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Resistance in Citizen Participation? The Answer Is Blowing In The Wind

How Citizen Participation can Reduce Citizen Resistance for Windmill Projects in The Netherlands



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Summary

Due to (supra)national climate pressures, municipalities receive growing responsibilities to meet energy transition goals. An increasingly common practice of municipalities is inviting citizens to participate in their projects: citizen participation. Although this is often seen as a promising practice, citizen resistance is increasing as well. This thesis responds to the need for a better understanding of the relation between citizen participation best practices and citizen resistance, specifically in relation to windmill projects. The latter are being developed more and more each year. There is thus an academic gap and social relevance, since the results can be used to improve actual participation projects. This benefits both government and citizens.

Specifically, this thesis addresses the question how citizen resistance to windmill projects in The Netherlands can be reduced by the application of citizen participation, and how this relationship might be affected by common citizen participation obstacles. Two cases are compared: Breda, where citizen resistance reduced during citizen participation, and Amsterdam, where citizen resistance grew. For both cases, 5 interviews were performed with citizens, public officials and a participation expert. The results were open coded and analyzed by performing Process Tracing and a Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis. Outcomes show that certain citizen participation guidelines are important to maintain throughout the entire process for resistance reduction: identifying purposes, revisiting the design (& redesigning if needed) to fit the context, perceived legitimacy of interactions and participation forms, generation of new resources and context-fit technologies for engagement. One guideline is especially important in the very first phase: inclusive processes that engage diversity. Not actively including diverse points of view – including proponents and opponents – from the start leads to more resistance later in the process. Additionally, it becomes clear that not only do participation obstacles influence the citizen participation process towards reducing resistance, but also vice versa: poorly applied participation guidelines create greater presence of obstacles. There is a self-reinforcing system between participation guidelines (according to a framework by Bryson et al., 2012) and obstacles (according to a framework by Iannello et al., 2019), which deserves further attention.

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Resistance in Citizen Participation? The Answer Is Blowing In The Wind

How Citizen Participation can Reduce Citizen Resistance for Windmill Projects in The Netherlands

1. Introduction

The relationship between government and citizens is deteriorating in Western countries and trust of citizens in their government is decreasing (Blijleven & Van Hulst, 2020). Reduced membership of political parties is a clear indicator of this (Scarrow, 2017). Authority is less and less accepted and citizens are increasingly empowered to research and voice their own ideas, partly due to having more access to communication technology (Maier-Rabler & Huber, 2011). For governments to improve this relationship and maintain legitimacy of their actions, they can no longer ignore their citizens' desire to take part in governmental processes and interactive governance has become a promising answer.

Interactive governance refers to the “the interactions and initiatives of a plurality of public, societal and private actors in dealing with complex societal issues government working together with its citizens” (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2012, p. 1). Citizen participation, specifically, is a form of interactive governance initiated by the government. It is a growing practice in – what Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk (2012) refer to as – Western countries, with many success stories but importantly also stories of failure. Not applying it can lead to great trouble, such as in Oostermoer, The Netherlands, where a new windmill park was planned without any level of citizen participation, leading to great resistance including protests and court cases (DvhN, 2021). Citizen participation could, according to many, have been the answer for preventing resistance like this.

However, applying citizen participation is not a guarantee for a smooth process (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016). Resistance can still arise, showing that the way participation is performed makes a difference. Bryson et al. (2012) researched hundreds of academic articles on various cases to learn which key guidelines a good participation design should follow. Also analyzing hundreds of cases, Iannello et al. (2019) took a focus on what *not* to do in participation, to prevent obstacles that can lead to resistance. Their frameworks overlap slightly, but largely have a different focus on what is important for good participation. This thesis will research how these two approaches explain the development of citizen resistance.

To do this, I will analyze two cases: one where resistance reduced and one where it increased. The previous is a case of an urban region around Breda, in the province Noord-Brabant. Here had been

great resistance against a windmill park for over a decade until 2020. When the government finally applied citizen participation and citizens truly seemed to appreciate and value this, the resistance almost completely disappeared. A few previous critics even became strong enthusiasts (Hier Opgewekt, 2020). The latter is a case in Amsterdam, where the municipality of Amsterdam involved citizens in decision-making concerning the building of a new windmill park. However, citizens were dissatisfied to such an extent that they angrily pulled out of the whole process in January 2022, to the surprise of the government that had wanted to include them further (Timmer, 2022).

It is not yet known what precisely caused the growth and reduction in resistance. The guidelines of Bryson et al. (2012) might explain which steps are crucial in the development of resistance, but this could further be affected by citizen participation obstacles (Iannello, 2019). To what extent each of them explains citizen resistance and the relationship between them in relation to resistance change is what this thesis attempts to explore.

To get a better understanding of this, these concepts and their relations are investigated by looking at cases of windmill energy. First, to be able to compare predominantly the participation, obstacles and resistance of cases, the context of participation cases needs to be as similar as possible so that results do not vary because of case diversity. The abundance of windmill energy participation cases causes this sector to be practical for finding similar cases to strengthen the internal validity. Second, windmills as part of the energy transition are growing in relevance, importance and presence. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, CBS (Linders et al., 2021), there were 66, 49 and 189 windmills built on Dutch land from 2018 to 2020 respectively. 173 were built on sea in 2020. (Supra)national climate pressures emphasize windmills' importance, with national and supranational CO²-related goals such as the EU's mission for carbon neutrality in 2050 (European Commission, n.d.).

Overall, governments are required to join the energy transition and consequently attempt to take away citizen resistance through citizen participation. The latter, however, may introduce obstacles on its own. Hence, this thesis will attempt to answer the following research question:

How does citizen participation affect citizen resistance to windmill projects in The Netherlands?

To investigate this the following sub questions will be researched for multiple cases:

- Which citizen participation guidelines were applied?
- How did participation obstacles affect the participation?
- How did citizen resistance change during the process?

Bryson et al. and Iannello et al. each have a high external validity due to their large sample sizes, but still both have a unique framework to approach what citizen participation should look like. This gives the impression that they both might only discuss a part of the whole picture. Therefore, academically, I aim to add insight in how these theories explain the development in citizen resistance differently. Possibly one explains the rising of citizen resistance to a stronger extent than the other and possibly there is a relationship between the two frameworks. Moreover, the deteriorating relationship between citizens and government leads to a need for more academic insight on how to deal with resistance. Finally, the energy transition and increase in windmill plans require more academic insight in how governments can best include citizens in these specific energy transition plans, such as the growing amount windmill projects.

The social relevance of this research lies in the way in which the outcomes can be used to enhance citizen participation projects and therefore their goals. Reducing citizen resistance is important as it can improve the efficiency of achieving participation goals, which are addressing topics such as energy transitions that are becoming increasingly relevant on both small and large scales. Performing citizen participation while limiting resistance can then limit the required time and costs and could improve the relationship between government and citizens.

This thesis is structured in the following way: first, a theoretical framework describes what is known academically about the main research question's key concepts. Then, the methodology shows how I plan to perform my research. Chapter 4 describes my results and a comparative analysis between the two cases. Next, I discuss these results in relation to the academic theory. Finally, I conclude by answering the research question, sharing recommendations, outlining reflections, describing limitations and finally suggesting ideas for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

Citizen resistance to Windmill Projects

Governments increasingly have to deal with citizen resistance. Reactions to this include attempts to ignore or speaking ill of citizens, but since the growth of citizen participation this has become a growing response (Dean, 2018). Regarding windmill projects specifically, citizen resistance can generally be expected and Nimbyism might be its greatest challenge (Smith & Klick, 2007). NIMBY stands for “not in my backyard” and is a form of resistance to the placement of facilities in a nearby site (Esaïasson, 2014). This often means there is national support, but local resistance (Buhrs, 2021).

Criticism on the concept of Nimbyism exists, namely that it is too simplistic, represents citizens as simply selfish, irrational or ignorant (Dear, 1992) and does not consider citizens’ deeper considerations. The latter includes the personal conviction that windmills are not the most equitable solution, that they do not want to carry the burden of a solution to a problem caused by others and that they do not accept it because they feel like others would not either (Wolsink, 2007).

However, Nimbyism is still broadly used in academic work as many scholars argue for its applicability and effectiveness in describing the most common reasons for resistance (Esaïasson, 2014; Smith & Klick, 2007), especially regarding windmill projects (Groothuis et al., 2008; Esaïasson, 2014; Smith, 2019). The main citizen criticisms on windmill projects are related to noise, visual pollution, harm to local wildlife, costliness (Wolsink, 2001; Smith & Klick, 2007), electromagnetic interference with services like telecommunications, lack of trust in goals of developers, and finally a lack of ownership (Smith & Klick, 2007). This does not cause citizens to be against windmills in general, but preferably not in their vicinity. In fact, citizens are frequently in favor of windmills due to awareness of climate change, the need for alternative energy sources and the infinite availability of wind (Petrova, 2013).

Besides trust in developers’ goals, trust in the government also influences the amount of resistance. Citizen participation is argued to be more democratic (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016) and should therefore lead to more trust (Hardin & Offe, 1999). If there is trust from the start, subsequent government actions will more likely be perceived as trustworthy (Borch et al., 2020). However, if trust is not present at the start or is damaged during the participation, resistance becomes more probable. Lack of trust makes citizens assume that governments’ intentions are ingenuine or unhelpful, initiating resistance (Kim, 2005). Specifically for windmills, social media posts from distrusting citizens on for instance Facebook appear to cause more resistance (Borch et al., 2020).

Resistance to windmills can take varying forms. There may be disagreement but toleration, protests and court cases (DvhN, 2021), pulling out of participation (Timmer, 2022) or it may even become the basis for a new political party such as the recently established “Free Horizon” party in Germany. Governments thus look increasingly at ways to limit this resistance, for which citizen participation is argued to be most effective (Liebe et al., 2017)

Citizen Participation

Democracy is increasingly understood as something that should allow as much direct engagement as possible, thus direct democracy (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This means more interactive governance, which is defined by Torfing, Peters & Sorensen (2012) as “the complex process through which a plurality of actors with diverging interests interact in order to formulate, promote and achieve common objectives by means of mobilizing, exchanging and deploying a range of ideas, rules and resources” (p. 14). This is argued to provide a stronger democracy due to the opportunity for ordinary people to get directly involved. Moreover, Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker (2006) state that with growing power of supranational influences like the EU, it becomes even more important that citizens can get directly involved to stand up for what matters to them at their own local scale. Interactive governance is also claimed by some to deliver more efficiency and better learning in today’s complex society (Newman, 2001). However, other authors like Iannello et al. (2019) argue that there is not enough evidence to support the claim of interactive governance’s effectiveness and efficiency.

When the government initiates this interactive governance, it is called citizen participation (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016). They then have the decisive power to decide how and when interaction takes place. It has become an increasingly popular strategy in – what Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk (2016) refer to as – Western countries. Governments can let citizens participate at multiple levels of participation. The most famous model for this, which has since often been adapted and simplified, is Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of citizen participation. Each step on the level represents a different amount of citizen control in the participation, ranging from low to high as visible in Figure 1.

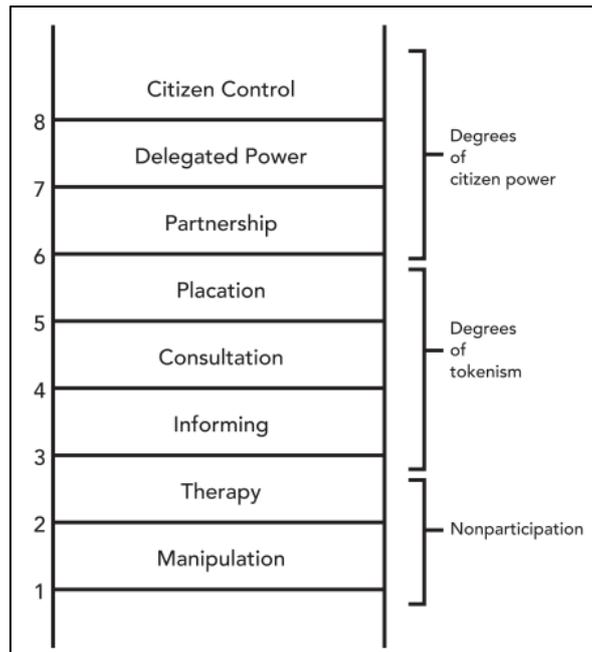


Figure 1. Citizen control in citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969).

Sharing control through citizen participation has advantages and drawbacks for both governments and citizens, which I will now discuss.

Performing citizen participation can be advantageous for governments for multiple reasons. Due to more commitment of citizens, it creates a stronger democracy (Iannello et al., 2019). It can increase the legitimacy of governmental decision-making. Due to increasing distrust or dissatisfaction in governments, citizen participation can re-establish trust of citizens. This can improve citizen support for policies at that moment or in the future (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). Also, local knowledge can be consulted and motivated citizens can be asked to share their capacities in order to perform decision-making and policy-application more effectively and efficiently. Besides using their existing capacities, citizens' capacities will also be strengthened by learning new skills during the collaboration (Iannello et al., 2019).

However, there are drawbacks as well. First, there is a loss of control, as power is now shared with citizens. Second, it can be time-consuming and costly (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). Third, citizens might get high hopes that cannot be realized. If this happens, or the process is otherwise disappointing, this can lead to a further deteriorated relationship between government and citizens (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016). Fourth, it becomes meaningless when results are ignored and, fifth, these results might be unrepresentative of the overall citizen ideas as louder voices can distort the results (Iannello et al., 2019).

Then, there are benefits for citizens. It is a way for them to learn more about the policy process and how they can contribute to it. This contribution is another benefit, namely as it allows citizens to influence the process and its outcomes (Pierre, 2000). Moreover, it is not just about the ability to influence, but about influencing something that matters to them and that can affect their lives directly. This means that their contributions are helpful to create policy solutions that are more suitable for their own local context (Mayer, Edelenbos & Monnikhof, 2005).

But, there are reasons for citizens not to take part in participation. Just as for the government, it is time-consuming for citizens as well. Some will also not have an interest in the process and its outcomes at all, let alone participating in it, simply considering it 'boring'. They might also feel disinterested in possibly receiving responsibility. Moreover, they can get confused about unclarities regarding who is responsible for what (Blijleven & Van Hulst, 2021). Then, there is the fact that some citizens are more educated and skilled than others, which can lead to insecurity of those less-educated and skilled, in turn leading to unwillingness to participate (MacLure, 2005). Related to this consideration of other citizens is the fact that citizens are aware of each other's different interests and fear conflict. Finally, citizens can perceive the goals as vague and are convinced that the results will be disappointing (Iannello et al., 2019).

Citizen Participation Guidelines

Taking all these benefits and disadvantages into account, much research has been performed on what good citizen participation processes should look like. In fact, this had become so much, that PhD John M. Bryson – specialized in economics, public administration and policy and urban and regional planning – in collaboration with three colleagues, analyzed over 250 of these materials in order to turn it into one detailed document of design guidelines for participation. Figure 2 shows the three main categories that Bryson et al. (2012) identified, which each consist of different guidelines as seen in Table 1. Noteworthy, these can be interrelated guidelines that are not always strongly separated as a step-by-step process.

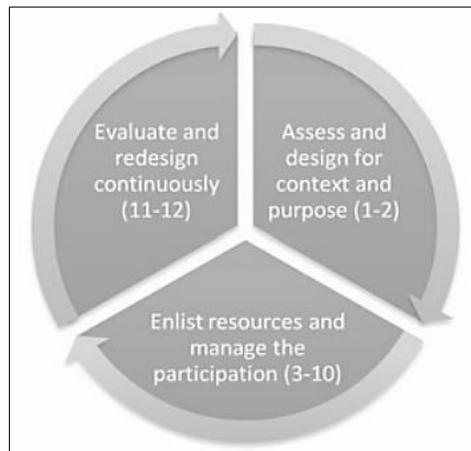


Figure 2. Bryson et al.'s (2012) Citizen participation model

Category	Guidelines
Assess and Design for Context and Purpose	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Assess and fit the design to the context and the problem 2. Identify purposes and design to achieve them
Enlist Resources and Manage the Participation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Analyze and appropriately involve stakeholders 4. Work with stakeholders to establish the legitimacy of the process 5. Foster effective leadership 6. Seek resources for and through participation 7. Create appropriate rules and structures to guide the process 8. Use inclusive processes to engage diversity productively 9. Manage power dynamics 10. Use technologies of various kinds to achieve participation purposes
Evaluate & Redesign Continuously	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Develop and use evaluation measures 12. Design and redesign

Table 1. Participation guidelines by Bryson et al. (2012)

It is not my purpose to rewrite Bryson et al.'s (2012) guidelines, so I shall give a short description of each step and include relevant points of academic debate. For more detail, their guidelines can be consulted.

For guideline 1, it is important that the participation is needed, that the problem is clear and that the participation process matches the local and broader context. This refers to factors like social or economic conditions, but also which stakeholders and resources (can) take part. More specifically, according to Marzouki, Mellouli & Daniel (2017), it is important that government projects that aim to involve citizens also genuinely take into account the citizen context. This means a focus on priorities and desires in the citizen context, not just the government context. Additionally, Alex-Assensoh (2005) adds that this context should not just be understood based on dominant voices, but minority contexts such as possible different socioeconomic circumstances of immigrants should also be considered.

