TO EMPOWER & INCLUDE: HOW PROFESSIONALS IMPACT CO-PRODUCTIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Daphne Vanleene, Joris Voets & Bram Verschuere

ABSTRACT

In co-productive community development projects, street-level professionals are considered key players in encouraging vulnerable participants to participate (Gilchrist & Taylor, 2016). But how can these vulnerable groups, known for feeling powerless and distrustful be included and empowered? Previous studies have already formulated four different roles - the leader, friend, representative and mediator - that professionals can employ in order to influence inclusion and empowerment in co-productive community development. Small n-studies (by Vanleene et al 2018,2019) have observed the need for professionals to adopt a combination of these roles, and not apply them singularly, in order to achieve inclusion. Consequently, this study aims to find which roles complement each other and therefore result in higher inclusion and/or empowerment. We do this by using fuzzy set qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) on 15 community development projects in Belgium. The results from this comparative study highlight the importance of citizen co-producers when aiming for empowerment. Moreover, it shows the tentative balance when looking at the relationship professional-co-producers in the context of inclusivity.

INTRODUCTION

Vulnerable citizens are the most difficult citizen group to engage in participation projects. The reasons for this are many and often discussed in literature: these citizens are un-empowered, often feel excluded from society and live in isolation (Vanleene, Voets, & Verschuere, 2019). However, there is one field where participation and vulnerable citizens go hand in hand: community development. Within community development projects the target group are often citizens who live in poverty and/or minorities that can be found in large numbers in cities' derelict neighbourhoods. Community development is co-production, by Alford (1998)'s definition, as it is a type of public sector activity, wherein value cannot be created without an active contribution by the client to its production.

So what is the secret to community development's ability of engaging these difficult-to-reach citizen groups? Previous research noted that the presence of skilled professionals can be directly linked to the citizen's sense of inclusion and empowerment (de Graaf, van Hulst, & Michels, 2015; Jakobsen, 2013; Vanleene, Voets, & Verschuere, 2018). These professionals have to adopt different roles in order to influence the co-production process. These professional roles have been studied and defined by different researchers, in separate single case studies across the world (de Graaf et al., 2015; Durose, 2011; Vanleene et al., 2018). However, it has been noted that the adoption of these roles is not as cut and dry as it would appear: as Van Meerkerk, Boonstra, and Edelenbos (2013) and Vanleene et al. (2019) note, the professionals have to maintain a continuous balance between their different roles in order to effectively impact the participants and the results. Moreover, as most co-production research is based on singular case studies, recent studies have expressed their doubts with concerns to the evidence base on which these rely (Durose, Needham, Mangan, & Rees, 2017; Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff, 2012).

In this study we address these research limitations and ask: "Which role-combinations result in empowerment or inclusion of vulnerable citizens in community development?" By looking at the role combinations of professionals in community development projects we contribute to the public administration research in three ways. First, empirically, by clarifying what actual role combinations result in empowerment and/or inclusion, we provide further detail to the statements made by Van Meerkerk et al. (2013) and Vanleene et al. (2019) on the balancing of facilitating and determining roles. Second, methodologically, by using qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) to study 15 cases across Flanders, we combine the advantages of qualitative research, a necessity for an in-depth question such as ours, as well as counteracting some of its disadvantages as it allows us to study the role combinations on a larger scale and thus provide a more concrete base from which the subsequent role-combinations can be established (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009). Third, practice-oriented, by providing a framework on which practitioners can test their own skills and role-applications and adapt or adopt role combinations towards the intended goal of inclusion or empowerment accordingly.

THE GOAL IN CO-PRODUCTIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development projects are often characterised by their levels of inclusivity and empowerment of vulnerable citizens. After all, community development aims at getting their target audience, the residents of derelict neighbourhoods, to participate and, through participation, strengthen their abilities and thus boosting the community (Gilchrist & Taylor, 2016). This implies a dual focus.

As firstly, within these targeted communities, citizens often feel marginalized. They see themselves as permanently excluded from the mainstream of society. As we consider their **experience**, it does not matter whether this exclusion is imaginary or because of an existing dominant political culture, the results in social isolation are the same (Baumgartner & Burns, 2014; UN, 2010; Weinberger & Jutting, 2001). Moreover, as Jakobsen and Andersen (2013) note, a **lack of knowledge and access** only reinforces that threshold towards participation and the sense of exclusion. Similarly, citizens cannot feel included if they perceive the project as unimportant to them or their families (Pestoff, 2006). The salience of the different neighbourhood initiatives and the **citizens' engagement in one or more** can thus alter their perception of inclusion.

