



Co-creation and citizen involvement in social innovation: A comparative case study across 7 EU-countries

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Executive summary

Social innovation is a recurring theme in public administration, in order to face contemporary so-called 'wicked' challenges like an ageing population and youth unemployment. Social innovation can be considered as a process of *co-creation*, since it seeks the collaboration of multiple stakeholders. These stakeholders bring in their own specific resources, such as knowledge, information, competences and experiences and build up an equal relationship with government. Given the thorough involvement of citizens in public service delivery in social innovation, we define public 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, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014b).

In this research report, we describe and analyse the conditions under which the co-creation with citizens contributes to successful forms of co-creation and some of its outcomes. In order to do that we conducted comparative case-research to exemplary examples of co-creation across the EU.

The first phase of the research project consisted of a systematic review of the important types, drivers, barriers and outcomes of public co-creation. The results show that, so far, most research conducted on public co-creation is focused on the role of citizens as co-implementers of public services. We view the lack of literature on citizens as co-initiators as a gap in the literature and argue there is a need for this research. The identified drivers and barriers from this systematic review were the basis for our framework for analysis (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014b).

In a second phase of the research project, we compared co-creation practices across Europe. We selected fourteen cases from seven countries in the European Union (Denmark, Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands, Slovakia, Spain and Great Britain). In each country, one case involved co-creation within the social welfare domain and the second related to urban regeneration. All cases involved co-creation, in which citizens were involved as either co-initiators or co-designers and they had already delivered some results by the time we collected data about them.

In the third phase, we collected data through general expert interviews who knew about co-creation in each country (approximately five in each country). These were followed up by semi-structured interviews with ten to eleven stakeholders of each selected co-creation case. In total 147 people were interviewed. In these interviews, we spoke to an equal distribution of public officials, citizens and professionals. Specific questions were asked about how known influential factors (figure 1) played a

role in the co-creation process, whether other influential factors were important and what kind of outcomes the co-creation process yielded. These interviews were complemented with an analysis of relevant policy documents, databases and websites to learn more about each case.

Finally, we organized two focus groups in order to test whether our results were being recognized by academic experts in the field of co-creation/co-production and social innovation. Furthermore, we also used them to fine-tune our results and interpretations, as well as our recommendations. We organized two international focus groups at the EGPA conference 2014 in Speyer, Germany. The first focus group contained known experts in the field of public co-creation and co-production. The second focus group involved specialists in the field of social and/or public innovation. In these focus groups, the main findings regarding the major drivers and barriers were discussed and validated. The results of these focus groups are translated in this report.

From this research we drew some conclusions about the major drivers and barriers of co-creation. First, we found that policy context played an important role in the success of co-creation and that it is not recommendable to simply copy 'best practice' examples from another country. Additional measures to adapt the project are always important. They are usually aimed at creating financial sustainability and/or improve relationships between stakeholders. We also uncovered several organizational factors that played an important role: 1) high levels of risk aversion among the city administration have negative consequences for co-creation. 2) Co-creation was raised smoothly in places where public officials had a positive attitude towards citizen engagement. In other cases, the belief among public officials that citizens are not skilled enough to shape or provide public services was a main obstacle. 3) Third, we found that lack of long-term financial support was often the biggest burden for the co-creation initiatives' long-term survival. 4) Fourth, political attention could act as both a driver (i.e. gaining more notoriety for the initiative), but also as a barrier (i.e. prioritizing the wrong interests and making co-creation political accountable). 5) Fifth, the role of scale and scalability appeared to be important. This relationship is parabolic. On the one hand a limited scale hinders expansion possibilities. A too large a scale causes barriers in communication with other stakeholders.

On the citizen side, we examined another four important factors: 1) first, we concluded that co-creation initiatives have a higher success rate if the citizens feel ownership over them and their development. 2) Social capital was an important accelerator of co-creation in every case and was usually strong even before the initiative started. 3) Third, citizens' willingness to engage in co-creation despite its many challenges was absolutely essential to an initiative's success. 4) Finally, gaining a reputation of being a reliable service partners helped the initiatives to proceed.

Regarding the outcomes of co-creation, we reached the following conclusions: 1) co-creation initiatives are usually developed alongside traditional public services, not as a complete replacement of them. 2) It is still unclear whether co-creation leads to more effective and efficient public service delivery, especially since it is difficult to compare across co-creation projects. 3) In some cases, choosing citizen organized services instead of the traditionally offered ones may reduce public accountability. After all, citizens are not publicly elected to hold office and make public decisions. 4) On a related point, the co-creation initiatives we reviewed were usually led by a group of middle class, relatively well educated citizens, which although not negative in itself, does raise questions about the representativeness of these projects and their impact on equity in public service provision. 5) Our last and most unexpected finding was that co-creation is in itself a method for strengthening social capital in a community as it brings people together and encourages relationships to form between citizens.

We conclude that given the importance of social innovation in the coming years—and the potential upsides and downsides—embracing and further researching co-creation is a timely and very important endeavor for policy makers, managers, street-level bureaucrats and researchers alike. We should keep researching it, acknowledge its downsides and not see it as a ‘silver bullet’ for challenges contemporary member states are facing.

1. Introduction

Social innovation is a recurring theme in public administration, in order to face contemporary challenges like an ageing population and youth unemployment. These challenges are often defined in terms of ‘wicked problems’ with which society is wrestling (Bason, 2010; Bovaird, Van Ryzing, Loeffler & Parrado, 2014). Successful social innovation relies on the participation of different stakeholders. One of the central elements in the concept of social innovation is that it deliberately seeks the active participation of citizens and grass-roots organizations in order to produce social outcomes that really matter; in this way it really addresses societal needs and challenges. Participation is regarded as a way of securing citizens’ needs. To put it more strongly, the success of innovation depends on the involvement of various actors (organizations, professionals and citizens) during the innovation process (Bekkers, Tummers, & Voorberg, 2013). Hence, social innovation can be considered as a process of *co-creation*. In processes of co-creation in social innovation, citizens are participating as partners who provide and share relevant sources, like knowledge, information, competences and experiences, next to the resources that are provided by public organizations and governments. This collaboration is based on an equal partnership between citizens and public organizations. However, although there is quite a substantive branch of literature regarding collaboration with, and participation of, companies, citizens and NGOs when dealing with societal and policy challenges, there is hardly any systematic and empirical knowledge on how the interests of citizens (very often considered as being ‘weak interests’, in contrast with more institutionalized interests) are safeguarded in co-creation processes (an exception is the work of Sorensen and Torfing (2011). This research is, therefore, aimed at explaining the conditions under which the participation of citizens, who can be considered as weak interests, contributes to successful forms of co-creation. Therefore, this research seeks to accomplish the following goals:

- To identify the different types of co-creation, thereby focusing on positions of the involved actors and the coordination mechanisms that are used
- To identify and compare relevant drivers and barriers that account for the success or failure of co-creation processes between EU countries
- To assess the outcomes of social innovations that are based on co-creation in relation to the expected benefits for the involved stakeholders, including the weak interests of citizens
- To make policy recommendations regarding instruments for co-creation arrangements
- To disseminate research results and policy recommendations among involved policymakers and within the academic community

In the remainder of this document: we present, in section 2, the framework which is used in order to analyse our case-studies. In section 3, we describe how we conducted this research and what types of research methods were used. In section 4, we introduce, briefly, the fourteen different cases analysed. In section 5, we present the results from our case comparisons, which can be related to our analytical framework. In section 6, we present the outcomes of our study and in our final section (7), we present what our observations can teach us about co-creation in social innovation across the European Union.

2. Framework for analysis

In this chapter, we introduce the theoretical framework that we used as a guideline to conduct our case-studies. We start with our current understanding of public co-creation in social innovation processes (section 2.1). We also present a set of influential factors that drive the co-creation processes (section 2.2). In doing so, we build on our previously conducted systematic review (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014b). In section 2.3, we assess what kinds of measures are mentioned in the academic literature, which can be used in order to boost the co-creation process. In section 2.4, we address the way as to how to assess the outcomes of social innovation. This chapter ends (section 2.5) with the sketch of a conceptual framework that we will use to describe, analyse and evaluate the factors described earlier that influence the shaping and outcomes of the social innovation process.

2.1 Defining co-creation

The concept of co-creation is derived from the private sector and the marketing literature. Prahalad & Ramaswamy (2000) described that consumers become a new source of competence for corporations, bringing in their experiences and competences in the production process. Customers don't just want to consume a product; they also want to contribute to the establishment of the product (Vargo & Lusch, 2004). As a result, customers are becoming an important source of innovation. This new role of consumers implies that companies should encourage an active dialogue with them, mobilize consumer communities, manage customer diversity and co-create personalized experiences (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2000:81-84). Co-creation is a far-reaching concept, implying that merely consulting customers is not sufficient anymore. Customers need, and want, to become active partners in the production process. Consumers increasingly shape experiences themselves, together with experts or other consumers.

Co-creation in the public domain implies the involvement of *citizens* rather than consumers, in both the design and production process of public services and products. In the literature, several motives are given as to why co-creation is being embraced in the public domain as well. For instance, by using co-creation, services are hoped to be provided more efficiently (e.g. Bovaird et al. 2014; Elg, Engström, Witell, & Poksinska, 2012), the quality of public services should improve (e.g. Bowden & D'Alessandro, 2011; Briscoe, Keränen, & Parry, 2012) or public services will be provided more adequately because they are more responsive to the needs and specific circumstances of citizens (e.g. Alford, 1998; Joshi & Moore, 2004).

It appears that, in the academic literature on co-creation and co-production, three types of co-creation can be distinguished (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014b): 1) in which citizens act as initiator (co-initiate), 2) in which citizens are invited to co-design (co-design) and 3) in which citizens are 'just' invited to implement public services (instead of public organizations) (co-implement). An example of the involvement of citizens as initiators is described by Rossi (2004), who reports that because of a civil initiative, the historical centre of Naples reopened for the public and its monuments were restored. An example of the involvement of citizens as co-designers is mentioned by Moore & Hartley (2008). They describe the example of New York park maintenance, in which citizens were invited to say how they would organize this. An example of co-implementation is shown by Alford (2002), who mentions that, in order for the post to arrive at its proper place, people need to fill out the postcode in a certain way. Our systematic review regarding the important types, drivers, barriers and outcomes of public co-creation shows that, so far, most research conducted on public co-creation is focused on the role of citizens as co-implementers of public services (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014b). Given the mutual partnership in co-creation processes between public organizations and citizens, in the design and initiation of public services in social innovation, we emphasize that co-creation in social innovation goes further than (just) the involvement of citizens in the production of public services or in the evaluation of services. Therefore, our research focuses explicitly on co-creation examples in which citizens act as initiators and/or co-designers. Subsequently, we define public co-creation in the following way: *The involvement of citizens in the initiation and/or the design process of public services in order to (co)create beneficial outcomes* (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014b).

It is important to note that, in order to create our theoretical framework, we build excessively on the *public co-production* literature. This has two reasons: In the first place, co-production has a far longer tradition in the public sector literature than co-creation (Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff, 2012); Voorberg et al. 2014) and, in the second place, in the literature, co-creation and co-production are very often similarly defined (Alford, 2009; Bason, 2010; Benari, 1990; Needham, 2008).

2.2 Influential factors in public co-creation

The context of co-creation

One of the founding fathers of modern innovation theory, Joseph Schumpeter (1942), defined innovation as a process of creative destruction in which 'new combinations of existing resources' are achieved. In his view, innovation cannot be separated from entrepreneurship. They are two sides of the same coin. He defines entrepreneurship as: 'Die Durchsetzung neuer Kombinationen', the will and ability to achieve new combinations that have to compete with established combinations. Innovation

requires change and the willingness to learn, but change is not always necessarily innovative, while a learning process does not always turn in new ideas or practices (Downe, Hartley, Rashman, 2004; Korteland & Bekkers, 2008; Lundvall, 1992; Rashmann, 2002). Hence, it is important to make a distinction between change and innovation. An important issue in the discussion between change and innovation is the question as to how radical the innovation is, and how transformative the learning process is that lies behind an innovation. Osborne and Brown (2005 p. 121) argue that the issue of discontinuity with the past is an essential distinction in order to understand the nature of innovation, both in terms of the transformation of an idea into actual reality and also in terms of its impact upon the host organization, the existing policy sector or a community. That is why it is important to make a distinction between organizational development and service improvements, on the one hand, and innovations, on the other hand.

But this transformative learning process does not take place in a vacuum. Co-creation in social innovation cannot be seen as an 'out-of-the-blue-concept', it is rather the result of the complex interplay between individuals, their organizations or their organizational unit, which they represent, that operates within an historically grown policy sector and/or national context. That is why research has shown that learning processes, which are necessary for innovations, are locally embedded (Bekkers, Edelenbos, Steijn, 2011; Fagerberg & Godinho, 2005; Osborne, 2005). This implies that it is important to recognize the influence of the specific environment in which innovation processes take place. Here, Castells (Castells, 1996 p. 3) talks about 'innovation milieus'. The result is that, given this local embeddedness of innovation processes, innovation processes and outcomes are rather contingent ones (Walker, 2008). Based hereon, some scholars insist on studying innovation from an ecological perspective (Brown & Duguid, 2000; Osborne, 2011; Pawson, Greenhalgh, Harvey, & Walshe, 2004; Walker, 2008). This ecological perspective emphasizes that innovation processes are shaped by the local, and thus contingent and institutionally embedded, interactions of relevant stakeholders that attach different meanings to a possible innovation; meanings that reflect the specific interests and values of the involved actors and/or that stem from different (political, economic, socio-cultural and technological) environments (Bekkers & Homburg, 2007). Choosing a more ecological perspective on innovation processes in the public sector also has the advantage that we are able to take into account the different governance traditions used in various countries, as well as the role of politics and network characteristics. This implies that, even before we look at relevant drivers and barriers, we have to take into account the network of involved stakeholders (their interests, their interdependencies and their power resources) in a social innovation process and the governance traditions that are dominant in a country as well as in the local environment in which the process of co-creation takes place.

Influential factors on the organizational side

Co-creation in the public sector does not only involve citizens. Very often it also includes established organizations that have a vested interest and established practices. These, for instance, can be government organizations but also non-profit organizations. They are involved, given the fact that they deliver specific services to citizens, like welfare, health or housing. Hence, we can argue that co-creation implies that it takes 'two to tango'. In the academic literature, a number of influential factors for public co-creation and co-production are mentioned which can be linked to these two actors. We can distinguish two kinds of factors: 1) on the organizational side and 2) on the citizen side. On the organizational side, four kinds of factors can be distinguished.

In the first place, there is the impact of a *risk-averse administrative culture* to public co-creation. Authors have stressed that, because of a legalistic and bureaucratic culture (Damanpur, 1991; Kelman, 2008), the culture of public organizations has become risk-averse and conservative (Baars, 2011; Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012). Consequently, the administrative culture doesn't always appear inviting towards the incorporation of citizens. This might hinder the co-creation process, because either public officials do not dare, or are not allowed, to trust citizens as relevant resource partners.

In the second place, *the attitude of public officials and politicians* is often not very inviting towards co-creation efforts. Several reasons are described in the literature for this attitude: 1) Public professionals and politicians may feel threatened in their expertise (Fuglsang, 2008) or 2) they may consider citizens as being incompetent to deliver public services properly (Gebauer, Johnson, & Enquist, 2010; Kingfisher, 1998). This negative attitude is expected to have a hampering effect on the co-creation process, since public officials tend to 'block' co-creation initiatives.

In the third place, the literature suggests that the extent in which *clear incentives and objectives* are presented is important for public officials to join in co-creation processes (Abers, 1998; Evans, Hills, & Orme, 2012). Very often it is not clear to public organizations whether public services are being improved by the incorporation of citizens (Joshi & Moore, 2004), or what the financial rewards are when one decides to participate in co-creation (Abers, 1998). As a result, it is not very often clear to them what the added value is of co-creating with citizens. Due to the lack of these incentives, public officials feel that it is hard to legitimize why co-creation must be embraced as a new way of public service delivery.

In the fourth place, *compatibility* is a factor which needs to be mentioned. This involves the extent to which public organizations have adapted their organization to involve citizens in the development and production of public services. This requires the adaption of structures and procedures, routines and

systems within public organizations, such as the implementation of training facilities, communication structures and other supporting organizational processes (Andrews & Brewer, 2013; Bovaird & Loeffler, 2012).

Influential factors on the citizen side

Influential factors on the citizen side involve, in the first place, the *willingness of citizens*: implying that citizens must *want* to co-create. According to Alford, this willingness of citizens to co-create determines to what extent citizens are intrinsically motivated. Alford described this as ‘the client’s sense of self-determination and competence’ (Alford & O’Flynn, 2009). This sense of self-determination and competence may be affected by personal intrinsic values (e.g. loyalty, civic duty and the wish to positively improve the government) (Wise, Paton, & Gegenhuber, 2012) or personal traits, like education and family composition (Sundeen, 1988).

In the second place, citizens need to have *a feeling of ownership* to make a difference in their neighbourhood or city (Gebauer et al., 2010; Pestoff, 2012). The assumption is that if citizens feel that they are the owners of a specific (geographical) area, they will do more to protect or uplift it. For instance, Talsma & Molenbroek (2012) show that because of a feeling of being responsible (having a sense of ownership) for the well-being of eco-tourists in India, local people put much more effort into improving these services.

A last factor appears to be the presence of *social capital*. Social capital refers to the presence of trustworthy relationships among actors in, for instance, a specific city or neighbourhood (Ostrom, 1996; van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2014). In this, it refers to a shared understanding of (public) interest and trust in the capabilities of other actors (Andrews & Brewer, 2013; Uitermark, 2014; Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008). The idea is that citizens are able to overcome barriers to collective action when they have a large stockpile of existing networks, groups and contacts which they can mobilize (Putnam, 1995; Stone, 2003). An example of how powerful social capital can be in co-creation is shown by Schafft & Brown (2000) who showed that, due to the social capital within the Roma community, Roma gypsies were able to create several profitable projects to improve their living conditions. In doing so, they strongly built on their shared understanding about their position and willingness to share their resources and competences in order to improve the living conditions for everyone within the community.

2.3 Actions that support co-creation processes

If co-creation initiatives are difficult to realize, additional actions may be required in order to boost the co-creation process. In the academic literature, a number of these actions have been mentioned (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014b). Actions aimed at removing barriers on the organizational side refer, for instance, to the implementation of a top-down policy, which forces public organizations to work with citizens as co-creators (Pestoff, 2009a). Less formally, a policy entrepreneur, referred to by others as a boundary spanner (van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2014), might be assigned in order to smooth the relationships between different groups of stakeholders (Fuglsang, 2008). Other contributions have stressed the importance of increasing the discretionary autonomy of public officials in order to remove legal and bureaucratic barriers to co-creation (Gill, White, & Cameron, 2011).

Actions aimed at removing barriers on the citizen side of co-creation refer to the lowering of thresholds for citizens to co-create. This could refer to a lowering of the participation cost or to giving citizens financial support or rewards for their efforts (e.g. Collom, 2008; Glynos & Speed, 2012; Pestoff, Osborne, & Brandsen, 2006). Other authors have mentioned that an inviting policy needs to be implemented, which enables citizens to feel as if they are the 'owner' of a policy problem (Lindahl, Liden, & Lindblad, 2011; Ostrom, 1996). In this research, we pay specific attention to the kind of actions in the empirical reality of public co-creation, aimed at overcoming barriers to co-creation.

2.4 Outcomes of co-creation

One of the assumptions behind social innovation is that they need to address the needs of citizens in order to establish outcomes that really matter, thereby referring to the idea that social innovations should create public value (Moore & Hartley, 2008). Co-creation is perceived as a way to obtain this. In order to assess and evaluate the outcomes of co-creation processes, we can use the distinction made by March & Olsen (1989) between the logic of consequence and the logic of appropriateness. The logic of consequence refers to the extent to which benefits are being realized based on rational calculation and the consideration of different options. As such, the beneficial effect is determined through concrete, tangible gains with a pre-formulated, concrete objective. The logic of appropriateness, on the other hand, refers to the extent to which co-creation efforts fit within a specific context. The extent of the benefit follows, then, from "identity-driven conceptions of appropriateness, more than conscious calculations of costs and benefits" (March & Olsen, 2004 p. 7);(March & Olsen, 1989). The latter also relates to the idea that social innovation in the public sector can be seen as 'conspicuous production'

(Feller, Finnegan, & Nilsson, 2011), which implies that social innovation and co-creation have a meaning in themselves; that the process itself, instead of the outcome, is considered as being valuable.

Several authors have defined important values specific to both logics: To start with the logic of consequence, values related to this logic refer to the level of rational accomplishments of a specific intervention. Examples are: the quantity of outputs, quality of outputs, effectiveness, efficiency and consumer satisfaction (Andrews, Boyne, & Walker, 2006; Boyne & Dahya, 2002; O'Flynn, 2007; Stoker, 2006). When it comes to the judgment as to whether public value creation is appropriate in a given context, a number of authors refer to the value of accountability (Boyne & Walker, 2004; Moon, 2001; Smith, 2004; Van der Wal, De Graaf & Lasthuizen, 2008). Here, accountability can be considered a clear assignment of responsibility (Hood, 1991). Furthermore, specific administrative values seem to be a type of equity, involving a more equal and fair position for involved stakeholders i.e. a fairer distribution of public goods and services (Moon, 2001; O'Flynn, 2007) and responsiveness, involving the ability of public organizations to respond to societal demands (Boyne & Walker, 2004). In our research, we examine how these values are being increased or decreased by co-creation efforts.

2.5 Theoretical framework

In the previous sections, we discussed a number of relevant insights and factors that influence the shaping of social innovations in the public sector and that are based on the interaction between all kinds of organizations and citizens. Figure 1 schematically shows how we can understand the interplay between influential factors and the outcomes of co-creation processes.

Now that we have established a framework that can help us to describe, analyse and assess practices of co-creation in the public sector, the next step is to see how we can make use of this framework. In the next chapter, we introduce the research methods used to accomplish our research objectives.

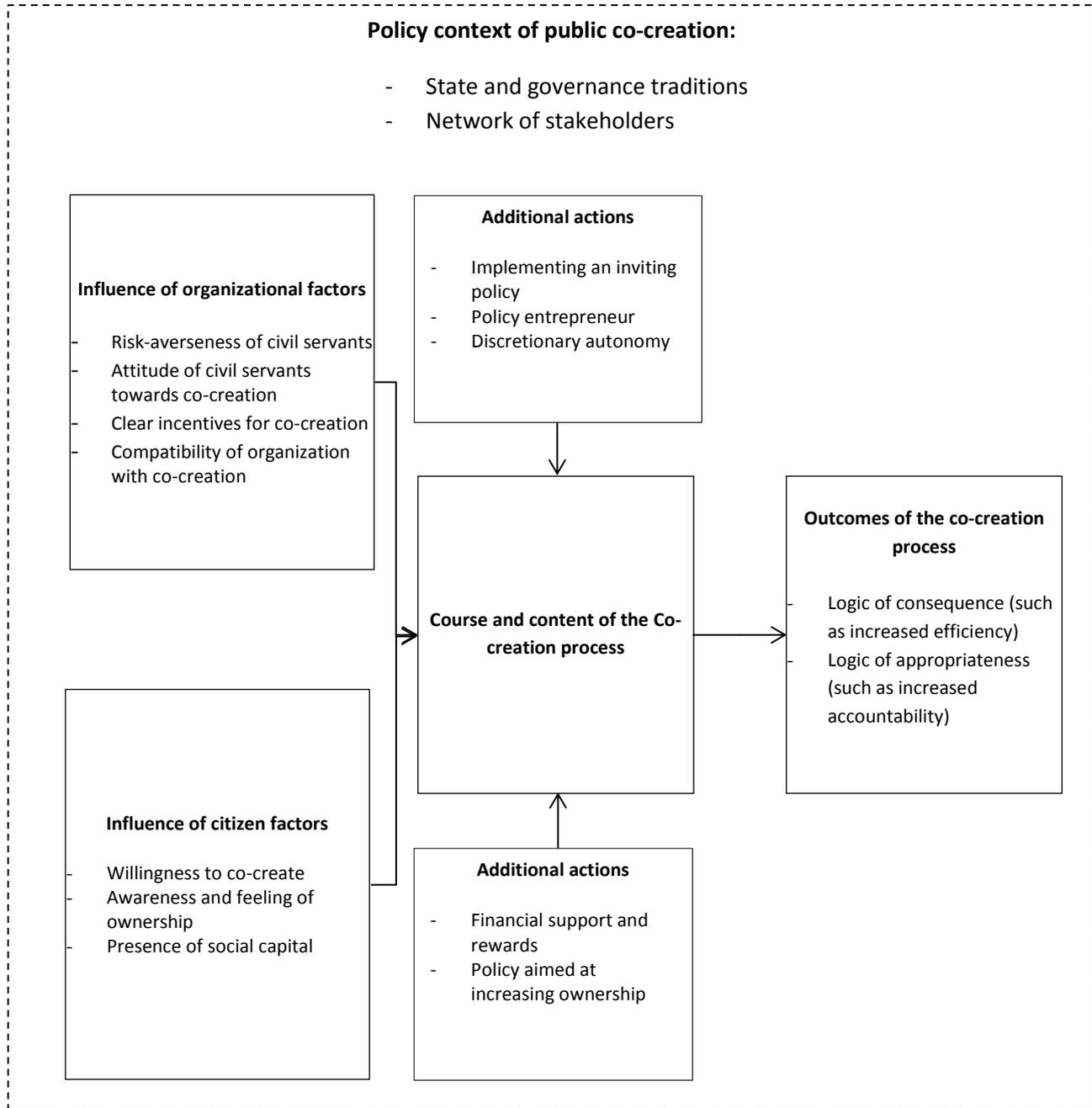


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework

3. Research design and methods

In this chapter, we introduce our research design and the research methods used in order to accomplish our research objectives.

This study aims at creating a comprehensive understanding about the types, influential factors and outcomes of public co-creation processes. Since co-creation always takes place within a network of influential stakeholders, we are focusing our description primarily on the perceptions and observations of the different kinds of involved stakeholders (citizens, public officials and professionals). The case study we conducted is theory-driven in order to empirically analyse a particular social innovation case, in which citizens play a role as co-creators or initiators. This implies that the selection of relevant cases was dependent on the extent to which the case can teach us something about the phenomenon of public co-creation. In other words, our case-studies were designed as *instrumental* case-studies (Stake, 1995), as opposed to *intrinsic* case-studies, in which the research was aimed at assessing a specific case, because of its extraordinary character. By proceeding in this way, the case studies did not enable us to develop generalized empirical knowledge, but they did provide a detailed understanding of the contextual and situational conditions which were essential for the co-creation process; this understanding is primarily focused on the plausibility of our findings, thereby showing the relevance of a specific mechanism, as well as the motives of the involved stakeholders, in order to understand why they acted as they did (Yin, 2003).

We selected fourteen cases of representative examples of public co-creation. In our studies, we drew an international comparison between seven countries in the European Union (Denmark, Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands, Slovakia, Spain and the United Kingdom). Our cases were selected on a number of similar characteristics:

1. One case in each country involved co-creation within the social welfare domain. This is because this policy domain involves citizens who are dependent on specific benefits and can be characterized as having rather 'weak' interests. One case in each country was also selected within the urban regeneration domain. This is because of the fact that citizens are increasingly recognized as a source of competence but, especially in this field, are accompanied (or opposed) by strong and more institutionalized interests. We expected that co-creation would be different in both domains. A comparison between these policy domains may give us valuable insights about how the kind of policy domain may affect the progression and outcomes of the co-creation process.

2. All cases involved co-creation, in which citizens are involved as either co-initiators or co-designers. As we explained in section 2, we were interested in co-creation as a process of social innovation. This required a thorough involvement of citizens in the production process of public services, where they are becoming equal resource partners next to public organizations. This 'thoroughness' is specifically reflected in examples of co-creation where citizens act as initiators of a public service and/or are invited to design them, along with governments and public organizations.
3. All cases involved examples of co-creation which have delivered some results. Given that we paid specific attention in this research to the outcomes of co-creation processes, we must be able to assess these outcomes. Therefore, all co-creation initiatives have been running for at least a year. We emphasized that we are not only interested in 'positive' results, but also in 'negative' results and unintended consequences.

