

By the public, for the public?
Coping with value conflicts in the co-
production of public services

Sylke JASPERS

Proefschrift aangeboden tot het verkrijgen van de
graad van Doctor in de Sociale wetenschappen

Promotor: Prof. Dr. Trui Steen

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Acknowledgements

When I was little, I always wanted to grow up to improve the world. But what is a better world? For me, the essence of a better world is one in which everyone has a right to enjoy their lives, and that others have an obligation to respect this right. This is the starting point, my great value of life. That is why I was so drawn to the topic of co-production when the topic was first presented to me by my teacher, prof. dr. Trui Steen. Co-production has the potential to improve the quality of life of people, to give back, to grant people opportunities, to give space, and to give some freedom of movement for everyday life.

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CHAPTER 1:

Introducing coping with value conflicts in the co-production of public services

This thesis aims to unravel one of the mechanisms leading to desired or undesired effects of co-production. The thesis focuses on an examination of individuals experiencing value conflicts which require coping strategies. These coping strategies are then used as a lens to understand how the effects of co-production come about. The main research question of this dissertation is *what is the role of individual coping with value conflicts for the desired and undesired effects of co-production?*

The research starts from an in-depth examination of the existing academic literature, which results in a conceptual framework that is used to examine individual coping with value conflicts in co-production. The thesis adopts a mixed-method approach, first by analysing three qualitative case studies that help shed light on the expectations citizen co-producers and public servants hold of co-production, as well as the value conflicts they experience when trying to realize those expectations. Additionally, this research examines the coping strategies citizen co-producers and public servants follow when they experience value conflicts. The research then utilizes quantitative methods in order to study some of the individual characteristics that may have an influence on the coping strategies that individual co-producers adopt. The individual characteristics that are studied, that have arisen out of the qualitative research phase and are supported by the literature, are psychological resources such as self-efficacy, perceived impact (external efficacy), generalized trust, and particularized trust (e.g., trust in the public servant or trust in government).

The findings suggest that the experience of value conflicts by individuals and the subsequently followed coping strategies contribute to the desired or undesired effects of co-production. The study finds similarities and differences in how co-producing actors in different roles experience and cope with value conflicts. Value conflict constitutes a part of co-production life. For citizen co-producers, this research finds that the situational psychological trait of external efficacy affects citizens' choice of coping strategies, and a lack thereof is especially related to a citizen's likelihood to avoid dealing with value conflicts. This research contributes to theories on co-production, public values realization, public value creation, and coping strategies. The thesis also manages to formulate some guidelines and recommendations for the practice of co-

production, offering suggestions regarding how citizens and co-producers can learn how to cope, a role for public professionals or project coordinators in managing these learning moments about coping strategies, and regarding the capacity for enabling desired and sustainable co-production effects.

This dissertation consists of six academic articles published in or submitted to international, peer-reviewed journals. This introduction aims to present the links between these articles and elaborates on the conceptual framework for the study, which is necessary for understanding the research question(s) and research design, from which the various articles emerged.

This introductory chapter first presents the research problem, which is that co-production not only creates expected and desired effects, but also unexpected and undesired effects. Second, the introduction presents the general context surrounding the topic of co-production, and how it is reflected in the academic literature. Third, this chapter continues with an identification of three gaps in the current co-production literature. The relevant concepts that are used in the theoretical and empirical chapters to explore these gaps are also presented here, such as the concepts of public values realization and public value creation for understanding co-production effects. The concepts of value conflicts and coping strategies for conceptualizing the individual mechanisms that result in these co-production effects are also discussed in this section. Fourth, the introduction presents the main research questions of this dissertation. Fifth, the research design is presented, which includes a discussion on the research's epistemological and ontological positions, as well as its mixed method design. Sixth, the introduction discusses the contributions this research makes to the relevant academic literature. Finally, an overview of the following seven chapters is presented.

1.1 The Problem

In the 1980s, public services were seen as something that was destined for professionals. However, since then, the concept of co-production as a form of service delivery, in which citizens actively produce services, has been developed (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012). Ideological shifts saw the growth in the 1990s of the private sector playing an 'enabling' role in providing public services

(Wikström 1996; Ramírez 1999), which developed further in the 2000s to see third-sector organizations being utilized to mobilize citizen involvement (Brandsen and Pestoff 2006; Verschuere et al. 2012). Bovaird and Loeffler (2012, 1121) call this an evolution from ‘public services for the public’ towards ‘public services by the public’. Crises such as the 2008 global recession and recently the 2020 Coronavirus have arguably led to further reliance on forms of co-production, due to state cuts in public spending and limitations of the state (Steen and Brandsen 2020). As a reaction to this, many citizen-driven and government-driven initiatives are appearing where citizens and service providers work together to create public value.

This evolution to the co-production of public services (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012) challenges the traditional relations between public service providers and citizens. Meijer (2016, 596) argues that, ‘this transformation challenges important values, such as equality, accountability, transparency and proportionality’. For example, in the Bébé Bus initiative in Namur, parents organize and deliver free childcare while the local government provides a location and the materials necessary for service delivery. Parents take turns watching their kids, while also performing tasks in providing services. Although this initiative ensures affordable childcare in the region, this co-delivery of such services raise questions concerning, for example, accountability, equity, quality and equity, such as ‘Who is to be held accountable when something goes wrong?’, ‘What about parents that are not able to perform the required and necessary tasks, but are unable to afford child care?’, and ‘How is professional care ensured by the parents?’

Other than challenging governance principles or public values, other challenges arising from the co-production process include which outcomes are created for whom. For example, individuals collaborating in contact tracing applications in order to combat COVID-19 may create value for themselves as users or even value for the public. However, this application might destroy value for some, as privacy breaches may occur and may become more accepted and common.

Gaining an insight in to how the desired and undesired effects of co-production come about may help practitioners become aware of ways to deal with, and perhaps prevent, undesired effects (cf. Steen, Brandsen and Verschuere 2018). Thus, during challenging periods or crises that require co-productive solutions, the undesired effects might be prevented, and public servants and citizens

may begin to feel less hesitant about co-producing. As there is a gap in the knowledge relating to how individuals cope with various conflicts, this thesis aims to unravel the coping with value conflicts as an individual mechanism, co-resulting in the desired and undesired effects of co-production.

1.2 General context: co-production of public services

Before turning to the research question of this PhD dissertation, this section presents a brief review of the literature and the latest co-production research. It is on the basis of these important studies of co-production that this dissertation identifies gaps in the current co-production literature (section 1.3) from which the research questions emerge (section 1.4). The theoretical notion of co-production can be traced back to Ostrom's work in the 1970s (Ostrom 1978). Since the seminal works on co-production (Ostrom and Withaker 1973; Ostrom and Parks 1973; Ostrom 1978; Parks et al. 1981), co-production studies have examined various aspects associated with the topic, including conceptually defining and categorising co-production (Alford 2014; Brandsen and Honingh 2016, 2018; Nabatchi et al. 2017). This section aims to demarcate the concept of co-production that is used in this research.

In order to understand more of the practicalities of the co-production of public services, a number of case studies have been conducted in the field (e.g., Bovaird 2007; Pestoff 2006; Brandsen and Helderman 2012; Thomsen and Jakobsen 2015; Meijer 2014). These case studies argued that co-production initiatives are found in many different policy fields and cover a variety of activities (cf. Brandsen, Steen, and Verschuere 2018b). This makes co-production relevant for a number of research domains, such as sociology, governance, urban planning, architecture, economics, etc. While recent research on the topic of co-production has advanced the debate considerably, there is still no consensus as to a precise definition of co-production. Defining co-production is not an easy task. There is a long tradition of studying the concept and various definitions have been constructed.

Nevertheless, it is important to offer a definition for the purposes of this research, as a broad applicability of the concept of co-production may be problematic when what is actually studied is a narrower concept of co-production. For example, Osborne, Radnor, and Strokosch (2016, 640) apply a broad understanding of co-production and define co-production as the ‘voluntary or involuntary involvement of public service users in any of the design, management, delivery and/or evaluation of public services’. Although this thesis agrees that co-production may take place in the design, management, delivery and evaluation of public services, this thesis looks at the forms of co-production in which citizens voluntarily collaborate in delivering services, following the definitions offered by Parks et al. (1981), Brudney and England (1983), Pestoff (2006) and Nabatchi et al. (2017). Brandsen and Honingh (2016, 431) help further define co-production as they identify its core elements and, accordingly, define co-production ‘as a relationship between a paid employee of an organization and (groups of) individual citizens that requires a direct and active contribution from these citizens to the work of the organization’. The various aspects of this definition, in addition to other aspects of the conceptualization of co-production used in this thesis, are further discussed below.

First, the relationship between the public professional and (groups of) individual citizens is a necessary characteristic of the co-production concept. In the co-production of public services, a variety of actors may be co-producing and therefore a variety of relationships between these actors exist. However, when defining co-production the relationship between citizens and public servants is essential. This relationship may be direct or indirect, as citizen co-producers and public servants directly or indirectly collaborate in delivering services. Nevertheless, other actors are also involved in co-production. For example, other individual actors from private businesses and third sector organizations may be involved because they provide knowledge, monetary resources, technological resources etc. The literature on the network society outlines the development of the complex cooperation between these different actors (e.g., Osborne 2010). In recent years there has been a growth of hybrid arrangements in the provision of public services in Europe (Osborne 1998; Brandsen, van der Donk, and Putters 2003). It is therefore important not to overlook those other actors and potentially miss some of the complexity associated with co-produced services.

Second, actors may be involved in the different stages of the policy cycle, not only in the production stage of public service delivery. Co-production may thus involve both the co-design and the co-implementation of a public service. Some scholars emphasize the distinction between the concepts of ‘co-production’ and ‘co-creation’ based on which stage in the policy cycle the co-production is occurring (Brandsen and Honingh 2018, 13). However, Bovaird and Loeffler (2012) suggest that when an initiative includes both the co-design and the co-delivery of a service, we can use the term co-production to describe the overall process.

Third, it is important to emphasize that the initiating actor of the co-production initiative is not fixed in the definition. Citizens may take part in co-production on the invitation of government, or citizens may take the initiative themselves. Additionally, a great variety of co-production activities exist, and the extent to which different actors are involved varies widely. For example, Strokosch and Osborne (2016) examine the different conceptualizations in the co-production literature regarding the extent to which actors are involved and make a distinction between consumer, participative co-production and enhanced co-production. Consumer co-production is intrinsic to service production, as production and consumption are inseparable in time and space (e.g., garbage collection). It is therefore involuntary and unavoidable. Participative co-production includes the planning, development and evaluation of existing public services. Here, citizens or service consumers are invited to participate in improving services at the request and control of public servants. Enhanced co-production then conceptualizes co-production where citizens and service users are given a more fundamental role for co-designing and co-creating services and innovations that may result in new forms of public services. It is this latter conceptualization of co-production that this research is mainly focussed on.

Finally, when defining the citizen side of the co-production process many scholars make a distinction between users (or clients or consumers), volunteers, community groups, and citizens (Alford 2002, 2014; Pestoff 2014; Bovaird 2007). Nevertheless, many co-producers can belong to more than one of these groups. Therefore, it is important to include all of these groups in this research since a sole focus on the user may limit our understanding of the reality of (enhanced) co-production of public services. Citizen co-producers are users or clients since they receive user

value from the agency's service, that is, benefits that are consumed individually. Citizens are voluntarily providing work inputs to the organization, rather than on a purchased basis, without necessarily individually consuming the results of that service (e.g., a family member of someone who receives the service). Finally, in the role of citizens as part of the community, they receive public value, which they 'consume' jointly with their fellow citizens (Alford 2002; Bovaird 2007; Osborne 1998; Alford and O'Flynn 2012). Similarly, the co-production literature makes a distinction between individual co-production, group co-production and collective co-production (cf. Brudney and England 1983). Individual co-production refers to a one on one relationship where users or volunteers co-produce a service that benefits one person. In group co-production, public servants work together with a group of citizens that share a specific interest. Here, benefits are created for the group that is co-producing the services, while benefits for wider society may also be produced. In collective co-production, the aim is to co-produce services that are beneficial to the society at large (Nabatchi et al. 2017).

In sum, in this study co-production is understood as having the necessary component of a relationship between a public servant or professional and a citizen co-producer (being a user and/or citizen as part of the community) where citizen co-producers actively and voluntarily collaborate in producing public services, either in the design, management, delivery and/or evaluation of public services, which was either initiated through bottom-up or top-down processes, and where actors from private-for-profit and third sector organizations, when involved in this relationship, are part of the co-production of public services.

1.3 Gaps in the current co-production literature

Since the seminal works on co-production, a variety of scholars have studied the nature of co-production, its development in recent decades, the motivations of citizens or users involved in service delivery (Alford 2009; Van Eijk and Steen 2014), the role of professionals (e.g., Tuurnas 2016; Steen and Tuurnas 2018), their willingness to co-produce (e.g., Van Eijk and Steen 2014), and the effects of co-production (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012), for example the

democratic quality of service delivery (e.g., Vanleene, Voets and Verschuere 2017). In recent years, the co-production of public services has been researched both through theoretical discussions (e.g., Bovaird 2007; Alford 2009; Pestoff et al. 2013), case studies (e.g., Bovaird 2007; Pestoff 2006; Thomsen and Jakobsen 2015; Meijer 2014), experiments (e.g., Jakobsen 2013; Fledderus 2016; Ricucci, Van Ryzin, and Li 2016; Van Ryzin, Ricucci, and Li 2017), and survey studies (e.g., Parrado et al. 2013; Bovaird et al. 2015). Although these studies have advanced the knowledge of co-production, there are a number of gaps¹ that remain in the current co-production literature that require specific attention. This section discusses the three gaps that this research aims to address: (1) systematic evidence of how the desired and undesired effects of co-production come about is lacking; (2) theoretical frameworks and empirical studies analysing value conflicts in the context of co-production are missing; and (3) the role of the individual co-producer's behaviour for the effects of co-production is lacking theoretical and empirical attention.

1.3.1 Systematic evidence of how desired and undesired consequences of co-production come about is lacking

While the literature on the co-production of public services is highly normative, Verschuere and others (2012) argue that research on the effects of co-production is the least developed in the academic literature. Advocates of co-production claim that co-production may have many benefits for citizens in comparison to regular public service delivery (e.g. Levine and Fisher 1984; Needham 2008). However, 'the actual and potential impact of co-production on citizen outcomes is as yet only sketchily researched' (Bovaird and Loeffler 2016, 1013). Does co-production really live up to its expectations? And how do the desired and undesired effects of co-production come

¹ The concept of "gaps" presumes that knowledge on co-production is demarcated. However, this thesis understands knowledge on the topic as something that is to be advanced and is thus infinite. Nevertheless, the concept of gaps is used here to describe which current questions gave rise to this research. The eventual aim is thus, in addition to starting to "fill these gaps", to advance knowledge and create new "gaps" for future research to study.

about? The subject of co-production still lacks a comprehensive theoretical and systematic empirically orientated understanding of what happens when citizens co-produce public services (Brandsen, Pestoff, and Verschuere 2012; Meijer 2016). This thesis looks into the effects of co-production with regards to better public values realization and better public value creation.

1.3.1.1 The effects: public values realization

Public values are a well discussed topic in the public administration literature (Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman 2007; Bovens, 't Hart and van Twist 2007; Rutgers 2008; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016). Barry Bozeman (2007, 13) defines public values as those values providing a normative consensus about 'a) the rights, benefits, and prerogatives to which citizens should (and should not) be entitled; (b) the obligations of citizens to society, the state, and one another; and (c) the principles on which governments and policies should be based'. With regards to public service delivery, public values are the principles of governance and guide behaviours and actions adopted through the delivery process (Bozeman 2007).

Advocates of co-production claim that co-production is an innovative way to be responsive to and better realize public values (Pestoff 2006; Bovaird and Loeffler 2012; Vamstad 2012; Voorberg, Bekkers, and Tummers 2014). For example, co-production provides the opportunity to increase the efficiency and the quality of a service delivery, as citizens, users and volunteers put in their time, efforts and resources (knowledge and expertise) (Pestoff 2006). Specifically, the perceived service quality may improve as the 'active involvement of citizens in the service delivery process may change their subjective perceptions of quality' (Loeffler and Bovaird 2018, 273). Letting users co-produce may also contribute to greater user satisfaction (Vamstad 2012) and better targeting or responsiveness of services (Pestoff 2006; Vanleene, Voets and Verschuere 2017). Co-production is also expected to enhance the democratic qualities of a service, since it is seen as a

source for citizen empowerment (Fledderus 2016), equality, diversity, and accessibility (Ross, Needham and Carr 2014).

However, through mostly case study research, scholars have warned about the potential non-realization of public values (Steen, Brandsen, and Verschuere 2018) and a risk of public values failures, such as the risks of rising transaction costs, failing accountability, loss of democracy, and reinforced inequalities. For example, the issue of failing accountability arises as case studies often report a lack of clear responsibilities in co-production projects (Steen, Brandsen, and Verschuere 2018). Or, while co-production was initially expected and introduced to be cost efficient (e.g., the Big Society in the UK), studies have since shown that co-production may bring rising transaction costs as organizing participation demands more time (Angelova-Mladenova 2016; Batalden et al. 2016; Loeffler and Bovaird 2018). Other examples of unwanted effects associated with co-production include unequal access and treatment and social exclusion (Agger and Larson 2009; Steen, Brandsen, and Verschuere 2018).

1.3.1.2 The effects: public value creation

In addition to the realization of public values, co-production is also expected to create public value. The ‘public value’ creation literature should not be confused with the earlier discussed ‘public values’ literature as they represent distinct and different concepts (e.g., Bryson, Crosby, and Bloomberg 2014; Nabatchi 2018; Fukumoto and Bozeman 2019, Witesman 2016; Carson and O’Flynn 2020). The precise definition of public value has been debated in the public administration literature (e.g., Stoker 2006; Rhodes and Wanna 2007). The concept of public value (singular) (cf. Moore 1995) represents the added value created through the activities of public organizations and officials (Hartley, Alford, Knies, and Douglas 2017, 672).

In the public administration literature, there is a rising interest in value co-creation² through public service delivery (e.g., Vargo and Lusch 2008; Payne, Storbacka and Frow 2007;

² In this sense, one of this thesis’ central concept, namely, the “co-creation of public value”, should not be confused with the concept of the “co-creation of public services”, which Brandsen and Honingh (2018) explain as the process of “professionals and citizens co-designing public services”.

Grönroos 2011; Spohrer and Maglio 2008; Edvardsson, Tronvoll and Gruber 2011; Osborne, Radnor and Strokosch 2016; Alford 2014, 2016). There has also been increasing scholarly interest in public value co-created through the co-production of public services (Alford 2009, 2016; Bovaird and Loeffler 2012; Farr 2016; Osborne, Strokosch, and Radnor 2018; Cluley and Radnor 2020). These scholars argue that, through the process of co-production, public value is co-created.

The added value created by co-production refers both the personal well-being of individuals or groups of citizens and collective outcomes (Loeffler and Bovaird 2018). The value created for the personal well-being of individuals or groups, such as family or friends, or service users, is referred to as user value or value to wider groups. The value coming from collective outcomes refers to social value where social cohesion and social interaction is created, to environmental value such as ensuring environmental sustainability, and to political value where co-production creates support for democratic processes and ensures legitimacy (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012).

However, recent studies have identified the risk of value co-destruction in co-production practices (e.g., Jakobsen and Andersen 2013; Williams, Kang, and Johnson 2016; Osborne, Strokosch, and Radnor 2018; Steen, Brandsen, and Verschuere 2018). Williams, Kang and Johnson (2016) explain value co-destruction as value creation gone wrong. They give the example of the shooting of a young 17-year-old African American teenager, Trayvon Martin, in 2012 in the United States by a member of a neighbourhood watch co-production project. The neighbourhood watchman shot the unarmed teenager who was walking in a gated community towards his father's fiancée's home. The value that the neighbourhood watch project was supposed to create, in this case public safety, was thereby co-destructed as a feeling of unsafety for a large part of the population was the result of this incident³.

³ See Williams, Kang and Johnson (2016) for a complete discussion about this interesting case, and how its connection to public values failure.

1.3.1.3 Understanding co-production effects

Thus, on the one hand co-production is promising for public values realization and public value creation in public service delivery, but on the other hand co-production has a dark-side (Steen, Brandsen, and Verschuere 2018). As scholars start to wonder if co-production is always a good idea (Bovaird et al. 2017), knowledge about what causes co-production to result in public values realization or public values obstruction, or in public value creation or public value destruction is in high demand, yet still very limited. Although the risks are being identified, and researchers and practitioners have become more realistic about the so-called advantages of co-production, the underlying mechanisms of how these positive and negative effects come about are still understudied.

1.3.2 Theoretical frameworks and empirical studies analysing value conflicts in the context of co-production are missing

Although the above discussed concepts of public values realization and public value creation are referring to different phenomena, and should not be confused during any analysis, researchers acknowledge both as being part of the same process (Witesman 2016; Carson and O’Flynn 2020). In this research project it is assumed that they are possible subject to similar issues, such as the issue of value conflicts. Although the literature provides some empirical illustrations of value conflicts in co-production (e.g., Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Bovaird and Loeffler 2012), the literature is missing a coherent theoretical framework that allows for the analysis of value conflicts in the context of co-production. In this dissertation the concept of value conflicts⁴ refers to

⁴ Throughout the chapters, the concept of value conflicts is sometimes also referred to as value tensions. This is the case in chapters 3 and 4 which are published as journal articles using this terminology. At the start of the project I considered using concepts such as dilemma’s, value conflicts, value tensions, or value trade-offs. For the first two qualitative papers I decided to use the concept tensions as it described the tension between public values and the tension between dimensions of public value. Later, I discovered that the concept of conflict covers better the idea of an internally experienced tension among various desires and expectations. Conflict implies emotional and personal tension resulting from incompatible inner needs or drives (Jehn, 1997). Using the concept of value conflicts also fits better with the literature on value pluralism which makes use of the concept value conflicts.

conflicts both between public values and in the creation of public value. This section discusses the knowledge about value conflicts with regard to public values realization and public value creation separately.

First, a recurrent issue in the public administration literature is that public professionals experience conflicts between public values when they need to take decisions or produce public services (Hood 1991; Provan and Milward 2001; O’Kelly and Dubnick 2006; van der Wal, de Graaf, and Lawton 2011). In recent years, the empirical attention given to public values conflicts experienced by public servants has increased (e.g., Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; de Graaf and Paanakker, 2014; Schott 2015; Schott, Van Kleef and Steen 2015; de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016). However, empirical evidence on conflicting values remains rare (de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; de Graaf et al. 2016).

In a literature review of public value conflicts, van der Wal et al. (2011) identify two generations of research. The first is a generation of scholars who suggest that pursuing a value in governance inevitably limits pursuing other values (e.g., Okun 1975; Lipsky 1980). In the second generation, starting from the 1990s with the introduction of New Public Management (NPM), van der Wal et al. (2011) find that many scholars describe public values conflicts in the light of (a) the appearance of a more business-like approach in public administration practices (e.g., De Bruijn and Dicke 2006; Hood 1991) and (b) later also because of the increase of partnerships (e.g., Frederickson 2005, 175) and New Public Governance (NPG) (Osborne 2010). NPG brings new perspectives on the roles of government and citizens, or as Meijer (2016) understands it: a renegotiation of the social contract. Thus, from the early 2000s, a more participatory model of government was introduced (Osborne 2006). Both NPM and NPG bring with them a specific emphasis on public values. As public organizations try to balance ‘traditional’ governmental values – such as integrity, neutrality, legality and impartiality – with ‘business-like’ values – such as efficiency, innovation, responsiveness and effectiveness – and ‘network’ values – such as collaborative engagement, inclusion, democratic quality, and constitutional values (Hood 1991; Kernaghan 2000; De Bruijn and Dicke 2006; Frederickson 2005; Alford and O’Flynn 2009; Bryson, Crosby and Bloomberg 2014; Meijer 2016) – professionals frequently face value conflicts

and dilemmas: trade-off situations that have negative consequences no matter which option is chosen (Bozeman 2007; Schott 2015). A theoretical assumption for the existence of public values conflicts is value pluralism (e.g., Berlin 1982). Value pluralism starts from the assumption that public values are not measurable and are incommensurable, meaning that no rational appeal can be made to one of the conflicting values that would resolve the conflict. When these values are incompatible with each other, meaning that the pursuit of one value means a loss in the other value, value conflicts may arise.

Second, the recent attention given to value co-creation suggests certain value conflicts between user value and more collective understandings of public value (Alford 2014, 2016; Osborne et al. 2016; Farr 2016). Bovaird and Loeffler (2018) argue that politicians need to balance and prioritize these different dimensions of public value, as conflicts with certain interest groups is likely to occur. Scholars have also provided various explanations for the occurrence of value conflicts with regard to public value creation. Various stakeholders of public service delivery have different expectations (Lipsky 1980; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2000). The literature on street-level bureaucracy (e.g., Lipsky 1980) and co-production shows a clear paradox here for professionals engaged in co-production and offers a possible explanation for the existence of conflicts between user value and other dimensions of public value: on the one hand, a professional must trust the decisions and inputs of service users (Bovaird 2007) while on the other hand, professionals cannot rely on co-producers' opinions as an indication of how all users define the public value of a service (de Vries 2002). Additionally, scholars point to the fuzziness of concepts such as the public interest. Often what is of public value is defined to be 'in the public interest,' which in turn is defined as 'what citizens expect from government and what public officials – both politicians and administrators – strive for or should strive for' (Schott 2015, 34). This ambiguity makes it difficult to introduce a hierarchy into these concepts or dimensions of public value.

Regarding both public values realization and public value creation, the literature provides some indications for value conflicts to occur in the co-production of public services. First, scholars point at the fact that co-production offers a new context in which the relations between user/citizen and public professional shifts (e.g., Bekkers et al. 2007). Meijer (2016) points out that the

transformation to NPG, which as discussed earlier is theoretically seen as contributing to the existence of public values conflicts, comes with an increase of co-production in public services, which challenges important values such as equality, accountability, transparency and proportionality. Second, co-production may enhance a sense of community between and among citizens while also further intensifying conflicts between user value and public value creation, as co-producers are not necessarily representative of the larger population (Bovaird et al. 2015), and bring more expectations for creating value for specific (groups of) people, to the design and implementation of public service delivery. This research aims to further theoretically explore these claims and to find empirical support.

The experience of both types of value conflicts has been discussed in the above presented literature for public servants such as street-level bureaucrats and public managers. However, in co-production there are also other types of actors involved, such as citizen co-producers. Although the thesis utilises the same framework for both groups, the various chapters look for differences between these groups of individuals. Differences in experiencing value conflicts are expected because citizen co-producers and public servants can be involved based on different motivations, and in addition they are likely to have different responsibilities, which may come with specific challenges.

For example, with regard to public values realization I expect that for citizen co-producers conflict would arise around the fact that they are becoming service producers – i.e., putting in efforts and contributing to the production of services including having to deal with all kinds of public values (Alford 2002) – while at the same time remaining service users - mostly concerned with a self-centred effectiveness (Alford and Yates 2016). For public servants the context of co-production could resolve or add to the experience of value conflicts. For example, experiencing conflicts among the values of equality and equity may arise when public servants co-produce services with a segment of the population.

Similarly, for the creation of public value citizen co-producers are also at the receiver end of the co-production process. I expect that citizen co-producers experience value conflicts mostly between their personal user value and the other types of public value, including the user value for

others. This is because citizen co-producers motivations to co-produce mostly, although not exclusively, have to do with their user value (Alford and Yates 2016). For public servants conflicts around creating public value in co-production are expected to arise around identifying what is of public value and around the user value for citizen co-producers being representative of thus public value (Bovaird 2007).

1.3.3 The role of the individual co-producer's behaviour for the effects of co-production is lacking theoretical and empirical studies

Arguably, there is little known about how co-producers behave. The roles of co-producers have not been studied from a behavioural perspective. Gaining insight in both citizens-users and public professionals' coping behaviour when experiencing value conflicts is vital to understanding co-production (cf. Bartels 2013) and its effects. The co-production literature lacks empirical studies and theoretical understandings of co-producers' behaviour and normative decision making. Quantitative empirical research on citizen co-producers' behaviours is especially scarce (e.g., Bovaird et al. 2015). Additionally, most studies that research the behaviour of co-producers focus on their willingness to engage in co-production (e.g., Van Eijk and Steen 2014), and on what types of co-production in which they engage (e.g., Bovaird et al. 2015). Although these studies have significantly advanced knowledge on co-production, insights in co-production behaviour is still very limited. When citizen co-producers and public servants co-design and co-implement services how do they behave? How do their decisions and behaviours impact co-production outputs and outcomes? Bartels (2013), for example, argues that behavioural patterns dynamically emerge in the relationship between citizens and public professionals. What does that mean? In this regard, there have recently been efforts aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of street-level-bureaucratic practices (e.g., Tummers et al. 2015; Brodtkin 2012). The literature on coping strategies of street-level-bureaucrats does offer some insights into the normative decisions service providers make and

how this affects service delivery. Yet less research has been conducted on the strategies citizens follow in these practices.

A better understanding of the coping strategies of service providers and co-producers that allow them to deal with public value conflicts, the measurement of such behaviour, the influencing factors, and the effects, is important for policymakers and managers if they want to develop and implement policies which will be more readily accepted by co-producing public professionals and citizen co-producers.

In the literature, the concept of ‘coping’ is used to analyse how conflicts between public values are dealt with (Lipsky 1980; de Graaf et al. 2016). These coping strategies have been identified as behavioural responses specifically relating to conflicting values in the literature on street-level bureaucracy. The studies on street-level bureaucrats, which were originally inspired by the field of psychology, may offer a framework for gaining insights into how co-producing actors may cope with value conflicts (e.g., Lipsky 1980; Lawton, McKeivitt, and Millar 2000; Tetlock 2000; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2000; Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006).

These street-level bureaucracy studies have also linked coping strategies to the eventual end results (e.g., Oldenhof, Postma, and Putters 2014), as coping strategies offer both mono-value and multi-value solutions (e.g., Steenhuisen 2009). However, the explicit link of an individual’s coping strategies with the realization or obstruction of public values and the co-creation or co-destruction of public value in co-production is missing.

Does this framework of coping strategies also make sense for the behaviour of citizen co-producers? Knowing that citizen co-producers and public servants have varying responsibilities in public service delivery, it makes sense to take into account a potential difference in coping strategies found between both groups. For example, I expect that citizen co-producers are likely to bias values related to achieving self-efficacy and satisfaction with the service (Alford 2002, 2009; Alford and Yates 2016). Additionally, as citizens most likely are not used to having to cope with public value conflicts, in contrast to public servants for which this is a daily effort, it is possible that they do not rely on a broad range of coping strategies. Furthermore, adhering to

specific coping strategies may demand specific capabilities or even discretion to be able to do so, which may not be within the power given to citizen co-producers.

Furthermore, the existing literature lacks explanations about why co-producers behave in the way they do. Why do individuals choose to focus on realizing one of the conflicting values, and why do others choose to try to realize both, even if this means these conflicting values may not be realized to their fullest extent? Or why do other individuals in the face of obstacles avoid dealing with conflict? The psychology literature provides some insights into psychological traits that may explain behaviour, especially in conflict situations (e.g., Bandura 1986; Van Lange 1999), however, empirical testing of the possible effects of psychological traits on coping strategies in the case of value conflicts in public administration is limited (e.g., Schott 2015).

1.4 Research question

Based on the gaps in the literature discussed above, this research project addresses the following research question:

What is the role of individual coping with value conflicts for the desired and undesired effects of co-production?

In order to answer this research question, a number of sub-questions have been formulated. As a first step, the public value conflicts that citizens and public service producers face in the context of co-production are analysed. Knowledge on actors' expectations on realizing public values and creating public value is acquired while studying how these expectations may conflict with each other.

1. How does the co-production of public services lead to co-producing actors experiencing value conflicts?

In a second step, it is useful to identify the coping strategies that citizens and public servants utilize in order to deal with value conflicts that arise when co-producing public services.

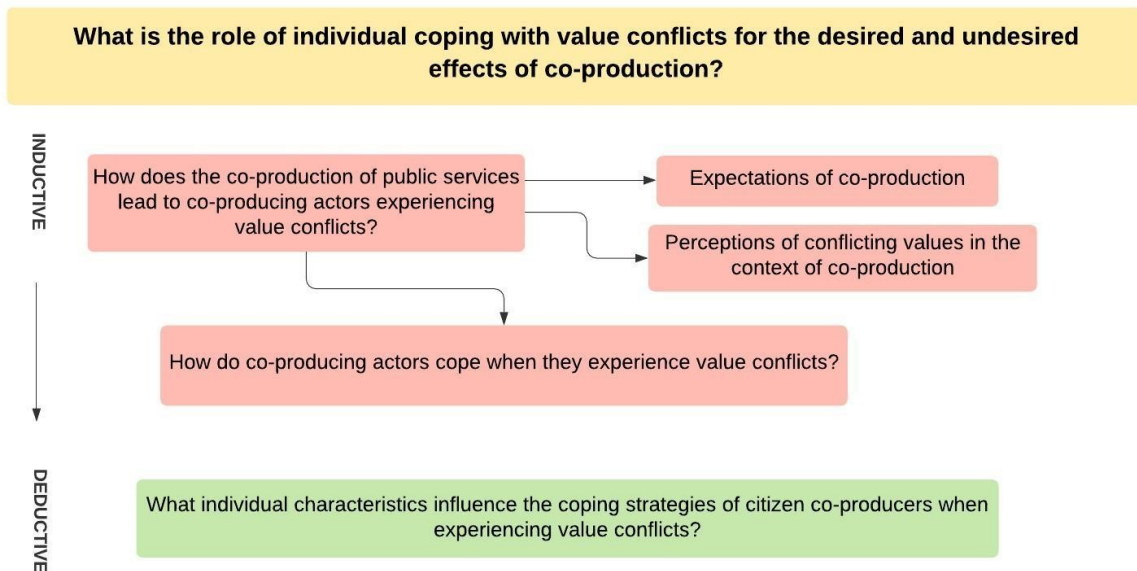
2. How do co-producing actors cope when they experience value conflicts?

A third step involves analysing the individual characteristics (independent variables) that influence the coping strategies implemented by citizens engaged in co-production practices (dependent variables).

3. What individual characteristics influence the coping strategies of citizen co-producers when experiencing value conflicts?

Figure 1.1 schematizes the research questions that have been formulated to achieve the aim of this research. The figure shows how the sub-questions move from questions requiring an inductive approach to questions requiring a deductive approach. The figure also shows how the sub-questions together answer the main research question, which is shown at the top of the figure.

Figure 1.1: Visualization of research questions



1.5 Research design

As co-production research has gained considerable attention in recent years, research has moved from predominantly single-case studies to other methods. From the second half of the 2010s scholars have made efforts to collect large-N data through survey research (e.g., Vamstad 2012; Parrado et al. 2013; Bovaird et al. 2015), conduct survey experiments (e.g., Jakobsen 2013, Fledderus 2016; Ricucci, Van Ryzin, and Li 2016; Van Ryzin, Ricucci, and Li 2017; Voorberg et al. 2018), and introduce Q-methodology into co-production research (Van Eijk and Steen 2014; Verschuere et al. 2014). However, up until now few methods have been used to study how the individual experiences of individual co-producers result in co-production effects. This study will provide data by means of various methods – document analysis, interviews, survey questionnaires, survey experiments – and introduces the use of conflict scenarios in co-production research to advance knowledge on the effects of co-production.

1.5.1 Epistemological and ontological positions

In order to answer the research questions, the study relies on a mixed-method research design. Before turning to a discussion of the methods used in this research, the ontological and epistemological positions need to be presented. This research project is built on the assumption that reality is constantly negotiated, debated, or interpreted by individual actors. It implies that there may be one reality or multiple realities depending on the debate and the current advances in knowledge (ontology), following a philosophy of constructivism. More specifically, in order to understand the experience of value conflicts and how people cope with value conflicts, a philosophy of constructivism is followed, as reality is experiential for individuals. Furthermore, this research project is built on the idea that the knowledge about the desired and undesired consequences of co-production should be examined using all the tools that are best suited to solve different parts of the research problem (epistemology), according to a philosophy of pragmatism (e.g., Howe 1988; Reichardt and Rallis 1994). By incorporating the strength of the

qualitative and quantitative research paradigms, this research design offers the best tools to answer the research questions. The research thus first aims to interpret the experiences of co-producers in order to achieve knowledge about the content of value conflicts. Next, in order to understand why certain individuals cope differently than others with the conflicts they experience, this research designs relies on positivist methods measuring knowledge about individual characteristics.

Although the subject of this research concerns values and questions concerning moral decisions, the aim of the study is mostly to understand how values are realized or created at an individual level. Nevertheless, the personally held values of the researcher probably play a role in the framing and design of this research. The aim of the research is to seek to change the world for the better. In other words, the research aims to gain insights in co-production and individuals' coping strategies to ensure that certain values are not lost and that public values failure and public value destruction may be prevented.

1.5.2 Mixed method design

The research relies on a mixed method design and follows a philosophical methodological approach of pragmatism. Lieberman's (2005) study, along with others, have called for greater integration of methodological approaches (Achen and Snidal 1989; Tarrow 1995) or the mixing of methods in research studies. Individual strategies and attitudes are analysed by gathering new data about particular individuals through intensive interviews. The qualitative research then helps to improve the quality of measurement instruments and model specifications used in the quantitative research, for which a larger sample is taken. More specifically, the research follows a QUAL-quan mixed methods design, or an exploratory mixed methods design. In this design, qualitative data are collected first and are more heavily weighted than quantitative data (Creswell 2003, Creswell and Piano Clark 2017).

The research presented had four branches. First, a qualitative pre-study⁵ was conducted in the preparation of this research design, with the aim of checking the study's feasibility by exploring a co-production initiative and the different value expectations and value conflicts perceived by the actors involved. This pre-study only served to inform the research question and allowed for experimentation around the study of value conflicts. The pre-study found that in the experience of all the different actors involved, conflicts between two or more public values and between various dimensions of creating public value were present. The pre-study showed that a qualitative research design using semi-structured interviews with questions related to the motivations and expectations of co-production is a valid method to gain insight in the value expectations of individual co-producers and their experienced value conflicts. Second, a theoretical study aims at conceptualizing and providing a framework for the study as a whole, which can then be further explored and eventually partly tested. Existing theoretical and conceptual models were borrowed from public administration (e.g., co-production, public values theory, street-level bureaucracy), the organizational ethics, political science (e.g., participatory and deliberative democracy), and social psychology (e.g., motivation, psychological traits), and provide valuable interdisciplinary input. This theoretical exploration provided input to explore and bring together the concepts of public values realization, public value creation, public value conflicts and coping strategies in multi-actor settings, such as for example co-production. It presents a typology for coping strategies which is then used for all studies presented in this thesis. Third, three qualitative studies in three different service areas investigate a total of 11 co-production cases. These studies have the objective to explore the value expectations, value conflicts and coping strategies specific to the context of co-production. Finally, the insights into experiences of conflicts and coping strategies acquired in the qualitative phase of the research design are used to design a vignette experiment and survey questionnaire to test what personal characteristics influence the choice of coping strategies.

⁵ This pre-study was presented at the IIAS study group on co-production of public services in 2016: Jaspers, Sylke. And Trui Steen. 2016. "Motivations and expectations: developing a framework for identifying value tension in the co-production of public services". The IIAS Study Group on Coproduction of Public Services. Tampere, Finland.

1.5.2.1 Qualitative study methods.

Qualitative research has as its purpose a desire to describe and understand social phenomena. This approach results in findings on the meanings that individuals give to social phenomena (Boeije, 2010). The method is therefore suitable for studying the various perspectives and experiences of the different co-producing actors. The empirical studies relate to a series of co-production initiatives in Flanders. The empirical studies are conducted in three policy fields that relate to three societal challenges that governments face: social care, mobility/urban planning, and the temporary use of vacant spaces. Three separate case studies are conducted: one concerning public values realization in the social care sector (one case, elderly people), one concerning public value creation in the mobility sector (two cases), and one case study concerning the sustainability of temporary co-production (eight cases). The cases for this qualitative research are selected based on this research's conceptualization of co-production (section 1.2).

Co-production for delivering these services has increased significantly. In social care, co-production is one of the many possible solutions for issues relating to, for example, an ageing population. The objective of the co-production is two-fold: (1) increase the perceived quality of services for the elderly and (2) minimize the financial burden for government and persons in need. In the mobility sector, governments are looking to solve issues of liveability and find more sustainable ways of organizing mobility in their municipalities or cities. The temporary use of vacant spaces refers to unused buildings and places (e.g., abandoned lots, brownfields, docks, breweries, etc.) being made available for citizens to set up initiatives. Co-production in the temporary use of vacant spaces is being used to effectuate a variety of policies such as social care, culture, or integration, among others, and aims to provide a more liveable and dynamic neighbourhood for the local community, as well as providing a cultural, social and economic boost for the city. Additionally, it also holds some benefits for the involved stakeholders, such as soft maintenance for building owners and low rent for users. It also tackles urban vacancy and associated risks of neglect and vandalism (Jégou et al. 2016).

The aim of the qualitative research is to identify a wide range of perspectives and experiences of co-producers with regard to their expectations for co-production effects, rather than to be numerically representative. The project coordinators of each of the co-production initiatives were involved in the research process, and they assisted in the design of a plan for selecting and reaching out to the interviewees. Especially in the cases involving deprived people, reaching out to user co-producers provided a challenge, and needed close collaboration with the project coordinator. This phase of the research also includes interviews with users who are drop-outs from the co-production process (in order to contrast their value perceptions, motivation, role perceptions, and coping strategies with those of citizens/users still involved as co-producers). Additional information is gathered from interviews with other stakeholders, such as policy makers, managers of the public organizations involved (e.g., city managers in local government; leading administrators of public, semi-public and non-for-profit organizations involved in co-production of public services, managers of private for-profit organizations that are involved in the co-production of public services, etc.). In total, 98⁶ interviews were conducted⁷ in this qualitative phase of the research design.

In sum, the qualitative study aims to investigate the different value expectations, explore value conflicts and explore how co-producers cope in these situations. Additionally, the interviews also have the purpose to learn more about what characteristics might be useful in understanding the coping mechanisms of individual actors.

1.5.2.2 Quantitative study methods

The purpose of the quantitative research is to further test the model that results from the literature review and the qualitative studies. This research phase looks for explanations for the findings of

⁶ Excluding the interviews in the context of the pre-study, which presented interview data coming from 15 interviews.

⁷ The 35 interviews presented in chapter five are conducted by political science students at KU Leuven with my close co-supervision. I am grateful for their valuable contribution to this research.

the qualitative studies. More specifically, it aims to check for the influence of certain independent variables (individual characteristics) on the dependent variable (coping strategies). The model presented in chapter 2 offers many possible avenues for further testing. This thesis therefore presents a starting point with its focus on just one specific aspect. The quantitative large N case study broadens out from cases examined in the qualitative study and focusses on temporary co-production in the use of vacant spaces. This allows for the inclusion of co-production initiatives that vary across service domains while also offering communalities allowing to construct and study situations (e.g., vignettes) that are highly recognisable for the citizen co-producers. In other words, focussing on temporary use makes this study specific, while also including a variety of service domains.

Two studies using quantitative methods are executed, each studying a different type of value conflict: (1) a survey study to the influence of individual characteristics on coping with a conflict experienced between social inclusion and service quality (public values realization); (2) a survey experiment studies the influence of individual characteristics on coping with a hypothetical conflict between creating user value for oneself and creating social value for the community (public value creation). Following quantitative research on ethical decision making (e.g., Loyens and Maesschalck 2010; Schott 2015), the dependent variable ‘coping strategies’ is measured through the use of dilemma scenarios. Both scenarios are built using insights from the qualitative studies, as they pertain to conflicting values that citizen co-producers are potentially faced with when co-producing public values.

First, in the case study to the realization of public values, the values found to be most conflicting for the citizen co-producers are those that fit between inclusion on the one hand and quality of the service, linked to effectiveness, on the other hand (chapter 3). A similar conflict can also be found in the data we collected for the study on the temporary use of vacant spaces (chapter 5). The survey questionnaire looks into this conflict and asks citizen co-producers which value they prefer and how they would cope most often when a conflict presents itself.

Second, a specific dilemma scenario between dimensions of public value creation is constructed for citizen co-producers. The qualitative research phase found that citizens aim to

create public value. However, actors are often confronted with a conflict to create user value, either for themselves or for an individual (group) (chapter 4). In the temporary use of vacant spaces, for example, actors experience conflict between the temporary use which they often see as having public value, answering to one or more needs of society, and the user value of some individuals in the neighbourhood (chapter 5).

Furthermore, the quantitative research phase measures the influence of individual characteristics, identified in the qualitative research phase and the literature, on the coping strategies followed by citizen co-producers in each of these conflict situations. Trust, self-efficacy and perceived impact were identified as meaningful independent variables from the qualitative studies, and their relation to coping strategies followed by citizen co-producers is measured in the quantitative phase of the research.

1.5.2.3 Research context: co-production in Flanders

The cases presented in this dissertation take place in the Northern part of Belgium, Flanders. As in many countries and regions, in Flanders there is a trend towards interactive policy such as co-production. Flanders also has a large number of various participation mechanisms. Next to mechanisms supported at the federal (Belgium) level, the region of Flanders can and has developed its own tools of participation (Van Damme Jacquet, Schiffino, and Ruechamps 2017). Flanders has a variety of structures in which co-production with citizens is implemented. For example, the Flemish government subsidizes regional institutes to support community development work who then invite citizens to co-produce services (Hautekeur 2003).

The Flemish government further promotes local governments to organize co-production, and the facilitation of this local co-production has been described in a government policy document of the Flemish government: ‘Whitepaper (or Witboek): an open and agile government’ (Vlaamse Overheid 2017). The policy document promotes a hybrid participation system in which a variety of participation methods may play a role, as it bids governments to

invite new citizen initiatives which potentially provide inputs and ensures direct participation by individual citizens.

In Flanders, co-production is organized by municipalities in a top-down manner as part of their own unique government programme. For example, each municipality has a municipal welfare department. It is however, decided at the municipal level if and how they invite co-production. Next to the top-down initiated co-production of public services, there are many examples of bottom-up co-production in Flanders. According to the Whitepaper (Vlaamse Overheid 2017) it is up to the municipalities themselves to facilitate these projects where they see fit.

With the choice to focus on the Flemish territory to study co-production cases the above outlined context is kept similar across the initiatives studied. Focussing on just Flanders evades language barriers. The focus of the quantitative phase on the temporary use of vacant spaces ensures internal validity of the survey instrument.

1.6 Contributions

Co-production has recently become a central concept in public administration research, yet the research field lacks a clear theoretical framework that advances theory development and pushes for an integration of insights. This research takes a step forward in theory development and testing by linking research on co-production to four well-established research fields in public administration, namely the study of public values (e.g., Bozeman 2007; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014), street-level bureaucracy theory (e.g., Lipsky 1980; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2000), the studies on public value creation (e.g., Moore 1995, 2014), as well as the recently emerging research field of behavioural public administration (e.g., Tummers et al. 2015). The study therefore acknowledges co-production as being at the crossroad of research fields within the public administration discipline.

Until recently the public debate on co-production has mostly been driven by ideological stances towards the role of government and civil society. The co-production literature is enriched

by much needed empirical understandings of co-production. However, it still remains unclear if co-production is beneficial for public service delivery. This study will provide an evidence-based study of co-production, which is much needed, given the normative nature of much of the co-production literature and the over-reliance on single case studies.

The research focuses on an under-developed field of interest in co-production research: the day-to-day struggles which co-producers face when confronted with contrasting demands set by their individual aspirations. This research will invite the field to look at public values realization and public value creation in studying co-production effects. More specifically, the research will contribute to our understanding of an individual mechanism of following coping strategies that may enhance or obstruct an individual's contribution to co-production effects with regards to public value creation and public values realization. The study thereby advances knowledge on how negative or undesired effects of co-production come about, by focussing on public values failure and public value destruction at an individual level.

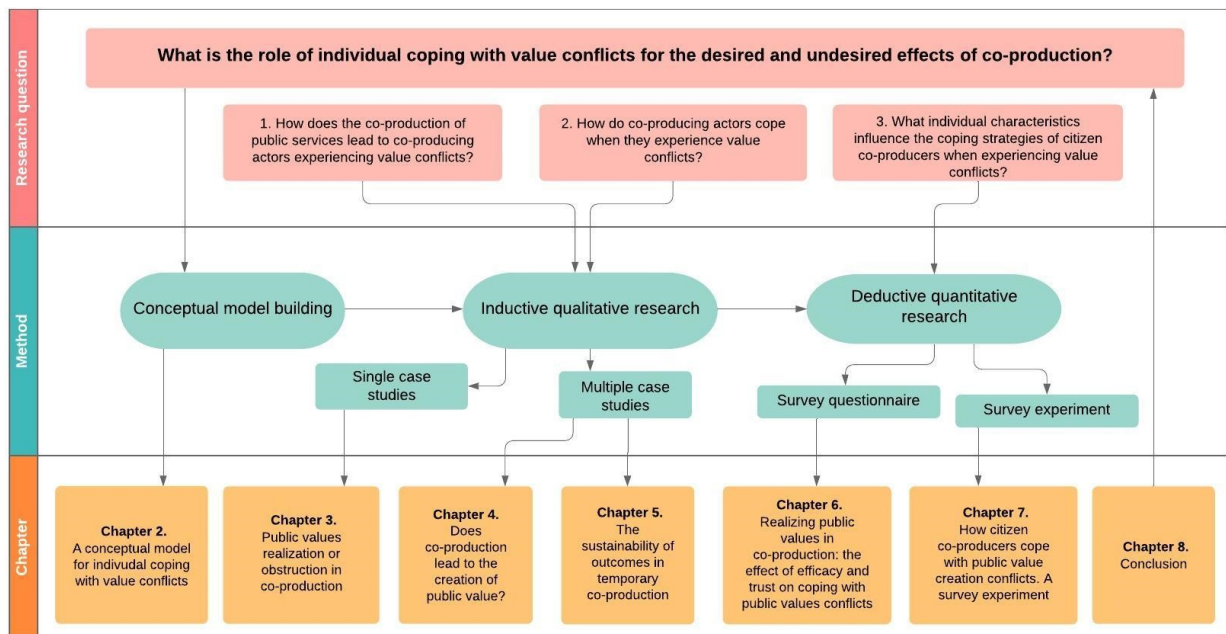
Next to bridging the different literature streams in public administration, the research builds upon the recognition of interdisciplinary inputs (including insights from political science, organization studies, and psychology) as a way forward in studying co-production. The research tests theory on strategies of coping in the context of a changing and increasingly complex environment for public service delivery, and identifies the main antecedents at an individual level.

Engaging citizens in the production of public services has become important both in practice and debate. Therefore, this research aims to provide valuable insights for practitioners. It may be valuable for practitioners to become aware of coping strategies used by themselves, colleagues and citizen co-producers. The research provides insights that will help identify conditions for organizing successful collaboration between citizens and public service professionals. The lessons learnt from the research project will help actors in different initiatives and in different policy fields to understand the hindering/supporting mechanisms for co-production, and help with the adaption and adoption of good practices.

1.7 Overview

Each of the chapters presented in this dissertation are academic articles published in or submitted to international, peer-reviewed journals. This means that each chapter explores a distinct aspect of the main research question and can be read independently. However, in reading the entire dissertation there may be some overlap and repetition. Figure 1.2 illustrates how the chapters relate to each other, to the research questions, and to the methods used. I continue with the discussion of the chapters below the figure.

Figure 1.2: Link between research questions, methods and chapters



In this introductory chapter I have situated the research contextually and theoretically and I have introduced the overall research questions and research design of the dissertation. The structure of the remainder of the thesis is as follows.

Chapter 2 presents a theoretical study that aims to conceptualize the individual mechanism of coping with value conflicts. Interdisciplinary input for the paper was retrieved from the public administration literature (e.g., public values theory, street-level bureaucracy, co-production), the organizational ethics literature, political science (e.g., participatory and deliberative democracy),

and the social psychology literature (e.g., motivation, psychological traits). This literature is used to build the Individual Coping with Value Conflicts model. The presented model helps develop a comprehensive theoretical and systematic empirically orientated understanding of what happens when individuals produce public service provisions, taking into account the reality of multi-actor settings in public governance. The chapter discusses the various aspects of the theoretical model. Coping strategies and their likely results are connected to public values realization and public value creation. The article also identifies the origins of an individual's need to rely on coping strategies while acknowledging situational and contextual factors. With presenting this model, the chapter shows that value conflicts and coping strategies may offer challenges for public governance and can additionally impact the realization of public values and the enhancement of public value. The model presented in this chapter offers a framework that guides the empirical chapters. Each of these chapters zooms into a different aspect of the model. However, not all aspects of the model will be highlighted in these chapters due to the scope of the research which focusses mostly on its individual and less on the situational and contextual aspects.

Chapter 3 empirically explores the second research question with regard to public values realization. A qualitative case study in the social care sector explores what expectations citizens and public professionals have for the realization of public values, which conflicts, or public values tensions, they experience in realizing public values and how they cope with these conflicts. The article presents the case of 'Connected Care' where co-production is situated in a small city and informal social care is organized by the elderly themselves, upon invitation by the local service provider. The study shows that co-production enhances the realization of public values. However, public servants and citizen co-producers experience conflicts between values such as efficiency, individual freedom of co-producers, reciprocity, and inclusion. In trying to deal with these value conflicts, public servants follow a variety of coping strategies, as do the elderly citizen co-producers. However, these latter tend to escalate conflicts or avoid coping with them. Finally, the study shows that the type of coping strategy followed influences if and what values are ultimately represented in the service delivery process and its results.

