, this case’s democratic quality is high for the equity of the outcome.

C) IS THERE A LINK BETWEEN CO-PRODUCTION AND DEMOCRATIC QUALITY?

There seem to be several co-production variables that influence the democratic quality of the Farmstead.



PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT COULD LEAD TO INCLUSION (VIA COMPETENCE)

In this project, it was remarked that professional support had at least one very obvious influence on democratic quality, specifically on inclusion. The focus group, as well as professionals themselves, recognise the importance of an “outsider” who can open the project up and enforce more inclusive measures. Here the aid of the professionals, who can slow the enthusiastic co-producers, and lower the threshold for other citizens who are still unaware of the project, is necessary. Thus, here we find that professional support leads to competence, both physical and psychological access, which in turn leads to inclusion. As found in literature, the focus lies here on whether information about the project is easily available to citizens, and how far the service provider is from the citizens. This distance can be measured both in a literal sense, if there are offices and professionals in the neighbourhood, and figuratively, if the professionals are easy to approach (Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff, 2012)

FG2.1: “that’s why a partner, like Community development Ghent, might be good. They can broaden it, not just a meeting at his or her house, instead a general assembly will be held and everyone’s welcome.”

F.G2.2: “Yes, and at those meetings, there were more people, people we wouldn’t see otherwise!”

LACK OF PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT COULD LEAD TO LESS EMPOWERMENT

The need to ask permission before being allowed to proceed, and the time it takes to acquire this, seems the biggest hurdle for these citizens’ empowerment (FG2). This focus group feels rejected because of the lack of professional

support and autonomy. They wish for a partner, who would still allow them the appropriate amount of autonomy (Int1; Int3; FG2). This finding corresponds with previous research that highlight the importance of professional support where professionals directly interact with, and respects the citizens’ input (Buckwalter, 2014; Frieling et al., 2014; Halvorsen, 2003). A distinctive lack of professional support could lead to less empowered co-producers which, according to Halvorsen (2003), could have even worse effects on the long run.

SALIENCE COULD LEAD TO POSITIVE EQUITY

Lastly, that link between salience and equity, as found in the Site, can be made here as well. However, here the link is in contrast with the one made before. The focus group here agreed that the currency was nice to have, but not a necessity for their dedication (FG2). Instead, for these co-producers the project itself, the plot, the nature and the social activity, is the reward, and thus equitable divided between all those who cared for that. They could nuance the quantity of work that was done. Thus becomes salience of the project a positive influence on the citizens’ sense of equity.

FG2.1: “This is a tool to get people together and share responsibility of their neighbourhood and you have to take that all into account and then it isn’t the amount of work that is done but that there is something being done.”

3. COMPARISON

In this case study on the democratic quality of co-production, we found two projects similar in kind but very different in results. Though the Site and the Farmstead differ in age and origin, we can already compare the two and discover that they have similar results concerning what influences democratic quality.

The Site		The Farmstead
High professional support → Low empowerment	≠	Low professional support → Low empowerment
High competence → High inclusion	=	(Low professional support →) Low competence → Low inclusion
High salience → Low equity	≠	High salience → High equity

THE INFLUENCE OF PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT

For both the Site and the Farmstead, we find that professional support is a significant influence for democratic quality. However, though it appears that in both cases professional support influenced the empowerment of the citizens, here it is the amount of professional support leads to different results. At the Site that support is sometimes experienced as overbearing, resulting in a diminished sense of empowerment (FG3) whereas the Farmstead focus group feels there is a serious lack of support which hinders their empowerment (FG2).

