The Undying Belief in Interactive Governance

Academic aspirations and practical reality of stakeholder involvement

Ehsan Nouzari

The Undying Belief in Interactive Governance

Academic aspirations and practical reality of stakeholder involvement

Het onsterfelijke geloof in interactieve beleidsvorming

Wetenschappelijke ambities en praktische realiteit van stakeholderparticipatie

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht
op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof.dr. H.R.B.M Kummeling,
ingevolge het besluit van de college voor promoties
in het openbaar te verdedigen op
donderdag 3 november 2022 des ochtends te 10.15 uur

door

Ehsan Nouzari

Geboren op 13 oktober 1990
te Wageningen

ISBN: 978-94-6421-885-5
Cover design: Ilse Modder, www.ilsemodder.nl
Lay-out: Ilse Modder, www.ilsemodder.nl
Printed by: Gildeprint, www.gildeprint.nl

Promotor: Prof. dr. T.J.M. Spit

Copromotor: Prof. dr. T. Hartmann

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

PREFACE

My six-year long journey has finally come to an end. Whilst I was not planning to continue within the scientific world after graduation, Thomas Hartmann (who would later become one of my supervisors) asked me if I was interested in conducting PhD research. My primary reaction was “Hell, no!”—not because I did not like science, but because, after years of learning about many different theories within spatial planning, I wanted to put this knowledge to practical use. However, Tejo Spit (who would also become one of my supervisors) asked me to have an open conversation about this opportunity before making a final decision. The conversation with Tejo convinced me. So, I did this crazy thing: I accepted an unpaid PhD research position alongside my full-time job, and thus my six-year long journey began.

Now, this journey was not easy. Working full time to earn a living while doing research in the evenings and weekends meant I had to sacrifice a lot of free time. Less free time translated to less time undertaking hobbies and spending time with friends and family. Therefore, mental fortitude was required—not merely for the sacrifice of time, but also because one receives criticism over and over from peers as one is learning their way through the scientific world. My advice for people who play with the idea of completing a PhD someday is simple: if you want to build a career in science, go for it! For people who do not have that aspiration, you will need an intrinsic motivation to make it through a PhD, unpaid and alongside a full-time job. It has certainly made me a better spatial planner but also proved to me that I could push myself to my limits and succeed, that I am resilient and strong enough to push through intellectually challenging situations. Having finished my research despite all the challenges alongside a full-time job is proof of that.

However, I could not have done this alone. First and foremost, I want to express my gratitude to Thomas Hartmann and Tejo Spit. Thomas saw something in me and provided me with this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. I also want to thank him for guiding me through this six-year process in a constructive manner. His enthusiasm for planning theory and related scientific contributions always brought positivity to my research process. I want to thank Tejo for always being level-headed and making the research process no more difficult than it had to be. He always relativised problems and made it possible for me to create solutions, resulting in higher-quality research. I cannot express how lucky I have been for having Tejo and Thomas as my supervisors. If there were any disagreements about certain subjects or the research direction, Tejo and Thomas always made sure to solve those dissagreements among themselves before providing me further counselling. This experience is vastly different from some stories I have heard about other people having done a PhD with multiple supervisors. As such, I am very gratefull for they way they guided me through my six-year long journey.

I also want to thank Wim Kooper, as he guided my process of self-discovery in the world of spatial planning. It is through his help that I was able to find my passion for stakeholder involvement, which ultimately led to the ideas used for this manuscript. Thank you for helping me during my journey. I also want to thank Greet Nijmands en Wim Sluiters. They have helped me during my studies and after starting my PhD offered to help with various things in life without me even asking. I am incredibly grateful for their help and support, but also their genuine interest in everything that I do including my PhD.

Gideon Bolt and Patrick Witte cannot be forgotten either. Even though Gideon and Patrick are busy researchers, they both made time for a stranger in need of guidance when it came to quantitative research methods. They did not need to help me, but they chose to anyway.

Lastly, I want to thank my parents, Afsaneh and Nasser, for being by my side and helping out in those moments when life got tough during my six-year journey. Facing challenges becomes easier when one has people to fall back upon in case things do not go as expected. I immensely appreciate them being there for me when I needed support.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 POPULARITY OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE FOR SPATIAL PLANNING

The popular attention to interactive governance among practitioners and academics is emphasized by the complexity and dynamics of contemporary society resulting from societal transformations (Torfing et al., 2012; Ianniello et al., 2018; Newig et al., 2018; Douglas et al., 2020b). One transformation is globalisation, as actions in one place need to be seen within the context of the actions of another (Torfing et al., 2012). Another development is the rise of the network society where resources to achieve certain interests are spread among many different stakeholders. This causes mutual interdependent relationships, making governments dependent on other stakeholders because they no longer have all the necessary resources or governing capacity to actually implement policy on their own (Kooiman, 1993; Edelenbos, 2005; Edelenbos et al., 2010a). These transformations have led to a departure from top-down forms of governing to more bottom-up oriented approaches like interactive governance.

Accordingly, interactive governance can be seen as a response to cope with the complexity and dynamics prevalent in contemporary society, which undermines traditional means of governing (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). Compared to traditional top-down mechanisms of decision-making, governments use interactive governance to still steer society in a certain direction, but approach issues through a different process (Torfing et al., 2012; Douglas et al., 2020a). The main difference is that stakeholders are involved in the early stages of the process to provide opportunities to influence plans, policy and decisions instead of reacting to them. As a result, making sure that output is more in line with the interests and needs of stakeholders (Fung & Wright, 2001; Edelenbos, 2005; Mayer et al., 2005; Robertson & Choi, 2012). Interacting with each other, stakeholders like citizens, business owners, NGOs, policymakers and sometimes external consultants define problems, provide solutions, and develop policy (Mayer et al., 2005; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; van de Kerkhof, 2006; Edelenbos et al., 2017).

Another domain in which interactive governance has also become popular is spatial planning. Stakeholder involvement has become an indispensable part of contemporary planning processes in western democracies (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; van Kerkhof, 2006; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Scott & Thomas, 2017; van Meerkerk, 2019). The popularity is no surprise, because many core ideas within the concept of governance are not new to the field of spatial planning. Within planning theory, a departure from top-down government-organized planning was a topic of discussion even before governance reached its current popularity. Also, and as a consequence, contemporary spatial planning focusses mostly on implementing inclusive policy (Nuissl & Heinrichs, 2011). In short, many elements of the governance concept are already integrated into the field of spatial planning, showing the connection but also the synergistic potential between both domains.

However, interactive governance is not equally useful for all phases of a policy process. A distinction is made between two phases, namely policy programming and implementation, with interactive governance mostly benefitting the latter. This is best illustrated by explaining both phases of a policy process. During policy programming, legislators focus on formulating objectives to solve a certain problem, including the rights and obligations of the government (agencies) tasked with policy implementation. Necessary human and financial resources are also assigned to facilitate implementation of public policy. Following the policy programming, policy implementation focusses on the activities necessary for the realisation, application or execution of the objectives formulated in public policy. These activities are organized through a planning process that is characterized by negotiations between private and public actors based on their interests. Compared to the policy programming phase, during which negotiations mostly unfold without societal stakeholders (citizens, NGOs, small business owners, etc.), the implementation phase involves external stakeholders much more often. As a result, even if the institutional rules are established, the implementation process does not follow a predetermined path because of the different stakeholders and interests involved (Knoepfel et al., 2007). Combined with the fact that spatial and environmental policy impacts the day-to-day lives of stakeholders (van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012), policy implementation is the most complex part of a public policy process. This is the reason why interactive governance is most beneficial in this phase within spatial planning.

Summarized, interactive governance is used as a response to govern contemporary society, which is characterized by interdependent relationships and a complex context. Spatial planning is 1 of the domains that use interactive governance, most effectively in the policy implementation phase. However which benefits does interactive governance provide compared to the more traditional ways of government that make the concept popular among academics and practitioners?

1.2 A NORMATIVE VIEW ON THE POPULARITY OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

Discussing the benefits of interactive governance is important because it explains the popularity of the concept in science and practice, but also how the concept is used. Interactive governance is often seen as a "means to an end" (Scott & Thomas 2017, p.193) that public managers of governments will use "differently depending on their goals" (Prentice et al. 2019, p.802). These goals or purposes determine the form, functioning and development of a policy process based on interactive governance in which stakeholders are involved (Agranoff, 2006; Provan & Kenis, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015). A fair number of publications in governance literature describe the benefits of interactive governance (e.g., Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Scott

& Thomas, 2017; Newig et al., 2018). It is within these benefits that the potential of interactive governance lies for spatial planning. The popularity of interactive governance in both literature and practice is related to its benefits and how the use of the concept is legitimized. Three main benefits are distinguished, which are explained below:

1. Stakeholder support: It is assumed that involving stakeholders early in the policy process creates support for decisions, decreasing the chance that stakeholders use veto power to stop implementation. Veto powers consist of legal action but also other tactics like media attention and protests. It is argued that the extra time invested to involve stakeholders will pay out over time, because stakeholder support will, for example, help to avoid lengthy legal procedures (Randolph & Bauer, 1999; O'Leary et al., 1999; Mayer et al., 2005; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006). Reaching stakeholder satisfaction for support is generally the primary goal of stakeholder involvement, especially in the United States, but also in the Netherlands (Thomas, 1995; van de Kerkhof, 2006; van Buuren et al., 2019). Without support, policy may remain symbolic and ineffective if no implementation takes place, even if its public value is high (Ulibarri, 2015; Newig et al., 2018; Scott et al., 2019).
2. Quality improvement: Another assumed benefit is improving the quality of policy and decision-making (Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Scott & Thomas, 2017; Newig et al., 2018). Stakeholders may possess local or lay knowledge that is relevant to understanding a certain spatial problem or formulating solutions (Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Fung, 2006; Edelenbos et al., 2011; Fazey et al., 2013; Ulibarri, 2015). Also, knowledge can be gained about the social context where the policy process takes place. For example, how stakeholders communicate with each other, local norms and values or the social costs of implementing the desired policy (van Asselt & Rotmans, 2002; Newig et al., 2018). Such knowledge is gathered through stakeholder involvement and combined with their different perspectives on the issues in order to strengthen policy or decision-making (Edelenbos, 2000; Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Sirianni, 2009).
3. Creating (democratic) legitimacy: This assumed benefit has two components, namely instrumental and normative. The instrumental side of legitimacy relates to stakeholder support as discussed above. By involving stakeholders and creating space for their interests in the process, consensus is formed for policy implementation (Sabatier et al., 2005; Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015; Scott & Thomas, 2017). The normative side relates to the democratic system in which the policy process takes place: it is about aspects like the fairness of procedures, access to the policy process and balanced representation (Newig et al., 2018). When stakeholders cannot identify with policy set by the government, the gap between society and politics widens. This can result in different societal problems, like absence from political elections, indifference to enforcement of rules and laws, but also collective services abuse (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000). Involving stakeholders in the decision-making process results in a more direct form of democracy with more open and inclusive processes (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006).

In short, the popularity of interactive governance among academics and practitioners is related to the benefits described above, while stakeholder support is often the primary goal. This is also the case within spatial planning where it is primarily used for the benefit of creating satisfaction and support for policy implementation. The descriptions of the benefits paint a normative picture, namely that interactive governance is the contemporary answer to problems inherent in governments' typical ways to solve policy issues. However, the increased popularity of interactive governance due to its use by academics and practitioners is not without its own set of issues, as discussed below.

1.3 A CRITICAL VIEW ON THE POPULARITY OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

As mentioned above, interactive governance is a means to an end providing multiple benefits to deal with the complexity, diversification and dynamics prevalent in contemporary society. However, interactive governance is not 'all good', as there are shortcomings in both planning practice and governance literature. Understanding the benefits described in literature first helps to understand the disappointments and failures in practice, which brings nuance to the normative view often described in literature when it comes to the use of interactive governance.

1.3.1 Planning practice: A more realistic view on interactive governance

Evaluative studies have shown mixed results with the implementation of interactive governance and the management of stakeholder processes in practice (e.g., Renn et al., 1995; Coenen et al., 1998; Hodge & Greve, 2007; Andrews & Entwistle, 2010; Brunsting et al., 2011; van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012). In some cases, involved stakeholders have showed their disappointment with the process of interactive governance: government officials may be critical about the quality of the outcome, citizens may be unsatisfied because their input was insufficiently implemented, and politicians or counsellors may feel that their authority was undermined (Mayer et al., 2005). Two past planning processes are explored in this section to illustrate the disappointments of stakeholders related to the use of interactive governance when it does not turn out to provide the assumed benefits.

The policy implementation of Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) in the Dutch

municipality of Barendrecht, for example, faced severe protest and conflict even though stakeholders were involved in the process. However, stakeholders were only involved through legally required platforms, resulting in limited opportunities to voice concerns. Combined with a lack of influence, the perspective of local stakeholders on health and safety were not represented in formal decision-making. Instead, the techno-economical perspective of Shell and the Dutch national government was represented, which saw CCS as a safe climate mitigation measure. This resulted in stakeholders finding other routes to influence the process, namely protests, demanding research on concerns and voicing opinions in the media. This movement was reinforced by the mentality of the Dutch national government and Shell by focussing on the perspective of local stakeholders instead of talking about policy and technological options. This eventually led to a deadlock because perspectives cannot be classified as right or wrong. However, questions from local stakeholders were labelled as irrelevant to the discussion as proponents of CCS stated that decisions would be made based on facts and not emotions (Brunsting et al., 2011).

Another example is the policy implementation of the European Water Framework Directive (WFD); in this instance, the use of interactive governance did not always provide the expected results. Implementation of the WFD in the Czech Republic and the Netherlands resulted in a low involvement level among citizens, even though multiple ways to participate were provided through, for example, informational meetings (Slavíková & Jílková, 2011; van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012). In Germany, the UK and the Netherlands, provided input was not reflected in policy and decisions, according to involved stakeholders (Kastens & Newig, 2008; Woods, 2008; van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012), resulting in a lack of meaningful involvement. During the implementation of the WFD in Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands, stakeholders also mentioned their frustration about the organisation of meetings across different arenas, making it difficult for stakeholders to represent themselves. As a consequence, stakeholders were not able to represent their interests fully, resulting in their voices not being heard (Lundqvist, 2004; Kastens & Newig, 2008; van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012). The cases of CCS and WFD show that the use of stakeholder involvement does not automatically result in the assumed benefits of interactive governance.

Practitioners interviewed for the evaluation of the WFD in the Netherlands were critical of the success of stakeholder involvement, because of the examples mentioned above. However, they also wondered how stakeholders should be involved (van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012), pointing to a knowledge gap in practice on how to implement successful interactive governance. One of the reasons why practitioners ask this question is because academic literature lacks guidance on how to translate theory into practical methods, resulting in a growing gap between (planning) theory and (planning) practice (e.g., Boelens, 2010; O'Leary & Vij, 2012). Such translations are necessary to aid public managers, as process and stakeholder management activities are

central to successful policy implementation (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Achterkamp & Vos, 2008; Littau et al., 2010; Klijn et al., 2010b; Bryson et al., 2015).

The failures and disappointments discussed above show that interactive governance is not 'all good', which brings nuance to the normative assumptions often found in literature. To better understand the nuances regarding interactive governance, but how it can also lead to drawbacks instead of benefits, we examine some literature that views the concept from a more critical perspective.

1.3.2 Governance literature: A more critical perspective on interactive governance

If this dissertation wants to step away from normative assumptions, for which governance literature has been criticized, interactive governance needs to be viewed critically and steps need to be taken to understand the nuances and drawbacks of the concept. Such attempts are also made in literature, as the popularity of interactive governance among academics is also not without discussion (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016) and contradictions (Swyngedouw, 2005). The benefits of interactive governance are often taken for granted due to normative assumptions or uncritically accepted as established truth (Birnbaum, 2016; Ianniello et al., 2018). However, some contributions criticize the overly optimistic view found in academic literature. From a critical point of view, implementing interactive governance is a costly process in terms of time and financial resources (Till & Meyer, 2001; Margerum, 2011; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Zachrisson et al., 2018; Imperial et al., 2018). A process where many different stakeholders are involved is not going to execute itself successfully, meaning that extensive process management is necessary (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Sørensen & Torfing, 2009; Klijn et al., 2010b). High levels of inclusion can also increase the number of stakeholders with veto powers to stop implementation (Newig et al., 2018) or the number of uncooperative actors (Nowell, 2010; Scott et al., 2019). Costs could be raised even higher as the involvement of stakeholders with different perspectives and interests leads to discussions, eventually stagnating into conflicts, impasses and deadlocks (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Schlager & Blomquist, 2008; Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Also, when stakeholders are involved, they expect that their input (knowledge, experience, interests, concerns, etc.) is taken into account. When such expectations are not met in practice, stakeholder involvement becomes symbolic if their provided input has no real impact. Such experiences result in growing distrust and a gap between citizens and government (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; van Meerkerk, 2019). Consequently, successful implementation of policy should not be taken for granted (Ansell et al., 2017).

The use of interactive governance as an alternative to traditional planning has also created its own problems regarding accountability (Klijn & Skelcher, 2007) and representation (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Mayer et al., 2005). By involving stakeholders and making them part of the policy process, they become co-owners of the issues at hand. As

a result, governments transfer parts of the accountability to those involved (Healey et al., 2002). Involving stakeholders also does not automatically result in a representative policy process. Stakeholder involvement starts with participant selection, which makes it important to explore first when talking about representation of interactive governance. The main problem with stakeholder selection in relation to representation is that it is never neutral (Ianniello et al., 2018). Whoever designs the stakeholder process influences who will be involved (Barnes et al., 2007; Michels & de Graaf, 2010), which can result in certain groups being excluded or underrepresented (Booher, 2004; van Stokkom, 2006; John, 2009). The alternative is involving everyone who is affected by the policy process to take their interests into account in order to create fair and legitimate decisions (Bussu & Bartels, 2014; Ianniello et al., 2018). Even without selection, stakeholders involved are often individuals who are strongly affected by the policy issues in terms of values or livelihood, who have sufficiently comfortable living conditions to participate and who actually get paid to represent their business or government interest (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). This results in the involvement of the 'elite', namely white, well-educated individuals who generally have a lot of time to spend on relevant policy processes (Mayer et al., 2005; Michels, 2017). Just including a wide range of stakeholders in policy processes is thus not necessarily better, because it can cause its own set of problems (Ansell et al., 2020). The assumption that stakeholder involvement gives every societal interest and value a voice means ignoring disparities in society (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). This also applies to spatial planning, where different participation procedures that ignore societal fragmentation and exclusion will mirror the divide between different groups of stakeholders (Moulaert et al., 2005; Nuissl & Heinrichs, 2011).

It should be possible to know which benefits interactive governance actually provides, based on empirical research (Mayer et al., 2005). Even though academic contributions about interactive governance are popular, only a small portion focusses on empirical quantitative research to test assumptions found in literature. As Ianniello et al. (2018) concluded based on their systematic literature review, some known benefits were found in research, but empirical evidence of decision-making becoming more effective and efficient due to interactive governance is scarce. To obtain a better understanding of the capabilities of interactive governance, Ianniello et al. (2018) recommended the construction and use of evaluative criteria in standardized quantitative research. In doing so, evaluation, accumulation, comparison and generalisation of data is better facilitated, which is now largely absent, resulting in practical lessons and academic insights (Eisenhardt, 1991; Rowe et al., 2008; Hoon, 2013; Ianniello et al., 2018). Other studies have highlighted the lack of systematic and large N-based quantitative empirical research showing the connection between the use of interactive governance and its benefits (e.g., Koontz & Thomas, 2006; Bäckstrand et al., 2010; Duit & Hall, 2014; Birnbaum, 2016; Jager et al., 2020).

In short, interactive governance is used as a tool or instrument in contemporary

society for different benefits, while empirical data supporting the validity remains scarce. In some situations, interactive governance can also be counterproductive, leading to problems instead of solutions. Looking at the disappointments and failures in practice but also the normative assumptions in literature, this dissertation focusses on the extent to which interactive governance provides the primarily sought-after benefit, namely reaching satisfaction and thereby stakeholder support. However, this dissertation views this benefit from a critical perspective to take into account criticism on the normative nature of governance literature.

1.4 THE ESSENCE OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE: FROM DEFINITIONS TO EVALUATION CRITERIA

Before a main research question and conceptual model are formulated, the concept of interactive governance needs to be understood and the scope of this dissertation needs to be clearly defined. The first step in defining scope is choosing the intended benefit or purpose, which is stakeholder support, as mentioned earlier. Choosing the purpose of interactive governance this dissertation focusses on is important, because it determines the form, functioning and development of a stakeholder process. However, purpose is only one facet of defining the scope. There are also different definitions, types and uses of interactive governance. In literature, many different theoretical frameworks explain which variables, factors and causal relationships lead to beneficial outcomes (e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012; Bryson et al., 2015; Newig et al., 2018; Jager et al., 2020; Douglas et al., 2020b). These frameworks try to be all-encompassing, covering a wide range of fields and showing the required conditions to reach different beneficial outcomes. Even though these frameworks are scientifically relevant by showing new avenues for future empirical research, their value for practitioners is limited, because these studies are not defined in terms of scope to specify certain types and uses of interactive governance. Defining scope precisely also provides academics with a better understanding of the inner workings of interactive governance for specific benefits like stakeholder support, facilitating reflection on policy implementation in spatial planning. Therefore, the scope of this dissertation needs to be well defined, which this section focusses on.

1.4.1 Different terms and definitions, same general concept

Determining scope starts with clear terms and definitions. Within governance literature, different terms are used interchangeably referring to the same concept. Examples of terms used are participatory management, citizen participation, collaborative management, collaborative governance, interactive policy making, interactive decision-making, civil dialogue, stakeholder governance, stakeholder inclusion, adaptive co-

management, deliberative engagement, participatory governance and collaborative governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Birnbaum, 2016; Ianniello et al., 2018). Generally, they all refer to the same concept of consensus-oriented stakeholder involvement for joint problem solving. For the purpose of this dissertation, this concept will be termed interactive governance.

However, what is interactive governance exactly, and how is it defined? Herein lies another academic discussion within governance literature. Governance is often defined too narrowly or too openly, resulting in a number of different contextual interpretations (Ansell & Torfing, 2016). Thus, there are multiple ways to define interactive governance (Lahat & Sher-Hadar, 2020), and it appears to mean different things to academics and practitioners using it (Kooiman et al., 2008). A shared all-encompassing definition does not exist (Fazi & Smith, 2006), causing many different definitions to appear in academic literature. This led Offe (2009) to conclude that governance is an 'empty signifier', a concept without a precise meaning. Consequently, conceptualizing interactive governance with only a definition is not enough to establish a clear scope for this dissertation.

However, an academic definition still provides a starting point for initiating further conceptualisation. Even though there are many different definitions of interactive governance (e.g., Edelenbos, 2000; Denters et al., 2002; Kooiman et al., 2005; Ansell & Gash, 2008; Torfing et al., 2012; Emerson et al., 2012; Newig et al. 2018), some similarities are observed. First, all definitions describe the involvement of stakeholders like NGOs, business owners, governments, governmental agencies, lobby groups and citizens (van de Kerkhof, 2006; Emerson et al., 2012; Edelenbos et al., 2017). Second, the involvement of stakeholders is used to organize collective action for the implementation of common goals. Thus, interactive governance, by definition, is consensus oriented (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Scott & Thomas, 2017), because no single stakeholder has the resources to govern and implement policy alone in contemporary society (Kooiman, 1993; Edelenbos et al, 2010a).

The following definition by Torfing et al. (2012, pp.2-3) is used for the purpose of this dissertation: *"the complex process through which a plurality of social and political actors with diverging interests interact in order to formulate, promote, and achieve common objectives by means of mobilizing, exchanging, and deploying a range of ideas, rules, and resources"*. This definition does not only encapsulate the similarities between the many definitions, and therefore the characteristics of interactive governance, but also makes clear what is governed and how (Ansell & Torfing, 2016). This definition provides a clear starting point to further determine the scope of this dissertation by defining evaluation or institutional design criteria, but also the different types of interactive governance, which the next sections focus on.

1.4.2 Different types of interactive governance

The definition by Torfing et al. (2012) provides a spectrum of different types of interactive governance to further limit the scope of this dissertation. At both ends of the extreme, two types of interactive governance are distinguished:

1. At one side of the spectrum is stakeholder involvement initiated by civic actors (like citizens, community groups and social entrepreneurs), which is labelled as self-organisation (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011; van Meerkerk et al., 2013; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). Within this type of interactive governance, initiatives are led by societal stakeholders with little to no involvement of the government and political institutions, often resulting from dissatisfaction with an existing situation (Marien et al., 2010; van Meerkerk et al., 2013; Edelenbos et al., 2018). Thus, self-organized semi-formal or formal initiatives focus on social activism, collective action or building partnerships with local institutions (Boonstra, 2015; Rauws, 2016; Warboek & Hoppe, 2017) to advance their own interests (Edelenbos et al., 2018).
2. At the other side of the spectrum, we find stakeholder involvement initiated by the government, which is labelled as government-induced interactive governance (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Hysing, 2020). Within this form, governments often decide which, how and when stakeholders are involved through participation procedures that are structured by rules (Edelenbos et al., 2017; Edelenbos et al., 2018; van Meerkerk, 2019). Collaboration takes place through these procedures that can influence decision-making. Examples of such procedures are citizen panels, advisory committees, etc. (Edelenbos et al., 2010b; Newig et al., 2018). At certain moments within the process, these participation procedures give stakeholders (multiple) chances to respond to plans or provide input for decision-making (van Meerkerk, 2019). Even though stakeholders get the opportunity to let their voices be heard, the government decides what to do with the provided input. Dissatisfaction among stakeholders is often created when governments decide to ignore the provided input during decision-making (Edelenbos, 2005; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016).

These types of interactive governance affect the satisfaction of stakeholders in different ways. For example, in the case of self-organisation, stakeholders hold decision-making power, but within government-induced processes the involved stakeholders do not make the decisions. The respective level of influence that stakeholders have in each type will always be fundamentally different, no matter how stakeholders are involved. Therefore, it is important to determine which type of interactive governance falls within the scope of the research. That way clear explanations can be given, based on its core characteristics, regarding why and how certain uses or types of interactive governance lead to satisfaction among stakeholders and from there to support or rejection of an outcome.

Even though self-organisation is gaining popularity in liberal democracies, the government-induced form of interactive governance has become a popular spatial planning strategy for policy processes in Western countries (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; van Meerkerk, 2019). As the context of this dissertation is spatial planning, the most suited type to focus on is government-induced interactive governance. The next step in defining scope is to determine the perspective from which interactive governance is viewed, as it is done in the next section.

1.4.3 Different perspectives and uses of interactive governance

To limit the scope of this research, opposite sides of the spectrum of interactive governance have been explored above. To further limit the scope, three perspectives on both forms on interactive governance (government-induced and self-organisation) will be explored, namely instrumental, cultural and democratic. Outlining such an order leads to some level of oversimplification, but these perspectives are distinctive enough to capture the dominant bodies of literature on interactive governance (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). The different perspectives also highlight how the different types of interactive governance (government-induced and self-organisation) are used:

1. The instrumental perspective views interactive governance as an approach for mediation between interdependent stakeholders who have their own interests and resources. Stakeholders interact with each other because of their mutual resource dependencies and make strategic decisions based on their interests and preferences, but also the future effects of their actions. By mediating between different interests, interactive governance enhances the effectiveness and efficiency of solving (wicked) problems, thus steering society in a certain direction on those issues (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016).
2. The cultural perspective views interactive governance as an approach to developing and enacting new identities for citizens and governments alike. From the viewpoint of this perspective, stakeholders are seeking roles while following rules within their social context. Stakeholders want to belong to groups and construct their identities through those groups (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016).
3. The democratic perspective views interactive governance as a movement raising normative problems and solutions regarding responsibility, democratic control and accountability. Compared to the instrumental and cultural perspective the focus is not on interests or identities, but the institutional context of polity and politics. From this perspective, stakeholders are seeking legitimacy in a representative and deliberative democracy for their political interests and actions (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016).

As mentioned before, interactive governance provides several benefits, with reaching

stakeholder support for implementation being sought-after most often. This means that interactive governance is mainly used instrumentally in spatial policy planning. This is also the usage this dissertation focusses on.

1.4.4 The four criteria of interactive governance

A chosen definition, type and perspective of interactive governance are not enough to conceptualize the model into methods for empirical research. Another step to limiting the scope of this research consists in formulating evaluation criteria for interactive governance. This is in line with the recommendations by Ianniello et al. (2018) for the use of evaluative criteria in standardized quantitative research. The criteria formulated by Edelenbos (2000) are used to capture the essence of interactive governance and are updated with the criteria of democratic innovations given by Smith (2009). There are two reasons for using Smith's (2009) criteria and to update the criteria given by Edelenbos (2000). First, both sets of criteria are about creating a more direct democracy through the involvement of stakeholders. The concept of a direct democracy entails providing stakeholders with more opportunities to influence decision-making through involvement, while a representative democracy is about letting politicians chosen through elections decide, for example, which and how problems are solved (Mayer et al., 2005). Second, the criteria by Edelenbos (2000) and Smith (2009) correlate highly with each other theoretically. For example, when Edelenbos (2000) talks about influence, Smith (2009) talks about popular control. The explanations of both sets of criteria complement each other well, as both refer to the same concept, sometimes from a different perspective. The criteria are merged to form the following criteria:

1. Equality strives to minimize the inequalities between stakeholders (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). Support is more likely to be attained when stakeholders regard the process as open, fair and inclusive (Tyler & Lind, 1992; Tyler, 2001b; Arnesen, 2017), even when decisions made do not reflect the substantive input and interests of stakeholder (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Innes & Booher, 1999; Webler & Tuler, 2000; Leach & Sabatier, 2005). A totally equal collaborative process is unachievable, but the goal of public managers should be to minimize existing inequalities between stakeholders to the best of their abilities (Edelenbos, 2000). Distinction is made between two aspects of equality, namely presence and voice (Smith, 2009):
    - Presence is about the opportunities for stakeholders to access the process. Fair selection procedures are necessary to ensure that stakeholders get a chance to collaborate, independently of their respective background, status and interest (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). Such procedures determine the inclusiveness and diversity of stakeholders in a collaborative process. Presence is instrumentally important, because it enriches the process with the diverse voices of different perspectives and interests. It also provides

a broader view on issues, facilitating more carefully thought-out decisions (Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Sirianni, 2009). Normatively, the assumption that decisions take into account the interests and concerns of stakeholder cannot be made when they are not involved in the process. However, opening a process to anyone who wants to be involved can stand in the way of equality. Not actively inviting stakeholders results in inequality, as some types of stakeholders will be represented in this case while others will not (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). Stakeholders who get involved are often directly affected by the policy issues and also have comfortable enough living conditions or who get paid to represent themselves or their organisation (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). It is therefore important to invite different types of stakeholders, with different perspectives and ways of thinking (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). At the other end of the spectrum, actively inviting stakeholders can also lead to conflict, because of diverging interests, differing expectations and preferences regarding potential solutions (Vangen & Huxham, 2012; Berardo et al., 2014). It is important to note, regarding the aspect of presence, that public managers play an important role in the representation of stakeholder groups, because they are responsible for designing the process; this, in turn, influences which stakeholders will be involved (Barnes et al., 2007; Michels & de Graaf, 2010). Presence is important for stakeholder support, because excluding certain interested stakeholders who have resources to impede implementation (for example, through legal action) can lead to rejection of the outcome (Layzer, 2002).

- Voice is about the equal possibilities of involved stakeholders to let their voices be heard during participation procedures (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). When equality in voice is absent, powerful stakeholders might manipulate the collaborative process (Ansell & Gash, 2008), resulting in unequal influence of input on decision-making (Edelenbos, 2000). Stakeholders value opportunities to speak, sometimes independently if the input has influence on decision-making (Lind & Tyler, 1988). However, giving voice to stakeholders does not mean they will or can contribute by providing input, because of differences in communicative skills, expertise and knowledge (Roberts, 2004; Murdock et al., 2005; Warner, 2006; Ansell & Gash, 2008).

  Therefore, achieving equality of voice goes beyond simply providing opportunities for input. Mitigating differences in personality traits, knowledge, information and skills is also necessary (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). This makes it important for public managers to implement different participation procedures as some stakeholders feel more comfortable in public meetings while others prefer one-on-one conversations (Lowndes et al., 2006).

It is important to note that true and total equality is impossible to achieve, but the intent is to minimize inequalities between stakeholders as much as possible.

2. Influence is about the power stakeholders exert on decision-making (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). As mentioned before, in the case of government-induced collaborative governance, the government decides how and if stakeholder input is taken into account at the point of decision-making (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). This means that the extent to which stakeholders are able to influence decision-making through the opportunities provided by the collaborative process design is determined by the government (Newig & Kvarda, 2012; Newig et al., 2018). As a result, for stakeholders to have influence, government needs to be willing to consider stakeholders' interests and input (Edelenbos et al., 2011). In practice, however, governments are often inexperienced when it comes to interactive governance or fearful of losing power and control, resulting in processes where stakeholder involvement remains limited to informing or consulting (Leach & Pelkey, 2001; Videira et al., 2006; Tatenhove et al., 2010). This leads to frustration among stakeholders who expected their input to be taken seriously and into account in decision-making (Monnikhof & Edelenbos, 2001). Such frustration is often not surprising, because the opportunity to influence decision-making in policy implementation is an important reason why stakeholders get involved (Ansell & Gash, 2008; van Meerkerk, 2019). Therefore, following-up on the input provided by stakeholders in decision-making leads to stakeholder support (Edelenbos et al., 2006). Generally, a distinction is made between phases when influence is exerted, namely the agenda-setting and actual decision-making (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009):
   - In the agenda setting phase, a choice is made in terms of issues and topics that a policy or implementation process focusses on. Usually only 'safe and uncontroversial' issues are discussed to avoid conflict with and among stakeholders. Discussing a limited number of predetermined issues may result in discussing issues of no significance. For that reason, it is important that stakeholders have co-determined for which issues policy is being drawn up to actually wield some influence on a process.
   - During decision-making moments, stakeholders decide which course is set in tackling a policy or spatial issue. Stakeholders can influence decision-making in two ways, namely when their input is taken into account or when they are provided with direct decision-making authority. Within government-induced interactive governance, the government decides if the input of stakeholders is taken into account in decision-making.
3. Reasonable debate is about open conversations, meaning, the strength of

arguments and choices is not determined by power, positions and hierarchy, but rather by rational reasoning (Edelenbos, 2000). In reasonable conversations, stakeholders exchange information for the purposes of problem solving (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015), which is different from negotiating and bargaining (Elster, 2000; Newig et al., 2018). For an open conversation where the strength of arguments is rationally determined, it is important that stakeholders look beyond their own interests and appreciate the perspectives, perceptions and experiences of others. When stakeholders put themselves in the position of others and listen empathetically, their perspectives are broadened, resulting in more deliberate and rational choices (Edelenbos, 2000; Roberts, 2002; Roberts, 2004; Smith, 2009). Reasonable debates entail dialogue within safe space that warrants mutual trust, is transparent, fair and uninfluenced by power (Innes & Booher, 1999; Smith, 2003; Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012). Public managers can stimulate the broadening of perspectives, for example by applying different working methods, but cannot ensure it (Smith, 2009).

4. Transparency is about the openness of information and expectations in a collaborative process. First, openness, and therefore the accessibility of information regarding content and process, is necessary for stakeholders to provide input in the form of problem definitions and solutions (Edelenbos, 2000; Ulibarri, 2015). Not sharing information to lessen the differences in knowledge limits involvement to the goals of the initiating government instead of utilizing the ideas and interests of stakeholders (Leighninger, 2007; Ianniello et al., 2018). Meaningful contributions are mostly possible when stakeholders are knowledgeable (Geissel, 2009). It is important to note that information provided to stakeholders by the government needs to be understandable and comprehensive. When information is biased, incomplete or skewed, stakeholders' understanding is most likely impaired (Coenen, 2008). Second, providing transparency is necessary for stakeholders in order to judge trustworthiness and legitimacy by making critical statements about the process and its outcome. Third, sharing expectations provides clarity about stakeholders' role but also how and to what extent decision-making can be influenced (Smith, 2009). One of the most important incentives or motivations for stakeholders to get involved is having influence on decisions (Reed, 2008; Ansell & Gash, 2008). Consequently, when stakeholders get involved, they expect that their input is taken into account at the time of decision-making (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016), but the use of government-induced interactive governance often creates unrealistic, rising and diverging stakeholder expectations regarding influence (Coglianese, 1997; Mayer et al., 2005; de Graaf, 2007; van Meerkerk, 2019). When such expectations are not managed, dispelled or ultimately go unmet, interactive governance can backfire and result in dissatisfaction among

stakeholders (Teisman et al., 2001; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Mayer et al., 2005). Consequently, process transparency is necessary to inform stakeholders how meaningful involvement is or that their input is taken seriously (Herweijer, 2003; Ansell & Gash, 2008) as an information deficit in this regard can lead to unrealistic expectations about the influence they have (Ianniello et al., 2018).

Equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency form the core principles of interactive stakeholder processes. These principles provide opportunities to operationalise interactive governance into measurement criteria to evaluate stakeholder satisfaction in policy processes. In turn, such data is used to determine if the use of interactive governance through the four criteria explained above leads to stakeholder support and to explore if the assumption made in literature that the use of interactive governance correlates positively with the satisfaction and support of stakeholders in a policy process has merit. These four criteria capture the essence of interactive governance in combination with the chosen definition, type and benefit described above limiting the scope of this dissertation. However, two more components need attention before moving on to a conceptual model, namely how satisfaction leads to stakeholder support and the spatial planning context of this dissertation. The next two paragraphs focus on explaining these components in relation to interactive governance.

1.4.5 From satisfaction to support: the relationship between attitude and behaviour

The scope of this dissertation is defined step by step through the previous paragraphs by exploring different definitions, types, perspectives and criteria of interactive governance. The last step in defining the scope is further exploring the benefit of stakeholder support. As mentioned before, reaching stakeholder support is the most sought-after benefit of interactive governance within spatial planning. By creating satisfaction, chances are decreased that stakeholders use veto powers like legal action or protests to stop the implementation of policy. However, there are different types of satisfaction and stakeholders go through certain psychological steps before they reach a stance of support. Understanding exactly how stakeholder involvement leads to the different types of satisfaction and how satisfaction in turn leads to support is the last necessary step to fully defining the scope of this dissertation and formulating a conceptual model. Within governance literature, a distinction is made between process and content outcome—this distinction also describes the two types of stakeholder satisfaction (Skelcher et al., 2005; Edelenbos et al., 2010a; Klijn et al., 2010ab). Process outcome is a non-substance related result, like satisfaction with the manner of involvement or stakeholder support (Meier & O'Toole, 2001; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Edelenbos et al., 2010a). Content outcome refers to the substance resulting from an interactive process like ideas, designs or policy. One of the aspects that characterize content outcome is

stakeholders' recognition that provided input has been taken into account in decision-making (de Bruijn et al., 1998; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Edelenbos et al., 2010a). There are two types of satisfaction, namely content and procedural satisfaction. Content satisfaction is defined as the satisfaction of stakeholders with the substantive outcome of a process. Procedural satisfaction is the satisfaction of stakeholders with the process they participate in (de Graaf, 2007).

To understand how stakeholder involvement leads to these two types of satisfaction and eventually to support, the psychological concepts of attitude and behaviour need to be explained. Research on the relationship between attitude and behaviour is primarily found within psychology (Montano & Kasprzyk, 2005; Kroesen et al., 2017; Kruglanski et al., 2018), where empirical proof is provided that attitude influences and therefore predicts behaviour (Montano & Kasprzyk, 2005; McEachan et al., 2011; Sheeran et al., 2016).

Thus, explaining behaviour starts with determining attitude. Attitude is formed when someone evaluates a particular object favourably or unfavourably, which then leads this person to behave in a certain manner (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000). These attitude objects are entities that people evaluate and form an attitude towards (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). In turn, the (un)favourable attitude determines stakeholder behaviour towards both objects (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000). Within this dissertation, the evaluated attitude objects are the process stakeholders are involved in and the content outcome, like policy or a design (Edelenbos et al., 2010a; Klijn et al., 2010ab). Applied to the concept of governance and this dissertation, three types of attitudes are distinguished. First is the attitude of acceptance, resulting from a positive evaluation of the content or the process, which leads to satisfaction among stakeholders. Second is the opposite attitude of rejection, which is a negative evaluation resulting in dissatisfaction. Third is the attitude of compliance, a direct or indirect request for a particular response (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). A stakeholder may publicly comply but can privately still be dissatisfied with the outcome (Edelson et al., 2011).

Stakeholder satisfaction, therefore, is based on an evaluation of process and content, resulting in a certain attitude. Stakeholder satisfaction is determined by the responsiveness of a process and the resulting content. Within political science, three levels of responsiveness are distinguished (Esaiasson et al., 2017) that are adapted for government-induced interactive governance in spatial planning. The first level is listening: staying informed about the interests and concerns of involved stakeholders. The second level is explaining, which entails providing justifications or explanations about decisions in an understandable and credible manner. These two levels are process oriented, because they are concerned with taking stakeholders seriously by considering their provided input (interests, concerns, ideas, etc.) in decision-making. They are not about implementing the input of stakeholders, like the third level, which is called

adapting. Adapting is about implementing stakeholder input and adjusting decisions to their interests. This level is content oriented, because decisions will be in line with the ideas and interests of stakeholders. The third level of responsiveness is only reached within government-induced interactive governance if the government (agency) decides to incorporate stakeholder input of stakeholders into decision-making and provide stakeholders with that influence. The criteria of interactive governance show that the concept strives to create a transparent process where stakeholders stand on equal ground, having reasonable debates while also being able to influence decision-making. If that is successful, it creates responsiveness on all three levels: listening, explaining and adapting.

Defining behaviour is more difficult, because a precise description of behaviour is mostly missing in literature (Bergner, 2011). The definition used in this is dissertation is *"the internally coordinated responses (actions or inactions) of whole living organisms (individuals or groups) to internal and/or external stimuli"* (Levitis et al., 2009, p.108). Following this definition, behaviour refers to a specific action taken by a group or individuals. Applied to this dissertation, stakeholders display three types of behaviour, based on their attitude. First, stakeholders who are satisfied (positive evaluation) accept the outcome (attitude) resulting in support (behaviour). Second, in the opposite scenario, when stakeholders are dissatisfied, they will reject the outcome, which results in protest (Ruelle & Bartels, 1998; de Graaf; 2007). Third, stakeholders sometimes unconsciously follow a decision or consciously decide to forego protest, even though they are dissatisfied and do not actually accept the outcome. In such a scenario, stakeholders adhere to the outcome, resulting from their attitude of compliance (Potman, 1989; Meegeren, 1997; Boedeltje, 2009).

Looking at the relationship between attitude and behaviour, stakeholder satisfaction is the starting point to reach support, the behaviour a government (agency) desires if they want to implement policy. Aside from perception, personal investment in the issue also determines how stakeholders evaluate objects. When stakeholders find a particular object important and valuable, they will evaluate a certain outcome in a more favourable or unfavourable manner (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). This means that context and subject influence the personal investment of stakeholders, which further determines whether procedural or content satisfaction is more important for stakeholder behaviour. Therefore, the subject and context of spatial planning are important factors for explaining stakeholder behaviour; this is elaborated upon in the next section.

1.4.6 The spatial planning context and its impact on satisfaction, attitude and behaviour

The context of spatial planning knows two important aspects (Hillier, 2010). The first aspect is 'future', which relates to spatial policy processes taking a relatively long time to

complete, resulting in uncertainty. The uncertainty arises because planning practitioners cannot foresee and predict the future as a result of their human nature (Hartmann, 2012). The second aspect is 'space'. Space relates to spatial developments (directly) impacting stakeholders' environments. Consequently, spatial policies often impact the lives and livelihoods of stakeholders directly (van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012). How spatial planning impacts stakeholder interests directly (space), in combination with uncertainty resulting from the inability to foresee the future (time), means that adapting an outcome to stakeholders' interests is likely more important for their support than a fair process. This is because spatial projects can have a big impact on stakeholders' lives and livelihoods. An example to illustrate this expectation could be dike reinforcement projects in the Netherlands where stakeholders live along the dikes, sometimes for generations. A dike reinforcement can mean that certain stakeholders will be unable to remain in the homes and areas they are bonded to, which has a big impact on their quality of life. This is a notable difference compared to a lot of cases in political science, where the objects are of no direct personal importance to people. This means responsiveness in terms of informing and listening can be sufficient to create satisfaction and support. Consequently, the context of spatial planning matters due to the importance of process and content for stakeholder attitude, because the object in question is more often personally important. Research on issue publics also suggests that people want to influence and decide on issues they find personally important (Wojcieszak, 2014). Translated to the contexts of spatial planning, which tackles issues that are personally important to stakeholders, favourability of the outcome will most likely be more decisive than a fair process. In this case, listening and explaining through a fair process is not enough to create satisfaction for a certain outcome, because of the personal importance of the issue.

In summary, contextual factors provide an explanation for why process or content is decisive for stakeholder behaviour (support or protest) but also how it impacts the success of stakeholder involvement.

1.5 INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE TO CREATE SUPPORT AMONG STAKEHOLDERS FOR POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The previous section aimed to explore the concept of interactive governance (through definitions, types, perspectives and criteria), the benefit of stakeholder support and the spatial planning context. This exploration is necessary to define the scope of this dissertation for the purpose of constructing a conceptual model, formulating research questions and establishing relevance, which this section is focussed on.

1.5.1 Research goal and relevance

Creating stakeholder support for spatial policy and implementation is the benefit of interactive governance this dissertation focusses on. Even though interactive governance can provide more benefits, like increasing the quality of decision-making, which is frequently mentioned in literature, reaching stakeholder consensus and support is often the primary goal. Thus, interactive governance is often used instrumentally, with the government-induced form being the most popular. Looking at the disappointments and failures in practice, but also the sparse empirical quantitative evidence for the benefits of interactive governance, analyses of the potential and conditions to reach support through stakeholder involvement are desirable. For this reason, this dissertation focusses on the following main research question:

> *"To what extent does the use of government-induced interactive governance contribute to creating procedural and content satisfaction among stakeholders for the support of policy implementation within the spatial domain?"*

The main research question consists of three parts, namely how, if and why. The first part focusses on how government-induced interactive governance leads to stakeholder support. Which criteria do public managers use in collaborative processes? The second part focusses on whether government-induced interactive governance leads to stakeholder support. Assumptions are found in literature about the benefits of interactive governance, but does its use actually result in stakeholder support for spatial policy implementation? The third and last part focusses on why government-induced interactive governance leads to stakeholder support, which is split up into two parts. First, why do the four criteria of interactive governance result in stakeholder support in spatial planning? Second, why is content or procedural satisfaction more important for stakeholder support within spatial policy implementation? The how, if and why components are used below to explain the relevance of the main research question.

Determining the extent to which government-induced interactive governance creates support means understanding under which conditions it leads to satisfaction among stakeholders (how). Ianniello et al. (2018), but also Schulz (2019), recommended the use of evaluation criteria or good governance values to provide empirical proof for the benefits of interactive governance described in literature. Within this dissertation, good governance values or evaluation criteria are derived from the criteria by Edelenbos (2000) and Smith (2009), namely equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency. In how far these evaluation criteria or good governance values create support provides a more nuanced view for practitioners using interactive governance in spatial planning. Such knowledge is valuable for practitioners, because stakeholder involvement does not automatically lead to consensus for decisions. Acquiring the benefits of interactive governance, like stakeholder support for implementation, is strongly dependent on the

quality of the collaborative process (Reed, 2008; van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012; Ulibarri, 2015). This means that stakeholder management activities are necessary to achieve the benefits that interactive governance can provide (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Achterkamp & Vos, 2008; Littau et al., 2010; Klijn et al., 2010b; Bryson et al., 2015). Such research findings provide practitioners with knowledge about what works and what does not work in a stakeholder process. As a result, such evaluation criteria or governance values are used by practitioners to manage their stakeholder processes.