In guideline 2 the clarity of the purposes are central, with the addition that the participation process should be designed – or redesigned – to fit these purposes. Bryson et al. (2012) identify nine possible

purposes, including for instance “embody the ideals of democratic participation and inclusion” (p. 25). Noteworthy, the goals they identify fit on different levels of the citizen participation ladder of Arnstein (1969). For example, the goal “inform the public” is about transparency, but Arnstein would categorize this at the “informing” level, which she calls “nonparticipation” as citizens actually do not receive any power. Bryson et al.’s purposes are thus not consensually seen by academics as participative.

The next eight steps belong to the “Enlist Resources and Manage the Participation” category. Guideline 3 focuses on involving the right stakeholders by doing a stakeholder analysis and involving them in different steps of the process. It works best to involve a wide range of stakeholders, but ideal methods to involve different stakeholders vary and should therefore be thought about by the process designers.

Guideline 4 is about establishing trust and legitimacy of engagement with the stakeholders, which should strengthen stakeholder support. It covers how the stakeholders will be involved based on the previously mentioned range from informing to empowering. Through this stakeholders will understand the promise of how their participation will influence the results. Trust and legitimacy are thus expected to increase citizen participation. However, research by Lee & Schachter (2019) showed that citizen trust in the government is not positively related to more participation. Still, establishing this trust with solely ethical reasoning should be enough for governments who want to be seen as competent and ethical (Wang & Wan Wart, 2007).

Guideline 5 refers to the importance of leaders in the shape of sponsors – with formal authority who help legitimizing, for example through providing staff and funding and by creating policies -, champions – with more informal authority through their experience and relations and who help daily practices – and finally facilitators – who structure and guide participation neutrally. Noteworthy, whereas Bryson et al., (2012) state that each of these roles are always important, it seems that their importance differs per step on Arnstein’s (1969) citizen participation ladder. For instance, sponsors likely have a large role in lower stages as ‘informing’, while this formal authority could be less present in a high step as ‘citizen control’.

Guideline 6 refers to using appropriate resources, including existing ones, and making sure that the participation creates new resources. These include funds, time, social capital, enthusiasm and more. It is hard to do a cost-benefit analysis for all these – partly subjective – factors. On the one hand, some argue that citizen participation can be more costly because it requires more resources because of staffing and time that could have been invested elsewhere (Lawrence, Debbie & Deagan, 2001). On the other hand, most recent literature points more towards the benefits, especially long-term. These

are the previously mentioned benefits such as increased trust and stronger policy support (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006).

Guideline 7 is defined as creating an “appropriate set of rules and a project management team structure to guide operational decision making, the overall work to be done, and who gets to be involved in decision making in what ways” (p. 28). If formal and informal rules are followed, this can enhance trust. Who gets involved in decision-making depends on the level of participation (Arnstein, 1969), legal mandates of organizations and the rules agreed upon for the participation. Project management teams can structure these processes. Smaller projects do not need such a team, but larger projects do.

Guideline 8 addresses the importance of using the advantages of diversity and overcoming problems of power differences in this diversity with tools as conflict management. There is academic consensus on this, with some authors pointing to the benefits of doing this – such as more learning from everyone’s diverse points of view (Arai & Pedlar, 1997) – and others the disadvantages of not doing this – such as misrepresentation of all citizens because of a dominating small elite group (Iannello et al., 2019).

Guideline 9 covers power differences management. Managers should guarantee that local knowledge is taken seriously, that no small group dominates over other participants and that the appropriate amount of trust is established. There is consensus on the latter, and largely on the former. One point of critique on using local knowledge and less expert knowledge is that it can take more time and be less effective for reaching goals with deadlines, which was the case in The Netherlands for multiple citizen participation projects for renewable energy (Da Silva & Horlings, 2020).

Finally, guideline 10 refers to using context-appropriate information, communication and other technologies and making certain that there is a shared understanding about these. A variety of tools is the best way to involve a larger audience. Importantly, understanding the limits of the context is important here. For instance, if the context is an elderly neighborhood, it is less suitable to use digital tools (노승용, 2007).

The two final steps belong to “Evaluate and Redesign Continuously”. Guideline 11 is about how to evaluate the participation. There is no standard public participation evaluation tool, and hence the focus can be on different outcome levels: individual, process, user-oriented, and finally first, second

and third-order. The latter refers to immediate effects, effects during the process and long-term effects. Nabatchi (2012) possibly made the most extensive guide to evaluating participation, but even her work discusses different outcome levels and various difficulties that can arise.

Finally, guideline 12 emphasizes the importance of aligning “participation goals; participation purposes; types of engagement; promises made to participants; engagement methods, technologies, and techniques; steps; and resources in the process” (p. 31). Not having these aligned can cause miscommunication and even conflict.

Citizen Participation Obstacles

Although citizen participation might lead to the diminishment of the NIMBY-effect, it could lead to other obstacles that can raise the policy question whether citizen participation for windmill projects is worth it after all. Therefore, I now discuss these participation obstacles.

The most detailed work on participation obstacles comes from Iannello et al. (2019). Similarly to the work of Bryson et al. (2012), they base their work on researching a large amount of literature on the topic. After screening almost 1200 article abstracts, they analyzed 230. This led to three main categories, each with specific obstacles and problems.

The first category, ‘Information deficit and asymmetries’, refers to citizens not being (equally) knowledgeable or informed on governmental processes, governmental accountability, technical skills and insight in what other involved stakeholders want. This mainly leads to unclear participation foci and unrealistic expectations. Then, the attitude of public officials entails their unwillingness to let go of power, undervaluing the skills and participation of citizens, their restrictions based on bureaucratic rules and hierarchy and red tape. This can lead to a ‘tick-the-box’ approach, where citizens are engaged mainly for show but not to truly be taken into account.

The second category is “organizational arrangements”. A first obstacle is community representation criteria. Organizational questions here surround the amount of people invited, how they are selected – ranging from very selective co-optation screening to no screening at all – and the diversity of those who participate. This refers to skills, knowledge and interests. When innovative ideas are needed, diverse citizens should be selected. When there is an impasse, citizens who have an interest in solving it should be selected. When public support is needed, selection should be based on diversity and representation. These selection criteria show that citizen selection is hardly ever neutral and thus not

representative of the whole community. A second obstacle in this category is process design. This covers how involvement is created and how dialogue takes place. Using the right tools and mechanisms can lead to easier and more effective participation. Not doing this makes the process less easy for everyone and jeopardizes the outcomes. Furthermore, citizens are heterogeneous and some will be motivated by different participation techniques than others. Therefore, a variety of tools and mechanisms should be used to prevent biased results.

The third and final category is ‘process management patterns’. Group dynamics require good management since elites or other loud voices may dominate gatherings, leading to inequality and bias. Since it can be difficult to have dialogue between varying stakeholders and especially to create consensus among them, the quality of the collaboration should be managed well. If not done properly, this can lead to conflict.

Table 2 below summarizes the key obstacles.

Obstacle category	Specific obstacles
Contextual factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information deficit and asymmetries - Attitude of public officials - Unrealistic expectations - ‘Tick-the-box’
Organizational arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community representation criteria - Poor process design
Process management patterns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bias by dominating citizens

Table 2. Citizen participation obstacles (adapted in a table from Iannello et al., 2019)

Conceptual Framework

The theory leads to the expectation that well applied citizen participation guidelines should lead to a reduction of citizen resistance. However, we also know that participation obstacles affect citizen participation, which might in turn change how resistance reduces. Therefore, I will research the following conceptual framework:

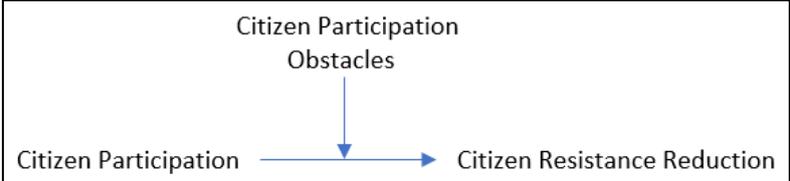


Figure 3. Conceptual framework

3. Methodology

In this section, I explain the methods I used that help answer my research question. This includes the choice of cases, methods for data collection and the data analysis.

The focus on windmills was decided for two reasons, as shortly mentioned previously. First, the availability of numerous cases gave me the ability to choose two very similar cases, which happened to be windmills. The more similar the cases, the more the results will say about the participation itself and less about the context, improving its internal validity. Second, another reason is the growing importance of windmills due to energy transition developments.

I researched two participation cases with different levels of resistance: one where it reduced and one where it grew. This allows me to learn about which steps of participation can take away resistance, but also during which steps obstacles arise that might create resistance.

The first case is in Noord-Brabant, next to the road A16, and covers an urban region surrounding Breda, including Breda itself, Moerdijk, Zundert and Drimmelen. For ease, I will from here on refer to this region as 'Breda'. Here, after more than 10 years of disagreement between citizens and government about placing the windmills, the government decided to apply citizen participation. This included for instance various meetings with the citizens, proposing different visions to them and discussing these, taking their worries – for example about noise nuisance – seriously - and informing citizens on every made decision. It ended successfully, with most citizens happy or at least accepting (Hier Opgewekt, 2020).

The second case is the windmill project in Amsterdam South-East (Zuid-Oost), which I will from now on refer to as just 'Amsterdam'. Here, citizens were also asked to participate. For months this seemed to become a fruitful project, with many focus group meetings. However, conclusions from an alderwoman for sustainability, named Van Doorninck, caused disappointment and anger from involved citizens. Tens of them wrote an angry letter to her, indicating their resignation due to feeling like not enough time was taken to hear them, leading to unsupported conclusions. This included citizens from neighborhood organizations, action group Windalarm and local councils. The alderwoman was unpleasantly surprised, but acknowledged that the participation could have been organized better (Van Zoelen, 2022).

The two cases are similar in multiple ways. With one starting in 2016, the other in 2019, and both still continuing, they are quite recent and still active. Furthermore, their context is similar. Although one covers four municipalities and the other just one neighborhood of a municipality, both have a similar amount of inhabitants, namely about 90.000-100.000. Moreover, the areas contain both urban and rural living environments. Still, of course, there are differences which we will come across later in this thesis. Think for instance of income, public health, population density and more.

For each case, I planned to perform 5 interviews: 3 with citizens and 2 with public officials who managed the participation process. Depending on the results this would give me, I planned to decide if any adjustments needed to be made. There was one change: due to unavailability of public officials in Amsterdam, one involved participation expert, from a private organization, was interviewed instead. For both cases, I scanned through available documents and news articles to find contact details. Through this, I found various citizens' contact details. One, for instance, responded to a request I sent to WindAlarm. Snowball sampling led to another inhabitant. In Breda, it turned out to be difficult to find citizens. Snowball sampling did not lead to new contacts and I was happy to have interviewed two citizens whose contact information I found on two related organizations: WindCent and Energiek Moerdijk. For public officials, I reached out to government websites, LinkedIn and email addresses that were mentioned in public documents about the case. Due to possible slow response times, I reached out to as many involved public officials as possible and received three replies.

Since some participants preferred to stay private and since their positions in relation to the case matter more for the results than the actual names, I decided to pseudonymize interviewees by their position in relation to the project. In the end, I ended up interviewing the following participants for Breda: Public Official 1 - project leader since 2016 of the integration plan of Wind Energy near Breda-, Public Official 2 – an advisor for municipalities, province and inhabitants with the assignment to apply social preconditions as formulated in the Green Deal A16 -, Citizen 1 – initially critical citizen who decided to create the best outcome with citizen participation and now secretary of WindCent, a foundation that aims to improve the benefits of windmills for both citizen and energy transition – and finally Citizen 2 – inhabitant and chair of Energiek Moerdijk with an interest in sustainable innovation at the system level. Regarding Amsterdam, from the 'organizing' side I interviewed senior environment manager Public Official 3 of the RES Amsterdam project and Participation Expert 1, the founder of Public Mediation – a company focused on helping various parties work together in the public domain – who informed and led most of the participation since May 2021. Next, I interviewed three citizens who were all part of Consultation Group Amsterdam South-East ('Klankbordgroep Amsterdam Zuid-Oost'). I shall refer to them as Citizen 3, Citizen 4 and Citizen 5. Citizen 3 is retired and joined the consultation

group early on and was actively involved, Citizen 4 lives on an allotment garden (volkstuin) in Amsterdam South-East and Citizen 5 is retired with a financial background. Some preferred to keep further information that could indicate their identity private.

The interviews took place in May and June (see details in Appendix 1). I used semi-structured in-depth interviews, since this method delivers a deep understanding and explorative approach to more open-ended 'why'-questions (Fylan, 2005), such as my own. My questions (see Appendix 3) were based on the operationalization of key concepts of my research question (see Table 3 on page 22). This operationalization is based on my theoretical framework. Two example questions are:

- Was a stakeholder analysis performed?
- How was trust in the government at the start?

Data analysis will take place by transcribing my interviews and performing open coding on the content. This allows me to identify the indicators that I want to research and see if any other relevant information comes up.

Because citizen participation is quite unpredictable (Roberts, 2015) and a complex process that can develop in various ways over time (Ravetz, 1999), process tracing is performed to see in a chronological order how citizen participation developed in phases. Bryson et al. (2012) indeed emphasize that participation, even when following guidelines, should be done iteratively and does not exist of clearly predefined steps but should be adjusted when needed. Process tracing is therefore done based on Teisman's *rounds model* (Teisman, 2000). This approach allows for an open reconstruction of the evolution of participation, considering "the variety of ambitions and actions in a broader field" (p. 324). Phases are separated based on major decisions with relatively stable periods in between. I define these major decisions based on the interviews and data from the additional documents.

Furthermore, based on a guide to Qualitative Comparative Analysis (Gerrits & Verweij, 2018), I perform a Fuzzy Set Analysis that shows per case to what extent an indicator is present. This is a useful method that allows for comparing of qualitative results based on scoring the indicators. My results led me to perform a four-value fsQCA, which means that the following scores were given: 0.0 for fully out, 0.33 for more out than in, 0.67 for more in than out and 1.0 for fully in. These scores show how indicators were present in the process. For instance, 'identified purposes' scoring 0.0 shows that purposes were not identified. 'Leadership effectiveness' scoring 0.67 indicates that effective leadership was present, but not the full amount that it could be, which would be a score of 1.0.

Finally, I will combine the process tracing and fsQCA by analyzing how indicators compare to each other in different phases. This allows me to learn about how participation, obstacles and resistance are present in different phases of the process per case.

Variable	Dimension	Indicator
Citizen Participation	Context & Purpose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identified purposes - Fit of design in context - Design revisited & (redesigned if necessary)
	Resource Enlistment & Participation Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stakeholder analysis - Form of participation seen as legitimate - Form of interactions seen as legitimate - Leadership in the form of sponsors, champions and facilitators - Usage existing resources (e.g. funds, staff time) - Generation new resources (e.g. new information, social capital, government-community trust) - Appropriate guiding rules and structures - Inclusivity processes that engage diversity - Management power dynamics - Usage technological variety (e.g. mapping tools, variety in technologies)
	Evaluating & Redesigning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development evaluation measures - Alignment of design parts
Citizen Resistance	NIMBY-effect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Presence NIMBY reasons: noise, visual, wildlife, costs, electromagnetics, trusting developers, ownership - NIMBY experienced as unfair classification
	Non-NIMBY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Equity - Unfair burden - Copied unwillingness
	Form	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trust at start - Trust growth - Trust reduction - Resistance at start - Resistance growth - Resistance reduction - Resistance forms (protests, resignation, etc.)
Citizen Participation Obstacles	Contextual factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information deficits/asymmetries - Poor attitude of public officials - Unrealistic expectations - 'Tick-the-box'
	Organizational arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poor community representation - Poor process design
	Process management patterns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dominating citizens

Table 3. Operationalization

4. Results

Starting with Breda and followed by Amsterdam, I will share my results. For each case I held interviews with citizens and public/private individuals leading participation, analyzed reflection reports/books, performed process tracing and applied a fsQCA. The most relevant results are shown here, but a full detailed version can be found in Appendix 4.

4A. Breda

Based on the detailed book “De Omwenteling” about the participation process for windmills near Breda and my interviews, I defined five phases of the process (see figure 4).

I will now discuss each phase.

Phase I: Open start	Phase II: Concretizations	Phase III: Protests	Phase IV: Continuation
January 2016 – November 2016	December 2016 – October 2017	October 2017 – September 2018	Sept 2018 – now

Figure 4. Phases of participation process Breda

Phase I: Open start

When the province and the municipalities signed their covenant in December 2015 for wind energy near Breda, Public Official 1 told me, the idea was for the province to create the plans, while the municipalities focused on local participation. In practice, these roles grew quite mixed and both parties were able to complement the other. For instance, the province had more resources to set up complete participation than the municipalities, which they therefore financed. Citizen 2, with a background in innovation and sustainability, adds that the participation process first started modestly in Moerdijk. Here the energy cooperation Energiek Moerdijk was also established. Moerdijk was followed by Drimmelen and over the years the process involved also Breda, Zundert and the province.

2016 started with the first step of the MER (Environmental Impact Report), which would research area’s suitability for windmills. Public Official 2 told me how the province picked up on his book “De Revival van de Dorpsmolen” (‘The Revival of the Village Mill’), which argues that windmills should be transformed into something that can be functional and beneficial to the community. This led to the start of a participation process with the idea of sharing advantages and disadvantages (“lusten en lasten”), while working with inhabitants to create the most optimal outcome for them. The more they would be disadvantaged by windmills, the more they should be compensated with other benefits.

Participation started small with citizen and village councils being invited to a very open series of meetings about the energy transition in their area. Any input was welcome. Citizen 1 was glad to be invited instead of being ignored as had happened in previous projects. He had been able to stop the placement of windmills already in 2007, but now he heard about the ideas for participation and inhabitant ownership, he thought: “Well, if you cannot stop them, then maybe you can better make use of it”.

