CO-CREATION & CO-PRODUCTION

AS A STRATEGY FOR PUBLIC SERVICE INNOVATION

A study to their appropriateness in a public sector context

WILLIAM VOORBERG

Co-Creation and Co-Production as a Strategy for Public Service Innovation:

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William Voorberg

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Co-Creation and Co-Production as a Strategy for Public Service Innovation:

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Co-creatie en coproductie als innovatiestrategie in publieke dienstverlening:

Een onderzoek naar de geschiktheid
in een publieke sector context

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Overige leden:	Prof.dr. J. Edelenbos
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	Prof.dr. T. Brandsen
Copromotor:	Dr. L.G. Tummers

"In the Foo Fighters I write the basic ideas of the songs and then I go to our drummer Taylor. And he and I sit together and we record these demo's in which we determine the dynamic of the song. Then we go to the other guys and then everybody grabs a hold of it and pulls it in their direction, which ultimately makes it a bigger song"

Dave Grohl – lead singer Foo Fighters

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CHAPTER 1

Introducing Co-creation and Co-production between Citizens and Government

1.1 Introduction

"The historical center of the Dutch city of Leiden is surrounded by a six kilometer canal. On its ancient walls, historical and industrial monuments are placed. Due to the course of history, several areas of this canal and the accompanying park have deteriorated and are badly maintained. A number of Leiden citizens have decided to take the initiative to turn this entire area into one park: the Singelpark. The Singelpark must become a place to enjoy nature, sports, discover history and meet other people. The municipality of Leiden recognized this initiative as an opportunity to update the park and decided to support it"

(www.singelpark.nl 28-05-2014).

This is just one example of the rich contemporary palette of citizen involvement in public services. Citizens initiate projects in order to serve the interests of (parts of) their city, and the government then decides to participate. As such, new collaborative structures occur between governments and citizens. Lately, western governments are actively exploring how these collaborative structures can improve public service delivery. They can be labelled as *social innovation through co-creation or co-production between citizens and governments in public service delivery.* Such collaborations are becoming ever more mainstream throughout western public service delivery. For instance, in the UK, the then prime minister, David Cameron, announced in 2009 that the involvement of citizen initiatives in public service delivery would be a focal point in social policy, i.e. using the talents and skills of citizens in local, small communities would form the key asset in facing contemporary public challenges (The Guardian, 2009). In the United States, a similar awareness is apparent. Former President Obama announced, in 2009, that "*solutions to America's challenges are being developed every day at the grass roots -- and government shouldn't be supplanting those efforts, it should be supporting those efforts*" (Obama, 2009). In Australia, the advisory group on reform of the Australian government administration noted that: *"An important component of open government is enabling citizens to collaborate on policy and service design*" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2010; p. 9). Nearer to home, since 2000, citizens in the Netherlands are increasingly invited to take responsibility and take matters into their own hands (WRR, 2012). In 2006, this responsibility was legally confirmed in the Act on Social Support (WMO). This act implied that, in order to organize personal healthcare, patients needed to increasingly rely on voluntary social support provided by and within their own networks.

As such, throughout the Western world, social innovation is increasingly considered an essential part of public service delivery. Its potential is associated with battling contemporary societal challenges such as financial retrenchment, globalization, an increasing demand for a stronger focus on citizens' needs, regeneration of urban deprived areas, and a decrease of

civil trust in public institutions (Bason, 2010; Bovaird, 2007; Pestoff, 2006). A characteristic of social innovation is the involvement of end-users and other relevant stakeholders in the development, implementation, monitoring, and adaptation of these services (Bason, 2010; Lee, Olson, & Trimi, 2012). Consequently, social innovation is by definition a process of collaboration (Sørensen & Torfing, 2011) in which service users and service providers form partnerships in order to provide a public service. This thesis is focused on this collaboration between citizens and governments. In the literature, we see an abundance of terms aiming to conceptualize this collaboration such as interactive governance, collaborative governance, co-production, co-creation, and self-organization. In this first Chapter, we elaborate on these various concepts, explore to what extent they overlap, or are distinct from each other. In addition, we show that the roles of both citizens and government (or another service provider) have been changing along with the different modes of governance that have occurred since the late-sixties. We argue that the concepts of co-creation and co-production best reflect the type of collaboration seen between citizens and governments in the current dominant mode of governance, i.e. New Public Governance (Osborne, 2006). Furthermore, we argue in this Chapter that attributing such a great potential to these concepts raises a number of important issues and problems. Among these issues, from a practical point of view, is that although these concepts are considered as beneficial, research into whether they do indeed lead to beneficial results is scarce. As such, we have little knowledge about whether these collaborative processes are actually beneficial to public service delivery and, if so, who enjoys the benefits. Further, from an academic perspective, the recent attention to these concepts seems to signal a new direction for public service delivery. However, concepts attempting to grasp the involvement of citizens or service users in the development of public services have been around since at least the 1970s (Arnstein, 1969; Brandsen, Trommel, & Verschuere, 2015). This raises questions as to whether the current attention given to citizen involvement should be considered as a new phenomenon or as a continuation of previous paradigms.

The remainder of this Chapter is structured as follows: in section 1.2 we examine how concepts that address collaboration between governments and citizens should be understood in relation to each other. We also introduce the concepts used throughout this thesis. In section 1.3 we address how one can understand the increased attention given to these concepts, paralleling the evolving modes of governance. This section leads to the identification of relevant research issues, which are subsequently presented in section 1.4. We reformulate these issues in section 1.5 as research questions, which steer the remainder of this thesis, and further present the analytical approach and an outline of the remainder of this volume. In the subsequent section (1.6) we make explicit statements regarding the kind of contributions this research will make. In the final section (1.7), we briefly summarize this Chapter and present an outlook towards the subsequent Chapters.

1.2 Participation of citizens in public service delivery

As mentioned in section 1.1, the concepts used to address collaboration between citizens and governments are, to a large extent, overlapping. Therefore, it is important to create conceptual clarity (Osborne & Brown, 2011) by exploring how each concept can be understood in relation to overlapping and/or related concepts. As a starting point, we consider each concept as a certain form of citizen participation. In this regard, the ladder developed by Arnstein (1969) forms a useful starting point to characterize and classify these concepts since she was among the first to conceptualize the participation of citizens in policy development. Therefore, in this section, we present how citizen participation can be assessed and how concepts addressing different forms of participation can be classified in terms of 'participation rungs'.

Citizen participation

In 1969, Sherry Arnstein published an article on citizen participation in which she considered citizen participation to be a categorical term for citizen power (p. 216). This power can be delegated to citizens to various extents, reflected in the metaphor of a ladder (see Figure 1).

The bottom rungs of the ladder are 'manipulation' and 'therapy'. Arnstein considered these two rungs to be levels where there is 'non-participation'. Here, the powerholders are not aiming to enable people to participate in service delivery, but rather to 'educate' or 'cure' them (p. 217).

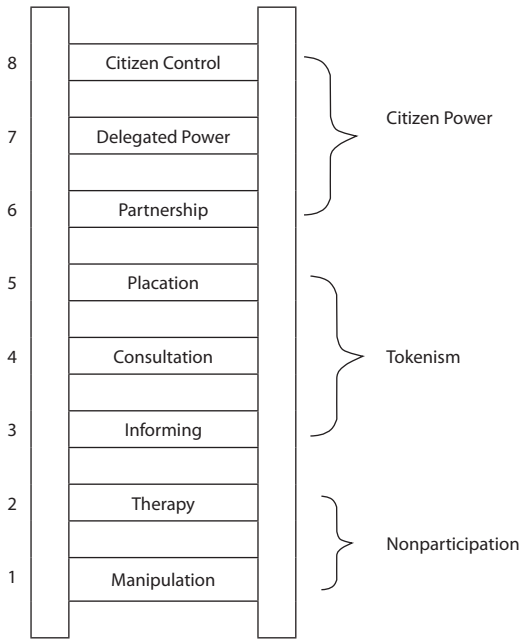

Figure 1. Ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969)

An example of this kind of 'participation' is the anti-smoking campaigns where disturbing images are placed on packs of cigarettes in order to encourage people to stop smoking.

Arnstein groups rungs 3, 4, and 5 under 'tokenism'. Tokenism allows citizens to have a voice and to hear what the plans of government are. However, the powerholders are by no means obliged to be held accountable for how they use the input of citizens. As such, people lack the muscle to exercise their preferences. An example of this kind of participation is handing out pamphlets or using the news media (informing, p. 219). It might also involve the municipality organizing an information event to inform citizens about construction plans within a certain area or neighborhood (consultation, p. 219). On a slightly higher level, it could amount to a placation strategy where, for instance, citizens could have a place on advisory and planning committees while the powerholders retain the right to judge (and ignore) the legitimacy of the advice (Arnstein, 1969 p. 219)

On the top rungs (6-8), citizens do have the power to actively influence decision-making or even take full control of a certain initiative or service. Here, Arnstein distinguishes three different levels of power delegation (1969 pp. 221-223). Rung 6 refers to a 'partnership' between citizens and governments, reflecting the ability of citizens to negotiate with governments. This involves the sharing of planning and decision-making responsibilities (e.g. joint policy boards, planning committees). Rung 7 involves 'delegated power', where citizens achieve decision-making authority over a specific plan or program, for instance how public finances are spent. Rung 8 is labeled 'citizen control', and refers to communities taking full control in place of government (e.g., community-controlled schools or neighborhood patrols).

These top rungs are especially of interest to this research since we are interested in *collaboration* between citizens and governments, which implies at least some sharing of power. In the remainder of this section, we discuss the differences and overlaps between the concepts which address a form for which Arnstein coined the term citizen power. We start with collaborative governance.

Collaborative governance

Collaborative governance is a concept that acknowledges the complex and multiple environments of governments and public managers (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson, Nabatchi, & Balogh, 2012). As such, the concept addresses collaboration between governments and other actors in the broadest sense. Authors differ in their views as to what kinds of actors are involved, how a collaboration can be typified, and how it is initiated. For instance Ansell and Gash (2008) are very explicit, defining collaborative governance as "*a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement*

public policy or manage public programs or assets" (p. 543). Other authors have conceptualized this arrangement using terms such as *joined-up government* (Bogdanor, 2005), or *holistic government* (Leat, Seltzer, & Stoker, 1999). By defining it as such, collaboration is given an official character and aims to create widely shared decisions on public policy. Not all authors are so explicit in their definition of collaborative governance. Emerson et al. (2012) emphasize that collaborative governance involves policy decisions with people across boundaries of public agencies, levels of government and/or public, private, and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose (p. 2). In doing so, they emphasize that collaborative governance is about collaboration between actors from different backgrounds but with a very specific shared goal. Their approach to collaborative governance is close to Bryson et al.'s (2006) description of *cross-sector collaboration,* i.e. involving collaboration between government, business, nonprofits, philanthropies, communities, and/or the public as a whole (p. 44). In terms of this thesis, it is important to recognize that most authors seem to agree that collaborative governance involves partnerships between a variety of actors, stemming from different backgrounds, to make shared policy decisions, in which different actors may take the lead. Therefore, we would place collaborative governance on the second or third rungs (partnership, delegated power) of Arnstein's ladder, but with the recognition that the delegation of power and partnerships can refer to actors other than citizens. That is, we consider collaborative governance to be a broader concept than what Arnstein refers to as 'citizen power'.

Interactive governance

A concept related to collaborative governance is interactive governance. Interactive governance is rooted in the literature on network governance, which acknowledges the plurality of actors involved in public policy (Torfing, 2012). In comparison to collaborative governance, scholars using the concept of interactive governance seem to display a specific interest in the *process* of collaboration. Studies are dedicated to interactions, actions, and underlying principles (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). For instance, Kooiman defined interactive governance as *"The whole of interactions taken to solve societal problems and to create societal opportunities; including the formulation and application of principles guiding those interacts and care for institutions that enable and control them*" (Kooiman, 2005 p. 17). In this process, multiple actors have a dominant position in the early stages of policy development. Edelenbos (2005) stressed something similar, stating that interactive governance is "*a way of conducting policies whereby a government involves its citizens, social organizations, enterprises and other stakeholders in the early stages of policy making*" (Edelenbos, 2005 p. 111). However, other authors define interactive governance as relatively similar to collaborative governance. As Sorensen and Torfing (2011) have shown, interactive governance also accords with the involvement of multiple stakeholders including civil, public, and private actors. However, given the work of authors such as Kooiman (2005) and Edelenbos (2005), interactive governance now specifically refers to the involvement of other stakeholders in *fundamental* parts of policy development i.e. both

problem and solution formulation. This results in mutually interdependent relationships between these actors. Therefore, in terms of the levels of Arnstein's ladder, we also consider interactive governance to be a reformulation of the second and third rungs, which (as with collaborative governance) can involve partnerships with multiple actors.

Self-organization

The concept of self-organization has its roots in biology and physics, and addresses the emergence of order in seemingly chaotic physical processes (Nicolis & Prigogine, 1977). In social sciences, self-organization refers to the emergence of self-steering (or self-governing) structures out of local interactions (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008). A condition is that this starts with a citizen initiative. However, these initiatives do not necessarily have to be aimed at improving public service delivery. Initiatives can also be the result of a feeling of service failure (Rhodes, 1996). For instance, riots, petitions, and other forms of protest might also be considered as forms of self-organization. However, in public administration, self-organization refers to networks of actors involving both the public and the private realms (Rhodes, 1996) through which collective action is organized without central governmental interference (Peters & Pierre, 1998). Service delivery emerges from the exchange of resources (e.g. money, information, expertise) over inter-organizational linkages (Comfort, 1994). The role of government is important in these networks since, although the term 'self-organization' seems to imply an absence of government, some have argued that self-organization can only emerge if there is a dense network of foundations and communities within a neighborhood (including governmental institutions) that can facilitate self-organization initiatives (Spekkink & Boons, 2015; Jessop, 1998). In this, the actors involved need to have trusting relationships among themselves in order to successfully initiate self-organization. Consequently, actors will know each other and share a sense of belonging that encourages them to participate in self-organization networks (Peters & Pierre, 1998). Government has an important task in supporting and stimulating these dense networks, either by supporting the organizations within the network or by creating these organizations themselves (Nederhand, Bekkers, & Voorberg, 2015). That is, in the public administration literature, self-organization refers not so much to the absence of government in public service delivery, but more to how citizens themselves can be supported to take control of public service delivery. As such, self-organization reflects the top rung (citizen control) in Arnstein's ladder of participation.

Co-production

Co-production, rooted in the public service and service management literature, is gaining increasing academic attention. It is understood as a way to make public services more effective by including citizens in the production process. Ostrom (1996) defined co-production as: "*the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not 'in' the same organization*" (1996, p. 1073). In a broad sense, authors

following Ostrom's definition approached co-production as a concept that aimed to address service delivery in the public domain *not as a one-way process, but as a negotiated outcome of many interacting policy systems* (Bovaird, 2007b p. 846). Parks et al. are more specific in their definition, referring explicitly to the relationship between citizens and public service agents: "*the mix of activities that both public service agents and citizens contribute to the provision of public services*" (Parks et al., 1981 as paraphrased in Pestoff 2006, p. 506). Empirical studies on co-production that accept this definition are therefore specifically focused on studying examples of *citizen* involvement in public service delivery (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015). Current academic attention to co-production has created a broad realm of different kinds of citizen involvement being empirically studied under the guise of co-production. In the first place, this variety involves different policy sectors such as public finance (Abers, 1998), public libraries (De Witte & Geys, 2013), childcare (Pestoff, 2006; Prentice, 2006), postal services (Alford, 1998) and health care (e.g. Leone, Walker, Curry, & Agee, 2012; Lindahl, Liden, & Lindblad, 2011; Vennik, et al., 2015). Second, co-production may refer to citizen involvement on many levels of service provision, maybe involving design, implementation, and decision-making (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015). Third, co-production seems to include various forms of citizen involvement, varying from individual involvement to the involvement of large groups (Brudney, 1987; Parks et al., 1981). Given this range of empirical phenomena addressed under the banner of co-production, the concept can refer to any or all of the three top rungs of Arnstein's ladder.

Co-creation

The co-creation concept, as used here, finds its origins in the private-sector marketing literature. Here, Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000) emphasized how consumers increasingly play an active role in creating and competing for value. As such, consumers are considered a new competence source for corporations. This new role for consumers implies that companies should encourage an active dialogue with consumers, mobilize consumer communities, manage customer diversity, and co-create personalized experiences (ibid, pp. 81-84). Co-creation then involves an equal partnership between consumer and producer, and this partnership is seen as a prerequisite for an organization to remain competitive. Transferred to the public domain, co-creation implies a partnership between public organization and citizen (e.g. Cairns, 2013; Carr, 2012; Sharma, Wallace, Kosmala-Anderson, Realpe, & Turner, 2011). Co-creation should be considered within the broader attention being given to social innovation, where citizens as end-users of public services are considered as valuable partners of public organizations and governments (Bason, 2010; Osborne & Strokosch, 2013). This implies that citizens are involved in the essentials of developing public services, i.e. in both the operational and strategic aspects of public service delivery. The general assumption is that citizens bring their specific resources and talents. As such, a partnership occurs between service provider and service user based on mutual dependency. By viewing co-creation in this way, it most

closely reflects the sixth rung of Arnstein's ladder (partnership). However, co-creation may also reflect the seventh rung (delegated power). This is because, today, democratic governments are struggling for legitimacy and are considering co-creation in social innovation as a solution to contemporary challenges. Currently, we are witnessing a withdrawal of government from many social domains. This enables citizens to fill the gap by taking over parts of service delivery. In this case, co-creation can be considered as a form of delegated power since citizens take over a former role of public organizations.

Overlap and differences between concepts

The descriptions above show that these concepts overlap to a large extent, but also address different phenomena. The reason for this ambiguity is that these concepts are not exclusive, but rather add to each other, whereby one specifies the other. To elaborate, when we classify these concepts in terms of the rungs on Arnstein's ladder, we see overlaps in two ways. First, all the concepts aim to address collaboration between various stakeholders coming from different backgrounds. Even self-organization, which in the normal sense of the word does not imply collaboration, is used to study phenomena through which government may support citizen initiatives, thereby implying some form of collaboration.

Second, overlap exists between co-creation, co-production, self-organization, and interactive governance since these are all concepts that address collaborative structures with *citizens,* either as end-users of services, legitimizers of governmental acts, or sources of specific talents and competences. The differences between these concepts lie in the specific characteristics of the empirical phenomena that the concepts address. Collaborative governance addresses phenomena through which partnerships are forged with a variety of stakeholders. This might include partnerships with citizens, but this is not always the case. Public co-production has its academic origins in the public service literature and specifically relates to how citizens can contribute to public service delivery in various ways (given the wide range of empirical phenomena). Although authors studying interactive governance sometimes refer specifically to civic engagement and civic initiatives, they are primarily interested in the forms of collaboration and interaction between these stakeholders (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2016). Furthermore, interactive governance retains a place for civic engagement in the *formulation* of both policy problems and their solutions (Kooiman, 2005). In doing so, the concept is conceptually close to co-creation. Osborne and Strokosch (2013) saw co-creation as a specific form of co-production, coining the term *enhanced* co-production. It relates to the involvement of citizens in the fundamental components of public service delivery, i.e. designing and initiating public services. The difference with the other concepts is that co-creation can be characterized as *user-led* initiatives, where specifically citizens, as end-users of public services, are in the lead in innovating these services. As such, this type of innovation forms a discontinuity with the past, where citizens were considered only as service users, and not as co-creators (Osborne

& Brown, 2013). Here, it becomes clear what the difference is between co-creation and self-organization. While self-organization always starts with a citizen initiative, this initiative is not necessarily aimed at improving public service delivery – riots and petitions are also forms of self-organization; concepts such as co-creation and co-production specifically address citizen participation in public service delivery.

Our exploration of the various concepts shows that the differences may be subtle and sometimes very small. In figure 2, we schematically show how these concepts differ and overlap in terms of Arnstein's conceptualization.

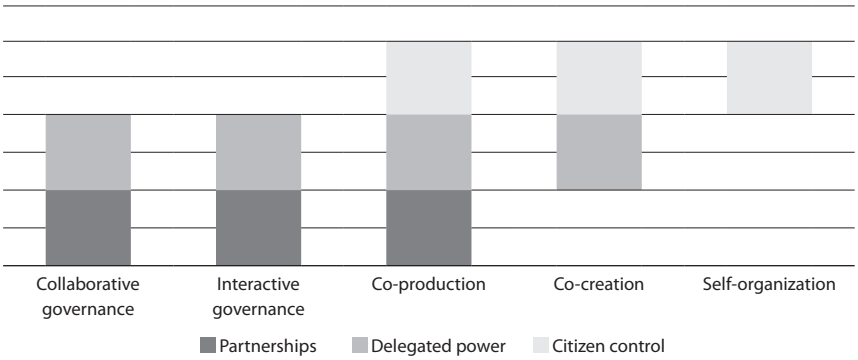

Figure 2. Similarities and differences between participatory concepts

Now that we have conceptually distinguished the various participatory concepts, the next section elaborates on why so much attention is currently given to civil involvement in public service delivery.

1.3 Current attention to co-creation in contemporary policymaking and service delivery

The current popularity of citizen involvement in public service delivery needs to be understood in the light of ongoing ambitions to improve public service delivery. This evolving improvement can be understood in terms of three dominant 'modes' of governance. These modes accord with different understandings of the relationship between government and citizens. The first mode refers to the Public Administration and Management (PAM) paradigm that was dominant from the late 19th century up to the early 1980s. The second mode, and a reaction to PAM, involves the New Public Management (NPM) paradigm that followed. The third mode, called New Public Governance (NPG), has emerged in the last few years. By showing how the conception of citizen involvement has evolved over time, we briefly elaborate on each of these

three modes in this section. Note that although they are presented here as sequential, these modes are better considered as 'layers'. That is, each mode includes traits of earlier modes.

Public Administration and Management (PAM)

This mode refers to a model of administration in which the core values are rationality and hierarchy (Osborne, 2006). Bureaucracy is seen as a neutral organ that executes political decisions (Weber, 1946). It presumes a strict divide between politics and administration, and is characterized by an emphasis on structures, hierarchy, and procedures (Pollitt, 2001; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999; Hall, 1993). The role and responsibilities of administration are formalized in rules and guidelines, and the 'rule of law' is dominant (Osborne, 2006). A core belief was that although the political landscape might change with changes of government, the administration would remain *stable* since it was at arm's length from politicians (Hood, 1995).

In this mode, the government is considered as the one responsible for taking care of its citizenry. As such, it is expected to meet all the social and economic needs of its inhabitants. This conception is based on the primacy of politics and the rule of law. The state (the government and its political controllers) has a quasi-monopolistic position in policymaking and public service delivery (Brandsen et al., 2015). As a consequence of adopting this mode, welfare states were established across the Western world in the post-WWII period in which citizens were considered as obedient users of public services whose needs should be taken care of by the state. However, by the 1980s, this traditional "provider-centric" model fell out of favor (Bovaird, 2007) due to economic crises, and the increasing levels of public spending and staffing. The dominant conception of public administration, as stable and reliable, changed to one of a slothful and inflexible organ (Hood, 1991). This gave rise to the emergence of New Public Management.

New Public Management (NPM)

NPM can be considered as a counter-movement, one that replaced the existing public administration approaches with private sector management techniques (Hood, 1991; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999; Rhodes, 1996). In essence, the conviction became popular that public administration needed to create a more 'hands-on professional management' mentality. Consequently, public organizations ought to become more flexible and efficient. Rather than hierarchy, the market became the dominant coordination mechanism (Hood, 1991). In addition, the actions of public organization needed to be evaluated in terms of how they performed public services, such as in terms of goal achievement, accountability standards, and ways to supervise these. Greater emphasis was placed on high quality output, to be achieved by introducing competition within the public domain (Osborne, 2006). Here, citizens were considered as consumers of public services with the right to high quality services and products. Public institutions were responsible for meeting the demands of these consumers. However, due to the increased emphasis on efficiency, public services were outsourced to quasi-government agencies and

other hybrid bodies. This resulted in heavily fragmented public service delivery (Dunleavy, Margetss, Bastow, & Tinkler, 2005). Further, the culture of governance became 'tougher'. Whereas, under PAM, the culture was rather 'soft', in terms of taking care of the vulnerable, educating young people, and shaping and promoting arts (Brandsen et al., 2015); under NPM, the culture became more management-oriented in which public expenditures were evaluated in terms of how they balanced the books. Consequently, NPM has been criticized for having a too narrow focus on rational and competitive government, and being unable to address the complex needs of society in an increasingly pluralistic world (Osborne, 2006; Stoker, 2006). Further, it is questionable whether the fragmented way in which public services came to be delivered generated the presumed efficiency gains (Dunleavy et al., 2005). Especially in times of crisis, the conviction emerged that collaboration between professionals, citizens and their organizations, and government is needed in order to address complex societal needs (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). As such the need for a new mode was felt, which has been labelled by various authors as New Public Governance (Osborne, 2006; Rhodes, 1996).

New public governance (NPG)

NPG is based on the assumption that effective policymaking and service delivery are the results of collaboration in pluralistic networks involving many actors engaged in horizontal relationships (Rhodes, 1996). The underlying justification is the conviction that complex social problems can only be dealt with through a combination of resources from various actors and the competences of citizens (Dunleavy et al., 2005). In order to address these complex problems, solutions need to be sought in inter-organizational relationships and the governance of processes, in which government is no longer the major actor but a participant in these networks (Peters & Pierre, 1998). In contrast to NPM, governmental efforts are aimed at gaining service effectiveness and are focused on outcomes rather than outputs. In this, the establishment of fertile relationships, based on trust and relational capacity, form the basis of public service delivery (Brandsen et al., 2015; Osborne, 2006; Rhodes, 1996). It is in this notion of governing through relationships that we can recognize a parallel with social innovation since a characteristic of social innovation is its strong focus on the needs of target groups (Mulgan, Tucker, Ali, & Sanders, 2007). In order to meet these needs, it is self-evident that one should involve the target groups in the development of these services on all levels of service production. These levels range from service design through to service implementation (Bason, 2010). Here, the notion of value is important. In NPG, the central premise is that public value can only be accomplished through collectively built deliberations between involved actors (Bozeman, 2002; O'Flynn, 2007; Stoker, 2006). Consequently, in order to create and manage public value, partnerships need to be forged between the providers of services and their users, whereby the input of end-users is considered vital in being able to address the needs of these end-users (Osborne & Brown, 2011). Consequently, the role of public managers and public servants shifts towards actively "*steering networks of deliberation and delivery*" (Stoker, 2006 p. 44).

The role of citizens is also changing. Whereas, in the NPM mode, citizens were approached as consumers who defined the value of a public service by purchasing it, this is changing in NPG to a *co-creator* or *co-producer* role. Here, citizen input is considered necessary for the production of public service delivery (Osborne & Strokosch, 2013; Stoker, 2006) and even as definitive for successful policy implementation (Scott, 1998). This conception of citizen involvement in public service delivery is similar to how the founders of the co-creation concept in the private sector marketing literature viewed co-creation. They stressed that co-creation implies the involvement of end-users in all fundamental aspects of the production chain. This involvement is necessary in order to add value to the product (Vargo & Lusch, 2004). A similar emphasis on citizen involvement can be found in how co-production is often defined in recent studies. For instance, Loeffler and Bovaird (2016) define co-production as "*public services, service users and communities making better use of each other's assets and resources to achieve better outcome or improved efficiency*" (p. 1006). In a similar vein, co-production is defined by Brandsen and Honigh (2015) as "*a relationship between a paid employee of an organization and (groups) of individual citizens that requires a direct and active contribution from these citizens to the work of the organization*" (p. 5).

So, within New Public Governance, the underlying assumptions regarding the distribution of roles between citizens and public organizations are quite similar in both the co-creation and the co-production concepts (schematically shown in table 1). In addition, as we will show in Chapter 2, the concepts are used in the literature to address similar empirical phenomena. Therefore, we argue that when studying the phenomenon where government and citizens confront social challenges as partners, one can use the concepts of both co-creation and co-production. That is why in the remainder of this Chapter, and in the concluding Chapter, we make no distinction between the two concepts. However, we do make a distinction between the two concepts in our empirical Chapters for pragmatic reasons (see section 1.5).

Table 1. Evolving role distribution between government and citizens

Mode	Role of government	Role of citizens
PAM	Service provider	Service users
NPM	Stimulator of market mechanisms	Service consumer
NPG	Co-creator / co-producer of public services	Co-creator / co-producer of public services

In this section, we have shown how assumptions regarding the distribution of roles among service providers and service users have evolved over time. The conclusion that we are now witnessing the rise of the New Public Governance paradigm, in which citizens have a prominent position on all levels of public service delivery, leads to a natural focus on co-creation and co-production. Reaching this point, the question then becomes what issues concerning co-creation and co-production deserve academic attention. We address these issues in the next section.

1.4 Why study co-creation and co-production between citizens and the public sector

As we have shown in the previous sections, co-creation and co-production can be considered as *processes* in which *inputs* are required from a range of actors to generate a beneficial *outcome* or *output.* Conceptualizing it as a process enables us to distinguish the classical elements of input, throughput, and output (Easton, 1965; Scharpf, 1999). Seeing our main concepts in terms of these elements helps us to discern, for each aspect of the co-creation and co-production process, the dominant research areas of interest. In addition, adopting this systemic view on co-creation and co-production helps in identifying how this thesis contributes to each individual element (see also Chapter 8).

On the input side of co-creation and co-production, the questions predominantly involve how these processes can be stimulated. In the literature, some research has been conducted on people's motivations to co-create/co-produce (Alford, 2002; Van Eijk & Steen, 2014). Authors have, for instance, found that, in order to facilitate co-creation: a policy in favor of co-creation is needed (Pestoff, 2009), a policy entrepreneur needs to be assigned to bridge boundaries between involved parties (Fuglsang, 2008), and financial rewards or gains need to be in place (Pestoff, 2006; Weinberger & Jutting, 2001). However, little research has been conducted on the effects of these instruments, and whether these instruments are effective (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2016).

As we will show in Chapter 2, most co-creation and co-production scholars have focused on the throughput side. Here, previous research has identified various influential factors on both the organizational and citizen sides of co-creation. These include the willingness of public officials (Gebauer, Johnson, & Enquist, 2010) and citizens (Wise, Paton, & Gegenhuber, 2012), a supportive administrative culture (Baars, 2011), and a feeling of ownership (Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012). However, we argue that these factors are not standalone elements, but the results of developments that need to be placed in a broader context of policy tradition and the socialization of the actors involved (see also Schön & Rein, 1995). To date, the influence of this broader context has received only limited academic attention. We believe the context is very important since similar systems can proceed in different ways in different contexts (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999). Consequently, we add a contextual dimension to the throughput element of the process model.

Turning to the output/outcome side, some academic attention has focused on the outputs of co-creation and co-production (Needham, 2008; Pestoff, 2012; Vamstad, 2012). However, the extent to which these outputs can be considered as beneficial, and to whom, is still largely unexplored territory (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015; Loeffler & Bovaird, 2016). It is particularly

important to give attention to this aspect of co-creation since, within the NPG paradigm, co-creation and co-production are considered appropriate responses to contemporary challenges in the public domain (Osborne, 2006). However, given the lack of research that considers outcomes, it is unclear whether this assumption is justified.

However, before we can contribute to these issues, we need to establish conceptual clarity (Osborne & Brown, 2013) to be clear exactly what we are actually addressing, and what not. This first Chapter brings conceptual clarity as to what constitutes co-creation/co-production as against related concepts. However, as mentioned earlier, the field of co-production is particularly diverse and covers a large range of citizen involvement. Therefore, in order to enhance conceptual clarity and to be able to theorize about both co-creation and co-production (Osborne & Strokosch, 2013), there is a need to form an overview of what is already known about co-creation and co-production in the public domain and their underlying mechanisms. We address this need in Chapter 2.

In addressing these issues, this research has four aims: 1) to conceptualize the concepts of co-creation and co-production in terms of the existing knowledge available within the academic literature (concept); 2) to examine to what extent stimuli for co-creation and co-production are effective (input); 3) to examine how the context in which co-creation and co-production are embedded influences the process (context/throughput); and 4) to assess the extent to which the outcomes of co-creation and co-production can be identified, and to what extent these outcomes are beneficial (output/outcomes). These aims have been reformulated as research questions, and have provided direction throughout this research. These are presented below.

1.5 Research questions

Our main research question leading throughout this thesis is:
How can co-creation and co-production between citizens and public organizations in public service delivery be examined in terms of its influential factors, context, and outcomes?

This research question breaks down into four sub-questions, which are parallel to our research objectives as introduced in section 1.4:

1. How can co-creation and co-production be conceptualized? (conceptual)
2. What are the effects of stimuli on co-creation and co-production? (input)
3. How does the context of co-creation and co-production influence the process? (context/throughput)
4. What are the outcomes of co-creation and co-production, and to what extent are these beneficial? (output/outcomes)

This study is constructed around these questions and is structured as shown in table 2. Table 2 also shows how the various Chapters relate to the research questions and the empirical strategy that is employed to answer these questions. Table 2 further shows that this thesis is presented in the form of a number of academic articles and a book Chapter. Admittedly, this format has two disadvantages. The first disadvantage for readers is that the various Chapters have some overlap, concerning for instance the introductions, theoretical aspects, and the added value of the study. The second disadvantage is that, throughout the thesis, different terms are used in the individual Chapters. Chapter 2 uses both co-creation and co-production. Chapter 3 uses the concept of co-production, and Chapters 4-7 use the concept of co-creation. This is largely because of the limited number of words allowed in journal articles, and we therefore chose to focus predominantly on the theoretical relationships we wanted to research in a particular study, rather than on what concept might be best for a particular study. Unlike in this chapter, in the articles we did not have the space to elaborate extensively on the extent to which co-creation and co-production overlap. Therefore, in the articles, we chose the term that was most applicable to that particular sub-study. However, an advantage of this paper-based approach is that the Chapters can also be read in isolation and form independent reflections on co-creation and co-production within the public domain. This approach also enables us to address different kinds of research questions and research methods (both qualitative and quantitative methods are used). As these articles are multiple authored, and for consistency purposes, the pronoun 'we' is used, rather than 'I', throughout this thesis.

Table 2 provides an overview of the article titles, the research questions central to these articles, the basis for the empirical work, and where it is published.

The first sub-question involves the conceptualization and the measurability of the outcomes of co-creation and co-production. In order to achieve this, we conducted two research steps. In the first step, we consulted the literature on both co-creation and co-production. Chapter 2 presents this literature review. By doing so, we were able to systemically create an overview of how co-creation and co-production are assessed and studied in the literature and what is known about their underlying mechanisms. Furthermore, it reveals where the most striking research issues lie with regard to these concepts. This inventory leads to the formulation of our additional research questions, as formulated in this Chapter.

The second sub-question deals with the input side of the co-creation/co-production process. As Chapter 2 will show, some knowledge about this already existed. For instance, Alford (2009; 2002) studied what motivates citizens to co-produce. Other authors have studied how co-creation and co-production can be stimulated by extrinsic factors such as financial rewards (Blanc, 2011; Glynos & Speed, 2012; Weinberger & Jutting, 2001) or a stimulating policy (Pestoff, 2006). However, the extent to which these factors are beneficial is hardly explored

Table 2. Outline of study

Chapter	Segment	Empirical Work	Outlet	Sub-question
1. Introducing co-creation and co-production between citizens and government	Conceptual	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
2. A systematic review of co-creation and co-production: embarking on the social innovation journey	Conceptual	Systematic review of 122 articles and books on co-creation and co-production.	Public Management Review	1. How can co-creation and co-production be conceptualized
3. Do financial rewards stimulate co-production? Evidence from two experiments	Input	Two experimental studies (N = 160 and N = 1359) concerning whether monetary incentives can be considered as effective stimuli for people's willingness to co-create.	Under review	2. What are the effects of stimuli on co-creation and co-production?
4. Interactive governance and the social construction of citizens as co-creators	Input	Document analysis and comparison of how governments within the European Union construct citizens within their policy	Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk (2016) (ed) *Critical Reflections on Interactive Governance* Edward Elgar	
5. Does co-creation impact public service delivery? The importance of state and governance traditions	Throughput	International case comparison between examples of co-creation in Germany, Estonia and the Netherlands, in which we conducted 30 interviewers with citizens and civil servants involved in co-creation projects within the social welfare domain	Public Money and Management	3. How does the context of co-creation/ co-production influence its process and its outcomes?
6. Changing public service delivery: learning in co-creation	Throughput/ output	International case comparison between examples of co-creation in Germany, Estonia, and the Netherlands in which we conducted 30 interviewers with citizens and civil servants involved in co-creation projects within the social welfare domain	Policy and Society	4. What are the outcomes of co-creation/co-production and to what extent are these beneficial?
7. Identifying and explaining outcomes of co-creation: an international comparison of public sector experiences	Throughput/ output	International case comparison between examples of co-creation in the Netherlands, Spain, Slovakia, and the UK in which we conducted 40 interviewers with citizens and civil servants involved in co-creation projects within the urban regeneration domain	Under review	
8. Conclusions	Overall	N.A.	N.A.	Overall

in the literature. We address this question in the two subsequent Chapters. In Chapter 3, by conducting two experiments, we test to what extent financial rewards are effective stimuli in boosting people's willingness to co-produce. In Chapter 4, we investigate the implications of having a policy in favor of co-creation. Here, we estimate the consequences of such a policy for various groups within society by using the framework of Schneider and Ingram (1993) on the social construction of target group populations.

The third sub-question focuses on the throughput side of the co-creation/co-production process. This question is predominantly aimed at exploring the influence of the context in which co-creation/co-production is embedded. Although, as we will show in Chapter 2, authors have quite extensively examined the mechanisms underlying co-creation and co-production, our argument is that whether co-creation is embraced as a useful strategy depends on the surrounding contextual elements, rather than being based solely on individual convictions. In Chapters 5-7, we conceptualize this context in two ways. First, by referring to *state and governance traditions* as predictors of why different stakeholders react differently to similar issues (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999). Second, by referring to Stone's (2003) conceptualization of *models of society.* In her seminal work, she makes a distinction between a *polis* model and a *market* model as predictors of an actor's behavior. In the polis model, an actor's behavior is based on how their efforts contribute to the community whereas, in the market model, it is more how these efforts contribute to economic gains. Both conceptualizations can be considered as simplified interpretations of the influential surrounding contextual elements. This creates a spectrum between two ideal types that helps us to reduce the contextual complexity and zoom in on the influence of specific elements. In order to assess the influence of these elements, the research components in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are based on international comparative case studies (Chapters 5 and 6 compare cases in Estonia, Germany, and the Netherlands; and Chapter 7 involves a comparison between cases from the Netherlands, Spain, Slovakia, and the UK).

The final sub-question concerns the outputs/outcomes of the co-creation/co-production process. As was shown by Verschuere et al. (2012) and Loeffler and Bovaird (2016), outcomes are rarely reported in the literature. Consequently, it is hard to draw firm conclusions as to the extent that co-creation and co-production can be considered as beneficial concepts in improving public service delivery. In order to clarify this area, we present, in Chapter 7, a framework that can be used to evaluate and classify the outcomes of co-creation and co-production. It consists of a set of values to which co-creation processes may, or may not, contribute. The selection of relevant values is based on the classical distinction between the logics of consequentiality and of appropriateness (March & Olsen, 1989). This allows us to distinguish between rational values (e.g. efficiency and effectiveness) and the 'softer' values (e.g. equality and responsiveness) that are characteristic of the public domain. We apply this framework to one of our case comparisons in this Chapter. We also examine the outcomes of co-creation/co-production in

terms of policy change. This is addressed in Chapter 6 where we examine whether policy is changed through co-creation projects and, if so, why.

In Chapter 8, we return to our main questions and formulate conclusions. We also reflect on the theoretical contributions of our research, explore what questions future research might usefully address, and consider the value of this thesis for those actively involved in co-creation and co-production.

Figure 3 shows the relationship between the different research questions and the connected research activities.

The next section outlines the contributions that this thesis aims to make to the literature on co-creation and co-production.

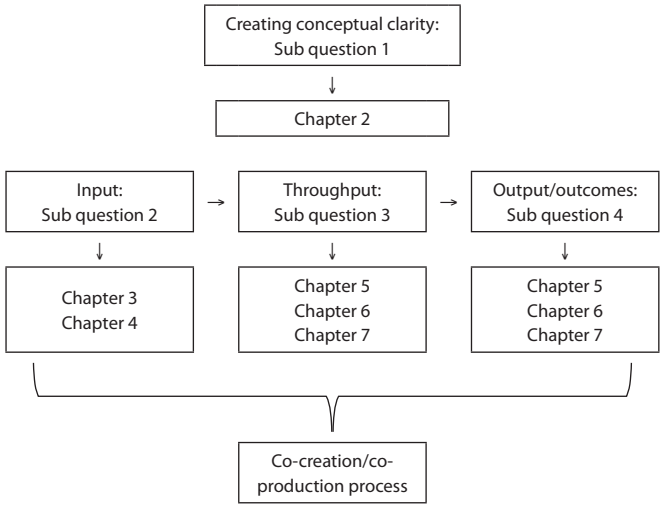

Figure 3. alignment between research questions and research activities/thesis Chapters

1.6 Relevance

In answering our research questions, the research makes three types of contributions: theoretical, societal, and methodological. In this section, we elaborate on all three of these contributions.

Theoretical contribution

As we have shown in section 1.2, there is a broad range of concepts within the field of citizen participation in public service delivery that, to a large extent, address similar phenomena. This introductory Chapter discussed the extent to which these concepts overlap or are distinct from

each other. As such, our first theoretical contribution is in creating conceptual clarity (Osborne & Strokosch, 2013). Second, by conducting a review of co-creation and co-production, our research shows in a systematic way what is known about the mechanisms underlying these concepts. As such, the review establishes an enhanced theoretical understanding of what is known about co-creation and co-production. The third theoretical contribution of this thesis is that we address the effectiveness of extrinsic factors. In doing so, we offer a validated test for the effectiveness of financial incentives in boosting the willingness to co-produce, and offer a plausible estimation for the effects of a policy that favors including citizens in public service delivery. Fourth, by giving attention to the macro-context of co-creation, our research generates an empirical illustration of the influence of this context. Such an influence is assumed in many studies but, before our study, how this context can be conceptualized, and its influence empirically investigated, had received little academic attention (Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff, 2012). Our final theoretical contribution addresses the previous lack of attention to the outcomes of co-creation and co-production. This research goes beyond the identification of output (e.g. the number of co-creation projects initiated). Rather, our aim is to determine to what extent this output contributes to a number of values (i.e. outcomes). In so doing, our research offers one of the first empirical illustrations of the extent to which co-creation and co-production can be considered beneficial.