In addition to knowing how government-induced interactive governance creates support, it is also relevant to know if the use of the concept results in stakeholder support. Answering the if question is practically relevant because the use of interactive governance requires a substantial number of public resources (Till & Meyer, 2001; Margerum, 2011; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Imperial et al., 2018). As a result, using interactive governance is not a decision to be taken lightly and should be utilized when it is warranted (Imperial, 2005; Zachrisson et al., 2018). Such substantial investments are made quite often in planning practice as the use of governance for policy implementation has become very popular (Newig et al., 2018; Douglas et al., 2020b). Therefore, it is important to move away from normative assumptions regarding the benefits of interactive governance to legitimize the investment of public resources. This is also where the scientific relevance lies, namely in contributing empirical data that either proves or disproves that interactive governance leads to stakeholder support for policy implementation. Empirical quantitative data providing proof for normative assumptions regarding the benefits of interactive governance is scarce (Mayer et al., 2005; Koontz & Thomas, 2006; Bäckstrand et al., 2010; Duit & Hall, 2014; Birnbaum, 2016; Ianniello et al., 2018; Schulz, 2019; Jager et al., 2020). This is also the case for the benefit of reaching support for policy implementation though stakeholder involvement. Some contributions within governance literature have tried to test the assumption that interactive governance influences content and procedural satisfaction, which is necessary to eventually reach support for an outcome. These quantitative studies have provided proof through the use of regression analyses that interactive governance leads to procedural and content satisfaction, which was either the single or (part of) one of the dependent variables in such studies (e.g., Boedeltje, 2009; Edelenbos et al., 2010a; Klijn et al., 2010ab; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Ernst, 2019; Jager et al., 2020). This dissertation tries to contribute to closing this gap through quantitative systematic methods suitable for longitudinal and comparative research. The lack of such methods, and consequently a lack of generalizable findings, is a prevalent criticism towards governance literature.

The last part of the main research question asks why government-induced interactive governance creates stakeholder support for policy implementation. Section 1.4.4 explained, with the help of extant literature, why the use of the four criteria of interactive governance (influence, equality, reasonable debate and transparency) leads to stakeholder satisfaction and, eventually, support. However, to determine if the four

criteria fit the purpose of stakeholder support for which it is most often used, the why question also needs to be answered through the perspective of public managers. Contributions found in literature have recommended governance research to fit theoretical concepts to a specific purpose (e.g., Gerlak et al., 2013; Bryson et al., 2015; Prentice et al., 2019; Hysing, 2020). Such recommendations are made because public managers use stakeholder involvement through interactive governance instrumentally for a strategic purpose to solve public problems (Scott & Thomas, 2017; Hysing, 2020). A mismatch between process design and purpose reduces the effectiveness of interactive governance (Provan & Kenis, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015), resulting in a waste of public resources (Imperial, 2005; Zachrisson et al., 2018). Research is necessary to increase the effectiveness of interactive governance for its benefits, like stakeholder support, to legitimise the related costs.

In addition, stakeholder involvement does not execute itself, meaning that collaborative processes are supervised, managed and facilitated by public managers (Mayer et al., 2005; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Klijn et al., 2010a). Consequently, the success of stakeholder involvement in reaching a particular sought-after purpose is also dependent on the competence and ability of public managers to administer such processes (Sørensen, 2007). Results of research fitting a certain type of interactive governance (government-induced) to a particular purpose (stakeholder support) within a specific context (spatial planning) can increase public managers' knowledge and therefore ability to manage a process more successfully.

The practical relevance of this dissertation is important, because translating theory into practical methods and knowledge is mostly lacking in academic literature, resulting in a growing gap between (planning) theory and (planning) practice (e.g., Boelens, 2010). Academics are largely unable to inform public managers in practice through governance research, because contributions increasingly try to explain how variables related to interactive governance lead to beneficial outcomes through esoteric frameworks or paradigms (O'Leary & Vij, 2012; Brudney et al., 2018; Prentice et al., 2019). Examples are all-encompassing frameworks found in governance literature in which a wide variety of variables and relationships are shown with different outcomes in an effort to explain how interactive governance works (e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012; Bryson et al., 2015; Newig et al., 2018; Jager et al., 2020; Douglas et al., 2020b). In combination with the presence of normative and critical views (Sections 1.2 and 1.3) on the benefits of interactive governance, such efforts often result in contradictory recommendations, complicating the practice of interactive governance (Brudney et al., 2018; Prentice et al., 2019).

However, why the four criteria of government-induced interactive governance (influence, equality, reasonable debate and transparency) result in stakeholder support within spatial planning is only one part of the question. The second part of the question relates to the decisiveness of content or procedural satisfaction for stakeholder

support. As mentioned before in Section 1.4.5, the use of the four criteria of interactive governance leads to satisfaction. Consequently, stakeholder satisfaction translates into a certain attitude that, in turn, results in a particular behaviour (for example, support). To know why one is more important than the other it is necessary to know which one is more important for the desired behaviour of stakeholder support. Studies that do focus on these aspects are most notably found within political science; they typically try to determine if process or content is more decisive in stakeholder acceptance or rejection of an outcome through experimental (survey) research. Some of these studies have shown that the favourability of a decision (content) is most important for their acceptance and therefore support, while others show that how decisions are reached (process) is more important (e.g., Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1990; Tyler & Blader, 2000; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2001 and 2002; Tyler, 2001a; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008; Persson et al., 2013; Arnesen, 2017; Esaiasson et al., 2017). According to Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008), the problem in literature is not a lack of empirical evidence if procedural or content satisfaction plays a more significant role in supporting a decision. The problem is a lack of sound theoretical and empirical explanations that explore the reasons for this.

However, truly understanding the relationship between interactive governance and stakeholder support does not only mean knowing if, but more importantly why, content or procedural satisfaction is more important for stakeholder support. As Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008) mentioned, there is also a gap in literature regarding empirical and theoretical explanations for why content and procedural satisfaction influence the support of decisions. Academic discussions are found in literature about the importance of procedural and content satisfaction to reach stakeholder support. From one perspective, favourability of the content is decisive for stakeholder support (Arnesen, 2017). Stakeholders judge a government on the results achieved, independently of the methods used to reach the outcome (Popkin, 1991). From another perspective, process is decisive. Stakeholders do actually care about how decisions are attained (Innes & Booher, 1999; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008). Fair and unbiased decision-making results in actors feeling that they were treated with dignity and respect. Therefore, procedural aspects like representation and transparency also matter in terms of stakeholders' acceptance or rejection of decisions (Tyler & Lind, 1992; Tyler, 2001b; Arnesen, 2017). In short, the main argument is that an unfavourable outcome is accepted by stakeholders because decisions were made through fair procedures.

In short, answering the main research question of this dissertation will not only fill a scientific knowledge gap but also results in knowledge that public managers can use to manage stakeholder processes. Consequently, this dissertation has a dual purpose following up on recommendations made in governance literature for science and practice.

1.5.2 Conceptual framework and sub-questions

The previous paragraphs discussed that the value of interactive governance lies in the benefits it provides. Creating support for spatial policy and implementation through stakeholder involvement is the most popular benefit and also the primary focus of this dissertation. However, to determine in how far interactive governance actually results in stakeholder satisfaction and support, quantitative empirical data on the relationship between interactive governance and stakeholder support is necessary, but also qualitative insights into why it works from the perspectives of external stakeholders and public managers. Acquiring the necessary empirical data requires specific knowledge about the components of interactive governance within the context of spatial planning, namely types, perspectives and benefits. The conceptual framework represents the different components when it comes to stakeholder involvement through interactive governance for stakeholder support in spatial planning as discussed in the previous paragraphs (see Figure 1.1).

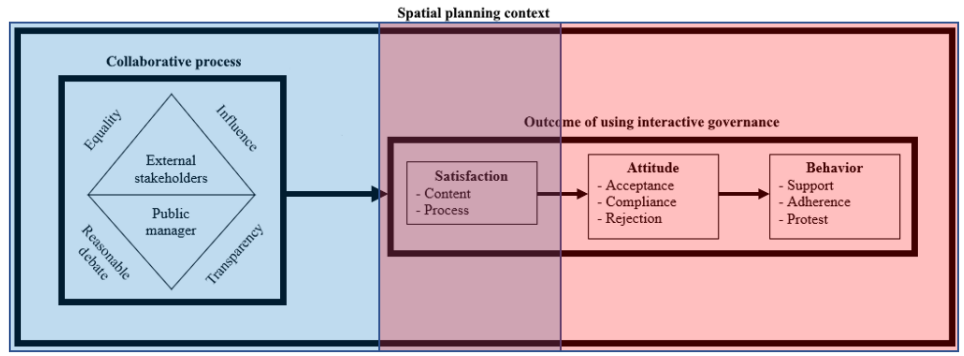

***Figure 1.1**: Conceptual framework*

The conceptual framework consists of a few components (Figure 1.1). The first component is the context where stakeholders are involved through interactive governance, which is spatial planning. Two prominent aspects of spatial planning context are space and time. Space relates to the direct impact of policy implementation on stakeholders' quality of life. Time relates to the long time frames of spatial policy processes and therefore stakeholder involvement, meaning that satisfaction can change over time, possibly influencing the effectiveness of interactive governance over time. The context also dictates the type and benefit of interactive governance used for this dissertation, because the instrumental use of government-induced interactive governance for stakeholder support is most popular in spatial planning. In the end, policy means little when it cannot be implemented.

The second component is the interactive process itself, which in previous paragraphs has been conceptualized through four criteria, namely equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency. These are the institutional design criteria that are used by public

managers to create the process in which stakeholders are involved. Within government-induced interactive governance, the government decides who, when and how external stakeholders (citizens, business owners, NGOs, interest groups, etc.) are involved. Such decisions are made by the public manager representing the government initiative.

The third component is the benefit of interactive governance, which, in the case of this dissertation, is stakeholder support. As explained in previous paragraphs, stakeholders go through certain physiological steps from being involved to actual support for policy decisions. Through stakeholder involvement, (dis)satisfaction about content and process is formed, leading to a certain attitude (acceptance, compliance or rejection), which then results in a certain behaviour towards policy decisions (support, adherence, protest).

This dissertation contributes to the existing body of literature in multiple ways: first, by identifying if there is a relationship between the use of interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders, but also how the evaluation criteria or good-governance values of equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency contribute to this relationship. The assumption that interactive governance leads to procedural satisfaction is one of the reasons the concept is used, but quantitative empirical data supporting such a claim is relatively scarce. To address that scarcity, Chapter 2 relates to the components of the conceptual framework within the blue square (Figure 1.1) and answers the following sub-question:

> *Do the four criteria of interactive governance correlate positively with the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond?*

More than one quantitative study is necessary to determine if there is a relationship between interactive governance and the satisfaction of stakeholders, because such a relationship might change in different contexts. Prominent contextual factors in spatial planning are different policy phases, objects and time. Consequently, the second manner in which this dissertation contributes to the existing body of literature is by exploring the same relationship between interactive governance and stakeholder satisfaction as Chapter 2, with the same method and criteria, but this time within a different context. A different context in this case is policy implementation instead of policy making, but also the focus on a different spatial object, namely flood risk management instead of underground policy. Chapter 3 relates to the components of the conceptual framework within the blue square (Figure 1.1) and answers the following sub-question:

> *Do the four criteria of interactive governance correlate positively with the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the Flood Protection Programme Limburg?*

The relationship between interactive governance and procedural satisfaction of stakeholders is explored one last time, but in regard to the same case over time. The objective of the first three sub-questions is to determine the relationship between interactive governance and stakeholder satisfaction multiple times by using the same method, but within different cases and policy phases, but also within the same case over time. Comparing the results of these 3three sub-questions contributes to determining the extent to which interactive governance results in content and procedural satisfaction among stakeholders in spatial planning. Chapter 4 relates to the components of the conceptual framework within the blue square (Figure 1.1) and answers the following sub-question:

> *To what extent does the statistical positive correlation found between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders by Nouzari et al. (2020) hold up over time (a year) within the same case?*

The previous sub-questions focussed on the relationship between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. However, content satisfaction also plays a role when using interactive governance to create stakeholder support. Unlike the previous three sub-questions, this section does not mainly focus on whether a relationship exists but more importantly on how and why both content and process satisfaction influence stakeholder behaviour (support, adherence and rejection) towards decisions in policy implementation. Literature points out that both content and process play a role in stakeholder satisfaction, but empirical explanations for why that is the case remain scarce. Exploring how interactive governance and contextual factors related to spatial planning impact this relationship aids in finding such explanations. Chapter 5 relates to the components of the conceptual framework within the red square (Figure 1.1) and answers the following sub-question:

> *Why is content or process decisive for stakeholder attitude and behaviour towards (un)favourable decisions in spatial planning?*

The previous sub-questions focus on gathering data to substantiate the relationship between the criteria of interactive governance and contextual factors with satisfaction from the perspective of external stakeholders. However, these evaluation criteria, good governance values and factors are taken from governance literature and might not be a fit for the strategic purpose of stakeholder support according to public managers. The criteria, values and factors become far less useful when they do not fit the purpose of stakeholder support, impacting the success of using interactive governance in practice. This last section focusses on exploring why public managers in practice think the criteria of interactive governance are (un)important for stakeholder support to determine if the concept fits the strategic purpose. Chapter 6 relates to the components of the

conceptual framework within the blue square (Figure 1.1) and answers the following sub-question:

> *Why do public managers consider equality, reasonable debate, influence and transparency to play an (un)important role in reaching stakeholder support for policy implementation?*

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN AND EMPIRICAL CASES

This section describes the research methods, academic literature and empirical cases used per chapter to answer the research questions outlined above.

1.6.1 Procedural satisfaction through interactive governance in policy programming

Chapter 2 focusses on the assumption made in literature that the use of interactive governance leads to procedural satisfaction, resulting in stakeholder support and, in turn, efficient decision-making. Quantitative empirical data supporting the validity of this benefit provided by interactive governance is scarce, as has been concluded by Ianniello et al. (2018) in a systematic literature review. Even though quantitative data is limited, some contributions have been made (e.g., Boedeltje, 2009; Edelenbos et al., 2010a; Klijn et al., 2010ab; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Ernst, 2019; Jager et al., 2020). The goal of this chapter is to establish the limits of interactive governance for efficient decision-making by exploring if a statistical positive correlation exists between its use and stakeholders' procedural satisfaction, using a regression analysis based on survey data that measured stakeholders' procedural satisfaction in a policy programming process. Measuring procedural satisfaction was done with the help of evaluation criteria. These evaluation criteria were conceptualized by using the criteria of interactive governance formulated by Edelenbos (2000) and the criteria of democratic innovations by Smith (2009).

The case chosen for this chapter is the policy programming process of the *Structuurvisie Ondergrond* for underground spatial planning initiated by the Dutch national government. A *structuurvisie* is a policy document outlining a framework for dealing with spatial planning subjects like the underground. For this policy programming process, stakeholders are involved, namely municipalities, provinces, citizens, interest groups, NGOs, businesses, knowledge institutions and government agencies. Stakeholders are involved through different participation procedures like citizen panels, advisory boards and one-on-one meetings.

This chapter builds on the recommendations previously mentioned in governance literature to construct evaluation criteria for systematic research using quantitative methods to facilitate comparative research for the purpose of generalisation (Eisenhardt, 1991; Rowe et al., 2008; Hoon, 2013; Ianniello et al., 2018). This chapter is thus a departure from the normative view on governance towards a more realistic view of the benefits of interactive governance and its limits. Getting a better understanding of the limits of interactive governance for creating stakeholder support facilitates reflection on policy programming in spatial planning among academics. Simultaneously, it helps process managers to use interactive governance more effectively for stakeholder support.

1.6.2 Procedural satisfaction through interactive governance in policy implementation

Chapter 3, just like Chapter 2, focusses on the assumption that the use of interactive governance leads to procedural satisfaction and support among stakeholders. For his chapter, the same standardized quantitative research method (survey) and analysis procedure (regression analysis) were used to explore a statistical positive correlation between interactive governance and stakeholders' procedural satisfaction. Accordingly, the same evaluation criteria conceptualized by using the criteria of interactive governance formulated by Edelenbos (2000) and the criteria of democratic innovations by Smith (2009) were used. The goal was to establish if similar correlation statistics would be found as in Chapter 2, to contribute to establishing the limits of interactive governance for efficient decision-making, this time, however, in regard to a different planning phase (policy implementation) and spatial subject (flood risk management). If using interactive governance is mostly beneficial, like the normative assumptions made in literature suggest, then similar correlation statistics should be found independently of the context.

The case chosen for this chapter was the policy implementation of the *Hoogwaterbeschermingsprogramma Limburg*. This is a Flood Protection Programme in the Dutch municipality of Limburg initiated by the Waterboard Limburg, a governmental agency tasked with ensuring water safety. The programme consists of 15 dike sections that are simultaneously reinforced while involving stakeholders in the process. The goal of the Waterboard Limburg for involving stakeholders in the dike design process is to avoid (legal) protests resulting from dissatisfaction that might jeopardize the implementation of the dike reinforcement. Therefore, stakeholders like citizens, local business owners, municipalities and NGOs are involved through expert meetings, citizen panels, one-on-one meetings and design workshops.

This chapter, like Chapter 2, builds upon the recommendations found in governance literature for quantitative empirical research to facilitate comparative research for generalisation (Eisenhardt, 1991; Rowe et al., 2008; Hoon, 2013; Ianniello et al., 2018). Schulz (2019) also made similar recommendations, but specifically for governance in flood risk management.

1.6.3 Procedural satisfaction through interactive governance over time

Chapter 2 focusses on formulating evaluation criteria, constructing a quantitative research method (survey) and using a standardized analysis procedure (regression) to establish if there is a positive statistical correlation between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in a policy programming process. Chapter 3 used the same evaluation criteria, research method and analysis, also to determine whether a correlation between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders exists, but this time within a policy implementation process instead of policy programming. Chapter 4 is a continuation of Chapter 3. Again, the same evaluation criteria, based on Edelenbos (2000) and Smith (2009), quantitative research method (survey) and analysis procedure (regression analysis) were used to explore a statistical positive correlation between interactive governance and stakeholders' procedural satisfaction. The same case was also used, namely the policy implementation of the Flood Protection Programme Limburg, but the satisfaction measurement was conducted after approximately one full year. If the use of interactive governance always results in procedural satisfaction, then similar correlation statistics should be found, not only independent of context (Chapter 2 versus 3), but also regardless of time (Chapter 3 versus 4). This also falls within the objective of Chapters 2 and 3, namely establishing the limits of interactive governance for efficient decision-making.

1.6.4 Procedural versus content satisfaction: how both relate to one another for support

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 focus on providing quantitative empirical data to support the assumption that the four criteria of interactive governance play a role in creating procedural support among stakeholders. However, there are two types of stakeholder satisfaction, namely procedural and content satisfaction (de Graaf, 2007). In literature, there are two perspectives regarding the relative importance of each type for creating stakeholder acceptance and therefore support for policy implementation. One perspective explains that favourability of the outcome, meaning content, is decisive for acceptance. Stakeholders have no reason to accept an unfavourable outcome. From the other perspective, process is decisive for stakeholder acceptance. Stakeholders will accept an outcome that is unfavourable when they have been treated fairly and their input was taken seriously (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008; Arnesen, 2017). Chapter 5 did not seek to answer whether process or content satisfaction plays a role, which is the focus of Chapters 2 through 4, but rather which one is more decisive in creating stakeholder acceptance for support and the explanations behind it. Concepts like attitude (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000) and behaviour (Levitis et al., 2009; Bergner, 2011) described in psychology literature were used to determine why, according to stakeholders, content or procedural satisfaction is more decisive for their behaviour. Hence it is important to note that the causality of the relationship between attitude and

behaviour falls outside of the scope of this research. Based on contemporary insights regarding the attitude-behaviour relationship and empirical proof provided in literature, this chapter assumed that attitude influences behaviour (Montano & Kasprzyk, 2005; McEachan et al., 2011; Sheeran et al., 2016).

As this research limits itself to spatial planning, stakeholders of the Dutch dike reinforcement project Wolferen-Sprok were interviewed for the purposes of this chapter. In 2017, the project started to involve stakeholders like citizens and small business owners living along the dike with governmental agencies that also had interests associated with the reinforcement led by the Waterboard Rivierenland. Stakeholders were involved through citizen meetings, one-on-one meetings and workshops sessions to gather input for the dike design (Waterschap Rivierenland, 2020).

1.6.5 Literature versus practice: importance of interactive governance for satisfaction

Chapter 6 focusses on evaluating the importance of interactive governance for satisfaction and therefore support, not from the perspective of the stakeholder like the previous chapters, but from the perspective of public managers. All previous chapters were meant to supply empirical data supporting the use of good governance values as outlined by Edelenbos (2000) and Smith (2009), but also if and why procedural or content satisfaction is more decisive in the support of stakeholders for policy implementation. However, the effectiveness of interactive governance is not only determined by empirical proof but also by the fit of the criteria for a strategic purpose when used in a specific type of interactive governance within a particular context, as Hysing (2020) has shown. Applied to this dissertation, that means using the four criteria within government-induced interactive governance for stakeholder support within spatial planning. To determine the fit, chapter 6 focusses on why the four criteria within government-induced interactive governance are (un)important for stakeholder support within spatial planning according to public managers working in planning practice. Relying on the knowledge and experience of public managers, it is possible to determine if literature and practice supply different explanations why the criteria of interactive governance are important for stakeholder support.

Public managers of the Dutch governmental agency Rijkswaterstaat were interviewed to establish why they think the criteria of interactive governance are (un)important to create stakeholder support for implementation. Rijkswaterstaat is the governmental agency in the Netherlands that applies government-induced interactive governance for infrastructure policy implementation. Rijkswaterstaat is responsible for the construction of infrastructure, like roads, tunnels and bridges on a national level (Rijkswaterstaat, 2021).

Publication status per chapter

Chapter 2	Published: Nature and Culture
Chapter 3	Published: Journal of Flood Risk Management
Chapter 4	Published: Water International
Chapter 5	Submitted: Journal of Environmental Planning and Management
Chapter 6	Submitted: Environmental Policy and Governance

REFERENCES

Achterkamp, M.C. and J.F. Vos. 2008. Investigating the use of stakeholder notion in project management literature, a meta-analysis. International Journal of Project Management 26(7): pp.749-757.

Agranoff, R. 2006. Inside Collaborative networks: Ten lessons for public managers. Public Administration Review 66(1): pp.56–65.

Ajzen, I and M. Fishbein. 1980. Understanding and predicting social behavior. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Ajzen, I and M. Fishbein. 2000. Attitudes and the attitude-behavior relation: Reasoned and automatic processes. European Review of Social Psychology 11(1): pp.1-33.

Andrews, R. and T. Entwistle. 2010. Does Cross-Sectoral Partnership Deliver? An Empirical Exploration of Public Service Effectiveness, Efficiency, and Equity. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 20(3): pp.679-701.

Ansell, C. and A. Gash. 2008. Collaborative governance in theory and practice. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 18(4): pp.543-571.

Ansell, C and J. Torfing. 2016. Handbook on theories of governance. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Ansell, C., E. Sorensen and J. Torfing. 2017. Improving policy implementation through collaborative policymaking. Policy and Politics 45(3): pp.467-486.

Ansell, C., C. Doberstein, H. Henderson, S. Siddiki and P. 't Hart. 2020. Understanding inclusion in collaborative governance: a mixed methods approach. Policy and Society 39(4): pp.570-591.

Arnesen, S. 2017. Legitimacy from decision-making influence and outcome favorability: Results from general population survey experiments. Political Studies 65(15): pp.146-161.

Asselt, M.B.A. van and J. Rotmans. 2002. Uncertainty in integrated assessment modelling: From positivism to pluralism. Climatic Change 54(1): pp.75-105.

Bäckstrand, K., J. Khan, A. Kronsell & E. Lövbrand (Eds.). 2010. Environmental politics and deliberative democracy: Examining the promise of new modes of governance. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Barnes, M., J. Newman & H. Sullivan. 2007. Power, participation, and political renewal. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Beierle, T.C. and J. Cayford. 2002. Democracy in practice: Public participation in environmental decision. New York: Routledge.

Berardo, R., T. Heikkila and A.K. Gerlak. 2014. Interorganizational engagement in collaborative environmental management: Evidence from the South Florida Ecosystem Restoration Task Force. Journal of Public Administration and Research Theory 24(3): pp.697–719.

Bergner, R.M. 2011. What is behavior? And so what? New Ideas in Psychology 29(2): pp.147-155.

Birnbaum, S. 2016. Environmental co-governance, legitimacy, and the quest for compliance: When and why is stakeholder participation desirable? Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning 18(3): pp.306–323.

Boedeltje, M. 2009. Draagvlak door interactief bestuur: fictie of feit?! Enschede: Ipskamp Drukkers.

Boelens, L. 2010. Theorizing practice and practicing theory: Outlined for an actor-relation approach in spatial planning. Planning Theory 9(1): pp.99-122.

Booher, D.E. 2004. Collaborative government practices and democracy. National Civic Review 93(4): pp.32–46.

Boonstra, B. 2015. Planning strategies in an age of active citizenship: a post-structuralist agenda for self-organization in spatial planning. Groningen: InPlanning.

Boonstra, B. and L. Boelens. 2011. Self-organization in urban development: towards a new perspective on spatial planning. Urban Research & Practice 4(2): pp.99–122.

Brudney, J.L., C.R. Prentice and J.L. Harris. 2018. Beyond the comfort zone? County government collaboration with private sector organizations to deliver services. International Journal of Public Administration 41(16): pp.1374-1384.

Bruijn, H. de, E.F. Ten Heuvelhof and R.J. in 't Veld. 1998. Procesmanagement: Over procesontwerp en besluitvorming. Amsterdam: Academic Service.

Brunsting, S., M. de Best-Waldhober, C.F.J. Feenstra and T. Mikunda. 2011. Stakeholder participation practices and onshore CCS: Lessons from the Dutch Case Barendrecht. Energy Procedia 4: pp.6376-6383.

Bryson, J.M., B.C. Crosby and M.M. Stone. 2015. Designing and implementing cross-sector collaborations: Needed and challenging. Public Administration Review 75(5): pp.647-663.

Bussu, S. & K.P.R. Bartels. 2014. Facilitative leadership and the challenge of renewing local democracy in Italy. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 38(6): pp.2256–2273.

Buuren, A. van, I. van Meerkerk & C. Tortajada. 2019. Understanding emergent participation practices in water governance. International Journal of Water Resources Development 35(3): pp.367-382.

Cialdini, R.B. and N.J. Goldstein. 2004. Social influence: Compliance and conformity. Annual Review of Psychology 55: pp.591-621.

Coenen, F.H.J.M. 2008. Public participation and better environmental decisions: The promise and limits of participatory processes for the quality of environmentally related decision-making. Dordrecht: Springer.

Coenen, F., D. Huitema and L. O'Toole. 1998. Participation and the quality of environmental decision-making. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Coglianese, C. 1997. Assessing consensus: the promise and performance of negotiated rulemaking. Duke Law Journal 46(6): pp.1255-1349.
Denters, S.A.H., P.J. Klok and M.A. Visser. 2002. De raad beoordeeld! Oordelen van lokale opinieleiders en bestuurders over de gemeenteraad als volksvertegenwoordiging. Een tussenrapportage. Project Duale Gemeenten. Enschede: Van Poelje Instituut.
Douglas, S., C. Ansell, C.F. Parker, E. Sorensen, P.T. Hart and J. Torfing. 2020a. Understanding collaboration: Introducing the collaborative governance case databank. Policy and Society 39(4): pp.1-15.
Douglas, S., O. Berthod, M. Groenleer and J. Nederhand. 2020b. Pathways to collaborative performance: examining the different combinations of conditions under which collaborations are successful. Policy and Society 39(1): pp.1-20.
Duit, A. & O. Hall. 2014. Causes and consequences of stakeholder participation in natural resource management: Evidence from 143 biosphere reserves in 55 countries. In A. Duit (Ed.), State and environment: The comparative study of environmental governance (pp.293-319). Cambridge: MIT Press.
Eagly, A.H. and S. Chaiken. 1993. The psychology of attitudes. Texas: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
Eagly, A.H. and S. Chaiken. 2007. The advantages of an inclusive definition of attitude. Social Cognition 25(5): pp.582-602.
Edelenbos, J. 2000. Proces in vorm: Procesbegeleiding van interactieve beleidsvorming over lokale ruimtelijke projecten. Utrecht: Uitgeverij Lemma BV.
Edelenbos, J. 2005. Institutional implications of interactive governance: Insights from Dutch practice. Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions 18(1): pp.111–134.
Edelenbos, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2006. Managing stakeholder involvement in decision-making: A comparative analysis of six interactive processes on the Netherlands. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 16(3): pp.417-446.
Edelenbos, J., A. Domingo, P. Klok and J. van Tatenhove. 2006. Burger Als Beleidsadviseurs.
Amsterdam: Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek.
Edelenbos, J., B. Steijn and E.H. Klijn. 2010a. Does democratic anchorage matter? An inquiry into the relation between democratic anchorage and outcome of Dutch environmental projects. The American Review of Public Administration 40(1): pp.46-63.
Edelenbos, J., N. van Schie and L. Gerrits. 2010b. Organizing interfaces between government institutions and interactive governance. Policy Science 43(1): pp.73-94.
Edelenbos, J., A. Van Buuren and N. van Schie. 2011. Co-Producing knowledge: Joint knowledge production between experts, bureaucrats and stakeholders in Dutch water management projects. Environmental Science and Policy 14(6): pp.675–84.
Edelenbos, J. and I. van Meerkerk. 2016. Critical reflections on interactive governance: Self-organization and participation in public governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Edelenbos, J., A. van Buuren, D. Roth and M. Winnubst. 2017. Stakeholder initiatives in flood risk management: exploring the role and impact of bottom-up initiatives in three 'Room for the River' projects in the Netherlands. Journal of Environmental Planning and Management 60(1): pp.47-66.
Edelenbos, J., I. van Meerkerk and T. Schenk. 2018. The evolution of community self-organization in interaction with government institutions: Cross-case insights from three countries. The American Review of Public Administration 48(1): pp.52-66.
Edelson, M., T. Sharot, R.J. Dolan and Y. Dudai. 2011. Following the crowd: Brain substrates of long-term memory of conformity. American Association for the Advancement of Science 333(6038): pp.108-111.
Eisenhardt, M. K. 1991. Better stories and better constructs: The case for rigor and comparative logic. Academy of Management Review 16(3): pp.620-627.
Emerson, K., T. Nabatchi and S. Balogh. 2012. Collaborative governance in theory and practice. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 18(4): pp.543-571.
Emerson, K., and T. Nabatchi. 2015. Collaborative governance regimes. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
Ernst, A. 2019. How participation influences the perception of fairness, efficiency and effectiveness in environmental governance: An empirical analysis. Journal of Environmental Management 238: pp.368-381.
Esaiasson, P., M. Gilljam and M. Persson. 2017. Responsiveness beyond policy satisfaction: Does it matter to citizens? Comparative Political Studies 50(6): pp.739-765.
Fazey, I., A.C. Evely, M.S. Reed, L.C. Stringer, J. Kruijsen, P.C.L. White, A. Newsham et al. 2013. Knowledge exchange: A review and research agenda for environmental management. Environmental Conservation 40(1): pp.19–36.
Fazi, E. and J. Smith. 2006. Civil dialogue: Making it work better. Brussels: Civil Society Contact Group.
Fishbein, M. and I. Ajzen. 1975. Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research. Massachussetts: Addison-Wesley.
Fung, A. and E.O. Wright. 2001. Deepening democracy: Innovations in empowered participatory governance. Politics & Society 29(1): pp.5-41.
Fung, A. 2006. Varieties of participation in complex governance. Public Administration Review 66(1): pp.66–75.
Geissel, B. 2009. Participatory governance: Hope or danger for democracy? A case study of local agenda 21. Local

Government Studies (35)4: pp.401–414.
Graaf, L. de 2007. Gedragen beleid: Een bestuurskundig onderzoek naar interactief beleid en draagvlak in de stad Utrecht. Delft: Eburon.
Hartmann, T. 2012. Wicked problems and clumsy solutions: Planning as expectation management. Planning Theory 11(3): pp.242-256.
Healey, P., G. Cars, A. Madanipour and C. de Magelhaes. 2002. Transforming governance, institutionalist analysis and institutional capacity. In G. Cars, P. Healey, A. Madanipour and C. de Magelhaes (eds.), Urban governance, institutional capacity and social milieux (pp.6-28). Aldershot: Ashgate.
Heijden, J. van der and E. ten Heuvelhof. 2012. The Mechanics of virtue: Lessons on public participation from implementing the water framework directive in the Netherlands. Environmental Policy and Governance 22(3): pp.177-188.
Herweijer, M. 2003. Wijkvernieuwing en interactief beleid. Communicatie met bewoners mag geen incident zijn. Bestuursforum 27(1): pp. 20-23.
Hibbing, J.R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2001. Process preferences and American politics: What the people want government to be. American Political Science Review 95(1): pp.145-153.
Hibbing, J.R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2002. Stealth democracy: Americans' beliefs about how government should work. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hibbing, J. R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2008. Voice, validation and legitimacy. In Sullivan, B.A., M. Snyder and J.L. Sullivan (eds.), Cooperation: The political psychology of effective human interaction (pp.123-142). Wiley-Blackwell: Michigan.
Hillier, J. 2010. Introduction: Planning at yet another crossroads? In J. Hillier and P. Healey (eds.), The Ashgate research companion to planning theory. Conceptual challenges for spatial planning (pp.1–34). Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
Hodge, G.A. and C. Greve. 2007 Public-private partnerships: An International Performance Review. Public Administration Review 67(3): pp.545-558.
Hoon, C. 2013. Meta-synthesis of qualitative case studies: An approach to theory building. Organizational Research Methods 16(4): pp.522-556.
Hysing, E. 2020. Designing collaborative governance that is fit for purpose: theorizing policy support and voluntary action for road safety in Sweden. Journal of Public Policy (First View): pp.1-23.
Ianniello, M., S. Iacuzzi, P. Fedele and L. Brusati. 2018. Obstacles and solutions on the ladder of citizen participation: A systematic review. Public Management Review 21(1): pp.21-46.
Imperial, M.T. 2005. Using collaboration as a governance strategy. Lessons from six watershed management programs. Administration & Society 37(3): pp.281–320.
Imperial, M.T., C.R. Prentice and J.L. Brudney. 2018. Collaboration and the environment. In A. Farazmand (eds.), Global encyclopedia of public administration (pp.1–9). Cham: Springer.
Innes, J.E. and D.E. Booher. 1999. Consensus building and complex adaptive systems. A framework for evaluating collaborative planning. Journal of the American Planning Association 65(4): pp.412–23.
Irvin, R. A. and J. Stansbury. 2004. Citizen participation in decision-making: Is it worth the effort? Public Administration Review 64(1): pp.55-65.
Jager, N.W., J. Newig, E. Challies and E. Kochskamper. 2020. Pathways to implementation: Evidence on how participation in environmental governance impacts on environmental outcomes. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory (30)3: pp.383-399.
John, P. 2009. Promoting participation inside government. Can citizen governance redress the representative bias of political participation? Public Administration Review 69(3): pp. 494–503.
Kastens, B. and J. Newig. 2008. Will participation foster the successful implementation of the water framework directive? Local Environment 13(1): pp.27–41.
Kerkhof, M. van. 2006. Making a difference: On the constraints of consensus building and the relevance of deliberation in stakeholder dialogues. Policy Science 39(3): pp.279-299.
Klijn, E.H. and C. Skelcher. 2007. Democracy and governance networks: Compatible or not? Public Administration 85(3): pp.587–608.
Klijn, E.H., J. Edelenbos and B. Steijn. 2010a. Trust in governance networks: Its impacts on outcomes. Administration & Society 42(2): pp.193-221.
Klijn, E.H., B. Steijn and J. Edelenbos. 2010b. The impact of network management on outcomes in governance networks. Public Administration 88(4): pp.1063-1082.
Klijn, E.H. and J.F.M. Koppenjan. 2000. Politicians and interactive decision-making: Institutional spoilsport or playmakers. Public Administration 78(2): pp.365–387.
Klijn, E.H. and J.F.M. Koppenjan, 2016. Governance networks in the public sector. London: Routledge.
Knoepfel, P., C. Larrue, F. Varone and M. Hill. 2007. Public policy analysis. Bristol: The Policy Press.
Kooiman, J. 1993. Modern governance: New government–society interactions. London: Sage.
Kooiman, J., M. Bavinck, S. Jentoft and R. Pullin. 2005. Fish for life. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
Kooiman, J., M. Bavinck, R. Chuenpagdee, R. Mahon and R. Pullin. 2008. Interactive governance and governability: An introduction. Journal of Transdisciplinary Environmental Studies 7(1): pp.1-11.

Koontz, T.M. & C.W. Thomas 2006. What do we know and need to know about the environmental outcomes of collaborative management? Public Administration Review 66(1): pp.111–121.
Koppenjan, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2004. Managing uncertainties in networks. London: Routledge.
Kroesen, M., S. Handy and C. Chorus. 2017. Do attitudes cause behavior or vice versa? An alternative conceptualization of the attitude-behavior relationship in travel behavior modeling. Transportation Research Part A 101: pp.190-202.
Kruglanski, A.W., C. Baldner, M. Chernikova, C. Lo Destro and A. Pierro. 2018. A new perspective on the attitude-behavior relation: The essential function of goals. Polish Psychological Bulletin 49(1): pp.31-39.
Lahat, L. and N. Sher-Hadar. 2020. A threefold perspective: Conditions for collaborative governance. Journal of Management and Governance 24(2): pp.117-134.
Layzer, J.A. 2002. Citizen participation and government choice in local environmental controversies. Policy Studies Journal 30(2): pp.193–207.
Leach, W.D. and N.W. Pelkey. 2001. Making watershed partnerships work: a review of the empirical literature. Journal of water resources planning and management 127(6): pp.378-385.
Leach, W.D. and P.A. Sabatier. 2005. To trust an adversary: Integrating rational and psychological models of collaborative policymaking. American Political Science Review 99(4): pp.491–503.
Leighninger, M. 2007. Is everything up to date in Kansas City? Why 'citizen involvement' may
soon be obsolete. National Civic Review 96(2): pp.12–27.
Levitis, D., W. Lidicker and G. Freunda. 2009. Behavioural biologists do not agree on what constitutes behavior. Animal Behaviour 78(1): pp.103–110.
Lind, E.A. and T.R. Tyler. 1988. The social psychology of procedural justice. New York: Plenum Press.
Littau, P., N.J. Jujagiri and G. Adlbrecht. 2010. 25 years of stakeholder theory in project management literature (1984-2009). Project Management Journal 41(4): pp.17-29.
Lowndes, V., L. Pratchett. and G. Stoker. 2006. Diagnosing and remedying the failings of official participation schemes: The CLEAR framework. Social policy and Society 5(2): pp.281-291.
Lundqvist, LJ. 2004. Integrating Swedish water resource management: A multi-level governance trilemma. Local Environment 9(5): pp.413–424.
Margerum, R.D. 2011. Beyond consensus: Improving collaborative planning and management. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Marien, S., M. Hooghe and E. Quintelier. 2010. Inequalities in noninstitutionalized forms of political participation: A multi-level analysis of 25 countries. Political Studies 58(1): pp.187–213.
Mayer, I., J. Edelenbos and R. Monnikhof. 2005. Interactive policy development: undermining or sustaining democracy? Public Administration 83(1): pp.179-199.
McEachen, R.R.C., M. Conner, N.J. Taylor and R.J. Lawton. 2011. Prospective prediction of health-related behaviours with the Theory of Planned Behaviour: A meta-analysis. Health Psychology Review 5(2): pp.97-144.
Meegeren, P. van. 1997. Communicatie en maatschappelijke acceptatie van milieubeleid: een onderzoek naar de houding ten aanzien van de 'dure afvalzak' in Barendrecht. Wageningen: Landbouwuniversiteit Wageningen.
Meerkerk, van I., B. Boonstra & J. Edelenbos. 2013. Self-organization in urban regeneration: A two-case comparative research. European Planning Studies 21(10): pp.1630–1652.
Meerkerk, I. van. 2019. Top-down versus bottom-up pathways to collaboration between governments and citizens: reflecting on different participation traps. In A. Kekez, M. Howlett and M. Ramesh (eds.), Collaboration and public service delivery: Promise and pitfalls (pp.149-167). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Meier, K. J., and L.J. O'Toole. 2001. Managerial strategies and behaviour in networks: A model with evidence from U.S. public education. Journal of Public Administration and Theory 11(3): pp.271-293.
Michels, A. 2017. Participation in citizens' summits and public engagement. International Review of Administrative Sciences 85(2): pp.211-227.
Michels, A., and L. De Graaf. 2010. Examining citizen participation: Local participatory policy making and democracy. Local Government Studies 36(4): pp.477–491.
Mohan, G. and K. Stokke. 2000. Participatory development and empowerment: The dangers of localism. Third World Quarterly 21(2): pp.247-68.
Monnikhof, R., and J. Edelenbos. 2001. Into the fog: Stakeholder input in participatory impact assessment. Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal 19(1): pp.29-39.
Montano, D.E. and D. Kasprzyk. 2005. Theory of reasoned action, theory of planned behavior, and the Integrated Behavioral Model. In K. Glanz, B.K. Rimer and K. Viswanath (eds.), Health behavior: Theory, research and practice (pp.95-124). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Moulaert, F., F. Martinelli, E. Swyngedouw and S. González. 2005. Towards alternative model(s) of local innovation. Urban Studies 42(11): pp.1969-90.
Murdock, B., C. Wiessner, and K. Sexton. 2005. Stakeholder participation in voluntary environmental agreements: Analysis of 10 Project XL case studies. Science, Technology & Human Values 30(2): pp.223-250.
Nabatchi, T. 2012. Putting the "Public" Back in Public Values Research: Designing Participation to Identify and Respond to Values. Public Administration Review 72(5): pp.699–708.

Newig, J., E. Challies, N.W. Jager, E. Kochskaemper and A. Adzersen. 2018. The environmental performance of participatory and collaborative governance: A framework of causal mechanisms. The Policy Studies Journal 46(2): pp.269-297.
Newig, J. and E. Kvarda. 2012. Participation in environmental governance: legitimate
and effective? In K. Hogl, E. Kvarda, R. Nordbeck and M. Pregernig (eds), Environmental Governance. The Challenge of Legitimacy and Effectiveness (pp.29-45). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
Nowell, B. 2010. Out of sync and unaware? Exploring the effects of problem frame alignment and discordance in community collaboratives. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 20(1): pp.91–116.
Nuissl, H. and D. Heinrichs. 2011. Fresh wing or hot air—Does the governance discourse have something to offer to spatial planning? Journal of Planning Education and Research 31(1): pp.47-59.
Offe, C. 2009. Governance: An "empty signifier"? Constellations 16: pp.550-562.
O'Leary, R., R.F. Durant, D.J. Fiorino and P.S. Weiland. 1999. Managing for the environment: Understanding the legal, organizational and policy challenges. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
O'Leary, R. and N. Vij. 2012. Collaborative public management: where have we been and where are we going? The American Review of Public Administration 45(5): pp.507-522.
Persson, M., P. Esaiasson and M. Gilljam. 2013. The effect of direct voting and deliberation on legitimacy beliefs: An experimental study of small group decision-making. European Political Science Review 5(3): pp.381-399.
Popkin, S.L. 1991. The reasoning voter: Communication and persuasion in presidential campaigns. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Potman, H.P. 1989. Acceptatie van beleid. Onderzoek naar de Wet geluidshinder ter verkenning van een bestuurskundig begrip. Zeist: Kerkebosch b.v.
Prentice, C.R., M.T. Imperial and J.L. Brudney. 2019. Conceptualizing the collaborative toolbox: A dimensional approach to collaboration. American Review of Public Administration, 49(7): pp.792–809.
Provan, K.G. and P. Kenis. 2007. Modes of network governance: Structure, management, and effectiveness. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 18(2): pp.229–252.
Randolph, J. and M. Bauer. 1999. Improving environmental decision-making through collaborative methods. Policy Studies Review 16(4): pp.168-191.
Rauws, W. Civic initiatives in urban development: self-governance versus self-organisation in planning practice. Town Planning Review 87(3): pp.339-361.
Reed, M.S. 2008. Stakeholder participation for environmental management: A literature review. Biological conservation 141(10): pp.2417-2431.
Renn, O., T. Webler and P. Wiedemann. 1995. Fairness and competence in citizen participation. Evaluating models for environmental discourse. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
Rijkswaterstaat. 2021 [online]. https://www.rijkswaterstaat.nl/zakelijk/zakendoen-met-rijkswaterstaat/werkwijzen/werkwijze-in-gww/werken-in-projecten/integraal-projectmanagement.aspx Visited: 1 March 2021.
Roberts, N. C. 2002. Keeping public officials accountable through dialogue: Resolving the accountability paradox. Public Administration Review, 62(6): pp.658–669.
Roberts, N. 2004. Public deliberation in the age of direct citizen participation. American Review of Public Administration 34(4): pp.315-353.
Robertson, P.J. and T. Choi. 2012. Deliberation, consensus, and stakeholder satisfaction: A simulation of collaborative governance. Public Management Review 14(1): pp.83-103.
Rowe, G., T. Horlick-Jones, J. Walls, W. Poortinga & N.F. Pidgeon. 2008. Analysis of a normative framework for evaluating public engagement exercises: Reliability, validity and limitations. Public Understanding of Science 17(4): pp.419-441.
Ruelle, H. and G. Bartels. 1998. Draagvlak en de wisselwerking tussen zender en ontvanger. In G. Bartels, W. Nelissen and H. Ruelle (eds.), De transactionele overheid. Communicatie als instrument: zes thema's in de overheidsvoorlichting (pp. 403-409). Kluwer: Deventer.
Sabatier, P.A., W.D. Leach, M. Lubell and N.W. Pelkey. 2005. Theoretical frameworks explaining partnership success. In P.A. Sabatier, W. Focht, M. Lubell, Z. Trachtenberg, A. Vedlitz and M. Matlock (eds.), Swimming upstream: Collaborative approaches to watershed management (pp.713-200). Cambridge: MIT Press.
Schlager, E. & W.A. Blomquist. 2008. Embracing watershed politics. Boulder: University Press of Colorado-Boulder.
Schulz, C. 2019. Governance-related values as dimensions of good water governance. WIREs Water 6(1): pp.1-12.
Scott, A.T. and C.W. Thomas. 2017. Unpacking the collaborative toolbox: Why and when do public managers choose collaborative governance strategies. Policy Studies Journal 45(1): pp.191-214.
Scott, T.A., C.W. Thomas and J.M. Magallanes. 2019. Convening for consensus: Simulating stakeholder agreement in collaborative governance processes under different network conditions. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 29(1): pp.32-49.
Sheeran, P., A. Maki, E. Montanaro, A. Avishai-Yitshak, A. Bryan, W.M. Klein, E. Miles and A.J. Rothman. 2016. The impact of changing attitudes, norms, and self-efficacy on health-related intentions and behavior: A meta-analysis. Health Psychology 35(11): pp.1178–1188.
Sirianni, C. 2009. Investing in democracy: Engaging citizens in collaborative governance. Washington: Brookings

Institution Press.
Skelcher, C., N. Mathur and M. Smith. 2005. The public governance of collaborative spaces: Discourse, design and democracy. Public Administration 83(3): pp.573–596.
Slavíková, L. and J. Jílková. 2011. Implementing the public participation principle into water management in the Czech Republic: a critical analysis. Regional Studies 45(4): pp.545–557.
Smith, G. 2003. Deliberative democracy and the environment. London: Routledge.
Smith, G. 2009. Democratic innovations: Designing institutions for citizen participation. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Sørensen, E. 2007. Local politicians and administrators as meta governors. In M. Marcussen and J. Torfing (eds), Democratic Network Governance in Europe. (pp.89-108). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
Sørensen, E. and J. Torfing (eds). 2007. Theories of democratic network governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Sørensen, E. and J. Torfing. 2009. Making governance networks effective and democratic through metagovernance. Public Administration 87(2): pp.234–258.
Stokkom, van B. 2006. Rituelen van beraadslaging. Reflecties over burgerberaad en Burgerbestuur. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
Swyngedouw, E. 2005. Governance innovation and the citizen: The Janus face of governance-beyond-the-state. Urban Studies 42(11): pp.1991-2006.
Tatenhove, J. van, J. Edelenbos and P.J. Klok. 2010. Power and interactive policy-making: A comparative study of power and influence in 8 interactive projects in The Netherlands. Public Administration 88(3): pp.609-626.
Teisman, G., J. Edelenbos, E.-H. Klijn and J. Verbart. 2001. Ruimtelijke ontwikkelings-processen. In G. Teisman (ed.), Besluitvorming en ruimtelijke procesmanagement: Studie naar eigenschappen van ruimtelijke besluitvorming die realisatie van meervoudig ruimtegebruik remmen of bevorderen (pp.1–72). Delft: Eburon.
Thomas, J.C. 1995. Public Participation in Public Decisions. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Till, J.E. and K.R. Meyer. 2001. Public involvement in science and decision-making. Health Physics Society 80(4): pp.370-378.
Torfing, J., B.G. Peters, J. Pierre and E. Sorensen. 2012. Interactive governance: Advancing the paradigm. New York: Oxford University Press.
Tyler, T.R. 1990. Why people obey the law. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Tyler, T.R. 2001a. The psychology of public dissatisfaction with government. In J.R. Hibbing and E. Theiss-Morse (eds.), What is it a government that Americans dislike? (pp.227-242). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Tyler, T.R. 2001b. A psychological perspective on the legitimacy of institutions and authorities. In J.T. Jost and B. Major (eds.), The psychology of legitimacy: Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice, and intergroup relations (pp.416-436). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Tyler, T.R. and S. Blader. 2000. Cooperation in groups: Procedural justice, social identity, and behavioral engagement. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
Tyler, T.R. and E.A. Lind. 1992. A relational model of authority in groups. Advances in Experimental Social Psychology 25: pp.115–191.
Ulibarri, N. 2015. Tracing process to performance of collaborative governance: A comparative case study of federal hydropower licensing. Policy Studies Journal 43(2): pp.283–308.
Vangen, S. and C. Huxham. 2012. The tangled web: Unraveling the principle of common goals in collaborations. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 22(4): pp.731–60.
Videira, N., P. Antunes, R. Santos and G. Lobo. 2006. Public and stakeholder participation in European water policy: A critical review of project evaluation processes. European Environment 16(1): pp.19-31.
Warbroek, B. and T. Hoppe. 2017. Modes of governing and policy of local and regional governments supporting local low-carbon energy initiatives; exploring the cases of the dutch regions of Overijssel and Fryslân. Sustainability 9(1): pp.1-36.
Warner, J.F. 2006. More sustainable participation? Multi-stakeholder platforms for integrated catchment management. Water Resources Development 22(1): pp.15-35.
Waterschap Rivierenland. 2020 [online]. https://www.dijkversterkingwolferensprok.nl/ projectinformatie/default.aspx Visited: 19 March 2020.
Webler, T. and S. Tuler. 2000. Fairness and competence in citizen participation. Administration & Society 32(5): pp.566–595.
Wojcieszak, M. 2014. Preferences for political decision-making processes and issue publics. The Public Opinion Quarterly 78(4): pp.917-939.
Woods, D. 2008. Stakeholder involvement and public participation: A critique of Water Framework Directive arrangements in the United Kingdom. Water and Environment Journal 22(4): pp.258–264.
Zachrisson A., T. Bjärstig and K. Eckerberg. 2018. When public officers take the lead in collaborative governance: To confirm, consult, facilitate or negotiate? Scandinavian Journal of Public Administration 22(4): pp.21–44.