However, as mentioned before, whether innovation is successful or proceeds as fluently as was hoped, is strongly dependent on the context in which it is implemented. Therefore, in order to conclude to what extent this context is, in fact, influential to the co-creation process, our cases must differ in two elements:

1. We selected representative examples of co-creation from different geographical areas and, therefore, from different state and society traditions; i.e. strong local government (Germany and Spain), relatively strong local government (the Netherlands and Denmark) and weak local government / strong central government (the United Kingdom, Estonia and Slovakia) (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999). This can influence the role of (local) citizens in decision-making. We assumed that the level of decentralization matters when it comes to the ease of implementing co-creation initiatives.
2. Related to the first point, since this level of decentralization is the result of state reforms and political fluctuations, we took the governance and state tradition into consideration as well in our case descriptions (e.g. the Northern states have a longer tradition of institutionalized welfare than the Eastern European states, which were recently part of a communist regime).

In order to collect our data, we conducted the following research steps:

1. *Conducting a systematic review*: We started this research by conducting a systematic review of the academic literature regarding the types of co-creation (and co-production) and the

influential drivers and barriers pertaining to it (Voorberg et al., 2014a). The results of this systematic review are presented in section 2 and form the basis of our theoretical framework.

2. *Expert interviews:* In order to develop our case-study protocol and identify possible eligible cases, we conducted interviews with a number of experts in each country.
3. *Creation of a long list of eligible cases:* In order to find comparable eligible cases for each country, an inventory was taken of relevant practices in which citizens were seen as end users. In each country a long list has been made, which contains ten eligible examples of co-creation within the social welfare domain and ten eligible examples of co-creation within the rural regeneration domain.
4. *Case-selection:* From this long list, specific cases were selected. In each domain one case per country. These cases are comparable with regards to 1) the type of co-creation, 2) the accessibility of the case, 3) the level of specified objectives of the co-creation initiative and 4) the level of outcome being generated by the co-creation initiative.
5. *Drafting the case-study protocol:* A case-study protocol has been drafted, based on our systematic review and expert interviews. This protocol assists the researchers in the various countries in gathering and analysing the data in a standardized way. As such, we developed a uniform analytical framework, in order to be able to analyse relevant similarities and differences within various policy contexts (Bekkers, Beunders, Edwards, & Moody, 2008).
6. *Conducting semi-structured interviews with involved stakeholders:* Based on the case-study protocol, we developed a standardized list with semi-structured, half-open research questions that have to be used when interviewing relevant stakeholders. In each case, 10 in-depth interviews with involved stakeholders were held, resulting in at least 140 interviews (see table 2). In total, 147 people were interviewed. In these interviews, we spoke to an equal distribution of public officials, citizens and professionals. Specific questions were asked about how known influential factors (figure 1) played a role in the co-creation process, whether other influential factors were important and what kind of outcomes the co-creation process yielded.
7. *Consultation of additional data sources:* In order to triangulate our data, we added an analysis of relevant policy documents, databases and websites. By consulting these additional data sources, we were able to strengthen the validity of our analysis, based on the interviews as described in step 5.

8. *Organization of focus groups:* Our last step (also for triangulation purposes) entailed the organization of two focus groups in order to test whether our results were being recognized by academic experts in the field of co-creation/co-production and social innovation. Furthermore, we also used them to fine-tune our results and interpretations, as well as our recommendations. We organized two international focus groups at the EGPA conference 2014 in Speyer (Ger). The first focus group contained known experts in the field of public co-creation and co-production. The second focus group involved specialists in the field of social and/or public innovation. In these focus groups, the main findings regarding the major drivers and barriers were discussed and validated. The results of these focus groups are translated in this report (see appendix 2: list of experts).

Table 1 shows an overview of the names and goals of the cases which have been selected for social welfare. More details about the eligibility of the cases are described in table 6 (Appendix 3).

Country	Name of case	Goal
Denmark	Cases that Unite: Social Health and Århus is for everyone; an initiative which increased the contact between socially marginalized people and the health care system, by supporting participation of disabled people in cultural life.	To stimulate social entrepreneurship and inhabitants, who are willing to actively make some effort for society
Estonia	Maarja Kula; was born out of the conviction of one person who saw that the people with learning disabilities weren't very well supported in Estonia. By offering them residential care and education, they can better participate in society.	To establish a home for 50 people with learning disabilities. To prepare young people with learning disabilities for independence. To make society more aware of learning disabilities.
Germany	Dialogue macht Schule was initiated due to the concern that young Muslims with a migration background are not well integrated. The initiative sought to discuss cultural and religious differences within the class room.	To overcome cultural differences between teenagers of different backgrounds. To show students different ways of participating actively in a democracy.
The Netherlands	Starters4Communities; connected starters to civil initiatives (e.g. chess school, furniture factory, cultural activities) which have run into administrative trouble. By connecting the skills of the starters to the best intentions of the inhabitants, the initiatives are being uplifted.	To improve the labour opportunities for students who have (almost) graduated, by building up valuable work experience in civil initiatives. To increase the (financial) sustainability of civil initiatives, by adding knowledge from young urban professionals.

Slovakia	Kojatic; given the very poor living conditions of Roma citizens, a few students took the initiative to provide them with better residency. In this initiative, all kinds of parties contributed (students, Roma citizens, professional organizations and ultimately the municipality).	To build social houses for Roma citizens who live in very poor social conditions. To provide them with affordable housing with the lowest support from government or others.
Spain	Citilab; is a centre for social and digital innovation. It is simultaneously a training centre, a research centre and an incubator for business and social initiatives. The project is based on the idea that, through the internet, citizens can contribute to innovations	To exploit and spread the digital impact on creative thinking, design and innovation emerging from digital culture. To show that another innovation model (one close and co-created with any citizen) is possible.
The United Kingdom	Dementia Care; due to the consequences of an ageing population, there was a need to adapt services for elderly people. By combining the capacities of health care organizations and the skills of involved citizens and patients, care for the elderly must become more sustainable	To shift the view of older people from service recipients to assets for their communities. A more intangible objective, that was also part of all statutory respondents' answers, was to make the experience enjoyable for all parties, in particular service users.

Table 1 Name and goals for chosen cases regarding urban/rural regeneration

In the next chapter, we introduce the different national contexts in which the co-creation is implemented. In section 2.2, we stressed the importance of paying specific attention to the administrative context and state traditions. In our next chapter, we show how specific elements, within a national context, determine the breeding ground for co-creation.

4. The Administrative Context of Public Co-creation

4.1. Introduction

This chapter contains the description of the different national policy contexts, in which the different co-creation initiatives need to be embedded. The aim of this chapter is to show how the different national contexts and state traditions determine the starting point for the co-creation initiatives. By distinguishing between opposing and supporting characteristics (see table 2), we show that, in some countries, co-creation initiatives can be raised much more easily than in others. As such, these contexts form the breeding ground for social innovation and co-creation. For instance, if a country is characterized by a decentralized state structure and a tradition of citizen involvement, we would expect that co-creation will be raised more easily there than in countries which are more centralistic and to which citizen involvement in public services is relatively new. In our next session (4.2), we introduce briefly (in alphabetical order) the government traditions and the different institutional contexts and a brief overview of the most important characteristics (in terms of supporting and opposing characteristics) within the administrative context and traditions of the various countries and how we expect it to influence the movement towards co-creation in public service delivery. This chapter is finalized by a conclusion (4.3).

4.2. Setting the stage: different institutional contexts and governance traditions

In this paragraph we summarize the main characteristics of the state traditions and administrative contexts for each country.

Denmark

Denmark has the most decentralized welfare state in the world, reflected in, for instance, the amount of public money that is channelled through to local municipalities. Elected municipal councils are in charge of delivering all major welfare services and transfer payments and, although it happens within the framework of national laws, there is still a lot of political power at a local level that makes it worthwhile for citizens to engage with the municipalities and try to influence decisions. The large welfare budgets also nurture the idea that the public sector can actually deliver and can 'afford to be responsive' to citizen initiatives. Furthermore, the Danish state has always been strong, well-functioning and supplemented by an equally strong, civil society. The state was developed during the

period of absolutism from 1660 to 1848. An effective tax collection system generated revenue to pay public administrators on the basis of their skills and competences and prevent corruption. During the peaceful democratic revolution in 1948, the state gradually came to be controlled by an elected parliament and government that continued the modernization of a state apparatus that was more or less intact from absolutism. At the same time, Denmark saw the development of a strong civil society that was promoted by the self-organization of first the peasants and then the workers. This fostered the developed of a well-organized civil society with lots and lots of civic organizations. The unique coexistence of strong state and strong civil society has, throughout history, generated a need for cross-sector collaboration. So, power and money are tied to local political and administrative institutions that become a target for local citizen action. The co-existence of a strong state and a strong civil society has given rise to strong networks between public and private actors.

Estonia

The Estonian context is rooted in highly aristocratic traditions (especially when it comes to the social welfare domain). The reform of this system has just started. Although services are predominantly under state provision, access and quality can differ considerably across local governments, depending on the workload of local social workers and the financial means of municipalities. Thus, on the one hand, the Estonian policy context is still characterized by the post-Soviet welfare system, reflected in, for instance, the consideration that children with learning disabilities are “inept and unintelligent”. But, on the other hand, welfare services are influenced by the decentralized administrative structure that developed after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Consequently, there is a clash between two state traditions, i.e. decentralized administration and centralized fiscal control through extraordinary sources. This increases political tensions between the central government and local municipalities, which are also being reflected in co-creation (e.g. fuzzy accountability relations and difficult trust relations between different stakeholders).

Germany

The influence of the German administrative traditions on co-creation efforts were most explicitly reflected in the welfare case. Here, the focus of the project was to reach out to young students with a migration background (mostly Muslim) in Germany, who are in a socio-economically disadvantaged demographic, and engage them in dialogue about how they can become active members in their society, as well as develop their own identity in a multicultural environment. However, teachers and schools were reluctant to incorporate the programme into the curriculum, because the curriculum is formulated at a state level. In this, the interdependency between government levels has been shown, which is characteristic for German administration. In general, German administration is traditionally

characterized by strong interdependencies between the many different government levels. Vertical interdependency exists between central and Länder (or state) tiers and horizontal interdependency between the different states or local authorities. The implementation of federal legislation in most policy areas is delegated to a Länder level, where, in turn, further delegation to local authorities is common practice. As a consequence, cooperation between different federal levels *within* individual policy areas generally runs smoothly, since the federal level is strongly departmentalized and policies are developed in individual ministerial departments. One implication of this is that cross-cutting initiatives, addressing policy issues (such as co-creation initiatives) in a strategic way, are largely absent. With most policy areas, executive responsibilities are fragmented between the different federal levels, leading to the creation of various points of intersection and cooperation between these tiers.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands can be described as a decentralized, unitary state, implying that policy execution is developed in close collaboration between governments on a central and sub-central level and executed on the most decentralized level as possible (based on the principle of subsidiarity). Especially in policy domains, such as urban regeneration, the Dutch policy context is traditionally characterized by an exchange between national and local authorities. Social welfare in the Netherlands can be historically characterized by the initiation of voluntarily welfare projects by secular organizations and foundations. However, in the course of time, these projects and initiatives have been taken over by the state and become part of the state provision of welfare service delivery. As a consequence, these services became more professionalized, since the government (as financer of the services) implemented additional requirements, such as the specialization of activities, strong orientation on specific target groups, monitoring and evaluating tools etc. Nowadays, due to the economic crisis, this 'welfare state', in which the government and professional public organizations act as service providers, has been increasingly criticized and is considered as being too fragmented and too expensive. Co-creation is, therefore, often considered a possible alternative way of providing public service.

Slovakia

In Slovakia, social innovation needs to come from third party organizations. Making it a part of public policy is a major challenge. This has much to do with the post World War II history and the dominance of the communist regimes in that period. After the Second World War, the former republic of Czechoslovakia was re-established as a unitary, democratic state. The Communist Party played a very important role in the political system and won the democratic elections in 1947. In February 1948, it took all political power in its hands. Consequently, there was only a formal separation of executive and legislative powers (both institutions of legislative and executive power were established in

standards similar to Western democracies); but, in reality, there was a dominance of political power with the Communist Party over all subsystems of public administration, based on partly non-democratic elections (everybody may vote, but only those approved by the Communist Party may be considered as candidates). This situation guaranteed that each institution of public administration and each public servant followed the directions, resolutions and instructions of the Communist Party. This legacy is still felt today when it comes to citizen involvement and co-creation, even though Slovakia became an independent state in 1993. Slovakia has been established as a decentralized, unitary state, but, due to hierarchical relations inherited from the Communistic regime, public officials sometimes seem to aim to undermine social innovation initiatives rather than embrace them, in order to avoid risks and shifts in the established order.

Spain

Spain is a decentralized country where each autonomous municipality has an elected parliament, government, public administration and budget. In addition, each region manages its own health and education system. In terms of administrative division, there are 17 autonomous communities (and 2 independent municipalities: Ceuta and Melilla) that were created in 1979 and which the Constitution recognizes as self-governing, leading to a territorial organization based on devolution (the so-called “State of Autonomies”). This high level of autonomy ensures that, when it comes to citizen involvement in public service delivery, every region has its own tradition. However, in 2013, in the context of the financial and social crisis in Spain, the current law 27/2013 of local administration rationalization and sustainability was approved. This regulation removes responsibilities of local governments in accordance to austerity regulations. The crisis hit Spain particularly hard, which created a lot of political and social unrest. As a result, numerous grass-root entities and horizontal collaborative practices have emerged: Some out of anger; some out of necessity. Local governments are slowly starting to recognize the need to co-produce with them, instead of keeping traditional urban policy-making practices.

The United Kingdom

The UK is a unitary and relatively centralized state. After the Thatcher administration, there was more need for decreasing public expenditure than ever before. At a very early stage, citizens were considered important assets in this reform. Therefore, in 1991, the *Citizen's Charter* was launched, which urged public services to become much more citizen-oriented. In order to become more citizen-oriented, citizens were increasingly invited to consult and later on to co-produce. Therefore, co-creation/co-production was already part of the administrative tradition of how public services were carried out. But the current rise in political attention for civil involvement has created a new

opportunity to implement it in official policies, partially (still) with an objective of reducing public expenditure. This reflects the recent changes to the United Kingdom welfare state: Over the last 30 years, welfare state retrenchment has led to an increase in outsourcing of public services to Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs), often with citizens and citizen organizations (third sector organisations). As a result, a culture of arms-length interaction and “contracting out”, analogous to a more US American model, has emerged. Innovation has thus been shifted away from the public sector, while policy encourages innovation through contracting partners. The involvement of citizens in public service delivery is, therefore, already part of the UK administrative tradition. Recent attention to the potential of citizen involvements has led to an increase in co-creation and co-production and to a variety of partnerships.

Country	Supporting characteristics	Opposing characteristics
Denmark	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Decentralized state 2. Political power at local level 3. Development of a strong (institutionalized) civil society 4. Historical need for cross-sector collaborations 	
Estonia		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tradition of an aristocratic state 2. Reforms are relatively new 3. Political tensions between central government and local governments
Germany	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cooperation and reform within policy areas is relatively smooth 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interdependency between government levels 2. Executive responsibilities are fragmented between different levels of government
The Netherlands	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Decentralized unitary state 2. Policy is made by various stakeholders 3. Window of opportunity due to fiscal pressure 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shift from a professionalized form of public services <i>back</i> to voluntary services
Slovakia		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Post-communist regime, administration still aimed at following rules 2. Innovation has to come from third parties and are difficult to implement into public policy
Spain	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Decentralized country, lots of responsibility for autonomous communities 2. Political and social unrest 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic crisis 2. Many differences between regions and municipalities 3. Political and social unrest
The United Kingdom	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tradition of citizen involvement 2. Political attention for co-creation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Multiple forms of collaboration with other resource partners, causing legal and contractual problems

Table 2 Influential contextual characteristics

Table 2 shows an overview of the influential contextual characteristics. We make a distinction between supporting and opposing characteristics. The table shows that the different countries show a number of important differences when it comes to a tradition of citizen incorporation. Some administrative traditions are characterized by a decentralized state structure and a tradition of civil involvement in public service delivery (Denmark and the Netherlands). The development towards co-creation and social innovation can, therefore, adapt more easily to the institutional context than in more centralized countries. In the UK, a longer tradition of citizen involvement is also mentioned, but here it is primarily rooted in an increased attention to the end users of public services as part of the reform agenda of the Thatcher administration.

In other countries, the tradition of collaboration with citizens is characterized by differences between domains or geographical areas (Germany and Spain). It is interesting that, in Germany, this can be related to the strict hierarchical division of authority and autonomy between governmental levels, while, in Spain, this is more related to the surplus of autonomy for lower governmental levels. In the Eastern European states (Estonia and Slovakia), it has been shown that social innovation and co-creation are now slowly becoming part of public policy. Due to an aristocratic and/or communist tradition, policy development and implementation is still predominantly in the hands of the central governments, which makes the breeding ground for social innovation less fertile than in countries where there is a long(er) tradition of shared policy-making.

4.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined how the different policy contexts and state traditions can be characterized and how this creates a fertile starting point for co-creation. As a result of this description, we conclude that the differences in state traditions and policy contexts reflect a very different starting point for co-creation initiatives. Countries which are characterized by a very centralized state structure and do not have a state tradition with citizen involvement show relatively more opposing characteristics within their policy context than do countries which do have such a tradition. We, therefore, assume that in countries in which citizen involvement is not so much a part of the state tradition, initiating citizens have a harder time convincing governments of the advantages of co-creation. This will be addressed in our next chapters. In the next chapter, we assess how more specific influential factors, derived from the academic literature, have affected the co-creation processes in the different countries.

5. Influential factors of co-creation during social innovation

5.1. Introduction

This chapter contains the results of our comparison of how presumed influential factors on both the organizational and the citizen side affected the different co-creation processes. Co-creation refers to an interaction process between governmental and professional organizations, on the one side, and citizens, on the other side. In this chapter, we deal with the question of which factors can be attributed to the role and characteristics of citizens, influencing the shaping and outcomes of the co-creation process. We first describe how factors on the organizational side influenced co-creation (paragraph 5.1). Subsequently, in paragraph 5.2, we assess how the influential factors on the citizen side of co-creation were influential. In paragraph 5.3, we examine how unforeseen influential factors affected the co-creation processes. An overview per country is added in Appendix 4 (11.3). In paragraph 5.4, we describe the most frequent influential factors. In section 5.5, we introduce the actions taken in order to overcome occurring barriers. In our last paragraph (5.6), we draw some conclusions about the influential factors on public co-creation.

5.2. Influential factors on the organizational side of co-creation

In this section, we describe how influential factors on the organizational side of co-creation appeared to be influential in our cases. Based on the academic literature, we distinguish the following factors, which are being examined successively: 1) the degree to which the administrative culture is risk-averse, 2) the attitude of public officials, 3) the degree to which there are clear incentives for co-creation and 4) the extent to which the public organization is compatible with the co-creation project.

The degree to which the administrative culture is risk-averse

In the literature of public co-creation and co-production, it has been mentioned that the administrative culture needs to be open in order to be able to embrace co-creation as a valuable asset. On the flipside of this argument, lies the fact that, if administrative cultures are risk-averse, they might hinder the establishment of the co-creation initiatives (Baars, 2011; e.g. Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012). Table 3 shows how the different administrative cultures can be characterized:

Country	Social welfare domain	Urban regeneration domain
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Administrative culture very much open towards co-creation, which helped the initiative Co-existence of state and strong civil society Strong networks between public and private actors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decentralization and interest in citizen participation means that the administrative culture is relatively inviting towards co-creation. Initiative is part of a decentralization strategy to get citizens involved in different parts of the city
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Culture is shifting from central service provision to co-creation Paradigm in care facilities for the disabled is moving from large institutions to group/family unit-based homes Culture is slowly changing, i.e. public institutions support the ideas but do not provide state aid Initially, alliances between government and non-state actors were based on personal relationships, showing that a culture of participation has yet to be established 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In general, the culture of involving citizens is slowly changing towards co-creation Citizen inclusion on a political level considered as an objective in itself (as opposed to being valuable for other purposes) Co-creation and participation is relatively new. No institutionalized channels exist yet for co-creation and citizen communication Relations between state and citizens are being forged but still informally, showing that the administrative culture is turning towards participation
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The administrative culture was not really inviting to the initiative, due to a fragmented and hierarchy-oriented system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Due to political attention, a culture of risk and blame avoidance occurred. This slowed the co-creation process down
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Amsterdam the involvement of citizens is already part of the official policy. Therefore, administrative culture is changing towards co-creation However, risk-aversion is still felt in the administration, but it is only influential in the case of subsidy relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Administrative culture initially characterized by 'wielding all the rules and regulations' As co-creation developed as a political objective, a culture of competition between administration and initiators emerged
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Administrative culture is not risk-averse, but rather not focused on innovation and civil involvement Influence was limited on the co-creation initiative, since the government became involved in a very late stage of the co-creation process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Co-creation is not part of the Slovakian administrative culture Influence of this unfamiliarity is felt in bottom-up initiatives in a limited way
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Administrative culture was very inviting towards co-creation and social innovation, however this is changing, due to the economic crisis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Administrative culture is very much open to co-creation, due to the economic crisis. As a result, participation has become more decentralized but it's still top-down implemented The project requires a change of mind with regards to the old/traditional administrative structure
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A culture in favour of co-creation and civil involvement has been reflected in the introduction of a wide range of policy initiatives that favoured a co-creation approach Policy and legislation, aimed at supporting co-creation initiatives, have also been implemented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The importance of a supportive culture towards co-creation is recognized. However, opinions differ as to how the administrative culture must be characterized: 1. To some extent co-creation is considered as the only viable and sustainable option, 2. But co-creation also causes redundancy and culture shock

Table 3 Administrative culture

Our case studies within the social welfare domain show that a supportive administrative culture is an important driver for co-creation, while a more risk-averse administrative culture is negatively influencing the co-creation processes. In countries like Denmark and the Netherlands, but also Spain and the UK, it has been stressed that since both countries have a decentralized state structure, making decisions in favour of co-creation and social innovation is easier than in countries like Germany or Estonia. This is because the involvement of multiple stakeholders at different levels of policy-making is part of the state tradition in both countries (see also section 4.2) and is not considered a risk. Especially in Denmark, where there is a long history of co-existence between civil society activities and state activities, it has been stated that, due to long-forged, strong networks between both public and private actors, the administrative culture is not averse towards co-creation, but inviting. This holds true for the Netherlands as well, although here it was also mentioned that a risk-averse culture is recognized by some actors. However, whether this is also influential to the co-creation process depends on the type of relationship and interdependencies between actors (for instance, whether they are based on a financial subsidy relation or not).

In Slovakia and Estonia, it has been shown that the administrative culture is slowly shifting in favour of co-creation and social innovation. However, this change is not yet formalized. It predominantly relies on the (informal) relations between individuals, rather than being embedded in institutions. Very often it has an experimental status:

“Maarja Küla continuously expands their activities; they add creative activities – ceramic works, sewing, etc. – and they really seem to help their inhabitants. They experiment with treatment and they really seem to help people and are a good example to expand services in other similar initiatives.”

(Estonian public official)

As a result, individual politicians and public officials are tending to be more supportive towards co-creation (see also “Attitudes of public officials towards co-creation”), but, due to hierarchical state traditions and vertical structures within the public sector, the administrative culture can be characterized as being ‘aimed at rule obedience’. Consequently, it is challenging to implement co-creation within the public sector.

A remarkable issue forms the influence of the economic crisis in the establishment of a more favourable culture towards co-creation. In Spain, it has been shown that the co-creation initiative (Citilab) has been raised in a time of economic prosperity in order to be able to provide tailor-made services. Due to times of austerity, some communities have decided to increase co-creative efforts (as in the case of Citilab), while others choose to decrease co-creation projects for the same reasons.

“We were lucky. From a political point of view, Citilab had the support of the city of Cornellà and, also, it had support from Madrid. Montilla thought Citilab was essential”

(Spanish initiator)

With regards to the influence of a risk-averse administrative culture, in our cases within the urban regeneration domain, our analysis shows comparable insights into our observations within the social welfare domain. In the Eastern European states, an administrative culture which is slowly shifting from a centralistic, hierarchical orientation towards co-creation and social innovation is also being reported. As a result, in Estonia, it was mentioned that there are, as yet, no institutionalized channels for co-creation processes. This challenged the co-creation projects. However, due to a changing political conviction in favour of co-creation, (informal) relations between citizens and state are slowly occurring.

This role of politics in (re)shaping the administrative culture is also mentioned in other countries. However, here it was reported that political attention in favour of co-creation led to an *increase* in a culture of risk-avoidance, rather than a decrease. In particular, in Germany, it was stated that due to the increased political attention for co-creation and social innovation, politicians actively engaged in co-creation processes and tried to formalize them with rules and regulations. As a result, political attention gave rise to a culture of risk and blame avoidance.

“Decisions that used to be taken by division heads now often require the approval of the administration’s leadership [e.g. mayors, ministers etc.], which of course slows down the decision-making process and leads to frustration.”

(German public official)

In the Netherlands, political attention for co-creation also acted as a barrier to it, resulting in a culture of *competition* between administrations and initiators. This was caused by the fact that public officials perceived the co-creation initiative (Stadslab) as a *competitor*, rather than a *partner* to provide public services more effectively.

“There was a form of collaboration with the municipality, but in retrospect it was more of a competitive struggle [with the municipality] to get the favour of the municipality counsel”

(Dutch initiator)

These examples show that a risk-averse administrative culture is an important influential factor. Our analysis reveals that political attention is an important mechanism for explaining whether the

administrative culture can be characterized as risk-averse or not. It is peculiar that in the Eastern European states, political attention pushes the administrative culture into being a culture more in favour of co-creation, whereas in Germany and the Netherlands it increases a risk-averse culture. *We conclude that a risk-averse culture acts as a barrier to co-creation processes. On the flipside of this notion lies the fact that a supportive administrative culture is an important driver for co-creation. Whether such a supportive administrative culture is present depends very much on whether states have a decentralized structure and/or a tradition of co-creation and citizen involvement and whether political attention is present which is in favour of co-creation. Surprisingly enough, our analysis shows that, on the one hand, political attention can diminish the risk-averse character of the administrative culture, by creating an urgency for co-creation. On the other hand, it can also strengthen a risk-averse administrative culture, by making co-creation a political issue, for which public officials can be held accountable. Our cases show no remarkable differences between the two policy domains.*

The attitude of public officials towards co-creation

As described in chapter 2, in the academic literature, the attitudes of public officials are described as being very important to co-creation initiatives. But, they are also quite often reluctant towards the co-creation movement. In this section, we describe how the attitudes of public officials can be characterized in our co-creation cases and how these attitudes were influential. Table 4 shows an overview:

	Social welfare	Urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On a strategic level, attitudes were very inviting On a street-level -bureaucrat level, professionals felt threatened about losing their position, they were also much more rigid in their methods and approaches. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public officials are willing towards co-creation initiative, but feel constrained by system boundaries
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attitudes are shifting. Initially more enthusiastic towards the initiative, but now more aimed at political correctness Public officials feel it is their responsibility to guide citizen initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On a political level, very open towards co-creation (most, but not all political parties) SLB's rather consider it as extra work
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Different from professional to professional. Some welcome the project whole-heartedly; others are reluctant to take on the additional demands of the programme 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public officials are willing to provide more support, but are quite traditional in their perspective on participation, resulting in disappointment among the engaged citizens
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public officials often feel obstructed by bureaucracy (red tape) Others don't trust citizens to be reliable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Very different between public officials. Some very open Others distrusting the competences of citizens, or

Slovakia	partners	trouble accepting shared professionalism.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public officials were trying to avoid the co-creation initiative, since it deviated from the standards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited interest and commitment to support co-creation, resulting in a lack of participation of public officials
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil servants have been flexible and have adapted to the different stages of Citilab Positive attitudes of public officials was essential for the co-creation process and commitment of public officials has positively influenced the process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The leadership and commitment of the Habitat Urbà's staff has been highly underlined. Their attitude has clearly helped the promoting organizations and the projects to move forward The rest of the City Council's administrative organization does not seem to be moving along
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public officials differ on their perception on co-creation, varying from being effective, impactful, but also austerity driven There were significant champions within public bodies that drove the process against significant resistance to co-creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All respondents from all backgrounds noted the initial scepticism and demand for hard data Strategic managers referred to the policy context as a helping source that helped them "sway" sceptical public officials
The United Kingdom		

Table 4 Attitude of public officials

In the social welfare domain, the attitudes of public officials differ substantially from each other. Variation has also been shown in the extent to which these attitudes were influential in the co-creation process. To start with, the variation in attitudes: In some cases, it was stated that on a higher, strategic level, public officials often very much invited co-creation, recognizing its potential for improved service provision (Denmark and the United Kingdom). But on the level of the street-level bureaucrat, public officials were often not so happy with the co-creation movement. Several reasons were mentioned, such as being afraid of deviating from fixed standards, a lack of trust in citizens' capacities or fear of job losses. For instance, public officials were sometimes afraid of differing from their routines (Denmark, Slovakia, Germany and the United Kingdom). To illustrate this, in Germany, it was stated that co-relation with citizens challenged daily routines by creating new working arrangements on top of which:

"For the teachers, who are already overwhelmed with their work and students, it is difficult to incorporate the DmS programme into their routine."

