Coalition Planning; directive, collective and connective ways of working on the interface of established institutions and individual aspirations

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Spatial Planning in a Complex Unpredictable World of Change

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>> Coalition Planning

Directive, collective and connective ways of working on the interface of established institutions and individual aspirations

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INTRODUCTION: WORKING IN COALITIONS

>> "Sharing is the new having", "small is the new big", "acting is the new thinking", "temporary is the new permanent", "following is the new managing" and "citizens are the new urban developers". All these statements are related to an economy, society and democracy with more and more individuals organizing themselves in networks to share what they have and need. And in which traditional organizations involved in urban planning are less capable of reaching their ambitions independent from their social and institutional environments. Traditional organizations relate to social problems from a specific discipline and sector, therefore address the problems only partially and often independently from those who may be concerned. A challenging way to overcome this difficulty is to build coalitions: coalitions of various actors being able to adapt to changing situations. The challenge of Coalition Planning is to have established institutions and individual aspirations reinforce each other in dynamic coalitions. This can be seen as a necessary 21st century tool for urban planners in their task of supporting cities to be sustainable and livable places in a dynamic world.

Consequently, more and more urban planners will be working in coalitions at the interface of established institutions and individual aspirations: between the "indoor-world" of their own organization and the "outdoor-world" of the other parties involved. In order to be effective at this interface, they need to be able to switch between and bridge different coalitions. The key question in this chapter will therefore be: How do urban planners connect established institutions and individual aspirations in the new context of coalition planning? Underlying questions to be addressed in this chapter: What labels and terms are used to describe the new sharing and collaborative context? How can governmental, business and civic actors form coalitions to stimulate a new interplay? What types of coalitions can be characterized? And more specifically: How would governmental authorities (and other established institutions) choose between a directing, partnering or facilitating role or for no role at all? And how can urban planners build and guide these coalitions with effective approaches?

This chapter represents a snapshot of the research on coalitions, so is work in progress and therefore unfinished. Nevertheless, the rise of coalitions in multiple governance environments is real and in need for a planners' response.

THE COALITION PLANNING CONTEXT: *A CHALLENGING FIELD OF RESEARCH*

>> A group of people that build their own homes through co-housing, a group of neighbors that run a community center, a group of consumers that start their

own energy company or a group of professionals that share new information through open source platforms are all relatively new phenomena in (state) government dominated northwest Europe. With the help of social media and other smart and emerging technologies it has become easier to find individuals and build a community or network to share products, services, knowledge, values and ownership. Castells (1996) was one of the first to introduce the informational age and network society. It reframed our understandings of the social world and since that time, networks have increasingly been the subject of research (Innes and Rongerude, 2013) and reason to also change our view and frame of institutions. Rifkin (2013) calls it the "third industrial revolution" and in the Netherlands Rotmans (2014) is promoting the contemporary transition to a new era, in which he is emphasizing that not only do we live in an era of change, but we also encounter a change of era. Like Rifkin, he compares it to the revolution at the end of the 19th century. Rotmans talks about an economic, ecological and institutional crisis and emphasizes the opportunities of this multiple crises for system innovation (see also Grin et al., 2010) from the perspective and power of clients, citizens, employees and consumers. In his view, established institutions are reaching their expiration date, because they are built on system values instead of human values. In this chapter we share and support the renewed attention for bottom-up movements in self-governing networks or communities, but come up with another perspective on established institutions. We use the sociological perspective on institutions and define it as organized patterns of socially constructed roles and rules of behavior (Van Meerkerk, 2014). Another perspective on established institutions also brings along another perspective on "old" and "old-fashioned". Living in a world of change is not about radical changes in approach from an old (and wrong) to a new (and good) approach, but about gradual changes of approach combining the useful and practicable parts of old and new, making room for a variety and mix of different approaches (see also Van der Steen et al., 2015).

In this chapter we will describe different terms and trends that support new ways of sharing and how they can have a disruptive impact on established institutions. They give words to the changes in and increased interrelatedness between economy, society and democracy. Most of the terms introduced relate to individualization, on the one hand, and to collaboration on the other. Here we state that a more active and entrepreneurial view on citizenship does not necessarily correspond with the decline of institutions, but does demand more adaptive institutional arrangements and new relationships between both. It is about the diversification of society, on the one hand, and the tarnishing distinctions, on the other hand. This leads to a more complex society in which power is dispersed, tensions are more significant, mutual dependencies are growing and the need for working together is getting bigger (Zuidema, 2011; Innes and Booher, 2003). Within this complex and interrelated society, solutions for social problems are likely to be found on the interface of different worlds:

disciplines, sectors, domains, organizations, cultures, etc. A way to bring these worlds together is to build coalitions. We define a coalition as a group of diverse and autonomous actors (organizations or individuals) that want to achieve something better in the future. Coalitions come into being within a certain public arena where individuals, groups and institutions associate with each other around ambitions. We state that ambitions act as the fuel for coalitions in striving for a desired future place or situation (see also Kaats and Opheij (2012) for the components and importance of ambitions in a collaborative context). In comparison to the present situation, this causes a positive potential which fuels and motivates actors to develop a shared repertoire of action and arrangements. Coalitions themselves are as diverse as their five key elements that we here use to define a coalition: ambitions, actors, arenas, actions and arrangements. Moreover, coalitions are dynamic entities and can change over time.

This demands situational awareness and a common view and language to discuss changes in approach. In line with De Haas (2006), planning can also be regarded as a language game: a vocabulary of actions with its own grammar and syntax. In a diverse society and in coalitions of diverse actors the many languages spoken express how we perceive the world around us and how we indicate and interpret boundaries. A confusion of tongues blurs a good assessment of the situation. Sometimes we lack the words to describe a new way of working together and are often forced to use familiar words with the addition of "de", "dis" or "un". Other times we use new words, but these words do not yet correspond to our behavior. This is especially the case when we are working in new coalitions: we still feel committed to traditional approaches, but also appeal to new approaches. When we are not aware of our reflexes and contradiction in speech and practice, we give mixed signals or create false expectations. In addition to this we will also have to create words that explain combinations of approaches and intermediate, in-between and fluid situations. In coalitions we cannot regard the methods of working used in our own organization as leading; we will have to search for joint methods and manners.

Zuidema (2011) describes the increased social fragmentation and complexity as a reason for an increased plurality of governance approaches. "Instead of expecting that a new dominant mode of governance will emerge, we should expect to end up with more 'fuzzy' notions of governance where the roles and responsibilities [...] are both spread and variable" (2011; p23). This justifies a plural picture of approaches, but also challenges us on when and how to use what approach. "If various governance practices draw upon very different ideas about what is 'real' and 'rational' (i.e. the underlying philosophical plurality), then where is the common ground that serves as a starting point for developing arguments for choosing between them?" According to Zuidema this does not have to lead to an "anything goes" perspective on governance. Situational awareness and contextual alertness help us in assessing adequate approaches,

and this is exactly why we introduce the concept of coalition planning. Starting from theory and practice, we will, in this chapter, distinguish three arenas (established, created and spontaneous) that correspond to three types of coalitions (directive, collective and connective) with unique characteristics and related institutional roles (directing, partnering and facilitating). This brings us to the following line of reasoning on why (research on) the concept of coalition planning could be useful:

- The world is getting more dynamic, more diverse, more interconnected, more fluid and, hence, more complex. In this complex society actors are less capable of realizing their ambitions independently and need diverse perspectives on social problems. A way to overcome this challenge is to build coalitions of diverse actors.
- Because of the diversity in actors involved, building coalitions in itself is a complex activity. The more we work in coalitions, the greater the need to differentiate in these relatively complex modes of governance.
- New types of coalitions do not replace more familiar types of coalitions: they are co-existent and complementary. The one type of coalition is not better than the other, but they each have their advantages in specific situations.
- The types of coalitions are not sharply separated entities. Coalitions can change over time and types can be combined to realize ambitions. It becomes more important to be adaptive in switching between and bridging coalitions, as well to be explicit about the coalition approach applied and the roles played.
- Switching and bridging between coalitions and roles demands not only a new and broader repertoire of actions, but also a new and broader vocabulary to share expectations and considerations. Language is often confusing when new behavior is needed and actors are not aware of their own reflexes.
- A common view and language helps us to make deliberate choices that are understood and supported. Therefore a pluralistic perspective on recognizing, building and evaluating coalitions is needed to stimulate mutual and situational awareness, and deliberately choose an appropriate coalitional approach that can be adjusted to changing situations.

COALITION PLANNING: *A BRIDGE BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES*

>> Coalition planning is about supporting deliberate choices for roles, rules and responsibilities seen from various perspectives and situations to be able to switch, bridge and mix between different types of coalitions in order to reinforce established institutions and individual aspirations. This means that coalition planning breaks with one-dimensional and functional perspectives and promotes eclectically combining meanings and understandings. It stimulates multiple responsibilities, multiple governmental roles and multiple institutional rules and also the temporary and provisional characteristic of

these. Civic actors are considered to be of the same worth as governmental or business actors and collaboration between these actors can produce creative solutions for complex problems. Healey (1997 and 2003) and Innes (2016) were one of the first to focus on collaborative planning and communicative planning. Inspired by Habermas' (1984) ideas about communicative rationality they promote the ideal of collaboration and the advantages of equally empowered actors bringing their different interests and perspectives together in an authentic dialogue skillfully managed by a (neutral) facilitator. Healey and Innes take an institutionalist approach enabling all stakeholders to have a voice. Here we support the institutional approach and collaborative rationality, but also add self-governance for civil initiatives and an individualist approach. Individuals have become more pro-active in the past years and have shown that they can organize and govern themselves, sharing what they have and need as a new fully fledged world next to the market place and governmental domain. Each of these actors can initiate a coalition and fulfill similar corresponding roles. To emphasize this we prefer to use the term "coalition" instead of "governance", which seems to have more similarities with the words "government", "management" and "institution".

A difference between individual civic actors or groups around civil initiatives and governmental or business actors is that they often don't have the (formal) position or job to create values and reach ambitions. Civic actors often start voluntary out of a personal drive and are not trained or educated to initiate coalitions. They do however learn in practice and exchange experiences in "rolling stone meetings", "living labs", "parades" or "festivals" and come up with own ways of working and even own currencies to measure value (see the "Bristol Pound" or the "Makkie" in the east of Amsterdam). This can lead to small scale enclosed communities or collectives stimulating solidarity and self-sufficiency. Or to large-scale international networks or connectives open to everyone using technology to share knowledge (see for example Wikipedia) and services or even spare time. Sometimes these exist only virtually, but quite often these are connected to physical and offline activities (see for example the game of Ingress). Individuals in these collectives and connectives live and work according own rules, laws, tastes and morals and search for new ways to be in control of their own future. This also provoked renewed attention for the lives of community-members in former times or in developing countries, before we got the contemporary western institutions and systems. Some of the new community-members present themselves as against the contemporary institutionalized world. The individualized and dynamic society and the centralized and bureaucratic institutions seem to have grown apart.

In the documentary of Backlight (2014) called "Youtopia" three local communities are filmed in which people felt that the only way to introduce other ways of living and working is to start a community and isolate this group from the

contemporary institutional world. They portray the post-capitalistic colony Calafou close to Barcelona where hackers build open hardware and software and an independent communication network. They also portray the Hungarian eco-village of Galgahéviz that have their own economy disconnected from Europe and the transition town of Bristol with an independent mayor and own Bristol pound, declared to be the happiest city of England. These assertive citizens have own aspirations, needs and desires and explore new modes of personal leadership and collective decision-making, more focused on acting and experimenting than on talking and deliberating. Are these communities freer, more democratic, more productive and more adaptive to live and work in than the established institutions we know? Can they co-exist and co-evoluate with existing institutions? What could be their role and what institutional arrangements do they minimally need? In what situations should the government withdraw, participate in initiatives from others or take the lead?

With coalition planning we place these modes of working together on a spectrum, explore a broader view on our existing vocabularies and repertoires of action and emphasize the importance to bridge different worlds and views in many ways: between civic, business and governmental actors, between directive, collective and connective ways of working and between institutional and individual approaches. Coalition planning helps to cross borders and navigate in the constantly changing landscape of coalitional approaches. It is not about working in new, connective coalitions, but about appreciating and applying all three types of coalitions simultaneously without getting lost. So old paradigms will not disappear and will still exist alongside upcoming ones in a more eclectic perspective. Lewis and Smith (2014) write that organizational answers should move from "either/or" debates toward "both/and" expectations. This makes it fairly easy to get lost, especially when all the terms and labels that are used to describe the newly considered world are also rooted in older vocabularies. Before we go into the different types of coalitions, let us first get a better understanding of the words and worlds that lead to coalition practices and the urge for coalition planning.

WORDS CREATE WORLDS: *TRENDS AND TERMS THAT LEAD TO COALITION PRACTICES*

›› "Open", "interactive", "spontaneous", "adaptive", "co-creation", "networking", "cooperation", "crowd sourcing" – popular words from a long list. Some are new, some are old but still widely used, while some old words are reinvented and receive new meanings (see also Arts and Tatenhove, 2004, on old and new policy idioms). Since Castells (1996) we use many different labels for similar trends and concepts. Most terms relate to the desire among participants to create fairer, more sustainable, and more socially connected societies (Schor, 2014). They

became broadly manifest at the same time the economic crisis became manifest and might have reinforced each other. Some concepts are seen as idealistic and get toned down or provoke new concepts. It is difficult to find the right definitions, because people apply different lenses and language when thinking about similar ideas. Online platforms make it easier to discuss these differences. When terms become popular they tend to get used as "umbrella terms" for a broad range of activities and trends. The more inaccurately the term is applied the more its value is questioned. Each label seems to have a certain period of popularity and gets contaminated after a while. In this respect, also the moment or political context in which a new word or label is introduced could give the word another connotation in debates than originally meant. And eventually the flame of meaning behind an important concept dies out or becomes fuzzy.