Secondly, another noticeable feature of disadvantaged residents and minorities is their higher sense of powerlessness and distrust towards governmental institutions (Ross, Mirowsky, & Pribesh, 2001). This is why, in community development, empowerment, when considering all its layers (van Dop, Depauw, & Driessens, 2016), is often one of the main goals. (1) Empowerment can be **intrapersonal**, where the (lack of) self-confidence and self-efficacy of the participants is taken into account (Raeymaeckers & Dierckx, 2013; Simmons & Birchall, 2005; Steen & van Eijk, 2012). (2) But it can also have an **interactional** component, as citizens need to feel they are able to express their viewpoint and that their input is treated with respect (Buckwalter, 2014; Halvorsen, 2003; Webler & Tuler, 2000). As van Dop et al. (2016) note, this implies a need for insight in the relationships these participants attain (both interpersonal and societal). Lastly, empowerment also has a **behavioural** component to its definition. This refers to the process of people becoming active participants in efforts to influence their environment.

THE PROFESSIONAL IN CO-PRODUCTIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In order to influence these co-production results, empowerment and inclusion, professionals will need close interaction with citizens. We follow the conceptualisation by Sanna Tuurnas (2015), as we consider professionals to be those employees in the public and/or non-profit sector whose specific skills and values are a result of specialized education and training programs. However, demarcating that definition further, the professionals in this study are community development workers who work closely with citizen participants. Previous research already formulated four roles for these types of professionals with which they can influence the process and its outcomes: the leader, the friend, the representative and the mediator, can be formulated from.

Firstly, co-production projects, often funded by governments need a regulated form of participation which implies the need for a manager, or **leader** to steer the process (Bartels, 2016; Dhavaleshwar, 2016). Moreover, as a leader, the professional can become a functioning role model for their co-producers enhancing the citizens' competence by teaching them or providing the correct knowledge and resources (Vanleene et al., 2019; Wright, Moynihan, & Pandey, 2012). On the other hand, professionals who interpret their leadership role as that of a sole decision maker, or when they see themselves as the 'provider', i.e. doing things for the people instead of teaching them how to, display a lack of confidence in their participants' abilities (Buckwalter, 2014; Needham & Mangan, 2014; Toomey, 2011).

Secondly, the ease to participate increases when there is a professional present, who is recognised by the target audience as a **friend** and thus actively lowers the distance (or threshold) between themselves and citizens, both physically and communicatively (de Graaf et al., 2015; Marschall, 2004; Vanleene et al., 2018; Verschuere et al., 2012). Moreover, this trusted professional can encourage the citizens to work towards a shared vision, thereby

creating a community within the project (Morse, 2010; Wright et al., 2012). By allowing an actual relationship between citizens and professional, the citizens have someone to turn to with their worries and issues as well as a motivator who encourages them to do more than they believe themselves to be capable of (Bartels, 2016; Ross et al., 2001; Van Eijk & Steen, 2016). However, it should also be mentioned that the professional should not become too close, thus forgetting the project's greater mission as they become too fixated on the current participants and their personal needs (Agger & Larsen, 2009; Lombard, 2013; Vanleene et al., 2019).

Thirdly, often the professionals who participate in the project are natural entrepreneurs who even have suggested, supported or aided in the creation of the project and are responsible of sustaining it (Bartels, 2016; Clark, 2018; Morse, 2010). They act as **representatives** for the participants, by taking political and moral stands in support of the people. Concurrently, they are still employees by a governmental or non-profit organisation and need to also represent those interests and targets (Alameda-Lawson, Lawson, & Lawson, 2010; Bourgon, 2007; Buckwalter, 2014; Toomey, 2011). This role requires, in itself, a conscious balancing by the professional as they represent dual interests and can thus become either too involved in citizens' plights or too detached from their core group (Bovaird, Stoker, Jones, Loeffler, & Roncancio, 2016; Vanleene et al., 2019)

Lastly, a professional is tasked with joining, and reconciling, the participants' different perspectives (Bourgon, 2007; Martin, 2000; Needham, 2008). In this role of **mediator**, they can positively influence the co-production process as they help set group norms and strengthen group cohesion by reducing potential tensions between participants (Parsons, 1991). Moreover, as citizens start to compare their efforts with that of neighbours, the presence of a mediator who is skilled in negotiating and problem-solving, can help explain certain situations and connect neighbours (O'Leary, Choi, & Gerard, 2012). However, professionals who attach too much meaning to their role of mediator, can also negatively influence the co-producers' internal efficacy, as that could suggest the citizens' inability to resolve issues themselves. It is thus important in this role is that they also encourage positive interaction between co-producers while still staying in the background (S. Tuurnas, Stenvall, & Rannisto, 2016; Vanleene et al., 2019).