(German professional)

A reluctant attitude can also relate to the fact that sometimes public officials do not trust the citizen initiative as being competent or reliable (Estonia, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom). The result is that public officials try to guide the initiatives in a specific direction. In Estonia, one of the officials stated:

“The willingness of citizens is important, but public officers have to guide proactive citizens.”

(Estonian public official)

In Denmark, it was mentioned that public officials did not recognize the potential of citizens and had a hard time accepting them as resource partners rather than service users:

“We don’t want passive financial support and we don’t want to be bought as consultants, with everything that comes with that... We want to create something together and if that is co-creation then we are the catalyst between the authority and the citizens then we have to step in to the space between the two.”

(Danish initiator)

In other cases, it has been shown that public officials recognize the potential of co-creation, but feel obstructed by organizational procedures and routines. In doing so, they felt they were being forced into complying with so many rules and regulations that there was no space left to manoeuvre ‘outside the box’ and to be innovative in co-creation efforts. For instance, in the Netherlands, it was mentioned:

“I think now there is a positive attitude, but they are obstructed by procedures.”

(Dutch initiator)

Whether the attitudes of public officials are influential on the progress of co-creation is different for each initiative. In some cases, this was recognized as an important driver (Spain and Germany). For instance, in Spain, it was stressed that due to the beliefs of the public officials (rather than citizens) the co-creation initiative continued:

“Without a team [of public officials] that believes in Citilab, nothing can be done”.

(Spanish public official)

Other cases indicate that the co-creation initiative was raised anyway, even though the attitudes of public officials were reluctant (Slovakia and the Netherlands).

From our analysis of the cases within the urban regeneration domain, a comparable picture appears. Also here, public officials were not always that inviting towards co-creation, and differences are reported with regards as to whether these attitudes were (that) influential to the co-creation process. Also comparable to the social welfare domain, on a higher strategic and political level, public officials recognized the potential of co-creation (Estonia, Spain and the United Kingdom), but, in a number of cases, street-level bureaucrats had a less open attitude towards it (Estonia, the Netherlands and Slovakia). In this domain, this reluctant attitude could also refer to a lack of trust in the competences of

citizens (the Netherlands) or a feeling of being stuck in organizational procedures (Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom). As it was mentioned in Spain:

“The city administrative structures have been thought to reproduce procedures, processes. They have not been thought to innovate.”

(Spanish participant)

In the urban regeneration domain, whether these attitudes were influential to the co-creation initiative was highly dependent on the kind of initiatives. For instance, in Germany, the municipality of Berlin wanted to involve citizens in public service delivery, but was afraid to initiate a “*completely open discussion spectrum*” (German public official). They expected that if they would not act as the decisive actor and were to leave it all to the pioneering citizens, it would be very difficult to reach compromises. In this case, the reluctant attitude of public officials hampered the co-creation process, since the pioneers expressed great disappointment in this process. They expected they would have more influence on the plans than they actually did.

We can draw some conclusions about the influence of this factor. Our first conclusion is that whether the attitudes of public officials are inviting towards co-creation seems to differ across the different levels on which public officials are operating. On the higher strategic (and political) level, public officials are more inviting towards co-creation. Street-level bureaucrats are often less inviting towards co-creation. In both our social welfare cases and our urban regeneration cases, this was explained by a reluctance toward deviating from routines or a lack of trust in the competences of citizens. Our second conclusion is that the influence of these attitudes very much depends on the kind of co-creation initiative. In examples where citizens take the initiative, attitudes of public officials are influential where it touches upon the execution of (existing) policy and if there is a strong dependency relationship between government and initiators (based on financial or judicial resources). But, if the initiatives can be developed relatively independently from governmental interference, our cases indicate that public officials were either more inviting towards co-creation or their attitudes were not that influential. Our last conclusion is that, with regards to the influence of the attitudes of public officials, there are no remarkable differences between the two policy domains.

The degree to which there are clear incentives to co-create

In the academic literature, it has been stressed that the potential benefits of co-creating with citizens need to be clarified for public officials. As such, a number of authors have referred to the importance of clear incentives, such as financial rewards, increased effectiveness or improved participation (e.g.

Abers, 1998; Joshi & Moore, 2004). In this section, we describe to what extent these factors were present in our selected cases and whether they stimulated the co-creation process. Table 5 provides an overview:

	Social welfare	Urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political agenda which urges co-creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Municipality is aware of the interdependent position on ecological issue, therefore the ability to improve the awareness of citizens about the urgency of these issues was an important incentive Get better services and a better urban space
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have more effective and purposeful use of public funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improve communication between the city and local associations in order to be more effective The lack of unified incentives and gains caused redundancy among citizens, delaying the establishment of the project team Incentives also differed for stakeholders, causing more redundancy and disagreement about the direction of the projects
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Difficult to measure the accomplishment in terms of better grades for students, causing reluctance among the involved professionals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The assumed improvement by citizen involvement was an incentive, but specific reasons why were not given
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Possibility to more effectively increase the livability within the neighbourhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To have a platform to channel and boost the energy within the city of Leiden Political and societal pressure to focus on co-creation and social innovation
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Better housing for Roma Less expenditure of public funds The ability to help poor people more effectively 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No concrete incentives were mentioned
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There were no material incentives in the Citilab case 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There were no material incentives in the Pla Buits case Political incentive Recover and rehabilitate empty spaces more effectively
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Better funding assignment Giving voice to service users 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The ability to more sufficiently address people's needs Financial incentives (but not with a definitive purpose) Reduction of the demand for hospital care

Table 5 Level of concrete incentives

With regard to our cases in the social welfare domain, our most important finding was that public officials, in general, did not have concrete incentives for co-creation. In a number of cases, this caused problems for public officials or public professionals to see the added value of the co-creation initiative.

For instance, in Germany, due to the difficulty of assigning the co-creation project to school results of the students, professionals often had trouble seeing the added value of the project. Also, in Spain, the difficulty of not having clear incentives was mentioned as being problematic for the co-creation project:

“Citilab needs explicit incentives that motivate its staff, both economic and emotional incentives.”

(Spanish public official)

If incentives were mentioned, it mostly did not involve specific rewards, such as more autonomy or financial rewards, but referred to the assumption that the co-creation project enables public organizations to better address people’s needs. For instance, in the Netherlands, it was reported:

“In one part of this neighbourhood are the social connections very weak [.....] I hoped that SAC could mean something for this. People who have a distance from the labour market are being activated, in order to get them out of their houses and contact other people.”

(Dutch public official)

So, in this case, the ‘incentive’ for public officials to participate in co-creation was merely the possibility to more sufficiently address the societal need at hand.

In the United Kingdom and Estonia, no concrete incentives were mentioned either, in terms of (extrinsic) rewards, but there was the conviction that co-creation could have a positive effect on budget allocation. This could have two reasons: On the one hand, because co-creation enables municipalities to finance concrete projects initiated by citizens, which better reflects the preferences and priorities of citizens. On the other hand, co-creation projects also involve a shared (financial) responsibility of both governmental organizations and the social partners.

In the Danish case, political pressure was mentioned as an incentive for co-creation:

“The political agenda prescribes that we have to co-create and that the public organizations have to work with the private handicap organizations.”

(Danish public official)

So, in this case, political pressure can be considered a top-down incentive, using political power, which urges public organizations to co-create with citizens, rather than ‘rewarding’ them.

Our analysis of the cases within the urban regeneration domain also show that incentives for co-creation are often comparable to the assumed value co-creation could have for public service delivery.

Here, in most cases, incentives were also associated with the assumption that co-creation could improve service provision, by being better able to provide tailor-made solutions for the needs of citizens. For instance, in Denmark, the strong conviction was mentioned that citizens are needed in order to confront ecological issues, by bringing in sources of knowledge, but also simply by separating waste and making households more ecological. In Estonia, due to improved communication between the city and local associations, better tailor-made solutions could be forged, which more sufficiently address the needs of the city, than when the municipality would have to do it all by itself.

It is important to mention that, in these cases, the different reasons and incentives for stakeholders to participate in co-creation sometimes led to problems in the co-creation process. As the co-creation projects proceed, it needs to serve multiple purposes to satisfy all the involved stakeholders. This was not always possible, resulting in disappointment with some stakeholders.

“It was frustrating that the people involved understood the incentives or goals differently at the beginning. What needs to be done has to be thought through thoroughly, so that the goals become more precise in the process. The goals of the initiative were rethought and detailed all the time during the process.”

(Estonian initiator)

So, in this case, it was rather the clarity of incentives which caused problems, than a lack of it.

Just as in the social welfare domain, political pressure was also mentioned as an incentive here. Both in the Netherlands and in Spain, the influence of political attention for co-creation created an incentive for public organizations to take co-creation very seriously:

“Social innovation is ‘something you can’t be against right now’. Therefore our incentives are partly formed by political and societal pressure.”

(Dutch public officials)

We can draw some conclusions about concrete incentives and their influence on co-creation processes. In the first place, indeed in a number of cases, the lack of clear incentives made it difficult for stakeholders to participate in co-creation projects. To them, it needs to be specified what the added value of the co-creation project must be. In the second place, our cases show that if incentives were specified, they did not automatically act as a driver for co-creation, but they could also lead to redundancy and disagreement about the direction of the initiative and how resources need to be spent. In the third place, our cases show that mentioned incentives are very often comparable to the more general ambitions or purposes of co-creation, involving tailor-made solutions for citizen needs

and spending public finances more sufficiently. These incentives are not very often all that concrete (in terms of measurable profit of the co-creation projects), but form strong motivations for public officials to participate in co-creation. In the last place, our cases do not reflect particular differences with regards to the influence and type of incentives between the two different policy domains.

The compatibility of public organizations for co-creation

In the academic literature, many authors have stressed the importance of the adaption of public organizations towards co-creation (Andrews & Brewer, 2013; Loeffler, Power, Bovaird, & Hine-Hughes, 2013). This involves, for instance, the changing of subsidy procedures to make applications easier or to adapt organizational communication to make contact with citizens. In this section, we describe how, and to what extent, public organizations have made changes to facilitate the co-creation processes and how this affected co-creation. Table 6 shows an overview:

Country	Social welfare domain	Urban regeneration domain
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy approach is very much aimed at experimenting with new projects • Professionals, however, were not that inviting, so they did not adapt their ways of working • Financial procedures (and regulations) form an obstacle for adapting organizations, since the conventional relation between provider and user is pretty much consolidated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At the start, organizational procedures were not adapted to contact citizens, reflected in, for instance, accessibility only during office hours • The municipality is now adapting its internal procedures in favour of co-creation. • Structures and bureaucracy have become more flexible, resulting in an ability to accommodate citizens demands • The citizens’ big ideas conflicted with law and regulations, leading to small quarrels
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some concrete adaptations were made in order to make public organizations more compatible: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Introduction of quality standards for associated services ○ Accreditation of service providers ○ Setting up of a maximum number of clients per available staff. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal organizations were not adapted that much to co-creation • Public organizations always struggled with whether the project fit the budget and whether it was democratically legitimate
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether schools have adapted their organization differed from school to school, depending on whether there was internal support for the project or not • Receiving financial support is difficult, due to the acquisition of funds • General limitation of funds • Education system is rigid and hierarchical 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public organizations haven’t adapted that much in favour of the co-creation initiative. Rather, they aimed to control the outcomes through excessive regulation • Projects were top-down managed, causing an exhaustion of pioneers’ intrinsic motivation • Pioneers had the feeling they needed to steer through too many regulations
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal organization has changed from the rationale ‘take care of’, to ‘make sure that’ • Municipal organization is very fragmented, resulting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The initiative did not urge the municipality to make adaptations to their compatibility • Rather, the compatibility of the citizen

Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> in numerous departments and responsibilities Compatibility predominantly lacking with regard to financial acquisition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> organization was pointed out as being important
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Project didn't affect the public organizations that much, mostly because public organizations were quite reluctant towards co-creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> At a national level, lack of compatibility of public organizations
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public organizations have been adapted to the co-creation initiative at the start of the project, but, due to budget shrinks, some of these adaptations have been withdrawn 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bureaucracy was a negative factor: procedures and slow processes were very frustrating.
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recent changes in the United Kingdom policy led to the fusion of social and healthcare departments in local councils, which had already occurred in East Dunbartonshire 10 years ago Implementing monitoring made it easier to convince stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organizations had not changed operationally After demonstrating the positive outcomes, there was a very slow value change, making co-creation more a part of the "logic of doing things" within the statutory body/public organization

Table 6 Organizational compatibility

In the social welfare domain, our cases show, to a limited extent, that public organizations have, in fact, adapted their organizations in favour of the co-creation process. These changes could, for instance, refer to a professionalization (in terms of an accreditation system and introduction of quality standards for co-creation) of the organization, adapted towards co-creation (Estonia). It could also refer to a shift in rationale, which implies that municipal organizations shifted towards an orientation, aimed at facilitating civil initiatives (the Netherlands) or allowing 'a free space', where stakeholders can experiment with new civil initiatives (Denmark). Also notable, in the UK, municipal organizations aimed at convincing other organizations of the benefits of co-creation. Therefore, monitoring systems were implemented in order to monitor the results of co-creation, to convince other stakeholders of its benefits:

"It is a fairly formal system of reporting and performance management that ties us to the investment and the outcomes of the investment that is associated with the reshaping agenda. Systematic reporting. We are at the initial stage of reporting outcomes, but we are reporting activity, we are reporting process, we are reporting the building of infrastructure"

(Scottish professional)

However, our examples in Estonia and the UK show us that organizational adaptations were made to facilitate co-creation, but were also made to be able to control the initiatives.

Various examples were also given, in which public organizations did not adapt their structures and procedures and which resulted in frustration for other stakeholders. Mostly mentioned was the sloth

in financial acquisition and application procedures (Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands). In order to start the co-creation project, initiators applied for a financial fund, but since it takes a long time for public institutions to decide on these applications, the progress of the projects was hampered.

The influence of this (lack of) compatibility varies across the different countries shows an overlap with other influential factors. In Germany, the co-creation project was very much dependent on the willingness of professionals, their (judicial and administrative) will and guts to adapt the compatibility of the organization (i.e. adapting existing curriculum) and generate external funding. In this case, a lack of compatibility towards co-creation directly influenced whether the project could proceed or not. This also came across in the Spanish case, where the co-creation initiative enjoyed the support of the local government in the initial phase, in which the involved region paved the way for Citilab. However, due to the economic crisis, the region needed to cut their expenditure and was, therefore, urged to diminish their compatibility. This directly influenced whether the project could still exist. On the other hand, as was shown in our Dutch and Slovakian cases, the influence of a lack of compatibility was not that problematic. This was mainly because the (civil) initiators were not financially dependent on the municipality, since the projects were running on crowdfunding and sponsors.

In the urban regeneration domain, it has been shown that, in almost all our cases, respondents complained about the lack of compatible public organizations. In Estonia, it was stressed that since civil initiatives often lacked a recognizable form of organization (such as a company or a foundation), public officials had problems with how to classify them, i.e. the co-creation structures did not fit the municipal procedures and parameters.

“The word “community” is often used, but actually we don’t know much what it really means in Estonia. For example, what type of organizations do they consist of, what kind of people are there and what power do they have that can be implemented and developed. There are probably also differences between the association in the cities and in the countryside. Also, many active associations are often related to one specific person and many associations start off as associations of friends.”

(Estonian public official)

Given this ambiguity, public officials were not always that willing to adapt their organization. This inflexibility, if off course, related to the fact that involved organizations are *public* and funded by *public money*. Consequently they are held accountable as to how they spend public money.

“There is certain rigidity but this is normal, since the City Council has to make sure public resources are well used and it has to comply with the law. We totally understand the need for this balance but some organizations do not”. (Spanish participant)

Only in Denmark was it stated that the organization is slowly adapting in order to better facilitate co-creation. The 'Garden on the bunker' was a citizen initiative, which fitted the general policy of the municipality. As a result, the municipality adapted their organization to 'make space' for the initiative and allow exploration and experimentation.

With regard to the extent in which public organizations were willing to make their organization more compatible with co-creation and the influence it had on the co-creation process, we can conclude, that various cases (in Spain, Germany and the Netherlands) indicated that, in line with the academic literature, *a lack of compatibility* in the involved public organizations can frustrate the co-creation process (Pestoff, 2006; Pestoff, 2009b; Wise et al., 2012). In the social welfare domain, it has been shown, that long and complicated procedures around granting subsidies and creating financial sustainability in particular slowed down the co-creation process. In the urban regeneration domain, our cases show that municipalities and public organizations were not that eager to adapt their organizational structures. We conclude that the empirical reality of co-creation shows that public organizations have adapted their organizations in favour of co-creation only to a very limited extent.

5.3. Influential factors of co-creation on the citizen side

In this section, we describe how factors on the citizen side of co-creation were influential to the co-creation process. We distinguish three kinds of factors, which are examined successively: 1) willingness of citizens, 2) feeling of ownership and 3) presence of social capital.

Willingness of citizens

Willingness of citizens is described, in the academic literature, as one of the most important influential factors for co-creation (Alford, 1998; Alford, 2002). Willingness of citizens refers to intrinsic motivations as to why citizens decide to participate in co-creation projects. Table 7 shows an overview of how the willingness of citizens played a role in our cases of co-creation.

In the social welfare domain, our cases show that the willingness of citizens is one of the most important drivers for public co-creation (Denmark, Estonia, Germany, The Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom). The willingness of citizens constitutes the starting point for co-creation activities. However, our cases also reveal that the extent and the orientation of citizens' willingness to co-create influences the direction and progress of the co-creation process. For instance, in Denmark, it was stated that citizens are very willing to contribute to the co-creation project. However, since they were all involved as volunteers, citizens couldn't be 'forced' to conduct certain activities and to prioritize the

co-creation activities over personal priorities. This sometimes slowed down the progress of the project.

Country	Social welfare domain	Urban regeneration domain
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizens are willing to be part of co-creation • Due to the voluntary status it sometimes slows progress down 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different levels of engagement and competences are displayed
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main driver of the co-creation process • 'Blind willingness' was not beneficial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult to balance the different interests of various willing citizens • Difference in ideas about priorities etc. sometimes made progress difficult
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Willingness needs to be activated and focused by activities of the moderator 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Much willingness is displayed, but this wasn't always accompanied by the proper skills
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important driver, but the extent and the reasons why differ • People from higher social class usually have more abilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Predominantly a certain (prosperous) type of citizen who is willing to co-create
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students were willing to contribute to something 'meaningful' • Strong willingness of involved Roma citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key-element as to what drives the co-creation initiative
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Willingness was very relevant • Strong tools are required to show citizens the way to the initiative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very important and increasing over time due to promotional activities
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Willingness is present but needs to be fed by quick results • Prosperous citizens find their way easier than less prosperous citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very important for co-creation, but usually represents a small interest group

Table 7 Willingness of citizens

In Estonia, it was stressed that that parents were very willing to do something, not only for their children, but also for others. However, involved professionals complained that these parents, in their willingness, sometimes tended to generalize individual experiences to a (too) large population, leading to difficult discussions and some frustration.

“Without any capabilities, willingness is not enough. Families think that having one disabled child gives them the experience to motivate and help 30. This is not so. A lot of professional work goes into it. We cannot leave kids in worse situations, even if the people involved are highly motivated.”

(Estonian civil servant)

It was also stated here that a *surplus* of willingness, rather than a lack of it, acted as a barrier to the co-creation process, since parents really wanted to contribute to the well-being of others, but in their enthusiasm forget the opinions of fellow parents.

A last, but important, notion came up in the Netherlands. This case shows that the participating citizens are often prosperous and well-educated. They possess the required skills and knowledge to co-create. But, as a result, co-creation very often only represents a very small part of a community's population, which generates a 'bias' in the shaping of the co-creation process.

In the urban regeneration domain, the importance of willing citizens being influential to co-create is being stressed as well (Denmark, Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands, Slovakia and Spain). But again, the cases emphasize that the willingness of citizens does not automatically lead to smooth-running co-creation projects. For instance, in Estonia, it has been shown that the willingness of citizens could be based on contradictory grounds and interests, resulting in a slowing down in the decision-making process about what the priorities of the co-creation projects must be:

"For example, in our neighbourhood, everybody wants a lot of greenery, street cafes and kids playing on the street. They are willing to work for that. At the same time, they want to drive around the streets with 50 km/h and they fight against speeding limitations. The two things just do not go together."

(Estonian citizen)

Again, in the Dutch case, respondents emphasize the one-sidedness in the citizen participation. It was a very specific kind of citizen who was willing to participate. The following quote illustrates this:

"The typical Stadslab participant is well educated and is mostly from the upper white class".

(Dutch citizen)

As a result, co-creation initiatives and processes tend to favour and prioritize the preferences of a specific group within the local municipality, which could be experienced as problematic, given the process of inclusion and exclusion which is related to this.

With regards to the influence of willingness of citizens in co-creation processes, we can conclude that willing citizens are indeed an imperative condition for co-creation efforts. In various cases, in both the social welfare and the urban regeneration domain, it was stated, that willingness of citizens is the driving force under the co-creation initiatives. However, our case analysis shows some important nuances. Especially in the welfare domain, it was stated that a surplus of willingness could result in frustration with the involved citizens, when there are hampering bureaucratic structures, or other citizens with contradictory ambitions. A surplus of willingness could also lead to frustration with the involved public officials, as they don't want to temper civil enthusiasm, but have their doubts about whether individual convictions are also of added value for other citizens. Next to that, in the case of a

very specific type of participant, questions can be asked about whether the preferences of these specific citizens also have added value for a larger group.

Citizens feeling of ownership

In the academic literature, it has been stated, by various authors, that citizens need to have a feeling of ownership about a certain neighbourhood or city or about a specific cause (e.g. Gebauer et al., 2010; Pestoff, 2012). This feeling of ownership can have a geographical orientation (neighbourhood or city/town) or a more moral orientation (doing something ‘good’, being a ‘good citizen’). In this section, we examine how a feeling of ownership with the involved citizens played a role in our cases. Table 8 shows an overview:

Country	Social welfare domain	Urban regeneration domain
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizens are in charge of both design and implementation, therefore consisting of a lot of ownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A feeling of ownership was merely the result of the co-creation process rather than an important influential factor
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important for co-creation and felt with the initiators but they are an exception in Estonian context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feeling of ownership was very much present with the initiators of the project, but other stakeholders didn't feel like that
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involved students felt a high degree of ownership • This caused some trouble with the participating schools, having trouble with sharing responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership was the main motivation for citizens to join the initiatives
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership was considered very important • Different conceptions about on what this ownership is based on (personal interest, moral background etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership was one of the most important influential factors • Feeling of ownership was based on several orientations (professional, moral, geographical)
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership was very high, especially under Roma citizens, preventing the initiative from falling apart 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership was developed along the co-creation process • Especially for maintenance of the project, ownership was considered to be crucial
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership (based on geographical orientation) was an important driver for co-creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership was merely the result of the co-creation process • Participating organizations, in particular, took up ownership and responsibility
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents felt difficulty commenting on a feeling of ownership, due to their dementia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership was developed along the co-creation process, even though it was not immediately fed by concrete results

Table 8 feeling of ownership

Our cases of co-creation within the social welfare domain show that a feeling of ownership is very important for co-creation initiatives (shown in Denmark, Estonia, the Netherlands, Slovakia, Spain). A feeling of ownership makes that citizen feel responsible for a certain project (or the objectives it must

accomplish), which is an important driver in participation and the continuance of participation. This is, for instance, illustrated in the Dutch case:

“This [a feeling of ownership] is the most important for the initiating citizens. Without this feeling of ownership, and citizens would act on behalf of an organization, they would have given the assignment back to the organization. Now it’s their ‘thing’ and they want to absorb everything there is to learn, to make it better”.

(Dutch initiating citizen)

Our cases show that there are differences between the orientations of these feelings of ownership. It could have a rather geographical orientation (Spain), referring to feeling responsible for a town or neighbourhood, or based on a more moral orientation (the Netherlands, Slovakia), referring to feeling responsible for a specific target group, such as immigrants or disabled people. It is important to note that (just as we have seen in our description of the influence of citizen willingness) this feeling of ownership is also characteristic for a specific kind of citizen. In two cases, it has been shown that predominantly active and prosperous citizens share such a feeling of ownership for a certain problem or neighbourhood (Estonia, the Netherlands). A Dutch public official explained that it is those kinds of citizens who have the ‘mental space’, after a day of hard work, to find the energy to do something for their neighbourhood. Again, the consequence is that this feeling of ownership is rooted in citizen preferences, making it hard to instigate a feeling of ownership for other causes.

In the urban regeneration domain, it has been stated that a feeling of ownership was also an important driver for citizens to decide on contributing to the co-creation projects (Estonia, Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany). In Germany, it was mentioned, that:

“A sense of ownership over the “pioneer projects” was the main motivation for average citizens to develop these projects as part of the reconceptualization of Tempelhof Park”.

(German pioneer)

In the Netherlands, it has also been shown, that ownership could have both a geographical orientation (“we all have something with the city”) or a more *professional* orientation, implying that citizens are being approached for their expertise. This was a very important driver for citizens to contribute to the projects, since they were approached for their specialities.

Various cases within the urban regeneration domain revealed that a feeling of ownership was not only an influential input factor, but was also an important outcome of the co-creation process (Denmark,

Slovakia, Spain). When a feeling of ownership was the result of the co-creation process, this was often related to a feeling of being able to influence the process:

“When the citizens are involved in planning of urban space design and in its construction they also develop feeling the ownership of urban space”.

(Slovakian citizen)

We can conclude that a feeling of ownership is considered an important condition for co-creation initiatives. In addition to previous research (Gebauer et al., 2010; Talsma & Molenbroek, 2012), our cases show that a feeling of ownership could have various orientations, such as a more personal orientation (for instance, experience with a certain disease), a geographical orientation (related to a specific city or neighbourhood), a moral orientation (contributing to something ‘good’), but can also have a more professional orientation (being approached because of certain skills and competences). The latter refers to the specific skills of citizens and acknowledges them as experts in a specific competence. Our cases in the urban regeneration domain also show that a feeling of ownership is very often developed during the co-creation process and, therefore, it can also be perceived as an outcome of co-creation (see also chapter 6).

The presence of social capital

Social capital refers to the extent in which trustworthy relations between actors helped form a fertile breeding ground for co-creation (e.g. Andrews & Brewer, 2013; Ostrom, 1996). The assumption is that if these relations form a ‘tightly knit’ social network, co-creation can be more easily initiated than if these connections are looser. If such a network is based on tight relations, people know each other and feel connected to each other. As a result collective action is more easily organized than if these connections are absent. In this section we examine how social capital influenced the establishment of the co-creation initiatives. Table 9 shows an overview.