It seemed an effective start, but when an invitation in June accidentally ended up in the media, a broader public attended, unhappy to hear of the windmill plans. Unready to answer critical questions of the unexpectedly large audience, the government took this as a lesson to improve their future communication (preparedness), which Public Official 1 confirms. Both him and inhabitant Citizen 2 call the participation a “learning process”.

This was important, since trust was already low in the Breda area. Both the widening of the A16 highway and the creation of a high-speed rail nearby were still in inhabitants’ recent memory, as all interviewees confirmed. Citizens felt forced to accept these projects and feared windmills too would be pushed down their throats. Public Official 1 described that in hindsight he wished they looked more at this history to get a better understanding of existing sentiments in the area.

A ‘wind excursion’ was organized in May, to show inhabitants the area where windmills would be placed. To give citizens a better idea of the direct effects of windmills nearby – related to safety, view, sound and drop shadow – the government organized so-called windmill safaris in July. Buses from each municipality drove to windmills in a city nearby where everyone could get a look up close. Sound was people’s biggest concern – confirmed by all interviewees. Public Official 1 shared that they “analyzed with sound meters and asked: which sound did you find loud?”. Press was welcomed and the project was now out in the open.

During one safari, an inhabitant announced the creation of an organization called “For The Wind” (“Voor de Wind”), to stand up for inhabitants’ interests during this process. “They were very serious,” Public Official 2 shared, “and we have taken them very seriously”. All the information they asked for, they received, as Public Official 1 said: “One of our biggest successes was complete transparency”. Just one purpose was emphasized from the beginning: “One thing is certain: there will be sustainable energy in this area”. He described how the story had to be good and clear from the beginning. It should not be like “invading America while offering mirrors and beads”, a metaphor both Public Official 2 and

Public Official 1 used. The goal was made clear from the start, which was to construct windmills in the 1km strip next to the A16 road, however the exact location was yet to be decided.

After half a year, most participants were involved that would stay involved. Outreach had been performed first with tens of thousands of letters, which turned out to have been discarded by many, as Public Official 1 said. Then leaflets were spread, information was put on municipal websites and invitations were shared through village councils. Public Official 2 adds that especially the directly affected households (about 160 people) were actively reached out to. This was done if necessary by knocking on their doors and doing this as many times as needed to get in touch.

From September on, there were information evenings in the countryside. “We’re not scared of windmills, so we did it (the evenings) under them. With some good coffee and nice beer”, Public Official 1 said. Covered topics included the practical workings of windmills and how they compare to solar panels. The evenings would be at various locations for all municipalities’ accessibility. At the same time, there were weekly walk-in sessions in Breda. Public Official 2 shares: “We established an office *in* the area at Van Der Valk (hospitality chain), so that the province would not be in a tower in Den Bosch”. This was also to strengthen the trust: “Trust comes by foot and leaves by horse. You have to be a present and reachable part of the network. There has to be a shared experience of urgency.”

Phase II: Concretizations

The following “Concretizations” phase is about starting to make things more concrete: distances, decibels, affected citizens, compensations. It started in December 2016, when the government had decided the frames within which the MER would be researched. Citizens were allowed to react to this and 120 did. The nota were adjusted. For instance, now an affected area with a radius of 42 decibels would be researched instead of 47, and the noise would be cumulated with the A16 or high-speed rail. “There is definitely a form of cumulation and we have taken that seriously,” said Public Official 2. More households would therefore be included for financial compensation.

The following months there were multiple inhabitant evenings with up to 200 attendees from the wider surroundings. The municipality invited everyone in various ways: emails, letters and spreading information through councils. Most inhabitants realized that working together for the best result had become a better option than just resisting. A provincial and municipal Green Deal in April 2017 further defined environmental goals and after this, 29 parties – including initiatives like “For the Wind”, municipalities and energy companies – worked together. Of course, not everyone was satisfied. As

Citizen 2 said, “You can never make everyone happy”. Those most directly affected by windmills perceived a loss of control.

In July 2017, the MER was presented, which led to some criticism which the government took on board, followed by discussing the preferred alternative (VKA, voorkeursalternatief) with inhabitants and next by organizing further meetings for any questions and to create familiarity with the current plan. Participants of opposing sides were joking with each other and there was a ‘community-feeling’. Naturally, the meetings were still full of critical questions, but most were understanding of the fact that a location had to be chosen. Taking existing dissatisfaction into account, the municipalities sent a letter to the 88 most affected households, to invite them for a meeting where they could still ask any questions.

July had some more knowledge cafes. Public Official 1 describes that one of the covered topics is how to read assessment tables in the MER, so everyone could understand these. “I find this one of our successes. [...] You have to say, some knowledge that we have, you don’t have. So how can you make sure that a transfer can take place?”

In October, the preferred alternative was confirmed, which means the locations of the windmills were now known. And not everyone was satisfied with it.

Phase III: Protests

In this phase, two protests were planned. The first was in October 2017, where the municipality Moerdijk organized a small meeting, but invitees had organized themselves to protest and informed and invited media for this. The municipality arranged a bigger space to communicate with them. Moerdijk is a place with extra recent trauma with fire and chemical disasters in their industrial area in the past decade. Inhabitants felt like they have to live with too much bad luck. However, their own preferred alternative did not meet the requirements and thus, the municipality offered them to propose their own new alternative.

Inhabitants worked together to create this new alternative, followed by the government going over their suggestions. Some changes, like the removal of one mill, appeared viable. Citizen 2 is critical about the process that led to the removal of the windmill. “Count this for about 20 years... they miss maybe, I am not sure how many millions (of euros). But now they don’t get that because they pleaded so hard for that. I notice that it is so difficult that when you build a good, structural, long-term vision, to

translate that to what it means concretely for ‘me’”. Public Official 2 explained to me that the answer can be found in the book “Triumph of the Commons” (Van Vugt, 2009). This book explains why sustainability is not in human genes. One reason is that humans think about benefits for today before benefits for tomorrow. The long-term financial benefits, moreover, could be extra beneficial for less well-off households. Additionally, the unique financial construction (see Phase VI) that would be implemented would allow for early revenue and easier energy transitioning at the household level. The loss of the windmill is thus seen as an optimal outcome, but might be the result of short-term thinking that can create difficulties – especially for poorer households – on the long-term. But, there was now general acceptance and support.

Almost the whole year after this, – before the second protest – Public Official 1 informed me, was filled with required administrative processes and some knowledge cafés.

In September 2018, a second and final protest occurs. Inhabitants of Overa, a small place belonging to Breda, protest in their own area and at the Provincial Council. They felt not taken into account during the process. However, the Provincial Council already were convinced of the new preferred alternative and confirmed their agreement that same week. Government officials shared that Overa had solely been resisting from the start and did not truly take part in any conversations besides resisting windmills in any scenario. However, the process had to continue and after years of not discussing the content, there was said to be no room anymore for Overa’s desired adjustments. Public Official 2 described how they attempted to involve Overa from the beginning by telling them: “There is a period of dialogue (‘samenspraak’) and speaking on the record (‘inspraak’). With dialogue, you can achieve a lot as inhabitants. You can think along”. He adds: “But if the public officials have done a good job and inhabitants have given input, then the product is likely a good plan and you will have little chance that your speaking on the record will lead to changes. So we would advise you, join in the period of dialogue”. In the meantime, he has seen Overa in court about four or five times, with a new court hearing happening just days after our interview. So far, Overa has not been able to change the plans.

Phase IV: Continuation

Just a few days after Overa, the Provincial Council confirmed the integration plans. Licenses started being shared. 156 households then became part of a neighbor arrangement where the most affected households receive financial compensation. Questions and criticism are still welcome. Although it is unclear how much support there is for the windmills, there is now a general acceptance and a feeling of making the best of it.

The neighbor arrangement, effective from September 2019, is an arrangement between the developers of the windmills and directly affected households. Specifically, Public Official 2 describes that this arranges “50 cents per mW in the area. The windmills produce, I think, 120 mW/h and they will perform for three and a half thousand hours, so you end up with about 400.000 euros per year for the area”. This is many millions for those within the 42dB radius for the next approximately 25 years. Over the next fifteen years, a revenue of about 15.000 per household is expected. Instead of awaiting this, the amount was already given to inhabitants in September 2019. The only requirement was that the money would be spent on sustainable energy for the household. This could entail isolation, solar panels or even an electric bicycle. And, if anything in the future of the process were to cause less revenue, inhabitants would not have to pay anything back.

A key point that initially interested inhabitants was local ownership. Each of my interviewees explains the financial construction with enthusiasm. 25% of ownership would go to local inhabitants. Officially, this would mean that they had to initially invest 25% of the total cost, but since barely anyone would be able to afford this, a unique construction was created. By applying a specific administrative structure, the province is financing this investment.

In February 2020, there is a final session at the Council of State in The Hague, which checks the Provincial State. The Council decides that there are nine points that need to be changed. “Content-wise it was not that much. So then you bring that as a restorative decision to the Provincial Council. And since then it has just been approved. The most important was that, on December 2 2020, the Provincial Council stated that the environmental permit and the integration plan are irrevocable”. The 28 windmills are finally confirmed.

Opinions on communication between the government and citizens after this differ. Public Official 2 describes how the government should not retreat now: “The windmills are being built now and the polders are upside down right now”. Again he emphasizes how easily trust can be lost and how hard they had to work for it, hence his concern about the province literally leaving. Public Official 1 adds that there is definitely thought being put into aftercare. The current sound level has been measured and will be measured again once the windmills are there. Participation is back in the hands of the local municipalities. Additionally, a sort of wish list was created to make the process go as smoothly as possible. So far, much has been achieved, such as measures to prevent nuisance during the construction. The creation of a sound app is planned, which will show the dB level in real time. “The after care is pretty intensive,” Public Official 2 describes.

In November 2022, the first windmills are supposed to start working.

Overall process

An additional point about the process as a whole relates to diversity and representation. Everyone agrees that it was mostly older (about 50+) white people attending. The larger part was male. Public Official 2 said that this was not representative, but that this is always difficult to achieve. The most present group already has settled down and has more to lose. They tried to involve younger people by involving schools. How to attract people with an immigration background was not yet given substance to. "The countryside is less diverse, but that does not explain it completely", Public Official 2 says. Citizen 2 shares that the current participants tend to be more conservative and less open to change, while others who were now less represented can be more open to change.

FsQCA scores

I now connect these results from interviewees and additional documents with the appropriate Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis scores. Starting with the dependent variable, 'citizen resistance', NIMBY-reasons scores 1.0 since sound was the biggest concern from beginning to end. Still, citizens never felt classified unfairly as 'just NIMBY' with its negative connotations such as selfishness, scoring this indicator a 0.0. Only a few non-NIMBY reasons were mentioned, scoring it a 0.33. At the complete start, trust was basically non-existent (0.0) due to recent trauma, and resistance was rather high at 0.67. The government managed quite quickly, already starting in phase I, change this positively and raising trust towards 0.67 and lowering resistance to 0.0 in the end. Noteworthy, there is still a little bit of resistance in Overa, but this area is so small compared to the complete region (about 200 inhabitants out of about 90.000-100.000) that I keep the final score as an average of 0.0.

The citizen participation guidelines and obstacles can have influenced these resistance scores. Regarding the guidelines, Breda scores positively on each 'citizen participation' indicator. The following guidelines were followed fully – thus a score of 1.0 – in each of the five phases according to both interviewees and "De Omwenteling": design revisitation and redesigning if needed, effective leadership, usage of existing resources, the generation of new resources, the application of appropriate guiding rules and structures and finally engagement technologies that fit the context and purposes. The application of a stakeholder analysis also scores 1.0, but just for the first phase. Afterwards, it scores 0.0, which makes sense since this should be done early in the process. Then, scoring positive (0.67) but not completely maximum (1.0) throughout every phase are the identified

purposes, how the design fits the context, the perceived legitimacy of the participation form and interactions and management of power dynamics. The perceived legitimacy scored lower, 0.33, in the very first months of Phase I due to many participants still feeling skeptical because of recent trauma. Due to the good application of the other guidelines this quickly grew to 0.67 and stayed like this. I do not score it the full 1.0 because there were always small sounds of dissatisfaction about the legitimacy of the plans, such as from “For The Wind”, Moerdijk or Overa. Inclusive engagement processes score 0.67 due to the very active outreach to inhabitants with all points of view, but at the same time not having been able to involve a fully representative group. Especially younger inhabitants and people of different ethnic backgrounds were not involved as much as most interviewees would have liked.

Finally, Breda scores very low on participation obstacles. During the entire process, barely any obstacle occurred. This means that the following indicators score 0.0 for every phase: information deficits/asymmetries, poor attitude of public officials, unrealistic expectations and a tick-the-box approach. Two obstacles were present a bit, 0.33: poor community representation and dominating citizens. Involved public officials shared that these are usually present and can be difficult to completely eliminate.

All these scores are summarized in section 4C and then compared to the scores of Amsterdam.

4B. Amsterdam

The second case is the participation process surrounding the consultation group Amsterdam South-East in Amsterdam. Phases I have identified for this case are based on the reflection research from Leiden University of RES Amsterdam and my own interviews.

Of the six phases (see Figure 5), the first four are based on Leiden University’s identified phases until May 2021. I added three phases after based on my interviews.

Phase I: Start-up	Phase II: Ateliers	Phase III: Awareness	Phase IV: Conflict	Phase V: Taking a breath	Phase VI: Speeding	Phase VII: The bomb
Until April 2019	April 2019 – April 2020	May 2020 – December 2020	First half 2021	May 2021 – October 2021	October 2021- January 2022	January 2022 – now and future

Figure 5. Phases of Participation Process Amsterdam

Phase I: Start-Up

Amsterdam has been lagging behind on its ambitious climate policies. After the province of North Holland halted wind energy related plans in 2018, a new provincial coalition finally wanted to establish

these plans. With extra pressure from a Climate Agreement in 2018 – which mandates that Dutch regions should create their own Regional Energy Strategy (RES) – Amsterdam aimed to use its maximum wind energy potential as part of the RES region North-Holland South. Thus, with years of setbacks, falling behind and now finally new pressure and support, Amsterdam was motivated to start and wants citizen participation to play a key role.

Phase II: Ateliers

In spring of 2019, Amsterdam, with the help of various involved parties but not citizens, gathers information about energy and space. Based on this, scenarios are created. These are discussed in Summer, in ateliers, with various stakeholders and a few citizens who are part of a sustainability network. In October to December, more parties are invited, including citizens, to five ateliers to discuss the scenarios. 167 people ended up attending the ateliers to discuss seven search areas (possible locations for windmills). Two conclusions end up being used for the concept RES, but how specific input of citizens is used is unclear.

Various ways of contacting citizens were applied: municipality websites, social media, newsletters and sustainability networks. Actively reaching out to those who were likely to have opposing views was not done. It was mostly supportive citizens attending with an already existing interest in the energy transition. Public Official 3 confirms that a common problem of policy creation is that when its level of abstraction is high in the beginning, it attracts less participants. “And when it becomes more concrete, they say: ‘hey, this could be happening in our neighborhood’. And then they become increasingly aware and have this feeling: ‘hey, why were we never involved before?’. But we did try to do that.” This indeed happened in phase III.

Citizens’ ideas in this phase were mixed: in favor, against, or open to hear about the project. Citizen 3 belongs to the latter and is determined to be open to the city council’s plans, stating: “I stand for democracy and if this Council was chosen, then I want to trust it”. One other key memory of Citizen 3 from this phase is the firm statement of alderwoman Van Doorninck that windmills would not be placed in protected nature. Undoing this promise in later phases was one of various reasons that citizen trust diminished.

Phase III: Awareness Phase

In June, awareness grows quickly and sentiments change. Inhabitants get informed during information evenings online (because of COVID-19) per neighborhood of Amsterdam, with over 500 citizens joining.

Ideas have become more concrete and awareness grows, followed by unrest. Heavy discussions take place. One inhabitant creates a petition which later grows into protest movement WindAlarm. Citizen 3, Citizen 4 and Citizen 5 consider the exact same key issues: impacts on health from the windmills' noise and shadow (including migraines), impacts on mental health for poorer inhabitants due to the only nature they can access (for regular purposes but also for holidays) being affected, the disturbance of wildlife (mainly birds) and the visual changes of beautiful scenery.

From June to October, Amsterdam gathered these reactions for reaction nota and afterwards organized information sessions and walk-in moments in November. December followed with an online meeting hosted by alderwoman Van Doorninck. 623 people were watching, leaving over 2500 mostly critical comments in the chat. Most were from the same 14 people. Van Doorninck acknowledged the worries and criticism of inhabitants, but no clear adjustments were made.

While citizens still wish to discuss their concerns about windmills, the government hopes to discuss the upcoming process. This mismatch in expectations led to heavier discussions. Citizens in favor of windmills stopped attending meetings due to a fear of hostile remarks. This resulted in a stronger 'citizens versus government' setting.

Participation Expert 1 shares that this phase focused too much about considering professional perspectives and less citizens' perspectives. Citizen 3 considered the government's shared information minimal and Citizen 2 shares how she was told not to worry because nothing had been decided, to next be confronted with statements as "the search areas have been decided and the number of wind turbines as well". Citizens' desire for an assessment framework ('afwegingskader), however, was heard and put on schedule.

A meeting in December was meant to give citizens feedback on past activities, but lead to even stronger polarization. This is when conflict grew.