Chapter 2

The Usefulness of Interactive Governance for Underground Planning

Ehsan Nouzari
Thomas Hartmann
Tejo Spit

ABSTRACT

The underground provides many spatial planning opportunities as it offers space for structures, but also functions as a resource for energy. To guide developments and use the capabilities the underground provides, the Dutch national government started a policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond (a master plan). Stakeholders are involved in the policy process because of the many interests linked to underground functions. However, past policy processes related to the underground dealt with lack of stakeholder satisfaction. This article explores a quantitative approach by focusing on (a) statistical testing of four criteria of interactive governance and (b) using said criteria to evaluate the satisfaction of stakeholders in a policy process. This article highlights the usefulness of a more quantitative approach and provides new insights into the relation between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. It also provides insights that help to improve interactive governance in terms of process management to achieve greater procedural satisfaction.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Dissatisfaction toward traditional ways of dealing with societal complexity has led to the use of interactive governance as a method to govern society. Following the definition of Jacob Torfing and colleagues (2012, pp.2-3), interactive governance is *"the complex process through which a plurality of social and political actors with diverging interests interact in order to formulate, promote, and achieve common objectives by means of mobilizing, exchanging, and deploying a range of ideas, rules, and resources."* Within this spectrum different forms of interactive governance can be distinguished (Edelenbos & Meerkerk, 2016; Torfing et al., 2012). A popular form of spatial policy making in Western countries is government-induced interactive governance (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). With this form of interactive governance, governments often decide how, when, and which stakeholders are involved through participation procedures that are structured by rules. At certain points within the policy process, governments give stakeholders the ability to respond to plans and provide input on decision-making (Edelenbos, 2005; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016).

Within spatial policy making, this form of interactive governance is mainly used as an instrument to effectively and efficiently solve societal issues (Irvin and Stansbury 2004; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). Government-induced interactive governance is used as an instrument for mediation between interdependent stakeholders, with each having their own interests and resources (Edelenbos & Meerkerk, 2016). Within contemporary society, resources like knowledge, financial means, and support are scattered, resulting in complex interdependent relationships between stakeholders. It is argued that instrumental forms of interactive governance have the potential to effectively solve (wicked) societal problems by realigning dispersed resources through the involvement of government and nongovernment stakeholders (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). It is also argued that this instrumental form has the potential to realize efficient implementation of policy by creating satisfaction and support, discouraging stakeholders from using their veto powers, and stopping implementation through legal action (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Irvin & Stansbury 2004; Kooiman, 1993).

Scientific contributions often take the benefits of interactive governance as described above for granted. Some scholars, however, criticize this view as overly optimistic (Ianniello et al., 2018; Mohan & Stokke, 2000; Swyngedouw, 2005). For example, the involvement of many stakeholders with different interests may lead to debates and conflicts, eventually stagnating with deadlocks and impasses (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). It can also be time-consuming and therefore financially costly. Interactive governance does not automatically lead to success, as it requires extensive stakeholder and process management activities (Billé, 2008; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006). From a more critical perspective, Mario Ianniello and colleagues (2018) performed a systematic

literature review to establish obstacles as described in the two examples above for successful stakeholder involvement and practical recommendations to address them. The analysis considered successful stakeholder involvement as any example where the authors reported an improved degree of engagement. They concluded that some benefits of interactive governance were found in their research; however, evidence of decision-making becoming more efficient and effective is small. For further research on interactive governance, they recommended evaluation criteria and more standardized quantitative tools for data collection, as both are largely absent in contemporary literature, hindering systematic evaluation, comparison, and generalisation of findings (Eisenhardt, 1991; Hoon, 2013; Ianniello et al., 2018; Rowe et al., 2008).

This discourse on interactive governance inspired the twofold aim of this study. First, it focuses on constructing criteria based on interactive governance for the evaluation of one benefit described in the literature, namely, reaching satisfaction among stakeholders for the implementation of spatial policy. The criteria are based on the interactive governance definition of Jurian Edelenbos (2000, p.39): *"the early involvement of citizens and other stakeholders in policy making, in which on the basis of transparency, equality, and reasonable debate, solutions are explored that influence the final decision-making"* (translated from Dutch by the author).

Second, the evaluation criteria based on interactive governance is used to construct a standardized quantitative method to measure satisfaction among stakeholders in a policy process. The case chosen is the Dutch policy process of the Structuurvisie Ondergrond for underground spatial planning. The data from the measurement is used to establish if there is a correlation between the evaluation criteria and the satisfaction of stakeholders. The assumption that interactive governance makes is that the better the four criteria of interactive governance (equality, reasonable debate, transparency, and influence) are implemented into a stakeholder process, the higher the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders will be (satisfaction of stakeholders for the process they are involved in) (Edelenbos, 2000; Graaf, 2007). This leads to the following research question: *Do the four criteria of interactive governance correlate positively with the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond?*

2.2 THE FOUR CRITERIA OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

The definition of interactive governance provided by Edelenbos (2000, p.39) offers four criteria to capture the essence of the approach, namely, *equality*, *influence*, *reasonable debate*, and *transparency*. These criteria, however, are dated because of the progression made in governance literature over the course of the last decade. To update the four initial criteria outlined by Edelenbos, the governance literature was evaluated for

approaches that mention specific criteria connected with interactive governance. To update the criteria, Graham Smith's (2009) democratic innovations literature was used because the four criteria he outlined strongly correlate with the four criteria outlined by Edelenbos (2000) in terms of theoretical background. The criteria were merged together to form the following four criteria.

Equality focuses on neutralizing inequalities between stakeholders in two aspects, namely, *presence* and *voice*. *Presence* is about equality in the access and involvement of stakeholders. To accomplish this, selection procedures need to be fair. Every (key) stakeholder in society needs to have the chance to participate regardless of interest, position, or background. If not, the assumption cannot be made that decisions include the concerns and interests of stakeholders. In short, it is about the fairness of the selection procedures and the level of access to the policy process. *Voice* is about equality in possibilities for stakeholders to be heard (for example, during meetings), which does not necessarily mean that they will contribute (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). In this case, the input of one actor should not have more influence than the input of another. A difference in communication skills between stakeholders can create disparities. This means that achieving equality goes beyond giving opportunities to provide input. It is also accomplished through mitigation of differences in properties, resources, and skills of actors. It is necessary to mention that inequality between stakeholders always exists to some extent. A completely equal planning process does not exist, but the main goal should be to minimize inequalities as much as possible (Edelenbos 2000).

Influence relates to the ability of stakeholders to exert influence in a policy process. For stakeholders to have influence, their input needs to be given a place in policy and must be considered when making decisions. This can be achieved by giving stakeholders decision-making abilities or by using their input in policy documents and decisions. When determining influence, a distinction can be made between two moments in a policy process: the agenda-setting phase and the moment of definitive decision-making. Within the agenda-setting phase, it is important for actors to have influence on the selection of issues, subjects, and problems that will be solved through the policy process (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). In the moment of definitive decision-making, it is crucial that the decision makers are bound to the outcome of the participatory process (Graaf, 2007).

Reasonable debate refers to conversations where stakeholders try to convince each other by the (in)correctness of arguments. It is reason and fairness that determine the power of arguments rather than the stakeholders' resources, positions, and place in the hierarchy within the process. Decisions are made through careful consideration of arguments presented during the process (Edelenbos, 2000). To make this possible, stakeholders need to be somewhat receptive. Receptivity is the appreciation and openness of stakeholders toward other participants' perspectives, perceptions, and experiences. Stakeholders can do this by letting go of their own views and using the views of others to broaden their own. The legitimacy of stakeholder involvement is

dependent on actors' receptivity and their capacity to make reflective and considered judgments. The expectation is that choices are not limited solely to the interests and knowledge of particular stakeholders when they have a chance to influence policy. Stakeholder processes can stimulate the receptivity of stakeholders by using a wide variety of methods but can never guarantee their success in making everyone heard evenly (Smith, 2009).

Transparency refers to the extent to which stakeholders share information and expectations in a planning process. First, transparency through accessibility of information, in terms of content as well as procedure, makes it easier for stakeholders to formulate problems and solutions (Edelenbos, 2000). Furthermore, in a transparent process, stakeholders can make critical statements on different aspects of the process; this helps to determine the stakeholders' level of trust in the process and its legitimacy (Smith 2009). Second, expectations for the process from all participating parties must be clear so that all participants know how to contribute. This includes, for example, the influence stakeholders will have or the role they will fulfil in the policy process (de Graaf, 2007; Smith, 2009). Management of expectations is especially important, because of the often diverging and rising expectations. When stakeholders are involved, they expect that their interests, ideas, and preferences will be taken into account. This is not always possible, resulting in expectations going unmet, leading to a low level of support for final decisions (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Marcussen & Torfing, 2007; Teisman et al., 2001).

To conclude, *equality*, *influence*, *reasonable debate*, and *transparency* are the characteristics of an interactive stakeholder process. Interactive governance literature assumes that there is a positive correlation between how "interactive" a stakeholder process is and the procedural support among stakeholders (Edelenbos, 2000; de Graaf, 2007). Procedural support is defined as follows: the satisfaction of stakeholders for the process they participate in (de Graaf, 2007). The four criteria of interactive governance provide the basis for more operationalized criteria to measure and evaluate the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in a policy process. The data gathered from the measurements is used to determine if there is a statistical correlation between the evaluation criteria and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. The case in which procedural satisfaction is measured to establish a correlation is the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond. Details about this policy process and why it was chosen for the purpose of this research is outlined in the next paragraph.

2.3 THE POLICY PROCESS FOR THE STRUCTUURVISIE UNDERGROUND AND PAST MISTAKES

Spatial development underground can be considered the final frontier because of the many possibilities it offers. It functions as a space where structures can be built, such

as the Madrid M30 motorway, which freed up space aboveground (Admiraal & Cornaro, 2016; Cornaro & Admiraal, 2012). The underground is also a resource that can facilitate the shift toward sustainability to combat climate change by generating heat, such as through geothermal energy (Bloomfield et al., 2003). However, making use of the space underground will require governments to overcome the "first come first served" mentality that has caused the underground to become a disorganized space with conflicting functions (Admiraal & Cornaro, 2016; Brown, 2011). To achieve sustainable use of the underground, a comprehensive policy framework needs to be made to determine a balance between use of or preservation of the underground (Admiraal & Cornaro, 2016).

The Dutch national government recognizes the importance of such a policy framework to guide spatial developments in the underground. Through the Ministry of Infrastructure and Environment, a policy process was started in 2011 to make the Structuurvisie Ondergrond (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2016). A *structuurvisie* in the Netherlands is a policy document in which a framework outlines how to deal with certain spatial planning fields like the underground (van Buuren et al., 2008; van Buuren et al., 2010). The Dutch government established the policy framework for the underground through a stakeholder process where citizens, companies, NGOs, knowledge institutions, interest groups, provinces, and municipalities were involved. Involvement took place through participation procedures like one-on-one meetings, citizen panels, executive meetings, and advisory boards, and through media outlets like newsletters. These participation procedures were used as a mediation tool to create satisfaction with the implementation (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2012).

There are two reasons why a policy process for underground spatial planning was chosen. First, many interests are bound to underground spatial planning. The underground can be used for the extraction of resources like gas, minerals like sand and stone, energy like geothermal, and infrastructure like cables, pipelines, and roads. These interests are bound to different stakeholders because of the "first come first served" strategy, resulting in a suboptimal and non-sustainable use of the underground. To create a comprehensive policy framework for sustainable use of the underground, where use of and preservation of the space are in balance, these stakeholders need to be involved (Admiraal & Cornaro, 2016).

Second, underground planning can be classified as a wicked problem. These are policy issues that are unstructured (no clear problem definition with little consensus on the solution), crosscutting (interconnected to other issues, policy domains, and levels of government), and relentless (never going to be solved once and also creating problems in other policy domains) (Rittel & Webber, 1973; Weber & Khademian, 2008). This is clearly illustrated in two failed policy processes of the past related to underground planning. Notable are the policy processes for carbon capture and storage (CCS) in the municipality of Barendrecht (2006–2010) and the extraction of shale gas in the municipalities of Boxtel and Haaren (2009–2015). Both processes were questioned by the stakeholders

as regards the necessity of the initiative through their own perspectives, which were influenced by their beliefs, values, and presumptions.

In total, there were two conflicting perspectives on the initiatives. Companies (Shell and Cuadrilla) and the Dutch national government viewed the initiatives mainly from a techno-economical perspective. For both CSS and shale gas, the initiative was a safe climate mitigation measure in which earnings would also facilitate the shift toward more sustainable energy. Public stakeholders like citizens, NGOs, and municipalities viewed the initiatives from a local-societal perspective. Stakeholders questioned the initiative by stating that better climate mitigation measures were available. In some instances, stakeholders even stated that CCS and shale gas would have the opposite effect. Using CCS, for example, could increase the use of coal, making it difficult for renewable energy sources to compete with non-renewable sources. Stakeholders also questioned the safety of both initiatives. Using the shale gas case, stakeholders referred to a scene in a documentary called *Gasland*, the shale gas exploitation in the United States when an individual lit running water on fire with a lighter. Both processes ended up in a deadlock because stakeholders had little influence on decision-making and were not involved early enough. The focus of the government on the policy and technological options instead of the concerns of stakeholders also contributed to the failure (Brunsting et al., 2011; Cuppen et al., 2019).

According to literature, policy processes for underground planning can benefit from using interactive governance. Government-induced interactive governance is a mediation tool to manage the diverse interests in society to reach consensus. It is also a tool to cope with the complexity of managing (spatial) wicked problems (Kooiman, 1993; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Torfing et al., 2012). Both benefits make the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond a suitable case for this research.

2.4 METHODOLOGY

The research question is answered through three steps followed in chronological order:

1. Conceptualizing evaluation criteria to measure procedural satisfaction based on interactive governance;
2. Designing a standardized quantitative data collection method to measure procedural satisfaction;
3. Determining a correlation between the criteria used and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders within the case. This last step is translated into the research question: *Do the four criteria of interactive governance correlate positively with the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond?*

To elaborate how data was collected to answer the research question (step 3), this section explains the method used and choices made by following the first two steps outlined above.

2.4.1 Conceptualizing evaluation criteria to measure procedural satisfaction

The four criteria of interactive governance were conceptualized into specific process management criteria for the purpose of measuring procedural satisfaction and determining their correlation. Measuring procedural satisfaction through process management is fitting, as government-induced policy processes (such as the case of this research) use interactive governance as a mediation tool to create satisfaction among stakeholders (instrumental). It is this process of mediation that stakeholders can be questioned about to convey their satisfaction.

Table 2.1: Conceptualized criteria organized by corresponding criteria of interactive governance

Criteria of interactive governance	Conceptualized evaluation criteria
1. Equality	- The number of opportunities available to provide input during meetings. - Equal opportunities to provide input. - The number of meetings. - Facilitation and stimulation of stakeholders to provide input (during meetings).
2. Influence	- Providing input early in the process (i.e., problem definition phase). - Opportunities through stakeholder procedures to provide input. - Opportunities to provide problem definitions. - Taking interests, expectations, concerns, arguments, ideas, perspectives, and ways of thinking seriously. - Processing provided input in policy and decisions.
3. Reasonable debate	- Discussing ideas and arguments during meetings. - Focussing on substance of issues and policy problems during meetings.
4. Transparency	- Receiving and discussing concept (policy) documents. - Receiving information in understandable language. - Receiving information about what has been done with the provided input. - Discussing interests, expectations, concerns, and responsibilities. - Receiving information about the input of stakeholders in other parts of the process.

Table 2.1 shows the conceptualized evaluation criteria corresponding to the four criteria of interactive governance. To obtain a better understanding of how satisfaction is measured, the conceptualisation of the four criteria of interactive governance into the evaluation criteria is explained.

2.4.2 Survey to collect data for multiple regressions

The empirical analysis was based on data collected through an online survey. The survey is meant to measure the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders on each of the evaluation criteria discussed in the previous paragraph. In the survey, stakeholders were

asked to give a grade (1 to 10) for each of the evaluation criteria—which referred to specific parts of a policy process in which stakeholders are involved—based on the four criteria of interactive governance (Table 2.1) to measure the satisfaction of stakeholders. Stakeholders were also asked to give a final grade for how satisfied they were about the involvement process as a whole. To provide stakeholders a clear line between satisfied and dissatisfied, the cut-off point was set at 5.5.

The numerical data gathered through the measurement was used to determine a correlation between the evaluation criteria and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. The assumption according to interactive governance was that dissatisfied stakeholders will give low grades and satisfied stakeholders will assign high grades. A regression analysis determined if there was a positive significant correlation between the evaluation criteria (independent X variables: grade criteria) and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (dependent Y variable: final grade).

2.4.3 Response and non-response

The survey was distributed to all 168 stakeholders who participated in the different forums of the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond. The population consists of citizens, companies, provinces, municipalities, government agencies, NGOs, and other ministries of the Dutch national government. The team within the Dutch Ministry of Infrastructure and Environment that is responsible for the policy process had the e-mail addresses of all stakeholders. The head of the policy process sent the survey to all stakeholders with a description of the research, an explanation regarding the anonymity of survey responses, and the contact information of the researcher for further questions. The population had one month, from 1 June to 1 July of 2015, to fill in the survey. In total, 94 participants completed the questionnaire (57.32%), constituting a nonresponse rate of 74 (42.68%). Two completed questionnaires were removed to protect the validity of the data, because the answers to all questions on these two surveys were identical.

2.5 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE CRITERIA OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

Before moving on to the regression analysis to establish if there was a correlation between the criteria and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders, a factor analysis was conducted. The reasoning for the factor analysis was the expected theoretical correlation between the criteria of interactive governance. For example, within government-induced interactive governance, the government decides when and how stakeholders are involved. Stakeholders do not have any chances to have reasonable debates when meetings are only meant to inform them, which also results in stakeholders lacking influence.

Table 2.2: Description of the factors and the indicators (survey questions)

Factors	Indicators
1. Discussing the interests, expectations, concerns, arguments, ways of thinking and incentives of stakeholders and taking them seriously.	- Discussing interests, expectations, concerns and incentives to take action. - Taking interests, expectations, concerns and incentives to take action seriously. - Taking different perspectives and ways of thinking seriously. - Taking different arguments and ideas seriously. - Focussing on substance during meetings.
2. Sufficient chances within the process to provide input in early stages (i.e., problem definition phase).	- Processing provided input in policy and decisions. - Providing input early in the process (i.e., problem definition phase).
3. Stimulating and facilitating stakeholders to provide input and receiving information about the input of other stakeholders.	- Facilitation and stimulation of participants to provide input. - Receiving information about the input of participants in other parts of the process.
4. Receiving information (in understandable language) and discussing concept documents.	- Receiving and discussing concept (policy) documents. - Receiving information in understandable language.
5. Ability to provide input during meetings.	- The number of situations available to provide input. - Equal opportunities to provide input.
6. The number of meetings to provide input.	- The number of meetings.

The factor analysis resulted in six factors even though the literature of interactive governance distinguishes four criteria (Table 2). The first explanation for this outcome and the reason for some factors corresponding to more than one criterion of interactive governance is the theoretical correlations between the criteria (as described above). The second explanation is the broadness of the four criteria of interactive governance. The criterion transparency, for example, refers to the clarity of expectations and information (documents, decisions, and other parts of the process) alike. In short, the factor analysis took the criterion transparency and split it into two separate criteria (factors 1 and 4 in Table 2.2). The following six factors were derived from the factor analysis:

- Factor 1, discussing interests, expectations, concerns, arguments, ways of thinking, and incentives of stakeholders and taking them seriously corresponds with the criteria transparency, influence, and reasonable debate. Managing expectations through discussing expectations and concerns (transparency), giving arguments and brainstorming ideas (reasonable debate), and having them taken seriously (influence) are aspects that correlate highly. When sharing expectations and concerns, for example, stakeholders also want their expectations and concerns to be taken seriously.
- Factor 2, sufficient chances to provide input early in the process corresponds with the criterion influence. To have influence on policy, stakeholders need to be able to provide input in the early stages when problems are still being defined and their input needs to be processed in decisions being made.
- Factor 3, facilitating stakeholders to provide input and receiving information about the input of other stakeholders corresponds with the criteria equality and transparency. Some stakeholders lack communicative skill to convey their

concerns and interests compared to others in the same process. Facilitating those stakeholders makes it possible to take into account the interests and concerns of stakeholders that are not gifted communicators.

- Factor 4, receiving information (for example, concept policy documents) in understandable language corresponds with the criterion of transparency. Transparency is not only about sharing information, but also about how understandable it is to the public.
- Factors 5 and 6 are related to the criterion equality. Providing enough opportunities (number of meetings, but also chances during meetings) is important to avoid disparities in opportunities stakeholders have to let their voices be heard.

2.6 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE CRITERIA AND THE PROCEDURAL SATISFACTION OF STAKEHOLDERS

Scientific literature about interactive governance assumes that adopting it results in procedural satisfaction among stakeholders. If this assumption is valid, interactive governance can be used to evaluate and improve participatory policy processes. The assumption was tested statistically through a multiple regression analysis by using the data collected in the first part of the survey.

Table 2.3: Results of multiple regression analysis

	B	Beta	Sig.	Pearson	Sig.
(Constant)	6.924		0.000		
Factor 1	0.762	0.618	0.000	0.618	0.000
Factor 2	0.392	0.318	0.000	0.318	0.001
Factor 3	0.499	0.404	0.000	0.404	0.000
Factor 4	0.425	0.345	0.000	0.345	0.000
Factor 5	0.228	0.185	0.000	0.185	0.039
Factor 6	0.238	0.193	0.000	0.193	0.033

First, we have to establish if there is a correlation between the factors and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (Table 2.3). The Pearson correlation coefficients show a significant correlation for the first four factors with a degree of reliability at 99% (sig. < 0.01) and for the last two with a degree of reliability at 95% (sig. < 0.05). Second, we have to establish if the beta coefficient is positive and significantly different than zero. If so, our factors of interactive governance (independent variables X) significantly predict the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (dependent variable Y). For the Structuurvisie Ondergrond, each factor significantly predicts the procedural satisfaction with a degree of reliability of 99% (sig. < 0.01).

The results of the analysis show that there is a significant positive correlation between the factors and the procedural satisfaction of the stakeholder in the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond. However, the strength of the correlation for each factor varies when examining the Pearson coefficient (Table 2.3). Factor 1, which is about being treated seriously and about management of expectations and interests (criteria: influence and transparency), has the strongest correlation with the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. This suggests that stakeholders that participate in a policy process have certain interests they want to accomplish. This does not mean stakeholders expect all their input to be implemented, but it does mean that stakeholders want to be taken seriously. In short, interests need to be discussed, input needs to be implemented where possible, and if not, feedback is necessary on why certain input was not taken into account in the policy process. The correlation for factors 2–4 is moderately strong. Factors 5 and 6 are weakly correlated. These factors are about equal opportunities to provide input and equal treatment between stakeholders (criterion: equality). Stakeholders conveyed in the survey that equality is important, but that total equality is unreachable. Differences in communication skills and the power stakeholders hold simply due to their position in a hierarchy are impossible to neutralize. Stakeholders do find it important that everyone has the ability to provide input and is being heard but accept that true equality is impossible.

To determine the extent to which the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders is explained through the criteria of interactive governance, the *R*-squared is observed. Knowing the extent determines the usefulness of interactive governance for planning practitioners to achieve satisfaction among stakeholders. If the explained variance is relatively low, then most of the satisfaction of stakeholders is determined through other factors unrelated to interactive governance. Knowing the extent also determines the usefulness of interactive governance as an analytical tool to evaluate planning processes where stakeholders are involved. Examining the *R*-squared reveals that 83.6% of the procedural satisfaction is explained by the criteria of interactive governance. This means that, for the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond, 16.4% of the satisfaction of stakeholders is explained through factors unrelated to interactive governance.

2.7 PROCEDURAL SATISFACTION FOR THE STAKEHOLDER PROCESS OF THE STRUCTUURVISIE ONDERGROND

Within the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond, interactive governance plays a significant positive role in determining the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. This means that improvements based on interactive governance will actually increase the degree of procedural satisfaction. To illustrate how the methodology of this research

can serve to evaluate and improve stakeholder processes, the results for the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond are outlined.

Table 2.4: Procedural satisfaction of stakeholders for the policy process of the Structuurvisie Underground

Indicators	Average	Indicators	Average
Discussing concerns	6.95	Providing problem definitions	7.46
Taking concerns seriously	6.94	Providing problem definitions early	7.36
Discussing interests	6.95	Allowing process input in documents	6.88
Taking interests seriously	6.94	Number of meetings	6.85
Discussing expectations	6.91	Opportunities for stakeholders to provide input	7.58
Taking expectations seriously	6.91	Equal opportunities to provide input	7.47
Discussing responsibilities	6.81	Stimulating stakeholders to provide input	7.21
Taking responsibilities seriously	7.09	Information provided in understandable language	7.25
Focusing on substance	7.21	Information about provided input	6.37
Taking different perspectives seriously	7.15	Information about input provided by others	6.31
Taking ideas and arguments seriously	7.03	Discussing concept documents	6.86
		Final grade	6.97

The first part of the survey determines the satisfaction of stakeholders relating to different parts of a process based on interactive governance. By asking stakeholders to assign a grade for each aspect of the process, one can gain an overall sense of the degree of participants' satisfaction. This provides insight into which parts of the process need attention. Stakeholders gave the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond an average final grade of 6.97 out of 10 (Table 2.4). The average grades for each of the different aspects of interactive governance diverge from the average final grade with a deviation of approximately 0.5. At first glance, a legitimate conclusion based on the final grade would be that stakeholders are satisfied with the process. It would also be legitimate to conclude that a relatively small number of aspects of the process need attention and improvement based on the low deviation from the final grade. But this interpretation bears a problem. The difference between a 6 and a 7, for example, does not mean that the stakeholder who gave the lower score is less satisfied, because she or he may interpret the grades with a more critical lens. Also, when a participant grades the process with an 8 or higher, she or he can still think the process should be improved. Stakeholders may hold the process to different standards. Measuring only the stakeholders' satisfaction in the form of grades, therefore, is not enough. Determining which improvements stakeholders would like to see gives meaning and body to the grades. To illustrate this premise, the results of the second part of the survey are examined.

Table 2.5: Most desirable improvements as suggested by stakeholders

Criteria	Percentage	Most desirable improvements
Transparency (information)	78.3	**Stakeholders who think the process needs to improve in this aspect.**
	49.0	- Receiving a mail or newsletter periodically.
	37.0	- Gaining access to documents so the development of the policy process can be closely followed.
	32.0	- Receiving information about the input other participants provided.
Transparency (expectations)	72.8	**Stakeholders who think the process needs to improve in this aspect.**
	38.0	- Discussing each other's interests more often.
	34.8	- Discussing each other's incentives to take action more often.
	33.7	- Discussing each other's concerns more often.
	25.0	- Discussing each other's responsibilities more often.
Influence	72.8	**Stakeholders who think the process needs to improve in this aspect.**
	26.1	- Reaching requirements in the policy and the process.
	21.7	- Getting invited to other meetings in the process.
Reasonable debate	63.0	**Stakeholders who think the process needs to improve in this aspect.**
	22.8	- Being better informed about documents and decisions.
	22.8	- Making different views visible.
	33.7	- Searching for similarities during discussions and debates.
Equality	38.0	**Stakeholders who think the process needs to improve in this aspect.**
	15.2	- Being offered more opportunities and time for discussion and conversation.

To determine if stakeholders' grades translate to their level of satisfaction, the percentage of stakeholders who think the process needs to be improved is examined. Even though the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond received an average final grade of 6.97 out of 10, a relatively high percentage of stakeholders think that the process needs to be improved (Table 2.5). The percentages range from 63-78%, with the exception of the criterion equality. It is possible that equality is not viewed as important for stakeholders' satisfaction as the other criteria. The criterion equality shows the weakest correlation compared to the other criteria of interactive governance (Table 2.4). This means that equality influences stakeholders' satisfaction level the least. It is also possible that stakeholders are mostly satisfied with the equality of opportunities and the treatment they receive.

Most stakeholders think the process can be improved upon in terms of influence, reasonable debate, and transparency. However, this result does not provide any concrete ideas for the actual improvement efforts. Quantitative research is suitable for determining how most stakeholders think the process could be improved because it is easier to reach a large number of stakeholders in the process. When stakeholders' suggestions for improvements of the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond are combined with the results of the statistical analysis, we can proceed to determine if an improvement will actually lead to a rise in satisfaction levels. The statistical analysis has demonstrated that the criteria of interactive governance play a positive role in the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This article explored the statistical relationship between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders involved in a policy process. It tested the assumption that there is a positive correlation between the criteria of interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in a process. To test the assumption, four criteria of interactive governance were formulated, namely, *equality*, *influence*, *reasonable debate*, and *transparency*, and these were used as independent variables.

This article provided new quantitative insights into the relation between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in a process. It can be concluded that the four criteria of interactive governance play a statistically positive role in the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond. The criteria and methods used to test the assumption highlight the usefulness of interactive governance in different ways.

This research has shown how the criteria of interactive governance can be used as an analytical tool for quantitative research and compliment qualitative findings. As mentioned above, most research on governance uses a qualitative case study design. Using quantitative statistical research, however, provides a new perspective on the usefulness of governance approaches. Laurens de Graaf (2007), for example, tested the assumption that interactive governance leads to procedural support among stakeholders through qualitative case study research. But the research did not provide insight into, for example, the extent to which each aspect of interactive governance plays a role in stakeholders' satisfaction. The quantitative statistical approach introduced in this article tested the same assumption but unveiled new insights. These new insights further help us to understand how and to what extent interactive governance plays a role in procedural support among stakeholders.

This research has also shown that the criteria of interactive governance are highly suitable for quantitative methods for comparative and longitudinal research. The survey method constructed from the criteria is easily replicable for data collection and has highly standardized procedures for analysis (factor and regression analyses). Such methods help in tackling the lack of external validity of interactive governance literature through finding general patterns.

The method introduced in this article is not only useful for scientific data collection but also for planning practitioners. The criteria of interactive governance can be used to measure the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in policy processes. The results can be used to determine how much the criteria correlate with their satisfaction through a regression analysis. This gives planners insight into how effective their process design and management are in achieving consensus and support among stakeholders. It also gives insight into which aspects of the process need improvement to reach (higher) procedural satisfaction.

The criteria used to measure satisfaction are also useful for process management to avoid mistakes made in past policy processes for underground planning. Past processes for CCS and shale gas in the Netherlands failed because stakeholders were not involved early enough and lacked influence in the decision-making. Another reason for the failure was that the government did not take the perspectives of local stakeholders seriously or address concerns. Mistakes like these can be avoided through process management guidelines. Such guidelines are necessary because interactive governance does not automatically lead to successful implementation of policy. Process management is necessary to make use of the potential benefits interactive governance provides, such as consensus for implementation and managing wicked problems.

The results outlined in this article raise new research questions. First, this article shows a positive correlation between interactive governance and the satisfaction of stakeholders in a policy process related to underground planning. Whether the same correlation can be found in stakeholder processes unrelated to policy and the underground is still unclear. To obtain a better understanding of the role of interactive governance in the satisfaction of stakeholders, further (quantitative) research needs to be conducted. Second, the four criteria play a role in the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond by 83.6%. This means that 16.4% of the satisfaction of stakeholders is explained through other factors. This percentage may differ across different stakeholder processes, but it still means that the four criteria of interactive governance are not all-encompassing. Research needs to be conducted to determine what other criteria play a role in the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. Third, this article focuses on procedural satisfaction and not content satisfaction. Even though the four criteria of interactive governance may also correlate positively with the content satisfaction of stakeholders, this was not tested in this article. Further (quantitative) research needs to be conducted to gain more insight into this matter.

REFERENCES

Admiraal, H. and A. Cornaro. 2016. Why underground space should be included in urban planning policy—And how this will enhance an urban underground future. Tunneling and Underground Space Technology 55: pp.241-220.

Bloomfield, K.K., J.N. Moore and R.M. Neilson. 2003. Geothermal energy reduces greenhouse gases. Geothermal Resources Council 32(2): pp.77-79.

Billé, R. 2008. Integrated coastal zone management: Four entrenched illusions. Surveys and Perspectives Integrating Environment and Society 1(2): pp.75-86.

Brown, H. 2011. Eco-logical principles for next-generation infrastructure. The Bridge 41(1): pp.19–26.

Brunsting, S., M. de Best-Waldhober, C.F.J. Feenstra and T. Mikunda. 2011. Stakeholder participation practices and onshore CCS: Lessons from the Dutch case Barendrecht. Energy Procedia 4: pp.6376-6383.

Buuren, van, P.J.J., A.A. de Gier, A.G.A. Nijmeijer and J. Robbe. 2008. Van WRO naar Wro. The Hague: IBR instituut voor bouwrecht.

Buuren, van, P.J.J., A.A. de Gier, A.G.A. Nijmeijer and J. Robbe. 2010. Hoofdlijnen ruimtelijke bestuursrecht. Deventer: Kluwer.

Cornaro, A. and H. Admiraal. 2012. Changing world—major challenges: The need for underground space planning. In: Proceedings 48th ISOCARP Congress, Perm. International Society of City and Regional Planners, The Hague.

Cuppen, E., U. Pesch, S. Remmerswaal and M. Taanman. 2016. Normative diversity, conflict and transition: Shale gas in the Netherlands. Technological Forecasting & Social Change 145(2019): pp.165-175.

Eisenhardt, M.K. 1991. Better stories and better constructs: The case for rigor and comparative logic. Academy of Management Review 16(3): pp.620-627.

Edelenbos, J. 2000. Proces in vorm: Procesbegeleiding van interactieve beleidsvorming over lokale ruimtelijke projecten. Utrecht: Uitgeverij Lemma BV.

Edelenbos, J. 2005. Institutional implications of interactive governance: Insights from Dutch practice. Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions 18(1): pp.111-134.

Edelenbos, J. and E.-H. Klijn. 2006. Managing stakeholder involvement in decision-making: A comparative analysis of six interactive processes in the Netherlands. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 16: pp.417-446.

Edelenbos, J. and I. van Meerkerk. 2016. Critical reflections on interactive governance: Self-organization and participation in public governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Graaf, de, L. 2007. Gedragen beleid: Een bestuurskundig onderzoek naar interactief beleid en draagvlak in de stad Utrecht. Delft: Eburon.

Hoon, C. 2013. Meta-synthesis of qualitative case studies: An approach to theory building. Organizational Research Methods 16(4): pp.522-556.

Ianniello, M., S. Iacuzzi, P. Fedele and L. Brusati. 2018. Obstacles and solutions on the ladder of citizen participation: A systematic review. Public Management Review 21(1): pp.21-46.

Irvin, R.A. and J. Stansbury. 2004. Citizen participation in decision-making: Is it worth the effort? Public Administration Review 64(1): pp.55-65.

Kooiman, J. (eds). 1993. Modern governance: New government-society interactions. London: Sage.

Koppenjan, J. and E.-H. Klijn. 2004. Managing uncertainties in networks. London: Routledge.

Marcussen, M. and J. Torfing (eds). 2007. Democratic network governance in Europe. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu. 2012. Communicatie- en participatieplan Structuurvisie Ondergrond. The Hague: Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu.

Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu. 2016. Ontwerp Structuurvisie Ondergrond. The Hague: Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu.

Mohan, G. and K. Stokke. 2000. Participatory development and empowerment: The dangers of localism. Third World Quarterly 21(2): pp.247-268.

Rittel, W.J.H. and M.M. Webber. 1973. Dilemmas in general theory of planning. Policy Sciences 4: pp.155-169

Rowe, G., T. Horlick-Jones, J. Walls, W. Poortinga and N.F. Pidgeon. 2008. Analysis of a normative framework for evaluating public engagement exercises: Reliability, validity and limitations. Public Understanding of Science 17: pp.419-441.

Sørensen, E. and J. Torfing (eds). 2007. Theories of democratic network governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Smith, G. 2009. Democratic innovations: Designing institutions for citizen participation. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Swyngedouw, E. 2005. Governance innovation and the citizen: The Janus face of governance-beyond-the-state. Urban Studies 42(11): pp.1991-2006.

Teisman, G., J. Edelenbos, E.-H. Klijn and J. Verbart. 2001. Ruimtelijke ontwikkelingsprocessen. In: Teisman, Geert. 2001. Besluitvorming en ruimtelijke procesmanagement. Studie naar eigenschappen van ruimtelijke besluitvorming die realisatie van meervoudig ruimtegebruik remmen of bevorderen. Delft: Eburon

Torfing, J., B.G. Peters, J. Pierre and E. Sorensen. 2012. Interactive governance: Advancing the Paradigm. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weber, P.E. and A.M. Khademian. 2008. Wicked problems, knowledge challenges, and collaborative capacity builders in network settings. Public Administration Review 68(2): pp.334-349.

Chapter 3

Interactive governance for satisfaction measurements: stakeholder involvement in design processes for flood risk management

Ehsan Nouzari
Thomas Hartmann
Tejo Spit

ABSTRACT

The European Flood Directive (FD) shifted water management policy from flood protection to flood risk management. To facilitate the shift, a new instrument was introduced called the flood risk management plan. According to the FD, a flood risk management plan shall first take into account relevant aspects from water management, nature conservation, land use, spatial planning, navigation, and port infrastructure. Second, the flood risk management plan will be coordinated at the river basin level. This changes the spatial scope of water management compared to (old) flood protection approach and affects a broader group of stakeholder interests, namely landowners behind dikes. As a result, water management has to introduce a governance approach that facilitates stakeholder involvement where different spatial interests are balanced, bargained and negotiated. Academic governance literature consists mostly of qualitative case studies, because of their complex nature. As a result, most governance literature operates on assumptions that make it difficult to formulate governance strategies that work based on general patterns. To contribute towards scientific methodologies for comparative research a quantitative method was developed to measure satisfaction in a stakeholder process. The method first provides new insights on the relation between interactive governance processes and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. Second, it provides insights that help to improve interactive governance in terms of managing a stakeholder process in such a way that greater procedural satisfaction can be achieved.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As a reaction to the floods that have occurred in recent decades the European Union (EU) released the Flood Directive (FD). The flood events of the Rhine in 1993 and 1995 caused a rethinking process about strategies for water management; this was further fuelled by the flooding of the River Oder in 1997 and the Danube and Elbe in 2002 (Dworak & Gorlach, 2005; Hartmann & Juepner, 2014; Warner et al., 2013). The rethinking process ultimately led the EU to affirm a position that a more comprehensive way of flood risk management was required compared to the primarily used strategy of flood protection (i.e., building dikes). Management of flood risk is necessary, as stated in the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), because the risk of flood events increases as a result of the "straightening of rivers, settlement of natural floodplains and land uses that accelerate water runoff in rivers catchment areas" (ESDP, 1999: Article 319). To reinforce the claim of more comprehensive flood risk management the FD introduced a new instrument for water management, namely the flood risk management plan (FD, 2007: Article 7 IV). Flood risk management plans have to firstly be coordinated at "the level of the river basin district" and secondly "take into account relevant aspects from water management, spatial planning, land use, nature conservation, navigation and port infrastructure" (FD, 2007: Article 7 I and III). This means that the shift from flood protection ("battle against the water") towards flood risk management ("accommodating water") that was ongoing already for a long time in Europe and abroad (see Warner et al., 2013; Wiering & Immink, 2006) is now institutionalised.

The shift from flood protection to flood risk management as formulated in de FD means that water management needs to take into account the area behind the dikes, manage the entire basin of rivers and have to work with other sectors (FD, 2007: Article 6 III; Hartmann & Driessen, 2013; Hartmann & Juepner, 2014; Klijn, Samuels, & van Os, 2008). This changes the spatial scope of water management compared to (old) flood protection approach and affects a broader group of stakeholder interests, namely landowners behind dikes (FD, 2007: Article 10 II). As a result, flood risk management has to facilitate stakeholder involvement where different spatial interests are balanced, bargained and negotiated (Assmann, 2001; Hartmann & Juepner, 2014; Heiland, 2002; Moss, 2009; Roth & Warner, 2007; Tempels & Hartmann, 2014). The FD, however, does not specifically describe how to arrange a process to implement the FD where stakeholders are involved. This means that drafting and implementing a flood risk management plan is dependent of how governments interpret and specify the FD (Albrecht, 2007; Hartmann & Spit, 2015; Reinhardt, 2008).

One of the ways in which governments can implement the FD is through interactive governance. Concepts like interactive governance provide guiding principles or dimensions to facilitate stakeholder involvement for the purposes of "good" water governance (Ingram, 2011; Schulz et al, 2017), but also provide benefits like support among

stakeholders to avoid legal action against implementation (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Kooiman, 1993). Studies have shown that stakeholder management to create support through satisfaction is essential for the implementation of different types of projects (Achterkamp & Vos, 2008; Littau et al, 2010). Within literature the benefits of interactive governance, for example creating support, are often taken for granted. Some contributions examine interactive governance from a more critical perspective (Ianniello et al, 2018; Mohan & Stokke, 2000; Swyngedouw, 2005). Ianniello et al. (2018) performed a systematic literature analysis to determine how benefits of interactive governance described in literature can be achieved and which obstacles need to be overcome. They concluded that some of the benefits were found in the analysed empirical literature. However, evidence that the use of interactive governance leads to effective (through alignment of resources) and efficient (through stakeholder support) decision-making remains small. One of the recommendations for future research is constructing and using evaluation criteria in standardised quantitative research for data collection. Such research is largely absent, which hinders systematic evaluation and generalisation of findings (Eisenhardt, 1991; Hoon, 2013; Ianniello et al., 2018; Rowe et al, 2008).

The twofold aim of this article is based upon the recommendations of Ianniello et al. (2018) for further research. First, evaluation criteria are constructed based on interactive governance literature to measure satisfaction of stakeholders. One of the benefits of interactive governance is reaching stakeholder satisfaction for the implementation of spatial plans. Second, the evaluation criteria are used to measure stakeholder satisfaction through a standardised quantitative method. Satisfaction is measured in the Flood Protection Programme in the Dutch province of Limburg. The empirical data gathered through the measurement is used to explore a correlation between the evaluation criteria based on interactive governance and the satisfaction of stakeholders. Within interactive governance literature the assumption is made that procedural satisfaction of stakeholders will increase the more interactively they are involved. The research question of this article is as follows: *Do the four criteria of interactive governance correlate positively with the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the Flood Protection Programme Limburg?*

3.2 THE CRITERIA OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

Interactive governance is a concept to govern society with the definition making clear what is governed and how, namely (Ansell & Torfing, 2016; Torfing et al., 2012, pp.2–3): *"the complex process through which a plurality of social and political actors with diverging interests interact in order to formulate, promote, and achieve common objectives by means of mobilizing, exchanging, and deploying a range of ideas, rules, and resources."* The FD mandates waterboards within the Netherlands to use government-induced interactive governance for flood risk management. Within this form, the government is the initiator

of a planning process and decides which, when and how stakeholders are involved. At certain points in the process possibilities are given to stakeholders to provide input for plans and decision-making through participation procedures (Edelenbos, 2005; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). Government-induced interactive governance is mainly used as an instrument to solve issues effectively and efficiently. It is used to align resources (knowledge, financial means, support) scattered among stakeholder by involving them in a process (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). It is also used as a mediation tool to efficiently implement plans by creating support through stakeholder satisfaction. By creating support through satisfaction, stakeholders are discouraged to use resources to stop implementation for example through legal action (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Kooiman, 1993). As such, the use of government-induced interactive governance falls within the mandated participatory planning (MPP) approach to formulate plans and implement policy on, for example, a subnational level. The respective level of government determines the policy issue, in turn formulating measures and monitoring programmes to realise certain objectives of a directive, like the FD, through stakeholder involvement (Newig & Koontz, 2014).