In our social welfare cases, the importance of social capital has been stressed as a driver for co-creation in six countries (Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands, Slovakia, Spain and the United Kingdom). Indeed in Estonia, Spain, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, social capital is assessed as being an important breeding ground upon which co-creation initiatives can be built. The Dutch case illustrates the presence of social capital in terms of collective needs:

“You don’t have to convince people for the need for an initiative, because this need is already there. It is because of social capital that these people can be approached.”

(Dutch initiator)

Country	Social welfare domain	Urban regeneration domain
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Building of the project was based on informal relations between citizens and public officials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social capital (between citizens) prevented the project being ruined by vandalism
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social relations played a crucial role for the development of the co-creation project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social capital is increased due to the co-creation initiative, this smoothed the collaboration and helped stakeholders understand each other
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Programme’s success depends heavily on the relations between young people and moderators Key-element was the familiarity with the different migration backgrounds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal relationships were important for the success of the initiative Social capital was also the result of the project
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social capital formed the cement under S4C S4C is not so much about trying to create social capital but building on it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social capital is the breeding ground for the co-creation projects Every sub-project is based on informal relationships Stadslab was initiated especially to boost this social capital
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social capital is predominantly one of the accomplishments, rather than an influential factor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presence of social capital is the one of the key success factors for co-creation activities Social capital is developed by co-creation activities
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The projects led to an increase in social capital within the community and stakeholders As such they improved the projects development Social links with companies were harder to forge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Different projects have resulted in more social capital between stakeholders This also slowed down the process of co-creation, due to the horizontal network structure
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Considered as important, but questions were asked, about whether the fabric was as tight as it used to be 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social capital helped smooth some projects In other projects social capital had to be build up from scratch

Table 9 social capital

In Germany it was stated that the migration background of the moderators was crucial for getting in touch with migrant juveniles. Social capital was based here on ethnic parallels, thereby contributing to a common frame of reference, which was crucial for the co-creation initiative to get started.

In some cases, the importance of social capital between public officials and citizens (rather than social capital among citizens or participants) was emphasized as being a crucial driver for co-creation (Denmark, Spain). Social capital, between public officials and citizens, helped citizens to find their way in administrative organizations, while, on the other hand, it helped public officials to get in touch with the co-creation initiatives. As a result, the collaboration was smoothed out between involved stakeholders, due to social capital. As was illustrated in the Danish case:

“It’s very motivating that the [public] professional part of this environment look us in the eyes and say: “You can definitely do something that we can’t.” That means a lot”

(Danish initiator)

Just as in our analysis of a feeling ownership, here some cases also show that social capital was also an outcome of the co-creation processes (Denmark, Germany, Slovakia, Spain). For instance, in Slovakia, social capital was enhanced, due to the co-creation between Romas and other inhabitants:

“Before, we had some fights with other Roma in our community, mostly out of boredom but working on the constructions taught us we need to co-operate.”

(Slovakian Roma citizen)

Our cases within the urban/regeneration domain, also point out the importance of social capital as an important driver for co-creation. In Denmark, it was shown that due to social capital within the neighbourhoods, the project didn't become the subject of vandalism, since everyone felt a shared ownership for the project (see also previous section 'citizens feeling of ownership') and socially controlled each other. Also in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, the importance of social capital as a precondition for co-creation has been recognized.

“Stadslab is the hub between using social capital and creating it. If it wasn't there, we wouldn't have at the start 300 people”.

(Dutch citizen)

“Ahm, well I think North Lanarkshire has always been quite proactive, you know, in terms of its involvement and inclusion in the community”

(Scottish professional)

Our quote from the Dutch case reveals that in the urban regeneration domain social capital can also be considered as an outcome of the co-creation initiative, just like it is shown to be in the social welfare domain. Also, in other countries, social capital was recognized as an outcome of co-creation efforts (Estonia, Slovakia, Spain). Here, it refers to how public officials and citizens learn to understand each other better. As an Estonian public official illustrates:

“There seems to be a generational change happening in the planning department: we have more younger people, even one with the Urban Lab background. Having similar people on both sides – young architects, urban planners etc. – makes the collaboration easier and also facilitates social interaction. More and more we start to speak the same language.”

(Estonian public official)

With regards to the importance of social capital, we can conclude that this is often considered as a very important breeding ground upon which to build co-creation. Furthermore, social capital can consist of social relations between citizens within a specific neighbourhood or city. However, our cases also reveal that social capital (in terms of social/informal relations) between public officials and citizens may help the co-creation initiative. Last, social capital is also often mentioned as an outcome of co-creation efforts, rather than being a precondition.

5.4. Unforeseen drivers and barriers to co-creation

In this section we examine how unforeseen influential factors affected the co-creation processes. An overview per country is added in Appendix 4 (11.3). Here, we describe the most common factors:

The challenge of creating financial sustainability

The most occurring challenge for the co-creation initiatives appeared to be the creation of financial sustainability. This led to questions as to whether the co-creation project could endure over a longer period of time and led to frustration with the initiators. In the cases within the social welfare domain, this has been mentioned in Estonia, Germany, Slovakia, the United Kingdom and Spain, while, in the urban regeneration domain, it has also been mentioned in Estonia and Spain. This challenge had various causes. In the social welfare domain, it has been mentioned that it could relate to the withdrawal of financial support by the local government (Spain), being dependent on charitable funds and not having a plan to be financially independent (Estonia) or specific aspects of the co-creation initiative itself. For instance, the Slovakia initiative required comprehensive material and other sources: the Roma citizens paid only 1/3 of the costs, but it was very hard to find partners willing (given the target group of the initiative) to co-finance the project:

“One of the frustrating moments was to seek for partners who would support the project financially but also with construction material.”

(Slovakian initiator)

In Germany, the co-creators were dependent on the financial support of both governments and foundations. Representatives of these organizations emphasized that their goal was to see the project get off the ground, since they were unable to promise long-term funding:

“With our money and our resources, things can be started or tried out, but we cannot fund things permanently like a state actor. Quite often like with DmS we keep funding projects in the phase of transition to independence, but we will not keep funding DmS for another 10 years”.

(Representative of a German foundation funding social innovation)

In the urban regeneration domain, it has been shown, that public organizations are funding specific co-creation *projects* rather than co-creation ‘organizations’. As a result, when one project ends, new financial funds need to be acquired for other projects. As was illustrated in Estonia:

“The main financing comes from projects, but when one project ends and we do not get any more financing from another, what then? Is there any possibility to go on?”

(Estonian professional)

In other cases it was stated that financial problems were the consequence of (unforeseen) administrative obligations. For instance, in Spain, public officials put forward that there is a lack of clarity as to what extent investment would be returned. Therefore, due to the current economic situation, they are reluctant to financially support the initiative.

We can conclude that gaining financial independence is very often a difficult task for co-creation initiatives, since many of them are initiated by the financial support of public organizations and other donors who don’t necessarily want to continue this donation. As a result being able to be (financially) independent seems to be one of the major elements which determines whether the initiative can be sustainable.

The role of political attention

Another often mentioned influential factor appeared to be the political attention for the co-creation initiative (the Netherlands, Spain, Slovakia). In the social welfare domain, this has primarily been mentioned as a barrier to co-creation. This could have various reasons. For instance, in the Netherlands, it came across that due to the political urge to display the civil initiatives, the efforts of professional welfare organizations in those initiatives have been covered-up. This in order to display that citizen initiatives are very well able to conduct their projects independently of public organizations. As such, the efforts of welfare organizations in these projects are undermined. As one professional complained:

“In a number of cases you are becoming an invisible instrument. Aldermen are showing off with citizen initiatives, which are not just citizen initiatives. As a result, on a political level, it is being discussed whether citizens can do it without professional interference”.

(Dutch professional)

In Spain, the political attention for co-creation has been considered as both a driver and a barrier to the initiative. As a driver, due to political support, Citilab was easily able to find financial support and gained positive attention and support. However, it also got a very (one-sided) political connotation. For many people, Citilab is a Socialist project, supported by the Socialist Party and by the different Socialist governments that ruled the country. Citilab is seen as a left-wing initiative in a left-wing city. This political identification has been a barrier for gaining political support in the current political environment, which is less socialistically oriented.

In the urban regeneration domain, according to some Slovakian respondents the lack of political support on the central level made it difficult to gain the support of public and administrative organizations:

“Sufficient support for co-creation initiatives and the building-up of the civil society, is missing with the Parliament and the central government”

(Slovakian local government representative)

Just as in the Spanish social welfare case, in the urban regeneration case, political attention was also mentioned as an important driver for the co-creation initiative. Here, it was stated that political attention was needed to overrule the administration in their reluctance towards co-creation:

“There is something new in this initiative: political commitment. If the mayor believes in this project, the administrative staff (Habitat Urbà) is forced to implement it”

(Spanish participant)

This has much to do with the political, social and economic unrest in Spain. As such, grass-roots entities and horizontal collaborative practices have emerged, some out of anger, some out of necessity. Local governments are slowly starting to recognize the need to co-produce with them, instead of keeping traditional urban policy-making practices. Political attention can be an important factor in helping co-creation in the initial phase.

We conclude that political attention can be a very important influential factor. However, our cases indicate that political attention can both be both a driver and a barrier to co-creation. As a driver, it

usually refers to gaining attention and giving support, like overruling objections from critical public officials. As a barrier, political attention can make the initiative more politically sensitive, referring to political interests and political preferences (like a certain unwanted political direction). As a result, the co-creation project can be hampered.

The challenge of collaboration between different kinds of stakeholders

At the core of the co-creation in social innovation idea lies the sharing of ideas and the resources of different stakeholders (Von Hippel, 2007) (Fuglsang, 2008). The importance, and the benefits, of sharing resources has been stated in a number of cases, in both the social welfare domain (Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom) and the urban regeneration domain (Denmark, Estonia, Spain). It is peculiar that, in some cases, this has also been mentioned as being a barrier to co-creation initiatives. For instance, in the Dutch welfare case, a collision of visions and conventions of participants have been reported which slowed down the co-creation process. Also, in combination with the absence of a clear leader or boss long debates could be the result:

“You are interfering in someone’s initiative, which is considered to that person as their ‘child’. Sometimes they experience the interference of starters as a threat”.

(Dutch professional)

In Estonia, there has also been a down-side reported in the bringing in of ‘lay-men’ competences, resulting in a surplus of positive energy, but citizens do not always possess the professional skills to come up with the best solution:

“They have such energy, they want to do things now and do the best for their children, but they do not think things through and sometimes the capabilities do not match the will. This is the case for some of the community living units that have come after Maarja Küla. None live up to the former quality.”

(Estonian professional)

We conclude that co-creation, relying upon the collaboration between multiple stakeholders, does lead to positive collaboration between citizens and public organizations. However, our cases show that it is far from self-evident that these collaborations are run smoothly. Differences in preferences, expectations and interests and the absence of a clear leader ensure that sometimes a lot of time is being lost by discussing the priorities and direction of the co-creation project.

The role of scale and scalability

In two cases, the role of scale and scalability is being touched upon, but in different ways. Scale refers to both the number of people who are involved in the co-creation initiative and the people who are reached by the co-creation project. Scalability refers to when co-creation needs to be up-scaled in order to reach more people (enlarged scale). The role of the scale and scalability has been mentioned as an influential factor in the co-creation project, both as a driver and as a barrier to the co-creation initiative at hand. In the Spanish welfare case, due to the fact that Citilabs was located in a small area outside the city, the scale of people being reached was very limited. However, since the area in which the project is located is also quite far from the city, there is also the problem of a limited *scalability*. As a result, they didn't reach as many people as they had wanted and experienced a great challenge in gaining attention for their initiative:

"The main problem Citilab has is that it is not placed in Barcelona. Where Citilab is placed also hinders its visibility, which, for us, has also to do with limited scalability"

(Spanish participant)

On the other hand, in the Dutch urban regeneration case, Stadslab, the relatively limited scale of the city of Leiden enabled the initiators to reach people within the entire city. Stadslab is building forth on existing social capital (see previous section). Given the closeness between professionals, public officials and citizens, it seems that the social capital is more easily forged within a place with a limited scale. Furthermore, there was more direct access to public officials and other influential persons within the city. As such, the limited scale of the city of Leiden was a driver for the co-creation process:

"We are large enough to contain everything you need, but also small enough to know everyone. Leiden is that small, that you easily have access to the responsible alderman. As a result I think that 60 to 70% of the inhabitants of Leiden know Stadslab".

(Dutch citizen)

We can conclude that scale and scalability might be an important factor in co-creation. However, the relation between scale and the progress of co-creation is parabolic. In order to expand the projects and gain publicity and attention, a limited scale seems to hinder the co-creation initiatives. On the flipside, the scale needs to be limited to make use of more direct connections between stakeholders and to get in touch with other actors, organizations or departments.

Role of reputation

A last, unforeseen influential factor appeared to be the role of reputation. If a co-creation project has gained a positive reputation (for instance, being considered as an assignable point of reference for civil initiatives), it attracts other stakeholders and new participants and helps expand the co-creation initiative. This has been stressed in three cases; the Spanish case, Citilab (welfare), the Estonian case, the Urban Idea (urban regeneration) and the Dutch case, Stadslab (urban regeneration). These cases gained the reputation of being a valuable asset and platform for citizen initiatives. As such, they acted as a driver to further fertilize the co-creation process. In the Spanish case, it has been put out that Citilab was the first living lab in Spain and one of the very first living labs in Europe. This helped gain attention for the project. In the Netherlands, Stadslab gained a reputation as being creative, constructive and thorough. As such, Stadslab became a visible co-creative reference point for both citizens and the municipality of Leiden:

“The aldermen and council members now wants to be associated with Stadslab, rather than that you have to fight for the attention of the municipality”

(Dutch citizen)

This was also the case in Estonia where the Urban Idea excelled in their communication strategy:

“Because we were so visible in the beginning, now we don’t have to do much to be consulted. Most of the members of the Urban Lab are asked to join radio and TV programme as urban experts.”

(Estonian citizen)

We conclude that a reputation of being a platform where citizen initiatives are brought together forms an assignable point of reference for other actors (new participants, public officials, organizations) which helps the co-creation initiators to develop new ideas and to find the proper resources. As such, it speeds up and broadens the ongoing process of co-creation. Again, it is both an influential factor in co-creation as well as being an outcome of the co-creation process (see also Chapter 6).

5.5. Actions conducted to stimulate the co-creation process

In the academic literature, it is described that if the co-creation process is running into trouble, additional actions are required to boost it or to stimulate actors towards co-creation. Authors have

identified a number of these actions, involving the assignment of a bonding and bridging actor to smooth the relations between actors (e.g. Pestoff, 2009a; van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2014), or offering (financial) rewards in order to stimulate people to join the co-creation process. In this paragraph, we assess which kind of additional actions are taken to stimulate the co-creation process in our cases. Table 10 shows an overview of the identified actions, related to the challenge these actions need to oppose.

Country/domain	Social welfare domain		Urban regeneration	
	Challenge	Action	Challenge	actions
Denmark	Crossing boundaries with involved professionals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeking dialogue with public officials 	Obscurity of involved public administration department	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Active collaboration with all involved stakeholders The Miljopunkt as catalyst of the process
	Being a new actor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Becoming a judicial person 		
Estonia	Financial challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opening two shops to generate extra income EU funding 	Smoothing collaboration with various stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continuing discussions and workshops
	Remote location of village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assigning regular staff as mentors for other locations 		
Germany	Financial challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crowdfunding 	Lack of coordination and point of reference within municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assigning a single contact point in the form of Mr Hendrik Brauns
The Netherlands	Difficult communication between initiators and starters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Training programmes for starters 	Shifting the complaining attitude of citizens of Leiden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Activating and inviting them to do the projects
	Overcoming unwanted competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Connecting projects by participation broker Activities of social workers 		
Slovakia	Distrust of Roma citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paying many visits and using communication skills 	Missing support for co-creation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actively seeking partnership
	Obtain building permits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Long dialogue with several public officials 	Insufficient financial/material resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crowdfunding
Spain		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hiring a new manager Firing half the staff Participation in EU projects Attracting companies for crowdfunding 		
	Financial challenges		Financial challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Applying for subsidies Activities in order to collect money (lunches, parties, training etc.)
The United Kingdom	Increase visibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Using marketing strategies 		
	Resistance to co-creation with citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Implementing funding accountability standards 	Resistance to co-creation with citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Monitoring systems and evaluation frameworks Assigning a dedicated social media/communications officer
			Gain more positive attention for the initiative	

Table 10 actions taken

Our cases within the welfare domain show that in three countries additional actions were aimed at overcoming financial challenges (Estonia, Germany, Spain). Our previous section showed that this was very often one of the most glaring issues. In our cases, it has been shown that this usually is related to the withdrawing of governmental support and the urge for the initiators to make the projects financially sustainable. In order to do that, additional resources are sought, varying from crowdfunding to applying for EU funding. In Spain, they decided to reorganize the co-creation initiative as a more business-oriented organization in order to be more efficient. Whether this also resulted in a more financially sustainable initiative is, in most cases, too early to tell.

Other actions conducted to overcome barriers were predominantly related to the need to smooth the collaboration between very different kinds of stakeholders (Denmark, the Netherlands, Slovakia and the UK). In Denmark, it was stated that the co-creation project formed a new actor, which both the municipality and other organizations needed to get used to. In order to do that, the co-creation organization was advised to become an official judicial person, in order to be a recognizable and legitimate partner:

“One of the cofounders and I were at a seminar together where he said that they didn’t want an organization because they would die in bureaucracy and in the hunt for money. But then I had to say, that I got the point, but they had to organize themselves so we could get a structured dialogue and make agreement together.”

(Danish public official)

In other cases, the importance of the active dialogue between stakeholders (sometimes facilitated by bridging actors) is being stressed in order to connect different stakeholders to each other. For instance, in the Netherlands, it was described that unwanted competition could occur between different sub-projects in the race for municipal funds. The involved public official actively sought to connect these projects in order to help them apply to the fund as one project, rather than as several.

It was peculiar that, in the UK, in order to smooth the relations between several actors, the solution was not being sought by setting up active dialogues between stakeholders, but by holding the initiators accountable for how they spent the received money, in order to remove the resistance of other public officials. As a result, it was clearer how public funds were spent and to convince public officials of the added value of the co-creation initiative:

“Sometimes we’ve had to remind people [initiators] about, well see this, that you’ve actually received funding for this, this actually came from discussions at previous workshop, so... Come back! Come back to the workshop and speak to us about it! You know, ‘cause you wouldn’t have got that without us.”

(Scottish public official)

In the urban regeneration domain, only in two cases were additional actions reported in order to face financial challenges (Slovakia, Spain). Here the solution was sought in crowdfunding and applying for (EU) subsidies. In Spain, as well as this, they organized activities like lunches, parties, workshops etc. in order to collect money. It is too soon to say whether financial sustainability can really be established out of these interventions.

In the urban regeneration domain, the majority of additional actions were aimed at crossing boundaries between different groups of stakeholders, as was reported in five countries (Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Slovakia and the UK). There are some variations: In Germany, in order to create a concrete point of reference within the fragmented municipal organization, one public official was assigned as the face to guide the initiators to other departments if needed. This helped the co-creation process to find the right person for the different tasks. However, in Denmark, it was mentioned that there was a specific downside in relating specific roles to specific *persons*. As a result, specific tasks can rely too much on one person.

“It can be dangerous to get someone like me in the process to get it started, because what happens when I’m not there?”

(Danish public official)

In Slovakia, these attempts to relate groups of stakeholders to each other were primarily indicated when the involved municipality decided to withdraw their support. As a result, the initiators actively sought a dialogue with the municipality. However, they didn’t succeed in getting the municipal support back. This might be related to the fact that, in Slovakia, the initiators needed to convince the municipality from ‘outside in’. In Estonia, it was shown that by having an ‘ally’ within the public organization, who knew the procedures and the language of the organization, it was easier to seek that dialogue with the required public officials:

“For example, the lawyer, who helped us draft the pact and several of our letters to the city government, is a very high level legal analyst for the state. She did not want her participation to be known publicly, but she was always happy to help if we asked for advice.”

(Estonian initiator)

This resulted in better cooperation between the city and neighbourhood associations and regular meetings between stakeholders were scheduled:

“The cooperation has evolved between the city and the neighbourhood associations: they have asked us to come along to their tours and discussions and we, from our part, have tried to always partake. Especially good are the roundtable events we now organize together with neighbourhood associations – they are more general, we discuss a certain issue, but we do not go into a specific problem in the neighbourhood. These meetings are less emotional and we can cover more ground and build fences.”

(Estonian public official)

We can conclude that in the social welfare domain most additional actions were aimed at creating financial sustainability, by generating extra funds or crowdfunding. In the urban regeneration domain this was also mentioned. It is too early to conclude whether these interventions have led to financial sustainability. Another important issue appeared to be the smoothing of the relations between the different stakeholders. This was shown in both domains. We saw some differences between the cases as to how this cooperation is being stimulated, varying from the efforts of bridging and bonding actors, implementing monitoring possibilities or the creation of visible points of reference. Our cases show that these efforts were very important for the progress of the co-creation process. Another conclusion is that the activities taken to smooth that collaboration are just as often taken by citizens as public officials (table 10). The literature suggests that the success of co-creation is often the responsibility of the involved public organization. Our cases show that citizens just as often take action to improve the relations with other stakeholders.

5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined how influential factors affect the co-creation process in our cases. In doing so, we have made a distinction between influential factors on the organizational side and on the citizen side of co-creation. On the organizational side, we have examined the factors: 1) risk-averse administrative culture, 2) attitudes of public officials, 3) the degree to which concrete incentives are offered and 4) organizational compatibility. On the citizen side, we have examined 1) the willingness of citizens to co-create, 2) the feeling of ownership of citizens and 3) the presence of social capital. With regard to influential factors on the governmental side, we can draw the following conclusions: In the first place, our analysis shows that a risk-averse culture can be very influential to the co-creation process. Whether such a culture is present is very much dependent on the administrative culture and traditions of the state. It is interesting that political attention in co-creation can both increase this risk-averseness (due to making co-creation a political interest and politically accountable) and decrease this culture (due to the primacy task of politics to precede the administration). Variations are shown between countries, rather than between policy domains.

In the second place, regarding the attitudes of public officials: In general, public officials on the street level (SLBs) tend to have reluctant attitudes towards co-creation. On a higher strategic level, public officials are more inviting towards co-creation. This can be explained by the fact that very often co-creation asks SLBs to deviate from fixed routines and standards. However, whether these attitudes are influential is very much dependent on the type of co-creation. Our cases show that, predominantly in examples where citizens take the initiative, the attitudes of public officials are influential where it touches upon the execution of (existing) policy and if there is a strong dependency relation between government and initiators (based on financial or judicial resources). Also, here no specific variations are shown between policy domains, but rather between countries.

In the third place, with regards to the influence of (concrete) incentives: In some cases, we saw that a lack of clear incentives did indeed hamper the progress of the co-creation project. It is peculiar that we did *not* find support for the presumption that clarified incentives are a driver for co-creation. This might be related to the fact that most respondents mentioned as incentives general objectives and ambitions, which are often very comparable to the general ambitions of co-creation. Also here, no distinct variation between policy domains was shown.

Our fourth conclusion is that organizational compatibility towards co-creation seems to be a driver for co-creation, while, on the other hand, a lack of compatibility is often considered a barrier. In the social welfare domain, a lack of compatibility referred mostly to long and complicated procedures about subsidy granting. Our analysis also revealed that, in general, public organizations (in particular within the urban regeneration domain) are not that willing to adapt their internal procedures, resulting in more cases of frustration than examples in which public organizations were adapted.

With regard to influential factors on the citizen side of co-creation, our first conclusion is that the willingness of citizens to co-create is a very important driver for co-creation. However, this willingness can become problematic if too many citizens want to contribute on too many issues and in too many ways. Then the surplus of willingness results in chaos, rather than a driver for co-creation. Furthermore, questions can be asked about whether willing citizens are also representing the majority of citizens. Our cases indicate that a very specific type of citizen is usually participating. Questions can be asked about how representative this group really is.

In the second place, we have seen that a feeling of ownership is very important for co-creation. Our analysis shows that this ownership can have different orientations, varying from a moral orientation (doing something 'good'), a geographical orientation (doing something for the city or borough), a personal orientation (familiarity with a disease) to a professional orientation (doing something with

my skills). Furthermore, predominantly in the urban regeneration domain, it was shown that a feeling of ownership was often the result of the co-creation process.

In the third place, we have found that social capital is very important as a breeding ground for co-creation. We have found two different types of social capital: among citizens and between citizens and public organizations. Furthermore, just as in our analysis of the role of ownership, this analysis showed that social capital is also an outcome of the co-creation process, rather than (just) a breeding ground for co-creation.

Our analysis was also aimed at identifying unforeseen drivers and barriers towards co-creation. It appears that the most common barrier was the creation of financial sustainability. In order to overcome this barrier, actors applied for different sources (e.g. crowd-sources, EU support).

Another influential factor appears to be political attention. Interestingly enough this could both act as a driver (gaining positive attention) and barrier (prioritizing the wrong interests and making co-creation political accountable) for co-creation processes.

Co-creation consists of collaboration between different stakeholders. Our cases show that this is indeed very important, but that it also brings with it challenges about difference in preferences, expectations and interests.

Scale and scalability might also be important in co-creation. Our cases show that the relation between scale and the progress of co-creation is parabolic. On the one hand, in order to expand the projects and to gain publicity and attention, a limited scale seems to hinder the co-creation initiatives. On the other hand, scale needs to be limited to make use of direct connections between stakeholders and to get in touch with other actors, organizations or departments.

The last, unforeseen, factor, mentioned in our cases, appeared to be the role of reputation. A reputation of being a platform, where citizen initiatives are brought together, may form a concrete assignable point of reference for other actors (new participants, public officials, organizations). This helps the co-creation initiators to develop new ideas and to find resources. As such it broadens and speeds up the ongoing process of co-creation.

The last topic of this chapter was to identify the actions which are taken in order to stimulate the co-creation process and to overcome barriers. Our cases involved, in most additional actions, the creating of financial sustainability by approaching different funds or crowdfunding. It is too early to conclude whether these interventions have led to financial sustainability.

Other actions were aimed at smoothing the relations between the different stakeholders. This was also shown in both domains. Differences in how these relations might be stimulated vary from efforts of bridging and bonding actors and implementing monitoring possibilities to the creation of visible points of reference. It is interesting that activities taken to smooth that collaboration are taken by both citizens and public officials. We conclude that co-creation is just as much a responsibility of citizens as of public officials.

6. The outcomes of co-creation initiatives

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we will describe what kind of outcomes the different co-creation projects have produced. As described in Chapter 2, we will make a distinction between outcomes related to values within the logic of consequence (5.2) and the logic of appropriateness (5.3). As we have argued earlier, these two logics play an important role in the assessment of public sector initiatives. However, outcomes are not always expected outcomes, they can also relate to unexpected outcomes. That is why we describe in the following section (5.4) the unexpected outcomes of the different co-creation initiatives. In section 5.5, we draw some conclusions. A more detailed list of outcomes can be found in Appendix 5.

6.2. Outcomes related to the logic of consequence

Outcomes related to the logic of consequence refer to the extent in which the co-creation initiative has generated (measurable) outcomes that relate to the goal-achievement of the initiatives. This could involve the following outcomes:

- The production of concrete products and services
- Increased effectiveness
- Increased efficiency
- Increased user satisfaction

The production of concrete products and services

The production of concrete products and services involves the extent in which the co-creation initiative resulted in tangible results which are either specific for the co-creation initiative, or are comparable to products and services of traditional public services, but are now produced in co-creation with citizens. Table 11 shows an overview of the extent to which these have been accomplished.