Societal contribution

As we showed in section 1.1, co-creation and co-production are receiving increasing attention from governments throughout the western world. Consequently, it is important to address the value of our research for actors involved in co-creation and co-production. Here, our research makes several contributions. In the first place, it is very useful for governments to know to what extent instruments that are intended to stimulate co-creation/co-production are actually effective. Our research addresses two extrinsic instruments – financial incentives and stimulating policy – and the results of our analysis can help governments decide whether it is prudent to employ such instruments. Second, our research is largely aimed at examining the macro-context of co-creation and co-production. Here, the findings can help all the actors involved in co-creation/co-production to understand why projects can sometimes be implemented quite simply and, in other situations, this can become a struggle. By giving attention to the macro-context, as a predictor of governmental behavior, expectations can be managed as to the type of barriers that must be overcome in order to deliver fertile co-creation. Third, as we have shown, the previous lack of attention to the outcomes of co-creation and co-production (Verschuere et al., 2012) means that it is unclear to what extent they can actually be considered as beneficial strategies to improve public service delivery. This thesis will identify some of the effects of co-creation and co-production outputs and, from this, draw conclusions about the added value of co-creation and co-production. This can help actors involved in co-creation to

manage their expectations regarding the results of such projects and may help governments when considering whether to support such projects.

Methodological contribution

This research also contributes to the methodological palette regarding co-creation and co-production. As Brandsen and Honingh (2015) argued, the field of co-creation and co-production has been dominated by single case studies, and an international perspective is largely missing (for a notable exception see Pestoff, 2006). Here, this thesis contributes three studies based on comprehensive international comparative research into co-creation in social innovation. In so doing, we are responding to the call by Verschuere et al. (2012) to bring together scholars from different countries to design and carry out comparative research with "*the same research questions, the same concepts, operationalized and measured in the same way in different settings (countries and/or policy fields and/or services)*" (p.13).

Second, we saw that quantitative tests of theoretical propositions were also scarce within this academic field (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2016; Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff, 2012). However, the last couple of years have seen some instances where aspects of co-creation and co-production are quantitatively tested (Bovaird, Van Ryzin, Loeffler, & Parrado, 2015; Fledderus, 2015; Van Eijk & Steen, 2014), although the conclusions remain rather thin. As a consequence, the field of co-creation and co-production accepts various theoretical assumptions that have hardly been tested. In this research, we assess one of these propositions by testing the extent to which people's motivation to co-produce is influenced by offering them a financial reward to do so.

Our last methodological contribution involves how we came to our conceptualization of co-creation and co-production. In order to do this in a systematic way, we conducted a systematic literature review, which is presented in Chapter 2. Here, the literature on which we based our conclusions was selected using a strict set of eligibility criteria (Liberati et al., 2009). This increases the transparency and the repeatability of our literature review. By adopting this approach, our conclusions regarding the concepts co-creation and co-production, plus our identification of the main outstanding research issue, gain validity.

1.7 Summary and outlook

This Chapter started with a short introduction to the subject of our study: co-creation and co-production between citizens and public organizations in public service delivery. We provided a conceptual background to both concepts and related them to overlapping concepts. We have also shown why co-creation and co-production gain attention from both policymakers and academics. This is due to the dominant New Public Governance mode that currently

characterizes most of our governance cultures. In this, citizens are considered partners in the development of public service delivery. This role shift has created a desire to understand how these partnerships can be facilitated and what their outcomes are. This assessment clarified the value that our study could add, which was then summarized in our research questions and study outline.

This introductory Chapter is now brought to an end by explaining the structure of the remaining Chapters of this thesis. In our next Chapter, we present a systematic review (n=122) where we dig deeper into the concepts of co-creation and co-production by examining the relevant literature. This Chapter results in a framework regarding what is known about the underlying mechanisms of co-creation and co-production. Subsequently, in Chapter 3, we test the effectiveness of financial incentives in boosting people's willingness to co-produce. In order to come to a valid conclusion, we conduct two experiments in which 'financial incentive' is used as a 'treatment'. In Chapter 4, we estimate the consequences, for different groups within society, of socially constructing citizens as co-creators. Then, in Chapter 5, we examine how the macro-context of state and governance traditions affects whether and how co-creation can be implemented in Estonia, Germany and the Netherlands. In Chapter 6, we build on this premise by examining how policy may change due to co-creation. In Chapter 7, we pay specific attention to the outcomes of co-creation and to what extent models of society (as conceptualizations of actors' backgrounds) explain actors' appreciation of co-creation outcomes. Chapter 8 concludes this thesis by summarizing answers to all our research questions. It further assesses the contributions of this research to the understanding of co-creation and co-production, offers directions for future research, and explains the usefulness of this research for actors dealing with co-creation and co-production in their everyday lives.

CHAPTER 2

A systematic review of co-creation and co-production: Embarking on the social innovation journey

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This article is rewarded with the PMR Best Article of 2015 award

Abstract

This article presents a systematic review of 122 articles and books (1987-2013) of co-creation/co-production with citizens in public innovation. It analyses a) the objectives of co-creation and co-production, b) its influential factors and c) the outcomes of co-creation and co-production processes. It shows that most studies focus on the identification of influential factors, while hardly any attention is paid to the outcomes. Future studies could focus on outcomes of co-creation/co-production processes. Furthermore, more quantitative studies are welcome, given the qualitative, case study, dominance in the field. We conclude with a research agenda to tackle methodological, theoretical and empirical lacunas.

Keywords: Co-creation, Co-production, Public sector innovation, Social innovation, Systematic review.

2.1 Introduction

Social innovation and co-creation are 'magic concepts' (Pollitt & Hupe, 2011) which, during recent years, have been embraced as a new reform strategy for the public sector, given the social challenges and budget austerity with which governments are wrestling. Social innovation is an inspiring concept but at the same time it is weakly conceptualized, due to the dominance of grey, policy-oriented literature (Bates, 2012; Cels, De Jong, & Nauta, 2012; Goldenberg, Kamoji, Orton, & Williamson, 2009; Mair, 2010; J. Mulgan, 2009). In this study, we define social innovation as: the creation of long-lasting outcomes that aim to address societal needs by fundamentally changing the relationships, positions and rules between the involved stakeholders, through an open process of participation, exchange and collaboration with relevant stakeholders, including end-users, thereby crossing organizational boundaries and jurisdictions (Hartley, 2005; Bason, 2010; Osborne & Brown, 2011; Sörensen & Torfing, 2011; Chesbrough, 2003, 2006). In the literature the participation of end-users is indicated as co-creation (Von Hippel, 1987). But what do we know about co-creation with citizens as end-users in a public sector context?

In the private sector, co-creation is based on two trends. First, corporations are challenged to produce their goods more efficiently. As a result end-users are defined as possible co-producers who take over specific activities in the production chain (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2000; Vargo & Lusch, 2004a; Von Hippel, 2007). Second, end-users may become co-creators whose experiences with products or services can be of added value for a company. End-users are an interesting source of product and service innovation (Vargo & Lusch, 2004a). As a result, research showed that co-creation not only influences customer satisfaction and loyalty, it also helps firms to achieve competitive advantage (Grissemann & Stokburger-Sauer, 2012).

However, in the public sector these end-users are citizens. According to the European Commission (2011; p. 30) "social innovation mobilizes each citizen to become an active part of the innovation process". If citizen participation is considered as a necessary condition for social innovation in the public sector, it is important that we have systematic knowledge regarding the conditions under which citizens are prepared to embark on the 'social innovation journey' (cf. Van de Ven et al. 2008). This leads to the following research question:

What do we know about the types, objectives, outcomes and conditions under which co-creation and co-production with citizens take place in innovation processes in the public sector?

This research question can be divided into three sub questions:

1) What are the objectives of co-creation and co-production with citizens and what are relevant types of co-creation in the public sector?
2) Which factors influence co-creation and co-production processes with citizens?
3) What are the outcomes of co-creation and co-production processes with citizens?

To answer these questions we conducted a systematic review of the academic literature regarding public co-creation and co-production with citizens. This brings us to the demarcation of the co-creation concept. Co-creation refers to the *active involvement* of end-users in various stages of the production process (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2000; Vargo & Lusch, 2004). This is more specific than, for instance, the broad concept of participation, which could also refer to *passive involvement*. In the literature regarding active citizen involvement, the term *co-production* also occurs (Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006; Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff, 2012). Since the concept co-creation and co-production seems to be related (Vargo & Lusch, 2004) or maybe even interchangeable (Gebauer et al 2010), adding the concept of co-production to our review can teach us important lessons about co-creation. Therefore, our systematic review both includes the literature on co-creation during public innovation, as the literature on co-production during public innovation (see also Verschuere et al., 2012). We acknowledge that co-creation is also related to other concepts such as public participation, collaborative governance, or community involvement. However, in order to enhance the feasibility of this study, we decided to focus on co-creation and co-production.

The relevance of our review is twofold. First, given the importance that policy makers attach to citizen engagement in social innovation, we aim to provide a more evidence-based overview regarding the conditions under which citizens co-create or co-produce. Secondly, the choice for a systematic review helps to make the current body of knowledge more transparent in a reproducible way. This contrast with a more traditional literature review (merged). During the systematic review, we adhere as much as possible to the widely used 'Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses' (The PRISMA Statement, referred to as PRISMA from here on) which ensures transparent and complete reporting (Liberati et al., 2009; Moher et al., 2009).

This brings us to the outline of this article. In Section 2 we will describe the methodology used to conduct the review. Section 3 will present the results of our review. We conclude our analysis in Section 4 with a conclusion and a future research agenda on co-creation and co-production in innovation processes in the public sector.

2.2 Research Strategy

2.2.1 Study and report eligibility

Systematic reviews are based upon replicable and transparent steps. The checklist for each step is presented in Appendix 1.

PRISMA distinguishes study eligibility and report eligibility criteria (Liberati et al., 2009).

2.2.2 Study eligibility criteria

- *Type of studies* – Records should deal with co-creation or co-production with citizens during the design or implementation of public service delivery processes. The public sector was defined broadly as "those parts of the economy that are either in state ownership or under contract to the state, plus those parts that are regulated and/or subsidized in the public interest" (Flynn, 2007; p. 2).
- *Topic of co-creation/co-production* – Records should contain the words co-creation or co-production in their title and/or abstract, in order to prevent mix-up with related concepts. We are aware that concepts exists which seems to refer to comparable or related phenomenon's like, public participation, co-management or interactive governance. However, the inclusion of these concepts would lead to an enormous increase in the number of records to be examined. For this study we screened 4716 records. The inclusion of for instance the concept [participation] would urge us to screen an extra 507,807 records (Scopus showed 265,079 hits on participation and ISI Web of Knowledge 242,728).
- *Type of participants* – The participants in the co-creation/co-production process should minimally be citizens (or their representatives) and public organizations (or their representatives). It is important to stress that we are interested in what happens when 'ordinary' citizens take over tasks which are traditionally delegated to public organizations. Therefore, we use the term 'citizens', and not for instance private organizations. The same goes for why we use 'citizens' and not 'end-users', since 'end-users' may also refer to private companies and/or multinationals. Public organizations can refer to both individual civil servants as representatives of public organizations or public organizations in general.
- *Study design* – Only empirical studies are eligible. Since co-production and co-creation are often considered as 'magic concepts', our review aims to understand the empirical embedding of both concepts. Hence, we want to establish a more evidence based understanding of the added value of co-production/co-creation (Pawson, 2006). We included all kinds of research designs into our review (case-studies, questionnaires, experiments etc.)

2.2.3 Report eligibility criteria

- *Language* – Only English written records were selected, which is common for systematic reviews, given the practical difficulties of translation and the replicability of the review (Wilson et al., 2003).
- *Publication status* – We only included international peer-reviewed journal articles, or books from well-established publishers on the field of public administration (such as Routledge, Sage, Edward Elgar, Ashgate, Oxford University Press).
- *Year of publication* – We selected records between 1987 and 2013. 1987 was chosen as this is the publication year of the seminal work of Von Hippel on co-creation (1987).

2.2.4 Search strategy

Four search strategies were used. First, electronic databases were searched using the terms [co-creation] and/or [co-production] in the title and/or abstract. The last search was run on May 20, 2013. We did not add the term [innovation], because, the innovative character of the co-creation/co-production practice is often *implicitly* mentioned. Every record is manually screened to analyse whether the involved practices could be considered innovative. Furthermore, our search shows that the combination of [innovation] and [co-creation] and [co-production] resulted, even without a limitation to a specific time period and research domain (e.g. also including the private sector) in only 678 hits within the Scopus (394 hits) and ISI Web of Knowledge (284) databases. Including the term [innovation] would limit our sample too much, since we considered for this article 4,716 records. The found studies are examined on their eligibility. They are screened on title and abstract and, when needed, by reading the full text. Secondly, we conducted the same search in the top tier Public Administration Journals: *Public Management Review*, *Public Administration*, *Journal of Public Administration, Research and Theory*, *Administration and Society* and *Public Administration Review*. Thirdly, we analysed the books on co-creation or co-production. In 'Google Books' we searched for related contributions. Fourthly, we contacted known experts in the field of co-creation/co-production to supplement our literature list with important records (see acknowledgements).

2.2.5 Record selection

The screening of all articles and books ultimately led to the inclusion of 122 studies (27 on co-creation and 95 on co-production). Our selection process is presented in Figure 1.

2.3 Results of the systematic review

2.3.1 Record characteristics

Before answering our research questions, we address some characteristics of the records found.

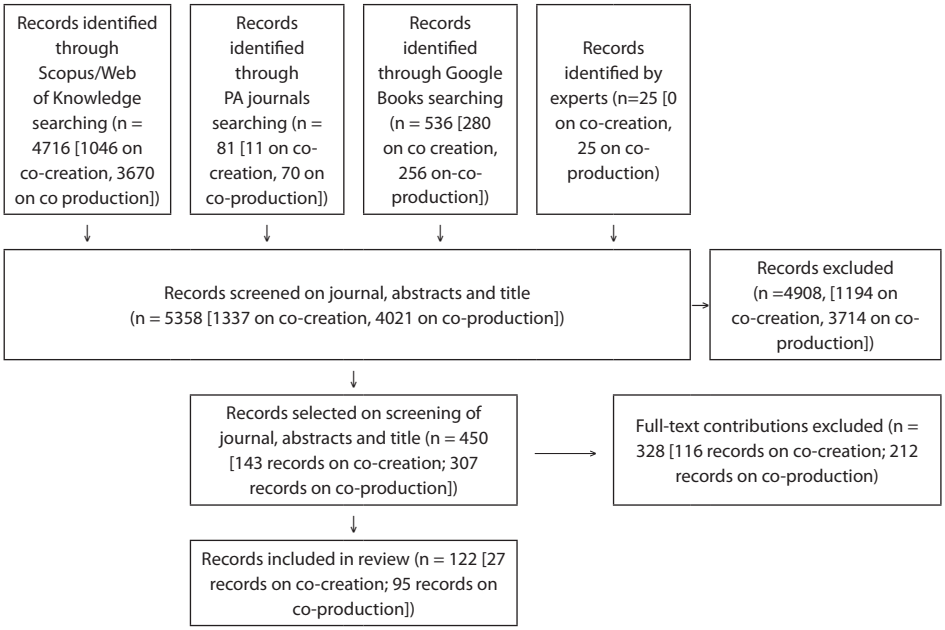

Figure 1. Overview selected records

Diversity in journals

The articles found are published in a large number of different journals. The journals which contained most studies were *Public Management Review* (9), *International Journal of Voluntary and Non-profit Organizations* (7) and *World Development* (6).

Policy sector diversity

The review shows that co-creation/co-production is a practice to be found in numerous policy sectors (like regional media, library services and garbage disposal), but predominantly in health care (30 records) and education (15 sector). The latter can be explained by the more direct relationships established between citizens and public officials in these sectors when compared with other sectors, such as water management.

Methods used

Public co-creation/co-production was predominantly examined in single (51%) or comparative case-studies (34%). These case-studies were often qualitative in their research approach, using interviews and document analysis. Quantitative methods were used much less (15%). Hence, we see that a qualitative approach prevails when studying co-creation/co-production practices. This also implies that the context of co-creation and the factors/effects within this context enjoyed substantial attention. However, less is known about generalizability of these factors or effects (see section 3.3).

2.3.2 Definitions, types and objectives

Types of co-creation/co-production

Table 1 presents the types of co-creation/co-production found. We distinguish three types which differ in their degree of citizen involvement. Type 1 involves the citizen as *co-implementer* of public services. For instance, Benari (1990) described the participation of citizens in garbage disposal services. In order to effectively manage garbage disposal, the assistance of citizens is required to separate types of garbage. Hence, citizens only perform some implementation tasks. The second type defines the citizen as *co-designer*. Very often the initiative lies within the public organization, but citizens decide how the service delivery is being designed. For instance, Wipf et al. (2009) described how citizens participated in the design and maintenance of outdoor recreation, after being invited by local government. The third type represents the citizen as an *initiator* and the government as an actor that follows. For instance, Rossi (2004) described an initiative of citizens themselves restoring monuments, when the historical centre of Naples was reopened for the public.

Table 1. Types of co-creation/co-production note: total higher than 122 as some studies described multiple types of involvement

Type	Co-creation	Co-production	Total
Citizen as a co-implementer	15 (51%)	53 (50%)	68 (50%)
Citizen as a co-designer	7 (25%)	30 (28%)	37 (28%)
Citizen as an initiator	4 (14%)	10 (9%)	14 (9%)
No specific type	3 (10%)	14 (13%)	17 (13 %)
Total	29 (100%)	107 (100%)	136 (100%)

This table shows that the distinction between co-production and co-creation does not depend so much on the type of citizen involvement. In both co-creation and co-production studies, the citizen as a co-implementer has been studied the most extensively. Furthermore, the dispersion between the different types is rather equal. This challenges Basons (2010) assumption that in the co-creation literature the emphasis has been put on the citizen as co-designer, while, in the co-production literature, the emphasis primarily lies on the citizen as co-implementer. Our study shows that both concepts are closely linked. Some regard co-creation as co-production and some mention co-production while it refers to co-creation. Furthermore, it is surprising that 13% of the authors did not mention a specific level of co-creation/co-production. In these cases, no detailed assessment of the specifics of citizen involvement was described.

Definitions

When we compared the records definitions of co-creation/co-production, we see that - to a large extent – both are defined similarly. In both literature streams citizen are considered as a valuable *partner* in public service delivery (e.g. Baumer, et al 2011; Cairns, 2013; Bovaird,

2007; Meijer, 2012a). We see some variations in the nature of these partnerships. In some cases the creation of *sustainable* relations between government and citizens is being stressed (e.g. Ryan, 2012); in other cases the *joint responsibility* of professionals and citizens for public service delivery (e.g. Lelieveldt, et al, 2009) is put forward; while in again other cases simply *the involvement* of citizens in the process (design, production or delivery) of public service delivery (e.g. Ostrom, 1996) is assessed. However, the main difference in the definitions between co-creation and co-production is that, in line with the work of Vargo & Lusch (2004), the co-creation literature puts more emphasis on co-creation as *value* (e.g. Gebauer et al., 2010).

Furthermore, some authors (19%) did not present a specific definition at all, possibly for two reasons. First, in some studies, co-creation with citizens was not the main subject of study. Some authors present the topic of co-creation merely as a factor to explain policy effectiveness (Cairns, 2013; Fuglsang, 2008). Second, the absence of a definition can be related to the practical oriented nature of the study (e.g. Davidsen & Reventlow, 2011), i.e. aimed at the creation of a manual for citizen involvement. Hence, we can conclude that empirically co-creation and co-production are used as interchangeable concepts. However, the question can be raised whether this supports the creation of conceptual clarity.

Objectives

The following table shows the potential objectives that practices of co-creation/co-production must achieve.

Table 2 shows that many contributions did not mention a specific objective at all. There seems to be an implicit assumption that involvement of citizens is a virtue in itself, like democracy and transparency, thereby also stressing that co-creation as a process is a goal in itself. In that case, the process of citizen involvement is considered, in a normative way, as something that is appropriate. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that in eight different studies the purpose of co-creation/co-production *is* simply the involvement of citizens (e.g. Lelieveldt et al., 2009). In studies where objectives were mentioned, these were often related to efficiency

Table 2. Objectives

Objectives	N
Gaining more effectiveness	22 (18%)
Gaining more efficiency	13 (11%)
Gaining customer satisfaction	10 (8%)
Increasing citizen involvement	8 (7%)
Other objectives	5 (4%)
No objective mentioned	64 (52%)
Total	122 (100%)

and effectiveness. Hence, in these cases, the added value of co-production and co-creation was primarily justified by referring to more economic values.

2.3.3 Influential factors

Our analysis found a variety of influential factors, which we categorized into eight categories (Table 3). These factors are sometimes qualified as 'supporting' and 'frustrating'. They can be considered as 'two sides of the same coin'. For instance, some records mention the acceptance of the citizen/patient as the key driver for successful establishing co-production relations (e.g. Corburn, 2007; Leone et al, 2012; Ryan, 2012), while other records mentioned the averse attitude towards citizen participation (e.g. Bovaird & Loeffler, 2012; Vamstad, 2012).

The identified influential factors can be separated into being at either the organizational or citizen side of co-creation.

Table 3. Dominant influential factors Note: Total higher than 122 as some studies described multiple factors

Influential factor on organizational side	**N**
Compatibility of public organizations with citizen participation	47 (46%)
Open attitude towards citizen participation	23 (22%)
Risk averse administrative culture	19 (18%)
Presence of clear incentives for co-creation (win/win situation)	14 (14%)
Total	103 (100%)
Influential factors on citizen side	**N**
Citizen characteristics (skills/Intrinsic values/marital status/family composition/level of education)	10 (33%)
Customer awareness / feeling of ownership / being part of something	9 (30%)
Presence of social capital	9 (30%)
Risk aversion by customers/patients/citizens	2 (7%)
Total	30 (100%)

Organizational Factors

On the organizational side the following factors are mentioned, which seem to be independent from a specific policy domain, service or role, like the co-production of safety (Weaver, 2011), knowledge (Evans et al., 2012), health (Lindahl, et al, 2011) or education (Díaz-Méndez & Gummesson, 2012). First, there is the *compatibility* of public organizations with respect to co-creation/co-production. This may refer to the presence or the absence of inviting organizational structures and procedures within the public organization (e.g. Andrews & Brewer, 2013; Bovaird & Loeffler, 2012; Meijer, 2012b) or the presence or absence of a decent infrastructure to communicate with citizens (e.g. Davidsen & Reventlow, 2011). Second, many authors mentioned that the *attitude* of public officials and politicians influence to what extent co-creation/co-production occurs (e.g. Davis & Ruddle, 2012; Gebauer et al., 2010; Leone et

al., 2012). For instance, Ryan (2012) emphasized that a pre-condition was the prior acceptance of the right of the client to be an eligible partner in achieving public safety. Roberts et al. (2013) reports that many politicians, managers and professionals consider co-production as unreliable, given the unpredictable behaviour of citizens. Therefore, political and professional reluctance to lose status and control was considered as an explanation for the unwillingness to support co-creation/co-production. Third, looking beyond the attitude-aspect, authors have stressed the influence of a risk-averse, conservative *administrative culture* as an explanation why citizens were not considered to be a reliable resource providing partner (e.g. Baars, 2011; Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012). Hence, the lack of a tradition to consider citizens as associates, rather than service-receivers, implies that there is no 'institutional space' to invite citizens as equals (Maiello et al, 2013). Fourth, many authors mentioned the importance of having clear *incentives* for co-creation/co-production. For instance, for public officials it is often unclear to what extent public services can be improved by incorporating citizens (e.g. Evans et al., 2012), how co-creation creates budgetary benefits (Abers, 1998), or even increases customer interest (Lam, 1996). Without clarity about these incentives, administrators do not see its usefulness (e.g. Fuglsang, 2008).

Citizen Factors

On the citizen side the following factors can be mentioned. First, characteristics of citizens play an important role in whether citizens are *willing* to participate. Wise et al. (2012) showed that intrinsic values, such as loyalty, civic duty, and the wish to improve the government positively, influence the willingness of citizens to participate. Also, personal traits like education and family composition play a role**,** which Sundeen (1988) demonstrated. People, which had received more education than high school, were more aware of community needs and were more able to articulate their own needs. They also possessed the administrative skills to participate. Second, several authors identified the importance of *a sense of ownership* and the *perceived ability* of citizens to participate. Talsma & Molenbroek (2012) showed that, because of a feeling of being responsible (sense of ownership) for the well-being of eco-tourists in India, local people put much effort into improving these services. So, as well as people needs to be willing to participate, they need to be aware of how and where they can influence public services, but they also need to feel it as their responsibility. Third, *social capital* is also needed for co-creation and co-production. Ostrom (1996) mentions that, in order to involve citizens in a sustained way in infrastructure projects in Brazil, not only is the activation of citizens required, but also social capital needs to be energized in order to fulfil the promises of collective action. Subsequently, Schafft & Brown (2000) showed that the local organization of social capital implied that Hungarian Romas were able to initiate several profitable projects. By the enforcement of social capital, people looked after each other and had the feeling that they were not alone in their minority position. So, social capital became an important ingredient to develop a robust commitment. Lastly, citizens also needed to have *trust* in the co-creation

initiative. In some cases, a substantial risk-averse attitude of patients towards co-creative initiatives was also shown. This was often related to the extent to which the patient saw doctors and nurses as an authority (Lachmund, 1998).

A closer look to these factors shows that they are interrelated. We present this relationship in figure 2. Within a risk-averse administrative culture, it seems plausible that the attitude of public officials means that they are averse to citizen participation. Hence, public organizations lack the practical organizational tools required for active citizen involvement. The outcome is that, if sustainable relationships between public organizations and citizens are not being established, additional actions are required to establish these relationships with citizens. We describe the actions found in our review in the next sub-section.

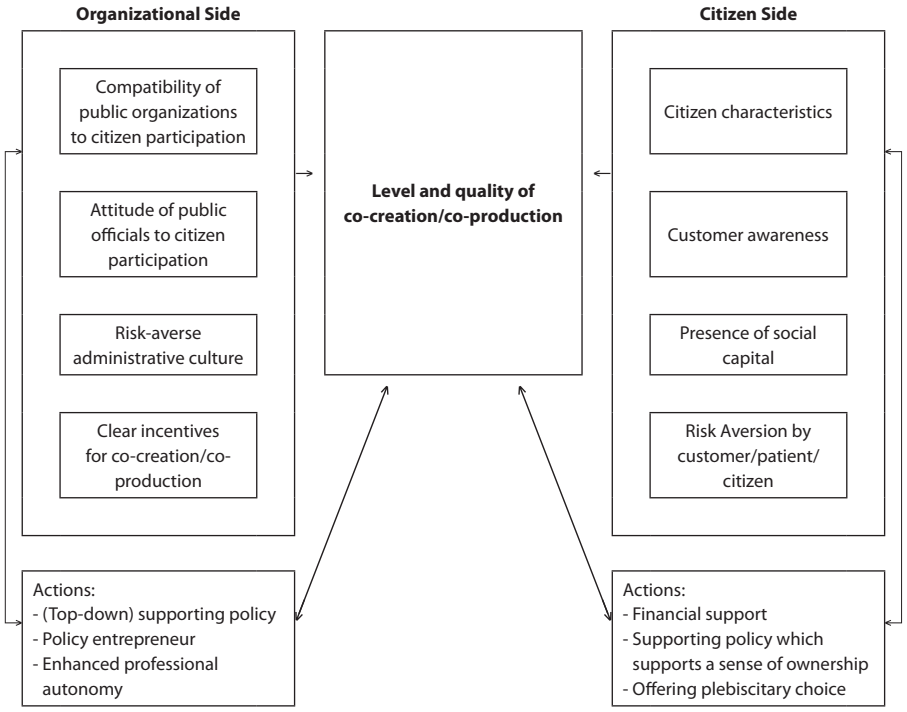

Figure 2. Correlation between identified influential factors

2.3.4 Identified actions in order to overcome barriers

The actions to overcome barriers were aimed at influencing elements on both the organizational as the citizen side. Actions on the organizational side refer, for example, to a (top-down) policy that supports co-creation/co-production (e.g. Pestoff, 2009). Furthermore, a policy entrepreneur can also be appointed in order to promote the co-creation/co-production initia-

tive (Fuglsang, 2008). Other research noted that the enhancement of discretionary autonomy for professionals is also required (e.g. Gill, White, & Cameron, 2011).

On the citizen side actions which are repeatedly mentioned, involve the lowering of thresholds for citizens to participate. This can refer to a lowering of the participation costs (Weinberger & Jutting, 2001) or by providing financial support (Pestoff, 2006). Also mentioned was the need for an inviting policy to generate a feeling of ownership (Lindahl et al., 2011; Ostrom, 1996). Last, when public organizations or officials approach citizens to participate, they should offer them a plebiscitary choice, instead of asking them about complicated policy issues (Wise et al., 2012). Peculiar is, though, that the responsibility to take these actions seems to lie with the public organization. The mentioned actions all refer to 'something that the public organization must do'.

2.3.5 Outcomes

In response to our third research question, w*hat are the outcomes of co-creation and co-production processes with citizens,* we analysed the reported outcomes. We conclude that in most records the study that was carried out was not aimed at the identification or evaluation of specific results of the co-creation/co-production process. Rather, most studies were dedicated to the identification of influential factors or to find a typology of public co-creation/co-production. We present the results in table 4.

Table 4. Types of study results

Type of study results	N
Identification of influential factors	43 (35%)
Report on specific goals to be met	24 (20%)
Identification of different types of co-creation/co-production	22 (18%)
Other	33 (27%)
Total	122 (100%)

The dominance of studies dedicated to the identification of influential factors shows that most academics aimed their study to the co-creation/co-production process rather than their outcomes (35%). A typical example is Alford (2002) who studied how influential incentives (sanctions, material rewards, non-material rewards) are on the participation behaviour of clients in social welfare programmes. We have included these findings in our preceding section 3.3 Influential Factors. Other authors aimed their studies at the identification or conceptualization of different co-production/co-creation types, while not discussing their outcomes (18%). For instance, Pestoff (2009) examined the different participation levels of parents in childcare services in European countries within different forms of provision (i.e. public, private for-profit and third sector). Only a handful of authors did describe specific outcomes as a result of co-creation/co-production processes (20%). These are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Types of outcomes

Type of outcome	N
Gaining more effectiveness	14 (59%)
Increasing citizen involvement	6 (25%)
Gaining more efficiency	1 (4%)
Gaining customer satisfaction	1 (4%)
Strengthening social cohesion	1 (4%)
Democratizing public services	1 (4%)
Total	24 (100%)

The table shows that if concrete outcomes are reported, they mostly refer to an increase (or decrease) in effectiveness. Leone et al. (2012) analysed that through the co-production of health care for heart failure patients, the treatment quality increased. Baars (2011) showed that by incorporating farmers as specialists on the field of organic farming, knowledge about how to organize and maintain organic farming is gathered more easily. However, some authors presented how effectiveness was not increased by co-creation/co-production. Benari (1990) showed that co-production in Japanese garbage disposal did not generate positive outcomes. People simply did not divided their garbage into different categories. Furthermore, Meijer (2012a) showed that co-production is not to be considered as something that *directly* leads to a more neighbourhood safety.

However, given the limited number records that reported on the outcomes of co-creation/co-production, we cannot definitely conclude whether co-creation/co-production can be considered as beneficial. Furthermore, our previous observation, that co-creation/co-production is being considered as a virtue in itself, is strengthened by the dominance of studies dedicated to influential factors and the attempts to offer a typology. This is underlined by six records which described these outcomes in terms of enhanced participation.

2.4 Conclusion and future research

Policy makers and politicians consider co-creation/co-production with citizens as a necessary condition to create innovative public services that actually meet the needs of citizens, given a number of societal challenges, like ageing and urban regeneration; and all of this within the context of austerity. Hence, co-creation/co-production seems to be considered as a cornerstone for social innovation in the public sector. However, what do we empirically know about co-creation/co-production, given their proclaimed importance? How evidence-based is the claim that co-creation/co-production is a relevant renewal strategy?

In order to increase our empirical and conceptual understanding of the literature on co-creation and co-production, we conducted a systematic review of: a) the objectives and types of co-creation/co-production (RQ 1); b) the influential factors (RQ 2); and, c) the outcomes of co-creation/co-production processes (RQ 3). In this section some conclusions will be drawn and a future research agenda will be drafted. However before doing so, we must acknowledge an important limitation: A main selection criterion was that the journal article or book should contain the word 'co-creation' or 'co-production' in the title or abstract. It is possible that studies were dedicated to the topic of co-creation/co-production, but did not mention the words in their abstract or title and we may have overlooked relevant studies. Related to this, literature, such as on 'interactive governance', '(public) participation' and 'open innovation', was not included, given the exponential growth of the number of records to be studied although we acknowledge that analysing these literature streams is also be valuable. For us, this was practically impossible since for this study already 4716 records had to be screened. Future studies could address this flaw.

Returning to the first research question with regard to how co-creation/ co-production are defined, we observed that citizens are perceived as an important partner in developing and re-designing public services. However, we concluded that in the literature the concepts of co-creation and co-production were often seen as interchangeable. There is empirically no striking difference between both concepts, and within bodies of knowledge different meanings are given to both concepts (Evers & Ewert, 2012). This doesn't contribute to conceptual clarity (Osborne & Strokosch, 2013). Some clarity can be provided by making a difference between three types of co-creation (in terms of degree of citizen involvement) in social innovation: a) citizens as co-implementer: involvement in services which refer to the transfer of implementing activities in favour of citizens that in the past have been carried out by government, b) citizens as co-designer: involvement regarding the content and process of service delivery and c) citizens as initiator: citizens that take up the initiative to formulate specific services. Furthermore, based on this distinction, we would like to reserve the term 'co-creation' for involvement of citizens in the (co)-initiator or co-design level. Co-production is being considered as the involvement of citizens in the (co-)implementation of public services.

Secondly, if we look at the objectives that co-creation/co-production must achieve, the most remarkable observation is that in more than half of the eligible contributions, no specific objective is mentioned why it is important to co-create/co-produce. Hence, we may conclude that co-creation/co-production is perceived as a value in itself, which is also supported by the observation that several authors addressed the increase of citizen involvement as an objective to be met. Other objectives that were mentioned, are being more effective, gaining more efficiency and creating more customer satisfaction.

Thirdly, we have also looked at possible factors that influence the participation of citizens in co-creation and co-production. We made a difference between factors on the organizational side and factors on the citizen side. On the organization side, most of them involve the 'compatibility of public organizations to citizen participation'. This may refer to, for example, to a proper communication infrastructure or training facilities for both citizens as public officials. Another important factor are the attitudes of administrators and politicians to involve citizens as valuable partners. As it turns out, most authors identified that these attitudes are often not really inviting to citizen involvement.

A third important factor seems to be the risk averse culture of public sector organizations. Civil involvement is traditionally regarded as uncontrollable and unreliable. Therefore, the administrative environment is not aimed at incorporating citizens in public service delivery. On the citizen side, factors identified refer to the willingness to participate. These involve the education level of individual citizens, family structure and personal characteristics. Next to this willingness, citizens need to be aware of their ability and possibility to actual influence public services. A last important influential factor seems to be the presence of social capital. Social capital is required in order to create sustainable relations between public organizations and citizens. It is also important to note that these factors are related and must be considered as subsequent to each other. If these factors seem to be lacking (on both the organizational and on the citizen side), the responsibility to succeed co-creation/co-production initiatives seems to lie with the public organization. This, because the additional actions which came across, all refer to 'something that the public organization must do'. Examples of these actions are the assignment of a policy entrepreneur, implementing supportive policy or financial support.

Fourthly, we also analyzed the outcomes of co-creation/co-production. In most cases the conducted analyses related to either different types of co-creation/co-production, or involved a description or identification of the factors which influence the process of co-creation/co-production. However, studies that address the outcomes of the co-production/co-creation process are scarce. If specific outcomes were reported, the emphasis was on whether effectiveness of public service is being enhanced. The limited number of specific outcomes also adds up to our idea that co-creation/co-production is primarily considered as a virtue in itself, which does not need to be legitimized by referring to external objectives.

What do these results imply for the role of co-creation/co-production in social innovation? In order to address this question a number of considerations needs to be taken into regard: Firstly, we need to separate the process of co-creation from the outcomes. If we look at the influential factors that have been identified we can say that we are now able to assess if and how the process of co-production/co-creation comes to being. However, if we look at the outcomes of the co-creation/co-production process and relate to possible social innovation

outcomes, we can argue that we do not know if co-production/co-creation contributes to outcomes which really address the needs of citizens in a robust way, thereby acting as a 'game changer'. To some extent, this would put the claims that policy makers make in relation to the 'magic' of social innovation into perspective. Second, we also do not know, if there is a relationship between several degrees of citizen involvement (co-implementing, co-design and initiator) and the outcomes of social innovations. Consequently, further research challenges lie in the examination of outcomes co-creation/co-production as such and in relation to social innovation in particular.

Given these conclusions, how does a possible future research agenda looks like? The first suggestion is to be more specific about the type of co-creation or co-production being studied and offer conceptual clarity between this and related concepts. Our literature review may help to provide this clarity in two ways: Firstly, we would like to emphasize that future studies should explicitly address the role of the citizen. As indicated, most studies are focused on citizens as a co-implementer, while only a few looked at the role of citizens as a co-designer or co-initiator. Therefore, future studies could focus on the latter types. In addition, since in co-creation and co-production processes the role of involved stakeholders are formulated within "a field of tension where users and organizations are urged to cope with contradictory role expectations bur similarly adopt, reinterpret and subvert given role models against a backdrop of individual identities and self-construction (Evers & Ewert, 2012; p. 77) it might be useful to explicitly research the relation between this diversity in roles and the outcomes of co-creation processes.

Secondly, it is important to understand under what conditions citizen participation can be linked to more concrete and functional outcomes. Are specific needs in fact better served by co-creation processes? We noted that few studies (only 20%) explicitly looked at explicit and long-lasting outcomes. This contributes to the idea that co-creation/co-production is primarily considered as a virtue in itself, which does not need to be legitimized by reference to external goals. However, if we use a rational, functional or goal-oriented approach, the outcomes can be somewhat disappointing. We can also argue that the added value of co-creation/co-production should be assessed from a political and cultural perspective in which innovation and co-creation/co-production is defined as a process of sense-making in which citizen involvement is seen as having important political value (Weick, 1995; Weick, 1969). Then, co-creation processes are important symbolic activities in which an organization tries to establish a process of normative integration between the central and dominant values and developments in public organizations on the one hand and in society on the other hand. In this process citizen participation is regarded as an important mechanism to achieve normative integration (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; DiMaggio & Powell, 2000). In doing so, co-creation can be seen as a way of 'conspicuous production' (Feller, 1981) and a way of sense-making 'myth' or 'ceremony' in order to achieve political legitimacy and thus stress the importance of

citizen participation as a relevant process that can be used as strategy to be applied to address issues that are defined in the literature as the perceived existence of a possible democratic deficit (Bekkers et al, 2007) or performance gap (Salge & Vera, 2012). Both concepts deal with the issue that legitimacy of government is under pressure, due to the fact that the production of public services does not really address the needs of citizens, which was one of the reasons to embark on the social innovation journey. This is, perhaps, even more important than the specific functional goals that have been achieved (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). This implies that future research must conclude to what extent co-creation/co-production contributes to bridge this perceived democratic or performance gap, thereby also acknowledging it symbolic function.

The third suggestion is methodological. The literature on co-creation and co-production relies to a great extent on (single) case studies. This is understandable given the importance of contextual factors. However, there are a few possibilities to generalise. First, the comparison between cases from different countries can show to what extent state tradition or governance structure influence co-creation processes (see also Verschuere et al., 2012). Second, quantitative approaches can show the weight of influential factors. For instance, what is the impact of negative attitudes of public officials compared to the impact of the actions of policy entrepreneurs? Finally, in order to determine possible causal linkages, experiments are required. This could prove whether, for instance, user satisfaction is improved because of participation in public service design, or if this is due to other factors (see also Dunleavy et al., 2005).

The last research suggestion is empirical. We would recommend studying co-creation and co-production in different policy sectors. The review shows that most empirical data is derived from records within the education and health care sector. This is not surprising given the traditional direct relationships between service provider and service user. However, it can be valuable to expand this body of knowledge to other domains. Future research must conclude on to what extent the policy field in which co-creation is implemented is influential with respect to the type and effects of these processes.

CHAPTER 3

Do financial rewards stimulate co-production? Evidence from two experiments

This article is currently under review (major revisions) in Public Administration Review

Abstract

Western governments are increasingly trying to stimulate citizens to 'co-produce' public services, among others, by offering them financial rewards. However, there are competing views on whether this would be an effective instrument to stimulate co-production. While some argue that financial incentives *increase* citizens' willingness to co-produce desirable outcomes, others suggest that it *decreases* their willingness (i.e., *crowding-out*). To test these competing theoretical expectations, we designed a set of experiments that offered subjects a financial incentive to assist municipalities in helping refugees to integrate. First, we conducted an experiment among university students (n=160) within a laboratory setting. Second, we replicated and extended our initial findings among a general adult sample (n=1,359). Our results suggest that small financial rewards have no effect: they neither increase nor crowd-out people's willingness to co-produce. However, when the offered amount is increased substantially (from 2 to 10 Euro), citizen's willingness to co-produce increases to some extent.

Key words: co-production, volunteering, experiment, financial incentive, crowding-out

Practitioner points

- This research has shown that *modest* compensation (2 Euro per hour, similar to a time-bank voucher) does not have a significant effect on people's willingness to co-produce public services. As such, governments should be cautious in offering financial incentives to stimulate people to co-produce.
- Even *Substantial* financial incentives (10 Euro per hour, comparable to the net income of a professional teacher) have only a small positive effect (6%) on people's willingness to co-produce language courses for refugees. Therefore, governments should explore other possibilities for stimulating citizens' willingness to co-produce than offering financial rewards.
- Our research indicates that intrinsic motivation to co-produce is not crowded-out by financial incentives. However, given the relatively small effect of financial incentives on people's willingness to co-produce, and the cohesive character of the co-production, governments are advised to improve the intrinsic motivations of people (solidarity, charity, etc.) instead of promoting coproduction by increasing financial incentives.