Chapter 4 presents the second qualitative article and studies expectations for public values creation in the urban mobility planning sector. Two cases are studied in depth: ‘City Streets’ and ‘Mobility Alternative’. Both focus on co-designing and co-implementing better sustainable mobility in the city. In ‘City Streets’ co-design led to co-implementation while in ‘Mobility Alternative’ a co-design phase eventually resulted in a failed implementation. This article analyses the various ways co-producers address the conflicts that arise among the various dimensions of public value creation. Additionally, the empirical evidence provides examples of circumstances, such as trust and communication, in which a balancing exercise is enhanced.

Chapter 5 zooms into the capacity at system, organizational and individual level in co-production for creating effects, while still focussing on the individual expectations for value creation. This chapter highlights the desires for the effects of co-production in temporary use of vacant spaces (a phenomenon where we find a lot of co-production projects), and the role of capacity at different levels, including the individual, for these desires to result in effects. Eight temporary use of vacant spaces are studied in this chapter. The article addresses the question of whether the public outcomes created in temporary co-production lead to sustainable results. Attention is directed to problem solving and capacity building and to addressing the needs of society today and being responsive to the needs of tomorrow. The data indicate that lasting collaborations, institutionalized (flexible) processes and empowered citizens support the creation of sustainable results from temporary co-production. The framework presented offers a tool for analysts and practitioners to take into account various conditions for co-production to create lasting effects.

Chapter 6 focusses on the individual characteristics that influence the choice of coping strategies of citizen co-producers. The article asks how citizen co-producers cope with this particular value conflict between realizing social inclusion and service quality. In addition, it checks whether individual characteristics such as generalized trust and particularized trust (trust in government), self-efficacy and perceived impact (external efficacy) affect their choice of coping behaviours. Data from a survey questionnaire among temporary co-producers in Flanders are

examined using a multinomial regression analysis. The results show that only perceived impact has a significant effect on coping strategies.

Chapter 7 studies if external efficacy and trust in a public servant affects the preferences of citizen co-producers in choosing coping strategies. A survey experiment is conducted among the citizens involved in the temporary use of vacant spaces in Flanders. Respondents are asked how they would act in a hypothetical conflict situation representing a trade-off between creating user value and creating social value. The design proposed for this research is a full-factorial experimental design (Mee 2009). The data is analysed using a rank ordered logit model analysis. The results show that irrespective of the level of external efficacy or trust in the public servant, citizen co-producers prefer to escalate the conflict to the public servant. The findings suggest that public servants play a central role in mediating conflicts in creating public value in co-production.

Finally, chapter 8 synthesizes and discusses the findings from the qualitative and quantitative studies in order to formulate an answer to the research question. This chapter formulates conclusions and expresses the contributions the thesis makes. It further discusses the limitations of this research and offers directions for future research. Finally, the chapter concludes with perhaps the most important section of this dissertation, with an explanation of the usefulness of this research for practice.

Table 1.1 presents an overview of the information given above and summarizes each of the chapters with regard to their research questions, aims, cases studied, key concepts, and contributions to the dissertation.

Table 1.1:
Overview of the chapters in the dissertation

Chapter (published in)	Specified research question	Research design and case(s) investigated	Key concepts	Result
2. A conceptual model for individual coping with value conflicts <i>(Accepted in Perspectives on Public Management and Governance)</i>	How are individually experienced value conflicts and coping strategies connected to public values realization and public value creation?	Conceptual model building based on a variety of existing literatures	Public value(s) theory, coping strategies	Theoretical model for the role of individual coping with value conflicts for co-production effects
3. Realizing public values: enhancement or obstruction? Exploring value tensions and coping strategies in the co-production of social care <i>(Public Management review)</i>	To what extent does co-production in social care either enhance or obstruct the realization of public values in the service delivery process and outcome?	R: Single explorative case study/ interviews, document analysis C: Elderly social care project in Flanders	Motivations, public values, value pluralism, co-producers perceived value conflicts, coping strategies	Insight in which public values expectations both citizen co-producers and public servants have, which values conflict, how they cope with these conflicts, and how the coping strategies contribute to the effects
4. Does co-production lead to the creation of public value? Balancing the dimensions of public value creation in urban mobility planning <i>(Administration & Society)</i>	Does the use of co-production for creating public value cause participants to experience conflicts among the dimensions of public value, and, if so, how do they cope with these conflicts?	R: Multiple explorative case studies/ interviews, document analysis C: Two Urban mobility planning co-productive projects in Flanders	Motivations, public value creation, dimensions of public value, co-producers perceived value conflicts, coping strategies	Insight in which dimensions of public value creation may conflict with each other in the experience of citizen co-producers and public servants, how they cope with these conflicts, and how the coping strategies contribute to the effects
5. The sustainability of outcomes in temporary co-production <i>(International Journal of Public Sector Management)</i>	If cities aim for social, cultural, environmental and economic value from temporary initiatives, how can they make sure the created value is sustained beyond the temporary use?	R: Multiple explorative case studies /interviews, document analysis C: Eight temporary use of vacant spaces cases	Sustainable outcome creation, problem solving, capacity building on system level, organizational level and individual level in co-production	Lasting collaborations, institutionalized but flexible processes and empowered citizens support the creation of sustainable results from temporary co-production. This chapter highlights the desires for this type of co-production and what the role is of capacity at different levels for these desires to result in effects
6. Realizing public values in co-production of public services: the effect of efficacy and trust on coping with public values conflicts <i>(under review)</i>	Do trust, self-efficacy and perceived impact affect citizen co-producers' adherence to a particular coping strategy in dealing with public values conflicts?	R: Survey among citizen co-producers C: Temporary co-production users of vacant spaces in Flanders	Public values theory, value pluralism, coping strategies, external and internal efficacy, generalized and particularized trust	Empirical study of citizen co-producers coping with public values conflicts and the influence of self-efficacy, perceived impact and trust. Having a perceived impact matters for coping with value conflicts and thus also for the individual contribution to co-production effects
7. How citizen co-producers cope with public value creation conflicts. A survey experiment on the effects of trust and external efficacy <i>(under review)</i>	Do trust in the public servant and external efficacy affect citizen co-producers' choice of coping strategies when dealing with public value conflicts?	R: vignette experiment among citizen co-producers C: Temporary co-production users of vacant spaces in Flanders	Public value creation, conflicts between dimensions of public value, coping strategies, external efficacy and particularized trust	The results show that irrespective of the level of external efficacy or trust in the public servant, citizen co-producers prefer to escalate the situation to the public servant involved in the project, and show reluctance on the question of who will receive value.

CHAPTER 2:

A conceptual model for individual coping with value conflicts

This chapter is based on an accepted article:

Jaspers, Sylke. 2021. "A conceptual model for individual coping with value conflicts". *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance*. Accepted on 09 March 2021.

Conflicting values that are sometimes impossible to resolve are one of the costs of public governance for public values and public outcomes. To unravel one of the mechanisms enhancing or obstructing public values or public outcomes in public governance, this article presents the individual coping with value conflicts model. The model focuses on individually experienced value conflicts regarding public values realization (i.e., the principles of governance) and public value creation (i.e., public outcomes) necessitating coping strategies. The article discusses various aspects of the theoretical model. The various coping strategies and their likely results are connected to public values realization and public value creation. However, first, the article identifies the origins of the need to rely on coping strategies, such as value pluralism and plural expectations of individuals. Next, the paper hypothesizes that individual coping strategies are driven by the psychological traits of individuals and influenced by interactions. The article further explains that the individual's role in adopting coping strategies manifests in specific situations or contexts. The paper concludes with implications for public value(s) theories, makes suggestions for applications of the model, and sets out avenues for empirical research to test and advance the model.

2.1 Introduction

Public values research often refers to two distinct strands of theory. First, public values are principles of governance and guide behaviours and actions adopted through the delivery process (Bozeman 2007; van der Wal et al. 2006). More specifically, Bozeman defines public values as those values that provide 'normative consensus about (a) the rights, benefits, and prerogatives to which citizens should (and should not) be entitled; (b) the obligations of citizens to society, the state, and one another; and (c) the principles on which governments and policies should be based' (Bozeman 2007: 13). Scholars studying these public values examine both how these values can be promoted and realized (e.g., Beck Jørgensen 2006; Beck Jørgensen and Vrangbæk 2011; de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016; de Graaf and Van der Wal 2010; Kernaghan 2003; Rutgers 2008, 2015) and when public values failures occur (Bozeman 2002). Public values failure 'occurs when neither the market nor the public sector provides goods and services required to achieve core public values' (Bozeman 2002: 150; 2007: 144).

Second, public value (singular) (cf. Moore 1995, 2014) refers to added value created through activities of public organizations and officials and is ‘sometimes presented in terms of normative aspirations for a “good society”’ (Hartley, Alford, Knies, and Douglas 2017, 672). According to Moore (1995, 2014), public value is created, for example, by a service when the service has political legitimacy, meets the desires of the citizenry, and has desirable capacities such as feasibility and sustainability. However, public value may also be destroyed when wrong decisions are made on the needs that must be satisfied and on the strategies and processes required to address those needs (Spano 2009).

This paper answers the recent call to relate public values to public value (Carson and O’Flynn 2020) by developing a model in which both are subject to value conflicts experienced on an individual level. In advancing public values theory and public value creation theory, scholars are stressing that value conflicts that arise in public governance may be causing the costs of government arrangement, such as value destruction (Williams, Kang and Johnson 2016). In this paper, value conflicts are conceptualized as conflicts experienced by individual actors between two public values (principles) or between dimensions of creating public value. As long discussed in public administration research, governance actors deal, sometimes on a daily basis, with conflicting public value(s), which results in dilemmas or tense situations (e.g., Hampshire 1978; Buchanan and Millstone 1979; Nieuwenburg 2004; de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016; Nabatchi 2018). The experience of conflicts may point to the costs of public governance; therefore, public administration scholars raise the need to understand how governance actors (could) cope with these conflicts (Williams et al. 2016; Bryson et al. 2017). Especially since value conflicts often do not have straightforward solutions, coping with these situations often entails some wrongdoing (de Graaf 2015). More recently, Page et al. (2018) provided valuable insights into the matter and discussed how inter-organizational collaborations cope with value conflicts. However, little is known about the role of the individual in (the wrongdoing regarding) the public values realized in public service delivery and in the outcomes of public service delivery.

To better understand the role of an individual in this regard, this article presents the individual coping with value conflicts model. The model conceptualizes that the existence of value

conflicts requires individuals to make use of the mechanisms provided by coping strategies to deal with the conflicts. The model highlights that the realization of public values and the creation of public value jointly depend on the different coping strategies individuals adhere to when they experience conflicting values (cf. Thacher and Rein 2004; Evers and Ewert 2012). The model aims at a general theory for governance actors and therefore takes into account that there are multi-actor, multilevel settings in which the involvement of governance actors also takes the form of co-production and inter-organizational collaborations across sectors (Bovaird 2007; Osborne 2010; Voorberg, Bekkers and Tummers 2014; Bovaird et al. 2015; Bryson et al. 2017). The co-production literature specifically shows that other actors involved in the production process face value conflicts, from third-sector organizations (TSOs) and users to citizen co-producers, and private companies. Through its focus on all of these different types of individual actors, the paper draws several examples from the co-production literature in better understanding individual coping with value conflicts in multi-actor settings.

The present article first presents the model applied. Thereafter, it discusses why individuals require coping strategies, for which the article elaborates on the role of individual expectations and value pluralism as main sources of value conflicts that require coping strategies. Next, the article focuses on which coping strategies contribute to governance results by relating coping strategies to public values realization and public value creation. Additionally, the article elaborates on the role of psychological traits and interaction in affecting how an individual copes with these conflicts. The article then reflects on the situations and contexts in which individual coping with value conflicts takes place. Finally, the article concludes by discussing theoretical implications, making suggestions for applications of the model, and proposing avenues for empirically testing and advancing the model.

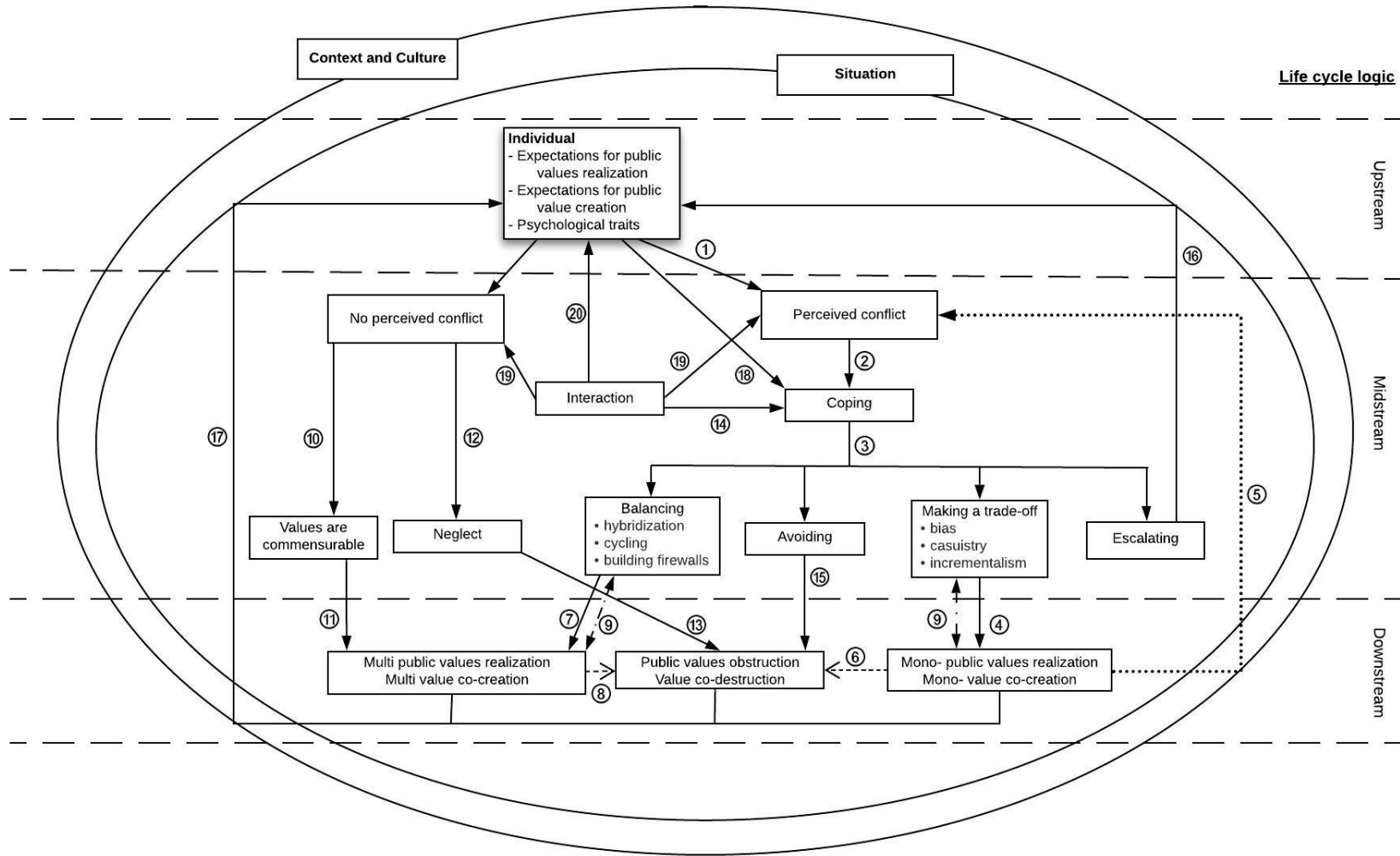
2.2 A model for individual coping with value conflicts

The individual coping with value conflicts (ICVC) model focuses on individual coping with value conflicts and the ensuring consequences for public values realization and public value creation in

public service delivery. The ICVC model thereby places the individual at the centre (see figure 2.1). As public governance is increasingly characterized by multi-actor settings, the model does not solely focus on policy makers or street-level bureaucrats. A great variety of actors collaborate in designing and delivering public services, including public servants, citizens, employees of third sector organizations and private businesses (Bryson et al. 2017).

An extensive amount of research, specifically street-level bureaucracy literature, has discussed how public servants often experience conflicts between public values at the individual level (e.g., Maynard Moody and Musheno 2000; Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006; Steenhuisen 2009; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014). Co-production research, for example, shows that not only public servants but also other actors involved in producing services, such as citizens, actors from TSOs and private actors, experience conflicts in realizing public values (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2019). In addition, for public value creation, studies show that individuals involved in public administration sometimes experience conflicts between different dimensions of public value creation (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012), such as a conflict between creating value for an individual (user value) and creating social value (Brandsen and Helderma 2012; Alford 2011, 2014, 2016; Osborne et al. 2016; Farr 2016; Jaspers and Steen 2020). Although these dimensions often overlap, individuals' expectations for creating these various dimensions are sometimes perceived as incompatible, and when they are, they experience feelings of tension or conflict. The ICVC model focuses on these individuals' behaviours, or more specifically, on their coping strategies, when they experience value conflicts in designing or providing public services. Individuals rely on coping strategies because they are unlikely to remain in a state of paralysis caused by an experience with value conflicts (Lipsky 1980). The model thus starts from the assumption that when individuals feel torn between their value expectations, they rely on coping strategies to deal with the conflicting situation. The model also assumes that individuals' coping strategies affect actual public values realization or public value creation in governance.

Figure 2.1: Individual coping with value conflicts model



The ICVC model, with its assumptions, follows the life cycle logic of public value theory (Beck Jørgensen and Vrangbæk 2011) adapted to the individual level. Beck Jørgensen and Vrangbæk (2011) theorize that a life cycle presents a dynamic process that can lead to value configurations and that one of the change mechanisms is rooted in conflicts between values. The idea is that between the birth of a value expectation and its realization, mechanisms may change the meaning of the value or perhaps even lead to the value's decline. An example of a change mechanism is crowding out, a very dramatic outcome where one or several values leave the public arena (Beck Jørgensen and Vrangbæk 2011). The authors apply life cycle theory to modes of governance, to organizations, and directly to values. Beck Jørgensen and Vrangbæk (2011) themselves also criticize life cycle theory, as (1) it describes only one of the patterns explaining value change which they argue also exists next to other autonomous change patterns and (2) it does not take into account internal or external events that may disturb the cycle (see Beck Jørgensen and Vrangbæk 2011). Nevertheless, the theory still draws attention with public values scholars (e.g., Fukumoto and Bozeman 2019) and inspired the ICVC model presented in this article. The life cycle is helpful in conceptualizing the different stages of the model with regards to public values realization and public value creation, going from input to outcomes. This article contributes to the public value literature, as it adapts this life cycle concept to the individual level. The model starts with an individual having expectations for realizing public values and creating public value. This is the identification and elaboration phase of the value life cycle or the upstream phase. It then continues by acknowledging that individuals make use of coping strategies to deal with conflicting values during the governance process, which is characterized by formal and informal forms of capacity. This reflects the midstream phase of the life cycle, where issues around instrumentation (i.e. resource allocation) and implementation may arise. Then, eventually, this individual coping with value conflicts defines the contribution to public value realization and public value creation. This contribution to realization and outcomes represents the downstream phase of the value life cycle.

In sum, the proposed model shows how specific individual coping strategies contribute to realizing public values and creating public value. The model further hypothesizes what influences individuals to adhere to specific coping strategies and focuses on the individual's psychological traits and interactions. Finally, the model shows that all of this occurs within a specific situation and context. In the following sections, arguments provided by theoretical and empirical research for various aspects of the model are further explained in more depth.

2.3 The origins of conflicts that require coping

This section discusses why individuals follow coping strategies by conceptualizing the existence of value conflicts. It relates the expectations and desires of individuals to coping with value conflicts.

At the individual level, in regard to public values and public value, scholars refer to the motivational drivers of public servants and the values they uphold in processes of service delivery (Carson and O'Flynn 2020). It is argued that in forms of collaborative governance, such as co-production, the expectations and motivational drivers of actors other than public servants also shape the actions and outcomes of service delivery (Bryson et al. 2017). The model includes all possible involved actors, including citizen users; public professionals; and actors from private for-profit, non-profit and third sector organizations involved in public governance. These actors are vital to an understanding of a 'new type' of 'public encounter' (cf. Bartels 2013) in which multiple actors and stakeholders come together and co-create value. All of these actors have certain expectations of the public service delivery process with regard to both public values realization (the principles by which the service needs to be produced) and public value creation (what value needs to be created and for whom). The individual's expectations may hold conflicts (*arrow 1, figure 2.1*) due to public values pluralism in the realization of public values and due to perceived incompatible dimensions of public value creation.

2.3.1 Expectations for public values and conflicts between public values

The model includes the assumption that individuals have expectations for the realization of public values (cf. Witesman 2016). The various actors involved in producing services have similar and different expectations for public values realization, ranging from ‘traditional’ governmental values such as integrity, neutrality, legality and impartiality and ‘business-like’ values such as efficiency, innovation, responsiveness and effectiveness to ‘network’ values, such as collaborative engagement, inclusion, democratic quality, and constitutional values (Hood 1991; Kernaghan 2000; De Bruijn and Dicke 2006; Frederickson 2005; Alford and O’Flynn 2009; Bryson, Crosby and Bloomberg 2014; Meijer 2016). As individuals try to balance these public values, they frequently face value conflicts and dilemmas: trade-off situations that have negative consequences regardless of which option is chosen (Bozeman 2007; Schott 2015).

Building on the classical work of Okun (1975), who showed that equality and efficiency necessarily conflict in public policies, and the classical work of Lipsky (1980), who studied value conflicts and dilemmas of street-level bureaucrats (the individual) in public services, many scholars (e.g., Wagenaar 1999; Spicer 2001, 2009; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; van der Wal, de Graaf, and Lawton 2011) have referred to ‘value pluralism’ to explain the existence of conflicts between public values experienced by public servants. Value pluralism is a concept borrowed from the field of philosophy (e.g., Berlin 1982) and explains how value conflicts are a consequence of characteristics of values. First, values can be incompatible, which means that ‘the pursuit of certain values must inevitably compromise or limit our ability to pursue certain other values. The more we seek to attain some of these values, the less able we are to attain the others’ (Spicer 2001, 509). Value pluralism further claims that values can also be incommensurable. Lukes (1989, 125) defines incommensurability as follows: ‘There is no single currency or scale on which conflicting values can be measured, and that where a conflict occurs no rationally compelling appeal can be made to some value that will resolve it. Neither is superior to the other, nor are they equal in value’. Incommensurability thus means that a gain

in one of the conflicting values necessarily means a loss in the other value. The opposite, commensurability, then involves there being a singular rational solution to any given conflict (Talisso 2015). In other words, more than the fact that diversity in the expectations of different actors for public values realization may cause conflict (which is also shared by philosophers following a premise of value monism, e.g., Moen 2016), value pluralism claims that ‘values are irreducibly many, and thus that certain conflicts are intrinsic to the values themselves, and therefore irremediable without moral wrongdoing’ (Talisso 2015, 1069).

De Graaf (2015) further explains that in public administration, due to their added responsibilities, public governance actors cannot have utilitarian morality, and to pursue goals they must sometimes violate an obligation. He gives the example of two intrinsic values of public governance, effectiveness and efficiency, and argues that they are intrinsic because ‘they constitute the core of democracy’s legitimacy’ (p. 1096). Moreover, procedural values indicate the quality of the process and other interpretations of good governance that are intrinsic to public governance and that are potentially subject to violation as conflicts with other intrinsic values exist (Hampshire 1983; Nieuwenburg 2004; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; de Graaf 2015).

Thus, as individuals have expectations for realizing public values for which they find that the good of each of these values is objective, they experience public values as incompatible and incommensurable. Value conflicts are likely to occur, as there are conflicting intrinsic values that are impossible to resolve without wrongdoing (Talisso 2015, de Graaf 2015). The co-production literature specifically shows that other actors involved in the production process face public values conflicts, for example, between the instrumental value of efficiency and the intrinsic value of open participation, as broad participation demands many resources (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2019). These studies point to the importance of the individual level: the public values desired by each individual may be distinct from those of other individuals, making them heterogenic.

2.3.2 Expectations for public value creation and conflicts

Public value and public value creation refer to the appraisal value of the activities of government agents and their outcomes (Nabatchi 2018). At the level of the individual actor, this paper argues that public value is constructed through mental processes and is based on Moore's view that '[V]alue is rooted in the desires and perceptions of individuals' (Moore 1995, 52). The model operationalizes public value creation as an added value desired or expected by individuals (cf. Hartley et al. 2017). In examining such expectations, Perry and Wise (1990) identify three motives for the creation of public outcomes: rational (advocacy for a special or private interest), norm-based (a desire to serve the public interest), and affective motives (a genuine conviction for social importance). This shows that in addition to a desire to create public value for the wider community, there may also be an expectation to create value for specific groups or oneself (Perry and Wise 1990), resulting in motivations to co-create public value.

The idea of varying expectations for public value creation is supported by Bovaird and Loeffler's (2012) dimensions of public value creation. The authors identify five dimensions of public value creation (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012, 1126-1127):

- 'user value
- value to wider groups (such as family or friends of service users, or individuals who are indirectly affected)
- social value (creation of social cohesion or support for social interaction)
- environmental value (ensuring environmental sustainability of all policies)
- political value (support to democratic process, e.g. through co-planning of services with users and other stakeholders)'

Scholars have provided various explanations for these different expectations for public value creation and for the occurrence of value conflicts among them. First, various stakeholders of public service delivery have different expectations (Lipsky 1980; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2000), which helps explain the occurrence of value conflicts among public servants. The literature on street-level bureaucracy (e.g., Lipsky 1980) and co-production shows a clear paradox here for

professionals and offers a possible explanation for the existence of conflicts between user value and other dimensions of public value: on the one hand, a professional must trust the decisions and inputs of service users (Bovaird 2007) and of other actors involved in public governance while on the other hand, professionals cannot rely on other actors' opinions as an indication of how all users define the public value of a service (de Vries 2002). This article argues that this paradox is likely to occur in multi-actor settings in public governance, as both dimensions are intrinsic to public value creation; however, there is, as with value pluralism for public values, an experience of incommensurability. This perceived incommensurability is illustrated by the above described paradox that the creation of one dimension necessarily results in the loss of another dimension. Therefore, the model offers a contribution to the theory of public value creation, suggesting that the concept of incommensurability is helpful in understanding why individuals experience conflicts among the dimensions of public value creation, making it impossible to avoid wrongdoing on one of these dimensions in the view of actors involved in public governance.

Second, scholars point to the fuzziness of concepts such as the public interest. Often, what is of public value is defined to be 'in the public interest,' and public interest is defined as 'what citizens expect from government and what public officials – both politicians and administrators – strive for or should strive for' (Schott 2015, 34). This ambiguity makes it difficult to introduce a hierarchy into these concepts or dimensions of public value (Rutgers 2012).

In the remainder of this article, I use the concept value conflicts to refer to conflicts among public values and those among the dimensions of public value creation.

2.4 Coping with value conflicts

The model then shows an arrow from experiencing conflicts to coping strategies (*arrow 2, figure 2.1*). Value conflicts may lead to paralyzing situations (Lipsky 1980) because no matter which option is chosen, wrongdoing to one or both value(s) is unavoidable. However, value conflicts in themselves may bring forward change and innovation, which is also in line with

the theory of the value life cycle (e.g., Fukumoto and Bozeman 2019), and are thus not inherently bad. Scholars have identified coping strategies adhered to by public administrators with the aim of addressing or avoiding this state of paralysis. The ICVC model shows that individual actors follow coping strategies to deal with this otherwise paralyzing situation. In the following, coping strategies identified in the literature to address value conflicts in administrative life are adopted in the ICVC model.

2.4.1 Coping strategies

The concept of ‘coping’ is used to frame and analyze how people deal with value conflicts (Lipsky 1980; de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016). Steenhuisen (2009, 20) defines coping as ‘a response to competing values that takes form in [...] actions and decisions.’ The field of psychology originally inspired the public administration, organizational behaviour, sociology and political science literature (e.g., Lipsky 1980; Brunsson 1989; Lawton, McKeivitt, and Millar 2000; Tetlock 2000; Thacher and Rein 2004) to examine stressful situations and cases of policy alienation (e.g., Tummers et al. 2015). Although this literature is of much value as well, these psychological coping strategies should not be confused with coping strategies used to deal with value conflicts. The public administration field developed more specific literature on ways public actors cope with value ambiguity.

Lukes (1996) argues that coping does not merely rely on a cost-benefit analysis, as conflicting values are often treated as incommensurable. To conceptualize how public administrators cope with value conflicts, Thacher and Rein (2004) developed a typology based on three coping strategies. The authors argue that policy actors do not treat conflicting values as commensurable; however, they draw on coping strategies enabling them to cope. The three coping strategies policy actors follow empirically identified by Thacher and Rein (2004) include building firewalls, cycling, and casuistry. Stewart (2006) builds on the empirically grounded theoretical framework developed by Thacher and Rein (2004) and adds three more

strategies, incrementalism, biasing, and hybridization, resulting in six (often overlapping) coping strategies⁸:

- bias: giving preference to values, which can be consistent with a dominant discourse or with a broader set of values, at the expense of other conflicting values;
- building firewalls: appointing different institutions, administrative units, or individual positions by which conflicting values are structurally separated to distribute responsibility for pursuing competing values;
- cycling: paying sequential attention to competing values within the organization;
- casuistry: making decisions for each value conflict based on experiences from previous cases and in doing so crafting a customized response based on those examples;
- hybridization: seeking coexistence between values by sustaining distinct policies or implementations that pursue these competing values without separating values;
- incrementalism or stepped change: slowly placing more emphasis on one particular value and thus signalling longer-run intentions to dampen opposition.

Although these coping strategies are used to identify the coping behaviour of policy actors in governance settings (e.g., Steenhuisen 2009), they have also been empirically identified as being followed by individual governance actors and other nongovernmental actors involved in producing public services (e.g., Steenhuisen and de Bruijne 2009; Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2019). For example, Jaspers and Steen (2019) show how individuals follow a strategy of building firewalls for their own involvement in co-production processes, deciding when to focus on the realization of one value or another.

Additionally, research on coping with value conflicts also identifies escalating and avoidance strategies. ‘Escalating’ involves a specific means of passing the buck (or passing responsibility and blame) by which one elevates questions about competing values to a higher administrative or legislative authority, thereby allocating one’s own responsibilities to another person (Tetlock

⁸ See Stewart 2006 for an extensive overview and discussion of these six strategies.

2000; de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016). An ‘avoidance’ strategy is used when citizen co-producers avoid dealing with conflicts completely (Endler and Parker 1990). This can be done by not coping, delaying coping or leaving co-production initiatives.

All of these strategies do not require commensurability but do prevent a paralyzing situation from occurring. The ICVC model groups the coping strategies into four broader groups of coping strategies, as shown by arrow 3 (figure 2.1): trade-off strategies, balancing strategies, avoiding strategies and escalating strategies (table 2.1). This is the case because strategies of biasing, casuistry and incrementalism represent different ways of making a trade-off in favour of one value while hybridization, cycling and building firewalls offer ways of focusing on both conflicting values.

Table 2.1:

Coping Strategies

<i>Coping strategy</i>		<i>Reference</i>
Trade-off strategies	Bias strategy	Stewart 2006
	Casuistry	Thacher and Rein 2004
	Incrementalism	Stewart 2006
Balancing strategies	Hybridization	Stewart 2006
	Cycling	Thacher and Rein 2004
	Building firewalls	Thacher and Rein 2004
Escalating strategy		Tetlock 2000, de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016
Avoidance strategies		Endler and Parker 1990

The model assumes that coping by individuals can occur both deliberately and emergently. Deliberate coping strategies are strategies through which one uses deliberate decisions (Steenhuisen 2009). For example, when escalating conflicts to a higher authority, one is deliberately allocating one’s own responsibilities to another person. Delaying coping with conflicts can also be a deliberate coping strategy. Emergent strategies then occur when coping is not deliberate (Steenhuisen 2009). For example, Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) develop the ‘garbage can model’ to illustrate coping as something that is not necessarily rational or systematic. From the perspective of the garbage can model individuals are not sure about their

preferences, which results in the flowing of problems and solutions through time and when coming together shape decisions. The ICVC model recognizes that individuals follow both deliberate and emergent coping strategies. It is, however, important to note that strategies do not take a fixed position in these dualities ‘because their placement depends on the context and the perspective from which coping is described’ (Steenhuisen 2009, 30). For example, incrementalism involves either a deliberate strategy or an undeliberate course of events (Steenhuisen 2009).

Finally, it is important to note ‘that multiple coping strategies might be used in response to a single value conflict’ (de Graaf et al. 2016, 1110). This means that the reality of coping with value conflicts might be more complicated to analyze, as researchers should be attentive to deliberate, emergent and plural coping strategies to rightfully identify value realization and/or value obstruction/destruction.

2.4.2 Results of coping

Coping strategies may have different results (e.g., Oldenhof, Postma, and Putters 2014). To relate coping strategies to their likely results, the ICVC model builds further on a distinction made between mono- and multivalue solutions identified by Steenhuisen (2009) by considering one more outcome of coping: public values obstruction and public value destruction. By relating coping strategies to their contributions to public values realization and public value creation, the model shows that an individual may co-realize public values, co-create public value, co-obstruct public values realization, or co-destruct public value creation by following coping strategies. Additionally, the model shows a number of feedback loops between coping and the individual and between the results of coping and the individual (figure 2.1). This section elaborates further on the likely results and the loops running between coping, the results and the individual.

Trade-off strategies included in our model decouple conflicting values with limiting tensions, as one of the conflicting values is being traded off in favour of the other conflicting value. The results of these coping strategies may lead to a temporary monovalue solution (*arrow 4, figure*

2.1). However, new value conflicts may arise shortly after (*arrow 5, figure 2.1*) and even lead to public values failure or value destruction (*arrow 6, figure 2.1*) (Stewart 2006; Page, Stone, Bryson, and Crosby 2018).

A multivalue response occurs when individuals who experience conflicts between conflicting values cope by balancing contesting values, for example, by innovating their ways of working or collaborating with others (through interactions). Balancing strategies thus couple conflicting values (Steenhuisen 2009). Strategies that couple conflicting values offer a multivalue response and thus contribute to realizing two conflicting value(s), albeit not to their fullest extent. The model shows that when there is a value conflict, both values somewhat survive the conflict when individuals adhere to a balancing strategy (*arrow 7, figure 2.1*), although the risk of value loss still exists as value realizations or creations that result from this balancing exercise are limited to those specific balancing moments or activities (*arrow 8, figure 2.1*). Additionally, these strategies may require ongoing monitoring and management (Oldenhof et al. 2014; de Graaf et al. 2016) to ensure value co-creation (Cluley and Radnor 2020). Therefore, the model includes additional arrows (*arrows 9, figure 2.1*) to indicate ongoing monitoring between both trade-off and balancing strategies on the one hand and monovalue realization and creation and multivalue realization and creation on the other.

In addition to creating mono- and multivalue solutions, individual coping strategies contribute to public values obstruction and public value destruction. As coping with value conflicts becomes a form of ‘daily business’ for public service producers, routinized coping strategies lead to public values obstruction and when aggregated to public values failure. Bozeman (2002, 2007) explains that public values failure occurs when goods and services required to achieve core public values are provided by neither the market nor the public sector. For example, when people continue to adhere to a trade-off strategy, some public values will be forgotten (*arrow 6, figure 2.1*) (Thacher 2001). The value co-creation literature has also identified a number of ways in which governance leads to value co-destruction (Plé and Cáceres 2010; Williams et al. 2016). Plé and Cáceres (2010) argue that value co-destruction can already take place when one actor has a distinct perspective on how resources should be applied, which results in another

perceiving the misuse of resources and negative consequences thereof. The ICVC model shows possible coping paths leading to value destruction or public values obstruction and perhaps failure.

First, the model shows that coping strategies hold a risk of value loss and that any coping strategy followed always compromises on one or two of the conflicting values (*arrow 6, figure 2.1*), also when adopting balancing strategies (*arrow 8, figure 2.1*).

Second, the model provides two reasons for why individuals may not experience a conflict: a) the values are commensurable (*arrow 10, figure 2.1*) and there is no reason that both values could not be simultaneously realized (*arrow 11, figure 2.1*) or b) the individual shows neglect for the value conflict (*arrow 12, figure 2.1*). With regard to neglect, Nieuwenburg (2014) argues that experiencing value conflicts benefits service delivery since the resulting awareness of conflicting constraints guarantees that all values are accounted for by decision-making procedures. When actors are neglecting a conflict because of strategic ignorance, whereby individuals avoid and reduce cognitive dissonance to avoid mental discomfort (Carrillo and Mariotti 2000), they risk losing sight of certain values which leads to or perhaps even already indicates public values failure (*arrow 13, figure 2.1*).

Third, as mentioned above, in the case of a trade-off, just one value is realized or created. However, this also means that the other value is not realized or created and is co-destructed, or the coping strategy involving making a trade-off results in public value obstruction and may contribute to a public value failure (*arrow 6, figure 2.1*) (Steenhuisen and de Bruijne 2009). With regard to public value creation, it should not be assumed that the surviving value of the trade-off is beneficial to the public. Interaction processes such as compromising and negotiating may result in aiming for values that are not beneficial to the group or individual and in no one achieving what they want (*arrow 14, figure 2.1*) (c.f., Wilson 1991; Bernauer, Kalbhen, Koubi, and Spilker 2013).

Fourth, avoidance strategies may contribute to public values obstruction and value destruction (*arrow 15, figure 2.1*). When individuals exit the governance process, they dismantle the co-creation process. Some of the value that these exiting individuals desired to

co-create is then lost (Hirschman 1970). In addition, when individuals delay addressing a conflict, risks of public values failure and public value destruction for the individual or for society as a whole may be imminent as a solution remains absent.

Finally, when individuals follow an escalation strategy, they elevate coping with the value conflict to another individual. In transferring the responsibility and control to cope with their conflict to another individual, this other individual is then found again upstream of this lifecycle (*arrow 16, figure 2.1*).

To close the circle, the outcome of these coping strategies, especially when aggregated, provides a feedback loop to the individual actor and potentially informs the actor's expectations and motivations (*arrow 17, figure 2.1*). By emphasizing that the identified risks of coping strategies for public values realization and public value creation are especially consequential when aggregated, for example, together with controversial innovations or political decisions, the model shows the contributions that individual coping strategies make to these effects.

2.5 Drivers

This section discusses characteristics potentially influencing the coping strategies followed by individual actors. First, the model relates individuals' psychological traits to coping. Second, it shows that coping is often characterized by interaction and reflects on interaction as a driver of public values realization and public value creation.

2.5.1 Psychological traits

As people's coping strategies may lead to different co-creation outcomes, gaining empirical support for what drives these coping strategy choices may be valuable in ensuring value creation. The model proposes a hypothesis that psychological traits of the individual potentially co-influence the individual's coping strategies when confronted with value conflicts (*arrow 18, figure 2.1*). For example, in the organizational and psychology tradition, scholars have

focused on individual differences to determine whether individuals cooperate when facing value conflicts (e.g., Pruitt and Kimmel 1977; Van Lange 1999).

The psychology literature points to psychological traits such as self-efficacy (i.e., a person's own judgment of his/her competencies) as an explanation for the coping strategies used. The stronger one's level of self-efficacy is, the more persistent one's efforts will be in the face of obstacles (Bandura 1986), indicating a lower likelihood of adopting avoidance strategies. Furthermore, Bandura (1997) argues that highly efficacious people use fewer passive strategies and more active strategies. For example, some individuals, such as users or citizens, may opt to avoid dealing with a conflict because they do not feel they have the capacity to cope differently (Lehoux, Daudelin, and Abelson 2012).

A person's generalized trust is also considered an indicator of general cooperative behaviour (cf. Jones and George 1998; Kramer 1999) and is thought to generate mutual understanding between individuals and commitment to the collaboration. Trust is found to enable people to understand others' interests, values and constraints (Thomson and Perry 2006). Moreover, trust enables people to speak up and make themselves seen by others (Daniels and Walker 2001). Trust is a psychological construct that has been hypothesized to be beneficial in solving conflicts between aiming to create value for the public and creating value for a user (Dawes 1980; Kramer, Brewer, and Hanna 1996; De Cremer and Van Vugt 1999). The organizational literature (Granovetter 1992; Ring and van de Ven 1994) theorizes that high levels of trust will lead an individual to cooperate in a way that benefits the public rather than the individual user.

Next, an individual's perceived impact on participation (political external efficacy) is identified in the literature as a driver for cooperation (Kristensen, Andersen and Pedersen 2012), a vehicle for conflict resolution (e.g., Hirschman 1970), and a means of pursuing a desired outcome (e.g., Verba and Nie 1972) when value conflicts arise. The political participation and co-production literature also theorizes that a lack of external efficacy results in an avoidance of cooperation (e.g., Van Eijk and Steen 2014), which could have an effect on

coping according to an avoidance strategy, especially in multi-actor settings characterized by collaboration.

Of course, these are only a few of the psychological and personality traits that may affect coping behaviour. For example, public service motivation (PSM) and professionalism are frequently cited as explanations for behaviour in public service delivery (Perry and Wise 1990; Vandenabeele 2007). More specifically, Schott (2015) found that PSM strengthens the effect of professionalism (professional role identity) on individual coping strategies. In addition, Lu and Shiang Chen (2007) found through their empirical study that extroversion is more related to interactive coping strategies such as seeking social resources, possibly referring to coping strategies involving interactions such as escalating and balancing strategies. The authors also found sociodemographic features such as higher income and education levels to be related to this type of coping behaviour.

2.5.2 Interaction

Multi-actor collaborative governance modes are characterized by relationships between a variety of actors. The model suggests that possible experienced value conflicts are not only the result of individual expectations but also of social interactions (*arrows 19, figure 2.1*). Additionally, the individual expectations of public values realization and public value creation are influenced by social interactions (*arrow 20, figure 2.1*) (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2015; Witesman 2016; Hartley et al. 2017). Witesman (2016) theorizes that public value creation is not merely the sum of individual preferences. Rather, it is the aggregation of these preferences, influenced by interactions between actors and by a social process characterized by social learning, adaptation and the development of group preferences, which may result in individual preferences deviating from those the individual would hold without being in this relationship (Witesman 2016; Jaakkola, Helkkula, and Aarikka-Stenroos 2015). Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2011, 11) argue that through interaction, people solve problems, address conflicts and eventually create value. According to the authors, face-to-face dialogue is especially advantageous when conflict is high

and when shared values and objectives are not clearly defined. Interaction thus influences expectations for value realization/creation and possible conflicts between value expectations.

Next, the extent to which coping strategies require collaboration with others helps build the present model. For example, while balancing strategies often require ongoing efforts and interaction processes (such as planning sequential or plural activities and involving other organizations and people), trade-off strategies are more easily followed individually (Steenhuisen and de Bruijne 2009). However, this does not mean that trade-offs are never the result of interaction and vice versa (*arrow 14, figure 2.1*). In cases of escalation, the individual actor assigns responsibility and accountability to another person through interaction (*arrow 16, figure 2.1*), for example, when a bureaucrat elevates his or her experience of a conflict situation to his or her manager or when a user co-producer elevates his or her dilemma to his or her project coordinator. In contrast, in coping according to an avoidance strategy, individuals do not use coping behaviour, as they deliberately avoid coping with conflicts completely (even if only temporarily, e.g., in cases of deferred coping) (Tetlock 2000).

There may be a number of ways to study how interaction may influence the presence of conflicts and coping strategies. For example, empirical research could attempt to determine how much those who collaborate in public service delivery and who have different value preferences are willing to consider the preferences or perspectives of other actors and stakeholders in realizing public values and creating public value.

2.6 Meso- and macrolevel

The model places the individual in a certain situation and context. This last section elaborates on the meso- and macrolevel features of an individual coping with value conflicts.

2.6.1 Situation

The coping of individuals with value conflicts is embedded in situations (Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006; Aschhoff and Vogel 2018) and therefore has some meso-level characteristics, such as various constellations of actors and various power dynamics. The ICVC model recognizes that these situations impact individual coping behaviour. Institutional design, including cross-sector collaboration, formal and informal processes of democracy, and strategic management, are practical approaches characterizing a situation impacting or addressing public values and public value conflicts (Bryson et al. 2017). The model recognizes that these processes embedded in the (collaborative) governance design can influence individual coping strategies. Furthermore, the level of a given situation is characterized by capacities, as policy contexts and organizations or groups involved are also characterized by capacity (Daugbjerg, Fraussen and Halping 2018). This capacity present in the situation can affect individual coping. In addition, individuals' personal organizational cultures (specific third sector organizations or private businesses) affect their individual coping with value conflicts (cf. Emerson et al. 2011).

2.6.2 Context

Understanding public administration requires being attentive to culture, context, and timing and acknowledging that these shift across time, space and place while learning from others (Drechsler 2015). Including a contextual approach to public administration is necessary for continuing efforts to conceptualize value and values (Carson and O'Flynn 2020).

Individuals find themselves in a context and specific culture. Public values theory points to the importance of this macrolevel factor for principles of governance. Most scholars write about public values from Western points of view (Drechsler 2015). Most of the literature referenced in this paper belongs to that strand of theory. However, of course, other cultures hold other public values (Rutgers 2008; Drechsler 2015). For example, in some countries such as New Zealand, treating aspects of nature as having legal status is a public value (Warne and Svold 2019). There are also non-Western paradigms of public administration, such as the Chinese public

administration paradigm (Drechsler 2015; Jing 2017). Additionally, public values and their content, identification and realization have unique institutionalizations in different times and contexts (Charles et al. 2011; Rutgers 2008). Carson and O’Flynn (2020) refer to Bozeman (2007) in arguing that public values and especially public values failure have a ‘macro story’, namely, where public values make up value systems belonging to the financial, material, and democratic paradigms of countries. This article therefore argues that value conflicts also take place within this macro story and that intrinsically conflicting values are dependent on this context. Additionally, regarding public value creation, the model recognizes that the outcome is co-dependent on macrolevel actions of government and investments, with which individual coping strategies aggregate (e.g., Roberts 2020). Therefore, scholars could take into account how government actions and investments shape value when assessing public value creation.

2.7 Conclusion

The individual coping with value conflicts model presented in this article serves as a starting point for further development. The model helps advance a comprehensive theoretical, systematic and empirically oriented understanding of what happens at an individual level when a variety of actors, including politicians, administrators, private actors and citizens, produce public service provisions. The model enables scholars and practitioners to better understand the wanted and unwanted consequences of individually experienced value conflicts for public values realization and public value creation. This conclusion presents a number of theoretical implications of the model, proposes further applications of the model, and suggests empirical paths to further advance the model.

First, the model advances public values theory, as it takes into account the various stages of the life cycle of values (Fukumoto and Bozeman 2019). The model can help researchers analyze public values realization and public value creation at the individual level while taking into account upstream (starting from individual expectations, motivations and experiences), midstream (individual coping behaviour enhanced by formal or informal processes, organizational capacity

and interactions), and downstream (the actual realization of public values and creation of public value outcomes) stages of the values life cycle.

Next, the model shows that in theorizing and thinking about public values realization and public value creation, the individual level must also be taken into account. However, at the same time, the model transcends the individual level of analysis, as it places the role of the individual in coping with value conflicts within specific contexts, cultures, and situations and is based on relations and interactions occurring between a variety of actors.

Finally, the model focuses on public values realization and public value creation as being subject to the same processes of coping with value conflicts. The model thereby bridges the concepts while acknowledging that these are two different phenomena. Future empirical studies could explore the connection between public values obstruction and failure and public value destruction to further advance theories bridging or demarcating these concepts.

The proposed model can be applied to various public governance settings, as in all of these settings, individuals are involved. Applying the model to different collaborative or multi-actor settings will advance the model further, as the multitude of power dynamics and situational settings (institutionalized or not) can then be explored. The present model can guide researchers in analyzing the individual's role in public values realization and public value creation. The model highlights that value conflicts and coping strategies may offer challenges for multi-actor governance settings and can additionally impact the realization of public values and the enhancement of public value. The model also creates opportunities by recognizing these challenges. For example, as governance actors become aware of public values loss and public value destruction resulting from individual coping behaviour due to the presence of value conflicts, actors could acknowledge these issues and make more conscious decisions in coping with (potentially) conflicting values.

Of course, depending on the setting, other power dynamics may impact the influence of the following coping strategies of an individual actor. For example, a large variety of co-production activities exist, and the extent to which actors are involved and are given power varies (e.g., Brandsen and Honingh 2016; Nabatchi et al. 2017). Applying the ICVC model to co-

production places the individual co-producer at the centre (see figure 2.1). A great variety of actors co-produce public services, including public servants, citizens, employees of third sector organizations and private businesses. According to the ICVC model, all of these individuals may face value conflicts with which they must cope one way or another, contributing to public values realization/failure and public value creation/destruction. Alternatively, when applying the model to stakeholder involvement, some stakeholders may have more power, and therefore, how the individuals belonging to that stakeholder organization cope with value conflicts may weigh more than the approaches of individuals belonging to groups who hold less power (Page et al. 2018).

Finally, I present a (non-exhaustive) list of suggestions for how the model can benefit from further empirical testing. First, an empirical exploration of various value conflicts and intrinsically conflicting values provides a starting point for understanding which values may be at risk of loss at the individual level. This could be done through qualitative studies of different contexts and governance settings exploring how individuals think about experienced conflicts; do they describe values as being incompatible and incommensurable? This method allows to specify which values conflict with each other in the experience of individuals. As shown in this article, these studies exist in the street-level bureaucracy and co-production literatures and could be further extended to other multi-actor governance settings.

Second, empirical studies on coping with value conflicts could determine the relevance of the identified coping strategies for actors other than public servants and explore which coping strategies are used by which actors. Qualitative studies could also describe more specifically how different actors cope with value conflicts and draw lessons or implications from this for governance actors who are trying to cope with their experienced value conflicts. This method helps to ensure construct validity in operationalizing coping strategies when empirically testing the relationships in the model through quantitative methods.

Third, future studies could explore whether and how the discussed psychological traits affect coping behaviour and gain more insight into coping that is more personal or situational. While our discussion of these psychological traits already provides some indications, empirical testing could explore these effects and develop more specific hypotheses. For example,

multinomial regression analyses (suitable for measuring effects on categorical outcome variables) or structural equation modelling (SEM) can measure the effects of individual psychological traits on each of the categorical coping strategies.

Fourth, empirical testing may enhance the model's specifications on the role of interactions for experiencing value conflicts and adhering to coping strategies. Network analyses or SEM analyses could be some of the empirical avenues forward in this regard.

Finally, examining various dynamics occurring between the individual, organizational and systemic levels, such as power dynamics or the aggregation of expectations, can further improve our understanding of public value theory. Of course, testing the meso- (the situation) and macrolevel (the context and culture) scales through comparative multilevel research across different situations or value contexts, for example, would facilitate a better understanding of these levels and of how they affect one another.

CHAPTER 3:

Realizing public values:
enhancement or obstruction?
exploring value tensions and
coping strategies in the co-
production of social care

This chapter is based on the published article:

Jaspers, Sylke, and Trui Steen. 2019. "Realizing Public Values: Enhancement Or Obstruction? Exploring Value Tensions And Coping Strategies In The Co-Production Of Social Care". *Public Management Review* 21 (4): 606-627. doi:10.1080/14719037.2018.1508608.

We examine the potential of co-production to enhance or obstruct the realization of public values by analyzing what value tensions co-producers experience and what coping strategies they follow. An in-depth study of a social care initiative in Flanders shows that co-production enhances the realization of values relating to services delivered, relationships between public servants and citizens, and the democratic quality of the service delivery process. However, public servants and citizen co-producers experience tensions between values, such as efficiency, individual freedom of co-producers, reciprocity, and inclusion. In trying to deal with these value tensions public servants are found to follow a variety of coping strategies, whereas citizen co-producers tend to escalate tensions or avoid coping with them. The type of coping strategy followed, however, influences if and what values are ultimately represented in the service delivery process and its results.

3.1 Introduction

The growing elderly population and severe austerity measures taken in the health sector in Western countries have created a need for innovation in the delivery of care services. Co-production, where regular service producers collaborate with citizens to provide public services, is seen as a way to remodel public service delivery (De Vries, Bekkers, and Tummers 2015). Specifically for care services, the World Health Organization (WHO 2016, 11) expects co-production to improve access, responsiveness to community needs and customer satisfaction, and result in a better relationship between individual care users and care providers.

Despite growing interest in co-production (e.g., Bovaird 2007; Alford 2009; Pestoff 2006; Thomsen and Jakobsen 2015; Meijer 2014; Brandsen, Steen, and Verschuere 2018a), its fundamental nature and the effects claimed are still insufficiently understood (Meijer 2016). Building on the notion of public values as normative concepts that are used to give direction to public action and/or legitimize such action (Bozeman 2007; Witesman 2016), the literature acknowledges that public service providers frequently face value conflicts and tensions (Bozeman 2007; Schott 2015). Public servants try to balance ‘traditional’ governmental values - such as

integrity, neutrality, legality, and impartiality - with 'business-like' values - such as efficiency, innovation, responsiveness, and effectiveness (Hood 1991; de Graaf and van der Wal 2010). Additionally, public administration literature shows public servants adhere to coping strategies in order to deal with these tensions (Steenhuisen 2009; Schott 2015). Not only is it important to learn what values co-producers hope to uphold and what value tensions they experience, but we also need to understand how co-producers deal with such tensions: their coping behaviour will influence whether the conflict is somewhat overcome or whether only part of the values at stake are represented in the service delivery process.

For example, initiatives in which elderly people co-deliver care to each other can increase responsiveness and participation, but may at the same time raise questions on inclusion, accountability, and quality. Is the target group both willing and able to co-produce, and do the less able elderly risk being excluded? Who can be held responsible for quality of services delivered when vulnerable elderly co-produce care for each other? These questions arise not only from an increasing attention to the potential dark side of co-production (Steen, Brandsen, and Verschuere 2018), but also from a consideration of how co-producers try to deal with this complexity. The existing body of co-production literature, however, lacks systematic evidence of its anticipated and unanticipated consequences (Verschuere, Brandsen, and Pestoff 2012). Therefore, our research question is: *To what extent does co-production in social care either enhance or obstruct the realization of public values in the service delivery process and outcome?* We studied the potential of co-production for realizing public values by looking into (1) what public values are experienced by co-producing actors as conflicting and (2) how actors cope with public value tensions.