Phase IV: Conflict

In the winter of 2020, multiple protest groups formed besides WindAlarm. They spread flyers, media posts and created banners and protests. Instead of previous various perceptions, now the worried and critical perceptions dominated.

In April and May five information sessions were held with a record number of 7500 unique attendees. Hundreds of people spoke to the City Council during their meetings. Amsterdam received hundreds of emails, which required so much time to respond to that the municipality “had two people fulltime on the inbox to answer questions”, Participation Expert 1 shared. The government’s responses, according to LU, were perceived as transparent but not as what citizens truly wanted: a conversation about the content, like the search areas. More protests followed. In February, based on all these reactions and input, Amsterdam acknowledged citizens’ worries through a letter and shared further information about their plans.

Unrest grew stronger when the government, in March, limited the amount of search areas and decided on the unpopular 350m distance of windmills to housing areas, followed by an acceptance of the RES 1.0 in May for which all except one motions (about making working groups) were accepted.

Due to the large amount of criticism, Amsterdam decides to insert a phase of rest after the RES 1.0 confirmation by the Amsterdam city council.

Phase V: Taking a breath

Due to growing polarization, conflict and stress, the government decided to insert a phase of rest. Public Mediation was asked for help with the participation and the University of Leiden was asked to perform a participation evaluation. The final product was published after this phase, in January 2022. Some inhabitants were aware of this research, like Citizen 4, and appreciate its independence to the project.

Participation Expert 1 shares this was a phase of rest, to stop and think. Later this was called the reflection phase. Noteworthy, as Public Official 3 told me, the official reflection phase lasted from May 2021 to February 2022.

Public Official 1 shared that the goal of this phase was to inventorize and clarify the worries and needs of citizens. Much past content was researched and two new researches were performed: context mapping (giving values to space based on aspects as recreational value) and an online questionnaire that asked citizens to make decisions from the perspective of public officials. Public Official 1 described that the questionnaire was accessible, but still led to some dissatisfaction due to voting against windmills not being an option. Citizen 5 indeed confirms: “You could not say you did not want those

windmills. [...] You should look at the comments below the questionnaire, that's where everyone let out their thoughts. But they did not do anything with that.”

After two months delay due to corona and practical issues with setting up the consultation groups, the next phase started.

Phase VI: Speeding

Consultation groups were meeting again from late October 2021. There were four based on neighborhood, of which South-East was one. Public Mediation was asked for advice and practical help, including chairing these meetings.

Participation Expert 1 shares that some of Public Mediation's advices were not followed. He emphasizes that municipal decision-making is complex and that there naturally have been political reasons to choose different pathways. Two municipal deviations could have worked with some luck, but seemed to cause further trouble. First, Public Mediation recommended dialogue groups instead of consultation groups. These are less focused on policy and more on being able to touch any topic. But, as Public Official 1 said, the goal of the participation was to receive advice from the consultation groups about the research of Phase V and thus consultation groups were chosen. Second, Public Mediation suggested a plan of a year. However, unfortunately timed, Council elections were planned in March, which meant two things: politicians would be hard to reach due to – as Participation Expert 1 said – being in “campaigning mode”, and the Council might change, leading to political changes that could affect the project. Thus, besides starting two months late, the participation that required a year now just received a few months to complete: from October to December.

All interviewees confirm the time pressure. According to Participation Expert 1, meetings became too frequent, namely every 2 weeks. Additionally, the amount of meetings planned for feedback on the research product was limited. Citizen 4 and Citizen 5 share how much work had to be done in so little time.

When participants decided they disagreed with the municipality's content of the assessment framework, they requested to write their own version that the municipality could consider, to which the municipality agreed. Citizen 4 and Citizen 5 share how much time was spent in just a few days on adjusting the document with new content. Citizen 5 shares that barely anything was taken over. Citizen 4 confirms this: “Only a small part was taken over, a very large part was not. And they did not even get

back to us. So then weeks later you receive the version that has already been sent to the Council". Public Official 3 indeed knew this was a painful moment for the consultation group. However, he stated that the municipality was genuinely impressed with all their work, and had in fact shared instructions clearly beforehand: to focus on worries and needs. The government considered the document too lengthy about certain topics and too often taking a stance. Thus, perceptions on why which part was taken over differ.

During this phase's meetings, ideas varied on the goal of the consultation group. Participation Expert 1 and Public Official 3 describe that the goal was for the groups to react to the concept research product. Public Official 3 shares the frustration that he believes this goal was explained clearly, but that a part of the group would stay stuck in fear for their future living environment, leading them to discuss only the content without hearing their true purpose. Since the concept product was about citizens' worries and needs, Citizen 4 found this a derogatory part of the goal. "It was meant to take away our worries, as if we are unnecessarily worried. [...] It was really like: you all don't understand the necessity". In fact, each inhabitant I spoke to seemed to emphasize the importance of the energy transition. For instance, Citizen 5 has a past of environmental protests, Citizen 4 lives highly sustainably on the allotment garden and Citizen 5 invested in an electric car and solar panels. They each feel like the label "NIMBY" is highly unfair, since they care about the environment but have justified reasons to worry about the windmills.

After two meetings, many inhabitants including Citizen 4 and Citizen 5 felt dissatisfied. The focus was too little on the content. Here Public Official 1 mentions a point where the government had lacked: informing citizens on the content. He said there was no time to do this. Citizens would ask questions about other forms of energy such as solar, while the municipality had had its reasons to pick wind. Citizen 5 shared that the municipality never explained its choices for windmills. She said it could have changed her understanding, "or they should ask us to think with them, because we are pretty smart people here". Each inhabitant felt that local knowledge was not taken seriously. Citizens felt not heard or informed about the content.

Unpleasant discussions followed and the relation between Participation Expert 1 as a chair and participants did not seem good. Some citizens like Citizen 5 did not see Public Mediation as independent because "they get paid by the municipality, so the chair can never truly be independent". Participation Expert 1 was aware of this. Additionally, he shared, the trust between all involved individuals was not as good as it could have been for two reasons: all meetings were held online

because of COVID-19, limiting trust-building contact like casual talks at the coffee machine, and time pressure limited the possibility for relationship-building.

Noteworthy, there was distrust and dissatisfaction regarding the alderwoman Marieke Van Doorninck. Citizen 3 shared: “She is a very determined lady. [...] She confirmed (in phase II) that they would be placed in protected nature”. Citizen 5 adds: “Van Doorninck would pressure on saying ‘you are right, but we still go on’”. They said the alderwoman added to their damaged trust and made the process feel like a tick-the-box process. Participation Expert 1 disagreed on this, stated that the government wanted to involve people well, but did have an attitude of ‘proponents’ and ‘opponents’, which leads to more defensive behavior.

Lack of trust and dissatisfaction led citizens to propose a meeting where they decided on the agenda. All parties agreed and the next meeting was also hosted by an inhabitant. This turned into a success. The atmosphere was good and seemed productive. Afterwards, Participation Expert 1 was asked to take over again with everyone’s hope that the good atmosphere of this meeting could be continued. Unfortunately, there was not much continuation after this. Citizens felt as if their time and effort did not change anything and resigned, starting phase VII.

Phase VII: The Bomb

“Then the bomb happened”, Public Official 3 shared with me. Participants of consultation group South-East decided to resign by sending a resignation letter to the alderwoman, the Council and the press in January 2022.

Damaged trust according to inhabitants played a key role in the resignation. “I don’t want to be such a bitter sour person,” Citizen 3 shares, “but I am forced to be like that and I think that is so painful.” She adds: “There is such disdain and arrogance in that city. I did not want to know that”. Citizen 5 adds: “I have voted for GroenLinks a lot, but now never again”. GroenLinks is the party of alderwoman Van Doorninck. Participation Expert 1 agrees that the resignation was a vote of no-confidence. Public Official 3 is more careful with conclusions. The municipal elections in March showed that the previous four parties of the coalition kept the same amount of seats together. “But, you can say the GroenLinks was no longer the biggest, but that the Labor Party (PvdA) was now the biggest. But it’s not like GroenLinks was cut in half”.

After the resignation, ideas differ on the municipality's response. Citizen 3 says that communication is still bad: "after the sixth email there will be a reply by someone who doesn't know and will forward it. That's how it goes". Citizen 4 shares that one talk of less than an hour was held with Van Doorninck, "and she could mention that in the Commission. [...] But just an hour? And then she left immediately. While so many people spent their free time on this, and then you just have an hour?". "This cost her her job", Citizen 5 shares. Indeed, Van Doorninck got replaced by GroenLinks with someone else in May. Citizen 4 states that Van Doorninck promised a follow-up meeting which later was deemed unnecessary, while Public Official 1 shares that Van Doorninck had never heard back from citizens about the follow-up. Although this is a 'yes or no' story, there clearly was a form of miscommunication.

Public Official 3 informs me about many new plans, most of which are still concepts: a new plan MER (environmental impact report) with a different setup, new consultation groups based on theme instead of neighborhood, theme meetings with experts present and actively involving more diverse participants by learning about different methods engagement methods from participation experts. The group SARA (City Advice group RES Amsterdam) becomes more prominent. Citizen 5 is joining with the hope of limited influence, but fears another tick-the-box process. Citizen 4 also shares to have low expectations of the continuation.

Further administrative decisions happen around 2023 and 2024, after which placement of the windmills happens around 2026 and 2027.

Overall process

During the entire process, every interviewee acknowledges that the participants were not diverse, especially considering the diversity of South-East as a neighborhood. Public Official 3 and Participation Expert 1 shared that an independent bureau had made a diverse selection of applicants, based for instance on age, gender or type of employment. Participation Expert 1 explained that creating diversity is complicated since the government is not allowed to ask people's ethnic background. He is aware of various techniques that attract people from different backgrounds, but these became impossible due to the limitations of COVID-19. Most participants turned out to be white, older – often retired – well-educated native Dutch people. Citizen 4 adds that immigrants might feel less confident to participate because of language or education gaps.

FsQCA Indicators

These results lead to certain Fuzzy Set scores. I will start again with the dependent variable: citizen resistance. During the whole process, we see that resistance reasons are both NIMBY (1.0) and non-NIMBY (1.0). Still, citizens felt unfairly classified as just selfishly NIMBY (1.0). Although in Phase I and II the unfair classification might have scored closer to 0.33, once awareness grew in Phase III, the perceptions began to turn. More critical citizens turned up. This change is also visible for trust and resistance. Whereas trust started with 0.67 and resistance with about 0.33, this turned to 0.33 and 0.67 in Phase III respectively and stayed like this for Phase IV and V. In Phase VI and VII, trust became 0.0 and resistance 1.0.

When looking at the guidelines, it is clear that their application was partly performed well and partly not performed well – or at all. First, a stakeholder analysis was performed in Phase I (1.0) and in every phase there was usage of existing resources (1.0). Second, some indicators scored quite well throughout all phases, scoring them a 0.67: leadership (in the form of sponsors, champions and facilitators), appropriate guiding rules and structures and finally the management of power dynamics. These also seem interrelated. The rules and structures, for instance, were applied by those in a leadership position and included structures that would allow anyone to be able to share their opinion. Still, some citizens felt a bit uncomfortable speaking up, hence power dynamics management does not score the full 1.0. Then, there are some points that were performed only a bit, scoring them 0.33. Throughout the whole process, the design was not enough revisited and redesigned (0.33), leading to a design that did not fit in the context (0.33). Importantly, in Phase V (Taking a breath), there was a big revisitation and redesigning with the help of participation experts, scoring it 1.0 in this phase. Unfortunately, COVID-19 and time pressure affected the participation and from Phase VI on again, the revisitation and fit of the design in the context became low again (0.33). Furthermore, the form of participation and interactions were perceived as quite legitimate in Phase I and II (0.67), but again lowered to 0.33 in Phase III when most people – especially critical inhabitants – became aware of the project. This score stayed low for the following phases. Then, new resources were not created much during the phases. Although new data was gathered, other resources were lost such as enthusiasm, commitment or government-community trust. Citizens were also not convinced any useful resources were being created. These reasons leads the score to be 0.33 during every phase. Next, inclusive processes that engage diversity were barely performed. There was no active outreach for critical citizens and only limited attempts for the inclusion of younger age groups and ethnic diversities, which were all present in the region but barely represented. Importantly, COVID-19 complicated physical forms of outreach. The score therefore ends up being 0.33. Finally, technologies for engagement frequently did not fit the context or purposes very well. Citizens mentioned technologies like online

meetings where only a couple citizens would show up, or the online questionnaire that angered citizens because they felt in complete disagreement with its contents. Finally, only ‘identified purposes’ scored 0 as interviewees indicate the purposes were simply not identified or clarified.

4C. Comparative Qualitative Analysis

With the Fuzzy Set Scores of both cases I will now perform a Comparative Qualitative Analysis. I only discuss score differences that most likely affected resistance. This means I will take a closer look at scores with at least 0.67 distance, or 0.33 distance if the difference means that one case is “more in than out” and the other “more out than in” (thus 0.33 and 0.67).

It became visible that citizen resistance grew and trust reduced in Amsterdam, while the opposite is true for Breda. Comparing the indicators for each variable per case can cast a light on which indicators could have influenced this development. I split the indicators’ scores in Table 4 per variable, thus citizen resistance (a), citizen participation (b) and participation obstacles (c), and analyze them one by one.

Indicator	Breda	Amsterdam
NIMBY-reasons (noise, visual, etc.)	1.0	1.0
Non-NIMBY reasons (equity, unfair burden, etc.)	0.33	1.0
NIMBY experienced as unfair classification	0.0	1.0
Trust at start	0.0	0.67
Trust growth	0.67	0.0
Trust reduction	0.0	0.67
Resistance at start	0.67	0.67
Resistance growth	0.33	1.0
Resistance reduction	0.67	0.0

Table 4a. Indicator scores “citizen resistance” variable

First, regarding the dependent valuable ‘citizen resistance’, the indicators ‘NIMBY-reasons’ and ‘resistance at start’ score high and equal, meaning that a start with resistance and the inclusion of NIMBY-reasons did not seem to have any influence on whether resistance grew or reduced.

The biggest difference (1.0 distance) is in citizens’ experience of being classified as selfishly NIMBY unfairly. This is fully present in Amsterdam but not at all in Breda. In Amsterdam this contributed to citizens feeling not taken seriously and both Participation Expert 1 and Public Official 3 agree that citizens cannot be categorized as solely NIMBY. Still citizens felt portrayed this way. The opposite scores in each case and the significance given to this indicator by interviewees reveals that this indicator likely played a large role in how resistance developed differently. This is interesting since

everyone agrees that there are also non-NIMBY reasons at play in Amsterdam, while in Breda only NIMBY-reasons played a role but no one felt portrayed unfairly as simply complaining about NIMBY problems. NIMBY-concerns were approached in Breda as very fair concerns.

The other indicators differ with 0.67 points. Where Breda had no focus on non-NIMBY reasons (0.33), Amsterdam had this predominantly (1.0). Furthermore, Amsterdam started with quite some citizen trust (0.67) which reduced much (0.67), whereas Breda started with barely any trust (0.0) which changed 0.67 points in the opposite direction. Lower trust at the start thus does not necessarily lead to more resistance and at the same time, more trust at the start does not necessarily lead to less resistance.

Indeed, Amsterdam, that started with less resistance (0.33) saw a big resistance growth (1.0), while Breda started with more resistance (0.67) and managed to bring this down to 0.0. This is in line with Leiden University’s research, with the book “De Omwenteling” and with the cases’ coverage in the media. Also in line with these documents is who mostly resisted. These were white older people in both cases, often male, and in the Amsterdam case the term “better educated” was used frequently to describe the most actively resisting citizens.

Indicator	Breda	Amsterdam
Identified purposes	0.67	0.0
Fit of design in context	0.67	0.33
Design revisited & redesigned if needed	1.0	0.33
Stakeholder analysis	1.0	1.0
Form of participation seen as legitimate	0.67	0.33
Interactions seen as legitimate	0.67	0.33
Leadership in the form of sponsors, champions and facilitators	1.0	0.67
Usage existing resources (e.g. funds, staff time)	1.0	1.0
Generation new resources (e.g. new information, social capital, government-community trust)	1.0	0.33
Appropriate guiding rules and structures	1.0	0.67
Inclusive processes that engage diversity	0.67	0.33
Management power dynamics	0.67	0.67
Technologies for engagement fit context and purposes (e.g. mapping tools, variety in technologies)	1.0	0.33

Table 4b. Indicator scores “citizen participation” variable

Second, regarding the valuable “citizen participation”, Breda scores equal or higher on each point, showing that Breda followed more of Bryson et al.’s (2012) guidelines.

‘Stakeholder analysis’, ‘management power dynamics’ and ‘usage existing resources’ score high and equal for both cases and do therefore not indicate an effect on changing resistance. ‘Inclusive processes that engage diversity’ score low but also equal, thus leading to the same conclusion. Most interviewees were dissatisfied about the lack of diversity, but it did not appear to affect resistance.

The largest differences between both cases are seen in ‘identified purposes’, ‘design revisited’, ‘generation new resources’ and ‘technologies for engagement fit context and purpose’. Breda receives 0.67 points more for these indicators. Most interviewees also specifically indicate to feel happy about these indicators having been included. Purposes were mostly clear and understood, there were various evaluation processes that led to redesigning if necessary and especially the variety in engagement technologies was appreciated (such as website updates, or the app that keeps everyone updated on decibel levels). Noteworthy, although Amsterdam applied a big design revisitation in Phase V (Taking a breath), most interviewees – especially citizens – indicate that in the following phase this revisitation and redesigning stopped again.