3.1 Introduction

To keep public services maintainable and affordable, governments are increasingly asking citizens to "*… pitch in and help ensure the quality of life*" (Brudney & England, 1983 p. 59). This constitutes a fundamental change in the relationship between the state and its inhabitants, in that citizens are no longer passive receivers of public services. Instead, they are seen as valuable participants in the process of delivering public services, such as creating a safer environment or a healthier society (Osborne, 2011). As such, *co-production* between public organizations and citizens has become an important element in the discussion about how the quality of public service delivery can be improved. Indeed, citizens have specific resources (e.g., knowledge, expertise, skills, time, and competences) that can be used in response to contemporary problems facing the public sector (such as the current refugee crisis in Europe). To date, this tendency resulted in a variety of policy domains where citizens participate in public service delivery, such as public transport (Gebauer, Johnson, & Enquist, 2010), health care (e.g. Leone, Walker, Curry, & Agee, 2012; Pestoff, 2012a; Roberts, Greenhill, Talbot, & Cuzak, 2012) and education (Jakobsen, 2013; Ostrom, 1996). Given its increasing importance, governments explore how citizens can be motivated to step in and co-produce important public services (e.g. Alford, 2002).

The literature on co-production describes various ways to stimulate public participation in service delivery, for example, by sanctions, offering material rewards, intrinsic rewards, emphasizing solidary incentives and expressive values, and formulate a policy in which these are formalized (e.g. Alford, 2002; Lindahl, Liden, & Lindblad, 2011; Ostrom, 1996; Pestoff, 2006). In this study, we pay specific attention to the effectiveness of offering citizens financial rewards as an example of extrinsic motivation, since the practical and theoretical value of this co-production enhancement strategy is still unclear. Scholars have debated the effectiveness of such an incentive (Alford, 2009; e.g. Alford, 2002; Collom, 2008; Rosentraub & Sharp, 1981; Seyfang & Smith, 2002), but without clear consensus. Previous research on co-production has indicated that willingness to co-produce is related to intrinsic characteristics and values of citizens, such as feelings of self-efficacy (Parrado, Van Ryzin, Bovaird, & Löffler, 2013 p. 3; Thomsen, 2015); that is, the extent in which citizens feel that their participation can make an actual difference. As such, incentives stimulating these kinds of values may be more effective than financial rewards, which predominantly aim at people's economic interest (e.g. Alford, 2002). Some authors even argue that adding an extrinsic reward might even dilute the intrinsic motivation through a *crowding-out* effect (Frey & Jegen, 1999). Consequently, offering a financial reward might have the opposite effect to that intended: decreasing citizens' willingness to co-produce. In the literature on co-production, the question of whether financial rewards are an effective incentive for stimulating co-production has not been addressed fully. We therefore aim to address this gap by testing (in an experimental setting) the effects of financial rewards

on citizens' willingness to participate in co-producing important public services. As such, this study sets out to answer the following research question: *What are the effects of offering a financial incentive to citizens on their willingness to co-produce?*

Our contribution to the literature is two-fold. In the first place, to the best of our knowledge, this study provides the first empirical test, in the field of co-production, of whether citizens can be motivated to co-produce by offering them financial rewards. Although the effectiveness of financial rewards has been studied extensively in other domains, such as public sector wages (see for instance Perry, 1996), there is little systematic evidence as to whether citizens can be motivated through financial rewards to co-produce. This is perhaps surprising given the important implications for policy-makers and public administrators. Therefore, our study is not only innovative in studying the effectiveness of an important co-production enhancement strategy; it also aims to develop policy-related recommendations as to whether financial rewards can be an effective measure to motivate citizens to co-produce public services.

In the second place, from a methodological point of view, previous correlational research may have had difficulties in identifying the causal effect of financial rewards on citizens' willingness to co-produce because of endogeneity problems. For example, those citizens that already co-produced services in the past may self-select into co-producing for financial rewards, because they think they deserve pay. This may introduce a selection bias, which makes it particularly difficult to identify the causal effect of financial rewards on coproduction. Such problems of endogeneity can be tackled using an experimental approach, however (James, Jilke and Van Ryzin, 2017). Therefore, we designed two experiments to test whether financial rewards increase, or decrease, citizens' motivation and subsequent willingness to co-produce. In the first experiment, we test in a laboratory setting whether Dutch students' (n=160) willingness to co-produce language courses for refugees can be influenced by a financial incentive. In order to enhance the external validity of our initial findings, we replicated and extended our initial experiment in a random probability sample of 1,359 Dutch citizens. In both settings, we studied subjects' stated *and* revealed preferences regarding co-production. More specifically, we investigated citizens' intentions to co-produce (their stated willingness on a scale from 0-10), and included a second outcome measure to assess their revealed preferences (asking them to provide their email address to be contacted by their local government to co-produce).

The remainder of this study is structured as follows: in the next section, we introduce the main concepts of this research and show how various streams of literature have produced contradictory views on the effectiveness of financial rewards. This section concludes with theoretical predications for subsequent empirical testing. Following this, in section 3, we elaborate on the specifics of both experiments used to answer our research question. Sections 4 and 5 then

present the results of our study before, in section 6, we draw conclusions and consider the implications of our findings.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

3.2.1 Co-production

In the practice and theory of public administration, co-production is often used as a 'magic concept' (Pollitt & Hupe, 2011) which relates to different ways of citizen involvement in the production of public services. In order to define co-production, authors typically refer to Ostrom's (1996) definition of co-production as "*[…] the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not 'in' the same organization*" (p. 1073). Others use the more specific definition of Parks et al (1981, as paraphrased in Pestoff 2006, 506), referring explicitly to the relationship between citizens and public service agents: "*[…] the mix of activities that both public service agents and citizens contribute to the provision of public services*." By focusing specifically on citizens, this definition distinguishes co-production from public private partnerships or other forms of inter-organizational collaboration (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015; Loeffler & Bovaird, 2016). Recent attention to the involvement of citizens in public service delivery is based on a (renewed) awareness that efforts of citizens are required to keep public service provision maintainable and affordable. The general conviction has become that citizens possess specific talents and resources to address societal challenges (Alford & Yates, 2015; Bovaird, 2007). An essential element of co-production is a mutually dependent *relationship* between public organizations and citizens. This relationship is captured in the recent revised definition of Brandsen and Honigh (2015), to which we adhere, stating: "*Co-production is a relationship between a paid employee of an organization and (groups) of individual citizens that requires a direct and active contribution from these citizens to the work of the organization*" (p. 5).

Co-production can be differently typified, however. For instance, Brudney and England (1983) made a distinction between individual, group and collective co-production. This distinction allows distinguishing different kinds of consequences for benificiaries of co-production outcomes (see also Bovaird, Van Ryzin, Loeffler, & Parrado, 2015). However, in this study our focus does not lie with who benefits from co-production but rather how citizens can be motivated to participate in co-production (whether individually or in groups). Therefore, we use in this research the typology of Voorberg et al (2015) which distinguishes different kinds of citizen involvement in three distinct ways: 1) as the initiator of co-production projects, 2) as the designer of co-production projects, or 3) as the ones who carry out the co-production project. The first kind of involvement includes, for example, projects where citizens take the initiative to improve their neighborhood or city. Here, the government joins the initiative

because it considers it useful. An example is described by Rossi (2004) where the city center of Naples (Italy) was restored due to a citizens' initiative. The local government decided to support the initiative, since she considered it as an indicator of what society finds urgent. The second kind involves citizens being involved in the design phase of how public services are delivered, or should be delivered. A classic example of this kind of involvement comes from Porto Alegre (Brazil) where citizens are regularly invited to decide jointly with the city government on where to allocate its budget (Abers, 1998). The third kind of citizen involvement occurs when citizens carry out an initiative, which is developed by other actors (e.g., other citizen groups or public organizations/government). In this conception, citizens become the executive of the co-production project. For instance, Benari (1990) showed how Japanese citizens were asked to co-produce a cleaner environment by separating their garbage at home. In this research, we focus on this third form of co-production; in particular, how people's individual willingness to co-produce (i.e., joining an initiative that is initiated by someone else) can be increased. In the literature to date, the motivation of these kinds of co-producers has received little attention (see for an exception Alford, 2002) - let alone that the effectiveness of potential motivators is empirically assessed. However, this is important, since co-production projects always involve participants who need to be motivated to co-produce. Therefore, it is of vital importance to examine whether citizens' willingness can be effectively tapped to participate in co-production (e.g. Alford, 2002; Ostrom, 1996; Schafft & Brown, 2000; Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012; Wise, Paton, & Gegenhuber, 2012) .

3.2.2 Motivators to co-produce

The question then becomes *how* citizen's willingness to co-produce can be motivated. Examining possible motivators to boost people's willingness to co-produce has been an important topic of study in co-production (Alford, 2009). Identified motivators can be broadly categorized into *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* motivators (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2016). Intrinsic motivators touch upon the desire to achieve one's ethical values (Alford, 2009) such as loyalty, solidarity, and a feeling of civic duty (Wise et al., 2012). The co-production literature shows numerous examples where co-production efforts of citizens are based on intrinsic motivators, ranging from supporting Roma (Schafft & Brown, 2000) (Schafft and Brown, 2000), participating in childcare services (Pestoff, 2006), or promoting asylum seeker integration (Strokosch & Osborne, 2016).

Other authors have argued that extrinsic motivators may be effective stimuli to motivate citizens to participate in co-production processes, referring to either lowering participation costs (Weinberger & Jutting, 2001), or to increase the financial benefits for participants (Pestoff, Osborne, & Brandsen, 2006). A current trend sees the implementation of 'time banks' and 'complementary currencies' as external incentives for people to co-produce (e.g. Collom, 2008; Glynos & Speed, 2012; Lasker et al., 2011; Seyfang & Smith, 2002). Time banking practices

reward people who offer their services to others in the form of time credits. These credits can be exchanged for services offered by other members of the time banking network, such as small-shops, cinemas, and theaters (Glynos & Speed, 2012 p. 405).

Various authors across research domains have shown how extrinsic motivators may affect intrinsic motivation (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999; Frey & Goette, 1999; Perry, 1996; Weibel, Rost, & Osterloh, 2010). Some authors argue that intrinsic motivation will be 'crowded-out' by external rewards. This occurs when people who are paid to perform a task, which they did previously for its own sake, reduce their effort (Frey & Goette, 1999). The underlying reason is that people would previously perform the task, because they are *intrinsically* motivated to do so, for instance because they consider it morally good or right to do so. However, when being paid, the choice of performing these tasks is depending on whether people consider the reward sufficient. As such, extrinsic rewards undermine intrinsic motivations (Weibel et al., 2010). This crowding-out effect is an important anomaly in microeconomics, as it goes against the most fundamental economic law: that raising financial incentives increases people's productivity (Frey & Jegen, 1999 p. 590). The notion of crowding-out is specifically important for co-production where intrinsic motivation is an important part of why people co-produce (e.g. Alford, 2002; Loeffler & Bovaird, 2016). In co-production cases, the involvement of citizens is usually voluntary and based on a drive to achieve one's ethical values (Alford, 2009). Given the importance of intrinsic motivators, the occurrence of a crowding-out effect would be particularly problematic in co-production. That is why Elinor Ostrom (2000) studied under what conditions, extrinsic elements may increase willingness to increase productivity and labor intensity, i.e., creating a *crowding-in effect,* rather than a *crowding-out effect*. She argues that intrinsic motivators need to be backed-up by institutions that enable those motivated to solve problems while protecting them from free riders and untrustworthy partners (Ostrom, 2000 p. 9). If this is the case, then extrinsic elements might even enhance intrinsic motivation and cause a *crowding-in* effect. Further, it could be argued that a reversed crowding-out effect might occur if governments withdraw external incentives from a specific policy domain or issue, rather than adding them in order to induce participation. Bekkers and De Wit (2014) found that affluent citizens in the Netherlands are more likely to donate money if government subsidies to nonprofit organizations are reduced. This is specifically relevant to the field of co-production since these concepts are often raised as answers to a retreating government in numerous policy sectors (e.g. Loeffler, Power, Bovaird, & Hine-Hughes, 2013; Needham, 2008; Parrado et al., 2013). Hence, it is important to understand whether a crowding-out effect may occur in co-production as well. To date, although authors have suggested that extrinsic motivators may be useful stimuli for people's willingness to co-produce (Glynos & Speed, 2012; Pestoff, 2006), the literature has yet to show whether this holds true. In this study, we therefore test the effectiveness of a specific extrinsic motivator (i.e., financial incentives).

To sum up, various literature streams adopt competing views when it comes to how extrinsic motivators may influence intrinsic motivation of citizens to co-produce. We assess whether extrinsic motivators (financial rewards, in our case) do indeed form a stimulus that increases citizens' willingness to co-produce. Given the competing notion of the crowding-out effect and its proven influence in a multitude of studies, we could alternatively expect the addition of an extrinsic motivator to diminish the intrinsic motivation of people to co-produce, thereby reducing their willingness to co-produce. Consequently, we test two competing theoretical expectations: one based on economic incentives, and one on the crowding-out effect.

Expectation 1a: Citizens' willingness to co-produce will be increased through offering them financial incentives (economic-incentives hypothesis).

Expectation 1b: Citizens' willingness to co-produce will be decreased through offering them financial incentives (crowding-out hypothesis).

We now discuss the methods and results of the two studies undertaken to test these two competing expectations.

3.3 Study 1

In the first experiment, we tested our expectations on a sample of Dutch university students. In essence, we are investigating whether offering a financial reward would change their willingness to assist a municipality in integrating refugees by teaching Dutch language courses. This case forms an exemplary co-production situation, since most co-production projects are initiated in the public welfare domain (Voorberg et al., 2015). In these initiatives, participation is assumed to be based on a feeling of solidarity (see for an example Schafft & Brown, 2000).

The study contained two outcome measures. The first one was students' stated willingness to provide language courses to refugees. This was measured on an 11-point scale (0 - 10) where the participants were asked how much they agreed/disagreed with the following statement "*I would be willing to help the municipality by teaching Dutch language classes to refugees*". The second dependent variable examined students' *revealed* preferences by asking them to provide their e-mail address, so that they could be approached by the municipality ("*If you would like to be contacted by your municipality to teach Dutch language classes to refugees, please enter your email address (it will not be provided to any third parties)*").

3.3.1 Method

Participants

The experiment was conducted on 13 May 2015. The study population was made up of second-year bachelor students of public administration. All students in this cohort who were willing to participate in the experiment were accepted (there were no other criteria), resulting in 160 participants in total. Whether a student would receive the treatment (i.e. be offered an financial reward) was randomly assigned before the actual study started (by randomly ordering the treatment and control questionnaires). This resulted in a treatment group with 94 students, and 66 students in the control group. Descriptive statistics of the sample are shown in table 1.

Table 1. Distribution study population study 1

Variable	Value (percentage)	Mean (standard deviation)	Min, Max
Experimental Conditions			
Treatment	94 (58.8%)		
Control	66 (41.3%)		
E-mail provided			
Yes	69 (56.9%)		
No	91 (43.1%)		
Gender			
Male	81 (50.6%)		
Female	79 (49.4%)		
Ethnicity			
Dutch	154 (96.2%)		
Non-Dutch	4 (2.5%)		
No info provided	2 (1.3%)		
Volunteer			
Yes	106 (66.3%)		
No	54 (33.8%)		
Willingness to co-produce		5.18 (2.91)	0, 10
Age		20.61 (2.11)	18, 31
Partisan orientation		5.49 (2.07)	0, 10

Treatment

The experimental manipulation was achieved by including a financial incentive that was only offered to the treatment group. This financial incentive amounted to a voucher worth 2 Euro for each hour spent teaching language courses. The control group members were not offered any incentive. The value of the voucher was chosen as representative of the typical voluntary sector compensation in the Netherlands (Dutch Tax Office, 2015). These coupons could be accumulated and exchanged for others services (tickets to the cinema, to the swimming pool, etc.), but not for cash. In doing so, this voucher is similar to time-bank vouchers as described in our theoretical framework (e.g. Lasker et al., 2011).

3.3.2 Procedure

The procedure for carrying out this study contained five steps split into two phases (figure 1). The first, the preparation phase, contained two steps. The first step involved developing the questionnaire. In the questionnaire, a fictional case was described (see Appendix 2) in which it was explained that, due to an increased number of refugees, official integration offices are not able to offer every refugee an integration trajectory. Therefore, Dutch municipalities were asking citizens to give Dutch language courses. Photographs were added showing boat refugees and refugee families. Students were asked how willing they were to give a weekly language course, of 1 to 2 hours per week, for a period of three months. In the second step, ten university lecturers were approached and asked if they were willing to conduct the experiment within their seminars on a stipulated day. Such small-scale seminars are well-suited for conducting experiments because they offer good internal control. The second phase involved the execution of the questionnaire. The first step (briefing) involved showing a short instruction video to respondents, in which the topic of the study was introduced (i.e., the interest of municipalities in using students to help refugees), and students were asked to complete the questionnaire (see Appendix 2). In this way, we ensured that all students received the same explanation and instructions. It was also stressed in the introduction video that students should not communicate with each other (in order to prevent cross-contamination). In the second step of the second phase, students were given the questionnaire in which they were asked to rate (on a scale from 0-10) the statement: *I would be willing to help the municipality and teach Dutch language classes to refugees*. Subsequently, in an attempt to measure actual behavior, the questionnaire asked: *If you would like to be contacted by the municipality to teach Dutch language classes to refugees, please enter your email address (it will be not provided to any third parties).* If respondents were genuinely willing to offer language courses, they therefore had the opportunity to have their e-mail address forwarded to the municipality. Additionally, they were asked to provide information about their socioeconomic characteristics. Two scholars supervised this process to ensure that the questionnaires were filled-out independently. In the

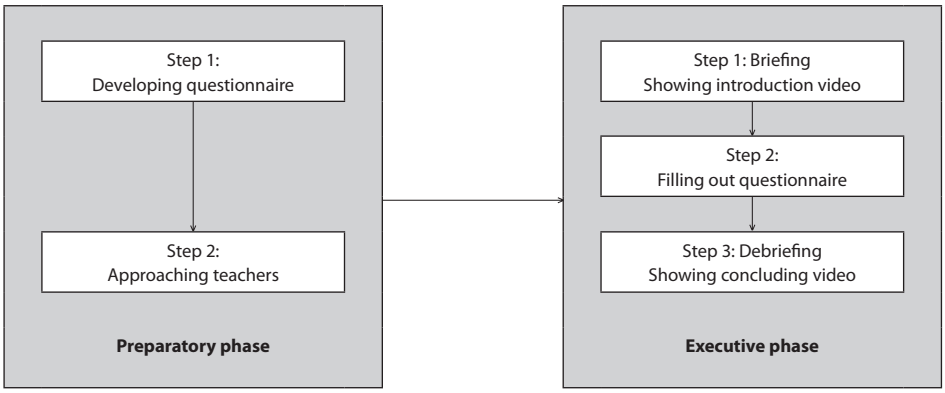

Figure 1. Experimental procedure

third and final step (debriefing), another video was shown in which it was explained to the students that the study involved a hypothetical situation and that no email addresses would be forwarded. They were again reassured that their e-mail address would not be used for any purposes, and that their anonymity was guaranteed. Figure 1 shows schematically the procedure of this study.

3.3.3 Results

Figure 2 displays the average treatment effect of a 2 Euro compensation on students' willingness to co-produce (n=159). Members of the treatment group (who were offered a 2 Euro compensation) were slightly more willing to co-produce (about 5.3 percentage points; Cohen's d=0.21) than the respondents who were not offered any incentive (the control condition). However, the difference (using an independent t-test) between both conditions is indistinguishable from zero (i.e., statistically insignificant) ($p=0.204$).

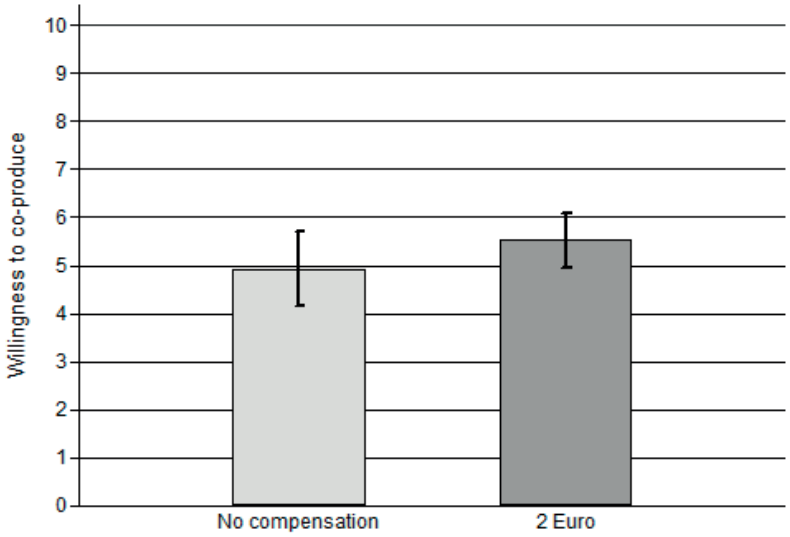

Figure 2. Willingness to co-produce (mean and 95% confidence interval)

In the next step of our analysis, we examined students' propensity to provide their email address (n=160). Figure 3 shows the average treatment effect on students providing their e-mail address. Here the percentages of respondents who included their email address were almost the same in both the treatment and the control conditions (56.4% and 57.6% respectively). The difference between both experimental conditions is not only small in magnitude (1.2 percentage points), but also statistically insignificant ($\chi^2(1) = 0.023$, $p=0.881$).

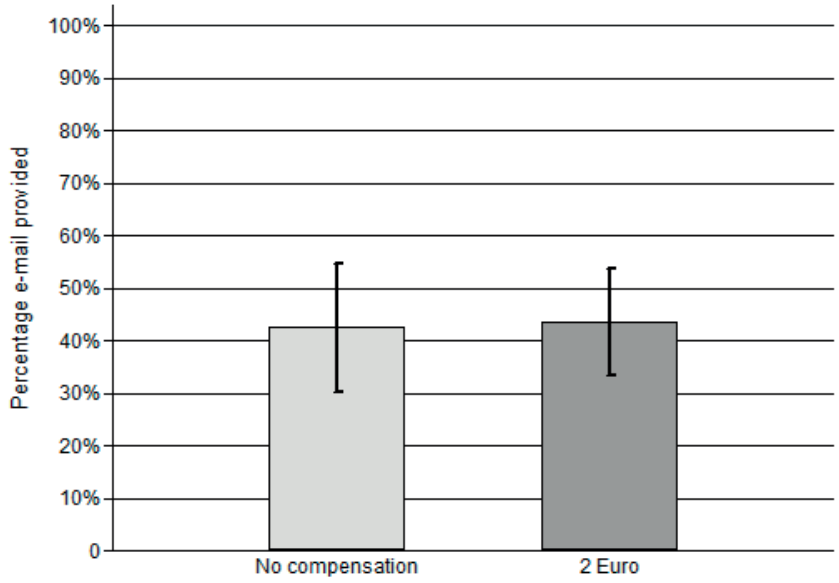

Figure 3. Percentage of each sample providing an email address (percentage and 95% confidence intervals)

3.3.4 Discussion

Our null-findings for the effect of financial rewards on students' willingness to provide language courses to refugees suggest that the effectiveness of financial incentives as stimuli for boosting co-production is questionable. This view was supported by our second dependent variable (students' propensity to provide their e-mail address) where, again, the treatment failed to have a significant and substantive effect. However, this study has its limitations. Our failure to find a significant effect might be related to the relatively small sample size of 160 participants. Moreover, the relatively small reward on offer (2 Euro per hour) could be an additional factor, as it could be that students would be more willing to co-produce when offered more. Therefore, we replicated our initial experiment, but (a) in a larger sample and (b) also included a second treatment that involved a higher financial incentive (10 Euro per hour).

3.4 Study 2

In our second study, we replicated and extended study 1 using a Dutch probability-based internet panel known as LISS (the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences). The LISS panel is an internet panel established for academic use that consists of 8,000 individuals living in the Netherlands. It is an accurate probability sample drawn from the Dutch population register – including people without an internet connection who are given

access to appropriate equipment (for more information about LISS, see Scherpenzeel, 2009). Given our concern that the insignificant results in study 1 were due to it being underpowered (i.e., due to the sample size being too small relative to the effect size), we conducted a power analysis based on the estimates found in study 1 (i.e., the means and standard deviations of each experimental condition). This provides an estimate of the required sample size for study 2 to statistically validate an actual effect of the magnitude of that suggested in study 1 (with 80% power using a two-sided 5%-level significance test). This showed that we would need a sample of 764 subjects, with 382 in each group. Further, since in study 2 we add an additional experimental condition (a larger incentive), we would require a total of 1,146 participants (382 for each scenario). On our behalf, the LISS organizers sent our revised questionnaire to 1,699 panelists. Of these, 340 respondents (20%) did not return the questionnaire, resulting in 1,359 respondents. As such, our sample was 15% larger than required, thereby overpowering our replication experiment.

We used the same outcome measures as in study 1 but, since it involved an internet panel study, for the second dependent variable we asked respondents to indicate (yes/no) whether their e-mail address could be forwarded to their municipality rather than asking them to supply a contactable address. In order to test whether an increase in the level of the financial incentive would boost people's willingness to co-produce, we included an additional treatment condition (10 Euro per hour) alongside the original treatment of 2 Euro per hour. This higher value is comparable to the hourly net income of a professional teacher in secondary education in the Netherlands (CNVO, 2014).

3.4.1 Methods

Participants

In the second experiment, the panel used reflects a more diverse and more representative reflection of the Dutch population. Characteristics of this sample group are shown in table 2 and compared with the wider population of the Netherlands (data derived from the Dutch Bureau for Statistics). Although, in many respects, our panel sample is representative, we would note that young people are underrepresented and, although the figures are not directly comparable, that the mix of education levels in our sample seems to diverge from the Dutch averages. Therefore, although the external validity of our second study is much higher than in the first experiment, we need to be cautious when generalizing towards the entire Dutch population.

The respondents were randomly assigned to three experimental conditions, resulting in a control group of 438 respondents who received no compensation, a first treatment group of 473 who were offered compensation of 2 Euro per hour, and a second treatment group of 438 subjects offered 10 Euro compensation per hour.

Table 2. Distribution study population study 2 Note 1: The national figures include students in 2014 at each educational level; Note 2: The 'other' category covers those who have not studied beyond secondary education

	Sample (*N*=1,359)	Dutch Population
Gender		
Male	662 (48.7%)	49.50%
Female	697 (51.3%)	51.50%
Age		
<20	64 (4.7%)	22.90%
20-39	312 (22.9%)	24.50%
40-64	606 (44.6%)	35.30%
65-80	339 (25%)	13.10%
>80	38 (2.8%)	4.30%
Education		
Lower professional education	353 (26%)	51.80%
Higher professional education	323 (23.8%)	31.30%
University	128 (9.4%)	16.80%
Other	551 (40.5%)	-
Ethnicity		
Dutch	1,096 (80.6%)	78.60%
Non-Dutch	202 (14.9%)	21.40%
No info provided	61 (4.9%)	-
Experimental conditions		
Treatment 1	473 (34.8%)	-
Treatment 2	438 (32.2%)	-
Control	448 (33.0%)	-
Willingness to co-produce (mean (SD); Min, Max)	4.15 (3.18); 0, 10	-
E-mail provided		
Yes	320 (23.6%)	-
No	1,039 (76.5%)	-
Trust (mean (SD); Min, Max)	3.81 (2.55); 0, 10	-
Degree of urbanity (mean (SD); Min, Max)	3.00 (1.28); 1, 5	-

3.4.2 Procedure

The procedure for this second study contained a similar set of steps (figure 4) to the earlier one. In the preparation phase, the first step was to approach the panel to seek their agreement to repeating our experiment within a larger sample. After approval, the second step was to slightly adapt the questionnaire so that it fitted within the panel study process (adapting the language and layout of the questionnaire, see Appendix 3).

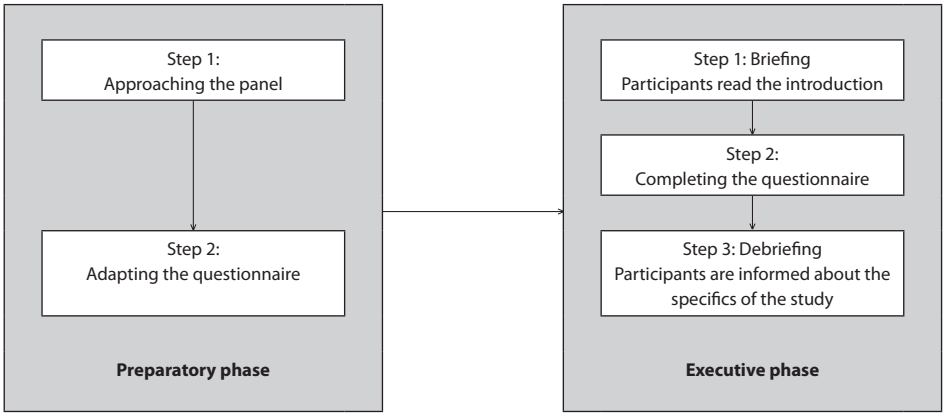

Figure 4. Procedure for study 2

In the second phase, the experiment was executed. In the first (briefing) step, the respondents were invited to participate and provided with an opportunity to read the introduction to the questionnaire. The questionnaire was similar to the questionnaire used in the first study, and was distributed on 1 October 2015 by e-mail (a reminder was sent two weeks later). For practical reasons, we were unable to show the video introduction used in the first experiment. In the second step, respondents were again asked to rate (on a scale from 0-10) the statement: *I would be willing to help the municipality by teaching Dutch language classes to refugees*. The subsequent question, regarding the forwarding of email addresses to the municipality, was rephrased to read: *If you would like to be approached by the municipality to provide Dutch language courses to refugees, please click 'yes'. We will exclusively use the e-mail address known to us.*

In the third (debriefing) step, participants were informed about the specifics of the study and it was explained that, in fact, no email addresses would be forwarded to the municipalities.

3.4.3 Results

Figure 5 shows the effects of the two treatments on respondents' willingness to co-produce (N=1,359). The figure shows that the null finding of the first study has been replicated. Here, again, offering a small financial reward to respondents only marginally, and statistically insignificantly, increased their willingness to co-produce (mean difference of 0.03; Cohen's d=0.01; p=*0.904*). However, the second treatment shows a greater, and statistically significant, increase in their willingness to co-produce with the municipality: if people are offered an incentive of 10 euro per hour, they are about 6.3%s (mean difference of 0.69; Cohen's d=.21; p<*0.01*) more willing to provide language courses to refugees than if no financial incentive is available. In addition, both treatment conditions are statistically different from each other. This means that if respondents were offered a 10 Euros compensation, instead of 2 Euros, they were 6% more willing to coproduce (mean difference of 0.66; Cohen's d= 0.21; p<*0.01*).

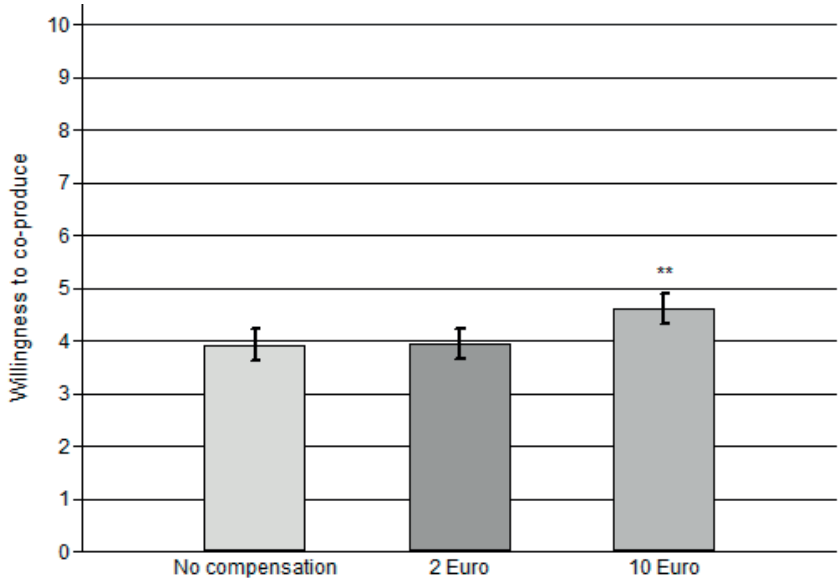

Figure 5. Willingness to co-produce (mean and 95% confidence intervals);
** p<0.01, * p<0.05 (compared to the control group)

The conclusions based on the first outcome measure are supported when looking at whether respondents agreed that their e-mail address could be shared with the municipality (*N*=1,359) (see figure 6). Just as in Study 1, people were slightly more willing to provide their e-mail address if they were to receive 2 Euro per hour for co-producing, when compared to the control condition (22.2% and 20.8% respectively; a 1.44 percentage points difference). Again, this finding is not statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=0.283$, $p=0.595$). However, when the compensation is raised to 10 Euro per hour, people's propensity to share their e-mail address increases significantly by 7.1 percentage points (27.9% in total), when compared to the control condition ($\chi^2(1) = 6.066$, $p<0.05$). In addition, the difference between both treatment conditions is also statistically significant ($\chi^2(1) = 3.887$, $p<0.05$). This means that providing a 10 Euro compensation, instead of 2 Euro, leads to a 5.7 percentage points increase in respondents' willingness to provide their contact details.

In addition to examining the average treatment effect of financial rewards, we performed exploratory analyses to assess whether the uncovered effect varies by other important personal characteristics of our respondents. In doing so, we examined the effect of respondent's gender, age, place of residence (i.e., self-assessed degree of urbanity), and their confidence in government to cope with the inflow of refugees without the help of citizens. None of these factors had a significant effect. We find, however, that ethnicity and level of education both had heterogeneous effects on respondents' willingness to coproduce (as well as willingness

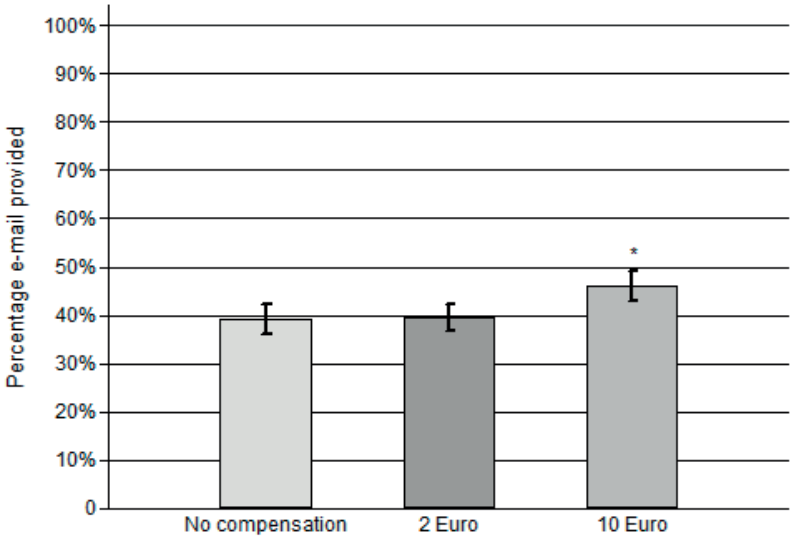

Figure 6. Willingness to forward email address to municipality (percentage and 95% confidence intervals)
** p<0.01, * p<0.05 (compared to the control group)

to share their e-mail address with local government). In particular, we find that the average treatment effect of a 10 Euro compensation not only turns statistically insignificant for non-Dutch respondents (n=202), but also exhibits a negative effect direction (mean difference of 0.21; Cohen's d=-0.06; p=*0.699*). Dutch respondents (n=1,096) in contrast, exhibit a positive and statistically significant effect (mean difference of 0.76; Cohen's d=0.24; p<*0.01*). Taken together this leads us to suggest that a 10 Euro compensation offered to non-Dutch citizens is not an effective measure to increase co-production of immigrant language classes.

With regard to educational attainment, we find that while respondents with lower professional education (n=353) were more likely to co-produce when offered a 10 Euro compensation, this effect was statistically insignificant (mean difference of 0.58; Cohen's d=0.20; p=*0.141*). Respondents in the 10 Euro condition, who had completed a higher professional education (n=323) were strongly more willing to co-produce (mean difference of 1.34; Cohen's d=0.46; p<*0.01*), when compared to those in the control group. Similarly, those with a university degree (n=128) exhibit a positive treatment effect, albeit being statistically insignificant, possibly because of the relative small sample size of this particular subgroup (mean difference of 0.82; Cohen's d=0.28; p=*0.202*). Respondents who fell in the "other" category (N=551), like those who have no professional education, or current students, exhibit a positive treatment effect, albeit small in effect size and statistically insignificant (mean difference of 0.31; Cohen's d=0.10; p=*0.366*). In sum, offering a 10 Euro compensation seems to be less effective for citizens with lower levels of education.

3.4.4 Discussion

The results from Study 2 suggest that our initial null finding in Study 1 was correct and not a result of the selected sample (or its size). Study 2 further shows that while a financial incentive of 2 Euro per hour does not have a significant effect on people's willingness to co-produce (or share their email address so that the municipality can contact them), increasing the financial compensation to 10 Euro per hour does have a statistically significant effect on people's willingness to co-produce – albeit only a rather small one. This indicates that only large financial incentives act as a motivator for co-production, and even then only to a moderate extent.

3.5 Discussions and implications

The study has empirically tested whether citizens can be motivated by financial (extrinsic) incentives to co-produce public services. The literature has opposing views on whether financial incentives can be considered as effective motivators of citizen co-production. The economic-incentives hypothesis states that financial rewards increase people's willingness to co-produce, whereas the crowding-out hypothesis predicts that such incentives distract from people's intrinsic motivations and thereby reduce their overall willingness to co-produce (e.g. Frey & Jegen, 1999; Gneezy & Rustichini, 2000).

Based on our experiments, we conclude that a compensation of 2 Euro per hour (typical of voluntary compensation levels in the Netherlands) does not effectively increase people's willingness to co-produce – neither in stated nor in revealed preferences. However, a compensation of 10 Euro per hour (similar to the take-home pay of a teacher in secondary education) does increase, albeit only slightly, people's willingness (compared to the control condition of no incentive) in both stated and revealed preferences.

We would, however, stress some important nuances to this finding. In the first place, although statistically significant, the willingness of people to co-produce on being offered 10 Euro per hour increased by only 6.3 per cent. For example, these findings seem to suggest that if 1,000 people offer to provide one hour of language classes per week for free, then the offer of 10 Euros per hour is likely only to raise the number of people providing the class to 1,063. Hence, for an expenditure of 10,630 Euros, the government will get only 63 hours of extra classes. This amounts to a – very substantial - cost of 171 Euros for each extra hour of classes.[1] In terms of the validity of the economic-incentives expectation (citizens' willingness to co-produce is increased through offering financial incentives), we can conclude that the willingness to co-produce can be enhanced by financial incentives but that this depends on the amount

1 We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out and offering this example.

offered and is not expected to be very high, even for substantial amounts offered. Therefore, our experiments showed that offering a financial incentive does not decrease co-production willingness, and therefore we reject the crowding-out perspective within this specific policy context. In the second place, further exploratory analysis showed that people's ethnicity and level of education affect to what extent they are sensitive to financial incentives.

Our study has important implications in that it shows that financial incentives *can* be considered as an effective measure to stimulate people to co-produce. Based on our results, we offer two important nuances regarding the claims of those authors who argue that extrinsic rewards are an effective stimulus for co-production (e.g. Collom, 2008; Glynos & Speed, 2012; Lasker et al., 2011; Seyfang & Smith, 2002). In the first place, our study shows compensation at the level 'paid' by voluntary organizations is not enough to motivate people's willingness. Our analysis however shows that, if enough money is offered, it can moderately increase people's willingness to coproduce. In so doing, we make an important addition to the conclusions of Alford (e.g. 2002) who concluded that material rewards are "*ineffective in eliciting the requisite client contribution for all but the simplest of tasks*" (p. 51). This is also important for those increasingly proposing offering pseudo-currencies as stimuli for co-production since the value of these incentives is usually significantly less than 10 Euro per hour (e.g. Collom, 2008; Glynos & Speed, 2012). Our exploratory analysis nuanced this even further. In our studies, the 10 Euro compensation had a significant effect only on people of Dutch nationality. This finding opens up a new debate with regards to the willingness of citizens to co-produce. The literature on co-production has shown how citizens' motivation may be dependent upon the salience of the service (Pestoff, 2012b), or may go beyond self-interest (Alford, 2009). Some authors have even studied the relationship between competences and personal characteristics of citizens, like household composition and level of education, and their willingness to co-produce (Porter, 2012; Sundeen, 1988). However, our finding that there might be a relationship between ethnicity and level of education and willingness to co-produce suggest that the correlation between co-production and personal characteristics like level of education and socio-economic status may be stronger than assumed (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2016).

The second important outcome is that we find no evidence of a crowding-out effect. If a crowding-out effect had existed, then the effect of a financial incentive would not increase as its value increased (Frey and Jegen, 1999; Frey and Gotte, 1999), and rather have a negative effect on subjects' willingness to co-produce. A possible explanation why no crowding-out effect was found when investigating co-production, could be that, in co-production, back-up from effective institutions, such as governmental support, is available for intrinsic motivators (Ostrom, 2000). As such, Ostrom considered intrinsic motivators and external support (such as offering financial incentives) as complementary, rather than as competing. Our research indicates that offering a financial incentive could be a form of external support that strengthens,

rather than crowds out intrinsic motivation. However, underlying explanatory mechanisms still need to be researched further. Our exploratory analysis indicated that there is a positive relation between the level of education and increased willingness to co-produce once more money is offered. Future research must show why and how this is related to the level of education of participating citizens.