These results correspond with the literature, where the importance of professional support in participation and co-production efforts is repeated again and again. It is clear that in these projects, professionals hold a significant influence on the citizens’ potential and impact. They cannot rely on the citizens’ previous successes, e.g. because the Farmstead is a citizen initiative, but still need to empower them, through communication, and encouragements (Buckwalter, 2014; Frieling et al., 2014; Halvorsen, 2003). They should also be aware of their own prejudices, and the possibility of (subconsciously) excluding certain participants from the decision making process (Agger & Larsen, 2009). However, the other side of the coin needs to be considered too, as some studies have proven that participation also leads to self-serving bias, meaning the participant has a tendency to take more credit than a partner for the success of a co-produced product/service while blaming the partner more when there is failure of the product/service (Bendapudi N. & Leone, 2003; Fledderus, 2015).

THE INFLUENCE OF SALIENCE

A remarkable difference is the influence of salience on equity in these cases. At the Site, the salience of the project, more specifically the reward system, has led to a sense of inequity for the citizen co-producers. The citizens are discontent with the way the coin is equally distributed, not taking into account the effort or amount of work done

during the workdays (FG1). Saliency of the project in the Farmstead is measured differently, here the citizens attach importance to the project itself, they thus consider it very equitable for they all share in the benefits of nature and social bonding (FG2). It would thus seem that because saliency is such an individual experience, meaning different things to different people, it can have also have very different yet serious influences on the case's democratic quality accordingly. In future research, it might be better to clarify and adapt the definition further in the hopes to achieve a more aligned result.

THE INFLUENCE OF COMPETENCE

Lastly, competence is another important influence that can be found in both cases. Here the physical access, or lack thereof, is of influence when discussing inclusion. The noticeable difference here, is that at the Site, there is no physical restriction, leading to a high inclusion rate (Int2; Int3; Int4; FG1; FG3), while the Farmstead is less-known which leads to a low inclusion (Int1; Int4; FG1). However, there is more uncertainty and differences between competence.

Expert perceptions between the two differ concerning psychological access, where Farmsteaders are considered more self-confident and knowledgeable while the citizens at the Site are not. This could be linked to the findings of Agger and Larsen (2009) concerning professionals' (subconscious) tendency to direct themselves towards those areas where it is easier to achieve results. Are these professionals under- and overestimating these co-producers? And is this because it is easier, or are there other reasons, for example lack of time, communication?

The physical access to these projects also requires a closer look. The Site is a large space, open to the entire neighbourhood, and known far beyond. The Farmstead is very new, closed in and unknown. Yet, that is also the difference between cases, for the Site is a non-profit initiated, to involve hard-to-reach populations. In contrast, the Farmstead is a citizen initiative, and these citizens are middle class residents who aim for a green space where they can bond and relax. Should we expect the same level of competence and/or inclusion for that matter in these two different cases? Future research and other case studies could highlight those first discrepancies we found here.

V. DISCUSSION

In this pilot study, we could find the first links between co-production and democratic quality in the field of community development. The two projects researched were neither perfectly democratic, and could both still improve. However, their differences and similarities, both as cases as well as in results, can already add to previous research, confirming and disproving certain claims.

It would seem Rousseau's theory that simply letting citizens participate leads to more inclusion which in turn then leads to a more democratic country (Michels, 2011), is not as straightforward as it sounds. In these cases, it is reiterated that although co-production implies the active contribution of citizens, this does not exclude the major impact that professional support has on the project. This support could not only lead to better democratic quality, with higher rate of inclusion and citizens' sense of empowerment, but also seems to influence the competence of the citizens and the saliency of the results:

Firstly, by enabling citizens, which means enhancing competence (by teaching them or providing the correct knowledge and resources) professionals could achieve a higher inclusion rate (Durose, 2011; Jakobsen, 2013). After all, that professionals ensure that they inform the citizens on the project and the process that has been made, can also help in acquiring more positive evaluations concerning their own impact and thus increase their sense of empowerment (Buckwalter, 2014; Herian et al., 2012). However, when considering competence and comparing the two cases, questions arise. As stated above, the two cases seem to differ in mission and yet it is expected they achieve the same level of competence and inclusion. Future research and other case studies could highlight where the focus here should lie and whether different missions actually imply different levels of democratic quality as well.

