

Stakeholders Support in Urban Governance

The Case of the Revvelopment of Music Hall Vredenburg in Utrecht, The Netherlands

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Introduction

Since the 1990s participation of stakeholders, such as groups of citizens, social organizations and companies entered a new phase in Dutch urban policy. The use of participation evolved in so-called participatory policymaking. The central idea of participatory policymaking is, that involving and committing stakeholders and (groups of) citizens in an early phase of the policy process, rather than consulting them just before the implementation phase, creates a broader support for that policy and should make policy more effective, legitimate and could build more trust.² Internationally, similar perspectives occur. The OECD (2001:11) argues that 'engaging citizens in policymaking is a sound investment and a core element of good governance. It allows governments to tap wider sources of information, perspectives and potential solutions, and improves the quality of the decisions reached. Equally important, it contributes to building public trust in government, raising the quality of democracy and strengthening civic capacity.'

Participation is widely used with regard to the political system or the policy process. Especially, when we look at academic work in the fields of deliberative democracy (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003) and (urban) governance (Judge, Stoker and Wolman (eds), 1995, Goss, 2001, John, 2001, Kjaer, 2004, Denters and Rose, 2005). Although the assumption that a higher level of participation would yield a higher level of support is not new, there is a lack of systematic empirical evidence (Edelenbos, 2000, Pröpper and Steenbeek, 2001). In general, empirical research with regard to participatory policymaking is smoothly increasing. This chapter attempts to deliver a contribution to the empirical research by investigating one interactive process in the city of Utrecht, The Netherlands. The main question is: *Do higher levels of participation lead to higher levels of support among stakeholders in urban governance?*

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² Edelenbos (2000:XXV) argues that the idea of participatory policymaking 'is a continuation of two Dutch traditions: the tradition of public participation, which stems from a reform of the spatial planning system (1970s), and the Dutch pacifistic tradition of compromise and adaptation.' Especially the latter is typical for Dutch policy.

Structure of this chapter

This chapter has the following structure: first the theoretical framework is presented, which addresses levels of participation, levels of support and their relation. After the methodology has been described, section five presents the case study of the redevelopment of the Vredenburg concert hall in the city of Utrecht. The concluding sections will present an answer to the central question.

1. A Ladder of Participation

Early involvement of citizens and stakeholders can be organized in different ways. I follow Coenen, Huitema and O'Toole (1998:308-309) in defining participation as 'the involvement in decision making with the purpose to influence choice(s) being made'. According to Arnstein (1969) the level of influence of participants depends on the way the participatory process is organized. This insight has been visualized in several 'ladders of participation' (see among others Arnstein, 1969, Pateman, 1970, Milbrath and Goel, 1977, White, 1996, Hall, 2000, Smith and Beazley, 2000, Jackson, 2001, Edelenbos and Monnikhof, 2001, Pröpper and Steenbeek, 2001, OECD, 2001). In this study such a participation ladder is used as an analytical framework to distinguish between *different levels of participation*. Figure 1 is showing this ladder, which has a sliding scale.

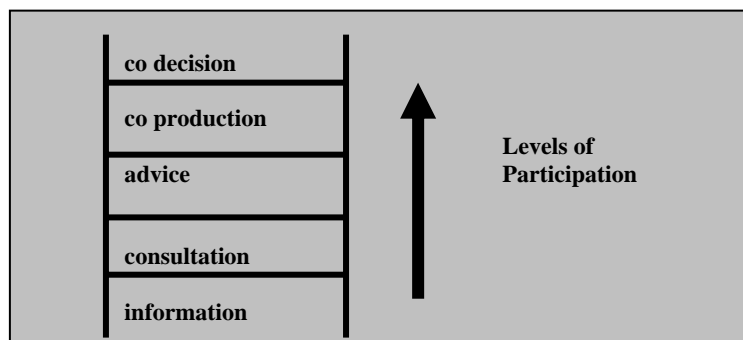


Figure 1: A ladder of Participation (Edelenbos en Monnikhof 2001:242)

The five levels can be defined as follows.

- The highest is *co decision*, which has the most 'extreme' level of participation. A new organization or associations is created out of every partner (or participant), which has all responsibilities and will take the decisions.
- A government is one of the partners in a partnership, when the level of participation is *co production*. Partners collaborate on an equal basis. This is the fourth level.
- Level three is *advice*. This is a more advanced level than consultation, because a government should react to citizens and stakeholders. The government has to take the input of citizens and stakeholders seriously.