To operationalise interactive governance to a measurement method for the purposes of answering the research question, interactive governance needs to be defined more thoroughly. Further narrowing the scope of this research is also important to inform researchers and practitioners how widely usable the introduced method is. To operationalise interactive governance into evaluation criteria the four criteria outlined by Edelenbos (2000) are used, namely transparency, equality reasonable debate and influence. The criteria of Edelenbos (2000) are complemented with the criteria of democratic innovation by Smith (2009). The criteria of Smith were used to update the outdated criteria of Edelenbos, because of the strong theoretical correlation between both sets of criteria. The criteria were combined into the following four criteria:

- Equality is about minimizing the inequalities between stakeholders in terms of two aspects. First is *presence*, which is about equal involvement and access to a process for stakeholders. Possibilities need to exist for stakeholders to be involved in the process regardless of background, interest and position. Second is *voice*—this is about equal possibilities for stakeholders to be heard and that there is no difference in the level of influence different actors have with the input they provide. Total equality within a stakeholder process is impossible, but the intent should be to minimize inequality where possible.
- Influence is about the amount of power stakeholders have on a process and its content. To have influence, the input of stakeholders in the form of views, concerns and ideas needs to be taken into account in the decision-making. There are two ways stakeholders can have influence on in a process. First, by giving them decision-making capabilities. Second, by using their input for decisions and/or (policy) documents.

- Reasonable debate concerns conversations between stakeholders who are open and appreciative of each other's perspectives and perceptions. It is through the receptivity of stakeholders that solutions and problem definitions are explored. Stakeholders try to convince each other through reason and fairness and not through resources and positions of power.
- Transparency is about the openness of sharing information and expectations. Sharing information in terms of content and procedure is necessary for stakeholders to define problems and search for solutions. Being open about expectations is important, because expectations of stakeholders can often be high. Not meeting those expectations can result in disappointment and low support for decisions made.

A more detailed description of the four criteria of interactive governance can be found in Nouzari et al. (2019). Evaluation criteria are derived from the four criteria described above, and from there the assumption of a correlation with the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders is explored. Procedural satisfaction in this research is defined as: the satisfaction of stakeholders for the process they participate in (de Graaf, 2007).[1]

3.3 CASE STUDY: FLOOD RISK MANAGEMENT IN THE DUTCH PROVINCE OF LIMBURG

On the first of January 2017 new water safety standards have been adopted into the Waterwet. The Waterwet is Dutch legislation regarding the management of water systems in the Netherlands. The legislation aims at limiting or preventing flooding and water scarcity, but also aims at improving the quality of water systems for societal use. New safety standards have been adopted, because of three reasons, namely: (a) increase in population, (b) higher economic value behind the dikes, and (c) wishes to integrate dike reinforcement within the landscape of an area (Rijkswaterstaat, 2020ab). Primary dikes that do not meet the new safety standards have to be reinforced and are adopted within the Hoogwaterbeschermingsprogramma (Flood Protection Programme). This programme finances all reinforcement projects of primary dikes that are seen as necessary for Dutch national water safety. The goal is to have every primary dike in the Netherlands meet the new safety standards set in the Waterwet (Rijkswaterstaat, 2020b). These dike reinforcements are implemented by waterboards, a governmental organisation responsible for the water management in a certain regional area to provide enough and clean water, but also ensure water safety (Rijksoverheid, 2020).

Waterboard Limburg aspires to have 14 dike sections reinforced in conformity with

1 Other concepts related to stakeholder satisfaction like legitimacy and accountability are important, but are not discussed herein. The focus of this study is on finding a statistical relationship between stakeholder satisfaction and interactive governance.

the new standards and certain parts of the river expanded in 2020. Making designs to reinforce the dikes and expand the river at certain sections is being done in a stakeholder process in which business owners, citizens, NGO's, municipalities and the province of Limburg are involved. These stakeholders are involved in design workshops, citizens meetings, one-on-one meetings and through different media outlets like Facebook and newsletters through which people get informed. Without the stakeholder process, Waterboard Limburg may never reach support to realise their ambitions, because of protests, negative media and legal action that might result in court cases to stop the realisation of higher dikes (Waterschap Limburg, 2016).

3.4 METHODOLOGY

The research question is answered by measuring procedural satisfaction through a standardised quantitative method based on the conceptualised evaluation criteria of interactive governance. The data collected is used in a multiple regression analysis to establish a positive correlation between the criteria of interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. This study elaborates the research methods used (data collection and -analysis) and choices made.

3.4.1 Conceptualizing evaluation criteria of interactive governance into a survey

Within government-induced interactive governance the involvement of stakeholders is used as an instrument for the creation of satisfaction among stakeholders. It is this participatory process that stakeholders can show their satisfaction for and that they can be questioned about. As such it is fitting to conceptualise process management criteria based on interactive governance to measure procedural satisfaction.

Table 3.1: Conceptualized criteria based on interactive governance

Criteria of interactive governance	Conceptualized evaluation criteria
Equality	- Number of meetings - Equal opportunity to provide input - Possibilities during meetings to provide input
Influence	- Providing input in the early stages of the process (problem definition and solution exploration phase) - Taking ideas, arguments, interests, concerns and expectations seriously
Reasonable debate	- Possibilities to provide input for conceptual dike variants - Focus on the substance of problems, solutions and conceptual documents during meetings (for example dike variants)
Transparency	- Receiving information in understandable language - Receiving information about what has been done with the provided input of stakeholders - Periodically receiving information about progress made (updates about conversations with other stakeholders and possible dike variants) - Discussing expectations, interests and concerns

The conceptualisation from the four criteria of interactive governance into evaluation criteria and survey questions is based on the research of Boedeltje (2009), Edelenbos et al. (2010) and Klijn & Edelenbos (2012). These contributions also conceptualized governance concepts into survey questions to establish a correlation between independent and dependent variables through a regression analysis. The conceptualisation is explained below (Table 3.1 and appendix):

1. *Equality* is about equal possibilities for stakeholders to access the process (presence) and to be heard during participation procedures (voice). Satisfaction about presence is not measured in this research as it falls outside the scope. Governmental agencies like waterboards that use government-induced interactive governance decide which stakeholders are involved. Stakeholders cannot convey how satisfied they are about equality of access when they did not decide the selection criteria that were used for their involvement. Satisfaction about equality of voice however is measured through certain aspects. The first aspect is the number of possibilities to provide input. Dependent on their communicative skills and interests, stakeholders can be satisfied by attending one meeting while others require more. The second aspect is equal possibilities during meetings to speak and provide input. Discussions become dominated by certain interests and perspectives when some stakeholders get more possibilities to speak compared to others that are involved. Such meetings become more valuable for stakeholders that are more vocal than stakeholders that are not.
2. Influence: Within government-induced interactive governance stakeholders are asked to provide input, with no guarantee that their input will affect decision-making (Edelenbos, 2005; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). Influence on the decision-making is only achieved when the government chooses to use the input provided by stakeholders. As a result, stakeholders influence decision-making through certain steps. The first step is having possibilities to provide input. Within government-induced interactive governance, participation procedures that provide such possibilities are for example citizen panels or advisory boards. The government can only take the input of stakeholders into account when they provide input. The second step is that the government takes the involved stakeholders seriously or their provided input will be neglected at the decision-making. The third and final step is processing the provided input in decisions, plans and policy. Aside from decision-making, stakeholders can also influence plans in the problem definition phase of a process. This requires stakeholders to have possibilities to provide input early during the formulation of issues before the process starts of planning to tackle those problems.
3. Reasonable debate: Government-induced interactive governance is an instrument to realign resources (for example financial means or knowledge) through the involvement of interdependent stakeholders for the purposes of solving societal issues. As a result, there need to be opportunities to discuss issues and solutions during the process. During these discussions, stakeholders use the quality of their arguments to convince each other. To facilitate such discussions the stakeholder process needs to provide possibilities to discuss possible plans, problems and solutions, aside from moments where interests and concerns are the main topics.
4. Transparency refers to the openness between stakeholders to share information. Openness is achieved in three ways. First, through stakeholders sharing interests, expectations and concerns. To create satisfaction, the government(agency) needs to know what interests need to be taken into account at decision-making. Aside from interests, expectations are shared about the influence of stakeholders on the decision-making. Within government-induced interactive governance the government(agency) decides if the provided input of stakeholders is taken into account. High expectations about the influence stakeholders have on decision-making are difficult to meet and result in dissatisfaction. Second, the government needs to share information about if and how the provided input of stakeholders has been taken into account. When stakeholders are asked to participate, they expect to at least know what has been done with their provided input, even if it was not taken into account. Third, information about provided input of other stakeholders and concept documents needs to be shared to keep stakeholders updated about developments. Stakeholders need to know where plans are heading to not be surprised when decisions are made. Surprises about decisions can easily lead to accusations of tokenism and backdoor politics resulting in low levels of satisfaction. When information, like concept documents, is shared, the understandability of such information is important. Technical terms and bureaucratic language can make information difficult to understand lowering the transparency of a process.

One extra question was added unrelated to interactive governance literature, namely how satisfied stakeholders are about the speed of the stakeholder and design process. This empirically driven aspect was added, because one of the most important needs observed among stakeholders is to get concrete information about how the plans and designs would affect them. Not knowing how the future plans would look like caused uncertainty among for example citizens, because there are some scenarios that would force people to move out their homes and live somewhere else. Some small business could also be affected.

3.4.2 Survey data for multiple regression

The survey was constructed in such a way that the resulting data would be suitable for a multiple regression analysis to test the assumption. Stakeholders were asked to convey their procedural satisfaction by giving a grade between 1 and 10 for each conceptualised evaluation criterion that refers to specific parts of the process (Table 3.1). Stakeholders also gave a final grade that represented their satisfaction for the process as a whole. A 10-point scale is used, with the cut-off point between satisfied and dissatisfied being a 5.5, it is the most commonly used grading system in the Netherlands, making it very intuitive for people and yielding the most reliable research data.[2]

The assumption made in governance literature is that stakeholders will be satisfied with the process they are involved in when that same process is in line with the criteria of interactive governance. A regression analysis based on the data gathered determines if there is a significant positive correlation between the evaluation criteria (independent variables: grades evaluation criteria) and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (dependent variable: final grade).

3.4.3 Survey response

To test the assumption data has been gathered through a survey in two different ways to maximise the response. The first batch, consisting of 120 hardcopy surveys, were gathered through stakeholder meetings from June till December 2017. There was not a list of e-mail addresses of the people attending these meetings, because of the open invitation. Hardcopy surveys were used to include this group of stakeholders in the research. The second batch, consisting of 135 surveys (response: 15.03%), were gathered in October till December 2017 through an online survey through 898 mail addresses that were provided by the Waterboard Limburg. Both batches make a total N of 255. The response of the survey during stakeholder meetings cannot be established, because of the open invitation, making it difficult to determine the group size. Part of the online survey group also attended the stakeholder meetings, resulting in some stakeholders contributing to the non-response of the online survey, but compensating that by filling in the hardcopy survey during meetings. This makes determining the percentage of (non-) response difficult. The population consists of governments (municipalities and province: 8%), citizens (82%), interest groups (14%), business owner (19%) and NGO's (8%).[3]

2 The scales used can be changed to whatever scale the researcher or planning practitioner finds most suitable. It can for example be changed to a Likert scale if that is more intuitive for stakeholders within that country resulting in a more effective measurement. Even when the scale to measure the satisfaction of stakeholders is changed the data can still be used in a regression analysis.

3 The total percentage of all stakeholder groups combined is above 100%, because some stakeholders identify with multiple types, for example, a citizen who is also a small business owner in the area.

3.5 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE CRITERIA OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

Prior to the regression analysis a factor analysis is conducted to determine the mutual correlation between the evaluation criteria. The factor analysis is used, because the four criteria of interactive governance correlate with each other theoretically. For example, it is difficult for stakeholders to exert influence when they do not have access to the planning process and have no opportunities to let their voices be heard, which would fall under the criterion of equality. Or when stakeholders are able to participate in meetings, but those meetings are only meant to inform the public (which means a lack of influence), there will not be possibilities for stakeholders to have reasonable debates. The expectation is that the theoretical correlation will translate to a statistical correlation between the evaluation criteria distinguished from the four criteria of interactive governance.

Table 3.2: Factors and corresponding indicators (evaluation criteria)[4]

Factors	Indicators
1. Discussing the interests, expectation, concerns, ideas and arguments and taking them seriously.	- Taking interests, concerns, expectations ideas and arguments seriously. - Discussing expectations.
2. Receiving understandable information about progress made, conceptual documents, input stakeholders, etc.	- Discussing and receiving information about conceptual dike variants. - Receiving information in understandable language. - Receiving information about what has been done with the provided input of stakeholders. - Periodically receiving information about progress made (updates). - The speed of the process.
3. Possibilities during meeting to provide input.	- Possibilities to provide input for the conceptual dike variants. - Possibilities during meetings to provide input. - Equal opportunities to provide input.
Indicators spread among other factors.	- Number of meetings. - Focus on the substance of the conceptual dike variants. - Discussing interests and concerns. - Provide input early in the process (i.e., problem definition and solution exploration phase).

As such, an oblique rotation (direct oblimin) is used with the Kaiser's criterion, because we theoretically expect the factors to correlate. The rotation resulted in three factors that correspond largely with the four criteria of interactive governance (Table 3.2):

- Factor 1: discussing the interests, expectations, concerns, ideas and arguments and taking them seriously falls under the criteria of transparency, influence

4 Indicators refer to the conceptualisation of the criteria of interactive governance, which are used to formulate specific survey questions to gather empirical data. The factor analysis uses these indicators to establish which ones measure the same concept (i.e., criteria of interactive governance) to establish factors.

and reasonable debate. Openness to share and discuss expectations, concerns and interests (transparency), pitching ideas and giving arguments (reasonable debate) and having the input taken seriously (influence) correlate highly with each other. Within government-induced interactive governance the government determines if the provided input will be taken into account. The only way to have influence is by discussing ideas (reasonable debate), sharing concerns and expectations and (transparency) and having the government taking the provided input seriously;

- Factor 2: receiving understandable information about progress made (plans and process) and what has been done with the provided input, falls under the criterion transparency. At the bare minimum stakeholders expect to know what has been done with their input when they are asked to provide it within participation procedures. Aside from information about provided input, stakeholders want to be kept updated to not be surprised about decisions made, but also to ensure the government does not make decisions behind their backs without knowing;
- Factor 3: possibilities during meetings to provide input equally, falls under the criterion equality. Providing access and enough possibilities is needed to have equal possibilities among stakeholder to provide input and let their voices be heard.

3.6 IMPACT OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE ON PROCEDURAL SATISFACTION

The assumption of interactive governance literature is that adopting the four criteria in a stakeholder process results in procedural satisfaction. A regression analyses can determine if there is a positive correlation between the evaluation criteria based on interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. When a correlation is found, the evaluation criteria can be used to evaluate and improve stakeholder processes.

Table 3.3: Multiple regression analysis results (dependent variable: procedural satisfaction)

	B	Beta	Sig.	Pearson	Sig.
(Constant)	6.617		0.000		
Factor 1	0.486	0.404	0.000	0.835	0.000
Factor 2	0.312	0.260	0.000	0.708	0.000
Factor 3	0.492	0.410	0.000	0.836	0.000

The results of the regression analysis are shown in Table 3.3. Examining the Pearson coefficients reveals a significant correlation for all three factors with a reliability of 99% (Sig. < .01). The strength of the correlations varies minimally between .708 and .836. Examining the Beta coefficients reveals the correlations being positive and that all three factors (independent variables) predict the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (dependent variable), also with a reliability of 99%.

The R-square is observed to determine the extent the evaluation criteria explain the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. The R-square reveals that 86.4% of the procedural satisfaction is explained through the evaluation criteria. The relatively high explained variance means that most of the procedural satisfaction is determined through the evaluation criteria. At the same time, 13.6% of the procedural satisfaction is explained through criteria or factors that are unknown.

3.7 EVALUATING THE STAKEHOLDER PROCESS THROUGH INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

Aside from finding a correlation between the evaluation criteria and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders, the methodology of this research was also used to evaluate the stakeholder process of the Flood Protection Programme Limburg. The purpose of the evaluation is to determine which parts of the process stakeholders are satisfied and less satisfied about. By getting a picture of the satisfaction of stakeholders for specific parts of the process and therefore parts that need attention, improvements can be made to increase the effectiveness of the process.

Table 3.4: Procedural satisfaction of stakeholders based on 255 surveys

Indicators interactive governance	Average	Indicators interactive governance	Average
Possibilities to provide input	7,31	Providing input for possible dike variants early	6,57
Equal opportunities to provide input	7,16	Discussing expectations	6,55
Discussing concerns	6,88	Discussing concept dike variants	6,54
Possibilities to provide input for possible dike variants	6,87	Taking ideas and arguments seriously	6,54
Number of stakeholder meetings	6,86	Taking expectations seriously	6,43
Discussing interests	6,82	Receiving information periodically about possible dike variants	6,31
Receiving information in understandable language	6,79	Receiving information about input provided by others	6,24
Taking concerns seriously	6,65	Speed of the process	6,19
Focus on the possible dike variants	6,64	Receiving information about what has been done with provided input	6,13
Taking interests seriously	6,60	Final grade	6,58

Stakeholders involved in the Flood Protection Programme Limburg give the process an average final grade of 6.58 out of 10 (Table 3.4). All aspects of the process deviate an average of 0.7 from the final average. Not a single aspect got an average grade of lower than a 6, meaning that stakeholders are on average satisfied about the process. As mentioned before, the cut-off point between satisfied and dissatisfied is a 5.5, which was also mentioned in the survey. When examining the individual aspects of the process the following results are established:

- The possibilities and equal opportunities to provide input scores an average grade between a 6.9 and 7.3. Stakeholders are most satisfied about possibilities to let their voices be heard.
- The possibilities during stakeholder meetings to discuss interests, concerns, expectations, ideas and arguments scores an average grade between a 6.4 and 6.9. Stakeholders are most satisfied with the possibilities to discuss such topics during meetings.
- The possibilities to provide (early) input in the research phase for possible dike variants score an average grade between a 6.5 and 6.9. Stakeholders are most satisfied with the possibilities to provide input in the preliminary phase of the project when possible variants for the dike were researched.
- Periodically receiving information about the progress being made in the research of possible dike variants scores an average grade of 6.3. There are two reasons for the relative low score. First, stakeholders have communicated that the information they receive of the possible dike variants are too technical, making it difficult to understand.[5] Second, because approximately 38% of the stakeholders think the speed of design process is too slow.[6] This results in stakeholders not receiving new information fast enough in their view about the final dike variants.
- The speed of the process scored an average of 6.2. Approximately 38% of the stakeholders think that the process is too slow, 11% thinks the process is going too fast and 51% is satisfied with the speed of the process. The average grade for the 49% however is a 5.3. Some stakeholders view the preliminary research phase of the Flood Protection Programme from a different reality than the professionals working on the programme. As the researcher experienced during stakeholder meetings, stakeholders stated that: *"the designers just had to draw a line on a map and be done with it."* Some stakeholders added: *"How hard could that be?"* The team working on the programme however has difficulty actually realising the 14 dike sections in 2020.

5 Stakeholders stated this reason in answer to the last question of the survey where they could give any message they wanted. Some stakeholders had also complained before this research regarding the technicality of the information they received.
6 One of the questions within the survey was "How satisfied are you with the speed of the process?". Stakeholders had three options to choose from: too slow, good and too fast.

- Periodically receiving information about how the provided input of stakeholders has been used in the conceptual dike variants scores an average grade of 6.1. During stakeholder meetings the waterboard always communicates that the input of stakeholders will be documented and used in the determining the variants for the possible dikes. Stakeholders expect, when they are asked to provide input, that their input is actually being used. Only telling stakeholders is not enough, proof also needs to be provided. That is not being done at this time within the programme.

When comparing the different groups of stakeholders and the different participation procedures, a noticeable difference is observed. There is a relative high difference in satisfaction between governments and citizens, small business owners, NGO and interest groups. The aspects that all groups of stakeholders are most and least satisfied about are the same. However, differences in average grades per aspect of the process and the final grade can lead up to a point or more. These results need to be taken somewhat lightly, because they are based on 20 filled in surveys by governments. The largest part of the population consists of citizens.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This article explored the assumption that there is a positive statistical correlation between the evaluation criteria and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. The evaluation criteria are based on the four criteria of interactive governance, namely equality, reasonable debate, influence and transparency. It explored the assumption by using the evaluation criteria as independent variables and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders as the dependent variable within a regression analysis.

The results have shown a positive correlation between the evaluation criteria based on the four criteria of interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the Flood Protection Programme Limburg. With that, the quantitative method used in this research provided insight into the role interactive governance plays in the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. The method used is both suitable for scientific purposes as for planning practitioners. As shown in this article, the four criteria of interactive governance can be used as variables for quantitative statistical research. The survey method through which data is gathered is easily replicable. The same applies for the statistical analyses applied, namely factor- and regression analyses. The standardised procedures make the method highly replicable and suitable for comparative research, which contributes to tackling a lack of external validity within interactive governance literature by facilitating the search for general patterns.

The method introduced in this article is also suitable for planning practitioners by

measuring procedural satisfaction among stakeholders through the criteria of interactive governance. Through a regression analysis, planners can determine how much and how strongly the evaluation criteria statistically play a role in the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. This provides insights into the effectiveness of a stakeholder process and its management in achieving support and consensus. It also shows planners which aspects of the process need to be improved to reach higher satisfaction among stakeholders over time.

3.9 DISCUSSION

Most governance literature consist of qualitative case study research resulting Ianniello et al. (2018) to recommend more quantitative evaluative research with the aim to provide evidence for the benefits of stakeholder involvement. This research contributes to closing the knowledge gap like a limited number of other empirical studies, which this section will reflect on.

There are a number of quantitative studies with a large N that used a regressions analysis to determine a statistical correlation between certain independent variables with stakeholder satisfaction as the dependent variable. Each study used different independent variables, for example: equality, openness and influence (Boedeltje, 2009); trust (Klijn et al., 2010a); network or process management (Klijn et al., 2010b); stakeholder involvement (Edelenbos et al., 2010); equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency (Nouzari et al., 2019); participation process characteristics like facilitation and participation format (Ernst, 2019). Some of these studies used procedural satisfaction as the dependent variable like Nouzari et al. (2019) and Boedeltje (2009), while in the research of Klijn et al. (2010a), Klijn et al. (2010b), Edelenbos et al. (2010) and Ernst (2019) stakeholder satisfaction was an item of the independent variable (for example perceived process outcome or normative process factors).

Even though quantitative research on governance provides proof that stakeholder involvement leads to stakeholder satisfaction, achieving this benefit of interactive governance does not happen automatically by giving voice. Voice through stakeholder involvement provides the opportunity to reach greater satisfaction but can also lead to great dissatisfaction depending on the perception of stakeholders. As such, voice through stakeholder involvement is a double-edged sword. Empirical research has shown that satisfaction is considerably higher when stakeholders perceive their voice mattered compared to those that felt their input was ignored (Hibbing & Theiss- Morse, 2008). Process management is needed in stakeholder processes to achieve desirable results, like stakeholder satisfaction (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006). The method introduced in this article is a management instrument as it provides insight into process aspects that stakeholders are least satisfied about and need to be improved. As a result, increasing

the effectiveness of the stakeholder process to reach satisfaction.

There are however certain aspects of the method and the results that need to be reflected upon. First, this research showed that interactive governance does lead to procedural satisfaction—a benefit often taken for granted in academic literature. However, one Dutch case regarding a flood risk management project was used in this research within a specific point in time. As such, the results might differ for other types of projects in other countries, within a different political, environmental and cultural context. Nouzari et al. (2019) used the same method introduced in this article to determine a correlation between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in a Dutch policy process. Even though a correlation was found in both studies with comparable correlation values, replication in different cases is needed for comparative case study research to determine the general applicability of the findings. The standardised procedures of the method used are highly replicable and therefore suitable for comparative research. Second, this research provided evaluation criteria for standardised quantitative research as recommended by Ianniello et al. (2018). However, the introduced method only determines a correlation between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. Other independent variables are not included in the method, because this was outside the scope of this research. As observed, 86.4% of the procedural satisfaction within our case is explained through the criteria of interactive governance. However, 13.6% is unexplained, which can be explained by including independent variables related to contextual factors. Exploring the unexplained variance of the procedural satisfaction by adding context related variables is recommended for future research to gain more insight into the relationship between interactive governance and stakeholder satisfaction.

REFERENCES

Achterkamp, M.C. and J.F. Vos. 2008. Investigating the use of stakeholder notion in project management literature, a meta-analysis. International Journal of Project Management 26(7): pp. 749-757.

Albrecht, J. 2007. Umweltqualitätsziele im Gewässerschutzrecht: Eine Europa-, verfassungs- und verwaltungsrechtliche Untersuchung zur Umsetzung der Wasserrahmenrichtlinie am Beispiel des Freistaates Sachsen. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot.

Ansell, C. and J. Torfing. 2016. Handbook on theories of governance. Edward Elgar Publishing: Northampton.

Assmann, A. 2001. Dezentraler integrierter Hochwasserschutz. In S. Heiden, R. Erb, F. Sieker (eds.), Hochwasserschutz heute (pp.197-236). Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin.

Boedeltje, M. 2009. Draagvlak door interactief bestuur: fictie of feit?! Enschede: Ipskamp Drukkers BV.

Directive 2007/60/EC on the Assessment and Management of Flood Risks. 2007. EU 2007/60/EC. European Parliament and European Council. Official Journal of the European Union L288.

Dworak, T. and B. Gorlach. 2005. Flood risk management in Europe—the development of a common EU policy. International Journal of River Basin Management 3: pp.97-103.

Edelenbos, J. 2000. Proces in vorm: Procesbegeleiding van interactieve beleidsvorming over lokale ruimtelijke projecten. Utrecht: Uitgeverij Lemma BV.

Edelenbos, J. 2005. Institutional implications of interactive governance: Insights from Dutch practice. Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions 18(1): pp.111-134.

Edelenbos, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2006. Managing stakeholder involvement in decision-making: A comparative analysis of six interactive processes on the Netherlands. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 16: pp.417-446.

Edelenbos, J., B. Steijn and E.H. Klijn. 2010. Does democratic anchorage matter? An inquiry into the relation between democratic anchorage and outcome of Dutch environmental projects. The American Review of Public Administration 40(1): pp.46-63.

Edelenbos, J. and I. van Meerkerk. 2016. Critical reflections on interactive governance: Self-organization and participation in public governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Eisenhardt, M. K. 1991. Better stories and better constructs: The case for rigor and comparative logic. Academy of Management Review 16(3): pp.620-627.

Ernst, A. 2019. How participation influences the perception of fairness, efficiency and effectiveness in environmental governance: An empirical analysis. Journal of Environmental Management 238: pp.368-381.

ESDP. 1999. European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards balanced and sustainable development of the territory of the EU. Brussels: European Commission.

Graaf, de, L. 2007. Gedragen beleid: Een bestuurskundig onderzoek naar interactief beleid en draagvlak in de stad Utrecht. Delft: Eburon.

Hartmann, T. and R. Juepner. 2014. The Flood Risk Management Plan—An essential step towards the institutionalization of a paradigm shift. Internal Journal of Water Governance 2: pp.107-118.

Hartmann, T. and T. Spit. 2015. Implementing the European flood risk management plan. Journal of Environmental Planning and Management 59(2): pp.1-18.

Heiland, P. 2002. Vorsorgender Hochwasserschutz durch Raumordnung, interregionale Kooperation und ökonomischen Lastenausgleich. IWAR, Darmstadt.

Hibbing, J. R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2008. Voice, validation and legitimacy. In B.A. Sullivan, M. Snyder and J.L. Sullivan (eds.), Cooperation: The political psychology of effective human interaction (pp. 123-142). Wiley-Blackwell: Michigan.

Hoon, C. 2013. Meta-synthesis of qualitative case studies: An approach to theory building. Organizational Research Methods 16(4): pp.522-556.

Ingram, H. (2011). Beyond universal remedies for good water governance: A political and contextual approach. In A. Garrido and H. Ingram (eds.), Water for food in a changing world (pp. 241–261). Abingdon, England/New York, NY: Routledge.

Ianniello, M., S. Iacuzzi, P. Fedele and L. Brusati. 2018. Obstacles and solutions on the ladder of citizen participation: A systematic review. Public Management Review 21(1):21-46.

Irvin, R. A. and J. Stansbury. 2004. Citizen Participation in decision-making: Is it worth the effort? Public Administration Review 64(1): pp.55-65.

Klijn, F., P. Samuels and A. van Os. 2008. Towards flood risk management in the EU: State of affairs with examples from various European countries. International Journal of River Basin Management 6: pp.307-321.

Klijn, E. H., B. Steijn and J. Edelenbos. 2010b. The impact of network management on outcomes in governance networks. Public Administration 88(4): pp.1063-1082.

Klijn, E.H., J. Edelenbos and B. Steijn. 2010a. Trust in governance networks: Its impacts on outcomes. Administration & Society 42(2): pp.193-221.

Klijn, E.H. and J. Edelenbos. 2012. The influence of democratic legitimacy on outcomes in governance networks. Administration & Society 45(6): pp.627-650.

Kooiman, J. (eds). 1993. Modern governance: New government-society interactions. London: Sage.

Koppenjan, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2004. Managing uncertainties in networks. London: Routledge.

Littau, P., N.J. Jujagiri and G. Adlbrecht. 2010. 25 years of stakeholder theory in project management literature (1984-2009). Project Management Journal 41(4): pp.17-29.

Mohan, G. and K. Stokke. 2000. Participatory development and empowerment: The dangers of localism. Third World Quarterly 21(2): pp.247-268.

Moss, T. 2009. Zwischen Ökologisierung Gewässerschutz und Kommerzialisierung der Wasserwirtschaft: Neue Handlungsanforderungen an Raumplanung und Regionalpolitik. Raumforschung und Raumordnung 1: pp.54-68.

Newig, J. and T.M. Koontz. 2014. Multi-level governance, policy implementation and participation: The EU's mandated participatory planning approach to implementing environmental policy. Journal of European Public Policy 22(2): pp.248-267.

Nouzari, E., T. Hartmann and T. Spit. 2019. The usefulness of interactive governance for underground planning. Nature and Culture 14(2): pp.147-167.

Reinhardt, M. 2008. Der neue europäische Hochwasserschutz. Natur und Recht (NuR) 30 (7): pp.468-473.

Rijksoverheid. 2020 [online]. https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/waterschappen Visited: 19 March 2020.

Rijkswaterstaat. 2020a [online]. https://www.infomil.nl/onderwerpen/lucht-water/handboek-water/wetgeving/waterwet/ Visited: 19 March 2020.

Rijkswaterstaat. 2020b [online]. https://www.infomil.nl/onderwerpen/lucht-water/handboek-water/thema-s/waterveiligheid-0/normering-primaire/ Visited: 19 March 2020.

Roth, D. and J. Warner. 2007. Flood risk uncertainty and changing river protection policy in The Netherlands: the case of 'calamity polders'. Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 98: pp.519-525.

Rowe, G., T. Horlick-Jones, J. Walls, W. Poortinga and N.F. Pidgeon. 2008. Analysis of a normative framework for evaluating public engagement exercises: Reliability, validity and limitations. Public Understanding of Science 17: pp.419-441.

Schulz, C., J. Martin-Ortega, K. Glenk, and A.A.R. Ioris. 2017. The value base of water governance: A multi-disciplinary perspective. Ecological Economics, 131: pp.241–249.

Smith, G. 2009. Democratic innovations: designing institutions for citizen participation. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sørensen, E. and J. Torfing (eds). 2007. Theories of democratic network governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Swyngedouw, E. 2005. Governance innovation and the citizen: The Janus face of governance-beyond-the-State. Urban Studies 42(11): pp.1991-2006.

Tempels, B. and T. Hartmann. 2014. A co-evolving frontier between land and water: Dilemmas of flexibility versus robustness in flood risk management. Water International 69: pp.872-883.

Torfing, Jacob, B. Guy Peters, J. Pierre and E. Sorensen. 2012. Interactive governance: Advancing the paradigm. New York: Oxford University Press.

Waterschap Limburg. 2016. Dijkversterkingen en dijkverlegging in Limburg. Limburg: Waterschap Limburg.

Wiering, M. and I. Immink. 2006. When water management meets spatial planning: A policy-arrangements perspective. Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space 24: pp.423-438.

Chapter 4

Organizing support through interactive governance within flood risk management

Ehsan Nouzari
Thomas Hartmann
Tejo Spit

ABSTRACT

Flood risk management nowadays affects landowners behind dikes, broadening the group of stakeholders. Interactive governance provides an approach to negotiate and balance the diverging interests of stakeholders involved. One of the benefits of interactive governance is creating satisfaction through involvement, making stakeholders less prone to taking legal action against implementation. This paper tests this assumption through standardized quantitative longitudinal research, demonstrating a statistically positive correlation between interactive governance and stakeholder satisfaction.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The use of stakeholder involvement in a flood risk management project by the Waterboard Limburg falls within a general trend not only seen in the Netherlands, but also internationally (i.e., House, 1999; Leach, 2006; Leach & Pelkey, 2001; Sabatier et al., 2005; Thaler & Levin-Keitel, 2015; van Buuren et al., 2019). The rising popularity of governance in water management has led to different collaborative and deliberative approaches (Akhmouch & Clavreul, 2016; Margerum & Robinson, 2015; Von Korff et al., 2012) in which a government (agency) involves different types of stakeholders to create support for decision-making (Edelenbos et al., 2017; van Buuren et al., 2019). However, involving stakeholders in water management has frequently not (immediately) resulted in success (Tseng & Penning-Rowsell, 2012). Flood risk management is generally a strongly expert- and technocratically dominated domain. Civil engineers often find that stakeholder involvement can threaten decisive plans needed to realize safety measures against crises (Warner, 2006). Consequently, much attention within water governance has been invested into finding the best ways for involving stakeholders in policy making and implementation (Newig & Fritsch, 2009; Reed, 2008).

One way to involve stakeholders is through the use of interactive governance. Governments in Western countries commonly use interactive governance as a strategy for policymaking and the construction of infrastructure within spatial planning (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; van Kerkhof, 2006; Mok et al., 2015). Interactive governance is used, partially out of necessity, to deal with the complexity of contemporary network society, which undermines traditional ways of steering to achieve common goals (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007; Torfing et al., 2012). The contemporary network society is characterized by interdependent relationships, because resources such as money and knowledge are spread among different stakeholders, making the government one amongst many. Governments do not have the means anymore to fully command and control stakeholders to develop but also implement policy from a top-down position. As a result, governments are deliberately forced to involve stakeholders granting them influence on decision-making, showing the necessity for negotiation and deliberation to achieve common goals (Edelenbos, 2005; Edelenbos et al., 2010; Kooiman, 1993).

Interactive governance, compared with traditional ways of planning, is still focused on steering society, not by enforcing a top-down approach, but through the bottom-up involvement of stakeholders (Torfing et al., 2012). It is assumed in governance literature that stakeholder involvement through the use of interactive governance leads to certain benefits (Beierle & Crayford, 2002; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2016; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Jager et al., 2020; Newig et al., 2018; Scott & Thomas, 2017). One of the first main benefits is strengthening the quality of decisions and plans, by gathering local or lay knowledge relevant to understanding a problem and formulating solutions (Beierle &

Crayford, 2002; Edelenbos, 2000; Fazey et al., 2013; Sirianni, 2009). In turn, stakeholders are able to identify with policy set by the government, creating a more direct form of democracy, lessening the gap between politics and society (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000). The last often-discussed benefit of stakeholder involvement is support for decisions through the realignment of resources (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; van de Kerkhof, 2006). As a result, stakeholders are discouraged to stop implementation though the use of legal action (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). Stakeholder satisfaction and resulting support is often the most important goal of interactive governance, especially in the United States, but also in the Netherlands (van Buuren et al., 2019; van de Kerkhof, 2006), because even if the public value of policy is high, policy remains ineffective and symbolic if no implementation takes place (Newig et al., 2018; Scott et al., 2019; Ulibarri, 2015). However, the benefit of creating satisfaction and support is sometimes contradicted in the literature. Involving stakeholders with different interests, perspectives and values can threaten the effectiveness of planning processes instead of enhancing it. Discussions between the stakeholders can lead to quarrels and conflicts that (in the long term) result in deadlocks and impasses (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Schlager & Blomquist, 2008). This raises the question: Does the use of interactive governance lead to stakeholder satisfaction for implementation without protest?

Based on empirical studies, it should be possible to answer this question and determine the validity of assumptions regarding the benefits of interactive governance (Douglas et al., 2020; Mayer et al., 2005). Even though governance is a popular topic within academic literature (Scott & Thomas, 2017; Torfing et al., 2012), empirical data that demonstrates increased efficiency and effectiveness of decision-making through the use of interactive governance is small (Ianniello et al., 2018). Ianniello et al. (2018) add that quantitative methods for data collection and analysis are rarely used, for example, to provide empirical evidence for the benefits interactive governance provides, such as satisfaction and support for decisions. Evaluation criteria to measure effectiveness of interactive governance and standardized qualitative methods are largely absent, hindering generalisation (Rowe et al., 2008) and the systematic comparisons of results (Eisenhardt, 1991; Hoon, 2013). Schulz (2019) concluded the same through a literature review that governance-related values are relevant to understanding what makes good water governance. Research on such values could identify which (normative) governance criteria stakeholders prefer. The problem is a lack of systematic quantitative empirical research that uses statistical analyses on values that characterize a good or successful water governance process from an analytical viewpoint.

Even though quantitative empirical studies on the benefits are scarce, some academic contributions have tested the assumption that interactive governance influences the satisfaction and support of stakeholders (e.g., Boedeltje, 2009; Edelenbos et al., 2010; Ernst, 2019; Jager et al., 2020; Klijn et al., 2010a, 2010b; Robertson & Choi, 2012). One of

those contributions was made by Nouzari et al. (2019), who constructed evaluation criteria to determine a correlation between the use of interactive governance and the involvement of stakeholders within a policy process regarding underground planning. A correlation was found within their study, which led to follow-up research to explore if a similar correlation could be found within a different case and context, namely a flood risk management project (Nouzari et al., 2020). Nouzari et al. (2020) concluded through a regression analysis that there was a statistical positive correlation between interactive governance and the satisfaction of stakeholders using the same evaluation criteria and research method.

This paper functions as a continuation of the study conducted by Nouzari et al. (2020), namely, to explore if a similar correlation can be found within the same case, but over a time period of a year, using the same evaluation criteria and research method. As a result, the research question of this paper is as follows: *To what extent does the statistically positive correlation found between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholder by Nouzari et al. (2020) hold up over time (a year) within the same case?*

4.2 INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE FOR STAKEHOLDER SUPPORT

To establish a correlation solely between the satisfaction of stakeholders and the use of interactive governance, the scope of this research needs to be clearly limited. Therefore, it is important to begin with a general definition of interactive governance as a starting point for further conceptualisation to devise evaluation criteria for empirical research. According to Torfing et al. (2012), interactive governance is 'the complex process through which a plurality of social and political actors with diverging interests interact in order to formulate, promote, and achieve common objectives by means of mobilizing, exchanging, and deploying a range of ideas, rules, and resources' (pp. 2–3). This definition shows what is governed and how, namely society through the involvement of stakeholders (Ansell & Torfing, 2016). This definition is not sufficient for conceptualizing evaluation criteria for the purpose of this research, but it provides a starting point from which the scope can be further limited by determining the form and use of interactive governance this research focuses on.

Government-induced interactive governance is a form of interactive governance that falls within the definition of Torfing et al. (2012). This top-down form of collaboration is characterized by a government deciding who among stakeholders get involved, but also how and when in the process such involvement occurs (Edelenbos et al., 2017, 2018; van Meerkerk, 2019). At certain points within the decision-making process, stakeholders are given opportunities through participation procedures to provide input (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2006; Van Meerkerk, 2019). Governments mainly use this form of

interactive governance to solve (spatial) problems efficiently by involving stakeholders, creating support and discouraging the use of legal action to stop implementation (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Mayer et al., 2005). Government-led interactive governance has become a popular strategy in Western countries for spatial policy processes and infrastructure projects (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Scott & Thomas, 2017; van Kerkhof, 2006; van Meerkerk, 2019). The last step in operationalizing interactive governance and limiting the scope of our research is to define evaluation criteria. The four criteria of interactive governance formulated by Edelenbos (2000), namely reasonable debate, influence, transparency and equality, are used in combination with the democratic innovation criteria by Smith (2009). The criteria by Smith (2009) are combined with outdated criteria originating with Edelenbos (2000) as both sets of criteria show theoretical similarities[7]:

- Equality focuses on minimizing inequalities between stakeholders. First is the focus on presence, which is about equal access and opportunities for stakeholders to be involved. Aspects such as interest, power and background should not decide stakeholders' opportunities to be involved. Second is voice—this is about stakeholders' equal opportunity to be heard and therefore wield influence through their input. The intent is to minimize inequality, because total equality is impossible to achieve.
- Influence focuses on the stakeholders' level of power over the process they are involved in and the content that is produced. The input (ideas, concerns, views, etc.) provided by the stakeholders must be taken into account during decision-making to become influential. Without such influence, stakeholder involvement through interactive governance becomes a meaningless exercise.
- Reasonable debate focuses on space within the process to have conversations and thereby generate understanding between stakeholders and their respective perceptions and perspectives. Stakeholders explore solutions and problem definitions through their receptivity. During discussions and conversations, stakeholders convince each other not through their positions of power, but through fairness and reason.
- Transparency focuses on having an open attitude by sharing expectations and information. Sharing information and expectations is important for multiple reasons. First, stakeholders need information regarding the background of a project and the process in order to be able to define problems and search for solutions. Second, sharing expectations is important, because expectations often become high when stakeholder are involved. Low support can result in disappointment when those expectations are not met.

7 For a more detailed description of the four criteria of interactive governance, see Nouzari et al. (2019) to avoid repetition in this paper.

Interactive governance assumes that the four criteria described above correlate positively with the satisfaction of stakeholders. Just like interactive governance and its criteria, stakeholder satisfaction also needs to be defined to be able to answer our research question. There are two types of satisfaction, namely content-based satisfaction and procedural satisfaction. Content outcome refers to the substance resulting from an interactive process, such as policy documents. Procedural outcome concerns how stakeholders become involved (Edelenbos et al., 2010; Klijn et al., 2010a, 2010b; Skelcher et al., 2005). It is important to note that satisfaction is not the same as support. Satisfaction is an attitude based on evaluations of a particular object (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), which in the case of this research is content or process. In turn, this favourable (satisfaction) or unfavourable (dissatisfaction) evaluation leads to certain behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) such as stakeholder support. Thus, support is the amalgamation of content-based and procedural satisfaction.

It is the satisfaction about the manner of stakeholder involvement that this research focuses on, because government-induced interactive governance is used instrumentally as a mediation tool to discourage stakeholders from using legal action to stop implementation (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). As such, procedural satisfaction is the dependent variable and is defined as the satisfaction of stakeholders for the process they participate in (de Graaf, 2007).

4.3 THE FLOOD PROTECTION PROGRAMME OF THE DUTCH PROVINCE LIMBURG

This paper focuses on finding a correlation between the use of interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders over time. Consequently, the same case used by Nouzari et al. (2020) forms the basis for this paper, namely the Hoogwaterbeschermingsprogramma Limburg (Flood Protection Programme). In 2020, the programme consisted of 15 dike sections that had to be reinforced in conformity with the new water safety standards adopted on 1 January in the Dutch law called the Waterwet (Rijkswaterstaat, 2020a, 2020b; Waterschap Limburg, 2019). The Flood Protection Programme Limburg is initiated by the Waterboard Limburg. Waterboards are governmental agencies in the Netherlands tasked with the water management of regional areas. Ensuring water safety is one of the waterboards' primary tasks (Rijksoverheid, 2020).

For the Flood Protection Programme, the Waterboard Limburg made designs per dike section through a stakeholder process. The programme started in 2016, and the Waterboard Limburg aspired to have the programme finished in 2020. Citizens, business owners, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), municipalities and governmental

organisations were involved through one-on-one meetings, citizens panels, design workshops and expert meetings, but also got informed through various media channels such as Facebook or newsletters. The Waterboard Limburg realized that possible (legal) protest resulting from a lack of support might jeopardize the implementation of the dike reinforcement (Waterschap Limburg, 2017).

4.4 LONGITUDINAL CASE STUDY: SURVEY DATA FOR MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

This research explores if a similar correlation between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders can be found within the same case over a period of time. The only way to establish if certain research results, in our case the results of Nouzari et al. (2020), change over time is to conduct longitudinal research. A period of a year was chosen between the first (2017) and second (2018) measurements because enough time needs to pass for stakeholders to form a new opinion about the process. However, too much time would result in satisfaction not being comparable with the previous measurement, because stakeholders might not know how they experienced the process prior. In short, stakeholders need to experience the process after it has been through changes, such as a new phase in the policy implementation process. Policy implementation processes in the Netherlands know roughly three phases, namely reconnaissance (researching possible dike variants), planning (making the dike design) and realisation (implementing the design). A shift in policy implementation phase might result in a change in satisfaction, because stakeholder opinion about the process will be based on new experiences as a year of involvement has passed compared with the previous measurement.

As a prerequisite for longitudinal research, the same survey method developed by Nouzari et al. (2020) was used in this study. In the survey, stakeholders were asked to provide a grade for each of the operationalized evaluation criteria based on interactive governance. The grade was given on a scale from 1 to 10, with a 5.5 representing the difference between satisfaction and dissatisfaction. A 10-point scale was used, because it is the most commonly used method for grading in the Netherlands, making it intuitive for stakeholders and maximizing the reliability of research results.

Another prerequisite for longitudinal research is that the same case is used, and data are gathered among the same population. Thus, the survey was spread among stakeholders attending the same participation procedures as done by Nouzari et al. (2020), namely citizen panels and expert meetings. Stakeholders within these participation procedures were also involved through one-on-one meetings and design workshops. Establishing a correlation between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders was also done with the help of the same analyses conducted by Nouzari et al. (2020). A regression analysis was used to determine a significant positive correlation

between the evaluation criteria of interactive governance (independent variables) and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (dependent variable).

4.4.1 Operationalising interactive governance into evaluation criteria for survey question

A common misconception is that interactive governance, and therefore stakeholder involvement, automatically leads to support even though extensive process management is needed for success (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Klijn et al., 2010b; Sørensen & Torfing, 2009) It is how stakeholders are involved and how the process is managed that participants can be questioned about. As such, interactive governance is operationalized into process management criteria to measure procedural satisfaction.

Table 4.1: Operationalised interactive governance criteria into evaluation criteria

Interactive governance criteria	Operationalised evaluation criteria
Equality	- Number of meetings - Equal opportunity to provide input - Possibilities during meetings to provide input
Influence	- Providing input in the early stages of the process (problem definition, solution exploration and design) - Taking ideas, arguments, and interests seriously
Reasonable debate	- Possibilities to provide input for conceptual dike variants or dike designs - Focus on the substance of problems, solutions and conceptual documents during meetings (e.g., dike variants)
Transparency	- Receiving information in understandable language - Receiving information about what has been done with the provided input of stakeholders - Periodically receiving information about progress made (updates about conversations with other stakeholders and possible dike variants) - Discussing stakeholder interests during meetings

As mentioned above, the quantitative method of Nouzari et al. (2020) was used for the purpose of this longitudinal research. This also means that the same operationalized criteria (Table 4.1) are used for survey. A detailed explanation of the operationalisation can be found in Nouzari et al. (2020).