Finally, there are some smaller differences (0.33 points) that still do indicate the difference between more *in or out* and that could therefore have played a role in growing/reducing resistance, albeit perhaps to a lesser extent. These include ‘fit of design in context’, ‘form of participation seen as legitimate’, ‘interactions seen as legitimate’ and ‘inclusive processes that engage diversity’. Especially regarding the latter three, citizens indicate that for instance not knowing how their input would be used precisely (or at all) and the lack of representation of their diverse community led to less legitimacy.

Indicator	Breda	Amsterdam
Information deficits/asymmetries	0.0	0.67
Poor attitude of public officials (public/expert perspective)	0.0	0.33
Poor attitude of public officials (citizens’ perspective)	0.0	1.0
Unrealistic expectations	0.0	0.67
‘Tick-the-box’ (public/expert perspective)	0.0	0.0
‘Tick-the-box’ (citizens’ perspective)	0.0	1.0
Poor community representation	0.33	0.33
Dominating citizens	0.33	0.33

Table 4c. Indicator scores “citizen participation obstacles” variable

Third and final, this table for ‘citizen participation obstacles’ scores includes two indicators that had received clearly opposing scores depending on who answered. Taking an average would not represent a fair score and therefore I separated them. Public Official 1 and Participation Expert 1 thought the attitude of public officials was mostly good and that the process was not a ‘tick-the-box’ approach,

whereas citizens perceived this completely oppositely. They were highly critical of public officials' skepticism, felt not taken seriously at all or even felt denigrated as being ignorant or not caring about the energy transition. They shared that this greatly damaged their trust.

Then, there are two indicators that Amsterdam scores 0.67 higher on. First, 'information deficits' lie mostly in the lack of more content-related information sharing, such as the more technical workings of windmills. Breda worked actively to involve as many inhabitants as possible in various informative events, such as knowledge cafés. Furthermore, information did not reach certain groups, such as the aforementioned Surinamese inhabitants who receive information more at social events. Of course, the possibility to do this was limited due to COVID-19. Second, 'unrealistic expectations' were felt as increasingly unrealistic by citizens over time due to created expectations not being realized. This and a lack of trust seemed to reinforce each other.

The last two indicators, 'community representation' and 'dominating citizens', indicate no relation to growing/reducing resistance due to their equal scores.

4D. Indicators During the Process

Breda and Amsterdam followed different phases during which the indicators arose or changed. Some indicators are present throughout the whole process with a quite constant score. Their impact on resistance levels cannot be attributed to specific phases, but likely to their continuous presence and consistency. There are quite some indicators that scored consistently throughout the phases of both cases, but where Breda scored higher. (Again, only the >0.67 difference is mentioned, or 0.33-0.67 to indicate the more in/out difference.) First, Breda scored 0.67 compared to 0.33 in Amsterdam for: a contextual design fit and a legitimately perceived form of participation and interactions. Second, Breda through every phase scored much higher (0.67) for design revisitation (& redesigning), the generation of new resources – over time differing and including information creation, social connections, enthusiasm, trust – and technologies for engagement – also differing over time, for instance including visiting windmills or creating an app to show windmills' dB levels. Third, Amsterdam scored 0.67 higher in every phase for other indicators, namely the presence of non-NIMBY reasons and information deficits.

Certain indicators do cause change in specific phases, or contribute to a chain reaction through phases that leads to resistance change. In Breda, Phase I (Open Start) included identified purposes (0.67). In Amsterdam there was a constant misunderstanding between government and citizens about the

purpose of the participation, whereas the clarity of Breda in the first phase added to citizens' understanding of what they could expect, lessening unrealistic expectations (0.0). Moreover, these purposes were not set in stone and citizens were made aware from the start how their contributions could adjust the purpose. Furthermore, honest and open communication and revisiting (& redesigning) directly from Phase I added to the perceived attitude of public officials (0.0 for 'poor attitude) and the legitimacy of interactions and form of participation (0.67). Interesting is that trust in Phase I is 0.0 due to recent trauma (HSL, highway, industrial disasters) compared to 0.67 in Amsterdam. This unfortunate start did not dictate the rest of the process. Trust would rise to 0.33 in Phase II and 0.67 in phase III and IV. I do not score it a 1.0 because some citizens only became accepting rather than actually trusting. Additionally, resistance would be 0.67 at the start, but reduce to 0.33 in the next three phases. This 0.33 predominantly applies to two areas: Overa and Moerdijk in Phase III and Overa in Phase IV. All other areas score 0.0 from Phase II on.

In Amsterdam, we see many indicators change in Phase III (Awareness). Although the municipality had tried to involve many affected citizens, most only became aware in this phase and felt overwhelmed. Whereas first mainly energy transition enthusiasts participated, these same enthusiasts now felt uncomfortable with the newly joining highly critical citizens and many left, leaving mostly opposing citizens and changing some indicator scores: feeling classified unfairly as NIMBY (from 0.0 to 1.0), trust (from 0.67 to 0.33), resistance growth (0.0 to 0.67), the perception of unrealistic expectations (0.33 to 0.67), citizens' perception of public officials' poor attitude (0.0 to 0.67) and a citizens' perceived tick-the-box approach (0.0 to 0.67). These stayed similar or grew in Phase IV (Conflict), after which phase V (Taking a breath) was inserted for a design revisitation (this indicator thus scoring 1.0 here). However, time pressure (Phase VII, Speeding) lead to participation experts' plans being highly compressed, which turned out not to work – as warned for by the experts. There was no further redesigning (0.0) for a design that did not fit the context (0.0), purposes were again unclear to citizens (0.0), interactions were perceived as less legitimate (0.33) (both due to Public Mediation not being perceived as independent, and slow governmental responses because of too much pressure), citizens felt like the new resources they hoped to generate (0.0) were barely considered and this all adds to citizens' perception of a tick-the-box approach (1.0). Consequently, resistance rises to 1.0 and consultation group South-East VII introduces Phase VII (The bomb) by resigning.

5. Discussion

I will now discuss my results and how they relate to the Theoretical Framework (Chapter 2).

5A. Breda

Breda shows the interesting case of citizen participation with no trust at the start, but succeeding to improve this greatly. Kim (2005) and Borch et al. (2020) argued that a start with damaged trust leads to following government actions being more likely perceived as untrustworthy, causing more resistance. But, Breda managed to show this does not need to be the case. I now discuss what and what did not contribute to this.

Inhabitants had one main concern about windmills far above any other: noise. This is a NIMBY indicator, but inhabitants never felt approached as if they were just selfish, irrational or ignorant, which usually happens with Nimbyism (Dear, 1992). No deeper non-NIMBY reasons like equity (Wolskink, 2007) were really at play and neither were they needed to be taken seriously, since noise as a NIMBY-reason was seen as a completely valid reason for citizens to worry.

Due to both a lack of trust and knowledge from the start, many citizens were against windmills in Phase I. Breda dealt with this well. Although Petrova (2013) wrote that citizens are often aware of the need for alternative energy sources and usefulness of wind energy, this did not appear to be the case for a part of the inhabitants and neither did Breda assume this to be the case. Instead, they applied methods in Phase I that included and informed as many inhabitants as possible (wind excursions, wind safaris, open meetings, etc.). These and similar actions continued in later phases, but created a strong start that strengthened predominantly the following guidelines of Bryson et al. (2012): fit of design in context, design revisitation (& redesigning), legitimacy of participation form and interactions, generation new resources, fitting technologies for engagement, trust growth, resistance reduction. Regarding obstacles (Iannello, 2019), the strong start in Phase I seemed to directly prevent certain obstacles that did arise in Amsterdam: information deficits, a perceived poor attitude of public officials, unrealistic expectations and a perceived tick-the-box approach. In none of the later phases did these obstacles arise in Breda either, besides shortly Moerdijk and small resisting area Overa.

Although not all indicators scored perfectly, this participation project can so far be considered quite successful. It has led to benefits for the government, including policy support (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) and the consultation of local knowledge and capacities (for instance the creation of citizen-organized energy corporations) that led to more effective policy implementation (Iannello,

2019). For citizens, it meant the ability to learn about the policy process and directly influence a project that would affect their living environment (Iannello, 2019). Reasons for citizens not to want to participate (Iannello, 2019) were mostly handled well by the government. For instance, those less educated on the topic received many opportunities to learn, and those uninterested were invited in various ways, especially those living in close vicinity.

5B. Amsterdam

Amsterdam shows that trust at the start is no guarantee for a stable continuation of trust, even though this is stated to be likely (Borch et al. 2020), especially when citizen participation is applied (Hardin & Offe, 1999). It is clear that trust damage along the way has significant impact no matter the starting position (Kim, 2005).

If we look back at Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation (Figure 1), we see that the government's goal was 'consultation', but citizens' perception was 'informing' at most due to feeling powerless in the process. Additionally, they felt denigrated as 'unknowing' or 'selfish' regarding the energy transition, feeling portrayed unfairly as 'just NIMBY'. This stands out because, as Dear (1992) would argue, of its simplicity in viewing citizens. Moreover, inhabitants' reasons included many non-NIMBY arguments, while in Breda it was solely NIMBY and there no one felt portrayed as 'just NIMBY'.

We see that certain drawbacks of participation come forward in this process. The relationship between government and citizens is deteriorating in general, but in Amsterdam this started from a rather good position. However, as Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk (2016) write, due to the process being disappointing for citizens, this relationship worsened, as is visible in the change of trust and resistance. Iannello et al. (2019) would add that this is partly because the ignoring of results leads to meaningless participation. Noteworthy, only citizens indicated that their results were largely ignored.

One key problem of the mismatch between citizens and the government could be the lack of alignment between most guidelines (Bryson et al., 2012). This is the last guideline that connects many of them. In the case of Amsterdam, we see that there is no – or at least how citizens experience it – alignment between the goals, purposes, approaches, promises, methods and technologies. The results show unclarity and misalignments between each of these. The likely consequences of this, as described by Bryson et al., (2012), occurred: miscommunication, misunderstanding, conflict and reduced trust. Moreover, cynicism concerning citizen participation can arise. This is visible in Phase IV, where citizens not only pulled out but also have no hope for future participation plans of Amsterdam.

As the results described, citizen participation obstacles were present. As Iannello et al. (2019) describe, these were interrelated. Information deficits lead to unrealistic expectations and the citizens' perception of a tick-the-box approach. The latter was reinforced by their perception of the public officials' attitudes.

Noteworthy, the project ran into two setbacks that affected indicators: COVID-19 and time-pressure. COVID made it harder to reach out actively in various ways for inclusivity – which in turn led to a lower capability to reach a better context-fitting design, perceived legitimacy and create new resources, and seemed to strengthen certain obstacles' presence including an information deficit, citizens' perception of public officials and citizens' perception of tick-the-box. Time-pressure added to this and also diminished the possibility for relationship building, which limited trust and therefore other indicators like the perception of public officials' attitude, perceived legitimacy of interactions, and more.

Finally, it is important to mention that both sides – government and citizens – see the biggest problems differently. With this I am referring to the main reasons that resistance in Breda reduced while in Amsterdam it grew. Citizens of Amsterdam mention mainly two things: the expectation of the government to put much time and effort into the project while having limited time, and feeling like they and their efforts are not taken seriously. The governmental side, however, mentions the fact that the windmills would end up in a protected natural area and because of citizens living next to this nature live in a more densely populated area than people in Breda, which puts even more value on this natural area. Also, citizens frequently have limited knowledge on windmill energy. Public Official 3 saw this as something that the government should have provided more information on. Both parties agree on the difficulties of time pressure and the digital context due to COVID-19.

5C. A New Framework

Both processes started with a similar amount of resistance but developed in different directions. We have now seen, per phase, which indicators are mostly present and how they might contribute to the changes in resistance. This will be summarized again in Chapter 6: Conclusion.

We see that in both Amsterdam and Breda, Nimbyism is at play. This should be seen as a more complex concept than just something related to ignorance or selfishness (Dear, 1992), which Breda did with good consequences for the citizen-government relationship. Besides NIMBY being a complex concept – even a contested concept in academic literature –, windmill projects in themselves as part of the

energy transition are complex as well. The researched indicators that affect the resistance to these windmills show varying scores that have different interrelations, within and between variables. For instance, we see that trust is easily broken by certain obstacles and much effort of well applied guidelines is required to restore this. There is no clear one-way relationship where guideline A is affected by Obstacle B and leads to an X amount of Windmill Resistance C. Instead, all indicators seem to have more complex relationships.

Indeed, as Bryson et al. (2012) wrote, the guidelines are interrelated. My results show that it is not only the guidelines that are interrelated with each other and that are then influenced by participation obstacles, but actually the guidelines and obstacles seem to influence each other both ways. It is not thus the fact that either Iannello et al.'s or Bryson et al.'s framework explain resistance better, but they form a system together. To a certain extent, this is a reinforcing system: the good application of guidelines leads to fewer obstacles, which leads to easier application of the guidelines. This is visible in Breda. Negative reinforcement becomes especially visible in Amsterdam. Here lower 'Citizen Participation' scores and higher 'Participation Obstacles' scores seem to affect each other. For instance, the unidentified purposes (guideline) lead to citizens feeling an information deficit (obstacle), which shows in their desire to talk about the content instead of the process. Another example showing even more complex relationships that arise is the following: the lack of engaged diversity (guideline) decreases the perceived legitimacy of the participation form (guideline), which affected how it felt like a tick-the-box approach (obstacle), which in turn influenced the perceived legitimacy of interactions (guideline). These chains of influence lead me to adjust the conceptual framework that I formed in the beginning based on the academic literature to the following:

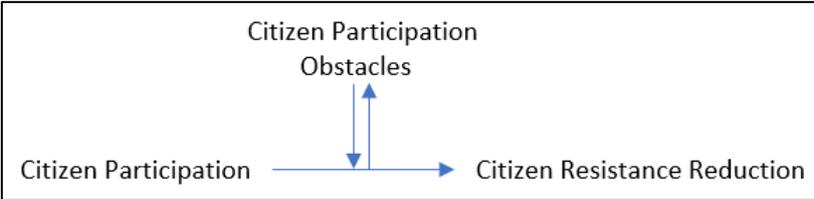


Figure 6. Updated conceptual framework based on results (showing how citizen participation obstacles affect the citizen participation process and vice versa. These interrelations influence resistance reduction)

6. Conclusion

In this final section, I answer my research question, give recommendations, discuss limitations, reflect on my methods describe and ideas for future research.

6A. Answering the Research Question

The main research question this thesis attempted to answer is:

How does citizen participation affect citizen resistance to windmill projects in The Netherlands?

Sub research questions to help answer this main question were:

- Which citizen participation guidelines were applied?
- How did citizen resistance change during the process?
- How did participation obstacles affect the participation?

Two cases, Breda and Amsterdam, with opposite resistance development, were compared to learn how citizen participation and citizen participation obstacles affect resistance.

First of all, we see that Breda applied every guideline of Bryson et al. (2012). They did not do this consciously, but rather their adaptive and intuitive approach led them to follow these guidelines. Breda started with no trust and quite some resistance, but their first phase was key in improving these indicators. Starting as inclusively as possible by actively attempting to involve all affected with any point of view – in favor or against -, combined with clearly identified purposes, with legitimacy of the design and interactions through completely transparent and honest communication and finally with design revisitations and adaptations – which showed inhabitants their input was taken seriously -, were crucial for the whole process. Although a bit of resistance stayed in Phase III and IV (of which one was dealt with well by collaboration between local government and citizens), trust overall grew and resistance reduced to almost nothing. Citizen participation obstacles barely occurred, likely because of the proper application of the guidelines, and therefore did not affect resistance. Besides the first phase being important for the rest of the process, we see that some steps were important throughout the whole process to keep resistance low: fit of design in context, design revisitation (& redesigning), legitimacy of interactions and form of participation, generation of new resources and finally context-fitting technologies for engagement.

Then, in Amsterdam, there was a start with not much resistance and a good level of trust. Trust stayed mostly stable until Phase III (Awareness), where resistance grew quickly. The key problem appears to be that in the first two phases, Amsterdam did not reach out actively enough to all affected citizens, including those who would be most critical. Once they became aware in Phase III, they felt overwhelmed and disregarded. This complicated the application of the guidelines and the prevention of participation obstacles. Noteworthy, these first two phases were before COVID-19 rules had started being applied and it was still possible to do this. In Phase VI (Speeding), which was meant to be a fresh start, variety in techniques for active outreach became more limited due to the COVID-19 restrictions.

In conclusion, for citizen participation to reduce resistance, certain guidelines are important throughout the entire process, with the requirement of starting from the first phase: identifying purposes, revisiting the design (& redesigning if needed) to fit the context, perceived legitimacy of interactions and participation forms, generation of new resources and context-fit technologies for engagement. One guideline seems important especially in the first phase: inclusive processes that engage diversity. If possibly critical people are not involved, this does not limit resistance, but postpones it to a moment where it becomes harder to reduce.

6B. A Self-Reinforcing System

In both cases, we see how the frameworks of Bryson et al. and Iannello et al. can indeed explain both the development of the participation and the resulting resistance. If guidelines were not properly applied or citizen obstacles came up, this explained resulting resistance. Therefore, these frameworks are once again confirmed and are now also known to be applicable for the complex cases of citizen participation for windmill energy in The Netherlands

However, the frameworks do not just explain resistance. They form a system. The better one framework is expressed, the better the other framework can be expressed. 'Better' in this case refers to what is best for the reduction of resistance. This also means that poorly applied guidelines lead to more obstacles, leading to more difficulty with applying the guidelines, and so on. Thus, although the theories of Bryson et al. and Iannello et al. are now also confirmed for windmill citizen participation in The Netherlands, an addition can be made to the frameworks, namely that they can form a self-reinforcing system. Research can further investigate how this system works precisely (see 6E. Future Research).