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of our study. The experimental design offers robust evidence as to whether a financial incentive is a successful instrument to stimulate co-production in this particular policy field. In our study, we asked our respondents to indicate how willing they were to contribute on a very specific issue (language courses for refugees). This topic was chosen because of the political salience of this issue and formed therefore a recognizable case for our respondents. However, the backdrop of this choice is that the results may have been very different if we had chosen a different kind of co-production. The current refugee crisis in Europe has led to a very polarized social debate on refugees that may have influenced the experimental outcomes. Therefore, our results offer a realistic outcome about our theoretical expectations, but in order to make generalized claims about the influence of financial rewards on the willingness to co-produce, we need to replicate our research in other policy domains.

In addition, this research was focused on the effectiveness of financial rewards on people´s willingness. As such, we tested one specific extrinsic motivator. Hence, we should be careful with generalizing our results to other extrinsic, non-financial motivators. Another limitation is that, although we went beyond stated preferences by including a second outcome measure that aimed to reveal true intentions, our experiment did not extend to actually providing language courses, so we cannot know whether our sample citizens would really contribute. A fourth limitation relates to the representativeness of our sample. Although our second sample is much more representative of the Dutch population than the first, there were some substantial differences with regards to, for instance, educational level and age. Therefore, one should be cautious in generalizing our findings to the entire Dutch population.

Future research could usefully extend our findings by, for example, studying other co-production domains, other incentives and other aspects of co-production behavior, such as people's willingness to visit or organize an information event about co-production, as outcome measures. In addition, it would be very useful to see whether a financial incentive is also effective in the long run, or if it merely must be considered as a one-time boost to activate people to co-produce (see for instance Hussam, Rabbani, Reggiani, & Rigol, 2016). In addition, our research indicates that a 2 Euro compensation does not have a statistically significant effect on people's willingness, but a 10 Euro compensation has. It would be interesting to examine where the exact tipping point lies where unwillingness to co-produce switches to willingness

(and what the substantial effect is, as significant effects are not by definition large effects). Our exploratory analysis reveals that sub-group analyses show some significant differences among these sub-groups (i.e. ethnicity and level of education). Future research could therefore also focus on explaining *why* specific target groups within a city/neighborhood may react differently on extrinsic rewards.

Despite these limitations, we nevertheless believe that our study offers robust evidence that the perceptions regarding financial rewards as stimulators of co-production need to be nuanced.

CHAPTER 4

Interactive governance and the social construction of citizens as co-creators

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Abstract

Western governments are retreating from the public domain and are actively seeking alternative forms of public service delivery. These forms are increasingly interactive and relying on the competences and expertise of citizens. Citizens are no longer considered as (just) end-users of public services, but are expected to be co-creators. Using the conceptual framework of Schneider & Ingram (1993), we explore what such a *social construction* of citizens implies for citizens who can be considered as co-creators, but also for citizens who initially do not belong to the group of co-creators. We argue that *mainstreaming* citizens as such might strengthen values as responsiveness and equal consideration, but at the same time, endangers values such as equal access to public service delivery and service diversity.

Keywords: interactive governance, co-creation, social construction, mainstreaming

4.1 Introduction

"Combined with the urge to repulse the governmental shortages, this leads to the fact that the classical welfare state is slowly changing towards a participation state. Everyone who is capable is asked to take responsibility for his or her own life and environment"

(King of the Netherlands – State of the throne, 2013)

Western welfare states are changing. Due to ageing populations, the rising of health care costs and the consequences of the economic crisis, traditional welfare states are no longer affordable. As a result, governments are looking for new ways to provide public services, together with citizens. Consequently, new collaborations between governments and citizens are emerging. These collaborations can be labelled as *interactive governance* (Edelenbos, 2006; Sørensen & Torfing, 2011). Interactive governance can be considered as an alternative way of governing, different from the traditional means of hierarchy and market, aimed at creating a more effective, efficient and legitimate way of governing (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). By interactive governance, governments hope to restore the legitimacy of governmental and political institutions, by bridging the gap between governmental institutions and citizens. In this, engagement through participation, co-creation and self-organization is permitted (e.g. Bason, 2010; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003). Citizens are expected to take the responsibility for themselves and their environment, as the Dutch King mentioned in the State of the Throne (2013). In doing so, democratic spaces are re-forged and citizens are given a new political identity (Bang, 2009; Warren, 2009). This identity involves being competent, autonomous and being able to take public responsibility for public service provision (Rossi, 2004; Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014; Wipf, Ohl, & Groeneveld, 2009). This identity can be seen as a social and political construction, which is created in processes of co-creation where citizens are considered as initiator or co-designer of public services.

In this chapter, we explore what the implications are of socially constructing of citizens as co-creators in interactive governance. Social construction involves: "*the cultural characterizations or popular images of the persons or groups whose behavior and well-being are affected by public policy*" (Schneider & Ingram, 1993 p. 334). This is important, since we know that social construction of target groups can have disadvantageous consequences for both individuals within the target group and those who are not part of that group (e.g. Lawrence, 2004; Scuzzarello, 2015). For instance, meritocratic effects have been reported (e.g. Eick, 2012; Weinberger & Jutting, 2001). In this chapter we explore what these effects might be of social constructing citizens as co-creators. Therefore, we aim 1) to show how European governments and policy makers socially construct citizens nowadays as self-reliant and competent to take responsibil-

ity for social problems, 2) to estimate what the implications are of such a construction in terms of consequences and possible value conflicts.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. In section 2 we elaborate more extensively on interactive governance and co-creation. We also describe the characteristics of co-creating citizens. In section 3 we show how citizens are portrayed as co-creators, by policy makers and politicians as part of interactive governance policies in western societies. Our purpose is to estimate what the consequences are of such a portrait for both citizens who are already co-creators and those who are not. Therefore, in section 4 we explore how the framework developed by Schneider and Ingram (1993) can help us to understand the social construction of target groups, given the fact that co-creating citizens are perceived as a relevant target group. However, we also notice that many policy makers generalize types of co-creating citizens. This refers to a process which is called 'mainstreaming'. Mainstreaming can be generally described as 'a development towards generic policies oriented at the entire diverse population' (van Breugel & Scholten, 2017). In section 5, then, we examine what the consequences are of socially constructing citizens as co-creators by showing what a generic approach of co-creating citizens implies, when making use of the target group population approach of Schneider and Ingram. To sharpen our argument, we show in section 6 how the mainstreaming of co-creating citizens strengthens certain values, while others are being endangered. In section 7 we draw some conclusions and make some proposals for future research directions.

4.2 Interactive governance and co-creation

Interactive governance is a far stretching concept, involving the actions and initiatives of citizens in dealing with complex societal issues (Edelenbos, 2005; Torfing, 2012). Broadly, it refers to 'a way of conducting policies whereby a government involves its citizens, social organizations, enterprises, and other stakeholders in the early stages of public policy making' (Edelenbos, 2005 p. 111). Interactive governance can involve different constellations of public, private, and societal actors. Recently, scholarly attention is being paid to interactive forms of governance, which are provoked 'bottom-up', i.e. interactive processes initiated by citizens. These types of interactive governance can be labelled as self-organization (e.g. Comfort, 1994; van Meerkerk, 2014) or co-creation (e.g. Bason, 2010; Voorberg et al., 2014b). We consider co-creation therefore as a specific type of interactive governance. A type where citizens are no longer just considered as end-users of a public service. Neither are they considered to be just implementers of public services. Citizens are expected to bring in their own specific resources and skills in order to come up with new problem definitions and alternative approaches. As such, citizens become co-creators, *next* to public officials and public professionals.

The concept of co-creation firstly emerged in the private marketing sector. Here it refers to the involvement of customers in the production process of products and services, in order to make them more personalized and diverse (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2000 p. 81-84). In order to create these personalized products and services, consumers should be involved in a very early stage of the production process. Transferred to the public domain, consumers become citizens who are involved in the production of *public services* in a very early stage. Citizens are then considered as (equal) resource partners in possession of specific knowledge, skills and competences (e.g. Bason, 2010; Pestoff, 2012; Pestoff, 2006). In the literature on co-creation and co-production, various case-studies are conducted in which the characteristics of co-creating citizens are described more extensively (see: Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014a). Co-creating citizens seem to be characterized by the following elements:

- They often possess explicit *intrinsic motivators* to participate in interactive governance. Intrinsic motivators refer to, for instance a feeling of loyalty, civic duty and a feeling of public responsibility (Sundeen, 1988; Wise, Paton, & Gegenhuber, 2012). As such, these citizens find it their moral responsibility to contribute to a larger cause.
- Co-creating citizens are usually *prosperous* and stem from the 'upper class' of the society. For instance, we conducted recently an international comparative research[2], to social innovation and co-creation in which we compared 14 cases of co-creation in 7 different countries. This research showed that most initiating social entrepreneurs are white skin-colored, highly educated and come from a relatively prosperous living standard (Voorberg et al. 2014a). Furthermore, these people are characterized by a strong entrepreneurial spirit, consisting the stamina to struggle sometimes through administrative barriers and know their way around public organizations (bureaucratic skills), also skills predominantly found in the more prosperous layers of society.
- Co-creating citizens seem to be very much motivated by the opportunity to exercise a *combination of both a professional orientation and a geographical orientation*. Based on the earlier mentioned research, various respondents indicated that for most co-creators the main reason to participate, was the opportunity to exercise their specific skills and competences for their own neighborhood/city (Voorberg et al. 2014a). Negatively framed, these citizens might be motivated by a NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) feeling. This might be problematic for governments if they want to upscale good initiatives for citizens to a broader scale, where citizens don't act in favor for *their* neighborhood, or *their* neighbors (Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012).
- Co-creating citizens often possess a *strong social network* (i.e. trustworthy relationships between actors) (Andrews & Brewer, 2013; Putnam, 1995). This network is used in order to create a shared understanding of public interest and trust in the capabilities of other

2 This research is conducted within the European Union 7th Framework Programme and is entitled Learning from Innovation in Public Sector Environments (LIPSE)

actors. In addition, our research shows that it's not only about possessing social networks, but also the ability to connect to other social networks. For instance, our research showed, that initiating citizens in co-creation practices are specifically able to connect to existing networks based on social capital. Very often these citizens act as the 'spider-in-the-web' (Voorberg et al, 2014a).

Now that we have described the characteristics of co-creating citizens, we will show in our next section how policy makers and politicians seem to be very much in favor of these kind of citizens and increasingly seem to rely their policy on the entrepreneurial efforts of these citizens.

4.3 Calling for co-creators

Politicians and policy makers across the European Union seem to consider the efforts of these co-creators as being potential for all kinds of policy matters. For instance, the British Department for Communities and Local Government, announced to give "*community, voluntary and charity groups the opportunity to take the initiative when it comes to how local public services are run*" (British Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015). In an earlier document, the department stated that "*the government has given you legal powers and new opportunities to preserve what you like and change what you don't like about the city, town or village you live in*" (British Department for Communities and Local Government, 2013; p. 4). This clearly shows how the British government creates the space (withdrawing) for citizens to take the initiative themselves for local initiatives. Comparable statements have been given by governments in other countries. For instance, the German ministry of Internal Affairs mentions on her website that she "*hopes to encourage individuals to take an active part in shaping society.*" (German Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2015). The ministry stresses that due to a number of global changes, it is necessary that the public takes part in the democratic process.

In the Netherlands, the Dutch King mentioned the importance of participation of citizens within the society. This has been picked up by Dutch policy makers and politicians. In a letter to the Dutch parliament in 2014, the Dutch minister of Interior examines how the ministry needs to remove barriers for volunteers, social activists and social entrepreneurs and enable them to pick up their civil responsibility (Dutch Ministry of Interior, 2014).

Also in the eastern part of the European Union, attention for interactive governance and citizens as possible co-creators increases. For instance in Estonia, a special fund is raised which can be applied to by non-profit associations, foundations and all other kinds of actors

in order to support projects aimed at the development of the civil society. More importantly, by raising this fund, the Estonian government hopes to create an environment which fosters civic initiatives (the National Foundation of Civil Society, 2013).

As a result, across the European Union, national governments increasingly are considering the initiatives of citizens as answers to contemporary challenges. As a result citizens are no longer considered to be consumers or users of services, provided by governments, but rather as skilled, competent creators of public services. As such, governments increasingly *socially construct* citizens as a specific *target group*, i.e. co-creating citizens. By following the framework developed by Schneider & Ingram (1993) we can make an estimation of what the consequences are of such a social construction. In our next section we first elaborate on this framework.

4.4 Social construction of target groups

In the literature, the social construction of target groups refers to the 'cultural characterizations or popular images of the persons or groups whose behavior and well-being are affected by public policy' (Schneider & Ingram, 1993 p. 334). Social constructions are (social) stereotypes about particular groups of people. These constructions embody assumptions about the rights and obligations of these groups. The characterizations of these groups refer to normative and evaluative assumptions, resulting in positive or negative associations, through symbolic language, metaphors and stories (Edelman, 1985). Policy makers use these stereotypes in order to give meaning to the actions they pursue. It helps them to make a diagnosis of what is happening, to formulate suitable and appropriate actions and measures that has to be taken. Also it offers guidelines about how to distribute tasks, responsibilities, rights and obligations and additional means (like funds) among the involved societal groups (Stone, 2003).

How do these social constructions of target groups come to being? Schneider and Ingram (1993) approach them as (deliberate) acts of public officials to explain and justify their policy positions, by "*articulating a vision of the public interest and then showing how a proposed policy is logically connected to these widely shared public values*" (Arnold, 1990; Habermas, 1975, in: Schneider and Ingram, 1993; p. 336). This seems to imply that *politicians* and *policy makers* are the ones who decide (socially construct) on who belongs to a target populations, because they draw the boundaries between who is in and outside the group (Stone, 2003). However, Schneider & Ingram offer a more complex view on the origins of social constructions. To them, within a democratic political system, the strongest incentive for politicians (and in the VS also public officials) is re-election. As such policy will always *confirm* existing social labels within the society out of fear of not being reelected. So politicians and policy makers are not

the ones who socially construct target groups, but only formalize existing social constructions into policy. As a result these social constructions become concrete 'measurable, empirical phenomena' (Schneider & Ingram, 1993).

There are positive and negative constructions, which can also be linked to the societal position that specific groups have (Schneider Ingram, 1993). Positive constructions include images, such as "intelligent", "deserving", "responsible" and "public-spirited". Negative constructions include images like "dishonest", "selfish" or "helpless". Based on this distinction, Schneider and Ingram (1993) distinguish four different types of social construction. These are displayed in table 1.

Table 1. Social constructions, type of target populations (Schneider & Ingram, 1993; p. 336)

		Constructions	
		Positive	**Negative**
Power	**Strong**	Advantaged: - The Elderly - Business - Veterans - Scientists	Contenders: - The rich - Big unions - Cultural elites - Banks
	Weak	Dependents: - Children - Mothers - Disabled	Deviants: - Criminals - Drug addicts - Gangs

Advantaged groups are perceived as powerful and embody positive associations (e.g. the elderly, business). Their power is deserved and they contribute to a larger goal (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). The contenders are also powerful, but are negatively perceived. Their power is considered undeserving (bankers, multinationals). A striking example of a contending group is mentioned by Hunter & Nixon (1999), who showed how lending institutions are considered as having a large responsibility in the recent housing crisis. The dependents are considered as (politically) weak. They are usually constructed as the ones who 'deserve our help', such as handicapped people, single mothers and refugees (Gresham, 1982; Gustafson, 2011). The last group, deviants, are both weak and negatively constructed. People belonging to this group needs to be punished, rather than being helped to participate in society again (criminals, drug dealers) (Nicholson-Crotty & Nicholson-Crotty, 2004).

These social constructions can be widely shared and accepted (e.g. children, disabled, terminal patients), while others are heavily debated. For instance, people suffering from HIV/AIDS are sometimes considered as victims, while others consider this disease as a punishment for irresponsible behavior (Keeler, 2007; Nicholson-Crotty & Nicholson-Crotty, 2004). Consequently a political debate occurs between competing politicians and policy makers. The result of this debate is a finer distinction of the constructs to be used in the policies to be drafted. For instance, immigration policy, distinguishes among others, between illegal immigrants, refugees, migrant workers etc.

Per target group these constructions have specific consequences with regards to the policy instruments, implemented upon these groups. For advantaged groups, public officials find it beneficial to provide beneficial policy to them, since they are considered to 'deserve' it, that

is, the public will approve this policy, since they are entitled to enjoy this benefit (Schneider and Ingram, 1993 p. 339). For instance, veterans have served the country and therefore they deserve social support.

Policy instruments implemented on contending groups with 'undeserved' power, needs to make sure that their power remains restricted. Policy instruments are often symbolic and often accompanied with a lot of political 'rumors' (ibid, p. 342). For instance, a heavy fine for large companies, if they drop too much waste. Policy instruments implemented on deviants, often involve punishment. These groups have limited or no power, in terms of influencing the political agenda. According to Schneider and Ingram (1993; p. 339), since public officials don't have to fear electoral retaliation from these groups and the general public approves punishment it is very easy to implement repressive policy on them. For instance, repressive policy to drug addicts who lost everything might be approved, since it is their 'own fault'. Policy instruments directed to dependents focus on providing social aid. Their power is little, but by no fault of their own. As a result policy is aimed to support these 'deserving' and needy people, but at the same time, embody social labels and stigma's (ibid p. 339). For instance, disabled people needs to have support to be able to have a normal life.

These social constructions have also important consequence in terms of benefits and burdens of policy interventions for these target groups (see also: Weaver, 2014). Advantaged groups will receive oversubscribed benefits as result of policy aimed at 'capacity building, inducements' (Schneider & Ingram, 1993; p.339). Negative consequences of policy, on the other hand are not likely to be framed as 'sanctions', but rather as incentives for the group to empower themselves and to voluntarily take actions to achieve policy goals. For instance, by stating that the 'strongest shoulders, should bare the heaviest burdens'.

Benefits to dependent groups will be formulated in terms of subsidies. However, they are accompanied with labeling and stigmatizing recipients. For instance, being considered as poor requires that those people are not 'allowed' to buy luxurious products, like a new television. Given that dependents are not considered as self-reliant, policy is not likely to be aimed to encourage these people to devise their own solutions. Something simlar can be said about deviants. They should never benefit from a policy intervention. Policy interventions should be aimed at punishing these groups. Policy should never be aimed at enhancing the self-regulatory capacity of these groups. An example form (ex) drug dealers whose self-regulatory capacity have harmed society. Contending groups should also not benefit from policy interventions, but due to their powerful position they are able to benefit from these policy interventions nonetheless. Their power and capacity should therefore be contested, by inflicting incentives which diminishes their capacities. An example here forms the plea for regulating bonuses for bankers, since a popular frame is that, 'their greed has caused the recent economic crisis'.

The framework offered by Schneider and Ingram is often used to investigate how political frames label specific groups in society, thereby 'locking' them into such social constructions (Balzacq, 2005; Jacoby, 2000). Or it is used to show how such political frames are being forged by media and governmental parties (Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997). In this chapter we use the framework to estimate on the one hand what the consequences are of constructing citizens as co-creators (advantaged citizens) and on the other hand what the implications are of considering citizens who originally do not belong to this advantaged co-creation group, but are considered as co-creators, nonetheless. Or, in other words, what the consequences are if all groups within society are being *mainstreamed* as the generic group of co-creators (Booth & Bennett, 2002; Gresham, 1982). We elaborate on the concept of mainstreaming in our next section.

4.5 Mainstreaming citizens as the target group co-creators

Mainstreaming involves the 'development towards generic policies oriented at the entire diverse population' (van Breugel, Maan, & Scholten, 2015 p. 28), or to put it differently: the treatment of people comparable, despite some differences. Mainstreaming initially occurred as a policy strategy. This was adopted by the European Union to 'promote equality between men and women in all activities and polices at all levels' (COM (96) 67 final). The United Nations stated: "*Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels…….The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality*" (United Nations, 1997). So in general, mainstreaming is a policy strategy aimed at creating equality between groups of people who are not initially were treated as equal. The effects of mainstreaming policies have now been studied in different policy sectors, leading also to various streams of literature. For instance, Booth & Bennett (2002) showed how a mainstreaming policy rather would not create more gender equality. In the psychology literature, Gresham (1982) showed how a mainstreaming policy not leads to integration of handicapped children with non-handicapped children. In the immigration and integration literature, Van Breugel & Scholten (2017) showed how mainstreaming is often part of a countries policy, but may lead to opposite effects like discrimination.

In this chapter, we claim that across the European Union citizens are being socially constructed as the target group of co-creators. Given the fact that this social construction seems to become the standard in more and more countries and more and more policy domains, and therefore ignores possible differences between other social groups, we claim that the social construction of citizens as co-creators is being mainstreamed. Following the framework of Schneider and Ingram, we can estimate the consequences for both citizens who are already

belong to the advantaged group (co-creators), and for citizens who do not belong to these group. These consequences can be formulated in terms of benefits and burdens (Schneider & Ingram, 1993).

4.5.1 Mainstreaming advantaged citizens as co-creators

Benefits for advantaged citizens as a consequence of mainstreaming policy involves predominantly the enabling of these citizens to develop their ideas and initiatives, with less governmental involvement. For instance, when citizens take the initiative to improve the conditions in a neighborhood - to make it more beautiful and nicer to live in - they are often hindered by bureaucratic procedures and a lack of organizational compatibility (Elg, Engström, Witell, & Poksinska, 2012; Gebauer, Johnson, & Enquist, 2010). Embracing the conviction that citizens should be supported in these initiatives might remove such obstructions. In doing so, these citizens are enabled to; for instance, apply for funds in accordance to their own needs and preferences.

Burdens for these citizens might occur, due to a lack of congruence between citizen preferences and the policy objectives of governments. Initiatives which are based on local enthusiasm and energy and are aimed at doing something nice for the neighborhood, might be stretched out by the government as a replacement of public services. As a result, initial advantaged citizens, may experience losing ownership for their initiative (Gebauer et al., 2010; Pestoff, 2012). For instance, when citizens decide to visit the elderly in their neighborhood more regularly, due to retrenchments on professional home care, municipalities can recognize it as an opportunity to ask those citizens to also visit elderly people in other neighborhoods. However, these citizens wanted to take care for *their* elders and not so much for the elders in other neighborhoods.

4.5.2 Mainstreaming contending groups as co-creators

Benefits for contending groups may be comparable to the benefits for the advantaged groups. They might experience a release of negative attention from governments towards their group. For instance, minorities who experienced a lot of constraining policy on their regard, are now 'responsible' for taking care for themselves. Therefore they are also enabled to develop own initiatives. An example where this is shown, is described by Schafft & Brown (2000), who showed that due to co-creation Roma citizens in Hungary were better able to take care of themselves by wielding their social capital to create services for themselves. In this they showed remarkable strength, power and ability to take care of themselves, without any support from outside. This element of power makes them in this case a contending group.

However, possible burdens for this group might be, that policy measures are very symbolic and contain various punitive incentives. According to Schneider and Ingram (1993), these groups are considered as having conflicting interests with other social groups. In order to

politically 'sell' a policy to the general public, politicians may announce possible sanctions and strict accountability measures, if these groups do not play by the rules. This was shown in the work of Helderman & Brandsen (2012) who showed that in order to make co-production work between citizens and housing cooperatives very clear guidelines about decision-making and responsibility sharing was needed in order to formalize trust relations between these actors. In this case housing corporations are considered as contenders; having a reputation of bad management and exploiting renters. Only by formalizing (legal) agreements in which very clearly is stated who is responsible for what and what happens if partners do not comply, co-production could work.

4.5.3 Mainstreaming dependent groups as co-creators

Dependent groups may be allowed by co-creation to climb out of their dependent situation. Research has shown how social labels have a self-confirming effect on the labelled social groups. For instance Gustafson (2011) describes in her book how defining poor people as 'poor' stigmatizes them, which makes them unable to climb out of their arrears position. Approaching them as competent and autonomous citizens may have a positive effect on the removal of these stigma's. Furthermore, by addressing inequalities between groups, there is political and policy attention for these problems, which is the first step in leveling unwanted inequalities. In the co-creation and co-production literature (e.g. Gillard, Simons, Turner, Lucock, & Edwards, 2012; Leone, Walker, Curry, & Agee, 2012) various examples are described where due, to considering patients as competent individuals, they are less considered as helpless and dependent. That even resulted in more tailor-made health care plans.

On the contrary, various authors have shown that policy aimed at mainstreaming inequalities is not successful (e.g. Balzacq, 2005; Gresham, 1982; Nelson et al., 1997) and does not lead to more equality between these groups. In many cases, it was shown that mainstreaming leads to problematic situations where disabled or intellectually incompetent people are expected to take the responsibility for their own problems and do not rely on social support. However, it is questionable whether these kind of people are able to do so.

In co-creation this implies that people who are not as competent as the advantaged citizens, are expected to be just as competent as their more prosperous neighbors. However, less prosperous citizens simply don't have the resources to co-produce (Jakobsen, 2013). This might induce paradoxical effects, in which co-creation is implemented in order to create tailor-made solutions, but result in a vaster confirmation of social inequalities. For instance, if some citizens decide to take the initiative to support the schools of their children by taking board positions, pay for excursions, or teach additional courses, this may have a very positive effect on (the children of) these schools. But in more arears neighborhoods parents have less possibilities to spare time or money to help at the school of their children, due to a single-

parent situation or language barriers. If governments encourage parental involvement without offering compensation, the difference between both kinds of schools might be increased.

4.5.4 Mainstreaming deviant groups as co-creators

Deviant groups may benefit heavily from mainstreaming citizens as co-creators as the emphasis of punishing them for deviant behavior might be decreased. Again, as several authors have shown, labelling target groups can have a self-fulfilling effect (e.g. Brayne, 2014; Gustafson, 2011). Releasing these groups from their negative labels might release them from this self-fulfilling effect.

However, Weaver (2011) showed for instance how in most countries, co-creation with criminals is hampered by the criminal justice system, which is usually aimed at imposing restriction and controls on individuals, rather than co-create with them and thereby maximize the choice and autonomy of criminals or offenders. Therefore, if there is an activating policy, these policies are to be expected to contain various punitive incentives and strict accountability requirements as well (such as rehabilitation programs for drug addicts) (Schneider & Ingram, 1993 p. 339). This is since these groups are still considered as "undeserving" and "unworthy" for enabling measures. So, burdens which might occur as a consequence of mainstreaming contesting groups might be induced even stronger for deviant groups.

In this section we have shown what the possible consequences are if citizens are being socially constructed as co-creators and if this social construction is being mainstreamed over various groups within society. These consequences touches upon different values which also create trade-offs which need to be taken into consideration when governments consider citizens as co-creators. Furthermore, the consequences may also strengthen specific values on the one hand, while on the other hand other values may be weakened. In the next section we explore this notion in more detail.

4.6 Mainstreaming citizens as co-creators: identifying strengthened and weakened values

To start with the potential strengthened values, we expect that in the first place, mainstreaming citizens as co-creators enhances an *equal consideration* of citizens. Considering citizens as competent and autonomous may seem morally virtuous. Citizens are treated as equal, regardless of their background, welfare status or social network. Also, approaching people on their abilities and not on their lack of abilities has also some practical advantages. For instance, current welfare policy in the Netherlands prohibits receivers of social support to do voluntarily work during the process of finding a job (Fenger & Voorberg, 2013). As such this

group is socially constructed as dependent and are hindered to participate in society. Socially construct them as co-creators might change this.

In the second place, mainstreaming citizens as co-creators enhances the possibilities for citizens to develop their own initiatives. As such we might say that due to co-creation and interactive governance, the *responsiveness of citizens* increases, i.e. the ability of citizens to address their own needs (Newman & Clark, 2009). Earlier mentioned cases of Roma citizens who were able to improve their living conditions, due to co-creation projects show that this indeed may be an important effect of co-creation (Schafft & Brown, 2000; Voorberg et al. 2014a). Mainstreaming co-creation, might enable other target groups from arears position to accomplish something comparable as well.

In the third place and in addition to the previous value, mainstreaming co-creation may contribute to the realization of *tailor-made* services. One of the assumptions is that services might become more tailor-made, since citizens are better able to put forward their interests and preferences (Bason, 2010). Also, when citizens take the initiative for public services, these services might be based on substantive social capital (i.e. social structures between stakeholders) and therefore are built on a strong social fundament (e.g. Schafft & Brown, 2000; Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008). Therefore, these services are considered as more legitimate than conventional services, in the sense that their existence is broadly agreed upon (Newman & Clark, 2009). Our comparative research showed that due to the Dutch initiative 'Stadslab' (a platform where various stakeholders come together to come up with innovations), citizens were able to address and work on problems that really mattered to them (e.g. livability within the city, uplifting arears neighborhoods etc.). Mainstreaming co-creation may enable more citizens to initiate such projects, which are better able to serve the specific preferences of specific groups of citizens.

However, we also expect that mainstreaming co-creation will come at the expense of other values. In the first place, we expect that co-creation will have a decreasing effect on the *accessibility to public services.* As previous research have shown, citizens who initiate co-creation projects are very often white skin-colored, well-educated and prosperous (Jakobsen, 2013; Sundeen, 1988; Wise et al., 2012). Often this implies that these kind of citizens also determine the target group for their initiative. As such co-creation projects excludes people. Mainstreaming these kind of initiatives may lead to arbitrary decisions over who is entitled to public services and who is not. In addition, considering people who belong to the dependent group as co-creators, mainstreaming co-creators might neglect the differences between citizens. As a result less prosperous citizens might feel pushed away by citizens who are more competent. Mainstreaming all citizens as co-creators might therefore enhance social inequalities as is already shown in other domains (e.g. Balzacq, 2005; Gresham, 1982).

In the second place co-creation might result in arbitrariness about *service diversity*. In our research, it was shown that for co-creating people it was more important to be able to use their specific expertise (in terms of professionalism), than to apply to the most urgent needs of the people within the neighborhood (Voorberg et al. 2014a; p. 48). As a result, numerous initiatives are taken, involving reconstruction of neighborhoods and parks. But to a lesser extent are initiatives taken involving support to the elderly or handicapped people. Therefore, mainstreaming co-creation and interactive governance might allow citizens to set the policy agenda and this might come at the cost of the variety of supplied services.

Now that we have identified possible values which might be touched by mainstreaming co-creation in interactive governance as a policy asset, we can draw some conclusions and propose some future research directions.

4.7 Conclusion

Interactive governance is becoming a more and more important policy asset for western public sectors. In interactive governance, new collaborations between governments and citizens are the focal point. In this, citizens are nog longer to be expected to be consumers of public services, but are asked to take responsibility for themselves and their environment. They are viewed as co-creators. We have shown that across the European Union, governments from all across the EU are now formulating policy which are aimed at enhancing civil initiatives, social entrepreneurship and to actively participate in the society. In this chapter we have estimated, what the consequences are of such a social construction.

The kind of citizen that is being portrayed here, can be found in numerous co-creation projects. Citizens participating in co-creation embody strong intrinsic and/or extrinsic motivations (e.g. the urge to contribute to a larger goal, a feeling of loyalty, or the need to do something for their neighborhood), are usually prosperous in terms of income and level of education and possess a strong social network. In addition, they have specific skills and competences which they would like to use for a purpose of their own choosing. In this chapter, we made a first attempt to estimate what the consequences are if these kind of citizens become the standard (i.e. mainstreamed) for contemporary policy.

Following the framework of Schneider and Ingram (1993) four different groups can be identified within society, i.e. the advantaged, the contenders, the deviants and the dependents. Mainstreaming citizens as co-creators has possibly different implications, in terms of benefits and burdens for all of these groups. For both, advantaged and contending groups, mainstreaming co-creation can enable them to initiate more projects, with less governmental

interference. However, advantaged groups may experience difficulty with regards to governments who would like to upscale their initiatives. Contending groups may feel that they are allowed to take their responsibility, but probably this contains a number of possible sanctions and strict accountability requirements.

For depending and deviant groups, mainstreaming co-creation might enable them to get rid of their negative and self-confirming labels. However, we expect that 'allowing' dependent groups might result in a paradox situation where especially these groups do not find their way to the civil communities. Activating policy (such as those including interactive governance) are to be expected to have numerous punitive incentives, in order to legitimize the allowance of this 'undeserving' group of people into the public domain.

We have identified a number of values which might be strengthened or diminished by mainstreaming co-creation. These needs to be taken into account if one wants to implement interactive governance into contemporary policy and thereby mainstreams citizens as co-creators. We expect that such a strategy will induce values as equal consideration and civil responsiveness. Furthermore, it is likely that by interactive governance citizens are better able to pursue their needs and preferences. However, we also expect that this will come at the cost of guaranteeing service variety. As a result it is questionable whether this also leads to more equal access to public services.

This explorative chapter was aimed at identifying possible consequences of mainstreaming citizens as co-creators in interactive governance. We have shown that such a picture can actually be derived from policy documents and political speeches. However, further empirical systematically conducted research is needed to conclude to what extent we are actually witnessing a mainstreaming movement regarding a generic approach of citizens as co-creators. This could vary between countries, but maybe also between policy domains. If we can conclude that the co-creator as part of interactive governance indeed is becoming the norm for public organizations and politicians then it becomes very important to empirically conclude what the effects are of this development. Are the consequences, as we estimated in this chapter, becoming a reality for different groups within the society? With this chapter we aimed to make a first notion about these possible effects of co-creation and interactive governance, to increase the awareness about possible up and downsides of this increasingly popular policy strategy.

CHAPTER 5

Does co-creation impact public service delivery? The importance of state and governance traditions

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Abstract

Co-creation in public service delivery requires partnerships between citizens and civil servants. The authors argue that whether or not these partnerships will be successful depends on state and governance traditions (for example a tradition of authority sharing or consultation). These traditions determine the extent to which co-creation can become institutionalized in a country's governance framework

Keywords: Co-creation; game changer; social innovation; state and governance traditions

5.1 Introduction

It is now widely accepted that conventional approaches to public service delivery can neither capture nor resolve the complexity of contemporary problems—for example unemployment, ageing and climate change (see Hartley *et al.*, 2013). As a result of the introduction of new public management (NPM), most policy-makers have now embraced the idea that governments should acknowledge the multi-actor environment (and its resources) in which they operate in order to meet the needs of modern society (see Hood, 1991; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 1999). Accordingly, governments need to find new forms of close collaboration with a broad variety of stakeholders (semi-public, private and civic) (Mulgan, 2003; Hartley, 2005) to deliver public services. We describe this as *co-creation in social innovation*. Existing relationships between the stakeholders in public service delivery are forged over time and are heavily institutionalized (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 1999). Pursuing co-creation challenges these institutionalized relationships. To explain why governments do not all react in the same way to similar issues (for example economic crisis, ageing population, unemployment and a decline of legitimacy of public institutions), researchers need to examine national policy contexts—a country's *state and governance traditions*.

Co-creation prescribes a relationship between involved actors within the public domain. In this paper, we explain why this relationship might be a fundamental shift in the way that public services are delivered. Building on the work by Pollitt and Bouckaert (1999), we show how co-creation has changed the relationship between citizens and public organizations in four countries (Estonia, Germany, The Netherlands and the UK). In order to investigate empirically whether co-creation is really a major 'game changer', we examined an example of co-creation in each country and analysed the extent to which relationships between citizens and public organizations had changed, and whether this could be explained by the dominant state and governance traditions of each country. Our paper addresses the following questions:

To what extent does co-creation require changes in the relationship between citizens and public organizations? To what extent can these changes be explained by surrounding state and governance traditions?

5.2 Theoretical framework

5.2.1 Co-creation in social innovation

Co-creation in social innovation involves the creation of *long-lasting outcomes* (Mulgan, 2009; Mair, 2010) *which aim, through a process of participation and collaboration, to address societal needs by fundamentally changing the relationships* (Osborne and Brown, 2011), *positions and*

rules between the involved stakeholders (Voorberg et al., 2015). Social innovation is part of the *new public governance* (NPG) paradigm, in which relatively autonomous, but interdependent, actors try to shape the content and results of policy programmes (Osborne, 2006). The aim is governing though networks which involve close collaboration with equal partners. Therefore, in NPG, citizens become *co-creators* and are expected to deliver valuable input to the development of a public services (Stoker, 2006). We define public co-creation as *the involvement of citizens in the initiation and/or design of public services* (Voorberg *et al*., 2015, p. 1347). Citizens are crucial for an initiative to be successful (Scott, 1998). These partnerships and horizontal relationships between citizens and governments are fundamentally different to older paradigms such as *NPM* and traditional *public administration* (PA) (Osborne, 2006). In the old PA model, citizens were regarded as service users, with no contribution to make regarding adding value to services. NPM was based on using competition and quasi-markets to improve public services—service users were viewed as customers, not as co-creators. Co-creation is widely viewed as a game changer from these previous paradigms because it brings actors from the state, the market and civil society together (Streeck and Schmitter, 1985) in newly-formed partnerships. However, we argue in this paper that whether co-creation really is a game changer depends on the policy context in countries.

5.2.2 State and governance traditions as enablers of, or impediments to, game change

Pollitt and Bouckaert (1999) said that if a public sector adopts a new paradigm, there will be variations in application between different countries. They explained this by referring to specific national policy contexts (in terms of *state and governance traditions*). State and governance traditions can be defined as *sets of institutional and cultural practices that constitute a set of expectations about behaviour* (Loughlin and Peters, 1997). Differences in state and governance traditions may explain why governments respond differently to conceptually identical challenges (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 1999, p. 39). This results in two important considerations:

- Whether co-creation will be 'allowed' to be a game changer is dependent on the state and governance traditions already in place.
- If game change occurs, the *extent* to which public services are changed by will also depend on these state and governance traditions.

5.2.3 Key features of state and governance traditions relevant to co-creation

The academic literature describes a variety of features as state and governance traditions (for example Lijphart, 2012). In this paper, we identify the ones that are important for co-creation, rather than providing a comprehensive overview of all the possible state and governance traditions. Building on the works of Pollitt and Bouckaert (1999) and Loughlin and Peters (1997), we categorize these features along two *dimensions*. The first dimension involves the extent to which countries have a tradition of *sharing authority* with parties or agencies that are

non-governmental. This creates a spectrum with two ideal types. At one end of the spectrum, there are 'consultative' governments. This tradition is characterized by multiple collaborative structures between government and social partners, civil society and private actors. These structures are the result of extended institutionalization processes. At the other extreme, are 'authoritative' governments that seek to develop policy in an exclusive manner and retain as much control as possible.

The second dimension refers to the *culture of governance*; this dimension also has a spectrum between two ideal types. Here, we use the classical distinction between 'Rechtsstaat' and 'public interest' (Pierre, 1995). In Rechtsstaat-oriented states (for example Germany and The Netherlands), state actions are aimed at the preparation and enforcement of laws. The culture of governance is characterized by an emphasis on legal correctness and legal control (the rule-of-law). At the other end of the spectrum are public interest countries (Anglo-Saxon countries, such as the UK). Here, the government is less dominant. Its position is best characterized as a 'chair' or 'referee' that safeguards the fair distribution of resources. Its decisions are based on which party (for instance among competing interest groups) would best serve the public interest. In these countries, the law is more in the background compared to Rechtsstaat-oriented countries.

5.3 Research strategy

Given the limited empirical knowledge about the relationship between state and governance traditions and co-creation, case study research is a good way forward. Since we selected cases based on an independent factor (state and governance traditions), our study is a *co-variational international comparative case study* (Blatter and Haverland, 2012).

5.3.1 Case selection

Our cases were selected using a set of eligibility criteria. The most important criterion was that cases had to be rooted in different combinations of state and governance traditions. The two- by-two matrix in table 1 shows four possible combinations of state and governance traditions. A country's placement in a specific cell could be debated, since both dimensions are on a continuum between two ideal types. Classifications in table 1 are therefore relative to the other countries rather than absolute.

Table 1. Categorization of selected countries

State tradition / Governance culture	Authoritative	Consultative
Rechtsstaat	Germany	Netherlands
Public Interest	Estonia	UK

Estonia—authoritative and public interest: Estonia is a relatively young state having gained independence in 1991. Both the state and governance traditions are rooted in the old Soviet system. Consequently, the state is the central actor and is largely responsible for public service delivery. So we classified Estonia as having an authoritative structure. In terms of its governance culture, Estonian law is more in the background compared to countries with a Rechtsstaat tradition. Therefore, we characterize the governance culture as 'public interest' (Praxis, 2011; Lember and Sarapuu, 2014). However, this kind of public interest culture is quite different to that in Anglo-Saxon countries. Whereas, in the UK, the governance culture is characterized by competition between parties (including government), due to a lack of emphasis on protocols and regulations, in the former Soviet countries it enables governments to retain their dominant positions as an authoritative actor. As such, in these countries, the government is still the central actor in most policy issues.

Germany—authoritative and Rechtsstaat: Pollitt and Bouckaert (1999) classify Germany as a federal country in which authority is shared among multiple layers of government. This sharing is formalized in multiple procedures and protocols, resulting in a very hierarchical administration (Jann, 2003). These procedures and protocols make Germany an ideal-type example of a country with a Rechtsstaat governance culture. Although there is formal of consultation with other parties and government layers, Germany is authoritative in the sense that policy decisions explicitly lie with the responsible administrators. As a result, there are strong interdependencies between government levels. To illustrate, implementation of federal legislation is, in most policy areas, delegated to the state (Länder) level. However, execution is often delegated further to local authorities (Lodge and Wegrich, 2005).

The Netherlands—consultative and Rechtsstaat: The Netherlands has a consensus state tradition. The administration is characterized by the involvement of social partners and various government bodies. Policy execution is based on the 'principle of subsidiarity'—meaning that it is carried out at the most decentralized level as possible. On this basis, the state tradition can be characterized as 'consensus gaining', with Dutch government bodies used to collaborating with non-governmental bodies. However, as with Germany, The Netherlands also has a Rechtsstaat culture of governance, in which there is a strong emphasis on protocols and rule following. One example of this is that in 1848 it was decided that everyone (including the monarch) would be subject to constitutional law. The combination of a tradition of consensus gaining and a Rechtsstaat culture of governance means that, just as in Germany, government actions and its related activities are institutionalized and formalized within laws and regulations (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 1999 p. 270).

UK—consultative and public interest: The UK has a long history of being a unitary and centralized state characterized by an authoritative state tradition (Loughlin and Peters, 1997).