Rather than considering the professional as a robot, who takes up one role to achieve a one set target within their co-production project, previous research has theorised that these roles are not mutually exclusive but can complement one another. Conceptualisation shows that these roles can limit or hinder each other (e.g planning or regulating can also limit the friend-role) (Bartels, 2016). However, the combining of roles could counter some of the adverse effects that taking up one role can result in. Thus, an important and conscious balance will need to be maintained (Van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2014; Vanleene et al., 2019). Yet, a clear framework on the different combinations and balances between the roles, is still lacking. In this qualitative comparative study, we will address this issue on a larger scale.

METHODOLOGY

To test which role-combinations result in empowerment and/or inclusion, 15 community development projects across Flanders were studied (see Annex A). Below, we elaborate on the empirical setting and the data collection. Next, we explain the use of fsQCA, the methodological tool used to derive the role combinations and finally, we discuss the operationalization and calibration of the conditions.

CASE SELECTION

In order to select homogenous cases, we focus on projects that were coordinated by Community Development Flanders (i.e., 'Samenlevingsopbouw Vlaanderen), a non-profit organisation in Flanders, as we assume that this would mean the way of working, the skills and education of their professionals is comparable. Community Development Flanders is tasked with supporting and advocating for the fundamental social rights of vulnerable people and often takes up projects in cities that fall short in specific services or aid. The organisation has eight regional institutions, one for each Flemish Province and for three major cities (Antwerp, Ghent and Brussels). In

the period of October 2018 to March 2019, along with the policy makers of these separate divisions, cases were selected based on a number of inclusion criteria. These criteria were added in order to limit the potential differences between the projects during the QCA analysis and thus control the most significant conditions (role combinations) that can influence our outcomes (see Annex A for more contextual data).
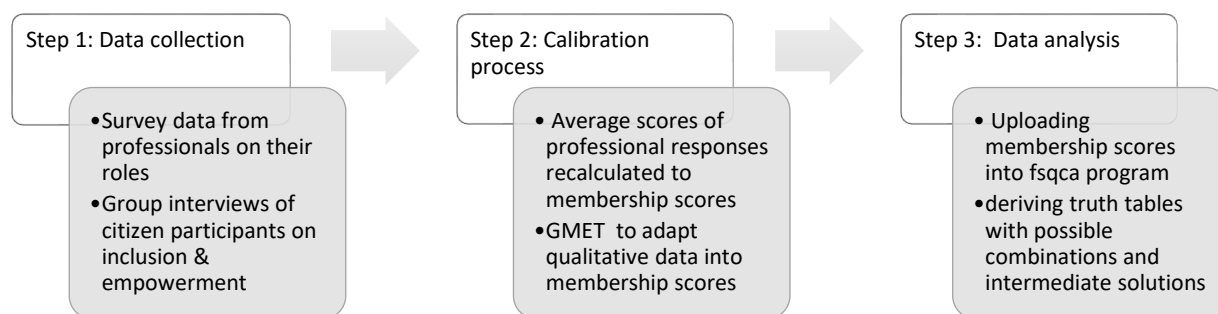
Table 1. Inclusion criteria for case selection

Number of professionals	min. 2 professionals → multiple community development workers → combination of community development workers from & partner organisations
Mission	The project is focused on community development in a specific derelict neighbourhood or with a specific group of vulnerable citizens.
Duration of presence	Min. two years
Target audience	Co-producing adults (18+)

QCA

In order to derive what role combinations result in empowerment and/or inclusion, we use QCA, a set theoretical method. We choose QCA for a number of reasons: Firstly, by implementing QCA, we can systematically and empirically define a series of conditions (here roles) that yield a particular outcome (in this study, empowerment or inclusion) as is the aim of this study. Secondly, QCA provides a considerable advantage as it is both case-oriented, which allows us to study the cases in-depth, as well as variable-oriented, thereby providing knowledge on relationships between variables (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009). Thirdly, as we assume there are several combinations of conditions that produce our outcome, the set theoretic method of QCA can clarify this causal complexity (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012). Most often, the use of these set theoretic methods is with dichotomous concepts, where case membership is scored as either fully in (1) or fully out (0). This is called a *crisp* set and portrays cases, in this study the different community development projects, as either members or non-members of a set (of roles for example). However as the conceptual boundaries of the different roles within our cases can vary in degrees and dimensions, we turn to *fuzzy* QCA. These fuzzy sets posit a wider choice than crisp sets would, as we can calibrate partial memberships (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009). This implies that within fsQCA, each case receives a score between 0 and 1, which displays its membership in each of the conditions and the outcomes. The cross-over point 0.5 indicates when a case is "more in than out" or, when below 0.5, "more out than in" a particular set.