Here are some examples of temporary popular terms that took on different meanings. In 2010 in the UK, the new conservative Prime Minister David Cameron, launched the term "big society" as a political ideal to transfer power to local communities (see also Franklin and Noordhoek, 2013, about the development of this concept and its impact on the Netherlands). For various reasons the "big society" declined as an instrument of government policy (see Civil Exchange 2015). Cameron did not use the term in public after 2013, and the label ceased to be used in government statements. In the Netherlands, Hajer (2011) introduced the label "energetic society": a society of assertive citizens and with an enormous pace of response, learning ability and creativity. As the term became more popular, some civil servants became frustrated with it because it seems to frame the public sector as "not energetic". They also feel that it takes considerable governmental effort to release energy in society. It is not a self-evident process. In 2013 both the King and the Prime Minister of the Netherlands used the term "participative society" in their speeches (King's Speech, 2013). It became the word of the year in 2013, but was rapidly interpreted as a top-down concept to reduce governmental expenses and stimulate almost compulsory volunteering (see also Tonkens (2014) for five misinterpretations of the participative society). According to the Institute of Dutch Lexocology, in 2015 the term was already taken up in the top 10 words that people do not "want to hear and use anymore".

Although these terms and labels might be temporary and generate positive and negative attention, they do frame how we interpret and understand the context of our society. In interactive processes, words reflect reality and influence our perspectives, behavior and action strategies (Van den Nieuwenhof, 2013). In this respect it is remarkable that the new concepts seem to reflect combinations: liberal and social, commercial and social, professional and civilian, private and public, institutions and individuals, and paid and voluntary. When studying the different terms we experience that boundaries and separations fade away and become more fluid. This makes the world challenging, but also more complex.

Hence, the need for new terms and labels can be well understood, as well as their insufficiency to describe the pluralistic world. In the following sections we will try to unravel a selection of concepts, but also to embrace the contradictions within and between them. Frequently used terms will be clustered around a sharing economy, social entrepreneurship, public participation, self-organization and direct democracy. We will describe changes in the relationship between market and society and the implications for the public sector and governmental role. Social and business actors will be seen to claim a bigger share in the production of public values. Governmental authorities will be challenged to better connect with their social environment, to re-invent their own strength and to develop a broader view on their own role and repertoire of actions. We will briefly explore, in general descriptions, the changed context and proceed gradually to build a model for a new interplay between governmental, business and civic actors, after which we zoom in on the specific role of coalition planners and add new terms and labels to their vocabulary when it comes to guiding and building coalitions.

A SHARING ECONOMY: *UNLOCKING UN-USED VALUES*

>> From an economic approach, Kostakis and Bauwens (2014) use the term "commons-oriented economy" and Botsman and Roger (2014) call it a "sharing economy" and "collaborative consumption". This sharing or collaborative economy is an economic system of decentralized networks and marketplaces that unlocks the value of underused assets by matching needs and "haves" in ways that bypass traditional intermediaries. Examples often referred to are Airbnb, Zipcar and Uber. A Dutch example is "Peerby" where you can borrow and rent things you need from neighbors. Through these networks excess capacity in goods and services is redistributed, shared and reused, hence the frequent link with the term "circular economy". Many organizations have been eager to position themselves under the "big tent" of the sharing economy, because of the positive symbolic meaning of sharing, the magnetism of innovative digital technologies, and the rapidly growing volume of sharing activities (Schor, 2014). However, the question some scientists raise is: Is it still sharing when money is involved? Eckhardt and Bardi (2015) choose the term "access economy", because they relate sharing to a social context and not to an economic context. The access economy is a business model where goods and services are traded on the basis of access rather than ownership: it refers to renting things temporarily rather than selling them permanently.

Benkler and Nissenbaum (2006) write about "open source economics" and "commons-based peer production". Peer relations are based on the assumed equality in power, ability and impact of the participants of the cooperation to perform a common task or create a common good. It is open to participation

and used in the widest possible number with forms of decision making and autonomy that are widely distributed throughout the network. It is governed by the community of producers themselves, not by market allocation or corporate hierarchy. Schor (2014) too states that "new technologies of peer-to-peer economic activity are potentially powerful tools for building a social movement centered on genuine practices of sharing and cooperation in the production and consumption of goods and services. But achieving that potential will require democratizing the ownership and governance of the platforms". This is one of the reasons why some think Uber is better understood as an innovative company than as a sharing network or platform.

The idea behind most of the above described labels is that sharing is multiplying. Ownership and de-ownership are important themes. People are producers and consumers at the same time and when products are paid for, it is payment for access instead of payment for ownership. The use-value of property is freely accessible on a universal basis through new modes of property, which are not exclusive, although they recognize individual authorship (see, for example, the Creative Commons licenses). It is value driven by unlocking the value of unused or under-utilized assets whether it is for monetary or non-monetary benefits. One of the main goals is sustainable value creation, which incorporates ecological and social values next to financial values in the business case (see Hoek, 2013). To critics this sounds like utopian outcomes: empowerment of ordinary people, efficiency of systems, and even lower carbon footprints. They denounce the sharing economy for being about economic self-interest rather than sharing, and for being predatory and exploitative (Schor, 2014). Not surprisingly, reality is more complex and combined terms, like "social entrepreneurship" are introduced to show the absence of a stark separation between economic and social life.

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: *COMBINING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL VALUES*

>> In the documentary "Power to the People" Jeremy Rifkin explains the rise of social entrepreneurship as follows (Backlight, 2012): "How can you be social and entrepreneurial? Entrepreneurs are seen as autonomous individual agents seeking their self-interest against the other. For the young generation being social and entrepreneurial is not a contradiction, it is a perfect fit. (…) In a sense it is actually a little bit beyond capitalism and socialism, because it takes the best of both and leaves the worst behind. With the third industrial revolution everyone is an entrepreneur. That's the best of the market: take a risk, be an entrepreneur and be creative. But your success depends on being in deep social collaborative networks, it depends on solidarity. So it takes the best features of both, but it eliminates the centralizing features of the market-place: winner

takes it all. And the centralizing features of the state, where the state becomes big brother and takes care of all of you and nobody has an incentive to be individually entrepreneurial" (see also Rifkin, 2013).

In other words, social entrepreneurs are entrepreneurs that are able to make a business case for their social ambition, in such a way that their (civil) initiative is financially profitable and at the same time has impact on persistent social problems. Just as the concept of sharing, the concept of social entrepreneurship is nothing new. The term has, however, lately gained considerable interest in both the literature (e.g. the Journal of Social Entrepreneurship started by Routledge in 2010) and in practice. Examples are Jamie Oliver's restaurants that help disadvantaged young people, city farming initiatives to stimulate healthy and local food production, home and care services such as Benevilla in the United States to keep people in their own homes for as long as possible or such neighborhood networks as "Geef om de Jan Eef", a former declined shopping area in Amsterdam that helps retailers (see for more examples: www.social-enterprise.nl or https://socialenterprise.us). As with all the labels and concepts described in this section, clear, demarcated definitions are difficult to give. Their variety and uniqueness represents at the same time part of their success. Schulz et al. (2013) keep the terms "social entrepreneur" (the person), "social enterprise" (the organization) and "social entrepreneurship" (the activity) separate. They define the last one as follows: "consciously and innovatively striving for an improvement on a social issue through offering goods and services that help solve this issue in exchange for payment".

Zahra et al. (2009) combined twenty definitions and propose that social entrepreneurship "encompasses the activities and processes undertaken to discover, define, and exploit opportunities in order to enhance social wealth by creating new ventures or managing existing organizations in an innovative manner". They elaborate on three types of social entrepreneurs that are focused on local needs (social bricoleurs), on gaps caused by market and governmental failures (social constructivists) or on systemic change (social engineers). The bricoleurs have a small-scale impact by recognizing local opportunities and using local knowledge. The constructivists mend the social fabric where it is torn and are designed to be institutionalized. Finally, the engineers create new social systems and challenge the existing order. Furthermore, they zoom in on the ethical challenges that naturally evolve from the combination of economic and social values (see also Alter (2004) for the conceptual varieties in both values). Because the goals of social enterprises are deeply rooted in the values of their founders, balancing the motives to create social wealth with the need for profits and economic efficiency can be tricky. Some of these social entrepreneurs start from a personal interest to help themselves – their child, friend, parent or neighbor – and gradually extend their initiative to help others and form a network or collective. The advantage of this approach is that they

often personally have felt the need for their initiative and have been or still are in the same position as their users, clients or members.

Social entrepreneurs often offer more tailor-made concepts for specific target groups and lower prices. Some social entrepreneurs even act as prime movers of innovation and are up for reforming established institutions. They challenge private companies to empathize more with their clients and end-users, to go beyond corporate social responsibility and to experiment with new products, services and tariffs. They challenge governments to trust the resilience of society itself, to formulate flexible regulations and to work with other governance models. We already described that the democratization of ownership is a matter of interest in the sharing economy. By applying new and untested organizational models, social entrepreneurship raises concerns about the legitimacy and accountability of the actors involved (Zahra et al., 2009). Accountability is important, because actors often take responsibilities for tasks that used to be public or semi-public. Social entrepreneurs may also appeal for public money or make use of public space. For governments this is a new and sometimes inconvenient situation. They are responsible for that specific policy field and the continuity and the accessibility of the service, but not for individual entrepreneurial choices (see Schulz et al., 2013). Social entrepreneurs open our eyes to the fact that every person or citizen who socially cares can take initiative and that it is not only up to the government to define and produce public values. This makes a reconsideration of the role of the government necessary, with more deliberating interpretations and fewer sharp distinctions between civil initiators and civil servants.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION: *ENGAGING CITIZENS FOR PUBLIC VALUES*

>> From a political science and public administration point of view there has been much written about how to better involve citizens and others in policy-making and decision-making processes, with such frequently used labels as "interactive policy-making", "civic engagement", "open planning process" and "public participation". Public participation is an older term, but still widely used. It became a dominant paradigm in the 1990s. In theory as well as in practice people are ambivalent about the value of public participation within existing democratic institutions. Innes and Booher (2004) describe five purposes that encompass most of the claims made to justify participation. The first is to find out what the public's preferences are so these can play a part in decision-making; they are, after all, the electors of politicians. A second is to improve decisions by incorporating citizens "local knowledge". Both purposes are increasingly important as government grows further away from its constituencies. Public participation has a third purpose: advancing fairness and justice for especially disadvantaged groups. A fourth purpose is about

getting legitimacy and support for public decisions, and the fifth is that public officials assume this task because the law requires it. The authors state that most of these purposes, except for the last one, are not met by traditional, legally required participation methods, such as public hearings, review and comment procedures, and citizen-based commissions. They might even work counterproductively as citizens feel compelled to address the issues in polarizing terms and often get involved (too) late in the process through which they can only react to plans, instead of coming up with pro-active ideas and solutions.

Innes and Booher therefore plea for more collaborative practices and add a sixth and seventh purpose for participation to build civil society and to create an adaptive, self-governing polity capable of addressing wicked problems in an informed and effective way. They introduced the term "collaborative participation" and describe the differences as follows: "one-way talk vs. dialogue; elite or self-selected vs. diverse participants; reactive vs. involved at the outset; top-down education vs. mutually shared knowledge; one-shot activities vs. continuous engagement; and use for routine activities vs. for controversial choices". This allows public participation to be used as a broad label that goes from informing and consulting to co-creation or even self-organization. This is one of the reasons why public officials and participants can have different expectations of the participation process. When these are not discussed openly in words and terms that are recognizable to both worlds, it can reduce trust and harm relationships. With that respect management of expectations is important, but also the understanding of the institutional world by citizens, and of the individual world by public officials. Administrators can be out of touch with communities and local knowledge, but citizens can also be out of touch with political and economic realities, and long-term considerations for a community or resource. Interaction between both worlds is necessary, but it does not always have to be the government that takes the lead in this interaction.

A term that is used to highlight the pro-active role of citizens and others in policy-making is "policy entrepreneurs": actors that advocate and strategically seek to change or oppose policy from their own motivation (Verduijn, 2014). This can refer to actors from within or outside the policy arena. Kingdon (2002), the first to introduce this concept, portrays policy entrepreneurs as comparable with business entrepreneurs in that they are willing to invest their resources, time, energy, reputation and sometimes money, in the hope of future return. Kingdon's research topic was mainly about agenda setting: why do certain issues receive attention at certain times? In his model, he specifies three streams: problems, policies and politics. When the three streams collide, a window of opportunity is created for policy entrepreneurs to get their ideas accepted and adopted by political actors. He states that the power for policy change (or

for prevention of change) lies in the recognition and anticipation skills of the policy entrepreneur as a driving force for action. This means that the policy entrepreneurs must have knowledge of and experience in the institutional system, and must know how to use this system to reach their objectives. They are creative, resourceful and opportunistic leaders that collaborate with others to manipulate politics through such strategies as advocating new ideas, demonstrating and raising the urgency of the problem, developing proposals, defining and reframing problems, specifying policy alternatives, mobilizing public opinion and helping to set the decision-making agenda.

In the social sciences the debate is about whether structure or agency is more important in shaping human behavior. Structure is the recurrent patterned arrangements which influence or limit the choices and opportunities available. Agency is the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices. The concept of policy entrepreneurs is rooted in the agency approach (Verduijn, 2014). Wagenaar (2007) describes a collection of agents as a complex system. He sees the complexity of social systems as a motive for participatory and deliberative models of governance, because these models increase interaction within the system and thereby system diversity and creativity. The argument is that active participation of citizens in public decision making will increase their autonomy. "Citizens learn to distinguish between their personal needs and desires and the common interest. In addition they practice various important democratic skills such as conflict management, the careful articulation of their own position, listening, arriving at productive compromise, patience in dealing with thorny public issues, and the appreciation of difference" (Wagenaar, 2007).

So participation in policy processes is seen as strengthening citizenship. Therefore the terms "active citizenship" (see Van de Wijdeven, 2012) and "voluntarism" are applied and when governments stimulate this, we talk about "invitation planning" – all terms that could be seen as inventions of policy makers (Verhoeven and Tonkens, 2013). Sampson et al. (2005) studied the increase of civil initiatives and use the term "civil society". When governments connect with initiatives in this civil society we start to use the term "governmental participation" instead of "public participation", corresponding to the term "civil servant". We try to invent labels that overcome the idea that it is always the government that invites people to participate in the governmental agenda, while many initiatives arise from one's own movement (Specht, 2012). Is in those situations policy-making still necessary? And who is organizing who? And what if people are organizing and governing themselves? In reality there is not a sharp division between the organizer and the organized or the inviter and invited.