We conducted an exploratory study of the value conflicts encountered by individual co-producers and the impact of their coping strategies on the realization of public values, specifically in the co-production of a social care service. Below, we will first discuss concepts and theories from the literature on public values, value tensions, and coping strategies. Second, we analyse a co-production initiative set in a small municipality in Flanders. In this initiative, here given the

fictional name of ‘Connected Care’, local government is experimenting with co-production with the aim of de-isolating vulnerable elderly.

3.2 Co-production and public values

We first discuss our theory on co-realizing public values so as to get an insight into public values and their connection to co-production. Second, we discuss the literature on public value tensions and what this implies for co-production and the various actors involved. Third, we turn to the literature on coping with value tensions. The theoretical framework provides a basis for our empirical exploratory research.

3.2.1 Co-production as a means for realizing public values

Public values are much discussed in public administration literature (Beck Jørgensen 2006; Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman 2007; Bovens, ‘t Hart, and van Twist 2007; Rutgers 2008; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016). Public values indicate ‘the procedural ethics in producing public services and [...] outcomes made possible by producing public services’ (Bryson et al. 2017, 451). As mentioned in the introduction, co-production is seen as a way to remodel public service delivery and thereby improving the realization of public values.

Citizen co-producers and public servants have significant roles to play in co-production, and hold expectations of this collaboration. In co-production, service users become actively involved in the delivery of the services. Public servants, in turn, step beyond their traditional role as service providers by taking the responsibility for shaping an institutional context for co-production, and motivating and enabling citizen co-producers (Steen and Tuurnas 2018; Van Eijk 2017). Co-production provides the opportunity for increasing efficiency and quality of service delivery through better use of time, efforts, and resources (knowledge, expertise) of both public servants and users. This may contribute to greater user satisfaction and better targeting of services (Pestoff 2006). Co-production is expected to enhance the relationship between citizens and public

servants and to become a mechanism for increasing responsiveness and tailoring services to personal needs (Vanleene, Voets, and Verschuere 2017). Finally, co-production is expected to enhance democratization, since it is seen as a source of citizen empowerment (Fledderus 2016). Specifically for social care services, Ross, Needham and Carr (2013) define a set of values that care co-production should attain: equality, diversity, accessibility, and reciprocity. The principle of reciprocity, ‘defined as ensuring that people receive something back for putting something in, and building on people’s desire to feel needed and valued’ (Ross, Needham, and Carr 2013, 13-14) is seen as a key concept in care co-production. Studies of healthcare services show that in order to realize the public values mentioned above many governments are searching for ways to co-produce care services (e.g., WHO 2016) – including, co-produced assisted living technologies (Batalden et al. 2015), collaborative health care (Wherton et al. 2015) or social care (Needham and Carr 2009; Ross et al. 2013).

From this we derive three clusters of public values desired in the social care sector and potentially realized through co-production: service delivery (e.g., efficiency, process or outcome effectiveness, quality of the services, user satisfaction); relationship between public professional or organization and citizens/service users (e.g., mutual learning, trust, accountability, responsiveness, transparency); and democratic quality of the service delivery process (e.g., participation, empowerment, equity, social capital, inclusion, diversity, reciprocity) (see also Vanleene, Voets, and Verschuere 2017).

Studies show that citizen co-producers and public servants may have different expectations of co-production (e.g., Van Eijk and Steen 2014; Alford and Yates 2016). Of course, what exactly these expectations are varies, since they are experienced at the individual level. Central to our study is the question whether the value tensions public servants experience when delivering services may also be experienced by co-producers involved in public service delivery and thus may hinder the realization of the public values so desired from co-production.

3.2.2 Value tensions

A recurrent issue in Public Administration literature is that of public servants experiencing conflicts between public values, having to balance values such as integrity, neutrality, legality, impartiality, efficiency, innovation, responsiveness, and effectiveness (Hood 1991; de Graaf and van der Wal 2010; van der Wal, de Graaf, and Lawton 2011; de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016; O’Kelly and Dubnick 2006). Despite some recent empirical studies (e.g. Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; Schott 2015; Schott, Van Kleef, and Steen 2015), overall, empirical evidence on conflicting values is still rare (de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016).

Co-production offers a new context for upholding and realizing public values (cf. Ross et al. 2013, Meijer 2016), which might either add to or resolve some of the public value tensions. For example, employing users’ resources may increase efficiency while safeguarding effectiveness. Introducing peer workers and empowering clients may reduce the cost of service delivery while benefiting other values such as reciprocity or effectiveness (Ross et al. 2013). However, co-production may also lead to ‘co-destruction’ of values (Williams, Kang, and Johnson 2016). Co-production may strengthen insider/outsider dynamics if access is only guaranteed for specific social groups (Brandsen and Helderman 2012). Co-production can be ‘time-consuming’ (Neshkova and Guo 2012). It may result in user dissatisfaction because of a failure to fulfil high expectations (Gebuaer, Füller, and Pezzeri 2013), and in a lack of impact as perceived by users or citizens (Buckwalter 2014).

Although value tensions experienced by citizen co-producers have not been studied yet, we expect these tensions to differ from the tensions experienced by public servants involved in co-production. Citizen co-producers become producers of the service, while remaining users of the same service. Therefore we may expect tensions to arise around them becoming service producers – i.e., putting in efforts and contributing to the production of services including public values (Alford 2002) – while at the same time remaining service users - mostly concerned with a self-centered effectiveness (Alford and Yates 2016).

Recognizing that co-producers may experience value tensions we now turn to another strand of literature, i.e., that of psychology and organizational behaviour, where research focuses on how value tensions are coped with. The concept of ‘coping strategy’ provides a conceptual lens to study how conflicting values are dealt with by citizens and public servants engaged in co-production. Ultimately, their coping behaviour will affect the outcome of co-production processes, because it influences whether public values realization is obstructed or enhanced.

3.2.3 Coping strategies for dealing with value tensions

In the literature public servants are found not only to experience public values tensions, but also to follow coping strategies in order to deal with these (de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; Lipsky 1980). For traditional public service production Tummers et al. (2015) found that public servants confronted with tensions related to public service delivery do any of three things: they confront the client, they avoid interaction with the client, or they are responsive to the client’s needs. In the literature the concepts of coping behaviour and coping strategies are used to investigate how tensions between competing values and demands are managed (e.g., de Graaf et al. 2016; Lipsky 1980; Steenhuisen and Van Eeten 2013; Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006). Steenhuisen (2009, 20) defines coping as ‘a response to competing values that takes form in the actions and decisions’.

Coping strategies are often studied by considering the ethical standards applied in dilemma situations (e.g., Sims and Keon 1999, Loyens and Maesschalck 2008). Bartels (2013), however, argues that rather than people rationally applying strategies, behavioural patterns dynamically emerge in the relationship between citizens and public professionals. This is supported by Lukes (1996), who shows that trade-offs (whose archetype is cost-benefit analyses) cannot explain all choices we make. According to Thacher and Rein (2004) this is due to actors not treating conflicting values as commensurable.

Knowledge on how value tensions are dealt with in collaborations between different actors is scarce (van Gestel et al. 2008), but the existing literature provides us with a variety of coping strategies (e.g., Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006; Steenhuisen 2009; van der Wal, de

Graaf, and Lawton 2011; de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016). Stewart (2006) discusses three coping strategies also named by Thatcher and Rein (2004): firewalls, cycling, and casuistry, and adds three more strategies to this list: bias, hybridization, and incrementalism. From the work of Tetlock (2000) and de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders (2016) we derive a seventh coping strategy, ‘escalating’. This body of literature yields the following list of strategies:

- ‘bias’, or a specific type of trade-off: giving preference to values consistent with a dominant discourse, or larger values set at the expense of other conflicting values;
- ‘building firewalls’: appointing different institutions, administrative units, or individual positions aimed at certain public values in order to distribute responsibility for pursuing the competing values;
- ‘cycling’: paying sequential attention to competing values;
- ‘casuistry’: making decisions for each particular value conflict based on experiences in previous cases, and in doing so crafting a customized response based on those examples;
- ‘hybridization’: seeking coexistence between values by sustaining distinct policies or implementations that pursue these competing values;
- ‘incrementalism’: slowly putting more and more emphasis on one particular value;
- ‘escalation’: elevating questions about competing values to a higher administrative or legislative authority.

Different coping strategies, however, lead to different public values being realized. From the above list it becomes clear that some of the coping strategies may enable the realization of two conflicting public values (e.g., building firewalls, cycling, and hybridization), with a risk of not achieving the full potential the realization of both public values (i.e. the realization of a public value may be restricted to a certain activity or time). Other coping strategies lead to the realization of one value and consequently obstruction of the conflicting values (e.g., biasing, casuistry, and incrementalism). Finally, ‘escalation’ refers to the question of accountability that arises in the context of co-production, yet leaves it unclear to what extent this strategy results in public values being realized/upheld.

So far, citizens’ coping strategies for dealing with value tensions have not yet been the subject of studies. Nevertheless, we do find some studies on coping in stressful situations related to policy changes (e.g., Bidani et al. 2012). Habibov and Afandi (2017), for example, recently studied people coping with the impact of the financial crisis. Although these studies cannot

provide us with a framework for studying citizens' coping strategies in the face of value tensions, they do support the claim that citizens understand and deliberate on these problems in daily life (Gustafsson and Lidskog 2012). Because in co-production citizens become producers of the service, we will use the same theoretical and conceptual framework for studying citizen co-producers' coping strategies as we do for the public servants. However, we do expect a difference in coping with value tensions, because of the different roles of these two groups. For example, we expect citizens coping with value tensions to follow strategies in which they bias the values related to achieving personal benefits for themselves, since citizen co-producers are involved in co-production because of their specific motivation, and according to their ability, self-efficacy, and satisfaction with the service (Alford 2002, 2009; Alford and Yates 2016).

In sum, coping strategies provide a means to understand the cognitive mechanisms for dealing with tension situations, and enhancing or obstructing public values in the service delivery process. The coping strategies discussed differ conceptually. Some of the strategies discussed in this section, such as creating firewalls, belong more to the organizational level; others, such as bias, more to a personal coping level (de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016). Finally, de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders (2016, 1110) point out that this means 'that multiple coping strategies might be used in response to a single value conflict'. Additionally, in co-production people are placed in a context of collaboration, so their interaction may influence their experience (e.g. Osborne, Radnor and Strokosch, 2016) and thus their individual coping.

We now turn to an exploratory empirical case study in the social care sector. We studied the potential of the co-production initiative for enhancing and obstructing public values in one case in the social care sector by analyzing the individual co-producers' expectations about public values, to see whether they experience value tensions and what these are, and how they cope with them.

3.3 Methods

3.3.1 Case selection, population sampling and data collection

Several researchers discuss co-production in healthcare services (e.g., Dunston et al. 2009; Amery 2014; Loeffler et al. 2013) and the improved partnership between patients and clinicians (e.g., Braddock 2010; Carman et al. 2013). In comparison, far fewer scholars focus on co-production of social care (e.g., Needham and Carr 2009; Ross et al. 2013). While co-production is not a new delivery mechanism for social care services, it is gaining more popularity because it affirms and supports an active and productive role for service users (Needham and Carr 2009).

We have studied the ‘Connected Care’ initiative, which aims to de-isolate vulnerable elderly and is situated in a small city in Flanders. Informal social care is organized by the users themselves, at the invitation of a local public servant. A second objective of Connected Care is to empower the service users, and minimize the financial burden for both local government and persons in need. The concept of Connected Care is to connect demand and supply among the elderly. This is operationalized through publishing participants’ direct demands and offers in a monthly magazine and on a website, meeting each other in monthly meetings or weekly workshops, or drinking coffee together in the meeting rooms at local care centres.

We first created a ‘snapshot’ of all actors involved in the Connected Care initiative and selected the respondents (see table 3.1). The two project coordinators are the initiators of the project, and 80 citizens are involved in the co-production. Connected Care identifies itself as a network of people, and each inhabitant of the municipality, irrespective of age (although the initiative primarily targets elderly people), origin, gender, or education may join. The youngest participant is 39 years old (°1978), the oldest 94 (°1923). Connected Care has a steering committee, which consists of the public servant (R9), a professional volunteer project coordinator (R10), and four participants (R4, 7, 8, and 11). These latter four are elderly persons who, next to being active participants of the initiative, are also on the steering committee. This committee is tasked with

coordinating and expanding or deepening the network, in direct interaction with the other participants. The volunteer has a professional background as a social worker. She helped setting up Connected Care and afterwards decided to remain as a volunteer. Because both the public servant and the professional volunteer take up coordinating tasks in the project, we will refer to them as project coordinators⁹.

Table 3.1:
Population of the Connected Care case

	# public servants	# volunteers	# citizen co-producers	# citizen co-producers taking part in board meetings	Total
Total	1	1	76	4	82
Respondents	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	11 (/76=18.8%)	4 (100%)	17
Respondents Female	1	1	8 (/64=12.5%)	3 (100%)	13
Respondents Male	0	0	3 (/12=25%)	1 (100%)	4

We conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews¹⁰ with the public servant and the volunteer involved, the four citizen co-producers taking part in the coordinating meetings, and 11 other citizen co-producers¹¹ (see appendices, table 3.A). The sample was chosen in consultation with the public servant, with the aim of identifying a wide range of perspectives rather than numerical representativity. We consulted the public servant about contacting respondents of

⁹ The reader should be notified that the concept of project coordinators to refer to both a professional volunteer and the public servant is unique to this chapter of the dissertation.

¹⁰ A general topic list was designed, but the questions for each interview differed slightly, as they were adapted to the specific cases and actors' roles therein. We asked the respondents about their motivations to co-produce, their expectations of the co-production process, and their experiences around realizing these expectations. When conflicts regarding realizing public values were explicitly mentioned by the respondents, we followed up by asking how they dealt with this situation. When conflicts were not specifically mentioned but became clear from their reports, we followed up by asking if they experienced these issues as conflicts. We always asked them for specific examples of their experiences. This is how we avoided interpretation bias and steering of the respondents' answers. Although there is always a potential social desirability bias in the interview process, the interviewees showed openness and were not shy to express their issues around the process or about other participants, which supports the choice of method and privacy of face-to-face interviews.

¹¹ One of the interviews conducted was a joint interview with respondents 16 and 17, at the request of one of them.

varying age, gender, and intensity of participation (see appendices, table 3.B). Although we tried to select our respondents to reflect the variety of perspectives, we are aware that there may be a certain bias¹².

Our study was restricted to a limited group of respondents involved in one co-production case in the social care sector. The exploratory nature of this study means that the value tensions experienced by the actors studied and the coping strategies they follow, are case specific. An analysis of another co-production initiative in social care, which involved a technological innovation, identified other tensions experienced by the co-producers, involving values such as privacy, inclusiveness, and equity (Jaspers and Steen 2019). Thus, with this exploratory study we aim to gain insight into the potential of co-production for enhancing or obstructing the realization of public values in service delivery, rather than drawing conclusions on what specific values are enhanced or obstructed.

3.3.2 Data analysis

A thorough analysis of the interviews was carried out by means of the NVivo software. Codes were created on the basis of the theoretical framework - referring to distinct public values and coping strategies - and applied to the data on the basis of phases of open and axial coding (cf. Strauss and Corbin 2008). The qualitative analysis followed an iterative, open process. The open coding phase enabled us to include values and coping strategies not mentioned in the literature but identified in the empirical data, such as individual freedom, reciprocity, and deferred coping. In the coding process we were careful in interpreting these, and in connecting them to the corresponding public values and coping strategies as defined in our theory (see also

¹² The potential bias with regard to representativeness may cause that not all results are recognizable for the co-producers and for co-producers in general. Having selected the respondents on the basis of their involvement, age, gender, responsibilities, and physical abilities may distort the results in a way that they are not representative of the average co-producer in the project. However, the aim of the study is to explore a wide range of value conflicts and coping mechanism which justifies this sampling approach.

the empirical analysis of public values by Beck Jørgensen 2006, and the empirical analysis of value tensions by de Graaf and Paanakker 2014). Table 3.2 shows the final coding list.

As pointed out in the theoretical discussion we assumed the expectations, tensions experienced, and coping strategies followed by regular service providers to be different from those experienced by citizen co-producers. For this reason we analysed the data¹³ separately for the project coordinators (2 respondents), the citizen co-producers (11 respondents), and – since they have additional responsibilities - the citizens active in the steering committee (4 respondents).

3.4 Results

3.4.1 Co-producers' expectations towards upholding public values

3.4.1.1 Services delivered

The various actors involved in the case have varying expectations about services delivered. The project coordinators claimed that satisfaction of the citizen co-producers indicated the project's success: *'it is important that people feel involved because it gives a good feeling'* (R10, also 4, 8¹⁴). Citizen co-producers claimed to feel satisfied when the project was effective, and expected Connected Care to help them become de-isolated (R4, 5) and to be considerate of their needs (R5, 16). Furthermore, the project coordinators stressed the importance of effectiveness and so lent flexibility to the process. While connecting demand and supply of the elderly is still relevant, organizing joint meetings was felt far more effective in de-isolating participants and improving their social capital (R1, 9), which resulted in an increased focus on these meetings.

¹³ The quotes presented in the results section were translated by the first author.

¹⁴ The number identifies the respondent (see the Appendix, table 3.A for details on the respondents).

Table 3.2:
Codes and subcodes for the interview analysis

Expectations public values

- Better services
 - Efficiency
 - Effectiveness
 - Quality
 - Satisfaction
 - Sustainability
- Better relationship
 - Learning
 - Trust
 - Being considerate of clients' needs: accountable, responsive and transparant
 - Being considerate of clients' capacities
 - Reciprocity
 - Individual freedom
- Better democratic quality
 - Participation
 - Empowerment
 - Inclusion
 - Social capital

Tensions*

- Better services
- Better relationship
- Better democratic quality

Coping strategies

- Bias
- Building firewalls
- Cycling
- Casuistry
- Hybridization
- Incrementalism
- Escalation
- Avoidance/Drop-out
- Deffered coping

Actors

- Public servant
- Professional Volunteer
- Citizen co-producer
- Steering Committee member

* same subcodes as for 'expectations public values'

3.4.1.2 Relationship between professional and citizen

Citizen co-producers expect the initiative to be considerate of their needs (R1, 2, 13, 15). Similarly, the project coordinators attach great importance to being responsive, ‘*Connected Care is about growth and being responsive to people’s needs and not to what we want*’ (R9, also 10), and to being considerate of and recognizing participants’ capacities as assets (R9), which is also an expectation of the citizen co-producers (R1, 2, 5). The coordinators expect the participants to be responsive to each other’s needs: ‘*we just offer a modest framework but they have to execute the service*’ (R9). Citizen co-producers hope to be able to trust the steering committee and project coordinators, and hold them accountable (R5, 16). Finally, the citizen co-producers value individual freedom (cf. a public value mentioned by, e.g., Tetlock 1986, Cordelli 2013, Moore 2014). This entails the choice of when, how, and how much to co-produce: ‘*there should be no obligations, otherwise I don’t want to be involved*’ (R7, also 4, 7, 8, 15). For the public servant this value then becomes important as a means to ensure inclusion ‘*everyone can participate in their own manner*’ (R9).

3.4.1.3 Democratic quality of the service delivery process

Both project coordinators and citizen co-producers wish to co-create empowerment and social capital (R2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17). The project coordinators aim to increase participation – ‘*the project needs to operate [...] through the active participation of the participants*’ (R9), inclusion, and diversity, which is related to inviting people from all ages, empowerment, and equality – ‘*we need to get rid of the positions of public professional and clients [...]. It is important [to] empower people in Connected Care to help others, who then also become professionals*’ (R9). The project coordinators value reciprocity, which they understand as offering and receiving aid to and from each other according to capacities and needs (R10, 9). For the citizen co-producers, social capital (especially bonding with other local elderly) is a

desired outcome of co-production (R2, R3), but also a value to be realized in the process of co-production. The citizens also value participation, inclusion, and reciprocity (R5, 7, 13, 16).

3.4.2 Public value tensions experienced in co-production

Many of the above mentioned values are expressed by the respondents as not only expectations held, but as actually being attained in the Connected Care initiative. Almost all respondents claim to have gained social capital (R2, 3, 5, 13, 14, 16, 17): they express the results of participation in the process as developing a social support system (cf. bonding social capital: see Szreter and Woolcock 2004). Additionally, they feel that the elderly are less isolated and that co-producers are satisfied about the initiative. However, some values seem difficult to realize. Even considering local demographics the number of male participants is small, which raises questions on inclusion. Additionally, respondents from both the project coordinators and citizen co-producers groups feel that the opportunity for an individual to create social capital decreases when more participants join, because contacts then become more superficial. Furthermore, respondents raise questions on the effectiveness of the method to link care demand and supply, while others feel that a great need for organizing activities during weekends is not addressed.

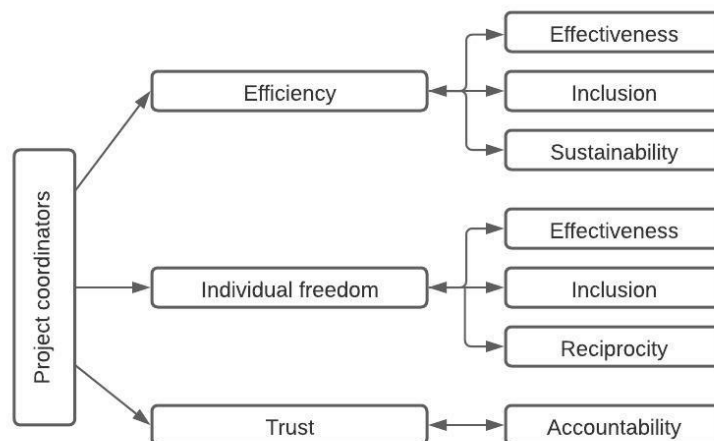
To better understand the co-production initiative's potential for realizing public values, we next discuss how respondents experience tensions between values. We analysed the data for the project coordinators, the members of the steering committee, and the citizen co-producers separately. This enabled us to investigate whether regular public servants were still experiencing value tensions when involved in co-production, and if citizen co-producers, as 'new' actors involved in the service delivery process, experienced value tensions and were co-realizing public values.

3.4.2.1 Project coordinators

Most value tensions experienced by project coordinators involve either efficiency or individual freedom (see figure 3.1). In their role of public managers they see efficiency as an ingrained value to public service delivery. In contrast, starting from their role as enabling the co-production, it is rather individual freedom that they see as a value necessary to involve service users.

Efficiency is valued by the project coordinators mainly because of financial limitations. This economic reality leads to tensions if confronted with the values of effectiveness, inclusion, and sustainability. For example, efficiency is felt to conflict with inclusion as the project coordinators experience that in order to involve the structurally most isolated elderly, more time and effort is needed: *‘a lot of effort is needed to involve them [...] the most isolated elderly need a different approach. There are, however, no resources to get them here and to keep them here’* (R9).

Figure 3.1: Project coordinators' value tensions¹⁵



¹⁵ The figures are added as a roadmap through the section, with the aim of adding some structure. However, they illustrate the results of a single exploratory case study and do not claim to provide a wider overview of what value tensions exist or do not exist in co-production processes.

In the project coordinators' opinion the individual freedom for the participants to choose when, what, and how much to co-produce limits the effectiveness of the project, as well as the democratic quality of the service. The freedom of the participants results in many of them not showing up at activities, which limits their integration in the group (R9, 10). The project coordinators find that individual freedom conflicts with one of the main goals of the project, creating social capital for the participants: *'we do not want friends sitting together when there is a group meeting because we want them to make contact with other people, so that they [...] include other people'* (R10, also 9).

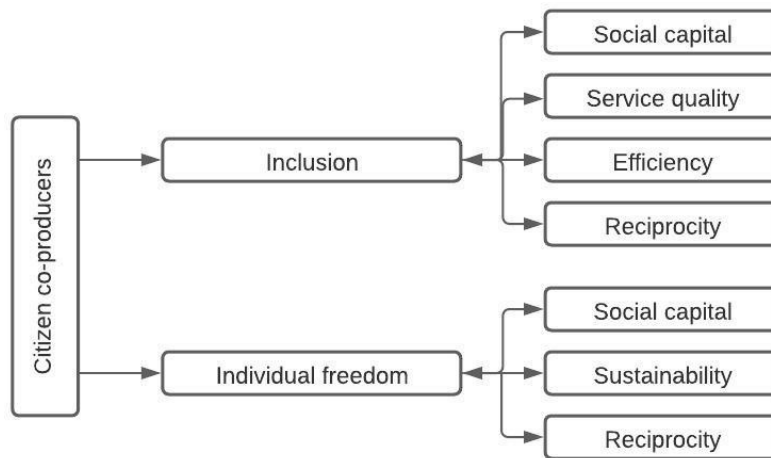
Furthermore, the project coordinators feel that participants' individual freedom is in conflict with reciprocity. Connected Care has as one of its key values that of reciprocity, while taking into account the capacities and needs of the participants: in return for receiving aid, participants should 'pay it forward', return the favour, or simply say thank you. The project coordinators state that very few of the 80 participants are prepared to offer support when other participants need urgent or apparent assistance, even if their capacities allow them to. Thus, the freedom of participants to choose in how far they get involved limits reciprocity: *'People always need a choice to say yes or no'* (R9) but *'it is always the same people putting in an effort'* (R10).

Connected Care takes the members' abilities and interests as a starting point. However, accountability remains with the project coordinators and this results in the public coordinators not always trusting the citizen co-producers: *'I expected in advance that it would be necessary for me to keep an eye on them while they co-produce the activity'* (R10).

3.4.2.2 Citizen co-producers

The interview data indicate that citizen co-producers experience value tensions different from those experienced by the project coordinators. Values often felt to conflict with other values are inclusion, individual freedom, and reciprocity (see figure 3.2). Individual freedom and reciprocity are clear prerequisites for individuals to participate, inclusion is perceived as much more normative.

Figure 3.2: Citizen co-producers' value tensions



Citizen co-producers experience that inclusion or welcoming everyone to participate, which they do value normatively, may limit the realization of social capital, quality of the service, efficiency and reciprocity. The more people join, the harder it becomes for the citizen co-producers to get to know everyone, and thus ensure social capital as a democratic value in the process. In a discussion between two respondents this experience becomes clear:

- *I do not think we should open up more, we should invest in what we have and make sure to strengthen the relationship between the people who are participating* (R16).
- *I have the same idea, there are already enough of us, but of course, if someone wants to join we cannot tell them they can't* (R17).

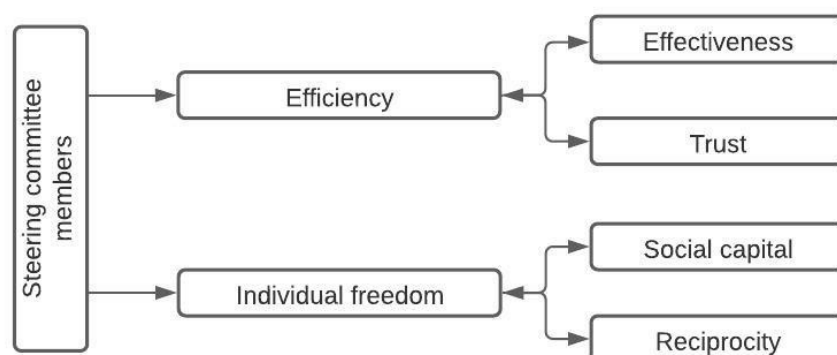
Another example, is the tension between inclusion and reciprocity. In line with the value of inclusion, the activities are free for participants. However, participants who frequently depend on others for transport find it hard to offer reciprocity since they feel they have ‘*nothing to give back*’ (R17, also 3, 11, 12), while the participants providing transport risk feeling they do not receive the value of reciprocity since ‘*they know how much they pay at the gas station*’ (R16).

The citizen co-producers' individual freedom is crucial for their participation, but at times this is experienced as conflicting with other values such as social capital (R1, 5, 14, 16) and sustainable reciprocity. For example, the individual freedom that participants have is, while perceived as welcoming, seen as an insecurity for the future, both as regards the sustainability of the initiative -*'people do not want to be bound to something, especially not young people. But you do need people to keep the organization going'* (R2, also 7) – and the sustainability of the care that citizen co-producers wish to receive in the future from other participants according to the principle of reciprocity.

3.4.2.3 Steering committee

The members of the Connected Care steering committee also experience value tensions. The tensions observed in this exploratory study involve especially efficiency and individual freedom (see figure 3.3). These are the same two central values as experienced by the project coordinators, but the conflicting values are different and linked more to the concerns of the citizen co-producers. Thus, the members of the steering committee experience a mix of tensions linked to both the role of project coordinator and that of citizen co-producer.

Figure 3.3: Steering Committee's value tensions



First, like the project coordinators, the members of the steering committee experience a tension between efficiency and effectiveness. They question whether the supply-and-demand method is the most effective for achieving the desired outcomes, although it seems to be the most efficient (R4). Second, there is the perceived tension between efficiency and trust. Although the committee members acknowledge the need for efficiency, they do not accept decisions being made by the project coordinators without previous consultation or communication with the board: *'I think they [the project coordinators] at least need to warn you and keep you up to date'*(R8).

Like both project coordinators and citizens, the committee members are concerned about the effectiveness of the project. They experience a conflict between individual freedom and creating social capital: when people form groups this excludes both existing and new participants, thus limiting the creation of social capital (R4, 8). Reciprocity conflicts with individual freedom (R4, 7), as also experienced by the citizen co-producers: *'the oldest person is 90, you do not expect her to get up and clean tables, but from the younger people, you expect them to do something. [...] but nobody is obligated to do something here, so that is the end of it'* (R4).

3.4.3 Co-producers' coping strategies when confronted with value tensions

In the theoretical section we identified a variety of coping strategies and argued that the strategies followed affect the potential for realizing public values. Therefore we asked our respondents about their coping strategies.

3.4.3.1 Project coordinators

Not only were all seven coping strategies distinguished in the literature identified in the interviews with the project coordinators, we also found one additional strategy. We refer to this as ‘deferred coping’: people express their hope to use a specific coping strategy in the future, but for the time being postpone dealing with the value tension at hand. For example, increased co-production (i.e., transferring more responsibility to the participants) could be the way to balance out the tension between efficiency and effectiveness. The desired coping strategy here is ‘hybridization’: *‘we need participants who can take over from other people, we need members that can do part of our tasks. But the big problem is: we need more time to put energy in this’* (R9). However, for the time being the project coordinator feels this is not possible, since she assumes that citizen co-producers need extra supervision and training to take over some or all of these tasks (R9).

Next to deferred coping, we find examples of project coordinators following the strategies of biasing, casuistry, or incrementalism. These strategies result in only one value being realized. We illustrate these coping strategies by the tension between individual freedom and effectiveness of the project goals (creating bonding social capital, empowerment, de-isolation, inclusion). These two values conflict when general activities take place in the project, and the issue arises when the coordinators want to decide whether participants may choose where to sit, or if there will be fixed seating (which changes each meeting), intended to facilitate integration of and contacts between participants. In this case, the coordinator preferred fixed seating because it means that the project goals are reached and democratic quality of the service delivery is realized, whereas individual freedom – letting participants decide where to sit – would hinder the realization of these values.

Applying a bias strategy, project coordinators show a preference for some values according to a dominant value set at the expense of other values: *‘my role is to guard these values, to guard co-creation, democratic decision making, inclusion, believing in the abilities of the*

elderly, in openness, in trust, in diversity' (R9). The example of biasing most discussed (R9, 10) involved the values of individual freedom and social capital:

'I prefer the value of social capital [...] because it's aimed at getting to know each other and inclusion. I am aware that because of this some people choose not to come to the upcoming general meeting. But if we don't tackle exclusion this project may as well be stopped in my opinion' (R9).

With a casuistry strategy, decisions are made on how to deal with each particular value conflict on the basis of earlier experiences: having learnt from previous general activities that because of individual freedom there were citizens who did not receive value of social capital or inclusion (R9).

A strategy of incrementalism is found when citizens express their dissatisfaction with this limitation of their individual freedom, and the public servant expresses the importance of the value to the participants: *'we will keep explaining to them why we opt for fixed seats in the general meetings, I will invite them all in order to explain the reasoning behind this decision'* (R9). By doing so, the public servant slowly puts more and more emphasis on one value.

Finally, in this case study different values around which a tension is experienced were found to survive the value conflict if project coordinators stuck to 'building firewalls' and 'cycling'.

The project coordinators build firewalls as to which value is realized where. In the general meetings inclusion is insured through the realization of social capital. In the supply-and-demand part of the project, inclusion is guaranteed through the realization of individual freedom (R9).

Because of efficiency considerations the coordinators often cycle between different value creating activities, and so give sequential attention to these values, by organizing many different activities: some where they realize social capital, other where they realize empowerment of the participants (by letting them rediscover their capacities and talents and putting them to use) and giving them more accountability (e.g., brainstorming about input for new activities etc.).

In sum, the project coordinators follow a variety of coping strategies, probably because of the flexibility they have in designing and implementing the project. More importantly, following

all coping strategies ensures that although value realization is obstructed through some coping strategies and deferred coping, it is enhanced through other strategies.

3.4.3.2 Citizen co-producers

Generally, in this exploratory case study citizen co-producers confronted with tensions tended to avoid the conflict - a new coping strategy found in addition to the list of coping strategies discussed in the theoretical part, and which is named 'avoidance'. Also, conflicts are avoided by escalating the problem to the project coordinators or the steering committee. Studies of citizens' behaviour in participatory practices help explain why they avoid dealing with value tensions. Lehoux, Daudelin and Abelson (2012) show that citizens often lack the capacity to react on the spot and may get frustrated by this, or they do not see how their competencies are relevant to the tasks at hand. They may thus opt for escalating or avoiding conflicts because they do not possess the capacity (voice) to cope with the value tension at hand in another way.

Citizens escalated dealing with tensions and expect the committee and the coordinators to take over because of (1) high pressure on the individual co-producers – *'I already have enough people to take care of'* (R17) -, and (2) accountability – *'if there is a conflict [the project coordinators] will help with the decision'* (R1, also 16, 17). This may be partly explained by tensions that often arise from working with others, so that the co-producers feel in need of a neutral referee to handle these issues. Through escalation, citizen co-producers place the responsibility for coping with value tensions with the project coordinators and members of the steering committee. In line with the concern raised by Steen, Brandsen and Verschuere (2018) about ensuring supervision of and accountability for the quality of public services being co-produced, escalation indicates a need for further study of the impact of co-production on accountability and responsibility for upholding public values, for example to investigate if the accountability stays with public servants or is shared with co-producers.

Some citizen co-producers avoid dealing with tensions by considering whether to drop-out. For example, because of a tension between individual freedom and social capital: *'if I have*

to do something because I have to, I will quit (R1, also 5). Respondents avoid receiving assistance because of the value of reciprocity: *'I rather not receive assistance because I have nothing to offer in return'* (R6, also 3, 11, 12).

Furthermore, citizen co-producers follow coping strategies such as biasing, casuistry, and incrementalism, which lead to the realization of only one value. One respondent claimed that she learned from previous experiences how to cope with certain conflicts (or casuistry): she learned to ask for assistance from the public servant when she feels too much pressure (R16). On the tension between individual freedom and social capital, experienced by many during the general meetings with fixed seating, R14 explained that *'In the beginning I felt that my freedom was limited, but then I asked why they did this. When you know why you start understanding and accepting. Now I try to explain it to others and stress that the aim is that we all need to get to know each other'* (R14, also 5, 16), which shows a strategy of incrementalism.

Finally, citizen co-producers follow coping strategies leading to the somewhat realization of both conflicting public values. 'Building firewalls' was found to be followed when citizen co-producers needed to guard their own limits: *'I am always very clear on what they can ask me, and I clearly tell them what they should ask a professional'* (R2, also 16). Citizen co-producers also hybridize certain values. Respondent 13 copes with a tension between wanting to help out others and the time she has available: *'I can't be present at the preparations, it's impossible, so I help out after, for example by doing the dishes and cleaning the tables'* (R13).

3.4.3.3 Steering committee

The members of the steering committee prove not very different from the citizen co-producers in applying coping strategies. They build firewalls in order to guard their limits (R7) and tend to hybridize conflicting values (R5). The one difference may to be explained by their position: rather than avoiding value conflicts, they escalate them to their own steering committee, where they can decide how to cope with the issue (R4, 7, 8). However, an argument for escalating to the project coordinators rather than dealing with an issue in the committee is that they *'think*

that people will accept their decisions more' (R7) if they do so. Like the project coordinators, members of the steering committee bias those values which correspond with the ideals of the project. As a respondent states on the issue of the seating arrangements during the meetings: *'if you do not talk to other people, you won't get to know them. And this is important to do because of the aim of Connected Care: getting to know different people'* (R8). They choose a strategy of incrementalism if they want to give preference to one value, for example, by explaining the reason for the seating to the other citizen co-producers and by organizing more activities through which social capital is created: *'I think we have to go deeper into explaining why we choose to [have fixed seating arrangements] by showing them their shyness prevents them from fulfilling their needs'* (R4).

3.5 Discussion and conclusion

In order to answer our research question: *to what extent does co-production in social care either enhance or obstruct the realization of public values?*, we studied the individual experiences of project coordinators and citizens involved in the co-production of informal care for elderly in a small Flemish municipality.

In their search to uphold values co-producers experience value tensions; coping with these tensions may stimulate the realization of certain values, but may at the same time obstruct other values. Having studied actors involved in one specific case of social care, we acknowledge that the specific examples on expectations, value tensions and coping strategies presented in the results cannot be generalized to other cases and other sectors. Case studies offer the advantage of studying a phenomenon within its context, but do not allow for statistical generalization (Eisenhaerdts and Graebner 2007). Practical issues such as a person's health and abilities, having to work together with different people, a high demand put on individuals, demand shyness (i.e., the reluctance to ask for aid) and non-take up resulting from this, and non-appreciation - they all limit citizen co-producers in realizing public values and creating private

or public value within this specific case of social care co-produced for and by vulnerable elderly. Future research, however, should make it possible to compare value tensions and coping strategies in a variety of cases from different policy sectors.

Nevertheless, the study shows the potential of co-production for realizing public values. Our exploratory case study shows that the claim (e.g., Ross et al. 2013) that co-production would balance out certain value tensions for regular producers, such as the tension between efficiency and effectiveness, may not be made. Co-producers experience not only value tensions typical of the public sector, such as that between efficiency and effectiveness, but also new tensions that have to do with their role as enablers of co-production and with their interaction with service users as co-producers (or the collaborative process): tensions between inclusion and efficiency or between individual freedom and effectiveness. Additionally, we identified the potential of co-production for realizing values which may not be upheld through regular production of services, e.g., increased responsiveness to the needs of the service users.

We clustered public values in three categories, referring to service delivery, relationships between citizens and public servants, and democratic quality of the service delivery process. We found that tensions arose both within and between categories, and were different for the citizen co-producers, the project coordinators, and the members of the steering committee. In our case study the values found to be most conflicting for the project coordinators are those that can be linked to their role as enablers of co-production (such as individual freedom, important for the participation of the citizen co-producers), and to their role as public managers (such as efficiency, which is important when the budget is limited). As a civil servant, the project coordinator has responsibilities that go beyond providing outputs; society holds her accountable for public service delivery, but she is also aware of the managerial constraints in implementing the project. The members of the steering committee experience value conflicts similar to those that confront the project coordinators, which may be explained by their coordinating role and their perception of holding responsibility. The citizens who have taken on a more active and responsible role experience different tensions from those confronting the

citizen co-producers who are not on the steering committee. Thus, studying the value tensions separately for each actor group was found to be relevant: taking up a different role in the co-production process may influence the value tensions experienced. Therefore, we suggest that future research should look more deeply into the effects of the role perceptions of different actors on the values treasured and the coping strategies followed.

It is not self-evident that co-production should provide a solution for dealing with public value tensions. The way actors cope with value tensions is decisive for the realization of public values, since some coping strategies still allow for two conflicting values to be upheld at the same time, whereas other coping strategies limit the realization to just one value, thereby co-destructing the other. In our case the project coordinators adhered to all coping strategies identified in the literature when dealing with value tensions. They bias values (through biasing, casuistry, or incrementalism) and combine this with building firewalls, i.e., they allow the 'fallen' values to be realized in separate activities. Additionally, due to lack of time they defer coping, i.e., they mention a desired coping strategy but do not yet follow up on it. Likewise, citizen co-producers follow various coping strategies, but mostly choose an escalation strategy (moving up responsibility to the project coordinators) or an avoidance strategy (not dealing with the conflict at all). This suggests that the accountability for upholding public values stays with the professionals involved in the co-production. Furthermore, this may point to the lack of 'voice' and capacities citizen co-producers have in dealing with value tensions (cf. Lehoux et al. 2012).

CHAPTER 4:

Does co-production lead to the creation of public value?

Balancing the dimensions of public value creation in urban mobility planning

This chapter is based on the published article:

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Co-production is intended to co-create public value. This article analyses how co-producers address the tensions that arise among the various dimensions of public value. The paper builds on the theory of coping strategies to examine individuals' coping behaviours. Two urban mobility planning cases are studied in depth. This study finds that co-producers experience various tensions between public value dimensions. Furthermore, co-producers cope with the tensions both according to balancing strategies as well as trade-off strategies, preferring one value dimension over the other. Additionally, the empirical evidence provides examples of circumstances, such as communication, in which a balancing exercise is enhanced.

4.1 Introduction

Co-production, or the process of public servants and citizens collaborating in the provision of public services, is intended to lead to the co-creation of public value through 'better use of each other's assets and resources' (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012, 121). Public value and public value creation are 'concepts that focus on the appraisal of activities, actions, and outcomes produced by government agents and organizations' (Nabatchi 2018, 60). When different actors unite to create public value, that public value is co-created (Moore 1995; Bryson et al. 2017).

According to Bovaird and Loeffler (2012), value added to the public sector has several dimensions, each responding to different claims for public value creation: user value, value to wider groups, social value, environmental value and political value. Co-production is sometimes seen as a solution to the variety of claims that are made for public value creation, a variety that is experienced as a tension by public servants in regular service delivery (Go Jefferies, Bishop and Hibbert 2019). However, tensions around which value is to be created may persist when moving to collaborative practices, as co-producing actors have mixed motives that differ (Van Eijk and Steen 2014; Le Grand 2003). Some tensions may fade out when co-production is introduced, yet other tensions may persist, and new tensions may arise (e.g., Needham and Carr 2009; Brandsen and Helderman 2012; Jaspers and Steen 2019).

Individuals use a variety of coping strategies to address the tensions that they experience. Some coping strategies may balance the tension by reconciling competing claims, while others may not; instead, for example, they may be biased in favour of one claim (Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006). Different coping strategies may thus result in different outcomes for public value creation. In this paper, we aim to gain insight into the potential for the use of co-production for the creation of public value. We do so by analysing how public servants and citizen co-producers cope with the tensions among the different dimensions of public value. The conceptual lens of coping strategies helps us to achieve a better understanding of the intended and unintended consequences of the use of co-production for creating public value. The central question in this paper is the following: *Does the use of co-production for creating public value cause participants to experience tensions among the dimensions of public value, and, if so, how do they cope with these tensions?*

The paper presents two cases, namely, ‘City Streets’ and ‘Mobility Alternative’, that involve citizens and public servants in the co-design and co-delivery of urban mobility plans. Since mobility and the use of public space encompass multiple claims for public service, these two cases provide an ideal setting in which to study the tensions that co-producers experience around public value creation and how they cope with these tensions.

This paper first discusses the concepts of co-production of public services, public value creation and coping strategies that constitute the analytical framework. Next, the two cases are presented, and the methods used for the empirical study are outlined. After that, the paper presents and discusses the results, focusing on the perceptions of both the citizen co-producers and the public servants involved. In the conclusion, we summarize the paper’s contributions to the theory and the literature.

4.2 Co-creating public value through co-production

4.2.1 Definitions: co-production and the co-creation of public value

In the process of co-production, services are not delivered for the people but with the people (Bovaird 2007). Ostrom (1996, 1073) defines co-production as ‘the process through which inputs used to provide a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not in the same organization’. These individuals may be clients or a group of citizens who collaborate with the ‘regular producer’ (Ostrom, 1996). Brandsen and Honingh (2016, 431) define co-production ‘as a relationship between a paid employee of an organization [i.e., a public servant] and (groups of) individual citizens that requires a direct and active contribution from these citizens to the work of the organization’. Co-production may involve both the co-design and the co-implementation of a public service. Some scholars emphasize the distinction between the concepts of ‘co-production’ and ‘co-creation’¹⁶ on the basis of the point in the policy cycle at which the co-production is taking place (Brandsen and Honingh 2018, 13). However, Bovaird and Loeffler (2012) suggest that when an initiative includes both the co-design and the co-delivery of a service, we use the term co-production for the overall process, which is the case for the situations discussed in this study.

Moore (1995, 28) argues that ‘the aim of managerial work in the public sector is to create public value just as the aim of managerial work in the private sector is to create private value’. It is important to distinguish between ‘public value’ (e.g., Moore 1995; 2014) and ‘public values’ (e.g., Bozeman 2007), as they each represent distinct concepts. The latter concept, namely, ‘public values’, is not the focus of our paper, as public values are values that represent the ‘normative consensus about the rights [and obligations of citizens...] and the principles on which governments and policies should be based’ (Bozeman 2007, 13). The literature on public value creation is quite distinct from this concept, even if it refers to public values in many

¹⁶ In this sense, our central concept, namely, the “co-creation of public value”, should not be confused with the concept of the “co-creation of public services”, which Brandsen and Honingh (2018) explain as the process of “professionals and citizens co-designing public services”.

different ways. Public value and public value creation refer to the appraisal value of the activities of government agents and their outcomes (Nabatchi 2018). The precise definition of public value, following Mark Moore's book on *Creating Public Value*, has been greatly debated in the public administration literature (e.g., Stoker 2006; Rhodes and Wanna 2007). For this empirical study, we adhere to the definition of public value as added value created through the activities of public organizations and their managers. It includes the notions of added value and of what is considered to be valuable, 'which is sometimes presented in terms of normative aspirations for a "good society"' (Hartley et al. 2017, 672).

Co-production brings a specific context to public value creation wherein different actors co-create public value (Bryson et al. 2017). Ramirez (1999, 49) specifies that the good or the service that is co-produced is in essence 'value coproduced by two or more actors, with and for each other, with and for yet other actors'. In traditional public service delivery, the public manager is understood to be the main creator of public value (Moore 1995). However, in co-production, a variety of actors, including citizens, produce services and contribute to the value creation process (Bryson et al. 2017).

The idea of added value in the context of co-production is consistent with Bovaird and Loeffler's (2012, 1126-1127) suggestion of the several dimensions of value added by the public sector:

- 'user value
- value to wider groups (such as family or friends of service users, or individuals who are indirectly affected)
- social value (creation of social cohesion or support for social interaction)
- environmental value (ensuring environmental sustainability of all policies)
- political value (support to democratic process, e.g. through co-planning of services with users and other stakeholders)'

According to Bovaird and Loeffler (2012), it is likely that all of these elements are found to be important in the public sector, but the element of user value may be outweighed by the other dimensions. They argue that this is why an examination of the motivations of citizen co-

producers is relevant. Service users may be motivated by their desire to ensure high levels of user value, environmentally conscious co-producers may be motivated to ensure the environmental sustainability of a service, and community-conscious co-producers may be focused on facilitating social inclusion and producing outcomes that benefit the ‘widest possible range of local community members’ (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012, 1127).

4.2.2 Tensions in creating public value

Alford (2011) indicates that the user value, or private value, generated through co-production is intended for the individual, and that public value is intended for the citizenry; however, it is implied that co-producers may receive both. Nevertheless, the service producers engaged in co-production may have different goals for the creation of public value, and these goals may conflict with one another (Brandsen and Helderma 2012; Osborne, Radnor and Strokosch 2016; Farr 2016). There is extensive material in the co-production literature on the motivations underlying co-production (e.g., Van Eijk and Steen 2014). Van Eijk and Steen (2014) distinguish between self-centred and community-centred motivations. Individual’s motivations for co-production such as seeking self-development or feeling acknowledged by others, for example, are self-centred motivations. Alford and Yates (2016) point out that the activities of citizen co-producers are mostly (but not entirely) devoted to producing and maximizing their user value and ensuring high quality user value; for example, individuals receive the personal benefit of cost savings when sharing a car with a service of a local government. Clary et al. (1998) define community-centred motivations as normative (expressing humanitarian values) and altruistic motivations. Co-producers’ aspirations may conflict with one another because each co-producer is often involved in co-production for mixed motivations, and these co-producers are not solely engaged out of self-interest (Le Grand 2003).

Additionally, research hints at persisting tensions among public servants between creating user value and creating other dimensions of public value when moving to collaborative practices (cf. Brudney and England 1983). Bovaird (2007) discusses the paradox that faces public

servants: on the one hand, in co-production, ‘the professional has to be prepared to trust the decisions and behaviours of service users [...] rather than dictate them’ (Bovaird, 2007, p. 856), while on the other hand, professionals cannot simply use the co-producers’ opinions as an indication of the preferences of all the users of the delivered services (De Vries, 2002) or that of the citizenry at large. This illustrates the tension that exists between the user value of the individual co-producer, political value (to create legitimate support for policies through democratic processes), and social value (to serve the most citizens possible).

4.2.3 Coping strategies

After gaining an understanding of the risks and opportunities posed by the tensions among the various dimensions of public value in the context of co-production, we use the concept of ‘coping’ to analyse how such tensions are addressed¹⁷. Thacher and Rein (2004) develop a typology of coping strategies that offers guidance to managers who face value conflicts, resulting in three types of strategies. Building on their typology, Stewart (2006) identifies three more types of strategies.

First, individuals may apply coping strategies that include a trade-off approach. In such cases, the creation of one value hinders the creation of another value. This can include a bias strategy, where one value is preferred over the other (Stewart 2006); a casuistry strategy, where individuals respond on the basis of previous experiences (Thacher and Rein 2004); or an incrementalism strategy, where individuals slowly and almost strategically increase their emphasis on one value at the expense of the other value (Stewart 2006). Second, individuals may seek to balance the tension, for example, by implementing distinct policies that each support the creation of a specific value, which is called a hybridization strategy (Stewart 2006); by using a firewall strategy, which involves appointing different institutions, units or positions

¹⁷ The literature identifies a variety of strategies for coping with the tensions among public values (plural, cf. Bozeman, 2007) (e.g., Tetlock, 2000; Thacher & Rein, 2004; Stewart, 2006; de Graaf, Huberts & Smulders, 2016).

to support each value (Thacher and Rein 2004); or by using a cycling strategy, which pays attention to each value sequentially (Thacher and Rein 2004).

Other studies identify additional coping strategies. An escalating strategy occurs when an individual escalates his or her questions about a tension existing between certain values to a higher administrative or legislative authority (Tetloc, 2000; de Graaf et al. 2016). An avoidance strategy occurs when an individual avoids dealing with the tension, which can, for example, take the form of deciding to postpone coping with the tension or dropping out of the co-production initiative (Endler and Parker 1990; Lehoux, Daudelin and Abelson 2012; Jaspers and Steen 2019).

How co-producers cope with these value tensions influences the outcome of the delivered service; some coping strategies may lead to the somewhat creation of both conflicting dimensions of value, other strategies may lead to the creation of only one value dimension, and some strategies can endanger the creation of any value at all. Therefore, we present a model that groups coping strategies based on their likely result¹⁸ (table 4.1).

Studies show how the public servants engaged in the process of co-production adhere to the abovementioned coping strategies when experiencing value tensions. Citizen co-producers may apply the same range of strategies, but their methods of coping are often different from those of public servants (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2019).

In sum, in addition to the experienced tensions between the dimensions of public value creation, looking into the individual coping strategies co-producers adhere to allows us to gain insights into an individual mechanism of co-creating public value in the context of co-producing public services.

¹⁸ The division is made on the basis of a difference between mono- and multivalue solutions given by Steenhuisen (2009) which is presented in chapter 2 (section 2.4.2).

Table 4.1:
Coping Strategies

Likely Result	Coping	Reference
1 value created	Bias strategy	Stewart 2006
	Casualty	Thacher and Rein 2004
	Incrementalism	Stewart 2006
2 values (somewhat) created	Hybridization	Stewart 2006
	Cycling	Thacher and Rein 2004
	Building firewalls	Thacher and Rein 2004
Lack of value co-creation by the individual	Escalating	Tetlock 2000, de Graaf, Huberts and Smulder 2016
	Avoidance: e.g. deferred coping	Endler and Parker 1990; Lehoux, Daudelin and Abelson 2012

4.3 Methodology

An explorative design helps to gain insights into how co-producers cope with the tensions around creating public value. We operationalized public value as an added value desired by individuals, which, according to Hartley and others (2017), implies that public value should be empirically studied at the individual level. We adopted a qualitative approach because we aimed to gain insights into the expectations and experiences of individual co-producers. We studied two co-production cases involving urban mobility planning that took place in two small cities in Flanders, North Belgium. Both of these cases addressed the design and implementation of a traffic circulation plan aimed at creating a more liveable city. We gave these cases the fictitious names of ‘City Streets’ and ‘Mobility Alternative’. In the case of City Streets, the co-production employed resulted in the permanent implementation of the co-produced design; however, in the case of Mobility Alternative, the co-produced design was not implemented. Before further discussing the case selection, we first explain the specific context of urban mobility planning in relation to co-production.