- When a government uses the level *consultation*, it asks citizens' and stakeholders' opinion about a specific policy. This is the second level.
- *Information*, which is the lowest level, concerns the one-way communication of a government to citizens and stakeholders.

The core elements of participatory policymaking are caught in six questions (Edelenbos, 2000:44-45). Table 1 shows these six elements in relation with the levels of participation. These will be described below.

	<i>information</i>	<i>consultation</i>	<i>advice</i>	<i>co production</i>	<i>co decision</i>
Policy phase	Late: government determines the policy (decisions).	Late: government lets actors react to intentions.	Early: government gives room to actors to help determining the agenda	Early: government and actors determine the agenda together	Early: actors determine policy. Government agrees
Preconditions	Are defined by the government	Are largely defined by the government	Are used as criteria to check	Are defined during the process	Are defined during the process and are not defined by the government
* Policy input	No possibilities for actors to deliver any input	Government asks input from actors	Government asks input from actors, but actors can also come up with input.	Actors are delivering input. The input of the government is low.	The input of the government is very low. Actors are determining the input among them
Policy problem	Is defined by the government	Is largely defined by the government	Ideas of actors will play a role	Is defined by government and actors.	Is defined by the actors.
Solutions	Are defined by the government	Are largely defined by the government	Ideas of actors will play a role	Are defined by government and actors.	Are defined by the actors.
Final decision * Policy outputs	Outputs are defined by the government	Government does not commit itself to process outputs.	In principle, outputs are binding, but can differ based on the pre-conditions	Outputs are binding and will unchangeably accepted by the government.	Government and city council do not have to confirm the outputs.

Table 1: How can the level of participation be measured?

- 1) In which stage of the policy process are stakeholders involved? Is this an early phase, i.g. agenda setting or policymaking, or a late phase, i.g. implementation or evaluation?
- 2) What are the, juridical, financial preconditions? Who defines them; local government or stakeholders?
- 3) Who delivers input?
- 4) Who defines the problem; stakeholders or local government?
- 5) Who defines the policy solutions; stakeholders or local government?
- 6) Who takes the final decision? Does the city council have enough power to overrule the stakeholder's choices or will they respect the policy output?

Table 1 will be used to determine the level of participation in the case. Now, we continue to identify whether we can speak of a level of support and how it will be used in this chapter.

2. Can we build a Ladder of Support?

Support is closely linked to concepts such as (output) legitimacy and policy acceptance. Political scientists in democracy studies and power & influence studies often use these terms. Political scholars such as David Easton (1967) and Robert Dahl (1961) did research to the phenomenon of support. They focused on the support for the political system. Their view is specifically based on person's attitudes and judgements towards the political system. I am not particularly interested in that sort of support, but want to focus on support for policy that was created by a participatory approach. So, the difference with Easton and Dahl is that I am not only aiming at a judgment and attitude towards participatory policymaking, but also at the behavior towards the policy that is shown by stakeholders. Thus, support consists not only what people are thinking or speaking about, but it is also based on the activities that people do. Ruelle en Bartels (1998:405) describe support as: *'an interest driven evaluation of a political situation by target groups of a policy. Based on this evaluation, the target group accept this policy actively or passively or offer resistance.'* Their definition is relevant, because it is based on stakeholder's evaluation (satisfaction or dissatisfaction) with regard to policy outputs. It is also referring to the actual behavior of stakeholders, which is based on their judgments.

Here, support is measured at target groups or 'receivers' of policy. These are the stakeholders; groups of citizens, social organizations and companies who collaborate with (departments of) a local government. So in this research, support must be interpreted as a combination of satisfaction and behavior of stakeholders with regard to a specific participatory policy project. To be more specific. The support must directly refer to a (between-times) policy output which is the result of

the participatory process.³ For instance, support is referring to a policy document or a decision.

But how will the level of support be measured? On the one hand it is based on stakeholders *(dis)satisfaction* with regard to the core elements of participatory policy. On the other hand it is based on the *activities* stakeholders can do to express their support or protest. This results in a protest and support ladder, which consists of twenty potential (up sliding) activities with regard to the participatory policy (process).⁴ This ladder determines how high the level of support is and whether this level is positive or negative. A negative support score must be interpreted as a signal of resistance.