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SELF-ORGANIZATION: *INDIVIDUAL VERSUS INSTITUTIONAL VALUES*

›› From an institutional perspective civic initiatives are referred to as "self-organizing" or "self-governing" initiatives and emerge from the dynamics within civil society itself (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). Perhaps this is common in other societies, but in the predominantly institutionalized Western Europe, we have, in the last few decades, tried to prevent this from happening. Authorities wanted to be in control of interventions that influence public policy and public space. The more complex and interrelated our world is, the more authorities realize that they will have to deal with uncertainty, and experience the relativity of their controlling power. Just as the "sharing economy", "social entrepreneurship" and "public participation", the term "self-organization" has now become a popular concept, with its meaning changing from theory to practice. In practice, it is often used to label any new or bottom-up approach based on action and referring to "do-it-yourself", while scientific ideas are largely rooted in chaos theory, complexity science and systems thinking (Heylighen, 2001). In practice, self-organization is associated with highly individual acts and because there are no general applicable approaches scientists focus on underlying patterns and values. They present a non-linear world view in which the impact of external influences makes it impossible to predict a priori the impact, size or extent of self-organizing processes. They consider these kinds of processes as open systems constantly adapting to a changing context.

In the words of De Roo (see Chapter 3) self-organization is initiated from a break in symmetry or a mismatch within existing patterns that reflects a continuous building-up of tension until a critical point is reached. This tipping point is followed by a release of energy and causes adjusting behavior, which can result in a new spontaneous pattern. For this, often used metaphors are "bird flocking", "schools of fish", "firefly dances", "bee hives" or "cathedral termites". "The creations are so complex that is hard not to believe they are produced by designers, but reality is more inspiring. There are no leaders or directors [...], the complex patterns are emergent, they rise up out of distributed local interactions" (Uitermark, 2015). Also from a social science perspective on self-organization, the interactions between social agents are not coordinated or externally controlled. Uitermark explains that the development of technologies for distributed communication has reinvigorated hopes that people can coordinate and cooperate without delegating power to a central authority. He states that self-organization has developed into a paradigmatic concept that both explains and prescribes how societies, and also cities, function. It has become a political ideal, to fill the void that is opening up, as both the state and market are increasingly perceived as undemocratic, unjust and inefficient. Because of the ongoing budget cuts this ideal is even more promoted by governmental authorities and, for them, it becomes more important to make

local communities responsible for public values (playgrounds, neighborhood safety, libraries, etc) that might otherwise be impossible to finance.

Can self-organization indeed be considered as a political or institutional concept and something to aim for? And if so, do we have the instruments to do so? "Planning", "design", "control" and "management" are terms that are opposed to this way of working. Intervening in self-organizing systems and processes with our institutional repertoire of actions might not have the desired effects, or, could even have destructive effects. According to Uitermark (2015) it helps to emphasize that self-organization is not always good and will not always succeed. He argues that self-organization is often misunderstood and may produce adverse consequences when used as a policy guide. While self-organization is too inspiring to abandon, its harsh realities need to be accounted for if we want to think and work with it. Related to this, De Roo writes in third chapter of this book that "the traditional attitude among planners is to consider the world to be an objective fact of their own creation, with them in control". The contemporary attitude among planners according to him is being "responsible for achieving consensus among stakeholders and constructing an agreed reality". De Roo states that both attitudes presume a world that "is", but if we appreciate self-organizing processes, the world has to be seen as "becoming". Should we be willing and able to guide these processes of becoming? De Roo and Uitermark both see potentials, but make a plea for a better understanding of systemic rules, mechanisms and rhythms of self-organizing processes.

To better understand self-organizing processes in social environments De Roo (see chapter 3) elaborates on the term "self-organization" by incorporating intentional behavior. According to him, in a social environment there is always intentional behavior to some extent. When it is only about individual intentional behavior, not the quest for a collective initiative and action, he uses the term "self-organization". This, however, culminates in a collective result or pattern when the right conditions are met, but is not the product of collective intent. When collective intent is the case, De Roo uses the term "self-governance". Self-governance refers to situations in which citizens and non-governmental actors manage activities relatively independent from governmental actors (Rauws, 2015). Under the umbrella of self-governance De Roo specifies "self-management" and "self-regulation". In the first situation we can speak of collective actions, but not about a collective initiative, while in the second situation both apply. The main debates on self-organization can be summarized around three issues (Rauws, 2015; Boonstra and Boelens, 2011; Van der Steen, 2013; Bakker et al., 2012; Specht, 2012; Van Meerkerk, 2014): whether people deliberately or spontaneously organize themselves, whether they pursue a collective ambition or bring together individual aspirations and whether the government is involved or not. Here, we emphasize mainly the individual approach to self-organizing and self-governing processes without the

involvement of (formal) institutions, whether governmental, private or social authorities. Professionals could very well be part of these processes, but only on their personal behalf, without representing an institution or formal position.

From an institutional perspective, established organizations and authorities can, however, play a facilitating role in stimulating self-governing initiatives. Therefore professionals and officials are looking for both rules that make self-organization happen and conditions under which self-organization could be influenced (triggered, stimulated, stabilized, avoided, etc). Doing this in a traditional way by mapping out civic initiatives to get a better grip and formulate policies to promote and exploit self-organization might seem plausible, but according to Uitermark (2015) is symptomatic for a policy fixation among researchers and public officials. Here, we also encourage the idea to go beyond a policy fixation in order to be able to allow individual differences to act in line with the strengths and principles of self-organization and to remain focused on the challenges that people themselves encounter when launching an initiative. Most literature and researches are about how to better help governmental authorities to fulfill a facilitating role and catch up with dynamics in society. This is not surprising because they have more affinity with scientific research and have the recourses to investigate this.

However, citizens themselves could be helped with research as well to set up an initiative, communicate about it and connect to others in a network or community. They need basic verbal, social and organizational skills, but they also need to have the ability to learn along the process, adapt to changing situations, improvise on the spot and keep people motivated. A lack of these skills, time or motivation may prevent people from starting and joining an initiative (Bakker et al., 2012; Tonkens et al., 2015). When specific civic groups start initiatives and take actions and others don't (for various reasons), will their needs and wants be considered and taken into account? When governmental authorities are not involved or only involved from a distance, then who decides on what is good for society? What is the legitimacy and democratic value of self-governing civic initiatives? And how is this related to politicians elected by citizens and supposed to protect civic interests and rights? It makes us wonder whether, in this critical society, there is a sharp distinction between democratic decision-making by representatives and acting by the citizens themselves in line with their personal political ideals. This brings us to terms and labels used for contemporary democratic models.

DIRECT DEMOCRACY: *COMBINING TALKING AND ACTING*

>> The most familiar word and model to describe the existing Western governance system is "representative democracy". Healey (1997) describes that "we are taught an idealized model of a democratic state, in which governments

are created on behalf of, and at service of, the people as electors". The elected politicians are responsible for articulating the public interest and for overseeing officials (administrators and experts) in governmental authorities. According to Healey, this model "encourages the development of hierarchically-structured bureaucracies focused around technical and administrative expertise, in which officials justify their actions and decisions upwards to their seniors and the politicians to whom these are accountable, rather than outwards to 'people'". She criticizes this model because she considers the interests as being too diverse for politicians supported by their officials to aggregate in a meaningful way; they also need to search for a more responsive and collaborative relationship with economic and social life. Wagenaar (2009) and Van Meerkerk (2014) refer to the term "participatory democracy". Others use terms such as "direct democracy" and "DIY Democracy" to show that the government does not necessarily have to be involved and that is about bringing ideas and action closer to each other (Tonkens et al., 2015). These terms and concepts are seen as a ways to overcome the declining legitimacy of contemporary liberal democracies. Could the role of (civic) initiators in the direct democracy be seen as the role of politicians in the representative democracy? They do set the agenda, organize meet-ups, organize votes for ideas, attract followers on Twitter, LinkedIn and Facebook and work hard to stay popular.

In this respect, Tonkens et al. (2015) talk about a "Montessori democracy" (in line with the Montessori educational approach that emphasizes individual children's needs). A local democratic innovation is based on civil initiatives and a facilitating role of the government, trained in letting loose and only helping when necessary. The question Tonkens et al. pose is whether one can understand civil initiatives as a mode of democracy. Is democracy only about talking, debating and decision-making or is it also about acting? And one might wonder if the government has to be involved in order to talk about democracy. "Associational democracy" is a concept, originally described by Hirst (1994) and elaborated by Warren (2001), set up to overcome the limits of states and markets as a means for making collective decisions and organizing collective actions. In the words of Warren, associations cultivate the virtues of citizens and provide alternative forms of governance: "when associational life is multifaceted and cuts across identities, communities, geographies, and other potential cleavages. It provides a dense social infrastructure enabling pluralistic societies to attain a vibrant creativity and diversity within a context of multiple but governable conflicts". In Warren's view associations enable more democracy in more domains of life and give a voice to those disfavored by existing distributions of power and money.

There are, however, different views on the topic of representativeness in newer, direct modes of democracy. Zuidema (2011, p34) writes that "direct democracy can also be criticized as there are many groups in society that are ill-equipped

to participate, while powerful groups with abundant resources can potentially dominate the participation process". Representativeness is not only a recent topic; it has always been an issue, in particular, in representative democracy. Innes and Booher (2004) describe traditional participation methods, which discourage busy individuals and usually attract retired white men. Do these participants then represent the public? Do they vote for self-interest or collective interest? Tonkens et al. (2015) write about the issues of new democratic modes, moving away from representatives who have to impersonate their constituency, and moving away from the political arena as the place for debates on future direction. They describe a trend to the juridification of the political system, on the one hand, and the informalization of the interaction, on the other. In this trend self-reflection might become more important than representation.

According to Lawrence et al. (2002) forms of self-organization and self-governance in a direct democracy can lead to "proto-institutions", which are new institutional arrangements created through interaction and experimentation. Van Meerkerk (2014) writes that through interaction and bonding among citizens and public officials, information exchange, learning and mutual experience develop that may promote new patterns of relationships: "Processes of self-organization might, in turn, lead to new relationships between govern-mental institutions and civil society. A form of participatory democracy enters a representative democracy, which could lead to a reorientation of existing democratic institutions". However, there is a risk that emerging proto-institutions in a direct democracy will evaporate and existing patterns of behavior within the institutions of representative democracy will be re-established. Tonkens et al. (2015) plea for a good balance between democratic forms and disprove the idea that it is a trade-off in which the rise of a direct democracy will mean a fall of the representative democracy. In other words, when we want to stimulate direct democracy, we should as well invest in reinforcement and renewal of the representative modes of democracy.

A NEW INTERPLAY: *FLUID BOUNDARIES BETWEEN GOVERNMENTAL, BUSINESS AND CIVIC ACTORS*

>> Successively, the terms and labels that we have described here are associated with the "sharing economy", "social entrepreneurship", "public participation", "self-organization" and "direct democracy". From a business point of view most concepts deal with the sharing of under-used products and services. From a civic point of view most concepts express a wish for more empowerment and satisfaction. From a governmental point of view most concepts are about dealing with complexity and legitimacy. The concepts all challenge the way established institutions work. A red line through the concepts is the democratization of ownership: how can we increase individual autonomy and

intrinsic motivations to voluntary undertake initiatives, but at the same time stimulate responsibility and commitment for collective actions in (public) value creation? Citizens and consumers are in any case no longer considered as the uninitiated in a welfare state or commercial market. As a consequence, entrepreneurship also spreads to civic and governmental sectors. Another associated issue is about to what extent (inter)actions can be controlled. Is it about coordinative governance, shared governance or self-governance? Governments are challenged to fulfill a more modest role and participate in or facilitate the initiatives of others. A broader interpretation of democracy seems necessary, which is not only about talking in public arenas, but also about acting in personal and spontaneous arenas. And hence more adaptive approaches responsive to the dynamics of society not in guiding what "is", but in guiding a process of "becoming".

The most obvious fact is that governmental, business and civic actors grow more toward each other. It is harder to distinct separate roles and responsibilities. The separations between sectors, domains, worlds and institutions become more fluid. The boundaries that we draw might not be solid boundaries and far more "dotted lines". Why suggest sharp distinctions for what in reality is connected? Just like the philosopher David Bohm already said, drawing boundaries stimulates fragmentation, while an integrative perspective opens up new ways of thinking and acting. Consumers can, for example, also be seen as producers, citizens as entrepreneurs, electors as politicians, citizens as policy-makers, employees as employers and volunteers as professionals. The above concepts and labels visualize our search for new combinations of public, private and social efforts in an increasingly complex and interrelated society. Most new words and terms are combinations and comprise at least features of two and sometimes all three worlds. Arts and Van Tatenhove (2004) also describe that we are moving away from a situation, with a sharp distinction between state, civil and market, to contemporary societies that show increasing encroachment, interweaving and interference of the three subsystems, and where the demarcation lines are rather vague (Zuidema 2011). The boundaries that we draw are at most temporary boundaries that can be adjusted and moved into new frontiers over time or become permeable.