One aspect was added that is unrelated to interactive governance, namely the speed of the process. During the first measurement in 2017, it was observed that the most important desire of stakeholders was concrete and detailed information about how the reinforcement per dike section would impact their properties. Not knowing the impact of the upcoming dike designs resulted in uncertainty among citizens about the future of their homes along the dikes. One of the possibilities communicated by the waterboard that some people would have to live somewhere else, because of the possible design combinations that were thought of. In consideration of that, stakeholders in this study are also asked to convey their satisfaction about the speed of the design and stakeholder process.

4.4.2 Survey (non)response

Data were gathered between November 2018 and February 2019. This is approximately 1 year after the last measurement in 2017 in which data were gathered between June and December 2017. The survey was spread through the same channels as by Nouzari et al. (2020), namely through the distribution of hard copies during meetings and online through email using the same mailing list as the year before. An agreement between the researchers and the waterboard was made for data collection during citizen panel meetings. The waterboard spread hard copy surveys during meetings, but did not do so resolutely enough, resulting in only 12 completed surveys compared with the 120 hard copy surveys in 2017, because the people tasked with distribution were afraid of bothering stakeholders during the meetings. At first glance, this might jeopardize the survey being spread among the same population as the previous measurement. However, an online survey was also spread using the same email list as used by Nouzari et al., which consisted not only of stakeholders involved in expert meetings, but also the same stakeholders who were present during the citizens panels in 2017 during the first measurement. Compared with 2017, which resulted in 135 filled-in online surveys, the online survey in 2018 yielded 243 survey responses. The response per stakeholder group is as follows (2017 compared with 2018): citizens (82%–84%), business owners (19%–19%), interest groups (14%–23%), NGOs (8%–6%) and governments (8%–5%).

4.5 EVALUATION OF THE STAKEHOLDER PROCESS FOR THE FLOOD PROTECTION PROGRAMME LIMBURG

Comparing the measurement results between 2017 and 2018 shows how the satisfaction of stakeholders has developed through the course of the design process. This provides process managers with valuable insights regarding the aspects stakeholders are dissatisfied with and thus require attention. Managers can improve specific aspects of the process based on that knowledge and in turn increase the effectiveness of the process to realize satisfaction.

Table 4.2: Satisfaction of stakeholders in 2017 (N=255) and 2018 (N=255)

Indicators interactive governance	2017	2018	Difference
Possibilities to provide input during meetings	7.31	7.04	-0.27
Equal opportunities to provide input	7.16	6.74	-0.42
Number of stakeholder meetings	6.86	6.57	-0.29
Focus on the possible dike variants during meetings	6.64	6.07	-0.57
Possibilities to provide input for possible dike variants	6.87	6.17	-0.70
Providing input for possible dike variants early	6.57	6.04	-0.53
Discussing interests	6.82	6.18	-0.64
Taking interests seriously	6.60	5.79	-0.81
Receiving information periodically about possible dike variants	6.31	5.99	-0.32
Receiving information in understandable language	6.79	6.75	-0.04
Receiving information about what has been done with provided input	6.13	5.33	-0.80
Receiving information about input provided by others	6.24	5.89	-0.35
Taking ideas and arguments seriously	6.54	5.57	-0.97
Speed of the process	6.19	5.36	-0.83
Final grade	6.58	5.92	-0.66

In 2018, the process for the Flood Protection Programme Limburg scored an average of 5.92 out of 10, which is 0.66 points lower when compared with the measurement done in 2017 (Table 4.2). The process in 2018 also scored lower compared with 2017 on every aspect, in some cases a full point on average. While no process aspect in 2017 scored lower than the cut-off point between satisfied and dissatisfied of a 5.5, certain aspects fell below the 5.5 cut-off point. This means that, compared with 2017 stakeholders, in 2018 stakeholders were dissatisfied about certain aspects of the process. Examining the individual aspects shows the following results:

- Stakeholders were most satisfied regarding the possibilities to let their voices be heard in 2018, just like in 2017. The process scored highest in terms of the number of meetings and the (equal) opportunities to provide input during meetings. The difference from 2017, however, is that these aspects scored an average of 0.3–0.4 points lower.
- Stakeholders were also most satisfied regarding the subjects they provided input for during meetings in 2018, similar to 2017, most notably, the possible dike designs, interests, arguments and ideas. Compared with 2017, these aspects scored 0.6–0.7 points lower on average.
- Receiving information in understandable language was also one of the process aspects about which stakeholders expressed satisfaction. Difference in satisfaction between 2017 and 2018 is the smallest out of all the process aspects.
- Stakeholders in 2018, such as in 2017, are most dissatisfied about the speed of the process. However, an important difference is the average between both measurements, namely a 6.19 in 2017 and a 5.36 in 2018. Keeping in mind the cut-off point of a 5.5, this means that stakeholders were satisfied in 2017 and dissatisfied in 2018. Another important difference is the percentage of stakeholders finding the process to slow, namely 38% in 2017 and 53% in 2018.
- Another similarity is seen in satisfaction regarding the receipt of information about what has been done with the provided input of stakeholders. In both years, stakeholders are most dissatisfied about this process aspect. The difference is that, in 2018 this aspect scored an average of 5.39 (below the cut-

off point) compared with 2017 when this aspect scored a 6.13.

- The only aspects that scored highest in 2017 but scored lowest in 2018 are taking the interests, arguments and ideas seriously by the waterboard. In 2017 these aspects scored an average of 6.60 and 6.54, respectively, compared with 2018, when these aspects scored a 5.79 and 5.57. This is a difference of approximately 0.8 to a full point on average, the highest recorded difference in process aspects between both years.

A fully empirically proven explanation for why the stakeholder process in 2018 scores lower on every aspect compared with 2017 cannot be given. The focus of the survey was on measuring stakeholder satisfaction and determining a correlation with interactive governance, not on finding explanations for why stakeholders are (dis)satisfied. However, there are a few empirical facts that provide possible explanations for the differences:

- The future dike design and therefore the space needed determines the possibilities of stakeholders to keep living along the dike. Getting clarity about the design as soon as possible was most important for stakeholders, because of the uncertainty regarding their homes and possible impact on the quality of life. The waterboard promised stakeholders to provide clear information at the end of 2017. Thus, the waterboard created an expectation about their most desired information, which was not met. This has impacted the satisfaction of stakeholders negatively after the first measurement in 2017, because their uncertainty was not taken away as promised. The desire for clear information to take the uncertainty away is represented in the increased percentage of stakeholders finding the speed of the process too slow compared with the first measurement in 2017, namely 38% in 2017 compared with 53% in 2018.
- The level of stakeholder involvement within the process is limited to informing and consultation, meaning that forms of involvement that allow for a greater degree of influence on the outcome are absent. Co-production took place once, namely at the beginning of the process at the end of 2016 and beginning of 2017. Meetings were organized in which stakeholders (including citizens) were asked to provide desirable features of the project location that in turn were translated into building blocks, that were eventually used in the dike design process. As such, stakeholders influenced the dike designs made by the waterboard through the building blocks. However, after these meetings, design sessions took place involving professional stakeholders, excluding external stakeholders such as citizens and business owners. In short, after the end of 2016, external stakeholders were not given any further opportunities to directly influence the design process. Stakeholders only had influence on the design process if the waterboard used the provided input, which was rare. This is one of the problems of government-induced interactive governance.

Involving stakeholders and asking for their contribution creates expectations that the provided input (interests, worries, ideas, etc.) is taken into account in decision-making. Not meetings this expectation decreases satisfaction and trust (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). The impact of this on stakeholder satisfaction is demonstrated in two aspects, namely (1) receiving information about what has been done with the provided input of stakeholders; and (2) the waterboard taking the interests, ideas and arguments of stakeholders seriously. There is a difference of approximately 0.8 to a full 1 point between the averages of the measurement of 2017 compared with 2018.

4.6 FACTORS ANALYSIS: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE EVALUATION CRITERIA OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

A factor analysis is conducted before the regression analysis to explore if comparable correlations are found between the measurements of 2017 and 2018. The reasoning behind this is an expected theoretical correlation between the four criteria of interactive governance. This is best illustrated with the help of a few examples. Stakeholders are unable to influence decision-making when they are not granted access to the process to let their voices be heard. A follow-up example, when stakeholders are granted opportunities to participate through meetings, but the goal is only to inform the public, there will not be any reasonable debates. Another example, when stakeholders are invited to brainstorm about the best possible design options through (reasonable) discussion, but input is not taken seriously by the government (agency), resulting in a lack of influence on decision-making. As mentioned above, one of the characteristics of government-induced interactive governance is that the government decides if and when stakeholders are able to participate, but also if provided input is taken into account during decision-making. As such, a theoretical correlation is expected between the evaluation criteria derived from interactive governance.

Based on an oblique rotation, namely direct oblimin, three factors were distinguished for the measurements of 2017 and 2018 (Table 4.3):

- The first factor for 2017 refers to the types of input provided by stakeholders, and it being taken seriously by the government. Discussing ideas and arguments (reasonable debate) during conversations, while also sharing interests and concerns (transparency) and having the input taken seriously (influence) correlate with each other. Within government-induced interactive governance, stakeholders expect the government to take the input seriously and using it in the design process of decision-making. The first factor for 2018 also consists of

aspects related to receiving information about the progress made in design and process (transparency).

- The second factor for 2017 and 2018 refers to the (equal) possibilities afforded to stakeholders to provide input regarding the possible dike variants and designs. This factor falls under the criterion of equality. To have influence on the process, stakeholders need to be able to provide input.
- The last factor for 2017 is about receiving understandable information regarding what has been done with the provided input, the input other stakeholders have provided and the progress of the design process (transparency). Stakeholders not only want to know what has been done with their input, but also want to be consistently updated to make sure decisions are not made unknowingly. The third factor for 2018 concerns the possibilities for stakeholders to provide input about the possible dike variants and designs.

Table 4.3: Extracted factors for the measurements of 2017 and 2018

	Factors 2017	Factors 2018
1.	- Focus on the possible dike variants during meetings - Providing input for possible dike variants early - Discussing interests - Taking interests seriously - Taking ideas and arguments seriously - Speed of the process	- Receiving information periodically about possible dike variants - Receiving information about what has been done with provided input - Receiving information about input provided by others - Discussing interests - Taking interests seriously - Taking ideas and arguments seriously - Speed of the process
2.	- Possibilities to provide input during meetings - Equal opportunities to provide input - Possibilities to provide input for possible dike variants	- Possibilities to provide input during meetings - Equal opportunities to provide input - Number of stakeholder meetings - Receiving information in understandable language
3.	- Receiving information periodically about possible dike variants - Receiving information in understandable language - Receiving information about what has been done with provided input - Receiving information about input provided by others	- Possibilities to provide input for possible dike variants - Providing input for possible dike variants early

As mentioned above, the factor analysis is used to correct for the expected (theoretical) correlations between the criteria of interactive governance. Although the factors between both measurements differ somewhat, the differences are relatively small and do not have much impact on the results of the regression analysis, because the three factors still consist of all the conceptualized process aspects based on the criteria of interactive governance.

4.7 REGRESSION ANALYSIS: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE AND SATISFACTION

Interactive governance literature assumes a correlation between the use of stakeholder involvement and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. A regression analysis is used to explore a positive correlation for the measurements of 2017 and 2018 for the Flood Protection Programme Limburg. For the purpose of this research, the correlation statistics are compared between both years to establish in how far the correlations are similar or different from each other. This is done in three steps:

- To examine the Pearson coefficients, because they show if a correlation between the factors of interactive governance (consisting of the criteria equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency) and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders exists (Table 4.4). For both 2017 and 2018 a correlation is established with a reliability percentage of 99% (significance < 0.01) for all factors. However, simply determining if a correlation exists is not enough. To legitimize the normative assumptions in the literature, the use of interactive governance needs to have meaningful impact on the satisfaction of stakeholder for support. Consequently, the correlations need to have reasonable strength, which they have, because they are moderately strong (0.5–0.7) and strong (above 0.7) respectively.
- To determine if there is a positive or negative correlation between the factors of interactive governance (independent variables) and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (dependent variable). Governance literature does not only assume correlations with reasonable strength, but it further assumed that they are positive. The Beta coefficients are examined for this purpose. Both 2017 and 2018 show a positive correlation with a 99% reliability (significance < 0.01) for all factors, with the exception of factor 3 from the 2018 measurement. This factor is about the stakeholder's opportunities to provide input for the possible dike variants and designs. Surprisingly, the process aspects that constitute this factor show a positive correlation in 2017. A possible explanation for this is stakeholders' desire to obtain a definitive answer if they can keep living along the dike, which impacts their quality of life. The waterboard also promised to provide the information that stakeholders most desired at the end of 2017 but was only able to do that for a handful of dike sections at the end of 2018 (almost a year later). Stakeholders explained to the process managers of the project that meetings did not provide any new information about their situation, thus every extra meeting was seen as something negative

instead of something positive. Also, the correlation for this factor is rather weak and the Beta is small, meaning that the factor has a relatively small negative impact on the satisfaction of stakeholders. Overall, the results confirm the assumption that there is a positive correlation between the use of interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders within our case between both years.

- To determine in how far interactive governance explains the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders, which is important for establishing the usefulness of the concept to achieve stakeholder support. For this purpose, the R2 is examined to establish the percentage of the procedural satisfaction explained through the factors of interactive governance. When the explained variance has a relatively high percentage, procedural satisfaction of stakeholders is mostly determined by the use of interactive governance instead of other unrelated factors. The R2 in 2017 is 85.1% and in 2018 is 79.7%, meaning that for both years, approximately 80–85% of the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders is explained by the use of interactive governance.

Table 4.4: Correlation and regression statistics for the measurements of 2017 and 2018

	Pearson	Sig.	Pearson	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.
Year	2017	2017	2018	2018	2017	2017	2018	2018
Factor 1	0.872	0.000	0.878	0.000	0.538	0.000	0.752	0.000
Factor 2	0.677	0.000	0.659	0.000	0.239	0.000	0.161	0.000
Factor 3	0.789	0.000	-0.316	0.000	0.278	0.000	-0.097	0.001

4.8 CONCLUSION

This paper explored if a comparable positive statistical relationship found by Nouzari et al. (2020) between interactive governance and procedural stakeholder satisfaction can be found in the same flood risk management case over a period of time (one year between two measurements). The assumption found in the literature that interactive governance (independent variables) leads to stakeholder satisfaction (dependent variable) for support was tested for the Flood Protection Programme Limburg in 2017 and 2018 through a regression analysis. The same survey method, statistical analyses and case were used as Nouzari et al. (2020) for longitudinal research. This is in line with the recommendations of Ianniello et al. (2018) and Schulz (2019) for more quantitative research using statistical analyses within (water) governance literature. The purpose of these recommendations is to generate empirical proof for assumptions made in the literature about the benefits of interactive governance and which governance criteria or

values stakeholders find most important.

The empirical results have shown moderate to strong correlations between the criteria of interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction for the measurements of 2017 and 2018. In addition, both measurements show a similar explained variance around 80–85%, meaning that most of the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders is explained through the criteria of interactive governance. The only difference found is the negative correlation of factor 3 for the measurement of 2018; this relates to stakeholders' opportunities to provide input for the dike designs. However, the correlation of this factor is weak and has a relatively small impact on the satisfaction of stakeholders.

This study has also shown that the survey method used has a scientific and a practical purpose. The empirical method based on the criteria of interactive governance is easily replicable (survey with standardized questions) and contains highly standardized statistical analysis procedures (regression and factor analysis). The replicability and standardized procedures make the method suitable for longitudinal research as datasets generated through the survey are easily comparable. As such, contributing to quantitative research aiming for empirical results supporting assumptions made in governance literature.

The method is also useful for planning practitioners who manage a stakeholder process. Applying the survey in a policy process or project establishes the procedural aspects that stakeholders are (dis)satisfied with. Combining the satisfaction scores with the correlation results of the regression analysis helps practitioners to determine the effectiveness of the process. Practitioners are able to reach higher levels of satisfaction by improving the aspects stakeholders are dissatisfied with and show a (strong) correlation based on the data and results generated.

4.9 DISCUSSION

In line with the recommendations of Ianniello et al. (2018) and Schulz (2019), but also as a continuation of the study done by Nouzari et al. (2020), this quantitative research focused on firstly finding a statistical correlation between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. Thus, it was paramount to provide empirical proof for the assumption that stakeholder involvement through interactive governance leads to support and thereby discourages them from taking legal action to stop implementation of projects or policy. Second, it was an objective to establish the effect that time has on the correlations found between interactive governance and stakeholder satisfaction. This section reflects on governance literature in light of the results of this study.

This study established a statistical correlation such as a number of other quantitative

studies using regression analysis to determine a statistical relationship between interactive governance and stakeholder satisfaction among other things (e.g., Boedeltje, 2009; Edelenbos et al., 2010; Ernst, 2019; Jager et al., 2020; Klijn et al., 2010a, 2010b; Nouzari et al., 2019, 2020; Robertson & Choi, 2012). However, the longitudinal aspect of this research shows that stakeholder involvement does not automatically lead to success as extensive process management is needed to capitalize on the potential benefits of interactive governance (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006). This is illustrated by factor 3 for the measurement of 2018, which showed a negative correlation with the satisfaction of stakeholders, even though this factor showed a positive correlation in 2017. A possible explanation is the expectation set by the waterboard, namely providing information if stakeholders could keep living along the dike at the end of 2017. This information is highly desired by stakeholders, as one of the potential scenarios was that stakeholders could not continue to live along the dike, impacting their quality of life and resulting in prolonged periods of uncertainty. The waterboard was only able to provide stakeholders with the information a year later than promised, and only for a handful of dike sections. Stakeholders conveyed to the project's process managers that meetings in 2018 did not provide any new information on this subject. This increasingly led stakeholders to think that the design process took too long and to negative evaluations. Not meeting expectations within stakeholder processes and its impact on stakeholder support is a known issue within governance (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Mayer et al., 2005; Teisman et al., 2001; van Meerkerk, 2019).

Even though the correlations between the measurements of 2017 and 2018 are comparable, a few questions are raised for future research. First, both years showed an explained variance of 80–85%, meaning that most of the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders is explained through the criteria of interactive governance. However, it also means that 15–20% of procedural stakeholder satisfaction is explained by aspects unrelated to interactive governance. Examples are contextual factors related to spatial planning, such as stakeholder personalities, emotional attachment to an environment and quality of life. These aspects have not been included in this research but can further explain which aspects impact the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders. Second, this research only focused on procedural satisfaction and not on content-based satisfaction. In literature, a distinction is made between process and content outcome. Process outcome relates to procedural results such as stakeholder support, while content outcome refers to the substance resulting from a process, such as policy or a dike design (Edelenbos et al., 2010; Klijn et al., 2010a, 2010b; Skelcher et al., 2005). Satisfaction regarding content also matters in the behaviour of stakeholders to support plans or protest against implementation. Stakeholders' perspectives, their interests, the underlying spatial problem and the subject it relates to (flood risk management, underground planning, etc.) are all examples of contextual factors that most likely play a role in stakeholders' content satisfaction. Qualitative research needs to be conducted to gain an understanding of how these aspects play a role in stakeholders' content satisfaction and why. While quantitative research mostly focuses on finding relationships, qualitative research helps in explaining those established relationships.

REFERENCES

Ajzen, I. and M. Fishbein. 2000. Attitudes and the attitude-behavior relation: Reasoned and automatic processes. European Review of Social Psychology 11(1): pp.1-33.

Akhmouch, A., and D. Clavreul. 2016. Stakeholder engagement for inclusive water governance: Practicing what we preach with the OECD water governance initiative. Water 8(5): pp.204.

Ansell, C. and J. Torfing. 2016. Handbook on theories of governance. Edward Elgar Publishing: Northampton.

Beierle, T.C. and J. Cayford. 2002. Democracy in practice: Public participation in environmental decisions. New York: Routledge.

Boedeltje, M. 2009. Draagvlak door interactief bestuur: fictie of feit?! Enschede: Ipskamp Drukkers BV.

Buuren, A. van, I. van Meerkerk and C. Tortajada. 2019. Understanding emergent participation practices in water governance. International Journal of Water Resources Development 35(3): pp.367-382.

Douglas, S., O. Berthod, M. Groenleer and J. Nederhand. 2020. Pathways to collaborative performance: examining the different combinations of conditions under which collaborations are successful. Policy and Society 39(1): pp.1-20.

Eagly, A.H. and S. Chaiken. 2007. The advantages of an inclusive definition of attitude. Social Cognition 25(5): pp.582-602.

Edelenbos, J. 2000. Proces in vorm: Procesbegeleiding van interactieve beleidsvorming over lokale ruimtelijke projecten. Utrecht: Uitgeverij Lemma BV.

Edelenbos, J. 2005. Institutional implications of interactive governance: Insights from Dutch practice. Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions 18(1): pp.111-134.

Edelenbos, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2006. Managing stakeholder involvement in decision-making: A comparative analysis of six interactive processes on the Netherlands. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 16(3): pp.417-446.

Edelenbos, J., B. Steijn and E.H. Klijn. 2010. Does democratic anchorage matter? An inquiry into the relation between democratic anchorage and outcome of Dutch environmental projects. The American Review of Public Administration 40(1): pp.46-63.

Edelenbos, J., A. van Buuren, D. Roth and M. Winnubst. 2017. Journal of Environmental Planning and Management 60(1): pp.47-66.

Edelenbos, J. and I. van Meerkerk. 2016. Critical reflections on interactive governance: Self-organization and participation in public governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Edelenbos, J., I. van Meerkerk and T. Schenk. 2018. The evolution of community self-organization in interaction with government institutions: Cross-case insights from three countries. The American Review of Public Administration 48(1): pp.52-66.

Eisenhardt, M.K. 1991. Better stories and better constructs: The case for rigor and comparative logic. Academy of Management Review 16(3): pp.620-627.

Emerson, K., and T. Nabatchi. 2015. Collaborative governance regimes. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Ernst, A. 2019. How participation influences the perception of fairness, efficiency and effectiveness in environmental governance: An empirical analysis. Journal of Environmental Management 238: pp.368-381.

Fazey, I., A.C. Evely, M.S. Reed, L.C. Stringer, J. Kruijsen, P.C.L. White, A. Newsham et al. 2013. Knowledge exchange: A review and research agenda for environmental management. Environmental Conservation 40(1): pp.19–36.

Fishbein, M. and I. Ajzen. 1975. Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

Graaf, L. de 2007. Gedragen beleid: Een bestuurskundig onderzoek naar interactief beleid en draagvlak in de stad Utrecht. Delft: Eburon.

Hoon, C. 2013. Meta-synthesis of qualitative case studies: An approach to theory building. Organizational Research Methods 16(4): pp.522-556.

House, M.A. 1999. Citizen participation in water management. Water Science and Technology 40(10): pp.125-130.

Ianniello, M., S. Iacuzzi, P. Fedele and L. Brusati. 2018. Obstacles and solutions on the ladder of citizen participation: A systematic review. Public Management Review 21(1): pp.21-46.

Irvin, R.A. and J. Stansbury. 2004. Citizen participation in decision-making: Is it worth the effort? Public Administration Review 64(1): pp.55-65.

Jager, N.W., J. Newig, E. Challies and E. Kochskamper. 2020. Pathways to implementation: Evidence on how participation in environmental governance impacts on environmental outcomes. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory (30)3: pp.383-399.

Kerkhof, M. van de. 2006. Making a difference: On the constraints of consensus building and the relevance of deliberation in stakeholder dialogues. Policy Science 39: pp.279-299.

Klijn, E.H. and J.F.M. Koppenjan, 2016. Governance networks in the public sector. London: Routledge.

Klijn, E.H., J. Edelenbos and B. Steijn. 2010a. Trust in governance networks: Its impacts on outcomes. Administration & Society 42(2): pp.193-221.

Klijn, E.H., B. Steijn and J. Edelenbos. 2010b. The impact of network management on outcomes in governance networks. Public Administration 88(4): pp.1063-1082.

Klijn, E.H. and J.F.M. Koppenjan. 2000. Politicians and interactive decision-making: Institutional spoilsport or playmakers. Public Administration 78(2): pp.365–387.

Kooiman, J. (eds). 1993. Modern governance: New government-society interactions. London: Sage.

Koppenjan, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2004. Managing uncertainties in networks. London: Routledge.

Leach, W.D. 2006. Collaborative public management and democracy: Evidence from western watershed partnerships. Public Administration Review 66 (special issue): pp.100-110.

Leach, W. and N. Pelkey. 2001. Making watershed partnerships work: A review of the empirical literature. Journal of Water Resources, Planning and Management 127(6): pp.378-385.

Margerum, R.D. and C.J. Robinson. 2015. Collaborative partnerships and the challenges for sustainable water management. Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability 12: pp.53–58.

Mayer, I., J. Edelenbos and R. Monnikhof. 2005. Interactive policy development: Undermining or sustaining democracy? Public Administration 83(1): pp.179-199.

Meerkerk, I. van 2019. Top-down versus bottom-up pathways to collaboration between governments and citizens: Reflecting on different participation traps. In A. Kekez, M. Howlett, and M. Ramesh (eds.), Collaboration and public service delivery: Promise and pitfalls (pp.149-167). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Mok, K.Y., G.Q. Shen and J. Yang. 2015. Stakeholder management studies in mega construction projects: A review and future directions. International Journal of Project Management 33(2): pp.446-457.

Newig, J. and O. Fritsch. 2009. Environmental governance: Participatory, multi-level–And effective? Environmental Policy and Governance 19(3): pp.197–214.

Newig, J., E. Challies, N.W. Jager, E. Kochskaemper and A. Adzersen. 2018. The environmental performance of participatory and collaborative governance: A framework of causal mechanisms. The Policy Studies Journal 46(2): pp.269-297.

Nouzari, E., T. Hartmann and T. Spit. 2019. The usefulness of interactive governance for underground planning. Nature and Culture 14(2): pp.147-167.

Nouzari, E., T. Hartmann and T. Spit. 2020. Interactive governance for satisfaction measurements: Stakeholder involvement in design processes for flood risk management. Journal of Flood Risk Management 13(4): pp.1-15.

Reed, M. S. 2008. Stakeholder participation for environmental management: A literature review. Biological Conservation 141(10): pp.2417–2431.

Rijksoverheid. 2020 [online]. https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/waterschappen Visited: 19 March 2020.

Rijkswaterstaat. 2020a [online]. https://www.infomil.nl/onderwerpen/lucht-water/handboek-water/wetgeving/waterwet/ Visited: 19 March 2020.

Rijkswaterstaat. 2020b [online]. https://www.infomil.nl/onderwerpen/lucht-water/handboek-water/thems/waterveiligheid-0/normering-primaire/ Visited: 19 March 2020.

Robertson, P.J. and T. Choi. 2012. Deliberation, consensus, and stakeholder satisfaction: A simulation of collaborative governance. Public Management Review 14(1): pp.83-103.

Rowe, G., T. Horlick-Jones, J. Walls, W. Poortinga and N.F. Pidgeon. 2008. Analysis of a normative framework for evaluating public engagement exercises: Reliability, validity and limitations. Public Understanding of Science 17(4): pp.419-441.

Sabatier, P.A., W. Focht, M. Lubell, Z. Trachtenberg, A. Vedlitz, and M. Matlock (eds.). 2005. Swimming upstream: Collaborative approaches to watershed management. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Schlager, E. & W.A. Blomquist. 2008. Embracing watershed politics. Boulder: University Press of Colorado-Boulder.

Schulz, C. 2019. Governance-related values as dimensions of good water governance. WIREs Water 6(1): pp.1-12.

Scott, A.T. and C.W. Thomas. 2017. Unpacking the collaborative toolbox: Why and when do public managers choose collaborative governance strategies. Policy Studies Journal 45(1): pp.191-214.

Scott, T.A., C.W. Thomas and J.M. Magallanes. 2019. Convening for consensus: Simulating stakeholder agreement in collaborative governance processes under different network conditions. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 29(1): pp.32-49.

Sirianni, C. 2009. Investing in democracy: Engaging citizens in collaborative governance. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.

Smith, G. 2009. Democratic innovations: Designing institutions for citizen participation. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sørensen, E. and J. Torfing (eds). 2007. Theories of democratic network governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Sørensen, E. and J. Torfing. 2009. Making governance networks effective and democratic through metagovernance. Public Administration 87(2): pp.234–258.

Teisman, G., J. Edelenbos, E.-H. Klijn and J. Verbart. 2001. Ruimtelijke ontwikkelingsprocessen. In G. Teisman (ed.), Besluitvorming en ruimtelijke procesmanagement: Studie naar eigenschappen van ruimtelijke besluitvorming die realisatie van meervoudig ruimtegebruik remmen of bevorderen (pp.1–72). Delft: Eburon.

Thaler, T. and M. Levin-Keitel. 2015. Multi-level stakeholder engagement in flood risk management—A question of

roles and power: Lessons from England. Environmental Science and Policy 55(2): pp.292-301.
Tseng, C.-P. and E.C. Penning-Rowsell. 2012. Micro-political and related barriers to stakeholder engagement in flood risk management. The Geographical Journal 178(3): pp.253-269.
Torfing, J., B.G. Peters, J. Pierre and E. Sorensen. 2012. Interactive governance: Advancing the paradigm. New York: Oxford University Press.
Ulibarri, N. 2015. Tracing process to performance of collaborative governance: A comparative case study of federal hydropower licensing. Policy Studies Journal 43(2): pp.283–308.
Von Korff, Y., K.A. Daniell, S. Moellenkamp, P. Bots, and R.M. Bijlsma. 2012. Implementing participatory water management: Recent advances in theory, practice, and evaluation. Ecology and Society 17(1): pp.1-14.
Warner, J. 2006. More sustainable participation? Multi-stakeholder platforms for integrated catchment management. International Journal of Water Resources Development 22(1): pp.15-35.
Waterschap Limburg. 2017. Dijkversterkingen en dijkverlegging in Limburg. Limburg: Waterschap Limburg.
Waterschap Limburg. (2019). Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit Noordelijke Maasvallei: Visie & Leidende
Principes.

4

Chapter 5

The subject of process and content within stakeholder involvement: Does context matter?

Ehsan Nouzari
Thomas Hartmann
Tejo Spit

ABSTRACT

One of the primary reasons for the use of stakeholder involvement in spatial projects is reaching satisfaction among stakeholders. It is assumed that satisfaction leads to support for the outcome of a spatial project, discouraging stakeholders from using legal action to hinder implementation. Academic literature has provided proof that favourability of the outcome (content) is decisive for stakeholder behaviour, while other contributions provided empirical data that process is decisive. However, research on why content or process is decisive for stakeholder behaviour is largely absent. This article contributes to filling that gap with a case study on the dike reinforcement Wolferen-Sprok in the Netherlands. This study explores reasons for the importance of content and process for the acceptance or rejection of an outcome. This provides insight into stakeholder behaviour.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Increasing complexity of spatial (wicked) problems and interdependency between different actors has led to the use of governance to steer society and realize desirable goals (Edelenbos, 2005; Edelenbos et al., 2010; Torfing et al., 2012). Studies within governance literature describe the benefits of stakeholder involvement for the outcome of spatial projects. Examples are increased quality of the outcome, realizing democratic legitimacy, reaching support among stakeholders and a cost-effective process through faster realisation (Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Scott & Thomas, 2017; Newig et al., 2018). Reaching stakeholder satisfaction for support is generally the primary goal of stakeholder involvement, especially in the United States, but also in the Netherlands (Thomas, 1995; van de Kerkhof, 2006; van Buuren et al., 2019). Governance literature assumes that the involvement of stakeholders leads to satisfaction. In turn, this leads to support for decision-making, discouraging the use of veto powers to stop implementation of projects through judicial action (Randolph & Bauer, 1999; O'Leary et al., 1999; Mayer et al., 2005; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006).

When looking at the benefit of support through stakeholder involvement, a distinction is made between content and process outcome (Skelcher et al., 2005; Edelenbos et al., 2010; Klijn et al., 2010ab). Content outcome concerns the substance resulting from a stakeholder process, like policy documents, ideas and infrastructure designs. One of the aspects that characterize content outcome is the extent to which stakeholders recognize their input within decisions made (de Bruijn et al., 1998; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Edelenbos et al., 2010). Process outcome regards non-substance related results like stakeholders' satisfaction about how they were involved (Meier & O'Toole, 2001; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Edelenbos et al., 2010).

In academic literature, questions are raised about how satisfaction regarding process and content relate to each other, but also which is more important to reach support among stakeholders. There are two strands of thinking within literature on this subject. One strand argues that satisfaction with the content is the primary or deciding factor for stakeholder support while others argue that procedural satisfaction is also important (Arnesen, 2017). Researchers arguing that content is the deciding factor describe that stakeholders *"care about ends, not means; they judge government by results and are … indifferent about the methods by which the results are achieved"* (Popkin, 1991, p.99). Support is achieved by involving stakeholders and incorporating their input (knowledge, interests and expertise) into the decision-making process, in short, granting stakeholders influence on the decision-making (Fung & Wright, 2001; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Robertson & Choi, 2012). Researchers arguing that procedural satisfaction is important for stakeholder support explain that *"No matter how good an agreement is by some standards, if it was reached by a process that was not regarded as fair, open, inclusive,*

accountable, or otherwise legitimate, it is unlikely to receive support" (Innes & Booher, 1999, p.415). Aside from direct influence, stakeholders also find unbiased and fair decision-making important, because such processes result in people feeling they were treated with respect and dignity. This means that procedural aspects, like transparency and representation of different interests, also matter for the acceptance or rejection of decisions (Tyler & Lind, 1992; Tyler, 2001b; Arnesen, 2017). The argument is that stakeholders accept an unfavourable outcome, because decisions were made through fair procedures.

Some contributions, most notably within political science, have sought to determine if procedural or content satisfaction is more decisive for stakeholder support of an outcome through experimental (survey) research. Some of these studies have shown that favourability of a decision (content) is most important, while others show that how decisions are reached (process) is more important (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1990; Tyler & Blader, 2000; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2000 and 2001; Tyler, 2001a; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008; Persson et al., 2013; Arnesen, 2017; Esaiasson et al., 2017).

Whichever is more important, the contradiction between these studies show that both content and procedural satisfaction play a role in stakeholder support for decisions. According to Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008), the problem in literature is not a lack of empirical evidence if process or content satisfaction plays a larger role in the support of a decision but rather a lack of sound theoretical and empirical explanation for why either or both play a role. Herein lies a gap within scientific literature. As a result, this study seeks to answer the following research question: *Why is content or process decisive for stakeholder attitude and behaviour towards a (un)favourable outcome?*

This study however, compared to the studies mentioned above on the importance of content and procedural satisfaction, does not focus on political subjects and arenas, but on spatial planning. Thus, the context of the case will be vastly different from the studies cited before. More specifically, based on a study done by Wojcieszak (2014), context regarding the type of issue and the investment of stakeholder in that issue will differ. These are most likely important factors for explaining why procedural or content satisfaction is decisive for stakeholder support.

5.2 SATISFACTION, ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOUR OF STAKEHOLDERS

Within psychology, research on the relationship between attitude and behaviour of people is very popular, resulting in a large amount literature regarding various domains, like health care and transportation (Montano & Kasprzyk, 2005; Kroesen et al., 2017; Kruglanski et al., 2018). Various theoretical models are used to establish how attitude influences the behaviour of people, with the Theory of Reasoned Action and the Theory

of Planned Behaviour being the most successful and popular frameworks (Armitage & Conner, 2001; Noar & Zimmerman, 2005; McEachen et al., 2011; Kroesen et al., 2017). Both models have their shortcomings (Weinstein, 2007; Sniehotta et al., 2014) but have provided empirical proof that attitude influences behaviour and has been shown to contribute towards predicting and explaining people's behaviour in studies (Montano & Kasprzyk, 2005; McEachan et al., 2011; Sheeran et al., 2016). While these models generally assume that attitude influences behaviour, contributions have also mentioned that a reverse relationship might also exist (Ajzen, 2015). This research uses concepts like attitude and behaviour to determine why content or procedural satisfaction is decisive in stakeholder support. Accordingly, it is important to note that the causality of the relationship between attitude and behaviour falls outside of the scope of this research. Based on contemporary insights regarding the attitude-behaviour relationship and empirical proof provided in literature, this study assumes that attitude influences behaviour.

Explaining behaviour starts with determining someone's attitude. Evaluations based on experiences and perceptions lead to a certain attitude, in turn resulting in a certain behaviour. Based on Eagly and Chaiken (1993) and Ajzen and Fishbein (2000) attitude is broadly defined as an evaluation of particular objects in a favourable or unfavourable manner. These evaluated attitude objects, as they are called in social psychology, are entities that people evaluate and form an attitude towards (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). Within this present research, the evaluated attitude objects are the stakeholder process and the resulting content, a distinction made often in governance literature (Skelcher et al., 2005; Edelenbos et al., 2010; Klijn et al., 2010ab). The favourable or unfavourable attitude, in turn, determines stakeholders' behaviour (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000). While a precise meaning of the concept of behaviour is missing in literature (Bergner, 2011), the definition used in this study is *"the internally coordinated responses (actions or inactions) of whole living organisms (individuals or groups) to internal and/or external stimuli"* (Levitis et al., 2009, p.108). According to this definition, behaviour refers to a response from an individual or a group. Applied to the concept of governance, when stakeholders are satisfied (positive evaluation), they will accept the outcome (attitude) and convey their support. If stakeholders are dissatisfied (negative evaluation), they will reject the outcome (attitude) and protest (Ruelle & Bartels, 1998; de Graaf, 2007). There is also a third type of behaviour, aside from support or protest, namely adhering to the final decisions made, despite dissatisfaction. Stakeholders can make the conscious decision not to protest or unconsciously follow a decision made, but that does not mean they genuinely accept the outcome (Potman, 1989; Meegeren, 1997; Boedeltje, 2009). Adherence comes from the attitude of compliance. Compliance refers to a direct or indirect request for a particular (urged) response (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). A stakeholder may publicly comply but is privately still dissatisfied with the content outcome (Edelson et al., 2011). It is important to note here that evaluation of

stakeholders (resulting in certain attitude) is based on their perceptions, meaning that the experience will not always correspond with reality (Coglianese, 2003).
The behaviour (support, adherence or protest) stakeholders show in governance processes is dependent on responsiveness. In political science, three types of responsiveness are distinguished (Esaiasson et al., 2017); they have been applied to the concept of stakeholder involvement in spatial planning, namely:

- Listening: staying informed about the wishes, concerns and interests of stakeholders.
- Explaining: providing an understandable and credible explanation or justification for decisions made.
- Adapting: adjusting the decisions according to the wishes and interests of stakeholders.

Listening and explaining are types of responsiveness that are process oriented, because both convey that stakeholders' wishes and interest were considered in the decision-making, even when the decision itself was unfavourable for them. Adapting is more content oriented, as the decision itself will be in line with the interests and wishes of stakeholders, which leads to a favourable outcome. All three types of responsiveness affect the evaluation of the process or the content of decisions and as a result stakeholders' behaviour towards the outcome, thus contributing to explaining why content or procedural satisfaction is decisive for stakeholder support.

5.3 METHODOLOGY

To answer the research question, interviews were conducted among stakeholders involved in the dike reinforcement project Wolferen-Sprok to establish the following:

1. The procedural and content satisfaction for current and hypothetical dike designs;
2. Stakeholder attitude and behaviour towards these different situations;
3. The reasons why stakeholders show a certain attitude and behaviour towards an (un)favourable decision.

To explain how data was collected and analysed, this section elaborates upon the research methods used and the choices made.

5.3.1 Research method

The research question does not focus on the question if content or procedural satisfaction is important for the support of stakeholders. Empirical data from studies have shown that both content and procedural satisfaction play a role in the support of a(n) (un)

favourable decision. This research rather focusses on the explanation why content and/or procedural satisfaction is decisive in the support or rejection of a decision. Accordingly, interviews are well suited as a research method to gather data, because interviews provide understanding of the investigated behaviours and motivations. The interviews were recorded with permission of the interviewees for the analysis of gathered data, but also to ensure the reliability of results (Hay, 2010; Bryman, 2012).

5.3.2 Dike reinforcement project Wolferen-Sprok

The dike reinforcement project Wolferen-Sprok started in 2016 with preparatory research, for example, soil structure, landscape and nature to establish conceptual solutions for reinforcing the dike. In 2017, research continued and the waterboard started to involve stakeholders through citizen meetings, generally informing people about the planning and the decision-making process. At the end of 2018, the waterboard decided to reinforce the dike primarily with soil and communicated the intention to explore custom solutions for locations where the new design would hit properties of citizens along the dike. In 2019 and 2020, several one-on-one meetings were held with citizens and business owners about the custom solutions the waterboard had devised to preserve the properties of stakeholders along the dike. During this time, design workshops were also organized to gather stakeholders' wishes and concerns. These custom solutions consist of metal constructions or sheets that are drilled into the ground, resulting in less space needed compared to primarily reinforcing the dike with soil (Waterschap Rivierenland, 2020).

There are two reasons for choosing a dike reinforcement project as the case for this research. First, environmental projects like dike reinforcements involve many actors over a long period of time. Stakeholders have a comprehensive picture of their involvement in the process and the development of the dike design, making it possible to have qualitative discussions about their attitude and behaviour towards the project. Second, environmental projects, such as water management, deal with complex (wicked) problems, because many stakeholders are involved in such processes, and they each have different ideas for desirable solutions (Edelenbos et al., 2010). A relatively large group of stakeholders with diverging views, values and interests might lead to different explanations for the decisiveness of content and/or procedural satisfaction for their behaviour.

5.3.3 Sampling and population

The population of this research are citizens and business owners who live along the dike and have participated in the design process for the dike reinforcement project. Purposive sampling was used to select 13 of these stakeholders based on the following three criteria: the first criterion is that all stakeholders had to be involved for a minimum of 2 years, preferably since the announcement that the dike had to be

5

reinforced. Stakeholders needed to have enough knowledge about and experience with the process to be able to answer questions about, for example, their satisfaction. The second criterion was context, meaning that stakeholders were chosen based on how much they would lose, or gain, based on the last version of the dike design. A diverse group leads to a better understanding if different situations lead to different results regarding stakeholder satisfaction, attitude and behaviour. Stakeholders were chosen who would lose their house, would lose some garden space or would lose nothing at all. Stakeholders were also chosen based on their location along the dike, as the location of each stakeholder showed different environmental characteristics impacting their current location-specific dike design. The third criterion was the type of stakeholder, to establish whether differences in interests between small-business owners and residents would lead to different explanations for their satisfaction, attitude and behaviour in different situations.

From interview 7 onwards, no new insights were obtained about why stakeholders support or reject a(n) (un)favourable decision. Based on the saturation of results, the total amount of interviews was kept at 13, because no new explanations were given for why one is more important than the other. Such a strategy is suitable, because this is a qualitative case study that focusses on exploring reasons for why content or procedural satisfaction is decisive for stakeholder behaviour, in turn, explaining contradictory results found in literature regarding this topic. The focus is not on generating generalisable data.

5.3.4 Operationalisation interviews

To answer the main research question, the relationship between stakeholder satisfaction, attitude and resulting behaviour within interactive processes needs to be operationalised into a fitting data gathering method. The interview was split up into three parts, namely 1) establishing stakeholders' procedural satisfaction, 2) determining stakeholders' content satisfaction and 3) understanding the stakeholders' attitude and behaviour towards (un)favourable situations based on their satisfaction.

The first two parts of the interview consisted of open-ended questions about their satisfaction. Questions were asked which aspects the stakeholders were satisfied or dissatisfied with, but also to grade the process and the current conceptual dike design. Establishing stakeholders' content and procedural satisfaction was needed to determine the attitude and their respective behaviour, as studies have shown that both play a role in the acceptance or rejection of a decision. Another reason to first discuss content and procedural satisfaction instead of directly asking why one is decisive for their behaviour is to obtain a better understanding of their explanation. For example, when a stakeholder conveys that favourability of a decision (content) is more important, the researcher can reflect on that answer based on the conveyed procedural satisfaction. Thus, the interviewer would ask why favourability is most important when the stakeholder is also

satisfied with the process and understands that a dike reinforcement is necessary for the national safety of citizens. This was intended to provoke a more elaborate discussion about why content satisfaction is decisive for their behaviour.

To know why a stakeholder accepts or rejects a certain decision, insight is needed into their attitude and behaviour. Consequently, the third part of the interview focusses on the attitude and behaviour towards the current and hypothetical dike designs. Two designs were put forward:

1. The current conceptual dike design. This design showed the space that the dike would occupy in the future and the metal construction that would be driven into the ground to strengthen the dike. This design was communicated to stakeholders by the waterboard between November 2019 and March 2020. For most people, implementation of the current design would mean they could keep living in their current house with minimal to no loss of property space.
2. Hypothetical situation: This was a design that would broaden the dike to such an extent that houses had to be demolished. In this scenario, stakeholders would have to permanently move to another location, and, according to Dutch planning law, receive only the (minimum) market value for their property as a financial compensation. Will stakeholders accept an unfavourable decision in the absence of a favourable compensation and why?

Accordingly, stakeholders were confronted with favourable and unfavourable decisions. It is in this juxtaposition that stakeholders could be questioned on why procedural or content satisfaction is more important to them by comparing their attitude and behaviour in both situations.

5.4 ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOUR IN BOTH FAVOURABLE AND UNFAVOURABLE SITUATIONS

To understand the reasoning for the importance of procedural or content satisfaction, it is necessary to know the attitude of stakeholders, but also how they behave in favourable and unfavourable situations. It is in this juxtaposition that stakeholders can be questioned on why procedural or content satisfaction is more important for them by comparing their attitude and behaviour in both scenarios. Alongside the current design, two unfavourable situations were put forward in which stakeholders would always be dissatisfied (see 5.3 Methodology).

Table 5.1: Attitude and behaviour for current and hypothetical dike designs

		Process	Current dike design		Unfavourable design	
Nr.	**Stakeholder**	**Responsiveness**	**Attitude**	**Behaviour**	**Attitude**	**Behaviour**
R1	Both	Adapting	Accept	Support	Reject/comply	Protest/adhere
R2	Citizen	Explaining	Comply	Adhere	Reject	Protest
R3	Citizen	Adapting	Accept	Support	Reject/comply	Protest/adhere
R4	Citizen	Explaining	Comply	Adhere	Reject	Protest
R5	Citizen	Explaining	Comply	Adhere	Reject	Protest
R6	Citizen	Adapting	Accept	Support	Reject	Protest
R7	Citizen	Adapting	Accept	Support	Reject	Protest
R8	Citizen	Adapting	Comply	Adhere	Reject	Protest
R9	Both	Explaining	Accept	Support	Reject	Protest
R10	Citizen	Explaining	Accept	Support	Reject	Protest
R11	Citizen	Adapting	Accept	Support	Comply	Adhere
R12	Citizen	Explaining	Comply	Adhere	Reject	Protest
R13	Business	Explaining	Accept	Support	Reject	Protest

Stakeholders were very satisfied with the process, with most conveying that the waterboard showed a high degree of responsiveness (Table 5.1). None of the stakeholders thought that the waterboard only consulted stakeholders for their wishes, concerns and interests (listening), but experienced the waterboard as providing an explanation for why decisions were made (explaining) when they did not or could not implement the input in the final dike design (adapt). The different levels of responsiveness, as experienced by stakeholders, is primarily explained through the perspective stakeholders used to judge the intentions of the waterboard. Some conveyed that the waterboard, with all their good intentions, had the primary interest of implementing the dike reinforcement, whether stakeholders liked it or not. This, in the eyes of some stakeholders, meant that the waterboard would only do what they found acceptable and cost-efficient. Others expressed that they thought the waterboard had good intentions and understood the difficulty of the stakeholders' situation. Accordingly, stakeholders believed that the waterboard was trying to do the best they could for stakeholders' interests despite their own interest of implementing the dike reinforcement.