4.3.1 The cases

4.3.1.1 Urban mobility

Renewed city planning and mobility policies are often combined to address societal challenges such as a growing population and the liveability and safety of the city. However, redesigning mobility plans is not an easy task: a multiplicity of claims are made on the available public space, of which mobility is just one. Other claims include the use of the public space as a public domain, political space, liveable space and/or space for commerce (Agyeman and Zavetovski 2015; von Schönfeld and Bertolini 2016). Moreover, mobility in itself results in multiple claims; for example, car drivers, bus passengers, cyclists and pedestrians all have different and often conflicting needs. Participatory processes are often established to address these multiple needs, with the intention of balancing these needs and avoiding conflict (e.g., Bovaird 2007; Watson 2014). This makes the co-production of urban mobility planning an ideal setting in which to examine the tensions experienced among dimensions of public value and how such tensions are coped with.

In Flanders, the municipalities are responsible for inviting direct participation in the areas as they see fit (Vlaamse Overheid 2017). Additionally, mobility policy in Flanders is mandated by the municipalities, who hold far-reaching authority over the circulation of the traffic in their territory. The desire to redesign public spaces is common to many European cities, and the knowledge gained from these cases will be relevant not only for the academic literature but also for the practice and implementation of co-production.

4.3.1.2 Case selection

Co-production research often refers to best practices to identify the conditions that support the production of the desired outcomes of co-production. However, we follow the example set by Howlett (2012) and focus on a failed case (Mobility Alternative) in addition to a successfully implemented case (City Streets). This allows us to learn more about tensions and the role of

coping strategies in the creation or destruction of public value. Studying a failed implementation allows us to better understand the factors that prevented the initiative from fully achieving its goal. We do not aim to study the ‘success’ or ‘failure’ of these cases; rather, we selected these cases to determine whether an analysis of certain tensions, as well as the coping strategies applied, is able to establish where the implementation of the project went wrong. Moreover, by selecting two different cases, we hope to analyse a wide range of tensions experienced and coping strategies used.

Additionally, the cases selected are consistent with the following characteristics: (1) they involve the co-production of a mobility service aimed at improving the sustainable mobility of the city; (2) they took place in the same year as the data collection, thus allowing the experiences to be fresh in the minds of the respondents; (3) they were characterized by the active involvement of citizens; and (4) they involved direct collaboration of citizens with public servants.

4.3.1.3 City Streets

City Streets is a citizen-organized co-production platform in a city of just over 100,000 inhabitants. Citizens organized themselves from the bottom up and designed a circulation plan for the city. Their aim was to improve the quality of life in the city by reducing the number of cars in the city centre. This citizen initiative worked with resources derived from supra-local subsidies as well as voluntary member contributions. The citizen platform of the City Streets project asked the local government to implement its proposed circulation plan. Although the local government did not agree with the platform’s entire design, it was willing to co-design and co-implement parts of the design, as redesigning the mobility plan of the city was also on its agenda. Together, these organizations formed working groups responsible for communication, design, participation, and implementation, and each group held an equal number of public servants and citizens.

4.3.1.4 Mobility Alternative

Mobility Alternative was initiated by a group of citizens answering a call for an urban mobility project that was made by a third-sector organization (TSO) that operates throughout Flanders. Local governments can apply for the guidance of this TSO in organizing a top-down co-production process intended to create more environmentally sustainable mobility. However, Mobility Alternative was initiated by citizens who then invited the local government to co-design and co-produce a new mobility plan with them. This project occurred in a city of approximately 33,000 inhabitants. The local government agreed to facilitate three meetings and promised (by agreeing to participate) to experimentally co-deliver (implement) the finished co-designed project for one month. The citizens worked, together with one public servant and the alderman responsible for mobility, on the design of a new circulation plan for the city. The local government decided to only experimentally implement one aspect of the plan (making one street car free) for one day.

4.3.2 Respondents

In total, 46 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted (see table 4.2¹⁹). For the ‘City Streets’ project, we interviewed 31 people, and for the ‘Mobility Alternative’ project, we interviewed 15 people. The number of respondents reflects the extent of the participation in the project (since we interviewed almost half of all the participants) in each of the two initiatives. We divided the respondents into four groups: citizens, public servants, actors involved in a TSO, and politicians (see appendix 4.A for the characteristics of the respondents).

In the case of Mobility Alternative, we only interviewed one public servant. Due to the design of the co-production in that city, only one public servant was assigned to actively co-produce with the citizens. Although this design forms a bias as it limits the inferences that we can make

¹⁹ A snapshot of the total number of participants was not possible for these cases since many people were involved at a different time, and the list of participants (N= 50 in the case of City Streets, and N=30 – later reduced to 20 and finally to 10– in the case of Mobility Alternative) did not seem to be fully accurate.

on the basis of this one respondent’s experiences, the inclusion of this case provided additional information on value tensions and when they might lead to the project failing to be implemented.

Table 4.2:
Snapshot of the respondents of the cases of City Streets and Mobility Alternative

	City Streets					Mobility Alternative					Total
	# public servants	#citizens	#TSO employees	# politicians	Total	# public servants	#citizens	#TSO employees	# politicians	Total	
Respondents	8	16	5	2	31	1	10	3	1	15	46
Female	3	4	3	1	11	0	7	1	1	9	20
Male	5	12	2	1	20	1	3	2	0	6	26

4.3.3 Data collection method and analysis

We conducted semi-structured interviews since the aim of using a qualitative explorative method was to inductively identify a wide range of perspectives instead of being numerically representative. We asked the respondents about the motivations that led them to co-produce, their expectations of the co-production process, and their experiences around realizing these expectations. When tensions were explicitly mentioned by the respondents, we followed up by asking how they dealt with this situation. When tensions were not specifically mentioned but became clear from their reports, we followed up by asking if they experienced these issues as tensions. This is how we avoided interpretation bias and steering of the respondents’ answers. A general topic list was designed, but the questions for each interview differed slightly, as they were adapted to the specific cases and actors’ roles therein.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed while ensuring the respondents’ anonymity. We analysed the expectations of the public servants and citizen co-producers, the tensions they experienced and their coping strategies. Additionally, to complement their perceptions, the actors from the TSOs and the aldermen were interviewed to obtain in-depth insight into the variety of the dynamics involved. A thorough and structural analysis of the interviews was carried out by using the software program NVivo (QSR NVivo 11). Codes were created based

on the coping strategies theory and the public value literature. The final code list shown in table 4.3 is the result of the literature review and the phases of open and axial coding.

In this study, we illustrate the analysis with some of the specific examples found in the data of the two cases studied. By examining the individual perspectives of the participants, this paper first presents the results on the citizen co-producers' desires to create public value. Second, we analyse whether the citizens experienced tensions among different dimensions of public value and, if so, how they coped with these tensions. After that, we apply the same steps to the case of the public servants.

Table 4.3:
Codes and sub-codes used for the interview analysis

Desired value creation
Self-centered
user value
value to wider groups
Community-centered
value to wider community
social value
environmental value
political value
Coping strategies
Trade-off
Bias
Incrementalism
Casuistry
Balancing
Hybridization
Building Firewalls
Cycling
No direct co-creation by the individual
Escalation
Avoidance
Deffered
Actors groups
Citizen co-producer
TSO employee
Politician
Public servant

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Citizen co-producers' desire to create value

The respondents showed community-centred motivations to create social value, political value and environmental value. First, we observed a desire to create environmental value in the respondents' motivation to increase the sustainability of mobility and to create a more liveable city (CC2, CC3, CC5, CC6, CC7, CC12, CC19, CC21, CC24, CC25, T3, T4)²⁰. For example, respondent CC2 state, *'In the platform, there was a broad interest in how to make the city more liveable'*²¹. In addition, respondent CC19 noted, *'I see that the city is suffocating, and I am getting impatient waiting for a solution'*. By redesigning the urban mobility plan and banning cars from the city centre they thus wished to decrease the negative environmental impact of traffic on the quality of life in the city.

The results show that citizen co-producers look for support from the public for their newly designed mobility plan. In the case of City Streets the citizen co-producers did so by promoting the plan through a website and by placing interactive information boards on various squares in the city. Thereby the citizen co-producers also aimed to create political value, as they acknowledge the importance of legitimacy: *'It was very important to create support in the city for the plan, because it was expected to bring some opposition, because mobility can be controversial'* (CC14, also CC3, CC5, CC10). In the case of Mobility Alternative, the citizen co-producers only realized the importance of large stakeholder support after the project: *'We learned from it [the experience] that others should have been involved, other stakeholders; we were too like-minded, and that was an important learning experience'* (CC20, also CC26).

The dimension of social value was also found to be an important aspect of value from the perspective of the respondents. The respondents mention a variety of aspects that may be linked with a desire to realize the social value dimension of public value such as ensuring participation

²⁰ The number identifies the respondent (see Appendix A for details on the respondents): CC = Citizen co-producer; T = employee of a TSO; PP = public professional, P= politician.

²¹ The quotes presented in the results section were translated from Dutch by the first author.

with the neighbourhoods in the implementation phase (CC3, CC5, CC10, CC12) and even strengthening civil society: *'It is in the public interest to put [experimenting with citizens] on the map, not only because I am interested in it but also because I believe it strengthens society and that it is the ideal way to redesign city planning, so for me that is in the public interest'* (CC12, also, CC3, CC5, CC10, CC15). Some of the citizen co-producers even state they are specifically involved to ensure this social dimension of public value (CC5).

Additionally, self-centred motivations, or the creation of user value, played an important role in the participation of citizen co-producers. For example, in the case of City Streets, many of the citizen co-producers were experts with ties to businesses (e.g., consultancy) relating to urban planning, communication and participation, and they aimed to gain personal visibility and create a network: *'[being involved in City Streets] provides me with opportunities for jobs and assignments'* (CC6, also CC1, CC2, CC3, CC10, CC12). In the case of Mobility Alternative, most of the co-producers were service users (e.g., they were cyclists in the city), and therefore it is not unexpected that the respondents are also looking to improve their user value by aiming to design and implement more bicycle lanes. As one respondent explicitly claimed, he wanted to improve the roads so that his needs will be met as a service user: *'I am a cyclist, so that probably influences my choice'* (CC21, also CC23).

4.4.2 Tensions faced by citizen co-producers and how citizens coped

Some of the citizen co-producers expressed that, in their view, public value could be created at the same time as they created user value for themselves. An example: *'If I find the actual design important, it's mostly in my own neighbourhood. But I am also involved, of course, for the broader vision and plan: the liveability of the city'* (CC2, also CC3, CC12, CC21). These respondents are thereby indicating that there is no inherent tension between creating user value and other dimensions of creating public value. Nevertheless, our data also revealed that respondents do experience tensions among the various dimensions of value creation.

4.4.2.1 User versus environmental value

First, some citizen co-producers experienced a tension between their desired user value and other dimensions of public value. For example, one respondent of the City Streets project claimed that while co-designing the mobility plan, his desired user value conflicted with his desire to create environmental value (CC4, CC15, CC18). When co-designing car-free zones (namely, areas without parking possibilities) of the street where he lives, he claimed that he was willing to prioritize the creation of public value over the creation of his own user value: *‘I am willing to give up personal interests, because I am responsible for co-creating the outcome of the project’* (CC4). Other citizen co-producers who perceived that the desired user value of (other) individual users conflicted with the environmental value said that they preferred the creation of environmental value over individual user value: *‘If you decide on a direction for a street, you do not need to ask all the citizens of that street what direction the street should go in. Around that street, there are many more people getting value from the area, so that is much more important’* (CC3, also CC5, CC10, CC14, CC18). While co-designing, some citizen co-producers also used a balancing strategy in order to create both user value for individual residents and environmental value for the wider community: *‘one particular street wanted even more [parking spots], so we suggested bike parking and maybe some small gardens on the street. They agreed, and that is the consensus now’* (CC10).

In contrast, citizen co-producers who did not feel that their desired value was included in the co-production process became disappointed and demotivated. Distrust of the government even resulted in an avoidance strategy, causing some to drop out of the project: *‘I guess it also came from not trusting the city 100% and not having 100% confidence in the plan [...] I dropped out when I saw the tendency of politicians to use the efforts of citizens and say, ‘Look what we are doing’* (CC1, also CC5, CC26). By avoiding to deal with the tensions they are experiencing, citizen co-producers step away from co-creating any public value dimension. In doing so they are perhaps contributing to the destruction of certain dimensions of public value creation, such as for example, user value.

4.4.2.2 User values among different users

In the cases of City Streets and Mobility Alternative, the citizen co-producers reported explicitly experiencing tensions among the various user values of different users: *'The normal citizen just wants to park in front of the store'* (CC18) and *'Merchants want cars in front of their doors; I want a terrace in front of my door so when the weather is good, people can sit outside'* (CC19, also CC5). Some respondents again tried to balance these demands (CC1, CC25) recognizing the need to take into account the value for users that oppose the urban mobility plan. One respondent even claimed that bringing together the value for these different users is what unites people and results in a plan that works for everybody (CC1). Others escalated this issue to the local government; these respondents believed that *'a local government needs to make sure that the right information about mobility gets to the citizens'* (CC18, also CC7). By escalating a tensions between various user values to the local government, they are distancing themselves from needing to cope with this tension.

4.4.2.3 Environmental versus political value

In both of these cases, the citizen co-producers experienced a tension between the environmental value dimension of the project on the one hand and the political value dimension on the other. The results show how the respondents biased the creation of environmental value (the agreement for implementation of a new urban mobility plan) over the creation of political value. The latter was supposed to be ensured by the experimentation phase of the project which aimed at gaining legitimacy and support as it *'helps with fading out the opposition'* (CC5, also CC3, T3, CC23). For example, in the case of City Streets, some citizen co-producers preferred rapid co-design and decision-making to ensure the project's environmental value over creating support for the plan (political value): *'On the one hand, our group needs to be very productive, and that means that not all people should be represented, because things have to go fast. On the other hand, not a lot of people know our platform, which may be counterproductive to our cause'* (CC11, also CC12, CC15, T1, T4). Nevertheless, citizen co-producers also expressed a

desire to hybridize these two aspects: *'We should [...] look for alternatives to include citizens'* (CC8, also CC4, CC16, CC23).

4.4.2.4 Environmental versus social value

In the case of City Streets, regarding the co-design of the plan, the citizens initially proposed a car-free zone in a low-income neighbourhood. However, the local government prioritized ensuring parking spaces for shopping and thus planned to build a large parking area. Most of the interviewed citizens experienced a tension between implementing the mobility plan and ensuring environmental value on the one hand and creating social value by actively protesting against the parking lot and ensuring public space for community activities on the other hand (CC3, CC5, CC10, T1). The citizens, however, mostly preferred the environmental value of the plan over its social value for this specific neighbourhood: *'If we had clashed, then maybe the circulation plan would not have been designed and implemented. So, in that sense, it could have been dangerous for the citizen initiative'* (CC6, also CC3, CC5, CC10, CC11, CC14, CC15, T3). In practice, they distanced themselves by claiming that the citizen platform had nothing to do with the plan for building the new large parking lot: *'We wrote a letter that distanced us from the decision around the parking but promoted the rest of the plan, which was a strategic move to push the rest of the plan as far as possible'* (CC5, also, CC10, CC14, CC15, T1). Other co-producers, who felt that they had less power to decide on these points of action, further avoided addressing the conflict by letting these other co-producers take the lead in coping with the tension (CC15, also CC26, T1).

With regard to implementation of the City Streets project, an experimental period of one year was targeted, as this was expected to lead to a high rate of involvement among the community, thus creating communal social cohesion (social value). The social value of the co-implementation was reduced to a minimum. *'There was a trade-off made between the experimentation period, and, with that, there was also a trade-off in the participation angle of the implementation of the plan. The experimentation period disappeared from the agreement.'*

Well, the most important thing is to make the city accessible and sustainable' (CC3, also CC5, CC6, CC10, CC11, T1).

4.4.3 Public servants' desire to create public value

Although most of the data presented in this section come from interviews with the public servants participating in the City Streets project, we also present the evidence from that of Mobility Alternative, as this respondent's motivations and expectations contribute to the explorative research. We found that public servants mostly referred to added political value and environmental value (due to the expertise present in the citizen platform) as reasons for implementing co-design and, to a lesser extent, to the user value generated by co-implementation.

In the case of City Streets, public servants were motivated by the environmental value that co-production would add to the design of a new mobility plan because of the expertise present in the citizen platform: *'[We are] giving space back to the citizens according to the function of a city, which means making it car-free and creating more space for pedestrians, bikers and green areas'* (PP3, also PP8). The public servant involved in the Mobility Alternative project likewise expressed that including citizens in this process could lead to a better result: *'I know that [co-production] can be enriching; it demands extra work, but it can lead to a better end result'* (PP9). However, in the case of Mobility Alternative, the public servant stated that the sustainability policies that were prioritized are those concerning *'water, because there are a lot of floods here, and energy'* (PP9) rather than those concerning mobility.

The public servants in both cases expressed that citizen involvement in the design of a mobility plan ensures the dimension of political value by increasing its legitimacy: *'[It] is really important to include citizens in the process; otherwise, you create a lack of support'* (PP2, also PP1, PP3, PP6, PP8, PP9). The public servants in the case of City Streets found that when ensuring the political value of the mobility plan (including more citizens in order to create support for implementing the plan), they also needed to guard the creation of public value: *'I*

think the decision is, in the end, the responsibility of the government because you are keeping an eye out for the public interest. Nevertheless, you do notice that involving citizens increases the support for a plan' (PP3, also PP5).

Additionally, concerning implementation, the respondents found that experimenting with citizens resulted in increased user value: *'Participation, experimentation, and evaluation give you many insights on what works and what does not work and improve the quality of the permanent use of the square'* (PP2, also PP3, PP6).

4.4.4 Tensions that public servants experienced among the dimensions of public value and their coping strategies

Although the data provided some examples where the public servants found that environmental value conflicted with political value or social value, most of the tensions that were experienced by the public servants were related to user value.

4.4.4.1 Environmental versus social value

In the implementation phase of the City Streets project, public servants were encouraged by an alderman to gradually step away from the co-production process, as an alderman had experienced a tension between the creation of environmental value and social value: *'We would have liked to work more experimentally, but the politicians wanted to make it qualitative and sustainable, because other cities showed us that non-qualitative materials may lead to the decay of the public domain. This conflicts'* (PP4). They coped with this tension by building firewalls based on the city squares with which social value could still be created by the experimentation process: *'There are squares and parks where you can really co-design together. It really depends on the conditions of the square'* (PP6).

4.4.4.2 User value versus environmental value

The public servants experienced a tension related to the multiple claims on the public domain. In the case of City Streets, a tension between creating user value for individual citizens and environmental value for the city resulted from the multiple claims on the public domain and from an excess of interests that needed to be taken into account. These tensions became apparent during the co-implementation of the newly designed plan for the City Streets project, during which the public servants would experiment together with the citizens to improve user value: *'We have multiple claims on the public square, which, most of the time, offer great uses for the public square. But sometimes, one private claim can limit these possibilities. For example, the weekly market is strictly scheduled and organized. They need the whole square, which diminishes possibilities such as installing fountains, grass, etc.'* (PP2, also PP1, PP3, PP8). For this reason, the public servants limited the experimentation in some squares, which resembled an incrementalism strategy, and additionally on other squares adhered to a sudden bias prioritizing environmental value over user value, stopping the citizen involvement in designing the squares (PP2, PP8). Others escalated the decision to a higher level: *'It is the college of aldermen that decides and approves'* (PP1).

4.4.4.3 User value of co-producing citizens and the creation of public value

During the co-design of mobility plans, the public servants experienced a tension between what they perceived to be user value for co-producing citizens and the creation of public value for wider groups. Both cases concerned citizen-initiated initiatives that included according to public servants, groups of like-minded people that represented a specific interest (PP4, PP6, PP9). The public servant involved in the Mobility Alternative project expressed, *'Citizens look at things from [the perspective of] their own interests; they have affairs that they want to defend'* (PP9, also P3). This public servant coped with the tension by dropping out of the project to focus on more urgent sustainability matters: *'You try to balance what the highest needs in your community are; for us, that is water [...] and energy. And we choose to put our energy*

into those two areas' (PP9, also P3). The alderman stressed that the creation of public value is up to the government because *'an individual only sees his or her sidewalk, [and] an interest group is very extreme in its reasoning and demands'* (P3). For this reason, the alderman limited the implementation of the co-designed plan yet, by doing so, obstructed the creation of any added public value.

Similarly, in the case of City Streets, the public servants claimed that the citizens were concerned with their own user value and that they were not fully capable of transcending this desire to create user value: *'I felt like they were highly motivated by their private interests and by trying to get public procurement for them. Which is very difficult because you need to stay neutral as a government representative'* (PP4, also PP6). Nevertheless, the public servants involved in the City Streets project valued the citizens' involvement in public value creation. When coping with this tension, the public servants found that it was their role to guard the creation of public value (PP3, PP6, PP9). They balanced the user value of the citizen co-producers with the user value of the other stakeholders in society: *'You need to give a voice to the citizens, and, although they are too focused on their personal needs, the challenge is to connect that to the stories of others'* (PP6, also PP2, PP3, PP9). Some public servants coped in favour of the local government's vision, as they were accountable to the political level: *'Sometimes, participation is not that welcomed when it is certain that there is a different vision'* (PP1, also PP3). This view may also be interpreted as an escalation strategy where coping is escalated to the political level: *'I don't have a problem because the college decided. So, the college has the power and they decide what happens and what does not'* (PP7, also PP1).

4.4.4.4 User value of co-producing citizens versus political value

The public servants experienced a tension between inviting citizens to co-produce to ensure user value and ensuring political value. They feared that the wider public would possibly not perceive the co-production and the citizens who participated to be legitimate because they were not representing the perceptions of the entire community: *'I also found it very difficult to justify*

the co-production of the citizen platform to the outside world. It seems like an unelected power, and it was unclear on what basis of representation they got to co-produce' (PP5, also PP3, PP4, PP8).

In the City Streets project, during the co-design phase, public servants coped with this tension by scaling up efforts (a strategy of incrementalism): *'We coped with this by fitting it into a vision of now (short-term), one that convinced people by providing alternatives'* (PP3, also PP8). They organized information and feedback sessions to create support and encourage the involvement of the community. The public servants made claims about a lack of transparency or trust in the citizens' intentions, which minimalized the political value of the plan (PP1, PP3, PP4, PP8, PP9). However, some public servants said this trust was built by in-depth and transparent communication, which led them to believe that they were guaranteeing public value creation. This communication therefore enabled a hybridization strategy, eliminating the tension that was initially perceived between the user value of co-producers and political value. A specific example comes from the City Streets project: *'Sometimes, you need to place yourself in the mentality of the citizen platform [...]. Especially in the beginning there was very little trust, and by talking, we got through it.'* (PP4, also PP1, PP9). In the case of Mobility Alternative, however, trust was absent at various levels. The alderman did not trust the citizens' intentions because they were not representative of the wider community; thus, the alderman did not believe in the political value of a co-produced mobility plan. A lack of trust seems to prompt the heavy use of a bias strategy for coping, preferring a specific viewpoint on political value over the environmental, social and user value that could potentially be added through co-production and thereby destroying any value creation that comes from the collaboration taking place between citizens and the local government (P3).

Table 4.4:

Summary of the experienced tensions, followed coping strategies and their potential outcomes in City Streets (CS) and Mobility Alternative (MA)

Citizen co-producers (CC)

	Tensions	Coping Strategies	Results
user value	& environmental value (D) [†]	bias	creation of environmental value and potential destruction of user value
		balancing	creation of both value dimensions
		avoidance	potential destruction of value dimension(s)
	& user value (D)	balancing	creation of various user values
		escalating	leaving responsibility to public officials
		environmental value	& political value
value	& social value	bias	destructing social value for a particular neighbourhood (CS) ^{††}
		avoidance	potential destruction of value dimension(s)
		escalating	directing the responsibility to a steering group

Political servants (PS)

	Tensions	Coping Strategies	Results
environmental value	& social value (I)	building firewalls	installing squares with social value and other squares with environmental value (CS)
user value	& environmental value (I)	incrementalism	slowly prioritizing environmental value over user value (CS)
		escalating	moving the responsibility of which value is created to the college of mayor and aldermen.
user value of CC	& public value in eyes of PS	biasing public value	no value co-creation through co-production (MA)
		escalating	guarding creation of public value by staying involved (CS)
		escalating	moving the responsibility of coping to the college of mayor and aldermen.
	& political value	incrementalism	putting more emphasis on creating political value by scaling up efforts of creating support (CS)
		hybridization	facilitated by trust, public servants believed both value dimensions to be created (CS)
		avoidance	value creation obstructed by a lack of trust, avoiding implementation (MA)

[†] In case the tensions were specific for either the design (D) or implementation phase (I), this is mentioned between brackets, if not the tensions were found for both phases.

^{††} In case the tension and coping strategy was only found with one of the cases it is specifically mentioned by indicating the case between brackets, where CS = City Streets; and MA = Mobility alternative, if not the results apply to both cases.

4.5 Discussion

In this article, we analysed the interview data of 46 respondents in two cases of urban planning, a policy field where many (co-productive) activities are taking place and much value is co-created. We found support for the assumption that citizen co-producers have mixed motives to co-produce, including both self-centred and community-centred motives (cf. Van Eijk and Steen 2014). In doing so, they aim for one or more of the dimensions of public value creation. Some of the respondents, motivated by self-centred motivations, coped according to avoidance and drop-out strategies when they were confronted with tensions between their user value and other value dimensions, such as environmental value or political value. This finding corroborates earlier research stating that shared interests should be consistent with individual self-interests for co-production to be successful on an individual level (Brandsen and Helderma 2012). Citizen co-producers, however, are also able to transcend their user value creation, balance this value with other dimensions of public value, or prefer the creation of environmental value. In the cases studied, the citizen co-producers added value by progressing and transforming the government's way of working, by getting issues on the agenda, and, in the case of City Streets, by providing the inputs (e.g., expertise) needed by the government.

However, public servants perceive citizens to be largely limited by their desire to create user value for themselves and often do not believe that citizen co-producers are representative of the larger community. According to their view, this limits the creation of political value. Even though public servants value co-production for its potential for creating political value, public servants are aware that a co-produced project involves like-minded people who represent specific views; therefore, these public servants experience difficulties in justifying collaboration with citizen co-producers to the wider community and the city council. Public servants see it as their role to guard the creation of public value by hybridizing the needs of various stakeholders, including not only those of citizen co-producers and non-co-producing citizens but also those stemming from the political level (e.g., re-election concerns). This

strategy, however, in the opinion of the public servants, does not always lead to the best outcome.

Our data corroborate some of the earlier findings regarding the constraints on collaboration, such as the challenge of attaining accountability and the inequality that persists in many collaborative practices. Nevertheless, our data indicate that co-production does hold several opportunities for adding value to the different public value dimensions. There are certain circumstances that either enhance or limit the public value creation of co-production. First, political will appears to be an important factor in this process. In the case of City Streets, political will was present in that the plan was implemented as part of an electoral programme. In the case of Mobility Alternative, political will was absent, as was trust in the citizen co-producers and a public servant who could facilitate citizen input. Second, due to the need for rapid progress, social value was the first dimension to be dropped in both cases. Third, in cases such as mobility for which expertise is necessary, citizen co-producers' expertise can be of great value. Additionally, the case of Mobility Alternative showed the limits of citizens' expertise and the need for public servants to ensure a design that takes into account the physical reality of the public domain and the needs and demands that come from other services necessary for creating public value. Finally, our data suggest that trust is an enhancing circumstance for the potential of co-production for public value co-creation. Where trust was absent, citizen co-producers and public servants used an avoidance or drop-out strategy. This is consistent with earlier findings that 'even if formal service and outcome targets are met, a failure of trust will effectively destroy public value' (Kelly, Mulgan and Muers 2002, 17). Trust in the opposite party's intentions thus seems to be of essence, and communication may be used as a method to build this trust. We argue that the power of a public servant to create public value is conditional upon his/her willingness to allow him/herself to be driven by a citizen initiative and to guide the co-production process with knowledge, enthusiasm, administrative will, trust and a realistic approach.

4.6 Conclusion

The qualitative case studies presented in this study offered the advantage of examining the tensions and coping strategies within the specific context of co-production. The design of the study, however, involved some limitations. First, although we studied two different cases in Flanders (Northern Belgium), the qualitative design of the study does not allow for generalization. The specific examples of expectations, value tensions and coping strategies presented in the results are not necessarily valid for other cases and contexts. Future research should focus on case studies within similar and different administrative systems to study the effect of the administrative context on the value tensions and coping behaviours of co-production. Nevertheless, the case studies show the importance of value tensions in the creation of public value. It is not self-evident that co-production is a solution to public value tensions, as individuals' coping strategies may be decisive or co-decisive, regarding which dimension of public value is being overlooked or prioritized. Additionally, future research could examine other cases in which co-production was stopped or 'failed' to strengthen our conclusions regarding the role of (coping with) public value tensions for public value creation.

Our results have several implications for the literature on co-production and, more broadly, collaborative public management. This study shows the weight of motivations in collaborative projects and how inviting various stakeholders and citizens to collaborate may pose new challenges, especially for public managers, in that they must balance and take into account different expectations. In addition to public managers, other stakeholders also use coping strategies to address tensions. Moreover, we cannot claim that co-production balances the conflicting value dimensions of public value. A variety of actors introduce different interests. Our analysis shows that co-producing actors, because of their mixed and differing motives, experience a variety of tensions among the dimensions of public value. This paper used the theory of Bovaird and Loeffler (2012) to identify the various dimensions of public value. Our study shows that the classification of coping strategies is useful for studying the conflicts among public value dimensions. Additionally, the interactions among actors are an integral

part of co-production. The comparison of the two cases in this study showed that it is precisely these interactions, taking the form of communication, that influence trust, which may result in the creation of added value by facilitating a balancing strategy. We therefore argue that, in addition to motivations and the effects of co-production, individual and collective behaviours are also important topics to consider in the co-production literature.

Our finding that a balancing strategy is facilitated by communication shows the importance of communication in the design of co-production. When a project begins, citizens, public servants and other actors should 'come clean' about their intentions and determine how these intentions can fit together. Practitioners should be aware that if these various expectations about value do not match, individual coping strategies may be used by themselves and others, and these strategies may affect (perhaps not deliberately) the outcome of the project and risk the destruction of its possible value. Future research should address the role of interaction and communication to complete the value co-creation theory and formulate recommendations for co-production design.

CHAPTER 5:

The sustainability of outcomes in temporary co-production

This chapter is based on the published article:

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The temporary use of vacant spaces as a format to co-produce public services is becoming popular. Research addressing the question of whether the public outcomes created in temporary co-production lead to sustainable results is lacking. This article explores the potential sustainability of public outcomes created through temporary co-production. The article builds on the literature on creating sustainable outcomes in policy making and on co-production to design a theoretical framework that captures the sustainable co-production of public outcomes. Attention is directed to problem solving and capacity building and to addressing the needs of society today and being responsive to the needs of tomorrow. A study of eight temporary initiatives set in a large city in Flanders and 35 in-depth interviews with public servants, project coordinators, and citizen co-producers provide empirical data for this exploratory study of the creation of sustainable outcomes in temporary co-production. The data indicate that lasting collaborations, institutionalized (flexible) processes and empowered citizens support the creation of sustainable results from temporary co-production. The article bridges the literature on policy capacity, the co-production of public services, and value creation. By doing so, the article sheds light on the temporary use of vacant spaces as a way to effectively create outcomes. Additionally, the article addresses the paradox of temporary co-production and the creation of lasting outcomes. Finally, the framework presented offers a tool for analysts and practitioners to take into account various conditions for co-production to create lasting effects.

5.1 Introduction

Building on the research of Mark H. Moore (1995) about creating public value, public administration scholars have recently shifted their attention to the co-creation of public value (Payne et al. 2007; Fledderus et al. 2015; Osborne et al. 2016; Alford 2014, 2016). When producing and delivering services, both public servants and citizens are co-creating outcomes that provide value for the public. One field of interest is the expectations these co-producers (i.e., the public servants and citizens) hold regarding creating outcomes in the co-production process (e.g., Vanleene et al. 2017; Jaspers and Steen 2020b). However, research addressing the question of whether these public outcomes are produced in a way that leads to sustainable results is lacking. In this article, we explore this gap in the literature by analysing *the*

sustainability of public outcomes created through co-production by examining eight cases on the temporary use of vacant spaces and buildings.

The concept ‘temporary use of vacant spaces’ refers to a phenomenon in which unused buildings and places (e.g., abandoned lots) are made available for citizens to set up (public) initiatives. This phenomenon is becoming increasingly popular in large and small cities as a way to co-produce services with citizens (Jégou et al. 2016; Cotič and Lah 2016). Co-producing in these spaces may create a cultural, social and economic boost for the city, especially since (affordable) spaces for organizing community building projects or experimentation spaces for societal start-ups are lacking. For the municipality or city itself, temporary use may form a true win-win service provision method: it tackles urban vacancy and the associated risks of neglect and vandalism while providing accommodation for cultural, social and innovative economic initiatives, the revitalization of the urban fabric, experimentation in urban planning, etc. (Jégou et al. 2016).

However, temporary use also poses challenges that have to do with this particular kind of co-production being temporary by definition. Our research question invites us to look at what outcomes stakeholders in the temporary use initiatives aim for, as well as the capacity that is available for creating sustainable outcomes. Thus, if cities aim for social, cultural, environmental and economic value from temporary initiatives, how can they make sure the created value is sustained beyond the temporary use?

We first build a theoretical framework for studying co-producing sustainable outcomes and more specifically seek to determine how sustainability can be applied to the temporary use of vacant spaces. Next, we present the methodology and the results of an in-depth study of eight temporary use initiatives. We conclude by discussing the results and insights from these eight cases.

5.2 Sustainable co- creation of co-production outcomes

5.2.1 Co-production in temporary use

Co-production refers to the phenomenon in which public servants and citizens actively collaborate in delivering public services, whether initiated by public servants or by the citizens themselves (Brandsen, Steen, and Verscheure 2018a). Public servants move from being service providers in an offer-oriented way towards playing an enabling role in which they facilitate citizens' co-production of services. For example, in the temporary use of vacant spaces, a service provider enables citizen co-production by removing or helping to overcome legal barriers to temporary use or by training and empowering citizens (Oswalt et al. 2013). Consequentially, citizens become service producers instead of solely being receivers of the service and its value by co-deciding on design and implementation or co-implementing a policy (Brandsen and Honingh 2016).

Co-production is often expected to improve the creation of public outcomes that are difficult to attain in regular public service delivery, as co-production is expected to make service delivery more efficient (through making better use of resources), more responsive, more inclusive, etc. (Pestoff 2006; Fledderus 2015; Verschuere et al. 2012; Vanleene et al. 2017; Jaspers and Steen 2019; Ross et al. 2013). Our critical view, however, focuses on the sustainability of public outcomes that are co-created.

5.2.2 Defining sustainable outcome creation

The challenge in defining sustainability is that the concept is used with many different connotations over a variety of research fields. Often, sustainability is understood purely as ecological sustainability. According to Ralf-Eckhard Türke (2012, 238), sustainability can be defined more broadly as being about 'the ability of someone or something to uphold or support, i.e. sustain something considered valuable'. This latter definition is the focus of this paper, i.e., we examine whether and how temporary co-production phenomena enable the creation of effects that endure, even after the temporary activity itself has come to an end. We thus examine

the creation of sustainable outcomes (e.g., Mukherjee and Mukherjee 2017) in temporary co-production. To operationalize creating sustainable outcomes, we construct a matrix. First, we borrow aspects from Elliot et al. (2003), who developed a framework for sustainable value creation that uses a dimension that focusses both on the drivers of today and the drivers of tomorrow to create value. Second, the public administration literature shows that capacity is an important factor in value creation (e.g., Moore 1995; Murray et al. 2010, Türke 2012), adding a second dimension to our matrix.

The first dimension is the Today-Tomorrow dimension (e.g., Hart et al. 2003). This dimension reflects the aim of resolving the needs of society today while also resolving the needs of tomorrow. Some needs that exist today will probably remain challenges tomorrow, for example, the inclusion of citizens in society. Specifically, sustainability here means sustaining the desired effects of the co-production after the termination of the initiative (De Peuter et al. 2007), beyond the temporary use. Additionally, assuming that society will always face new challenges (e.g., Mukherjee and Mukherjee, 2017), tomorrow's challenges also include challenges that we do not yet know about. Elliot et al. (2003) point out that building capacity is necessary to address possible unknown challenges that might occur when co-creating a desired outcome. This point brings us to the second dimension of the matrix.

We call the second dimension for studying sustainable co-production outcomes the Problem Solving–Capacity Building dimension. We found support for adding this dimension to our framework in the public administration literature. For example, Türke (2012) claims that there are two ways to study public value outcomes: by focusing on what outcomes are to be sustained and on what enables the purveyor to sustain them. Likewise, Murray et al. (2010) define an initiative as sustainable when it (1) meets social needs and does good for society, i.e., it solves societal problems, and (2) enhances society's capacity to act, i.e., creates new collaborations and allocates the necessary resources.

To further define this dimension, we look at the literature on policy capacity. Xun Wu, Michael Howlett and Mishra Ramesh (2018) argue that next to the ability or quality of

particular skills to support decision making (e.g., Painter and Pierre 2005), policy capacity also entails the ability of governments to efficiently implement those decisions (e.g., Bridgman and Davis 2000). We argue that the policy capacity literature is therefore valuable for conceptualizing capacity for co-producing sustainable outcomes since co-production is a manner of policy implementation.

The policy capacity literature points out that not only governments have capacity; other stakeholders' capacities should be studied when analysing policy capacity (Wu et al. 2018; Daugbjerg et al. 2018). Furthermore, capacities can be studied on three levels: the system level, organizational level, and individual level. The conceptualization of capacity on these three levels results in a better understanding of their potential contribution to public policy (Daugbjerg et al. 2018). The collaborative level of capacity in co-production includes integrating stakeholder views and installing meaningful collaborations between and among citizens and public servants (Türke 2012; Murray et al. 2010). The organizational level is operationalized by the resources that are provided to the organization of the co-production initiative. Finally, the literature on human resource management (Boselie 2014; Bailey 1993; Appelbaum et al. 2000) provides us with the ability, opportunity and motivation (AMO) theory to conceptualize the capacities of individuals or the individual level. The AMO model argues that organizational outcomes are best ensured by a system that attends to employees' abilities (competencies, skills and knowledge) and motivation and that enables them by providing opportunities to participate (Boselie 2014). In our case, this approach could be translated to the desired outcomes of a co-production initiative being best served by attending to co-producers' abilities, motivation and opportunities.

The two dimensions discussed result in the following theoretical framework (table 5.1), which we will use to study the co-creation of sustainable outcomes in the temporary use of vacant spaces.

Table 5.1:

Analytical framework for analysing the co-creation of sustainable public outcomes

	Today	Tomorrow
Problem solving	Aims and desired effects of the temporary use	Aims and desired effects that outlast the temporary use
Capacity building level:		
System	Collaborations between societal actors	Lasting collaborations between societal actors
Organisation	Resources	Resources
Individual	Ability, Motivation, and Opportunity	Sustained Ability, Motivation, and Opportunity

We look into the temporary use of vacant spaces as one specific example of local government and citizens co-producing public services. These co-production initiatives are by definition temporary, which makes them critical yet convenient cases to address not only the present but also the future aspects of co-producing sustainable outcomes.

5.2.3 What is the temporary use of vacant spaces?

The temporary use of vacant spaces refers to unused buildings and places (e.g., abandoned lots, brownfields, docks, and breweries) being made available for citizens to set up initiatives looking for accommodation. The duration of such initiatives varies depending on the agreement with the public or private owner. For example, some projects last only for the summer months, while others last up to 15 years or more. Often, the agreed-upon duration is extended. Local governments increasingly recognize the potential of these vacant spaces. Temporary use is seen as a strategic and innovative way to develop economic, social, environmental and cultural potential for city development (Nefs 2006).

For citizens, temporary use can be an entry point into a transitional organizational shift in governance: co-producing public services. For example, in social and creative industries, spatial needs are increasing, and organizations and individuals search constantly for experimentation spaces. Temporary use provides opportunities for these actors to interact, participate and co-produce. Finally, in some cases, the temporary initiative makes a contribution to the sustainable design of a new development on the ground (Ziehl et al. 2012).

Vacant places and buildings often concern and hold benefits for a variety of stakeholders: maintenance for building owners; low rent for users; a more liveable and dynamic neighbourhood for the local community; a cultural, social and economic booster for the city. For the municipality or city itself, temporary use may thus form a true win-win service provision method: it tackles urban vacancy and the associated risks of neglect and vandalism, and at the same time, among other things, it provides accommodation for grassroots initiatives and revitalizes urban locations (Jégou et al. 2016). The question, then, arises whether these valued outcomes are created so that they are sustainable since these temporary projects temporarily implement policies (cf. Jensen et al. 2017). For example, the societal value provided by these initiatives may be lost when they have nowhere else to go.

By adapting the framework of co-producing sustainable outcomes (table 5.1) to the temporary use of vacant spaces, we arrive at the following research questions:

- a. Problem solving: Is the temporary use addressing the needs of society today and tomorrow?
- b. Capacity building: Is the capacity to co-produce public outcomes in and beyond the temporary use being built at the systemic, organizational and individual levels?

These questions are operationalized in the following manner. To create sustainable effects, the temporary use initiative should aim at solving current problems as well as creating effects that outlast the temporary use, e.g., social capital that is created in a local community. Capacity building today is conceptualized as the capacity that is being built to solve the challenges actors aim to address *during* the temporary co-production. This approach is about setting up collaborations, allocating the necessary resources, and enabling and facilitating project coordinators, citizen co-producers and public servants to co-produce (ability, motivation and opportunity). Capacity building for tomorrow concerns the capacity to solve the challenges *beyond the time frame* of the temporary use of a vacant space, including problems that already exist today but are expected to exist beyond the temporary use as well as future problems that are as yet unknown.

5.3 Methods

To explore the sustainability of co-production outcomes, we studied eight temporary use cases in a large city in Flanders. In-depth studies were conducted with a variety of actors: public servants, coordinators of the temporary initiative, and citizen co-producers. The interview data were analysed with NVivo. We first elaborate on the case selection, population sampling and data collection. In section 5.3.2, we discuss the data analysis method.

5.3.1 Case selection, population sampling, and data collection

The eight temporary use cases are all situated in one city in Flanders. The initiatives themselves were selected on the basis of different characteristics to obtain a wide range of experiences that cover the plurality of types of temporary uses (see table 5.2). First, we selected the cases on the basis of their goal to create economic, cultural, social, or environmental value. Second, we looked for variety in the duration of the cases since short-term, medium-term or long-term initiatives may be confronted with different challenges regarding sustaining the outcomes they want to co-create. We also included one case that was fully terminated, as this particularly enables us to address the future dimension of sustainable outcome co-production. Finally, we looked for variation in cases regarding whether they were initiated top-down (by the city) or bottom-up (through citizens' initiatives), as we expected that the aims of citizen co-producers and public servants for a top-down project may be different than those for bottom-up projects.

Table 5.2:
Characteristics of the selected cases

Characteristics	Case	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5	Case 6	Case 7	Case 8
Economic value				x			x		
Cultural value		x	x	x				x	x
Social value		x	x	x	x	x			x
Environmental value		x				x			x
Short (<1j)				x					x
Medium (1-5j)						x	x		
Long (>5j)		x	x		x			x	
Bottom-up			x					x	x
Top-down		x		x	x	x	x		

Included in the cases are two initiatives aimed at the economic development of a neighbourhood, three at community development, and two at cultural development. For example, case 4 aimed at community building by co-producing vegetable gardens. There was also diversity in the number of different projects taking place within one temporary use initiative. For example, in case 3, a variety of projects were included, and for-profit and non-profit organizations collaborated in making use of a vacant space, an old library, provided by the city. For this purpose, the organizations used a social economic model and collectively designed the process of collaboration and the look of the building. The cases' locations are spread across the city: some are located in the centre, in residential areas, in industrial areas, or in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This variety allows for broad insight into the various aims and capacities of a variety of temporary use initiatives.

Using semi-structured topic lists, we conducted in-depth interviews²² with seven public servants, 13 citizens who act as coordinators of initiatives, and 15 citizen co-producers. We thus interviewed 35 respondents in total (see table 5.A and 5.B in the appendix). All the public servants interviewed worked for the city administration at the Department of Citizen

²² Empirical data were gathered as part of a research project financed by the Research Foundation Flanders and the City of Ghent. In addition to the authors, political science students at KU Leuven were also involved in the data collection. We are grateful for their valuable contribution to this research. The interviews were conducted between September and December 2017.

Participation. Five of these public servants were street-level bureaucrats, appointed to organize participation in specific neighbourhoods (*wijkregisseurs*). The public servants involved defined their role as connecting citizens and local NGOs with the city administration and the city council. The coordinating co-producers were citizens who coordinated the temporary use of the vacant space. They organized and executed a temporary project. The coordinators of temporary use initiatives may come from the private, public or non-profit sectors. They often set up non-profit associations to be able to apply for funding, which they also try to use to provide their salary. The coordinators described their tasks as follows: *'Next to coordinating, we make plans for the temporary use, manage the agenda, make sure to reach our aim, control the communication, bookkeeping, look for temporary contracts, send the complete yearly planning out, etc.'*²³ (R1, also R16, R17, R31, R35, R7, R8, R28)²⁴. Finally, the citizen co-producers were defined as citizens actively involved in temporary use initiatives. The citizen co-producers in our sample mostly included local residents of the district, neighbourhood or city in which the temporary use took place. We expected that these three roles would shed light on the issue of creating sustainable outcomes.

The topic list for the interviews was developed on the basis of the analytical framework. We asked questions about the respondents' expectations regarding creating public outcomes, the difficulties they experienced in creating these outcomes and, finally, the extent to which they experienced being empowered, motivated and enabled to create sustainable public outcomes. One general topic list was designed, although the questions for each interview differed slightly, adapting to the various cases and actors' roles therein.

5.3.2 Data analysis

A consistent analysis of the interviews was carried out by making use of the software program NVivo. Codes were created on both the basis of the theoretical framework and on the basis of

²³ The quotes presented in the results section were translated from Dutch by the first author.

²⁴ The number identifies the respondent (see the appendix, table 5.B for details on the respondents).

open and axial coding. The open coding phase enabled us to include outcomes specific to the temporary use of vacant spaces and to be open to aspects of sustainability not yet discussed in the theoretical framework. The respondents used their own wording to explain their expectations and experiences. In the coding process, we were thus careful in interpreting these expressions and connecting them to codes. The axial coding phase enabled us to identify relationships among the open codes and the codes based on the theoretical framework. This approach enabled us to complement the existing theoretical framework with empirical evidence on sustainable outcome creation in temporary co-production. Table 5.3 shows the final coding list resulting from both the theoretical and empirical exploration.

Table 5.3:
Nodes and child notes for the interview analysis

Roles description
Public servants
Coordinating co-producers
Citizen co-producers
Expectations regarding creating effects
Today
Tomorrow
Capacity building
Today
Collaboration within the context of the temporary use
Allocating* resources
Empowering
Ability
Motivation
Opportunity
Tomorrow
Collaboration that outlasts the temporary use initiatives
Institutionalizing* resources and processes
Empowerment
Ability
Motivation
Opportunity

* emerged from coding phases

In a last step, we reported our results in a workshop with project coordinators and public servants, consisting of both persons who were respondents in this study and others who were involved in temporary use initiatives but were not part of our case selection. We collected their feedback to validate our results.

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Tackling today's and tomorrow's challenges by temporary co-production

Public servants, citizen co-producers and project coordinators alike express a variety of challenges they experience at present, which they hope to tackle through co-producing a temporary use. These challenges reveal the desired outcomes of the temporary use and the extent to which co-producers aim to create effects that endure. Although the actors involved consider the temporary status of the initiative by adapting the use to the duration, they still aim to create outcomes that endure beyond the temporary co-production.

A first aim is inclusion. The citizens interviewed are looking to be included in order to set up meaningful collaborations, to learn from others (R14), or to gain social contact: *'I come to meet people because I am all alone, so I want to volunteer for the cosiness'* (R24, also R9, R36). In Case 1, citizens claim that the size of the initiative enables them to organize projects together (R4, R9, R3). Public servants find that citizens with a vulnerable socio-economic status are not included by other participatory instruments in the city and see the temporary use as a means to activate those citizens: *'to get citizens aboard, especially in districts where participation is otherwise low'* (R19, also R6, R12, R18, R34) (Cases 2, 4, 5 and 8). Nevertheless, ensuring inclusion still offers challenges for public servants. Some temporary use initiatives are perceived to be rather homogeneous: *'It is often the white middle class who has the time and luxury to do these things and in their turn always attract a certain kind of public'* (R18, also R34). Additionally, for the project coordinators, inclusion is a desired outcome, yet respondent 31, who is involved in a cultural-oriented temporary use, reflects on the limits of social

representation in addressing the city's criteria for receiving funding: *'Diversity and inclusion is very important for every application you submit to the government. We tried to address that issue, but that was very inefficient; 70% of our public consists of art students'* (R31, also R1).

As public servants are mainly concerned with inclusion, they wish that the temporary use has a lasting effect by which people being included in all service provisions. Respondent 19 claims it is important that citizens continue to be included after the temporary use of a project. Therefore, public servants wish to look for places to reallocate the projects: *'We are looking for money and spaces for a community meeting place, but in the meantime, those people have nothing'* (R12).

Second, the interviewed citizen co-producers express their need to find an environment in which they can experiment and develop social, cultural, environmental and/or commercial projects (R11, R4) (Cases 1, 2, 3, and 7). The temporary use initiatives allow the citizens to experiment with the services they desire: *'it gives you the chance to start carte blanche'* (R11, also R2, R3, R4, R5, R14, R32) and to develop in a risk-free environment (R14, R30, R32, R36). The public servants interviewed see the importance of this desire because of the potential public value that experimentation may hold for the city: *'[...] their [growing] projects [...] can contribute to the city'* (R12, also R18, R26, R34). Project coordinators want to create spaces in which citizens can experiment (R7, R16, R17) and socially and culturally engage in an affordable way (R1, R7, R17, R20, R23, R31, R35). For example, artists often cannot find (affordable) locations in the city; *'they do not have the money or place to do so'* (R17, also R7). The project coordinators themselves desire to experiment with transformative collaborations and structures to create opportunities (R7, R8, R13, R16, R17, R20, R23, R31), which they often refer to as *'cross-fertilization'* (R1) or *'horizontal governance'* (R16, also R13).

Project coordinators aspire to contribute to a 'tomorrow' reality in which *'experimentation is part of society, and not seen as a threat by commercial actors; it's a learning experience'* (R17, also R1, R23). Coordinators expect the temporary use to empower people by enabling them to freely experiment and to learn from their experiences (R1, R23, R27, R35). A public servant claims that empowering citizens is a possible sustainable outcome: *'I think the community has*

grown. That people in the neighbourhood are now more familiar with each other. Maybe they more quickly help each other out and get together' (R18).

Third, citizen co-producers look for ways to make their neighbourhood more liveable and claim public space, for example, by mixing creative and social projects (R2, also R36). This approach often includes being attentive to local residents' needs (R10). According to the project coordinators, this conception means *'making the public space dynamic, a place that is from the public, reviving it, and giving it back to the public'* (R8, also R1, R13, R35). This aim is also set to outlast the temporary use. Citizen co-producers and project coordinators hope to permanently claim public space by proving the importance of the temporary use project in their neighbourhood (R36, R13, R7, R17, R20, R23, R35), as illustrated by respondent 10: *'I hope the project endures; it's a valuable project for the local residents'* (R10, also R9, R15, R36). This perspective links with the respondents' aspiration to create lasting dynamics in the neighbourhood. Respondent 9 claims that the temporary use provides *'social and artistic injections into the neighbourhood'* (R9, also project coordinators R7, R16, R20). Often, however, the temporality of temporary uses interferes with sustaining the effects, and public servants therefore see it as their role *'to acknowledge something is valuable'* (R34) and *'to look for a continuity of the project'* (R18) by *'looking for money'* (R34).

Finally, the public servants also wish to tackle challenges today with temporary uses, including fighting vandalism (R34, R6, R12). The data also show challenges that arise from the temporary use itself, for example, issues of discontented neighbours (R18, R19, R35) or of disturbance to the neighbourhood: *'For the city, it is important that there is no nuisance for the neighbourhood, that the temporary use only provides an added value for it'* (R18). Of course, the discontent is temporary, but it could stand in the way of creating public outcomes.

The interview data indicate a desire to have lasting effects beyond the temporary use. Temporary use is, in some way, a means to help create sustainable results: permanent inclusion, a new dynamic established in the neighbourhood, the permanent installation of the initiative, the

empowerment and transformation of society. This finding stresses the importance of not only problem solving but also the capacity of the initiative to create these results.

5.4.2 Capacity building today and tomorrow

5.4.2.1 System level: from necessary to sustaining collaborations

The public servants interviewed stress that the temporary initiatives should focus on setting up collaborations among the citizens, the project coordinators, the owners of the buildings/spaces used, and the local government, involving public servants from different departments (R6, R12, R19, R26, R34): *'you notice how important the other [local societal] organizations and services are for life on this square [in order for the temporary initiative] to be responsive to the needs of the people'* (R26). However, according to the public servants, there may be difficulty connecting the different societal actors in a neighbourhood: *'reluctance to cooperate has to do with a variety of things: everyone lacks personnel'* (R34).

In their task to manage temporary uses and to tackle societal challenges, project coordinators swear by collaborations (R1, R16, R35). First, collaborations allow project coordinators to more efficiently achieve results, as respondent 35 explains: *'you have to wait a lot when applying for funds and asking for permits. We try to speed things up by getting familiar with other organizations and public services'* (R35, also R7, R23). Collaboration is necessary to share the burden (R7, R1, R13), to learn from each other (R8) and to set up meaningful co-productions (R23). However, some coordinating co-producers do not succeed in bridging organizations to create sustainable outcomes: *'we need to be bigger and invest in working together with existing organizations'* (R23). Coordinators of projects in which the emphasis is mainly on community building also see their role as *'to connect with the neighbourhood'* (R20, also R23, R25).