Our case-studies within the social welfare domain show that, to a limited extent, the co-creation initiative has resulted in concrete services and/or products. In most cases, it has been stressed that the projects are the products of the co-creation initiative (Estonia, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom). Hence, the concrete outcome is the project itself. What has also been stressed, in various

cases, is that these projects did not replace existing public services, but are an addition to them (Estonia, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany).

Country/domain	Social welfare	Urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New volunteer council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Realization of the bunker
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A new curriculum for youth with learning disabilities • New community and assisted living services that have expanded state-wide • Work and mentoring services for youth with disabilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project itself was the main outcome • Some minor products (e.g. manual for urban planning, new register for spatial plans)
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2-4 classes of 20-25 students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A platform to engage citizens in a different way
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tangible projects are initiated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tangible projects are initiated
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three social houses are built 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The open air reading park • A new square in the centre of the village in Pohorelá • Relax zone as the urban open space in Handlová
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tangible projects are initiated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tangible projects are initiated
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tangible projects are initiated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many new, small local initiatives emerged (e.g. “vintage teas” for older people, befriending services, excursions, sports classes for particular audiences).

Table 11 concrete products and services

For instance, in the German case, a new educational programme for low-income neighbourhoods has been developed and implemented. The purpose of the co-creation initiative was to implement it, in addition to the existing curriculum. In doing so, many of the studied co-creation initiatives fulfilled a complementary function, thereby not replacing existing services.

In the urban regeneration domain, in some cases, a number of specific services and products are being mentioned as concrete outcomes, like the change of a bewildered area to a ‘green lung of the city’ which everyone can use (Denmark), or a number of concrete recreational spots and locations were created because of the co-creation initiatives (Slovakia). In other urban regeneration cases, the tangible outcomes in terms of new products and services were, again, not mentioned. This corresponds with the outcomes of the cases studied in the social welfare domain (Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom). However, it is important to note here that respondents indicated explicitly that the purpose of the co-creation initiative is not the production of specific

products or services. They underline that it is the co-creation process in itself that can be considered as the most valuable outcome (Estonia, the Netherlands). As a Dutch initiator illustrated:

“You start somewhere and then the success is created by some sort of an accumulation”

(Dutch initiator)

We conclude that, in general, the studied co-creation initiatives lead, only to a very limited extent, to concrete and tangible new products and/or services which can be considered as substitutes or replacements for existing services. Only in the urban regeneration domain, some tangible outcomes were mentioned. Also, specifically in this domain, it was emphasized by various correspondents that the real added value of co-creation does not seem to lie in the number of concrete products or services, but rather in the co-creation process itself. It is the process that is been viewed as the most tangible outcome.

Increased effectiveness

Increased effectiveness involves the extent to which the co-creation initiative is better able to address the needs of citizens than conventional public service delivery. Table 12 shows an overview about whether effectiveness has been increased due to the co-creation initiative:

Country/domain	Social welfare	Urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too early to conclude 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project has initiated numerous other projects
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality has not increased, due to the lack of participating professional organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too early to evaluate
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not able to conclude in terms of better grades • Some gains in terms of improved political awareness or communication skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impossible to compare with existing services • Effective in attracting interest from citizens to the initiative
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different per involved stakeholder • Target group is more effectively addressed • No quality improvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In concrete projects some effectiveness has been accomplished • Due to ‘investment costs’ of the involved municipality these need to be nuanced
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roma have better houses • Roma have improved living conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most services would never be arranged in the conventional way
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not replaced any existing services • Project did address needs, which are not addressed by administrative organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Without the initiative it would never have happened • Local organizations know the neighbourhoods better than the administration
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existing services have been improved to a certain extent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General optimism that ineffectiveness has been uplifted by co-creation, though clear evaluative frameworks are lacking

Table 12 increased effectiveness

Our cases, within the social welfare domain, show, in four cases, that effectiveness has been increased due to the co-creation process (Germany, Spain, Slovakia and the UK). This could have various reasons. For instance, in the German case, respondents *experienced* an improvement of effectiveness of existing organizations:

“The DmS programme is actually enabling teachers and schools to do their job, by addressing some of the obstacles to learning that these students are dealing with”

(German professional)

An explanation is that, in the German case, the co-creation project was implemented within an existing service. As such, stakeholders were able to experience the differences between the situation before the implementation of the co-creation initiative and the situation after.

In Spain and Slovakia, respondents believed that the co-creation process has addressed citizens' needs that were not being considered by traditional public services. Spanish respondents indicated that Citilab is more effective than the traditional public administration, in identifying and addressing what citizens really need and want..... In Slovakia, respondents mentioned that without the co-creation initiative, Roma would not have improved living conditions:

“One thing is that also professionals volunteered. With their expertise, a standard level of building as achieved. But, when we compare the way of living these people had before in the “huts” from Formica and various material that we usually dump, the quality of the housing has been considerably improved. Not to mention that now they have running water and normal social infrastructure.”

(Slovakian citizen)

Also in the United Kingdom, it has clearly been stated that existing services have increased in quality, because of the co-creation initiative:

“I think the richness of day-care services, home-care services and primary care services has been increased by the fact that we have brought other partners into that, to the development and the delivery of those services”

(Scottish professional)

In other cases, respondents indicate that they are not able to estimate whether effectiveness has been improved by co-creation initiatives. This could relate to the fact that the co-creation project is at a too early stage to examine effectiveness effects (Denmark), or, more importantly, since most projects are

not initiated to replace certain services, an evaluative framework to compare them with is absent (the Netherlands). As a result, respondents consider it rather impossible to conclude whether effectiveness has *improved* due to the co-creation project.

Do the urban regeneration cases show the same results? In the urban regeneration domain, in two cases, it has been clearly stated that effectiveness has been accomplished, due to the co-creation initiatives (Spain, Slovakia). In Spain it has been stated:

“If Pla BUIITS had not been implemented, those empty spaces would have kept useless, nothing would have been done there. Now, organizations have the opportunity to offer services to the neighbours, addressing some of their needs”.

(Spanish public official)

In Denmark, it was also mentioned that effectiveness had increased due to the co-creation project. But, in this case, effectiveness was merely associated with a ‘snowball-effect’, meaning that, because of this project, various new co-creation projects were initiated.

In other countries, comparable to the social welfare domain, it was either stated that it is too early to conclude the effectiveness (Estonia) or, due to missing evaluative frameworks, it is not possible to conclude whether effectiveness has been improved (the Netherlands, Germany, the UK).

We can conclude that our case-studies show, to some extent, increased effectiveness. This is usually associated with being better able to address citizens’ needs or the improvement of *existing* services. However, we must also conclude that, in various cases, respondents indicated that it was either too early to conclude whether effectiveness was enhanced by the co-creation process, or that most co-creation initiatives were not initiated to replace existing services. As such, effectiveness seems to be hard to measure in comparison to existing public services.

Increased efficiency

Increased efficiency involves the extent to which the co-creation initiative can be considered as a cheaper way of public service delivery than traditional public service delivery. Table 13 shows an overview as to whether efficiency gains have been accomplished due to the co-creation processes.

Country/domain	Social welfare	Urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is potential for lowering the costs of public tasks • Effect hasn't been realized yet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No conclusions can be drawn about efficiency
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unable to conclude if efficiency has improved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No increased efficiency
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Still depending on state funding, so not improving efficiency compared to existing situation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial coverage, due to donations and public funds. Therefore, no efficiency gains
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential gains in doing 'more with less' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hard to conclude whether efficiency has improved
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Efficiency has been gained, due to minimal financial support and sharing of financial burdens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased due to the use of voluntary work
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doubts are raised about whether efficiency has gained 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benefits have not been quantified • Given the limited number of available resources, the project was efficient
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial benefits at least by some on the statutory level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hard economic data was unavailable • Efficiency could not be addressed

Table 13 increased efficiency

Our cases, within the social welfare domain, show that, in four cases, (potential) efficiency gains have been accomplished (Denmark, the Netherlands, Slovakia and the United Kingdom). This was related to changing public finances with crowdfunding support (the Netherlands) or because of the efforts of volunteers (Denmark and Slovakia). However, in other cases, strong doubts about possible efficiency gains were raised (Spain, Estonia and Germany). An explanation can be found in the fact that these initiatives remained state funded and are, therefore, forming an extra expenditure on the municipal budget, rather than being a retrenchment (Estonia and Germany):

“As the [co-creation] services are clearly underfunded, we send several applications to the Ministry of Finance every year to increase the financing of the services, to improve the quality and shorten queues, because people cannot just sit in their homes and wait for their turn while their health gets worse. However, the Ministry of Finance has been on the position to, due to the current resource level, render these services away, making the system very efficient. There has not been enough pressure to improve the situation notably.”

(Estonian civil servant)

In Spain, it was stated that, specifically at the start of Citilab, efficiency gains were not the purpose of the initiative. Back then, there were plenty of resources to raise Citilab. But, due to the economic crisis, it became more and more important. However, it has been shown here, that being a co-creation initiative was maybe not the most sufficient way to acquire efficiency gains:

“We try to standardize processes. It is easier from an organizational perspective. But projects are very different. The methodology we use does not really invite for efficiency”.

(Spanish public official)

In the urban regeneration domain, our cases show that either efficiency gains could not have been measured (Denmark, Germany, Slovakia and Spain) or have not been accomplished (the Netherlands and Estonia). Also here, this could be explained by the fact that new services were not designed to replace other services. As a result, efficiency could not be measured in terms of ‘increased’ or ‘decreased’ compared with the situation before the co-creation initiative. Consequently, respondents indicated that they were not able to conclude whether efficiency was increased or decreased, due to the co-creation initiative (Denmark and Germany).

In other cases, it was shown that the benefits of the project have not been economically quantified (Spain). In the Netherlands, some respondents indicated they were able to do ‘more with less’, but specifics were not being presented. On the other hand, public officials predominantly considered efficiency as not being gained, because of the ‘investment costs’ the municipality needs to spend in order to participate in the co-creation initiative:

“It costs the municipality more effort to gather with these people. When I want to consult the city, then it as a result I need twice the financial coverage for their planning activities.”

(Dutch public official)

We can conclude that we must be hesitant with our conclusion as to whether co-creation results in efficiency gains and can be considered as ‘cheaper’ than traditional public services. In four cases in the welfare domain, some efficiency gains are reported, usually due to crowdfunding activities and the increased efforts of volunteers. In the urban regeneration domain, hardly any efficiency gains were reported. This is because our analysis showed that especially these co-creation efforts were not implemented within existing public services or were aimed at replacing existing public services. As such, efficiency gains cannot be measured in comparison with those existing services. Very often efficiency gains were not the purpose of the co-creation projects (and weren’t part of the evaluative framework, if there was any). As a result, the question as to what the possible costs and gains might be, has not been seriously addressed. We can conclude that the assumption that co-creation leads to efficiency gains is, at least, premature and lacks concrete evaluative frameworks to support that assumption.

Increased satisfaction of end users

Increased satisfaction of end users involves the extent to which service users are more satisfied with the public service, due to the co-creation initiative, than before the implementation of the project. Table 14 shows to what extent satisfaction has increased or decreased due to the co-creation initiatives:

Country/domain	Social welfare	Urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Satisfaction has increased with participating actors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased for participating citizens
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased in the community of the disabled 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Difficult to assess
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased with students and participating teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Involved citizens were very satisfied about the project Dissatisfied about the process with the municipality
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased for participants, but only a limited number of people is being reached 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stadslab has some added value in terms of more 'fun' Reached a limited number of people
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased for all participants, especially the inhabitants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Involvement of citizens in planning and construction of the new public spaces delivers public services close to citizens' needs and increases citizens' satisfaction
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Added value, but not many people are being reached 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants are satisfied Still lots of unfamiliarity with other citizens (target group)
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High level under service users, but unclear whether this was caused by co-creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High level of satisfaction, but no hard data yet

Table 14 increased satisfaction

Within the social welfare domain, in general, our respondents think that citizens (end users) are quite satisfied with the project. This has been stated in Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands, Slovakia and Spain. As it was put in the Slovakian case:

“We have a warmer place now; we have electricity and running water in the place. It might not look very good from outside but the conditions for living are much, much better.”

(Slovakian, inhabitant)

However, some issues can be raised. For instance, in Germany, some professionals challenged the legitimacy of the co-creation project as being a valuable addition to the curriculum, since it is being carried out by average citizens, most of whom are not trained, certified teachers. As a result, they doubted whether the project would lead to more satisfied students. In other countries, it has been stressed that involved stakeholders might be satisfied with the project, but that it would only involve a limited number of people, often forming a specific group within the community (white, highly

educated, and prosperous). Hence, the question can be raised, if the co-creation initiative was able to increase the satisfaction of end users *in general* (the Netherlands and Spain), as the following quote illustrates:

"I'm not sure whether the impact for the community is that big. It could be, but I hope that it will become more facilitating".

(Dutch civil servant)

In the urban regeneration domain, increased satisfaction has been reported in a few countries (Germany, the Netherlands, Slovakia and Spain). For instance, in Spain, a careful positive response was made by some respondents:

"We have not got many results yet. We still have highly expectancies regarding what it will be and what will be offered here. Therefore, we cannot really talk about satisfaction because our space is still not under operation. However, people are happy because, at least, this empty space is already clean and taken care of"

(Spanish public official)

In the Netherlands, it was more clearly stated that 'the city of Leiden has become more fun' because of the initiative, therefore contributing to increased satisfaction. However, this was not the case everywhere. For instance, in Estonia, it has been mentioned that the co-creation initiative needed to battle a sceptic population. Participants in the co-creation initiative were not too positive about whether they were able to positively influence this. As one professional mentioned:

"Our marketing manager thinks that the people from the neighbourhood associations are the most dissatisfied, embittered people in Estonia. I guess in our team we took the setbacks with humour, but I guess not everybody could."

(Estonian professional)

The co-creation initiative did not change this attitude. In Germany, in addition, our case analysis showed that people have positive expectations of the co-creation project but are becoming frustrated by how project developers deal with the process. As such, dissatisfaction has been reported:

"Organizationally it was all really complicated to implement [the projects in Tempelhof]. And I know this was the case for many of the pioneer projects. I did not imagine, at the beginning, that it was going to be like this. From the beginning, I took the idea of citizen participation very seriously, until I encountered the people of the administration side and was then very disappointed".

(German “pioneer” engaged in Tempelhof Field)

In general, we conclude that in some cases it was explicitly stated that co-creation has led to improved satisfaction of end users. However, it must be noted, that several respondents have emphasized that it’s just too early to talk about increased satisfaction. Also, our cases indicate that although end-user satisfaction seems to have increased, this might only be true for participating stakeholders within the co-creation initiative.

6.3.Outcomes related to the logic of appropriateness

Outcomes related to the logic of appropriateness refer to the extent to which the co-creation initiative has generated outcomes which are appropriate within a certain political context, rather than being concrete and tangible. This could involve the following values:

- Increased accountability
- Increased equity
- Increases responsiveness (of both government and society)
- Increased trust in governmental/public institutions

Increased accountability

Increased accountability involves the extent to which co-creation leads to more accountable public services than in the conventional way. In this section, we examine to what extent accountability has been increased or decreased, because of co-creation. Table 15 shows an overview:

Country/domain	Social welfare	Urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreased due to the new way of working 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreased due to the new way of working
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability was the ‘key-word’ • Responsibility was clearly signed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability relations are somewhat fuzzy
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not able to conclude whether accountability has improved or not 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability was problematic, due to a lack of clarity in responsibilities
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreased in terms of standardized protocols • Relations are based on trust
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not able to conclude whether accountability has improved or not 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-creation has not increased accountability
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roles and responsibilities are clarified
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased through more frequent and transparent communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ambivalence about accountability; more informal conversations, less formal frameworks

Table 15 increased/decreased accountability

In none of our cases within the social welfare domain is an increase in accountability reported. This had several reasons: In a number of cases, respondents indicated just not having a very clear idea

about whether accountability had been increased or decreased (Germany, Slovakia and Spain). In other countries, a specific decrease in accountability has been reported. For instance, in Denmark, the co-creation initiative was explicitly aimed at creating an alternative way of decision-making than through the established parliaments. In that sense, the initiative decreases (conventional) accountability. In the Netherlands, it was stated that politicians had an interest in not formulating clear evaluation criteria, which helped them to display the co-creation initiative the way it fit their political interest:

“It’s a hallelujah story which is not based on facts. And that’s also not examined as such [.....] and that has a reason. They [politicians] have an interest to tell the fairy tale that all kinds of good things are happening.”

(Dutch professional)

This was not the case everywhere. In Estonia, for instance, accountability was the ‘key word’ in the co-creation process, urging every partner to have clear responsibilities. However, this was not so much an increase of accountability compared to conventional standards. In this case, the co-creation initiative was urged to comply with existing standards of accountability. No new standards were created specifically for co-creation.

“Open audits were held to show where the donated money was going and in accordance with the created work manual also all employees of the village are evaluated yearly.”

(Estonian initiator)

Our analysis of the cases in the urban regeneration domain, show similar findings: The co-creation projects led to a decrease of accountability in Estonia and the Netherlands, due to the loosening of existing compatibility standards and allowing more flexibility in public service delivery. In other cases, the co-creation projects were urged to comply with existing accountability standards (Denmark and Spain), in order to justify public expenditures. In Germany, it was stated that a lack of accountability standards had a hampering effect on the co-creation progress:

“There are several divisions and sub-divisions involved in this project and they don’t seem to collaborate beyond what is formally required. Every division is a whole world in itself.”

(German pioneer)

Only in the United Kingdom, has it been shown, carefully, that accountability might have increased by the co-creation initiative. Some respondents described that structures have become more transparent,

due to an increase in communication with different stakeholders. As a result, the needs of more stakeholders are brought in, which increases accountability:

“Co-production is more accountable to the users and, if we do it right, then it should be continually changing with the demanding change– or the needs of the individuals as they change.”

(Scottish professional)

We can conclude that in both domains, in general, accountability is not being increased as a result of co-creation processes. Our analysis shows that this could have two variations: On the hand, we found several examples in which decreasing accountability has been reported, due to allowing more flexibility and allowing experimental space for co-creation. On the other hand, some co-creation projects were urged to live up to existing accountability standards. It is peculiar that in some cases a lack of accountability was experienced as problematic, making it hard for stakeholders to justify the efforts (and the financial funds) for the co-creation projects. In other cases, it was stated that this lack of accountability standards helped actors to be more flexible and to experiment with new ideas. However, the downside of this lack of accountability standards was that some actors may display the results of co-creation (politically) as they please.

Increased equity

Increased equity refers to the extent in which co-creation leads to a more equal distribution of resources within the community. Table 16 shows an overview of the extent to which equity has increased or decreased, due to the co-creation initiatives.

Within the social welfare domain, in two cases, increased equity has been reported (Germany and Slovakia). This is related to the target group of the co-creation initiative, which involved, in both cases, (ethnic) minorities. In Germany, it involved migrants and, in Slovakia, Roma gypsies. The co-creation was aimed at enhancing possibilities for these groups to retrieve a more equal place within society.

In other cases, though, respondents indicated that their co-creation initiative always involved selection, and, therefore, exclusion of people (Denmark, Estonia, the Netherlands and Spain), which leads to winners and losers as can be illustrated by the following quote:

“It [the S4C-initiative] cannot be considered as a substitute for welfare activities. It can also work exclusively”.

(Dutch initiator)

Country/domain	Social welfare	Urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The project has made a more equal gateway for active citizens to make their ideas come to life, in cooperation with the public sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More equal access to green areas in the city
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The people working at the village found that equality and fairness were the standards in the village itself Doubts were raised about the initial selection of those being able to benefit from the services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No effect on equal distribution of public services
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participation leads to more equity since it supports people from less privileged areas and positions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More equal access to art, knowledge and recreational activities Only a certain type of person knows their way around
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> S4C is not raised as a substitute for public services, given the fact that the design excludes groups of people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decreases due to exclusion mechanisms
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roma citizens think that their position has been strengthened, therefore more equity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not able to conclude whether equity has improved or not
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rather increasing than decreasing However, Citilab does exclude people without specific knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased within the city of Barcelona, due to a more equal access to the service
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not able to conclude whether equity has improved or not 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (based on impressions) fairer and more equal

Table 16 increased/decreased equity

In other cases, this exclusive effect also occurred. In Spain, this possible exclusion was related to the advanced technology being used in the co-creation initiative. Only people who possess knowledge and skills to work with this technology had the opportunity to make use of the co-creation project.

In Denmark, respondents mentioned that, through the co-creation, *active* citizens have a new ‘gateway’ to make their ideas come to life, in cooperation with the public sector. This excludes less active citizens whose needs and interests were less voiced.

In the urban regeneration domain, in some cases an increase of equity/fairness has been reported (Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom). In Germany, due to the initiative, the pioneers believe that a more equal access to art, scientific knowledge and recreational activities is being created, because the co-creation initiative enables other citizens to participate.

In Spain, respondents mention that the distribution of empty spaces was accessible for everyone, therefore enhancing the *possibilities* for every kind of citizen to participate.

“Everyone could participate in the competition; it was open to the whole city. These empty spaces are open to anyone; anyone within the neighborhood should be able to access them”

(Spanish public official)

In other cases, though, either a decrease of equity has been reported (the Netherlands) or an increase or decrease was not visible (Estonia and Slovakia). In Estonia, the point was stressed that only an elite group had access to the co-creation project:

“While there are more organizations, the number of people being involved in planning is the same. At least the influential people. And when to think about the lack of ethnic diversity, or diversity in general, in neighbourhood association’s active groups – how can this be fair?”

(Estonian initiator)

We can conclude that equity might be enhanced by co-creation if the initiative is specifically aimed at levelling differences between societal groups. Our research shows that equity increased especially in terms of equity of access. The co-creation initiatives open up new possibilities for all kinds of groups of citizens for entering the public domain. In that respect, one could argue that there is a possibility for more equity among groups of citizens. However, in several cases, it has been shown that it is primarily the prosperous and competent citizens who see these possibilities and find their way to using them in order to serve their wishes, needs and interests in a better way. Hence, the question can be raised, as to whether co-creation really enhances equity.

Increased responsiveness

Increased responsiveness refers to two elements: In the first place, it refers to the extent in which co-creation enables public organizations to be more responsive to challenges within the society and the needs of citizens. In the second place, it refers to the extent in which citizens are able to respond to these challenges. Table 17 shows an overview of how responsiveness was increased/decreased in our case studies.

Our case-studies, in the social welfare domain, show that, in most cases, the responsiveness of *citizens* has increased to a limited extent, in terms of being better able to address their needs and to affect how public services are delivered (Estonia, Germany, Slovakia and the UK). However, it has been emphasized that this responsiveness might be increased for only a certain group of people:

“The really vulnerable groups, who really want something, can better be approached by welfare organizations. They shouldn’t be budgeted away [by using co-creation]” (Dutch initiator)

country/domain	social welfare	urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration has increased and, therefore, has the responsiveness of the municipality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some increase due to advanced communication possibilities with citizens
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsiveness increased towards the municipality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsiveness increased for a limited group of citizens • Others were more skeptical, due to limited representation and the limited effect of the project on the city
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsiveness of migrant students has increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project is better able to address citizens' needs than conventional service provision
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most respondents do not know 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hard to say due to limited representativeness
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsiveness of Roma citizens has improved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project is better able to address citizens' needs than conventional service provision
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unable to conclude whether responsiveness has increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project is better able to address citizens' needs than conventional service provision
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services are more responsive to citizens' needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The governance structure was seen as making services more responsive to local needs as well as more responsive to the respective user groups

Table 17 increased responsiveness

Only in Denmark has it been shown that responsiveness of the public organization has been increased, due to a more intense collaboration with other stakeholders. As a result, the needs of more stakeholders are being addressed.

Within the urban regeneration domain, in a number of cases, it has been shown that the responsiveness of the public organization towards citizens has increased. Because of the co-creation initiative, public organizations are better able to address the needs of citizens. This was mentioned in a number of countries (Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Slovakia, Spain and the UK). For instance, according to Spanish respondents, by using the co-creation initiative, the city of Barcelona had become more responsive to the needs of citizens:

“These now occupied empty spaces are addressing citizens’ basic needs; they might not be the more urgent needs they have, but organizations are helping [vulnerable] people under the risk of social exclusion”

(Spanish public official)

Also, in this domain, an increased responsiveness of *citizens* (groups) towards public organizations has been reported (the Netherlands and Slovakia). In the Netherlands, it was put forward that, due to Stadslab, citizens had an opportunity to mobilize and organize themselves, opposed to the municipality and were, therefore, better able to influence the municipal organization:

“Stadslab has become so big, because they attract other people. As a result, they find an ear with the municipality”

(Dutch professional)

We can conclude that the majority of our cases show an increase in responsiveness of either public organizations or citizens. Our cases show (to a limited extent) that public organizations are better able to address citizens’ needs, due to co-creation and are, therefore, better able to respond to the real needs of citizens. Their responsiveness has, therefore, been increased. On the other hand, co-creation enables citizens to have more influence on public service delivery and which needs are being addressed. However, we must note, just as in the preceding section (equity), that it mostly involves a specific type of citizen who is able to influence the municipal organizations.

Increased trust in public institutions

Increased trust in public institutions refers to the extent in which co-creation increases trust of citizens in public institutions, due to the close collaboration that is required in co-creation processes. Table 18 shows how trust in public organizations increased/decreased in our co-creation examples:

country/domain	social welfare	urban regeneration
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased on both the strategic and street level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trust is high, due to daily contact and a common purpose
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most respondents were ambivalent about trust 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stakeholders closely affiliated to municipality were generally disappointed
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trust in the capabilities of Berlin school was increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pioneers got frustrated due to the collaboration with the municipality
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most respondents didn’t get in touch that much with public organizations, therefore trust was not really an issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whether trust in the abilities of public organizations is increased is different from person to person
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trust was increased, despite unwillingness and some complications 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decreased due to missing or insufficient support for the co-creation initiatives
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased, since Citilab is considered a public organization itself 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> General perception that trust in the abilities of public organizations is increased, in particular regarding the specific department in charge of this initiative
UK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trust increased, but it was reported as high from the beginning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Much stronger among stakeholders because of increased communication among those who would not otherwise have been communicating

Table 18 increased trust

In the social welfare domain, in most countries, (limited) increased trust in the involved public organizations has been reported (Denmark, Germany, Slovakia, Spain and the United Kingdom). This was mostly related to increased collaboration and communication between public organizations and

the initiators. Interestingly, in Spain, the co-creation initiative was considered a public organization. Since the experiences with the project were good, trust in public organizations increased in general.

In the Netherlands, an interesting distinction has been put forward between trust in public administrative organizations and public professional organizations. Respondents indicated that the co-creation initiative did not so much interfere with the tasks and responsibilities of the professional organizations (e.g. health care providers). These organizations remained responsible for guarding quality and safety standards, which was not seen as problematic. Therefore, trust of involved citizens in public professional organizations has not been increased or decreased. However, collaboration with public administrative organizations (municipal departments) was often experienced as more problematic, due to the fragmented way of working in these departments. Consequently, respondents indicated that trust was decreased in public administrative organizations. Such a distinction between professional and administrative organizations was also mentioned in Estonia. Here it was mentioned that trust in individual public officials had risen but not as much in the government as a whole:

“Too much attention is put on things that are politically feasible and less on things that need to be done.”

(Estonian participant)

In the urban regeneration domain, more negative effects were reported when it comes to trust in public organizations. In Estonia, Germany and Slovakia, it has been stated that trust in the abilities of public organizations has decreased. In Germany, the pioneers in the project indicated that, in their experiences, the collaboration with the municipality has not improved their trust at all, due to the lack of trust of public officials in citizens' capabilities. In Slovakia, it has been mentioned that the regional government stopped a number of running co-creation projects initiated by citizens. As a result, the regional government was considered a 'deal-breaker', rather than being a trustworthy collaboration partner. In Estonia, the co-creation process showed the limitations of the bureaucratic system to both citizens and public officials. Consequently, trust in individual public officials not so much decreased (staying on the same low level), but rather diminished regarding the system:

“There are many officials with good intentions, rhetorical support from the opposition parties, but no change in the capabilities of the ruling party”

(Estonian initiator)

In the United Kingdom, an (assumed) increase in trust has been reported. This was associated with increased communication among stakeholders who would not otherwise have been communicating and also reduced scepticism within public bodies in particular. However, trust was reported as already

high before the co-creation initiative was taken. It may be possible that initially high trust levels made it possible for the co-creation approach to be adopted in the first place.