Secondly, the complementary currency that was created to enhance participation, and the results concerning this benefit and its impact on the sense of equity at the Site creates a difficult dynamic. That what is considered a key reason to participate equally creates such a negative impact on the case's equity, is an issue that deserves more contemplation. Whether the interpretation of salience can be kept this personal or should be standardised is a first question. And how the experience of inequity comes in to play when working with tangible benefits, should be studied thoroughly.

The damaging side of professional support, as discussed in literature, can be found in both of these cases as well. That citizens feel the professional support is overbearing, which could imply that they are being underestimated by the professionals and thus are excluded from the decision making process, had been predicted by the research done by Agger and Larsen (2009). Surprisingly, at the Farmstead, the citizen feel the same professionals lack in support, implying the opposite: that their abilities are being overestimated by the professionals and thus are left to their own devices in the project's process. Still these remarks need to be nuanced, as previous research by Fledderus (2015) has proven, the self-serving bias could have a serious impact on these citizens' negative evaluations.

We can conclude that in this exploratory case study, several developments appear, some that previous research has confirmed while others need to be tested in future research to confirm or deny these notions. Each of the elements of co-production, as found in literature, have a significant impact, one way or the other, on the democratic quality of a co-production case. Most notable remains the need for professional support and its influences on the other co-production elements.

LIMITATIONS: CONCEPTS & METHODS

This case still shows certain limitations in the operationalisation of the concepts. Through the interviews the researchers discovered there is more depth to the concept of professional support, and a potential typology in competence. In interviews we find that the professionals assign themselves a broader number of role. Though these roles fit into the asking and enabling concepts, it should be important to take note of them, as they could be specific influences that could return in comparative case studies: requiring the professional to be physically present, a representative, a mediator and leader.

When considering the competence of citizens, we found that splitting the concept into three, physical access and psychological access as well as self-confidence, allows for more thorough questions as the two types that can differ from one another in a single case. Important to note here is the difference in testimonies between professionals and co-producers as well. Considering competence, it would seem that perception is also an important facet.

Thirdly, as we discovered in analysis that salience holds a very personal interpretation, it could be a necessity that this concepts is clarified and/or adapted in order to achieve a consistent result.

Secondly, we arrive at the methodology of this case. During the research phase of this case, we found that these hard-to-reach citizens complicate matters significantly. Firstly, the co-producers of the Site were mainly illiterate, non-native speakers who were wary of governmental organisations and adjusted their answers accordingly. To contact these citizens the researchers were aided by a local woman who translated the Site's focus group conversations, however this in-between impeded the researcher to participate actively in the conversation, and could lead to misinterpretation or moderated opinions through translation. Furthermore, because this study uses focus groups, the results may be influenced by dominant speakers and are restricted on generalizability (Stewart et al., 2007). The researchers attempt to counterbalance this by using triangulation, incorporating multiple sources of data (documents, interviews and focus groups) which in turn could lead to a more credible result (Stemler, 2001).

In future research, similar case studies will be done, following the design of an international comparative case study, with a multiple-case replication design as presented by Yin (2009). The findings resulting from this comparative study could then lead to a more compelling and comprehensive conclusion for all co-production cases in community development.

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VII. ANNEX

ANNEX 1: OPERATIONALISED RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Below is the list of operationalised concepts that resulted from our literature review (Vanleene et al., 2015) and was honed by discussions with the Community Development professionals as well as colleagues. The columns with x's depict where we think we will find the most information concerning each concept.