The public servants interviewed see a role for themselves in helping to sustain these collaborations beyond the temporary initiative, as establishing collaborations in certain

neighbourhoods will increase the ability to tackle future problems (e.g., Case 5) (R26, R18, R19, R34). According to the public servants, citizen co-producers are empowered as they gained social capital. The coordinating co-producers feel the developed collaborations and networks enable them to tackle future projects: *'we try to keep good relations with the city because we want their support and to keep on learning'* (R8, also R17, R23, R31). The same experience is found among the citizen co-producers as they aim for sustaining collaborations (R10, R36, also R5, R3). Some co-producers, however, point out that the advantages of collaborations fade out after a temporary use and fear that the capacity of citizen co-producers may diminish after the temporary use ends; for example, *'collaboration will be difficult because meeting becomes more difficult. Sharing materials and knowledge is more difficult when you are not centralized in the same spot'* (R2, also R5).

5.4.2.2 Organizational level: from temporary support to institutionalization

The interviewed public servants agree that providing sufficient resources is a way to show support for and enable temporary co-production: *'supporting funds and policies for temporary use, creating a regulation, etc., means the city council is supporting this'* (R34). Despite a fund provided by the city to enable compliance with safety measures, the project coordinators and citizen co-producers alike experience a lack of funding (R36, also R10, R19). Access to other resources is still missing due to a lack of money, according to respondent 7: *'We often needed a truck but never could afford it. It would be useful if we could rent stuff'* (R7).

The data show that public servants experience a conflict between adhering to legal frameworks and adopting a flexible role in supporting temporary initiatives: *'temporary uses should be flexible, but of course, we have a legal framework we have to take into account. We constantly need to scan the boundaries of possibilities'* (R6, also R19, R34). Some interviewed project coordinators (R1, R7, R8) experience the regulations around permits, safety measures, applications for funds and fireproofing buildings as *'very hard'* (R1) and consider it necessary that *'some people in our team have years of experience with this'* (R1). Project coordinators are faced

with the administrative burden and a tight time frame (R7, R35). Additionally, citizen co-producers experience the administrative burden: *'If we don't ask for permits, we have to remove the stuff we make, although it actually has meaning for the neighbourhood'* (R36). We conclude from the data that the creation of (sustainable) outcomes from temporary uses may benefit from flexible governing. Flexible governing could, for example, include allowing public servants to adhere to an adapted set of working rules when dealing with temporary projects or allowing project coordinators to skip lines when asking for permits.

Additionally, the public servants interviewed stress the importance of the project coordinators because *'the project coordinator with his/her independent role hears everything and gets great insight into group dynamics as well as the psychological problems of the citizens'* (R34). The public servants find that projects often lack budgets to fully support project coordinators (R33, R19). In initiatives in which funds for the project coordinators were appointed, this positively affects the outcomes of the temporary use: *'[it] resulted in reaching the full potential of the activities and inclusion'* (R19). Furthermore, the lack of personnel or personal compensation created discontent among the project coordinators: *'The funding we get is not enough to continue working in a healthy way'* (R31, also R1, R7, R13).

Another resource important for enabling project coordinators, citizen co-producers and public servants is time. A project coordinator provides us with an illustration: *'I have so many tasks that I do not have time [...] to support [people] and express gratitude for their collaboration'* (R20, also R23). Additionally, project coordinators detect different side effects of the temporary character of the initiatives, such as not knowing precisely when they need to move out of the building (R1): *'it does not allow us to structurally move forward, especially when you have to invest in the building not knowing when you are being evicted'* (R31, also R7). Citizen co-producers feel there is a lack of time for the projects to develop fully and reach their aims: *'we had higher expectations, so we did not reach our initial aim'* (R5, also R11).

After the temporary use ends, the interviewed public servants stress the importance of the institutionalization of resources to ensure future capacity (R19, also R18). Public servants

acknowledge that to maintain structural funding, *'there is a need for political will'* (R34). Public servants also learn from having to deal with legal barriers and adopt some form of flexible governing: *'It starts to get easier to get around; the local administration departments know the temporary initiatives and their need for an alternative approach'* (R6, also 33, 18). This flexibility allows the local administration to support projects after the temporary use initiative ends and to look for solutions when new challenges arise.

5.4.2.3 Individual level: from empowering to empowerment

On the individual level, the respondents claim that expertise in dealing with the legal requirements enables their ability to engage in the temporary use of vacant spaces or buildings (R1). For example, we asked citizen co-producers about their personal ability and how it has improved. Helping each other magnifies their abilities (R2, R5). Collaborations are inspiring (R14, R24) and provide learning opportunities (R5) and ways to improve one's skills (R15, R5), as respondent 15 corroborates: *'it is really interesting to share ideas and learn from each other'* (R15).

With regard to motivation, the second aspect of the AMO framework, citizen co-producers feel enabled by the appreciation they receive: *'It is really beautiful to see we are being valued by visitors and the other co-users'* (R15). The public servants acknowledge the importance of motivating citizen co-producers (R19). The respondents claim that they sometimes even have to *'temper [the co-producers'] enthusiasm'* (R19). The project coordinators' motivation comes from the satisfaction of users (R1, R7), enthusiasm to experiment (R1), and the ability to contribute to society (R8). Appreciation and acknowledgement seem essential with regard to motivating the project coordinators (R1). In contrast, the loss of energy due to the many tasks –*'the projects also absorbs all your energy, and it is tiring'* (R1)- and not being paid –*'it sometimes really hurts being present at meetings with people with the same expertise, but you are the one who is not getting payed'* (R8)- decrease motivation.

Finally, with regard to opportunity, the public servants claim they have substantial discretionary room to take up an enabling role, where they empower the co-producing actors and enable them to co-produce. An exception is the legal framework that sometimes is a burden to the efficiency of supporting temporary uses (R6, R34): *'we try to support and not to impose rules on them'* (R18). Providing opportunity for citizens, according to the public servants, also means *'granting flexibility to temporary users; you have to give them some freedom'* (R12). Public servants create lower thresholds for citizens to participate (R12, R19) with the aim of empowering them (R18, R19, R34). Citizen co-producers acknowledge the opportunity they get: *'there is openness and flexibility which enable a lot of possibilities'* (R9, also R5). Additionally, the project coordinators feel enabled by the public servants' guidance (R1, R8), support (R1, R8), and flexibility (R1, R31, R7) and by getting in contact with other partners, organizations and public services (R8, R35). Because of this support, the project coordinators claim to be able to *'support the co-producers in the project, and help them with their engagement'* (R8). Enabling citizens seems to be a never-ending job: *'the threshold does not really disappear for citizen co-producers. You need to keep working on the contact and keep inviting them'* (R35).

This final quote brings us to capacity building for tomorrow. If the threshold does not disappear for citizens, what about their other capacities for dealing with the problems of tomorrow; are they empowered? The interviewed public servants claim that the other co-producers gain skills and more efficiently find their way to administrative support: *'the longer the temporary use evolves, the better the users themselves know who to contact'* (R6). The public servants also stress the need to learn more structurally, as an administration, from experiences: *'to connect the different networks [of project coordinators] and let people share their ideas and qualities'* (R19, also R18). Learning experiences enable citizen co-producers in the future as *'the [citizen co-producers] learn how to experiment and learn that meeting other people is very valuable'* (R1, also R27); some have set-up (non-profit) organizations that continue to exist after the temporary initiative (R2, R4, R30, R14).

Public servants see it as their task to motivate project coordinators and citizen co-producers to continue their engagement after a temporary co-production ends but also acknowledge their

limits in being able to provide this support for sustaining projects (R34). Therefore, the interviewed public servants claim that there is a need for political support, and with elections being organized in the near future, there is uncertainty about structural support in the coming years (R1, R34). Nevertheless, the public servants assess citizens as being enabled to co-produce: *'after 10 years [of participatory policies], people have a voice and know how to use it to give clear signals about their interests in the neighbourhood'* (R20).

The project coordinators feel enabled to address future problems as they gained the skills and motivation to be involved in similar projects: *'all that we learned, organized and have done here, I think we can build on that after the temporary use'* (R31, also R7). However, the continuation of projects still depends *'on the space and on the budgets we will get'* (R35). For some, demotivation due to lack of resources means not continuing with enabling and coordinating temporary uses: *'after the temporary use ends, I just don't want to work for one year. It demands a lot; it's physically hard work and financially difficult'* (R1). For others, the experience is giving them energy: *'it's the drive that motivates you to keep looking for solutions'* (R8).

5.5 Discussion

The temporary use of vacant spaces invites a number of actors and stakeholders, such as local residents, local organizations, neighbourhood organizations, public servants belonging to a variety of public services, and private actors, to co-produce services. The analytical framework that crosses the dimensions of Today-Tomorrow and Problem Solving-Capacity Building directed our attention first to the desired outcomes. Even within singular initiatives, the various actors aim to address various needs in society. For example, the public servants interviewed mostly aim to include and empower citizens, both for today and in the future after the temporary use ends. Citizen co-producers desire to meet people, gain inspiration and have a place for developing their ideas, while they also aim to claim public places and perpetuate their collaborations for 'tomorrow'. Coordinating co-producers experience temporary uses as a way to answer their need

to provide places for experimentation with alternative collaborative structures today and hope to contribute to a transition in society wherein they can keep experimenting with these collaborative structures, making experimentation a permanent part of policy making. As the results showed, the actors involved in the temporary initiatives consider their temporary status when they co-create outcomes. Nevertheless, this fact does not inhibit actors from aiming to create sustainable results. For problem solving today and tomorrow, co-production could be a vital component of creating value (cf. Go Jefferies et al. 2019). However, some issues arise that are identified in the co-production literature; the issue of the homogeneity of participants (e.g., Vanleene et al. 2017) is a sign that inclusion is not created to the fullest possible extent. Our various temporary co-production cases showed that temporary projects often entail that the created value might disappear when no permanent location is found. For outcome creation to be sustained, a permanent location or the embeddedness of the project in service delivery might be crucial. Otherwise, cities risk losing public space for citizens, again decreasing inclusion, and losing the effects of the dynamic injections into neighbourhoods.

Second, applying the analytical framework to the eight empirical cases provided insights into the various capacities of co-production initiatives and drew attention to how influential the interaction between the actors is for the capacity of the temporary co-production to create sustainable outcomes. For example, the project coordinators performed a number of tasks that were essential for the temporary use to get started. They contributed to the capacity of the citizen co-producers: the latter had freedom and a place to experiment; they could borrow materials from each other, received support and guidance from the coordinators, and could put their time into the development of their ideas. Finally, there is a need to institutionalize flexible governance to ensure the capacity of all actors to sustain the effects after the temporary co-production. On the one hand, interviewees experienced regulations as conflicting with the ability to efficiently create results. On the other hand, safety regulations were perceived as necessary by public servants because they are held accountable. Specific to temporary uses, this result requires supportive regulation while maintaining flexibility - providing freedom for the design and organization of the content of the temporary use. Flexibility is necessary for enabling experimentation and learning, which

contribute to co-producers' capacities. This finding contributes to the ongoing debate on institutionalizing co-production (e.g., Parks et al. 1981, Sześciło 2018).

We summarize this empirical exploration to create sustainable outcomes through temporary co-production in table 5.4.

5.6 Conclusion

We proposed and explored a framework for studying the co-creation of sustainable outcomes. Building on the literature on sustainable outcome creation and sustainable innovation, we study the sustainability of outcomes along two dimensions. The Today-Tomorrow dimension asks co-production not only to aim at the needs of today but also at the needs of tomorrow's society. The Problem Solving-Capacity Building dimension differentiates between the co-producers' expectations for creating public outcomes through co-production and the co-producers' capacity to co-create outcomes. By doing so, this study explores the topic of co-producing sustainable outcomes in co-production, a topic that has been left rather unexplored until now.

Table 5.4:
Aspects of creating sustainable outcomes in temporary co-production: evidence from 8 cases

	Today	Tomorrow
Problem solving	Aims and desired effects of co-production Experimenting with transitioning society	Aims and desired effects that outlast the co-production Establishing experimentation as a part of society
Capacity building level:		
System	Collaboration	Collaborations that outlast the specific initiative, creating long-term networks
Organisation	Supporting processes flexible governing dealing with legal frameworks temporary allocation of personnel funding time-frame	Institutionalized processes institutionalizing flexible governing providing supportive legal frameworks structural allocation of personnel structural budgets
Individual	Empowering: ability, motivation, and opportunity	Empowerment: ability, motivation, and opportunity

This paper resulted in a more comprehensive framework (see table 5.4) in which experimentation through collaboration (on a systemic level) is an important aspect in addressing the needs of society today and tomorrow. Furthermore, co-production requires supporting processes to create sustainable outcomes. We identified the need for providing resources and support and the need to institutionalize these resources through structural budgets. Flexible governing was shown to be a crucial organizational capacity: rules and regulations are necessary, for example, to ensure safety, but flexibility may allow for more tailor-made solutions and processes capable of addressing the specific needs of the initiatives. Finally, on the individual level, public servants play a role in the empowerment of citizens to co-produce through continuous support, appreciation, guidance, motivation and opportunities.

To sustain the effects of co-production, there is a need to find a permanent location for co-producing temporary activities. Nevertheless, in the temporary use of vacant spaces, sustainable outcome creation is not just about sustaining the co-production initiative at a certain location; it is often also about creating sustainable networks and social capital that develop from the co-production activity. In this manner, the co-production of public services can outlast the temporality of an activity. Having shown the need for capacity to create sustainable results, future research into co-production should not only look into effects but also look into the capacity that is being built.

Although our findings are specific to the temporary use of vacant spaces studied because of our qualitative in-depth research design, we argue that the framework proposed may also be used to analyse the co-creation of the sustainable outcomes of non-temporary co-production. Focusing on the temporary use of vacant spaces allowed us to identify the challenges for sustainable outcome creation in a specific context and to learn about possible, not exclusive, challenges to other temporary co-production contexts. Furthermore, as shown, these temporary cases were able to create certain sustainable outcomes when necessary capacity was facilitated despite their temporary character; we expect that regular, long-term, co-production will be able to do so as well.

The framework proposed in this paper offers a tool for analysts and practitioners to take into account possible aspects of co-production to create lasting effects.

CHAPTER 6:

Realizing public values in the co-production of public services:
the effect of efficacy and trust on coping with public values conflicts

This chapter is based on a manuscript submitted to an international peer-reviewed journal, and is co-authored by Professor Dr. Trui Steen, Public Governance Institute, KU Leuven.

Co-production aims to better realize public values such as inclusion and service quality. However, scholars have recently reported undesired effects of co-production for realizing public values. This article argues that co-producers' coping strategies followed when experiencing public values conflicts codetermine value realization or obstruction. Survey data taken from temporary co-producers in Flanders are examined to test the effects of self-efficacy, perceived impact and trust on individual coping using a multinomial regression analysis. The analysis finds perceived impact to affect respondents' choice of coping strategies. Despite its limited generalizability, the article offers a model for future studies of individual coping with value conflicts.

6.1 Introduction

Advocates of co-production claim that the co-production of public services is an innovative way to be responsive to and better realize public values (Pestoff 2006; Bovaird and Loeffler 2012; Vamstad 2012; Voorberg, Bekkers, and Tummers 2014). Public values are the principles of governance that guide behaviours and actions adopted through the delivery process (Bozeman 2007). In co-production public officials collaborate with citizens, which creates opportunities to improve the efficiency and quality of service delivery through a better use of the time, efforts and resources (knowledge and expertise) of both public service professionals and users or citizens (Pestoff 2006). Specifically, perceived service quality may improve as the 'active involvement of citizens in the service delivery process may change their subjective perceptions of quality' (Loeffler and Bovaird 2018, 273). In addition, co-production provides an opportunity to increase responsiveness by tailoring services to personal needs (Vanleene, Voets, and Verschuere 2017), to increase user satisfaction (Vamstad 2012; Lindenmeier et al. 2019) and to enhance democratic quality, since it is seen as a source of citizen empowerment (Fledderus 2015), equality, diversity and accessibility (SCIE 2015).

However, recent attention has also been paid to the undesired consequences of co-production in realizing public values, such as failed accountability and efficiency, a loss of democracy and social exclusion (Steen, Brandsen, and Verschuere 2018). These undesired effects of co-production relate to public values obstruction or to the nonrealization of public values in a specific situation (Jaspers and Steen 2019) and may lead to public values failure, which occurs when neither the state nor the market can provide services that can realize these values (Bozeman 2002).

Williams, Kang, and Johnson (2016) state that the question of how co-production activities impact public values, either negatively or positively, has not been addressed systematically. The authors stress that one of the costs of co-production arrangements is the existence of conflicting values. Conflicting values have long been the subject of public administration theories and studies report that public servants face the challenge of balancing ‘traditional’ governmental values, ‘business-like’ values and ‘network’ values (e.g., Okun 1975; Hood 1991; de Graaf and Van der Wal 2010; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016; Bryson, Crosby and Bloomberg 2014; Meijer 2016). More recently co-production studies have shown that citizen co-producers also experience value conflicts. Some of these public values conflicts are intrinsic to the values themselves, such as the conflict between efficiency and effectiveness (de Graaf 2015), and other conflicts arise from the collaborative process typical of co-production, for example, a conflict between social inclusion and service quality (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2019). Additionally, these studies show that citizen co-producers adopt various coping strategies to deal with these conflicts without needing to resolve them (as this is sometimes impossible), from avoiding dealing with the conflict and passing the buck to adopting strategies offering mono- or multi-value solutions.

Whether co-production lives up to its expectations is co-dependent on how individuals cope with experienced value conflicts (Nieuwenburg 2004, 2014). This paper therefore investigates what coping strategies, i.e., responses of individuals to competing values (Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006; Steenhuisen 2009), citizen co-producers use when confronted

with value conflicts. Moreover, this article aims to determine why people cope the way they do. Existing co-production studies provide little insight into what causes one person to cope using one strategy while another person copes using another. We turn to the social psychology literature, which argues that psychological traits such as self-efficacy, perceived impact and trust are predictors of behaviour, especially in situations characterized by conflict (Bandura 1986; Van Lange 1999). This article thus investigates whether co-producers' psychological traits have an effect on the coping strategies used. In doing so it aims to answer the question if trust, self-efficacy and perceived impact affect citizen co-producers' adherence to a particular coping strategy in dealing with public values conflicts. Understanding this issue helps the research community to comprehend how co-producers behave. Moreover, understanding personality traits and their importance for public values realization can help practitioners design co-production processes or tools to support citizen co-producers.

We compiled an original dataset of citizen co-producers involved in co-production in the context of temporary uses of vacant spaces in Flanders, northern Belgium. Participants (n= 141) were asked to indicate how they would cope with a specific conflict between two public values, namely, a conflict between realizing social inclusion or service quality in co-production. This study statistically tests hypotheses using a multinomial regression analysis and computes average marginal effects. No statistically significant results were found for the effects of self-efficacy, generalized trust or trust in the government on citizens' coping strategies. The data show that for this particular data sample, perceived impact has a positive effect on trading off in favour of service quality and a negative effect on the adoption of an avoidance strategy. Notwithstanding the limited generalizability of the study, the article offers some useful insights for the research community, in particular a model for future studies and a way forward in studying these types of questions on the effects of co-production, which are still puzzling to both practitioners and scholars.

First, this article presents the concepts of co-production, public values conflicts and coping strategies. Next, self-efficacy, perceived impact and trust are discussed as drivers of

individuals' coping strategies. After presenting the methodology used, the results are described, followed by a discussion and conclusion.

6.2 Coping with public values conflicts

6.2.1 Co-production and public values conflicts

Since the 1970s, during which Ostrom and Parks (1973) presented their seminal works on co-production, the literature on co-production has focused on a variety of aspects, including many efforts to define the topic. With regard to the many definitions proposed, we rely on Brandsen and Honingh (2016, 431), who define co-production 'as a relationship between a paid employee of an organization and (groups of) individual citizens that requires a direct and active contribution from these citizens to the work of the organization.' In other words, in co-production citizens actively provide inputs and collaborate with public managers in the various stages of the service delivery process (Nabatchi, Sancino, and Sicilia 2017; Brandsen, Steen, and Verschuere 2018).

Co-production has been expected to offer a better realization of public values through a better use of resources and by enabling more responsive services (Social Care Institute for Excellence (SCIE) 2015). Although these expectations still exist, empirical studies show co-production has some undesired consequences for the realization of these public values, including social exclusion, questions around accountability, and failed efficiency (Kleinhans 2017).

The notion of public values is often associated with Barry Bozeman's research. He defines public values as 'relatively stable emotion-cognitive assessments that affect individual behaviour and that provide normative consensus about citizens' rights and obligations and government principles' (Bozeman 2007, 17, 116). Bozeman (2007) provides a lens through which to think about public service delivery in ways other than those focused on economics. This is particularly important when studying co-production because participants co-produce without an economic benefit but rather a benefit that is public in nature. Previous research

shows that citizen co-producers also have expectations in realizing public values in the co-production of public services (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2019).

A recurrent issue in the public values literature is conflicts between public values. Van der Wal et al. (2011) find that many scholars describe public values conflicts in light of the appearance of a more business-like approach in public administration practices (e.g., De Bruijn and Dicke 2006; Hood 1991) and later also due to an increase in partnerships (e.g., Frederickson 2005, 175) and New Public Governance (NPG) (Osborne 2010). NPG brings new perspectives on the roles of government, and thus, from the early 2000s, a more participatory model of government was introduced (Osborne 2006; Meijer 2016). As public organizations try to balance ‘traditional’ governmental values such as integrity, neutrality, legality and impartiality with ‘business-like’ values such as efficiency, innovation, responsiveness and effectiveness and ‘network’ values taken from NPG such as collaborative engagement, inclusion, democratic quality, and constitutional values (Hood 1991; Kernaghan 2000; De Bruijn and Dicke 2006; Frederickson 2005; Alford and O’Flynn 2009; Bryson, Crosby and Bloomberg 2014; Meijer 2016), value conflicts are likely to exist in designing and delivering services: trade-off situations that have negative consequences no matter which option is chosen (Bozeman 2007; Schott 2015).

Scholars use the concept of ‘value pluralism’ to explain the existence of these conflicts (Lipsky 1980; Wagenaar 1999; Spicer 200; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; van der Wal, de Graaf, and Lawton 2011). Value pluralism explains how value conflicts are a consequence of the characteristics of values. First, values can be incompatible, which means that realizing one value limits the ability to realize other value(s) (Wagenaar 1999; Spicer 2001; Nieuwenburg 2004; de Graaf and Paanakker 2014). Second, values can be incommensurable, which means that no rational appeal can be made to either value and there is no rational solution for solving the conflict. There is thus no solution without any wrongdoing (Talisso 2015, de Graaf 2015).

Case studies reveal that conflicts between public values are experienced in the co-production process by citizen co-producers (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2019). For example, conflicts between inclusion and accountability, between flexibility and accountability, and between productivity and diversity were found to be experienced by both

public professionals and citizen co-producers in three co-production areas (city marketing, employment opportunities and urban development) (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018). The case study by Jaspers and Steen (2019) illustrates the plurality of conflicts occurring between public values experienced by citizen co-producers as they try to design and implement services in a project by and for isolated elderly. The citizen co-producers reported experiencing value conflicts between social inclusion on the one hand and effectiveness, service quality, efficiency and reciprocity on the other. All actors involved in co-production are concerned with the reduction of these value conflicts (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018). In the next section, we further discover how coping strategies are linked to public values realization and/or value obstruction.

6.2.2 Coping with public values conflicts

Value conflicts can lead to a state of paralysis. However, studies show that actors prevent this state of paralysis by following a variety of coping strategies (Lipsky 1980), that do not require commensurability in values. Moreover, co-production studies have found that co-producing actors adhere to coping strategies similar to those identified for public servants dealing with value conflicts in regular service delivery (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2019). Some of the coping strategies adopt multi-value solutions. These strategies balance conflicting values and enable the (albeit partial) creation of two conflicting public values. Additionally, when balancing two conflicting values, the solution developed is unlikely to be desirable, as conflicts are often the result of values being experienced as incommensurable. Other coping strategies adopt mono-value solutions. These strategies are trade-off strategies leading to the creation of one value and consequently obstructing the realization of a conflicting value. Examples of specific coping strategies are given by Thacher and Rein (2004) and Stewart (2006), whose six identified coping strategies, although overlapping, fit the above described distinction between mono-value and multi-value solutions (see table 6.1). Nevertheless, the six strategies may overlap, as they are constructed inductively (de Graaf and Paanakker 2014).

The coping strategies literature also identifies additional coping strategies that do not specifically fit the trade-off versus balancing strategy distinction, such as escalating and avoidance strategies (Steenhuisen 2009; de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016), which we add to our analytical framework. These strategies are also found in qualitative studies as means to cope with public values conflicts in co-production (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2019). First, an escalating strategy occurs when an individual elevates questions about competing values to a higher administrative or legislative authority (Tetlock 2000; de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016). Organizational studies have examined the drivers of help-seeking behaviour (e.g., Bamberger 2009; Hofmann, Lei, and Grant 2009). However, escalating goes further than asking for help, as it also implies ‘passing the buck’ where an individual ascribes his/her own responsibilities to another person or group (Steenhuisen 2009).

An avoidance strategy is used when an individual avoids dealing with a conflict by, for example, putting off addressing the conflict and making a decision (Endler and Parker 1990). The avoidance strategy may be the most passive or even most value obstructive, especially when avoiding deferring or simply ignoring the issue at hand. Table 6.1 summarizes the different coping strategies identified by the literature.

Table 6.1:
Coping strategies

<i>Coping strategy</i>		<i>Reference</i>
Trade-off strategies	Bias strategy	Giving preference to values consistent with a dominant discourse or broader values set at the expense of other
	Casualism	Making decisions for each particular value conflict based on experiences in previous cases.
	Incrementalism	Slowly putting more and more emphasis on one particular value.
Balancing strategies	Hybridization	Seeking coexistence between values by sustaining distinct policies or implementations that pursue competing values.
	Cycling	Paying sequential attention to competing values.
	Building firewalls	Appointing different institutions, administrative units, or individual positions aimed at specific public values in order to distribute responsibility for pursuing the values.
Avoidance strategy	Avoiding dealing with a conflict around competing values.	Endler and Parker 1990
Escalating strategy	Elevating questions about competing values to a higher administrative authority.	Tetlock 2000

Coping strategies are thus insightful for value realization in the case of value conflicts, as different coping strategies have a different outcome for value realizations. Additionally, Steenhuisen and de Bruijne (2009) found that – by virtue of aiming to realize two conflicting values - balancing strategies place a high demand on an individual’s effort; whereas trade-off strategies are more time-efficient and require less effort. Finding out why people cope the way they do can be insightful for understanding public values realization or failure.

6.3 What drives the selection of coping strategies?

Although few co-production studies have studied these specific coping strategies, co-production studies do provide some insights into citizens’ co-producers’ behaviours with regard to their willingness to collaborate in co-production (Parrado et al. 2013; Van Eijk and Steen 2014; Bovaird et al. 2015; Thomsen 2017; Clark and Brudney 2019). Following these studies of drivers of co-production behaviour, we review the social psychology literature to identify the potential drivers of coping strategies. According to the social psychology literature, psychological traits such as self-efficacy, perceived impact and trust are predictors of behaviour, especially in situations characterized by conflict (Bandura 1986). For this reason, this paper investigates how these characteristics might affect citizen co-producers choice of coping strategies in co-production.

6.3.1 Self-efficacy

Self-efficacy refers to a person’s own judgement of his/her competencies to make a difference by becoming involved in a service (Bandura 1982), including a co-production initiative (van Eijk and Steen 2014; Parrado et al. 2013; Bovaird et al. 2015; Thomson 2017). Self-efficacy is a personality trait-like disposition and describes an individual’s self-perception of the effectiveness of one’s own actions. The theory on self-efficacy argues that individuals weigh

and evaluate information about their own capabilities based on their experiences and regulate their choices and efforts accordingly (Bandura et al. 1980; Bandura 1986). Bandura (1986) states that self-efficacy comes before an individual's performance, as people judge their efficacy in advance. Moreover, self-efficacy may operate as a cognitive mediator of stressful situations, such as public values conflicts, and stress-related adaptive behaviours, such as coping strategies (Folkman 1984; Folkman, Schaefer and Lazarus 1979). More specifically, self-efficacy informs behaviour in that it indicates whether or not an individual will attempt a task, how much effort they will put into it, and how long they will persist in the face of obstacles (Bandura 1997, 2006). As self-efficacy mediates choices and efforts, it may serve as a driver for coping strategies (Gist and Mitchell 1992; Bandura 2000). Similarly, the co-production literature has studied self-efficacy as a driver for co-production behaviour (Parrado et al. 2013; Bovaird et al. 2015; Thomson 2017). In co-production, self-efficacy is found to be positively affecting active behaviour in co-production, such as problem solving and action taking (Parrado et al. 2013; Bovaird et al. 2015; Thomsen 2017).

Bandura (1986) theorizes that the stronger one's self-efficacy is, the more likely one is to become involved in an activity and the greater and more persistent one's coping efforts will be in the face of obstacles. The study suggests that highly efficacious people adhere to more active coping strategies and, to a lesser extent, to passive coping strategies, as they feel able to overcome obstacles. In contrast, people with lower scores on the self-efficacy measure are more likely to put in less efforts, such as coping efforts, in the face of obstacles (Bandura 1977, 1982; Brown and Inouye 1978). Based on the above we hypothesize that *the higher an individual's level of self-efficacy is, the less likely (s)he will be to follow an avoidance strategy to cope with public values conflicts* (H1a).

Theories on help-seeking behaviour in organizational settings argue that self-efficacy has a positive effect on asking for help (Bamberger 2009, Lim, Heckman, Letkiewicz, and Montalto 2014, Cellucci, Krogk, and Vik 2006). The stronger an individual's self-efficacy, and thus the stronger s/he feels capable of taking on a task such as coping with public values conflicts, the more courage they can show in autonomic help-seeking (Du et al. 2016). We

follow these indications of psychology theory on help-seeking behaviour and *hypothesize that the higher an individual's level of self-efficacy is, the more likely (s)he will be to follow an escalation strategy to cope with public values conflicts (H1b).*

Balancing two conflicting public values places a high demand on an individual's effort as one aims to realize two conflicting values (Steenhuisen and de Bruijne 2009). According to Bandura (2000), highly efficacious individuals show high levels of cognitive resourcefulness and strategic flexibility, view conflicts or stressful events as more controllable and are persistent in the face of obstacles (Bandura 1986). Highly self-efficacious people may thus view balancing two conflicting values as an option (Bandura 1986; Stirin et al. 2012), even though it demands more effort (Steenhuisen and de Bruijne 2009), while lower self-efficacious people may rather opt for the less demanding trade-off strategies. Therefore, *we hypothesize that the higher an individual's level of self-efficacy is, the more likely he/she will be to choose a balancing strategy (H1c), and the lower an individual's self-efficacy is, the more likely he/she will be to choose a trade-off strategy (H1d).*

6.3.2 Perceived impact

Perceived (lack of) impact refers to citizen co-producers' experiences of (not) being heard by others or by feelings that others (dis)regard their stories (Irvin and Stansbury 2004;), which influences their behaviour (Kristensen et al. 2012). In discussing the perceived impact of citizens, Jo and Nabatchi (2018, 235) refer to an individual's 'belief that professionals will make room for participation and be responsive to input'. Citizens' decision to co-produce is also based on their belief that their interaction and their input will get enough room to matter (Van Eijk and Steen 2016). Therefore, perceived impact is considered an important determinant of co-productive efforts in the co-production literature (Bovaird et al., 2015; Parrado et al., 2013). The argument is that perceived impact (or external efficacy) is a situational trait-like disposition (Schneider, Otto, Alings and Schmitt 2015). Individuals already involved in co-production may re-evaluate their perceived impact based on new developments or situations in

the co-production process. Such experiences provide the individual with new information on their perceived impact, which will consequently influence their behaviour (Ertiö et al. 2014; Clark and Shurik 2016).

The political psychology literature agrees that people participate little in policy making if they frequently feel that their voice will not be heard (Fowler and Kam 2007; see also: Iyengar 1980). Citizens with low expectations regarding their impact on the outcomes of co-production become demotivated to co-produce and are induced not to exert co-productive effort or perhaps even to drop out (Van Eijk and Steen 2016). Thus, a person perceiving not to have room for creating impact may be more likely to avoid making efforts when confronted with a difficult situation such as coping with public values conflicts. We therefore hypothesize that *when an individual's level of perceived impact is high, he/she will be less likely to cope using an avoidance strategy* (H2a).

The political participation literature conceptualizes this perceived impact as a psychological trait that equips people to ask for help in their pursuit of an outcome they are after (Verba and Nie 1972), for example by escalating the conflict to a higher authority. In other words, individuals with a stronger perceived impact may be more likely to ask for help, as they estimate that their voice, opinion, and demands will be heard. Based on this theory, we expect that *the higher a person's perceived impact is, the higher the likelihood of this person to cope using an escalating strategy* (H2b).

Of course, next to escalation, the other coping strategies also represent a pursuit of outcomes but we do not find theories or sufficiently solid indications supporting the claim that perceived impact positively or negatively relates to adhering to balancing and trade-off strategies when coping with public values conflicts. Therefore, we abstain from formulating any hypotheses on these specific coping strategies.

6.3.3 Trust

Trust is seen as one of the key conditions for collaborative practices (Yamagishi and Cook 1993; Ostrom 1998). Ostrom (1988) states that although trust takes time and effort to build, it is important in collaborative settings such as those involving co-production, as it reduces complexity and transaction costs. Fledderus and Honingh (2016) found generalized trust (trust in fellow citizens), municipal trust (trust in government agents and local government) and interpersonal trust (trust in specific [groups of] people) to be positively correlated with co-production behaviour (whether individuals co-produce or not). We further turn to the trust and coping literature in constructing hypotheses, as studies hint at trust as an important indicator of behaviour in situations characterized by conflict (Balliet and Van Lange 2013). For example, Golembiewski and McConkie (1975, 131) stated that ‘there is no single variable which so thoroughly influences interpersonal and group behaviour as does trust.’

It flows from the recognition of trust as a key driver for collaboration, that higher levels of trust can be expected to decrease citizens’ likelihood to cope according to an avoidance strategy. In contrast, low levels of trust in others result in ‘professional courtesy’ and an avoidance of voicing diverse views, as individuals believe that other group members will provide little enlightenment (Lewicki, McAllister and Bies’ 1998). Based on this, we hypothesize that *the higher an individual’s level of trust, the less likely he/she will be to cope according to an avoidance strategy* (H3a).

Another aspect of trust is interdependency, where the interests of one individual cannot be achieved without him/her relying on another party. This feeling of being able to rely on that other party requires a positive belief about that party, which Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman (1995) conceptualize as trust. Meeker (1983) theorizes that the trusting person expects helpful behaviour from the trusted person. Thus, for someone to rely on another person to act in his/her interest, for example, in following an escalation strategy, there should be trust in that other person. Therefore, we hypothesize that *the higher an individual’s level of trust is, the more likely he/she will be to cope using an escalation strategy* (H3b).

To our knowledge, there are no indications in the literature of trust having a negative or positive effect on balancing strategies. Nevertheless, the literature allows us to formulate a hypothesis for a relationship between trust and trading off in favour of specific norms. Trust is seen to strengthen norms in favour of cooperation and even to lead to the inclusion of new members in existing social networks (Fukuyama, 1995), while less trusting people feel that involving others would have negative consequences (Mayer et al. 1995, Lewicki, McAllister, and Bies 1998). Therefore, and for the purpose of this study, we hypothesize that *the higher an individual's level of trust is, the more likely he/she will be to cope using a trade-off strategy in favour of norms characterized by cooperation and inclusion (H3c).*

Table 6.2 summarizes the hypotheses and the relation (positive or negative) that these hypotheses predict between the independent variables and the individual's followed coping strategy.

Table 6.2:

Theoretical hypotheses regarding the relationship between perceived impact, self-efficacy, trust and coping strategies for coping with public values conflicts

	Trade-off	Balancing	Avoidance	Escalation
Perceived impact	?	?	-	+
Self-efficacy	-	+	-	+
Trust	+	?	-	+
	(in favour of inclusion)			

6.4 Method

6.4.1 Research setting

To test the hypotheses, we focus on temporary co-production in the use of vacant spaces in Flanders, northern Belgium. This refers to unused buildings and places (e.g., abandoned lots) being made available for citizens to set up initiatives for securing accommodation. Co-production in the temporary use of vacant spaces is being used to effectuate a variety of

policies, such as social care, cultural, or integration policies, and aims at developing a more liveable and dynamic neighbourhood for the local community and providing cultural, social and economic development for the city (Nefs 2006; Jégou et al. 2016). The temporary use of vacant spaces involves a great variety of services that are being co-produced, including temporary playgrounds, cooperative start-ups, gardening projects, and community kitchens.

A focus on this type of co-production enables our survey questions to be identical for all respondents while still avoiding sector-specific case selection. Additionally, this area of co-production is gaining popularity with local government, which we hoped to ensure a potentially large population to study, as databases of citizen co-producers are non-existent for Flanders, and an original database had to be developed. Finally, temporary use is situated within a context of short time frames and the coming together of a variety of interests, providing ample opportunities for value conflicts to occur. Focusing on the temporary use of vacant spaces allows us to explore correlations and develop hypotheses regarding the challenges of public values realization faced in a specific context and to learn about possible, not exclusive, challenges to other co-production contexts.

6.4.2 Survey design

The key objective of the survey questionnaire is to study which factors correlate with the coping strategies used by individuals when facing public values conflicts. For this, we study a particular value conflict occurring between two public values, namely, between service quality and social inclusion. Survey questionnaires are a widely used tool to study people's behaviours. Analytical surveys are especially purposeful in establishing associations between variables (Oppenheim 1992). To avoid measurement error, we pilot tested the survey both orally (N=9)²⁵ and through an

²⁵ The first author interviewed four public administration experts, four citizens involved in volunteer work, and one project coordinator of a temporary use initiative. The participants were asked to orally answer the questions and to explain their answers, ensuring that the survey questions and items were understood as intended.

online test survey (N = 55). The questionnaire²⁶ contained a total of 14 questions. The survey was fielded using Qualtrics® online survey software (Qualtrics 2019).

6.4.2.1 Dependent variable

We study a value conflict that is highly recognizable and typical of co-production, the conflict between inclusion and service quality (Jaspers and Steen 2019, 2020). Co-production is expected to increase the quality of a service through a better use of resources (Pestoff 2006; Vamstad 2012; Brandsen and Honingh 2016; Van Eijk and Gasco 2018; Pestoff 2018; Osborne, Strokosch, and Radnor 2018). Co-production is also expected to enhance the democratic quality of a service and, as part of this, social inclusion (Fledderus 2015, Vanleene, Voets and Verschuere 2017). Qualitative studies conducted in Flanders indicate that citizen co-producers indeed have expectations for these public values to be realized in the co-production process. These studies show that citizen co-producers find the two public values to be particularly difficult to realize simultaneously. In effect, inviting more people into a project (inclusion) may reduce the quality of the project. This is because more ideas need to be taken into account and people with less expertise are included too while less time is available to work on the quality of the project (Jaspers and Steen 2019, 2020). We build on these findings from co-production in Flanders, as co-production is likely to depend on the cultural context characterized by value sets.

For this explorative study, we therefore examine the above-described conflict to study the coping strategies followed by citizen co-producers. We carefully constructed questions to operationalize our dependent variable, as is presented in table 6.3. Table 6.3 shows how the respondents were first asked to indicate to what extent they experience a conflict between social inclusion and service quality, and then to indicate how they usually coped with this conflict. To determine the operationalization of concepts, we interviewed one project coordinator of a temporary use initiative, four citizens who were involved in a co-productive effort and four

²⁶ An ethical commission provided ethical approval for this study.

public administration experts. The participants were asked to orally answer the survey questions and explain their answers in line with the cognitive interviewing method (Willis 2004).

Table 6.3:

Dependent variable

These questions measure your experiences in the temporary use project you are involved in.

Indicate on a scale from 1 to 5 to what extent you experience the following conflict.

A conflict between on the one hand including more people (neighbours and other people) in the temporary co-production project and on the other hand the feeling that you want to focus on realizing service quality.

A score of 1 stands for "not at all" and a score of 5 stands for "very much".

When respondents indicated experiencing conflict (values other than 1), they were asked the following follow-up question.

People deal with this conflict in a variety of ways. Indicate how you mostly cope with this conflict in practice:	N	%	Corresponding coping strategies
<i>1. You include as many people as possible</i>	18	12.8	Trade-off inclusion
<i>2. You focus on realizing service quality</i>	53	37.6	Trade-off service quality
<i>3. You try to realize both values, even though this means that both values are not realized to their fullest extent</i>	45	31.9	Balancing
<i>4. You do not do much, assuming other people will cope with this conflict</i>	13	9.2	Avoidance
<i>5. You ask for advise from the project coordinator on how to deal with this conflict</i>	12	8.5	Escalating

Note: N: 141; Question are translated from Dutch, the original language of the survey

6.4.2.2 Independent variables

Bandura (1982) indicates that the self-efficacy²⁷ measure should be tailored to the tasks being assessed. Accordingly, we used the internal efficacy scale adopted by the European Social

²⁷ In operationalizing self-efficacy, we first adopted the self-efficacy scale developed by Scholz et al. (2002). However, the test respondents (N=9) were rather confused by this scale, as they found these items to be similar and for this reason had difficulties understanding the difference between the items. For this reason,

Survey (ESS8 2016) and slightly adjusted the items to relate to the specific context of participating in the temporary use of vacant spaces (see table 6.4). To measure the respondents' perceptions about their impacts on the temporary use project, this study adapts the existing European social survey measurement scale of external efficacy (ESS8 2016) (see table 6.4). Finally, trust is operationalized as both a general attribution (generalized trust or trust in people in general) (Offe 1999) and a more specific targeted attribution (particularized trust aimed at a specific person) (Fledderus and Honingh 2016). We adopt a three-item scale for generalized trust (Reeskens and Hooghe 2008) (see table 6.4), also used previously in co-production studies by Fledderus and Honingh (2016). In measuring personalized trust, for temporary co-production we identify 6 types of actors and organizations that a citizen co-producer may trust to varying degrees: neighbours, fellow co-producers, public servants involved, the project coordinator, the local government and the political system (adapted from Fledderus and Honingh 2016).

A reliability test led us to check if we could generate one factor for trust in government and one for generalized trust (results are shown in table 6.4). A principal factor analysis shows a clear distinction between trust in public institutions and actors (public servants, the political system, and the local government) and trust in other citizens involved (neighbours and fellow co-producers). The latter scored highly on the generalized trust factor. Nevertheless, the Cronbach's α values for these two particular items suggest that they not be included in the generalized trust factor, and we therefore omit them from the factor.

Next, the factorability of the items was examined. First, the items belonging to each construct correlated with at least one other item by at least 0.3, suggesting reasonable factorability. Second, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy is 0.724 (this is above the commonly recommended value of 0.6), and Bartlett's test of sphericity generate a significant result ($\chi^2(45)=631.32, p < 0.05$). Given these findings, we further conducted a factor

we turned to the internal political efficacy scale, which is, as Bandura (1982) notes, already more tailored to our specific context.

analysis using a principal axis factoring analysis (see table 6.4). A four-factor solution explaining 80.2% of the variance was preferred due to its theoretical support.

Table 6.4:
Independent variable scales

	Cronbach's α	Factor loadings this study	Mean this study
<i>Self-efficacy (5-point Likert scale)</i>	.809		
I am able to play an active role in the temporary co-production initiative		.806	4.33
I am confident in my own ability to participate in the temporary use initiative		.841	4.33
<i>Perceived impact on temporary use project (5-point Likert scale)</i>	.812		
The organisation of the temporary co-production allows me to influence the content of the project		.912	3.99
I have a say in what the temporary use initiative does		.698	3.93
<i>Generalized trust (0-10 scale)</i>	.861		
Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that most people can't be trusted?		.849	7.51
Do you think that most people are fair, or would say that most people are unfair?		.898	7.35
Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that people mostly do not look out for each other?		.721	7.19
<i>Trust in government (0-10 scale)</i>	.821		
Public servants		-.577 [†]	6.86
The local government		-.954	5.82
The political system		-.784	4.26

Note: N: 141; Questions are translated from Dutch, the original language of the survey

[†]The items on the 'Trust in Government' factor load negatively because of an Oblimin rotation

6.4.2 Control variables

When testing our model, we include demographic characteristics, such as age, gender and education²⁸, previously shown to affect co-production behaviour (Bovaird et al. 2015). For example, the co-production literature hints at age affecting co-production behaviour (to co-produce or not), but not consistently (Bovaird et al. 2015). Bozeman (2019) finds that age matters for the views citizens have on public values and that younger people may favour values other than older people. Additionally, we controlled for the type of actor: are they (a) voluntarily involved or (b) involved through a private or third sector organization that is also involved in temporary use, requiring them to co-produce in temporary use? The correlations between the control and independent variables for the study are below 0.3 (see table 6.A of the Appendix).

6.4.3 Data sampling

We compiled an original dataset of Flemish citizens co-producing in a temporary use of a vacant space (short: temporary users) between March 2019 and November 2019²⁹. The selection criteria for temporary users include involvement (1) in a project where one directly or indirectly collaborates with the local government (2) at the moment of receiving the survey and (3) in a project where one actively helps provide some kind of public service. For example,

²⁸ Brandsen and Honingh (2018) argue that distinguishing between activity tasks helps reveal social mechanisms, internal dynamics and outcomes. Therefore, we aimed to control for respondents identifying themselves as actively involved (taking on an initiating role) or as passively involved (finding their role to be more reserved in their actions). However, due to the correlation between the control variable and self-efficacy (0.495) (higher than the accepted value of 0.4), we left out this variable to avoid issues of multicollinearity.

²⁹ For this mapping of the population, we contacted all 300 Flemish municipalities and cities via email and/or telephone and asked if such projects were currently underway in the municipality. In doing so, we identified co-production initiatives and obtained contact lists for all temporary co-production projects. Municipalities were not able to provide us with lists of participants due to GDPR regulations. Not all project coordinators of all of the identified temporary use projects reacted positively to the question to provide us with a list of contact details; therefore, we were not able to define a target population. Nevertheless, we asked the coordinators to report how many temporary users they had forwarded an invitation to for taking part in our survey questionnaire (n=1069).

an individual involved in the temporary use of a merchant building for individual commercial use (a pop-up store) is not included in this study since this does not relate to a public service being co-produced.

6.4.4 Data analysis

Statistically, we measure the effects of self-efficacy, perceived impact, generalized trust, and trust in government on respondents' coping strategies using a multinomial logit regression analysis (Croissant 2012, 2020) with the Rstudio (version 4.0.0) software program. In a multinomial model, coefficients (β s) are estimated for each value of the dependent categorical variable in reference to one of the categories of the dependent variable, which is called the reference category. In our model, coefficients are estimated for each coping strategy in reference to the avoidance strategy. However, the model includes non-linear log transformations, which makes the coefficients not directly interpretable. To test our hypotheses in a straightforward manner, we examine average marginal effects (AMEs). From AMEs, we can estimate the effects of each variable on each coping strategy, independent of a reference category. This means that whichever reference category is chosen, the AMEs produce 'a single quantity summary that reflects the full distribution of X rather than an arbitrary prediction' (Leeper 2018, 8), serving as a natural summary measure that respects the distribution of the original data (Leeper 2018). Thus, to test the hypotheses, the average marginal effects are calculated for each category of the categorical variable.

6.4.5 Fielding

We fielded the survey questionnaire between October 1st and November 13th, 2019. Of the n = 1.069 respondents invited to participate, n = 180 participants completed the survey questionnaire. However, 39 respondents (of N = 180, or 21.67%) indicated that they did not experience a conflict between inclusion and service quality and had to be removed from the

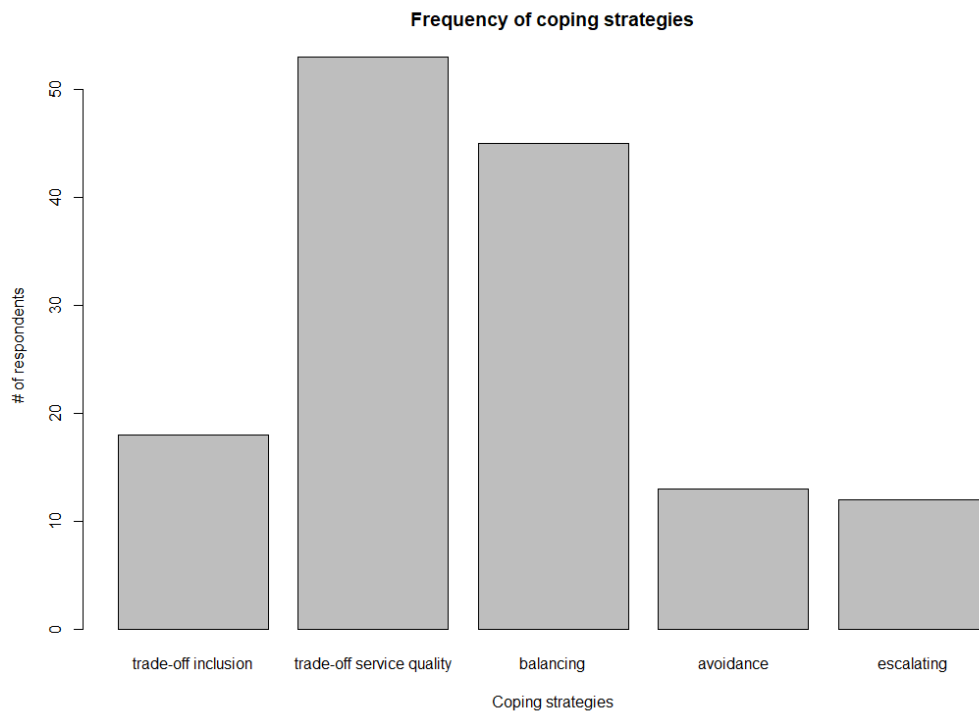
study because they were not asked to report their subsequent coping strategies (the dependent variable of this study). This exclusion did not affect the composition of the remaining sample (table 6.B of the Appendix). Nevertheless, n= 141 (78.33%) participants experienced this conflict and relied on coping strategies to address the conflict, resulting in a response rate of 13.18%.

This final dataset contains the responses of 74 women and 67 men. A total of 73.8% of the respondents had completed either a vocational or university education. The respondents were between 16 and 72 years of age with a mean age of 39 years.

6.5 Results

First, the frequencies of the coping strategies are presented in figure 6.1. Respondents indicated the coping strategies they used most to cope with the conflict they experienced between service quality and social inclusion. Of the respondents who did experience a value conflict (n= 141), 37.58% coped according to a trade-off strategy favouring service quality (n=53), 31.91% followed a balancing strategy (n =45), 12.76% used a trade-off strategy in favour of social inclusion (n=18), 9.21% applied an avoidance strategy (n = 13), and 8.51% escalated the issue to the project coordinator (n = 12). The respondents thus mostly chose to favour service quality or opt for a balancing strategy. Bivariate results are presented as descriptive statistics in table 6.C of the Appendix. Additionally, the data indicate that the respondents did not necessarily cope according to how they wished to cope with the conflict (see Appendix table 6.D).

Figure 6.1: Frequency of coping strategies



As using a multinomial regression analysis requires including a reference category, this allows us to model how people who cope according to an avoidance strategy (the reference category) differ from respondents who cope according to the other coping strategies. This question is addressed in table 6.5, where we present a model without control variables and a model with control variables selected according to the likelihood ratio test ($X^2(12)=46.64$, $p = 0.0037$) (see Appendix table 6.E for the odds ratios for the model with control variables).