6C. Recommendations

My recommendations are based on the Comparative Qualitative Analysis. Amsterdam is already taking new steps to improve the process that sound good (but are still concepts as they are still being researched). In collaboration with Public Mediation, Amsterdam is redesigning the process, for example by having meetings based on theme instead of location. As literature suggests, citizen participation is complex and the planned continued collaboration with participation experts sounds smart.

Based on my outcomes, I want to share recommendations to both the specific project of Amsterdam and windmill participation projects in The Netherlands in general. First, I recommend the following for resistance reduction in Amsterdam:

- Make certain that there is no mismatch between the government's and the citizens' understanding of the project's purposes.
- In collaboration with participation experts, decide on a frequency for revisitation and evaluation to stay aware of any required redesigning, so the design stays fit in ever-changing nonlinear contexts.
- Since the current revisitation period will lead to a new design and a sort of new start, active outreach for engagement can be performed as part of this new start. This refers to inviting people with different perspectives and people with different sociocultural backgrounds, such as my interviewees stating that Surinamese-Dutch require different ways of engagement. New techniques can at the moment of publishing be applied again due to no COVID-19 restrictions.
- Keep citizens updated on which new resources are being generated and how their input has contributed to this. This also improves their trust, engagement and perceived legitimacy of the participation forms and interactions.
- Give citizens the opportunity to learn about the content of the project and ask questions, for instance about how windmill energy compares to solar energy.
- Check whether all elements are aligned. This includes for instance the purposes, the methods, technologies and resources. Miscommunication and conflict can be prevented this way (Bryson et al., 2012).
- A key difference between both projects was feedback to citizens. Whereas almost everyone in Breda felt heard from the start, in Amsterdam citizens felt unheard. A successful approach in Breda was to, at the beginning of meetings, share what was done with input from previous meetings and, if nothing was done with this, to explain why.

Of course, some of these recommendations cost time and money. But, resistance turning into “the bomb” and causing conflict and delay is costly and time-consuming as well. Therefore, I would recommend to keep collaborating with participation experts to decide on the best way forward for everyone.

Second, I have three recommendations for citizen participation for windmills projects in general in The Netherlands:

- Follow both frameworks. Bryson et al.’s guidelines have shown to be fully applicable for good participation that reduces resistance. I therefore recommend to follow these. Additionally, the avoidance or proper handling of Iannello et al.’s obstacles also reduces resistance. Thus, these should be taken into account. In fact, they work as a self-reinforcing system. Hence, following one of these frameworks well should lead to easier application of the other, and so on.
- Although a part of the previous recommendation, it is worthy of being separately emphasized: actively reach out to as many affected inhabitants as possible at the start of the first phase. Although a logical expectation could be that no involvement of opponents will lead to easier citizen participation, this will lead to stronger obstacles and resistance later on in the process in a likely upcoming awareness phase. Then, trust becomes even harder to establish/recover.
- If experts are consulted, attempt to follow their advice as much as possible. We have seen that changing the methods and the time frame that experts recommended in the case of Amsterdam did unfortunately not work out well. Especially the time pressure was difficult for both citizens and involved public officials, so an awareness of this is needed.

More generally, I recommend for a new framework to be created that combines Bryson et al. and Iannello et al., since they have shown to form a system, at least in the case of citizen participation for windmills (see 6E. Future Research).

6C. Limitations

My research includes some limitations that could affect the internal and external validity, which I will discuss now.

Internal validity

First of all, most interviews took place by (video)call. Face to face can feel more personal and lead to more trust. I attempted to establish as much trust as possible by being friendly and open about how

everyone's input would be used, and sharing that anything could be anonymous or removed if people felt uncomfortable with certain information being published.

Then, I was not able to interview everyone I had hoped to. In Amsterdam, snowball sampling was rather easy among citizens as each inhabitant seemed to know others who would be willing to share their experience. In Breda, this was difficult. I was happy to find two willing citizens by exploring "De Omwenteling" and news articles. Snowball sampling was not possible here and neither through my interviewees nor through online documents was I able to find anyone who was still more resistant, such as in Overa. I therefore miss data from more critical inhabitants. But, Overa is just a very small place, especially compared to the entire area. With just about 200 inhabitants (of whom not everyone will be critical) out of the total 90.000-100.000 inhabitants, I cannot say that this skewed my data. Also, all my interviewees agree on how the government dealt with the other protest of Moerdijk in Phase III. The government's ability to manage conflict and genuinely consider inhabitants' input seems to be a valid conclusion that would not be changed by interviewing someone from Overa. Additionally, in Amsterdam I only interviewed one public official due to other public officials being too busy. Public Official 1 kindly let me interview him twice, but still I only gathered one public official's view, making my results less objective. I attempted to improve this by interviewing Participation Expert 1, who was involved in both the planning and applying of participation. Although this is not a true governmental perspective, his goal was to aid the government and he seemed very knowledgeable on the perspectives of both government and citizens. Additionally, while coding and analyzing, I focused on being careful with making conclusions about the governmental perspective.

This problem of difficulties finding interviewees relates to the issue of selection bias. Although I planned to, based on the amount of contacts I could find, implement a rule (such as 'every second person would be contacted') to establish randomization and limit selection bias, my problem was that I could barely select. Selection bias was thus avoided due to a lack of possible interviewees. Only with the inhabitants of Amsterdam, I was given more options through snowball sampling. In order not to make a subjective choice, I stuck to my original rule idea of contacting the second person that I received contact details from. With public officials, I quickly noticed that responses could take some time. Therefore, I reached out to the limited involved public officials I could find, receiving back two replies from Breda and only one for Amsterdam. For the latter, I thus indeed reached out to the next person most involved: Participation Expert 1. In sum, selection bias was highly limited due to a lack of selection possibilities.

The internal validity of this thesis is furthermore affected by the sample size of interviews. Per case, five interviews were held with in total 9 different people. This is not a large amount, but the maximum amount possible within the time frame. However, to strengthen the outcomes, I was able to triangulate the results in two ways. First, the main way was the extra documents of independent parties covering (at least a part of) the participation processes (“De Omwenteling” for Breda and Leiden University’s participation reflection research). Second, news coverage of both events also seemed in line with the results. These for instance mentioned the protests of Amsterdam, Overa and Moerdijk, or details of the success of Breda, all in line with my results.

Finally, it is hard to replicate this study precisely due to the amount of detail. Repeating this research on another case might mean that this other case has differences like no public officials willing to participate, bigger time gaps between interviews, citizens only wanting to be interviewed for fifteen minutes, etc. To improve the internal validity, I put information about my interviews and interview data in the Appendices.

External validity

A limitation for the external validity is the fact that both cases have different contexts. I attempted to lessen this by finding the most similar available cases. Still, both areas have considerable differences as mentioned in the results, such as the reasons why people oppose windmills (NIMBY versus non-NIMBY), socioeconomic differences (Amsterdam South-East having a larger immigrant population and lower statistics regarding health, income and education) and Amsterdam South-East being more densely populated. All interviewees indicated that some inhabitants are too poor to afford vacations and therefore use the nature for vacation-purposes, or at other moments to ‘escape’ the busy city life. These worries were never mentioned in Breda, where the main concern was noise. This might have been a difference between both cases relating to how actively citizens cared to oppose the windmills. But, noteworthy, resistance in Breda had not been mild in the years before. Citizen 1, among others, had managed to prevent the placement of windmills for about a decade already before the successful participation changed his mind. Although population density might have played a role, it did not seem to influence any of the variables significantly. Still, it is important to emphasize that case studies are hard to generalize due to case-specific contexts. Every city is unique. I attempted to minimize this limitation by choosing to focus on literature that is based on analyzing a large amount of cases and writing conclusions that should be applicable in most contexts. Bryson et al. analyzed over 250 papers and Iannello et al. over 230, with therefore hundreds of different case contexts. This should enlarge the possibility for generalization, because of its wide applicability. I would argue that my results show

that generalization is possible indeed. The connections between indicator scores and resistance often seem clear. When Breda scores well on one indicator and Amsterdam scores poorly, their effect on resistance seemed to truly depend on the indicator and less on the context-differences. For instance, Amsterdam starting with a context of higher trust but worse application of the guidelines did still lead to more resistance. A final large difference was the effect of COVID-19. In Breda, everything could be done face to face. In Amsterdam, starting in late Phase II, much had to be done online. This does affect the external validity a bit, however, it seems that reasons that caused resistance do barely relate to indicators that were affected by COVID-19. Citizens never mentioned the online context as being a problem, but mainly the fact that too much had to be done in too little time, and the fact that they felt that they and their results were not taken seriously at all. The online environment should have little influence on this, except for perhaps citizens' perception of public officials with whom relationships now might have been harder to build. Additionally, already in Phase I and most of Phase II there was a lack of diverse engagement while there were no COVID-19 restrictions yet.

6D. Reflection on Methods

Then, I want to reflect on my analysis methods. I combined process tracing with a fsQCA, an unusual combination which turned out to be both beneficial and difficult. On the one hand, the two methods together give valuable insights of the indicators' development per phase. It allowed me to see, for instance, that inclusive processes for engaged diversity are especially important in the very first phase, and other factors throughout all phases. This indicator development over time appeared valuable for a complex nonlinear phenomenon like citizen participation. On the other hand, the method appears to work best if the phases of both cases are comparable. In my thesis, the type and number of phases varied by case, which made it difficult to compare phases side by side. Furthermore, the development of indicators over time are now based mostly on what interviewees told me rather spontaneously. It was not possible to ask per each of my indicators, per each phase, how the development was, since this would make the interviews last many hours. Most interviewees are simply too busy for this length of time. This makes the indicators less clearly and significantly defined per phase as they could be. Thus, for future QCA researchers I would recommend to only combine these methods if it is known that the phases are quite similar and that either the research is about a small number of indicators or that interviewees have a large amount of time.

6E. Future Research

Future research can include investigations on how to best apply citizen participation in an online context. As COVID-19 is expected to rise again this winter and to be with us for some more years,

learning about participation in a digital environment can be useful. During my interviews from Amsterdam, a certain benefit of online meetings became clear: the ability for every citizen to share their thoughts in the chat. More quiet or insecure citizens can more easily join the discussion. Perhaps other benefits or disadvantages exist and the guidelines can better be applied in a different way. A way to research this could be to investigate a certain amount of cases – until saturation shows up – that indicate what both citizens and public officials experienced as beneficial or difficult when applying citizen participation. Interviews should give in-depth insights in this. Since Bryson et al. and Iannello et al.'s frameworks have shown to be applicable in non-digital contexts, these could be used again to investigate any adjustments or additions that would need to be made to their frameworks regarding online citizen participation. The research would therefore be similar to mine, but with a focus on the perception of online participation instead of citizen resistance.

Another future research idea is to strengthen the external validity of this thesis by researching more cases. Citizen participation is always context-specific, even when the context of windmills is chosen. Therefore, adding at least one other case where resistance is growing and one other case where resistance is reducing, should strengthen the external validity. Of course, more cases would strengthen this even more and it would be ideal to continue until saturation turns up.

Finally, since the frameworks of Bryson et al. and Iannello et al. appear to be a system, this finding would benefit from future research. As the previous idea suggests, further research on more windmill cases could strengthen the external validity and might uncover more precisely the relationships between the different indicators. Additionally, I would suggest to investigate different cases than just windmills as well. For instance, if citizens and public officials would be interviewed in other projects – think of participation for solar panel plans, the construction of a new neighborhood, etc. – and the results would turn out similarly, we can confirm that this system is not only applicable to windmill projects but in a more general context of citizen participation. Thus, the methods could be the same: interviewing, open coding, analyzing with Process Tracing and/or fsQCA (depending on the previously mentioned state of phase similarities, number of indicators and interviewee time availability), and comparing the results to learn how the system works in various contexts.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview data

Overview of interviewees, interview dates and interview lengths.

Interviewee	Interview date	Interview length	Case
Citizen 3	10-05-2022	1h	Amsterdam
Public Official 3	18-05-2022	1h 01m	Breda
Citizen 1	18-05-2022	1h 09m	Amsterdam
Participation Expert 1	19-05-2022	1h 17m	Amsterdam
Public Official 1	26-05-2022	57m	Breda
Citizen 4	23-05-2022	54m	Amsterdam
Citizen 5	31-05-2022	45m	Amsterdam
Public Official 2	08-06-2022	1h 06m	Breda
Public Official 3, 2 nd interview*	08-06-2022	34m	Amsterdam
Citizen 2	10-06-2022	1h	Breda

*= Public Official 3 was interviewed twice. I wanted to acquire follow-up information from the governmental side, but no one else was available. Public Official 3 kindly let me interview him a second time for more information.

Appendix 2: Interview questions

The following questions were asked (translated from Dutch to English):

Category	Question
Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Could you tell me something about yourself? - What is your role in relation to this citizen participation project? - Since when have you been involved?
Citizen Resistance to Windmills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For which reasons do/did citizens oppose the windmill plans (initially)? - What forms did resistance take? - Did the reasons include noise, visual pollution, wild animals, costs, lack of faith in developers or lack of ownership? - Did the reasons include inequity, unfair burden or unwillingness because others are? - How was the level of resistance at the start? - How did this develop over time? - How was the level of trust at the start? - How did this develop over time? - Did citizens perceive being classified as 'just NIMBY' unfairly?
Citizen Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Were the purposes identified? - Did the participation design fit the context? - Did the participation design fit the problem? - Was a stakeholder analysis performed? - Were stakeholders involved at the right moments during the process? - Do you see the governmental interactions with you as legitimate? - How did you perceive the effectiveness of leadership from the government? - (follow up:) Did the government help with daily business? With structure creation? With bringing in resources?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Were existing resources used? (if interviewee was not sure, I would follow up: for instance, did they use existing funds, staff time, information infrastructures?) - Were new resources generated? (if interviewee was not sure, I would follow up: for instance, motivation, local connections, new understandings?) - Was there a project management team? - Were appropriate rules and structures established for the participation? - Was there an active outreach for participant inclusion? - How was the diversity during the process? - How were power dynamics managed? - How were technologies used for engagement? Was there variety in these? - Was there evaluation during the process? - Did design revisitations take place and if needed, would the design be readjusted?
Citizen Participation Obstacles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Was there an information deficit or asymmetry? - How was the attitude of public officials? - Were unrealistic expectations created? - Did a tick-the-box approach take place? - Was the community represented well? - Were there dominating citizens?
Finalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are your thoughts on future participation plans? - Is there anything that I have not yet asked that you wish to share? - Can I use your name or would you prefer to stay anonymous? You can always contact me later to let me know or adjust your answer.

Depending on my knowledge of the case or the development of each interview, I would ask additional questions. For instance, in Breda this could entail: “How did the history of the HSL, highway broadening and industrial disasters affect your trust?”

Appendix 3: Coding

Coding is more difficult due to the large amount of indicators and the limited amount of coding colors in Microsoft Word. Therefore, I colored everything based on the dimensions:

This means that my colors were the following:

Context & Purpose = yellow

Resource Enlistment & Participation Management = blue

Evaluating & Redesigning = purple

NIMBY-effect = red

Non-NIMBY = pink

Form = Green

Contextual Factors = brown

Organizational Arrangements = grey

Process Management Patterns = light blue

Two additional codes I colored were:

Local context = turquoise. This code refers to anything that describes the local context, such as Breda’s recent traumas.

Personal information = dark grey. This code referred to any personal information that interviewees shared about themselves, such as their past careers.

Next, I organized all my Dimension codes further in a table with Indicators and Interviewees. For instance, for “Context and Purpose”, this is a part of what it looked like:

Dimension	Indicator	Quote	Said by
Context & Purpose	Purposes identified	“Yes, sure those goals were clear.”	Citizen 1
		“No, that relates to what I said earlier, about sharing the advantages and disadvantages. [...] Because what even are the disadvantages?”	Citizen 2
		“Yes, for the citizens the goals were clear.”	Public Official 2
		“Well, that is a good question. The goals were quite clear, but, they were not lived up to, in any way.”	Citizen 3
		“No, the goal was not clear. Well, let me say it like this: they <i>said</i> it was meant to take away the concerns of citizens. Which I think is quite denigrating, especially if it gets repeated 20 times.”	Citizen 4
		“No, the goal was not clarified by them. No, no, no, no. That is difficult too, because then no one knows what to expect anymore, actually.”	Citizen 5
		“The goal was to inventorize the concerns and the needs of the Amsterdam citizens and inhabitants of neighboring municipalities and to get them clear” “We explained clearly what the purpose was. And we have repeated that as well. But, it seems that an important conclusion is: with a certain group – a group that is very opposed because they are afraid that their environment will be heavily affected by the placement of windmills – well, the message does not arrive, it seems.”	Public Official 3
		“That is an interesting question, because those goals were clear for the municipality, but you see that in these kind of processes... they are also learning processes and you can adjust those purposes. Only, there just was no time for that.	Participation Expert 1

		<p>And what happens then is that people enter with different expectations.”</p> <p>“In the meantime, Windalarm, doctors, gardeners et cetera, they have a lot of contact among each other and they start to interpret. They give their own interpretation, to, like, what the purpose is. And that is very normal, right, that that happens.”</p>	
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Appendix 4: Extended version of results

This extended version of the results includes much extra detail that was not relevant for the analysis in the thesis itself. For those interested in the entire process in detail, please see the full version below.