Q1. HOW IS THE CO-PRODUCTION CASE CONSTRUCTED?			
WHO ARE THE PAID EMPLOYEES OF THE (PUBLIC OR NON-PROFIT) ORGANISATION?	Doc.	Pro.	Cit.
Organisation(s) involved	X		
Number of employees related to the case	X		
Job description related to the case	X	X	
Structure of professionals/organigram	X	X	
WHO ARE THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE CASE?			
Number of co-producers	X		X
Gender of co-producers	X		X
Age of co-producers	X		X
Education of co-producers	X		X
Occupation of co-producers	X		X
Language at home/birthplace of parents	X		X
Level of experience within project	X		X
Intended target audience	X	X	
WHAT IS THE 'WICKED' PROBLEM OF THE CO-PRODUCTION CASE WANTS TO RESOLVE?			
Mission statement	X	X	
Wicked Problem	X	X	
WHAT DOES THE CO-PRODUCTION ENTAIL?			
Intended resolution/goal	X	X	
Who decides/steers the case?	X	X	
Citizens' roles	X	X	
Professionals' roles	X		
Conflicts handled	X		
Relationship frontline workers-citizens	X		
WHAT SERVICES/PRODUCTS ARE BEING CO-PRODUCED?			
Direct services/products for co-producers	X		
Indirect results from co-production	X	X	
Q2. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE ELEMENTS OF CO-PRODUCTION PRESENT?			
PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT			
HOW INVESTED IS THE ORGANISATION?		X	X
Funding		X	X
Number of employees in the case		X	X
Time assigned to the case		X	
Job content related to the case		X	
HOW ABLE IS THE EMPLOYEE TO 'ENABLE'? HOW ABLE IS THE EMPLOYEE TO 'ASK'?			
Personal goal-setting		X	
Autonomous decision-making?		X	
Issues encountered & Response	X	X	
COMPETENCE			
HOW MUCH ACCESS DO THE PARTICIPANTS TO THE RESOURCES AND KNOWLEDGE?			
Language barrier	X	X	
Knowing where to get it	X	X	
Real distance	X	X	
Actual comprehension	X	X	
HOW SELF-CONFIDENT ARE THEY IN CO-PRODUCING?			
Actually learning	X	X	X

	Self-confidence	X	X	X
SALIENCE				
HOW SIGNIFICANT IS THE PROJECT FOR THE CO-PRODUCER AND FAMILY AND FRIENDS?				
	Importance of the co-produced service		X	
	Importance of reward system		X	
	Social network in neighbourhood (family/friends)		X	
	Renting vs. homeowner in neighbourhood		X	
	History in neighbourhood		X	
	Sense of responsibility		X	
WHAT IS THE IMPACT ON THEIR DAILY LIVES?				
	Changes in health/happiness		X	
	Changes in lifestyle		X	
	Changes in social life		X	
	Visible changes in neighbourhood		X	
HOW LONG IS SAID PROJECT?				
	Intended longevity of project		X	
	Durability of the product		X	
Q3. WHAT IS THE DEGREE OF DEMOCRATIC QUALITY IN THE CASE?				
INCLUSION				
ARE THE CITIZENS WHO ARE AFFECTED BY THE CO-PRODUCTION PROJECT INCLUDED? IS THERE ANY EXCLUSION BASED ON THE NEIGHBOURHOOD'S DEMOGRAPHIC?				
	Comparison of demographics			X
EMPOWERMENT				
DO THE CO-PRODUCERS HAVE OR PERCEIVE AN ACTUAL INFLUENCE ON THE OUTCOMES?				
	Opportunities for suggestions			X
	Organisation's response to suggestions			X
HOW AUTONOMOUS ARE THEY?				
	Time it takes for suggestions to be implemented			X
	Who steers the co-production?			X
	Permission needed for initiative			X
EQUITY				
DO THEY EXPERIENCE FAIRNESS IN THE PROCESS OF THE PROJECT?				
	Benefits experienced			X
	Risks experienced			X
ARE THEY SATISFIED WITH THE SERVICES?				
	Recommendations to friends/families			X
	Needs fulfilled			X
	Overall quality			X
DO THEY EXPERIENCE FAIRNESS IN THE OUTCOME OF THE PROJECT?				
	Co-producer's vision of outcome/results of case			X
	Comparison with others			X