When it comes to whether trust in public and governmental organizations increases as a result of co-creation processes, we can conclude that our cases show a divergent image. In the welfare domain, it has been shown that collaboration with professional public organizations can have a positive effect on trust in those organizations, due to a shared involvement and enhanced communication structures. However, problems are being experienced with the involved bureaucratic organizations. These problems often involved unwillingness and the fragmentation within administrative organizations, making it very hard to find the right people/departments. In the urban regeneration domain, it was mentioned that trust had decreased, due to difficult collaboration between citizens and the involved public organizations. This was mostly related to a general lack of interest in co-creation by public officials and even the withdrawing of support for some projects, as was shown in the Slovakian case. As a result, initiators got frustrated and disappointed with the efforts of involved public officials, hence a decrease in trust.

In the previous section, we looked at outcomes that we expected to be mentioned by our respondents. However, we also encountered a number of outcomes that we did not expect. These are reported in our next section:

6.4. Unforeseen outcomes

In this section, we describe the reported outcomes of the co-creation process which we did not expect.

Personal or professional development

In most cases, the success of co-creation lies in specific project related outcomes, such as residents being able to work (Estonian welfare case), students being better able to express themselves in the classroom and school (German welfare) and the transformation of a wasteland into a green recreational area (Danish urban regeneration). These kind of outcomes cannot be considered as beneficial outcomes for the entire community or society, but constitute valuable direct outcomes of the co-creation process for citizens or citizen groups themselves, thereby addressing personal or professional needs. Moreover, these specific and concrete outcomes appear to be an important reason for citizens to join the co-creation projects:

“For the Starters valuable opportunities are created in the sense that they had some personal development and updated their professional skills. And for the inhabitants, every initiative is taken a step further. Although the extent of the improvements differs from initiative to initiative.”

(Dutch initiator)

The establishment of social capital and a feeling of ownership

In our welfare cases, in two countries, it has been mentioned that the major accomplishment of the co-creation initiative has been the establishment of a community (Denmark and the United Kingdom):

“Getting the community of service users, cares, risk analysts and risk managers, that have to make decisions, together... and that is everyone from senior managers in services, to GPs, to social workers. To consider, if there are, you know, low-intensity, community-focused options that might be appropriate for the need that they are working with. I think there has been more than a bit of progress in it.”

(Scottish public official)

As such, the real accomplishment is in fact that social capital has been enhanced between several partners and stakeholders. As we have described in section 5.3, this is often accompanied with a feeling of ownership, which is also often developed along the co-creation process. In some cases in the urban regeneration domain, something comparable has been shown (Estonia and Slovakia). In Estonia, it has been stressed that the major achievements lie in the establishment of alignments within the community and with the community and external partners:

“They seem to take on more things and do more. Bigger networks are involved and they have become more professional in what they do.”

(Estonian representative of neighbourhood association)

Here we see that social capital and ownership is not only one of the influential factors, forming a fertile breeding ground, but can also be an important outcome of co-creation processes.

Achieving reputation gains

In a number of cases in both the social welfare domain (Estonia, the Netherlands and Spain) and in the urban regeneration domain (Estonia, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom), respondents indicate that the co-creation initiative gained a reputation of being a good example of co-creation. These reputation gains constitute, for the outside world, an important frame of reference, because it helps to attract citizens looking for a place to contribute, while it also attracts public officials looking for

partners to co-create with. Moreover, it functions best as a practice that is being considered an interesting model of inspiration to be adopted elsewhere.

In the Spanish welfare case, it has been mentioned that the initiative gained a lot of (international) attention, therefore gaining the reputation of a remarkable co-creation example:

“Citilab is now on the map. It is a good practice of social innovation in Europe. Actually, it is much better known outside than inside”

(Spanish board member)

Something comparable came across in the United Kingdom urban regeneration case:

“But it gives it a model, an exemplar that we can translate into other pieces of work that we’re undertaking beyond the reshaping care agenda. And it gives us a blueprint as a starter”

(Scottish professional)

We conclude that co-creation can have a number of unexpected benefits. On a personal level, this involves individual accomplishments (e.g. personal skills, network etc.). It has been stated that these outcomes form important reasons for citizens to join the co-creation projects.

Other unexpected outcomes refer to the fact that two of our assumed influential factors (feeling of ownership and social capital) can also be considered as outcomes of the co-creation processes. As such, these factors form the breeding ground for co-creation, but this breeding ground is also an outcome on which new initiatives can be built.

Our last unexpected outcome involves the reputation gains which are accomplished by co-creation projects. In achieving these gains, the projects are considered a tangible reference point for citizens who would like to contribute to a larger cause. It also forms a (new) reference point for citizen representation in public organizations.

In our next session we draw some conclusions about what the outcomes of co-creation processes across the European Union are.

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have described what the outcomes are of the different co-creation processes across the European Union. In order to describe the nature of the outcomes, we have made a distinction

between outcomes which are related to the logic of consequence and outcomes related to the logic of appropriateness. Outcomes related to the logic of consequence refer to outcomes which are related to the goal-achievement of the projects and are rational in nature. Outcomes related to the logic of appropriateness refer to the extent in which the co-creation initiative has generated outcomes which are appropriate within a certain political context. To start with the former, we examined how co-creation contributes to four different outcomes: 1) The production of concrete products and services, 2) increased effectiveness, 3) increased efficiency and 4) increased user satisfaction.

With regards to the production of concrete products and services, in general, the studied co-creation initiatives led, to a very limited extent, to concrete and tangible new products and/or services which can be considered as substitutes or replacements for existing services. In the urban/regeneration domain, some tangible outcomes were mentioned, but it was stressed that the real added value of co-creation does not lie in the number of concrete products or services, but in the co-creation process itself.

Effectiveness has been increased in some cases, as an outcome of the co-creation processes. This is associated with being better able to address citizens' needs or an improvement on conventional public services. We must note that in various cases respondents indicated that it was either too early to conclude whether effectiveness was enhanced by the co-creation process; or that most co-creation initiatives were not initiated to replace existing services.

Efficiency gains were reported in four cases in the welfare domain, due to crowdfunding and the increased efforts of volunteers. In the urban regeneration domain, we hardly found any efficiency gains. The limited number of efficiency gains can be explained by the fact that co-creation efforts are not implemented to replace existing public services. As such, efficiency gains cannot be measured in comparison with those services. Very often, efficiency gains were not the purpose of the co-creation projects (and weren't part of the evaluative framework, if there was any). We can conclude that the assumption that co-creation leads to efficiency gains is at least premature and lacks concrete evaluative frameworks to support that assumption. Satisfaction of end users was improved in some cases (in both domains). However, we must note that our cases indicate that although end user satisfaction seem to have been increased, this might only be true for participating stakeholders within the co-creation initiative. As a result, end users within a wider range of the community are not addressed.

With regards to the logic of appropriateness, we have examined how co-creation contributes to four different values: 1) Increased accountability, 2) increased equity, 3) increased responsiveness (of both government and society) and 4) increased trust in governmental/public institutions. Our analysis in

both domains shows that, in general, accountability does not increase as a result of co-creation processes. This could have two variations: On the one hand, in some examples, accountability has decreased since co-creation required a loosening of accountability standards and needed the possibility to experiment. On the other hand, other co-creation projects were urged to live up to existing accountability standards, which are held for (regular) public organizations. It is interesting that, in some cases, a lack of accountability was experienced as problematic, making it hard for stakeholders to justify the efforts (and the financial funds) for the co-creation projects. In other cases, it was stated that this lack of accountability standards helped actors to be more flexible and to experiment with new ideas.

As far as equity is concerned, we can conclude that this value might be enhanced by co-creation if the initiative is specifically aimed at levelling differences between societal groups (as was the case in our social welfare cases in Germany and Slovakia). Increased equity must be understood as having more equal access to public services, due to the co-creation project. The co-creation initiatives open up new possibilities for entering the public domain for all kinds of groups of citizens. However, we must note that specifically prosperous and competent citizens know how to find these new possibilities. Our analysis of whether co-creation might increase responsiveness can be shown by the fact that the majority of our cases show an increase in responsiveness of either public organizations or citizens. To a limited extent, public organizations are better able to address citizens' needs, due to co-creation efforts and are, therefore, better able to respond to the real needs of citizens. Therefore, their responsiveness has increased. Other cases show that co-creation enables citizens to have more influence on how public service delivery is achieved and which priorities are given. However, here we must also note that only a specific type of citizen is becoming more responsive as a result of co-creation.

With regard to increased or decreased trust in public organizations, we saw some very diverse results between the two domains. In the welfare domain, it has been shown that trust increased in public *professional* organizations, due to the fact that co-creation led to intense collaboration with those organizations. However, problems are being experienced with the involved *bureaucratic* organizations. These organizations were often experienced as unwilling and fragmented. In the urban regeneration domain, it was mentioned that trust decreased, due to struggling collaboration between citizens and the involved public organizations. This was mostly related to a general lack of interest in co-creation by public officials and even the withdrawing of support for some projects, as was shown in the Slovakian case.

In this chapter, we also paid attention to what extent co-creation has resulted in unexpected benefits. We have identified three kinds of benefits: 1) individual accomplishments, 2) ownership and social capital as an outcome and 3) reputation gains.

In general, we can conclude that, with regard to the logic of consequence, co-creation has some positive effect on values like effectiveness, and it might increase the satisfaction of end users. However, efficiency gains and concrete products have hardly been reported. Many respondents have underlined that the value of co-creation does not lie in specific values related to goal-achievement. With regards to the logic of appropriateness, we can conclude that co-creation can have added value for equity, responsiveness and trust in public (professional) organizations. Co-creation might generate new possibilities for citizens to participate in public service delivery. As a result, public organizations are better able to respond to the needs of citizens, and citizens are better able to address them. However, we must note that the group of citizens who are able to make use of these possibilities represents only a small part of society. Given the fact that accountability seems to have decreased because of co-creation, there might be a danger of under-representation of certain groups of people in public service delivery.

7. Conclusion: Policy recommendations regarding co-creation during social innovation

Social innovation is a ‘magic concept’ (Pollitt & Hupe, 2011) which has, recently, been embraced as a new reform strategy for the public sector, given the social challenges and budget austerity with which governments are wrestling. As noted in the introduction, a central element of social innovation is that various stakeholders are heavily involved (Bason, 2010). More specifically, social innovations often deliberately seek the active participation of *citizens* and grass-roots organizations in order to produce social outcomes that really matter for these groups. Hence, social innovation can often be considered as a process of co-creation with citizens. According to the European Commission (European Commission 2011, 30), ‘social innovation mobilizes each citizen to become an active part of the innovation process’. If citizen participation is considered 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, Andrew H, Rogers, Bechara, & Sun, 2008). This comparative research project, therefore, had the following research goals:

1. To identify the *different types of co-creation*, thereby focusing on the positions of the involved actors and the coordination mechanisms that are used
2. To identify and compare *relevant drivers and barriers* that account for the success or failure of co-creation processes between EU countries
3. To assess the *outcomes of social innovations that are based on co-creation* in relation to the expected benefits for the involved stakeholders, including the weak interests of citizens

Related to these research goals, this project aimed:

1. To make policy recommendations regarding instruments for co-creation arrangements
2. To disseminate research results and policy recommendations among involved policymakers and within the academic community

In this concluding section, we will first discuss the three research goals. Based hereon, we will provide policy recommendations. These will be directly connected to the findings.

7.1.Types of co-creation

In our systematic literature review (Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers, 2014), we found that 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 does not contribute to conceptual clarity (S. P. Osborne & Strokosch, 2013). Some clarity can be provided by making a difference between three types of co-creation (in terms of the degree of citizen involvement) in social innovation: (a) citizens as co-implementers: involvement in services which refer to the transfer of implementing activities in favour of citizens that have been carried out by government in the past, (b) citizens as co-designers: involvement regarding the content and process of service delivery and (c) citizens as initiators: 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 the 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. Hence, a straightforward policy recommendation would be to use this distinction, in order to reduce ‘conceptual confusion’.

Table 19 presents the types of co-creation/co-production found in the literature review and the case studies. When conducting a systematic review of the literature (Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers, 2014), we found that many studies focused on citizens as co-implementers. There seemed to be less known about social innovation processes which were either co-designed, or initiated by them. Therefore, in our comparative case study, we looked at those types in particular (see table 19):

	Total found in literature review (Voorberg, Bekkers, Tummers, 2014)	Total studies in comparative case study social welfare	Total studies in comparative case study urban/rural regeneration
Citizen as a co-implementer (note, not really ‘co-creation’)	57% (68 studies)	0% (0 studies)	0% (0 studies)
Citizen as a co-designer (a type of co-creation)	31% (37 studies)	29% (2 studies)	57% (4 studies)
Citizen as an initiator (a type of co-creation)	14% (12 studies)	71% (5 studies)	43% (3 studies)

Table 19 Types of co-creation/co-production

For instance, the German case ‘Tempelhof’ was a prime example of co-design. The closing of a major airport left an open area right in the middle of the German capital. It was an open field of 355 hectares and a building of 300,000 m2. Project developers thought it was ideal for Berliners to use for creative

initiatives. People could host temporary interactive projects on Tempelhof Field, attracting visitors to the site. Berliners had an active role in the redesign of the historic area. Actors involved were, among others, The Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development, The project management of 'Tempelhofer Projekt GmbH', Grün Berlin GmbH (responsible for open space development projects within the federal state of Berlin) and of course Berliners (via The Pioneers).

Next to this, we also found various cases where citizens themselves took the initiative. An example is the Maarja Kula case in Estonia. Citizens took the initiative to establish a home for 50 people with learning disabilities. The main reason was the perceived shortcomings of care for people with multiple disabilities. The goals of the projects were, among others, to a) prepare youth with learning disabilities for independence, b) make society more aware of learning disabilities and c) change Estonian regulations to include provision for living arrangements for people with disabilities. Next to family members of the disabled youth, other actors were also involved (later on), such as inhabitants of the village where the house was located, local government, the Ministry of Social Affairs and a state owned enterprise (AS Hoolekandeteenused).

Next to the 'conceptual' policy recommendation of reserving the term co-creation for cases where citizens are (co-)initiating or (co-)designing, a second policy recommendation is to start studying such cases more intensively. The literature to date does not pay much attention to such cases. They are present (we could find many instances) and could be potentially influential to the policy domain (see Section 7.3). Hence, a better understanding is warranted.

7.2. Drivers and barriers for co-creation processes

The next goal was to identify major drivers and barriers of co-creation processes. This is an important topic, as knowing which drivers and barriers exist can be beneficial for people who want to stimulate social innovation processes. Here, we report the major drivers and barriers:

However, we must acknowledge that – although general factors have been identified – context does matter a great deal, especially where state and governance traditions proved to be influential. The differences in state traditions result in very different starting points for co-creation initiatives. Countries characterized with a centralized state structure often do not have a state tradition of involving citizens. This makes it harder for such initiatives to develop and succeed. A striking example can be found in Slovakia. Slovakia was established on January 1, 1993, as the result of the splitting of former Czechoslovakia. It became an independent, sovereign, democratic, unitary state. With the exception of some short periods in early medieval times, Slovaks did not have their own state before

1918, and for more than 1,000 years belonged to the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian monarchies. After the Second World War, Czechoslovakia was re-established as a unitary, democratic state. The Communist Party played a very important role in the political system and won the elections in 1947. In 1948, it took all state power into its own hands. There was a formal separation of executive and legislative powers, but, in reality, there was a dominance of political power of the Communist Party over all subsystems of public administration, based on partly non-democratic elections (everybody may vote, but only those approved by the Communist Party may be candidates). This situation guaranteed that each public institution and each public servant followed the directions of the Communist Party. This legacy is still felt today when it comes to co-creation. As a result, public officials sometimes seem to undermine social innovation initiatives rather than embrace them.

Hence, a policy recommendation would be to be careful about the straightforward adoption of ‘good practices’ across countries. The historical state and governance traditions could influence the success of co-creation initiatives, and sometimes additional measures should be taken to make an initiative successful in another country. Furthermore, sometimes good practices are not useful in other contexts or should be adapted significantly (see also Hartley, 2005).

Having said this, we can derive a number of influential factors from the organizational side which could stimulate or stymie co-creation initiatives. In the table below, we show the most important factors we found, and follow-up with a potential policy recommendation:

Influential factor	Example	Policy recommendation
The degree to which the administrative culture is risk-averse	Due to the political and public attention the Tempelhof project (Germany) was attracting, a culture of risk and blame avoidance occurred	Educate organizations about risk management and risk tolerance
The attitude of public officials towards co-creation	A Spanish public official noting that: “Without a team [of public officials who believe in Citilab] nothing can be done.”	Show and measure success of co-creation initiatives and communicate to public officials
The degree to which there are clear incentives to co-create	A Scottish civil servant stated: “because there’s not a quick results for some people... there may be lack of commitment.”	Don’t think only about ‘what’s in it for citizens’, but also analyze ‘what’s in it for public officials’
The compatibility of public organizations for co-creation	In Denmark, the municipality is slowly adapting their organization to co-creation initiatives. On the other hand, in Germany, public organizations tried to control the outcomes of the initiative and insisted that co-creators comply with excessive regulations	Develop a ‘quick-scan: is your organization ready for co-creation’ with criteria which public organizations can use to check their compatibility with public initiatives

Table 20 Influential factors on the organizational side, including policy recommendations

Next, in the table below, we show the most important factors we found on the citizen side, and follow-up with a potential policy recommendation:

Influential factor	Example	Policy recommendation
Willingness of citizens	<p>The willingness of citizens is one of the most important drivers for co-creation. A German ‘pioneer’ of the Tempelhofer Field noted: ‘My motivation is that I find the whole process exciting’.</p> <p>On the other hand, willingness is sometimes unequally divided: In the Netherlands willing citizens are often prosperous and well-educated.</p>	<p>Check, for instance, by using a short survey whether citizens are willing to participate in the process, and whether this willingness is unequally divided across educational and ethnic lines.</p>
Citizens feeling ownership	<p>An initiating citizen in the Netherlands stated: “Without a feeling of ownership [...] citizens would have given the assignment back to the organization. Now it’s their ‘thing’ and they want to absorb everything there is to learn, to make it better.’</p>	<p>During a co-creation initiative, state the clear goal that you want citizens to feel that they (partly) ‘own’ the project, for instance by letting them choose the name, and give them credit.</p>
Presence of social capital	<p>A Spanish official noted: “Cornella has a very important associative movement, a lot of resident associations, many social relationship, ... This is characteristics in this city.’</p>	<p>Try to involve ‘boundary spanners’: people who know many other people, early on in the project (see also Fleming & Waguespack, 2007).</p>

Table 21 Influential factors on citizen side, including policy recommendations

Furthermore, we found some unexpected factors which influence the co-creation process. These are shown below, including a policy recommendation:

Influential factor	Example	Policy recommendation
Create financial sustainability	An often occurring challenge was to make the initiative sustainable financially. A Slovakian initiator noted: "One of the most frustrating moments was to seek for partners who would support the project financially."	Be wary with initial subsidies: try to establish whether an initiative could survive without subsidies in the long run
Political attention	A Spanish participant noted: "If the mayor believes in this project, the administrative staff is forced to implement it."	Mobilize national, regional and local politicians for co-creation initiatives
The challenge of collaboration between different kinds of stakeholders	A Dutch professional stated: "You are interfering in someone's initiative, which is considered to that person as their 'child'. Sometimes they experience the interference of starters as a threat"	Make clear to collaborators that there are differences in preferences, expectations and interests and develop ways mutually interact so the project does not stall.

Table 22 Influential unexpected factors, including policy recommendations

7.3.Outcomes of co-creation processes

Lastly, we will describe which outcomes the co-creation projects have produced. Furthermore, we show which policy recommendations can be drawn from this. When discussing the outcomes, we make a distinction between outcomes related to the logic of consequence and outcomes related to the logic of appropriateness.

7.3.1. Outcomes related to the logic of consequence

There are four important outcomes related to the logic of consequence:

- 1) The production of concrete products and services
- 2) Increased effectiveness
- 3) Increased efficiency
- 4) Increased satisfaction

Regarding the production of concrete products and services, we found that there were not very many concrete large scale products or services produced. We must note though, that respondents often argued that the products are the co-creation initiatives themselves (for instance in Estonia, Spain and the United Kingdom). More than the development of large scale products, the co-creation initiatives led to products and services which are *additions*, not replacements, to existing public services. For instance, in the German initiative 'Dialog macht Schule' a new educational programme for low-income, immigrant children has been developed, which resides alongside the standard curriculum.

The policy recommendation which can be derived from this is that co-creation should not be seen (yet) as a ‘total solution’, replacing existing services. The goal should be more modest, namely to add to existing public services.

The more abstract value goals of ‘increasing effectiveness’, ‘increasing efficiency’ and ‘increasing satisfaction’ can also be related to this. As most initiatives are an addition to existing services, an evaluative framework to compare them is absent. Furthermore, many of the co-creation initiatives were rather young, which made it hard to really pinpoint their effectiveness, efficiency or satisfaction. The limited evidence regarding effectiveness, efficiency and satisfaction adds up to our idea that co-creation is primarily considered as a virtue in itself, which apparently does not need to be legitimized by referring to external objectives.

Based upon the above discussion, policy recommendations could go two ways: At first sight, one could argue that we should really be measuring the effects of co-creation initiatives, and developing high quality designs and measures to do so. Questions which could be answered would be for instance: To what extent are costs being reduced because of this initiative? Has the social capital within this neighbourhood increased because of co-creation? Are products being developed more efficiently and effectively than before? Field experiment, where, in one neighbourhood, a co-creation initiative is being developed and not in another, could be helpful. In some arenas and for some actors, being able to answer such questions would be really beneficial.

On the other hand, you could argue that the added value of co-creation should be assessed more from a perspective where co-creation is seen as a process of sense-making, in which citizen involvement is seen as having important political value. Viewing co-creation like this shows that straightforward ‘positivistic’ outcome measures are sometimes insufficient when analysing its current success. Hence, a policy recommendation would be to see the ‘symbolic function’ of co-creation, and not only the specific functional goals that it can achieve.

7.3.2. Outcomes related to the logic of appropriateness

Regarding the logic of appropriateness, we focus on three important values:

1. Increased accountability
2. Increased equity
3. The establishment of a community

We did not find many respondents who argued that accountability increased. Moreover, some even noted that accountability *decreased*. In the social welfare case in Denmark, the co-creation initiative explicitly aimed at creating an alternative way of decision-making, rather than going through

established parliaments. In that sense, it decreases conventional accountability procedures. In the Netherlands, it was stated that politicians did not want clear evaluation criteria. A Dutch professional noted that: “It’s a hallelujah story not based on facts. They [politicians] have an interest to tell the fairy tale story that all kinds of things are happening.”

Based on this, a policy recommendation would be to build in check and balances regarding accountability. Furthermore, policymakers should be aware of the bias that politicians and initiators have: as they potentially have an interest in the project, their answers might be positively skewed. Analysing the co-creation initiative by interviewing different people –outside the initiative as well – would be beneficial.

Regarding equity, the results are also not as favourable as one might hope. Although it sometimes increases equity (for instance in the Slovakian case, where housing for Roma people improved), often citizens, who were already well-off, would benefit from co-creation. Hence, a policy recommendation would be to really check which *types* of citizens benefit, not only whether citizens in general benefit.

Lastly, an unexpected finding was that the co-creation initiatives led to an establishment of a community. Hence, social capital can be a driver for co-creation, but also an effect. In Estonia, it has been stressed that the major achievements lie in the establishment of relationships within the community and with the community and external partners: “They seem to take on more things and do more. Bigger networks are involved and they have become more professional in what they do.” A policy recommendation would then be not only to look at expected outcomes, but also to keep your eyes open for unexpected positive and negative effects (Merton, 1936).

7.4. Conclusion

This study provides insights that help to understand the phenomenon of ‘co-creation’ during social innovation. We have shown a number of important factors from both the organizational and the citizen side which can hamper or stimulate co-creation initiatives. We have also analysed the outcomes of co-creation, which are not always as beneficial as the current rhetoric might have led us to believe. Based on the results, we have provided specific policy recommendations. We end by noting that - given the importance of social innovation in the coming years, and the potential upsides and downsides, embracing, and further researching, co-creation is a timely and very important endeavour for both researchers and practitioners alike.