To give an answer to the question of this section, a ladder of support is empirically possible. As was mentioned before it is a ladder which show the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of stakeholders with regard to the core elements of the participatory policy process. It also show the actual (protest or supportive) activities that stakeholders express (often based on their judgments). Of course, one could also argue what level of support should be necessary for certain levels of participation, or ask whether higher levels of participation should yield better policy. These kind of normative discussions may be inspirational for other's research, but this chapter will only focus on empirical results

3. Support for Participatory Policymaking: the theoretical relation

Now we know that we can determine levels of participatory policymaking and levels of support it is not yet argued how we can address the relation between them. Not only policymakers, but also scientist assume that these variables are closely related. Policymakers who deal with participatory policymaking use it as a policy theory in which they expect that more participation will lead to more support. Dutch scholars such as Edelenbos (2000) and Pröpper & Steenbeek (2001) are using the same reasoning. However, there is poor empirical evidence. This research is searching for systematically evidence for this relation.

The dependent variable 'level of support among stakeholders' is measured for different levels of participation.⁵ Theoretically, there are three possible outcomes:

1. Levels of participatory policymaking and levels of support have a *positive relation*. For instance, this means that the level of information will result in a lower level of support, than the level of consultation does. The level of advice

³ To prevent interferences between the variables participatory policymaking and support, an analytical difference between these was made. The participatory policymaking was measured until the policy output. After this policy output, support was measured with regard to the participatory policymaking process.

⁴ See table one in appendix one.

⁵ The level of participatory policymaking is the independent variable.

will lead to a higher level of support than the level of consultation does, and so on (Pröpper en Steenbeek, 2001, Edelenbos, 2000).

2. Levels of participatory policymaking and levels of support have a *negative relation*. This means that a higher level of participation will result in a lower level of support or, vice versa; a lower level of participation will lead to a higher level of support. Here, rising expectations will play an important role (cf Brinton, 1965). These expectations can be raised in an early phase when a government wants to make stakeholders enthusiastic. At the end of the project, the results can be disappointing or even dissatisfying.⁶
3. There is *no relation*. Other variables than levels of participation *determine the level of support*. For example, one could think of context factors that may have an impact on the support such as, sudden political circumstances, macro-economical developments, decisions by other governments or other autonomous developments.

4. Methodology

This section shows that qualitative methods are used to conduct the empirical research. They are applied to this research as data triangulation (Yin, 1994).

The unit of analysis is the relationship between Utrecht local government and one stakeholder. So, it is focused on a one-on-one relationship between a local government and an organization or association in local society. Responsible representatives of involved organization or association were selected as respondents (see also the part with regard to interview).

Data collectors, which have been used in each case study are; interviews⁷, document analysis⁸, observations⁹, and a questionnaire¹⁰. The interviews were not

⁶ This could be a threat for important social values and local democracy.

⁷ 15 to 20 key persons were interviewed, with a semi-structured interview. I have used an interview guide to each interview. Most interviews took approximately one hour and were recorded on minidisk. Transcripts of each interview are available in Dutch. On the one hand, these consisted of informants who did not fill in the questionnaire (so called non-response), but also persons who had filled in extreme answers. On the other hand I interviewed key officers, such as the project manager, the district manager and the responsible deputy Mayor.

⁸ The document analysis was used to determine the level of participation. Relevant documents about the project were selected. These documents from Utrecht local government and were referring to participation and the project as a whole. This analysis was used to determine whether the intended level of participatory policymaking in the documents correspond to the measured level of participatory policymaking.

⁹ If possible, relevant meetings were observed. I did not contribute to any discussion during these meetings. I was a silent observer. There was a special focus on the amount of 'participation-related' attention during the meeting. Besides this, there were also observations during council meetings in which the projects were discussed.

only needed to collect additional information, but also to collect perspectives of stakeholders to (the level) of participation. The result of the document analysis is shown in figure 4. I observed during several meetings between civil servants to see how they dealt with participatory policymaking and the creation of support. A stakeholder analysis was conducted to determine which stakeholders were relevant to measure support. Stakeholders filled in a questionnaire that measured their support for the specific project.