ANNEX 2: LIST OF DOCUMENTS

	Type	Author	Title	Year	Organisation	Magazine
Doc1	Official Document	Unassigned	Recht op wonen in een vernieuwde stad	n.d.	Stad Gent	
Doc2	Official Document	Unassigned	Wijkmonitor	n.d.	Stad Gent	
Doc3	Official Document	Programma Strategisch Fondsenbeheer en Interbestuurlijke Samenwerking	- Gent - Bruggen naar Rabot - JOC Rabot	2005	Stad Gent	
Doc4	Official Document	Dienst Stedenbeleid en Internationale betrekkingen	Samen werken aan je wijk Naar een programma voor Rabot-Blaisantvest	2007	Stad Gent	
Doc5	Official Document	Unassigned	Beleidsnota: communicatie, onthaal, beleidsparticipatie en stadsmarketing 2014-2019 (ontwerp)	2013	Stad Gent	
Doc6	Official Document	Unassigned	Van Ambitie tot Zuurstof	2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc8	Report	n.a.	BEWONERS INGESCHAKELD ALS DESKUNDIGEN: DE RESULTATEN	2006	Riso Gent	
Doc9	Report	n.a.	Dossier Boerenhof	2014	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc10	Report	n.a.	Mensen maken de buurt: Een opstap tot politiek burgerschap en stedelijke ontwikkeling	2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc11	Report	n.a.	Her aanleg van het boerenhof: take 3 actie!	2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc12	Report	n.a.	Projectvoorstel binnengebied Kwakkelstraat	n.d.	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc13	Report	n.a.	Visietekst De Site	n.d.	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc14	Research paper	Jans, Marc	Solidariteit in Superdiversiteit	2014	Diegem	
Doc15	Research paper	Oosterlynck, Stijn	Hoe geraken we voorbij de valse paradox tussen van onderuit en van bovenaf	2015	Diegem	
Doc16	Research paper	Van Bouchaute, Bart	Solidariteit in superdiversiteit: het transformatief potentieel van een complementaire munt in een superdiverse wijk	2015	Diegem	
Doc17	Thesis	Van Reusel, Hanne	Reflection paper: Scratch, scar, score in shuffle mode	2014	Ghent University	

Doc18	Thesis	Vanleene, Daphne	THE CO-PRODUCING CITIZEN:A case study on the motives affecting citizen participation in community development	2014	Ghent University	
Doc19	Newspaper Article	Geert Herman	Rabot houdt van Torekes	2011	Not Applicable	het Nieuwsblad
Doc20	Magazine Article	Pascal Debruyne	Bruggen naar het Rabot DZJOEF	2006	Victoria Deluxe, Vooruit Kunstencentrum en Samenlevingsopbouw	DZJOEF
Doc21	Magazine Article	De redactie	Unassigned	2011	Not Applicable	Express
Doc22	Magazine Article	Dimitri Vandenberghe	Wonen in de Torens van het rabot	2011	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	FRANK 1
Doc23	Magazine Article	Wouter Van Thillo en Tom Dutry	Toreken de complementaire munt	2011	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	FRANK 3
Doc24	Magazine Article	Pascal Debruyne	Special stadsvernieuwing	2013	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	FRANK 8
Doc25	Magazine Article	Dimitri Vandenberghe	Community building	2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	FRANK 12
Doc26	Magazine Article	Anika Depraetere & Bart Van Bouchaute	De Torekes: alternatief waarderingssysteem	2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	FRANK 13
Doc27	Magazine Article	Herman Peeters	Volhoudbare stadsvernieuwing	2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	FRANK 14
Doc28	Web Page	n.a.	Project 'De Torekes' wint Oost-Vlaamse prijs voor sociaal-cultureel volwassenenwerk	10/11 /2015	FOV	
Doc29	Web Page	n.a.	Complementary currency	10/11 /2015	Community Currency Gateway	
Doc30	Web Page	n.a.	De Site in cijfers	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc31	Web Page	n.a.	Over de site: projectorganisatie	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc32	Web Page	n.a.	Project: Bruggen naar Rabot	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc33	Web Page	n.a.	Opdracht	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc34	Web Page	n.a.	Medewerkers	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	