The three worlds can be conflicting and might stimulate the reflex to hide behind demarcation lines, but working together makes it possible to achieve more than any one sector could achieve on its own. They are less capable of reaching their ambitions independently. The different worlds can be brought together in coalitions that are effective, not in spite of, but due to the differences. Therefore grating and clashing will both be inherent and necessary to achieve ambitions. Governmental, business and civic actors all have their own role to play, but our search is for new interactions, and interrelated roles, responsibilities and rules of working together (see Figure 12.1). The three
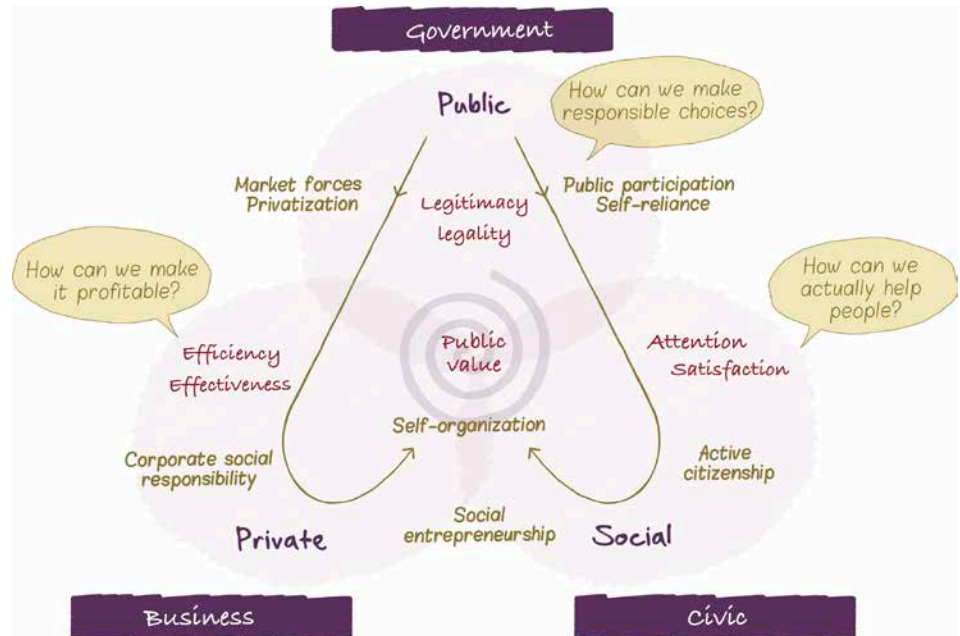
worlds are not communicating vessels. When civilians take initiatives, this does not automatically implicate a withdrawal of the government and business sector (see also Tonkens et al, 2015). It's about a combination of "street life", the "marketplace" and the "public domain". And in doing so we also have to break through some traditional images. Civilians are not only consumers merely concerned with their personal well-being, companies are not only commercial, striving for the biggest profit and the government is not the only entity that knows what is best for the people. In line with this, Sampson et al. (2005) describe not only the increase of civil initiatives, but also the importance of the density of non-profit organizations (NGO's), and thus the traditional social capital, for collective actions. An actualization of roles and images is needed. The public sector takes care of the legality and legitimacy and asks itself the question: How can we (support others to) make responsible choices? The private sector stands for efficiency and effectiveness and raises the question: How can we make it profitable (and valuable)? The social sector strives for attention and satisfaction to stimulate people's own strengths and empower them to be in control of their own lives and conditions. This sector is committed to the question: How can we actually (understand and) help people?

The three worlds all bring relevant values and questions with them. The government could set long-term ambitions and frames stimulated by the public. The business sector could come up with business models that take more values into account than only money; civic society could take initiatives based on local knowledge, experience and networks that go further than the citizen's personal gain and backyard. Three worlds that are fit to create public values and in which society is, just as the other two worlds, able to produce goods and services

in complex situations. Together they are able to arrive at better solutions for complex problems than they can achieve on their own. Innes (2016) emphasizes after decades of research on collaborative processes the necessity to bring multiple perspectives and values together to not only break through stalemates, but also produce creative solutions for complex and controversial problems. The ability to collaborate could therefore be seen as a "license to operate". The question is not: Will they need each other, but, rather, who will take initiative; governmental authorities, social or business organizations or individual civilians or entrepreneurs?

The new interplay is not only about a government that tries to transfer public value to the market and society through privatization and participation, but also about a bottom-up movement in which people implement, unsolicited, public values on their own conditions, and standards in their own interest, out of frustration or motivation (see also Van der Steen, 2013). The term "collaborative governance" (Ansell and Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012) has emerged as a response to the failures of downstream implementation and to the high cost and politicization of regulation. It is used as a broader analytic concept that engages governmental and non-governmental actors. Also the term "governance networks" (Van Meerkerk, 2015) refers to the relationships and growing mutual interdependencies between actors in contemporary society. "They could mobilize additional resources, improve the quality of policy- and decision-making in terms of a more integrated approach to these issues, develop more innovative solutions and improve the coordination between interdependent actors" (Van Meerkerk, 2015). Hajer (2003) states that more than in the past, solutions for pressing problems cannot be found within the borders of sovereign polities. As established institutional arrangements often lack the power and authority to deliver the required or requested policy results on their own, they can take part in polycentric networks of governance in which power is dispersed.

Here we choose the term "coalitions" to underline the idea that every actor (governmental, business or civic and institutional or individual) can take initiative, every actor has something valuable to contribute and every actor can fulfill similar roles and responsibilities depending on the situation. In the one situation a social entrepreneur is leading a civic community to stimulate employment of disabled people, being facilitated by a governmental authority and commercial company and in another situation the same governmental authority is leading a project on public transportation with the company and individual entrepreneur as stakeholders. In this constantly changing interplay the traditional ways of working are still relevant, but are supplemented by new ways. Next to the challenge of new ways of working, we therefore also have to revaluate institutional ways of working and revaluate the role of governments and public officials (see also Tonkens et al., 2015; Van der Steen et al., 2015). On

top of this we have to develop a greater contextual alertness to judge and discuss situations and suitable coalitional approaches. Coalition planners can have a bridging and guiding role in working on the interface of established institutions and individual aspirations.

COALITION PLANNERS: *WORKING ON THE INTERFACE*

>> Working in coalitions has immediate consequences for the role and the playing field of urban planners. It means that urban planners need to have the ability to thoroughly understand and link the manners and morals of governmental actors, as well as business and civic actors, in such a way that their particular values cumulate in urban developments. In the past decades in the Netherlands, just as in any other country in northwest Europe, urban planning and development became a dominant task of the government with corresponding managerial and financial mechanisms. The government knew what was best for the public, made plans in line with those interests, purchased the needed land and carried out projects. This was seen as a logical response to the heavy task after World War II of providing houses and jobs for everyone. Since the 1980s the centre of gravity has moved to the market, because a dominant government was seen as too inefficient and inflexible to react to changing economic situations (Council for the Environment and Infrastructure, 2014). Societal movements, demographic developments and the economic crisis also put pressure on this way of working and the market's model of earning. The Innovation program NederlandBovenWater (2012) and Platform31 (2014) reflect , in their reports, on this totally reversed chain of the planning process from top down planned decisions to adaptive approaches based on local needs. Through the years the emphasis on the different worlds has changed; the necessity to link governmental, business and civic actors has, however, always been an important, but also difficult, issue in planning.

Boelens (2010) explains that planners have always been governmentally focused, in practice as well as in theory, and have worked from an inside-outward perspective. "In this way new relational planning proposals also stay within the path-dependencies of the government, tending towards their own public-oriented problem definitions, focusing on internal time-consuming coordination processes, interaction overkill, mainly oriented to vote-winning and mostly resulting in less creative and less innovative middle-of-the-road solutions" (Boelens, 2010: p35). Boelens argues that the new development-oriented way of planning, which was seen as an answer to the downsides of the governmentally focused permission-oriented planning, is still being considered as part of the existing government-driven planning framework. Working outside-inward as well, starting from the energy in the market and society instead of seeing one's own policies as a starting-point, is therefore, according

to Boelens (2010), a larger change than we can imagine. But also a necessary change: "If change is happening faster on the outside than on the inside, the end is in sight" (Gray 2012). With this quotation in mind, it is not surprising that innovation often takes place on the border where both the "inside" and the "outside" and different cultures, disciplines, interests and perspectives meet.

It might go too far to perceive this as a "grenzsituation" ("limit situation") in the words of the German philosopher Karl Jaspers (1919), but his idea of being in unusual situations in which the usual means and measures are inadequate to overcome the situation is similar. According to Jaspers, in these situations the human mind confronts the restrictions and pathological narrowness of its existing forms, and allows itself to abandon the securities of its limitedness. Because of this, it enters a new realm of self-consciousness to seek higher or more reflected modes of knowledge. Karl argued that the freedom of consciousness to overcome its limits and antinomies can only be elaborated through intensely engaged communication with other persons, and in which committed communication helps to suspend the prejudices and fixed attitudes of consciousness. In this respect, actors quite often start formulating solutions for other actors from their own perspectives within their institutional boundaries without critically reflecting on and communicating about their own role and the expected role of other actors. When actors move to the interface where boundaries meet, they create a "grenzsituation" in which they can broaden their views and attitudes and stay away from their reflexes and path dependencies. Actors will experience more space to come up with innovative and creative solutions, and to openly consider the different roles of actors involved.

It is exactly at this boundary where we position urban planners: on the interface of the inside and the outside and of established institutions and individual aspirations (De Jong, 2015, Krul-Seen and De Jong, 2015). What actors perceive as "inside" or "outside" and whether there is a (sharp) distinction between both depends on the nature of relationships and reciprocal mechanisms across this interface. Coalition planners consider this dynamic interface as their playing field. They work with one leg in their own institutional context and one leg in coalitions of different actors involved (see Figure 12.2). Sometimes demarcating the boundaries between the "inside" and "outside" or between "institutional" and "individual", and sometimes moving and tarnishing these boundaries. We therefore call them coalition planners, since they work in a multi-party environment and have the ability to understand and link the different interests and motivate groups to achieve more together than on their own. Coalition planners are also often referred to as best persons (Brink et al., 2012), brokers (Gray, 2008), mediators (Susskind, 2008), Webbers (Roobeek, 2007) or boundary spanners (Cross, Ernst and Pasmore, 2013; Van Meerkerk, 2014). Richardson and Tait (2010) use the term "neo-expert". Neo-experts are not the source of the

FIGURE 12.2
The playing field of the coalition planner.

relevant domain specific knowledge; they bring together the "expertise" of the many actors involved. Whereas (modernist) "experts" do our thinking for us, the "neo-expert" helps us think for ourselves. Neo-experts focus on the transfer of skills, knowledge and rationalities, and the creation of new successful patterns. In order to guide coalitions, planners have to be aware of their role and their use of expertise. They stimulate joint knowledge production by bringing in the relevant domain specific knowledge, on the one hand, and by being open-minded on the other. The task of coalition planners is to work both inside-outward and outside-inward. They bridge the institutional context of their own organization (inside) and the external dynamics in coalitions (outside) in such a way as to reinforce each other instead of constraining or threatening each other.

Because there are no general bridging approaches on the interface, the personal behavior, attitude and values of the coalition planner will determine the effectiveness of the coalition process and the use of methods and tools. A coalition planner quite often has no clear hierarchical position in his or her own organization. He or she cannot regard the ways of working of his or her own organization as leading, and will have to search for a joint language, approach and manners. Not an easy job, since every organization has its own history, culture, way of working, pace of working, style and interests. The presence of dilemmas is characteristic for the position on the interface. According to Gray (2008), working across organizational boundaries is difficult and there are institutional disincentives and bureaucratic systems that obstruct collaboration. Boelens (2010) also observed these disincentives for planners, because their repertoire of actions and vocabulary are embedded in institutions and formulated within the existing planning-framework. Yet they are confronted with individual initiatives from the dynamics within a civil and critical society.

Lewis and Smith (2014) define these kinds of paradoxes as "contradictory yet interrelated elements that exist simultaneously and persist over time". De Caluwé (2015) describes five appearances for dealing with paradoxes. The first manifestation is that you don't see or experience the paradox. Your world is clear-cut, well-organized and you know what to do. In the second manifestation, you notice the paradox. You feel discomfort and are inclined to hide behind the demarcation line of your own institutional world. In the third stage you perceive the paradox as a choice between two conflicting poles. If you choose the one, you will lose the other. The fourth manifestation is that you experience the paradox as contrasting values and you realize that by choosing one value you won't get closer to a solution. You can't have one without the other. You try to manoeuver and navigate between the values and differ in your approach and role in time, place and situation. The fifth and last manifestation is embracing the paradox by searching for new insights that incorporate both values and accepting that discomfort is part of the deal.

Lewis and Smith (2014) also write about embracing the paradox and value both ends. They state that "researchers have long responded using a contingency theory, asking 'under what conditions should managers emphasize either A or B?'" Yet increasingly, studies apply a paradox perspective, shifting the question to "How can we engage both A and B simultaneously?" (2014; p127). They plea for a mind shift from "either/or"-perspectives to "both/and"-perspectives. For coalition planners that have to deal with contrasting values between governmental, business and civic actors and between established institutions and individual aspirations. This means that they have to search for repertoires of intervention that invest in both sides of the coin. As we already discussed in previous sections on the terms and labels used in this interrelated society, they will have to invest in economic and social perspectives, in civil and professional initiatives and in both the representative democracy and the direct democracy. In order to bridge these worlds and values, coalition planners will have to develop additional languages, interventions and competencies to guide a coalition process. And they will especially have to develop a situational awareness, a contextual alertness and a sense of timing to evoke and respond to changing situations. In the following sections three different types of coalitions are distinguished to guide the interplay of governmental, civic and business actors at the interface. These coalitions can be placed on a spectrum that explains the characteristics of the different coalitions, the matching approaches and their progression in time.

COALITIONS ON A SPECTRUM: *DIFFERENT RATIONALITIES*

>> The above-described trends and concepts lead to an understanding of the contemporary world as a complex, plural and interrelated society with assertive,

emancipated and entrepreneurial citizens. In order to realize ambitions in this context we interact across boundaries to bring together multiple perspectives in coalitions. At the beginning of this chapter, a coalition was defined by five key elements: ambitions, actors, arenas, actions and arrangements. It is a group of diverse and autonomous actors (organizations or individuals) that associate around ambitions in a public arena to develop a repertoire of actions and arrangements. The addition of the words "diverse" and "autonomous" is important, because here we don't describe the collaboration of professionals in teams or departments within a (hierarchical) organization that function under the same systems and mechanisms. Coalition planners therefore often don't have a formal position in one organization and have a role on the interface of established institutions and individual aspirations. They are process managers in a multiparty environment who have the ability to understand and link the different interests and motivate groups to achieve more together than on their own. By working in coalitions across boundaries different values and rationalities are confronted, combined and interwoven. Specific rationalities apply within boundaries, but also by working more and more across boundaries, we can develop popular rationalities about governance approaches.