4A. Breda

Based on the detailed book “De Omwenteling” about the participation process for windmills near Breda and my interviews, I defined five phases of the process (see figure 4).

I will now discuss each phase.

Phase I: Open start	Phase II: Concretizations	Phase III: Protests	Phase IV: Continuation
January 2016 – November 2016	December 2016 – October 2017	October 2017 – September 2018	Sept 2018 – now

Figure 4. Phases of Participation Process A16

Phase I: Open start

When the province and the municipalities signed their covenant in December 2015 for wind energy near the A16 road, Public Official 2 told me, the idea was for the province to create the plans, while the municipalities focused on local participation. In practice, over time, these roles got quite mixed, partly due to both parties working together and being able to complement the other with their own expertise and resources. For instance, municipalities had no resources to set up the complete participation, which was therefore financed by the province. Inhabitant Citizen 2 adds some detail to this. She has a diverse background in agriculture, innovation and sustainability, and already thought in 2012 about the fact that windmills would be constructed in the future. She established energy cooperation Energiek Moerdijk, which focuses on sharing information about and producing sustainable energy by working with inhabitants, public officials and politicians. She understood that citizens near the A16 back then were not yet waiting for a large participation process and hence started modestly in Moerdijk, followed by Drimmelen and over the years the process involved all A16 municipalities and the province.

2016 started with the nota “scope and level of detail”, the first step of the MER (Environmental Impact Report), which would research the A16 area’s suitability for windmills. Public Official 3 told me how the province picked up on his book “De Revival van de Dorpsmolen” (‘The Revival of the Village Mill’), where windmills should be transformed into something that can be functional and beneficial to the community. This led to the start of a participation process with the idea of sharing advantages and disadvantages (“lusten en lasten”), while working with inhabitants to create the most optimal outcome for them. The more they would be disadvantaged by windmills, the more they should be compensated with other benefits.

Participation started small with citizen and village councils being invited to a very open series of meetings about the energy transition in their area. Any input was welcome and a sole focus on wind energy was not required. Inhabitant Citizen 1 was glad to be invited instead of being ignored as had happened in previous projects. He had been able to stop the placement of windmills already in 2007, but now he heard about the participation and the fact that some ownership would be for inhabitants, he thought: “I heard more about it and then I thought, well, if you cannot stop them, then maybe you can better make use of it”.

It seemed an effective start, but when an invitation in June accidentally ended up in the media, a broader public attended, unhappy to hear of the windmill plans. Unready to answer critical questions of the unexpectedly large audience of over 50 people, this seemed to be a bad start for the government to establish trust. The government took this as a lesson to improve their future communication (preparedness), which Public Official 2 confirms. Both him and inhabitant Citizen 5 call the participation a “learning process”.

This was important, since trust was already low in the A16 area. Both the widening of the A16 highway and the creation of a high-speed rail nearby were still in inhabitants’ recent memory, as all interviewees confirmed. Citizens felt forced to accept these projects and feared windmills too would be pushed down their throats. Every interviewee mentioned this past and Public Official 2 described that in hindsight he wished they looked more at this history to get a better understanding of existing sentiments in the area.

A ‘wind excursion’ was organized in May, to show inhabitants the area where the windmills would be placed. Public Official 2 describes how large designed banners were brought that, when held up, showed what the area would look like with windmills. To give citizens a better idea of the direct effects of windmills nearby, the government organized so-called windmill safaris in July. Buses from each of the four municipalities drove to windmills in a city nearby, Etten-Leur, where citizens could get a look up close. These safaris were planned to inform citizens about issues related to safety, view, sound and drop shadow. Because sound was people’s biggest worry – confirmed by all interviewees – Public Official 2 shared that they “analyzed with sound meters and asked: which sound did you find loud?”. Press was welcomed and the project was now out in the open. Later this year, safaris would be organized for children to involve a younger audience.

During one safari, an inhabitant announced the creation of an organization called “For The Wind” (“Voor de Wind”), to stand up for inhabitants’ interests during this process. Like this, citizens should be able to stand up together when needed. Fourteen joined that day, but over the years this grew to 274. “They were very serious,” Public Official 3 shared, “and we have taken them very seriously”. All the information they asked for, they received, as Public Official 2 said: “You want all the information? Sure, here you have it. One of our biggest successes was complete transparency”. Just one thing was emphasized from the beginning: “One thing is certain: there will be sustainable energy in this area”. He described how the story had to be good and clear from the beginning. It should not be like “invading America while offering mirrors and beads”, a metaphor both Public Official 3 and Public Official 2 used. The goal was made clear from the start, which was to construct windmills in the 1km strip next to the A16, however the exact location was yet to be decided.

Only around this period, after half a year, were most participants involved that would stay involved. Outreach had been performed first with tens of thousands of letters, which turned out to have been discarded by many, as Public Official 2 said. Then leaflets were spread, information was put on municipal websites and invitations were shared through village councils. Public Official 3 adds that especially the directly affected households (about 160 people) were actively reached out to. This was done if necessary by knocking on their doors and doing this as many times as needed to get in touch. Some inhabitants were still hesitant, especially in Moerdijk. Here the municipality played a key role, as Public Official 2 shared, by emphasizing that citizens would get a lot to deal with, so they should make certain to get together and join for their own best interest. Citizen 5 explained that early on, that the story had not yet landed in people’s heads, because “the abstraction was sometimes too much”. She added that the goal was in a way unclear as well: sharing the advantages and disadvantages, but what exactly is a disadvantage then?

Besides the safaris, there were information evenings on the A16's countryside – for accessibility – from September on. “We’re not scared of windmills, so we did it (the evenings) under them. With some good coffee and nice beer”, Public Official 2 said. Topics covered include the practical workings of windmills and how they compare to solar panels. The evenings would preferably be at various locations for all municipalities’ accessibility. At the same time, there were weekly walk-in sessions in Breda. Public Official 3 shares: “We established an office *in* the area at Van Der Valk (hospitality chain), so that the province would not be in a tower in Den Bosch”. This was also to strengthen the trust: “Trust comes by foot and leaves by horse. You have to be a present and reachable part of the network. There has to be a shared experience of urgency.”

Phase II: Concretizations

This “Concretizations” phase is about starting to make things more concrete: distances, decibels, affected citizens, compensations. It started in December 2016, when the government had decided the frames – the nota “scope and level of detail” – within which the MER would be researched. Citizens were allowed to react to this and 120 did. The nota were adjusted. For instance, now an affected area with a radius of 42 decibels would be researched instead of 47, and the noise would be cumulated with the A16 or high-speed rail. “There is definitely a form of cumulation and we have taken that seriously,” said Public Official 3. More households would therefore be included for financial compensation.

The following months there were multiple inhabitant evenings with up to 200 attendees from the wider surroundings. After a false start where accidentally not all affected people were invited, the municipality became careful to invite everyone in various ways: emails, letters and spreading information through councils. Planning alternatives were discussed. Fewer tall mills (that deliver more energy) were preferred over more smaller mills. Most inhabitants realized that working together for the best result had become a better option than just resisting. A provincial and municipal Green Deal in April 2017 further defined environmental goals and after this, 29 parties – including initiatives like “For the Wind”, municipalities and energy companies – worked together. Of course, not everyone was satisfied. As Citizen 4 said, “You can never make everyone happy”. Those most directly affected by windmills perceive a loss of control and “For The Wind” disagreed with the governments’ choice of 11 currently selected possible alternatives out of the 24 options.

In July 2017, the MER was presented, which led to some criticism of “For The Wind”. They wonder why environmental impacts are considered so much, but not societal impacts, after which they proposed their own MKBA (Maatschappelijke Kosten-Baten Analyse / Societal Cost-Benefit Analysis). Public Official 2 said this was heard, but could not be considered completely due to its focus on decreasing housing value, while societal costs were much broader. Next, the preferred alternative – VKA (voorkeursalternatief) – was discussed. After these steps, there were two meetings for inhabitants to ask any questions and get familiar with the current plan. Participants with opposing sides were joking with each other and there is a ‘community-feeling’. Naturally, the meetings were still full of critical questions. Those whose houses were close to the mills in the VKA were unhappy, but most were understanding of the fact that a location had to be chosen. Taking this unhappiness into account, the municipalities sent a letter to the 88 most affected households, followed by a letter to those in a wider area. Those who live closest were invited to a meeting for any questions they may want to ask.

July had some more knowledge cafes. Public Official 2 describes that one of the covered topics is how to read assessment tables in the MER, so everyone could understand these. “I find this one of our successes. [...] You have to say, some knowledge that we have, you don’t have. So how can you make sure that a transfer can take place?”

In October, the preferred alternative was confirmed, which means the locations of the windmills were now known. And not everyone was satisfied with it.

Phase III: Protests

In this phase, two protests were planned. The first was in October 2017, where the municipality Moerdijk organized a small meeting, but invitees had organized themselves to protest and informed and invited media for this. The municipality arranged a bigger space to communicate with them. Their argument was a desire for fewer windmills and the implementation of a different alternative than the VKA. Moerdijk is a place with extra recent trauma, namely fire in their industrial area in 2011 causing a massive smoke cloud and the spread of unhealthy chemicals. Inhabitants felt like they have to live with too much bad luck. However, their own preferred alternative did not meet the required production of 100mW and would deliver noise pollution to a higher total of households. Thus, the municipality offered them to propose their own alternative that met the requirements.

Inhabitants worked together to create a new alternative, followed by the government going over their suggestions. The initial wish for the removal of two mills would not deliver enough mW, but the removal of one mill appeared viable. For public officials this was unfortunate at first since that mill's location was ideal, however, they quickly accepted due to an understanding that this was a good move for Moerdijkers to feel less disadvantaged and more heard. Citizen 5 is critical about the process that led to the removal of the windmill. "Count this for about 20 years... they miss maybe, I am not sure how many millions (of euros). But now they don't get that because they pleaded so hard for that. I notice that it is so difficult that when you build a good, structural, long-term vision, to translate that to what it means concretely for 'me'". Public Official 3 explained to me that the answer can be found in the book "Triumph of the Commons" (Van Vugt, 2009). This book explains why sustainability is not in human genes. One reason is that humans think about benefits for today before benefits for tomorrow. The long-term financial benefits, moreover, could be extra beneficial for less well-off households. All households are required to invest in getting off gas in the next thirty years. The unique financial citizen construction that would be implemented in the future would allow for early revenue and easier energy transitioning at the household level. Details of this construction are discussed in Phase IV. The loss of the windmill is thus seen as an optimal outcome, but might be the result of short-term thinking that can create difficulties – especially for poorer households – on the long-term. Citizen 5 wonders: "what do inhabitants need to understand that the forms of participation that we have for the A16 just work in this way?". She emphasizes that the topic is difficult to understand and that the municipality should work with communication experts to tackle this. She shares that municipalities should support organizations like Energiek Moerdijk, who want to make the topic more understandable, with resources as videos or infographics.

Another achievable part of Moerdijk's alternative was to move some mills westwards for less noise pollution. Although a few were still unhappy that not more mills were removed or replaced, there was now general acceptance and support.

Almost the whole year after this, – before the second protest – Erik informed me, was filled with more administrative processes. This includes calculations, transforming the VKA into a spatial plan, creating an integration plan ('inpassingsplan') and receiving public comments on this. In the meantime, there were some other knowledge cafés.

In September 2018, due to dissatisfaction, a second and final protest occurs. Inhabitants of Overa, a small place belonging to Breda, protest in their own area and at the Provincial Council. They felt unheard and not taken into account during the process. However, the Provinciale Staten already were convinced of the new VKA and confirmed their agreement that same week. Government officials shared that Overa had solely been resisting from the start and did not truly take part in any conversations besides resisting windmills in any scenario. However, the process had to continue and after years of not discussing the content, there was said to be no room anymore for Overa's desired adjustments at the end. Above all, their preferred alternative would cause a higher total of households in another area to be affected by noise. Public Official 2 shares: "Overa had been active for long, but they tried to get something at the Provincial Council. But... and I think we did this well, [...], we had asked the Provincial Council and the four municipalities what they wanted us to take with us regarding the preferred alternative, so that we would not end up with unexpected

surprises". Indeed, everything ended up being done properly, after which Overa could not create change through court. Public Official 2 described how they attempted to involve Overa from the beginning by telling them: "There is a period of dialogue ('samspraak') and speaking on the record ('inspraak'). With dialogue, you can achieve a lot as inhabitants. You can think along". He adds: "But if the public officials have done a good job and inhabitants have given input, then the product is likely a good plan and you will have little chance that your speaking on the record will lead to changes. So we would advise you, join in the period of dialogue". In the meantime, he has seen Overa in court about four or five times, with a new court hearing happening just days after our interview. So far, Overa has not been able to stop the plans.

Phase IV: Continuation

Just a few days after Overa, the Provincial Council confirmed the integration plans. Licenses started being shared. 156 households became then part of a neighbor arrangement where the most affected households receive financial compensation. An estimated three quarters of them was also actively involved in most arrangement meetings, of which one even ended with applause. Questions and criticism are still welcome. Although it is unclear how much support there is for the windmills, there is now a general acceptance and feeling of making the best of it.

The neighbor arrangement, effective from September 2019, is an arrangement between the developers of the windmills and directly affected households. Specifically, Public Official 3 describes that this arranges "50 cents per mW in the area. The windmills produce, I think, 120 mW/h and they will perform for three and a half thousand hours, so you end up with about 400.000 euros per year for the area". This is many millions for those within the 42dB radius for the next approximately 25 years. Over the next fifteen years, a revenue of about 15.000 per household was expected. Instead of awaiting this, the amount was already given to inhabitants in September 2019. They even included compensation retroactively until October 2017. The only requirement was that the money would be spent on sustainable energy for the household. This could entail isolation, solar panels or even an electric bicycle. And, if anything in the future of the process were to cause less revenue, the money would not be asked back from inhabitants. The only disadvantage is that a few inhabitants just outside the 42 dB range were not happy, Citizen 4 says. "But that simply happens to be the disadvantage of having to decide on a border".

A key point that initially interested inhabitants was local ownership. Each of my interviewees explains the following financial construction with enthusiasm. 25% of ownership would go to local inhabitants. Officially, this would mean that they had to initially invest 25% of the total cost, but since barely anyone would be able to afford this, a unique construction was created. By applying a specific administrative structure, the province is financing this investment.

During two days in February 2020, there is a final session at the Council of State in The Hague, which checks the Provincial State. It is the last formal moment for citizens to object. Both them and the Provincial State were well prepared. The Council decides that there are nine points that need to be changed. "Content-wise it was not that much. So then you bring that as a restorative decision to the Provincial Council. And since then it has just been approved. The most important was that, on December 2 2020, the Provincial Council stated that the environmental permit and the integration plan are irrevocable". The 28 windmills are therefore confirmed.

Opinions on communication between the government and citizens after this differ. Public Official 3 describes how the covenant has ended and the province is retreating due to their role officially having ended. He hopes to see yearly extensions of the covenant, because the process is now physically being realized and thus in a way just the beginning for inhabitants of the A16 region. "The windmills are being built now and the polders are upside down right now". Again he emphasizes how easily trust can be lost and how hard they had to work for it, hence his concern about the province literally leaving. Public Official 2 adds that there is definitely thought being put into aftercare. The current sound level has been measured and will be measured again once the windmills are there. Participation is back in the hands of the local municipalities, which has included for example information evenings. Importantly, a sort of wish list was

created to make the process go as smoothly as possible. So far, much has been achieved, such as measures to prevent nuisance during the construction. One thing that is being planned is a sound app, which will show the dB level in real time. Another idea they are looking into is applying a transponder technique, which might minimize light pollution at night. “The after care is pretty intensive,” Public Official 2 describes.

In November 2022, the first windmills are supposed to start working.

Overall process

A few points are applicable to the process as a whole. First, every interviewee emphasizes how inhabitants and their knowledge were taken seriously. They mention knowledge of the village councils, Voor De Wind, inhabitants’ drop shadow measurements, inhabitants creating their own extra arrangements with companies like Vattenfall and more. People were actively reached out to to share their ideas. Citizen 4 shares how meetings would include information on what had been done with citizen input from previous meetings. If it was discarded, the municipality would give arguments as for why. If citizen input had been included, Public Official 2 said, the public officials would be very proud and happily share this. Public Official 3 shares that based on citizen input, about 37 changes had been made in the entire process.

Second, the attitude of the public officials. Besides taking inhabitants seriously, they also seem genuinely invested in and happy about the process. “Yes, I am telling this enthusiastically. This was actually so enjoyable. For us this was a feast”, Public Official 2 shares. Public Official 3 shares how people are still welcome to drink a coffee with Public Official 2 to talk about the process. They – and the two inhabitants – discuss how they genuinely approached this as a learning process, where they wanted to be open to correcting mistakes as well.

Thirdly and importantly, every interviewee mentions how this process would not have been possible if COVID-19 had already been present. There was a large variety of activities, of which many included physically coming together and going places. This could have completely changed relationships and trust, which will be visible in the second case (see 4B).

Fourth, diversity and representation deserve attention. Everyone agrees that it was mostly older (about 50+) white people attending. The larger part was male. Public Official 2 said that this was not representative, but that this is always difficult to achieve. The most present group already has settled down and has more to lose. They tried to involve younger people by involving schools. How to attract people with an immigration background was not yet given substance to. “The countryside is less diverse, but that does not explain it completely”, Public Official 2 says. Citizen 5 shares that the current participants tend to be more conservative and less open to change, while others who were now less represented can be more open to change. She wishes they had been heard more and shares the idea of a civic council: where people are selected instead of choosing to participate. Then the issue of ‘the usual suspects’ who are unrepresentative of the whole population could be lessened.