As we assume that there are differences among the professional players and their adopting of the roles, we designate varying degrees of membership to the conditions within the different cases. As Tóth, Henneberg, and Naudé (2017) note, the value of a fuzzy set is representative of the empirical evidence. As we believe a 6-value set would imply making artificial distinctions, we will use the four-value set ranging from "fully out" (0) to "more out than in" (0.33), "more in than out" (0.67) and "fully in" (1) in that order (Tóth et al., 2017).

QCA analysis consists of a three step process that can be visually represented below.

Step 1: Data collection	Step 2: Calibration process	Step 3: Data analysis
• Survey data from professionals on their roles • Group interviews of citizen participants on inclusion & empowerment	• Average scores of professional responses recalculated to membership scores • GMET to adapt qualitative data into membership scores	• Uploading membership scores into fsqca program • deriving truth tables with possible combinations and intermediate solutions

DATA COLLECTION

SURVEY DATA

In determining the set membership scores for the different professional roles/per project, we use quantitative survey data. The four roles were measured using survey statements on how often the professionals apply a certain aspect of a role, with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "Never" to "Always" (see Annex B). In Table 2.1 the calibration of each of the roles can be found. Each condition was divided into three dimensions wherein the definitions from the state of the art were allocated. The resulting questionnaire was derived from previous research and iteratively adapted based on the authors' discussions and a pilot in a co-productive community development project. Every professional in every project was contacted, via email, phone or in person, which resulted in a response rate of 100%.

GROUP INTERVIEWS

In order to derive the membership scores for the outcomes 'Empowerment' and 'Inclusion', we turned to the citizen participants in these projects for two reasons. Firstly, by doing this we attempt to counteract the possibility of 'common source bias' wherein the survey is used as a single data source (George & Pandey, 2017). Secondly, as these participants are the ones experiencing the (un)intended outcomes of empowerment and inclusion, they are the most reliable sources to address the meaning behind those concepts (Creswell, 2009). Because the respondents are vulnerable people we introduced focus groups to gather the data needed (Onwuegbuzie, Dickinson, Leech, & Zoran, 2009). This allowed the citizens to discuss their experiences in regards to inclusion and empowerment without the pressure or difficulty of having to place a score upon that experience in addition to having to be literate, which not all respondents were.

CALIBRATION PROCESS

THE PROFESSIONAL ROLES

The conditions Leader, Friend, Representative & Mediator were calibrated by adding up the scores given by each professional respondent within the project they were working in and dividing those scores by the number of respondents within that project, thereby calculating the average score per role within each project (see Annex B). Based on the idea that different professionals could take op different, but complementary roles within a project, this resulted in average scores between three and five. Moreover, by selecting projects with multiple professionals we attempted to reduce the possible bias inherent in the responses of a single respondent. This also allows our results to reflect the success and failings of an entire project and not one person's skills or failings.

Table 2.1. Calibration of professional roles

Condition	Data used	Operationalisation
Leader	Survey data	Acts as a role model
		Educates & recruits participants
		Manages the project
Friend	Survey data	Lower the threshold, Is present & reachable in the project,
		Creates a sense of belonging & community

		builds trust & relationship
Representative	Survey data	Links between government and citizens
		Has suggested, discussed and created the project and is continually responsible of sustaining it
Mediator	Survey data	Mediate between arguing co-producers
		Join and reconcile different perspectives
		Encourage citizens to communicate and resolve their issues themselves

THE OUTCOMES

The citizen conversations were transcribed and uploaded in the qualitative database Nvivo. By using a code book that was grounded in literature (Annex C), the citizens' experiences were allocated to the different dimensions within empowerment and inclusion. Following in the footsteps of Warsen, Klijn, and Koppenjan (2019), we used the Generic Membership Evaluation Template (GMET) of Tóth et al. (2017) to calibrate the data from the Nvivo database. This template allows for a systematic evaluation of each of the projects on a single outcome by using (predominantly) qualitative data. Moreover, the template provides a clear summary of the qualitative data on each outcome per project, as derived from the more complex code book depicted in NVivo (Annex C). The template consists of an overall case description from the outcome perspective, three dimensions, derived from literature and a set membership value score. Three columns in the template help clarify the final score as a context-specific description and its effect on the membership and relative importance per dimension are required. A score of 1 was given if all dimensions were evaluated positively and of importance. The more dimensions scored negatively based on the citizens' responses, the lower the calibrated score (see Annex C for an example).