5. The case of the redevelopment of Music Hall Vredenburg

5.1 The project

Vredenburg is Utrecht's largest concert hall and is located in the inner city of Utrecht. It has two auditoriums in which a broad variety of cultural and musical events take place. The concert hall will be redeveloped and two other cultural organizations will be accommodated there as well. These are *Tivoli*, which is a well-known pop podium and *Stichting Jazz Utrecht (SJU)*, a Jazz Association.¹¹ Together, they will use several concert halls in the future building. In addition to the redevelopment of the current building the surrounding area will also be redeveloped, for example the (market) square in front of the building and parts of the shopping centre 'Hoog Catharijne'. The redevelopment is based on a Masterplan (2003). Vredenburg is part of a greater reconstruction project of Utrecht Station Area. In the past years citizens, experts and stakeholders had the opportunity to deliver input for this masterplan. The redevelopment of music hall Vredenburg is one of the first projects that will be implemented.¹²

The participation and support among stakeholders with regard to the new design of this building and its square is investigated. This design was presented on 12 March 2004.

5.2 The stakeholders

Vredenburg is located in the inner city. That is why many stakeholders have a stake in its redevelopment. The list of stakeholders (table 2) shows a great variety; from little shop owners, citizen associations, to cultural organizations and Cori6;

¹⁰ It was a small-scale questionnaire, which was used only to *describe* statistical data. The response to the questionnaire was 54 percent (N=24). Respondents had to rank their most important interests / stakes in the project.

¹¹ Both organizations are forced to collaborate with Vredenburg, because their current license is no longer granted. They need to find a new building, among other things because of the noise nuisance for the direct neighbourhood.

¹² Since almost 20 year Utrecht local government, the national railway company, a retail company and the owner of shopping centre 'Hoog Catharijne' are planning to redevelop this crucial area in the city. Due to all sorts of political games and developments nothing has been done yet. However, the current Masterplan (2003) has, until now, the most advanced plans and mutual collaboration, which is seen as promising.

the owner of the largest shopping center in The Netherlands. It also shows that only two governmental organizations are involved: *Project Organization of the Station Area (POS)* and *Vredenburg* as a department of Utrecht local government. The POS manages the station area project. This is a very complex task because it has a long history and consists of long-term plans that will affect Utrecht as a whole. There is a lot at stake for public and private organizations. The POS has a heavy duty to manage the different projects and to meet the expectations of the major partners and diverse stakeholders. Vredenburg as a department of Utrecht local government is responsible for the current exploitation of the building and the cultural events which they schedule. Comparing to other governmental departments, Vredenburg has a relatively autonomous role.

Type one	Type two	Type three
Interest association shopping center Hoog Catharijne	Market place holders association	Project Organization Station Area (POS)
Vendex KBB, department store (head office)	Department store 'De Bijenkorf'	Music hall Vredenburg
Center for the homeless in shopping center Hoog Catharijne	Victor Consael pancake restaurant	Cori6, owner of shopping center Hoog Catharijne
Police, location: Hoog Catharijne	U-stal, bicycle shed	Jazz venue Utrecht
Shop Association Utrecht Center	Fish shop	Tivoli, pop venue
Shops and residents associations Grachtenstegen	Shop owners Vredenburg North	
Quality association Mariaplaats		
Residents associations center project (BOCP)		
Chamber of Commerce		
Utrecht Public Transport Company		
Sounding board Station area,		
Utrecht Regional Management		
District council inner city		
Hotel and catering industry, Utrecht department		
Committee district C		

Table 2: Three types of stakeholders in the redevelopment of music hall Vredenburg

When there is a lot at stake, people are willing to participate. This could be one of the explanations, why so many (24 stakeholders and two departments of Utrecht local government) stakeholders are involved (see Table 2). This is not typical for this project, and will be familiar for other projects as well. Spit and Zoete (2002:105) argue that a classification of types of stakeholders is relevant. The reason is that, during the planning process, it must be decided which stakeholders will or will not be actively involved in the process. A level of selection seems to be inevitable. Stakeholders are typified as follows. *Type one* stakeholders are organizations and associations that have indirect or direct interest *with* the issue.