Table 6.5:
Multinomial logistic regression results: reference level Avoidance Strategy

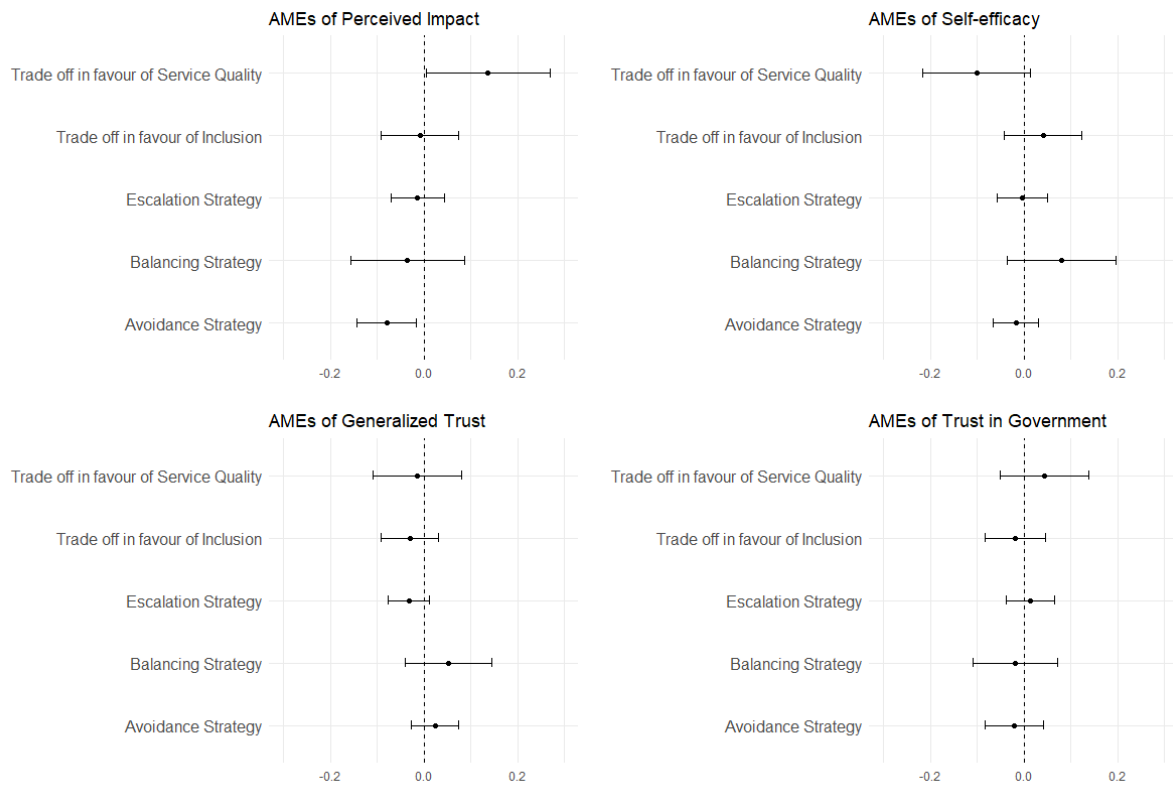
Coping strategy	Variable	Model 1		Model 2	
		Parameter Estimate	Std. Error	Parameter Estimate	Std. Error
Inclusion	Perceived impact	.852	(.552)	.948 ⁺	(.576)
	Self-efficacy	.726	(.509)	.610	(.515)
	Generalized trust	-.435	(.434)	-.548	(.442)
	Trust goverment	.281	(.491)	.099	(.521)
	Professionally involved			-1.321	(.864)
	Age			-.059 ⁺	(.033)
Service Quality	Perceived impact	1.328**	(.483)	1.391**	(.504)
	Self-efficacy	.037	(.375)	-.040	(.391)
	Generalized trust	-.255	(.385)	-.341	(.388)
	Trust goverment	.499	(.423)	.382	(.461)
	Professionally involved			.018	(.697)
	Age			-.027	(.027)
Balancing	Perceived impact	.883 ⁺	(.468)	.909 ⁺	(.488)
	Self-efficacy	.564	(.404)	.513	(.418)
	Generalized trust	-.034	(.390)	-.144	(.395)
	Trust goverment	.403	(.428)	.201	(.465)
	Professionally involved			-.294	(.709)
	Age			-.055 [*]	(.028)
Escalating	Perceived impact	.945	(.581)	.827	(.600)
	Self-efficacy	.107	(.462)	.173	(.506)
	Generalized trust	-.543	(.435)	-.730	(.459)
	Trust goverment	.673	(.516)	.447	(.567)
	Professionally involved			1.725	-1.053
	Age			-.122**	(.047)
Observations		141		141	
R ²		.056		.116	
Log Likelihood		-189.521		-177.540	
LR Test		22.678 (df = 20)		46.640* (df = 28)	

Source: Author's analysis.

Note: ⁺p<0.1; ^{*}p<0.05; ^{**}p<0.01

Figure 6.2 visualizes the AMEs and the significance of their effects at the 0.05 level for the core independent variables (see Appendix table 6.E for the percentage points).

Figure 6.2: AMEs of independent variables



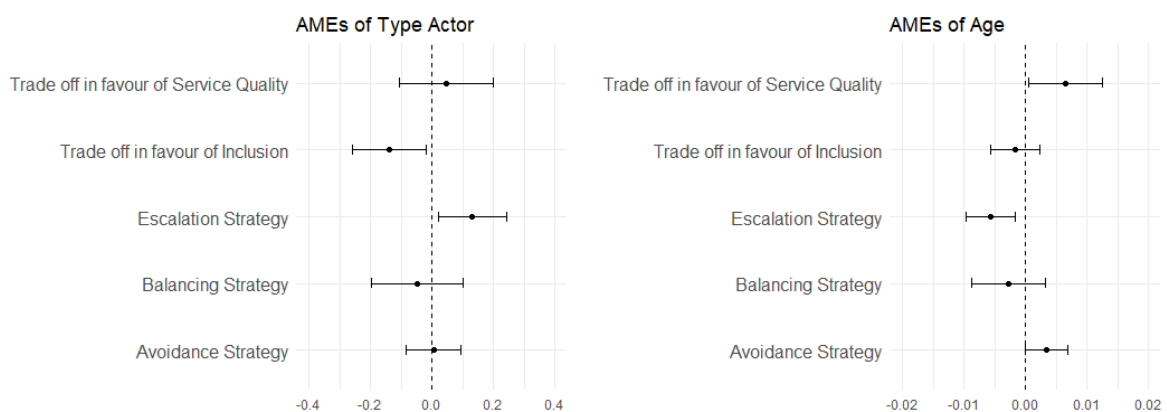
Note: The significance of the effects is visualized by standard errors. When standard errors do not cross the 0 line, the effects are significant at $p < 0.05$.

We find statistically significant support for H2a ($p < 0.05$), indicating a negative effect of perceived impact on adhering to an avoidance strategy. As the perceived impact increases, the probability of coping according to an avoidance strategy decreases. On average, as perceived impact increases by one unit, the probability of avoiding coping with the conflict decreases by 7.9 percentage points. Contrary to our expectations, we find a relation between perceived impact and trade-off

strategies. The data indicate that perceived impact has a positive effect on trading off in favour of service quality; however, it does not have any effect on trading off in favour of inclusion. The effect is thus on trading off in favour of a specific public value, service quality. On average, as perceived impact increases by one unit, the probability of trading off in favour of service quality increases by 13.64 percentage points ($p < 0.05$).

We find no statistically significant results for the other hypotheses. Therefore, this study cannot confirm that trust and self-efficacy explain citizen co-producers' choice of coping strategies. The effects of the control variables, type of actor and age of respondents show some minor significant effects as shown in figure 6.3. However, as these effects are so small, future studies should aim to replicate this study with a larger sample to check if these effects persist.

Figure 6.3: AMEs of control variables



Note: The significance of the effects is visualized by standard errors. When the standard errors do not cross the 0 line, the effects are significant at $p < 0.05$.

Especially due to the small sample used in this study, we present several robustness analyses in the next section.

6.5.1 Robustness analyses

Our model, as presented in table 6.5, seems to fit the data well. The pseudo R-square is statistically significant ($R^2_{\text{pseudo}} = 11.61\%$, $p < 0.05$), showing that the model fits the data better than the intercept-only model. In table 6.6, we present the observed probabilities and compare them to the predicted probabilities. The predicted results from the model are equal to the probabilities of the observed data, suggesting a good fit of the model.

Table 6.6:
Observed versus predicted probabilities of coping strategies

	Trade-off inclusion (%)	Trade-off service quality (%)	Balancing (%)	Avoidance (%)	Escalation (%)
Observed percentage	13	38	32	9	8
Predicted probability model 2	13	38	32	9	8

Source: Authors' analysis based on predicted results from multinomial logit models versus observed data

Finally, we tested the robustness of our results by (a) changing the specification of the independent variables and by (b) changing the dependent variable. First, we executed the analysis by taking the means for perceived impact, self-efficacy, generalized trust and trust in government. This resulted in the selection of a similar model with a significant pseudo R ($R^2_{\text{pseudo}} = 11\%$, $p < 0.05$) and a likelihood ratio test R ($X^2(8) = 46.373$, $p = 0.0039$). Similar to our main model, the analysis with means finds significant effects of perceived impact and age on coping strategies. When calculating the AMEs, this robustness check finds similar effects to those of our main analysis: an increase in perceived impact decreases the probability of adhering to an avoidance strategy (-7.82 percentage points, se (0.028), $p < 0.05$); being professionally involved decreases the probability of a trade-off in favour of inclusion (-13.74 percentage points, se (0.06), $p < 0.05$); being professionally involved increases the probability of escalating to the project coordinator (13.15 percentage points, se (0.056), $p < 0.05$); and an additional year in age decreases the probability of adhering to an escalating strategy (0.5

percentage points, se (0.002), $p < 0.05$). Although these results confirm the results of the main model, the model with the independent variables as means fails to find statistically significant results for a positive relationship between perceived impact and trading off in favour of service quality. Additionally, an effect of the control variable of age on trading-off in favour of inclusion and coping according to an avoidance strategy could not be statistically confirmed. Nevertheless, the non-statistically significant effects point in the same direction as these relationships.

Second, we perform a robustness check by running a binomial logit model (Field, Miles, and Field 2012). We compare an avoidance strategy ($n=13$) with more active ways of coping for which we combine the other outcome categories ($n=128$). This resulted in a model with a likelihood ratio test $R (X^2(6)=16.33, p = 0.012)$ with the same independent variables as our main model and a significant negative relation between perceived impact and avoidance of coping with a conflict between service quality and inclusion (AME = 7.7 percentage points, se (0.03), $p = 0.01$).

6.6 Discussion and conclusion

Using data from an original survey of citizens involved in the temporary co-production of vacant spaces in Flanders, we analysed whether self-efficacy, perceived impact, and trust affect citizen co-producers' adherence to specific coping strategies when dealing with a conflict between social inclusion and service quality. Contrary to our expectations, our study does not find statistically significant effects of self-efficacy and trust, whether involving generalized trust or trust in government, on the respondents' coping strategies. We found that irrespective of trust and self-efficacy, people mostly cope according to a trade-off strategy in favour of service quality or try to balance social inclusion with service quality. This finding may indicate that the respondents attach great importance to the quality of the project they are co-producing. At the same time, it may also indicate that co-production may fail to tackle structural exclusion (cf., Agger and Larson 2009; Verba and Nie 2000), as these co-producers are likely to trade-

off at the expense of inclusion. This latter implication corroborates earlier studies in co-production literature claiming that social inclusion is not guaranteed by co-production (cf. Bovaird and Loeffler 2012).

The study does find that perceiving an impact is beneficial for preventing a choice of avoidance strategies followed by the studied co-producers. External efficacy could thus remain a driver of behaviour for citizen co-producers later on in the co-production process, also after deciding to co-produce or not (cf. Van Eijk and Steen 2014), such as for their choice of coping strategies.

However, we would like to stress the context of the specific findings, which should not be simply generalized beyond this study. Nevertheless, the findings allow us to generate hypotheses for future research. For example, future research studying larger groups of citizen co-producers across a variety of sectors could test whether citizen co-producers with greater perceived impact are less likely to cope according to an avoidance strategy and more likely to actively cope with their experienced conflicts. Another interesting avenue is for future studies to check whether citizens trade off to the detriment of the value of social inclusion in other co-producing areas. If this is the case, the expectation of co-production leading to democratizing public service delivery (cf. Bovaird and Loeffler 2012) ought to be reconsidered.

We want to emphasize the limitations of this study and in doing so discuss some avenues for future research. First, the absence of an effect of trust could be explained by the fact that there is no consistent relationship between citizen trust in government and co-production behaviour (Parrado et al. 2013) or by the fact that the effect of trust is policy sector specific (Van Ryzin et al. 2017). This means that contrary to the expectations from the discussed literature, trust is not always a driver for behaviour in conflict situations, and it is important for scholars to take note of non-significant effects. However, the lack of statistically significant results found is likely due to having collected only a small sample. Future research should replicate this study with larger sample sizes and further examine the effects of the core independent variables used in this study and of the control variables.

Second, and relating to this lack of statistically significant results, the respondents showed high scores on these psychological traits overall, especially for self-efficacy, which may have hidden effects on citizen co-producers choice of coping strategies. Future studies specifically aimed at studying co-producers with lower scores on these characteristics may gain more insights into the actual effects of these variables on coping strategies, for example, by focussing on perhaps more top-down co-productive efforts in which specific groups of citizens that are more vulnerable are actively included.

Third, co-producing respondents were found among temporary users in Flanders. It is, however, impossible to establish how much these participants are in any way typical of or different from a broader group of co-production participants or citizens, so it is difficult to draw broader conclusions about them. Additionally, recent studies acknowledge that the practice of co-production might vary between service areas since each ‘comes with specific challenges, opportunities and practices’ (Brandsen, Steen, and Verschuere 2018, 7). However, the theoretical arguments made are not service specific; therefore, replicating this study on more specific co-production services across different administrative contexts and countries could help further develop hypotheses for citizen co-producers’ coping with value conflicts.

Fourth, we studied coping strategies by exploring the specific value conflict between social inclusion and service quality. We argued that this is a highly recognizable conflict for co-producers, and indeed, 78% of the studied population indicated experiencing this conflict. However, future research should include other value conflicts to check the robustness of the effect of perceived impacts on the choice of coping strategies for value conflicts in general.

Fifth, social desirability bias might have caused an overestimation of the likelihood of coping according to a strategy balancing social inclusion with service quality. Future research could explore the effects of social desirability bias in coping strategy and co-production research. Finally, in this study we looked at the individual level, whereby a possible effect of organizational cultures on trading off in favour of service quality was not taken into account explicitly. Although most temporary co-production projects start from scratch, individuals may

bring their organizational cultures, which may be guided by institutional logics, focussing more on service quality.

Despite these limitations, we cautiously draw some methodological, theoretical, and managerial implications. The method used in this study proved systematic for testing these types of hypotheses by computing AMEs. We encourage future research that further explores this relation between psychological traits and coping strategies followed by co-producers using the methodology adopted in this research. However, even if a larger sample size could be obtained with respect to more and other co-production initiatives in the future, the strength of these psychological traits is likely to remain quite low. This research indicates that in developing theories, researchers must be open minded and innovative and to include other variables and context variables when trying to understand the role of individual coping with public values conflicts in realizing public values.

For practice, this study clearly shows, co-production should not – as per default – be understood as a method for improving democracy. Co-production is not a solution for the many public values that public servants need to balance on a daily basis. Also citizen co-producers need to deal with conflicting values. It follows that balancing public values is a challenge that is inherent to governance, including the more innovative ways of governance such as co-production. Governments and public servants involved in co-production could therefore keep an eye on safeguarding public values such as social inclusion, also in co-produced public services.

CHAPTER 7:

How citizen co-producers cope with public value creation conflicts. A survey experiment on the effects of trust and external efficacy

This chapter is based on a manuscript submitted to an international peer-reviewed journal, and is co-authored by Koen Migchelbrink, Assistant Professor Public Management, Department of Public Administration and Sociology, Erasmus University.

In co-production citizen co-producers may be confronted with a value conflict between user value and more collective understandings of public value creation. In order to deal with conflicts experienced as trade-off situations co-producers follow coping strategies. Gaining insight into what drives the choices for coping strategies is valuable for understanding the role of citizen co-producers in public value creation. This article studies the effects of external efficacy and trust in the public servant on citizen co-producers' preferences for coping strategies. Data from a survey experiment conducted among $n = 257$ citizens involved in the temporary use of vacant spaces in Flanders suggest that citizen co-producers prefer to escalate the conflict to the public servant irrespective of their level of external efficacy or trust in the public servant. The findings suggest that public servants play a central role in mediating conflict in creating public value in co-production.

7.1 Introduction

There are a number of factors in complex service systems that play a role in public value creation, such as context, social forces and structures that enable interaction, institutionalizations, networks, power divisions, but also micro-level mechanisms play a role (Haynes 2018; Rossi and Tuurnas 2019). Public servants invite citizens to co-produce services in order to create better outcomes and public value from public service delivery (Bovaird 2007; Alford 2009; Bovaird and Loeffler 2012). Value added to the public sector has several dimensions, each responding to different claims for public value creation: user value, value to wider groups, social value, environmental value and political value (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012). One of the remaining conundrums in public value creation theory and the role of the citizen co-producer in 'the balance between individual and social/public value in public service delivery' (Osborne 2017, 229). Scholars have often hinted at a possible conflict between user value and social or public value, which 'burdens' service providers with the task of balancing both (Bovaird 2007; Alford 2009; Needham and Carr 2009; Brandsen and Helderma 2012). More recently, the scarce empirical studies to this balance is growing (e.g., Rossi and Tuurnas 2019). This research shows that in co-producing public services,

citizens, just as other service producers can be confronted with a conflict between user value for the co-producer and social value for the broader community (Jaspers and Steen 2020b). Studies additionally found that citizen co-producers also cope with these types of conflicts, occurring between dimensions of public value creation, using a variety of coping strategies (Aschhoff and Vogel 2018; Jaspers and Steen 2020b). Each of these individual coping strategies has different results for public value creation. How citizen co-producers balance these dimensions and why citizen co-producers behave the ways they do is insightful for practice. According to a public service logic, in co-production public organizations are facilitators of public value creation, rather than that they are creating value by linear production. It are the citizens and service users that create the performance and value of a public service in co-production (Osborne 2017). This paper argues that one of the ways in which individuals do so is by coping with their experienced value conflicts (micro-level). Therefore, gaining insight in what drives the choices for specific coping strategies is valuable for understanding public value creation. This article studies the preferences of citizens for three often-mentioned coping strategies when balancing both dimensions of public value creation is not possible: a trade-off strategy, an escalating strategy and an avoidance strategy (Steenhuisen 2009; de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016).

In this study, we examine what makes individuals cope differently with this conflict in similar situations. Knowledge about why citizens cope according to strategies that might lead to value co-destruction, can help public organizations in facilitating the citizen co-producers value co-creation process. In the organizational and political psychology literature, scholars have focused on personality traits and individual differences to explain how individuals behave when facing value conflicts (e.g., Van Lange 1999). In this paper, we extend this line of research and look into two personality traits as determinants for coping strategies of citizen co-producers in value conflicts: trust in the facilitator and external efficacy. We chose to test these two variables because they are both drivers for co-productive behaviour and are well recognized in psychology literature for driving behaviour in situations that are stressful or characterized with conflict. First, trust is a beneficial psychological construct in solving value conflicts (Dawes 1980; Kramer, Brewer, and Hanna 1996; De Cremer and van Vugt 1999). Second, external efficacy, or an individual's

perceived impact on participation, is identified as a driver for the pursuit of a desired outcome (e.g., Verba and Nie 1972) when faced with value conflicts.

Since we know that citizen co-producers cope using a variety of strategies, this article examines *the effects of citizen co-producer's trust in the public servant and external efficacy on their choice of coping strategies when dealing with public value conflicts*.

We present the findings of a vignette experiment on the effects of external efficacy and trust in a public servant on citizen co-producers' preference for coping strategies when dealing with a conflict between creating user value and social value during co-production activities. We compiled an unique data set of $n = 95$ co-production projects in the context of temporary uses of vacant spaces in Flanders. We invited ($n = 257$) citizen co-producers from these projects and randomly assigned them to evaluate a vignette of a co-production value conflict between creating user value and social value in which levels of external efficacy and trust in the public servant were systematically manipulated. Participants were asked to rank four types of coping strategies: a trade-off in favour of social value creation, a trade-off in favour of user value creation, escalating to the public servant, and avoiding the conflict situation. We analyzed the results of this experiment using rank ordered logit analysis. The results show that irrespective of the level of external efficacy or trust in the public servant, citizen co-producers prefer to escalate the situation to the public servant involved in the project.

In the next section, we start by discussing the meaning of co-production, the various dimensions of creating public value, the existence of conflicts in creating public value, and coping strategies. Next, we discuss the roles of external efficacy and trust in the public servant in explaining preferences for particular coping strategies. The article then addresses the case selection, experimental design, data sampling method, and data analysis method. In the final sections, we present our results, followed by a discussion and conclusion.

7.2 Co-production and the co-creation of public value

Building on the seminal work of Ostrom (1996) and Parks et al. (1981), Brandsen and Honingh (2015, 428), define co-production as ‘the direct input of citizens in the individual design and delivery of a service during the production phase’. Scholars have identified various forms of co-production activities (Bovaird 2007; Brandsen and Honingh 2015; Nabatchi, Sancino, and Sicilia 2017). Although scholars distinguish between ‘co-production’, taking place during the implementation phase of a public service, and ‘co-creation’, taking place in the service design phase (Brandsen and Honingh 2018, 13), we follow Bovaird and Loeffler’s (2012) suggestion to use the term co-production for citizen-government collaboration throughout the policy cycle (when an initiative includes both the co-design and the co-delivery of a service). We also follow the conceptualization of enhanced co-production which conceptualizes co-production where citizens and service users are given a more fundamental role for co-designing and co-creating services and innovations that may result in new forms of public services (cf. Strokosch and Osborne 2016).

The aim of co-production is similar to that of regular service delivery: to create public value (c.f. Nabatchi et al. 2017). The concept of public value (singular) (cf. Moore 1995) represents the added value created through the activities of public organizations and officials and is ‘sometimes presented in terms of normative aspirations for a “good society”’ (Hartley, Alford, Knies, and Douglas 2017, 672). It can be distinguished from the concept of ‘public values’, which refers to values that represent the ‘normative consensus about the rights [and obligations of citizens...] and the principles on which governments and policies should be based’ (Bozeman 2007, 13).

Following the definitions of co-production and public value creation, we refer to public services as being co-produced and public value as being (co-)created.

Co-production brings a specific context to public value creation. Multiple actors, including citizens, co-create public value in the co-production of a service (Alford 2009; Bryson, Sancino, Benington, and Sørensen 2017). Bovaird and Loeffler (2012, 1126-1127) provided a framework

for public value in the context of co-production where they identify the dimensions of the value added by the public sector:

- ‘user value
- value to wider groups (such as family or friends of service users, or individuals who are indirectly affected)
- social value (creation of social cohesion or support for social interaction)
- environmental value (ensuring environmental sustainability of all policies)
- political value (support to democratic process, e.g., through co-planning of services with users and other stakeholders)’

Additionally, scholars point to the fuzziness of concepts such as the public interest. Often what is of public value is defined to be ‘in the public interest,’ which in turn is defined as ‘what citizens expect from government and what public officials – both politicians and administrators – strive for or should strive for’ (Schott 2015, 34). This ambiguity makes it difficult to introduce a hierarchy into these concepts or dimensions of public value, contributing to the experience of value conflicts.

According to Bovaird and Loeffler (2012), it is likely that all of these dimensions are present in the desires and motivations of citizen co-producers for creating value. Citizen co-producers could be motivated to co-produce because of their desire to ensure high levels of user value. Likewise, environmentally conscious co-producers may be motivated to ensure the environmental sustainability of a service. Conversely, community-conscious co-producers may be focused on facilitating social inclusion and producing outcomes that benefit the ‘widest possible range of local community members’ (1127). It’s these desires for public value creation that may be experienced as conflicting.

7.3 Value conflicts

Recent studies on public value co-creation suggest value conflicts between private or user value and more collective understandings of public value can occur (Alford 2014, 2016; Osborne et al. 2016; Farr 2016). Bovaird and Loeffler (2018) argue that politicians need to balance and prioritize these different dimensions of public value, as conflicts with certain interest groups are likely to occur. Just as public servants have been found to experience value conflicts between creating user value for specific (groups of) individuals and creating other dimensions of public value in regular service provision (Rainey 2009), citizen co-producers also face similar dilemmas arising from the co-production process (Jaspers and Steen 2020b). A possible reason for this is that co-producers engaged in co-production can have different goals or mixed desires about the type of public value they wish to create (e.g., Le Grand 2003; Van Eijk and Steen 2014; Uzochukwu and Thomas 2017). This can contribute to experiencing some of these aims as incompatible. Individuals experience a conflict between the dimensions of public value when, in their perception, creating both is not possible (Brandsen and Helderman 2012).

Co-production research shows how citizen co-producers feel the need to find a balance between user value and other dimensions of public value (Jaspers and Steen 2020b). For example, citizen co-producers may be confronted with a conflict between creating value for themselves and creating social value for other people (Alford 2009). Citizens cope with these conflicts by using a variety of coping strategies (Jaspers and Steen 2020b).

7.4 Coping

The concept of ‘coping’ refers to the strategy people adopt to deal with value conflicts (de Graaf, Huberts, and Smulders 2016; Lipsky 1980). Steenhuisen (2009, 20) defines coping as ‘a response to competing values that takes form in [...] actions and decisions’. The street-level bureaucracy literature identifies a number of ways in which public servants deal with value conflicts on a day-to-day basis (e.g., Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006; de Graaf et al. 2016). We can group these strategies into ‘trade-off strategies’ and ‘balancing strategies’. Trade-off strategies

are mono-value solutions where the focus is being put on the creation of just one value. Balancing strategies are multi-value solutions where two conflicting value dimensions are created (Steenhuisen and de Bruijne 2009).

Thacher and Rein (2004) and Stewart (2006) provide several examples of trade-off strategies. Thacher and Rein (2004) first identified a casuistry strategy (where individual public servants trade-off a value based on how they traded-off during a previous conflict experience). Stewart (2006) then added two more trade-off strategies: a bias strategy (where one value is preferred over the other) and an incrementalism strategy (where individuals slowly increase the emphasis on one value). Similarly, they also identified three balancing strategies. Thacher and Rein (2004) identify a strategy of building firewalls (where individuals and organizations appoint different institution or positions to support each value) and a cycling strategy (where coping is done by paying sequential attention to each value). Stewart (2006) identified a hybridization strategy where individuals seek a balance between competing value dimensions.

Other coping strategies cannot straightforwardly be grouped into trade-off or balancing strategies. We add two additional coping strategies based on Tetlock (2000) and de Graaf et al. (2016): an escalating strategy and an avoidance strategy. Escalating is a coping strategy by which people “escalate” questions about competing values to a higher administrative or legislative authority (Tetlock 2000; de Graaf et al. 2016). Escalating goes further than help-seeking behaviour (e.g., Bamberger 2009) and implies ‘passing the buck’, meaning an individual will ascribe one’s own responsibility to another person or group (Steenhuisen 2009). The efficacy of this coping strategy depends on reaction of the higher authority to which the conflict is escalated. Alternatively, an avoidance coping strategy prevents citizen co-producers from dealing with the conflict completely (Endler and Parker 1990). Since some citizens feel that they lack the capacity to cope with the conflict, they may opt to avoid dealing with the conflict (Steenhuisen 2009). Out of all the identified coping strategies, the avoidance strategy is the most passive, and potentially most value destructive, strategy.

7.5 What drives the choice of coping strategies?

In the early coping literature, Hirschman (1970) identified two conditions for following strategies that aim at actively solving a conflict situation rather than neglecting it: a person's perceived ability to have an impact and a person's loyalty or trust towards an authority. A person's perceived impact is related to individuals having a perception of their ability to influence an organization. For example, Loeffler (2016) emphasizes that effective forms of co-production require 'voice'. The theory on external efficacy is linked closely to Loeffler's idea of voice (Kristensen et al. 2012). Additionally, trust is identified in the psychology literature as a predictor of behaviour, especially in conflict situations (Balliet and Van Lange 2013). We chose to test these two variables because first, they are both drivers for co-productive behaviour (Parrado et al. 2013; Van Eijk and Steen 2014; Bovaird et al. 2015; Thomsen 2017; Clark and Brudney 2019). Second, are well recognized in psychology literature for driving behaviour in situations that are stressful or characterized with conflict (Bandura 1986; Lewicki, McAllister and Bies 1998).

7.5.1 External efficacy

External efficacy refers to individuals' 'perception of the results of their participation in the service provision' (Kristensen et al. 2012, 4-5). In discussing the external efficacy of citizens, Jo and Nabatchi (2018, 235) refer to an individual's 'belief that professionals will make room for participation and be responsive to input'. In co-production literature external efficacy is one of the determinants of co-productive efforts (Bovaird et al., 2015; Parrado et al., 2013). External efficacy is a situational trait-like disposition (Schneider, Otto, Alings and Schmitt 2015), which means that individuals already involved in co-production may re-evaluate their perceived impact based on new developments or situations in the co-production process, which provides the individual with new information on their perceived impact, which may influence their behaviour (Ertiö et al. 2014; Clark and Shurik 2016).

Van Eijk and Steen's (2016) identify external efficacy as one of the main factors driving citizens' efforts to co-produce. They find that low external efficacy is related to low motivation to co-produce. This is in line with political psychology literature describing that people participate little in policy making if they frequently feel that their voices will not be heard (Fowler and Kam 2007; see also: Iyengar 1980). Thus external efficacy is the situational self-measure about the room given to create an impact. When an individual estimates their impact is not getting much 'room', or their voice is not heard, they may choose to avoid putting in more efforts which leads to dropping out or perhaps neglect (Hirschman 1970; Fowler and Kam 2007). This means that when in co-production a citizen is low externally efficacious, he/she/it may believe their coping strategy will not have an impact. Therefore, we formulate the following hypothesis:

H₁: When citizen co-producers' external efficacy is low, their preference for avoidance as a coping strategy is higher than when their external efficacy is high.

The political participation literature conceptualizes external efficacy as a psychological resource that equips people to show more help-seeking behaviour, such as escalating the conflict to a higher authority (Verba and Nie 1972). In this study, we examine escalating to a specific administrative authority, the public servant, since in co-production projects the public servant is often the higher administrative authority with whom citizens directly interact. In other words, individuals that are high external efficacious may be more likely to ask for help, as they estimate that their demands or issues are given 'room' (Jo and Nabatchi 2018). In this case asking for help enhances the pursuit of outcomes (Verba and Nie 1972). We expect that external efficacy may have a positive effect on individuals' preferences to seek help from this 'higher' authority. We thus propose to the following hypothesis:

H₂: When citizen co-producers' external efficacy is high, their preference for escalating to the public servant as a coping strategy is higher than when their external efficacy is low.

7.5.2 Trust

Trust is seen as one of the key conditions for collaborative practices (Yamagishi and Cook 1993; Ostrom 1998). Ostrom (1988) states that although trust takes time and effort to build it reduces complexity and transaction costs. The trust literature indicates that trust is an indicator of coping behaviour in situations that are characterized by conflicts (Balliet and Van Lange 2013; Dawes 1980; De Cremer and van Vugt 1999; Kramer et al. 1996). Following Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman (1995, 712), trust can be defined as ‘the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectations that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party’. Trust in others thus plays a potential role in cooperative behaviour in mixed-motive situations (De Cremer, Snyder, and Dewitte 2001).

First, the psychology literature claims that trust is positively related to cooperation, especially in the case of a conflict between user value and other dimensions of public value (Balliet and Van Lange 2013). When trust is high, people have confidence in each other’s goodwill and engage in reciprocal cooperation (e.g., Ring and van de Ven 1994). In other words, trusting people are more willing to compromise and collaborate with others, because of a feeling to be able to rely on the trusted other. Balliet and Van Lange (2013, 1102) show that trust matters in a conflict between self-interest and benevolent motives, and does increasingly so when the experienced conflict is greater. Trusting the other person and believing to be able to rely on the benevolent intentions of the trusted person can thus be a predictor of cooperation in conflict situations (Balliet and Van Lange 2013). Even more, trust would enhance the desire of individuals to strengthen and include new members in existing social networks (Fukuyama 1995). Combining both the psychology literature and the political participation literature, we hypothesize the following:

H₃: When citizen co-producers trust in the public servant is high, the preference for a trade-off in favour of the social value creation as a coping strategy is higher than when trust in the public servant is low.

Another characteristic of trust is that it involves the expectations of the trusted person (in our case, the public servant) to act benevolent towards the trusting person when there is a conflict between oneself and the collective interests (e.g., Mayer et al. 1995; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, and Camerer 1998; Yamagishi 2011). This means that in the case of conflict, trust enhances the risk-taking behaviour of the trusting person. This risk-taking behaviour is characterized by vulnerability such as help-seeking behaviour or the escalation of the conflict to a more trustworthy authority. Therefore, we hypothesize the following:

H4: When citizen co-producers' trust in the public servant is high, their preferences for escalating to the public servant as a coping strategy is higher than when trust in the public servant is low.

Finally, building on the conditions that Hirschman (1970) formulated, when trust in a specific authority is absent, individuals can show neglect and have a higher likelihood of coping using an avoidance strategy. Organizational behavioural studies have corroborated this mechanism. Lewicki, McAllister, and Bies (1998) state that people with low trust levels believe that other group members provide little insight and relief to the project, which results in the avoidance of voicing concerns. It means that people with lower levels of trust do not think that others are able to help and can therefore opt for an avoidance strategy. We hypothesize the following:

H5: When citizen co-producers' trust in the public servant is low, their preference for avoidance as a coping strategy is higher than when trust in the public servant is high.

7.6 Methods

7.6.1 Temporary co-production in vacant spaces

The people involved in the temporary use of vacant spaces have a variety of aims and expectations for the creation of the dimensions of public value (Jaspers and Steen 2020a). It forms an ideal case for studying coping strategies because conflicts are likely to arise due to the plurality of aims of co-production in the temporary use of vacant spaces.

In the co-production of temporary vacant spaces, many different types of public services are co-produced. For example, the co-production of urban planning and spatial policies, community building, social care programs, youth policy, innovative social experiments, economic springboards; etc. Specific examples include temporary cultural expositions, neighbourhood activity centres, neighbourhood gardens, a temporary skate park and playground, a folk cuisine, giveaway stores, etc. Often these buildings encompass a variety of these activities, all designed and implemented by citizen co-producers. In the temporary use of vacant spaces, the government often, but not solely, makes the empty buildings and lots available or acts as a legal mediator when the building is made available by a private actor.

7.6.2 Experimental design

The objective of this study is to test the effects of external efficacy and trust in the public servant on citizen co-producers' preferences for coping strategies when confronted with value conflicts between creating private user value and social value. Experimental research is well suited to study individual preferences at the micro-level since they allow us to study the effects of individuals' attitudes and behaviours. Furthermore, citizen co-producers are socially incentivized to overstate their prosocial behaviours when dealing with value conflicts. Therefore, we require a robust, non-observational estimation procedure to test the effects of external efficacy and trust in the public servant on preferences for coping strategies. To apply this method to a large and diverse sample, we chose a large-scale online vignette experiment.

7.6.2.1 The vignette

In this study we conduct a vignette experiment. Vignette experiments allow us to test the effects of personal attitudes without having to measure actual behaviour (Bevir 2006). Atzmüller and Steiner (2010, 128) define a vignette as 'a short textual description of a situation that represents a systematic combination of theoretically determined characteristics'. Our experiment contains four vignettes with identical textual descriptions. We include two factors in the vignettes that represent

citizen co-producers' external efficacy and trust in the public servant, and manipulated these characteristics at two levels (high vs. low; e.g., a 2*2 full-factorial design). Because of this use of multiple factors in a single experimental design, vignette studies enable more valid and realistic scenarios to be tested than classic single-factor experiments (Mee 2009). This design allows us to estimate the effects of external efficacy and trust in public servants independent of each other in the same experiment.

The respondents were randomly assigned to evaluate a vignette in which a citizen co-producer protagonist named Sam, was confronted with a value conflict between creating user value and social value, characterized by either high external efficacy and high trust in the public servant, low external efficacy and high trust in the public servant, high external efficacy and low trust in the public servant, or low external efficacy and low trust in the public servant. In the design of the vignette we present a hypothetical situation featuring a fictional character, Sam. In doing so we probe the respondents with a concrete example or story about an individual for which the respondents can offer their opinion (Hazel 1995,2; Hughes 1998, 381). Although there is a risk of low cognitive exercise when using paper-people vignettes, social desirability that may influence the responses (reporting prosocial behaviour) was thereby reduced. The situation presented in the vignette comes from theory and exploratory interviews. In the vignette, the protagonist Sam is involved in co-producing a vegetable garden in which he is personally invested (user value) in the temporary use project and is confronted with the demand to organize more activities for the people of the neighbourhood (social value). The vignette continues by illustrating how Sam is experiencing this as a conflict between the creation of user value and social value. Experimenting with the gardening project represents the user value Sam is getting from being involved in the temporary use, while organizing events to include the neighbourhood represent the social value that could potentially be created from the temporary use project. After presenting the vignette, the respondent is invited to imagine, how they would behave when they were in this exact same situation that Sam is in. We asked the respondents to rank four coping strategies based on which would be their preferred strategy in

the situation presented in the vignette, ranging from most preferred (1) to least preferred (4). The English translation of the base vignette is presented in figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: The vignette and the manipulated influential factors³⁰.

Imagine the following situation:

In his spare time, Sam is involved in the temporary use of a vacant building. A variety of activities are organized in and around the building by a number of people living in the neighborhood. Sam—together with others—is using some of the space around the building to experiment with gardening. A public servant calls for a meeting with Sam and all other temporary users of the building. At the meeting, the public servant says that the temporary use should involve more events for the people of the neighborhood who are not participating at the moment in the temporary use of the building. Sam immediately thinks about the extra time this will cost him and that it will keep him away from his own project on gardening. <Sam trusts the intentions of the public servant/Sam does not trust the intentions of the public servant>. Just as with earlier meetings, <Sam has the feeling that people listen well to what he has to say/Sam has the feeling that people do not listen to what he has to say>.

Given the situation described above, what would you do if you were Sam? Order the options below, where '1' indicates what you would most likely do and '4' indicates what you would least likely do.

The response categories were presented in random order. A trade-off in favour of user value creation was operationalized as follows: 'In Sam's situation, I would not organize additional events for the neighbours because it would not directly benefit my gardening project'. Next, a trade-off in favour of social value creation was operationalized by the following statement: 'In Sam's situation, I would try to organize more events for the neighbourhood because it is important, even though this is at the expense of my own gardening project'. Escalation was operationalized by emphasizing asking for help from the public servant: 'In Sam's situation, I would ask advice from the public servant for how to cope with the conflict between organizing events for the neighbourhood and executing my own project'. Finally, for the avoidance strategy, we opted for

³⁰ Translated from Dutch, which was the original language of the vignette.

a realistic operationalization of abstaining from coping: ‘In Sam’s situation, I would do nothing and wait’. Before conducting the full experiment, we piloted the vignette experiment using hard copies (N=9)³¹ and an online test survey among a subsample of the target population (N = 55)³². The survey experiment was conducted using the Qualtrics® online survey software (Qualtrics 2019). The respondents were asked to provide their informed consent before they could participate in the study.

7.6.2.2 Independent variables

We operationalized high external efficacy as ‘Sam has the feeling that people listen well to what he has to say’, and we operationalized low external efficacy as ‘Sam has the feeling that people do not listen to what he has to say’. We operationalized trust as particularized trust: the trust an individual has towards a specific person. Trust is therefore operationalized as ‘Sam trusts the public servant’s intentions’. Low trust levels are operationalized as ‘Sam does not trust the public servant’s intentions’.

7.6.3 Data sampling

No database exists for citizen co-producers. Therefore, we compiled a unique data set of Flemish citizens who were engaged in the co-production of temporary use projects between March and November 2019. We contacted all 300 Flemish municipalities and cities and asked them via e-mail and/or telephone if projects concerning the temporary co-production of vacant spaces exist in their municipality in order to obtain a contact list of all citizen co-producers of

³¹ The first author interviewed four public administration scholars and four citizens who are involved in volunteer work and one temporary use project coordinator (the project coordinator was asked not to fill out the final survey). They orally answered the questions and explained their answers, making sure that the vignette was understood and the manipulations came through.

³² Approximately 55 respondents answered the test-survey. The test-survey was sent to people that were currently or in the past involved in volunteer work and were not part of the population sample. They co-produced services and could easily place themselves in the hypothetical situation of the vignette.

temporary spaces in Flanders. We checked if the projects were co-productive by asking the following questions: (1) is there active contribution by citizens to the temporary use? (2) Is the (local) government involved in any way? (3) Is the temporary use producing a service or a good for the public? We obtained the contact details of the project coordinators of the reported temporary use projects and relied on their collaboration to forward the invitations to the experiment to all citizen co-producers in their project. Because not all project coordinators answered our questions, we were not able to establish the final target population size. The total number of co-producers who received our questionnaire was N=1069. We asked the coordinators the number of people to whom they forwarded our invitation, after stressing it is important to send it to all participants and not preselect respondents. This allowed us to select citizen co-producers according to the following selection criteria: (1) they were involved in a project where they directly or indirectly collaborate with the local government, (2) they were involved in a project that aims to provide a public service, and (3) they were involved in the temporary use at the moment of the survey.

7.6.4 Data analysis

Statistically, we examined the effects of external efficacy and trust in the public servant on respondents' preference for a coping strategy using a rank ordered logit regression (ROL) analysis (Croissant 2019). By asking respondents to provide a complete ranking of all four presented coping alternatives instead of only the most preferred strategy, we can make a more efficient estimation of respondents' preferences for coping strategies than we would have done by using a standard discrete-choice model in which only the most preferred alternative is analyzed (Allison & Christakis 1994; Croissant 2012; Fok, Paap, and Van Dijk 2010).

We recoded the vignette manipulations in two orthogonal indicator variables (one for trust in the public servant and one for external efficacy). Following Mee's (2009) recommendations for the analysis of full-factorial vignette experiments, we coded each factor's high-level manipulation as 1 and each factor's low-level manipulation as -1.

7.6.4.1 Fielding

We fielded the vignettes from October 1 to November 13, 2019. Of the $n = 1069$ respondents invited to participate, $n = 257$ participants completed the vignette experiment, which is a response rate of 24.04%. This final dataset contained the responses of 112 women and 119 men, 71% of which completed either a vocational or university education. The mean age of the respondents was 40 years. The number of respondents assigned per vignette ranged from $n = 60$ to $n = 68$ (table 7.1). We conducted five balanced tests to assess whether randomization produced statistically equivalent groups of respondents for each vignette. Significant differences in the demographics of the groups are indicative of a randomization failure. Based on the respondents' age, gender, education, actor-type, and involvement in co-creation, we found no such differences between the four groups of respondents (Appendix table 7.A).

Table 7.1 shows the number of responses for each of four vignettes with their respective manipulations.

Table 7.1:

Vignette population

Vignette	External Efficacy	Trust in the public servant	N
1	High	High	60
2	Low	High	68
3	High	Low	63
4	Low	Low	66
		total	257

7.7 Results

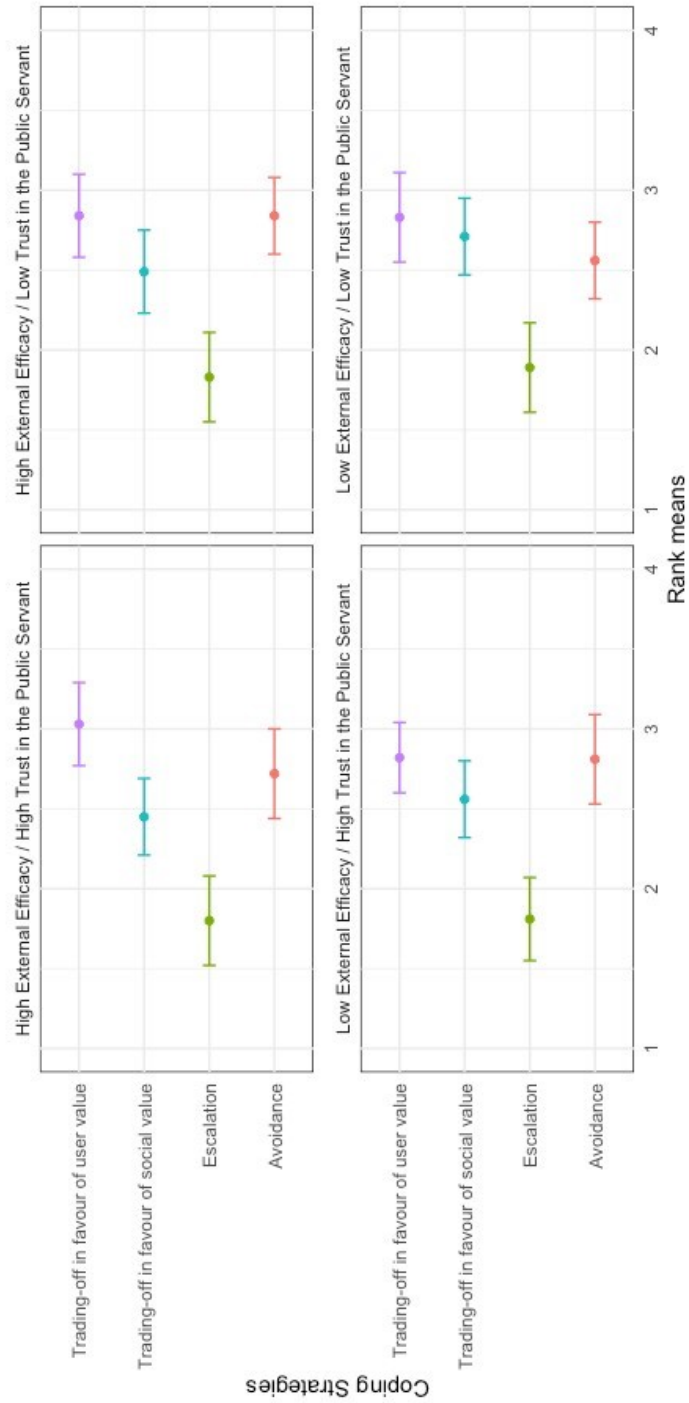
Do external efficacy and trust in the public servant affect respondents' preference for coping strategies in conflicts between the dimensions of public value in co-production? Figure 7.2 on the next page displays the mean ranks per coping strategy for each of the four vignettes. The ranks per coping strategy range from 1 (most preferred coping strategy) to 4 (least preferred coping strategy). The mean ranks display the mean of the preferential ranks given to a specific coping strategy. The observed mean ranks range between 3.03 for trading-off in favour of user value creation as the least preferred coping strategy and 1.8 for escalating the situation to the public servant as most preferred coping strategy (Appendix table 7.B). This shows that escalating to the public servants was more often selected as being most preferred than trading-off in favour of user value.

Our results indicate that irrespective of the treatment combinations, escalating to the public servant appears to be the most preferred coping strategy for coping with conflicts between the user value and social value dimensions of public value creation. Similarly, irrespective of the treatment combination, trading-off in favour of user creation appears to be the least preferred coping strategy for dealing with conflicts between the dimensions of public value.

The distributions of the mean ranks in the intermediate treatment combinations (either high or low external efficacy or trust in the public servant) appear interchangeable. In both cases, trading-off in favour of social value creation appears the second most preferred coping strategy while trading-off in favour of user value creation and avoidance are the least preferred coping strategies. For the vignettes in which both external efficacy and trust in the public servant are either high or low, the results diverge. For the treatment combination in which external efficacy and trust in the public servant are high, trading-off in favour of social value creation appears to be the second most preferred coping strategy, followed by avoidance and trading-off in favour of user value creation, respectively. For the treatment combination in which external efficacy and trust in the public servant are low, respondents indicate that avoidance is the second most

preferred coping strategy, followed by trading-off in favour of social value creation and trading-off in favour of user creation, respectively.

Figure 7.2. Mean ranks per coping strategy



To determine whether the differences in the preferred coping strategies are significant and how external efficacy and trust in the public servant affect these preferences for coping strategies, we conducted rank ordered logit regression analysis. The results of this analysis are presented in odds ratios, with their standard errors within brackets in table 7.2.

Table 7.2:
ROL-analysis parameter estimates (with standard errors)

Parameters	Estimates	
	Odds Ratios	Std.err
Escalation to public servant - (intercept)	2.516	(.300)***
Trading-off in favour of social value creation - (intercept)	1.285	(.144)*
Trading-off in favour of user value creation - (intercept)	.873	(.097)
Avoidance - (intercept)	-	
Escalation to public servant - trust †	1.165	(.139)
Trading-off in favour of social value creation - trust	1.174	(.131)
Trading-off in favour of user value creation - trust	1.092	(.122)
Avoidance - trust	-	
Escalation to public servant - efficacy †	1.067	(.127)
Trading-off in favour of social value creation - efficacy	1.115	(.125)
Trading-off in favour of user value creation - efficacy	.967	(.108)
Avoidance - efficacy	-	
Escalation to public servant * trust: efficacy	.919	(.110)
Trading-off in favour of social value creation – trust * efficacy	.927	(.104)
Trading-off in favour of user value creation – trust * efficacy	.856	(.095)
Avoidance – trust * efficacy	-	

Significance levels: *** $P < .001$; ** $P = .01$, * $P = .05$

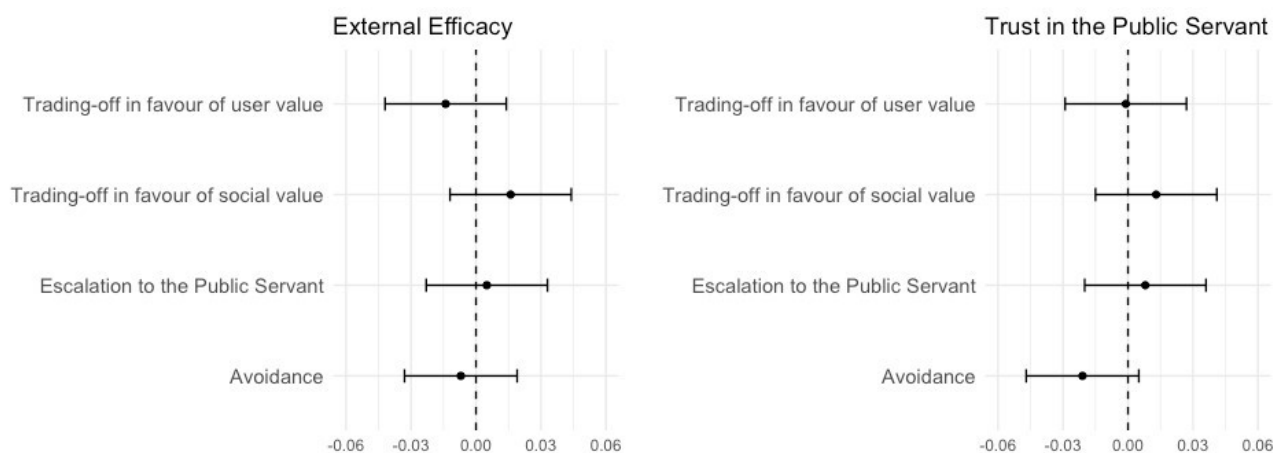
† Trust is in this table trust in the public servant, Efficacy is in this table external efficacy

Following our observations, the results show that respondents' most preferred coping strategy is to escalate to the public servant, followed by trading-off in favour of social value creation. There is no statistically significant difference between coping through avoidance and trading-off in favour of user value creation. The respondents are estimated to be 152% more likely to opt for escalating to the public servant than to do nothing (avoidance) and an estimated 29% more likely to opt for trading-off in favour of social value creation than to do nothing. The results do not confirm that either external efficacy or trust in the public servant significantly

affect respondents' preferences for one of the four coping strategies. Based on these results, we cannot confirm our hypotheses. Furthermore, we find no statistically significant evidence for an interaction effect between trust in the public servant and external efficacy on respondents' preferences for coping strategies.

To present the effects of external efficacy and trust in the public servant on the likelihood function for the separate coping strategies, we present their average marginal effects (AMEs) in figure 7.3. As shown in the figure, none of the standard errors cross the 0 line, and thus are the effects not significant at $p < 0.05$. The AMEs show that we find non-statistically significant support for our five hypotheses while one hypothesis shows a non-significant opposite effect. Our results indicate that citizen co-producers' external efficacy and trust in the public servant could have positive effects on their preferences for coping by escalating to the public servant or trading-off in favour of social value creation (in line with H₂, H₃, and H₄) while citizen co-producers' external efficacy and trust in the public servant could be negatively associated with the preference for avoidance as a coping strategies for a conflict between creating the dimensions of user value and social value (in line with H₁, H₅).

Figure 7.3. Average Marginal Effects



7.8 Discussion

Contrary to our expectations, we do not find statistically significant effects of external efficacy and trust in the public servant on respondents' preferences for coping strategies. Our results show that irrespective of the levels of external efficacy and trust in the public servant, citizen co-producers prefer to deal with the conflict between creating user value and social value by escalating to the public servant. These findings could indicate that citizen co-producers are relatively risk averse and hesitant to take responsibility for coping with a conflict between creating user value and social value in co-production (e.g., Wise, Paton, and Gegenhuber 2012), which provides an explanation for the risk of failing accountability in co-produced services (cf. Steen, Brandsen, and Verschuere 2018). An earlier article of Fung (2015, 517) stated that when 'decisions involve important ethical or material trade-offs, citizens may be best placed to adjudicate those decisions [perhaps through co-production]'. However, the explanation of citizens' risk-aversion indicates that citizen co-producers are unlikely to take responsibility for making ethical trade-offs. This indicates the neglect of those citizens (e.g., Newman 2008) and/or it indicates that citizens do not have the resources (e.g., abilities and knowledge) to cope with these trade-offs (Alford 2009; Jakobsen and Andersen 2013). A second explanation, and one that is more in line with a public service logic of co-production is that the escalating strategy offers the opportunity to balance value conflicts through communication and discussion with the public servant. As public servants are the facilitators of public value creation in co-production, this explanation could imply that citizens also desire of public servants and public organizations to facilitate this process. They are looking for assistance and as such apply an adaptive strategy of seeking assistance (Newman 2008). Escalating to the public servant allows the citizen co-producer to avoid choosing between the dimensions of public value while maintaining their voice. In this respect, the popularity of the escalating coping strategy shows that public servants are seen as 'credible leaders' (Fledderus 2015, 561).

This study should be considered in light of a couple of limitations. First, we studied citizen co-producers' preferences for coping strategies in the temporary use of vacant spaces in Flanders.

Although we conducted our experiment using an exhaustive database of citizen co-producers and the temporary use of vacant spaces includes multiple co-production services, our findings are not necessarily valid for cases outside of our study. Furthermore, in Flanders, municipalities are responsible for inviting direct participation in these areas as they see fit (Vlaamse Overheid 2017), whereas in other contexts, the rules, regulations and opportunities for co-production in temporary vacant spaces are different (Refill 2018). A replication of this study for specific co-production services among different citizen co-producers in different administrative contexts would help to further strengthen the external validity of our results.

Second, we tested the effects of two factors on citizen co-producers' preferences for coping strategies when dealing with conflicts between creating user value and social value. Although the random assignment of participants to treatment conditions mediated the effects of observed and unobserved covariates, other relevant variables could also play roles in citizen co-producers' preferences for coping strategies. Examples include citizen co-producers' internal efficacy and their prior experience with co-production initiatives. Future research could examine the effects of these and other possible determinants of citizen co-producers' preferences for coping strategies.