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9. Appendix 1: Consulted documents and websites

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10. Appendix 2: List of experts

Expert round 1

- Patrick Hall, Malmo University Sweden
- Karen Johnston Miller, Glasgow Caledonian University, United Kingdom
- Kars Kasper, Talinn University of Technology, Estonia
- Daniel Roelle, Uni Speyer, Germany
- Jenny Harlock, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom
- Tobias Jung, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom
- Simon Teasdale, Glasgow Caledonian University, United Kingdom
- Catherine Needham, Birmingham University United Kingdom
- Marlies Honigh, Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands
- Tony Boivard, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom
- Elke Loeffler, University of Birmingham , United Kingdom

Expert round 2

- Ines Mergel, Syracuse University, United States of America
- Albert Meyer, University of Utrecht, the Netherlands
- Kylli Saporuu, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia
- Andrew Massey, University of Exeter, United Kingdom
- Bram Verschuere, Ghent University, Belgium
- Marlies Honigh, Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands
- Karen Johnston Miller, Glasgow Caledonian University, United Kingdom
- Edoard Ongaro, Northumbria University, United Kingdom
- Elke Loeffler, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom

11. Appendix 3: Detailed background of cases

11.1. Name of case, country, respondents

Case title	Country	Policy domain	Distribution of respondents	Number of respondents
Cases that Unite: Social Health and Århus is for everyone	Denmark	Welfare	6 co-designing and implementing citizens from the two selected cases 4 civil servants from the municipality of Århus 2 founders of Cases that Unite (professionals) 1 initiator from the case Social Health (citizen)	13
The Garden Bunker		Urban Regeneration	2 initiators (citizens) 2 professionals of urban-environmental organization Miljøpunkt (professionals) 1 civil servant 2 members of the neighbourhood council (citizens) 2 participating citizens 1 former project manager of the initiative (citizen)	10
Maarja Kula	Estonia	Welfare	5 civil servants 3 professionals 4 staff members MK (citizens) 1 initiator (citizen)	13
The Urban Idea		Urban Regeneration	3 funders (professionals) 2 initiators (citizens) 2 representatives of civil organizations (citizens) 1 civil servant 1 member of city council 1 volunteer (citizen)	10
Dialog macht Schule	Germany	Welfare	3 educational professionals 2 initiators (citizens) 2 participating citizens 1 academic advisor (professional)	10

Templehofer Freedom			1 sponsor (professional)	
			1 city council member	
Starters4Communities	The Netherlands	Urban Regeneration	5 participating citizens (co-creators)	10
			2 professional project developers	
			1 civil servant	
			1 city council member	
			1 academic expert	
Stadlab Leiden		Welfare	3 public officials	10
			2 starters (citizens)	
			2 professionals	
			2 initiators (citizens)	
			1 founder (citizen)	
Social housing	Slovakia	Urban regeneration	4 participants/professionals	10
			3 civil servants	
			3 board members (citizens)	
Priestory		Welfare	4 inhabitants (citizens)	10
			2 initiators (citizens)	
			2 Roma inhabitants	
			1 Mayor (civil servant)	
			1 NGO representative (professional)	
Citilab	Spain	Urban Regeneration	4 civil servants	11
			3 participating citizens	
			2 programme managers (professionals)	
			2 representatives of citizen organizations (citizens)	
Pla Buits		Welfare	5 public officials	10
			3 board members (citizens)	
			1 partner (citizen)	
			1 expert (citizen)	
Dementia Care Network	The United	Welfare	4 public officials	10
			6 citizens	
			6 representatives of project (citizens and professionals)	10

East Dunbartonshire	Kingdom		2 citizens (users)	
			2 professionals	
Community Capacity		Urban Regeneration	7 representatives of project (citizens and professionals)	10
Building North Lanarkshire			3 professionals	

Table 23 Name of case, country, respondents

11.2. Detailed overview of analysed cases in social welfare domain

Country	Denmark	Estonia	Germany	The Netherlands	Slovakia	Spain	The United Kingdom
Case Title	Social Health and Århus is for everyone	Maarja Kula	Dialogue macht Schule	Starters4Communities	Kojatic	Citilab	Dementia Care
Reasons for co-creation initiative	Contact between health care system and socially marginalized people is poor (Social Health) and disabled people having trouble in participating in cultural life (Århus is for everyone).	Shortcomings of care for people with multiple disabilities.	There was a concern in Germany that young Muslims with a migration background are not well “integrated” into German culture and society, so the co-creation seeks to help find ways of becoming active citizens in this democracy.	In the east of Amsterdam, a lot of civil initiatives have run into trouble, due to bureaucracy. On the other hand there are a lot of juveniles who have trouble finding access to the labour market.	Very poor standard of housing of Roma citizens.	Digital technologies, specifically the internet, are a way of innovation, which is much more focused on citizens’ needs.	East Dunbartonshire was one of the fastest ageing regions in the United Kingdom. There was a desperate need to shift services in such a way to accommodate the demographic change, both in terms of capacity, but also in terms of financial burden and people’s quality of life.
Objectives of initiative	To stimulate social entrepreneurship and inhabitants, who are willing to actively make some effort for the society.	To establish a home for 50 people with learning disabilities. To prepare youth with learning disabilities for independence. To make society more aware of learning disabilities. To change Estonian regulations to include	To overcome cultural differences between teenagers of different backgrounds. To show students different ways of participating actively in a democracy. To create spaces in the schools, where students could feel safe to express themselves.	To improve the labour opportunities for (almost) graduated students, by building up valuable resume experience in civil initiatives. To increase the (financial) sustainability of civil initiatives, by adding knowledge from the starters. To gain as much attention for the initiative as possible, so it can be implemented in other	To build social houses for Roma citizens who live in very poor social conditions. To provide them with affordable housing with the lowest support from state, government or other parties.	To exploit and spread the digital impact on creative thinking, design and innovation emerging from a digital culture. To show that another innovation model (one close and co-created with	To shift the view of older people from service recipients to assets for their communities. To make the experience enjoyable for all parties, in particular service users.

		provision for living arrangements for people with disabilities.	To discuss topics, such as „basic and human rights, identity, home, religion, bullying, mobbing and racism and come to understand them in a new way.”	parts of the Netherlands.		any citizen) is possible.				
Type of co-creation (1, 2, or 3)	1	1	2	1	1	1	2			
Involved stakeholders	Citizens	AS Hoolekandeteenused, a state owned enterprise	Dialog macht schule gGmbH - a non-profit private company	Starters (graduated juveniles)	Initiators from the Faculty of Architecture,	Cornellà City Council	National Health Service (NHS)			
	Companies	Inhabitants of the village and local residents of the broader community	German Federal Agency for Civic Education	Inhabitants of Amsterdam East	Comenius University, Bratislava	Autonomous Government of Catalonia	Social Care Services (Council)			
	The municipality			Welfare organizations			Local authority			
	The region	Family members of the disabled youth	Robert Bosch Foundation - funder	Municipality of Amsterdam	Municipality of Kojatice and its mayor	Barcelona Provincial Council	Third Sector Bodies			
	Volunteering associations	Local government	Five participating schools in Berlin		Roma citizens who contributed to a common fund to partially finance the building of the houses	Siemens Politechnical University of Catalonia	Service User advocacy groups			
		Ministry of Social Affairs	The Berlin State Agency for Civic Education			WTC Almeda Park SA				
			Some members of the							

	Berlin parliament who have advocated for DmS at state level	Other actors (NGOs as ETP and Pontis Foundation)	Catalan Foundation for Research and Innovation	3 individuals from the civil society
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Table 24 Detailed overview cases in social welfare domain

11.3. Detailed overview of analysed cases in urban regeneration domain

Table 25 provides an overview of the analysed cases within the urban regeneration domain

Country	Denmark	Estonia	Germany	The Netherlands	Slovakia	Spain	United Kingdom
Case Title	Garden Bunker	The Urban Idea	Tempelhof	Stadslab	Priestory	Pla Buits	North Lanakshire
Reasons for co-creation initiative	Several interests collided which made space for citizen initiative to make a garden where everyone could come and either do some gardening or just enjoy the new green urban space on the benches. This was also an opportunity to try out	Specific problems in spatial planning, regarding community safety, traffic and city planning. Furthermore, citizens perceived a certain level of ignorance from the public sector towards taking into account citizens'	The closing of the airport Tempelhof left an empty open area right in the middle of the German capital, consisting of an open field 355 hectares large and a building 300,000 m2 large, which the project developers thought	The city of Leiden had a reputation of being dull and boring, resulting in a lot of people seeking cultural activities somewhere else.	Missing and/or insufficient public facilities, on the one hand, and failure to solve this problem by local government, on the other hand.	Due to the economic crisis, many building works were not finished or were abandoned, leaving empty spaces in the city that were not planned to be used or occupied in the short term (the city did not have the resources to invest in them). These empty spaces were a problem because	There was one particular event that kick-started the current co-creation plan: the "Reshaping Care for Older People" policy by the Scottish government. This policy initiative was launched in 2011 and set the goal of introducing more assets and community-based models of care across Scotland. To

	an idea about urban greening.	needs.	would be ideal for Berliners to use for creative initiatives.			they could give rise to bad/anti-social practices and behaviours, to non-desired use and to serious situations of social exclusion.	support the initiative, the Scottish government created the “Change Fund” that would provide funds for innovative projects that answered the policy call.
Objectives of initiative	To make a statement or an example regarding environmental protection. To get the example on both the political agenda and in the everyday life of the citizen. To make a green urban space to enhance the social connection between the citizens who live by the garden. To bring nature into the city, little by little.	To empower the neighbourhood associations. To push through the code of good practice for citizen participation. To enhance the communication between the citizens’ associations and the city government. To create a better living environment with higher quality of living.	To have temporary interactive projects on Tempelhof Field that attract visitors to the site. To empower Berliners to take an active role in the redesign of the historic area. To engage those visitors in creative, educational, recreational and sustainable activities.	To oppose the waste of talent and energy. To match innovative ideas to people who can implement them. To update the livability in the city.	To initiate citizens’ participation in public affairs. To increase the involvement of people in the improvement of their living environment. To strengthen the local communities. To increase the quantity and quality of public service.	To encourage development projects that recover and adapt obsolete spaces. To advance municipal building sites and to put them to better use.	To implement, develop, monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of a co-production approach. To make sure that any services or support that were designed, developed and implemented through the resources that were targeted at the community, were designed through co-production. To make sure that the needs of local people are determined, suggestions offered and opportunities developed and are included in the overall development of those services.
Type of co-creation (1, 2, or 3)	1	2	2	1	1	2	2
Involved	UGN network	Urban Lab	The Berlin Senate	Municipality of	Municipalities	Habitat Urbà (municipal are	Statutory bodies

stakeholders							
	The Miljopunkt	Neighbourhood associations	Department for Urban Development –	Leiden	Local citizen voluntary association	in charge of the urban policy of Barcelona)	Local authorities
	Municipality	Individual professionals	The overall project management	Foundation City partners Leiden	Ekopolis (NGO)	Districts	Third sector parties
	Neighbourhood council	Advisory council	Tempelhofer Projekt GmbH – the actual implementation of its plans	Foundation Leiden Life Meets Science		Organizations	User advocacy groups
		City Planning Department		Foundation Leiden Communication city			
		Political parties	Grün Berlin GmbH - is responsible for all open space development projects within the federal state of Berlin,	Cultural funds Leiden			
			The Pioneers (Berliners)	Foundation of Peas & Onions (organizer of cultural activities)			

Table 25 Detailed overview cases in urban regeneration domain

12. Appendix 4: Detailed list of influential factors

12.1. Influential factors on organizational side

Factor	Risk-averse administrative culture	Attitude of public officials	Clear incentives	Compatibility of public organizations
Denmark	Administrative culture very much open to co-creation, which helped the initiative.	On leadership level very inviting. On SLB-level threatened to lose their position, also much more stuck in their methods and approaches.	For citizens, incentives very often have a personal orientation. Others refer to the ambition to experiment with new forms of organizing.	On political level → citizens and politicians are added to a new council of volunteers. Financial procedures (and regulations) form an obstacle for adapting organizations.
Estonia	A supportive culture was deemed very important.	Attitudes are shifting. Initially more enthusiastic towards the initiative, but now more aimed at political correctness. Public officials feel it is their responsibility to guide citizen initiatives.	Importance of clear incentives was stressed by all respondents, but they were very often found to have a personal orientation.	Some concrete adaptations were made in order to make public organizations more compatible: introduction of quality standards for associated services; service providers accredited; maximum clients are set by available staff.
Germany	Culture was not really inviting to the initiative and much more hierarchy-oriented.	Different from professional to professional. Some welcomed the project whole-heartedly; others are reluctant to take on the additional demands of the programme.	For the participating citizens primarily to be part of a social and innovative project and involve young students.	Whether schools have adapted their organization differed from school to school, depending on whether there was internal support for the project or not.
The Netherlands	Risk-averse culture was recognized, but the influence only felt in case of subsidy relation.	Public officials often feel obstructed by bureaucracy (red tape). Others don't trust the initiative to be reliable.	Clear incentives are recognized as being highly important, but can have a very practical orientation (job prosperity) or be more moral or social (common interest).	To some extent the municipal organization has been adapted. However, lacks compatibility when it comes to procedures of subsidy granting.

Slovakia	No influence was felt of such a risk-averse culture.	Public officials were trying to avoid making decisions to help the co-creation initiative, because it deviated from the standards.	The incentives in this project were very concrete (better housing for Roma, less expenditure of public funds and the ability to help poor people).	Public organizations did not become more compatible to co-creation initiatives.
Spain	Administrative culture (back then) very stimulating to citizen involvement.	Positive attitude of public officials was essential to co-creation process.	Most of our respondents thought about economic incentives when asked about incentives. But there were not any economic incentives. Intrinsic incentives such as willingness to take part in such a project or personal commitment to promote the information society were the only incentives identified by our respondents. In the end, both staff and citizens have shared co-creation initiatives in Citilab because of a personal willingness to do so.	Public organizations have been adapted to the co-creation initiative at the start of the project, but due to budget shrinks some of these adaptations have been withdrawn.
The United Kingdom	Statutory actors, who were involved on a higher, strategic level, were aware of a wide range of policy initiatives that favoured a co-creation approach. Third sector and service user advocacy groups were aware of policies that affected them specifically, and of the “Reshaping Care” policy.	There were significant champions within public bodies that drove the process against significant resistance to co-creation. These champions were personally recognized in the interviews.	Most respondents found this question a little difficult because they could not identify “incentives” in different contexts. Generally, funding was seen as an important incentive, as well as “getting your voice heard” for service users.	It was seen as very important and a cultural and value shift was advocated by all respondents. Much of it had already happened in East Dunbartonshire, they stated. In fact, recent changes in the United Kingdom policy led to the fusion of social and healthcare departments in local councils, which had already occurred in East Dunbartonshire 10 years ago.

Table 26 Influence of organizational factors in social welfare domain

This table provides an overview of how factors on the organizational side influenced co-creation processes in the welfare sector. Table 27 shows these factors in the urban/rural regeneration domain.

12.1.1. Urban regeneration domain

	Risk-averse administrative culture	Attitude of public officials	Clear incentives	Compatibility of public organizations
Denmark	Due to decentralization and interest in citizen participation, the administrative culture is relatively inviting towards co-creation.	Public officials are willing to work towards co-creation initiative, but feel constraint by system boundaries.	Incentives for citizens are relatively abstract: do something for eco-friendly environment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The municipality is now adapting its internal procedures in favour of co-creation. Structures and bureaucracy have become more flexible
Estonia	Highly present and highly affecting co-creation initiatives. Primarily aimed at 'who is being represented' by the initiative and uncontrollability of public opinion.	On the political level very open towards co-creation (most, but not all political parties). SLBs rather consider it as extra work.	The lack of unified incentives and gains caused redundancy among citizens, delaying the establishment of the project team.	Municipal organizations were not that much adapted to co-creation (although they claimed they were). It all started and ended with the question as to whether there is a place in the budget for the initiative and how democratic the horizontal participatory process would be (representation issue).
Germany	Due to political attention, a culture of risk and blame avoidance occurred. This slowed down the decision-making process.	Public officials are willing to provide more support, but are quite traditional in their perspective on participation, resulting in disappointment among the engaged citizens.	For citizens, the desire to be part of this area's [Tempelhof] future and be part of that development.	Public organizations haven't adapted that much in favour of the co-creation initiative. Rather, they aimed to control the outcomes through excessive regulation and red-tape.
The Netherlands	Administrative culture initially characterized by 'wielding all the administrative frameworks'. As co-creation developed so did a culture of competition between administration and initiators.	Very different between public officials. Some very open, others distrusting the competences of citizens, or have trouble accepting shared professionalism.	Incentives for citizens relatively abstract: increase livability, making the city more fun.	The initiative did not urge the municipality to make adaptations to their compatibility. Rather the compatibility of the citizen organization was pointed out as being important.

Slovakia	Administrative culture not that influential, but there is also no top-down support or promotion.	Limited interest and commitment to support co-creation, resulting in a lack of participation of public officials.	Clear incentives of non-governmental actors helped to promote the project within the community and helped to realize it relatively quickly.	Public organizations did not become more compatible with co-creation initiatives.
Spain	Hard to implement a new project, that required a change of mind, taking into account the existence of an old/traditional administrative structure.	There are two groups of public officials in relation to Pla BUIITS and their attitudes are very different. On the one hand, as we have already explained, the leadership and commitment of the Habitat Urbà's staff has been highly underlined. Their attitude has clearly helped the promoting organizations and the projects to move forward. However, the rest of the City Council's administrative organization does not seem to move along.	Respondents believe that Pla BUIITS did not offer any clear/explicit incentives. In the case of public officials, they did not have any material incentives to encourage the co-creation process. The same can be said in the case of citizens and organizations. Obviously there was not an economic incentive. Their main incentive at the beginning was to have a winning proposal and to be assigned an empty space.	Bureaucracy was a negative factor: procedures and slow processes were very frustrating. To start with, the people at the beginning of the projects were slow at handing the keys over. The winning organizations took longer than expected due to administrative procedures and the need to improve the spaces.
The United Kingdom	With one exception (Third Sector interface CEO), all respondents thought this was an important factor in co-production. But opinions differ as to whether this culture was risk-averse or not. Some saw co-creation as the only viable and sustainable option while others pointed to the risk aversion, in particular in the acute health care sector, citing a lack of empirical evidence of the benefits of co-creation.	This was recognised as an important driver. All respondents from all backgrounds noted the initial scepticism and demand for hard data. Strategic managers referred to the policy context as a helping source that helped them "sway" sceptical public officials.	Respondents agreed that a culture of participation can only be maintained if the stakeholders respond to service user feedback as an incentive, indicating that their contributions in time and effort are not in vain.	Statutory body representatives in particular did not think that their organizations had changed operationally. But they agreed that after it was demonstrated that co-creation had positive outcomes, there was a very slow value change, making co-creation more part of the "logic of doing things" within the statutory body/public organisation.

Table 27 Influence of organizational factors in urban regeneration domain

12.2. Influential factors on the citizen side

Table 10 provides an overview of how influential factors on the citizen side affected co-creation within the social welfare domain. Table 28 shows the same for the urban regeneration domain:

12.2.1. Social welfare domain

Factor	Willingness	Ownership	Social capital
Denmark	All in all the citizens were quite willing to be a part of the co-creation process, but one of the co-creators from Social Health explained, that because they were all volunteering in the process, it sometimes ran very slowly.	There was a high degree of ownership amongst the different actors. Citizens were both able to co-design and implement, and that certainly gave a feeling of ownership amongst the citizens.	The social interaction and relationship between both citizens and the public officials have relied on face-to-face interaction and thereby a build up of trust and personal relations. The public officials have seen the benefits of the project and spent their spare time on volunteer work. That helped to diminish the gap between the citizens and the public sector.
Estonia	Willingness of citizens has been identified as the main driver of co-creation - without the willingness of the parents, the initiators of the co-creation process, the initiative would not have been successful. However, "blind willingness" from the side of the citizens was not beneficial. Families thought that having one disabled child gave them the experience to motivate and help 30. This was not the case.	There was a general consensus that the level of ownership was important and definitely the case for the initiators of Maarja Küla, but, in a broader Estonian context, rather weak. In general there is a more active part of society that always comes along with initiatives and there are others "who only criticize."	The importance of the social network was well illustrated during the first years of the initiative: As the initiative is at its core about communal living, one of the parents of a youngster in the village found: "As in any family, social relations play a crucial role; in Maarja Küla also. For the residents this is their home and they visit their parents at their home."
Germany	In the end, it was very much dependent on the moderators' innate ability to command respect and attention, and draw their interest in the topic.	It was very clear that the students participating in the dialogue sessions felt ownership of these sessions—they felt free to speak their minds, tell the moderators what they would like to talk about, and generally felt they had more influence over the content of the sessions than in the regular class setting. This was also a challenge for the participating schools, who were concerned at having little	There was consensus that the programme's success depended heavily on the young people who were willing to be dialogue moderators, most of whom also have a migration background, as well as the network of organizations and individual actors who were willing to support the programme, either financially or with expert advice.

The Netherlands	Willingness of citizens to contribute was an important driver for co-creation. However the extent to which citizens were willing to participate, and the reasons why they participated differs: people from a higher social class often had more ability to co-create. On the other hand, people who were less prosperous were forced to participate since they didn't find a regular job. Most important competences appeared to be: persistence, network and knowing your own strengths and weakness.	control or ownership of the dialogue sessions. A form of ownership was considered highly important to the S4C case. But respondents differed in their idea about the root of this ownership: some claimed that this feeling of ownership was largely formed by a form of personal interest; moral background or a feeling of contributing to something.	Social capital was the 'cement' between people and groups of people. Even stronger, S4C didn't try to create or enhance social capital but built on it.
Slovakia	Students of architecture were very willing to realize a meaningful compulsory project. There was also a strong willingness of involved Roma citizens to participate in saving the money for the houses (usually Roma spend all their allowances or wages within few days).	The problem with Slovakian Roma citizens is that when the government provides them state flats for free, within 6 months these flats are devastated, furniture is sold or used as wood for heating. The feeling of ownership was very strong in this case, it was presumed that when Roma had to pay 1\3 of the building costs and work on the construction, their feeling of ownership would prevent them from destroying the houses so soon.	The social housing Kojatice project tried to create and enhance social capital. Part of the project was a planning workshop of participative architecture where experts (architects) with clients (Roma families) finalize the housing plan according to the needs and capabilities of the citizens. This created ties between Roma families and also between the families and NGOs active in this project, as both the initiator and one of the professionals explained.
Spain	Willingness was very relevant in the co-creation process. What really matters is citizens approaching Citilab. Once there, Citilab gave them the tools depending on their background and their needs. This said, Citilab is not very well known among the citizens.	The feeling of ownership was particularly important in the case of citilabbers, who were mainly Cornellà's residents. It is important to note that this feeling of ownership clearly supported the co-creation process. Being a citilabber was important to citizens committed to the co-creation process. Being a citilabber meant being part of a community.	According to our respondents, any project in Citilab has resulted in more social relationships. At the same time, tighter bonds improved the project's development. This was very important in the case of Cornellà. However, social relationships have been very important in the case of individual users. But companies and start-ups also participated in the co-creation process and links among them have not clearly supported it.
The United Kingdom	"Because there's not a quick result for some people... there maybe is the lack of commitment." The concern was voiced that only citizens that were vocal anyway, or that were representing some special interest organisations, were participating. Therefore, a push to	Again, respondents felt that it was difficult to comment on a sense of ownership, mostly because service users were consulted in a sometimes roundabout way, taking into account the stage of their dementia. Often carers could not attend all meetings, so not all of them immediately learned	Civil society was seen as an important factor. However, most stakeholders remarked that the fabric of civil society wasn't as tightly knit anymore as it used to be.

recruit volunteers was launched. However, a service user about the success/failure of their contribution.
and a carer expressed that co-creation was too time
intensive and that they thought it was difficult to live up
to their commitment.

Table 28 Influential factors on the citizen side within the social welfare domain

12.2.2. Urban/rural regeneration domain

Factor	Willingness	Ownership	Social capital
Denmark	The citizens have contributed with different levels of engagement and competences. Citizens who used and worked in the garden on a day-to-day basis were a very diverse crowd. Both old and young, diverse ethnicity and different professional status. It was clear during the observation of the spring event in the garden that everybody was ready to contribute where there was a need and on the issues that the participants agreed upon handling.	The citizens that have participated have both directly and indirectly expressed their increased ownership of the area as a consequence of the co-creation process.	The process has been dependent on an understanding relationship between the Miljøpunkt and the citizens in the UGN network. The maintenance of the garden has been dependent on the public's respect for the garden, so the vandalism has been on a low level because of the good relationship between the citizens in the area.
Estonia	With neighbourhood associations, it is always the specific interest of a small group, but we had to follow the broader will of citizens. Furthermore, some neighbourhood associations concluded that, while willingness of citizens could be present, their ideas about what needed to be done were sometimes contradictory (e.g. safety vs. speed limits).	There seemed to be a difference between the perceptions of initiators and other stakeholders. While it was regarded as very important by initiators (because the target group was the one with high sense of ownership in the matter), it was still perceived that there was a lack of ownership of citizens from other associations. For other stakeholders it was important to some extent, as it was important for leadership, but not necessarily for the wider circle of people.	Social capital seems to be increasing by the initiative, given that similar people (citizens and professionals) smooth the collaboration and start to speak the same language.
Germany	Despite their strong motivation for participating in this project, many of the pioneers have encountered problems when it comes to the skills they require to “co-create”. They have the skills to contribute to the core task of their project, of course—whether an urban gardening initiative or an artistic mini golf field—but they complained that they encountered many requirements and regulations, which they lacked the knowledge and resources to fulfill.	A sense of ownership over the “pioneer projects” was the main motivation for average citizens to develop these projects as part of the reconceptualization of Tempelhof Park. Several of them said that being able to personally contribute to this area's redevelopment was their main motivation. In fact, most of them wanted to have even more influence over the area's future than was possible, given the regulations and procedures followed by the municipality.	The interviewed pioneers all mentioned that the informal relationships they had was very important for their success—for example, many relied on donations to support their projects. They also created social capital, in the sense that they brought Berliners with similar interests together in a recreational/educational/creative space where they formed new communities and relationships.
The	The Stadslab case shows that it was predominantly a	The matter of ownership appeared to be one of the most	The importance of social capital was considered a sort of given in the

Netherlands	certain type of citizen who was willing to participate in these initiatives and this willingness was restricted to a number of activities. The chair of Stadslab said: “the typical Stadslab participant is well educated and are mostly from the upper white class.	important factors. All of our respondents indicate that it was important to have ‘something’ with the city, like a passion or an internal drive. However, this feeling of ownership could have a geographical orientation (city or neighbourhood), but the stronger feeling was a sense of ownership about a certain expertise. It is important to note that this feeling of ownership can either support or hamper the co-creation process. Both members of Stadslab and civil servants mentioned the occurrence of a battle about who the owner of projects was.	case of Stadslab, since every initiative relies on relationships between enthusiastic people. Furthermore, the main quality of Stadslab lay in their ability to boost these social relationships in such a way that they could be influential to a greater good.
Slovakia	Willingness of citizens to participate was the core assumption stressed by programme PrieStory methodology.	When the citizens were involved in the planning of urban space design and in its construction they also developed feelings of ownership for the urban space. This was very important, not only for urban space construction, but also for its maintenance.	One of the most important goals for projects is to establish partnership between all key stakeholders based on social cohesion and personal investment in the community. All actors agreed that the existence of social capital, on the one hand, was one of the key success factors for co-creation activities and, on the other hand, social capital was developed by co-creation activities.
Spain	Very important and changed over time. Now citizens are more willing. Promoting organizations and citizens’ organizations played a very big role in this.	Promoting organizations and citizens involved in the different projects have developed an important feeling of ownership. Organizations have clearly taken ownership and responsibility for the empty spaces.	The different projects within Pla BUIITS have resulted in more social relationships. Networking has proved an essential part of Pla BUIITS. Sometimes, it has not been easy to be part of the network, as the decision-making process takes longer and organizations do not always agree on what to do or how to do it. But our respondents were happy with the collaboration spirit and the involvement and commitment of different associations rooted in the districts.
The United Kingdom	Here it was stressed, especially by the Third Sector and campaigning organizations, that one needed to be careful that people only represent their interest group rather than their peers at large.	Respondents thought it was difficult to discuss a sense of ownership for the initiatives that were created through co-creation, mostly because results were slow to feed back to service users. However, they described a sense of pride and felt recognized by statutory partners after projects took off, e.g. a transport service for communities with infrequent public transport links.	Strong civil society ties were reported as present in parts of North Lanarkshire but not everywhere. The Third Sector managers remarked that it was easier to co-produce where these ties already existed in communities.

Table 29 Influential factors on the citizen side within urban regeneration domain

12.3. Unforeseen drivers and barriers

12.3.1. Social welfare domain

Country	Unforeseen drivers	Unforeseen barriers
Denmark	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The ability of the initiators to create a positive and accommodating environment 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Time-consuming for initiators 2. (From the perspective of professionals) the wish to remain uninstitutionalized
Estonia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Coinciding interest of the partners involved 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lack of financial resources 2. Problems with expanding the village (in terms of square meters) 3. Development of legislation 4. Participating families were too close to the problem to see things clearly
Germany	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Technical and financial support for the DmS project from different parties 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ability to create (financial) sustainability 2. Difficulty measuring and evaluating the programme's results objectively 3. Challenges to the legitimacy of DmS in a traditional school system
The Netherlands	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A physical locus for co-creation 2. Combination of knowledge/expertise of different kind of stakeholders 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. (For professionals) political attention of co-creation 2. Collision of visions and conventions between different participants 3. Unwanted competition between citizen initiatives
Slovakia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political will to support the Roma community 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Finding partners to financially contribute
Spain	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An international environment for gaining notoriety 2. Political support 3. A physical locus for co-creation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Creating (financial) sustainability 2. (From the perspective of public officials) lack of clarity of returning investments 3. Scalability of the results 4. Political identification (Citilab has a Socialistic connotation)
The United Kingdom	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Importance of monitoring and evidence 2. An existing network 3. Active contact through social media 4. Individual leadership 5. Supportive role of Scottish government 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lack of participation from service users 2. Finances

Table 30 Unforeseen drivers and barriers in social welfare domain

12.3.2. Urban/rural regeneration

Country	Unforeseen drivers	Unforeseen barriers
Denmark	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The network of citizens, being able to share tasks 2. Presence of organizations experienced in supporting co-creation 3. Role of the municipality as facilitator 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The influence of the private lives of citizens interfering with the process 2. (Lack of) accountability arrangements
Estonia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Emerging synergy among the core group of 5-8 people 2. Indirect reward system used from time to time (for example a trip to Iceland that was also related to various aspects of the project). 3. (From the city perspective) the general awareness and interest that has evolved, both within the city and the civil society associations 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The lack of resources. The people involved were participating during their free time and the financial resources were scarce. 2. (For the city representatives) the fact that it was difficult and time-consuming to get to a place of trust in communication with the civic associations. 3. Challenging how to activate the neighbourhood associations and to develop their organizational capacity.
Germany	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The wish to open the field to the pioneer projects as an experimental form of citizen participation. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Unclear expectations of the co-creating citizens 2. Perception of insufficient support among the co-creating citizens 3. Excessive regulations and requirements for the pioneer projects
The Netherlands	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The brand of Stadslab 2. The uninstitutionalized status of Stadslab 3. The scale of the city, being able to reach everyone needed and to initiate a large variety of projects 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Need for short-term successes 2. The voluntary status (absence of bosses) of Stadslab
Slovakia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Local supply factors: Existence of an active local community group 2. Positive examples in other places: “successful co-creation in public space arrangement found abroad” or in other cities, with strong positive effect on strengthening local community. 3. Insufficient quality of existing public facilities: This issue was mentioned by representatives of local self-governments as the source of interest of local government in co-creation initiative 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Missing or insufficient support of co-creation initiatives and building civil society by parliament and from central government 2. Almost zero interest of local and regional self-governments to participate in co-creation projects 3. Initial diffidence of citizens in co-creation initiative 4. Financial and material sources for new public space building 5. Cancelling participation in running co-creation projects by involved local and regional government.
Spain	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The methodology of the selection of projects (open and transparent) 2. Political will to support the project 3. Organizational network 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lack of resources to remain (financially) sustainable 2. Heterogeneity of organizations, reflecting in different ways of organizations approaching each other 3. Lack of individual citizen’s involvement
The United Kingdom	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Existing network preceding the initiative 2. Financial funding 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Allocation of choices 2. Getting everybody on board

3. Willing to take a 'leap of faith' by statutory bodies
4. Buy in of older people
5. The ability to show hard evidence and measurements

3. Financial sustainability

Table 31 Unforeseen drivers and barriers in urban regeneration domain

13. Appendix 5: Detailed list of outcomes

Table 32 shows an overview of how values within the logic of consequence have decreased/enhanced co-creation in the social welfare domain.