These are for instance in this case representatives of shopkeeper associations, and resident associations, police, chamber of commerce, social organizations and others. Although they have a stake in the project, these stakeholders are not located in the Vredenburg area, but just in the surrounded areas. *Type two* stakeholders are organizations and associations that have direct, mostly a business interest *in* the issue. These are companies who are working in the Vredenburg area, such as the market place association and the Vredenburg Noord shop owners association, and companies that are situated on the Vredenburg Square. *Type three* stakeholders are organizations and associations that have a direct business interest with regard to *the solutions* of the problem, or issue. These are the involved cultural organizations Tivoli, SJU, and Vredenburg, Corió, and the project organization Station area. Type three stakeholders have more at stake than type two stakeholders. Type two stakeholders have more at stake than type one stakeholders. I will use these types of stakeholders in the further analysis of this case.

5.3 *The ladder of participation*

The POS organized the participation for the redevelopment of Vredenburg (and broader, for the Station Area as a whole).¹³ They have been creating different opportunities for stakeholders to participate, for instance discussions, city debates, expert meetings in the period June 2003 until 12 March 2004. They also created an information point in which stakeholders could get information about the plans and its procedures.

To determine the level of participation I will use the six core elements.

1. *In what policy phase are stakeholders involved?* Based on the document analysis of policy documents and the interviews one could say that all stakeholders had the opportunity to participate in a fairly early phase. Unsurprisingly, some stakeholders had a bigger say than others.
2. *Who defined the juridical or economical preconditions?* As 10% owner of the current Vredenburg building, and 87% owner of the surrounded area Corió had a strategic position. Together with Utrecht local government they owned the area and the building. The economical preconditions were mainly defined by ownership. Also juridical preconditions played a role; especially environmental guidelines (noise pollution, shadow of the future building, wind).
3. *Who delivers the input?* This input is divided into the defining the problem and defining the policy solutions.
4. *Who defines the problem?* Because of the long history of the project it is not quite clear who exactly defined the problem. Interviews with stakeholders show that especially stakeholders who had a direct link with the policy plan

¹³ For example, in May 2002 the POS organized a referendum with regard to the whole station area. Music hall Vredenburg was also part of the choice. Voters could choose to demolish the current building and rebuild it in another area, or redevelop the current building.

(type III stakeholders) were able to tell about the problem definition. Interviews with shop associations, citizen associations, POS, Vredenburg and others show that the POS often preselected information. They justified this by saying that a selection had to be made, but this created suspicion especially at citizens and shop associations. Implicitly, many choices were made.

5. *Who defines the solutions?* Similar to the problem definition is the definitions of solutions. The interviews with (for instance) Corió, Vredenburg and the POS show that Corió, pop venue Tivoli and Jazz venue SJU had access to talk and think about possible new design of the building and its surroundings. Other stakeholders saw the design in a later phase (cf. point one).
6. *Who takes the final decision?* Within a participatory policymaking process this element is crucial, because it is responsible for the success or the total failure of the whole participation process. It often refers to the influence that stakeholders can have in the input or the output of the policy process.

These six core elements in the Vredenburg case are quite ambiguous to measure the specific level of participatory policymaking. It seems as if the great variety of stakeholders (and stakes) make things unclear. However, a sharper picture can be presented when we divide the case in three arena's of stakeholders around clear stakes in the project.¹⁴ These are:

- Arena A: the *collaboration between the three cultural organizations; concert hall Vredenburg, pop venue Tivoli and Jazz association SJU I and the POS*. The cultural organizations will exploit the future music hall Vredenburg.
- Arena B: the *collaboration between Corió and the POS* which is aiming at issues, such as money, ownership of square meters, property and design.
- Arena C: the *other stakeholders* which are aiming at diverse stakes and try to have influence in the policy process.

When we relate these arenas to the core elements of the level of participatory policymaking, it shows that arena A and B have a much more intensive relationship with (departments of) Utrecht local government than arena C. Based on the interviews and the documentanalysis it was plain that arena C had less influence on decision with regard to the policy process or substantial input. Although Utrecht local government asked their input in an early phase, stakeholders in arena C, were largely bound to preconditions of the local government, had a relative small influence on the definition of the problem or its solution. This means that their position on the ladder of participation is *consultation* (table 3).