Evaluating the current dike design, almost every stakeholder can be put into two categories of attitude and behaviour, namely acceptance-support and compliance-adherence. The difference is explained through the stakeholder's individual perspectives from which they judged the current process and dike design. Stakeholders in the category compliance-adherence complied with the current conceptual dike design because they were able to remain living at their current location. However, these stakeholders were not truly satisfied as the current design would always lead to an end result that was worse than the current situation, for example, loss of (garden) space, disappearing vegetation (like trees and flowers), decreased property value and a more obstructed view of the river and landscape. Even when stakeholders would not lose anything based on the current dike design, they still conveyed that they felt worse off, because construction activities during the realisation phase would lead to noise pollution and other inconveniences for a prolonged period of time (3-5 years). Stakeholders in the category of acceptance-support were very satisfied, because they were able to remain in their current location with minimal to no loss of space on their property. Compared to the category of compliance-adherence, stakeholders supported the design as they understood the necessity of a dike reinforcement for national safety as a starting point to assess the conceptual dike design. Some stakeholders conveyed that "they could not have asked for more", considering the necessity for a dike reinforcement.

In regard to the hypothetical situation, stakeholders made a distinction during the interviews between minimal market value or a reasonable financial compensation. With the scenario where stakeholders obtained a reasonable financial compensation, they complied and adhered if the waterboard explained their decision as the most logical outcome, resulting in understanding (process). The reasonable compensation gave stakeholders the opportunity to buy a property in a similar environment, mostly conserving their existing quality of life (content). This would still be an acceptable outcome, not desirable, but acceptable nonetheless, according to stakeholders. In the other scenario, stakeholders lost their property, needed to move and obtained minimal financial compensation decided by Dutch planning law. In this scenario all stakeholders were dissatisfied, with everyone rejecting the dike design and protesting against it through legal action. Stakeholders would only receive the minimum market value, without any compensation of intangible aspects, like emotional connection to the area, the view on the landscape (location) and the time and effort invested in building a home. Intangible aspects play a role, because most stakeholders have lived in their current home and the area between 20 to 40 years. The financial compensation cannot be used to get a house with the same space on another location with a similar landscape or view. In short, the quality of life for stakeholders will be drastically lowered. Some stakeholders explained that they felt there was a threshold as to what is acceptable. Stakeholders understood that the dike reinforcement was necessary for national safety, but the waterboard also needed to understand the impact the project would have on stakeholders' lives. That understanding had to be conveyed in the form of a decent financial compensation if the waterboard could not realize the most desirable design according to stakeholders. A decent financial compensation would be seen as a compromise in content and an alternative outcome, as stakeholders could buy a property in a similar environment, mostly conserving their existing quality of life. The only exceptions are stakeholder R11 and to a lesser extent R1 and R3. Stakeholder R11 conveyed that they chose to adhere to the hypothetical situation in which they had to move and only receive the minimal market value as financial compensation. Stakeholders R1 and R3 did not exactly know if they would adhere or protest against the outcome.

5

5.5 WHAT MATTERS MOST (PROCESS OR CONTENT) AND WHY?

Content satisfaction is decisive for the attitude and behaviour of stakeholders in the dike reinforcement project Wolferen-Sprok. Stakeholders were satisfied with the process in the hypothetical situation (see Table 5.1) but dissatisfied with the dike design, resulting in an attitude of compliance-adherence and behaviour of rejection-protest. However, actual acceptance was lacking.

When asked why content satisfaction is more decisive for their acceptance rather than process, stakeholders explained that decisions regarding the dike design would shape their lives for years to come. That does not change only because stakeholders are satisfied with the participation procedures of the waterboard. When asked why favourability of decisions (content) is more important, stakeholder R5 answered: *"The waterboard can involve you really well in the process, but eventually you have to live with the end result. Ultimately, it is the outcome that stands."* As stakeholder R8 put it, *"The outcome is of course most important. You have to do with what you get. You have to live with that for another ten, twenty or thirty years."* In addition, stakeholder R12 commented, *"The dike reinforcement is necessary for the interest of many, but why would you be the one having to pay the price? You are already paying a price by having to leave, so you also want to be properly compensated… It does not mean I need to bear the financial consequences."*

However, does process still matter? According to stakeholders, it does, and it plays an important role in reaching satisfaction for support. Even if the waterboard decided to implement a dike design that is not ideal from the stakeholders' perspective, they would still comply and adhere if all the considerations made are explained in an understandable manner. If the waterboard explained why the unfavourable dike designs was the most logical choice, looking at a wide range of aspects to demolish the house and/or leave, then stakeholders could understand the decision made. Process is needed for stakeholders' rational and emotional understanding. As stakeholder R1 explained, *"When you … get the feeling that they (the waterboard) are talking nonsense and you aren't taken seriously, you start to get suspicious and mistrust. It gets worse when you aren't being informed regularly with an unfavourable outcome. All of these combined result in dissatisfaction, a feeling of being misunderstood and the thought that they didn't fight for your wishes, because for you it is a matter of life. Then you decide to fight (legal action) so that you can live with it more easily."* In short, if responsiveness in the form of adapting is not possible, explaining why certain decisions were made helps stakeholders to accept a possible unfavourable outcome.

Process is also important for having influence on decisions themselves. Stakeholders explained that they could inform the waterboard about their wishes through their involvement in the process. Without these opportunities to get involved, some favourable aspects of the conceptual dike design would not have been possible. As stakeholder R8 expressed, *"If they (the waterboard) come up with a plan all at once, you cannot influence it anymore. … You need to communicate to establish what is desirable and if choices can still be adjusted. If there wasn't any communication, then the dike would have been much closer to our house, and we would now be unsatisfied as a result. That is a big difference."* In short, involvement is needed to influence the waterboard in adapting the design to stakeholders' interests and thereby increasing responsiveness.

The exceptions mentioned earlier, stakeholder R11 and, to a lesser extent R1 and R3, have given different explanations for their behaviour compared to most other stakeholders in this research. Stakeholder R11 conveyed that they would adhere to an unfavourable decision because protesting through legal action for a higher financial compensation is not worth the stress a lawsuit brings. Stress diminishes one's quality of life, which is not worth the extra money a lawsuit might provide. Age was also given as a reason to adhere to an unfavourable outcome. Living smaller by selling the house would provide opportunities to anticipate restrictions ageing brings. Age also plays a role in the explanations given by stakeholders R1 and R3. Both stakeholders conveyed that they would probably protest the most unfavourable outcome but doubt they would actually take legal action due to their age.

5.6 CONCLUSION

For the dike reinforcement project Wolferen-Sprok, content satisfaction was decisive for stakeholders' behaviour (support, adherence or protest) towards a decision. As stakeholders explained in regard to the hypothetical situation, they felt there was a threshold as to what level of loss would be acceptable. Decent financial compensation is necessary, not only the market value of the property, but also non-tangible aspects like emotional attachment and view. A decent financial compensation was perceived as a compromise for an unfavourable decision, as it enables stakeholders to move to a place and property that matches the quality of life they currently have—this represents a reasonable alternative solution. If no reasonable financial compensation was to be given, stakeholders would reject the dike design and go into protest through legal action. Understanding needs to come from both sides according to stakeholders. Stakeholders understood the dike reinforcement was necessary, but the waterboard also needed to understand both the financial and emotional impact of the reinforcement on people's lives.

According to stakeholders, content satisfaction is decisive for their behaviour, because the favourability of a decision decides the future quality of life for most stakeholders. Not having the option to rebuild their home or not being financially compensated enough to buy a new house on a similar location are examples of outcomes that would negatively affect the quality of live. Stakeholders would have to live with the end result for the next

10 to 30 years. Most stakeholders understood that the reinforcement was necessary for the national safety of the Netherlands, but according to stakeholders living along the dike, they should not be the ones paying the price.

Process, however, was still perceived as important for the behaviour of stakeholders. Involvement provided stakeholders with the opportunity to influence the dike design (content) by conveying their wishes and concerns (responsiveness: listening). The waterboard decided to take the input of stakeholders into account, which meant that they were given no direct influence on the design process. However, without involvement, stakeholders would have had no chance to influence the design (responsiveness: adapting). As stakeholders conveyed, some favourable aspects of the current conceptual dike design would not have been possible without their involvement.

Process was also perceived as important for the rational and emotional understanding of an unfavourable decision. Stakeholders conveyed that they would comply and adhere with an unfavourable dike design if the waterboard explained in an understandable manner the considerations made and why their choice was a logical decision (responsiveness: explaining). A lack of involvement or not being taken seriously when involved can also lead to mistrust, leading to dissatisfaction and inevitably to conflict through legal action.

5.7 DISCUSSION

Studies, mainly within political science, have sought to determine if content or procedural satisfaction is more important for stakeholders' behaviour (support, adherence or protest) through experimental research. While some studies determined that the favourability of a decision (content) is more important, others concluded that how decisions are reached (process) is the deciding factor for stakeholder behaviour (e.g., Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1990; Tyler & Blader, 2000; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2001 and 2002; Tyler, 2001a; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008; Persson et al., 2013; Arnesen, 2017; Esaiasson et al., 2017). This study has shown that content satisfaction is decisive for stakeholder behaviour within the case study, but compared to similar studies, has also focussed on finding empirical explanations for the results. Even though the results of this study are not generalizable beyond the case, it is possible to utilize the empirical explanations to reflect on why different studies lead to contradictory results on the topic of the importance of content and procedural satisfaction for stakeholder behaviour.

The different issues underlying different studies can serve as one explanatory factor for the contradiction in results. Most studies that research if procedural or content satisfaction is decisive for stakeholder behaviour focus on general political processes and subjects instead of the engagement of people with specific issues. It is assumed throughout literature related to issue publics that people who personally care about specific issues prefer to have direct influence on the content of the outcome. Wojcieszak (2014) found issue importance to be an explaining factor for their preference for direct influence on the content of the outcome through regression analyses. This present study contributes to the findings of Wojcieszak (2014), particularly on the personal importance of issues to stakeholders in spatial planning. The importance of issues in explaining contradictions in literature is best illustrated by comparing the results of this research with the experimental study by Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008). The experimental study replicated a (political) decision-making process in which money would be allocated between stakeholders and a decision maker. By participating, stakeholders would receive between $5-$25, which would depend on the decision maker and the influence stakeholders had through their involvement in the decision-making process. Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008) concluded that compliance was not determined by the favourability of decisions, because satisfaction varied considerably between experiments even though the decision was the same in every experiment. This indicates that content satisfaction is not decisive for stakeholder behaviour; this contradicts the findings of our study. The difference is explained by the reasons stakeholders gave for why content satisfaction is decisive for their behaviour. Compared to the case by Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008), the issue and the content of the outcome within our case, a dike reinforcement project, is described by stakeholders as a matter of life and great importance. The decision about a specific dike design (content) will decide the quality of living for the next 10 to 30 years according to stakeholders. Combined with the emotional attachment people have with their environment, the issue of a dike reinforcement is far more important than, for example, the allocation of $25.

In short, context is one of the factors determining the importance of content or procedural satisfaction for stakeholder behaviour. There are more factors outlined in literature, not only the types of issues and their importance for stakeholders (Wojcieszak, 2014), but also people's trust in political systems (Bowler et al., 2007), ways of involvement (Arnesen, 2017), ideology (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2002), political interest and education (Dalton et al., 2001). More research focussing on explanations rather than an exploration whether content or procedural satisfaction is more decisive for stakeholder behaviour, would contribute to further explaining the contradictory results in the future.

REFERENCES

Ajzen, I. and M. Fishbein. 2000. Attitudes and the attitude-behaviour relation: Reasoned and automatic processes. European Review of Social Psychology 11(1): pp.1-33.

Ajzen, I. 2015. The theory of planned behaviour is alive and well, and not ready to retire: A commentary on Sniehotta, Presseau, and Araujo-Soares. Health Psychology Review 9(2): pp.131-137.

Armitage, C.J. and M. Conner. 2001. Efficacy of the theory of planned behaviour: A meta-analytic review. British Journal of Social Psychology 40(4): pp.471-499.

Arnesen, S. 2017. Legitimacy from decision-making influence and outcome favorability: Results from general population survey experiments. Political Studies 65(15): pp.146-161.

Beierle, T.C. and J. Cayford. 2002. Democracy in practice: Public participation in environmental decisions. Washington: Resources for the Future.

Bergner, R.M. 2011. What is behaviour? And so what? New Ideas in Psychology 29(2): pp.147-155.

Boedeltje, M. 2009. Draagvlak door interactief bestuur: fictie of feit?! Enschede: Ipskamp Drukkers.

Bowler, S., T. Donovan and J. Karp. 2007. Enraged or engaged? Preferences for direct citizen participation in affluent democracies. Political Research Quarterly 60(3): pp.351-362.

Bryman, A. 2012. Social research methods. New York: Oxford University Press.

Buuren, A. van, I. van Meerkerk & C. Tortajada. 2019. Understanding emergent participation practices in water governance. International Journal of Water Resources Development 35(3): pp.367-382.

Coglianese, C. 2003. Is satisfaction success? Evaluating public participation in regulatory policymaking. In R. O'Leary & L. Bingham (eds.), The promise and performance of environmental conflict resolution (pp.69-89). Washington: Resources for the Future.

Cialdini, R.B. and N.J. Goldstein (2004). Social influence: Compliance and conformity. Annual Review of Psychology 55: pp.591-621.

Dalton, R.J., W. Burklin and A. Drummond. 2001. Public opinion and direct democracy. Journal of Democracy 12(4): pp.141-153.

Eagly, A.H. and S. Chaiken. 1993. The psychology of attitudes. Texas: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

Eagly, A.H. and S. Chaiken. 2007. The advantages of an inclusive definition of attitude. Social Cognition 25(5): pp.582-602.

Edelenbos, J. 2005. Institutional implications of interactive governance: Insights from Dutch practice. Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions 18(1): pp.111–134.

Edelenbos, J. and I. van Meerkerk. 2016. Critical reflections on interactive governance: Self-organization and participation in public governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Edelenbos, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2006. Managing stakeholder involvement in decision-making: A comparative analysis of six interactive processes on the Netherlands. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 16(3): pp.417-446.

Edelenbos, J., B. Steijn and E.H. Klijn. 2010. Does democratic anchorage matter? An inquiry into the relation between democratic anchorage and outcome of Dutch environmental projects. The American Review of Public Administration 40(1): pp.46-63.

Edelson, M., T. Sharot, R.J. Dolan and Y. Dudai. 2011. Following the crowd: Brain substrates of long-term memory of conformity. American Association for the Advancement of Science 333(6038): pp.108-111.

Esaiasson, P., M. Gilljam and M. Persson. 2017. Responsiveness beyond policy satisfaction: Does it matter to citizens? Comparative Political Studies 50(6): pp.739-765.

Fishbein, M. and I. Ajzen. 1975. Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

Fung, A. and E.O. Wright. 2001. Deepening democracy: Innovations in empowered participatory governance. Politics & Society 29(1): pp.5-41.

Graaf, L. de 2007. Gedragen beleid: Een bestuurskundig onderzoek naar interactief beleid en draagvlak in de stad Utrecht. Delft: Eburon.

Hay, I. 2010. Qualitative research methods in human geography. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hibbing, J.R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2001. Process preferences and American politics: What the people want government to be. American Political Science Review 95(1): pp.145-153.

Hibbing, J.R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2002. Stealth democracy: Americans' beliefs about how government should work. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hibbing, J. R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2008. Voice, validation and legitimacy. In Sullivan, B.A., M. Snyder and J.L. Sullivan (eds.), Cooperation: The political psychology of effective human interaction (pp.123-142). Wiley-Blackwell: Michigan.

Innes, J.F. and D.E. Booher. 1999. Consensus building and complex adaptive systems. A framework for evaluating collaborative planning. Journal of the American Planning Association 65(4): pp.412-423.

Irvin, R. A. and J. Stansbury. 2004. Citizen participation in decision-making: Is it worth the effort? Public Administration Review 64(1): pp.55-65.

Kerkhof, M. van. 2006. Making a difference: On the constraints of consensus building and the relevance of deliberation in stakeholder dialogues. Policy Science 39(3): pp.279-299.

Klijn, E.H., J. Edelenbos and B. Steijn. 2010a. Trust in governance networks: Its impacts on outcomes. Administration & Society 42(2): pp.193-221.

Klijn, E.H., B. Steijn and J. Edelenbos. 2010b. The impact of network management on outcomes in governance networks. Public Administration 88(4): pp.1063-1082.

Koppenjan, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2004. Managing uncertainties in networks. London: Routledge.

Kroesen, M., S. Handy and C. Chorus. 2017. Do attitudes cause behavior or vice versa? An alternative conceptualization of the attitude-behavior relationship in travel behavior modeling. Transportation Research Part A 101: pp.190-202.

Kruglanski, A.W., C. Baldner, M. Chernikova, C. Lo Destro and A. Pierro. 2018. A new perspective on the attitude-behavior relation: The essential function of goals. Polish Psychological Bulletin 49(1): pp.31-39.

Lind, E.A. and T.R. Tyler. 1988. The social psychology of procedural justice. New York: Plenum Press.

Levitis, D., W. Lidicker and G. Freunda. 2009. Behavioural biologists do not agree on what constitutes behavior. Animal Behaviour 78(1): pp.103–110.

Mayer, I., J. Edelenbos and R. Monnikhof. 2005. Interactive policy development: undermining or sustaining democracy? Public Administration 83(1): pp.179-199.

McEachen, R.R.C., M. Conner, N.J. Taylor and R.J. Lawton. 2011. Prospective prediction of health-related behaviours with the Theory of Planned Behaviour: A meta-analysis. Health Psychology Review 5(2): pp.97-144.

Meegeren, P. van. 1997. Communicatie en maatschappelijke acceptatie van milieubeleid: een onderzoek naar de houding ten aanzien van de 'dure afvalzak' in Barendrecht. Wageningen: Landbouwuniversiteit Wageningen.

Meier, K. J., and L.J. O'Toole. 2001. Managerial strategies and behaviour in networks: A model with evidence from U.S. public education. Journal of Public Administration and Theory 11(3): pp.271-293.

Montano, D.E. and D. Kasprzyk. 2005. Theory of reasoned action, theory of planned behavior, and the Integrated Behavioral Model. In K. Glanz, B.K. Rimer and K. Viswanath (eds.), Health behavior: Theory, research and practice (pp.95-124). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Noar, S.M. and R.S. Zimmerman. 2005. Health Behavior Theory and cumulative knowledge regarding health behaviors: Are we moving in the right direction? Health Education Research 20(3): pp.275–290.

O'Leary, R., R.F. Durant, D.J. Fiorino and P.S. Weiland. 1999. Managing for the environment: Understanding the legal, organizational and policy challenges. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Persson, M., P. Esaiasson and M. Gilljam. 2013. The effect of direct voting and deliberation on legitimacy beliefs: An experimental study of small group decision-making. European Political Science Review 5(3): pp.381-399.

Popkin, S.L. 1991. The reasoning voter: Communication and persuasion in presidential campaigns. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Potman, H.P. 1989. Acceptatie van beleid. Onderzoek naar de Wet geluidshinder ter verkenning van een bestuurskundig begrip. Zeist: Kerkebosch b.v.

Randolph, J. and M. Bauer. 1999. Improving environmental decision-making through collaborative methods. Policy Studies Review 16(4): pp.168-191.

Robertson, P.J. and T. Choi. 2012. Deliberation, consensus, and stakeholder satisfaction: A simulation of collaborative governance. Public Management Review 14(1): pp.83-103.

Ruelle, H. and G. Bartels. 1998. Draagvlak en de wisselwerking tussen zender en ontvanger. In:

Bartels, G., W. Nelissen and H. Ruelle (eds.). De transactionele overheid. Communicatie als instrument: zes thema's in de overheidsvoorlichting, Kluwer: Deventer

Scott, A.T. and C.W. Thomas. 2017. Unpacking the collaborative toolbox: Why and when do public managers choose collaborative governance strategies. Policy Studies Journal 45(1): pp.191-214.

Sheeran, P., A. Maki, E. Montanaro, A. Avishai-Yitshak, A. Bryan, W.M. Klein, E. Miles and A.J. Rothman. 2016. The impact of changing attitudes, norms, and self-efficacy on health-related intentions and behavior: A meta-analysis. Health Psychology 35(11): pp.1178–1188.

Skelcher, C., N. Mathur and M. Smith. 2005. The public governance of collaborative spaces: Discourse, design and democracy. Public Administration 83(3): pp.573–596.

Sniehotta, F.F., J. Presseau and V. Araujo-Soares. 2014. Time to retire the theory of planned behaviour. Health Psychology Review 8(1): pp.1–7.

Thomas, J.C. 1995. Public Participation in Public Decisions. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Torfing, J., B.G. Peters, J. Pierre and E. Sorensen. 2012. Interactive governance: Advancing the paradigm. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tyler, T.R. 1990. Why people obey the law. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tyler, T.R. 2001a. The psychology of public dissatisfaction with government. In J.R. Hibbing and E. Theiss-Morse (eds.), What is it a government that Americans dislike? (pp.227-242). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tyler, T.R. 2001b. A psychological perspective on the legitimacy of institutions and authorities. In J.T. Jost and B. Major (eds.), The psychology of legitimacy: Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice, and intergroup relations (pp.416-436). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tyler, T.R. and E.A. Lind. 1992. A relational model of authority in groups. Advances in Experimental Social Psychology 25: pp.115–191.
Tyler, T.R. and S. Blader. 2000. Cooperation in groups: Procedural justice, social identity, and behavioral engagement. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
Waterschap Rivierenland. 2020 [online]. https://www.dijkversterkingwolferensprok.nl/projectinformatie/default.aspx. Visited: 19 March 2020.
Weinstein, N. D. 2007. Misleading tests of health behavior theories. Annals of Behavioral Medicine 33(1): pp.1-10.
Wojcieszak, M. 2014. Preferences for political decision-making processes and issue publics. The Public Opinion Quarterly 78(4): pp.917-939.

5

Chapter 6

The usefulness of interactive governance from the perspective of public managers in spatial planning

Ehsan Nouzari
Thomas Hartmann
Tejo Spit

ABSTRACT

Government-induced is a popular form of interactive governance in western countries. It is used by governments for different beneficial outcomes, the most popular one being stakeholder support. Public managers within government-induced interactive governance decide how, when and which stakeholders are involved. They design the collaborative process and facilitate its development. Within academic literature, institutional design criteria are formulated that are assumed to reach stakeholder support if applied correctly in a collaborative process. Four criteria that can be helpful to public managers in practice but can also be used by academics for empirical research, are equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency. In academic literature, explanations are given for how these criteria contribute to generating stakeholder support. This study focusses on why public managers think these criteria are useful for practitioners for creating stakeholder support in government-induced interactive governance.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The popularity of interactive governance has been surging among practitioners and academics in the last two decades across different issues, sectors and countries (Torfing et al., 2012; Ianniello et al., 2018; Newig et al., 2018; Douglas et al., 2020). Having recognized the limits of classic top-down decision-making, as a result of societal changes like individualisation, interdependencies, specialisation, globalisation and labour functionalisation, governments have turned to more bottom-up approaches like interactive governance (Edelenbos, 2005; Torfing et al., 2012; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). In a collaborative process, governments involve stakeholders early in the process of policy making and implementation, providing opportunities to influence decision-making (Fung & Wright, 2001; Edelenbos, 2005; Mayer et al., 2005; Ansell & Gash, 2008). Governments work together with involved stakeholders to reach beneficial outcomes that are otherwise unachievable (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015). It is assumed that interactive governance leads to certain beneficial outcomes, like creating democratic legitimacy, cost-efficient decision-making resulting from stakeholder support and increasing the quality of substantive output (Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Scott & Thomas, 2017; Newig et al., 2018). Governments have thus departed from top-down approaches within contemporary society in favour of collaborative planning for the beneficial outcomes it can provide.

The most popular and sought-after benefit or purpose of interactive governance is reaching stakeholder support for implementation (Thomas, 1995; van de Kerkhof, 2006; van Buuren et al., 2019). It is most often the main purpose because, without stakeholder support and consequently implementation, even if the public value of policy is high, policy remains ineffective and symbolic (Ulibarri, 2015; Newig et al., 2018; Scott et al., 2019). Having a clear sought-after purpose in theory and practice is important. As Hysing's (2020) study has shown, fitting an institutional design (collaborative process) to a specific strategic purpose (stakeholder support) is one critical factor for the success of using governance. The primary recommendation of this study is to fit theoretical concepts to a specific purpose in governance research, which is in line with some other contributions found in literature (e.g., Gerlak et al., 2013; Bryson et al., 2015; Prentice et al., 2019). However, why is it important to fit theoretical concepts to a specific purpose?

There are two reasons for the recommendations discussed above. First, practitioners like public managers use interactive governance instrumentally for certain strategic purposes to ultimately solve public problems (Scott & Thomas, 2017; Hysing, 2020). The purpose for which interactive governance is being used determines the form, functioning and development of a policy process where stakeholders are involved (Agranoff, 2006; Provan & Kenis, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015). Using interactive governance without a clear purpose may not be worth the substantial public resources required in terms of money, energy and time (Imperial, 2005; Zachrisson et al., 2018). Consequently, a mismatch

between purpose and process design might reduce the effectiveness of stakeholder involvement resulting in wasted public resources.

Second, stakeholder involvement through interactive governance does not automatically execute itself. This means that collaborative processes need to be managed, facilitated and supervised by public managers (Mayer et al., 2005; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Klijn et al., 2010). However, public managers' ability and competence to administer collaborative processes determines their success in reaching a particular purpose (Sørensen, 2007). As a result, empirical data about what type of interactive governance is well suited for a specific purpose has become increasingly important for public managers to apply interactive governance effectively, but in what ways can theoretical concepts be tailored to a specific purpose in governance research?

This study follows up on the recommendation made by Hysing (2020) in two ways: first, by defining the scope of this study through a specific type of interactive governance (government-induced) and purpose (stakeholder support), second, through the perspective of public managers, reflecting on interactive governance to establish if the four criteria (equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency) are fit for an institutional design for the purpose of stakeholder support. To understand if interactive governance fits the purpose, it is necessary to ask why public managers think interactive governance leads to support. Only then one can understand why interactive governance is used in practice for the purpose of stakeholder support. Accordingly, this paper answers the following research question: *Why do public managers consider equality, reasonable debate, influence and transparency to play an (un)important role in reaching stakeholder support for policy implementation?* The role of public managers in this paper is defined as follows: a civil servant responsible for the design, facilitation and management of stakeholder processes for spatial policy implementation.

6.2 INSTRUMENTAL USE OF GOVERNMENT-INDUCED INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

The first step in following Hysing's (2020) recommendations is to define the scope of this study by narrowing down the type of interactive governance and its intended purpose. However, choosing a clear scope starts with defining interactive governance. Many different definitions of interactive governance exist in literature (e.g., Edelenbos, 2000; Denters et al., 2002; Kooiman et al., 2005; Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012; Newig et al. 2018). Interactive governance in this study is defined as previously stated by Torfing et al. (2012): *"the complex process through which a plurality of social and political actors with diverging interests interact in order to formulate, promote, and achieve common objectives by means of mobilizing, exchanging, and deploying a range of ideas, rules, and resources"* (pp.2-3). This definition shows what is governed and how. In this case, society

is governed by involving stakeholders in decision-making (Ansell & Torfing, 2016) through the realignment of resources like knowledge and money (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). This definition is also suited for the use of interactive governance in spatial planning, because societal stakeholders like citizens, small business owners and NGOs are often involved in policy implementation. A collaborative knows multiple phases. Two phases are most prominent, namely policy making, or programming, and policy implementation. Interactive governance is mostly beneficial for policy implementation, because this phase focusses on the activities necessary for the realisation, application or execution of the objectives formulated in public policy. The impact of policy becomes clear within implementation through concrete plans and decisions made within this phase, shaping how the possible realisation of policy will take place, in turn providing insight regarding the societal interests that will be impacted by these plans and decision (Knoepfel et al., 2007). This is especially true for spatial planning, because environmental policies impact the day-to-day lives of societal stakeholders (van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012). To further determine the scope of this study, the type of interactive governance and the how it will be used are explored in more detail.

Falling within the definition by Torfing et al. (2012), this study focusses on government-induced interactive governance, a popular approach in Western countries for spatial planning (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; van Kerkhof, 2006; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Scott & Thomas, 2017; van Meerkerk, 2019). In this top-down method, the government initiates a collaborative process and decides when, how and which stakeholders are involved. Stakeholders are given opportunities to provide input through participation procedures (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Edelenbos et al., 2017; Edelenbos et al., 2018; van Meerkerk, 2019). Participation procedures are mediums or vehicles for negotiation and face-to-face dialogue (Ansell & Gash, 2008). It is through these procedures that collaboration takes place and decision-making can be influenced. Examples of such procedures are advisory committees, citizen panels, task forces, etc. (Edelenbos et al., 2010; Newig et al., 2018).

Within government-induced interactive governance, public managers play a direct role in managing, supervising and structuring such participation procedures that allow for collaboration to take place (Mayer et al., 2005; Koontz & Thomas, 2006; Koontz & Newig, 2014; Hysing, 2020). Their direct role gives public managers considerable control and influence over a collaborative process (Koontz et al., 2004; Agranoff, 2006; Ansell & Gash, 2008; Brisbois & de Loë, 2016; Scott & Thomas, 2017). This type of interactive governance is mainly used as an instrument to effectively and efficiently solve policy problems through collaboration (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016; Hysing, 2020) by involving and realigning resources (knowledge, money, ideas, etc.) of stakeholders to achieve a desired outcome (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). Government-induced interactive governance is used strategically for a specific purpose.

The purpose of interactive governance this study focusses on is creating stakeholder support, which also influences the choices in collaborative process design and the roles of stakeholders (Thomson & Perry, 2006; Ansell & Gash, 2012; Imperial et al., 2018). Interactive governance is consensus oriented in nature (Connick & Innes, 2003; Scott & Thomas, 2017). Even though governments have the final say and decide if stakeholder input is taken into account in decision-making, in the case of government-induced interactive governance, the purpose is often to achieve a certain level of stakeholder consensus (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). By involving stakeholders (with high levels of influence) early in the process, stakeholder support is created, discouraging the use of resources for legal action or other tactics to stop implementation (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Mayer et al., 2005; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006). Stakeholder support and acceptance is one of the more important purposes of interactive governance, because even when plans and policy have high public value, it will remain ineffective and symbolic if it cannot be implemented or enforced (Ulibarri, 2015; Newig et al., 2018; Scott et al., 2019).

In summary, government-induced interactive governance in practice is used instrumentally most often for the purpose of stakeholder support. In the context of this type of interactive governance, public managers play an important role in designing and facilitating the stakeholder process. Thus, they form an important source of information to explore why certain criteria create stakeholder support for policy implementation. However, to reflect on the criteria public managers use in practice and their reasoning, criteria described in literature to create stakeholder support are used as a reference point.

6.3 FOUR INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN CRITERIA FOR STAKEHOLDER SUPPORT WITHIN INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

Many conceptual frameworks regarding interactive governance can be found in literature (e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012; Bryson et al., 2015; Newig et al., 2018; Jager et al., 2020; Douglas et al., 2020b). These frameworks try to be all encompassing, ranging over a wide range of fields, different types of interactive governance and showing the conditions to reach different beneficial outcomes. For the purpose of this study, to reflect upon the criteria public managers use in policy implementation for stakeholder support, the criteria formulated by Nouzari et al. (2019; 2020) are used, namely *equality*, *influence*, *reasonable debate* and *transparency:*

1. Applying equality to policy process means trying to minimize inequalities between involved stakeholders. This criterion has two sub-criteria, namely presence and voice. Presence is about stakeholders' opportunities to access the process (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). Presence is instrumentally important, because they give voice to different perspectives and interests. It also provides a broader view on issues, facilitating more carefully thought-out decisions (Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Sirianni, 2009; Newig et al., 2018). Voice is about the equal possibilities of involved stakeholders to let their voices be heard during participation procedures (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). When equality in voice is absent, powerful stakeholders might manipulate the collaborative process (Ansell & Gash, 2008), resulting in an unequal influence of input on decision-making (Edelenbos, 2000). Stakeholders value opportunities to speak, sometimes independently if the input has influence on decision-making (Lind & Tyler, 1988).
3. Influence refers to the power that stakeholders are able to exert on decision-making (Edelenbos, 2000; Smith, 2009). Accordingly, for stakeholders to have influence within government-induced interactive governance, a government needs to be willing to consider stakeholders' interests and input (Edelenbos et al., 2011). However, in practice, governments often lack experience when it comes to the use interactive governance. In addition, governments often fear losing control and power, resulting in stakeholder involvement remaining limited to consulting or informing (Leach & Pelkey, 2001; Videira et al., 2006; Tatenhove et al., 2010). Such involvement results in frustration among stakeholders, because they expected their input to be taken into account in decision-making or at least to be taken seriously (Monnikhof & Edelenbos, 2001; Edelenbos et al., 2017). Without any influence, stakeholder involvement becomes a meaningless process.
4. Reasonable debate provides space within the policy process to have open conversations, creating understanding among stakeholders for each other's perceptions and perspectives. For an open conversation that determines the strength of arguments rationally, stakeholders need to look beyond their own interests and be open to the experiences, perceptions and perspectives of others involved. When stakeholders listen empathetically and put themselves in the position of others involved, their perspectives are broadened, resulting in more rational and deliberate choices (Edelenbos, 2000; Roberts, 2002; Roberts, 2004; Smith, 2009).
5. Transparency is about the openness of expectations and information between stakeholders in a collaborative process. First, the accessibility of information enables involved stakeholders to provide input through problem definitions and solutions (Edelenbos, 2000). Sharing information is necessary within government-induced interactive governance, because when the differences in the knowledge levels of the involved parties are not compensated for, involvement is limited to the interests of the initiator instead of the stakeholders

(Leighninger, 2007; Ianniello et al., 2018). Second, sharing expectations is important, because expectations often become high and unrealistic when stakeholders are involved. This is especially the case within government-induced interactive governance (Coglianese, 1997; Mayer et al., 2005; de Graaf, 2007; van Meerkerk, 2019). When stakeholders are asked to collaborate, expectations are created that their preferences, interests and ideas will be taken into account in decision-making (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). However, this is not always possible, meaning that created expectations cannot be met, resulting in low levels of stakeholder support for final decisions made (Teisman et al., 2001; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Mayer et al., 2005).

The assumption made in literature is that the four institutional design criteria described above are necessary to reach stakeholder support in interactive governance. Nouzari et al. (2019; 2020) contributed to gathering empirical data supporting this assumption from the perspective of stakeholders through quantitative survey research. However, the purpose of this study is not to test the assumption but to explore the criteria public managers use to create stakeholder support and reflect on their reasoning through the four criteria explained above. The purpose of this is to determine if interactive governance, through the four criteria described above, fits the purpose of reaching stakeholder support according to public managers in practice. Before moving on to operationalising our research method and the four institutional design criteria, a description is given about the case used.

6.4 CASE-STUDY: INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT AGENCY RIJKSWATERSTAAT

Infrastructure projects suit the purpose of this research, because the outcomes of stakeholder management like support have become vital for their implementation in spatial planning (Achterkamp & Vos, 2008; Littau et al., 2010). In infrastructure projects, stakeholder satisfaction and support are indicators of success, complimenting more traditional factors like time, cost and quality (Davis, 2016). Such outcomes are gained through the involvement of stakeholders through activities like participation and communication (Leung et al., 2004). Even though stakeholder involvement and its management are important for success, construction projects generally have a poor track record in that area (Loosemore, 2006). An important explanation is the lack of sound and functioning strategies and methods that project or public managers can use, which results in random forms of stakeholder involvement (Karlsen, 2002; Yang & Shen, 2015).

The Dutch governmental agency Rijkswaterstaat has mostly adopted government-induced interactive governance for the construction of infrastructure projects. This

agency is responsible for the implementation of infrastructure projects (roads, tunnels, bridges, etc.) on a national level (Rijkswaterstaat, 2021a). In every project, Rijkswaterstaat applies what it calls 'integral project management', also called the IPM model. Each project is divided into 5 processes, namely environmental, control, project, contract and technical management. Environmental management focusses on involving stakeholders through government-induced interactive governance within infrastructure projects to create stakeholder support. A public manager is responsible for all management activities related to stakeholder involvement and the design of the collaborative process (Rijkswaterstaat, 2021b). Hence the infrastructure projects of Rijkswaterstaat fit the purpose of our research.

6.5 METHODOLOGY

To answer the research question, interviews were conducted with public managers from Rijkswaterstaat who are responsible for the collaborative processes of infrastructure projects. This section explains the research method used and the operationalisation of the interview.

6.5.1 Research method: interviews

The focus of this research is on explaining why the above-named four criteria matter for stakeholder support from the perspective of the public manager. The importance of equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency has been described in literature, but how public managers evaluate these criteria for the purpose of stakeholder support is less known. Therefore, interviews suit the purpose of this research, as the primary focus is on understanding the reason for the importance of institutional design criteria instead of exploring other criteria that are unknown or possibly receive less attention in literature. The interviews were conducted and recorded with prior permission of the interviewees. Recording the interviews facilitated analysis of gathered data, contributing to the reliability of results (Hay, 2010; Bryman, 2012).

6.5.2 Population: purposive sampling

In total, 10 public managers were interviewed. The number of interviews was not predetermined at the start. The interviews were stopped after a saturation of results was observed, because no new explanations were given for the importance of equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency for stakeholder support. As this study focusses on explaining the importance of variables for stakeholder support instead of exploring new ones, this saturation strategy is appropriate. The purpose was not to create generalizable data, but to gain a better understanding regarding the importance of institutional criteria for stakeholder support.

6.5.3 Operationalisation interview

The interviews consisted of two parts that were followed in chronological order. The first part started by asking which principles public managers use to create stakeholder support in policy implementation. The four criteria of interactive governance were introduced in this part of the interview to determine the differences and similarities. As explained before, literature considers the four criteria to be important in creating stakeholder support, but those might not be the same criteria public managers use, or, they might be the same criteria, but defined and applied in a different manner. This is the reason why the criteria were introduced after public managers stated their own principles. Also, explaining the criteria at the start of the interview was thought to potentially cause the public managers to repeat the criteria as their own answers instead of them thinking about how they design collaborative processes based on their experience.

The primary aim of the second part was to reflect extensively on the criteria public managers use. Public managers were asked if and why they think these principles and criteria are important in creating stakeholder support in policy implementation.

6.6 REFLECTING ON PRINCIPLES PUBLIC MANAGERS USE FOR STAKEHOLDER SUPPORT

During the interviews, public managers explained why their principles and the criteria of interactive governance contribute to creating stakeholder support. When discussing the four criteria of interactive governance with the public managers, a few explanations were given for why some criteria were not mentioned in their own approach, but also why those criteria are (un)important in their eyes. The following similarities, differences and nuances were observed based on the interviews organized by each of the criteria of interactive governance.

6.6.1 Influence

Determining how public managers view influence is necessary to understand why they think it is important for stakeholder support. Public managers noted that external stakeholders generally have no direct influence on the decision-making process compared to the government agency (like Rijkswaterstaat) tasked with realizing policy made by the national government. External stakeholders do have some influence though, as public managers are aware that they can protest, use media to communicate their possible dissatisfaction or use formal procedures to convey their disagreements with planned policy. However, the final decision-making power lies with the government (agency) initiating the policy process. If the government wants to ignore input given by stakeholders, it can do so. In light of this, public managers explained that, for stakeholders to have influence on the process and the content, this influence has to be

given to them by the government, in this case, by the public managers themselves, as they are responsible for the involvement of stakeholders in the policy process.

Public managers stated that they give influence to external stakeholders, but how influence is given varies as in the explanations for why it is important for stakeholder support. The explanation was phrased best by one public manager: *"When we (government agency) take into account the provided input by stakeholders, they feel they are taken seriously and that their involvement wasn't for nothing"*. When no influence is given, this results in the opposite -- distrust and dissatisfaction. This can lead to legal action, negative media attention or protests impeding policy implementation, according to public managers.

Further, it was mentioned frequently that stakeholders will retaliate when they see that a government (agency) has made a decision to implement policy in a certain manner without any input from directly affected actors. As one public manager explained, *"It is important to have a voice and influence, because people don't want the government to always do what it pleases"*. However, some public managers noted that timing is very important. Involving stakeholders too early results in uncertainty as many questions cannot be answered, because a lot of research still needs to take place to establish what is technically viable for the realisation of policy. Involving stakeholders too early results in leaving stakeholders to feel uncertain for a long period of time, because as public managers explained, *"Most spatial projects impact the quality of life of stakeholders"*.

However, some other explanations were also given for why influence is important for stakeholder support. One explanation was that *"It is important to provide stakeholders with influence, because stakeholders can use their own influence to make implementation more difficult"*. Examples concern negative media attention, legal action or formal complaints disrupting procedures to obtaining certain permits necessary for implementation. Further it was stated that providing influence and taking input into account creates pride and ownership of the issue at the core of the policy process among stakeholders. When stakeholders feel their involvement was of added value, they will support the implementation more.

6.6.2 Transparency

Some public managers have noted that it is not the actual influence that is important for stakeholder support, but transparency regarding what has been done with the received input. Being heard and taken seriously is not only achieved through influence, according to public managers, but also through honesty about why certain ideas and interests of stakeholders cannot be taken into account. According to some public managers, this has to do with the nature of spatial policy processes. As one public manager noted, *"Some initiatives are so big that you won't get everyone to say that the plans are fantastic, because the stakeholder interests are too big, and the interplay of different interests is too complex"*. Accordingly, stakeholder support needs to be created through procedural satisfaction,

because satisfaction in terms of the content is not always achievable.

Additionally, transparency regarding how stakeholder input has been utilized is crucial in order to reduce the amount of uncertainty that spatial policy implementation creates among interested stakeholders. As explained, spatial projects directly influence quality of life and in some cases some stakeholders may be genuinely distressed by their concerns. Therefore, it is important that a public manager has explored stakeholders' ideas and ways to implement them. If that was not an option, it is important to be able to cite reasons why certain ideas, for example, could not be implemented. Being transparent in this manner creates understanding and, in turn, satisfaction among stakeholders for decisions made by the government, even if those decisions are not what stakeholders wanted. As one public manager noted, *"it helps stakeholders with their acceptance to know why something isn't an option … and when you can accept something you will be less bothered by it"*.

Another aspect of transparency is expectation management. All public managers put emphasis on the management of expectations to create stakeholder support. As one public manager explained, managing stakeholder expectations is important, because *"With participation, stakeholders quickly expect that they have a lot of influence on decision-making, but there are conditions and objectives set by the government that need to be realized"*. In combination with conflicting stakeholder interests, limited time and budget, public managers explained that not every stakeholder interest can be taken into account, with public/national interest taking priority over individual interests. As another public manager explained, *"When you aren't clear about what stakeholders can or cannot do, you may create certain expectations that cannot be met"*. This inevitably leads to dissatisfaction later on in the policy process.

Public managers also explained that sharing information about process and content in an understandable way is important for stakeholder support. Content information relates to possible road designs, but also research about noise disturbance, for example. Procedural information concerns information like when stakeholders can participate and how much influence they can have. Several reasons were given for the importance of content and procedural transparency. The first reason is to take away the unknown and create understanding for why certain policy or decisions are made. As one public manager explained, *"When you as a stakeholder can't see what has been decided for you, you will always have a feeling that the decision has been made against you"*. Another public manager added to this, *"sharing information can take away ambiguities and assumptions taking away opposition by stakeholders"*. The second reason is that transparency disarms stakeholders' distrust of the government by showing that they do not want to hide important information. As explained by a public manager, *"When you aren't transparent, backdoor politics is created, which comes across as the government decides for the stakeholders or a feeling is created that there are secrets that stakeholders are not allowed to know"*. The third reason for transparency is that it generates understanding

for decisions made when stakeholders realize how those decisions are made.

6.6.3 Equality

One of the first steps in a collaborative process, according to public managers, is seeking out stakeholders and involving them in a collaborative process. An analysis is made to determine which stakeholders have direct interests related to the policy implementation process and are invited to participate in the policy process. Public managers explained that stakeholders with a direct interest are the ones that can impede implementation; therefore they are invited to participate in the policy process.

When stakeholders are involved, it is important, according to public managers, to treat them with equality, meaning that the government should not see itself as above public stakeholders. As one public manager explained, *"You invite resistance when you tell stakeholders that you are from the government, and you are going to tell them what is going to happen because you know better". "That is not what you want as a public manager"*. The goal of involvement is to determine stakeholders' interests but also why people are against or in favour of plans to implement policy. This can only be done, as one public manager explained, by having an open attitude towards stakeholders, because *"When you are open and honest towards stakeholders, they will open up to you"*. Understanding the stakeholder point of view helps public managers to seek out ways to incorporate these interests. As a result, plans will reflect stakeholder interests in order to create support.

Another important aspect raised by public managers is that all input, independent from the stakeholder, must be recorded to ultimately decide later on in the process if it can be taken into account. All input from every stakeholder is taken seriously, but when interests are in conflict with each other, the interest of more influential stakeholders gets prioritized. An example was given of a municipality that gives out permits for the realisation of the infrastructure policy. Such a stakeholder will be prioritized over the satisfaction of a few regular citizens. The national or broader interest takes priority above individual interests. However, public managers did elaborate by saying that if no reason is found not to incorporate a certain stakeholders' input, whether it is a regular citizen or a municipality, it will be used in the process, policy or decision-making.

It is important to note that equality was not mentioned as much compared to the other criteria. Public managers explained that it is worth the time investment (which is already limited in spatial policy processes), when compared to other criteria like transparency and influence, in order to reduce differences caused, for example, by communication skills or education level. It was also stated that true and total equality is not possible. This explains why equality was not mentioned as much as a principle during the first part of the interview.

6.6.4 Reasonable debate

Public managers noted that it is difficult to garner any understanding for choices made

among stakeholders when mutual respect is lacking. According to public managers, mutual respect means the willingness to talk to each other in a respectful manner, approaching each point of view with honesty and trying to understand another person's point of view. A lack of mutual respect leads to avoidance of conversations which impedes conversations about the content of policy in a productive way. As a result, no understanding is gained about other interests and choices made, eventually leading to dissatisfaction. One public manager explained that a lack of mutual respect and genuine interest leads to *"you only wanting to sell your own project and not working towards a win-win situation"*. Consequently, reasonable debate is important to understand stakeholders' different interests so that a way to take them into consideration for policy or decision-making can be found.

Public managers have mentioned reasonable debate as important for garnering understanding to create stakeholder support. However, public managers mostly use reasonable debate to talk about stakeholders' different interests and not necessarily about the content of policy. Conversations are focussed on interests, because seriously considering those interested is the shortest way to earning stakeholder support. Policy with a high degree of quality is important, but not necessarily for stakeholder support and getting policy implemented, according to public managers.

In summary, the principles public managers use to create stakeholder support and the explanations for their importance, mentioned during the first part of the interview, are mostly similar to the four criteria equality, transparency, influence and reasonable debate. The second part of the interview confirmed this, because when the four criteria were introduced, public managers mentioned how much their own principles coincide with them. Although the public managers interviewed in the context of this study may have not always used the same terms, their definitions and explanations of their own principles were fairly congruous. However, a few diverging nuances were given and explained based on the spatial planning context and type of interactive governance used.

6.6.5 Capacity to explain why

An important observation during the interviews was that some public managers were unable to explain why they used certain criteria and how those criteria create stakeholder support. As a result, questions were asked about the how public managers obtained their experience and knowledge in the field of stakeholder involvement within policy processes. First, public managers noted that they do not have any relatable education when it comes to stakeholder involvement in spatial projects. Second, public managers explained that they started their career within a different disciplinary field. Some started in project management, while others originally worked as a designer. At a certain point in their career, they sought a change and shifted towards the role of public manager responsible for stakeholder involvement in spatial projects. As a result, they learned their craft mainly through experience. Third, which is related to the second reason, is that

public managers reported they act based on their instinct and feeling. They explained that treating stakeholders how they themselves would want to be treated guides them in designing a policy process for involvement. However, instinct and feeling do not always explain why certain principles work, because such knowledge is not derived from reflection or research. A fourth reason deserves a bit more attention, because this is the only reason stakeholders named that is related to the actual knowledge public managers have regarding stakeholder involvement, mostly derived from one source, the *'Handboek Strategisch Omgevingsmanagement',* published by a consultancy bureau in the Netherlands in 2010. This book can be seen as a handbook describing principles to guide public managers with stakeholder involvement and is based on the mutual gains approach by Fisher and Ury (1991). When the book came out, it gained massive popularity among public managers in the Netherlands. Even though the book was released in 2010, the approach is still widely used by public managers in practice for stakeholder involvement in policy processes.