However, devolution heralded the promise of a more decentralized state structure (Mitchell, 2009). Nevertheless, the national government controls key areas of social and economic policy issues, most recently demonstrated in the UK's decision to leave the European Union, while Scotland and Northern Ireland showed a clear preference to remain (*Guardian*, 2016). Moreover, since the introduction of NPM, government ministers largely base their decisions on inputs from alternative sources, other than from civil servants. This form of decentralization is not based on the principle of subsidiarity. As a result, local government is less protected from central governmental interventions than countries such as Germany and The Netherlands (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 1999, p. 294). The governance culture in the UK can be characterized as the (Anglo-Saxon) public interest model in that, with regard to public service provision, the government acts as a referee, deciding which party best serves the public interest. As such, the government has a background role in policy execution. Government bodies and non-government bodies operate relatively independently of each other compared to states in which there is a tradition of consensus gaining. Government bodies and non-government bodies may even be competitors in public service provision.

In addition to meeting the criteria regarding different state and governance traditions, we ensured that our cases were as similar as possible regarding other important elements. First, all the cases selected had to involve co-creation in which citizens took the initiative. Second, this co-creation had to fall within the welfare domain. Third, all the co-creation projects had to have been running for at least one year. Table 2 provides a brief overview of the selected cases and their primary objectives.

Table 2. Overview of the selected cases

Country: Initiative	Primary objectives of initiative
Estonia – Maarja Küla	· To establish a home for fifty people with learning disabilities · To make society more understanding and aware of learning disabilities
Germany – Dialogue macht Schule	· To overcome cultural differences between teenagers of different backgrounds · To show students different ways of participating in society · Help foreign youngsters get the same grades as native youngsters
The Netherlands – Staters4Communities	· To improve the labour opportunities for young graduates by building up valuable experience in civil initiatives · To increase the financial sustainability of civil initiatives by adding knowledge from young urban professionals
UK – Dementia Care East Dunbartonshire	· Change the perception of older people from being service recipients to being seen as assets for their communities

As we examined only one case in each country, the external validity of our findings is potentially limited. Nevertheless, our study adds to the understanding of co-creation and the institutional context. To enhance internal validity, we operationalized the model's concepts in an interview protocol.

We interviewed 10 key actors in each case. We distinguished between citizens (people voluntarily involved in a co-creation process) and civil servants (involved on a professional basis and representing a government or public organization). All the interviews were recorded and transcribed. To increase the internal validity further, we analysed relevant policy documents, published by both the co-creation projects and the involved municipalities.

5.4 Results

For each case, we assessed the extent to which co-creation had changed public service delivery, and how state traditions and governance culture influenced these changes.

Estonia—Maarja Kula: Co-creation required a fundamental change to the traditional way that public services were provided in Estonia. Co-creation aims to create outcomes that are specific to the preferences of target groups. It diverges from traditional public services in the sense that it leads to diversity in public services, rather than creating a uniform supply. However, in the 1990s at the birth of the Estonian state, there was a great willingness to conduct public services differently than in the Soviet period. So a window of opportunity opened for entrepreneurial citizens: "*At the end of the 1990s a lot of things were still in flux and we wanted to prove to the government that we could do things in a different way*" (Estonian citizen). As a result, initiatives such as Maarja Kula were viewed favourably by the government and could count on its support. As one Estonian civil servant commented: *I think Maarja Küla, as an institution, was an important breaking point in that it was motivated to involve a range of stakeholders and to fill a gap that was present in Estonia*." In the Maarja Kula project, the government changed its policy on youth care provision and started to actively educate civil servants about alternative forms of youth care provision. The authoritative state traditions and the absence of a strong law orientation made it relatively easy to implement co-creation as a new paradigm. As one of the initiators put it: "*Siiri Oviir, the then minister of social affairs, took only about 20 minutes to remove the obstacles that stood in the way of developing the village in 2003"* (Estonian citizen).

So co-creation was not 'hindered' by existing institutional barriers, even though youth care professionals were somewhat reluctant to involve citizens in youth care provision. Thus, in Estonia, state traditions and the governance culture supported the implementation of co-creation projects once policy-makers were convinced of the usefulness of co-creation.

Germany—Dialogue macht Schule: Co-creation required a fundamental shift from traditional public service delivery. Given the strict and formal distribution of authority over the different government levels, the extent to which services are provided in line with the preferences of target groups very much depends on the public administration. Although policy is conducted

in a consultative manner in Germany, whether stakeholders are actually invited to take part in decision-making is formalized. Co-creation clearly diverges from this way of providing services by bringing in actors from backgrounds other than those stated in the protocols.

Our assessment concluded that relationships between citizens and civil servants were not visibly changed through the Dialogue macht Schule project. While many civil servants emphasized that the integration of migrants had become a major focus and that education could play a major role in addressing this problem, they did not necessarily see co-creation as the solution. As one German civil servant mentioned: "*[We] are opposed to letting non-professional staff into the classroom*." An important argument for this is that responsibilities are strictly separated in Germany: "*…there is a clear separation between formal education that takes place in school and non- formal education, such as what Dialogue macht Schule is teaching, which should remain outside school*" (German civil servant). In addition, civil servants pointed to the fact that the school curriculum is drafted at the federal level but implemented locally and, therefore, changing it was difficult. The Rechtsstaat orientation hampered co-creation because changes in the curriculum have to be decided by multiple layers of administrative actors (in a formal consultation) and the authority to take decisions is delegated to another party. Therefore, in Germany, co-creation demands a fundamental break with how services have traditionally been provided, and a strong orientation towards laws and protocols, with a strict and formal distribution of responsibilities, makes this a difficult process. Our case study showed how co-creation can be constrained by state and governance traditions, where multiple governmental layers need to be convinced of its merits.

The Netherlands—Starters4Communities (S4C): Co-creation in The Netherlands does not require a major shift in policy. The country has a tradition of sharing authority and consultating with different stakeholders, so allowing new stakeholders (such as citizen groups) to become co-creators does not require a fundamental change from the 'Dutch way' of conducting policy. The country's decentralized structure and relatively few levels of government (compared to Germany) and the principle of subsidiarity, means that adapting a policy to favour specific target groups will often be in line with the rationale of many public administrators. However, there is also an emphasis on following rules and protocols in The Netherlands, so it can be difficult for newcomers to get a seat at the decision-making table and be accepted as partners. Problems might occur with social innovations if citizens attempt to claim formal responsibility for public services.

In the S4C case, there were distinct responses with regards to changed relationships between citizens and civil servants as a result of co-creation. On the one hand, a Dutch civil servant said that the administration took 'a step back' in order to allow citizen initiatives to flourish: "*We don't organize anything, that's the big change from the past. We have changed from 'taking*

care for' to 'making sure that'. Instead of taking care for people we just facilitate [them]". The consultative tradition to some extent paved the road for this: "*Alliances [with social partners] were already there…they are becoming really good neighbourhoods if citizens want to invest in them"* (Dutch civil servant). Co-creation was not massively different from the past. On the other hand, citizens commented that, in the S4C projects, civil servants remained responsible: "*The supervisors [of the project] are professionals. They know the [safety] criteria. Of course, you need to comply with the conditions. That's their [involved professionals] job*" (Dutch citizen). So the formal relationships between actors was unchanged. This reflects a combination of both consultation and authority sharing, and the Rechtsstaat culture of The Netherlands. Collaboration with other partners is everyday practice, but the collaboration structures are institutionalized and formalized in protocols and regulations, and therefore relatively resistant to change. Co-creation did not significantly change the relationships between citizens and civil servants. With a consultative tradition, collaboration is nothing new for Dutch civil servants. The formalized structures of how this collaboration should be governed remained intact in the case study. State and governance traditions resulted in co-creation amounting to only an incremental step in changing public service delivery. In terms of the focus of this paper—the relationships between actors—we failed to identify major changes.

UK—Dementia Care East Dunbartonshire: The UK government is aware of the potential of co-creation, for instance the former prime minister David Cameron's enthusiasm for the Big Society (Cameron, 2010). However, co-creation might be less a drastic change in public service delivery than Cameron implied. Given the UK's public interest governance culture, competition between various partners in public service delivery is an established feature in the UK administration. Co-creation is simply another step in existing trends in public service reform. Further, since public officials in the UK are not as focused on protocols as their German and Dutch counterparts, new possibilities for exploration and experimentation may occur more easily in public service delivery. Although the UK government is authoritative in nature, it tends to stay in the background. This meansthat while co-creation may bring new players to the table, the government remains responsible for public service delivery. The relationships between actors in public service delivery may not change that much.

Some civil servants saw co-creation as just another step on a path that was initiated with the introduction of NPM. One UK civil servant commented: "*…the co-production stuff gave us a pattern, if you like, of how—OK, we've got good relations, this could be better maybe—but how can we get everybody else on board or get more people on board*". Therefore, the fresh political attention given to involving citizens created a renewed window of opportunity for co-creation (i.e. the involvement of citizens and their organizations): "*I think the joint improvement team approached East Dunbartonshire and said: 'Look, we'd be interested to work with you', and they*

worked closely with Governance International who are earmarking co-production with the joint improvement team" (UK civil servant).

However, other civil servants stressed that, at least in dementia care, co-creation could be traced back to before the NPM era and had always been part of elderly care: "*That is the view we work with. This is not a new dawn. We do work with people and not to them. I think what co-production is trying to push more, is that we use this idea that people have, to be more involved in leading what they want to do. Which is great, that would be my values too*" (UK civil servant). Co-creation in the UK is not a fundamental 'game-changing' revolution in terms of the relationships between citizens and civil servants. At least in our case, it fits with contemporary views on how public services should be delivered and had been part of elderly care for quite some time. From the theoretical perspective of state and governance traditions, the reason for this may be related to the reforms that the UK administration underwent during the Thatcher regime. During this time, early forms of collaboration were implemented top-down, thus paving the way for other stakeholders to become involved in public service delivery (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 1999). As such, the current attention to co-creation can be thought of as just the next step on this path.

5.5 Conclusions

Co-creation is gaining momentum as a new paradigm for public service delivery and has been heralded as a game changer. However, whether and how co-creation is a real game changer depends on the traditions and governance culture that characterize the public sector in a particular country. We examined four co-creation endeavours (in Estonia, Germany, The Netherlands and the UK) to determine whether the relationships between citizens and public officials really changed as fundamentally as the supporters of co-creation claim.

Our case study in Estonia revealed that relationships between public officials and citizens had been drastically changed. The traditionally authoritative state helped to implement co-creation as part of the new paradigm. In Germany, co-creation required a similar fundamental shift, but our study showed that this was only marginally realized. Due to Germany's authoritative state tradition and Rechtsstaat culture, reforms have to be agreed by multiple layers of administration with shared and formalized authorities. In The Netherlands, such a fundamental shift could not be identified. With its consultative tradition, co-creation was not very different from how public services were already being delivered in The Netherlands. In the UK, co-creation also failed to create a ground-breaking change in relationships between citizens and public officials. However, given that in the UK, NPM was introduced in the 1990s, co-creation amounted to a natural next step in partnerships between citizens and public organizations.

Based on this analysis, we can draw some theoretical implications. We firstly conclude that, state traditions and governance culture could explain why fundamental change in policy has occurred (or not). We found that a specific set of state and governance traditions could stimulate co-creation (in Estonia) but equally hamper co-creation (in Germany). The Dutch case showed that state and governance traditions can pave the way for co-creation in the form of an incremental innovation. In the UK case, previous major changes in public service delivery (NPM) had changed the state and governance traditions such that co-creation fitted with contemporary ideas of public service provision. As such, our research empirically illustrates the claim of Pollitt and Bouckaert (1999) that state and governance traditions can explain why governments respond differently to similar challenges. Our research suggests that country-specifics might have importantvalue in explaining whether, why and how co-creation is adopted. So researchers should apply an ecological perspective and consider the context in which adoption is being attempted (Brown and Duguid, 2001; Walker, 2008).

Our research has a few limitations that should be acknowledged. External validity is limited since we examined only one case in each country. There is thus a risk that the differences we identified are specific to the individual case rather than being representative of the entire country. However, the paper made plausible assumptions about how state and governance traditions might affect changes in public service delivery. We suggest that in order to understand why co-creation is embraced as a strategy in public service delivery, we need to consider this wider macro-level context.

Further research, extending our theoretical and empirical approach to other state and governance traditions (for example African and Asian countries), is required to ascertain the role of state and governance traditions in facilitating co-creation in a more robust way. A quantitative study would be the best way to provide the necessary external validity for the initial observations we have made based on our qualitative case studies. We hope our early results will encourage public management scholars to explore the nexus of state tradition and co-creation capacity in more detail.

CHAPTER 6

Changing Public service delivery: Learning in co-creation

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Abstract

Co-creation – where citizens and public organizations work together to deal with societal issues – is increasingly considered as a fertile solution for various public service delivery problems. During co-creation, citizens are not mere consumers, but are actively engaged in building resilient societies. In this study, we analyze if and how state and governance traditions influence learning and policy change within a context of co-creation. We combine insights from the co-creation and learning literature. The empirical strategy is a comparative case study of co-creation examples within the welfare domain in childcare (Estonia), education (Germany) and community work (the Netherlands). We show that state and governance traditions may form an explanation for whether co-creation, learning and policy change occurs. Our paper suggests that this seems to be related to whether there is a tradition of working together with citizens and a focus on rule following or not.

Keywords: co-creation, learning, policy change, state and governance traditions

6.1 Introduction

Co-creation can be described as the involvement of citizens in the initiation and/or the design of public services to develop beneficial outcomes (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2015 p. 1347). In co-creation initiatives, citizens are regarded as relevant partners, who have specific resources and competences which are valuable for (re)designing public service delivery (e.g. Alford, 2009; Bason, 2010; Bovaird, 2007; Parrado, Van Ryzin, Bovaird, & Löffler, 2013). Public officials and politicians are increasingly taking up co-creation with citizens as a way to address many of the public sector's problems. This seems to mark a paradigm shift, in which the dominant consideration of citizens as passive consumers of public services has changed towards a consideration of citizens as co-creators. Citizens are given the opportunity to participate in the joint framing of what relevant services and service outcomes are and how they should be organized. The rise of co-creation can also be considered a *learning process*, in which actors learn how to use each other's competences to develop new ways to confront public sector challenges (e.g. ageing, unemployment, decline of legitimacy of public institutions). Despite its growing relevance, the role of *learning* in co-creation processes and the influence it might have on policy change has not received much academic attention yet (for an exception, see: Cassia & Magno, 2011). There is much that we still do not know about "who learns", "what is being learned" and "why it is being learned" in co-creation (Bennett & Howlett, 1992). These are important issues, since the co-creation framework forces contemporary public organizations and public officials to consider alternative sources of knowledge, information and experiences, which are bypassing established venues (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015).

This study's aim is to understand whether co-creation and the learning process behind it has led to a change in the frames of the involved stakeholders (primarily citizens and public officials) and consequently, to policy change. We examine how the co-creation project's institutional and policy context may affect this process of frame adaptation and policy change. We expect that this is the case, since how and whether frame adaptation will occur depends on the institutional setting (Schön & Rein, 1995). So far, the literature on co-creation and co-production has left the influence of macro-level elements relatively unexplored, partly due to a lack of international comparative research (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015; Voorberg et al. 2015, see for an exception Pestoff, 2006). We address this gap in the literature by exploring two interrelated questions regarding co-creation: *Does co-creation leads to frame adaptation and policy change? And how can this be explained by the state and governance traditions in which co-creation is embedded?* The empirical analysis contributes to the literature by focusing on specific macro-level institutional elements, i.e. state and governance traditions, in three different countries characterized by different state and governance traditions (Estonia, Germany and the Netherlands).

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: in section 2, we develop a theoretical framework. We elaborate on the concept of co-creation and why this implies changes in public service delivery. We also discuss how learning can be understood as a process of frame reflection and frame adaptation. Additionally, we analyze how the institutional context affects policy change and frame adaptation. In section 3, we explain our research strategy. This is followed by a discussion of the results in section 4 and a brief conclusion as well as suggestions for further research.

6.2 Theoretical Framework

6.2.1 Co-creation with citizens and the importance of learning

The definition of co-creation as the involvement of citizens in the initiation and/or the design process of public services in order to (co)create beneficial outcomes (Voorberg et al., 2015, p. 1347) emphasizes the 'initiation and/or design process' and implies a more fundamental role for citizens in public services. This role implies more than asking citizens just to participate in the production of public services. This idea has been illustrated in the literature by Ugo Rossi (2004), who described how the historic city center of Naples (Italy) was restored due to a citizen initiative. The municipality recognized this initiative as a token of urgency given by the local community and decided to participate in the initiative. As such, it shows how co-creation changed conventional ideas about who is responsible for public service delivery and how decisions are made about the allocation of public resources. As Rossi noted, the success of this initiative was influenced by citizens' and public officials' willingness to learn from each other. The municipality of Naples showed this willingness by deciding to take the citizen initiative seriously and gave citizens ownership over the reconstruction process. Other examples where citizens have taken up the role of initiators in public service delivery involve participation in childcare services (Pestoff, 2006) and participation into budgeting procedures of municipalities (e.g. Ackerman, 2004; Maiello, Viegas, Frey, & D. Ribeiro, 2013).

The importance of learning as an inherent part of co-creation has been recognized for almost two decades in the marketing literature. Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000), for example, have argued that involving consumers in the production process implies that companies should strive for an active dialogue with them and mobilize consumer communities to create tailor-made products. Also in the public sector, the importance of learning in co-creation is gaining more attention. Public officials are urged to consider citizen 'lay knowledge' as a valuable source of insight into how to (re-)design public services (e.g. Cornwell & Campbell, 2012; Guston, 1999; Hardey, 1999; Peters, Stanley, Rose, & Salmon, 1998). Nonetheless, a broader notion of learning has not received much academic attention yet and learning in (public) co-creation is a relative unexplored concept. This paper aims to open the 'black box' of co-

creation, by focusing on whether and how co-creation facilitates this learning process. In the next section we analyze what learning in co-creation may imply.

6.2.2 Learning in co-creation: a process of frame adaptation

During co-creation, multiple actors participate in mutually dependent relationships (e.g. Bovaird, 2007; Lelieveldt, Dekker, Voelker, & Torenvlied, 2009). We can therefore argue that learning in co-creation is a social process, in which shared convictions about problems and solutions are the result of a dialogue between actors. In accordance with Dunlop and Radaelli (2013), we define learning as the *updating of beliefs*. Approaching learning as a social process implies that updating of beliefs is the result of sense making about the meaning and interpretation of facts and events (Weick, 1995). To determine whether learning has taken place, we analyze whether stakeholders' *frames* about what the problem is and how it should be solved are indeed updated to new, shared convictions about problems and solutions. We define frames as *images, influencing the convictions and actions around a policy matter by offering a problem definition, causal explanation, target group and a solution* (Benford & Snow, 2000; Fischer, 2003; Schön & Rein, 1995). According to Schön and Rein (1995), learning involves a process of critical reflection and of changing actors' individual frames. Benford and Snow (2000:616-617) distinguish three kinds of frames. These are 1) diagnostic framing, referring to the causes of a specific policy problem, the effects and the target group the problem involves, 2) prognostic framing, referring to the identification of possible and relevant solutions and approaches and 3) motivational framing, which provides a rationale for engaging in collective action. Co-creation creates a new division of roles in public service provision, where citizens become partners to public officials. This implies that co-creation can be considered a prognostic frame: co-creation as an option to deal with a specific policy challenge involves a change in the traditional division of labor between citizens and public official. The question is whether this frame is being adopted and shared by the various stakeholders. If this is the case, we can predict that a policy change will probably occur.

6.2.3 Policy change

Dunlop and Radaelli (2013) stressed that the combination of different individuals in learning processes and the control of these individuals ('learners') over the objectives of learning leads to different types of knowledge production. In other words, different sets of actors lead to different kinds of learning results and therefore, also to different forms of policy change. To Hall (1993) policy change involves a change in "*the overarching goals that guide policy in a particular field, the techniques or policy instruments used to attain those goals, and the precise settings of these instruments*" (:278). As such he considers policy change as a reliable indicator for learning. He distinguishes three levels of policy change. *First order change* refers to an incremental *modification of the existing objectives and instruments* of policy. This modification involves an adaptation of current policy to current times, without changing overarching

policy goals. *Second order change* refers to a major change of instruments of policy "*without radically altering the hierarchy of goals behind policy*" (Hall, 1993 p. 282). As such, second order change involves a change in ideas of *how* policy objectives should be accomplished, but not *which* policy objectives should be accomplished. Finally, *third order change* involves a *policy paradigm shift*. A paradigm shifts occurs when there are radical changes in the hierarchy of policy objectives, the instruments used to achieve those changes and the discourses used to legitimize these changes. Third order change is more radical than first and second order change. In this study, we examine whether co-creation causes policy learning (in terms of prognostic frame adaptation) and whether this may lead to different levels of change. We treat learning and policy change as separate concepts, which enables us to see whether indeed policy change is an indicator for learning.

6.2.4 State and governance traditions

Since frame adaptation is always 'situated' in a certain institutional context, it can be the case that dominant state and governance traditions influence learning processes. Co-creation and co-production scholars have predominantly researched how and which institutional elements influence co-creation, such as having a risk-averse administrative culture (Maiello et al., 2013). Institutional elements may influence the prognostic frames of involved actors in terms of how suitable co-creation is as an approach to deal with specific policy challenges. As mentioned before, due to the lack of knowledge about how contextual elements on the macro-level influence co-creation, we focus our comparison on *state and governance traditions.* In line with Painter and Peters (2010), we treat state and governance traditions as a set of grown ideas and established practices that often act as structures that influence the policy style and substance of public administration in a country. The influence of state and governance traditions may explain why governments respond very differently to conceptually identical challenges (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011). Parting from the literature, the factors that define state and governance traditions can be categorized along two dimensions (Lijphart, 2012): sharing of authority and the culture of governance.

The first dimension refers to *sharing of authority* with non-governmental parties, ranging from a consultative to an authoritative style. A government that can be characterized as *consultative* or *consensual* on this dimension is one where multiple collaboration structures have grown between government and social partners, civil society and private actors. One that can be characterized as *authoritative* is one where decisions are made predominantly by governmental bodies. In this regard, Pollitt & Bouckaert (2011) speak about majoritarian countries, whereby the majority of the electorate, as represented, for instance, by parliament (50 + 1) can determine policy directions in an authoritative manner, based on this majority. This may lead to sweeping changes in policy and reforms. In contrast, in consensual countries,

decision-making takes place in consultation with partners who do not necessarily belong to this majority.

The second dimension refers to the dominant normative convictions about how government should act. We label this dimension as the *culture of governance.* A state can be characterized as either 'Rechtsstaat' oriented or as 'Public Interest' oriented (Pierre, 1995). In Rechtsstaat oriented states, stately efforts are focused on the preparation, promulgation and enforcement of laws. These states are characterized by a culture of governance aimed at maintaining legal correctness and legal control (e.g. Germany). The 'public interest' model (e.g. Anglo-Saxon countries, like the UK) accords a less dominant role to rules and regulations in society. Government acts rather as a referee, safeguarding equal distribution of resources and deciding which party (for instance competing interests groups) serves the public interest best. In such Public Interest cultures, pragmatism and flexibility is favored over the technical and legal expertise that is dominant in 'Rechtsstaat' countries (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011 p. 62).

We will analyze how these different state and governance traditions influence learning and policy change in co-creation. Figure 1 shows a heuristic overview of the main concepts. In the next section, we present the research methods to study this.

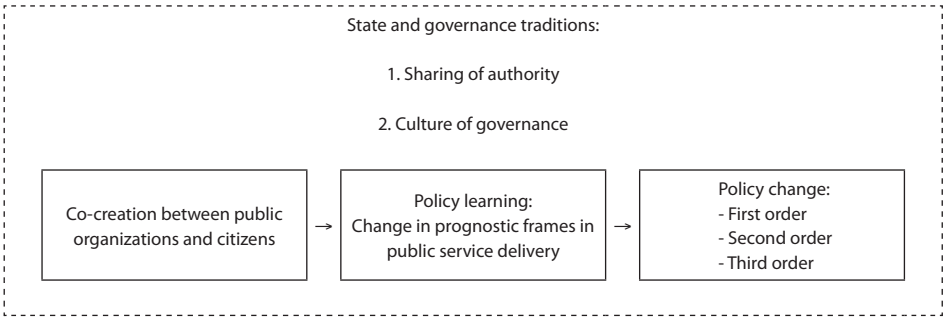

Figure 1. Heuristic Model

6.3 Research strategy

Given the limited empirical knowledge about the relations between state and governance traditions, co-creation, policy learning and policy change, a case study is an appropriate method for the study. Case studies allow us to analyze whether and how state and governance traditions influence learning and policy change in-depth. This study is as a *co-variational international comparative* case study. The study is co-variational, since we selected the cases based on the independent variable, i.e. state and governance traditions. As such, this study is aimed at exploring how a specific cause (X) may affect a certain outcome (Y) (Blatter & Haverland, 2012; Yin, 2009).

We selected two cases with similar state and governance traditions (Germany and the Netherlands), and one case with a most different state and governance tradition (Seawright & Gerring, 2008) (Estonia). Estonia (with its communist background) is characterized by an authoritative state tradition. The culture of governance is formally a Rechtsstaat-based legal and governing system but just as in Finland (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011), the culture of governance is changing from a Rechtstaat to a more plural one (Sarapuu, 2012). In most social policy areas, the role of the state is described by familial responsibility rather than by a legal one (Tõnurist & De Tavernier, forthcoming). We argue, therefore, that its governance culture is closer to a 'public interest' culture, in comparison to the culture in Germany and the Netherlands. An overview of the state and governance traditions is shown in table 1.

Table 1. Overview state and governance traditions

Country	Dimension 1: Sharing of authority	Dimension 2: Culture of governance
Estonia	Authoritative	Public Interest
Germany	Consensus	Rechtsstaat
Netherlands	Consensus	Rechtsstaat

A second set of selection criteria was used to ensure that our cases were as similar as possible on other important elements. First, all selected cases involved co-creation, in which citizens took the initiative. Second, all selected cases involved co-creation within the welfare domain. Third, all selected cases represent co-creation projects that had been running for at least one year.

We acknowledge that since we examined only one case per country, the external validity of the findings is limited. However, our study aims at exploring how and whether there is a plausible relation between learning and policy change due to the institutional context. Hence, our aim is analytical generalization, focusing on an enhanced theoretical understanding of co-creation by exploring what makes sense in a reasoned way. To enhance the internal validity, we operationalized the concepts in the model into an interview protocol. This protocol was used as a template to conduct our interviews among the involved actors in all our co-creation cases across the three selected countries (see table 3).

We interviewed 10 key actors in each case. Following Brandsen & Honingh (2015) we made a distinction between citizens (people who are voluntarily involved in co-creation) and public officials (people who are involved in co-creation on a professional basis and represent a public organization). All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Table 3 summarizes the concepts that were used as a coding scheme to analyse the data. The interviews were analysed and concepts were coded and classified into categories related to plausible relations between co-creation, policy change and state and governance traditions. These were then compared to the concepts in table 3.

Table 2. Operationalization of key concepts

Concept	Indicators
Tradition of authority sharing with social partners (consultative/ authoritative)	· Does a tradition of authority sharing affects frame adaptation and policy change and how?
Culture of governance (Rechtsstaat/ Public Interest)	· Does the culture of governance (i.e. Rechtsstaat or Public Interest) affects how and whether frames are adapted and whether policy change happens?
Adaptation of prognostic frames	· Is co-creation considered a different way of public service delivery? · Is co-creation a better way of public service delivery? · Does co-creation lead to a new role distribution in public service delivery?
First order policy change	· Does co-creation fit within existing policy? · Is co-creation a logical follow up (incremental) on previous policy?
Second order policy change	· Does co-creation change how public services are provided?
Third order policy change	· Is co-creation used to achieve new (policy) objectives? · Forms co-creation a rigorous change with how previously public services are delivered?

To increase the internal validity further, we also analyzed relevant policy documents published by both the co-creation projects themselves and the involved municipalities. These documents are listed in our reference list. Third, we organized focus groups of twenty academic experts in the field of co-creation/co-production to analyze our findings (held on September 11, 2014).

6.4 Results

For each country, we include a) a short introduction to the case, b) whether and which kind of policy change occurred, c) whether new prognostic frames can be detected with the key stakeholders, and d) whether these observations can be explained by the surrounding state and governance traditions.

6.4.1 Case introduction

The Estonian example, Maarja Küla (Maarja Village) was initiated in 2001 by a group of parents of children with learning disabilities and school staff of Tartu Maarja School. The parents were concerned that after finishing Tartu Maarja School, the youths with learning disabilities had very few opportunities and little support outside of their families. Maarja Küla was established to provide an inclusive living environment and development track (with educational and working opportunities) for young adults with learning disabilities. The value of the service was acknowledged after some time by the state with support to Maarja Küla and similar services being developed across Estonia with support from the government.

The German case, *Dialog macht Schule* (DmS), was founded as a non-profit organisation in 2008. It offers a civic educational program targeted at public schools in German neighbor-

hoods where the majority of school-aged children have a migration background and also live in socially disadvantaged communities. Their model consists of introducing open dialog sessions focused on civic education into the school curriculum. The sessions are moderated by university students or recent graduates, who also have a migration background, and who have been trained by DmS to moderate the dialog sessions. During these sessions, themes such as identity, culture, nationalism, racism, and other political and civic ideas are discussed. The aim is to create a space where students can learn to formulate their own opinions on political issues, and through that process, develop their political awareness and civic participation skills.

The Dutch case, Starters4Communities (S4C), was initiated in 2013 by a social entrepreneur whose goal was to combine the talents of young, highly educated students and citizen initiatives. She noticed a lot of citizen initiatives in the east of Amsterdam aimed at increasing the livability within the city. However, these initiatives often failed because they lacked staff with administrative skills and/or did not have sustainable business plans. She also noticed that a lot of graduated youngsters were having trouble finding access to the labor market because they had no or little relevant work experience. S4C brings the young students and the initiatives together. By combining the skills of these youngsters and the enthusiasm of the civil initiators, the civil initiatives are being uplifted and the students receive valuable work experience. The municipality of Amsterdam recognized the potential of S4C for their own policy objectives and is now actively connected to this initiative.

6.4.2 Policy change

In Estonia, the shift towards co-creating services for disabled children can be considered a *third order* change, involving a paradigm change regarding who deserves care, how children's disabilities and future development prospects are defined and how children with disabilities should be taken care of (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2010; 2011). Before the 1990s, disabled children usually placed in residential institutional care since birth. If families chose to diverge from this system, they would not receive any state support (Tobis 2000). In time, it became less common for people to think of disabled children as unintelligent or less deserving of equal treatment. As a result instead of putting children in institutions, children were placed in group- or family-based homes (Tobis, 2000). As one of the parents involved with Maarja Küla put it: "*the overall special child care situation in Estonia at the end of 1990s was rather depressing and dark*". This created pressure for the families involved, who sought out alternatives for child-care provision. By supporting this movement to alternative youth care provision, the government changed its policy on youth care provision and started to actively educate public officials in these alternative services.

In Germany, the co-creation initiative demanded a *second level* change in how the goals of integration policy are achieved. The co-creation initiative of *Dialogue macht Schule* aims at strengthening the civic education of all school-aged students in schools where a large proportion of the students have a migration background (i.e. who have immigrated to Germany or whose parents or grandparents immigrated to Germany). In German cities, about 40% of students with a migration background are concentrated in underperforming schools, whereas only 6% of non-migrant students are in such schools (Morris-Lange et al., 2013). Consequently, migrant students are underperforming compared with native German students and have more trouble finding a job. Civic education has been proposed as a new strategy for achieving successful 'migrant integration'. The purpose not to assimilate migrant cultures into the host one but to foster individual commitments to the underlying social and citizen values of a democracy. Students learn *"how to express themselves eloquently"* (German citizen). Such skills are expected to help these students succeed in the labor market and in society. However, the required policy change was only partly realized. Although enjoying the support of many school principals and teachers, as the Berlin Department for Education, the program has faced resistance among the teachers' union and some schools. The ultimate goal - introducing Dialogue macht Schule as a permanent part of the curriculum- has not been realized yet.

In the Netherlands, the shift towards co-creation can also be considered a *second level* change in public service provision. The Dutch King stated that the Netherlands has turned into a *participation society*, implying that every citizen is asked to contribute to the wellbeing of themselves and others within their direct environment (State of the Throne, 2013). The underlying idea behind this shift is that the current welfare state is unaffordable and needs to be reformed: public organizations should take a step back and allow citizen initiatives to come up with smart solutions. Starters4Communities offers one such smart solution. The basic idea is that well-educated young people help existing civil initiatives become more sustainable by making business plans and organize external communication. Instead of providing these initiatives, government policy changed to financially supporting these initiatives and connecting people, organizations and other resources. This changed role has become part of the official policy of the municipality of Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Oost, 2014). As a result Starters4Communities represents a fundamental shift in how public services are delivered and who is responsible for what part of service provision.

6.4.3 Change of prognostic frames

The cases indicate a clear relation between the change in the prognostic frames of involved actors and whether policy change indeed occurred.

In Estonia, the prognostic frames of both citizens and public officials changed. Citizens became increasingly convinced that the conventional way of providing youth care services was

not suitable to address the needs of disabled children. One of the initiators explained: "*By the time we started Maarja Küla, there was a common belief shared in the community of the disabled people and their family members that social services and especially teaching methods of children with disabilities (shunning them away from society) were unacceptable*". Parents became increasingly aware that these children have a need for personalized care and more substantive day-time activities (Praxis, 2011). Involved public officials (and also politicians) also changed their prognostic frames by deciding to (financially) support alternative ways of providing youth care services. As one public official mentioned: *"I think Maarja Küla was an important breaking point as an institution that was motivated to involve different stakeholders and to fill the gap that was missing in Estonia"*.

In Germany, the involved public officials' prognostic frames were only partially adapted in favor of the co-creation initiative. In recent years, the discourse on the integration of migrants has intensified in Germany (SVR, 2012). Integration has been mainly understood as the extent to which incomers adopt the mainstream socio-economic, legal and cultural norms of the host community (Heckmann & Schnapper, 2003). German public opinion has been concerned about whether migrants and their children adopt the host country's cultural norms, or maintain allegiance to those of their homeland. Diagnostic frames about the issue at hand have changed somewhat: *"there are teachers and headmasters who really see a need for this kind of civic and personal education—many of them simply cannot reach their students on any level in the classroom because they are so separated from them, so they are desperate for solutions and have really welcomed Dialogue Macht Schule into their classrooms"* (German public official). Schools are believed to provide an important arena to address integration problems. The respondents indicated that *Dialogue macht Schule* has changed ideas about how this problem should be dealt with. For instance, regarding how integration should be approached, respondents indicate that it is not assimilation of cultural traits by the migrant community, but an adoption of the underlying values of a liberal democracy (i.e. a partial change in diagnostic frames). However, public officials differ in opinion whether *Dialogue macht Schule* should be fully incorporated within the school system, noting that *"[We] oppose to letting non-professional staff into the classroom*" (German public official). This shows that prognostic frames about how to address integration in schools are only partially changed.

In the Netherlands, public officials indicated that prognostic frames have changed, and in particular, those of high-level public officials. From a policy perspective, prognostic frames were changed in favor of co-creation (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2013 [1,2], 2014). This is also confirmed by our interviews. As one public official mentioned: *"We don't organize anything, that's the big change with the past. We change from 'taking care for' to 'make sure that'. Instead of taking care for people we only facilitate* [them]*"*. However, public officials also indicated that not everyone shows this change of prognostic frames. One mentioned: "*Responses* [to

co-creation] *are different. Especially people in the 'line' of the organization are like, first, show me what you got"* (Dutch public official). Furthermore, some public officials are not convinced that co-creation is a better way to provide welfare services than the professional institutions: "*What* [co-creation projects] *I see is nice and useful […….] but it's not going to be better, when you chase away the professionals and replace them with volunteers"*. Interestingly, the involved citizens did not show a clear change in their prognostic frames either. They thought of co-creation as a collaborative relationship with existing organizations but one in which public officials remain responsible for the quality and safety protocols. As one participating citizen mentioned: "*The supervisors* [of the project] *are professionals. They know the* [safety] *criteria. Of course you need to comply with the conditions. That's their job*". So in this case, high-level public officials (and public policy documents) show clear changes in prognostic frames, but 'street' public officials and citizens did not.

Now that we have explored the relationship between frame adaptation and policy change, we examine in the next section how this can be explained by surrounding state and governance traditions.

6.4.4 Influence of state and governance traditions

Dimension 1: Authority sharing

Estonia has been independent from the Soviet Union since 1991. As a result, the parliamentary structure and the tradition sharing of authority with non-governmental parties is relatively young and still carries traces of the authoritative state tradition that was dominant under the Soviet regime (Praxis, 2010; Lember & Sarapuu, 2014). One of the interviewed public officials described: "*I think that our democratic system is still quite young: on the one hand, the government is not accustomed to being in dialogue with citizens, reacting to them. On the other hand, citizens are not used to talk about tutelage in social policy, fight for their rights, get their message across – basically influence the government, reach an agreement and then defend it*". This authoritative tradition allowed a third level policy change to be implemented in quite a short time period; governmental action was not 'hampered' by institutional barriers of consultation and negotiation with other stakeholders. As one of the initiators of Maarja Küla said: *"Siiri Oviir, the then minister of social affairs, removed the obstacles in about 20 minutes that stood away in the development of the village in 2003"* (Estonian citizen). So once prognostic frames were changed about how youth care should be provided, adapting the corresponding policy was relatively "simple".

In contrast, the German administration acts according to rule-bound and legalistic procedures. Moreover, there are strong interdependencies between the many government levels. The implementation of federal legislation in most policy areas is delegated to the state (*Länder*)

level, where in turn, it is often delegated further to local authorities. Regarding the Dialogue Macht Schule program, there is *"a clear separation between formal education that takes place in school and non-formal education, like what Dialogue Macht Schule is teaching, which should remain outside school"* (German public official). This can explain why the initiators of co-creation have encountered difficulties in convincing stakeholders to adopt the initiative as an integral part of school curriculum (education policy is made at the federal level but implemented locally). The program mainly co-operated with the city district level but they only have limited policy-making power. Consequently Dialogue Macht Schule needed to lobby on many different administrative levels in order to convince administrators of the usefulness of the program. This is a gradual and time-consuming process.

The Netherlands have a tradition of consensus gaining with social partners. This implies that Dutch governmental bodies are used to collaborating with non-governmental bodies, resulting in special budgets and funds being available for innovation and collaboration (Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Oost, 2013 [2]). As a result, the structures for collaboration needed to make co-creation work were already present. As one public official mentioned: *"Alliances* [with social partners] *were already there […] they are becoming real good neighborhoods if citizens wants to invest in it"*. This could explain why some public officials adapted their prognostic frames towards co-creation. That said, while collaborating with other parties is not new in Dutch policy, working so closely with citizens in a relatively informal manner is new (see dimension 2).

Dimension 2: Culture of governance

The Estonian culture of governance can be characterized as Public Interest (although it works differently than in Anglo-Saxon countries). Law – at least in the field of social policy – is more in the background compared to the Rechtsstaat states. As a result, government acts as the referee deciding which party serves the public interest at best and other parties make efforts to win the support of government. One of the initiators of Maarja Küla described: "*At the end of the 1990s a lot of things were still in flux and we wanted to prove to the government that we could do things in a different way*". This relatively informal character means that projects depend on the continued favor of government to maintain political and financial support. Where in Rechtsstaat states policy is relatively stable, in Public Interest states, interest groups need to keep fighting for attention and financial support from government. As one citizen mentioned: *"Maarja Küla is in effect in 'competition' with similar initiatives and other social projects for the same funds"*.

Germany can be characterized by a *Rechtsstaat* culture of governance. This implies that the division of responsibilities among actors for public service delivery is governed by formalized rules and procedures. As a result, public officials' flexibility in decision-making is restricted.

In the case studied here, this implies that changes in a policy area as fundamental as education can only occur slowly and are constrained by the regulatory framework. For example, several school headmasters said they would like to hire teachers who are more willing to work on programs like Dialogue Macht Schule, but this is not possible because schools have little control over hiring staff: *"these decisions [hiring staff] are made at the state level according to a strict hierarchy"*. Consequently, changing the curriculum and introducing an alternative way of education provision is slow and requires changes of prognostic frames of both administrative and political actors, which then need to be formalized into regulation. As one German official mentioned: "*Only now are we seeing a gradual expansion of extracurricular activities and changes in this attitude*" (German public official).

The Netherlands is also characterized by a Rechtsstaat culture of governance. Combined with a tradition of consensus gaining, it means that collaboration structures in the Netherlands are institutionalized and formalized in laws and regulation. Consequently, policy is relatively difficult to change. As one citizen argued: *"I think that the administrative context is rather sloth. Decision making is just too slow"*. As a result, professional organizations have gained an authoritative position when it comes to knowledge and expertise, which is formalized in rules and regulation and they do not want to "surrender" this historically gained position to citizens. They argue that public service quality will decrease if co-creation is embraced as the new way of public service delivery: "[public service provision] *not going to be better, of that I am convinced. If you just replace professionals, it's not going to be more effective"*. Because of this formalized way of collaborating, the involved public officials reacted in two different ways. Some of them argued that public officials feel restricted by the rules and the bureaucratic procedures to seek alternative ways of service provision that are not based on a regulative framework. As one of the citizens mentioned: *"What I heard from civil servants is: I really want to, but I can't, due to all that bureaucracy. And if I want it I have to consult with others, and they all want something else"*. On the other hand, this perceived excess of rules and regulations is considered by some public officials as a reason to consider co-creation as a viable new way of public service delivery, as these projects are not yet 'locked-in' administrative procedures. As one of the officials argued: *"those new initiatives don't have those evaluative frameworks yet"*. So the Rechtsstaat culture offers an explanation for why some actors changed their prognostic frames in favor of co-creation, while others held on to the more conventional ones, although in a more nuanced way than in the German case.

The cases indicate that state and governance traditions may affect how and whether co-creation changes prognostic frames and policy change. The Estonian case shows that an authoritative state tradition may help actors implement co-creation and change policy in favor of co-creation in a top-down manner. The German and the Dutch case show that having a consensus gaining tradition means many actors are responsible for different parts of public service

delivery and that decision-making and implementation processes are slower. Combined with the Rechtstaat culture of governance, which sees collaboration structures as institutionalized and formalized, policy change is slow and locked in administrative rules and regulations. This was different in Estonia where regulative frameworks are less rigid that in Germany and the Netherlands. However, this also shows that welfare policy in Estonia is less stable than in the two other countries, which creates competition between co-creation initiatives.