Rationality is a reasoned and deliberate way of thinking and working that can be explained to others. De Roo (2003) has built a framework for planning-oriented action using a spectrum of rationality between instrumental (also referred to as technical, functional or procedural) rationality at the one end and communicative rationality at the other. The ends correspond with the perceived degree of complexity – from simple, via complex to very complex. This proceeds from single and fixed goals and fully centralized structures (often associated with formalized, hierarchic and bureaucratic structures) to multiple composite and dependent goals, and decentralized structures (often associated with informal, horizontal, organic and interactive networks). In this complex perceived world the communicative rationality has become more dominant in the past years (Healey, 1997 and 2003; Innes, 2016). The more we work in complex collaborative settings, the greater the need to also differentiate in these ways of working and to add ways that are not necessarily initiated by the government. Next to and partially overlapping with the spectrum of De Roo (2003) about an administrative or governmental world on goal-oriented action, decision-oriented-action and institution-oriented action, we see new developments in which roles, rules and responsibilities are more diverse and expressed in different coalitions. Sometimes defined and demarcated by one institutional actor, sometimes shared and created by more actors and sometimes evolved and explored by individual actors. The interplay of these different, but related, actors in different coalitions makes us assume that there could also be a "spectrum of coalitions". A spectrum that contextualizes and analyzes the ways of working together on the interface of established institutions and individual aspirations. A spectrum that meets the institutional

spectrum of De Roo when it comes to more directive ways of working, but adds new collective and connective ways of working.

The spectrum of coalitions also uses the perceived degree of complexity as an informant for choices between various coalitional approaches. Zuidema (2011) gives an overview of many studies within planning, policy science and in contingency research that use the degree of complexity to categorize differences in contextual circumstances and corresponding organizational structures and strategies. Contingency theory is "the idea that the decision in favor of an approach or strategy in a given situation should be contingent upon the circumstances of the situation" (Zuidema, 2011, p. 11). This theory assumes that it is possible to objectively derive knowledge from contextual circumstances and translate this into changes in governance approaches and organizational configurations. As described in this chapter, in working across boundaries there are no universal rationalities or objective truths, let alone a commonly understood language of describing circumstances and implications for approaches. Zuidema therefore came up with a reframing of contingency into a post-contingency approach to be able to navigate the plural governance landscape. In this approach complexity is not only a matter of degree, but also a matter of choice of what is "real" and "rational". Furthermore, Zuidema notes the reflex of "whatever people believe to be an appropriate approach" (2011, p12), but states that not all organizational formats are equally well-suited to performing certain functional ambitions.

We are concerned here not only about the interpretation of the situation and perceived complexity, but also about the perception of others and the values and preferences that influence the choice of approach. Hendriks (2005), for example, introduces participatory storylines as narratives that circulate around an issue on who constitutes "the public" and whether "the public" should participate in the policy process. In her view, the productivity of approaches also depends on their affinity with existing democratic understandings. Van der Steen et al. (2015) call this a distortion of the process of choice, because current (institutional) ways of working might prevent actors from choosing new ways. They specify next to technical considerations and considerations about the content, also normative considerations (beliefs, values and preferences) for choosing an appropriate approach. Zuidema shows that "the choice in favor of a governance approach is informed, but not dictated, by the perceived degree of complexity" (2011, p89). When it comes to working on the interface of established institutions and individual inspirations the degree of complexity is hard to recognize and interpretations or choices are likely to differ per actor.

Considering the above described trends in an interrelated world towards a new interplay with more fluid boundaries, we regard the degree of demarcation both as an informant and outcome of choices between coalitional approaches. The

FIGURE 12.3
**Defining the ends of the
coalition spectrum.**
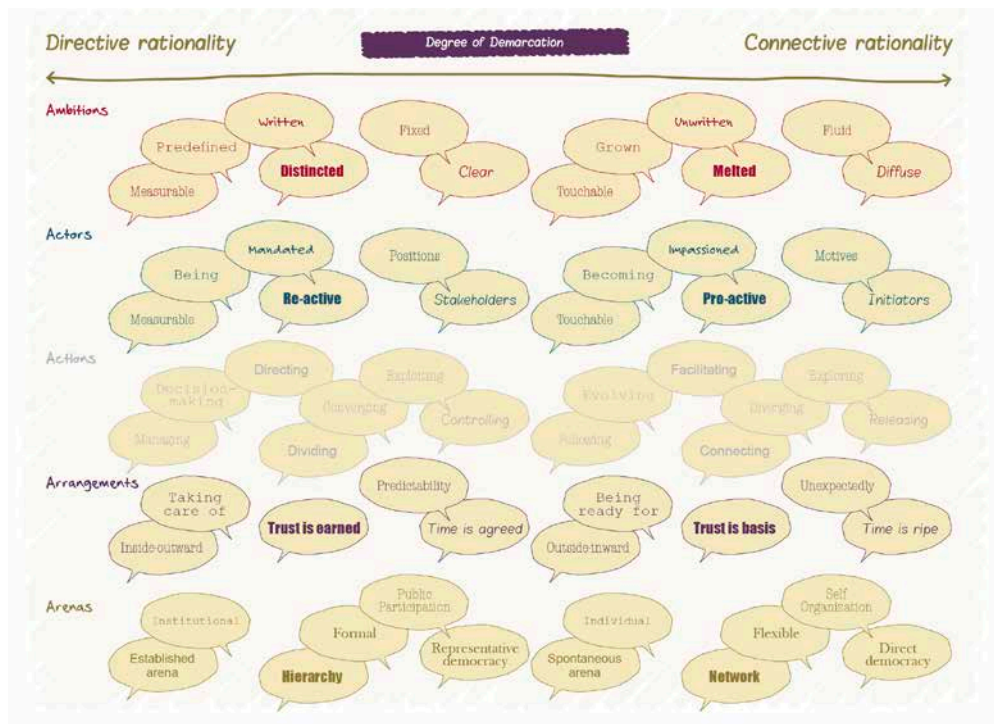
clearer and more distinct demarcation lines are perceived, the easier ambitions, actors, actions, arrangements and arenas are (pre-)defined and the easier it seems to give direction to the coalition. This approach strengthens and confirms the perception of clear demarcation lines. The more diffuse and melted demarcation lines are, the more ambitions, actors, actions, arrangements and arenas need to grow and evolve. The more difficult it is to come up with directives and the more ideas and connections need to be explored in a coalitional process of becoming. Again, this approach reinforces the perception of rather vague demarcation lines. For the spectrum of coalitions let us therefore define the first end of the spectrum as a "directive way of thinking and working" or "directive rationality". We consider the second end of the spectrum as a "connective way of thinking and working" or "connective rationality" (see Figure 12.3).

In the past decades we have developed different languages and approaches for the directive way of working inside-outward in an established (policy) arena focused on decision-making in a representative democracy (Fischer and Ury, 1991; Hajer, 2003; De Roo, 2003; Innes and Booher, 2004; Susskind, 2008; De Jong, 2009; Boelens, 2010; Zuidema, 2011). It is literally and figuratively a better "written" way of working: many theories and publications relate to it, but it is also a way of working in which predefined ambitions, mandated actors, controlled actions, predictability and institutional arrangements are important. Because there are relatively clearer demarcation lines, a clear division of roles and responsibilities is both easier and necessary. The connective way of working

has always been present; it might even be closer to the human nature, but has only recently become a popular field of study (Sampson et al., 2005; Brafman and Beckstrom, 2006; Roobeek, 2007; Boelens and Boonstra, 2011; Boutellier, 2011; Specht, 2012; Bakker et al., 2012; Gray, 2012; Innes and Rongerude, 2013; Van der Steen et al., 2014; Rauws, 2015; Tonkens et al., 2015). This connective way is literally a way of working that is harder to write about in a general sense that does explain individual practices and will figuratively always remain an "unwritten" approach with hardly anything predefined. It is a way of working outside-inward with growing ambitions, passionate actors, exploring and facilitating actions and individual arrangements in a spontaneous arena based on direct democracy. Because there are no clear demarcations, all actors are assertive and the division of roles and responsibilities are diffuse and changeable.

A BLENDED COALITIONAL APPROACH: *THREE FRAMES OF WORKING*

» Both ends of the spectrum correspond to directive and connective coalitions, but being a spectrum allows a way of working in-between, corresponding to another already introduced, though sometimes forgotten, theoretical and practical perspective on shared governance and new collectives (Moss Kanter, 1994; Lawrence et al., 2002; Innes and Booher, 2003; Healey, 2003; Gauthier, 2006; Connelly, 2007; Ansell and Gash, 2008; Gray, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012; Kaats and Opheij, 2012; Blekemolen and De Jong, 2015). These three types of coalitions (De Jong, 2015) can be distinguished and placed on the spectrum (see Figure 12.4):

- Directive coalitions: One actor has an outspoken ambition that it wants to realize in reconciliation with others taking a directing role in an established arena of stakeholders;
- Collective coalitions: Actors are partners in a newly created arena of complementary shareholders that each have something to give and gain in a jointly shaped ambition;
- Connective coalitions: To feed their own ambitions as well, actors can choose a facilitating role for initiators that start a movement in a spontaneous arena proceeding from a personal drive.

All three coalitions, to be shortly described in the following sections, differ substantively. Together they introduce a framework and language enabling actors to make deliberate and explicit choices in coalitional approaches with possible repertoires of actions to guide the new interplay between business, civic and governmental actors. As stated previously, each type of coalition needs an ambition as the fuel, glue or driving force of the coalition. Although approaches should be tailor-made, two ingredients are important in every coalition to realize ambitions: "interacting" and "meaning-making" (Hajer et al.,

FIGURE 12.4
The Spectrum of Coalitions at a glance.
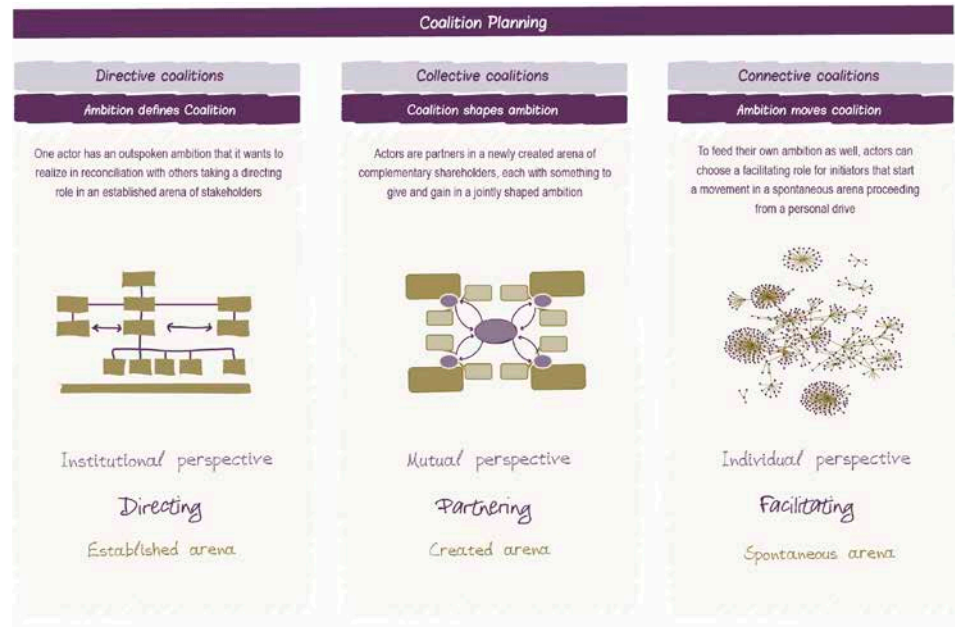
2010; Susskind, 2008). Interacting is about values, desires, interests, emotions, relations, dealing and conflicts. Meaning-making is about knowledge, creativity, experience, visioning, learning and designing. Guiding a coalition is about combining interventions concerning the process (interacting) and the content (meaning-making). The way these are combined differs per type of coalition. Actors working in collective and connective coalitions are no less ambitious than actors choosing a directing role in directive coalitions. Their ambitions are just expressed differently and are less pre-defined with regard to the outcomes and way to achieve them. Coalition planners in directive coalitions use results and time as main steering mechanisms, in collective coalitions the process of collaboration and in connective coalitions the conditions under which energy flows.

Using the spectrum, what would be the most suitable type of coalition for dealing with the surplus of vacant office spaces and sites waiting for develop-ment? One could say that the government should have a directing role, because the problem is too urgent to be ignored and the public interest is not met by the property owners. This approach could work if the governmental authority has the means to demarcate roles and responsibilities. One could also state that there is not one problem holder, but many. All parties should work on a joint solution in a collective coalition, all as equal shareholders and all feeling responsible and committed. This approach could work when all partners involved share their rationalities and responsibilities, and perceive and make demarcation lines overlap. Or one could say that this problem needs a radically different approach, because it cannot be solved by the system that created the problem. Therefore what is needed are bottom-up and perhaps temporary

initiatives arising from a connective coalition and possibly a facilitating role of the government. This approach could work when initiators and (governmental) institutions see no demarcation lines in their roles and responsibilities that prevent them from being pro-active. All three coalition types are able to offer solutions and one type of coalition is not necessarily better than the other.

However, we do see a shift in current spatial planning practices. We experience a move away from the traditional way of fixing and securing every step of the plan that has to be taken to reduce risks and uncertainties. Boonstra and Boelens (2011) consider the shift "from an approach based on averages to an approach based on differences; from an approach based on generic aspects (such as instruments and indicators) to an approach based on the specific; from an approach based on planned and measurable outcomes to an approach based on unexpected, unplanned and unforeseen outcomes; from an approach based on the reduction of complexities and stabilization of dynamics to an approach based on the embracing of complexity and the process of "becoming". Also, Zuidema (2011) writes about the shifts in governance. He states that "most of the Western governments are currently involved in governance renewal operations to move away from a reliance on the coordinative model of governance and its associated central government control. The coordinative model is increasingly seen to be incompatible with the challenges of our complex and plural societies" (2011, p225). The three frames could therefore also be interpreted as "belief systems" by different actors on how to reach ambitions and work together. Zuidema pleas for a reconsideration of the benefits of the coordinative governance model along with the increasingly popular collaborative and communicative rational approaches. He sees it as a crucial foundation on which to build new dynamic approaches. Here we can also state that the more familiar, directing roles and approaches are not disappearing; however, more partnering and facilitating roles are added.