In short, interviewed public managers practice their profession mostly based on instinct, feeling and experience. The knowledge used to design and manage processes is mostly based on one outdated book. Consequently, public managers' knowledge base is small. This shows when they are asked to explain why their principles result in stakeholder support. Interviewees struggled to answer this question.

6.7 CONCLUSION

This article explored why public managers think the four criteria of interactive governance, formulated by Nouzari et al. (2019; 2020), based on the criteria originated by Edelenbos (2000) and Smith (2009), result in stakeholder support for spatial policy implementation. The aim of this present exploration was to determine if the use of interactive governance is fit for the commonly described purpose in literature of reaching stakeholder support. The explanations given by public managers for why the criteria result in stakeholder support show the impact of the spatial planning context and the type of interactive governance used. One of the contextual characteristics of spatial policy implementation is the long completion time. Research on the technical viability and the design process itself for infrastructure policy takes years. This circumstance, combined with the second contextual characteristics of spatial policy implementation, namely its direct impact on stakeholder quality of life, such as long completion time, creates uncertainty. Public managers explained that stakeholders' early involvement is necessary for stakeholder support, because when plans are set in stone, involvement is meaningless, and decisions will most likely not take into account stakeholder interests. However, public managers also pointed out that timing is important. The earlier a government (agency) involves stakeholders in the policy implementation, the longer stakeholders will experience

uncertainty regarding their quality of life.

The same nuance was provided on giving stakeholders influence on the policy implementation. Within government-induced interactive governance, the government (agency) decides when and how stakeholders provide input. The final decision-making power also lies with the government (agency). Giving influence is important in order to show stakeholders they are taken seriously and for their involvement to retain meaning; however, equal influence cannot be given to all stakeholders, another nuance that was revealed by interviewing public managers. Mandates and objectives are set by the national government that need to be realized. Combined with another characteristic of spatial policy implementation, namely limited time, budget and conflicting stakeholder interests, some stakeholders will be given more influence than others in order to realize government interests.

This also explains why some public managers place more importance on transparency regarding how stakeholders' input has been utilized than providing stakeholders with actual influence. Support is created not by providing actual influence but by understanding that not every stakeholder's input can be implemented. Explaining why input could not be taken into account at decision-making created understanding among stakeholders. It shows that their input was taken seriously, and the government (agency) listened. Creating understanding by explaining why certain input was not taken into account can only be reached through reasonable conversations and mutual respect. Without it, stakeholders will not want to converse with a government (agency) and listen. When reasonable debate and mutual respect were present throughout stakeholders' involvement, their dissatisfaction about the content may be outweighed by their satisfaction with the process.

However, some public managers struggled to a certain degree and could not explain why they used certain criteria, explaining that stakeholder involvement through interactive governance was not a concept that had been taught to them. They explained that they had learned to apply interactive governance to reach stakeholder support through instinct and experience over the years. Most interviewees did not even have a relevant educational background related to governance. Some even stated that they try to determine how to use interactive governance properly by reflecting on themselves and, *"how would I want to be involved if I was a stakeholder?"*. The public managers all have a respectable amount of experience with interactive governance in spatial planning but are lacking (scientific) knowledge on the inner workings of the concept. The only actual knowledge they have is derived from a book called *'Handboek Strategisch Omgevingsmanagement',* published by a consultancy bureau in the Netherlands in 2010.

Based on the results, one question remains: what does it mean that public managers have trouble explaining why certain criteria lead to stakeholder support? Managing stakeholders in policy processes is not (yet) a profession in and of itself. A formal educational path to teach governance related to stakeholder involvement in spatial policy processes does not exist in the Netherlands. Combined with a lack of (scientific) knowledge regarding the subject in planning practice, public managers facilitate and design stakeholder processes based on instinct, feeling and experience. This is troubling, because the form, functioning and development of an interactive governance process are dependent on the contextual setting (Koontz & Newig, 2014; Prentice et al., 2019). Not knowing why some criteria lead to stakeholder satisfaction means not being able to adapt to changing contexts. A lack of knowledge in this regard can lead to different problems and failures in practice, like deadlocks, legal action and conflicts (e.g., Renn et al., 1995; Coenen et al., 1998; Hodge & Greve, 2007; Andrews & Entwistle, 2010; Brunsting et al., 2011; van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012). Therefore, public managers need a sound knowledge basis to facilitate successful involvement for the purposes they want to achieve, namely stakeholder support.

Academic literature can increase the knowledge of public managers in practice by tailoring information more to the desires of planning practice. The popularity of using interactive governance shows research that is thoroughly defined in scope to determine what type of interactive governance is suited for a particular purpose (Hysing, 2020) is sorely needed. Some contributions have called for such research with few attempts being made (e.g., Gerlak et al., 2013; Bryson et al., 2015; Prentice et al., 2019). Defining the scope of interactive governance research through type and purpose (benefit) will result in knowledge and tools that can aid public managers in avoiding mismatching the design of the process and the desired outcome.

However, Dutch public managers also have an obligation to develop their knowledge, especially when it comes to spatial planning. Using interactive governance requires a substantial investment of public resources and thus should not be a decision taken lightly (Imperial, 2005; Zachrisson et al., 2018). Combined with the contextual characteristic of spatial planning, namely that policies directly impact the day-to-day lives of certain societal stakeholders (van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012), public managers have an obligation to proactively develop their (scientific) knowledge base. Complacency on their part can result in a substantial waste of public resources and worsening quality of life for directly impacted stakeholders.

6

REFERENCES

Achterkamp, M.C. and J.F. Vos. 2008. Investigating the use of stakeholder notion in project management literature: A meta-analysis. International Journal of Project Management 26(7): pp.749-757.

Agranoff, R. 2006. Inside collaborative networks: Ten lessons for public managers. Public Administration Review, 66(1): pp.56–65.

Andrews, R. and T. Entwistle. 2010. Does cross-sectoral partnership deliver? An empirical exploration of public service effectiveness, efficiency, and equity. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 20(3): pp.679-701.

Ansell, C. and A. Gash. 2008. Collaborative governance in theory and practice. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 18(4): pp.543-571.

Ansell, C and J. Torfing. 2016. Handbook on theories of governance. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Beierle, T.C. and J. Cayford. 2002. Democracy in practice: Public participation in environmental decision. New York: Routledge.

Brisbois, M.C. and R.C. de Loë. 2016. State roles and motivations in collaborative approaches to water governance: A power theory-cased analysis. Geoforum 74: pp. 202–212.

Brunsting, S., M. de Best-Waldhober, C.F.J. Feenstra and T. Mikunda. 2011. Stakeholder participation practices and onshore CCS: Lessons from the Dutch Case Barendrecht. Energy Procedia 4: pp.6376-6383.

Bryman, A. 2012. Social research methods. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bryson, J.M., B.C. Crosby and M.M. Stone. 2015. Designing and implementing cross-sector collaborations: Needed and challenging. Public Administration Review 75(5): pp.647-663.

Buuren, A. van, I. van Meerkerk & C. Tortajada. 2019. Understanding emergent participation practices in water governance. International Journal of Water Resources Development 35(3): pp.367-382.

Coenen, F., D. Huitema and L. O'Toole. 1998. Participation and the quality of environmental decision-making. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Coglianese, C. 1997. Assessing consensus: the promise and performance of negotiated rulemaking. Duke Law Journal 46(6): pp.1255-1349.

Connick, S. and J. Innes. 2003. Outcomes of collaborative water policy making: Applying complexity thinking to evaluation. Journal of Environmental Planning and Management 46(2): pp.177-197.

Davis, K. 2016. A method to measure success dimensions relating to individual stakeholder groups. International Journal of Project Management 34(3): pp.480–493.

Denters, S.A.H., P.J. Klok and M.A. Visser. 2002. De raad beoordeeld! Oordelen van lokale opinieleiders en bestuurders over de gemeenteraad als volksvertegenwoordiging. Een tussenrapportage. Project Duale Gemeenten. Enschede: Van Poelje Instituut.

Douglas, S., O. Berthod, M. Groenleer and J. Nederhand. 2020. Pathways to collaborative performance: Examining the different combinations of conditions under which collaborations are successful. Policy and Society 39(1): pp.1-20.

Edelenbos, J. 2000. Proces in vorm: Procesbegeleiding van interactieve beleidsvorming over lokale ruimtelijke projecten. Utrecht: Uitgeverij Lemma BV.

Edelenbos, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2006. Managing stakeholder involvement in decision-making: A comparative analysis of six interactive processes on the Netherlands. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 16(3): pp.417-446.

Edelenbos, J., N. van Schie and L. Gerrits. 2010. Organizing interfaces between government institutions and interactive governance. Policy Science 43(1): pp.73-94.

Edelenbos, J., A. Van Buuren and N. van Schie. 2011. Co-producing knowledge: Joint knowledge production between experts, bureaucrats and stakeholders in Dutch water management projects. Environmental Science and Policy 14(6): pp.675–84.

Edelenbos, J. and I. van Meerkerk. 2016. Critical reflections on interactive governance: Self-organization and participation in public governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Edelenbos, J., A. van Buuren, D. Roth and M. Winnubst. 2017. Stakeholder initiatives in flood risk management: Exploring the role and impact of bottom-up initiatives in three 'Room for the River' projects in the Netherlands. Journal of Environmental Planning and Management 60(1): pp.47-66

Edelenbos, J., I. van Meerkerk and T. Schenk. 2018. The evolution of community self-organization in interaction with government institutions: Cross-case insights from three countries. The American Review of Public Administration, 48(1): pp.52-66.

Emerson, K., T. Nabatchi and S. Balogh. 2012. Collaborative governance in theory and practice. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 18(4): pp.543-571.

Emerson, K., and T. Nabatchi. 2015. Collaborative governance regimes. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Fisher, R and W. Ury. 1991. Getting to yes: Negotiating agreement without giving in. New York: Penguin Books.

Gerlak, A.K., T. Heikkila and M. Lubell. 2013. The promise and performance of collaborative governance. In M.E. Kraft and S. Kamieniecki (eds.), The Oxford handbook of U.S. environmental policy (pp.413–434). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Graaf, L. de 2007. Gedragen beleid: Een bestuurskundig onderzoek naar interactief beleid en draagvlak in de stad Utrecht. Delft: Eburon.

Hay, I. 2010. Qualitative research methods in human geography. New York: Oxford University Press.

Heijden, J. van der and E. ten Heuvelhof. 2012. The Mechanics of virtue: Lessons on public participation from implementing the water framework directive in the Netherlands. Environmental Policy and Governance 22(3): pp.177-188.

Hodge, G.A. and C. Greve. 2007 Public-private partnerships: An international performance review. Public Administration Review 67(3): pp.545-558.

Hysing, E. 2020. Designing collaborative governance that is fit for purpose: Theorizing policy support and voluntary action for road safety in Sweden. Journal of Public Policy (First View): pp.1-23.

Ianniello, M., S. Iacuzzi, P. Fedele and L. Brusati. 2018. Obstacles and solutions on the ladder of citizen participation: A systematic review. Public Management Review 21(1): pp.21-46.

Imperial, M.T. 2005. Using collaboration as a governance strategy. Lessons from six watershed management programs. Administration & Society, 37(3): pp.281–320.

Imperial, M.T., C.R. Prentice and J.L. Brudney. 2018. Collaboration and the environment. In A. Farazmand (eds.), Global encyclopedia of public administration (pp.1–9). Cham: Springer.

Irvin, R. A. and J. Stansbury. 2004. Citizen participation in decision-making: Is it worth the effort? Public Administration Review 64(1): pp.55-65.

Jager, N.W., J. Newig, E. Challies and E. Kochskamper. 2020. Pathways to implementation: Evidence on how participation in environmental governance impacts on environmental outcomes. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory (30)3: pp.383-399.

Karlsen, J.T. 2002. Project stakeholder management. Engineering Management Journal 14(4): pp.19-24.

Kerkhof, M. van. 2006. Making a difference: On the constraints of consensus building and the relevance of deliberation in stakeholder dialogues. Policy Science 39(3): pp.279-299.

Klijn, E.H., J. Edelenbos and B. Steijn. 2010. Trust in governance networks: Its impacts on outcomes. Administration & Society 42(2): pp.193-221.

Knoepfel, P., C. Larrue, F. Varone and M. Hill. 2007. Public policy analysis. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Kooiman, J., M. Bavinck, S. Jentoft and R. Pullin. 2005. Fish for life. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Koontz, T.M., T.A. Steelman, J. Carmin, K.S. Korfmacher, C. Moseley and C.W. Thomas. 2004. Collaborative environmental management. What roles for government? Washington, DC: Resources for the Future.

Koontz, T.M. and J. Newig. 2014. From planning to implementation: Top-down and bottom-up approaches for collaborative watershed management. Policy Studies Journal 42(3): pp.416–442.

Koontz, T.M. & C.W. Thomas 2006. What do we know and need to know about the environmental outcomes of collaborative management? Public Administration Review, 66(1): pp.111–121.

Koppenjan, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2004. Managing uncertainties in networks. London: Routledge.

Leach, W.D. and N.W. Pelkey. 2001. Making watershed partnerships work: A review of the empirical literature. Journal of water resources planning and management 127(6): pp.378-385.

Leighninger, M. 2007. Is everything up to date in Kansas City? Why 'citizen involvement' may
soon be obsolete. National Civic Review 96(2): pp.12–27.

Leung, M.Y., S.T. Ng and S.O. Cheung. 2004. Measuring construction project participant satisfaction. Construction Management and Economics 22(3): pp.319–331.

Lind, E.A. and T.R. Tyler. 1988. The social psychology of procedural justice. New York: Plenum Press.

Littau, P., N.J. Jujagiri and G. Adlbrecht. 2010. 25 years of stakeholder theory in project management literature (1984-2009). Project Management Journal 41(4): pp.17-29.

Loosemore, M. 2006. Managing project risks. In S. Pryke and H. Smyth (eds.), The management of complex projects: A relationship approach (pp.187-204). New York: Wiley-Blackwell.

Mayer, I., J. Edelenbos and R. Monnikhof. 2005. Interactive policy development: Undermining or sustaining democracy? Public Administration 83(1): pp.179-199.

Meerkerk, I. van. 2019. Top-down versus bottom-up pathways to collaboration between governments and citizens: Reflecting on different participation traps. In A. Kekez, M. Howlett and M. Ramesh (eds.), Collaboration and public service delivery: Promise and pitfalls (pp.149-167). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Monnikhof, R., and J. Edelenbos. 2001. Into the fog: Stakeholder input in participatory impact assessment. Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal 19(1): pp.29-39.

Newig, J., E. Challies, N.W. Jager, E. Kochskaemper and A. Adzersen. 2018. The environmental performance of participatory and collaborative governance: A framework of causal mechanisms. The Policy Studies Journal 46(2): pp.269-297.

Nouzari, E., T. Hartmann & T. Spit. 2019. The usefulness of interactive governance for underground planning. Nature and Culture 14(2): pp.147-167.

Nouzari, E., T. Hartmann & T. Spit. 2020. Interactive governance for satisfaction measurements: Stakeholder

involvement in design processes for flood risk management. Journal of Flood Risk Management 13(4): pp.1-15.
Prentice, C.R., M.T. Imperial and J.L. Brudney. 2019. Conceptualizing the collaborative toolbox: A dimensional approach to collaboration. American Review of Public Administration, 49(7): pp.792–809.
Provan, K.G. and P. Kenis. 2007. Modes of network governance: Structure, management, and effectiveness. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 18(2): pp.229–252.
Renn, O., T. Webler and P. Wiedemann. 1995. Fairness and competence in citizen participation. Evaluating models for environmental discourse. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
Rijkswaterstaat. 2021a [online]. https://www.rijkswaterstaat.nl/zakelijk/zakendoen-met-rijkswaterstaat/werkwijzen/werkwijze-in-gww/werken-in-projecten/integraal-projectmanagement.aspx Visited: 1 March 2021.
Rijkswaterstaat. 2021b [online]. https://www.rijkswaterstaat.nl/zakelijk/werken-aan-infrastructuur/bouwrichtlijnen-infrastructuur/index.aspx#:~:text=Rijkswaterstaat%20is%20verantwoordelijk%20voor%20de,verschillende%20richtlijnen%20en%20eisen%20ontwikkeld Visited: 1 March 2021.
Roberts, N. C. 2002. Keeping public officials accountable through dialogue: Resolving the accountability paradox. Public Administration Review 62(6): pp. 658–669.
Roberts, N. 2004. Public deliberation in the age of direct citizen participation. American Review of Public Administration 34(4): pp.315-353.
Scott, A.T. and C.W. Thomas. 2017. Unpacking the collaborative toolbox: Why and when do public managers choose collaborative governance strategies. Policy Studies Journal 45(1): pp.191-214.
Scott, T.A., C.W. Thomas and J.M. Magallanes. 2019. Convening for consensus: Simulating stakeholder agreement in collaborative governance processes under different network conditions. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 29(1): pp.32-49.
Sirianni, C. 2009. Investing in democracy: Engaging citizens in collaborative governance. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.
Smith, G. 2009. Democratic innovations: Designing institutions for citizen participation. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Sørensen, E. and J. Torfing (eds). 2007. Theories of democratic network governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Tatenhove, J. van, J. Edelenbos and P.J. Klok. 2010. Power and interactive policy-making: A comparative study of power and influence in 8 interactive projects in The Netherlands. Public Administration 88(3): pp.609-626.
Teisman, G., J. Edelenbos, E.-H. Klijn and J. Verbart. 2001. Ruimtelijke ontwikkelings-processen. In G. Teisman (ed.), Besluitvorming en ruimtelijke procesmanagement: Studie naar eigenschappen van ruimtelijke besluitvorming die realisatie van meervoudig ruimtegebruik remmen of bevorderen (pp.1-72). Delft: Eburon.
Thomas, J.C. 1995. Public Participation in Public Decisions. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Thomson, A.M. and J.L. Perry. 2006. Collaboration processes: Inside the black box. Public Administration Review 66(1): pp.20-32.
Torfing, J., B.G. Peters, J. Pierre and E. Sorensen. 2012. Interactive governance: Advancing the paradigm. New York: Oxford University Press.
Ulibarri, N. 2015. Tracing process to performance of collaborative governance: A comparative case study of federal hydropower licensing. Policy Studies Journal 43(2): pp.283-308.
Videira, N., P. Antunes, R. Santos and G. Lobo. 2006. Public and stakeholder participation in European water policy: A critical review of project evaluation processes. European Environment 16(1): pp.19-31
Yang, R.J. and G.Q. Shen. 2015. Framework for stakeholder management in construction projects. Journal of Management in Engineering 31(4): pp.1-37
Zachrisson A., T. Bjärstig and K. Eckerberg. 2018. When public officers take the lead in collaborative governance: To confirm, consult, facilitate or negotiate? Scandinavian Journal of Public Administration 22(4): pp.21-44.

6

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This chapter acts as the conclusion of this dissertation. First, a reflection on the conceptual framework outlined in the introduction (section 7.1) is given. The conceptual model provides the main research question from which sub-questions are formulated. The results of these sub-questions outlined in the previous chapters are also discussed. Second, the results of the sub-questions are used to reflect upon interactive governance literature (section 7.2). To end this chapter, the results and reflections previously discussed are used to outline new avenues for future research (section 7.3).

7.1 LOOKING BACK: STAKEHOLDER SUPPORT THROUGH INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

This dissertation originated from the normative assumptions made in literature about the benefits of interactive governance. The comparison with government (top-down) is often made when making the argument that governance (bottom-up) is more favourable for policy making and implementation within contemporary society. This favourability comes from the benefits interactive governance provides, like better quality of policy, stakeholder support for implementation and democratic legitimacy. However, failures observed in planning practice by using interactive governance tell a more nuanced story. Therefore, this dissertation focusses on the following main research question: *"To what extent does the use of government-induced interactive governance contribute to creating procedural and content satisfaction among stakeholders for the support of policy implementation within the spatial domain?"* Answering this question provides more insight into the inner workings of interactive governance and shows its limitations, resulting in a more nuanced view on the concept.

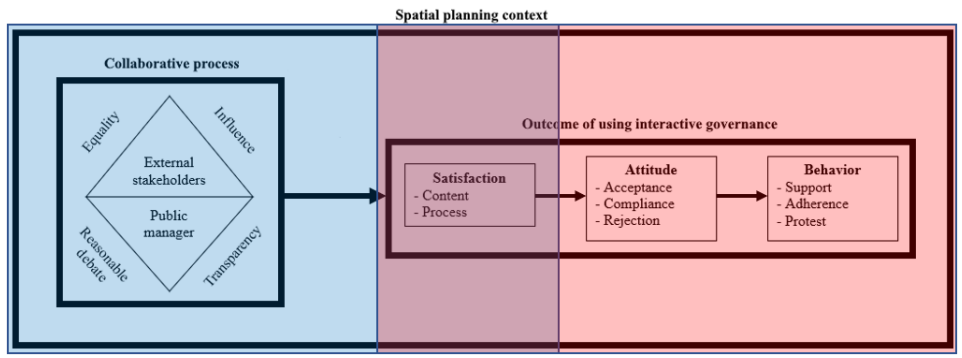

Figure 7.1: *Conceptual framework*

Based on an overview of contemporary literature, this dissertation aims to provide a more nuanced and critical view on interactive governance. The scope, however, is limited to the most sought-after benefit of interactive governance in western democracies and spatial planning, which is creating stakeholder support for (policy) implementation. To achieve this benefit, the government-induced type of interactive governance is often used. To answer the main research question, five sub-questions have been formulated based on gaps observed in governance literature. The answers to these questions outlined in Chapters 2 to 6 form the building blocks for answering the main research question. The coherence of all the chapters is visualized through a conceptual framework (Figure 7.1).

The next section will discuss the main research findings for each individual chapter, namely Chapters 2 through 6. The relevance of the research results and the conclusions are outlined in relation to interactive governance literature. The results and conclusions of each chapter form the foundation for answering the main research question of this dissertation, namely how the use of interactive governance in spatial planning policy leads to stakeholder support for implementation. By reflecting on the answer to the main research question, it is possible to conclude if interactive governance actually has the potential to help spatial planning policy get implemented with maximum support and minimal protest or if a more critical look at the normative assumptions and usefulness of interactive governance is necessary.

7.1.1 Procedural satisfaction through interactive governance in policy programming

Chapter 2 set the theoretical basis for most of the remaining chapters regarding the use of government-induced interactive governance designed to garner stakeholder support. In extant literature, it is assumed that the use of interactive governance leads to stakeholder support. However, fairly little quantitative empirical data exists that supports the validity of this assumption, as has been concluded by the systematic governance literature review by Ianniello et al. (2018). In this present study, firstly, to quantitatively explore if interactive governance creates stakeholder support, the concept was conceptualized into four main criteria, namely equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency. These evaluation criteria were conceptualized by using the criteria of interactive governance as formulated by Edelenbos (2000) and the criteria of democratic innovations provided by Smith (2009). Secondly, with stakeholder support a distinction is made between procedural and content satisfaction (Skelcher et al., 2005; De Graaf, 2007; Edelenbos et al., 2010; Klijn et al., 2010ab). Chapter 2 focussed on procedural satisfaction, while a later chapter focussed on content satisfaction. Chapter 2 answered the following research question:

> *Do the four criteria of interactive governance correlate positively with the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the policy process for the Structuurvisie Ondergrond?*

To answer this research question, a survey was created based on the four criteria of interactive governance. Stakeholders involved in the policy process for the *Structuurvisie Ondergrond* of the Dutch national government, like citizens, (small) business owners, NGOs and representatives of other government levels were asked to rate the collaborative process on the four criteria and give a final grade for the process as a whole. The data was used in a regression analysis to explore the relationship between the four criteria of interactive governance (independent variables) and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (dependent variable).

The first conclusion was that the results of Chapter 2 validated the assumption found in literature that the use of interactive governance leads to stakeholder satisfaction and consequently support for policy implementation (Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Newig et al., 2018; Jager et al., 2020). Results from the regression analysis showed positive correlations between the four criteria of interactive governance (equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency) and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders within the case. The correlations varied from moderately strong to strong, with the criteria explaining the procedural satisfaction of 83.6%. This means that the majority of the procedural satisfaction is explained through the four criteria of interactive governance. This chapter thus contributes data that closes a knowledge gap, because empirical evidence supporting the validity of assumptions regarding interactive governance remains scarce as concluded by Ianniello et al. (2018).

Another conclusion was that the four criteria (equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency) formulated by Edelenbos (2000) and Smith (2009) show potential for the conceptualisation and operationalisation of interactive governance for quantitative research. Thus, Chapter 2 contributed knowledge that Ianniello et al. (2018) had called for in their recommendations for future research, namely formulating evaluation criteria that can be used in systematic quantitative empirical research, because the absence of such studies hinders the generalisation of findings and systematic evaluations.

However, if the aim of this dissertation is to contribute empirical evidence that validates the assumption that interactive governance leads to stakeholder support, results from more than one case are necessary. One of the questions that arise is if similar results are found when the same methodology with the same evaluation criteria is used in a different case with a different context. The next chapter addressed this question.

7.1.2 Procedural satisfaction through interactive governance in policy implementation

Chapter 3 continued where Chapter 2 left off. The focus remained on exploring a correlation between interactive governance and the satisfaction and therefore support of stakeholders. The same theoretical foundations and scope were used, like government-induced interactive governance, definition of procedural satisfaction and

the four criteria, equality, influence, transparency and reasonable debate. However, the distinctions from the previous chapter were the object (flood risk management) and the policy phase (implementation) of the case. To thoroughly explore if there is a correlation between the use of interactive governance and stakeholder support, comparative research is necessary. The focus therefore was placed on exploring if a similar correlation would be found for a different case. The research question was therefore formulated as follows:

> *Do the four criteria of interactive governance correlate positively with the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders in the Flood Protection Programme Limburg?*

To answer this research question, the same survey questions as in Chapter 2 were used. The survey was spread amongst stakeholders involved in the policy implementation process of the *Hoogwaterbeschermingsprogramma Limburg*. This flood protection programme was initiated by the Waterboard Limburg, a governmental agency tasked with ensuring water safety. Stakeholders, like citizens, local business owners, municipalities and NGOs were involved through expert meetings, citizen panels, one-on-one meetings and design workshops. The survey data was used in a regression analysis to explore the relationship between the four criteria of interactive governance (independent variables) and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (dependent variable).

Comparable to Chapter 2, the results of Chapter 3 also supported the assumption that the use of interactive governance leads to stakeholder satisfaction and ultimately support (Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Newig et al., 2018; Jager et al., 2020). The results of the regression analysis showed a positive correlation between the four criteria of interactive governance and procedural satisfaction of stakeholders, varying from moderately strong to strong. The procedural satisfaction of stakeholders is also primarily explained by the four criteria of interactive governance, namely 86.4%. These results are in line with a limited number of quantitative studies done where a regressions analysis is used to determine a statistical correlation between governance values (independent variables) and the outcome (dependent variable). Each of these studies provided empirical proof through the use of regression analyses that interactive governance leads to procedural and content satisfaction, which was either the single or (part of) one of the dependent variables in such studies (e.g., Boedeltje, 2009; Edelenbos et al., 2010; Klijn et al., 2010ab; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Ernst, 2019; Jager et al., 2020).

The second conclusion was that, even in a different context, namely flood risk management instead of underground policy, the four criteria of interactive governance formulated by Edelenbos (2000) and Smith (2009) can be used for systematic quantitative research, thus contributing knowledge in line with recommendations given by Schulz

(2019) for flood risk management specifically, who pointed out a lack of systematic empirical research on values characterizing 'good water governance' that requires statistical analyses.

Providing solid empirical evidence that the use of interactive governance leads to stakeholder support does not end with comparing the results of two cases. Comparing results over time through longitudinal research provides more strength to empirical findings; this is addressed in the next chapter.

7.1.3 Procedural satisfaction through interactive governance over time

Chapter 4 followed up on Chapters 2 and 3. This chapter also focussed on exploring the assumption that government-induced interactive governance leads to stakeholder support. Where Chapter 2 and 3 explored the correlation across different phases (programming versus implementation) and objects (underground versus flood risk management) and compare the results, Chapter 4 explores the correlation over time (period of one year). Again, the same survey method based on the four criteria of interactive governance was used for the same case underlying Chapter 3, namely the flood protection programme Limburg. The data analysis also stayed the same, using the survey data in a regression to explore the correlation between the four criteria of interactive governance (independent variables) and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders (dependent variable). This chapter answered the following research question:

> *To what extent does the statistical positive correlation found between interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders by Nouzari et al. (2020) hold up over time (a year) within the same case?*

The first conclusion in line with the previous chapter was that the empirical data confirmed the assumption that the use of interactive governance leads to stakeholder satisfaction and in turn support (Beierle & Cayford, 2002; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Newig et al., 2018; Jager et al., 2020). The findings showed similar results between both measurement points (2017 for Chapter 3 and 2018 for Chapter 4). The positive correlations between the four criteria of interactive governance and the procedural satisfaction of stakeholders varied from moderately strong to strong, with the explained variance between both measurements ranging between 80 and 85% (85.1% in 2017 and 79.7% in 2018[8]). The statistical results of both measurements over time were very similar and, in combination, provided empirical proof for the claim found in literature that interactive governance leads to stakeholder satisfaction.

8 It is important to note that the explained variance of the measurement done in 2017 mentioned in this section differs from the percentage mentioned in section 7.1.2. This has to do with the small differences in the questionnaire used between the measurement done in 2017 and 2018. Consequently, the explained variance of the measurement in 2017 had to be recalculated.

The second conclusion was that the four criteria of interactive governance formulated based on Edelenbos (2000) and Smith (2009) can be used to fill the gap when it comes to quantitative empirical research. As stated by Ianniello et al. (2018) and by Schulz (2019) specifically for flood risk management, quantitative methods for data collection and analysis are rarely used to gather empirical evidence for the benefits that interactive governance provides. This has previously hindered systematic comparisons (Eisenhardt, 1991; Hoon, 2013) and generalisation of results (Rowe et al., 2008). The results of Chapter 4 showed that the four criteria of interactive governance can be used for comparative and longitudinal research.

The last conclusion, based on the comparative and longitudinal data of the previous chapters, was that there is credible empirical evidence that the four criteria of interactive governance can be used as "good governance criteria". Such criteria can be used by public managers to guide policy processes and avoid mistakes and disappointments of the past (e.g., Mayer et al., 2005; Brunsting et al., 2011; van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012), thereby increasing efficiency and effectiveness of interactive governance in planning practice.

Even though the results imply that the four criteria of interactive governance lead to procedural satisfaction, new questions are raised; for example, how does satisfaction lead to stakeholder support? Further, which type of satisfaction (content or process) is decisive for support within the spatial planning context? The next chapter focussed on these questions.

7.1.4 Procedural versus content satisfaction: how both relate to one another for support

Chapter 5 looked at the interplay between content and procedural satisfaction and which one is decisive for stakeholder support within spatial planning. Contributions in primarily political science have tried to determine if content or procedural satisfaction is decisive for stakeholder support of decisions, with some showing that content is most important, while others show that process is a leading factor (e.g., Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1990; Tyler & Blader, 2000; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2001 and 2002; Tyler, 2001a; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008; Persson et al., 2013; Arnesen, 2017; Esaiasson et al., 2017). However, according to Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008), empirical explanations are lacking for why content or process plays a role in the support of decisions. Consequently, the research question was as follows:

> *Why is content or process decisive for stakeholder attitude and behaviour towards a(n) (un)favourable outcome?*

To answer this research question, interviews were conducted with stakeholders involved in policy implementation of the dike reinforcement project Wolferen-Sprok. Stakeholders

were asked to convey their level of satisfaction with the process and the content of two different dike designs. The first design represented the current plans, which were mostly in line with stakeholder interests. The second design represented everything stakeholders did not want, within a process stakeholders had expressed satisfaction with. This juxtaposition illustrates the opposite views of both positions regarding the decisiveness of content or process for stakeholder support. It is within this juxtaposition that stakeholders can be questioned on why content or procedural satisfaction is more important by comparing their attitude and behaviour in both situations.

The research results showed that content satisfaction is decisive for stakeholder support. Stakeholders explained that spatial developments like dike reinforcements directly impact their quality of life. Stakeholder have often been living there for 10-20 years and have grown emotionally attached to the area. People understand that dike reinforcement is necessary for national water safety but state that they should not be the ones taking on the brunt of the cost. As a result, even when the design is unfavourable, an alternative needs to be presented in the form of financial compensation. These results validate academic contributions arguing that stakeholders only care about the end result, independently from the quality of the process (Popkin, 1991; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008; Arnesen, 2017). Regarding the importance of process, stakeholders conveyed that a process providing voice is also important, but not decisive. Process provides opportunities to get involved, giving stakeholders the chance to convey interests that governments can take into account in their decision-making. This is not completely in line with contributions arguing that stakeholders accept an unfavourable outcome when involved in a fair and unbiased decision-making (Tyler & Lind, 1992; Innes & Booher, 1999; Tyler, 2001b). However, process remains important even though it is not decisive for support, because without opportunities to get involved, governments most likely will not know the interests of stakeholders. A thorough process helps to align content with stakeholder interests. These present results contribute to closing the knowledge gap of empirical explanations for why content and process are decisive for stakeholder support (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008). In short, these results explain why process and content satisfaction matter for stakeholder support within spatial planning.

The results have also showed the importance of spatial planning context when explaining the decisiveness of content or process for stakeholder support. The impact of spatial planning context on the interplay between content and procedural satisfaction is even more clearly shown when comparing it to political science. For the comparison, the experimental study of Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008) was used. Their study took place in a political context emulating a decision-making process for money allocation. Even though the outcome of each experimental situation was the same, the satisfaction levels were considerably different. Thus, compliance was not determined by the favourability of decisions. This contradicts the results of Chapter 5 in this present study. The contradiction has everything to do with the difference in context. In the experimental

study by Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008), stakeholders were not directly impacted by the decision, while stakeholders in the case of dike reinforcement were. These results are in line with the study done by Wojcieszak (2014), which found that issue importance is an explaining factor for the decisiveness of content satisfaction for support of (political) decisions through regression analyses.

7.1.5 Literature versus practice: importance of interactive governance for satisfaction

Chapter 6 reflected on the four criteria of interactive governance for stakeholder support, not from the perspective of literature like Chapter 1 and stakeholders like Chapters 2-5, but from the perspective of public managers. Reflecting on literature through practice is important. Hysing (2020) has shown that fitting institutional design (collaborative process) to a specific strategic purpose (stakeholder support) is one critical factor for the success of using governance. Therefore, recommendations are made for governance research in which the theoretical concepts are tailored to a specific purpose. Chapter 6 followed up on this recommendation in two ways: First, by defining the scope through type (government-induced) and purpose (stakeholder support); second, by reflecting on interactive governance through the perspective of public managers and establishing if the four criteria (equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency) are fit for an institutional design aimed at creating stakeholder support. To understand if interactive governance fits the purpose, it is necessary to ask why public managers think the four criteria result in stakeholder satisfaction and eventually support. The research question was formulated as follows:

> *Why do public managers consider equality, reasonable debate, influence and transparency to play an (un)important role in reaching stakeholder support for policy implementation?*

To answer this research question, interviews were conducted among public managers active in infrastructure policy implementation at the Dutch government agency Rijkswaterstaat. Public managers in this chapter were defined as civil servants responsible for the design and management of stakeholder processes. The managers were asked to explain which criteria they use and why they think those criteria result in stakeholder support for policy implementation. The answers were reflected upon through the four criteria of interactive governance.

Public managers explained that the four criteria fit the purpose of stakeholder support within government-induced interactive governance. However, a few nuances were given. First, early involvement of stakeholders is important to avoid that involvement remains meaningless, but also to take interests into account at the point of decision-making. The contextual characteristic of spatial planning makes the timing of involvement important,

because when involved too early, stakeholders will have to experience uncertainty regarding their quality of life for a longer period of time. Second, providing influence is important to show stakeholders that their interests are taken seriously. At the same time, equal influence among all stakeholders cannot be given, because mandates set by the national government need to be realized. This is a characteristic of government-induced interactive governance. Third, and related to the previous point, transparency in some cases is more important than influence. Support is not always created by giving stakeholders influence but by understanding that choices need to be made, because not all interests can be taken into account. To reach such understanding, mutual respect and reasonable conversations are necessary.

The results have shown that using the four criteria of interactive governance fits the purpose of stakeholder support according to public managers. The results also show how and why the type of interactive governance and the context of spatial planning impact the use of interactive governance for a particular purpose. Thus, showing the importance of fitting theoretical concepts to the purpose type and purpose of interactive governance.

7.2 THE VALUE OF INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE FOR SPATIAL PLANNING: HOW, IF AND WHY

Based on the research findings discussed for each chapter above, this section answers and discusses the main research question, which is, *"To what extent does the use of government-induced interactive governance contribute to creating procedural and content satisfaction among stakeholders for the support of policy implementation within the spatial domain?"* Reaching and discussing the answer to this question takes place in three parts. The first part focusses on how the use of government-induced interactive governance leads to content and procedural satisfaction among stakeholders to generate support for policy implementation in spatial planning (how); this entails determining criteria, factors or conditions related to spatial planning that affect stakeholder satisfaction for support. The second part revolves around whether the use of government-induced interactive governance in spatial planning actually results in stakeholder support (if). The last part discusses why government-induced interactive governance in spatial planning potentially results in stakeholder support (why).

7.2.1 How does interactive governance lead to stakeholder support in spatial planning?

The how question focusses on how the use of interactive governance leads to stakeholder satisfaction and in turn to support for policy implementation. In governance literature, various theories on the subject are found, like complexity theory, for example, that explain different components of governance and their interaction. However, these

types of theories are quite general in nature and do not define specific elements, like a purpose or sector. As a result, these theories discuss a wide range of subjects but no details or specificities. Claims based on these theories are therefore applicable to practically everything, even when there is not enough empirical evidence supporting them (Pollitt, 2010).

Aside from theories, contributions are also made where theoretical frameworks are outlined, describing different variables and their relationship with a variety of different outcomes (e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012; Bryson et al., 2015; Newig et al., 2018; Jager et al., 2020; Douglas et al., 2020). Such frameworks are more specific than some theories but still try to be all-encompassing. The added value of these contributions is that they show potential new avenues for future empirical research, making such frameworks relevant for academic purposes. However, calls are made in governance literature for the development of more specific (theoretical) understanding of what types of interactive governance are suitable for particular purposes, with only a small number of studies attempting to answer this demand (e.g., Gerlak et al., 2013; Bryson et al., 2015; Prentice et al., 2019; Hysing, 2020). The reasoning behind such a recommendation is that using interactive governance as a means in itself without public managers acting on a clear purpose might not be worth the public resources, especially when taking into account the substantial public resources in terms of money, energy and time required (Till & Meyer, 2001; Imperial, 2005; Margerum, 2011; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Zachrisson et al., 2018; Imperial et al., 2018). In addition, institutional design also needs to fit the purpose of interactive governance, as a mismatch between the two likely impacts the effectiveness of the stakeholder process (Provan & Kenis, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015). Knowledge about what type of interactive governance is suited for specific purposes has thus grown more significant.

This dissertation follows up on the recommendations discussed above. Through literature analysis, this dissertation provides a clearly defined conceptual framework fit for a specific purpose of interactive governance. The conceptual model describes the elements that come into play when using a specific type of interactive governance (government-induced) for a specific purpose (stakeholder support) in a specific manner (instrumentally) within a specific context (spatial planning). The model also describes how the criteria of interactive governance (influence, equality, reasonable debate and transparency) lead to different types of stakeholder satisfaction (content and process), but also how satisfaction results in stakeholder support through the psychological relationship between attitude and behaviour. The clearly defined framework of this dissertation contributes to the call within governance literature for a more specific theoretical understanding of what types of interactive governance are suitable for which purposes. However, what value does a specifically defined conceptual framework provide to academics and practitioners?

By using a conceptual framework constructed for a specific purpose, research provides

the foundational elements but also identifies pitfalls of using interactive governance for a particular benefit. This brings more nuances to the all-encompassing frameworks found in literature. Empirical research based on such specific frameworks leads to a better understanding of the inner workings of interactive governance. Differences are made clear between the use of different types of interactive governance in a particular context and for distinct purposes. Better understanding of interactive governance is also gained, because more specific frameworks facilitate systematic quantitative research, providing empirical evidence for assumptions made in literature regarding certain outcomes. The importance of more systematic quantitative research, but also the knowledge and more specific understanding of the framework of this dissertation will be explained in the section below.

7.2.2 If interactive governance leads to stakeholder support in spatial planning

The if question is focussed on the extent interactive governance leads to the benefit of stakeholder support in spatial planning. In literature, many benefits related to the use of interactive governance, like stakeholder support, are taken for granted or are uncritically accepted as fact or truth (Birnbaum, 2016; Ianniello et al., 2018). Ianniello et al. (2018), for example, concluded through a systematic literature review that little empirical evidence supports the claim that interactive governance leads to more effective (through resource alignment) and efficient (through stakeholder support) decision-making. This is in line with contributions noting a lack of systematic quantitative empirical studies with a large N testing the claims that the use of interactive governance leads to beneficial outcomes like stakeholder support (e.g., Koontz & Thomas, 2006; Bäckstrand et al., 2010; Duit & Hall, 2014; Birnbaum, 2016; Jager et al., 2020). As a result, Ianniello et al. (2018) recommended the construction of evaluation criteria for the purpose of systematic quantitative empirical research, because the absence of such studies hinders the generalisation of findings and systematic evaluations. Schulz (2019) made a similar recommendation, but for flood risk management specifically. Studies following these recommendations are necessary to know if normative assumptions regarding the benefits of interactive governance are true or need more nuances.

Based on the evaluation criteria formulated in the previous section, this dissertation follows up on the recommendations described above. Through systematic, comparative and longitudinal quantitative research with a large N, this dissertation provides empirical proof that the use of interactive governance leads to stakeholder satisfaction and therefore support. These results are generally in line with the limited number of other quantitative empirical studies with a large N that also sought to determine a statistical correlation between certain independent variables associated with governance and stakeholder satisfaction as (part of) a dependent variable (e.g., Boedeltje, 2009; Edelenbos et al., 2010; Klijn et al., 2010ab; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Ernst, 2019; Jager et al., 2020). The results of this dissertation in combination with these studies make

a strong case for the usefulness of interactive governance for stakeholder support. However, where do these results fall within the normative and critical perspectives found in governance literature?

This question is important to ask, because, from a normative perspective, the results of this dissertation substantiate claims that the use of interactive governance leads to stakeholder support. However, from a critical perspective, interactive governance is not 'all good' pointing to the disappointments in practice with the use of interactive governance (e.g., Renn et al., 1995; Coenen et al., 1998; Hodge & Greve, 2007; Andrews & Entwistle, 2010; Brunsting et al., 2011; van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012). Disappointments within these studies, but also throughout the cases of this dissertation, show that the use of interactive governance does not automatically result in stakeholder support. Explanations are given in literature. For example, a high level of involvement increases the number of uncooperative stakeholders (Nowell, 2010; Scott et al., 2019) or stakeholders with veto powers who are able to stop policy implementation (Newig et al., 2018). Involving stakeholders with different interests can also lead to discussions and conflicts eventually stagnating to deadlocks but also impasses (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; Schlager & Blomquist, 2008; Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Therefore, stakeholder involvement is a double-edged sword (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008). However, process management is necessary when using interactive governance to achieve desirable results like stakeholder support and avoid disappointments as explained above (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Sørensen & Torfing, 2009; Klijn et al., 2010b). This means that, even though this dissertation provides empirical proof that interactive governance leads to stakeholder support, this correlation should not be viewed from a solely normative or critical perspective. Instead, this dissertation argues to view interactive governance as a concept of great potential. Potential is the key word here. When something has potential, dedication and hard work are needed to bring out the benefits such potential can provide, because potential is not realized automatically. Just like interactive governance does not automatically result in stakeholder support but needs extensive process management activities when used for policy implementation in spatial planning. However, why is it important for academics and practitioners to view interactive governance as a concept of potential?

Looking at interactive governance from the point of view of potential, instead of solely a normative or critical perspective, will lead to more nuanced research. Academics will be able to do more research on conditions or criteria, like this dissertation, to determine what works, what does not and what is necessary when using interactive governance to reach stakeholder support. Only then can academics move past solely normative or critical views and tackle criticisms that plague governance literature, such as a lack of quantitative research providing empirical proof for the benefits of interactive governance, which this dissertation contributed to answering. Such research informs practitioners that interactive governance is a means to an end if used correctly and not a panacea that

automatically results in support. Consequently, realistic expectations are created among practitioners regarding the use of interactive governance avoiding disappointments. Likewise, this dissertation has shown that the four criteria of interactive governance can be used as 'good governance values' for process management in practice, by establishing a correlation with stakeholder satisfaction. The four criteria can also be used as a process management tool, evaluating stakeholder involvement by measuring satisfaction. The results of such an evaluation can be used to improve stakeholder involvement in terms of those criteria that scored the lowest, improving the effectiveness of interactive governance to create stakeholder support for policy implementation.

7.2.3 Why does interactive governance lead to stakeholder support in spatial planning?

Based on the perspective of governance literature and stakeholders this dissertation contributed to a better understanding of how and if government-induced interactive governance leads to stakeholder support in spatial planning. However, the last question about why interactive governance leads to stakeholder support remains, which is split into two parts. First, why does interactive governance through the four criteria of equality, influence, transparency and reasonable debate lead to stakeholder satisfaction in general? Second, why is content or procedural satisfaction decisive for stakeholder support? This part of the main research question was answered in two parts. Why it is important to ask and answer these questions is explained below.

7.2.3.1 Why does the use of interactive governance result in stakeholder support?

The first part of the why question is focussed on why government-induced interactive governance results in stakeholder support within the context of spatial planning. Contributions of theoretical frameworks are found in governance literature that describe different variables and explain their relationship with certain outcomes (e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012; Bryson et al., 2015; Newig et al., 2018; Jager et al., 2020; Douglas et al., 2020). These all-encompassing frameworks provide a vast but, at the same time, general understanding of governance, highlighting new avenues for future research. However, recommendations have been made to move beyond such general frameworks towards governance research where theoretical concepts are fit to a specific purpose of interactive governance, like stakeholder support, the primary focus of this dissertation (e.g., Gerlak et al., 2013; Bryson et al., 2015; Prentice et al., 2019; Hysing, 2020). Chapter 1 took the first step in following up on these recommendations, but to determine if the four criteria actually fit the purpose of stakeholder support, this question is also answered from the perspective of public managers.

There are two reasons why such recommendations are made. First, public managers facilitate, supervise and manage stakeholder involvement, as interactive governance does not automatically execute itself. Extensive process management activities are

necessary when using interactive governance for stakeholder support (Mayer et al., 2005; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Klijn et al., 2010a). Consequently, the ability and competence of public managers influences the success of stakeholder involvement in achieving the sought-after strategic purpose of stakeholder support (Sørensen, 2007). Research that fits the type of interactive governance to a particular strategic purpose within a specific context can result in knowledge that supports public managers to more successfully manage stakeholder involvement.