Doc35	Web Page	n.a.	Nieuwe Ideeën	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc36	Web Page	n.a.	Waarom	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc37	Web Page	n.a.	Welkom bij Torekes!	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc38	Web Page	n.a.	Werkwijze	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc39	Web Page	n.a.	Wij zijn wij	10/11 /2015	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Doc40	Web Page	n.a.	De Site	10/11 /2015	Stad Gent	
Doc41	Web Page	n.a.	Deelprojecten Bruggen Naar rabot	10/11 /2015	Stad Gent	
Doc42	Web Page	n.a.	Tijdslijn	10/11 /2015	Stad Gent	
Doc43	Web Page	n.a.	Bruggen naar Rabot	10/11 /2015	Stad Gent	
Doc44	Web Page	n.a.	EFRO	19/01 /2016	Europese Commissie	
Doc45	Web Page	n.a.	Boerenhof	19/01 /2016	Not Applicable	
Doc46	Web Page	n.a.	Boerenhof	19/01 /2016	Stad Gent	
Doc47	Web Page	n.a.	Geschiedenis Rabot	20/01 /2016	Stad Gent	
Doc48	Web Page	n.a.	Contact & Partners	20/01 /2016	Stad Gent	

ANNEX 3: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

	Type	interviewer	Interviewee	Year	Organisation	
Int1	Expert Interviews	Vanleene, Daphne	Opbouwmedewerker (Community worker) #1	14/04 /2016	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Int2	Expert Interviews	Vanleene, Daphne	opbouwmedewerker (Community worker) #2	18/04 /2016	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Int3	Expert Interviews	Vanleene, Daphne	beleidsmedewerker(Policy Advisor)	22/03 /2016	Samenlevingsopbouw Gent	
Int4	Expert Interviews	Vanleene, Daphne	Wijkregisseur (District director)	13/04 /2016	Stad Gent	

ANNEX 4: LIST OF FOCUS GROUPS

Respondents	Gender	Marital State	Age	Education	Employment	Breadwinner	Children	Language at home	Country of Origin Father	Country of Origin Mother	Duration of participation	Project
FG 1												
FG1.1	Female	Married	56-65	None	OCMW	Husband	4	Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	More than 6 years	The Site
FG1.2	Female	Unmarried	65+	None	OCMW	Husband	4	Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	More than 6 years	The Site
FG1.3	Female	Married	65+	None	OCMW	Together	3	Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	More than 6 years	The Site
FG1.4	Female	Unmarried	56-65	Primary school	Unemployed (OCMW)	Me	3	Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	More than 6 years	The Site
FG1.5	Female	Married	65+	Primary school	Retired	Together	5	Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	More than 6 years	The Site
FG1.6	Female	Unmarried	46-55	Secondary school	Unemployed (Widowed)	Husband	1	Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	2-3 years	The Site
FG 2												
FG2.1	Male	Unmarried	36-45	Higher education	Counselor (Social Sector)	Me	1	Dutch	Belgium	Belgium	More than 3 years	The Farmstead
FG2.2	Male	Unmarried	46-55	Higher education	Employed	Me	2	Dutch	Belgium	Belgium	More than 3 years	The Farmstead
FG2.3	Male	Unmarried	26-35	Primary school	Unfit for work	Me	0	Dutch	Belgium	Belgium	6 months- 1 year	The Farmstead

FG2.4	Female	Married	56-55	Secondary school	Housewife	Husband	1	Dutch	Belgium	Belgium	2-3 years	The Farmstead
FG2.5	Female	Unmarried	36-45	Higher education	Teacher	Me	3	Dutch	Belgium	Belgium	More than 3 years	The Farmstead
FG 3												
FG3.1	Male	Unmarried	36-45	Primary school	Unfit for work	Together	2	Dutch/Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	1 year- 2 years	The Site
FG3.2	Male	Unmarried	36-45	Secondary school			4	Dutch/Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	2-3 years	The Site
FG3.3	Male	Married	56-65	Secondary school	Retired	Together	3	Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	2-3 years	The Site
FG3.4	Male	Unmarried	36-45	Secondary school	Unemployed	Together	3	Turkish	Turkey	Turkey	2-3 years	The Site