Third, we limited the possible effects of social desirability bias in citizen co-producers' preferences for coping strategies by asking respondents to assess the situation of a hypothetical third person called 'Sam'. Although research indicates that using a third-person perspective in vignette experiments reduces the risk of social desirability bias (Hughes and Huby 2004), there are two limitations. First, we cannot exclude this bias from having affected our results. More specifically, social desirability bias might have caused an overestimation of the likelihood of preferring to trade-off in favour of social value creation over the creation of user value. Future research could explore the effects of social desirability bias in co-production research further. Second, external efficacy is often seen as measure of self-perception, and using paper-persons might therefore be problematic. However, recent studies (Schneider, Otto, Alings and Schmitt 2015) show how external efficacy is a situational measure of self-perception. In light of those

studies the use of a hypothetical situation combined with a probing question (asking what the respondent would do if it were in the situation of Sam) was argued. Nevertheless, future research could explore the effect of using a paper-person in vignette-experiments on the measure of external efficacy.

7.9 Conclusion

The study provides some theoretical implications corroborating theoretical contributions stating that public value creation is a multi-actor matter (cf., Bryson et al. 2017). The research thereby answers to a conundrum in public value creation theory (Osborne 2017) regarding the balance between individual and social value creation in public service delivery for which the empirical evidence was still rather scarce (e.g., Rossi and Tuurnas 2019). Since citizen co-producers do not prefer trading-off in favour of one value dimension, the conflict between user value and social value proved to be a real conflict for citizen co-producers. It shows that balancing user value with more collective understandings of public value is inherent to governance, and not just to the work of public servants.

The evidence presented here, where citizens prefer to escalate the conflict between user value and social value creation, may point at citizen co-producers need for facilitation and guidance of public servants and their organizations to help them balance out these otherwise paralyzing value conflicts.

After citizens exhausted the help of public servants in dealing with the experienced conflict, the experiment did show that citizen co-producers prefer creating social value over creating user value. This shows that co-producers are able to transcend their user value and co-create social value. Additionally, citizen co-producers prefer creating social value over avoidance, doing nothing or waiting. They are thus not only co-producers, but they are also active co-creators of public value rather than bystanders.

This article provides some managerial implications. Public officials and project coordinators of co-production projects have to be aware that conflicts between the dimensions of public value creation are also experienced by citizen co-producers and that they have a role in mediating these conflicts, which also occur intra-personally. Coping with these conflicts is how citizens and public servants together co-create public value in the co-production of public services. For this reason it is important for public servants to, throughout the co-production process, remain available and approachable when citizen co-producers require feedback and guidance. Creating public value through co-production therefore includes giving voice to the conflicts citizens experience and help them balance this conflict. In doing so, practitioners should be open minded and innovative about encouraging citizens in their coping. This study showed that efforts for increasing trust and increasing external efficacy, which are often thought of as supporting the motivation for co-producers, are not likely to help citizens with their coping.

CHAPTER 8:

Conclusion

8.1 Summary of the research

As the world is increasingly confronted with issues that demand complex responses beyond the capacity of any individual government, the co-production of public services is becoming a more important topic. Nevertheless, co-production brings with it a number of uncertainties for governments; not only in relation to accountability and responsibility, but also regarding which values are to be realized in services and for whom value is to be created. This dissertation offers insights into how people confronted with value conflicts make decisions at an individual level over which value is to be created for whom (i.e. public value creation) and how policies could be delivered (i.e. public values realization).

This research project's central aim was to gain insights into an individual mechanism affecting the effects of co-production. The research starts with the problem of not knowing how the positive effects of co-production are realized and, additionally, from the warning that co-production can lead to negative outcomes, such as public values failure or public value co-destruction. More specifically, the study aimed to explore individually experienced value conflicts and followed coping strategies in the co-production of public services. The assumption of the thesis was that these coping strategies may be connected to public values realization and public value creation as they represent mono- and multi-value solutions.

The study attempted to answer to following research question: **What is the role of individual coping with value conflicts for the desired and undesired effects of co-production?** In order to answer this research question, the following sub-questions were formulated:

- 1) How does the co-production of public services lead to co-producing actors experiencing value conflicts?
- 2) How do co-producing actors cope when they experience value conflicts?
- 3) What individual characteristics influence the coping strategies of citizen co-producers when experiencing value conflicts?

In this section the insights gained from the theoretical and empirical studies with regard to these research questions are extensively elaborated upon. The section starts by synthesizing the

research findings for each of the sub-questions. Following this, an overall answer is formulated for the main research question.

8.1.1 How does the co-production of public services lead to co-producing actors experiencing value conflicts?

The research presented in this thesis shows that value conflicts are part of co-productive life. Moreover, there are several indications that the co-production of public services reinforces the experience of value conflicts. Co-production therefore must not be seen as a means to solve value conflicts (cf. Ross et al. 2013). The research indicates that the experience of value conflicts arises from the characteristics inherent within co-production itself, such as the multiple expectations individuals have for co-production, the variety of co-production initiatives, the variety of roles in co-production, possible time-pressures, and interactions.

First, individual actors have multiple expectations for what the outcomes and impacts of co-production could be, that initially motivates them to co-produce (cf., Le Grand 2003; Van Eijk and Steen 2014; Uzochukwu and Thomas 2017). The research finds that co-producing actors, public servants and citizen co-producers, have expectations for both the realization of public values (norms and principles in delivering public services) and for the creation of public value (the value the co-producers wish to add to by co-producing). An individual co-producer has a range of differing expectations and it is because of these mixed expectations that value conflicts occur at the individual level. The research shows that additional expectations for value(s) emerge from the co-production process and are also prone to be subject to value conflicts.

With regard to public values realization, this research shows that some of the typical conflicts experienced by street-level bureaucrats (de Graaf and Paanakker 2014; de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016), such as the conflicts between efficiency and effectiveness (chapter 3), also occur in co-production. The research shows that additional expectations for value(s) emerge from the co-production process. For example, one of the values that emerged

from the co-production process was the value of individual freedom for the citizen co-producers (chapter 3).

Similarly, with regard to public value creation, the typically discussed conflict in public administration between creating user value and public value (chapter 4 and 7) persists in the co-production of public services (cf. Brudney and England 1983). Additionally, this research provides empirical evidence that new conflicts regarding public value creation arise from the co-production process (chapter 3, 4) (cf. Brandsen and Helderman 2012). This research finds these conflicts to be connected to the multiple expectations individuals have for co-production. For example, public servants want to include citizens in the service creation process as they expect to create political value or legitimacy for the service they are about to implement. This is of course related to the specific role of the public servant who can be held accountable for the implementation of services by politicians (e.g., chapter 3). However, at the same time they are shown to be hesitant in trusting the decisions and behaviour of these citizens, as they are not sure they represent the preferences of all users, which conflicts with their expectation to create public value for the citizenry at large (chapter 4). This describes a paradox of creating political value (i.e. legitimacy for a public service design or implementation) through co-production.

Second, the co-production of public services involves people engaged in different roles, with each experiencing similar but also different value conflicts. Just as public servants have often been found to experience conflicts between creating user value for specific (groups of) individuals and creating other dimensions of public value (e.g., Rainey 2009), or between the public values of efficiency and effectiveness (e.g., de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016) in regular service provision, professional and citizen co-producers also face similar dilemmas arising from the co-production process (chapter 3, 4, 6).

However, the research also finds that roles do matter for establishing which values conflict for an individual co-producer (cf. de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016). The research hints at two reasons for this. First, actors in different roles are often shown to have varying expectations that motivate them to co-produce. Second, different roles are characterized by

different responsibilities. By separating the analysis of project coordinators and public servants in chapter 5, and by separating the analysis of citizens that belong to steering committees with those that do not in chapter 3, this research suggests that these actors have slightly different concerns for public values realization and public value creation, which correspond to the difference in responsibilities of these actors.

Third, co-production takes place across a variety of sectors and services, with each bringing specific expectations and obstacles. This research shows that some of the challenges associated with co-production are case-specific. This means that this research has probably not provided a full range of possible value expectations and value conflicts. If researchers and practitioners want to know which value conflicts may occur, the current research project may be useful to provide specific information on certain cases, however individuals may experience other (perhaps not yet identified) value conflicts.

For example, with regards to the expectations for public values realization, reciprocity was one of those values specifically mentioned in co-producing social care, creating very specific value conflicts (chapter 3). With regards to expectations for public value creation in the urban mobility planning cases (chapter 4), the desired expectations of citizens aiming to create environmental value were sustainable mobility and liveability. As the case on sustainable value creation showed (chapter 5), some temporary users have a desire to transform service delivery by emphasizing experimentation in service delivery, which creates very specific value conflicts which may differ from those experienced in other co-produced projects.

Fourth, the co-production of public services is sometimes characterized with time pressures. As individual co-producers experience time pressures, they experience value conflicts, needing to make tough decisions because of a limited amount of time. For example, in the temporary use cases, public servants, project coordinators and citizen co-producers found that inclusion was difficult to guarantee because of the limited amount of time available to realize the project (chapter 5). However, the fact that the temporary use of vacant spaces makes up a great part of the cases studied in this research (chapter 5, 6, and 7) does not solely explain the finding that

time pressures matter for experiencing (an intensification of) value conflicts. Most co-production cases are characterized with a limitation in time, for example because of project grants (chapter 3) or because of a limited window of political opportunity (chapter 4).

Finally, co-production is characterized by interaction. Although the research focussed on the individual co-producers, individual experiences are shown to be influenced by interactions (chapter 3, 4, 5) such as suggested in the Individual Coping with Value Conflicts model (chapter 2). Interactions indeed affect expectations of value realization and value creation. Additionally, it is the coming together of these expectations that may also cause the experience of value conflicts as different actors are motivated by different expectations.

8.1.2 How do co-producing actors cope when they experience value conflicts?

Individual coping strategies are widely used among public professionals and citizen co-producers who experience value conflicts. The research found that co-producing actors apply a variety of coping strategies, such as avoidance strategies, escalating strategies, trade-off strategies and balancing strategies. These coping strategies offer individual co-producers a way to deal with an otherwise paralysing situation, however, none of these strategies result in a conflict situation being completely solved (i.e., both conflicting values would not be realized or created to their fullest extent). Indeed, in addition to public servants (cf. Thacher and Rein 2004), citizen co-producers do not treat conflicting values as commensurable. This research corroborates the statement that cost-benefit analyses cannot explain all the choices we make (cf. Lukes 1996; Bartels 2013).

The research corroborates the literature that coping strategies are conflict and situation specific for each person (Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006; de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016). The qualitative studies show a variety of coping strategies that were followed by the respondents when responding to a variety of value conflicts (chapters 3, 4 and 5). The research also shows that individuals coped differently in the conflict situation presented in chapter 6 and the conflict situation presented in chapter 7.

Next, the research suggests that the roles of co-producers also matter for coping strategies. The qualitative case studies find that public servants and project coordinators adhered to all coping strategies identified in the literature when dealing with value conflicts. They bias values (through biasing, casuistry, or incrementalism) and combine this with building firewalls, i.e., they allow the ‘fallen’ values to be realized in separate activities. Likewise, citizen co-producers follow various coping strategies but choose an escalation strategy (passing responsibility up to the project coordinators) (chapter 3 and 7) or an avoidance strategy (not dealing with the conflict at all) (chapter 3, 4) more often than public servants.

When something became personal to co-producers with little responsibilities, the research suggests a tendency to drop out, for example if co-producers felt conflict with their individual freedom (chapter 3), their user value (chapter 4), and when feeling their effort may not lead to an impact (chapter 3, 4, 6). Vice versa, the co-producers involved in a steering committee (chapter 3), are involved in organizing working groups (chapter 4), or coordinating the project (chapter 5), show less tendency to drop-out when experiencing conflicts. Additionally, citizen co-producers involved in co-producing the temporary use of a vacant space through their profession (belonging to a private, public or third sector organization) also demonstrated slightly different coping strategies, as they were found to be more likely to trade-off in favour of service quality and be more likely to escalate issues to a project coordinator (chapter 6). This finding suggests that people in different roles, in the face of value conflicts, place an emphasis on different values. The fact that individuals in different roles act differently on value conflicts holds a risk of value divergence which undermines the realization of public values in public service delivery (e.g., Tummers et al. 2012; Paanakker 2020).

What was challenging in responding to the research question was that identifying individual coping strategies during the qualitative research was not always easy, especially when formal or informal processes were used to have meetings and discuss issues, and from which more collective coping strategies occurred. For example, chapter 4 shows how coping sometimes happens in group, results from an interaction process, or occurs when individual co-producers follow the group’s coping strategy. The respondents struggled with their identity, often taking on various

roles belonging to various social groups, thereby experiencing more conflicts between value dimensions. Others perceived themselves as being part of a community, and developed a social identity by becoming part of the citizen groups. This finding indicates that coping could be affected by the role of social and self-identities (cf. Brewer and Hewstone 2004).

8.1.3 What individual characteristics influence the coping strategies of citizen co-producers when experiencing value conflicts?

The theoretical paper presented a number of aspects of co-production that potentially impact the way people cope, such as individual characteristics, interaction and organizational capacities (chapter 2). The qualitative studies, probably due to their individual focus, mostly gave rise to the individual characteristics acting as individual drivers for coping strategies. These individual drivers for coping strategies are psychological traits such as trust (chapter 4), wanting to make an impact (external efficacy) and feeling capable (self-efficacy) (chapter 3, 4 and 5). For example, chapter 3 shows how citizen co-producers cope according to a variety of coping strategies, but at the same time suggests that citizens avoid and escalate conflicts more than public servants. The chapter argued that this points to believing their ideas and concerns may not be heard, and they may lack the capacity to deal with value conflicts (cf. Lehoux et al. 2012). The avoidance strategies followed in these cases points to the potential influence the psychological trait of external efficacy has on individuals' coping strategies in the face of conflicts. The escalation strategies found in the qualitative chapters hints at two possible explanations: (1) citizens do not want the responsibility for dealing with value conflicts; or (2) citizens do not feel capable to deal with the conflicts themselves, suggesting the psychological personality trait of self-efficacy as a potential driver for coping strategies. Additionally, the qualitative research also hints at the absence of trust as a factor for not following an escalation strategy (chapter 3 and 4). Finally, the literature suggested that trust strengthens norms in favour of cooperation and can lead to inclusion (cf. Fukuyama 1995).

For this reason, the quantitative empirical chapters set out to explore this relationship by questioning if these psychological traits could explain the coping strategies followed by citizen co-producers. The research focused on four individual characteristics: self-efficacy (internal efficacy), perceived impact (external efficacy), generalized trust and particularized trust.

The quantitative studies presented in this thesis do not find statistically significant effects of self-efficacy and trust, be it generalized trust or trust in government, on the respondents' coping strategies. However, the results find for these case studies should not be generalized outside these studies because of the limited population (temporary users in Flanders) and the inability to establish how far the participants in the studies are representative of the broader population (a further elaboration on these limitations is presented in section 8.2). However, both empirical studies allow to develop hypotheses for future research.

Both quantitative studies suggested that there was no effect of trust, whether generalized or particularized, in driving the coping strategies of individual citizen co-producers. It thereby also fails to corroborate the assumption from the behavioural psychology literature that claims trust is a predictor of behaviour in situations that are characterized by conflicts (Van Lange 1999) and is beneficial in solving value conflicts (Dawes 1980; Kramer, Brewer, and Hanna 1996; De Cremer and van Vugt 1999).

Similarly, evidence for finding an effect of self-efficacy on coping strategies is not achieved by this study. A possible explanation is that co-producers who are already co-producing are selected (by their willingness to co-produce) on the basis of these personality traits (Van Eijk and Steen 2014; Bovaird et al. 2015) and, because of that, self-efficacy fails to have any effect once they are involved. This reasoning is supported by the data showing respondents to have reasonable high levels of self-efficacy, and very little variation exists among these respondents. Future research could check whether a lack of the effect of self-efficacy on citizens' choice of coping strategies can be explained by the fact that individual co-producers are already selected on the bases of the self-efficacy trait.

An effect of external efficacy was found, though only for conflicts experienced in public values realization, on an individual's followed coping strategy (chapter 6). The research found no

effect of external efficacy on coping with a value conflict among the dimensions of public value. The finding can be explained by a more situational trait-like disposition (where self-efficacy is a personality trait-like disposition) as found earlier by psychologist scholars Schneider, Otto, Alings and Schmitt (2015), who take into account a situational vacuum in trait theory. As citizen co-producers are already selected on the basis of external efficacy (Van Eijk and Steen 2014), a situation may provide an individual with new information on their external efficacy. Therefore, although external efficacy is measured as a personality trait it may be very situational for a specific project in which they co-produce.

The empirical study (chapter 6) has two findings for the effect of external efficacy on coping strategies that are specific to the study. First, the research corroborates the findings of the qualitative research that states having a voice or feeling to be heard is negatively related to strategies of avoidance (chapter 3 and 4). This finding also corroborates the political psychology literature which argues that people participate little in policy making because citizens frequently feel their voice will not be heard (Fowler and Kam 2007; see also: Iyengar 1980). Second, the study finds evidence for external efficacy to be positively related to the pursuit of outcomes when confronted with a conflict between inclusion and external efficacy, in this case in the pursuit of making a trade-off in favour of service quality (chapter 6). The research thus empirically supports the political participation literature in that external efficacy is identified as being a driver for voicing conflicts (cf., Hirschman 1970) and for the pursuit of a desired outcome (cf., Verba and Nie 1972) when faced with value conflicts, next to being a driver for engaging in co-production (Van Eijk and Steen 2016). This finding allows to generate hypotheses for future research. For example, future research studying larger groups of citizen co-producers across a variety of sectors could check whether citizen co-producers with a higher perceived impact are less likely to cope according to an avoidance strategy, and more likely to actively cope with their experienced conflicts.

Chapter 6 found that individual characteristics other than psychological traits can explain citizens' choice of coping strategies. For example, individual characteristics such as age and type of actor (are they voluntarily involved or involved through a private or third sector

organization) relate to a more or less likelihood of coping according to a specific strategy. This suggests that some individual characteristics do play a role, and that coping is not entirely situational.

8.1.4 In conclusion

How can value conflicts experienced by co-producing actors, and the coping strategies these actors follow, explain the desired and undesired effects of co-production for public values realization and public value creation? In unravelling one of the underlying mechanisms of how desired and undesired effects of co-production come about, this thesis has advanced theoretical and empirical understandings of co-production. The research shows that, indeed, one of the costs of co-production arrangements is the existence of value conflicts (cf. Williams, Kang, and Johnson 2016), because during co-production, conflicts arise from issues in realizing and creating expectations. The empirical chapters provide sufficient support for the main argument in this research stating that value conflicts requiring coping strategies influence co-production outcomes. That is because the research finds that (1) co-production both enables and obstructs positive effects; (2) value conflicts experienced by public servants and citizen co-producers matter for co-production effects; and (3) individual coping strategies followed by both citizen co-producers and public servants result in co-production effects, as the research argues that coping constitutes an important ‘co’ in co-production. This section elaborates further on each of these statements, before offering an illustration of how the expectation of inclusion brings challenges and requires coping in co-production.

First, the studies found evidence for co-producers to both positively and negatively affect public values realization and public value creation. For example, the research shows that co-production results in realizing values that may not be upheld through the regular production of services or in creating public value beyond regular public service delivery, and shows, among others, the example of increased responsiveness to the needs of service users (chapter 3) (cf. Pestoff 2006; Vanleene, Voets, and Verschuere 2017). At the same time, the research shows

that co-production does offer challenges for the realization of public values and the creation of public value, and finds that these challenges are characterized with value conflicts, making it hard for values to be created or realized to their fullest potential, resulting in a negative or undesired effect of co-production.

Second, the research shows that value conflicts matter for co-production effects. Nieuwenburg (2012) argues that experiencing value conflicts is a good thing for service delivery, as being aware of conflicting values guarantees that those values are kept within decision-making processes (Nieuwenburg 2012, 14-15). Indeed, as Nieuwenburg (2012) suggests, experiencing no conflicts creates a risk that in service delivery actors may lose sight of certain values because these are overlooked in the policy process. From the case studies presented in this study it shows that, first, there are a number of public values conflicts experienced by both public servants and citizen co-producers. The citizens co-producers studied in chapter 3 desire more from co-production than self-centred effectiveness, and have expectations for service quality, sustainability, reciprocity, efficiency and inclusion. The study did find that having more responsibilities comes with other value conflicts. For example the citizens in the steering committee experienced a conflict between efficiency and effectiveness, and between efficiency and trust. The conflicts these types of citizen co-producers experienced leaned more closely towards the conflicts experienced by the public servant. With regard to public value creation, chapter 4 shows that both citizen co-producers and public servants experience value conflicts among the various dimensions of public value. This again shows that contrary to the initial expectation of the study, citizen co-producers are not limited to being concerned with their user value. Although a number of conflicts considering citizen co-producers' user value were reported, they also experience conflicts between their desires for ensuring political value, social value and environmental value. Also public servants experience conflicts between the different dimensions of public value creation. With regard to the latter group the research shows that co-production can add to the experience of conflicts between the user value of the co-producers and other dimensions of public value creation (cf. Bovaird 2007).

These findings shows how both public servants and citizen co-producers are concerned about the realization and creation of a public value(s) and experience a number of value conflicts. However, in referring back to Nieuwenburg's (2012) argument, I would like to emphasize that citizen co-producers and public servants experiencing conflict and following coping strategies in order to deal with that conflict still does not prevent public values obstruction or failure, as these coping strategies do not resolve value conflicts and may create their own value loss.

Third, the studies found evidence that individual co-producing public servants and citizen co-producers affect public values realization and public value creation by following copings strategies when facing value conflicts. The way actors cope with value conflicts contributes to the realization of public values and the co-creation of public value, since some coping strategies limit the realization or creation to just one value, thereby co-destructing the other, whereas other coping strategies allow for two conflicting values to be upheld or created (at the same time) but not to their fullest potential (e.g., when separated by activities). As co-producers are shown to cope according to a variety of coping strategies, their individual power to co-realize/create or co-destruct value is of great importance. The research set out with the expectation to find differences among the coping strategies followed by public servants and citizen co-producers. And as earlier discussed in section 8.1.2 the qualitative research did show there is a difference in coping with experiencing value conflicts. Public servants and project coordinators bias values (through biasing, casuistry, or incrementalism) and combine this with building firewalls, i.e., they allow the 'fallen' values to be realized in separate activities. Citizen co-producers also follow a broad range of coping strategies (contrary to our expectations), however they follow escalation strategies (passing responsibility up to the project coordinators) (chapter 3 and 7) or avoidance strategies (not dealing with the conflict at all) (chapter 3, 4) more often than public servants.

As the study shows, each individual's coping strategy co-results in a desired or undesired result. For example, co-producers (both public professionals and citizen co-producers) use coping strategies to transcend the desire to create user value and also create

public value. They may do so by hybridizing their own needs or those of other (groups of) individuals with the common aim of the co-production (chapter 4, 5). The research found that the 'co' in co-production and co-creation is valuable to understand how coping affects results. In other words, are co-producing actors in their coping strategies influenced by other co-producers, the interaction processes or the situation? Because co-production involves collaboration with others, the coping strategies of co-producers is potentially influenced by others. The threat for public values failure and public value destruction increases when, for example citizen co-producers' individual coping strategies largely emphasizing one value are aggregated with the coping strategies of other citizen co-producers. Additionally, this research argues that co-production effects are the result of this 'co' effort, which also includes coping strategies. Although avoidance strategies may be used to 'protect' a dimension of public value or prevent public values failure, the individual co-producers who demonstrate avoidance strategies in order to avoid their conflicts step out of the 'co'-game. For example, chapter 4 shows how a public servant, in his perception, protects public value creation by avoiding co-production due to a conflict between the user value of the co-producers and public value creation. The public servant coping with value conflicts by avoiding to co-produce still creates some value, but now without collaborating with others, as he has the power to design and implement services. Yet, if citizens decide to avoid dealing with a value conflict by dropping-out of the co-production process, they lose their co-realization or co-creation power. Whether individuals initiate a public values failure or a public value destruction by dropping out or avoiding depends on the power of that individual over the public service delivery process.

In sum, the individual mechanism of experiencing value conflicts and relying on coping strategies that result in co-production effects aligns with the idea of a life cycle framework (Fukumoto and Bozeman 2019) (chapter 2). First, with regard to the upstream (birth, identification, and elaboration) the research shows that individuals bring expectations for public values realization and public value creation to co-production (chapter 3, 4 and 5). The research shows that individuals bring not only expectations, but also resources such as knowledge, skills and capabilities (chapter 4 and 5) (cf. Alford 2009; Brudney and England

1983; Jakobsen 2013). Second, this research shows that these individuals find themselves in co-production initiatives that are characterized with resources and opportunities in which they experience value conflicts and follow coping strategies. This represents the midstream (instrumentation and implementation) or the process of co-production. The process of co-production involves power distributions, interactions, time frames, and opportunities for capacity building, and provides a situation in which this coping takes place and gives shape to individual coping behaviour (chapter 3, 4 and 5). With regards to the downstream (realization and outcomes) of the life cycle, this research shows that individuals' coping strategies directly results in, or is aggregated to result in, the effects of co-production (chapter 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7).

The following box illustrates, using examples from the various studies presented in this dissertation, how individual coping strategies contribute to desired and undesired effects of co-production. The specific conflict between inclusion and service quality shows the various aspects (including desires and motivations, value conflicts, and coping strategies) of how individual co-producers contribute to co-production effects. Additionally, the illustration also elaborates on what this specific example teaches us about co-production.

Illustration: Individual co-producers coping with a conflict between inclusion and service quality in co-production

Zooming in on one example of value conflicts illustrates how individuals may cope, and in doing so, contributes to a desired or undesired effect of co-production. The research shows that individual co-producers, citizen co-producers and public servants, have expectations for both realizing social inclusion (i.e., a desire for the co-produced service to be inclusive) and service quality (i.e., a desire to attain service quality). Among the different co-production cases studied, these two expectations formed the basis of an experienced conflict, as they felt that including more people may demand them to compromise on service quality. More than 75% of respondents in the quantitative research said they experienced a conflict between inclusion and service quality. The research finds that co-producing actors actively cope with this conflict (cf. Lukes 1996; Bartels 2013). Approximately one third of respondents (citizen co-producers) try to balance service quality and inclusion, knowing therefore that each conflicting value cannot be realized to its fullest extent. It shows that these citizens find it difficult to make a cost-benefit analysis of what value is better to be realized, showing they experience these values as incommensurable.

The quantitative study finds that even when experiencing a conflict, more than one third of the respondents trade-off for realizing service quality at the cost of social inclusion (chapter 6).

The case in chapter 6 indicates that there might be a homogeneous group of highly educated citizens involved in the temporary use of vacant spaces. The findings suggest that further research is necessary to check whether this social exclusion is enforced by citizen co-producers' biasing service quality over inclusion and thereby failing to tackle structural exclusion. In that case the expectation of co-production leading to democratizing public service delivery (cf. Bovaird and Loeffler 2012) might not always be guaranteed.

The case presented in chapter 3 shows that even when co-production involves a clear aim of inclusion for a frail group of citizens, there may still be difficulties in ensuring the inclusion of the most isolated elderly (chapter 3), as the citizens who co-produce experience a conflict between service quality for those that are already co-producing, and making efforts to include the most isolated elderly. A co-produced service claiming to offer a solution for de-isolating elderly people therefore needs to deal with co-production's dark side (cf. Steen, Brandsen, and Verschuere 2018), in this case the social exclusion of certain groups of people.

This research highlights the vulnerability of co-production as a tool for including citizens.

Although co-production offers an instrument to realize public values, when used as a strategic instrument to ensure the democratic quality of public services (de Bruijn and Dicke 2006) other safeguarding mechanisms should be in place.

For example, chapter 3 shows how a public servant is aware of the threat of social exclusion and uses the coping strategies of incrementalism and building firewalls to ensure some form of inclusion. Additionally, this public servant invests in a regular service provision that actively seeks out the isolated elderly, trying to include them in the project or making sure they are getting services and aid in other ways (chapter 3). This example shows how being aware of public values failure, more so than being aware of the conflict, can motivate public servants to combine a number of coping strategies to prevent public values failure.

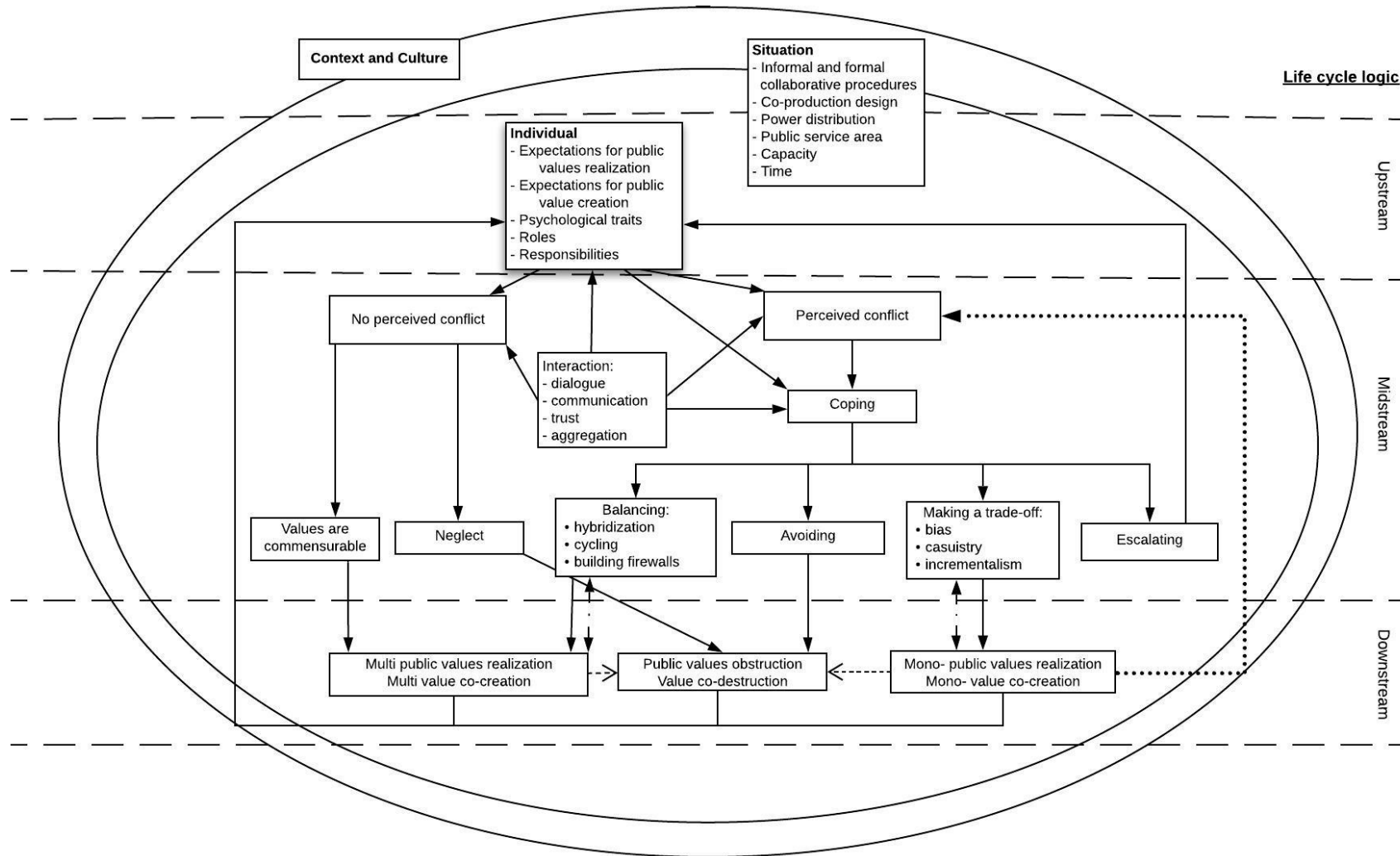
The Individual Coping with Value Conflicts (ICVC) model proposed in this thesis aimed to explore a possible explanation for co-production effects. With proposing such a model that aimed at including all possible aspects conceptualizing individual coping with value conflicts, it is of course unfortunate that not all aspects of the model could be further tested or elaborated upon in the deductive empirical research presented in this dissertation. Nevertheless, the studies support the model as individually experienced value conflicts and coping strategies contribute to co-production effects, thereby presenting a specific application of the model to the context of co-production. The empirical studies show that the model offers a good framework for understanding coping with value conflicts and what this means for co-production effects. As such, it is the first model to focus on individual experiences and coping strategies in co-production literature. The model presented in chapter 2 does not specifically focus on co-production, but on multi-actor governance in general. Here a plurality of different types and constellations of individual actors

design and implement policy and services. Although the studies executed in this dissertation focussed on co-production, similar results about the existence of value conflicts and the followed coping strategies are expected for other types of governance where a variety of actors bring a variety of expectations to the process. Also there, value conflicts are likely to occur and individual coping with these conflicts can affect the desired effects of governance.

The research presented in this thesis focusses mostly at the individual level, however, many insights on the other aspects of the model were provided, such as on interaction, capacity and the aggregation of coping strategies at supra-individual levels.

The model's predictions on the explanatory power of personality traits has only been confirmed by one quantitative study, and for external efficacy only. Other aspects were highlighted during the qualitative exploratory phase, such as the importance of roles and responsibilities, the role of interaction for coping with value conflicts, the role of individual, organizational and system-level capacity, and time pressures. These aspects of roles and time have already been discussed in the previous sections (8.1.1, and 8.1.2). These latter aspects are thus also valuable for answering the main research question about the role of individual coping with value conflicts for the effects of co-production. For examples, roles and responsibilities were not included in the initial model, although chapter 2 discusses that these could potentially play a role. The empirical studies show that these individual characteristics may affect the coping strategies these individuals are likely to follow and thereby what their impact is on the effects of co-production. Additionally, the situation in which individual coping takes place was also discussed in chapter 2. Chapter 5 then builds on this idea of capacity on different levels and highlight that capacity of the co-production process or other situational aspects may support co-production effects. Only for the sake of concluding this research, figure 8.1 illustrates where these findings would fit within the ICVC model.

Figure 8.1: The completed ICVC model



The research design did not allow to draw conclusions about the differences between coping with public values conflicts and conflicts among the dimensions of public value creation. Although, they are conceptually representing different phenomena, the study shows how co-producers experience internal conflicts in public values realization and public value creation. The research finds that external efficacy affects coping with public values realization (chapter 6), but does not affect coping with public value creation (chapter 7). Future research could explore why citizen co-producers more easily cope themselves with conflicts among the principles of governance, and require more guidance in coping with conflicts about who is receiving the value of co-production. Additionally, a focus on the role of external efficacy may also clarify the mechanism of this independent variable. Could it be that external efficacy plays a bigger role in coping with conflicts that are not directly affecting the value that citizen co-producers receive?

Nevertheless, having applied the focus of individually experienced value conflicts and coping strategies this dissertation has started to unravel how certain effects of co-production come about. Of course, it does not claim that individual coping strategies are the sole cause. On the contrary. There are other processes influencing and contributing to the desired and undesired effects of co-production that could be further explored to formulate a more final answer to this question. For example, the qualitative studies point to aspects of collaboration and coping strategies that are group related or group influenced, and thus related to the situational level of co-production. Similarly, there are many more experiences and aspects, such as political realities, that may contribute to the desired and undesired effects of co-production.

8.2 Limitations and avenues for future research

The research findings need to be read in light of some limitations. The specific limitations for each of the individual studies have been discussed in the respective chapters. The focus on limitations in this section is on the limitations of the overall research design and a focus on the

dissertation as a whole. The section discusses five limitations. Additionally, and by reflecting on these limitations, avenues for future research are proposed and discussed.

First, rather than studying all possible behaviours related to value conflicts occurring in the co-production of public services, using the lens of coping strategies enabled the research to identify a wide variety of coping strategies that are utilized at an individual level. The research has limitations regarding its insights on coping strategies, relating to (1) the focus on overarching coping strategies; (2) the focus on individual coping and less on coping in interaction; (3) and a lack of systematically reporting of multiple coping strategies.

The quantitative studies only allowed for an examination of the overarching categories of the coping strategies, namely trade-off strategies, balancing strategies, avoidance strategies and escalation strategies. This means that from the quantitative studies this research does not provide evidence for specific coping strategies of casuistry, cycling, incrementalism etc. For example, casuistry is a conscious reaction to an experienced conflict based on previous experiences, and cycling is a coping strategy that originates over time. For studying these types of coping strategies, it is likely that longitudinal studies may be more able to capture and explore them both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The design of this research did not allow for the systematic capture of an individual's coping taking place at different levels. For example, some coping strategies occur during interactions or are facilitated at the organizational level, such as the strategy that creates firewalls (de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016). Therefore, future research could explore the coping behaviour that takes place in and emerges from formal and informal interactions between individuals. The role of interaction when coping with value conflicts requires more attention to advance the Individual Coping with Value Conflicts (ICVC) model and to formulate recommendations for co-production design. Recently, Page and others (2018) designed a framework and conceptualized inter-organizational collaborative coping with value conflicts. Future research could also study how organizations, through their formal and informal processes, facilitate coping behaviour both at the level of deliberation and interaction and at the individual level. Additionally, scholars have argued that social forces and structures

enable and hinder interaction among multi-actor service systems (Eriksson et al. 2019; Rossi and Tuurnas 2019). The suggested links between coping and the role of social- and self-identities also raises some questions on the role of interpersonal ties between individual group members, and how these may affect cohesion in the co-production project (e.g., Hogg 1992). Future research could study the role of these structures of preferences, norms, and social- and self-identities and how they interplay in order to understand the process of value conflicts and coping value conflicts in co-production.

A final limitation with regard to exploring coping strategies is that the research did not systematically study the multiple responses an individual may have to address a single value conflict. The qualitative case studies offer insights in to how value conflicts are experienced and how a variety of coping strategies are adhered to. However, as de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders (2016, 1110) argue, ‘multiple coping strategies might be used in response to a single value conflict’. The qualitative chapters suggest some individuals follow multiple coping strategies, however the study did not analyse these multiple responses in a systematic manner. Moreover, the quantitative research did not allow for it. Future research could therefore explore individuals’ behaviour regarding a specific value conflict and investigate if and how individuals follow a variety of coping strategies to address the conflict. In doing so, researchers may ask the question if following multiple coping strategies ensures desired co-production effects and avoids undesired co-production effects.

Second, by having a focus that is limited to studying citizen co-producers in the quantitative research, this project could not shed light on what drives public servants’ choice of coping strategies. Especially, as studying the value conflicts separately for each actor group was found to be relevant: embodying a different role in the co-production process was in some cases found to be related to specific experienced value conflicts. Therefore, future research could look more deeply into the effects of the roles and role perceptions of different actors on coping strategies. Additionally, with regard to the drivers for the coping strategies of public servants, future research could study if and how trust of public servants, their self-efficacy or perceived impact, plays a role in their choice of coping strategies. Future research could also look into different

individual characteristics to identify the drivers of public servants' choice of coping strategies. Future research needs to be open minded and innovative, and to include other variables and context variables when trying to understand the individual's role for coping with public values conflicts in realizing public values. Additionally, and notwithstanding the limitations of the quantitative studies, these studies offer some useful insights for the research community. First, there is insight in the fact that trust and self-efficacy perhaps do not always explain a choice of specific coping strategies or other coping behaviour in case of situations characterized by conflict and stress. Second, the design of the studies offers a model for future studies and a way forward in studying questions about coping behaviour also in other fields than co-production. These designs could also be used in studies of public servants or other stakeholders applying in collaborative governance' coping strategies.

Third, the generalisability of the results of each case study are limited to those case studies examined in each of the chapters. Overall, this research presents a great variety in focusses and methodological approaches, which offers many insights but little arguments for generalizable findings. Previous studies have stressed the importance of context and the need to be aware of value paradigms when theorizing and studying public values and public value (Drechsler 2015). Without excluding the possibility that some public values transcend boundaries, it is a maintained assumption in public values theory that public values are rooted in particular nations, cultures and societies (e.g., Bozeman 2007; Charles, Martin de Jong, and Ryan 2011; Bozeman and Johnson 2015; Bozeman 2019). This research kept its focus on Flanders to maintain the same context across the studies. When taking into account the reality of co-production and co-production regulation in other regions or other countries, the focus on Flanders here does only allow for some limited generalizations. For example, mobility policy in Flanders is mandated by the municipalities, who hold far-reaching authority over the circulation of traffic in their territory. However, the desire to redesign public spaces is common to many European cities, and the knowledge gained from these cases is relevant not only for the academic literature but also for the practice and implementation of co-production in other European countries. Nevertheless, with regard to specific value expectations the results of this

study cannot be generalized outside the cases studied for this research, as value conflicts that occur may differ between different contexts (e.g., Yang 2016). The coping strategies framework also highly relied on studies in Western countries and lacks cross country studies (Tummers et al. 2015). Future research could explore this by focusing on case studies within similar and different administrative systems to enrich the knowledge of value paradigms and coping strategies and to explore how they connect to co-production effects.

Additionally, focusing the quantitative studies on the temporary use of vacant spaces, this study targeted a wide array of sectors and services (e.g., cultural, social economic, social, environmental, youth, and community services). Recent studies acknowledge that the practice of co-production might differ between different types of services being co-produced since each ‘comes with specific challenges, opportunities and practices’ (Brandsen, Steen, and Verschuere 2018b, 7). Therefore, future research could further investigate the specific challenges co-production brings for specific sectors.

Fourth, a potential explanation for why this research did not find effects of self-efficacy on coping strategies may be related to a lack of variation in respondents’ self-efficacy. The first case study (chapter 3) presents a case of social care where frail elderly people were interviewed, which brought these aspects of self-efficacy, external efficacy and trust to the forefront. However, in the quantitative research phase, where the effects of these factors were tested, the variation in the self-efficacy trait of the respondents was very small, since the respondents appeared to be highly self-efficacious. This can be explained by the fact that co-producing citizens are preselected. This can happen unintentionally because certain citizens know their way around the service delivery processes better than others (de Graaf 2007). These preselected citizens may therefore report a higher internal efficacy than citizens in general. The results of the quantitative studies are only representative for the respondents of the study, not for citizens involved in temporary co-production projects, and not for citizen co-producers in general. Another explanation is a selection bias in the respondents, associated with problems in attaining lists of participants for the quantitative research. In conducting the research, considerable effort was made to avoid selection bias. However, due to the new General Data Protection Regulation in the European Union there

was no possibility to check for this. Whatever the case may be, the research did not expect there to be so little variation. Future research could therefore replicate this study among co-production groups where there is higher variation in these individual characteristics, to offer a more complete insight into how these psychological traits affect coping strategies.

Additionally, it seems that in the temporary use of vacant spaces there is a positive belief about other parties (cf. Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman 1995), something that was not the case in the urban mobility sector (chapter 4). Therefore, high interpersonal trust in the temporary use of co-production (chapter 5) could also play a role in the coping strategies adopted by citizen co-producers. Future research could look into more variation in co-producers' characteristics and check for effects.

Fifth, this research mostly focused on group and collective co-production, and less so on individual co-production (cf. Nabatchi et al. 2017). The differences between co-production projects, and between individual, group and collective co-production, means that the results and conclusions of this study need to be read in light of the characteristics of each of these types of co-production. Future research could take into account the different types of co-production and what it may mean for value conflicts. For example, group co-production might be prone to emerging conflicts in creating public value, while also excluding conflicts as the co-production is kept to the group, limiting the potential receivers of value. Does group co-production ensure aggregation of expectations, and thus involve an institutionalized incrementalism strategy on the realization of public values? Or does group co-production involve the interaction processes to dominate and determine the individuals' coping strategies?

8.3 Theoretical implications

This research has some theoretical implications for different topics in the co-production literature, which will be discussed in this section. This research also has some implications for the literature on public values realization and public value creation. Finally, the implications for the literature on coping strategies are discussed.

8.3.1 Implications for co-production literature

The discussion in the literature on the co-production of public services can typically be divided into the topics of motivations to co-produce, the process of co-production and the effects of co-production (Verschuere, Brandsen and Pestoff 2012). The research presented in this thesis has implications for each of these discussions. Additionally, this section also discusses the implication of this research for the co-production literature on co-producers' roles.

First, this research advances the literature on co-production motivations by building on the valuable research in the field (e.g., Alford 2009; Van Eijk and Steen 2014; Van Eijk and Gascó 2018) and using it to understand what moves co-producers not only to start co-production but to stay involved and be active in pursuing their aims. One specific implication for the literature on co-production motivations is that this research shows how a variety of co-producing actors have expectations for co-production effects, for both public values realization in the co-production process and for public value creation as an outcome, which translate in to the motivations of co-producers to co-produce. This research used frameworks of motivations (e.g., Alford 2002; Clary et al. 1998) to understand expectations for public values realization and public value creation. The frameworks were useful in identifying these expectations without having to ask questions using complex concepts of public value(s). For example, expectations to create user value easily refer to a respondent being self-centred motivated. Or, for example, co-producers may be motivated by their expectations to better realize values such as democracy, inclusion and altruism (cf. Verschuere, Brandsen, and Pestoff 2012). Furthermore, the research supports the claim that co-producers are involved in co-production for mixed motivations and are not only engaged out of self-interest (cf. Le Grand 2003). For example, the research shows that individuals have various expectations for public value creation, and that user value does not outweigh the other dimensions of public value creation (chapter 4, 5 and 7) (cf. Bovaird and Loeffler 2012). Citizen co-producers were not only looking to maximize their user value through co-production, but also have expectations to create value for fellow citizens (cf. Alford 2002). Nevertheless, the research does not reject

Alford and Yates' (2016) suggestion that citizen co-producers are looking to ensure high quality user value, as service quality appears to be of high importance for citizen co-producers (chapter 3, and 6).

Additionally, the results presented in this research highlights the weight of expectations for individuals in co-production projects and how inviting various stakeholders and citizens to collaborate may pose new challenges, especially for public managers, in that they must balance and take into account different expectations. The study therefore shows how expectations may potentially incorporate 'new' conflicts into public service co-production.

Second, the research has theoretical implications for the literature on the processes of co-production, which typically looks at design principles for making co-production effective. This research provides many insights on the desired goals of co-production and has identified capacities at different levels (individual, organization and system level) in co-production which facilitate the effectiveness of achieving these aims, including, for example, lasting collaborations and the creation of long-term networks, institutionalized but flexible processes, supportive legal frameworks, structural allocation of personnel and budget, and empowerment of citizens in their ability, motivation and opportunities to support the creation of sustainable results from temporary co-production (chapter 5). The main specific contribution this research makes to the existing body of research (see Verschuere, Brandsen and Pestoff 2012) is that this research shows that coping with value conflicts is definitely a variable that can make co-production either effective or ineffective. Therefore, the research argues that, through the better use of these various capacities, co-production is expected to create sustainable effects (cf. Pestoff 2006) as these resources encourage individuals to cope actively, instead of avoiding coping.

Third, the research contributes to the literature on co-production effects. The studies show how individual coping strategies result, perhaps through aggregation, in effects. The ICVC model offers a framework for analysing how individuals in the process of co-production influence its effects. As the co-production literature on public values (cf. Pestoff 2006; Vamstad 2012;

Loeffler and Bovaird 2018) and the public value creation literature (e.g., Cluley and Radnor 2020) remain highly normative, it is important to connect value conflicts to co-production effects by focussing on individual coping strategies. This makes the topic more tangible and offers a starting point for empirical analysis and testing. The qualitative studies suggest that these effects are rooted in the expectations of individual co-producers. However, values conflicts and coping strategies hold the risk of value loss. With regards to the expected increased democratic quality of co-production, this research suggests the vulnerability of co-production as a tool for including citizens and links this vulnerability to individual coping strategies. Additionally, the research therefore corroborates earlier findings that co-production leads to better service quality (Vamstad 2012), by linking this effect to co-producers' tendency to prioritize service quality at the expense of other potential outcomes.

Finally, the research has implications for the literature on the roles of co-producing actors (e.g., Nabatchi, Sancino and Sicilia 2017). This thesis starts with the assumption that the roles of public servants and citizen co-producers blur, and that they are therefore both subject to the experience of value conflicts and need to rely on coping strategies that help them make decisions or cope with an otherwise paralyzing situation. The research specifies that the roles do not blur entirely (chapter 5). More specifically, public servants are challenged to take up a more facilitating role when enabling co-production (cf. Tuurnas 2016; Steen and Tuurnas 2018). The research shows how the adaptability of public servants' roles ensures and enables many of the capacities and circumstances necessary for realizing public values (chapter 3) and creating public value (chapter 5) (cf. Steen and Tuurnas 2018). When citizen co-producers, be they users, volunteers or citizens, are involved in co-production they are no longer receivers only, but also producers. This research confirms that citizen co-producers make decisions on processes and outcomes. However, the research shows that there are role differences which go together with differences in value expectations, experienced value conflicts and coping strategies, as these roles often come with various degrees of responsibilities. For example, where the role of the co-producer is simply to comply or not, an individual co-producer might have less power to co-destruct public value. This indicates the importance of an individual co-

producer's coping power (cf. Strokosch and Osborne 2016) in further theorizing and researching the roles of co-producers in the desired and undesired effects of co-production.

8.3.2 Implications for public values literature

The literature on public values realization has contributed greatly to this dissertation. The existing literature provided this study with convincing arguments and theories on public values, and why they conflict. This study, in its turn, has studied expectations for public values realization in the specific context of the co-production of public services. In doing so it contributes to the public values literature in that it presents (1) a conceptual model for the realization of public values on an individual level; (2) empirical material for expectations for the public values realization of co-producing actors (not just public servants but also citizens), and (3) evidence for the persisting challenge of realizing public values, even in the co-production of public services.

First, this research offers a conceptual model for public values realization in multi-actor settings and adapts it to the context of co-production in its empirical chapters. The research starts from the individual expectations associated with co-production. The expectations of actors are then connected to the expectations for the realization of public values. This contributes to the public values literature in a search for an understanding of what expectations mean for public values realization and failure (Fukumoto and Bozeman 2019). Public values scholars can use this framework to further deepen the knowledge on the role of expectations, experiencing value conflicts, and following coping strategies for public values realization and public values failure.

Second, with its focus on co-production and looking into public values both from the perspective of citizen co-producers and of public servants, this thesis offers additional empirical material for the public values literature (cf. Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman 2007; de Graaf et al. 2016). This study shows that there is a greater complexity in conflicting and competing values when implementing services through co-production, as there are a variety of

co-producing actors with different individual roles. Thereby it gives empirical support for the idea that, given the limitations of time and resources, there is a distinction between the desirability and feasibility of realizing public values (cf. Fukumoto and Bozeman 2019).

Third, although co-production offers an instrument to realize public values, co-production is not a sufficient instrument to ensure that realization. Governments often treat co-production as an instrument to realize specific public values, that are otherwise challenging to realize in regular public services. However, this study shows that due to value conflicts and individual coping strategies for dealing with these conflicts, public values are at risk of not being realized in co-production. Co-production is therefore not a sufficient instrument to ensure public values realization (e.g., de Bruijn and Dicke 2006) and, as such, other safeguarding mechanisms for public values need to be in place.

8.3.3 Implications for public value creation literature

The literature on public value creation provided many insights and theories for this study and, in turn, this research has implications for the public value creation literature. To begin with, by borrowing the idea of value pluralism and coping strategies from the public values realization literature, this research is one of the first co-production studies that not only claims that public values realization and public value creation are part of the same process, but also theorizes and finds that they are. This study has also shown that public value creation comes with conflicts for individuals and that these individuals rely on similar coping strategies to deal with conflicts between public value dimensions.

Furthermore, the research offers insights into three of the five conundrums that, according to Osborne (2017), still exist in the value co-creation literature and require attention. First, this thesis sheds light on the nature and dimensions of value in the context of public services, and more specifically in public service co-production. With regard to the nature of value, this research operationalized public value as an added value desired by individuals. Furthermore, this research supports the idea that value (and public value) is created in the public service

delivery process (in this case the co-production process) and that experiences do play a role in creating this value, as is suggested by the service-dominant logic literature (Osborne 2017; Osborne et al. 2015, 2016). With regard to the dimensions of value, this research looks at how the dimensions of value emerge from individuals' expectations, and mirror the dimensions of public value creation in co-production identified by Loeffler and Bovaird (2012), including user value, wider value for specific groups, social value, environmental value and political value.

Second, Osborne (2017) urged research to focus on the balance between individual and social/public value creation in public service delivery. The research presented in this thesis looks into the assumed conflicts between public value dimensions, for which the empirical evidence is rather scarce (e.g., Rossi and Tuurnas 2019). This thesis shows that various conflicts arise between the dimension of user value and other dimensions of public value in the perception of co-producing actors (chapter 4). Moreover, it found that next to public servants, citizen co-producers experience conflicts and follow coping strategies to deal with these conflicts. Our findings indicate that citizen co-producers expect public servants to balance these two dimensions of public value creation, as they largely escalate coping to those in the public sphere (chapter 7).

Third, Osborne (2017) argued that the literature and knowledge on value co-creation can be advanced by gaining insights in the impact of multiple stakeholders involved in public service delivery, and by assessing how this may affect value. Indeed, the literature on public value co-creation is mostly focussed on a system level, in which multiple actors and their capacity, legitimacy and common goals are the central concepts (Bryson et al. 2017). This research brings more insight into the role of the expectations of various individual actors for value creation in co-production and finds a very specific impact of multiple stakeholders. Namely, it offers public servants the above described (section 8.1.1) paradox for legitimacy in creating public value (cf. Moore 1995). Additionally, the research suggests a nuance on the idea of service dominant logic. This research frames that for value creation in the co-production of public services, co-producing citizens have more value creation power than those that are

not co-producing and merely receiving value. Nevertheless, the study also recognizes the limitations of an individual's power to create public value, as (s)he acts under a service system, where interaction (chapter 4) and resources of all involved stakeholders as well as the institutional arrangements (chapter 5) play a role (Osborne, Radnor and Strokosch 2016; Vargo and Lush 2016; Cluley and Radnor 2020). This is in line with Rossi and Tuurnas' (2019) study that finds value is co-created within a setting of multiple actors and stakeholders that is characterized with an unequal distribution of power. This power refers to the power relations between individuals (Rossi and Tuurnas 2019), but also to the value creation capacity of individuals and their feeling of having power, or being empowered to co-create value (chapter 4, and 5) (cf. Osborne and Strokosch 2013).