Although arena A and B were also involved in an early phase, they had more influence on the agenda. They were intensively involved in the process and had the opportunity to discuss the preconditions, the definition of the problem and its

¹⁴ I define an arena as a selection of stakeholders in a clearly demarcated case which operates relatively intensively together and relatively independently from other stakeholders around a clear defined part of the whole case.

solutions. Arena B had more opportunities to deliver input than arena A, but both had more opportunities than arena C. All in all, arena B and A scored *coproduction* as level of participatory policymaking. Table 3 shows this.

	<i>Information</i>	<i>Consultation</i>	<i>Advice</i>	<i>Co production</i>	<i>Co decision</i>
Policy phase			Arena C	Arena A&B	
Preconditions		Arena C		Arena A&B	
Policy problem		Arena C		Arena A&B	
Solutions		Arena C		Arena A&B	
Final decision		Arena C		Arena A&B	
*Policy outputs					
*Policy input		Arena C	Arena A	Arena B	

Table 3: Three arenas of stakeholders participate on different levels within the case

Two things are striking. First, within this case Utrecht local government treats stakeholders differently. This case consists of three different (linked) arenas of stakeholders which differ on the ladder of participation. Moreover, what strikes most is that type three stakeholders are all operating at a higher level of participatory policymaking, while stakeholders one and two only operate on the level of *consultation* (figure 2).

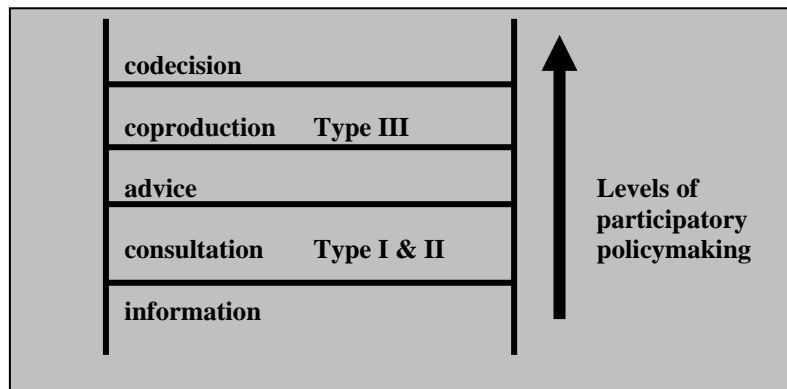


Figure 2: Types of stakeholders on the ladder of participation

It sounds as if Utrecht local government play different games (of chess) in different arenas. Utrecht local government appears to assess (probably in an early phase) which stakeholder has an important position to interact with. In advance, they seem to estimate from who they need support for the (participatory) policymaking process. Of course, this can also be (estimated) during the actual process. According to Utrecht local government, stakeholders with a minor position of power seems to be less needed to have their support. The estimation of their position of power by Utrecht local government appear to explain the position of stakeholders on the ladder of participatory policymaking.

5.4 *Climbing the ladder of support*

Considering the different levels of participatory policymaking in the case Vredenburg, it makes it very interesting to determine the level of support. Support among stakeholders in the Vredenburg project refers to the period (12 March – June 2004) after the new design of the building and its surroundings was presented on the 12th March 2004. Based on the question which we investigate in this chapter, one would expect that these different (arenas as) levels of participatory policymaking should lead to different levels of support. Below, we will find out if this is the case.

Arena A: Tivoli, SJU and Vredenburg

To secure future activities, Tivoli and SJU are (almost) forced to collaborate with music hall Vredenburg, because their license is no longer granted. Consequently, collaboration seems to be the best way not to lose future existence. An attitude that is critical or even an objection will not always be helpful. They must be glad that they are allowed to collaborate and have influence in the redevelopment project. This dependency relation explains the positive support among Tivoli and SJU. In the interviews (including the one with Vredenburg) they were positive about the way they are involved and their influence in the process. Among Tivoli and SJU, the support for the participatory policymaking process appeared to be positive and the highest of the three arenas.

Arena B: Corió and Projectorganization Station Area (POS)

Generally, Corió is satisfied about the relationship with the POS and is more or less satisfied with the way the process is organized. They had close contact with the POS and were critical about Utrecht local government to be very sensitive for all sorts of political moments, such as council meetings and the presentation of the Masterplan 2003. Nevertheless they support among Corió for the participatory policy process is positive.