ANNEX 5: FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Saliency 1: What is the most important reason for you to participate? (Why that one?)
2. Saliency 2: Do you notice a positive change in your neighbourhood because of the project?
3. Competence 1: Is it easy to participate? (Why yes/no?)
4. Competence 2: Did you learn something new through the project? (If yes, what?)
5. Professional 1 : Are the professionals approachable? (Why yes/no?)
6. Professional 2: Would you ask them for help/advice? (In which cases yes/no?)
7. Inclusion 1: Are there people who can't participate? Is it possible for everyone to participate? (Who can't?)
8. Empowerment 1: Can you propose things to enhance the project? (And do you feel heard?)
9. Empowerment 2: Can you do what you want? Are you sufficiently autonomous or is someone else telling you what to do? (Who?)
10. Equity 1: Do you get something in return for your input? (Pos/ neg) Do you think the rewards are divided fairly?

ANNEX 6: NVIVO DATA TREE

The tables below are transferred from the Nvivo program. Data tree #1 comprises of the coding done for the document analysis. Data tree #2 depicts a combination of the data trees for the interviews and focus groups.

DATA TREE #1: DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Here, the first column indicates the concepts used to code the data. This operationalisation was made in three steps: firstly, a literature review on previous research gave a first idea (Vanleene et al., 2015), followed by a discussion with the Community Development professionals as well as colleagues which resulted into Annex 1. However, as the data tree formed, some clusters were shaped inductively. In the second column, the number of sources, i.e. documents, that are coded into that specific cluster can be found. The third and last column, references, indicates the amount of sentences, paragraphs or words that have been highlighted by the researchers into that code.

Operationalisation Research Questions	Sources	References
A. CONSTRUCTION CO-PRODUCTION	36	236
1. Subprojects	15	23
The Farmstead	4	7
The Site	9	10
Similarities between the projects	1	1
Torekes project	5	5
2. Paid Employees	15	30
Partners	9	13
Professionals' roles in the process	9	17
3. Citizen Participants	19	57
Age	3	3
Citizen's roles in the process	15	23
Nationality	5	13
Numbers	6	13
4. Mission	25	98
Goals	19	39
Intended direct results	7	8
Intended target audience	5	11
Unintended results-issues arising	1	1
Wicked problem	16	39
5. Content	11	36
Conflicts (handled)	3	14
Relationship between professionals - citizens	7	9
Who decides-steers the case	8	13
6. Outcome	11	28
Environmental benefits	4	5
Material benefits	5	9
Social benefits	8	14
B. ELEMENTS OF CO-PRODUCTION	15	53
1. Professional Support	12	26
Information – Transparency of the organisation	1	4
Innovative ways to reach citizens	7	11
Investment in the projects	8	10

	Inability to 'enable'	1	1
2. Competence		1	6
	Psychological access	0	0
	Physical access	1	6
	Negative accounts	0	0
3. Salience		6	21
	Altruistic reasons	1	1
	Material motives	1	1
	Personal motives	4	9
	Social motives	5	6
C. DEGREE OF DEMOCRATIC QUALITY		11	35
1. Inclusion		2	6
2. Empowerment		10	26
	Actual Influence	8	11
	Autonomy	6	15
3. Equity		1	2
	Fairness in outcome	1	1
	Fairness in process	1	1
	Satisfaction w services	0	0

DATA TREE #2: INTERVIEWS & FOCUS GROUPS

This table is a combination of the data tree made from the professional interviews and one made from the citizens focus groups. Again, the first column indicates the concepts used to code the data, these codes are derived from literature as well as added inductively. The following three columns depict the references (the amount of sentences, paragraphs or words) made in the expert interviews that have been added by the researchers into that code. The last three columns represent the references originating from the citizen focus groups.