Table 33 shows this within the urban regeneration domain:

13.1. Logic of consequence

13.1.1. Social welfare domain

Value/Country	Concreteness of services/products	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Satisfaction
Denmark	On a strategic level, in the municipality of Århus, the collaboration between Cases that Unite and the high-level civil servants and politicians has led to a new volunteer council, which has been established during the research process. It contains 16 members, 8 citizens and 8 politicians from the Municipal Council. The goal of the new council is to contribute with suggestions for a new volunteer and co-creation strategy for the municipality of Århus.	Hard to say whether effectiveness has increased, because project is still in its start-up phase. Respondents agreed on the potential to increase active citizenship and thereby become more effective.	There is the potential to lower the cost on public tasks by using the ideas and the volunteer network that Cases that Unite has created between public organizations and the active citizens. But the effect hasn't yet been realized because all the projects are new and still in the start-up phase.	The general attitude of the citizens is that Cases that Unite has given them a new forum and incentive to participate in the formation of the city. The satisfaction of the citizens and the lower public officials has increased.
Estonia	A new curriculum for youth with learning disabilities New community and assisted living services that have expanded state-wide	Improved with some respondents. Others doubt whether the quality has increased, since public organizations did not participate	Hard to say. The system has gradually evolved from no service to different services financed by the state. Thus, gradually every year the price of the services has increased and thus, state	There was a general consensus that the satisfaction levels within the disabled community and a broader public had increased making the services provided by Maarja Village very popular.

	Work and mentoring services for disabled youth		subsidies have also increased. Hence, many were unable to evaluate the efficiency of the service.	
Germany	Limited to 2 to 4 classes of approximately 20 to 25 students that are able to participate in each school each year (sometimes only during one semester of the year).	It is not possible whether the project led to an actual improvement in academic performance, as measured by grades. However, it seemed that for students participating in DmS, the traditional education programme is becoming more effective, with regards to skills such as political awareness and communication, as well as building up their own identity. The interviewees generally agreed that social enterprises like Dialog macht Schule are better able than the state to address socio-economic challenges because they are more flexible and responsive to complex environments.	DmS operates as a non-profit private company. As such, it does not obtain surplus financial gains. It does compensate its core staff as full-time employees and it pays the dialogue moderators an hourly wage. As of now, DmS is not fully financially viable, as it still depends on external funding.	Our interviewees believed that students and teachers participating in the programme were more satisfied with their classroom experience than before. As mentioned in an earlier section, there are others who are less satisfied since DmS became active. They resist DmS as an educational partner and challenge its legitimacy to participate in public schools.
The Netherlands	A number of tangible projects were created, such as a website, advisory reports and uplifted services.	Different per stakeholder. Some think a multiplier effect has been established, target group is more effectively addressed, but some think that it is not better or effective, just different.	Primarily potential gains, such as 'doing more with less', minimal public financial support is required, because of crowdfunding and citizens taking over professional tasks.	For the people getting involved, it feels like a happy surprise. However, the number of people being addressed is limited.
Slovakia	Three new social houses were built in 2013. Current schedule is that in 2015 more will be completed.	All respondents agree that effectiveness was achieved by the project of social housing. Roma not only have new houses, but their style of living especially is being improved by the project.	All respondents relatively agree that efficiency was gained. With a minimum of financial support it has accomplished a lot. The financial costs were minimized by volunteer work.	All respondents agree that satisfaction of all stakeholders increased. Especially the inhabitants were more satisfied with their new houses.
Spain	Tangible products were the initiated projects and their results, due to people's creativity and innovation.	The projects have not replaced an existing public service but they have met citizens' needs not addressed by other public services. In this respect, Citilab is effective and it is more	Doubts were raised regarding efficiency, particularly during the first years of Citilab. Several respondents agreed on the fact	Respondents believed that Citilab has added value. Again they refer to the fact that Citilab is not well known. But, they also say that people who know it are

The United Kingdom		effective than the traditional public administration.	that due to the abundance of resources, efficiency did not matter much. Due to the economic crisis, Citilab has given rise to a higher concern regarding efficiency.	usually very satisfied with it.
	New initiatives were launched. There are 4 or 5 services. These services entailed tea dances, transportation services, choir practices and befriending services across East Dunbartonshire.	Better quality of existing services has been established, to a certain extent.	Financial benefits at least by some on the statutory level.	Satisfaction was reported as high by strategic partners on the statutory and Third Sector side. One social worker remarked, however, that she did not think that this was pertaining to co-creation rather than the general offer of dementia care. Service users were satisfied with services, but had some doubts as to how effective co-creation was in relation to the time investment it required of them.

Table 32 Detailed list of outcomes within logic of consequence in social welfare

13.1.2. Urban/rural regeneration domain

Value/Country	Concreteness of services/products	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Satisfaction
Denmark	The bunker has been transformed from a wilderness to a useful green lung of the city where everyone can come and enjoy themselves by either doing some gardening or just sitting in the garden.	One of the initiators says that their project was one of the first in the city but a lot of more ambitious projects have started since then. So the process has contributed to increasing the municipality effectiveness in handling co-creation processes like this.	The outcome of the co-creation process is a new service, which the municipality gardeners haven't had anything to do with, therefore no conclusions can be drawn on whether efficiency has increased.	The garden is a small project in the bigger picture of making the city greener. But for both the day-to-day participants and the citizens in the UGN network the satisfaction with daily life in the city has increased, both regarding the urban space and the perception of the municipality's willingness and responsiveness.
Estonia	It was the general perception of the interviewees that the co-creation process has not led to the actual production of any services or products. For some respondents the actual product of the Urban Idea was the development of the idea in itself. From the city viewpoint, co-creation has led to some minor products, e.g. a manual for urban planning to be used outside the city departments and the new register for spatial plans that was tested out by citizens' associations.	For the initiators, it is still too early to evaluate the effectiveness of the Urban Idea on urban regeneration and development in Tallinn. E.g. neighbourhood associations invite city officials more often to their events, different planning related questions are discussed during roundtables (if not yet concrete problems) and some smaller events have been organized with help from the city.	The co-creation initiative has not led to any financial benefits according to most respondents. The financial benefit of the involvement of citizens in planning-related issues was too far fetched for most respondents to imagine.	Deemed difficult to assess. The initiators of the Urban Idea admit that this has probably not led to increased satisfaction, or if it has, then only mildly.
Germany	The pioneer projects offer a space to engage citizens in different ways, either through educational or recreational activities, but none of these are a "public service" in the strict sense. But yes, the co-creation	It is impossible to say whether this constitutes an "improvement" to the city's usual urban development strategies. Within their limited scope, though, the pioneer projects have been effective at attracting interest from citizens	Only some of the projects charge visitors and only enough to cover operative and maintenance costs. Most of the projects are actually funded through donations and volunteered	The citizens involved as pioneers on Tempelhofer Freiheit seem very satisfied to have had the opportunity to participate in the site's development, on the one hand. On the other hand, they are

	initiative has led to the actual provision of extended recreational spaces and meeting points for citizens to gather who have different backgrounds but shared interests.	interested in creating a project on the Tempelhof field, and in attracting visitors.	time and resources. The project developers see that of the twenty-two active projects, some are still struggling to cover their operational costs and meet requirements to participate in the field.	dissatisfied with how the process has been carried out by the project developers, especially regarding the regulatory and administrative hurdles they have had to overcome to set up their projects.
The Netherlands	In their interim reports, Stadslab reports on where they can be found or heard or what kind of projects have been recently initiated. Therefore, the most tangible products are the initiated projects, but it must be noted that none of these products has replaced an existing public service.	In very concrete projects, the efforts of Stadslab create some enhanced effectiveness. However, this has a downside: one of the public officials mentioned that, since Stadslab is still searching for its appropriate organizational form, it is questionable as to whether this kind of collaboration is more effective than with 'regular' professional organizations. On the other hand, Stadslab members do believe that they are far more effective than the municipality.	Whether efficiency has increased because of Stadslab is hard to say. The members of Stadslab assume that it is far cheaper than traditional public services. The public officials are less positive because of an increase of 'investment costs'.	With regards to increased satisfaction, the members of Stadslab do believe that it has some added value: Leiden has become more 'fun', the feeling of 'defeatism' has turned and, instead of complaining, people take the initiative themselves. However, it must be noted, that this possible increased satisfaction reaches only a number of people (see value equity).
Slovakia	Some products/services are being mentioned: 1. The open air reading park 2. "Pohorelá yard" – a new square in the centre of the village in Pohorelá 3. Relax zone as the "urban open space" in Handlová	There is a clear consensus about the positive effect of co-creation, indicated by all interviewed public service providers and by local citizen voluntary association's representatives. Most of respondents express the opinion, that the "new public spaces" would never have been arranged in a conventional way.	Partly recognized in our sample, however this can be caused not only by higher efficiency of co-creation, compared to municipal in-house production, but also because unpaid voluntary work is used.	The expectation that the involvement of citizens in the planning and construction of the new public spaces delivers public services close to citizens' needs and increases citizens' satisfaction and quality service was confirmed by interviews (no interview provided a different opinion).
Spain	Quite high. On the one hand, tangible products are the initiated projects and their results. They have not really replaced an existing public service but they have helped meet citizens' needs.	On the one hand, respondents believe self-management of empty spaces is more effective than the traditional public administration: if Pla BUIITS had not been implemented, those empty spaces would have remained useless. On the other hand: organizations know the districts better than the public administration	There is agreement on the fact that benefits and/or deficits have not been quantified from an economic point of view. Some respondents, for example, argue that this project has not been efficient. On the contrary, other interviewees	Only in one case, the interviewee said that people were not satisfied because individual citizens, the neighbours, do not know the project yet.

The United Kingdom		does.	believe the project has been quite efficient, given the limited resources available.
	Many new, small local initiatives emerged (e.g. “vintage teas” for older people, befriending services, excursions and sports classes for particular audiences).	Strategic partners felt reluctant to comment on effectiveness since they were in the process of evaluation and evidencing and associated “effectiveness” with hard data. However, they expressed general optimism that co-creation had led to a reduction of administrative inefficiencies and communication problems across the Third Sector, and thus had more effective services for users.	Efficiency was a bone of contention, especially among the acute sector. Hard economic data was not available, and the benefits were predicted for the long-run; therefore, efficiency could not be addressed by the respondents. One manager commented that in the short to medium term, co-creation was more expensive.

Table 33 Detailed list of outcomes within logic of consequence in urban regeneration

13.2. Logic of appropriateness

13.2.1. Social welfare domain

Table 34 is schematically displayed to show how these occurred in the social welfare domain.

Value/Country	Accountability	Equity/Fairness	Responsiveness	Trust
Denmark	The way of working is new because it took an unorthodox road if the ideas were to be realized. The main idea was to affect the society in a political way without going through the established parliaments. In that sense it decreased accountability.	The project has made a more equal gateway for active citizens to make their ideas come to life in cooperation with the public sector. Also humanization of the municipality and the public system, which was a consequence of the direct and horizontal collaboration between the active citizens and the civil servants.	There was a perception of both the leaders of Cases that Unite and the management of the Municipality that the collaboration between the two of them increased the responsiveness of the municipality. A concrete example was the volunteer council that the municipality has establish in the	The trust between citizens and public officials has increased during the project. Both on a strategic level and on a street level because of the direct interaction between the parties in the projects.

			light of the work done in Cases that Unite.	
Estonia	The relationships between the public, private and other partners have become clearer and responsibility has become more clearly assigned. At the beginning accountability was the “key word” in the co-production process – this was also the case internally within Maarja küla: open audits were held to show where the donated money was going and, in accordance with the created work manual, all employees of the village are evaluated yearly.	Less than half of those interviewed were positive that the service had contributed to a more equal and fairer service provision. The people working at the village found that equality and fairness were the standards in the village itself (the services matching the needs of the inhabitants with no differentiations made between the youth living there); however, some doubts were raised about the initial selection of those being able to benefit from the services.	With regards to responsiveness, most of our respondents indicated a very positive attitude towards the activities of Maarja Küla. The village has been very visible in the municipality itself and also state-wide, which has increased volunteer action and also inspired other parents to establish similar initiatives.	While the representative organization of service providers of disabled people argued that the trust levels had not increased in public organizations through the Maarja Küla experience, most other respondents were ambivalent to the question. Very few fully negative experiences were brought out and some respondents clearly saw that the trust levels had risen, but the public sector was also not relied upon in its entirety.
Germany	None of the interviewees had a definite opinion on whether accountability has improved as a result of the DmS programme.	In Germany, having a migration background is almost becoming equivalent to poor educational attainment. Parting from this perspective, our interviewees believe that participating in DmS leads to more equal opportunity in terms of educational attainment.	The DmS project has improved the responsiveness of students with a migration background in their neighbourhood—they are more likely to be engaged in school initiatives with a social or civic focus. The responsiveness of other groups has seen no noticeable change.	Looking only at the schools in Berlin currently participating in DmS, there was general agreement among the interviewees that trust in their capabilities has increased. This is a result of the schools’ demonstrated willingness to welcome the programme into their classrooms and their enthusiasm to collaborate with the dialogue moderators.
The Netherlands	Not increased by S4C because of three reasons: it wasn’t much of an issue, considering the nature of the initiated projects; there was political interest for not having such a framework; old frameworks still work sufficiently.	Not increased by S4C, because: S4C is not raised as a substitute for other public services; given the design of the initiative, it deliberately excludes people.	Most respondents didn’t know: responsiveness of some groups of people may be enhanced, but not the entire neighborhood per se.	Most respondents indicated that they didn’t get in touch with the municipality or public organization that much. As such, their trust did not increase or decrease because of the S4C initiatives.
Slovakia	The opinion of those interviewed concerning the	When it comes to equity and fairness,	With regards to responsiveness,	Some of the respondents got in touch with

	<p>accountability is very unclear (also because this word cannot be properly translated into the Slovak language and most Roma citizens have only been to elementary school, which makes it hard to explain the term).</p>	<p>initiators and non Roma feel that equity has been enhanced by the new social housing.</p>	<p>most of our respondents indicated that the Social housing Kojatice project has contributed to enhancing the responsiveness via a clear adaptation of its design to the specific Roma citizen's needs.</p>	<p>the municipality or public organization quite often and their trust, despite some complications and initial unwillingness of public institutions, increased. As for the inhabitants, they see the municipality as a body that should take care of them anyway so their trust did not increase or decrease because of the Kojatice project.</p>
Spain	<p>Accountability has generally increased although citizens may not always be totally aware of who does what.</p> <p>In fact, citizens approach Citilab to be told what to do and they find themselves answering another question: what do you want to do? So, the first contact is in terms of a classic/traditional citizen-public administration relationship. So, although Citilab publishes and maintains a website with general information on the organization, groups of citizens, involved in different projects, have their own websites and are responsible for keeping the community active.</p>	<p>Most of the interviewed respondents indicated that Citilab rather increases the value equity and fairness within the city of Cornellà, than decreases it. It may seem though, because of the intense use of technology, that Citilab may exclude people.</p>	<p>It is hard to say if Cornellà City Council has become more responsive because of Citilab. In the first place, Citilab was not a citizen demand. Citizens did not ask to innovate or co-produce. Also, some people approached Citilab and, yet, they did not find it useful. Some of our respondents argued that, in terms of training, it was easier to be responsive.</p>	<p>There is also a general perception that trust in the abilities of public organizations had increased. Citilab is a public-private initiative, dominated by public organizations and, mainly, by the Cornellà City Council. Thus, it was perceived as a public organization itself. Satisfied users/citizens have increased trust in public organizations and, overall, in the Cornellà City Council. But, at the end of the day, this is only true of Citilab's users (mainly the citilabbers).</p>
The United Kingdom	<p>Accountability was seen to have increased through more frequent and transparent communication. This was driven in particular by a dedicated facilitator for co-creation within the statutory sector.</p>	<p>Respondents did not feel that they could comment on the fairness of access to services. One manager cautiously suggested that services now had a better geographic spread and that better transport was provided. However, no hard data could be presented to evidence this impression.</p>	<p>Strategic partners felt that services were now more responsive to service users' needs. These, however, could not comment on the fact, since the way that they were involved in the co-creation process had been adapted to the state of their illness.</p>	<p>Trust increased but it was reported as high from the beginning.</p>

Table 34 Detailed list of outcomes within logic of appropriateness in social welfare domain

13.2.2. Urban/rural regeneration

Value/Country	Accountability	Equity/Fairness	Responsiveness	Trust
Denmark	The volunteer citizens participated in the democracy in a new way other than what was usually perceived as the customary parliamentary way of participation e.g. the neighbourhood council. This was linked to the old fashioned way that the former chairman is an example of, compared to the problem-orientated participation in the co-creation process.	The garden has created a more equal access to green areas in the city where the citizens have the opportunity to participate in the gardening. That is no longer limited to the citizens that live in an apartment building with a courtyard.	From the start of the project, in 2010, to the spring of 2014 the municipality has developed its attitude towards citizens' participation in the development of the urban space. A web page has been developed and the bureaucratic system has adapted to the new customs by incorporating the volunteer citizens in the service delivery in the environment and technical department of the municipality. As such we might conclude that the responsiveness of the municipality towards society has increased.	There is a high level of trust between the citizens and the employees at the Miljøpunkt. They have daily contact concerning the garden and they have a common purpose in making the neighbourhood greener. The Miljøpunkt represents the municipality and they get the process going. But the more bureaucratic part of the municipality still lacks trust from the citizens compared to the Miljøpunkt, but it has increased during the process.
Estonia	As the roles and relationships are still rather informal, ad hoc and seldom mutually agreed, the accountability relations are still somewhat fuzzy. The Urban Idea representatives assume that accountability would enhance if the city officially recognized the Good Collaboration Pact.	The Urban Idea initiative has still had no direct effect on equal distribution of public services. The interviewees generally found that the process has not led to increased fairness in public service delivery .	The direct participants of the Urban believed in the responsiveness of the initiative, although noted that, due to the small circle of active citizens, the issues being targeted were usually limited to the interests of the people involved. Others were more skeptical of the responsiveness of the project: first, citing limited representation of the initiative and second, noting that the initiative had had little effect on the processes of the city.	This aspect has had dual, if not contradictory consequences. For the stakeholders closely affiliated with the Urban Idea, the trust in the public sector capabilities has remained the same or has even decreased. This is largely so because the city has not officially demonstrated their interest and support towards the initiative.
Germany	For the pioneers themselves, accountability has been a problem throughout the experience because there are so many actors involved on behalf of the Berlin state. Several of the pioneers said they seldom knew who the final decision-makers were, and who was	From the pioneers' perspective, their projects led to a more equitable access to art, scientific knowledge, recreational activities, sustainable living, culture, etc. Our sense after conducting the interviews was that	If we can argue that the pioneer projects were fulfilling citizens' needs then we can say the project developers were much more able to meet these needs through the pioneer initiative than without it, because through the pioneers, the city could tap into	From the perspective of the pioneers, no. The frustrations they have encountered in the process of establishing and operating the pioneer projects have decreased their trust in the capabilities of public organizations. Some of them commented

	responsible for what. It was difficult to track down where a decision was made because within the Berlin administration (the Senate), there were several divisions and sub-divisions involved in this project and they didn't seem to collaborate beyond what was formally required.	only certain educated, middle-class citizens, with an already very high intrinsic motivation to participate in such initiatives, were able to succeed as pioneers.	a very wide array of talents and interests that led to varied projects and in turn, became attractive to visitors with different backgrounds and interests.	that their trust in government and public organizations was already fairly low, and "this experience has not improved that at all."
The Netherlands	Accountability has decreased in terms of standardized and formalized protocols. Both the professionals and the members of Stadslab explained that the relations were founded on trust. Therefore, formalized accountability structures were not required. The possibility of working on a trust relationship, rather than formal contracts, was partly because Stadslab didn't have a subsidy relation with other organizations, as one of the professionals explained.	All interviewed respondents indicated that Stadslab rather decreased the value equity and fairness within the city of Leiden, rather than increased it. This exclusion mechanism was recognized by the municipality and created a challenge for the government.	Because of this limited representativeness, it was hard to say whether Leiden has become more responsive because of Stadslab. Some respondents did believe that Stadslab has had an increasing effect on the responsiveness of the city.	Whether trust in the abilities of public organizations has increased differs from person to person.
Slovakia	Co-creation did not increase political accountability of any level of the government for services provided to the public. Positive trends were reported only on non-governmental level – according to those interviewed, co-creation increased ethical accountability of the individuals/citizens and local citizen groups for social wealth of the whole local community.	The core problem mentioned by the Priestory representatives was the fact that many new public spaces, constructed with the aim of increasing equity (targeted on the specific needs of different social groups, like family centres for mothers with small children) became useless and deteriorated after only a short time.	The co-creation project may contribute to better responsiveness of local governments to the needs of the community. However, more common is the increasing responsiveness of the individuals/citizens, local citizen groups and local businesses to the local community needs.	Missing or insufficient support for co-creation initiatives, building civil society from a national level of government and stopping co-creation running projects by local and regional government, in the programme of PrieStory, is the reason, why the co-creation activities did not increase trust in the government.
Spain	Our respondents indicated that it was very clear who was accountable for what part of the service. As it has already been described, there are no doubts regarding the roles Habitat Urbà and the districts played. Organizations also	Pla BUIITS rather increased the value <i>equity and fairness</i> within the city of Barcelona, than decreased it. In the case of the proposals selection, this has been very clear, and everyone was able	Barcelona has become more <i>responsive</i> because of Pla BUIITS. These now occupied empty spaces are addressing citizens' basic needs; they might not be the more urgent needs they have,	There is also a general perception that <i>trust</i> in the abilities of public organizations has increased, particularly regarding the specific department in charge of this initiative.

	knew they were totally responsible for the space they were managing. They knew the City Council was not going to interfere in their decisions regarding what to do in the empty space.	to access them. Nevertheless, a few respondents were not sure about increased equity and fairness, because of the early stage of the project.	but organizations are helping people under the risk of social exclusion. Furthermore, different projects address different citizens' needs, depending on the problems and issues the districts and the neighbourhoods have.	However, there is still some tension between the City Council and some promoting organizations, in particular those with a protesting background, such as the ones originated after the 15-M movement.
The United Kingdom	Ambivalence on accountability: some describe structures as more transparent in terms of structure with more communication which makes it easier to hold actors accountable.	Fairer and more equal services through co-commissioning. But this is based on impressionistic evidence.	The governance structure was seen as making services more responsive to local needs as well as more responsive to the respective user groups (old v young, etc.). This was reflected by a higher uptake of services compared to before.	Much stronger among stakeholders because of increased communication among stakeholders who would otherwise not have been communicating (e.g. third sector and statutory bodies).

Table 35 Detailed list of outcomes within logic of appropriateness in urban regeneration

13.3. Unforeseen outcomes

Our cases have also shown a number of unforeseen outcomes. These are schematically displayed in table 36 (social welfare domain) and table 37 (urban regeneration):

Country	Outcomes
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The establishment of a community. A community who has found a way to find common ground and a place to present and carry out ideas. • The initiative exists and that the possibilities it contains, exist. • On a strategic level, in the municipality of Århus, the collaboration between Cases that Unite and the high-level civil servants and politicians has led to a new volunteer council, which is being established during the research process.
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 100% of the residents are capable of work in Maarja Küla • 6 of our former residents have become fully independent, they now have occupations, jobs and homes of their own • 20 people have passed the courses, provided in cooperation with the Räpina School of Horticulture • A peace of mind and the knowledge that Maarja Küla has been a role model for other similar initiatives • Enhanced awareness about people with disabilities
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students are better able to express themselves even in their regular classes and have much more articulated views of different political and civic issues

The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students have become much more open in talking about their religion—namely Islam, as the majority of this school’s students come from Muslim families • For the starters, the most remarkable accomplishments involve: an updated resume, increased self-confidence, new capabilities, knowledge enhancement and network increase • For the initiators, it appears that most initiators agree on an enhanced initiative, new ideas, new financial sources and new alliances. • S4C gained the positive reputation the founder hoped to achieve.
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved standard and style of living of Roma citizen (learning to actively participate, developing manual skills by building their houses and basic education in financial literacy) • Improved social skills • Improved public space • Improved image of the municipality • Improved social relations in the region • New forms of cooperation between different NGOs, new way of involving foundations, which helps them to improve their activities in the field of social cohesion, humanitarian aid and human rights protection
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many international awards • International recognition is considered a success • Different projects addressed to citizens have been, more or less, successful because, as we were saying, citizens are satisfied
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-creation has had beneficial outcomes for dementia patients, their carers, and East Dunbartonshire as a community, with some areas becoming the first to be fully dementia friendly in the country • The value shift they had hoped for was indeed happening

Table 36 Unforeseen outcomes in social welfare domain

Country	Outcomes
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The bunker has been transformed from a wilderness to a useful green lung of the city where everyone can come and enjoy themselves • A social community that the garden creates when they work there
Estonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The overall learning experience the initiative has provided • The project has not yet delivered any profound changes in the behaviour or practice in the citizens-government relationships • Preliminary and cautious steps indicating an emerging support from all sides, but technically it is still difficult to initiate a thorough cooperation without enforcing it through the officially notified framework agreement • The neighbourhood associations have become more self-aware, well-known, credible and active in the local community • The process has generated a better understanding for the local communities that advocacy – and to lesser extent – co-creation – is not “mission impossible”
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Because the area of Tempelhof field has high significance for many Berliners, it became a very political issue that eventually slowed down the process of citizen participation and co-creation and heightened risk aversion in the municipality. This, in turn, led to some frustration that was not originally foreseen—so in this case a negative outcome.
The Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The members of Stadslab indicated that its success lies in the fact that a ‘flywheel’-effect has been created • How they boosted and channelled the energy in the city
Slovakia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solving the problem of missing and/or insufficient public facilities, • Creating new public – private – civic partnerships, • Strengthening the local communities and sharing the values in the local community, • Improved citizens’ participation in public service delivery – meeting the demand from citizens for their involvement in public affairs.
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project itself is considered a success in terms of what the project means or what it may mean in the future • Pla BUITS is successful as a whole, when the 12 individual projects are considered globally
The United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It gives a model, an exemple, that we can translate into other pieces of work that we’re undertaking beyond the reshaping care agenda • It gives us a blueprint as a starter • There has been a lot of investment in small projects for older people, so they feel valued and are valued • Improved mental being and thereby improving physical wellbeing of elderly • A value shift: older people were now seen differently, a trend that they hope to increase in the future.

Table 37 Unforeseen outcomes in urban regeneration domain