8.3.4 Implications for coping strategies literature

The research, by making extensive use of the framework of coping strategies, also has some theoretical implications for the coping strategies literature.

First, this research shows that the typologies of Thacher and Rein (2004) and of Stewart (2006) of six coping strategies, in addition to the escalating strategy, avoidance strategy and the reality of deferred coping, were able to capture the coping strategies of co-producing actors that face value conflict. Even more, it shows that those coping strategies that were originally conceptualized to occur more at an organizational level (e.g., Thacher and Rein 2004), such as building firewalls, also occur at an individual level. For example, the coping strategy of building firewalls helps individuals separate their tasks in which they focus on each value in order to set boundaries for themselves and ensure values realization and value creation.

Second, this research extended the theory of coping strategies to be relevant in studying not only coping behaviour when faced with conflict between public values (cf. Thacher and Rein 2014; Stewart 2006), but also when confronted with conflict among the dimensions of creating public value, as the conflicting values were perceived as incompatible and incommensurable. The research shows that both public servants and citizen co-producers

behave in a number of ways, from biasing to balancing, and from avoiding to escalating that potentially result in desired or undesired effects of co-production.

Third, the research advances the literature on coping strategies as it conceptualizes a framework for the origins and results of coping strategies not only for street level bureaucrats but for all individuals involved in co-producing public services. As this idea of looking into value conflicts comes from the street-level bureaucracy literature, integrating the coping strategies of public servants into the model was straightforward (e.g., de Graaf, Huberts and Smulders 2016; Steenhuisen and van Eeten 2012). However, their coping strategies were to a lesser extent connected to outcomes with regards to public values realization and public value creation (e.g., Steenhuisen and de Bruijne 2009). Additionally, the research finds that roles and responsibilities do matter for choice of coping strategies in similar conflict situations, and for normative decision making. For example, when citizens had few responsibilities they were more likely to drop out of co-production or to avoid dealing with the conflicts they experienced. This insight can be of value for the coping strategies literature specifically used in this thesis, but also for the broader coping behaviour literature (e.g., Tummers et al. 2015, Grimmelikhuijsen et al. 2017; Battaglio et al. 2019).

Fourth, in finding explanations for coping strategies this research offers a hypothesis, namely the psychological construct of external efficacy (borrowed from the political psychology theory) is found to potentially affect coping with public values conflicts. Also, in co-producing services, citizens want to believe that their strategies, or behaviour in general, can have an impact (cf. Kristensen, Andersen and Peterson 2012). In further understanding and conceptualizing coping strategies, especially when adapted to more complex ways of governing involving networks and collaborative arrangements, the coping strategies literature needs to take into account the element of perceived impact when understanding and promoting coping strategies.

8.4 Practical implications

This dissertation aimed to advance knowledge and as such to create new gaps for future research, yet also to translate the findings into knowledge and recommendations that are useful for practice. The project coordinators of some of the cases studied for this research received a management report when desired. In those management reports some of the forthcoming recommendations and implications are mentioned.

Knowledge about coping strategies in case of value conflicts is valuable for organising and developing co-production processes. The overall implication for practice that emerged from this research is that conflicts between public values and between dimensions of public value creation, are inherent to governance, not just to street-level-bureaucracy or co-production. Christopher Hood (1991) already pointed at the existence of value conflicts in governance when discussing the clusters of good governance. It is often expected from innovative ways of governing, such as co-production, to resolve some of the value conflicts. This research shows that evolving to different types of governance or public service delivery, such as collaborative governance, does not change much to this existence and experience of value conflicts. The research shows that governance is equal to balancing conflicting values. Therefore, governments are to be cautious with having high expectations for co-production to realize democratic values. As this research showed co-production is not necessarily equal to democratization and it would benefit practice not to treat co-production as a 'by default' method of improving democracy. However, public servants can take on a facilitating role in tackling the challenges co-productive projects are facing. Before formulating what this facilitating role of practitioners could be, I elaborate on the issue of having high expectations of co-production, such as achieving economic, social and cultural aims, and the challenges that may stand in the way of achieving these expectations.

First, this research focussed on co-production in social elderly care, urban mobility planning and temporary use of vacant spaces and showed that difficulties in co-production can arise around the temporary nature of enhanced co-production cases. Often these projects receive

funding from governmental actors (for example for a year) to start up co-production. However, when no guarantee is given at the outset for the continuation of the project, these projects face difficulties in creating lasting effects. Specifically, public servants may struggle most with finding new locations for extending the social-cultural or social projects. Finding new locations or permanent locations for co-production can be essential for sustaining the effects of co-production, otherwise a numbers of aspects that ensured the effects of co-production disappear, such as responsiveness to the needs of a neighbourhood or the new network that citizens obtained. With regards to the process of public value creation and co-production it must also be said that adding time constraints on projects or on policy phases (for example a fast design process) gives rise to additional value conflicts, and coping may happen hastily with the risk of obstructing the realization of a public value or perhaps even co-destruct public value resulting in unwanted effects of co-production. A first recommendation is then that public servants could use their facilitating role at the start of a project using their own network and search for alternative locations and the possibility of offering a permanent location. Additionally, the framework presented in chapter 5 makes practitioners aware of potential steps and conditions they may fulfil to ensure positive co-production effects, even if temporary, by focussing on collaborations, supporting and institutionalized processes, and empowering citizen co-producers by enabling their ability and motivations and facilitating them with opportunities.

Second, practitioners may be challenged with questions around who should benefits or who is actually benefitting from co-production. For example, public servants are confronted with the rather homogeneous group of citizens that are mostly reached by co-production projects. Public servants interviewed in this research often claimed that enhanced co-production projects mostly reach the white highly trained middleclass citizens, unless the main goal of co-production was to include a minority group. Additionally, public servants face concerns of other stakeholders, such as neighbours of a temporary project (chapter 5), or citizens that are not involved in a co-production effort and start to voice their concerns during the implementation phase (chapter 4).

A recommendation in balancing the value for the co-producers with value for other

groups in society is for public servants and governments to treat enhanced co-production as complementary to other types of services reaching and including citizens. For example, the public servant involved in the elderly care case was aware of a social exclusion in the project and complemented the co-production project with other types of service delivery, such as one-on-one conversations with elderly, or referrals to types of services that are perhaps more tailored to the user's needs. At the same time, practitioners and governments should also consider the value of the input of citizen co-producers. These citizens provide time, enthusiasm and sometimes also expertise, and are essential for the process of creating effects.

Third, there is the risk that when the support of local governments and public professionals fades out, the citizen co-producers get demotivated and the desired effects of co-production will not be realized/created and/or sustained. Therefore, public servants and local governments need to keep supporting citizen co-producers and project coordinators, also after starting-up. They can do so with sufficient structural resources that are directed at motivating the co-producers and relieving them from burdensome tasks. This way citizen co-producers can focus on what they are good. This is where the contribution of citizen co-producers to the effects of co-production lies, in experimenting with designing and implementing services.

Relieving citizen co-producers and project coordinators can be done by appointing facilitating personnel to specific projects whose task it is to relieve the projects, provide co-producers with opportunities and capacity, and be there for guidance in difficult situations (e.g., when value conflicts occur). For example, in the case of temporary use of vacant spaces project coordinators are of great importance in balancing conflicting values between the different aspects of the project, however, due to all the maintenance tasks that also fall on them, they are limited in what they can achieve. Administration could discuss the advantages of appointing a coordinator for maintenance of such projects in their city. Or for example, chapter 3 shows how a public servant is appointed with a half-time position to de-isolate elderly. Soon after starting up the project, it became clear the elderly need a lot more guidance than expected in organizing social care for each other. This case shows that taking co-production serious requires realistic budgeting taking into account re-evaluations of necessary resources.

Other ways to relieve citizens is for local governments to engage in capacity building at the level of their city/municipality, for example by allowing flexible governing for facilitating co-production projects. By engaging in capacity building, governments can overcome the challenge related to temporality. Governments can focus on creating networks between all societal actors related to a specific neighbourhood or service. The task of governments in relation to creating networks for co-production is to bridge talents and strengths, bring actors together to discover and formulate shared expectations and desired effects. Additionally, practitioners can use their discretionary power to make their networks of societal actors available to the co-producers to stimulate collaboration, and ensure inclusion. There are many examples of cities that focus on building such bridges and thereby capacity, for example the city of Ghent with its neighbourhood directors, or Amsterdam with its neighbourhood coordinators, managers and participation brokers that form the bridge between citizens in co-production projects and government.

Finally, the research provides some insights on value conflicts and coping strategies which provide challenges for public administrators. Especially when individual coping strategies are aggregated, the threat for public values failure and public value destruction increases. For example, citizen co-producers' coping strategies documented in chapter 6 show how social exclusion (as most temporary users are highly educated) can be explained by citizen co-producers biasing service quality over inclusion. The study shows that although a certain amount of citizen co-producers try and balance service quality with social inclusion, inclusion might not win the trade-off made by most of the co-producers. This study presents a clear illustration of the lack of inclusion as a result of coping strategies and the result of persisting social inclusion in co-production projects (Chapter 6).

For this challenge, a practical recommendation for governments and public servants involved in co-production is that they could keep an eye on safeguarding public values, such as social inclusion, in co-produced public services; and they can do so by making use of all types of coping strategies. More specifically, first, at the start of co-production practitioners could facilitate a conversation about desired effects of co-production. Officials can then initiate

a conversation among the co-producers about where difficulties may arise in co-production that may get in the way of delivering these desired effects. Then they can get to work within the administration and see how local government can support the co-production projects. Second, governments could appoint facilitating personnel to specific projects whose task it is to guide citizens and deal with the need of balancing conflicting values and adapting a number of coping strategies to do so. Training materials for public servants regarding coping strategies and how to adopt them would be useful for this purpose, as the results show the potential importance of plural copings strategies to avoid value loss, as no coping strategies will resolve the conflict. This recommendation is not just limited to public servants involved in co-production, but to all government actors. Third, in co-production citizens could be encouraged to be included in finding ways to cope with value conflicts. The research shows that giving voice to citizens with regards to experienced value conflicts and how to cope with them can avoid these citizens from dropping out of the project or from feeling uninvolved. Since this research found that roles and responsibilities matter for citizen efforts in coping with value conflicts, giving them more responsibilities can avoid drop-outs and avoidance strategies. This could, for example, be done by introducing deliberation moments where the difficulties of co-producers are heard and acted upon. Listening to citizen co-producers' concerns is not sufficient – actively and collaboratively working on co-producers' input and difficulties could be.

More specifically for co-production, and based on these recommendations for tackling the challenge of the impact of coping strategies, I propose designing a toolbox for starting and existing co-production projects. While conducting this study, I stumbled upon a number of practice books with good governance examples and tools on how to organize co-production processes, as well as upon professional consultancy organizations that guide governments and citizen organizations in these processes. These approaches are often directed towards the setup and design phases of co-production, and are less focused on how to sustain the effects of co-production. What is largely missing in these approaches is a toolbox or approach on how conflicts can be dealt with or how coping can be a learning process. This toolbox can be developed including more hands-on collaboration methods for deliberation about value

conflicts and how to deal with them, as well as tools for learning what the various effects of coping with value conflicts are. It is up to practitioners to take this matter into their own hands and invoke a process of shared deliberation about coping with value conflicts in the co-production of public services. Based on this research I suggest a toolbox with the following components. First, existing brainstorm methods³³ (e.g., Rommel and Keygnaert 2005) can help citizens and public servants communicate their individual and common expectations for the effects of their involvement in co-production. This enables public servants and citizen co-producers to become aware of communalities in expectations but also of other desires for effects. Furthermore, in the toolbox are hypothetical situations representing specific value conflict situations. These hypothetical situations can be accompanied with illustrations of how actors deal with conflicting values in different ways. Discussing these various situations and coping strategies may have both a learning effect as well as open the discussion on the actual conflicts present in the co-production process. This can be done according the method of scenario planning³⁴ (e.g., Motmans and Cosemans 2003; Van der Heijden 1997) in which an interactive process is facilitated by an external and neutral moderator. The situations are of course no predictions, but they offer frames of reference to enable an open and dynamic space for offering room to difficult issues, perception and other elements. This safe environment offers co-producing actors the room to discuss what the risks are of the potential conflicts among their expectations and second, how these conflicts can possibly be coped with referring back to the examples they were given from the toolbox. Doing so, coping becomes deliberate and less emergent, with the ability to avoid total value loss.

In sum, in co-production citizen co-producers and public servants are likely to experience value conflicts. This balancing of values often offers no solution to conflicts and thus no co-

³³ For example, practitioners can apply methods such as the Open Space method, which visualizes the desires of participants in cluster trees. More information: www.openspaceworld.com;

³⁴ This method is discussed in detail in the Participatiewijzer. <http://www.participatiewordtgesmaakt.be/websites/52/uploads/file/Participatiekoffer%20-%20Methodes.pdf>

production does not entail an intrinsic guarantee for better realizing governance effects. In order to face the challenges that prevent co-production to achieve its expectations this chapter formulated some recommendations for practice. First, public servants and local governments can ensure sustainable effects of co-production by finding a permanent place for services that found their existence through co-production. Second, governments could treat enhanced co-production as complementary to other types of services to ensure inclusion and equity. Third, public servants and local governments need to keep supporting citizen co-producers and project coordinators, also after starting-up. Fourth, public professionals could make use of the capacity of the government to build capacity for co-production projects and look for structural support for co-produced services. Fifth, the results indicate that public servants play a central role in mediating conflicts in creating public value in co-production, due to the popularity of the escalation strategy. Therefore, public servants need to remain available and approachable when citizen co-producers require feedback and guidance. Next, these public professionals could support the use of specific and/or plural coping strategies to prevent value failure or destruction by making use of different participation methods, for example by developing the suggested toolbox. In incorporating these recommendations, local governments and public professionals are taking co-production and the desires of co-producers for the effects of co-production serious, ensuring effective co-production.

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Appendices

Appendices belonging to chapter 3

Table 3.A:

Respondents Connected Care

Respondents	Sex	Co-producer	Coordinating Committee
1	Female	Citizen co-producer	No
2	Male	Citizen co-producer	No
3	Male	Citizen co-producer	No
4	Female	Citizen co-producer	Yes
5	Female	Citizen co-producer	No
6	Female	Citizen co-producer	No
7	Male	Citizen co-producer	Yes
8	Female	Citizen co-producer	Yes
9	Female	Public professional	Yes
10	Female	Volunteer	Yes
11	Female	Citizen co-producer	Yes
12	Male	Citizen co-producer	No
13	Female	Citizen co-producer	No
14	Female	Citizen co-producer	No
15	Female	Citizen co-producer	No
16	Female	Citizen co-producer	No
17	Female	Citizen co-producer	No

Table 3.B:

Characteristics of the Respondents (N=17)

	N
Age	
35 and < 45	0
45 and < 55	2
55 and < 65	6
65 and < 75	1
75 and < 85	5
85 and < 95	1
95 and < 105	1
Missing	1
Gender	
Male	4
Female	13
Intensity of participation	
High	12
Of which member of the steering committee	4
Of which professional and public servant	2
Low	5

Appendices belonging to chapter 4

Table 4.A:

Characteristics of the respondents

R	Case	Actor	M/F	R	Case	Actor	M/F
CC1	CS †	Citizen co-producer	M	PP3	CS	Public professional	F
CC2	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	PP4	CS	Public professional	M
CC3	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	PP5	CS	Public professional	M
CC4	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	PP6	CS	Public professional	F
CC5	CS	Citizen co-producer	F	PP7	CS	Public Professional	M
CC6	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	PP8	CS	Public professional	M
CC7	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	P1	CS	Politician	M
CC8	CS	Citizen co-producer	F	P2	CS	Politician	F
CC9	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	CC17	MA †	Citizen co-producer	M
						Citizen co-producer,	
CC10	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	CC18	MA	also politician	M
CC11	CS	Citizen co-producer	F	CC19	MA	Citizen co-producer	M
CC12	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	CC20	MA	Citizen co-producer	M
CC13	CS	Citizen co-producer	F	CC21	MA	Citizen co-producer	M
CC14	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	CC22	MA	Citizen co-producer	F
CC15	CS	Citizen co-producer	M	CC23	MA	Citizen co-producer	F
		Citizen co-producer,					
CC16	CS	also public professional	M	CC24	MA	Citizen co-producer	F
T1	CS	TSO	F	CC25	MA	Citizen co-producer	M
T2	CS	TSO	M	CC26	MA	Citizen co-producer	M
T3	CS	TSO	F	T6	MA	TSO	F
T4	CS	TSO	M	T7	MA	TSO	F
T5	CS	TSO	F	T8	MA	TSO	M
PP1	CS	Public professional	F	PP9	MA	Public professional	F
PP2	CS	Public professional	M	P3	MA	Politician	M

† R = Respondent, SC = City Streets, MA = Mobility Alternative

Appendices belonging to chapter 5

Table 5.A:

Interviewees in the 8 Temporary Use Cases

Case	# public servants	# coordinating co-producers	# citizen co-producers	Total
Case 1	1	1	4	6
Case 2	1	2	3	6
Case 3	1	3	2	6
Case 4	1	1	2	4
Case 5	1	2	1	4
Case 6	0	2	1	3
Case 7	1	1	1	3
Case 8	1	1	1	3
Total	7	13	15	35
Total Female	5	5	5	15
Total Male	2	8	10	20

Table 5.B:

Respondents Temporary Use Cases

R	Actor	Case	R	Actor	Case
1	Project coordinator	1	19	Public servant	4
2	Citizen co-producer	1	20	Project coordinator	4
3	Citizen co-producer	1	21	Citizen co-producer	4
4	Citizen co-producer	1	22	Citizen co-producer	4
5	Citizen co-producer	1	23	Citizen co-producer	5
6	Public servant	1	24	Citizen co-producer	5
7	Project coordinator	2	25	Project coordinator	5
8	Project coordinator	2	26	Citizen co-producer	5
9	Citizen co-producer	2	27	Project coordinator	6
10	Citizen co-producer	2	28	Project coordinator	6
11	Citizen co-producer	2	29	Citizen co-producer	6
12	Public servant	2	30	Project coordinator	7
13	Project coordinator	3	31	Citizen co-producer	7
14	Citizen co-producer	3	32	Public servant	7
15	Citizen co-producer	3	33	Public servant	8
16	Citizen co-producer	3	34	Project coordinator	8
17	Citizen co-producer	3	35	Citizen co-producer	8
18	Project coordinator	3			

Appendices belonging to chapter 6

Table 6.A:
Correlation matrix

	Perceived impact	Generalized trust	Trust government	Self-efficacy	age	actor
Perceived impact	1	0.303	-0.436	0.593	0.041	-0.005
Generalized trust	0.303	1	-0.199	-0.014	-0.016	-0.006
Trust government	-0.436	-0.199	1	-0.191	-0.201	-0.005
Self efficacy	0.593	-0.014	-0.191	1	0.023	0.011
age	0.041	-0.016	-0.201	0.023	1	-0.099
actor	-0.005	-0.006	-0.005	0.011	-0.099	1

Source: Authors' analysis.

Table 6.B:

Descriptive statistics of those experiencing a value conflict between social inclusion and service quality versus those not experiencing this value conflict

Variables	Reporting experience		
	Total	of conflict	No conflict
N	180	141	39
Trust government			
Mean(SD)	5.685 (1.841)	5.645 (1.893)	5.82 (1.65)
Range	1 - 9.33	1 - 9.33	2 - 9
Generalized trust			
Mean(SD)	7.4 (1.309)	7.352 (1.274)	7.57 (1.43)
Range	2 - 10	2 - 10	2.33 - 10
Perceived impact			
Mean(SD)	3.852 (1.018)	3.957 (0.933)	3.47 (1.224)
Range	1 - 5	1 - 5	1 - 5
Self-efficacy			
Mean(SD)	4.286 (0.711)	4.329 (0.662)	4.13 (0.856)
Range	1 - 5	1 - 5	1 - 5
Age			
Mean(SD)	40.43 (12.116)	39.28 (12.118)	44.62 (11.294)
Range	16.000 - 72.000	16-72	21.000 - 67.000
Months experience			
N-Miss	6		6
Mean(SD)	28.02 (30.544)	28.525 (31.591)	25.88 (25.915)
Range	0.000 - 204.000	0-204	0.000 - 98.000
Actor			
N N-Miss	1		1
Volunteer	96 (53.33%)	74 (52%)	22 (56.41%)
Professionally involved	83 (46.11%)	67 (47.52%)	16 (41.03%)
Gender			
N M	89 (49.44%)	67 (47.52%)	22 (56.41%)
F	91 (50.55%)	74 (52%)	17 (43.59%)
Education			
N No diploma	2 (0.01%)	1 (0.01%)	1 (0.02%)
Primary education	3 (0.02%)	3 (0.02%)	0 (0%)
Secondary education	34 (18.88%)	27 (19.15%)	7 (17.9%)
Higher education/university	138 (76.66%)	107 (74.89%)	31 (79.49%)
Still studying	3 (0.02%)	3 (0.02%)	0 (0%)

N: 180

Table 6.C:
Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Coping when experiencing conflict between inclusion and service quality						p-value
	Inclusion	Service Quality	Balancing	Avoidance	Escalating	Total	
N	18	53	45	13	12	141	
Trust government							0.762
Mean(SD)	-0.096 (0.879)	-0.032 (1.012)	-0.068 (0.905)	0.122 (1.003)	0.303 (0.986)	-0.009 (0.952)	
Range	-1.066 - 1.900	-1.887 - 2.448	-1.526 - 1.778	-1.424 - 1.767	-0.743 - 1.934	-1.887 - 2.448	
Generalized trust							0.429
Mean(SD)	-0.215 (1.076)	0.041 (0.645)	0.120 (1.053)	-0.017 (1.294)	-0.393 (0.957)	-0.009 (0.940)	
Range	-2.920 - 1.378	-1.561 - 1.634	-3.042 - 1.807	-4.135 - 0.839	-2.016 - 0.818	-4.135 - 1.807	
Perceived impact							0.008
Mean(SD)	0.083 (0.824)	0.129 (0.807)	0.109 (0.914)	-0.834 (1.276)	-0.300 (0.881)	-0.009 (0.933)	
Range	-1.829 - 1.065	-2.956 - 1.140	-2.638 - 1.174	-3.348 - 0.699	-1.875 - 0.851	-3.348 - 1.174	
Self-efficacy							0.026
Mean(SD)	0.268 (0.719)	-0.030 (0.992)	0.158 (0.821)	-0.705 (1.058)	-0.185 (0.861)	-0.008 (0.928)	
Range	-0.916 - 1.001	-4.745 - 1.147	-2.279 - 1.100	-3.322 - 0.845	-1.846 - 1.073	-4.745 - 1.147	
Age							0.038
Mean(SD)	(11.329)	41.132 (13.559)	37.844 (10.346)	45.308 (12.154)	31.667 (8.876)	(12.118)	
Range	22 - 68	19-72	24-61	30-66	16-43	16-72	
Months experience							0.457
Mean(SD)	27.667 (32.498)	33.925 (33.285)	27.556 (35.211)	19.692 (15.129)	19.167 (17.023)	28.525 (31.591)	
Range	0-120	1-126	0-204	6-60	0-60	0-204	
Actor (N)							0.023
Volunteer involved	14 4	26 27	25 20	7 6	2 10	74 67	
Gender (N)							0.227
M	6	30	22	6	3	67	
F	12	23	23	7	9	74	
Education (N)							0.224
No diploma	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Primary education	0	2	0	0	1	3	
Secondary education	4	11	6	2	4	27	
Higher education/university	13	38	39	10	7	107	
Still studying	1	2	0	0	0	3	

N: 141

Table 6.D:

Matrix for self-reported and desired coping with conflict between inclusion and quality

Desired coping \ Reported coping	Inclusion	Service quality	Balancing	Avoidance	Escalating	Row Total
Inclusion	11	2	4	0	1	18
Service quality	3	33	14	1	2	53
Balancing	3	10	27	2	3	45
avoidance	0	6	2	4	1	13
Escalating	1	4	2	0	5	12
Column Total	18	55	49	7	12	141

Source : Authors' analysis.

Table 6.E:

Average Marginal Effects and Standard Errors of Model for Coping with Public Values Conflicts

Coping Strategy	Variable	Odds ratios	AME	Std. Error
Inclusion	Perceived impact	2.5813 ⁺	-0.0087	(0.0415)
	Self-efficacy	1.8400	0.0409	(0.0415)
	Generalized trust	0.5780	-0.0301	(0.0304)
	Trust government	1.1043	-0.0185	(0.0324)
	Professionally involved	0.2667	-0.1370	(0.0602)
	Age	0.9427 [*]	-0.0016	(0.0023)
Service quality	Perceived impact	4.0199 ^{**}	0.1364	(0.0661)
	Self-efficacy	0.9604	-0.1004	(0.0574)
	Generalized trust	0.7110	-0.0137	(0.0475)
	Trust government	1.4647	0.0437	(0.0479)
	Professionally involved	1.0180	0.0466	(0.0775)
	Age	0.9734	0.0066	(0.0775)
Balancing	Perceived impact	2.481 ⁺	-0.0349	(0.0605)
	Self-efficacy	1.6698	0.0807	(0.0583)
	Generalized trust	0.8654	0.0517	(0.0463)
	Trust government	1.2226	-0.0179	(0.0458)
	Professionally involved	0.7451	-0.0471	(0.0743)
	Age	0.9461 ⁺	-0.0028	(0.0033)
Escalating	Perceived impact	2.2859	-0.0134	(0.0286)
	Self-efficacy	1.1887	-0.0042	(0.0273)
	Generalized trust	0.4821	-0.0316	(0.0222)
	Trust government	1.5633	0.0134	(0.0260)
	Professionally involved	5.6122	0.1319	(0.0568)
	Age	0.8854 ^{**}	-0.0056	(0.0026)
Avoidance	Perceived impact		-0.0793	(0.0314)
	Self-efficacy		-0.0170	(0.0246)
	Generalized trust		0.0238	(0.0250)
	Trust government		-0.0207	(0.0311)
	Professionally involved		0.0057	(0.0442)
	Age		0.0035	(0.0017)

Source: Author's analysis.

Note: ⁺p<0.1; ^{*}p<0.05; ^{**}p<0.01

Appendices belonging to chapter 7

Table 7.A:

Balance tests †

Parameter	χ^2	df.	P-value
Gender	.409	3	.938
Age	2.069	3	.558
Activity assessi	.0433	3	.933
Education	5.289	3	.152
Actor_new	1.758	3	.624

† We test whether the dependent parameter has an identical data distribution across the four vignettes. The null hypothesis states that the parameter is identically distributed across the vignettes. We test this hypothesis using the `kruskal.test` function in R for five demographic parameters (gender, age, activity, education, and actor). The results produce p-values that are well above .05, indicating that we cannot reject the null hypothesis for any of the five parameters. Our conclusion is that there is no statistical evidence to support the claim that the vignettes are not balanced, i.e., randomization succeeded in producing comparable groups.

Table 7.B:

Mean ranks per coping strategy, grouped per vignette

Vignette	Coping strategy	Mean Rank
Vignette 1	Escalation to the public official	3.034
	Trade-off in favour of social value	2.45
	Trade-off in favour of user value	1.8
	Avoidance	2.717
Vignette 2	Escalation to the public official	2.824
	Trade-off in favour of social value	2.559
	Trade-off in favour of user value	1.809
	Avoidance	2.809
Vignette 3	Escalation to the public official	2.841
	Trade-off in favour of social value	2.492
	Trade-off in favour of user value	1.825
	Avoidance	2.841
Vignette 4	Escalation to the public official	2.884
	Trade-off in favour of social value	2.712
	Trade-off in favour of user value	1.894
	Avoidance	2.561

Summary in English

Introduction and background

This first part of the title of the thesis ‘By the public, for the public?’, refers first to the evolution to co-production of public services, where public services are delivered for the public, with and by the public. In co-production citizen co-producers (users and/or citizens as part of the community) actively and voluntarily collaborate with professionals in producing public services, either in the design, management, delivery and/or evaluation of public services. Furthermore, it refers to a gap in our understanding of the effects of co-production of public services. When citizens are co-producing public services what are the effects of co-production and who is affected by these effects (i.e., is it for the public)? On the one hand, co-production of public services is expected to lead to positive effects: such as the better realization of public values (e.g., better inclusiveness, responsiveness, efficiency, quality of services, democratic quality of services, equity, etc.), and the co-creation of public value. On the other hand, recent studies show co-production of public services sometimes create undesired or unexpected effects, for example, a failing efficiency, inclusion, or accountability, and the co-destruction of public value (when co-production fails to deliver the expected outcomes to the public). Gaining an insight in to how these desired and undesired effects of co-production come about may help practitioners become aware of ways to better realize positive effects, and to deal with, and perhaps prevent, undesired effects.

The second part of the title of the thesis ‘Coping with value conflicts in the co-production of public services’ refers to a second and a third gap in co-production literature. First, until recently the phenomenon of value conflicts was understudied in the field of co-production. Street-level-bureaucracy literature shows that public servants in regular service provision experience value conflicts on a daily basis, and these conflicts often do not have a straightforward answer. This thesis therefore set out to look if actors involved in the co-production also face value conflicts. Second, there is a gap in the knowledge relating to how individuals cope with various conflicts in co-production of public services. For this reason this thesis set out to study how co-producing actors deal with these value conflicts. Combining these different challenges, the thesis set out to

connect the individual coping with value conflicts to the desired and undesired effects of co-production.

This research project thus addresses the following research question: *What is the role of individual coping with value conflicts for the desired and undesired effects of co-production?*

Research design and methods

The research starts from an in-depth examination of the existing academic literature and develops a model for individual coping with value conflicts in multi-actor settings, such as for example co-production. This theoretical exploration provided input to explore and bring together the concepts of public values realisation, public value creation, public value conflicts and coping strategies. The research further adopts a mixed-method approach, first by conducting three qualitative case studies in three different service areas, namely, social elderly care, urban mobility planning and the temporary use of vacant spaces. These case studies help shed light on the expectations citizen co-producers and public servants hold of co-production, as well as the value conflicts they experience when trying to realize those expectations. Additionally, this research examines the coping strategies citizen co-producers and public servants follow when they experience value conflicts. Next, the research utilizes quantitative methods in order to study some of the individual characteristics that may have an influence on the coping strategies that individual co-producers adopt. The insights into experiences of conflicts and coping strategies acquired in the qualitative phase of the research design are used to design a vignette experiment and survey questionnaire to test what psychological traits influence coping behaviour.

Coping with value conflicts in co-producing public services

Two qualitative studies presented in chapters in 3 and 4 shows that value conflicts are part of co-productive life. Moreover, there are several indications that the co-production of public services reinforces the experience of value conflicts. Co-production therefore must not be seen as a means to solve value conflicts. The research indicates that the experience of value conflicts also arises from the characteristics inherent within co-production itself, such as the multiple

expectations individuals have for co-production, the variety of co-production initiatives, the variety of roles in co-production, possible time-pressures, and interactions.

The research found that co-producers apply a variety of coping strategies, such as avoidance strategies (avoiding to deal with the conflict, for example, by dropping out), escalating strategies (elevating the experienced conflict to a higher authority), trade-off strategies (focussing on the realization or creation of one of the two aspects of the value conflict) and balancing strategies (focussing on realizing both conflicting values, albeit not to their fullest extent). These coping strategies offer individual co-producers a way to deal with an otherwise paralysing situation, however, none of these strategies result in a conflict situation being completely solved. The findings suggest that each individual's coping strategy contributes to a desired or undesired result. Next, the findings suggests that the roles of co-producers, and the power they hold, also matter for coping strategies. The qualitative case studies find that just like public servants, citizen co-producers follow various coping strategies but choose an escalation strategy or an avoidance strategy more often than public servants.

The relation between psychological traits and coping strategies

In attempting to explain why some individuals cope according to one strategy and others according to other strategies, indications were taken from the qualitative chapters. The fifth chapter shows how variables relating to capacity at the level of the individual (such as motivation, capabilities and opportunities), the organization and the network are connected to and stimulating co-production effects, and identifies those aspects that ensure sustainable effects. The qualitative studies presented in chapter three and four, probably due to their focus on the individual, mostly identified individual characteristics acting as individual drivers for coping behaviour. For example, the third chapter suggests that citizens avoid and escalate conflicts more than public servants because of two aspects: citizens believe their ideas and concerns may not be heard (perceived impact or external efficacy), and they may lack the capacity to deal with value conflicts (self-efficacy). The data presented in the third and the fourth chapter suggest that when trust of the individual in the other (the public servant, or the citizen co-producer) is absent, individuals

might be more likely to cope with the conflict by avoiding co-production and less likely to follow an escalation strategy.

For this reason, the quantitative empirical chapters (chapter 6 and 7) set out to explore this relationship by questioning if these psychological traits could explain the coping strategies followed by citizen co-producers. The studies do not find statistically significant effects of self-efficacy and trust, be it generalized trust or trust in government, on the respondents' coping strategies. Chapter six finds that the situational psychological trait of external efficacy affects citizens' coping behaviour. In case of a conflict between social inclusion and service quality, external efficacy is positively related to trading-off in favour of service quality, and negatively related to a citizen's likelihood to avoid dealing with value conflicts. However, the results should not be generalized outside these studies because of the limited population (temporary users in Flanders). Still, the two quantitative studies allow to develop hypotheses for future research. For example, future research studying larger groups of citizen co-producers across a variety of sectors could check whether citizen co-producers with a higher perceived impact are less likely to cope according to an avoidance strategy, and more likely to actively cope with their experienced conflicts.

Implications for research and practice

In unravelling one of the underlying mechanisms of how desired and undesired effects of co-production come about, this thesis advances theoretical and empirical understandings of co-production. The study generates the following overall conclusions:

- (1) co-production both enables and obstructs positive effects as it offers challenges for the realization of public values and the creation of public value. These challenges are characterized by value conflicts, making it hard for value to be created or values to be realized to their fullest potential; and

- (2) individual coping strategies to deal with these value conflicts contribute to co-production effects. The threat for negative effects of co-production increases when individual coping strategies largely emphasising one value are aggregated.

With these findings the research contributes to a number of literature fields, such as that of co-production, public values realization, public value creation, and coping strategies. Most importantly the research contributes to three areas in co-production literature. First, this research advances the literature on co-production motivations by showing how a variety of co-producing actors hold different expectations for co-production effects, for both public values realization in the co-production process and for public value creation as an outcome, which translate into the motivations of actors to co-produce. The study also shows how these expectations may potentially incorporate ‘new’ conflicts into public service co-production.

Second, the research has theoretical implications for the literature on the processes of co-production, which typically looks at design principles for making co-production effective. This research identifies capacities for co-production at different levels (individual, organisation and system level) facilitating the effectiveness of achieving aims, including, for example, lasting collaborations and the creation of long-term networks, institutionalized but flexible processes, supportive legal frameworks, structural allocation of personnel and budget, and empowerment of citizens in their ability, motivation and opportunities. Additionally, a specific contribution is that this research theorizes coping with value conflicts as a variable that impacts co-production’s effectiveness.

Third, the research contributes to the literature on co-production effects. The studies show how individual coping strategies result, perhaps through aggregation, in effects. Additionally, the research presents a conceptual model (the Individual Coping with Value Conflicts model) that offers a framework for analyzing how individuals contribute to co-production effects. This model (chapter 2) offers a starting point for empirical analysis and testing.

The findings also contribute to the public values literature in that it presents (1) a conceptual model for the realization of public values on an individual level; (2) empirical material for expectations for the public values realization of co-producing actors (not just public servants but also citizens), and (3) evidence for the persisting challenge of realizing public values, even in the co-production of public services.

With regards to the public value creation literature, this research shows that also public value creation comes with conflicts for individuals and that these individuals rely on similar coping strategies to deal with conflicts between public value dimensions. More specifically it provides much needed empirical evidence on the balance between individual and social/public value creation in public service delivery.

And finally, with regards to the coping strategies literature the research conceptualizes a framework for the origins and results of coping strategies not only for street level bureaucrats but for all individuals involved in co-producing public services. Additionally, the research finds that roles and responsibilities do matter for coping behaviour in similar conflict situations.

For practitioners, the thesis invites actors to be open about their expectations and to invite everyone to share their expectations. Such openness enables co-producers to become aware of communalities in expectations but also of the conflicts that are likely to exist. The thesis further invites co-producing actors to discuss first, the risks of these conflicts and second, how these conflicts can possibly be coped with.

Since the accountability for creating public value remains with project coordinators or public professionals, they can take on a guarding role by taking stock of which value is potentially at loss and consequently suggest the use of specific and/or plural coping strategies to prevent failure or destruction. They especially need to be realistic that high expectations for co-production to realize democratic values require safeguarding these values. This thesis therefore advises project coordinators and public professionals to allow and facilitate flexibility in co-production to experiment with coping with value conflicts, with transferring more ownership and responsibility to citizen co-producers, and with involving them in managing public value conflicts.

Additionally, becoming aware of potential desired and undesired effects of co-production requires some learning for public professionals, project coordinators and citizens or users involved in co-production. A further step could be to design a toolbox including more hands-on collaboration methods for deliberating about value conflicts and how to deal with them, as well as tools for learning what the various effects are of coping with value conflicts. Practitioners could invoke this toolbox and a process of shared deliberation about coping with value conflicts in the co-production of public services.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Inleiding en achtergrond

De Nederlandstalige titel van dit proefschrift luidt: ‘Door de burger, voor de burger? Omgaan met waardenconflicten in de coproductie van publieke diensten.’ ‘Door de burger, voor de burger?’, verwijst naar de evolutie naar een coproductie van publieke diensten. In deze coproductie werken burgers actief en vrijwillig samen met ambtenaren en produceren in samenwerking publieke diensten. Ze coproduceren onder meer het ontwerp, het beheer, de levering en/of de evaluatie van publieke diensten. Het vraagteken na de aanhef ‘Door de burger, voor de burger?’, wijst op een eerste lacune in de kennis over de effecten van de coproductie van publieke diensten. Wat zijn de effecten van de diensten die gecoproduceerd worden door burgers en aan wie komen deze effecten toe? Enerzijds wordt verwacht dat coproductie van publieke diensten een positieve impact zal hebben (1) op de realisatie van publieke waarden (bv. verhoogde inclusie, responsiviteit, kostenbesparing, kwaliteit van de diensten, democratische kwaliteit van de diensten, gelijkheid, enz.) en (2) op de co-creatie van publieke waarde. Anderzijds blijkt uit recente studies dat coproductie van publieke diensten soms ongewenste of onverwachte effecten heeft, zoals bijvoorbeeld een falende efficiëntie, een uitblijvende sociale inclusie of een co-destructie van publieke waarde (wanneer coproductie faalt de verwachte resultaten voor het publiek in te lossen). Het verkrijgen van inzichten in hoe deze gewenste en ongewenste effecten van de coproductie tot stand komen, kan de praktijk helpen om zich van deze effecten bewust te worden en zo de positieve doelen met meer succes te realiseren en de ongewenste neveneffecten te vermijden.

Het tweede deel van de titel “Omgaan met waardenconflicten in de coproductie van publieke diensten”, verwijst naar een tweede en een derde lacune in de coproductieliteratuur. Zo bleven, als tweede lacune, waardenconflicten lange tijd onderbelicht in het coproductieonderzoek. Waardenconflicten worden in dit proefschrift omschreven als spanningsvelden tussen de publieke waarden onderling (de principes van het bestuur zoals inclusie, kwaliteit, professionaliteit, efficiëntie, enz.), alsook in het creëren van publieke

waarde (de toegevoegde waarde die wordt gecreëerd voor het publiek wordt gekenmerkt door verschillende dimensies die in de perceptie van beleidsmakers met elkaar in conflict kunnen staan, zoals onder meer de gebruikerswaarde, de waarde ervaring door specifieke groepen, of de sociale waarde). Onderzoek naar frontlijnwerkers toont aan dat ambtenaren in reguliere dienstverlening dagelijks waardenconflicten ervaren en dat deze conflicten geen eenvoudige oplossingen kennen. In deze dissertatie wordt daarom gekeken of actoren die betrokken zijn bij de coproductie (zowel coproducerende professionals als burgers) waardenconflicten ervaren. Een derde lacune situeert zich in de kennis over hoe individuen keuzes maken in de coproductie van publieke diensten. Daarom onderzoeken we in deze thesis hoe coproducerende actoren met deze waardenconflicten omgaan aan de hand van copingstrategieën. We linken de vastgestelde copingstrategieën aan de gewenste en ongewenste effecten van coproductie. Kortom, dit onderzoeksproject behandelt de volgende onderzoeksvraag: *Wat is de rol van individuele omgang met waardeconflicten voor de gewenste en ongewenste effecten van co-productie?*

Onderzoeksopzet en methoden

Het onderzoek vertrekt van een literatuurstudie en ontwerpt een theoretisch model voor individuele coping met waardenconflicten. Deze theoretische verkenning brengt verschillende concepten samen zoals publieke waarden realisatie, publieke waarde creatie, waardenconflicten en copingstrategieën. Het onderzoek hanteert verder een gemengde onderzoeksaanpak (*mixed-methods approach*). In de eerste plaats voeren we kwalitatieve casestudies uit in drie verschillende dienstensectoren, namelijk de sociale ouderenzorg, de stedelijke mobiliteitsplanning en het tijdelijk gebruik van leegstaande ruimtes. Deze casestudies werpen licht op de verwachtingen van coproducerende burgers en ambtenaren ten aanzien van coproductie, en op de waardenconflicten die zij ervaren bij het realiseren van die verwachtingen. Daarnaast wordt in dit onderzoek gekeken naar de copingstrategieën die coproducerende burgers en ambtenaren volgen wanneer zij waardenconflicten ervaren. Vervolgens maakt het onderzoek gebruik van kwantitatieve methoden om enkele van de

individuele kenmerken te bestuderen, die van invloed kunnen zijn op de individuele copingstrategieën die coproducten toepassen. De inzichten in omgaan met conflicten die in de kwalitatieve fase van het onderzoek zijn opgedaan, worden gebruikt om een vignetexperiment en een survey-onderzoek te ontwerpen. Aan de hand van deze kwantitatieve onderzoeken gaan we na welke psychologische kenmerken het coping gedrag beïnvloeden.

Omgaan met waardenconflicten in coproductie van publieke diensten

De twee kwalitatieve studies die in de hoofdstukken 3 en 4 worden gepresenteerd, tonen aan dat waardenconflicten integraal deel uitmaken van coproductie. Bovendien zijn er verschillende aanwijzingen dat de coproductie van publieke diensten het ervaren van waardenconflicten versterkt. Coproductie moet daarom niet worden gezien als een middel om waardenconflicten op te lossen. Het onderzoek geeft aan dat het ervaren van waardenconflicten ook voortkomt uit de kenmerken die inherent zijn aan coproductie zelf, zoals de meervoudige verwachtingen die de individuele actoren hebben van coproductie, de verscheidenheid aan coproductie initiatieven, de verscheidenheid aan rollen in coproductie, een tijdsdruk op de projecten en de invloed van interacties.

Uit het onderzoek bleek dat coproducten verschillende copingstrategieën volgen, zoals vermijdingsstrategieën (het vermijden van het conflict door bijvoorbeeld te stoppen), escalatiestrategieën (het verheffen van het ervaren conflict tot een hogere autoriteit), trade-off strategieën (gericht op het realiseren of creëren van één van de twee aspecten van het waardenconflict) en balanceringsstrategieën (gericht op het realiseren van beide conflictueuze waarden, met een risico op waardeverlies voor beide). Deze copingstrategieën bieden de individuele coproducten een manier aan om met een anders ‘verlammende’ situatie om te gaan, maar geen van deze strategieën leidt tot een volledige oplossing van een conflictsituatie. De bevindingen suggereren dat de copingstrategie van elke individuele actor bijdraagt aan een gewenst of ongewenst resultaat. Vervolgens vonden we dat de rol van coproducten en de macht die zij hebben, ook bepalend is voor copingstrategieën die gevolgd worden. De

kwalitatieve casestudies tonen aan dat coproducerende burgers en ambtenaren allerlei copingstrategieën volgen, maar vaker dan ambtenaren kiezen de burgers voor een escalatie- of vermijdingsstrategie.

De relatie tussen psychologische eigenschappen en coping strategieën

Om te verklaren waarom sommige individuen zich aan de ene strategie houden en andere aan een andere strategie, bouwen we voort op de bevindingen uit de kwalitatieve hoofdstukken. In het vijfde hoofdstuk laten we zien hoe variabelen met betrekking tot capaciteit op het niveau van het individu (zoals motivatie, opportuniteiten en vaardigheden), de organisatie en het netwerk verbonden zijn met en stimulerend werken op coproductie-effecten. Daarnaast identificeren we de aspecten die leiden tot duurzame effecten. De kwalitatieve studies die in hoofdstuk drie en vier worden gepresenteerd, hebben, omwille van hun focus op het individu vooral individuele kenmerken geïdentificeerd die als drijfveren voor copinggedrag fungeren. In het derde hoofdstuk wordt bijvoorbeeld gesuggereerd dat burgers conflicten meer vermijden en escaleren dan ambtenaren in twee soorten situaties: wanneer burgers geloven dat hun ideeën en zorgen niet worden gehoord (gepercipieerde impact of externe effectiviteit), en wanneer ze het vermogen missen om met waardenconflicten om te gaan (zelfredzaamheid). De bevindingen in het derde en vierde hoofdstuk suggereren dat wanneer het vertrouwen van het individu in de ander (de overheidsambtenaar of de burger) afwezig is, het waarschijnlijker wordt dat het individu het conflict aanpakt door coproductie te vermijden dan door een escalatiestrategie te volgen.

Daarom wordt in de kwantitatieve empirische hoofdstukken zes en zeven de relatie tussen bovengenoemde psychologische kenmerken en de copingstrategieën van de coproducerende burgers onderzocht. De studies vinden geen statistisch significante effecten van zelfredzaamheid en vertrouwen op de copingstrategieën van de respondenten, of het nu gaat om veralgemeend vertrouwen of vertrouwen in de overheid. Hoofdstuk zes vindt dat de situationele psychologische eigenschap van externe effectiviteit wel een invloed heeft op het

coping gedrag van burgers. In het geval van een waardenconflict tussen sociale inclusie en de kwaliteit van de dienstverlening, is externe effectiviteit positief gerelateerd aan een trade-off ten gunste van de kwaliteit van de dienstverlening en negatief gerelateerd aan vermijdingsstrategieën. De resultaten moeten echter niet veralgemeend worden buiten deze studies vanwege een beperkte onderzoekspopulatie (tijdelijke gebruikers van leegstaande ruimtes in Vlaanderen). Toch laten de twee kwantitatieve studies toe om hypothesen te ontwikkelen voor verder onderzoek. Toekomstig onderzoek dat grotere groepen van coproducerende burgers in verschillende sectoren bestudeert, zou bijvoorbeeld kunnen nagaan of coproducerende burgers met een hogere gepercipieerde impact minder geneigd zijn om via een vermijdingsstrategie te reageren op hun ervaren conflicten, of meer geneigd zijn om deze actief te behandelen?

Implicaties voor onderzoek en praktijk

Door het ontrafelen van één van de onderliggende mechanismen van coproductie-effecten, levert dit proefschrift een bijdrage aan theoretische en empirische inzichten in coproductie. De studie formuleert de volgende algemene conclusies:

- (1) vanwege de uitdagingen van coproductie voor het realiseren van publieke waarden en het creëren van publieke waarde kan coproductie gewenste en ongewenste effecten genereren. Deze uitdagingen worden gekenmerkt door waardenconflicten, waardoor het moeilijk is om waarde te creëren of waarden ten volle te realiseren; en
- (2) individuele copingstrategieën om met deze waardenconflicten om te gaan dragen bij aan coproductie-effecten. De dreiging voor negatieve effecten van coproductie neemt toe wanneer individuele copingstrategieën, die grotendeels de nadruk leggen op één waarde, worden geaggregeerd.

Met deze bevindingen draagt het onderzoek bij aan een aantal onderzoeksvelden, zoals de coproductie van publieke diensten, de realisatie van publieke waarden, publieke waarde creatie

en copingstrategieën. Het onderzoek draagt bij aan drie thema's in de co-productieliteratuur. In de eerste plaats aan de literatuur over motivaties om te coproduceren door te laten zien hoe verschillende coproducerende actoren verschillende verwachtingen hebben van coproductie-effecten, zowel van publieke waarden in het coproductieproces als van publieke waarde creatie als resultaat. Deze verwachtingen uiten zich in de motivatie van actoren om te coproduceren. Het onderzoek laat ook zien hoe deze verwachtingen mogelijk 'nieuwe' conflicten in de coproductie van publieke diensten kunnen introduceren.

Ten tweede heeft het onderzoek theoretische implicaties voor de literatuur over de processen van coproductie, waarbij doorgaans wordt gekeken naar *design*principes om coproductie effectief te maken. Dit onderzoek identificeert de capaciteiten van coproductie projecten op verschillende niveaus (individueel, organisatie en systeemniveau) die bijdragen tot het bereiken van duurzame effecten. Zo dragen duurzame samenwerkingsverbanden met het creëren van lange termijn netwerken, geïnstitutionaliseerde maar flexibele processen, ondersteunende wettelijke kaders, structurele toewijzing van personeel en budget,... allemaal bij tot het creëren van gewenste effecten. Maar ook de empowerment van burgers in hun mogelijkheden, motivatie en vaardigheden werden geïdentificeerd als essentiële delen van de capaciteit van een coproductie project. Daarnaast theoretiseert dit onderzoek het omgaan met waardenconflicten als een variabele die de effectiviteit van coproductie beïnvloedt.

Ten derde draagt het onderzoek bij aan de literatuur over coproductie-effecten. De studies laten zien hoe individuele copingstrategieën, wellicht door middel van aggregatie, resulteren in effecten. Verder presenteert het onderzoek een conceptueel model (het Individual Coping with Value Conflicts model) dat een kader biedt om te analyseren hoe individuen bijdragen aan coproductie-effecten. Dit model (voorgesteld in hoofdstuk 2) biedt een uitgangspunt voor empirische analyse en toetsing.

De bevindingen dragen ook bij aan de literatuur over publieke waarden in de vorm van (1) een conceptueel model voor de realisatie van publieke waarden op individueel niveau; (2) empirisch materiaal voor verwachtingen voor de publieke waarden realisatie van coproducerende actoren (niet alleen ambtenaren, maar ook burgers), en (3) aantonen van de

hardnekkige uitdaging om publieke waarden te realiseren, zelfs in de coproductie van publieke diensten.

Voor de literatuur met betrekking tot publieke waarde creatie laat dit onderzoek zien dat ook de creatie van publieke waarde gepaard gaat met conflicten voor individuen en dat deze individuen vertrouwen op vergelijkbare coping strategieën om om te gaan met conflicten tussen publieke waarde dimensies. Meer in het bijzonder levert dit onderzoek het empirische bewijs voor de moeilijkheden bij het vinden van een evenwicht tussen gebruikers waarde en sociale/publieke waarde creatie in de publieke dienstverlening.

Ten slotte biedt dit proefschrift een kader aan voor het ontstaan en de resultaten van copingstrategieën. Niet alleen voor frontlijnwerkers, maar voor alle personen die betrokken zijn bij de coproductie van publieke diensten. Uit het onderzoek blijkt dat rollen en verantwoordelijkheden wel degelijk van belang zijn voor copinggedrag in vergelijkbare conflictsituaties.

Op het einde van het proefschrift geven we een aantal aanbevelingen voor de praktijk. Zo nodigen we actoren uit om open te zijn over hun verwachtingen en om anderen uit te nodigen hun verwachtingen te delen. Deze openheid maakt het mogelijk dat coproducenten zich bewust worden van hun verwachtingen, maar ook van de conflicten die ze mogelijk kunnen ervaren. Verder raden we de coproducerende actoren aan om de risico's van deze conflicten en de manieren waarop deze eventueel kunnen worden aangepakt, te bespreken.

Aangezien de (eind)verantwoordelijkheid voor het realiseren van publieke waarden en het creëren van publieke waarde bij de projectcoördinatoren of ambtenaren blijft liggen, kunnen zij een bewakingsrol op zich nemen door te inventariseren welke waarde(n) mogelijk verloren gaan en bijgevolg het gebruik van specifieke en/of meervoudige copingstrategieën suggereren om het niet-realiseren of het vernietigen van waarde(n) te voorkomen. Het is belangrijk dat zij zich vooral bewust zijn dat hoge verwachtingen ten aanzien van coproductie om democratische waarden te realiseren, veronderstellen dat deze waarden gewaarborgd worden. Projectcoördinatoren en ambtenaren kunnen het experimenteren in het omgaan met

waardenconflicten faciliteren, door bijvoorbeeld meer eigendom en verantwoordelijkheid aan coproducerende burgers over te dragen, en hen te betrekken bij het managen van waardenconflicten.

Daarnaast is het bewust worden van de mogelijke gewenste en ongewenste effecten van coproductie een leerproces voor ambtenaren, projectcoördinatoren en burgers. Een volgende ondersteunende stap zou kunnen zijn om een toolbox te ontwerpen met meer hands-on samenwerkingsmethodes, specifiek gericht op overleg rond intrapersonlijke en interpersoonlijke waardenconflicten, hoe daarmee om te gaan, en wat de mogelijke effecten zijn. Praktijkbeoefenaars zouden beroep kunnen doen op deze toolbox en op een overleg proces in het omgaan met waardenconflicten in de coproductie van publieke diensten.

Doctoraten in de Sociale Wetenschappen en in de Sociale en Culturele Antropologie

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During her time at the PGI she co-organized a seminar for public professionals on co-production in public services (2017) and she was the local organiser of the international conference of the IIAS study group of co-production in Leuven (2019). Sylke co-taught a seminar class on public administration (2017). She was member of the Committee of Diversity and Sustainability at the Faculty of Social Sciences (2016-2021). As co-initiator of the PGI's ecoteam she helped realize a number of sustainable changes on the work floor of her department.