The above example of finding an approach to the problem of the surplus of vacant office spaces illustrates that (governmental) institutions can work in different coalitions in different roles. For this reason, they must have separate repositories of action available for all three types of coalitions. In addition, coalitions are dynamic entities that can change over time: new parties might enter the stage, rationalities might move in each other's direction, political elections might change the direction, etc. Switching to another type of coalition could therefore be an unforeseen consequence of the course of the process in order to respond to changes. Or it could be a strategy aimed for, when it is a political desire to move away from directing roles to more partnering roles, for example. Furthermore, even a combination of all three types simultaneously might be effective. In the example of the vacant office spaces we could choose for a combination of new governmental legislation made in reconciliation with stakeholders, a deal among property owners and temporary pop-up initiatives.

Van der Steen et al. (2015) specify four modes of governmental governance approaches: public administration, new public management, network governance and societal resilience. Just as Zuidema (2011), they consider the first two modes as a basis for the other two and introduce a "sedimentation" of governance modes: a plural perspective in which elements of the different approaches can be combined and applied simultaneously. This multiplicity of roles and approaches demands a broader view on competences and repertoire of interventions, where all ways are seen as being equal and are considered as additional options. For example a governmental authority could also be a stakeholder or partner in initiatives of others, while being a director on other aspects of the same ambition. Here we promote the same way of dealing with the three types of coalitions, mixing and blending them in a suitable coalitional approach.

Assembling such an approach is, according to Van der Steen at al. (2015), an open consideration, but has to be made deliberately and preferably at the start of a coalition process. Actors too must impart to parties involved a clear understanding of when they are playing in what role: director, stakeholder, partner, initiator or facilitator. Dissimilar expectations or a confusion of tongues about the coalitional approach can lead to counterproductive behavior with frustration and disappointments as a result. Sometimes an accurate diagnosis of the situation for choosing an approach is clouded by institutional compelling systems and reflexes. And quite often the approach evolves gradually; in this case, it is important to make a time switch and discuss the change explicitly. In adaptive approaches timing is crucial and coalitions develop their own rhythm. The three coalitions will be briefly described below on the basis of a common view and language as separate frames of working, with corresponding rationalities, roles, rules, repertoires and responsibilities. Each type of coalition could be applied to a specific field of research; see the description below as an exploratory narrative and overview.

DIRECTIVE COALITIONS: *AMBITION DEFINES COALITION*

>> Directive coalitions are positioned on the left side of the spectrum. One organization has usually already set out a problem definition or possible solutions, and feels the urgency to achieve results. The leading party, for example, a ministry, municipality or housing corporation plays a directing role. Their ambition has an impact on others outside their organization. The ambition of the director therefore defines what stakeholders are invited to form a coalition. This coalition is fairly formal and characterized by the hierarchy between the parties. The position of a municipality, health institution or energy company is often stronger than the position of stakeholders like citizens, patients, clients and other stakeholder groups. The process is pre-

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defined and has clearly formulated deadlines and moments of decision and participation. Ownership is not shared and the director considers the different interests, defines the direction and makes the final decisions. Demarcation lines and the division of roles and responsibilities are rather clear. This type of coalition is suitable for projects that are desired by the government or a specific organization that can provide most of the required funding and other means. The construction of new pipelines transporting heat, the widening of a road or the rebuilding of office headquarters are often projects carried out in this type of coalition. These types of coalitions are nowadays most common in urban planning. De Jong (2009) and Project committee Faster & Better (2010) have published evaluations of more than 40 of these coalitions by the actors, external experts and social leaders involved. Directive ways of working cannot be seen as "old", "old-fashioned" or "outdated" and are still of use in this interrelated society, although boundaries are rather adjacent than overlapping or melting.

The main orientation directive coalitions is institutional. This type of coalition is useful for achieving outspoken ambitions within certain frames; however, the cooperation of others is required to speed up or improve the realization of the ambition. The key question for the directing organization is therefore: "How can I realize the ambition of my organization by involving stakeholders?". For the involved stakeholders the main question is rather: "Do I have more influence when I am participating in the coalition?". Governmental authorities do not necessary have to fulfill the directing role, they can also be a stakeholder or even a facilitator, for example when an energy company plays a directing role in constructing a new pipeline for the transportation of heat. This type of coalition is mostly situated in a formal and political context, and where power-relations between parties influence the process. The aim is to come to transparent and supported decision-making. Political pressure can be very useful to emphasize the urgency in finding a solution. Words like mandate, planning, position, local support, authority, participation, plan, directives, representation, compensation and regulations are often heard. Predictability is important to be able to plan the process, reduce risks and manage the expectations. Time is an agreement and predefined results and deadlines form the measuring stick. Being in control, having an overview, putting things on paper, representing one's organization and working according the guidelines are important factors. One has to be in position or mandated to act in this type of coalition. If this is not the case, one has to acquire position and know one's place in the hierarchy.

Next to decisiveness, transparency is a factor of success, but hard to put in practice, since this is not always favorable for the strategic position of the involved parties. Scholtes (2012) shows why transparency became such a popular term in the governmental context in the last 15 years and how politicians can use this ambiguous and flexible term to make a sensible impression and at the same time mask their political objectives. Considering

the aim of directive coalitions, a common pitfall is procrastinating the solution: buying time to come to an agreement later. Making mistakes should be prevented and halting the process before reaching a final decision is in many cases taken up as failing. Another pitfall is compromising for strategic reasons without solving the actual problem and not investing in the added value of the parties. The challenge is to reach consensus: a solution in which every stakeholder sees the added value when compared to the present or undesirable future outcome. In this coalition parties mainly focus on converging and funneling, since they are working towards a final product or decision. Especially in these decision-making and negotiating coalitions the Mutual Gain Approach can be very useful. As early as 1999, Fisher and Ury came up with an alternative for positional bargaining. Their approach is founded on four basic elements: separate the people from the problem, focus on interests instead of positions, generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do and insist that the result is based on objective standards.

Susskind (2008) translated this into an approach for negotiating in planning processes. While this type of coalition is mainly focusing on converging, Susskind states that it is crucial to first diverge before converging and to first create value before distributing it. When actors first diverge they become more creative, and can achieve possibly better outcomes and values. The risk of overlooking ideas, perspectives, solutions and parties is lower, since they have explored the whole with a broader view. If actors don't diverge before converging chances are high that they will have to start over again, because they have missed essential information or parties. If actors start distributing the value, before creating it, they are too soon in the stage of negotiation. Chances are high that conflicts will arise. If actors invent options and make the cake bigger, there is more to distribute, which means that package deals can be made. This way it is much more likely that the coalition comes to mutual gains and discovers a window of opportunity in different rounds, where the problem or opportunity is matched with an outcome and support for both (Kingdon, 2002). The above described characteristics and process flow is illustrated in Figure 12.5.

Usually in directive coalitions the formal institutional processes and procedures are dominant. Actors often communicate with each other in a written language and don't trust each other beforehand. They need to constantly prove and earn the trust of others. In this context actors tend to think linearly in terms of steering boards and milestones, while effective coalitional processes also need time, trust, good relationships and the right chemistry (De Jong, 2009). The project committee Faster & Better (2010) comes to the conclusion that it helps to invest in relationships right at the start, to be able to take advantage of this in a later stage of the process. The role of the coalition planner in this type of coalitions can be executed by the stakeholder manager, project manager, communications consultant or the mediator. Possible interventions for the

FIGURE 12.5
Characteristics of directive coalitions.
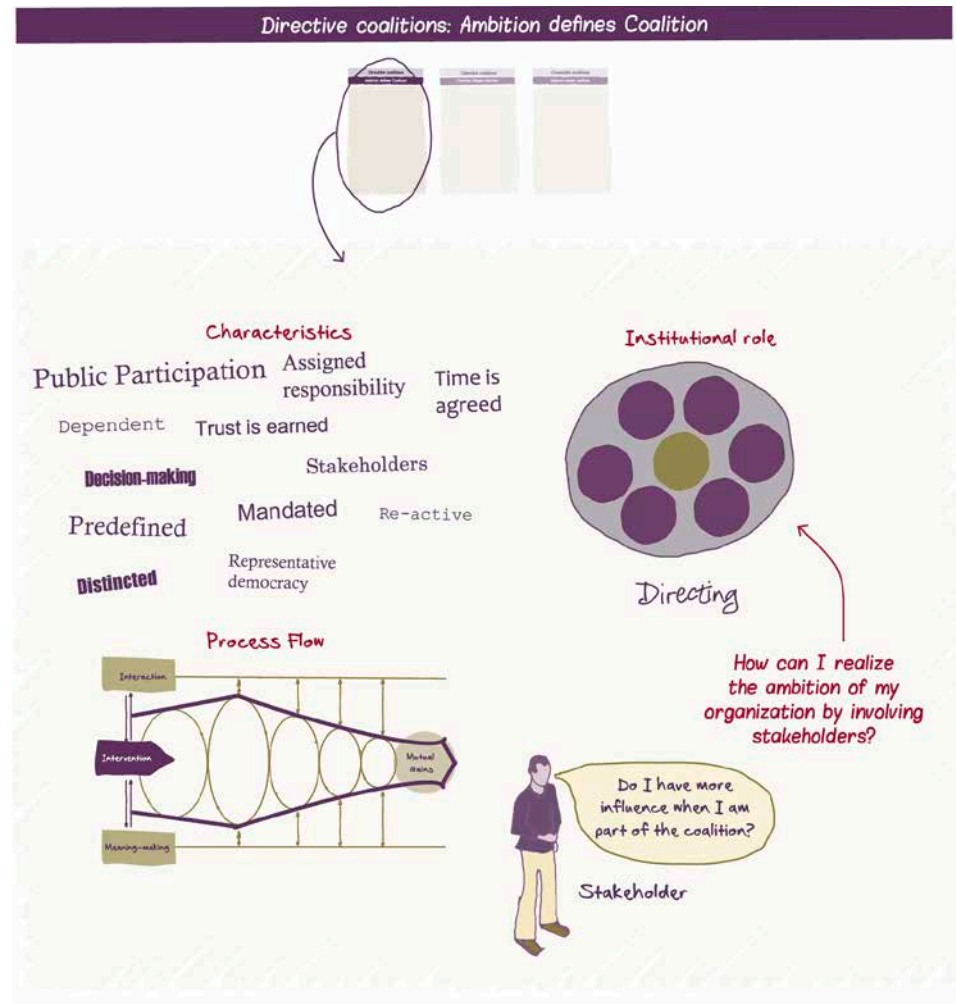
coalition planner are making issue- and stakeholder analysis, providing insights by using cost-benefit analysis, setting the agenda, risk management, finding the right representatives of the involved organizations, setting up frameworks and protocols, adding values by making the cake bigger, creating objective criteria, mediating in conflicts, constructing package deals and compensating parties in their interest, etc. Although Project Management and Program Management are tools which are quite professionalized nowadays (see also Mulder (2014), who introduced Value-Based Project Management) we can still make progress in these coalitions with good negotiation strategies and stakeholder management. Using many examples of Dutch spatial projects, Evers (Evers and Susskind, 2009) shows that mutual gains are possible.

COLLECTIVE COALITIONS: *COALITION SHAPES AMBITION*

>> In the second type of coalitions, actors have found each other in their common view on the future or common pressing issue. Together they shape a

collective ambition. For every organization or person there is both something to gain from and something to bring to the table. All actors can be considered as equal partners, so we do not talk about stakeholders (as in directive coalitions), but about shareholders. They each consider themselves as owner of the ambition and coalition. Each actor has its own role and makes its own contribution to the coalition. Actors that do not see advantages in being a partner will not participate. The actors create a new arena with partners that want to join forces and not because they are forcibly committed to each other (like they often are in a directive coalition). It takes time and effort to let the common ambition grow, but it makes a sustainable way of collaborating possible. This type of coalition is effective when the parties are interdependent in reaching their goals and no single party has the power to work on their own, for example, when parties want to decrease traffic jams or stimulate the economic development of a region. This type of coalition is oriented to collectives: not the separate institutional or individual perspectives, but the mutual perspective is at the heart of this coalition type. Organizations or individuals have to give up (a part of) their autonomy, trusting to get more in return by operating as a collective. Therefore demarcation lines between actors are overlapping. The key question is "how can I be stronger together with partners to make our ambition come true?". The reasons for searching for partners can vary: e.g. they lowering the organizational costs, organizing more funds, dealing with political or external pressure, working more efficiently, developing innovative knowledge and skills or having more mass.

The advantage of this type of coalition is that every partner feels responsible for achieving the ambition. In urban planning this type of coalition is still rather uncommon, but will gain territory in the future. Considering the present decentralizations, cost reductions and declining legitimacy, this might become a type of coalition with opportunities for governmental organizations. When governmental authorities are not part of this coalition they can fulfill a facilitative role (see also the next section on facilitating connective coalitions). If they are part of this coalition they also have a partnering role, nothing more and nothing less than the others. Equality is difficult for governments, since they have political and jurisdictional power, and guard public interest. In this respect they are used to having a directing role. Hajer (2003) argues "that policy making now often takes place in an "institutional void" where there are no generally accepted rules and standards according to which politics is to be conducted and policy measures are to be agreed upon". In deliberating on their ambitions, parties also negotiate on new rules, develop new norms of appropriate behavior and devise new conceptions of legitimate political intervention.

The aim is to develop a sustainable collective with a surplus value for each partner. This surplus value increases when partners are diverse and complementary. So the attractiveness of the other partner lies in the fact that

the other is different; however, it is then also difficult to understand each other. Gray (2008) opens her article with the often-daunting prospect inter-organizational partnerships face in trying to integrate their diverse perspectives and frequently competing goals. While initially intrigued by proposed alliances, partners often lose interest when the desired benefits are not quickly realized. While ostensibly pursuing a common goal, partners often espouse diverse aims that provoke difficult-to-reconcile conflicts. Competition among the partners will undermine their added value in a collaborative coalition. Consequently many partnerships succumb to collaborative inertia; that is, they experience slow progress or truncate their efforts without any tangible outcomes. Gray (2008) writes that achieving collectivity is equivalent to becoming multi-voiced. This means that the appreciation of the diversity of viewpoints that multiple parties bring to the problem has to go hand-in-hand with acceptance of the diversity in problem solutions.