Second, fitting the use of interactive governance to a particular purpose is critical to the success of stakeholder involvement (Hysing, 2020). Consequently, effectiveness of interactive governance is reduced when there is a mismatch between process design and purpose (Agranoff, 2006; Provan & Kenis, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015), resulting in a waste of public resources (Imperial, 2005; Zachrisson et al., 2018) as stakeholder involvement requires a substantial investment of time, money and energy (Till & Meyer, 2001; Margerum, 2011; Robertson & Choi, 2012; Imperial et al., 2018). The type needs to fit the desired purpose, but to investigate how to determine an ideal fit, more research on that subject is recommended.

This dissertation followed up on the recommendation described above. Interviews of public managers, the practitioners using interactive governance for government (agencies), explanations were given for why the criteria result in stakeholder support. The explanations show that interactive governance fits the purpose of stakeholder support. In addition, the nuances given on why certain criteria are important for stakeholder support are in line with extant literature. It shows that the form, functioning and development of stakeholder involvement through interactive governance is dependent on the context (Agranoff, 2006; Provan & Kenis, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015) but also on the type of interactive governance used (Hysing, 2020). This dissertation contributes to showing how the spatial planning context and government-induced type of interactive governance impact the use of the concept for a particular purpose. However, why is it important to move towards research that is fit to a certain purpose based on the results of this dissertation and how does this tackle criticism related to governance literature?

The first criticism is the growing gap between (planning) theory and (planning) practice. Academic contributions translating theory into practical knowledge or methods are lacking (e.g., Boelens, 2010; O'Leary & Vij, 2012). Academic literature is often unable to inform public managers, because esoteric frameworks or paradigms related to interactive governance increasingly try to explain how a wide range of variables lead to beneficial outcomes. In combination with contradictory recommendations made about the use of interactive governance, the practice of stakeholder involvement is over-complicated (O'Leary & Vij, 2012; Brudney et al., 2018; Prentice et al., 2019). Bridging the gap between theory and practice is important, because translations of theory that fit a particular purpose result in knowledge and methods that help public managers augment the effectiveness of interactive governance in practice as process management activities

are necessary for its success (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Achterkamp & Vos, 2008; Littau et al., 2010; Bryson et al., 2015). Such translations aid public managers in designing a collaborative process but also facilitate the avoidance of mismatches between the design and its strategic purpose.

The second criticism is related to the normative assumptions made in literature that are often accepted as truth (Birnbaum, 2016; Ianniello et al., 2018). Contributions highlight the lack of quantitative systematic empirical research with a large N that establishes a connection between interactive governance and its assumed outcomes (e.g., Koontz & Thomas, 2006; Bäckstrand et al., 2010; Duit & Hall, 2014; Birnbaum, 2016; Ianniello et al. 2018; Jager et al., 2020). For systematic quantitative research, well-defined (independent) variables are necessary with clear theoretical understanding about their relationship with a certain outcome (dependent). As a result, general all-encompassing frameworks are not suited for systematic quantitative research, because it is not possible to know what exactly is measured when all kinds of variables are considered that are related to different purposes or outcomes that also influence each other. Finding empirical evidence for assumptions made related to the purposes of interactive governance becomes difficult as a result.

This dissertation has shown the value of tailoring research to a specific purpose and type of interactive governance and why it is important for future research to move past all-encompassing theoretical frameworks. In addition, this dissertation was able to address both points of criticisms described above through a well-defined theoretical framework, first, by bringing more nuance to the four criteria of interactive governance for stakeholder support. The criterium of equality provides a good example, with both stakeholders (Chapter 2) and public managers (Chapter 6) explaining that providing true equality is impossible. The results show that not all criteria are equally important within government-induced interactive governance (type) for stakeholder support (purpose) in spatial planning. Second, the results of this dissertation are practically applicable and therefore useful for practitioners compared to studies based on general frameworks. By fitting this dissertation to a specific purpose and type of interactive governance, but also to the spatial planning context, planning practitioners are better able to understand what the results mean or for what specific purpose the knowledge can be used instrumentally.

7.2.3.2 Why is content or procedural satisfaction decisive for stakeholder support?

Why interactive governance leads to stakeholder satisfaction according to governance literature and public managers has been discussed. The last step is understanding why interactive governance leads to stakeholder support by explaining which type of satisfaction (procedural or content) is decisive for creating support within the spatial planning context.

If content or procedural satisfaction is decisive for stakeholder support is not a commonly asked question in governance literature. However, this question is commonly

asked in political science through experimental (survey) research. Some studies have shown that favourability of the content is more important, while others show that the process used for decision-making largely determines stakeholder behaviour (e.g., Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1990; Tyler & Blader, 2000; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2001 and 2002; Tyler, 2001a; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2008; Persson et al., 2013; Arnesen, 2017; Esaiasson et al., 2017). The contradictory results of these studies show that both content and procedural satisfaction are likely important when it comes to stakeholder behaviour (support, adherence or protest). Along these lines, Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2008) argue that the problem in literature is the absence of sound empirical explanations for why procedural or content satisfaction is important for stakeholder behaviour, not necessarily if it is important. If content is more important, strategies in practice that focus on a fair process in hopes of stakeholders accepting unfavourable decisions are ineffective, which results in wasted public resources and absence of stakeholder support.

This dissertation follows up on the recommendation described above, but within the context of spatial planning. Through qualitative research, this dissertation provides empirical explanations for why content satisfaction is more decisive for stakeholder support than procedural satisfaction. The reason has everything to do with the spatial planning context. How spatial planning impacts stakeholder interests directly (space) in combination with uncertainty resulting from the inability to foresee the future (time) means that adapting decisions to the interests of stakeholders is more important for their support than a fair process (Hillier, 2010; Hartmann, 2012). This is because spatial projects can have a significant direct impact on the lives and livelihoods of stakeholders (van der Heijden & ten Heuvelhof, 2012). The results are generally in line with the study by Wojcieszak (2014), which used issue-publics to illustrate that context plays a role in explaining why content or procedural satisfaction is most important for stakeholder support. Context in this case consists of the issue but also the investment of stakeholders due to the personal importance of the issue. However, where do these results fall within the two strands of thinking in literature arguing that process or content are decisive in stakeholder behaviour?

Answering this question is important, because the results of this dissertation validate the position that stakeholders only care about the actual results achieved and not how decisions are made (Popkin, 1991; Arnesen, 2017). This implies that procedural satisfaction is not important for support, invalidating the position arguing that stakeholders accept an unfavourable decision when it is unbiased and taken fairly (Tyler & Lind, 1992; Innes & Booher, 1999; Tyler, 2001b). However, the interplay between content and procedural satisfaction for stakeholder support is more nuanced within the spatial planning context. Without involvement (process), stakeholders would not have any opportunities to influence decisions (content) by conveying their concerns, interests and wishes. Within government-induced interactive governance it is the government (agency) that ultimately decides to take such stakeholder input into account at the time

of decision-making, but if no voice were given to stakeholders, they would have little to no possibilities to wield this influence. Consequently, within the context of spatial planning, procedural satisfaction is an important condition for stakeholder support, but not a requirement like content satisfaction.

So, what do these results contribute to governance literature focussed on spatial planning and planning practitioners? The distinction between different types of satisfaction but also knowledge about the decisiveness of content for support can result in more specific conceptual frameworks. As conceptual frameworks become more specific, research will be able to determine factors necessary for the success of using interactive governance for stakeholder support. Ultimately, this approach results in knowledge and tools that practitioners can use in planning practice. In turn, this will enable practitioners to increase the effectiveness of interactive governance for stakeholder support by avoiding a mismatch between the design of the process and the desired outcome. Based on the results of this dissertation, practitioners know that, within spatial planning, content satisfaction is decisive while process provides opportunities to voice input and increase the chances for stakeholder support. Consequently, this demonstrates that solely focussing on process in the hopes that stakeholders will accept an unfavourable outcome is not enough, but that stakeholders need to be provided space for their influence on the content in order to secure their support.

7.3 REFLECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This dissertation sought to provide a more critical and nuanced view on the concept of interactive governance for the purpose of stakeholder support. This has been done by firstly defining the scope thoroughly by type of interactive governance (government-induced), purpose (stakeholder support) and context (spatial planning), secondly, by theoretically and empirically researching how (Chapter 1), if (Chapters 2-4) and why (Chapters 5 and 6) interactive governance leads to stakeholder support. This last and final section discusses limitations, biases and future research questions resulting from this dissertation.

It can be concluded, both theoretically and empirically, that there is truth to the assumption that the use interactive governance leads to stakeholder support. However, this dissertation has also shown that reaching benefits like stakeholder support does not happen automatically by simply applying interactive governance for policy processes. The benefit of stakeholder support should not be taken for granted. Public managers need to manage their process and be critical about why and how they use interactive governance to create stakeholder support. This dissertation has illustrated clearly that simply involving stakeholders and giving them a voice does not automatically create satisfaction and retain it over time. Such critical perspectives result in a better understanding of the limits of interactive governance and simultaneously communicate

realistic expectations towards public managers on what can be achieved when using the concept for the purpose of stakeholder support. It is recommended that future research adopt a critical perspective more often to provide a realistic perspective on the workings of interactive governance. Luckily, more such contributions are made in governance literature, but the numbers remain relatively small.

This dissertation also provided nuance to the concept of interactive governance, by showing how the type of interactive governance and the purpose for which the concept is used within a particular context dictate its use. It provided explanations for why some criteria are deemed more important than others when it comes to creating stakeholder satisfaction. More nuance is given regarding which type of satisfaction (content or procedural) is most important for stakeholder support within the spatial planning context. Even though stakeholders explained that process is important, because it provides opportunities for influence, it is the content that is most decisive for stakeholder support. Such nuances create a better understanding for how a type of interactive governance (government-induced) designed for a purpose (stakeholder support) works within a specific context (spatial planning), but the nuances can only arise from research that has a clearly defined scope. Thus, it is recommended for future governance research to more often define scope in terms of type, purpose and context. All-encompassing theoretical frameworks found in governance literature provide a broad perspective on certain relationships between different variables and purposes. The danger of such frameworks is that every variable is connected to every purpose, eventually becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy where no actual understanding of the inner workings of such relationships is found. As this dissertation has shown, there is more nuance to such broadly described relationships where every kind of variable is related to every purpose of governance. Such research also serves a practical purpose, as results will be more specific, understandable and therefore applicable for practitioners.

Based on the thought process of this dissertation, one might conclude a contradiction in its philosophy. From one perspective, it argues that it is important to use quantitative statistical research to find generalizable data, while from another perspective the scope in terms of type (government-induced), purpose (stakeholder support) and context (spatial planning) limits the generalizability of the finding. A holy grail of methods that works 100% of the time, in whatever context it is used, will never be attainable within governance literature. The subject of governance is qualitative in nature, because it will always be bound by contextual influence, as this dissertation has also shown. Conducting research from the perspective of natural science, by striving for a formula that will provide the same results independently of their context, will only result in failure as it disregards the contextual nature of governance. However, the qualitative nature does not mean that generalizable results cannot be found. It is recommended for future research to find the middle ground when it comes to having a clearly defined scope (type, purpose and context) while simultaneously trying to find generalizable data. In this manner,

research will take into account the call for more factual knowledge based on quantitative research, while also accepting the context-dependent nature of governance.

Some recommendations for future research arise from the individual chapters as well. Chapters 2-4 showed that the four criteria of interactive governance (equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency) statistically explained the satisfaction of stakeholders for approximately 85% of the cases, leaving a percentage unexplained. Future research could focus on building upon the criteria of equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency to find other aspects contributing to the satisfaction of stakeholders when using government-induced interactive governance for stakeholder support in spatial planning. In addition, more systematic quantitative large N-based research with the objective to find empirical data supporting the assumption that interactive governance leads to stakeholder support is also recommended.

Chapter 5 showed that content satisfaction is decisive for the supportive behaviour of stakeholders, explained through the contextual characteristics of spatial planning, namely space (direct impact on quality of life) and time (impact over long periods of time and extended policy procedures). However, there are possibly more factors explaining why content or procedural satisfaction is more important for stakeholder behaviour, like support. Examples are education, political belief, ways of involvement and trust in government and political systems. Future research could focus on other contextual factors, aside from subject, to explain why content is more decisive for stakeholder support in spatial planning.

Chapter 6 showed, according to public managers, why some criteria of interactive governance are more important than others and why they create stakeholder satisfaction for policy implementation. This has been explained through the context of spatial planning and the type of interactive governance used, namely government induced. However, this research, like all other chapters, is limited to the Dutch context. It is recommended for future research to determine to which extent the research results also apply to the context of other countries.

Finally, this dissertation contributes to a more thorough understanding if, how and why government-induced interactive governance leads to stakeholder support in spatial planning. However, the above reflection shows how much more work remains to be done by academics to understand interactive governance beyond general assumptions and theoretical frameworks found in literature. Looking at the popularity of governance in literature and practice, research on the effectiveness of the concept has become more important than ever for society as a whole. The results of this dissertation are only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to contributing to this endeavour. Based on the results, a few things are clear. Is interactive governance a holy grail concept for the implementation of policy in spatial planning? No. Are the promised benefits of interactive governance a façade? Not that either. However, does it have the potential to make spatial planning better when applied and managed correctly? Definitely yes!

REFERENCES

Achterkamp, M.C. and J.F. Vos. 2008. Investigating the use of stakeholder notion in project management literature, a meta-analysis. International Journal of Project Management 26(7): pp.749-757.

Agranoff, R. 2006. Inside Collaborative networks: Ten lessons for public managers. Public Administration Review 66(1): pp.56–65.

Andrews, R. and T. Entwistle. 2010. Does cross-sectoral partnership deliver? An empirical exploration of public service effectiveness, efficiency, and equity. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 20(3): pp.679-701.

Ansell, C. and A. Gash. 2008. Collaborative governance in theory and practice. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 18(4): pp.543-571.

Arnesen, S. 2017. Legitimacy from decision-making influence and outcome favorability: Results from general population survey experiments. Political Studies 65(15): pp.146-161.

Bäckstrand, K., J. Khan, A. Kronsell and E. Lövbrand (Eds.). 2010. Environmental politics and deliberative democracy: Examining the promise of new modes of governance. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Beierle, T.C. and J. Cayford. 2002. Democracy in practice: Public participation in environmental decision. New York: Routledge.

Birnbaum, S. 2016. Environmental co-governance, legitimacy, and the quest for compliance: When and why is stakeholder participation desirable? Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning 18(3): pp.306–323.

Boedeltje, M. 2009. Draagvlak door interactief bestuur: fictie of feit?! Enschede: Ipskamp Drukkers BV.

Boelens, L. 2010. Theorizing practice and practicing theory: Outlined for an actor-relation approach in spatial planning. Planning Theory 9(1): pp.99-122.

Brudney, J.L., C.R. Prentice and J.L. Harris. 2018. Beyond the comfort zone? County government collaboration with private sector organizations to deliver services. International Journal of Public Administration 41(16): pp.1374-1384.

Brunsting, S., M. de Best-Waldhober, C.F.J. Feenstra and T. Mikunda. 2011. Stakeholder participation practices and onshore CCS: Lessons from the Dutch Case Barendrecht. Energy Procedia 4: pp.6376-6383.

Bryson, J.M., B.C. Crosby, and M.M. Stone. 2015. Designing and implementing cross-sector collaborations: Needed and challenging. Public Administration Review 75(5): pp.647-663.

Coenen, F., D. Huitema and L. O'Toole. 1998. Participation and the quality of environmental decision-making. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Douglas, S., O. Berthod, M. Groenleer and J. Nederhand. 2020. Pathways to collaborative performance: examining the different combinations of conditions under which collaborations are successful. Policy and Society 39(4): pp.1-20.

Duit, A. and O. Hall. 2014. Causes and consequences of stakeholder participation in natural resource management: Evidence from 143 biosphere reserves in 55 countries. In A. Duit (Ed.), State and environment: The comparative study of environmental governance (pp. 293-319). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Edelenbos, J. 2000. Proces in vorm: Procesbegeleiding van interactieve beleidsvorming over lokale ruimtelijke projecten. Utrecht: Uitgeverij Lemma BV.

Edelenbos, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2006. Managing stakeholder involvement in decision-making: A comparative analysis of six interactive processes on the Netherlands. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 16(3): pp.417-446.

Edelenbos, J., B. Steijn and E.H. Klijn. 2010. Does democratic anchorage matter? An inquiry into the relation between democratic anchorage and outcome of Dutch environmental projects. The American Review of Public Administration 40(1): pp.46-63.

Eisenhardt, M.K. 1991. Better stories and better constructs: The case for rigor and comparative logic. Academy of Management Review 16(3): pp.620-627.

Emerson, K., T. Nabatchi and S. Balogh. 2012. Collaborative governance in theory and practice. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 18(4): pp.543-571.

Emerson, K., and T. Nabatchi. 2015. Collaborative governance regimes. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Ernst, A. 2019. How participation influences the perception of fairness, efficiency and effectiveness in environmental governance: An empirical analysis. Journal of Environmental Management 238: pp.368-381.

Esaiasson, P., M. Gilljam and M. Persson. 2017. Responsiveness beyond policy satisfaction: Does it matter to citizens? Comparative Political Studies 50(6): pp.739-765.

Gerlak, A.K., T. Heikkila and M. Lubell. 2013. The promise and performance of collaborative governance. In Kraft, M.E. and S. Kamieniecki (eds.), The Oxford handbook of U.S. environmental policy (pp.413–434). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Graaf, L. de 2007. Gedragen beleid: Een bestuurskundig onderzoek naar interactief beleid en draagvlak in de stad Utrecht. Delft: Eburon.

Hartmann, T. 2012. Wicked problems and clumsy solutions: Planning as expectation management. Planning

Theory 11(3): pp.242-256.
Hibbing, J.R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2001. Process preferences and American politics: What the people want government to be. American Political Science Review 95(1): pp.145-153.
Hibbing, J.R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2002. Stealth democracy: Americans' beliefs about how government should work. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hibbing, J. R. and E. Theiss-Morse. 2008. Voice, validation and legitimacy. In Sullivan, B.A., M. Snyder and J.L. Sullivan (eds.), Cooperation: The political psychology of effective human interaction (pp.123-142). Wiley-Blackwell: Michigan.
Hillier, J. 2010. Introduction: Planning at yet another crossroads? In J. Hillier and P. Healey (eds.), The Ashgate research companion to planning theory. Conceptual challenges for spatial planning (pp.1-34). Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
Hodge, G.A. and C. Greve. 2007 Public-private partnerships: An International Performance Review. Public Administration Review 67(3): pp.545-558.
Hoon, C. 2013. Meta-synthesis of qualitative case studies: An approach to theory building. Organizational Research Methods 16(4): pp.522-556.
Hysing, E. 2020. Designing collaborative governance that is fit for purpose: theorizing policy support and voluntary action for road safety in Sweden. Journal of Public Policy (First View): pp.1-23.
Ianniello, M., S. Iacuzzi, P. Fedele and L. Brusati. 2018. Obstacles and solutions on the ladder of citizen participation: A systematic review. Public Management Review 21(1): pp.21-46.
Imperial, M.T. 2005. Using collaboration as a governance strategy. Lessons from six watershed management programs. Administration & Society 37(3): pp.281–320.
Imperial, M.T., C.R. Prentice and J.L. Brudney. 2018. Collaboration and the environment. In A. Farazmand (eds.), Global encyclopedia of public administration (pp.1–9). Cham: Springer.
Innes, J.E. and D.E. Booher. 1999. Consensus building and complex adaptive systems. A framework for evaluating collaborative planning. Journal of the American Planning Association 65(4): pp.412–423.
Irvin, R.A. and J. Stansbury. 2004. Citizen participation in decision-making: Is it worth the effort? Public Administration Review 64(1): pp.55-65.
Jager, N.W., J. Newig, E. Challies and E. Kochskamper. 2020. Pathways to implementation: Evidence on how participation in environmental governance impacts on environmental outcomes. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory (30)3: pp.383-399.
Klijn, E.H., J. Edelenbos and B. Steijn. 2010a. Trust in governance networks: Its impacts on outcomes. Administration & Society 42(2): pp.193-221.
Klijn, E.H., B. Steijn & J. Edelenbos. 2010b. The impact of network management on outcomes in governance networks. Public Administration 88(4): pp.1063-1082.
Klijn, E.H. and J.F.M. Koppenjan, 2016. Governance networks in the public sector. London: Routledge.
Koontz, T.M., and C.W. Thomas 2006. What do we know and need to know about the environmental outcomes of collaborative management? Public Administration Review 66(1): pp.111–121.
Koppenjan, J. and E.H. Klijn. 2004. Managing uncertainties in networks. London: Routledge.
Lind, E.A. and T.R. Tyler. 1988. The social psychology of procedural justice. New York: Plenum Press.
Littau, P., N.J. Jujagiri and G. Adlbrecht. 2010. 25 years of stakeholder theory in project management literature (1984-2009). Project Management Journal 41(4): pp.17-29.
Margerum, R.D. 2011. Beyond consensus: Improving collaborative planning and management. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Mayer, I., J. Edelenbos and R. Monnikhof. 2005. Interactive policy development: Undermining or sustaining democracy? Public Administration 83(1): pp.179-199.
Newig, J., E. Challies, N.W. Jager, E. Kochskaemper and A. Adzersen. 2018. The environmental performance of participatory and collaborative governance: A framework of causal mechanisms. The Policy Studies Journal 46(2): pp.269-297.
Nowell, B. 2010. Out of sync and unaware? Exploring the effects of problem frame alignment and discordance in community collaboratives. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 20(1): pp.91–116.
O'Leary, R. and N. Vij. 2012. Collaborative public management: where have we been and where are we going? The American Review of Public Administration 45(5): pp.507-522.
Persson, M., P. Esaiasson and M. Gilljam. 2013. The effect of direct voting and deliberation on legitimacy beliefs: An experimental study of small group decision-making. European Political Science Review 5(3): pp.381-399.
Pollitt, C. 2010. Complexity Theory and evolutionary public administration: A sceptical Afterword. In Teisman, G., A. van Buuren & L. Gerrits (eds.), Managing complex governance systems: Dynamics, Self-Organization and Coevolution in Public Investments (pp.213-230). New York: Routledge.
Popkin, S.L. 1991. The Reasoning voter: Communication and persuasion in presidential campaigns. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Prentice, C.R., M.T. Imperial and J.L. Brudney. 2019. Conceptualizing the collaborative toolbox: A dimensional approach to collaboration. American Review of Public Administration 49(7): pp.792–809.
Provan, K.G. and P. Kenis. 2007. Modes of network governance: Structure, management, and effectiveness. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 18(2): pp.229–252.
Renn, O., T. Webler and P. Wiedemann. 1995. Fairness and competence in citizen participation. Evaluating models for environmental discourse. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
Robertson, P.J. and T. Choi. 2012. Deliberation, consensus, and stakeholder satisfaction: A simulation of collaborative governance. Public Management Review 14(1): pp.83-103.
Rowe, G., T. Horlick-Jones, J. Walls, W. Poortinga and N.F. Pidgeon. 2008. Analysis of a normative framework for evaluating public engagement exercises: Reliability, validity and limitations. Public Understanding of Science 17(4): pp.419-441.
Schulz, C., Martin-Ortega, J., Glenk, K., and A.A.R. Ioris. 2017. The value base of water governance: A multi-disciplinary perspective. Ecological Economics 131: pp.241–249.
Schlager, E. and W.A. Blomquist. 2008. Embracing watershed politics. Boulder: University Press of Colorado-Boulder.
Scott, T.A., C.W. Thomas and J.M. Magallanes. 2019. Convening for consensus: Simulating stakeholder agreement in collaborative governance processes under different network conditions. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 29(1): pp.32-49.
Skelcher, C., N. Mathur and M. Smith. 2005. The public governance of collaborative spaces: Discourse, design and democracy. Public Administration 83(3): pp.573–596.
Smith, G. 2009. Democratic innovations: Designing institutions for citizen participation. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Sørensen, E. and J. Torfing (eds). 2007. Theories of democratic network governance. Camberley: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Sørensen, E. 2007. Local politicians and administrators as meta governors. In M. Marcussen and J. Torfing (eds), Democratic Network Governance in Europe. (pp.89-108). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
Till, J.E. and K.R. Meyer. 2001. Public Involvement in Science and Decision-making. Health Physics Society 80(4): pp.370-378.
Tyler, T.R. 1990. Why people obey the law. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Tyler, T.R. and S. Blader. 2000. Cooperation in groups: Procedural justice, social identity, and behavioral engagement. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
Tyler, T.R. and E.A. Lind. 1992. A relational model of authority in groups. Advances in Experimental Social Psychology 25: pp.115–191.
Tyler, T.R. 2001a. The psychology of public dissatisfaction with government. In J.R. Hibbing and E. Theiss-Morse (eds.), What is it about government that Americans dislike? (pp. 227-242). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Tyler, T.R. 2001b. A psychological perspective on the legitimacy of institutions and authorities. In J.T. Jost and B. Major (eds.), The psychology of legitimacy: Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice, and intergroup relations (pp.416-436). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Van der Heijden, J. and E. ten Heuvelhof. 2012. The mechanics of virtue: Lessons on public participation from implementing the water framework directive in the Netherlands. Environmental Policy and Governance 22(3): pp.177-188
Wojcieszak, M. 2014. Preferences for political decision-making processes and issue publics. The Public Opinion Quarterly 78(4): pp.917-939.
Zachrisson A., T. Bjärstig and K. Eckerberg. 2018. When public officers take the lead in collaborative governance: To confirm, consult, facilitate or negotiate? Scandinavian Journal of Public Administration 22(4): pp.21–44.

SUMMARY

This dissertation originated from the contradictory perspectives found in literature on the benefits of interactive governance. More often than not, interactive governance (bottom-up) is compared to government (top-down) as a more favourable avenue for policy implementation. The favourability is argued based on the normative assumption that interactive governance provides certain benefits. One of these benefits is creating stakeholder support for policy implementation, the most sought-after benefit in spatial planning and western democracies. However, the normative assumptions are not without discussion, with more critical perspectives on interactive governance criticizing the overly optimistic view found in literature. Combined with the failures associated with the use of interactive governance observed in planning practice, this dissertation aims to provide a more nuanced view on the concept. To provide a more nuanced perspective on the capabilities of interactive governance for the purpose of stakeholder support, the effectiveness of the concept in reaching that benefit needs to be assessed. Accordingly, this dissertation answers the following main research question:

> *"To what extent does the use of government-induced interactive governance contribute to creating procedural and content satisfaction among stakeholders for the support of policy implementation within the spatial domain?"*

To answer this question, Chapter 1 lays the foundation for this dissertation by presenting a conceptual framework. The conceptual framework explains the different elements that play a role when using interactive governance for a specific purpose and, as a result, defines the scope of this dissertation. The scope is defined by describing the type of interactive governance (government-induced), the purpose (stakeholder support), the manner of use (instrumentally) and the context (spatial planning) this dissertation is focussed on. The framework also explains how the four criteria of interactive governance (equality, influence, transparency and reasonable debate) result in different forms of satisfaction (procedural and content) and, subsequently, how satisfaction leads to stakeholder support by impacting attitude and, in turn, behavioural relationships.

A first empirical step in answering the main research question is made in Chapters 2 to 4, which focus on the question if interactive governance actually results in stakeholder support. In contemporary literature, empirical evidence supporting the normative assumption that the use of interactive governance results in certain beneficial outcomes (like stakeholder support) is lacking. Thus, more systematic quantitative research with a large N is necessary to enable comparative and generalizable results. Chapters 2 to 4 contribute by providing empirical evidence for the assumption that interactive governance leads to stakeholder support. The results of Chapter 2 showed moderately to strong statistical correlations between the four criteria of interactive governance and stakeholder support for the policy programming phase related to underground planning. Also, the majority of stakeholders' satisfaction was explained with the four criteria of interactive governance, namely around 85%. Chapter 3 showed comparable statistical results for a different object (flood risk management) and policy phase (implementation). In addition, Chapter 4 showed a similar correlation between interactive governance and stakeholder satisfaction within the same flood risk management case, but over time. In summary, all three chapters combined found empirical evidence, through comparative and longitudinal research, confirming that the use of interactive governance leads to stakeholder support for policy.

Chapters 5 and 6 focussed on answering why the use of interactive governance results in stakeholder support. First, while Chapter 1 focussed on answering this question from the perspective of literature, its results do not necessarily prove that the instrumental use of interactive governance fits the purpose of reaching stakeholder support for spatial policy implementation according to practitioners. Fitting theoretical concepts to specific instrumental purposes is relevant, because a mismatch with institutional design reduces effectiveness and results in a waste of public resources. This chapter concluded, based on explanations given by planning practitioners, that the four criteria of interactive governance (equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency) fit the instrumental purpose of reaching stakeholder support for policy implementation. Within the given explanations, nuances were provided for the use and importance of each criterion for stakeholder support. The results show that development and functioning of stakeholder involvement are impacted by not only the type of interactive governance (government-induced) but also the context (spatial planning) where the concept is used.

Second, Chapter 6 focussed on finding empirical explanations for why procedural or content satisfaction is decisive for creating stakeholder support in spatial planning. While such a question is not regularly asked in governance literature, political sciences have commonly made strides to better understand the interplay between process and content for support. While the contradictory results show that both are important, most studies do not provide empirical explanations why procedural and content satisfaction are important. Chapter 6 explained that content is more important than procedural satisfaction for stakeholder support. This has everything to do with the context, as spatial developments directly impact stakeholders and, in combination with uncertainty regarding future quality of life, the favourability of decisions is more important than a far process for support. The results are in line with studies conducted on issue publics within political sciences, with Chapter 6 showing similar results for the context of spatial planning.

Finally, Chapter 7 presented the general conclusions regarding government-induced interactive governance for stakeholder support in spatial planning, which also provide lessons for future research. First, empirical research based on specific conceptual frameworks tailored to a specific type of interactive governance, purpose

and context results in a better understanding of interactive governance. Such research shows how and why the elements of type, purpose and context influence the use of interactive governance for stakeholder support. This dissertation shows examples of useful knowledge gained through this approach, for example, that content satisfaction is decisive for stakeholder support, because spatial policy often has a direct impact on stakeholders' quality of life; consequently, favourability of decisions proves to be more important than a fair process. Further, this present study shows that empirical evidence supports the normative assumption that the use of interactive governance results in stakeholder support. Finally, this dissertation contributed nuance to the subject matter by showing that not all criteria within government-induced interactive governance (equality, influence, reasonable debate and transparency) are evenly important to reach stakeholder support in spatial planning. Aside from the academic value, such knowledge also helps practitioners in their daily activities as research is fit to a specific type, purpose and context, making it easier to understand the instrumental use. Such knowledge can only be gained through conceptual frameworks that are clearly defined in terms of focus on a specific type of interactive governance, purpose and contest. Calls for such research have been made increasingly in literature and some have followed-up, like this dissertation.

The overall conclusion of this dissertation is that interactive governance has potential to be beneficial in spatial planning when it comes to reaching support among stakeholder for policy implementation. A lot of emphasis needs to be put on potential, because interactive governance is by no means perfect as normative assumptions in literature make it out to be. Critical views on interactive governance argue that the concept is counterproductive, meaning that it does not lead to support for policy but can rather result in conflict by involving different types of contradictory interests. Such critical views are backed up by failures of interactive governance observed in practice. Interactive governance is not a holy grail that automatically leads to success just by applying the concept. However, interactive governance is not a façade either, because the results of this dissertation show a correlation with stakeholder satisfaction in spatial planning. To increase the success rate and effectiveness of interactive governance, research based on specific theoretical frameworks needs to pay more attention to the interplay of elements necessary for stakeholder support. Ultimately this approach leads to a better understanding, but also a more realistic and nuanced perspective on interactive governance and its benefits.

SUMMARY

SAMENVATTING

Dit manuscript is ontstaan vanuit het tegenstrijdige perspectief die te vinden is in de literatuur over de voordelen van stakeholderparticipatie. Vaak wordt interactieve beleidsvorming geprefereerd voor beleidsimplementatie vergeleken met top-down beleidsvormen. De voorkeur komt voort vanuit de aanname dat interactieve beleidsvorming bepaalde voordelen heeft. Een van die voordelen is dat het betrekken van stakeholders bij beleidsvorming of -implementatie leidt tot tevredenheid en draagvlak onder stakeholders. Dit is een van de meest gewilde voordelen van interactieve beleidsvorming in westerse democratieën. De normatieve aanname te vinden in de governance literatuur staat echter wel ter discussie vanuit critici. Gecombineerd met de mislukte pogingen om interactieve beleidsvorming te gebruiken in ruimtelijke projecten voor draagvlak probeert dit manuscript een genuanceerde blik te werpen op het populaire concept. Om een genuanceerde blik te bieden op de mogelijkheden van interactieve beleidsvorming voor het creëren van draagvlak is het van belang om de effectiviteit van het concept te beoordelen. De volgende onderzoeksvraag wordt in dit manuscript beantwoord:

> *"In hoeverre draagt het inzetten van overheid geïnduceerde interactieve beleidsvorming bij aan het creëren van procedurele en inhoudelijke tevredenheid onder stakeholders voor draagvlak om beleid te implementeren binnen het ruimtelijk domein?"*

Om de onderzoeksvraag te beantwoorden start hoofdstuk 1 met het leggen van de basis voor dit manuscript door middel van een conceptueel model. Het conceptueel model beschrijft de verschillende elementen die een rol spelen bij het gebruik van interactieve beleidsvorming voor een specifiek doel. De elementen definiëren ook meteen de scope van dit manuscript door het type interactieve beleidsvorming (overheid geïnduceerd), het doel (draagvlak), de wijze waarop (instrumenteel) en de context (ruimtelijke ordening) toe te lichten waarop dit manuscript zich richt. Het model beschrijft eveneens hoe de vier criteria van interactieve beleidsvorming (gelijkwaardigheid, invloed, transparantie en redelijk debat) resulteren in verschillende vormen van tevredenheid (proces en inhoud), maar ook hoe tevredenheid onder stakeholder leidt tot draagvlak vanuit attitude en gedragsrelaties.

Een eerste stap om de onderzoeksvraag van dit manuscript empirisch te beantwoorden is gemaakt in hoofdstukken 2 tot en met 4, waarin de focus ligt op de vraag of interactieve beleidsvorming leidt tot draagvlak onder stakeholders. In de hedendaagse governance literatuur is relatief weinig empirisch bewijs te vinden die de normatieve aanname ondersteunt dat interactieve beleidsvorming leidt tot bepaalde gunstige uitkomsten, zoals draagvlak. Meer systematisch kwantitatief onderzoek is nodig om comparatieve en

generaliseerbare resultaten te genereren. Hoofdstukken 2 tot en met 4 dragen hieraan bij door empirisch bewijs te leveren voor de aanname dat interactieve beleidsvorming leidt tot draagvlak onder stakeholders. De resultaten van hoofdstuk 2 laten zien dat de vier criteria van interactieve beleidsvorming matig tot sterk statistisch correleren met het draagvlak van stakeholders voor de beleidsvormingsfase gerelateerd aan ondergrond beleid. Daarbij komt kijken dat het overgrote deel van de stakeholdertevredenheid wordt verklaard door de vier criteria van interactieve beleidsvorming, namelijk rond de 85 procent.

Hoofdstuk 3 heeft vergelijkbare statistische uitkomsten laten zien, maar gerelateerd aan een ander object (watermanagement) en beleidsfase (implementatie). Aansluitend heeft hoofdstuk 4 eveneens een vergelijkbare correlatie laten zien tussen interactieve beleidsvorming en stakeholdertevredenheid binnen dezelfde watermanagement case van hoofdstuk 3, maar nu over de tijd heen. Samenvattend, alle drie de hoofstukken hebben gecombineerd empirisch bewijs gevonden door middel van comparatief en longitudinaal onderzoek, voor de aanname dat interactieve beleidsvorming leidt tot draagvlak onder stakeholders voor beleidsvorming en implementatie.

In hoofdstukken 5 en 6 ligt de focus op de vraag waarom het gebruik van interactieve beleidsvorming leidt tot draagvlak onder stakeholders. Ondanks dat hoofdstuk 1 deze vraag heeft beantwoord vanuit de governance literatuur bewijst nog niet dat het instrumenteel gebruik van interactieve beleidsvorming in de praktijk geschikt is voor het doel om draagvlak te creëren onder stakeholders voor beleidsimplementatie. Het passend maken van theoretische concepten aan een specifiek instrumenteel doel is relevant, omdat een mismatch tussen procesontwerp en procesdoel resulteert in verminderde effecitivteit met tot gevolg verspilling van publieke middelen, zoals tijd en geld. Hoofdstuk 5 concludeert op basis van de verklaringen van planners in de praktijk dat de vier criteria van interactieve beleidsvorming passen bij het instrumentele doel om stakeholderdraagvlak te creëren voor beleidsimplementatie. De verklaringen die planners hebben gegeven brengen nuance aan het belang van elke criterium voor het creëren van draagvlak. De resultaten laten zien dat het ontwikkelen en functioneren van een stakeholder proces niet alleen beïnvloed wordt door het type interactieve beleidsvorming (overheid geïnduceerd), maar ook door de context (ruimtelijke ordening) waarin het proces plaatsvindt.

In hoofdstuk 6 ligt de focus op het vinden van empirische verklaringen voor waarom procedurele of inhoudelijke tevredenheid doorslaggevend is voor het creëren van draagvlak in de ruimtelijke ordening. Deze vraag wordt niet regelmatig gesteld in de governance literatuur, maar binnen de politieke wetenschappen zijn er vele stappen gezet om de wisselwerking tussen proces en inhoud voor draagvlak beter te begrijpen. Ondanks dat er in de literatuur tegenstrijdige resultaten te vinden zijn, namelijk dat zowel inhoudelijk al procedurele tevredenheid belangrijk zijn voor draagvlak, bieden de meeste onderzoeken niet een empirische toelichting voor waarom dat zo is. Hoofdstuk 6 laat

zien dat inhoudelijke tevredenheid belangrijker is dan procedurele tevredenheid voor het creëren van draagvlak onder stakeholders binnen de ruimtelijke ordening. Dit heeft alles te maken met de context waarin een beleidsproces plaatsvindt, omdat ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen direct impact hebben op stakeholders. In combinatie met onzekerheid rondom de toekomstige levenskwaliteit, zijn gunstige uitkomsten (inhoud) belangrijker dan een eerlijk proces voor draagvlak. De resultaten hoofdstuk 6 komen overeen met ander uitgevoerd onderzoek in de politieke wetenschappen.

Tenslotte presenteert hoofdstuk 7 de algemene conclusies over het gebruik van overheid geïnduceerde interactieve beleidsvorming voor draagvlak onder stakeholders. Hierin komen verschillende adviezen naar voren voor toekomstig onderzoek. Het eerste advies is meer empirisch onderzoek waar een op maat gemaakt conceptueel model ten grondslag ligt door het type interactieve beleidsvorming, het doel en de context te definiëren. Hierdoor ontstaat er meer inzicht in hoe interactieve beleidsvorming werkt. Zulk onderzoek achterhaald hoe en waarom elementen zoals type, doel en context het gebruik van interactieve beleidsvorming beïnvloeden voor het creëren van draagvlak onder stakeholders. Dit manuscript bevat voorbeelden van praktisch bruikbare kennis resulterende uit zulk onderzoek. Bijvoorbeeld dat inhoudelijke tevredenheid belangrijker is dan procesmatige tevredenheid voor draagvlak, omdat ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen directe impact hebben op de levenskwaliteit van stakeholders, waardoor gunstige besluiten belangrijker zijn dan eerlijke processen. Daarnaast presenteert dit manuscript empirisch bewijs voor de normatieve aanname dat het gebruik van interactieve beleidsvorming leidt tot draagvlak onder stakeholders. Als laatste heeft dit manuscript nuance gebracht aan het concept van interactieve beleidsvorming door te laten zien dat niet alle criteria (gelijkwaardigheid, invloed, transparantie en redelijk debat) even belangrijk zokm voor het creëren van draagvlak onder stakeholders voor ruimtelijk beleid. Los van de academische waarde, helpt zulke kennis ook planners in de praktijk. Zulk toegepaste kennis is alleen mogelijk door onderzoek te baseren op conceptuele modellen die duidelijk gedefinieerd zijn in termen van type interactieve beleidsvorming, doel en context. In de governance literatuur neemt de behoefte naar zulk onderzoek toe.

De algemene conclusie van dit manuscript is dat interactieve beleidsvorming de potentie heeft om van toegevoegde waarde te zijn in de ruimtelijke ordening door draagvlak te creëren onder stakeholders voor beleidsimplementatie. Nadruk ligt op het woord potentie, omdat interactieve beleidsvorming zeker niet zo perfect is als sommige normatieve aannames laten blijken die te vinden zijn in de governance literatuur. Critici beweren dat interactieve beleidsvorming contraproductief is, wat erop neerkomt dat het concept niet leidt tot draagvlak, maar juist conflict onder stakeholders stimuleert door verschillende en tegenstrijdige belangen bij elkaar te brengen. Zulke kritische geluiden worden ondersteund door mislukte pogingen om interactieve beleidsvorming te gebruiken in de praktijk. Interactieve beleidsvorming is niet de heilige graal, omdat

het gebruik niet automatisch leidt tot succes. Aan de andere kant is interactieve beleidsvorming ook geen façade, omdat de resultaten van dit manuscript een correlatie laten zien met de tevredenheid van stakeholders in de ruimtelijke ordeningscontext. Om het succes van interactieve beleidsvorming in de praktijk te vergroten dient onderzoek gebaseerd te zijn op specifieke conceptuele modellen die meer aandacht besteden aan de wisselwerking tussen elementen die noodzakelijk zijn om draagvlak te creëren onder stakeholders. Uiteindelijk leidt deze benadering tot beter begrip, maar ook een realistischer en een meer genuanceerd perspectief op interactieve beleidsvorming en de voordelen ervan.

APPENDIX

Survey (literal translation from Dutch)

This anonymous questionnaire is about the stakeholder process of the dike reinforcement programme Limburg you are involved in. We would like to know how you experienced different participation methods like the information evenings, chance sessions and environmental groups. To answer the questions, you only have to give a grade or mark a box, therefore the questionnaire takes a maximum of 5 minutes to complete. IMPORTANT: please provide an answer to all questions!

On a scale from 1 least satisfied to 10 very satisfied (below a 5.5 is unsatisfactory), how satisfied are you with …

… the possibilities to provide input during meetings?
… equal opportunities to provide input compared to other stakeholders?
… the number of meetings to provide input?
… the focus on the content of the conceptual dike reinforcement variants during meetings?
… discussing concerns and interests you have as a stakeholder during meetings?
… taken my concerns and interest seriously by the waterboard?
… the possibilities to provide input for the conceptual dike reinforcement variants during meetings?
… providing input for the dike reinforcement variants early in the process?
… continuously getting informed during the process about the progress of the dike reinforcement variants?
… the understandable language within information received (i.e. newsletters, brochures, e-mails, presentations, etc.)?
… getting informed about the progress of meetings and conversations with stakeholders in other parts of the process?
… the information about how the provided input of stakeholders have been implemented or taken into account?
… discussing conceptual dike reinforcement variants during meetings?
… taken my ideas and arguments seriously by the waterboard?
… the speed of the process to develop the dike variants and the conversations with stakeholders?
--- Follow up question: The speed of the process was … too slow/good/too fast (one option)

How satisfied are you with the participation process as a whole (1 to 10, below 5.5 unsatisfactory)?

Optional: What do you want to convey to the Waterboard Limburg?

Factorloadings Oblimin rotation with Kaiser's criterion

Pattern Matrix[a]

	Component		
	1	2	3
4. The possibilities to provide input during meetings.	.068	.896	-.025
5. Equal possibilities to provide input during meetings.	-.037	.861	.097
6. The number of meetings to provide input.	.108	.313	.437
7. The focus on the content of the conceptual dike reinforcement variants during meetings.	.421	.271	.200
8. Discussing concerns you have as a stakeholder during meetings.	.562	.469	-.054
9. Taking my concerns seriously by the waterboard.	.984	.067	-.121
10. The possibilities to provide input for the conceptual dike reinforcement variants during meetings.	.157	.510	.326
11. Providing input for the dike reinforcement variants early in the process.	.385	.099	.363
12. Discussing interests you have as a stakeholder during meetings.	.406	.377	.238
13. Taking my interests seriously by the waterboard.	.886	.015	.049
14. Discussing conceptual dike reinforcement variants during meetings.	.168	.193	.615
15. Continuously getting informed during the process about the progress of the dike reinforcement variants.	-.110	.092	.937
16. The understandable language within information received (i.e. newsletters, brochures, e-mails, presentations, etc.).	-.071	.192	.774
17. The information about how the provided input of stakeholders have been implemented or taken into account.	.151	-.025	.752
18. Getting informed about the progress of meetings and conversations with stakeholders in other parts of the process.	.025	-.122	.905
19. Taking my ideas and arguments seriously by the waterboard.	.928	-.103	.102
20. Discussing expectations you have as a stakeholder during meetings.	.818	.018	.101
21. Taking my expectations seriously by the waterboard.	.879	-.007	.069
22. The speed of the process to develop the dike variants and the conversations with stakeholders.	.271	-.096	.622

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 13 iterations.

Results Cronbach's Alpha for the three factors

Reliability Statistics factor 1		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.871	.876	3

Reliability Statistics factor 2		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.919	.919	6

Reliability Statistics factor 3		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.968	.968	5

The Cronbach's Alpha (reliability) for all three factors is above 0.8. This means that the items measuring the criteria of interactive governance (factors) form a single scale.

Results regression analysis

Model Summary[b]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.930[a]	.864	.862	.4459	.864	418.195	3	197	.000	2.047

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR factor score 3 for analysis 1, REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1, REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1
b. Dependent Variable: 24.Welk EINDCIJFER geeft u aan het proces (1 t/m 10, onder de 5,5 onvoldoende)?

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	6.617	.031		210.395	.000		
	Factor 1	.486	.046	.404	10.531	.000	.467	2.140
	Factor 2	.312	.039	.260	7.947	.000	.644	1.554
	Factor 3	.492	.046	.410	10.699	.000	.470	2.127

a. Dependent Variable: 24.Welk EINDCIJFER geeft u aan het proces (1 t/m 10, onder de 5,5 onvoldoende)?

Multicollinearity is checked by observing the correlation matrix of the individual survey items. The rule of thumb is that the correlations should not above be 0.9, which isn't the case for this research. Another method to detect multicollinearity is through the VIF. The rule of thumb is that a value of above 10 or below 0.2 means that multicollinearity is present. Ideal conditions are when the values are between 1 and 5. All the VIF values are below 3 when observing the regression model which means that there are no concerns regarding multicollinearity.

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
24.Procedural satisfaction	6.617	1.2012	201
Factor 1	.0000000	1.00000000	201
Factor 2	.0000000	1.00000000	201
Factor 3	.0000000	1.00000000	201

APPENDIX

CURRICULUM VITAE

Ehsan Nouzari was born on October 13th 1990 in Wageningen, the Netherlands. During the Master programme Spatial Planning at the Utrecht University Ehsan got interested in the subject of stakeholder involvement for policy implementation. After graduating and starting his career as a governance consultant in the spatial domain, he was offered a PhD position at the Utrecht University. In the six years that followed he conducted research on the subject of stakeholder involvement through the concept of interactive governance which resulted in the manuscript *The Undying Belief in Interactive Governance - Academic aspirations and practical reality of stakeholder involvement*. In this research theory surrounding interactive governance is linked to the practice of policy implementation in spatial planning. During his PhD research, Ehsan gained experience in numerous areas related to stakeholder involvement, namely project communication, process architecture for stakeholder involvement, permit applications, land use policy, partnership agreements, specific forms of stakeholder involvement, but also political and administrative decision-making. Currently he is working for the Dutch government agency Rijkswaterstaat as a public manager responsible for stakeholder involvement in spatial projects, primarily focused on subjects related to water and nature.

If there are any questions related to his research or otherwise, Ehsan can be contacted through the following e-mail address: ehsannouzari@hotmail.com.