Arena C: other stakeholders

Stakeholders in arena C show a much more negative and sceptical picture with regard to support for the participatory policymaking process. An example is the director of the department store 'De Bijenkorf', which is situated in the corner, opposite to Vredenburg. He was not at all satisfied about his participation. 'I do not experience participation, because I am not an equal partner'. He also said that it is more no participation rather than participation. It is 'the money' that determines the project. 'When I need some information, I have to find my own way'.¹⁵ Table 4 shows a similar picture. The activities of arena C stakeholders are presented. There

¹⁵ Interview was held on 13th January 2004 with the director of the department store 'De Bijenkorf'.

scored more (very) critical than supportive.¹⁶ Another striking thing is that whenever they undertook an activity, they did it only once or twice in the period after the plan was presented.

Activities which are focussed on Utrecht local government to be	<i>Attitude</i> ¹⁷				
	Very critical	Critical	Neutral	Support	Very supportive
1. I phoned	A				
2. I wrote an E-mail	C				
3. I write a letter			A		
4. I have spoken to an officer	2A	4A,B	2A,B		C
5. I hanged up a poster					
6. I distributed flyers					
7. I have put an advertisement in a local or regional newspaper		A			
8. I attended a meeting	A,B,C	5A,2B	A	C	B
9. I organized a meeting		A			A
10. I have sent a letter tot the local or regional newspaper					
11. I participated in a demonstration					
12. I have asked for an interviews with the (deputy) Mayor				A	
13. I was interviewed by a local or regional newspaper	2A				
14. I gave an interview on the radio	A	A			
15. I gave an interview on the TV					
16. I presented a petition					
17. I organized a demonstration					
18. I took legal actions	A				
19. I participated in violent actions					
20. Other, namely				A	

Table 4: the ladder of protest and a supportive ladder for ‘Arena C stakeholders’¹⁸

¹⁶ The letters in table 4 are showing the frequency of scores. These are corresponding with the score scale in the next footnote.

¹⁷ A. Once in period 12 March 2004 – June 2004, B. Once a months, C. More than once a month, but less than once a week, D. Once a week, E. More than once a week, but less than once a day, F. Once a day.

¹⁸ This table is only used for arena C (i.g. type I and II stkaheloders), because respons of arena A and B is only based on one or two attitudes and activities of stakeholders. Their

In the interviews these stakeholders reacted to the participatory policymaking process to be a fake process. Especially those who did not had success in their lobby attempts, had experienced it to be a joke or a hoax. Their main argument was that they experienced that it did not matter what they say, the local government had already determined its policy and the decisions had already been made. For example, the resident associations BOCP are not satisfied to the participatory policymaking process and the content of plans (box 1). They feel neglected.

'It is much too symbolic. Look: you are welcomed in an open way. You get your time to tell your story. They (POS) are listening to you. But that is it. It could be that we have a bit influence and push it into the right the direction, but that is not visible. I would like that, because that would motivate me more for next times. Now, it discourages us,'
(Interview BOCP, 6 January 2004).

Box 1: quote from an interview with a residential organization

There are also stakeholders who are, on the contrary, positive about the participatory policymaking process. The owner of 'Poffertjeskraam Victor Consael' say that he and his wife have been little involved in the process, but they are satisfied with the policy outputs and the content. The Market place holders are, by many other respondents, considered to be the most successful. They achieved all their objectives (maintaining the market on the future Vredenburg square), but beside this they are not satisfied with the process. As the spokesman said in an interview (box 2):

'Oh and participation, I checked it in the dictionary; it is to 'take part in' and 'have a say in'. So, on Monday we went to the Project Organization Station area (POS), because they had invited us. The deputy Mayor told us, in fifteen minutes, that we should leave the square within a year. So our participation lasted for fifteen minutes. I was beside myself. They friendly asked us to keep it silent until next Thursday, because then the city council would discuss it. Well, we are very practical people, so we went from the POS straight to the Utrecht Newspaper¹⁹. There, they would love this story. Next day, it was published and the story made the headlines. Next Saturday, "mister deputy Mayor" came to my market stall with his hands between my goods. He said: "I am not pleased about this". "But we are not pleased with you as well," I said. "Let me be clear". From that moment on, the contact became ten times better. First, we had to put him on the right place and we told him what we wanted. During the next city council meeting, the deputy Mayor was being criticized by some councilors, why we (the market people) already knew these things and what he

'story' behind it is of much more value. The N of the questionnaire was 24. Only type I and II stakeholders responded to the questionnaire. That is why the respons is 54 percent (=13/24). In the interviews I aimed to interview the stakeholders that did not respond to the questionnaire. There were five stakeholder, which were defined as stakeholder, but they did not experienced it like that.