6.5 Conclusion

Co-creation is increasingly seen as a viable way to address contemporary challenges in public service delivery (Voorberg et al., 2015). As such, frames about what the fundamental problems are and how these should be dealt with are changing. This frame adaptation is a learning process between public officials and citizens. Given the lack of academic attention in the co-creation and co-production literature to this learning process and its relation to policy change, we have addressed this issue. The study took into account the state and governance traditions in which co-creation and learning processes take place to address the following research questions: *Does co-creation leads to frame adaptation and policy change? And how can this be explained by the state and governance traditions in which co-creation is embedded?* To answer the research questions we have conducted an international case comparison in Estonia, Germany and the Netherlands.

The study showed that co-creation does lead to frame adaptation and policy change. The Estonian and Dutch cases indicated, that once prognostic frames (i.e. the identification of possible and relevant solutions and approaches for a problem) were changed, policy was also changed in favor of co-creation. In Germany, policy change occurred to a lesser extent, and the prognostic frames of German public officials were also changed to a lesser extent. However, to conclude that where we observe learning, there has been a policy change is too simple a conclusion. Our cases show that *how* policy changes is affected by the macro context of state and governance traditions in which actors and policy are embedded. The Estonian case showed that due to an authoritarian state tradition, policy change in favor of co-creation was relatively easy. This was strengthened by the fact that in Estonian welfare policy, the rule of law has a less prominent role than in the Rechtstaat cultures (Netherlands and Germany). Policy change is not 'obstructed' by regulative frameworks, which was the case in the other two countries. Here we recognize how the consultative state tradition and the shared responsibility over many actors meant that the prognostic frames of many more actors needed to change in order to create policy change. In sum, to create a more comprehensive understanding of how and whether policy is changing accordingly, we need to take the context of state and governance

traditions into consideration. Doing so offers a plausible explanation for contrasting relations between learning and policy change.

These conclusions have theoretical implications for both the literature on co-creation and the literature on learning and policy change. To start with the latter, this research shows that due to the involvement of citizens as co-creators in public service design, learning is required to cause policy change. However, contrary to the assumptions of Hall (1993), we did not find that policy change is a reliable indicator to whether learning has occurred. Our analysis showed that in co-creation, the relationship between learning and policy change is more complicated. For instance, policy change does not by definition occur when actors show adapted frames. Furthermore, not every policy change is a result of frame adaptation of actors. Institutional arrangements – such as regulatory frameworks – should be considered as well.

We add to the co-creation literature by taking a learning perspective. This allows us to open the black box of co-creation a little bit and offers an explanation why co-creation was successfully implemented in some cases. We've shown how actors from different backgrounds develop comparable ideas about problems and solutions and learn based on those contexts. In particular, in our Estonian case, an alignment of frames became visible. Related to this, the co-creation project in Estonia was the most smoothly implemented one of all are three cases. This way, a learning perspective provides us the possibility to identify a potentially key determinant of successful co-creation.

Furthermore, we add to both bodies of literature by arguing, in line with Rein and Schön (1995), that in order to go one step further and to understand whether learning (i.e. frame adaption) and policy change have occurred or not, one needs to consider the institutional context surrounding the co-creation initiative. Our research shows that this macro-level context could potentially influence whether actors are willing and able to align their frames in co-creation processes. Analyzing learning as a process of frame adaptation (Schön & Rein, 1995) and making a distinction between diagnostic and prognostic frames (Benford & Snow, 2000) is a useful approach to empirically examine to what extent learning occurs.

We must, of course, place our conclusions into perspective. In the first place, this paper was focused on whether change in frames occurred in processes of co-creation. In our analysis, we were therefore focused on only one aspect of co-creation. Given that co-creation is a processual concept (i.e. consisting of different stages), it may be important to examine how learning can be related to different aspects of this process, i.e. decision-making, implementation and evaluation. Future research is needed to conclude whether learning is such an inherent part of co-creation in the public domain, as suggested by Prahalad & Ramaswamy (2000).

Secondly, we were only able to examine one case in each country. Variation in learning and policy change between the cases is possibly also explained by other characteristics of the case than just state and governance traditions. Including multiple cases from one country may nuance the findings. However, our aim was not to make statistically generalizable claims about the influence of state and governance traditions, but merely to explore whether they could offer a plausible explanation for learning and policy change. Future research must show to what extent there is a significant correlation between the kind of state and governance traditions and whether learning and policy change does occur. By focusing research on this topic, we can elaborate to what extent there is a significant relation between learning and policy change (Hall, 1992). Furthermore, in doing so, we can conclude what kind of institutional context can be considered as a fertile breeding ground for co-creation and which one is not.

CHAPTER 7

Identifying and explaining the outcomes of co-creation: An international comparison of public sector experiences

This chapter is currently under review (major revisions) in Voluntas

7.1 Introduction

Citizen participation is regarded as a way to add value to public services by bringing in new perspectives, new knowledge and fresh expertise, thereby enhancing effectiveness and legitimacy (Bovaird, 2007; Osborne & Strokosch, 2013). As such, *co-creating* with citizens amounts to an innovation in public services. Governments seem to view co-creation as a promising approach in battling the challenges surrounding ageing, healthcare and social welfare. However, to date, research into co-creation and the related concept of co-production has failed to show to what extent co-creation brings added value to public services (Verschuere, Brandsen & Pestoff, 2012; Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers, 2015). Although, researchers have given some attention to the *outputs* of co-creation and co-production (e.g. Needham, 2008; Pestoff, 2012; Vamstad, 2012), it is unclear as to what extent this output is beneficial in terms of creating *public value* (for a notable exception, see Williams, LePere-Schloop, Silk & Hebdon, 2016). Public value can be defined as "a reflection of collectively expressed, politically mediated preferences consumed by the citizenry" (O'Flynn, 2007 p.359). Public value is difficult to determine since it relates to how the service output contributes to other, more abstract, values such as trust and legitimacy (Bozeman, 2002; O'Flynn, 2007). More importantly, for our research, whether public value is achieved depends on "the desires and perceptions of individuals" (Moore, 1995). That is, different actors may consider public value in different ways. Since co-creation, by definition, involves actors from a diverse range of backgrounds (Bason, 2010; Bekkers, Edelenbos & Steijn, 2011) we need to pay attention to the range of possible individual perceptions in determining whether co-creation has added value.

Therefore, in this research, we examine how actors involved in co-creation projects perceive the co-creating as adding public value. Further, in going one step further, we explain possible similarities and differences in how the actors' backgrounds determine their convictions. As such, this research is focused on understanding how, and why, citizens and civil servants, as the main stakeholders, interpret the outcomes of co-creation. As part of this, we offer a framework to identify and compare the outcomes among the involved actor groups. Based on the classical distinction between the *logic of consequentiality* and the *logic of appropriateness* (March & Olsen, 1989), our framework consists of a set of values that helps to identify the extent to which, according to the involved actors, co-creation has added value. Given our argument that these differences need to be understood in the light of the actors' backgrounds, we investigate how an actor's background is reflected in the argumentation they advance. We conceptualize this background in terms of Stone's (2003) *models of society* (i.e. the 'market' and the 'polis') that creates a continuum between the two types of actors' models of society. This is helpful in explaining possible similarities and differences in appreciation of co-creation outcomes among actors.

To date, empirical research on co-creation or co-production has largely been in the form of single-case studies. As such, a systematic international comparative perspective, in which cases are selected based on a set of eligibility criteria and examined similarly, is missing (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015). To address this gap, we compare co-creation cases from four countries (Slovakia, Spain, the Netherlands and the UK). This will enable us to conclude whether similarities and differences between actor groups overrule country specifics. This is reflected in our research question: *To what extent are the outcomes of co-creation practices considered as valuable by participating actors, and can the differences in actors' evaluations be explained by the adoption of different models of society?*

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 elaborates on the concept of co-creation, and how its outcomes can be evaluated. Further, we elaborate on the argument that possible similarities and differences should be understood from a perspective that acknowledges the different backgrounds of actors in terms of their models of society (Stone, 2003). Section 3 contains our research strategy. Section 4 presents the case study results from which conclusions are drawn in Section 5 together with an assessment of limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

7.2 Theoretical Framework

7.2.1 Co-creation

Co-creation is a far-reaching concept that derives from the private sector marketing literature (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2000). It refers to how consumers have to become a new source of competence if corporations are to remain competitive. This new role for consumers implies that companies should encourage an active dialogue with consumers, mobilize consumer communities, manage customer diversity and, with them, co-create more personalized experiences (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2000 p. 81-84) in order to enhance the added value of a product (see also Vargo & Lusch, 2004). As such, active consumer participation is considered as a source of innovation.

Transferred to the public domain, co-creation gained attention as part of the New Public Governance paradigm (Osborne, 2006). In embracing this paradigm, western governments seek to create public value by involving *citizens* in developing or redesigning public services as a response to contemporary challenges such as economic crises and ageing populations. The central idea is that public value is not only created in terms of specific outcomes, it is also shaped by the ways in which citizens are involved in the design process of public services (O'Flynn, 2007). Therefore, to create public value, public services need to be characterized as *user-led* innovations (Osborne & Strokosch, 2013). Service-users are expected to provide valuable

input based on their specific resources and competences (Bason, 2010; Bekkers, Edelenbos & Steijn, 2011; Osborne & Strokosch, 2013). As a consequence, public value can only be created through collaboration between the actors involved (Hartley, 2005). Co-creation is viewed as a useful concept because it acknowledges the mutually dependent relationship between the various actors involved. In the academic literature, these relationships are also studied under the heading of co-production, which, empirically, largely overlaps with co-creation (Needham, 2008; Osborne & Strokosch, 2013). However, the body of literature on co-production is much broader than that on co-creation as it is used to study citizen participation in several ways, both individually and collectively (Brudney & England, 1983) and on multiple levels of service provision, involving design, decision-making and implementation (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015). In line with Osborne and Strokosch (2013), we consider co-creation as a specific form of co-production that is used to conceptualize the phenomenon whereby service users have a dominant position in the initiation and design of public services (rather than only being involved as implementers of these services). As such, co-creation in the public sector can be defined as *the involvement of citizens in the initiation and/or the design process of public services to (co-) develop beneficial outcomes* (Voorberg et al., 2015 p.1347).

7.2.2 Outcomes of co-creation

In this research, we focus on the extent to which co-creation adds value. We argue that it is not sufficient to determine what co-creation delivers in terms of products or services (output) because, in the public domain, co-creation efforts are also about making public services more responsive and therefore more legitimate (Moore & Hartley, 2008). As such, concluding that an effort is beneficial, or creates public value, is dependent on the specific context and the convictions of the actors involved (see also Alford & Hughes, 2008). Therefore, in order to determine whether public value has been achieved, we need to examine, in specific examples of co-creation, the convictions of the actors involved. To do so, we propose building a framework based on the classical distinction between the logic of consequentiality and the logic of appropriateness (March & Olsen, 1989).

Applying the logic of consequentiality, an actor's behaviour (actions, decisions) reflects their attempt to efficiently create solutions for solving a specific problem (March & Olsen, 1989: 160). In terms of our topic, co-creation can be considered as an instrument to achieve specific predefined objectives. In the co-creation and co-production literature, the outcomes of co-creation as related to this logic are described in terms of *concrete products and services*; and whether these products add value in terms of *efficiency* (Andrews, Boyne & Walker, 2006; Boyne & Walker, 2004) and service *effectiveness* (Pestoff, 2006; Pestoff, 2012).

Applying the logic of appropriateness, an actor's behaviour is based on what they consider as feasible and acceptable given a specific context. This logic is characteristic of actions within

the public domain. March and Olsen (1996) emphasize that, in the West, this feasibility and acceptance is based on strict standards, obligations, rights and routines (partly to prevent governmental tyranny and arbitrariness) and consists of an implicit agreement on what is appropriate given a predetermined distribution of roles among actors (in our research, citizens and public officials). As such, actions within this logic take place within legal boundaries, are aimed at enhancing the public interest and need to 'fit' with this role distribution (March & Olsen, 1989 p. 160; March, 1994). That is, what is considered 'good' amounts to a negotiated collective interest of the preferences and convictions of citizens (Frissen et al., 2011). Consequently, an actor's actions are based on social support within their environment, rather than finding the best solution in terms of effectiveness or efficiency. The outcomes of co-creation are then seen as beneficial if they contribute to values such as *participation* (Pestoff, 2009), *equal access to public services* (Moon, 2001; O'Flynn, 2007) and *responsiveness* to social challenges (Boyne & Walker, 2004) that help legitimize certain interventions.

By taking both logics into consideration, our framework is able to examine how co-creation adds to managerial aspects of public service delivery (consequentiality) and also to values that address the legitimacy of these services (appropriateness). Furthermore, we are also able to see how the two logics could conflict with each other. For instance, the involvement and close collaboration of multiple actors may be necessary to legitimize an intervention (i.e. create appropriateness) but this increased participation may reduce the efficiency of a service.

7.2.3 Models of society

In attempting to go one step further, and explain possible similarities and differences between actors, we propose considering the background of actors as an explanatory factor in whether they consider co-creation as adding public value. This background has been conceptualized in various ways, for instance by taking into account relevant state and governance traditions to which they adhere (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999), characteristics of the policy context (Schön & Rein, 1995) and guiding principles underlying dominant institutions (i.e. community, market and state) (Streeck & Schmitter, 1985). These various conceptualizations can all be considered as ideal-type abstractions of the root or fundament of an actor's intent and behaviour. Such abstractions enable us to predict and explain an actor's behaviour and convictions. We conceptualize this background in terms of Stone's (2003) *models of society.* Stone considers society as a political community, one that could be characterized as either a *market* model or a *polis* model. To Stone, these two models are opposite ends of a spectrum made up by two ideal-types. Both models have specific consequences for the kinds of purposes that actions within the public domain should serve. As such, this forms a useful starting point for examining co-creation.

In *the market model*, an actor's behaviour is aimed at enhancing individual welfare by exchanging things with others whenever such a trade is beneficial (Stone, 2003: 17). Beneficial involves evaluating such trades in terms of the extent to which they enhance the self-interests of individuals and/or minimize the costs of meeting an actor's objectives. In this model of society, the motivation for citizens to participate in co-creation is primarily based on the extent to which co-creation leads to concrete tangible outcomes that enhance individual profit. For governments, selecting this option is determined by the extent to which co-creation is a better solution to a problem than conventional approaches.

Conversely, *the 'polis' model* is characterized by the notion of 'membership': that actors *belong* to a certain community based on shared identities or their status as citizens (Stone, 2003: 18-19). The actions of actors are then based, not on maximizing personal welfare, but on serving the public interest (i.e. of the community to which they belong). Participation in collective activities is then based on a feeling of loyalty and a sense of belonging to the community. In this model, co-creation is less instrumental in the sense that it does not have to be the best solution in terms of efficiency and effectiveness: the value of co-creation is instead evaluated in terms of the extent to which it contributes to the community and serves the general interest.

In co-creation, actors (at least citizens and civil servants) with different models of society are brought together to forge partnerships based on their specific competences and resources (Bason, 2010; Bovaird, 2007). We would expect each actor's appreciation of the distinct goals to be congruent with their own dominant model of society.

In general, citizens seem to be primarily motivated by whether they can contribute to *their* neighbourhood, or to *their* neighbours (Rossi, 2004; Schafft & Brown, 2000; Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012), reflecting an attachment to a specific place and/or community (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Alford (2002) stresses in this regard how solidarity incentives (which he calls sociality) are the rewards of associating with others. Contributing to altruistic values then results in a sense of satisfaction by having contributed to a worthwhile cause (see also Bovaird et al., 2015). In terms of Stone's (2003) dichotomy, their motivation predominantly aligns with a polis model of society. Conversely, civil servants (street-level bureaucrats, public professionals) who, since the New Public Management era, are urged to operate in a much more calculating and quantifiably accountable way (Dunleavy, Margetts, Bastow & Tinkler, 2006; Osborne, 2006; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999) may approach co-creation from a more instrumental perspective. Their motivation seems to be based on co-creation being a more efficient and effective instrument for achieving policy objectives than the traditional way (e.g. Briscoe, Keränen & Parry, 2012; Elg, Engström, Witell & Poksinska, 2012; Evans, Hills & Orme, 2012; Ryan, 2012), views that are more congruent with the market model.

Table 1. Overview selected cases

Project (country)	Short description	Objectives
Stadslab (NL)	Citizen initiative aiming to improve the City of Leiden. Stadslab acts as a platform to bring together the ideas of civil entrepreneurs and people who want to contribute to the city.	· To oppose the waste of talent and energy · To match innovative ideas to people who can implement them · To increase liveability in the city
Pla BUITS (Spain)	An initiative to give a purpose to empty spaces in Barcelona. Citizens and other actors were invited to come up with initiatives to occupy these spaces for at least a year.	· To encourage development projects that recover and adapt obsolete spaces · To advance municipal building sites and put them to better use
PrieStory (Slovakia)	Implemented as an open competition where citizen groups could apply for grants and technical assistance. Thirty-three projects were realized in various municipalities.	· To initiate citizens' participation in public affairs · To increase people's involvement in improving their environment · To strengthen local communities · To increase the quantity and quality of public services
Voluntary Action (UK)	Platform involving communities, professional organizations and municipalities. It initiated many projects in areas such as advocacy, community food, community transport, dementia support, home-visiting and befriending, plus volunteer development.	· To implement, develop, monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of a co-production approach. · To ensure that services and support were targeted at the community · To ensure that the needs of local people were included in the overall development of those services

We would expect these motivations, as reflections of the actors' dominant models of society, to be reflected in how these actors perceive the outcomes of co-creation in terms of the values related to the two logics. This may explain possible differences and similarities in the appreciation of outcomes. The next section introduces the research methods used to identify these concepts within the empirical reality of co-creation.

7.3 Research Strategy

7.3.1 Case selection

Our research design is an *explanatory case study* (Baxter & Jack, 2008). This is appropriate since we are interested in the mechanisms underlying actors' appreciation of co-creation outcomes. Our research can also be characterized as a multiple comparative case study (Baxter & Jack, 2008), because we compare four cases, each embedded in a different context. Our cases differ with regards to their national contexts (one each in Slovakia, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Spain), but also in what they aimed to achieve and the number of people involved (see Table I). As such, our interest in the cases is *instrumental* in the sense that we are not interested in the cases in themselves but rather how they can help refine our theoretical understanding of co-creation outcomes (Stake, 1995). As Yin (2009) put it, we are looking for theoretical replication, i.e. we expect our cases to have different results (co-creation outcomes) but for predictable reasons (models of society). As such, our aim is to create analytical, rather than statistical, generalization.

In terms of other eligibility criteria, we ensured that: 1) each initiative was a form of co-creation in which citizens took the initiative; 2) they had been running for at least a year, so that outcomes could be found; and 3) the co-creation involved at least citizens and civil servants.

7.3.2 Data collection

We operationalized the theoretical concepts in an analytical framework (see Table 2). This framework was translated into an interview protocol that we applied to consistently conduct semi-structured interviews and to identify codes that were then used in analysing the interviews. This should boost the internal validity of our findings.

Table 2. Analytical framework

Concept	Indicators
Outcomes related to logic of consequence	The extent to which respondents believe that co-creation: · Resulted in concrete products or services · Is a cheaper way to deliver public services · Resulted in improved quality of public services
Outcomes related to logic of appropriateness	The extent to which respondents believe that co-creation: · Resulted in improved participation by other parties · Increased equal access to public services · Enhanced the responsiveness to social challenges
Model of society – citizens	· Motivations for citizens to participate in co-creation initiative · Argumentation behind how outcomes are perceived
Models of society – civil servants	· Motivations for civil servants to participate in co-creation initiative · Argumentation behind how outcomes are perceived

Since different actors may appreciate outcomes differently, we distinguish between citizens (people who are involved in co-creation without being paid for it) and civil servants (people who are involved in co-creation on a professional basis and represent a public organization). Ten interviews were conducted in each case with key actors (Table 3) and the interviews transcribed and analysed using the analytical framework shown in Table 2.

Further, in September 2014, we organized two focus groups of academic experts in the field of co-creation/co-production and social innovation to help us interpret and validate our research findings. In these focus groups (11 participants and 9 participants respectively), we discussed our research approach as well as our findings.

In the next section, we discuss the results of our analysis and subsequently examine the outcomes for the stakeholder groups and the motivations of the actors involved.

Table 3. Respondents per case

Case	Respondents
Stadslab (NL)	· 5 citizens · 5 civil servants
PrieStory (Slovakia)	· 4 citizens · 6 civil servants
Pla Buits (Spain)	· 6 citizens · 4 civil servants
Voluntary Action North Lanarkshire (UK)	· 7 citizens · 3 civil servants

7.4 Results

Table 4 provides an overview of the main reasons why actors participated in co-creation. Further, Table 5 shows in an overview how actors evaluated the outcomes of co-creation.

Table 4. Motivations of actors

	Country	
Reasons to co-create	**Citizens**	**Civil Servants**
Netherlands	- Specific geographical area	- Political and social will
Slovakia	- Specific geographical area - Specific target group	- Specific geographical area - General policy ambitions
Spain	- Service failure - Specific geographical area	- Economic crisis Political will
UK	- Specific target group	- Political and administrative will

7.4.3 Reflecting models of society in the motivation of actors

Table IV shows that, in all four cases, the *citizens* had similar reasons for participating in an initiative and that these motivations lay in the opportunity to do something for their neighbourhood or a specific target group. This could be very concrete, as in Slovakia: "*There is no safe place where I can go and play with the kids*" (Slovak citizen); but it could also be more abstract, as in the Netherlands, where two social entrepreneurs wanted to make better use of the main selling points of the city of Leiden: "*[We have a] famous university, lots of museums and a very old city centre*" (Dutch citizen). In their argumentation, citizens showed solidarity with a specific area or a group of people within that area (e.g. the elderly in North Lanarkshire in the UK). In these motivations, we recognize the dominance of a 'polis' model of society: co-creation is seen as an opportunity to contribute to the community, rather than to gain individually, or as a way to create more effective public service delivery. Moreover, since citizens specifically mentioned the wish to contribute to *their* neighbourhood, we recognize that belonging to a community is a motivator for contributing to it.

Table 5. Perceived outcomes and actors' motivation to co-create

	Logic of consequentiality							
	Citizens					Civil servants		
	Netherlands	**Slovakia**	**Spain**	**UK**	**Netherlands**	**Slovakia**	**Spain**	**UK**
Products	Projects as products	Projects as products	Initiatives as products	Small local initiatives as products	Just a new way to create public services	Projects as products	Initiatives as products	Small local initiatives as products
Efficiency	Fuzzy answers	Cheaper way to provide service	More efficient way to provide service	Efficiency is subordinate to effectiveness	Far less efficient, due to the lack of organization	Cheaper for government, not for community	More efficient way to provide service	Co-creation is a cheaper way to provide service
Effectiveness	More effective due to a surplus of creativity and skills	More target-oriented	More effective due to increased citizen satisfaction	Better able to reach older people	Far less effective due to a lack of organization	More effective, because people are happier	More effective due to the repopulation of empty spaces	People are happier with the services
	Logic of appropriateness							
Participation	Improved opportunities to participate	Improved opportunities to participate	No increase in participation due to lack of willingness	Improved participation structures but unclear whether this increased participation	Enhanced but only for a certain group of citizens	Participation has improved	Participation has increased	Not sure since the target group is hard to reach
Equal access	Co-creation has an exclusive element	Access increased for certain groups but decreased for others	No increase in equal access due to the character of the project	Increased access for elderly people	Co-creation has an exclusive element	Access for certain groups increased, but decreased for others	Access no more equal than in other public services	Increased access for elderly people
Responsiveness	Society more responsive to social challenges	Society more responsive to social challenges	Society more responsive to social challenges	Society more responsive to social challenges	Society more responsive to social challenges	Government more responsive to social challenges	Government more responsive to social challenges	Government more responsive to social challenges

The *civil servants* reflected another dominant model of society: they pointed to how co-creation fits within macro-trends such as giving attention to citizen participation, thereby creating a political and social will to collaborate with citizens. In the UK, a Scottish civil servant observed that there was momentum for such an initiative: *"North Lanarkshire already had a good strong grounding so it wasn't that "Reshaping Care" came along and we started from Ground Zero"*. In Spain, civil servants mentioned the economic crisis as a window of opportunity: "*it is a combination of contexts: the crisis, on the one hand, and its effects on the construction field; and, on the other hand, the latent demand of citizens for things to be done in the empty spaces throughout the city*" (Spanish civil servant). Due to the crisis, co-creation gained political momentum leading to a dominant conviction that it is a more effective instrument for delivering public services than the conventional way. Here we can recognize a more instrumental approach towards co-creation than that argued by the citizens above. As such, in their motivations, civil servants reflect a more 'market' model of society, whereby co-creation is regarded as a tool to improve existing public services by focussing more on the needs of their customers.

7.4.4 Reflecting models of society in outcomes of co-creation - Logic of consequentiality

Table IV shows that *citizens* were relatively positive about co-creation improving outcomes related to the logic of consequentiality. In terms of *products and services,* they all mentioned projects and initiatives as new products resulting from co-creation, such as new squares and parks (Slovakia), redesigned elderly services (UK) and improved neighbourhoods (Spain, the Netherlands). However, since citizens identified concrete products and services, rather than explaining how these projects had contributed to a target group or the reason for the initiative, we were unable to link this to a specific model of society.

When it came to *efficiency,* most citizens indicated that they did not know whether co-creation led to greater efficiency. They emphasized that, usually, it was not the purpose of the co-creation projects to make public services more efficient: *"I don't think in the end it [co-creation] is cheaper, you only create different economic flows"* (Dutch citizen). Also in Spain and the UK, the answers given to this question were fuzzy. Most respondents indicated that efficiency was not much of an issue for them or that they found it subordinate to other values. However, some citizens thought that co-creation was an explicitly more efficient way to provide public services: "*Co-creation saves money from the public budget thanks to the use of unpaid volunteer work*" (Slovak citizen). Given this fuzziness and the diversity in the answers, the citizens again failed to reflect a specific model of society.

With regards to *effectiveness,* we could recognize traits of both models of society in the citizens' argumentations. On the one hand, in the UK, for example: *"I think that in terms of older people, I think the outcomes are clear in terms of them getting a bit of service, they are getting*

more services in their own localities now" (Scottish citizen). Others mentioned that co-creation provides higher quality services and therefore constitutes more effective public service provision: *"… the budgets lie with the municipality, but we have the creativity, the openness and the connections"* (Dutch citizen), thereby reflecting on co-creation as an improvement to existing public services. Here, we recognize the 'market' model of society. However, we also saw reflections with a more polis orientation. Some citizens described effectiveness in terms of how pleased the target group was (Spain, UK), or the extent to which creativity is wielded in favour of the city (Netherlands). As a Dutch citizen responded to the question on effectiveness: "*We see a lot of happy faces, when I see those 25 lit-up faces, I think that is the achievement"* (Dutch citizen). As such, effectiveness is also evaluated from a somewhat 'soft' reference point, i.e. terms of how happy the community is with it. This has links to a polis model of society.

Table 4 shows that *civil servants* from Slovakia, Spain and the UK were convinced that co-creation had resulted in positive outcomes; concurring with their citizens that co-creation had led to new products and services. However, the Dutch civil servants disagreed, viewing co-creation as just a new *way* to provide the same services: "*the Singelpark* [one of the Stadslab projects] *will be delivered just as any other infrastructural innovation*" (Dutch civil servant). As such, to them, the innovation does not lie in the outcomes of co-creation, but in the way that they are achieved. We recognize in their argumentation an instrumental perspective on co-creation, considering whether it is a better way to provide public services. As the quote from the Dutch civil servant shows, they evaluated co-creation by comparing its outcomes with the conventional way of delivering public services. This instrumental perspective fits the 'market' model of society.

Something similar can be concluded about *efficiency.* Civil servants in Slovakia, Spain and the UK thought co-creation to be more efficient than conventional public services procurement. In Slovakia, civil servants thought co-creation more efficient because it was based on the voluntary work of citizens, a view supported by their colleagues in the UK and Spain who commented that co-creation creates a *"huge financial benefit"* (Scottish civil servant) and "*Pla BUITS has been implemented with few resources. We have not had to open a new office with 80 extra people to carry this project out*" (Spanish civil servant). Again, the Dutch civil servants disagreed saying that: "*It costs the municipality more effort to meet with these people. When I want to consult the city, I then need twice the finances to cover their planning activities.*" (Dutch civil servant). Again, the 'market' model of society is clearly reflected in that, when evaluating efficiency, civil servants evaluated co-creation in terms of what it did (or might do) to their budgets. In comparison, citizens found it harder to evaluate efficiency, indicating that civil servants had a more instrumental interpretation of efficiency, using the existing budget as their reference.

With regards to *effectiveness,* Slovak, Spanish and UK civil servants were positive, stating that some things were simply not possible without citizen input: "*new public spaces would have never been provided in the conventional way*" (Slovak civil servant) and *"If Pla BUITS had not been implemented, those empty spaces would have remained useless, nothing would have been done there. Now, organizations have the opportunity to offer services to the neighbours, addressing some of their needs*" (Spanish civil servant). Once again, the Dutch civil servants had a different view, claiming that the horizontal structure of the co-creation project made it unclear who they should address for what: *"It is a known fact that doing it like this costs us [the municipality] a lot more effort"* (Dutch civil servant). Here all the civil servants again displayed a market model of society. Positively formulated, the civil servants from the UK, Slovakia and Spain saw co-creation as a better way to accomplish their policy ambitions. Negatively formulated, the Dutch civil servants believed that co-creation was a less effective way to deliver public services. Either way, both views interpreted effectiveness in an instrumental way – in terms of how it contributes (or not) to public service provision. This is fundamentally different to how citizens evaluated these outcomes.

7.4.5 Reflecting models of society in the outcomes of co-creation - Logic of appropriateness

The *citizens* interviewed showed considerable diversity in their appreciation of values related to the logic of appropriateness. First, regarding *participation*, citizens in all the cases indicated that co-creation indeed created participation opportunities, but whether this led to actual participation was less certain. Slovak and Dutch citizens were convinced that co-creation had enhanced participation. The Slovakian respondents saw co-creation as an opportunity "*to fulfil our demand to be involved in public affairs*" and for individuals "*to change the system [of public services provision and public decision making]*" (Slovak citizens). However, the UK and Spanish citizens were less convinced that participation had increased. One Spanish respondent commented that fellow citizens were apathetic and therefore reluctant to participate: "*people watch TV and get the information, but they do not take action. People need to understand that they can come here and work, but we have almost to force them to do it*" (Spanish citizen). In the UK, the citizens interviewed did recognize new collaboration structures and new possibilities to participate, but were not sure whether this increased participation generally. Here, we can recognize a similarity in their argumentations. All the citizens considered participation to be important in itself, not simply because increased participation might lead to better public services. As such, we can recognize the polis model of society, in which membership of the community is considered important.

In evaluating *equal access,* citizens again showed diverging views. It was only in the UK that citizens believed that access to public services had become more equal, and this because co-creation had enhanced accessibility for a disadvantaged group (elderly people). Contrarily,

in the Netherlands, co-creation was considered as problematic, and as a mechanism that excluded: *"It is a small group of people. Always the ones with the biggest mouths. Also, it's about whether you're in or out of the 'club'. If you're out it's really hard to join, because the 'club' is really internally focused"* (Dutch citizen). In Slovakia and Spain, citizens felt it too big a stretch to relate their initiative to a change in the equality of access. However, once again, irrespective of whether the co-creation outcome was seen as positive or negative, citizens reasoned from a communal perspective, rather than an instrumental one, thereby reflecting the polis model of society.

Citizens were fairly unanimous when it came to assessing *responsiveness*. They considered that co-creation had resulted in their *city* or *community* becoming better able to respond adequately to social challenges. For example, as was mentioned in Slovakia: "*co-creation has increased the responsiveness of individuals/citizens, local citizen groups and local businesses to local community needs*" (Slovak citizen). This view was also seen in the other cases. For instance: *"a lot more connections [between people] have been established. The attitude has changed to 'just-do-it'"* (Dutch citizen). In arguing in this way, the respondents viewed co-creation as a way to strengthen relationships within the community, thereby creating a more responsive and resilient community. Such a line of reasoning clearly reflects the polis model.

Civil servants had divergent views in their evaluation of whether *participation* had increased. Slovak and Spanish civil servants were positive: "*the city of Barcelona has a lot of actors who are able to act and participate. Pla BUITS is helping to identify them. The number of actors, and the interaction among them, is clearly increasing*" (Spanish civil servant); and "*thanks to the involvement of citizens in co-creation, civil society is strengthened and this supports citizens' participation in public affairs"* (Slovak civil servant). Elsewhere civil servants were less positive. In the UK and the Netherlands, civil servants pointed to the difficulties of the groups being targeted for participation (the elderly). In the Netherlands, civil servants further pointed out the kind of citizen that participated (well-educated and white): *"most initiatives are 'from the top-shelf and for the top-shelf'"* (Dutch civil servant). Consequently, co-creation might only enhance participation possibilities for specific people. Here it is interesting that civil servants seemed to evaluate the situation in terms of a polis model of society, rather than a market model. As the quote from Slovakia shows, they approached participation from what it did for the community. The Dutch civil servants, as with their citizen counterparts, considered this co-creation project disadvantageous because it might create imbalances within society. This line of reasoning does not fit an instrumental approach in line with a market model of society, but a polis model.

In terms of *equal access,* Slovak and UK civil servants were quite positive whereas Dutch and Spanish civil servants thought access had become less equal. In the UK and Slovakia, the

civil servants thought co-creation had enabled a specific target group to enter a public service (playgrounds, elderly care). In the Netherlands and Spain, civil servants sensed a negative side effect of co-creation: *"Some groups feel really overshadowed"* (Dutch civil servant). Nevertheless, all the civil servants assessed this aspect in terms of the extent to which co-creation had served the community, rather than seeing it as an instrument for something else. Again, this reflects a polis model of society.

In assessing *responsiveness,* civil servants were agreed that co-creation increases responsiveness. They believed that the *government* had become more responsive to social challenges. This was illustrated by the Slovak civil servants: "*where the local government was actively involved in co-creation activities [as co-initiator or co-designer], the responsiveness of local governments to the needs of the community improved*". (Slovak civil servant). Interestingly, compared to the above findings, here we see co-creation being considered as an instrument – an interpretation reflecting a market model of society. While both citizens and civil servants thought co-creation enhanced responsiveness to social problems, the latter saw this as reflecting themselves, whereas the citizens gave the credit for this improvement to the wider society.

7.5 Conclusions

In order to determine the extent to which co-creation – the involvement of citizens in the initiation and/or the design process of public services – results in valuable outcomes, we set out to answer the following question: *To what extent are the outcomes of co-creation practices considered as valuable by participating actors, and can the differences in actors' evaluations be explained by the adoption of different models of society?*

The relevance of this question lies in the fact that, to date, research on co-creation and co-production has failed to show the extent to which co-creation and co-production initiatives result in beneficial outcomes and contribute to the establishment of public value (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015; Verschuere, Brandsen & Pestoff, 2012). Very often, it appeared that participation and the creation of collaborative partnerships was the most valuable outcome of these initiatives, i.e. co-creation was a value in itself (Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers, 2015). In order to go beyond this premise, and to see whether co-creation does lead to public value we proposed: 1) to consider public value as the extent to which co-creation contributes to values that are characteristic of the public domain (based on the distinction between the logics of consequentiality and appropriateness (March & Olsen, 1989)); and 2) to recognize that the extent to which public value has been achieved depends on the convictions of the individuals involved (Moore, 1995).

In order to identify these outcomes, we conducted an international comparative case study involving four cases of co-creation, each in a different country. This enabled us to see to what extent convictions about the outcomes supersede country specifics. In order to explain possible similarities and differences between these convictions, we analysed the extent to which presumed convictions, about society and responsibilities within society (conceptualized here in terms of models of society (Stone, 2003)) influenced the perceived public value.

Our analysis showed that, when looking at the motivations to co-create, citizens tend to be driven by the polis model of society, whereas civil servants draw on arguments that relate more to a market model of society. Consequently, we saw conversion among actor groups, superseding the differences between cases and their contexts.

However, when assessing co-creation outcomes related to the logic of consequentiality, this distinction is not so clear-cut. The interviewed citizens tend to reflect both market and polis models of society in their argumentation as to whether co-creation is efficient and effective. As such, the polis model of society was not as dominant as one might have assumed. Civil servants were more consistent in their reflected model of society, arguing that co-creation was a useful instrument for accomplishing policy objectives, thereby reflecting a market model of society. As such, they approached co-creation in a more calculated and instrumental way than the citizens did, reflecting the dominance of the market model of society within this stakeholder group.

Turning to outcomes related to the logic of appropriateness, citizens evaluated outcomes related to this logic from the perspective of a polis model of society, considering the extent to which co-creation had contributed to their community. Civil servants also evaluated 'participation' and 'equal access' values using a polis model of society when considering how co-creation had contributed to the community. As such, both citizens and civil servants used similar argumentation in determining whether and how co-creation enhances participation and equal access. However, this was not the case when it came to assessing the value attached to the 'responsiveness' outcome: while citizens evaluated this in terms of increased responsiveness by the community, civil servants consider responsiveness from a government perspective. That is, the latter see co-creation as an instrument to enhance responsiveness, again reflecting a market model of society.

These findings have some theoretical implications. First, our research showed that there is little uniformity among our respondents as to whether co-creation leads to public value. Only on two values (effectiveness and responsiveness) were our respondents reasonably consistent about the added value of the co-creation project. As such, the assumption that the outputs of co-creation projects add to public value (Bovaird, 2007; Osborne & Strokosch, 2013) would

seem debatable, and seems to depend on the value on which one focuses. In addition, our research therefore shows, that it is useful to go beyond the outputs of co-creation (Needham, 2008; Pestoff, 2012; Verschuere et al., 2012). This would be valuable since, although our respondents all pointed out that the co-creation initiatives had led to numerous products and services, whether these products and services add to other values in our framework is debatable.

Second, co-creation involves actors from diverse backgrounds being brought together to form partnerships based on their particular skills and competences (Bason, 2010; Löffler, Parrado, Bovaird & Van Ryzin, 2008). We assumed that differences between the groups of stakeholders in terms of their dominant models of society might offer a plausible explanation for any differences in their appreciation of co-creation outcomes. We also assumed that actors would show convergence in their argumentation among actor groups, despite differences in national context and purpose of the co-creation initiative. However, our research only showed such a convergence with regards to the argumentation why actor's decided to participate in co-creation. In their appreciation of outcomes, they did not display a dominant model of society among their actor group. This suggests that perhaps to a certain extent, when forming co-creation partnerships, participating actors from different backgrounds converge their convictions. This would supports the claim of Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000) that, in order to co-create, participating actors should be willing to learn from each other, or update their belief systems (i.e. models of society) (Dunlop & Radaelli, 2013). In other words, this research indicates that, for co-creation to be considered as having added value, it is also necessary for convergence in how actors form their convictions.

Third, our research showed that, by evaluating public value as a set of values related to the logics of both consequentiality and appropriateness, one can not only adopt a more detailed and nuanced perspective on public value, one can also see that, in co-creation, some values may be appreciated over others. For example, various citizens mentioned that other outcomes were more important than efficiency. Further, although co-creation might increase participation possibilities, various respondents (both citizens and civil servants) indicated that it might also exclude some groups within society and therefore come at the cost of enhanced equal access. Therefore, based on this research, we conclude that the perceived added value of co-creation may come at the cost of other values. As noted earlier, the emphasis on the output of co-creation and co-production (Pestoff, 2006; Vamstad, 2012) has meant that the possible trade-offs between values has received little academic attention. Given the call for a better understanding of these outcomes (Brandsen & Honingh, 2015), our research has at least shown some interesting aspects.

Our conclusions also highlight some of the shortcomings of our research and offer directions for future research. In the first place, we only conducted one case study in each country. Therefore, the diversity in the actors' convictions on the added value of co-creation could be caused by differences in the co-creation projects OR in the contexts in which they were embedded. Future international comparative research could resolve this uncertainty by identifying and studying cases that are as similar as possible. Something similar can be said about our second conclusion. While our research revealed that models of society may be useful in explaining why actors consider co-creation outcomes as they do, our research also showed that additional models of society may be adopted during the co-creation process. Therefore, the significance of a certain model of society, as a predictor of an actor's convictions, needs to be explored further. Finally, our research showed that the values pursued in co-creation may be contradictory. In order to draw solid conclusions about whether co-creation adds to public value, it is important to know which values prevail under what circumstances. As such, it would be valuable to more deeply examine the circumstances when co-creation leads to value conflicts.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions and Reflection

8.1 Introduction

This research has focused on co-creation and co-production in the public domain. We argued that, today, citizens and governments are encouraged to collaborate intensively in order to improve and provide public services. Given this situation, this research was aimed at increasing our understanding of co-creation and co-production between citizens and public organizations. The thesis addresses four research aims: 1) to conceptualize the concepts of co-creation and co-production in terms of the knowledge existing within the academic literature; 2) to examine to what extent stimuli for co-creation/co-production can be considered as effective; 3) to examine how the context in which co-creation is embedded influences the co-creation/co-production process and its outcomes; and 4) to assess the extent to which co-creation/co-production outcomes can be identified, and the extent to which these outcomes can be considered as beneficial. In this final chapter, we present and discuss our main conclusions. In the next section, we address our research questions and provide answers and elaborate on their theoretical implications. Subsequently, in section 8.3, we offer directions for future research. Section 8.4 presents the practical implications of our research, derived from our conclusions. In section 8.5 we conclude both this chapter and the thesis with a few concluding remarks.

8.2 Addressing the research questions

In this research, we set out to answer the following main research question:

How can co-creation and co-production between citizens and public organizations in public service delivery be examined in terms of its influential factors, context, and outcomes?

This main question was broken down into four sub-questions that directed the subsequent research components (how these fit together is shown in figure x):

5. How can co-creation and co-production be conceptualized? (conceptual)
6. What are the effects of stimuli on co-creation and co-production? (input)
7. How does the context of co-creation and co-production influence the process? (context/throughput)
8. What are the outcomes of co-creation and co-production, and to what extent are these beneficial? (output/outcomes)

The answers to these four sub-questions will together establish the answer to the main research question.