4B. Amsterdam South-East

The second case is the participation process surrounding the consultation group Amsterdam South-East. Phases I have identified for this case are based on the reflection research from Leiden University of RES Amsterdam and my own interviews.

Of the six phases (see Figure 5), the first four are based on Leiden University’s identified phases until May 2021. I added three phases after based on my interviews.

Phase I: Start-up	Phase II: Ateliers	Phase III: Awareness	Phase IV: Conflict	Phase V: Taking a breath	Phase VI: Speeding	Phase VII: The bomb
Until April 2019	April 2019 – April 2020	May 2020 – December 2020	First half 2021	May 2021 – October 2021	October 2021- January 2022	January 2022 – now and future

Figure 5. Phases of Participation Process Amsterdam

Phase I: Start-Up

Leiden University discusses Amsterdam’s background, including its lagging behind on its ambitious climate policies. After the province of North Holland halts wind energy related plans due to a lack of support base, in 2018, a new provincial coalition expects more support and finally wants to establish these plans. With the extra pressure from a Climate Agreement in 2018 – which mandates that Dutch regions should create their own Regional Energy Strategy (RES) – Amsterdam aims to use its maximum wind energy potential as part of the RES region North-Holland South. Thus, with years of blocked wind projects in its past, while having high ambitions with a desire to be a frontrunner, and with new pressure/support from the RES and finally political support, Amsterdam was motivated to start. The RES 1.0 is to be handed in 3 years later in March 2021. Amsterdam wants citizen participation to play a key role in the process and it is aware that in this phase, inhabitants’ support for windmills is limited.

Phase II: Ateliers

In spring of 2019, Amsterdam, with the help of various involved parties but not citizens, gathers information about energy and space. Based on this, scenarios are created. These are discussed in Summer, in ateliers, with various stakeholders and a few citizens who are part of a sustainability network. In October to December, more parties are invited, including citizens, to five ateliers to discuss the scenarios.

Various ways of contacting citizens were applied: municipality websites, social media, newsletters and sustainability networks. Actively reaching out to those who were likely to have different or opposing views was not done. Since citizens still seemed unaware of the concrete impacts these scenarios could have on their lives, it was mostly supportive citizens attending with an already existing interest in the energy transition. Public Official 1 confirms that a common problem of policy creation is that when its level of abstraction is high in the beginning, it attracts less participants. “And when it becomes more concrete, they say: ‘hey, this could be happening in our neighborhood’. And then they become increasingly aware and have this feeling: ‘hey, why were we never involved before?’. But we did try to do that.” This indeed happened in phase III.

167 people ended up attending the ateliers to discuss seven search areas (possible locations for windmills) that should deliver 50mW. Two main conclusions end up being used for the concept RES in March (disfavor for a specific area and sun energy), but how specific input of citizens is used is unclear. Their reactions are included in a later concept (see phase VI). Citizens’ stances were mixed: in favor, against, or open to hear about the project. Citizen 3 belongs to the latter and is determined to be open to the city council’s plans, stating: “I stand for democracy and if this Council was chosen, then I want to trust it”.

One other key memory of Citizen 3 from this phase is the firm statement of alderwoman Van Doorninck that windmills would not be placed in protected nature. Undoing this promise in later phases was one of various reasons that citizen trust diminished.

Phase III: Awareness Phase

In June, inhabitants get informed during information evenings (because of COVID-19) per neighborhood of Amsterdam, with over 500 citizens joining. Ideas have become more concrete and awareness grows, followed by unrest. Heavy discussions take place. More citizens living close to the search areas get involved

and become critical. One inhabitant creates a petition which later grows into protest movement WindAlarm. Inhabitants like Citizen 5 worry about the vicinity of 350m – which might for her become 0m due to her allotment garden being considered as ‘limited sound vulnerability’ – that can cause various problems. Citizen 3, Citizen 4 and Citizen 5 consider the exact same key issues: impacts on health from the windmills’ noise and shadow (including migraines), impacts on mental health for poorer inhabitants due to the only nature they can access (for regular purposes but also for holidays) being affected, the disturbance of wildlife (mainly birds) and the visual changes of beautiful scenery.

From June to October, Amsterdam gathered these reactions for reaction nota and afterwards organized information sessions per search area and walk-in moments in November. December follows with an online meeting hosted by alderwoman Van Doorninck. 623 people were watching, leaving over 2500 mostly critical comments in the chat. Most were from the same 14 people. Van Doorninck acknowledged the worries, fears and criticism of the citizens, but no clear adjustments to the project’s ambition, search areas or the participation process followed.

During this phase, the topics of concern for citizens – mainly about the actual need for windmills, health concerns and search areas – were already a sailed ship for the government. This mismatch in expectations lead to heavier discussions. Citizens in favor of windmills stopped attending meetings due to fear of hostile remarks. This resulted in a ‘citizens versus government’ setting, with especially WindAlarm being strongly present.

Participation Expert 1 shares that this phase focused too much about considering professional perspectives and less citizens’ perspectives. Citizen 3 considered the government’s shared information minimal. Inhabitant Citizen 2 shares how she was told not to worry because nothing had been decided, to next be confronted with statements as “the search areas have been decided and the number of wind turbines as well”. Citizens’ desire for an assessment framework (‘afwegingskader), however, is heard and put on schedule.

A meeting in December was meant to give citizens feedback on past activities, but lead to even stronger polarization. This is when conflict grew.

Phase IV: Conflict

In the winter of 2020, multiple protest groups formed besides WindAlarm. They spread flyers, media posts and create banners and protests. Whereas participants used to have various perceptions – although already polarizing in Phase III -, now the worried and critical perceptions predominate. Citizens in favor of windmills stopped attending meetings due to hostility, which resulted in a ‘citizens versus government’ setting with especially WindAlarm being strongly present.

In April and May there were five information sessions, with a record number of 7500 unique attendees. Citizen 3 estimates more than a hundred and Participation Expert 1 states that more than 500 people spoke to the City Council during their meetings. Amsterdam receives hundreds of emails, which require so much time to respond to that the municipality “had two people fulltime on the inbox to answer questions”, Participation Expert 1 shared. The government’s responses, according to LU, are perceived as transparent and informative, but not as what citizens truly want: a conversation about the content and not the process. They want to be able to have a say in the search areas and the municipality’s ambitions. Dissatisfaction led to more protests, especially from WindAlarm, in various places including Amsterdam’s canals. In February, based on all these reactions and input, Amsterdam acknowledged citizens’ worries through a letter and shared further information about their plans.

Unrest grows stronger when the government, in March, limits the amount of search areas and decides on the unpopular 350m distance of windmills to housing areas. Late March, 104 medics send a letter to the government expressing their health concerns for citizens. In late April, the RES 1.0 with a plan for 17 windmills is published. In May, 100 inhabitants can share their opinions, after which Amsterdam’s Council

discusses these and accepts the RES. One motion, namely to make a working group with representatives of various stakeholders – including citizens – , is accepted, while all others are rejected.

Due to the large amount of criticism, Amsterdam decides to insert a phase of rest after the RES 1.0 confirmation by the Amsterdam city council.

Phase V: Taking a breath

From now on, LU's evaluation does not cover the phases anymore and hence phases are identified purely based on my interviews.

Due to growing polarization, conflict and stress – citizens being worried and angry while government officials neither had the time nor capacity to respond to all requests, as Participation Expert 1 shared – the government decides to insert a phase of rest. Public Mediation is asked for help with the participation and the University of Leiden is asked to perform a participation evaluation. The latter was decided based on two accepted motions in February 2021, that recommended a reflection on the participation which had caused – or at least not prevented – so much protest. The final product was published after this phase, in January 2022. Some inhabitants were aware of this research, like Citizen 2, and appreciate its independence to the project.

Participation Expert 1 shares this was a phase of rest, to stop and think. Later this was called the reflection phase. Noteworthy, as Public Official 1 told me, the official reflection phase lasted from May 2021 to February 2022, when an advice by the expert group 'nature and health' was published.

Public Official 1 shared that the goal of this phase was to inventorize and clarify the worries and needs of citizens. Much past content was researched, including RES meetings, citizen records in council meetings, motions and amendments. Two new researches were performed: context mapping (giving values to space based on aspects as recreational value) and an online questionnaire that asked citizens to make decisions from the perspective of public officials. Public Official 1 described that the questionnaire was accessible, but still lead to some dissatisfaction due to simply voting against windmills not being an option. Citizen 5 indeed confirms: "You could not say you did not want those windmills. [...] You should look at the comments below the questionnaire, that's where everyone let out their thoughts. But they did not do anything with that."

After two months delay due to corona and practical issues with setting up the consultation groups, the next phase started.

Phase VI: Speeding

Consultation groups were meeting again from the end of October 2021. There were four based on neighborhood, of which Zuid-Oost was one. Public Mediation was asked for advice and practical help, including chairing these meetings.

Participation Expert 1 shares that some of Public Mediation's advices were not followed. He emphasizes that municipal decision-making is complex and that there naturally have been political reasons to choose different pathways. Two municipal deviations could have worked with some luck, but seemed to cause further trouble. First, Public Mediation recommended dialogue groups instead of consultation groups. In short, these are less focused on policy and more on being able to touch any topic. But, as Public Official 1 said, the goal of the participation was to receive advice from the consultation groups about the research of Phase V and thus consultation groups were chosen. Second, Public Mediation suggested a plan of a year. However, unfortunately timed, Council elections were around the corner in March, which meant two things: politicians would be hard to reach due to – as Participation Expert 1 said – being in "campaigning mode", and the Council might change, leading to political changes that could affect the state of this project.

Thus, besides starting two months late, the participation that required a year now just received a few months to complete: from October to December, preferably ending before the Christmas break.

All interviewees confirm the time pressure. According to Participation Expert 1, meetings therefore were too frequent, namely every 2 weeks. But, the amount of meetings planned for feedback on the research product was limited. Citizen 4 and Citizen 5 share how much work had to be done in so little time.

When participants decided they disagreed with the municipality's content of the assessment framework – which later was named "Signals from the City" and was not the official framework anymore, as Public Official 1 and inhabitants told me – they requested to write their own version that the municipality could consider, to which the municipality agreed. Citizen 4 and Citizen 5 share how much time was spent in just a few days on adjusting the document with new content, while following the official format as instructed. Citizen 5 shares that barely anything was taken over. Citizen 4 confirms this: "Only a small part was taken over, a very large part was not. And they did not even get back to us. So then weeks later you receive the version that has already been sent to the Council". Public Official 3 indeed knew this was a painful moment for the consultation group. However, he stated that the municipality was genuinely impressed with all their work, and had in fact shared instructions clearly beforehand: to focus on worries and needs. The government considered the document too lengthy about certain topics and too often taking a stance. Thus, perceptions on why which part was taken over differ.

During this phase's meetings, ideas varied on the goal of the consultation group. Participation Expert 1 and Public Official 3 describe that the goal was for the groups to react to the concept research product. Public Official 3 shares the frustration that he believes this goal was explained clearly, but that a part of the group would stay stuck in fear for their future living environment, leading them to discuss only the content without hearing their true purpose. Since the concept product was about citizens' worries and needs, Citizen 4 found this a derogatory part of the goal. "It was meant to take away our worries, as if we are unnecessarily worried. [...] It was really like: you all don't understand the necessity". In fact, each inhabitant I spoke to seemed to emphasize the importance of the energy transition. For instance, Citizen 5 has a past of environmental protests, Citizen 4 lives highly sustainably on the allotment garden and Citizen 5 invested in an electric car and solar panels. They each feel like the label "NIMBY" is highly unfair, since they care about the environment but have justified reasons to worry about the windmills.

After two meetings, many inhabitants including Citizen 4 and Citizen 5 felt dissatisfied. The focus was too much on the process, not on what citizens wanted to discuss: the content. Here Public Official 1 mentions a point where the government had lacked: informing citizens on the content. He said there was no time to do this. Citizens would ask questions about other forms of energy such as solar, while the municipality had had its reasons to pick wind. Citizen 5 shared her thoughts about placing more solar panels instead of windmills and that the municipality never explained its choices for the latter. She said it could have changed her understanding, "or they should ask us to think with them, because we are pretty smart people here". Each inhabitant felt that local knowledge was not taken seriously. Citizens felt involved too late and not heard or informed about the content.

Unpleasant discussions followed in the consultation groups and the relation between Participation Expert 1 as a chair and participants did not seem good. Some citizens like Citizen 5 did not see Public Mediation as independent because "they get paid by the municipality, so the chair can never truly be independent". Participation Expert 1 was aware of this. Additionally, he shared, the trust between all involved individuals was not as good as it could have been for two reasons: all meetings were held online because of COVID-19, limiting trust-building contact like casual talks at the coffee machine, and time pressure limited the possibility for relationship-building.

Noteworthy, there was distrust and dissatisfaction regarding the alderwoman Marieke Van Doorninck. Citizen 3 shared: "She is a very determined lady. [...] She confirmed (in phase II) that they would be placed in protected nature". Citizen 5 adds: "Van Doorninck would pressure on saying 'you are right, but we still go on'". They said the alderwoman added to their damaged trust and made the process feel like a tick-the-

box process. Participation Expert 1 disagreed on this, stated that the government wanted to involve people well, but did have an attitude of 'proponents' and 'opponents', which leads to more defensive behavior.

Lack of trust and dissatisfaction led citizens to propose a meeting where they decided on the agenda. All parties agreed and the next meeting was also hosted by an inhabitant. This turned into a success. The atmosphere was good and seemed productive. Public Official 3 and Participation Expert 1 were also happy. Still, Public Official 3 shared that the goal of this meeting was not entirely in line with the official goal as it was too much focused on topics as location and visuals. This was not the right stage for that, but unclear to citizens. Afterwards, Participation Expert 1 was asked to take over again with everyone's hope that the good atmosphere of this meeting could be continued.

Unfortunately, there was not much continuation after this. Citizens felt as if their time and effort did not change anything and resigned, starting phase VII.

Phase VII: The Bomb

"Then the bomb happened", Public Official 3 shared with me. Participants of consultation group South-East felt completely unheard and as if their time and effort were lost and therefore decided to resign by sending a resignation letter to the alderwoman, the Council and the press in January 2022.

Damaged trust according to inhabitants played a key role in the resignation. "I don't want to be such a bitter sour person," Citizen 3 shares, "but I am forced to be like that and I think that is so painful." She adds: "There is such disdain and arrogance in that city. I did not want to know that". Citizen 3 adds: "I have voted for GroenLinks a lot, but now never again". GroenLinks is the party that alderwoman Van Doorninck worked for. Participation Expert 1 agrees that the resignation was a vote of no-confidence. Public Official 3 is more careful with conclusions. The municipal elections in March showed that the previous four parties of the coalition kept the same amount of seats together. "But, you can say the GroenLinks was no longer the biggest, but that the Labor Party (PvdA) was now the biggest. But it's not like GroenLinks was cut in half".

After the resignation, ideas differ on the municipality's response. Citizen 3 says that communication is still bad: "after the sixth email there will be a reply by someone who doesn't know and will forward it. That's how it goes". Citizen 4 shares that one talk of less than an hour was held with Van Doorninck, "and she could mention that in the Commission. [...] But just an hour? And then she left immediately. While so many people spent their free time on this, and then you just have an hour?". "This cost her her job", Citizen 5 shares. Indeed, Van Doorninck got replaced by GroenLinks with someone else in May. Citizen 4 states that Van Doorninck promised a follow-up meeting which later was deemed unnecessary, while Public Official 1 shares that Van Doorninck had never heard back from citizens about the follow-up. Although this is a 'yes or no' story, there clearly was a form of miscommunication.

So what are the plans after May for the coming years? Public Official 3 informs me that a new plan MER (environmental impact report) will be created – which will score various search areas based on details as health, sound and recreation – to inform the assessment framework. 'Signals from the City' will be used as an inspiration source. Then the preferred alternative can be confirmed. For participation only official citizen records at the Council are required, but he sees this as too meager. There are many new plans – currently still concepts – including new consultation groups based on theme instead of neighborhood, theme meetings with experts present, actively involving more diverse participants by learning about different methods engagement methods from participation experts. The group SARA (City Advice group RES Amsterdam) becomes more prominent. Citizen 5 is joining with the hope of limited influence, but fears another tick-the-box process. Citizen 4 also shares to have low expectations of the continuation.

Further administrative decisions happen around 2023 and 2024, after which placement of the windmills happens around 2026 and 2027.

Overall process

During the entire process, every interviewee acknowledges that the participants were not diverse, especially considering the diversity of South-East as a neighborhood. Public Official 3 and Participation Expert 1 shared that an independent bureau had made a diverse selection of applicants, based for instance on age, gender or type of employment. Participation Expert 1 explained that creating diversity is complicated since the government is not allowed to ask people's ethnic background. He is aware of various techniques that attract people from different backgrounds and shared that the original plan was to approach people on markets. Citizen 3 shares that for instance Surinamese inhabitants are not likely to share their phone numbers but rely on information from physical social settings, from picking up children at school to weddings or funerals. COVID-19 made approaching people in these physical settings impossible. Most participants turned out to be white, older – often retired – well-educated native Dutch people. Citizen 3 shares that most participants owned a house and were not renters. Citizen 4 adds that immigrants might feel less confident to participate because of language or education gaps. Citizen 5 actively tried to invite some inhabitants with a Surinamese background, with some success.