Moss Kanter (1994) describes eight "I's" that create successful "We's". She starts with "individual excellence" in the way that all partners are strong and have something valuable to contribute. Their motives for entering into the relationship are positive (to pursue future opportunities), not negative (to mask weakness or escape from a difficult position). "Importance" means that the relationship fits major strategic objectives. Quite often this is not the case, which causes disguise collaborations that can go on for a long time without making any progress. "Interdependence" indicates that the partners need each other and have complementary assets and skills. Neither can accomplish alone what they can together. "Investment" in order to make partners invest in each other with devotion and commitment. "Information" to make communication reasonably open. "Integration" means that the partners have to develop linkages and share ways of operating, among representatives, but also among a broader group of involved people. "Institutionalization" means that the relationship is given a formal status, with clear responsibilities and decision-making processes. Collective coalitions can therefore act as a source of change in institutional fields through the generation of "proto-institutions": new practices, rules, and technologies that transcend a particular collaborative relationship and may become new institutional arrangements if they diffuse sufficiently (Lawrence et al., 2002). When however they merge into one institution, we no longer speak of a coalition. And finally "integrity" stands for the honorable ways that partners behave towards each other to justify and enhance mutual trust.

The coalition planner guiding this coalition can be an alliance manager, process manager or program manager, usually considered as a collaborative leader, remaining neutral without deriving their authority from their position. The interventions he or she could perform are joint fact-finding, visioning, teambuilding, gaming, communities of practice, shared strategy maps and calendars or maps of interests. The process flow as visualized in Figure 12.6 is

FIGURE 12.6
Characteristics of collective coalitions.
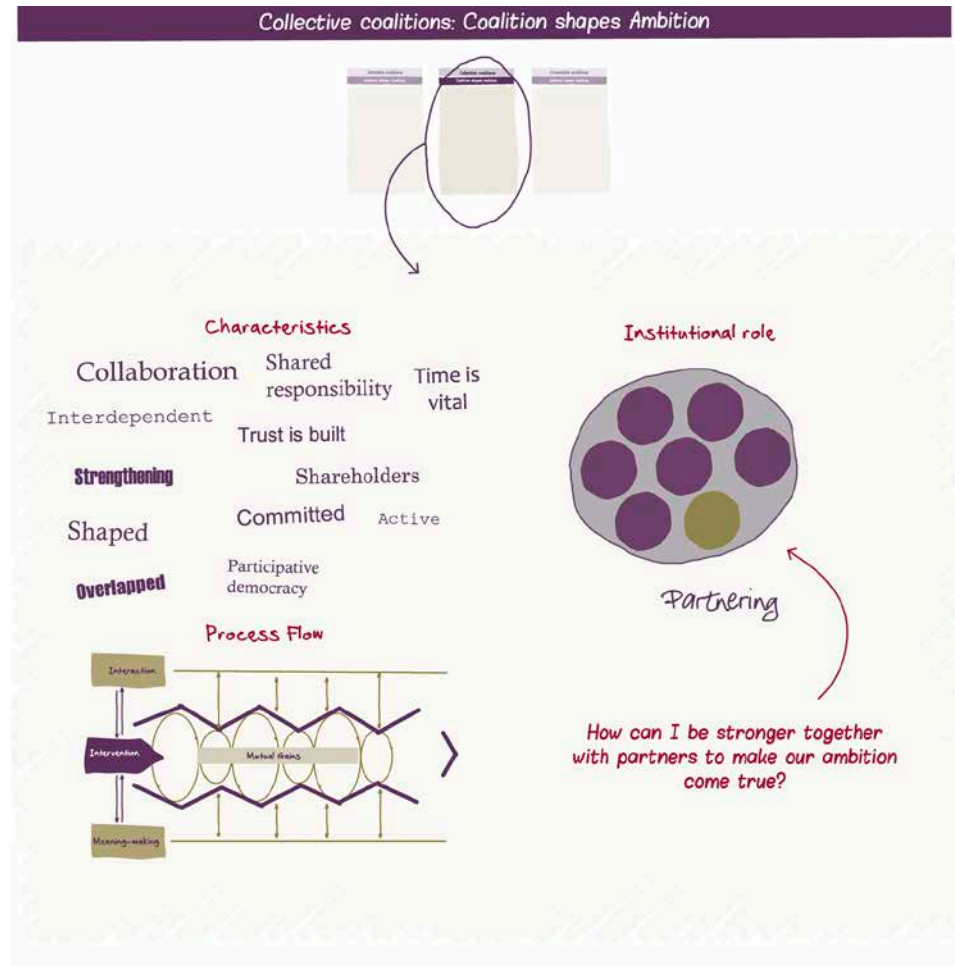
a variation of diverging and converging lines adding constantly new chapters to the collaboration. Some collective coalitions are set up for a certain period of time and others have no endpoint. It is important to evaluate at several moments in time to check if the coalition is still vital. After a while parties tend to pay less attention to their common ambition and focus on the means to achieve it. Sinek (2009) writes that the "why" fades away after a while, but keeping it lively helps to fulfill the "what" and "how ". Blekemolen and De Jong (2015) have categorized ten factors of success to give equal attention to "why", "what" and "how" in collective coalitions. When collective coalitions score badly on "why-factors" they might have different images of the ambition and what they stand for as a collective. Or there might be an imbalance in the contribution of each partner. Are they each still valuable and complementary to each other? This might lead to a reconsideration of the partners involved. Coalitions scoring badly on "how-factors" might lack a professional structure and organization on how activities are undertaken and decisions made. It could also be a sign of too many organizational structures: the overload of protocols, platforms and procedures make responsibilities unclear. "What-factors" concern the outcomes of the collective coalitions. Sometimes it takes more time to achieve, but the

desired outcomes also might be too ambitious and unfeasible. The outcomes are not to be claimed by one of the partners, but to be shared and celebrated together. In a vital collective coalition the actors gradually develop a common way of thinking and wordking (see Kaats and Opheij (2012) for more conditions for promising collaborations). One paradox is that successful collaborations in practice are often considered as frightening to the parent organizations.

Words like paying rules, vision, accession, chains, alliance, partnership, strategy, relationship, calendar, cooperation, liaison and commitment are often used. Partners cannot openly use their power or celebrate their personal victories. One good turn deserves another and the involved parties have to try to maintain their reservoir of trust. Trust is a therefore a key factor of success and there is written a lot about this crucial factor. Edelenbos and Klijn (2007) consider "trust" as a promising coordination mechanism, instead of hierarchy rules, direct supervision and detailed contracts, when organizations are horizontally related. Krackhardt (2003) writes about the strength of strong ties and the ingredients of trust. According to him, these ingredients are "interaction", "affection" and "time". Interaction creates the opportunity for the exchange of information, affection creates the motivation for good relationships and time gives one the experience to learn about how partners treat each other and the shared information. An open and vulnerable attitude is, on the one hand, a condition for stimulating trust, but on the other, trust is needed to behave in an open and vulnerable way. This paradox makes it hard to establish trust and good relationships. Krackhardt writes that the average (run) time people spend on building trust is often too little and that in institutional contexts interaction is often too formalized to give attention to affection. As noted previously, another difficult key factor of success is equality amongst partners. Results will be achieved not in spite of the differences, but thanks to the differences. Involved parties are therefore diverse in skills and recourses and are especially not the same. Equality in their positions, however, stimulates ownership and commitment, which is crucial to achieving the shared ambition. Collaborative leadership (Gauthier, 2006; Conelly, 2007; Kaats and Opheij, 2012) is used to reduce power and status differences between the parties, insofar as this is possible, and to work from a collective power base.

CONNECTIVE COALITIONS: *AMBITION MOVES COALITION*

›› Coalitions oriented to open networks or platforms are positioned on the right-hand section of the spectrum. One or a few persons formulate an ambition and this drives and mobilizes others to join in, elaborate on it or approach it in their own way. They meet each other in a spontaneous or action arena. It is a coalition of rather close and loose relationships of constantly changing composition. It is not about collectivity, but about connectivity. In such a setting,

ideas, developments and actions may arise that no one had thought of before or had been anticipated anyhow. Innes and Rongerade state that this "connectivity is important as it allows ideas and knowledge to flow among a wide array of participants. Flexible structure allows nodes and links in the network to change in response to evolving conditions and new opportunities. Diversity among participants brings multiple skills, points of view, and experience that contribute to learning, creativity and robustness of efforts to address problems. Finally, while strong ties in networks are necessary, networks with few weak ties are handicapped because ideas spread slowly" (2013, p79).

This type of coalition represents bottom-up, local or personal initiatives that mobilize a group of people. It could be that social media help to increase and activate these groups and stimulate the openness and accessibility of connective coalitions. An example is formed by neighbors who organize small-scale activities presented on Facebook to bring the diverse groups of residents closer together (for example, www.spaarndammerburen.nl) or professionals from all different backgrounds that join each other once a week, out of their own motivation through announcements on Linkedin, but without an agenda (see, for example, www.plugdedag.nl). This type of coalitions are not well documented and empirical research in planning is limited (Innes and Rongerade, 2013). Because of the individual approach it is also hard to come up with general applicable theories that are recognized by the participants and contributors in connective coalitions. Connective coalitions are often started by initiators, civic entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs or community managers. Despite the fact that the coalition belongs to everyone, these people are often the public face of and the driving force behind the coalition. Carrying out actions and making them visible are particularly important. The purpose is to set conditions to create an enterprising effective network. After all, only people who experience an atmosphere of energy and freedom will add value to this type of coalition. The members of the coalition feel ownership for their own activities, but do not share a common ambition. Initiators, therefore, are able to let go and consider any movement as an opportunity. These "leaders" cannot control what happens and grow new leaders: They mobilize, motivate and link the different participants to become agents within the complex system of their network, gathering information, acting and interacting, and, in effect, becoming the network's distributed intelligence (Innes and Rongerade 2013).

In connective coalitions, the individual's perspective is central. Motives are more important than jobs and positions: It is all about personal and informal relationships, in which participants act more in accordance with feeling and common sense than expertise and methodology. So, the self-governing and self-cleaning capacities of this form of coalition are big. Owing to the fact that people participate with a personal motive in mind, they challenge one another on the behavior they consider inappropriate. People who no longer feel connected may

easily leave the coalition and take another path. In connective coalitions often unwritten norms and values exist. Participants are expected to be sincere and open towards others. They live for the moment with concern for one another, but are free to let each other go again. Stopping a connective coalition does not always require an explicit decision and is not considered as failing, but as a good moment to start something new. There is no course determined or shared beforehand. The next step is only taken when the time is ripe, and not because a deadline is at hand. Networks are open and do not have the collective character of second type of coalition. Everyone is allowed to participate and trust is a basic starting point that does not have to be proven or built. There are no extensive plans of approach, preliminary inquiries or planning. Some connective coalitions prefer to oppose the present systems world and resist institutional ways of working. "We don't have this meeting-habit with lots of coffee, and written reports. We meet in the street, talk, and make a note or do things immediately", explains one of the respondents in Bakker et al. (2012). So unlike directive coalitions, they do not focus as much on written but merely on oral language, using suitable terms like energy, hospitality, movement, germination, inspiration, helping, satisfaction, sharing, meeting and drive.

In essence, connective coalitions are directed towards divergence (see also Figure 12.7). There are hardly any boundaries, neither between people, nor ideas and neither on disciplines nor subjects. Demarcation lines are fluid and to a large extent melted; roles, rules and responsibilities differ in time, participants choose themselves if, how and when they are part of a connective coalition. Usually in connective coalitions, all sorts of contributions are possible and people's roles and importance can change more than once. Often there are circles of involvement with a constantly changing composition. The hard core is located in the inner circle, which feels most responsible for the connective coalition as a whole. It is surrounded by a circle of people who contribute actively when it suits them. The outer circle consists of ambassadors and interested people who support the connective and believe in it. If people have more time in the short term or more affinity for the coalition, they can move inward and, if the situation changes, outward again. As connectives are often linked offline as well as online, it is fairly easy to stay informed and to become more active. Intrinsic motivation and voluntariness are important factors of success. This also carries the risk of non-commitment and cursoriness, which could result in disintegration. A connective coalition relies completely on the intentions and drives of individuals.