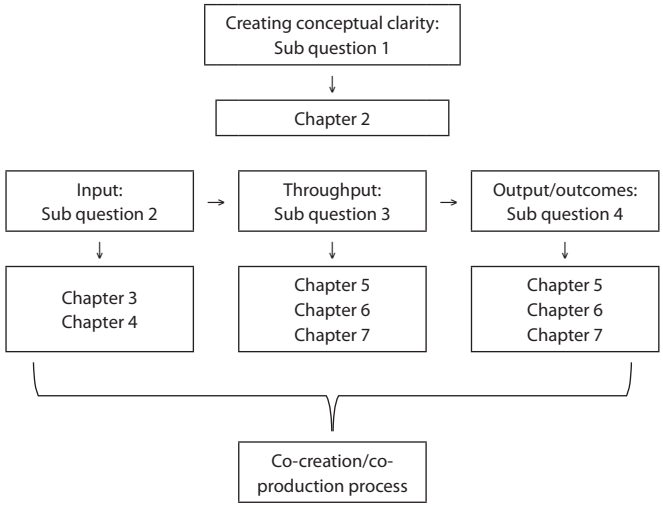

Figure 1. Complementarity between the research components

8.2.1 *How can co-creation and co-production be conceptualized (RQ1)*

Our analysis in chapter 2 showed that co-creation and co-production are often conceptualized in similar ways. Both concepts are used to study citizen participation in which citizens are involved either as 1) initiators, 2) co-designers, or 3) co-implementers. Therefore, we can conclude, from an *empirical* perspective that co-creation and co-production are largely interchangeable (Gebauer, Johnson, & Enquist, 2010; Needham, 2008; Vargo & Lusch, 2004). However, *conceptually*, there is one major difference: co-creation is often defined in terms of the co-creation of *value* (e.g. Bowden & D'Alessandro, 2011; Chathoth, Altinay, Harrington, Okumus, & Chan, 2013; Grönroos, 2012). According to the work of the founding fathers of the co-creation concept, Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000) and Vargo and Lusch (2004), in order to be able to add value to the production process, service users needs to be involved in the early stages of public service development, i.e. in the decision-making and design phases. That is why we have conceptualized co-creation in the public domain as: *the involvement of citizens in the initiation and/or the design process of public services to (co-) develop beneficial outcomes* (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2015 p. 1347). In this thesis we adopt the definition of co-production first offered by Brandsen and Honigh (2015): "*co-production is a relationship between a paid employee of an organization and (groups) of individual citizens that requires a direct and active contribution from these citizens to the work of the organization*" (p. 5). Comparing these two definitions shows how the two concepts overlap, but also how co-creation addresses a more specific part of the production process. That is why, in line with Osborne and Strokosch (2013), we consider co-creation to be a specific form of co-production.

In our review, we further examined how the co-creation/co-production mechanism can be assessed. We identified two groups of influential factors: 1) factors that are influential on the

organizational/institutional side of co-creation and 2) influential factors on the citizen side of co-creation. Factors that are influential on the organizational side of co-creation include an organization's readiness to incorporate citizens as partners in public service delivery (organizational compatibility); the openness of public officials and/or civil servants to citizen participation and partnerships with citizens; and whether the organizational culture is risk averse (and therefore reluctant to include citizens in public service delivery). In order to create a helpful culture and attitude, the literature distinguishes several incentives to establish co-creation (e.g. financial incentives, activating policy). On the citizen side, our review has shown that citizens need to be willing to co-create. Although this may seem a given, our review shows that this willingness can have various roots. Some citizens are motivated by an intrinsic willingness to contribute to a better society or government, while others are motivated more by a feeling of ownership of a certain problem or target group. This is an important aspect because it determines what the involved actors consider to be the outcomes of co-creation/co-production. Further, social capital is considered in the literature an important precondition for building co-creation projects.

If the co-creation process is struggling, additional actions can be taken in order to stimulate the process. For example, a policy could be introduced to actively encourage co-creation. Further, enhancing the professional autonomy of civil servants and street-level bureaucrats might allow them to 'read between the lines' and 'think outside the box' where co-creation takes place. In addition, having a person (a policy entrepreneur) who actively connects actors to each other may help in this process. Further, the literature suggests actions that might improve citizens' willingness such as offering financial support in order to create an external trigger or offering citizens a simple (plebiscitary) choice. Moreover, the review indicates that policy is needed that actively encourages a sense of ownership.

Based on this review, the following theoretical framework was established to reflect how co-creation and co-production processes come into being (Figure 2).

8.2.2 *What are the effects of stimuli on co-creation and co-production (RQ2)*

In our double experiment in chapter 3 we showed that, although financial incentives are increasingly considered to be a promising stimulus for encouraging citizens to co-produce (Collom, 2008; Glynos & Speed, 2012; Lasker et al., 2011), an incentive of 2 euro per hour (similar to voluntary compensation) had no effect on people's willingness to co-create. However, an incentive of 10 euro per hour (similar to the minimum net income of a professional teacher) did have a positive effect, albeit only a marginal one. Therefore, based on the experiments reported in chapter 3, we cannot conclude that financial incentives will be an effective instrument in stimulating co-production willingness.

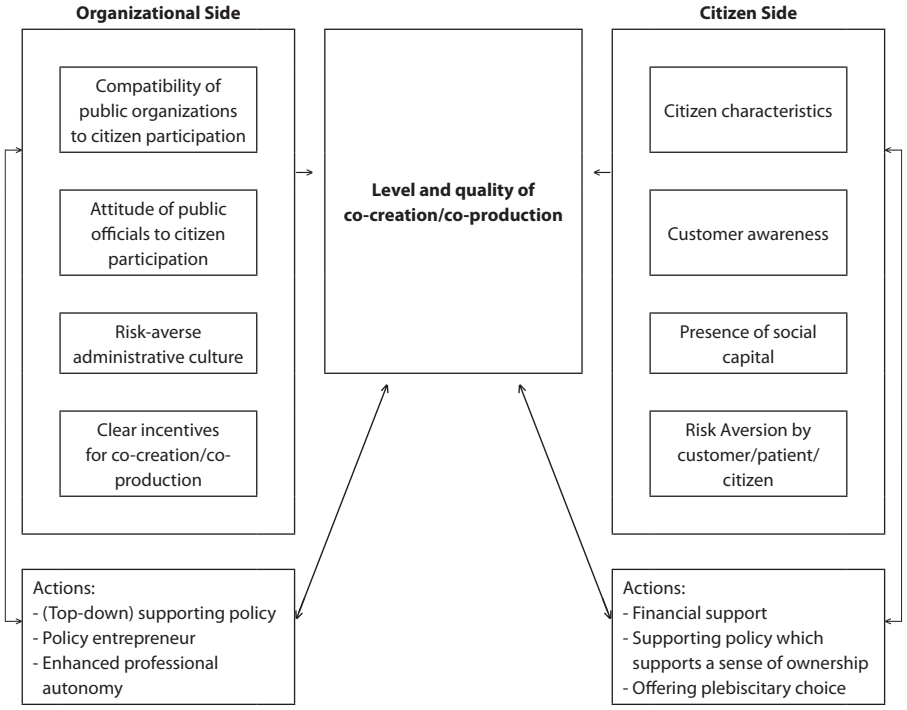

Figure 2. Theoretical Framework for co-creation and co-production

By conducting this review and drafting this theoretical framework, our research responds to the call by Osborne and Strokosch (2013) to increase our theoretical understanding of co-production. In short, our review creates conceptual clarity by showing that co-creation and co-production are often similarly defined. In addition, we have been able to distinguish three levels of co-creation/co-production in the literature. Further, by conducting this review, we have systematically identified the mechanisms underlying our central concepts. This established a systematically formed starting point for further empirical research. Based on the gaps in the literature introduced in section 1.4, and in chapter 2, we identified how our research would add to the existing literature on co-creation and co-production. Figure 3 shows schematically how our empirical chapters add to the framework developed in chapter 2 and displayed above in Figure 2.

Based on this finding, we add to the literature the idea that there seems to be a *tipping point* in people's willingness to co-produce that is reached if enough money is offered for their efforts. Also, we can add that, when it comes to co-production, our research does not reveal a crowding out effect as a result of adding financial incentives to citizens' intrinsic motivation (a fear voiced by Alford, 2002). Hence, our research adds some important nuances to the debate on the effectiveness of financial incentives. It also opens up a discussion on under

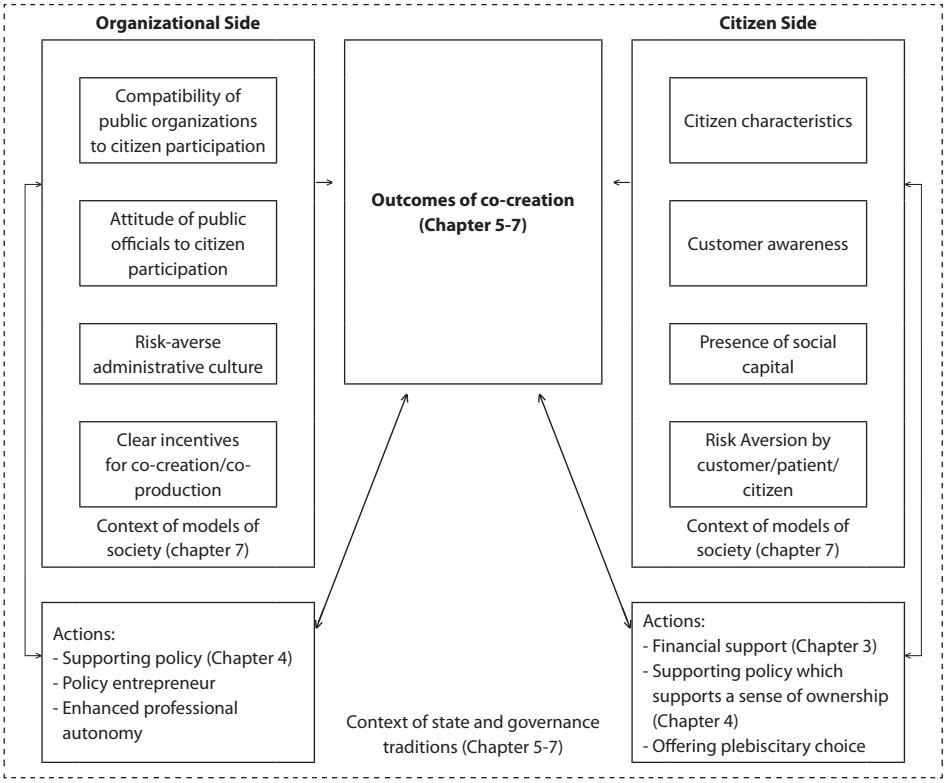

Figure 3. Adapted theoretical Framework co-creation and co-production

which circumstances financial incentives may be an effective instrument in improving people's willingness to co-produce. We would therefore propose pursuing this debate along the lines of the work by Ostrom (2000) who studied the conditions under which extrinsic elements might increase productivity and labor intensity. We come back to this in our future research agenda.

Some authors have argued that another potential stimulus – a supportive policy – is an effective instrument for boosting co-creation/co-production (Lindahl, Liden, & Lindblad, 2011; Ostrom, 1996; Pestoff, 2009). However, chapter 4 showed that although this might well have positive effects on people's willingness to co-create, it also has various unintended consequences. In chapter 4, we showed that profiling citizens as co-creators is becoming increasingly dominant throughout the European Union. As such, it has virtually become a *magic concept* (Pollitt & Hupe, 2011) leading to *convergence* on a specific desirable profile. Chapter 4 showed that this convergence ends up profiling all groups in society as co-creators. However, such a *mainstreaming* policy can have important side-effects for various societal groups. Employing the categories of Schneider and Ingram (1993), initiatives from *contenders* (i.e. bankers, corporations) will be subjected to all kinds of scrutiny with strict accountability indicators. Although, a co-creation policy might enable dependent (the poor, single-mothers)

and deviant groups (drug addicts, criminals) to shed their negative and self-confirming labels, it can also create a paradox where these groups are increasingly invited to co-create but are not assisted in finding their way into the co-creation projects. This was partly confirmed in chapter 7 where we found that most citizens who participate in co-creation are relatively fortunate in terms of socio-economic status. Given this finding, chapter 4 does not so much conclude by deciding whether a supportive policy should be considered an effective instrument but, instead, opens up the debate on the potentially unintended consequences of such a policy (Margetts & Hood, 2012). To date, this topic has received little academic attention within the co-production literature.

So, although we set out to draw some definitive conclusions with regards to the effects of certain stimuli on co-creation and co-production, as to whether one should use such instruments or not, our research instead resulted in a number of nuances to the major assumptions underlying these stimuli. This opens up new questions and directions for future research (see 8.3).

8.2.3 *How does the context of co-creation and co-production influence its process and its outcomes (RQ3)*

Chapters 5 and 6 showed that the context, and especially the macro-level institutional characteristics, in which a co-creation project is implemented has a bearing on how the project proceeds. However, the findings were not considered sufficiently robust to be able to conclude that the configuration of state and governance traditions (or actors' models of society) constituted a reliable predictor of how a co-creation project would evolve.

Chapter 2 had shown that factors embedded in the context of co-creation/co-production, in terms of administrative culture and attitude of public officials, are considered important influential factors (Baars, 2011; Gebauer et al., 2010; Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012). In addition to using this literature, we conceptualized the context of co-creation in two ways. First, with a focus on state and governance traditions in chapters 5 and 6, we revealed that in a country with an authoritative state tradition (Estonia) a shift in policy (chapter 6) and in role distribution (chapter 5) could be easier than in countries where authority is shared with many other actors (e.g. Germany). Further, countries with a Rechtsstaat governance culture are likely to have multiple collaborative structures in public service delivery, and these structures will all be highly formalized with a strict legal basis. As such, co-creation, as a new collaborative structure, may be hindered by all these protocols as was shown in our Dutch and German cases. As such, our research showed that the macro-context of state and governance traditions influence whether and how co-creation is embraced as a new policy strategy. Here, our research shines new light on the claims of Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011) that state and governance traditions can explain why governments react differently to similar challenges. Although we

saw traces of this macro-context role in our co-creation cases, our research failed to identify an optimal set of state and governance traditions (configuration) for co-creation to succeed. The reason for this apparent failure is that, in two countries with very different sets of state and governance traditions (the Netherlands and Estonia), the co-creation outcomes were quite similar.

Therefore, although we can conclude that adopting a macro-perspective may help in understanding why co-creation initiatives are not always successful, one should not consider such a perspective as providing a reliable predictor of co-creation success. Nevertheless, chapters 5 and 6 have added a macro-level perspective to the co-creation context that opens up a new angle on this field where the context has yet to be conceptualized in such terms.

Second, in chapter 7, we conceptualized this context in terms of *models of society* (Stone, 2003). We argued that dominant models of society may determine how actors evaluate the outcomes of co-creation processes. Our analysis regarding actors' motivations to co-create revealed that civil servants view co-creation in a very instrumental way. This is in accordance with Stone's *market* model of society concept. In comparison, involved citizens were rather motivated by how co-creation adds value for the community (such as whether other members of the community are 'happy' with co-creation) reflecting a *polis* model of society. Interestingly, this distinction is far less clear-cut when it comes to the outcomes of co-creation. While civil servants continue to reflect a purely instrumental approach reflecting a market model of society, citizens tend to reflect both market and polis models in their argumentation regarding values related to the logic of consequentiality. In evaluating outcomes related to the logic of appropriateness, citizens held on to a polis model of society, arguing how co-creation had contributed (or not) to their community. Here, civil servants also tended to such a polis model of society when addressing values such as 'participation' and 'equal access'.

We can conclude from this that models of society, as conceptualizations of the socialization process of actors, are useful in understanding why actors are motivated to participate in co-creation. However, in order to understand (or predict) how actors evaluate co-creation outcomes, these models of society seem less useful. In order to better understand this, we argue that one needs to not only focus on whether the components as defined in chapter 2 are present, but also on how these components mingle and mix with each other. Therefore, we believe that a useful distinction can be made between *necessary* and *sufficient* conditions for co-creation/co-production (Bennett, 2010; Bennett & Checkel, 2012). This then enables us to explain why co-creation may flourish in some cases but not in others despite a similar set of conditions being present. It could be that the conditions present can all be characterized as necessary conditions (e.g. social capital and willing civil servants), but without the efforts of

a boundary spanner or policy entrepreneur (a sufficient condition) co-creation cannot occur. We come back to this in section 8.3 when addressing future research issues.

8.2.4 *What are the outcomes of co-creation/co-production and to what extent are these beneficial (RQ4)*

Chapter 7 shows that the appreciation of outcomes is diverse and differs both between and among actor groups. Conclusions with regards to whether co-creation is beneficial depended on the position and interests of the respondent concerned. In terms of a changed policy as an outcome of co-creation, chapter 6 showed that although co-creation may require a substantial change in public policy, other variables, such as the surrounding state and governance traditions in which the project is embedded, seem more useful in explaining whether or not this change occurs,.

Co-creation involves collaboration between various actors coming from different backgrounds. These actors will therefore have different evaluations of what constitutes a valuable outcome. Our research showed that the actors involved have diverging opinions as to the added value of co-creation. Citizens were relatively positive with regards to 'hard' values such as the realization of products, efficiency, and effectiveness, but less convinced when it came to values such as participation and equal access since co-creation can have an exclusive mechanism. Civil servants also recognized this exclusive mechanism and further pointed out that co-creation is usually initiated by and for the top layer of society. They also had mixed opinions on whether co-creation has added value in terms of effectiveness and efficiency. The most interesting result was that both groups (citizens and governmental civil servants) unanimously concluded that co-creation increases responsiveness in tackling contemporary challenges.

Furthermore, both citizens and civil servants observed that co-creation can have unwanted outcomes by functioning as an excluding mechanism. Our research shows that despite Loeffler and Bovaird (2016) and Parrado et al. (2013) suggesting that level of education or socio-economic status might not have a significant influence on people's willingness to co-produce, our research shows that this does not mean that all citizes groups are equally represented in co-production projects. Finally, our research shows that co-creation is often a *legitimizing* strategy whose symbolic value is very important (Feller, 1981). In particular, civil servants indicated that political will is a factor in their willingness to co-create, thereby considering co-creation as a value in itself. Based on these results, we conclude that the claimed potential of co-creation and co-production (Alford, 1998; Bovaird, 2007; Pestoff, 2006) needs to be nuanced. That is, the added value of co-creation depends on an actor's position and convictions (Schön & Rein, 1995). Therefore, we also argue that co-creation/co-production should not be considered as a direct substitute for public service delivery since, if it is unclear what kind of values co-creation/co-production can serve, it would be unwise to replace traditional service

delivery by co-creation. We do conclude that co-creation/co-production can be very useful, but that they should not be considered as a substitute for existing public services.

We also addressed the topic of outcomes in terms of changes in public service delivery (chapters 5 and 6). In chapter 5, we studied whether co-creation can be considered as a 'game-changer' for public service delivery in Germany, the Netherlands, and Estonia. Subsequently, in chapter 6, we studied whether policy has changed in favor of co-creation, and to what extent changes in the convictions of involved actors on how public services should be provided (i.e. prognostic frames) preceded this change. Our analyses revealed how co-creation demanded different changes in the various cases and countries (e.g. fundamental change in Estonia but only a marginal change in the Netherlands). Changes in policy and in public service delivery did not occur in all our cases. Therefore, we have to conclude that such changes cannot be considered as an outcome of co-creation. Although the attention given to co-creation in our studied countries demanded a change in public service and policy, whether the required change occurs seems to depend on the surrounding context of state and governance traditions (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011).

Overall, it appears that actors involved in co-creation have diverging opinions with regards to its outcomes and whether these outcomes are beneficial. Consequently, this research does not offer firm conclusions regarding the issues raised by Brandsen and Honigh (2015) and by Bovaird and Loeffler (2016). Our research merely shows that going beyond identifying the output of co-creation/co-production, and drawing conclusions about its added value, is challenging and that this value depends on the convictions of actors, their embeddedness within networks of other actors, their shared convictions, and the values and processes of deliberation (O'Flynn, 2007; Stoker, 2006; Bozeman, 2002).

8.3 Towards a future research agenda

This research has advanced a number of the issues identified by Verschuere et al. (2012) and our own review (see section 1.4). However, one of the main accomplishments of this thesis is the identification of new research angles and further specification of previous issues and questions. In this section we elaborate on these issues.

8.3.1 Enhancing conceptual clarity

Our research has taken a first step in creating conceptual clarity between co-creation and co-production (Chapter 2) and between these two concepts and overlapping concepts (H1). One of the main outcomes of our systematic review is that we were able to detect three types of co-creation in the literature and that these appeared similar to the three types of co-production

identified (i.e. citizens involved as co-initiators, co-designers, and co-implementers). In so doing, we were able to systematically show how co-creation and co-production overlap. Therefore, our first proposal is to conduct similar reviews of other bodies of literature such as those addressing interactive governance, self-organization, and collaborative governance. This would enable us to conclude in an academically valid way how these concepts overlap and differ both in terms of definition and in terms of underlying explanatory mechanisms. Furthermore, our review was conducted as an 'open' review, reflecting our aim of creating an overview of the existing knowledge (i.e. establish the state of the art). Once the concepts have been elaborated and defined in an academically valid way, we can increase conceptual clarity by looking at specific relationships. For instance, in this research we paid attention to the macro-context in which co-creation and co-production are embedded. We concluded that this context is critical in how co-creation projects proceed, and that there is still much to learn about the relationship between co-creation and its context. We therefore propose conducting further empirical research into this relationship, and also further reviews to systematically assemble what is already known about aspects of this relationship.

8.3.2 Attention to feedback mechanisms in co-creation and co-production

Chapter 2 resulted in a conceptual framework revealing the mechanisms underlying co-creation and co-production projects. This framework also shows that certain aspects of this mechanism are still unexplored. For instance, chapter 2 identified various instruments that might stimulate co-creation, suggesting a feedback mechanism in which the co-creation processes or outcomes are evaluated. To date, these feedback mechanisms, as an element in co-creation and co-production, have received only limited academic attention. However, we argue that, since the co-creation and co-production concepts imply interaction between actors, these feedback mechanisms are an inherent part of the concept. Despite this, it is unknown what facilitates co-creation feedback, what prerequisites are necessary, and how it should be organized between actors from different backgrounds. This is a very important area since one of the goals of co-creation is to have a strict focus on the needs of service users. As such, it is necessary to understand how these service users can get their feedback across. Our chapter 6, by focusing on whether and how *learning* occurs through co-creation (see also Chathoth et al., 2013), is a step in this direction. Focusing explicitly on this learning process in future research could reveal underlying feedback mechanisms that are specific to co-creation and co-production. Since not much is yet known about these feedback loops, a systematic inductive approach is needed. Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) involving multiple co-creation cases would be an appropriate research method for identifying these learning mechanisms in a more systematic way and thereby validate these patterns. QCA would not only help in identifying these feedback mechanisms, it could also identify conditions underlying these mechanisms.

8.3.3 Stimulating co-creation and co-production

An important question that remains is how to stimulate co-creation/co-production. Based on our research, we pose some serious questions regarding the usefulness of financial incentives as a motivator. How to boost people's willingness, other than by offering financial incentives, is still a question for future research. Here, our research did suggest that there might be a 'tipping point' where citizens will start 'doing it for the money'. However, we have not established this tipping point. Therefore, we propose repeating our experiment with multiple treatments, varying between 2 and 10 euros per hour. Such an experiment could identify the point at which people will start co-creating 'for the money'. Further, finding this tipping point could assist governments who are considering implementing monetary incentives. Extending our research by employing multiple treatments will allow governments to make a more solid cost-benefit analysis regarding the feasibility of this instrument as a stimulator of co-creation.

Furthermore, this research has only tested one possible stimulus for co-production: willingness. Hopefully, this thesis will itself be seen as a stimulus, as a push for testing various other potential co-creation stimuli, for instance the presence of a boundary spanner, or the background of the initiator (citizen representative or government representative). The literature suggests that stimulators that enhance *intrinsic* motivation (Alford, 2002; Loeffler & Bovaird, 2016) may be a much more effective stimulus. As such, future research could usefully address the kinds of motivators that might stimulate people's intrinsic motivation. Our research showed that an experimental setting is a useful way to test such stimuli.

In chapter 4, we showed that a policy implemented to stimulate co-creation might have unintended consequences. Although the realization that a policy can have unintended consequences has been debated in other domains (Margetts & Hood, 2012), this has received little attention in the co-creation and co-production literature. As we illustrated in chapter 3, an experimental setting may well be an appropriate way to identify the consequences of a stimulus. Nevertheless, in order to increase the validity of such tests, we propose trying them in a real-life setting (i.e. in field experiments). The emerging living labs, urban labs, and innovation labs can offer such a real-life setting (Gascó, 2016). Testing these stimuli in such settings enables one to design, test, and refine prototypes in a setting where there is room for trial and error (Bason, 2016; Howlett, 2014; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2016). By designing prototypes that *may* stimulate people's willingness, and testing these in both controlled and real-life settings, instruments can be validated in terms of both internal and external validity. Adopting this approach will hopefully provide reliable tests of the usefulness and feasibility of the assumed influential factors.

8.3.4 Examining the outcomes of co-creation and co-production for different target groups

Chapter 4 considered the possible consequences, if co-creation were to become a fundamental aspect of policy, for different target groups within society. Future research needs to show to what extent these predicted consequences are indeed reality for these target groups. In order to achieve this, various research steps are needed. First, in order to conclude whether it is indeed only the most advantaged citizens who are involved in co-creation, we need to systematically profile participating citizens in such projects (see, for an example, van Eijk, Steen, & Verschuere, 2017). Qualitative case comparison, and also descriptive surveys, could reveal the types of citizens who usually participate in co-creation and co-production. Second, we propose analyzing the effects of efforts by governments to include other target groups in co-creation projects. For instance, one could focus on the policy instruments used to stimulate target groups other than advantaged citizens. We propose both a qualitative and a quantitative approach. In the qualitative part, research could explore the effects of policy instruments on specific target groups. In the quantitative component, one could establish the extent to which these effects are correlated with the implemented policy instruments. This will show the effects of a policy on the different target groups within society (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). From this, it will be possible to conclude whether co-creation and co-production indeed have excluding mechanisms. This might well be the most important direction for future research since co-creation and co-production are increasingly becoming an inherent part of public policy (see chapter 4). Consequently, it is vital that we know to what extent it is discriminatory.

8.3.5 Identify fertile configurations for co-creation and co-production

Chapter 2 showed that, to date, various influential factors have been identified in the co-creation/co-production process. Although the identification of these factors reveals much about the process of co-creation, it does not say much about the interaction between these factors. For instance, various contributors have spoken about the importance of having a supportive administrative culture (e.g. Baars, 2011; Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012), while others have mentioned the importance of having willing public officials, with a supportive attitude towards citizen involvement (e.g. Davis & Ruddle, 2012; Gebauer et al. 2010). It is likely that these factors are related. Therefore, in order to truly understand the explanatory mechanisms underpinning co-creation, we suggest treating them as elements in *configurations* of multiple interrelated factors. Such a perspective provides an opportunity to identify how different combinations of influential factors may result in similar outcomes, as our findings in chapters 5 and 6 suggested. Here, future research could address the interaction of these factors and identify fertile configurations of interrelated factors. In addition, our research has shown how contextual elements, in terms of state and governance traditions and actors' models of society, may influence both how co-creation processes take place and how co-creation outcomes are perceived. However, due to the limited scope of our empirical work, we were not able to draw

statistically validated conclusions about the influence of these contextual elements. Future research could confirm or reject our hypothesis. Also here we would propose considering these contextual elements as part of different configurations in which multiple factors intermingle and can be characterized differently (we propose distinguishing between necessary and sufficient influential factors). Our research has made a plausible argument that such a context does matter, but has left identifying critical elements or critical configurations that contribute to 'co-creation readiness' for future research. Here, QCA might again be a good way forward since this would allow researchers to 'map' the context in which co-creation needs to be embedded, and identify patterns among multiple cases, thereby testing the value of various co-creation contextual configurations.

8.3.6 Determining the circumstances under which co-creation/co-production delivers its potential

Co-creation and co-production are embedded within the paradigm of New Public Governance (Calabrò, 2012; Osborne, 2006). In our introductory chapter, we argued that this embeddedness creates questions as to whether co-creation/co-production lives up to the potential claimed for it within the NPG paradigm. Our research has shown that the added value of co-creation/co-production can be appreciated differently by the actors involved. The question remains as to under what conditions does co-creation/co-production lead to beneficial outcomes in terms of addressing the needs of citizens. Our framework presented in chapter 7 offers a step forward in answering this question. Applying this framework can reveal how different stakeholders appreciate co-creation outcomes. However, in order to validate the usefulness of this framework, it needs to be applied in a large *n* setting where outcomes can be quantitatively classified. This would enable the added value of co-creation/co-production to be quantified and possibly correlated with other variables. This is crucial because concepts such as participation, co-creation, co-production, and social innovation are regarded, within the NPG paradigm, as an answer to wicked issues such as the influx of refugees, adaptation to climate change, and how to deal with an ageing population (Schafft & Brown, 2000; Strokosch & Osborne, 2017; Wilder et al., 2010). However, research has yet to show to what extent co-creation/co-production is indeed an effective way to confront these challenges. In order to clarify this, we propose evaluating numerous cases of co-creation and co-production. While the framework introduced in chapter 7 may help in appreciating the outcomes, we also propose developing a measure to quantify the results of these projects in terms of financial turnover, number of people involved, range of actors, and number of services and products produced.

8.3.7 Examining how co-creation/co-production changes the role distribution between actors and affects public professionalism

Our final suggestion for future research relates to possible changes in the relationships between actors due to co-creation/co-production. Placing these concepts within the NPG

paradigm implies that citizens and public organizations ought to form partnerships in which the mutual interdependence between these two parties is acknowledged. However, this raises questions about accountability in public service delivery. For instance, to what extent can citizens be held accountable for their performance? Further, we have shown, in chapter 1, that the distribution of roles between citizens and public organizations is changing within the NPG paradigm. How such a role distribution might affect public professionalism has received little academic attention to date, and we argue that this changing role distribution is a relevant topic for future research. Furthermore, other institutions, such as municipality councils and parliament, have to find new ways to relate to these partnerships. This raises questions concerning the *democratic* accountability of co-creation projects and eventually even the primacy of politics. This changing role distribution is still unexplored territory. We would suggest starting by comparing different cases as to the tasks and efforts of the actors involved (i.e. public professionals, citizens and their organizations, companies, and other actors) and compare these with the situation before the co-creation project. This will show the extent to which the roles and role distribution have changed due to co-creation and co-production, and also provide empirical evidence for how these roles are changing within the NPG paradigm. Based on the research outcomes, one will be able to address the bigger questions, such as whether the democratic landscape in Western democracies is changing due to citizen involvement in public service delivery. Furthermore, this is also a necessary step in determining the kinds of skills and competences required of each actor in effective co-creation/co-production partnerships.

8.4 Implications for co-creation and co-production practice

From our research, we have been able to deduce five implications/recommendations for the practice of co-creation and co-production. An overview is given in table 1.

Table 1. Overview of practical recommendations

Recommendation	Phase
1. Consider co-creation/co-production as an addition rather than an alternative	Conceptual
2. Consider co-creation/co-production as an instrument rather than as a value in itself	Conceptual
3. Reconsider assumed motivators for co-creation/co-production	Input
4. Look for configurations rather than buttons to press If you want to stimulate co-creation/co-production	Throughput
5. Allow multiple understandings of outcomes/output of co-creation/co-production projects	Output/outcome

8.4.1 Consider co-creation/co-production as an addition rather than as an alternative

As this thesis shows, assuming co-creation/co-production to be a potential alternative approach to delivering public services is questionable given the lack of concrete outcomes and the ambiguity as to what kind of values it adds. Therefore, we recommend considering it as an addition to existing public services, rather than as a replacement. This will safeguard co-creation/co-production against all kinds of unwarranted promises. Further, given that co-creation tends to have an excluding side effect, treating it as an addition to public services avoids difficult questions about, for instance, whether projects are democratically representative. This will further guarantee public service delivery to those people who lack the ability to participate in such projects.

8.4.2 Consider co-creation/co-production as an instrument rather than a value in itself

If co-creation/co-production is to have a place in public service delivery, we recommend considering it as primarily an instrument for something else, rather than as a value in itself. Our case studies showed that many respondents argued that the main accomplishment of co-creation was that collaborative projects were initiated. In doing so, questions regarding who benefits from these projects, the costs of realizing these projects, and any possible disadvantageous are effectively sidestepped. These questions are important, especially since this thesis shows that co-creation may have undesirable outcomes for specific target groups. In order not to avoid these questions, we recommend keeping the focus on what purpose the co-creation project is to serve and at what cost this can be achieved. Although these purposes may be objectives that are not immediately related to public policy (such as creating greater social cohesion within a neighborhood or enhancing a feeling of social responsibility), we would argue that there should always be a concrete reason to co-create or co-produce.

8.4.3 Reconsider assumed motivators for co-creation/co-production

Chapter 3 showed that it is open to question whether financial incentives can be considered effective stimuli for co-production. In our experiment, an amount similar to the net income of Dutch education professionals was required to have a significant effect on people's willingness. As such, implementing financial and quasi-financial incentives (alternative currencies or coupons) may not be the best way for governments to stimulate co-creation and co-production. Indeed, chapter 7 showed that people were motivated to co-create through it contributing to an important broader cause rather than their own economic interests. Therefore, we would recommend, in line with authors such as Alford (2009; 2002) and Parrado et al. (2013), that stimuli should be aimed at triggering intrinsic motivators.

Furthermore, given the potentially negative effects of a policy to stimulate co-creation (or establish co-creators), we would urge governments to be cautious in establishing a desired citizen profile as part of policy. As we have shown in chapter 4, such profiling may have very negative consequences for large numbers of citizens who do not fit this profile. Therefore, although stimulating co-creation projects may be a good thing, we argue that governments should be very cautious in profiling certain citizens as co-creators.

8.4.4 Look for configurations rather than buttons to press if you want to stimulate co-creation/co-production

In chapter 2, we identified various factors that may influence the co-creation/co-production process. In our conclusions, in sections 8.2 and 8.3, we argued that it is necessary to look for sets of useful configurations, rather than for 'buttons to press'. As an illustration, we showed in chapter 2 that social capital is important for co-creation and co-production. Therefore, it is important to know which social structures are present as fertile breeding grounds for co-creation. However, having such a fertile breeding ground is not sufficient for co-creation to flourish: social capital does not automatically lead to co-creation, it needs to be combined with other factors. This is where the notion of configurations becomes important. We recommend analyzing these social structures in detail: for instance, on what kinds of values are they based, and who is the central figure within them? This may reveal what else these social structures need in order to let co-creation flourish. The same is true for the macro-level elements examined in chapters 5 and 6. Our research showed that similar state and governance combinations can lead to different outcomes in terms of how co-creation projects proceed. Therefore, if one is to help struggling projects improve, one needs to develop a thorough understanding of the context in which they are embedded and how the factors present affect each other.

8.4.5 Allow multiple understandings of outcomes/output of co-creation/co-production projects

This thesis has shown that outcomes of co-creation may be evaluated and appreciated differently by the actors involved. We see this as logical since partners come from different backgrounds and participate for different reasons. We would therefore recommend initiators of co-creation projects, prior to their formal initiation, to deduce the interests of each individual partner and, most importantly, to consider whether co-creation is the best way to achieve the goal. This will allow a multiple understanding of the co-creation outcomes that does justice to the pluralistic nature of the collaboration.

8.5 Closing remarks

This research was dedicated to co-creation and co-production: a new way to innovate and deliver public services. An essential element of these concepts is that citizens work in collaborative partnerships, together with government and professional organizations, to address the needs of citizens and to confront contemporary challenges such as climate change, an ageing population, the declining legitimacy of public institutions, and unemployment. Our research has added some important nuances to the existing assumptions regarding the prerequisites for co-creation and co-production to flourish, how co-creation and co-production can be stimulated, and to what extent the outcomes of co-creation and co-production can be considered beneficial. This topic remains high on the political, social, and academic agenda. Whereas, in the early days, co-creation/co-production was seen as a *possible* way to provide public services (Alford, 1998), is it now an inherent part of legitimate public service delivery (Osborne & Strokosch, 2013). In our view, this makes questions regarding its ability (in terms of its effectiveness, its costs, and its target groups) to address wicked problems such as climate change and the influx of refugees more urgent than ever. Research has yet to show in a systematic way that co-creation and co-production are feasible strategies to effectively confront these challenges. Systematic research can test the potential of co-creation and co-production to address huge problems, and progress their current status beyond that of *magic concepts* (Pollitt & Hupe, 2011). Hopefully, this will enable us to formulate the added value of these concepts in concrete terms such as the level of CO2 reduction, the number of deprived neighborhoods restored, and the number of migrants assimilated. This thesis has been an attempt to unravel these concepts by addressing the underlying mechanisms and conditions. Now, the way forward is to conclude to what extent these concepts actually live up to their expectations and what configurations need to be created in order to deliver. If we are able to answer those questions, then we will be able to unravel the current beliefs and see the real 'magic' of the co-creation and co-production concepts.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1. PRISMA checklist

Appendix 2. Questionnaire for Study 1 (translated from Dutch)

Appendix 3. Questionnaire for Study 2 (translated from Dutch)

Appendix 1. PRISMA checklist

Section/ topic	#	Checklist item	Reported on page #
TITLE			
Title	1	Identify the report as a systematic review, meta-analysis, or both.	1
ABSTRACT			
Structured summary	2	Provide a structured summary including, as applicable: background; objectives; data sources; study eligibility criteria, participants, and interventions; study appraisal and synthesis methods; results; limitations; conclusions and implications of key findings; systematic review registration number.	2
INTRODUCTION			
Rationale	3	Describe the rationale for the review in the context of what is already known.	3-5
Objectives	4	Provide an explicit statement of questions being addressed with reference to participants, interventions, comparisons, outcomes, and study design (PICOS).	4
METHODS			
Protocol and registration	5	Indicate if a review protocol exists, if and where it can be accessed (e.g., Web address), and, if available, provide registration information including registration number.	4
Eligibility criteria	6	Specify study characteristics (e.g., PICOS, length of follow-up) and report characteristics (e.g., years considered, language, publication status) used as criteria for eligibility, giving rationale.	6-8
Information sources	7	Describe all information sources (e.g., databases with dates of coverage, contact with study authors to identify additional studies) in the search and date last searched.	7
Search	8	Present full electronic search strategy for at least one database, including any limits used, such that it could be repeated.	8
Study selection	9	State the process for selecting studies (i.e., screening, eligibility, included in systematic review, and, if applicable, included in the meta-analysis).	8
Data collection process	10	Describe method of data extraction from reports (e.g., piloted forms, independently, in duplicate) and any processes for obtaining and confirming data from investigators.	7-8
Data items	11	List and define all variables for which data were sought (e.g., PICOS, funding sources) and any assumptions and simplifications made.	N.A.
Risk of bias in individual studies	12	Describe methods used for assessing risk of bias of individual studies (including specification of whether this was done at the study or outcome level), and how this information is to be used in any data synthesis.	N.A.
Summary measures	13	State the principal summary measures (e.g., risk ratio, difference in means).	N.A.
Synthesis of results	14	Describe the methods of handling data and combining results of studies, if done, including measures of consistency (e.g., I^2) for each meta-analysis.	N.A.
Risk of bias across studies	15	Specify any assessment of risk of bias that may affect the cumulative evidence (e.g., publication bias, selective reporting within studies).	6-8
Additional analyses	16	Describe methods of additional analyses (e.g., sensitivity or subgroup analyses, meta-regression), if done, indicating which were pre-specified.	6-8
RESULTS			
Study selection	17	Give numbers of studies screened, assessed for eligibility, and included in the review, with reasons for exclusions at each stage, ideally with a flow diagram.	8

Study characteristics	18	For each study, present characteristics for which data were extracted (e.g., study size, PICOS, follow-up period) and provide the citations.	9
Risk of bias within studies	19	Present data on risk of bias of each study and, if available, any outcome level assessment (see item 12).	N.A.
Results of individual studies	20	For all outcomes considered (benefits or harms), present, for each study: (a) simple summary data for each intervention group (b) effect estimates and confidence intervals, ideally with a forest plot.	N.A.
Synthesis of results	21	Present results of each meta-analysis done, including confidence intervals and measures of consistency.	N.A.
Risk of bias across studies	22	Present results of any assessment of risk of bias across studies (see Item 15).	N.A.
Additional analysis	23	Give results of additional analyses, if done (e.g., sensitivity or subgroup analyses, meta-regression [see Item 16]).	9-17
DISCUSSION			
Summary of evidence	24	Summarize the main findings including the strength of evidence for each main outcome; consider their relevance to key groups (e.g., healthcare providers, users, and policy makers).	18
Limitations	25	Discuss limitations at study and outcome level (e.g., risk of bias), and at review-level (e.g., incomplete retrieval of identified research, reporting bias).	18
Conclusions	26	Provide a general interpretation of the results in the context of other evidence, and implications for future research.	21-23
FUNDING			
Funding	27	Describe sources of funding for the systematic review and other support (e.g., supply of data); role of funders for the systematic review.	N.A.

From: Moher D, Liberati A, Tetzlaff J, Altman DG, The PRISMA Group (2009). Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: The PRISMA Statement. PLoS Med 6(6): e1000097. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed1000097 For more information, visit:**www.prisma-statement.or**

Appendix 2. Questionnaire for Study 1 (translated from Dutch)

The number of refugees in need for an integration trajectory has increased so much that the official integration institutions cannot deal with them anymore. Therefore, Dutch cities are approaching citizens with the question whether they are willing to teach Dutch language classes to refugees. [*if Arandom=1:* Citizens will be compensated accordingly].

Volunteers will teach language courses for a period of 3 months for 1-2 hours a week. All required course material and other facilities will be provided by the municipality.

[*if Arandom=1*: You will receive 1 voucher for 1 hour of teaching. One voucher is worth roughly2 euro. You will be able, for example, to use the vouchers to obtain a discount for the cinema, theatre, or sports facilities (swimming, bowling, etc.). You could also exchange them for products in certain D.I.Y. stores or garden centers. You can use more than one voucher at a time, but they cannot be exchanged for cash.]