¹⁹ The distance between the POS and the office of the Utrecht Nieuwsblad (Utrecht regional paper) is approximately 300 meters.

thought he was doing. Then suddenly, we had got a lot more support(ers), especially from (at) the opposition parties in the city council. The deputy Mayor was not happy at that time, but the communication became much better.

(Interview 21 January 2004).

Box 2: quote from an interview with a spokesman of the Market place holders

6. Conclusion

This chapter answered the following question: *Do higher levels of participation lead to higher levels of support among stakeholders in urban governance?* We already concluded that within this case arenas of stakeholders differ on the level of participatory policymaking. Table 5 presents each arena, the dominant tyoe of stakeholders within it, the level of participation and the level of support.

<i>Arena</i>	<i>Stakeholders</i>	<i>Level of participation</i>	<i>Level of Support</i>
A	Type III	Coproduction	++
B	Type III	Coproduction	+
C	Type I&II	Consultation	-

Table 5: Vredenburg arena's on the ladder of participation and the ladder of support

Table 5 shows that there is a connection between the level of participatory policymaking and the level of support among stakeholders in this case. This means that we must conclude that within this case a higher level of participatory policymaking leads to a higher level of support. Another striking thing in table 5 is that two arenas within the case have the same level of participatory policymaking, but have a different level of support. This difference in support must be explained through the fact that Utrecht local government and Coriό have a common history, which consists of low trust. Even now, such a historical scar has its effect on the current relationship and influences the level of support negatively.

The case Vredenburg confirm the central assumption of this research, but we have to make a critical remark. Stakeholders with the power to realize are needed, such as Coriό. They have a realization power. Whenever Utrecht local government does not make 'use' of it, the project cannot even be implemented. Utrecht local government also give access to stakeholders who have a relatively weak position (such as market place holders (= type II). They do not have much financial resources or property, but have the power to mobilize resistance or to delay or block the process. The local government seems to know what partners it needs. Especially, when these partners have realization power. This position of power of stakeholders and their dependency relation with the local government plays a major role to determine the stakeholders position on the ladder of participation. It was not only the actual participatory policymaking process that created the support among stakeholders, but also their initial position of power related to Utrecht local government.

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Appendix One

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Negative</i>	<i>Positive</i>
	<i>Dissatisfied</i>	<i>Satisfied</i>
What do stakeholders think? What is their judgment	Stakeholders are dissatisfied with regard to (elements) of the participatory policy.	Stakeholders are satisfied with regard to (elements) of the participatory policy.
	<i>Protestladder</i>	<i>Supportladder</i>
What activities do stakeholders do to express their (dis) satisfaction?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Protest phone call 2. Protest e-mail 3. Protest letter 4. Protest through a conversation with a civil servant 5. Poster to protest 6. Distribute flyers to protest 7. Put an advertisement in a local or regional newspaper to protest 8. Attend a meeting to protest 9. Organize a meeting to protest 10. To place a letter in a local or regional newspaper to protest 11. Walk in a demonstration to protest 12. Protest visit: 'I want to speak to the (Deputy) Mayor' 13. Protest interview in the newspaper 14. Protest interview on the radio 15. Protest interview on the regional television 16. Petition to protest 17. Organize a demonstration to protest 18. Legal procedures to protest (appeal, apply for an injunction) 19. Violent protest 20. Other, namely... 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Phone call to support 2. E-mail to support 3. Supportive letter 4. Oral compliment to a civil servant 5. Poster to support 6. Distribute flyers to support 7. Put an advertisement in a local or regional newspaper to support 8. Attend a meeting to support 9. Organize a meeting to support 10. To place a letter in a local or regional newspaper to support 11. Walk in a demonstration to support 12. Support visit: 'I want to speak to the (Deputy) Mayor' 13. Support interview in the newspaper 14. Support interview on the radio 15. Support interview on the (regional) television 16. Petition to support 17. Organize a demonstration to support 18. Legal procedures to support (appeal, apply for an injunction) 19. Violent support 20. Other, namely...

Table 1: A protest and support ladder to measure the level of support