CODE	REFERENCES EXPERT INTERVIEWS	ABOUT THE FARMSTEAD	ABOUT THE SITE	REFERENCES CITIZENS INTERVIEWS	FARMSTEAD FOCUS GROUP	SITE FOCUS GROUPS
A. CONSTRUCTION COPRODUCTION	50	6	35			
1. SUBPROJECTS	1		1			
2. PAID EMPLOYEES	12	2	2			
3. CITIZEN PARTICIPANTS	4		4			
4. MISSION	18	2	15			
5. CONTENT	5		4			
6. OUTCOME	10	2	9			
B. ELEMENTS OF CO-PRODUCTION	79	15	62	70	42	25
1. PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT	38	10	29	18	14	4
ASK	7	1	6			
MEETINGS	2		2			
PRESENCE POLITICS	5	1	4			
ENABLE	19	5	14			
LEADER	2		2			
MEDIATOR	9	5	4			
BETWEEN CITIZENS	4	3	1			
BETWEEN CITIZENS AND CITY (REPRESENTING)	5	2	3			
PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS	8		8			
NEGATIVE	2		2			
POSITIVE	6		6			
ORGANISATION'S INVESTMENT	8	2	8			
CITIZENS' EXPERIENCE (NEGATIVE)				9	9	
CITIZENS' EXPERIENCE (POSITIVE)				9	5	4
2. COMPETENCE	16	2	13	6		5
PHYSICAL ACCESS (BOUNDARIES)	8		8	2		2
KNOWLEDGE (UNDERSTANDING)	7	2	5	4		3
NEGATIVE	3		3	1		1
POSITIVE (LEARNING NEW THINGS)	4	2	2	3		3
3. SALIENCE	25	4	22	45	28	16
ENVIRONMENT	2	1	1	10	9	1

FAMILY				2	1	1
PERSONAL	6	2	6	10	3	7
REWARDS	11	1	10	15	11	5
CURRENCY	9	1	8	9	8	2
OTHER	2		2			
GARDENING				6	3	3
SOCIAL	6		6	8	4	4
C. DEGREE OF DEMOCRATIC QUALITY	47	13	25	53	26	19
1. INCLUSION	9	2	6	17	11	4
NO	4	1	3	8	7	1
YES	5	1	3	9	6	3
2. EMPOWERMENT	23	6	14	18	6	12
ACTUAL INFLUENCE	14	1	12	3	1	2
NO INFLUENCE				5	1	4
NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE (AUTONOMY)	3	1	1	7	4	3
POSITIVE EXPERIENCE (AUTONOMY)	6	4	1			
WE DON'T NEED AUTONOMY				3		3
3. EQUITY	15	6	5	13	9	4
FAIRNESS IN OUTCOME	7	3	3	6	4	2
NEGATIVE	4	2	1	3	1	2
POSITIVE	3	1	2	3	3	
FAIRNESS IN PROCESS	8	3	4	7	5	2
NEGATIVE	4	2	2	2	1	1
POSITIVE	4	1	2	5	4	1

COHEN'S KAPPAⁱ

CODE	KAPPA	
B.ELEMENTS OF COPRODUCTION	0,3972	76,64
B. 1. PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT	0,6003	92,73
B. 2. COMPETENCE	0	93,32
C. DEGREE OF DEMOCRATIC QUALITY	0,4122	69,92
C. 1. INCLUSION	0,3241	87,74
C. 2. EMPOWERMENT	0,604	91,42
C. 3. EQUITY	0,587	84,16

ⁱ Kappa Statistic Strength of Agreement

<0.00 Poor, 0.00- 0.20 Slight, 0.21- 0.40 Fair, 0.41- 0.60 Moderate, 0.61- 0.80 Substantial, 0.81- 1.00 Almost Perfect (Stemler, 2001)