Please indicate how much you agree, or disagree, with the following statement (please *circle your answer on the scale of 0-10, where 0 means disagree completely and 10 agree completely*):

1) I would be willing to help the municipality by teaching Dutch language classes to refugees

DISAGREE COMPLETELY 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10 AGREE COMPLETELY

If you would like to be contacted by your municipality to teach Dutch language classes to refugees, please enter your *email address* (it will be not provided to any third parties):

_____

Appendix 3. Questionnaire for Study 2 (translated from Dutch)


The number of refugees in need for an integration trajectory has increased so much that the official integration institutions cannot deal with them anymore. Therefore, Dutch cities are approaching citizens with the question whether they are willing to teach Dutch language classes to refugees. [*if Arandom=1 or Arandom = 2:* Citizens will be compensated accordingly].

Volunteers will teach language courses for a period of 3 months for 1-2 hours a week. All required course material and other facilities will be provided by the municipality.

[*if Arandom=1 or Arandom=2*: You will receive 1 voucher for 1 hour of teaching. One voucher is worth roughly [*if Arandom=1*: 2 / *if Arandom=2*: 10] euro. You will be able, for example, to use the vouchers to obtain a discount for the cinema, theatre, or sports facilities (swimming, bowling, etc.). You could also exchange them for products in certain D.I.Y. stores or garden centers. You can use more than one voucher at a time, but they cannot be exchanged for cash.]

Willing1

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?

"I would be willing to help the municipality by teaching Dutch language classes to refugees."

Disagree completely										Agree completely
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Willing2

If you would like to be approached by the municipality to provide Dutch language courses to refugees, please click 'yes'. If so, we will supply them, and no one else, with the e-mail address that is in our records.

1 yes

2 no

ADDENDUM

Samenvatting
Summary
Acknowledgements
About the author

Samenvatting

Overheden zien zich geconfronteerd met talloze ingewikkelde kwesties zoals bezuinigingen, vergrijzing klimaatverandering, globalisatie en de toenemende urgentie van regeneratie van achterstandswijken. Om deze kwesties het hoofd te bieden, lijkt samenwerking met andersoortige actoren noodzakelijk. Het centrale uitgangspunt is hierbij dat deze actoren over een variëteit aan resources beschikken wat publieke dienstverlening moet verbeteren. Derhalve zouden partnerschappen beter in staat moeten zijn om innovatieve oplossingen te bedenken voor eerder genoemde kwesties. Het participeren van een variëteit van actoren is dus uiterst belangrijk om dit soort innovaties tot stand te brengen.

Wanneer we inzoomen op partnerschappen tussen burgers en openbaar bestuur, dan zien we dat deze in de literatuur geduid worden met verschillende termen, zoals collaborative governance, interactive governance, zelforganisatie, co-creatie en coproductie. In dit proefschrift focussen we ons op co-creatie en coproductie, omdat deze concepten specifiek refereren aan het tot stand brengen van partnerschappen tussen actoren met een verschillende achtergrond. Dit is bij andere concepten minder aanwezig. Co-creatie definiëren we als: *de betrokkenheid van burgers in de initiatie en/of ontwerpfase van publieke dienstverlening.* Coproductie definiëren we als: *een relatie tussen een professioneel lid van een organisatie en (groepen) individuele burgers, welke een directe en actieve bijdrage van burgers vereist voor het werk van deze organisatie.* Door co-creatie en coproductie als zodanig te definiëren, passen ze in hedendaagse populaire overtuigingen over de rolverdeling tussen burgers en overheden/publieke organisaties, zoals wordt voorgestaan in het huidige governance paradigma: New Public Governance.

Wanneer we de literatuur raadplegen zien we dat verschillende aspecten van co-creatie en coproductie nog onontgonnen terrein zijn. Aan de input kant van co-creatie en coproductie, betreft dit voornamelijk hoe co-creatie/coproductie gestimuleerd kan worden. De throughput kant heeft al veel academische aandacht mogen genieten. Echter, hoe eerder ontdekte invloedrijke factoren samenhangen in een bredere context heeft nog weinig aandacht gekregen. Wat betreft de uitkomsten, in hoeverre uitkomsten van co-creatie en coproductie positief zijn en voor wie is ook nog nauwelijks bestudeerd. Als laatste ontbeert het de literatuur ook aan conceptuele duidelijkheid en duiding. Dit is nodig om te kunnen adresseren welke aspecten van participatie we aandacht aan besteden en waar niet aan. Deze issues komen in deze these aan de orde. Hierbij is de centrale vraag: *Hoe kan co-creatie en coproductie tussen burgers en publieke organisaties in publieke dienstverlening bestudeerd worden in termen van invloedrijke factoren, context en uitkomsten?* Om deze vraag te beantwoorden hanteren we een multi-method onderzoeksontwerp, bestaande uit interviews, inhoudsanalyse, systematisch literatuur review en kwantitatieve experimentele onderzoeksmethoden.

Hoofdstuk 2 adresseert de conceptuele duiding van co-creatie en coproductie. Door middel van een systematisch literatuur review naar alle relevante literatuur over co-creatie en coproductie, beantwoordt dit hoofdstuk de vraag: *Wat weten we over de typen, doelen, uitkomsten en condities van co-creatie en coproductie met burgers binnen innovatie processen in het publieke domein?* Na een strenge selectieprocedure aan de hand van vooraf opgestelde selectiecriteria hebben we 122 bijdragen (artikelen, boeken en boekhoofdstukken) geselecteerd. De review liet zien dat de concepten co-creatie en coproductie vaak als inwisselbaar worden gezien. Binnen beide literatuur stromen wordt een vergelijkbare variatie in definitie gehanteerd. In beide stromen worden 3 niveaus van burgerbetrokkenheid onderscheiden: 1) burgers betrokken as co-initiatiefnemer; 2) burgers als co-ontwerper (namelijk betrokkenheid in het ontwerp van inhoud en proces van dienstverlening); 3) burgers als initiator (burgers, die het initiatief nemen om specifieke diensten te initiëren). Wat betreft de doelen van co-creatie/coproductie, onze review liet zien dat in de meeste co-creatie/coproductie projecten geen specifiek doel genoemd. Derhalve concluderen we dat co-creatie/coproductie vaak een doel op zichzelf is. Dit wordt bevestigd door het feit dat verscheidene auteurs burgerbetrokkenheid als doel hebben geïdentificeerd. Andere (minder vaak genoemde) doelen betreffen het vergroten van de effectiviteit, efficiëntie van publieke dienstverlening en vergroten van klanttevredenheid van burgers.

We vonden verschillende mogelijke factoren die van invloed zijn op de participatie van burgers in co-creatie en coproductie. We onderscheiden factoren aan de organisatiekant en factoren aan de burgerkant. Wat betreft de organisatie, deze verwijzen veelal naar de 'compatibiliteit van publieke organisaties om burgers te betrekken'. Dit betreft de aanwezigheid van een juiste communicatie-infrastructuur of opleidingsfaciliteiten voor zowel burgers als ambtenaren; de houding van bestuurders en politici ten opzichte van burgerbetrokkenheid en de erkenning als burgers als waardevolle partners; de aan- of afwezigheid van een risicomijdende cultuur van organisaties in de publieke sector. Aan de burgerkant troffen we factoren aan die verwijzen naar de bereidheid deel te nemen (het lijkt erop dat er een correlatie bestaat tussen opleidingsniveau van individuele burgers, gezinssamenstelling en bepaalde karaktereigenschappen enerzijds en co-creatie/coproductie anderzijds); een bewustmaking van burgers van hun vermogen en mogelijkheden om werkelijk invloed te hebben op openbare diensten; en tenslotte, sociaal kapitaal. Sociaal kapitaal is vereist met het oog op het creëren van duurzame relaties tussen publieke organisaties en burgers. Aanvullende maatregelen ter stimulering van co-creatie/coproductie betreffen de toewijzing van een beleidsondernemer, het opzetten van ondersteunend beleid en financiële ondersteuning.

Ook analyseerde we de resultaten van co-creatie/coproductie. Studies naar de resultaten van coproductie/co-creatie processen zijn zeldzaam. Wanneer specifieke resultaten werden gerapporteerd, lag de nadruk voornamelijk op de effectiviteit van openbare dienstverlening. Deze

observatie draagt dan ook bij aan ons idee dat co-creatie/coproductie hoofdzakelijk wordt beschouwd als een deugd in zichzelf, die niet hoeft te worden gelegitimeerd door te verwijzen naar externe doelstellingen.

Hoofdstuk 3 richt zich op de effectiviteit van financiële beloningen als stimulus voor de bereidheid tot coproductie. Het doel is om antwoord te geven op de vraag: *Wat zijn de effecten van een financiële prikkel op de bereidheid van burgers om te coproduceren?* De literatuur over coproductie laat tegenstrijdige resultaten zien met betrekking tot de effectiviteit van een dergelijk instrument. Aan de ene kant bestrijden auteurs dat financiële prikkels een effectief middel zijn om bereidheid tot coproductie te vergroten. Maar aan de andere kant wint het instrument aan populariteit bij beleidsmakers en politici. Om de effectiviteit van dit instrument te testen hebben we twee experimenten uitgevoerd. Bij het eerste experiment hebben we in een laboratorium omgeving getest of de bereidheid van Nederlandse studenten' (n=160) tot het coproduceren van taalcursussen voor vluchtelingen kan worden beïnvloed door een financiële stimulans (2 euro per uur). Om de externe validiteit van onze eerste bevindingen te vergroten hebben we dit experiment gerepliceerd in een tweede experiment onder 1,359 Nederlanders. Tevens hebben we hier een extra treatment toegevoegd, zijnde een compensatie van 10 euro per uur. We concluderen dat een compensatie van 2 euro per uur (representatief voor een vrijwilligers vergoeding in Nederland) de bereidheid van mensen tot coproduceren niet beïnvloed. Echter, een compensatie van 10 euro per uur (vergelijkbaar met het netto inkomen van een taaldocent op de middelbare school) verhoogt, zij het in bescheiden mate, de bereidheid van burgers tot coproductie. Daarom concluderen we dat financiële stimuli een effectief instrument *kunnen* zijn op de bereidheid van burgers om te coproduceren. Maar of dit ook daadwerkelijke effectief is hangt af van de hoeveelheid geld die aangeboden wordt. Zodoende liet ons onderzoek geen *crowding-out* effect zien.

Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft een inschatting van de consequenties van het sociaal construeren van burgers als co-creators. In dit hoofdstuk wordt deze inschatting voor verschillende groepen binnen de samenleving gemaakt. Onze analyse laat zien dat burgers in hedendaags beleid en beleidsuitvoering geacht worden om een bijdrage te leveren aan publieke dienstverlening. Gebruikmakend van de theorie van Schneider en Ingram (1993), verkent dit hoofdstuk wat de consequenties zijn voor verschillende groepen binnen de samenleving. Wij schatten in dat voor de bevoorrechte (welvarende burgers met een positieve connotatie, zoals veteranen) en de uitdagende groepen (welvarende burgers, maar met een negatieve connotatie, bijvoorbeeld bankiers), het mainstreamen van co-creatie ze in staat zal stellen om meer projecten te initiëren, met minder overheidsinmenging. Echter, bevoorrechte groepen ervaren mogelijk moeilijkheden met overheden die dergelijke initiatieven willen opschalen naar hogere niveaus, waardoor het eigenaarschap van deze groepen mogelijk teniet wordt gedaan. Uitdagende groepen hebben mogelijk het gevoel dat ze de mogelijkheid krijgen om

meer verantwoordelijkheid naar zich toe te trekken, maar het is aannemelijk dat beleid een aantal sancties en strenge voorwaarden bevatten. Voor afhankelijke en deviante groepen kan het mainstreamen van co-creatie helpen zich te ontdoen van een negatief en zelf bevestigend label. Wij verwachten het 'toestaan' van afhankelijke groepen mogelijk leidt tot een paradoxale situatie waarbij in het bijzondere deze groepen niet de weg vinden naar nieuwe gemeenschappen. We verwachten ook dat een activerend beleid veel punitieve incentives zal bevatten om te legitimeren dat mensen die het in de publieke opinie niet verdienen toch worden toegelaten tot co-creatie partnerschappen in het publieke domein.

Hoofdstuk 5 beschouwd hoe de beleidscontext, in termen van staats – en governance tradities een verklaring vormt voor het feit dat overheden op uiteenlopende wijzen reageren op vergelijkbare kwesties (bijvoorbeeld economische crisis, vergrijzing, werkloosheid en het verminderen van legitimiteit van publieke instituties). Co-creatie schrijft een partnerschapsrelatie tussen regering en burgers voor. In hoeverre dit een 'game change' betreft in de manier waarop publieke dienstverlening eerder is uitgevoerd, bepaalt of deze overgang vlot zal verlopen. Omliggende staats - en governance tradities geven vervolgens een mogelijke verklaring waarom co-creatie een game-change vereist of niet. Daarom beoogt dit hoofdstuk de volgende vragen te beantwoorden: *In hoeverre vereist co-creatie veranderingen in de relatie tussen burgers en publieke organisaties? In hoeverre kunnen deze wijzigingen worden verklaard door omringende staats- en governance tradities?* In dit hoofdstuk hebben we een internationaal vergelijkend onderzoek uitgevoerd naar 4 verschillende gevallen van co-creatie geworteld in 4 verschillende configuraties van staats- en governance tradities. Uit onze casestudy in Estland bleek dat een traditionele autoritaire staatstraditie heeft bijgedragen tot het maken van co-creatie tot een onderdeel van het nieuwe paradigma. Relaties tussen ambtenaren en burgers waren drastisch veranderd. In Duitsland was een soortgelijke verandering nodig, maar in onze studie bleek dat dit slechts marginaal is gerealiseerd. Een verklaring kan worden gezocht in de autoritaire staatstraditie van Duitsland in combinatie met een Rechtsstaat cultuur. Dit maakt dat meerdere overheidslagen moeten instemmen met hervormingen. Autoriteit is formeel gedeeld door talloze organen en instanties. In Nederland hebben we zo'n fundamentele verschuiving niet gevonden. Met haar consulterende traditie was co-creatie niet erg verschillend van de wijze waarop publieke diensteverlening in Nederland wordt geleverd. In het Verenigd Koninkrijk creëerde co-creatie ook geen baanbrekende verandering in de relaties tussen burgers en ambtenaren. Echter, hier lijkt het erop dat gelet op het feit dat in het Verenigd Koninkrijk in de jaren negentig NPM nadrukkelijk zijn intrede heeft gedaan, co-creatie een natuurlijke volgende stap vormt in de evolutie van de relatie tussen burgers en publieke organisaties.

Hoofdstuk 6 bouwt voort op het idee van omliggende staats – en governance tradities als uitleg voor verandering in de openbare dienstverlening. Het doel van dit hoofdstuk is om te begrijpen of co-creatie en het leerproces erachter heeft geleid tot een verandering in frames

van betrokken stakeholders (vooral burgers en ambtenaren) en vervolgens tot beleidsverandering. In het hoofdstuk wordt de vraag beantwoorden: *Leidt co-creatie tot frame aanpassing en beleidsverandering? En hoe kan dit verklaard worden door de staats- en governance tradities waarin co-creatie ingebed is?* Onze empirische analyse (bestaande uit een internationale vergelijking van drie cases in Duitsland, Estland en Nederland) laat zien dat co-creatie inderdaad leidt tot frame aanpassing en beleidsverandering. De Estlandse en Nederlandse cases laten zien dat, wanneer prognostische frames (opvattingen van mogelijke en relevante oplossingen en benaderingen voor een probleem) zijn veranderd, beleid ook veranderd ten gunste van co-creatie. De Duitse casus liet in mindere mate beleidsverandering zien. Ook prognostische frames van Duitse ambtenaren waren in mindere mate veranderd. Echter, concluderen dat wanneer we leereffecten zien, beleidsverandering automatisch volgt is een te eenvoudige conclusie. Uit onze cases blijkt dat uit de wijze waarop beleidsverandering wordt beïnvloed door de macro context van staats- en governance tradities. In Estland, door een autoritaire staatstraditie, was de beleidsverandering ten gunste van co-creatie relatief eenvoudig. Dit werd versterkt door het feit dat in het Estlandse welzijnsbeleid de rechtsstaat een minder prominente rol heeft dan in de traditionele Rechtstaat culturen (Nederland en Duitsland). Daarom wordt beleidsverandering in Estland in mindere mate 'belemmerd' door judiciële kaders, zoals bleek in de andere twee landen. Hier lieten de cases zien hoe een consultatieve staatstraditie en een gedeelde verantwoordelijkheid over vele actoren en instituties een veel ingrijpende aanpassing in prognostische frames leidt en ook nog is van veel meer actoren. Samenvattend, om te begrijpen hoe en of beleid dienovereenkomstig verandert, moeten we de context van staats- en governance-tradities in acht nemen. Dit perspectief laat een aannemelijke verklaring zien voor mogelijk tegenstrijdige relaties tussen leren en beleidsverandering.

Hoofdstuk 7 onderzoekt hoe actoren, betrokken binnen co-creatieprojecten, co-creatie zien als het toevoegen van publieke waarde. Mogelijke overeenkomsten en verschillen in hoe actoren co-creatie beoordelen wordt beschreven aan de hand van de achtergronden van betrokken actoren. In dit hoofdstuk wordt een antwoord gezocht op de vraag: *in hoeverre worden de uitkomsten van co-creatiepraktijken als waardevol beschouwd door participerende actoren en kunnen de verschillen in de beoordelingen van actoren worden verklaard door het aannemen van verschillende samenlevingsmodellen (models of society)?* Onze meervoudige vergelijkende casestudie in vier landen (Slowakije, Groot-Brittannië, Nederland en Spanje) toonde aan dat burgers gedreven worden door een Polis samenlevingsmodel (acties van actoren zijn erop gericht op het dienen van het publieke belang), terwijl ambtenaren argumenten hebben die meer betrekking hebben op een marktmodel van de samenleving (het gedrag van de actor is gericht op het verbeteren van het individuele welzijn door uit te wisselen met anderen). Derhalve zagen we conversie binnen actorgroepen, over grenzen tussen cases en contexten heen.

Dit onderscheid is minder duidelijk, met betrekking tot de uitkomsten van co-creatie, gerelateerd aan de consequentie logica. Burgers hebben de neiging om zowel markt- als polis samenlevingsmodellen te weerspiegelen in hun argumentatie of co-creatie efficiënt en effectief is. Ambtenaren waren hier meer consistent in. Zij zagen co-creatie voornamelijk als een nuttig instrument om beleidsdoelstellingen te verwezenlijken. Dit weerspiegelt een meer marktmodel van de samenleving. Als zodanig evalueerden zij co-creatie op een meer berekende en instrumentele wijze dan de burgers deden.

Met betrekking tot waardes, in relatie tot de gepastheidslogica, de burgers evalueerde de uitkomsten meestal vanuit het perspectief van een polis samenlevingsmodel. Argumenten relateren aan de vraag in hoeverre co-creatie heeft bijgedragen aan het welzijn binnen hun gemeenschap. Ambtenaren beoordelen de waarden 'participatie' en 'gelijke toegang' eveneens vanuit een polis samenlevingsmodel. Binnen deze logica zien we dus dat zowel burgers als ambtenaren gebruiken maken van eenzelfde redenering om te bepalen of en hoe co-creatie participatie en gelijke toegang verbetert. Echter opvattingen met betrekking tot de waarde 'responsiviteit' worden uiteenlopend beargumenteerd. Burgers evalueerden deze waarde in termen van verhoogde responsiviteit van de *gemeenschap.* Ambtenaren, daarentegen beschouwen responsiviteit vanuit een overheidsperspectief. Zij beoordeelden co-creatie dan ook als instrument om overheidsresponsiviteit te verbeteren, welke weer een marktmodel van de samenleving weerspiegelt.

Hoofdstuk 8 bevat de conclusies van deze studie over co-creatie en coproductie in het publieke domein. Hoofdstuk 8 geeft een samenvatting van de belangrijkste conclusies van ons onderzoek en gaat dieper in op de theoretische waarde van het onderzoek. Ook presenteert hoofdstuk 8 een toekomstige onderzoek agenda. Toekomstig onderzoek dient gericht te zijn op 1) het verbeteren van de conceptuele duidelijkheid. Onze review in hoofdstuk 2 heeft conceptuele duidelijkheid gebracht over en tussen co-creatie en coproductie, maar het is wenselijk om dit ook te doen met vergelijkbare concepten; 2) het ontdekken en verkennen van feedback mechanismen, aangezien deze nog niet veel academische aandacht hebben gekregen. Co-creatie en coproductie impliceren per definitie interactie tussen actoren. Derhalve zijn deze feedback mechanismen een inherent onderdeel van deze concepten, dus de moeite waard om te onderzoeken; 3) hoe co-creatie en coproductie te stimuleren. Dit onderzoek was slechts gericht op het testen van 1 mogelijke stimulans. Daarom blijven vragen onbeantwoord over de potentie van andere mogelijke interventies; 4) uitkomsten van co-creatie per doelgroep, aangezien er verschillen lijken te zijn tussen groepen in de samenleving, in wie er profiteert van co-creatie en coproductie uitkomsten; 5) identificeer vruchtbare configuraties voor co-creatie en coproductie. Ons onderzoek wijst erop dat wanneer co-creatie / coproductie effectief wordt geïmplementeerd, het niet zozeer gaat om de aanwezigheid van de juiste set van invloedrijke factoren, maar eerder om de samenstelling en verhouding tussen die factoren

(configuratie). Echter wat beschouwd kan worden als een effectieve configuratie is hopelijk onderwerp voor verder onderzoek; 6) bepaal onder welke omstandigheden co-creatie en co-productie hun potentie bereiken. Ons onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat de waardering van de toegevoegde waarde van co-creatie / coproductie verschillend ervaren kan worden door betrokken actoren. De vraag blijft dan onder welke omstandigheden we mogen concluderen dat co-creatie / coproductie leiden tot positieve resultaten; 7) Achterhalen in hoeverre co-creatie en coproductie de rolverdeling tussen actoren en publieke professionals verandert. Burgers en publieke organisaties worden geacht partnerschappen te vormen, gebaseerd op wederzijdse onderlinge afhankelijkheid tussen verschillende partijen. Dit leidt echter tot nieuwe vragen over bijvoorbeeld de verantwoordingsplicht in publieke dienstverlening.

Op basis van deze resultaten raden we beoefenaars betrokken in co-creatie / coproductie om 1) co-creatie / coproductie te beschouwen als aanvulling op publieke diensten, in plaats van een vervanging daarvan; 2) co-creatie / coproductie te beschouwen als een instrument in plaats van een waarde op zichzelf; 3) veronderstelde motivatoren voor co-creatie / coproductie te heroverwegen; 4) Wanneer co-creatie / coproductie gestimuleerd dient te worden, ga dan op zoek naar vruchtbare configuraties in plaats van knoppen om op te drukken; 5) sta een meervoudig begrip van uitkomsten / output toe van co-creatie / co-productieprojecten om hun toegevoegde waarde te bepalen.

Summary

Governments are facing complicated issues such as financial retrenchment, climate change, globalization, increasing demand for a stronger focus on citizens' needs and an urge for regeneration of urban deprived areas. In order to oppose these challenges, partnerships between stakeholders from various backgrounds are considered a necessary strategy. The central idea hereby is that, since different actors possess their own specific resources, these partnerships are better equipped to come up with innovative solutions to these kind of problems. So, the participation of various stakeholders is key to generate these innovations.

Participation is in the academic literature addressed by various concepts, e.g. collaborative governance, interactive governance, self-organization, co-creation and co-production. In this thesis we focus on co-creation and co-production, since these concepts refer to the establishment of partnerships between actors from different backgrounds. We define co-creation as: *the involvement of citizens in the initiation and/or design of public services* and co-production as: *a relationship between a paid employee of an organization and (groups) of individual citizens that requires a direct and active contribution from these citizens to the work of the organization*. As such, co-creation and co-production fit the current convictions regarding the role distribution between citizens and governments/public organization as put forward in the current governance paradigm: New Public Governance.

Screening the academic literature reveals that various aspects of co-creation and co-production remain unexplored. On the input side of co-creation and co-production, questions predominantly involve how these processes can be stimulated. The throughput side received already quite some attention from academics. However, how known influential factors relate to the broader context in which they are embedded is still unexplored. On the output/outcome side, the extent to which these outputs can be considered as beneficial, and to whom, is still largely unexplored territory. Last, conceptual clarity is needed to clarify what we are actually addressing, and what not. These issues are addressed in this thesis, using the following research question: *How can co-creation and co-production between citizens and public organizations in public service delivery be examined in terms of its influential factors, context, and outcomes?* To answer this question, we employed a multi-method research design, including a systematic literature review, interviews, content analyses and a double experiment.

Chapter 2 addresses the issue of conceptual clarity. By conducting a systematic review to all the relevant literature regarding public co-creation and co-production between citizens and public organizations. This chapter aims to answer the following question: *What do we know about the types, objectives, outcomes and conditions under which co-creation and co-production with citizens take place in innovation processes in the public sector?* After a strict screening

procedure, 122 records (both articles, books and book chapters) were found eligible according to our predefined criteria. In response to our research question, we observed that concepts of co-creation and co-production are often seen as interchangeable. Within both bodies of knowledge a similar variation in definition can be observed. In both bodies of literature three levels of citizen involvement can be observed: a) citizens as co-implementer, i.e. involvement in services which refer to the transfer of implementing activities in favor of citizens that in the past have been carried out by government, b) citizens as co-designer, i.e. involvement regarding the content and process of service delivery and c) citizens as initiator, i.e. citizens that take up the initiative to formulate specific services. Regarding the objectives of co-creation/co-production, in most of the eligible contributions, no specific objective is mentioned why it is important to co-create/co-produce. Hence, we conclude that co-creation/co-production is considered a value in itself. This is also strengthened by the observation that several authors stressed that the increase of citizen involvement is an objective to be met. Other objectives included being more effective, gaining more efficiency and creating more customer satisfaction.

We found various possible factors affecting the participation of citizens in co-creation and co-production. We distinguish between factors on the organizational side and factors on the citizen side. On the organization side, these refer to the 'compatibility of public organizations to citizen participation'. This includes a proper communication infrastructures or training facilities for both citizens as public officials; the attitudes of administrators and politicians to involve citizens as valuable partners; and an absence or presence of a risk averse culture of public sector organizations. On the citizen side, identified factors refer to the willingness to participate (it appears that there is a correlation between education level of individual citizens, family structure and certain personal characteristics); an awareness of citizens ability and possibility to actual influence public services; and social capital. Social capital is required in order to create sustainable relations between public organizations and citizens. Additional actions to stimulate co-creation/co-production involve the assignment of a policy entrepreneur, implementing a supportive policy or financial support.

We also analyzed the outcomes of co-creation/co-production. Studies that address the outcomes of the co-production/co-creation process are rare. If specific outcomes were reported, the emphasis was predominantly put on whether the effectiveness of public service is being enhanced. The limited number of specific outcomes also adds up to the idea that co-creation/co-production is primarily considered as a virtue in itself, which does not need to be legitimized by referring to external objectives.

Chapter 3 focusses on the effectiveness of financial rewards to stimulate willingness to co-produce. It aims to answer the question: *What are the effects of offering a financial incentive to citizens on their willingness to co-produce?* The literature on co-production revealed diverg-

ing stands regarding the effectiveness of such an instrument. However, the instrument also gains popularity under policy makers and politicians. In order to test the effectiveness of this instrument, we designed two experiments to test whether financial rewards increase, or decrease, citizens' motivation and subsequent willingness to co-produce. In the first experiment, we tested in a laboratory setting whether the willingness of Dutch students' (n=160) to co-produce language courses for refugees can be affected by a financial incentive. In order to enhance the external validity of our initial findings, we replicated and extended our initial experiment in a random probability sample of 1,359 Dutch citizens. Based on this test, we concluded that a compensation of 2 Euro per hour (typical of voluntary compensation levels in the Netherlands) does not effectively increase people's willingness to co-produce. However, a compensation of 10 Euro per hour (similar to the take-home pay of a teacher in secondary education) does increase, albeit only slightly, people's willingness (compared to the control condition of no incentive). Therefore, we conclude that financial incentives *can* be considered as an effective measure to stimulate people to co-produce, but whether this is actually the case depends on the amount of money offered. In doing so, our test did not reveal a crowding out effect.

Chapter 4 estimates what the consequences are for different groups within society if citizens are generally constructed as co-creators. Our analysis shows that throughout the western world, citizens are expected to contribute heavily in public service delivery. Using the theory of Schneider and Ingram (1993), this chapter explores what the consequences may be for different target groups within society. We estimate that for both, advantaged and contending groups, mainstreaming co-creation may enable them to initiate more projects, but with less governmental interference. However, advantaged groups may experience difficulty with governments who would like to upscale their initiatives. Thereby exploiting the feeling of ownership of these people. Contending groups may feel that they are allowed to take their responsibility, but it is likely that these contain a number of possible sanctions and strict accountability requirements. For depending and deviant groups, mainstreaming co-creation might help them to release themselves from their negative and self-confirming labels. We expect that 'allowing' dependent groups might result in a paradox situation where especially these groups do not find their way to the civil communities. We also expect that activating policy will have numerous punitive incentives, in order to legitimize the allowance of this 'undeserving' group of people into the public domain.

Chapter 5 examines how the policy context, in terms of state and governance traditions, offers an explanation for the fact that governments do not all react the same to similar issues (for example economic crisis, ageing population, unemployment and a decline of legitimacy of public institutions). Our presumption is here that co-creation prescribes a partnership relationship between government and citizens. The extent in which this involves a 'game change'

with how public service were previously conducted determines whether this transition will go smoothly. Surrounding state and governance traditions may explain then why co-creation requires a game-change or not. Therefore, this chapter seeks to answer the following questions: *To what extent does co-creation require changes in the relationship between citizens and public organizations? To what extent can these changes be explained by surrounding state and governance traditions?* In this chapter, we conducted an international case comparison to 4 different cases rooted in different configurations of state and governance traditions. Our case study in Estonia revealed that the traditionally authoritative state helped to implement co-creation as part of the new paradigm. Consequently, relationships between public officials and citizens had been drastically altered. In Germany, a similar change was required, but our study showed that this was only marginally realized. An explanation can be found in Germany's authoritative state tradition and Rechtsstaat culture. Therefore, reforms have to be agreed upon by multiple layers of administration with shared and formalized authorities. In The Netherlands, we did not find such a fundamental shift. With its consultative tradition, co-creation was not very different from how public services were already being delivered in The Netherlands. In the UK, co-creation also did not create a ground-breaking change in relationships between citizens and public officials. We argue that in the UK, NPM was introduced in the 1990s, co-creation amounted to a natural next step in partnerships between citizens and public organizations.

Chapter 6 builds forth on the idea of surrounding state and governance traditions as explanations for change in public service delivery. This chapter aims to understand whether co-creation and the learning process behind it has led to a change in the frames of the involved stakeholders (primarily citizens and public officials) and consequently, to policy change. The chapter sets out to answer the question: *Does co-creation leads to frame adaptation and policy change? And how can this be explained by the state and governance traditions in which co-creation is embedded?* Our empirical analysis (consisting of an international comparison of three cases in Germany, Estonia and the Netherlands) showed that co-creation does lead to frame adaptation and policy change. The Estonian and Dutch cases revealed that once prognostic frames (i.e. the identification of possible and relevant solutions and approaches for a problem) were changed, policy was also changed in favor of co-creation. The Germany case showed policy change to a lesser extent. Prognostic frames of German public officials were also changed to a lesser extent. However, to conclude that where we observe learning, there is also policy change is too simple. Our cases illustrate *how* policy change is affected by the macro context of state and governance traditions. In Estonia, due to an authoritarian state tradition, policy change in favor of co-creation was relatively easy. This was strengthened by the fact that in Estonian welfare policy, the rule of law has a less prominent role than in the Rechtstaat cultures (Netherlands and Germany). Therefore, policy change is not 'obstructed' by regulative frameworks, which was the case in the other two countries. Here it is displayed how the consultative state tradition and the shared responsibility over multiple actors meant

that also the prognostic frames of many more actors needed to change in order to create policy change. In sum, to create a more comprehensive understanding of how and whether policy is changing accordingly, we need to take the context of state and governance traditions into consideration. Doing so offers a plausible explanation for contrasting relations between learning and policy change.

Chapter 7 examines how actors involved in co-creation projects perceive co-creating as adding public value. Possible similarities and differences in actors' convictions are examined by assessing actors' backgrounds. This chapter seeks to answer the question: *To what extent are the outcomes of co-creation practices considered as valuable by participating actors, and can the differences in actors' evaluations be explained by the adoption of different models of society?* Our multiple case study in four countries (Slovakia, UK, the Netherlands and Spain) showed that when looking at the motivations to co-create, citizens tend to be driven by a polis model of society (actions of actors are aimed at serving the public interest), whereas civil servants draw on arguments that relate more to a market model of society (actor's behaviour is aimed at enhancing individual welfare by exchanging things with others whenever such a trade is beneficial). Consequently, we saw conversion within actor groups, superseding the differences between cases and their contexts.

Regarding the outcomes of co-creation, in reference to the logic of consequentiality, this distinction is less clear-cut. Citizens tend to reflect both market and polis models of society in their argumentation as to whether co-creation is efficient and effective. Civil servants were more consistent in their reflected model of society, arguing that co-creation was first and foremost a useful instrument for accomplishing policy objectives. This reflects a market model of society. As such, they approached co-creation in a more calculated and instrumental way than the citizens did.

Turning to outcomes related to the logic of appropriateness, citizens evaluated outcomes mostly from the perspective of a polis model of society, arguing whether co-creation had contributed to their community. Civil servants also evaluated 'participation' and 'equal access' values using a polis model argumentation. As such, in this logic, both citizens and civil servants used similar argumentation in determining whether and how co-creation enhances participation and equal access. However, they very much differed in their evaluation of the 'responsiveness' outcome: while citizens evaluated this in terms of increased responsiveness by the community, civil servants consider responsiveness from a government perspective. The latter saw co-creation as an instrument to enhance responsiveness, again reflecting a market model of society.

Chapter 8 comprises the conclusions of this study to co-creation and co-production in the public domain. Chapter 8 summarizes the main conclusions of our research and elaborates on its theoretical implications. Also, chapter 8 presents a future research agenda. We suggest that future research should be aimed at 1) enhancing conceptual clarity. Our review has shown conceptual clarity between co-creation and co-production, but it's very useful to do this with related concepts as well. 2) Attention to feedback mechanisms, since these have not received much academic attention yet. We argue that since co-creation and co-production by definition imply interaction between actors, these feedback mechanisms are an inherent part of these concepts, therefore worthy of academic attention. 3) Stimulators of co-creation and co-production. Our research was only focused on one possible incentive. Therefore questions remain unanswered about other possible interventions. 4) Outcomes of co-creation per target group, since these may differ heavily across different groups within society. 5) Identify fertile configurations for co-creation and co-production. Our research indicates that whether co-creation/co-production is effectively implemented is not so much a matter of the right set of influential factors, but rather its configuration. However, what might account as a useful configuration is still unanswered. 6) Conclude under which circumstances co-creation and co-production lives up to its potential. Our research has showed that the appreciation of the added value of co-creation/co-production can be differently experienced among involved actors. Then, the question remains under what conditions co-creation/co-production does lead to beneficial outcomes, in terms of addressing the needs of citizens. 7) Examine how co-creation and co-production changes the role distribution between actors and public professionalism. Citizens and public organizations ought to form partnerships, in which mutual interdependence between different parties is acknowledged. However, this raises questions about for instance accountability in public service delivery.

Based on these results, we recommend practitioners working with co-creation/co-production to 1) consider co-creation/co-production as an addition to public services, rather than a replacement; 2) consider co-creation/co-production as an instrument rather than a value in itself; 3) Reconsider assumed motivators to co-creation/co-production; 4) If one wants to stimulate co-creation/co-production, it's better to look for configurations rather than buttons to press; 5) Allow a plural understanding of outcomes/output of co-creation/co-production projects in order to determine their added value.

Acknowledgements

I have considered myself always as a bit of an odd PhD-student. I was never too interested in complex theories or books in general. I lacked methodological skills and due to my training as social worker (applied science level), perhaps I was not the most obvious candidate for a research position. The fact that I finalized my PhD thesis is because of a great number of people. These people supported or guided me during the research process, or were very important in a less formal way (which I consider as equally important).

First, I'd like to mention my supervisor Victor Bekkers. I'm pretty sure that when I started as a PhD, he wasn't too confident in my abilities as a researcher. Let's just say we had to get used to each other. Fortunately, over the years Victor and I developed a very special relationship, characterized by random chitchat, informality and great conversations about life, ambitions and happiness. More importantly, when things went south in my personal life, Victor was the one who showed great interest in my well-being and made me feel confident that there was someone who had my back. Last, Victor personally made it happen that I could go to Australia for a few months. I will never forget this wonderful experience for many reasons. But to mention one in particular, it allowed me to realize my childhood dream: watching breaching humpback whales! I am very grateful for Victor's supervision, fatherly support, his wisdom, but most of all his companionship over the last years!

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Recently, I was given the opportunity to collaborate closely with Arwin van Buuren as coordinator of the Erasmus Governance Design Studio. Arwin's integrity, enthusiasm and desire to make an actual contribution to the world of public administration, his awareness of climate change and his ability to listen to other people are puffs of fresh air in the academic world!

I want to thank various people of the so-called 'supportive staff'. Eleni Koulouki, Jolanda Tieben, Patrick Heeres, Jessica Dekker, Marjolein Kooistra, Suzanne Overbeeke, Nicolet Sahetapy, Judith van den Berg, Marion Kramer, Karin Veldhoven and Conny Hoek, thanks for all the support and all the great laughs. In that vein, I also want to address Karen van Mullem, Yneke Steegstra (my personal nicotine provider) and Karin Milovanovic. These women have solved so many problems for me! Booking tickets, streamlining reimbursement procedures and all other kinds of procedural stuff. And although it was sometimes under protest (Karin), they always helped me out.

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Last, it's very common to end this section with the person closest to your heart. Without a doubt that would be my soulmate Sandra "beebs" Beuving. Sandra has been with me throughout almost my entire Erasmus career. Apparently it doesn't even matter how we label our relationship, we stick together anyway. I am very grateful that you are still with me after covering these sometimes extremely rocky grounds. Now the wheels seem to come down once more and we are glancing down onto a new road. It may be the wrong road, but we're together now, who cares?

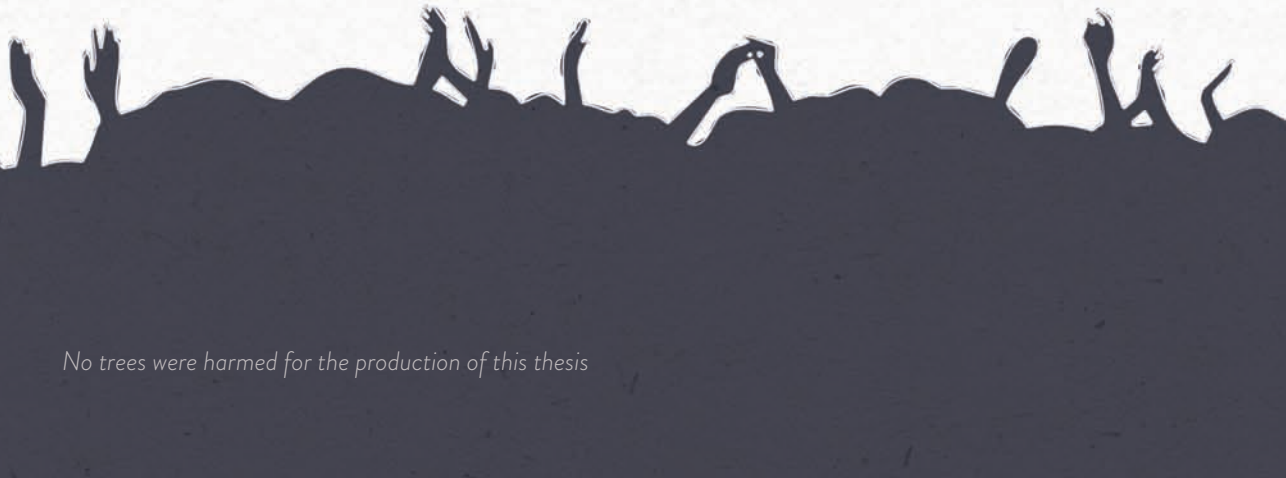
About the author

William Voorberg (born 30 April 1985 in Seoul South-Korea) studied Social Work at INHOLLAND University for Applied Sciences Rotterdam. After a visit to Berlin and learning about political history and diplomacy, he decided that his main interest does not lie in youth care professional. After successfully concluding his premaster he received in 2009 his MSc. in Public Administration at the Erasmus University.

After his master graduation and prior to his PhD-trajectory, William started working as Lecturer at the department of Public Administration of the Erasmus University. In 2013, together with Prof.dr. Victor Bekkers and dr. Lars Tummers, William received a FP7 grant entitled *Learning from Innovation in Public Sector Environments (LIPSE)*. This project gave him the opportunity to study how co-creation and co-production can be conceptualized, organized and what the outcomes are of these processes. Also, this project allowed him to learn how a large scale international research consortium can be managed. During his PhD, William visited numerous international conferences, workshops and seminars, thereby creating an expansive international network. One of his co-authored articles received the 'Best Article of the Year 2015' award of the journal Public Management Review. In the fall of 2016, William was given the opportunity to spend three months at the Melbourne University, under supervision of Prof.dr. Jenny Lewis. Here, he expanded his research to co-production within the scope of animal welfare. A topic which, gained increasingly his interest.

From February 2017, William is affiliated as coordinator of the *Erasmus Governance Design Studio* (www.erasmusgds.com). Together with prof.dr. Arwin van Buuren, William seeks to design solutions for real problems, which governments and public organizations are encountering.

Over the years, William has written various both academic and non-academic publications. Mostly about co-creation in social innovation, but also about combatting welfare fraud and youth care. In his personal life, William is a fanatic surfer and goal keeper. Music is one of his main passions, either as singer, guitarist, drummer or DJ. However, currently his focal interest lie with increasing animal welfare and/or alter climate change.



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