It is difficult to picture a connective coalition. It is next to impossible to capture it, as it is often unclear who exactly is part of it and who is not. Cilliers (2005; p.13) offers us the following description: "We have seen that there is no accurate (or rather, perfect) representation of the system which is simpler than the system itself. In building representations of open systems, we are forced to

FIGURE 12.7
Characteristics of connective coalitions.
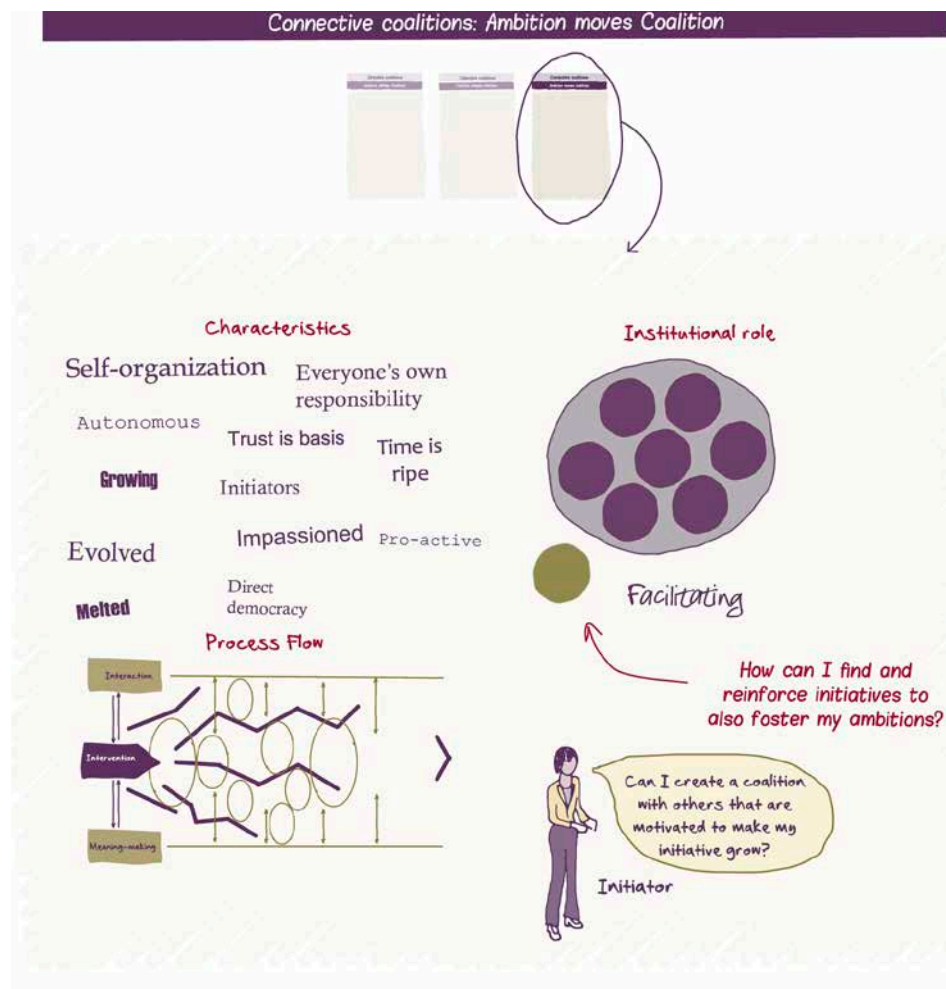
leave things out, and since the effects of these omissions are non-linear, we cannot predict their magnitude". For this reason, the metaphor of a swarm is often used. Although within the swarm it may appear chaotic, from a distance it reveals that it is well-organized. The other way round: it is simple for an individual to contribute, while the network as a whole operates in a intelligent manner. The value and results of connective coalitions are hard to prove and also to predict, but no less valuable. Sometimes it is more about happy faces, new contacts and warm feelings. Connectives are seeking new definitions of success to make their added value visible. Many of these coalitions are using a sharing economy and barter values interchangeably. Sometimes either no money is involved or a different currency unit is introduced, for instance, care points, which can be earned by doing one's bit for others. Crowd funding and issuing memberships are common practices too.

Established institutions can choose to play a facilitating role in this type of coalition to help them grow and overcome obstacles by providing money, expertise, capacity, contacts or media attention. Obstacles for connective

coalitions are often factors like lack of technical and legal knowledge, not enough time to perform the activities, no access to financing, restricting rules and protocols, lack of capacity, no access to other initiators, no access to media and little experience with self-organization. Governmental authorities or other institutional actors have to make a deliberate choice about whether to relate themselves to a connective coalition or not. The following quote of a project manager at the Rhine Harbor in Rotterdam illustrates that the routines of governments in taking the lead can be prevailing: "It really occurred to me how much effort it takes for a governmental organization to do nothing" (Twynstra Gudde, 2013). For organizations are more and more proactive in seeking initiatives that fit in with their policy objectives, but also regularly draw them to a halt in case of a mismatch or a perceived threat to their own existence. Meanwhile, certain organizations, for instance, local authorities, are actively creating a breeding ground in which people can launch initiatives more easily. Intervening in connective coalitions could also have contra productive or destructive effects (Uitermark 2015).

Bakker et al. (2012) draw upon the "CLEAR model" to find a basis for systemic thinking about potential interventions by facilitators. They can provide potential participants with resources or remove barriers (the "Can do" factor). Bakker et al. distinguish three resources: money, time and skills. One could also add social relations and contacts and the energy of the initiators and participants to these resources. Facilitators can reward and stress the positive pay-offs to motivate people (the "Like to" factor). According Bakker et al., the most common motivations are: it feels as a civic duty, it is fun and it helps to solve problems. Facilitators can stimulate these motivations through positive incentives and rewards, and by providing information and recruiting participants. In successful connective coalitions, it is important that motivations are intrinsic and contributions are voluntary. People are more likely to volunteer when they feel welcome in a pleasant atmosphere in which their needs are satisfied. Facilitators also have a role in preventing demotivation because of inadequate and slow procedures, for example. Thirdly facilitators can activate social networks in order to create more mass (the "Enabling to" factor). They can link early initiators with other potential participants (that have useful resources) or relevant organizations (housing associations, social welfare organizations, governmental agencies, etc.) and can help make arrangements with these actors. Finally facilitators can affect the degree of confidence initiators and participants have in an adequate response of public and political officials (the "Responded to" factor). Bakker et al. observed that citizens became frustrated with the slackness of response by civil servants and the inflexibility of procedures. Quite often, in the beginning citizens encounter enthusiasm and freedom, but after a while restrictions and time-consuming procedures prevail.

However, citizens do appreciate the engagement of facilitators in different stages. Obviously, they are not aiming at individual civilians with an idea, but at a coalition of individuals with the same desire or motive. So the public authority is not facilitating a personal interest, but the broader interest of the neighbourhood, target-group, etc. According to Bakker at al. (2012) facilitators do have trouble in finding a suitable facilitating role. They heavily emphasize the provision of financial resources and use formal language and bureaucratic procedures. Facilitators also have trouble in differentiating their role according to the needs of different connective coalitions. In connective coalitions, submitting and experiencing are key factors. There are no fixed methods or guidelines for building connective coalitions. In these coalitions, ideas and actions are very close together, just like thinking and doing. Time and time again it is learning and trying that works, and even more, improvising, so as to make use of the energy and arising opportunities. Often work and practice methods are chosen to which everyone in his or her own way can contribute, e.g. organizing open spaces, marketplaces, festivals and brainstorms.

Bakker et al. also stress the importance of civic skills (e.g. basic verbal, social and organizational skills) that are required to start a connective coalition and the need for training and counselling when certain groups lack these skills. People are taken seriously when they are treated with respect and when their limitations are also taken seriously. On the other hand, Bakker et al. observed that when people do engage in connective coalitions they naturally further develop their civic skills. When public professionals and officials take over the initiative, connective coalitions will lose their character of self-governance. "One of the main challenges for facilitators is finding a good balance between interference and paternalism on the one hand and negligence and lack of empathy on the other hand" (Bakker et al. 2012). So, there is much to experiment on, discover and learn within and about this type of coalition.

COALITION PLANNING IN A WORLD OF CHANGE: *NEXT STEPS FOR RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION*

>> The sharing economy, social entrepreneurship, public participation, self-organization and direct democracy are recent trends, terms and concepts that lead to a new interplay of governmental, business and civic actors. Forming coalitions with these diverse actors are key factors in meeting current interrelated challenges. Coalitions are defined by five key elements: ambitions, actors, arenas, actions and arrangements. Urban planners, traditionally linked to the government, are now experiencing a change in their role and playing field. More and more of them will be positioned as coalition planners on the interface of established institutions and individual aspirations. Since every actor has its own style, culture and interests, this is not a self-evident, but a

complex activity, with a stress on the need for a better situational awareness and a broader repertoire of actions that correspond to these situations. Furthermore, let us emphasize the importance of a new vocabulary to develop a common view and language for sharing expectations and considerations. Especially in newly created and spontaneous arenas our language and behavior do not always match, because it takes time to acquire new repertoires, reflect on our actions and avoid reflexes.

Here, we have introduced a plural perspective on recognizing, building and evaluating coalitions. We distinguished three arenas (established, created and spontaneous) that correspond to three types of coalitions (directive, collective and connective) with unique characteristics and related institutional roles (directing, partnering and facilitating) that give shape to different interplays. We considered coalitions as dynamic entities that can change over time into another type of coalition. Change may be a specific aim-induced strategy for or an unplanned consequence of the course of the process. For, as John Lennon sang in the track "Beautiful Boy", "life is what happens to you, while you're busy making other plans". For governmental authorities traditional, more directing roles on specific themes in urban planning will not disappear, but there will be more partnering and facilitating roles added. Different elements of the three types of coalitions can be combined successively or simultaneously in a blended coalitional approach. Building such an approach is an open and deliberate consideration that has to be discussed explicitly among the actors involved. The challenge of coalition planning is to be able to switch between coalitions and to bridge and mix them to reinforce the sometimes contradictionary relationship between established institutions and individual aspirations.

The next steps in the research are to explore the factors or conditions of success for each type of coalition and to define a matching repertoire of actions and steps in building a specific type of coalition. What are best and worst practices for each type of coalition? Could there be an indicative set of questions that will help to figure out what type of coalition matches with a specific challenge or context? What are specific implications for the governmental role? And in what way do the different types of coalitions influence each other? Furthermore, we need to investigate the factors and situations that cause a change in the type of coalition. For example, what makes directors and stakeholders working in a directive coalition (un)intentionally transfer to a collective coalition? Is it possible to recognize typical moments of transfer? What interventions are needed to successfully transfer to another type of coalition? And what are common reflexes that prevent them from changing and adapting? Another interesting field of research is how actors are able to simultaneously apply all these different repertoires of actions. What coalition strategies could be used? What are the tensions felt when simultaneously working in directing, partnering and facilitating roles on the interface of established institutions and

individual aspirations? How can coalition planners address these tensions and help appreciate and combine both institutional and individual approaches? And how can actors remain authentic and trustworthy, while switching from and bridging between coalitions and roles? And, finally, how do they communicate about these combinations and changes? Several preliminary anchor points in research are presented below.

Many authors underline the sustainable, regulatory and stable character of institutions. In line with Van Meerkerk (2014) and Lawrence et al. (2002) we also emphasize the volatility and transience of institutions. Connective and collaborative coalitions can produce "proto-institutions" (newly constructed institutional arrangements) that interact with established institutions that take part in directive and collaborative coalitions. "The proto-institutions can be understood as temporary and can provide a de-institutionalization of existing institutions that have a stable and long-term character. Old and new institutions influence each other, and from this co-evolutionary process, both can mutually adapt themselves into a search for a new operation logic" (Van Meerkerk, 2014; p105). This corresponds to the view on institutional change of Van der Steen et al. (2015): We can become comfortable with new approaches without opposing and confronting old ones. Change is in their view nothing revolutionary, but something gradual. Also Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) write about an optimal mix of centralized, hierarchical institutions and decentralized networks. This interaction between opposing ways of working produces tensions and will not always lead to institutional co-evolution. If it does, Van Meerkerk (2014) recognizes three stages: dissociation, parallelization and synchronization. That last stage is interesting for further research. It means that actors in different coalitions need to have the ability to deal with persisting tensions and paradoxes and therefore with inconveniences and discomfort.

These tensions and paradoxes are most recognizable on the interface of established institutions and individual aspirations, because that is the demarcation or fracture line of different values, cultures, etc. Tensions can be found in paradoxes as "being in control vs letting go", "regulating vs disrupting", "autonomous vs interdependent", "predefining vs becoming" and "exploitation vs exploration" (see also Rauws, 2015; Alfasi and Portugali, 2004 and Boonstra and Boelens, 2010, for typical tension fields in planning that are already ingrained in the word "planning"). In the previous sections we argued about embracing the paradox and value both ends. How does this relate to the post-contingency approach of Zuidema (2011)? Can we find inspiration in "polarity management", "relational dialectics" or even "syncretism" and the symbol of "lemniscates"? Another interesting theory is ambidexterity (see Raisch et al., 2009 for an overview). In this view we can call institutions in which both worlds are apparent "ambidextrous". These institutions are able to be efficient and in control in the short term (exploiting) and to develop

innovative ideas and techniques for the longer term (exploring). Especially for governmental authorities this could be a promising direction considering the twofold expectations by citizens: being political accountable for spending public tax money, not taking risks and being consistent and confident in making legitimate decisions versus trusting citizens to come up with initiatives, experimenting with new disorganizing and informal modes of governance, making differences and thinking out-of-the-box to evoke movement.

Considering this, could a "post-policy approach" be the next step to "open policy approaches"? An approach in which complexity and uncertainties are not reduced, but offer a reason to better connect with the social environment? An approach in which it is possible to work inside-outward and outside-inward, combining internal politics and external dynamics: being not less ambitious, but containing less pre-defined and detailed policy criteria, and more stimulating constraints and simple rules (Sull and Eisenhardt, 2015). Would a post-policy approach make it easier to cope with different interacting institutional arrangements and accept the areas of tension? De Caluwé (2015) writes about dealing with tensions in both organizations and individuals and observes a reflex of hiding behind demarcation lines, avoiding and ignoring the paradox. What can we learn from this for coalition planning and coalition planners? Connecting one with the other is often impossible using standard procedures and requires a creative, tailor-made and new approach. How can we come up with interventions that invest in both sides of the paradox? What would be intermediate words and frames (see, for example, Arts and Tatenhove (2004) that combine old and new policy idioms)? And what can we learn from jazz musicians, play-actors and other artists that are used to improvising between a set script and unexpected reactions from fellow artists or the audience and yet manage to come up with something new and creative (see also Balachandra et al. (2005) and Boutellier (2005)? How do they perceive mistakes in a creative process? And what can we learn from children who play, try, fail and go on. Or from approaches such as "gamification", the use of thinking and techniques designed for gaming in non-gaming settings, like organizations (Verloop et al., 2015)? It brings us in a more non-lineair, plural, interrelated and eclectic world-view.

We started this chapter with statements that are related to a new reality in which more and more individuals organize themselves in collectives and connectives, as opposed to the traditional institutional ways of working. Now we can state that it is not about a choice for either one of them, but about embracing both. In order to be effective we cannot have one without the other. It takes practice to search for intermediate vocabularies and repertoires. There is no script or "the best way" to do this. It is improvising at the interface where "provisional can be seen as the new professional". This does not make coalition planning easier, but possibly more enjoyable. As Passenger expresses in the song "Keep on walking":

"And I thought to myself oh, son, you may be lost in more ways than one, but I have a feeling that it is more fun, than knowing exactly where you are". Coalition planning is about a plural picture, about communicating when you are lost, about combining planned and unplanned results and about making the map while discovering the road together.

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