Table 2.2. Calibration of outcomes

Outcome	Empirical evidence	Dimensions	Operationalisation
Empowerment	Interview data	Intrapersonal	
		Interactional	
		Behavioral	
Inclusion	Interview data	Active in the neighbourhood	
		Experienced inclusion	
		Understanding, knowledge and skills of the participants	

DATA ANALYSIS

CONSTRUCTING THE TRUTH TABLE

To analyse our results, we upload the final membership scores for each of the conditions and outcomes into the program fsqca (Annex D). When interpreting the QCA results, the conditions and their relationship with the outcome can be described along the lines of sufficiency and necessity. These concepts describe, either, the *necessary* presence of that condition: this condition has to be present if the outcome is. Or, its *sufficiency*: this condition always results in outcome but the outcome can also occur without the condition (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012). Lastly, during analysis, the *consistency* and *coverage* percentages are key: consistency scores give the percentage of combinations which result in the same outcome whereas coverage portrays how much of the empirical data covers a single combination (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009).

WHAT ROLE COMBINATIONS ACHIEVE EMPOWERMENT?

We begin the analysis by constructing a truth table for Empowerment in fsqca. The truth table, table 3.1, shows the 16 logically possible combinations for the four causal conditions and, through consistency percentages,

outlines the degree to which the empirical cases fit these combinations. This table helps in determining whether a combination results in the presence or absence of the outcome, here empowerment. We select a frequency threshold of 1, meaning at least one case has to be present as an example. This is a small n-study, which means we can expect that with limited diversity there will be combinations for which we cannot say whether or not the outcome occurs (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009). Subsequently, we have 11 configurations for analysis in this study. By considering 0.8 as the consistency threshold we assume that cases above 0.8 are designated fuzzy subsets of the outcome and can be coded as 1, whereas those below 0.8 are considered *not* subsets of the outcome and coded 0.

Upon closer examination of the table 3.1 the three lowest scoring cases are each part of a contradictory configuration (see Annex D to compare case membership scores). Contradictory configurations mean the same row holds cases where the outcome 'Empowerment' is present and cases where the outcome is absent (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012). These contradictory findings can sometimes be resolved by returning to the data and recalibrating the conditions and/or the outcome, however, as each of these cases within the configuration are outliers (being extremely high and extremely low in empowerment), it becomes clear that these configurations cannot be easily resolved by recalibrating the cases. This implies that there is insufficient variance between cases. The result seems to falsify the theory that professional roles influence empowerment. More specifically, it could suggest that the table is short a fifth condition or the outcome variable has been defined to broadly.

Table 3.1 Truth Table for the Outcome Empowerment

Rows	Friend	Leader	Mediator	Representative	Number of cases	Empowerment	Consistency	Cases
1	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	CDWF2 CDEF2
2	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	CDL1
3	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	CDL3
4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.988679	CDAC2
5	1	0	1	0	2	1	0.860902	CDG1 CDWF1
6	0	1	0	0	1	1	0.857759	CDAC1
7	1	1	0	0	1	1	0.834171	CDEF1
8	0	1	0	1	1	1	0.801205	CDEF4
9	1	1	1	0	1	0	0.762264	CDAP2
10	0	1	1	1	1	0	0.75188	CDAP1
11	1	1	1	1	3	0	0.625683	CDL2 CDEF3 CDAC3

Due to the qualitative nature of this data set, the empirical data can provide insight into what has been missed and whether these cases within the contradictory configuration are "borderline" and thus can be excluded from the data set. A thorough study of the qualitative data on the deviant cases that perform really well on levels of 'empowerment', indicates that the roles of the citizens and not solely the professionals can come into play. More specifically, a number of the cases where consistency scores were below the threshold, i.e.it is not supported by empirical evidence, were cases where a group of citizens who were already empowered before the project, took on an 'intermediary' role between professional and a less empowered group of participants. These citizens have changed the dynamic of the co-production process and are often placed in between the professional and the participants. *"…But as I said, we're the organisers… It is like with a movie: there are actors and there is the*

production-house. Everyone is welcome to watch the movie, and if they like it, they can support us and become volunteers who help and bring us ideas ...”

Their responses could have greatly influenced the resulting evaluation of empowerment and, perhaps, even influenced the others' sense of empowerment which could imply that not only the professional roles hold significance in these cases but the roles of an in-between group of citizens does so as well. *“They like to come here, because I [the volunteer] am here now, and I act a little as translator. They know they can come to us, even though we [the non-profit] have three moments for this. When it's urgent [we are easily reached].”*

WHAT ROLE COMBINATIONS ACHIEVE INCLUSION?

For the outcome 'Inclusion', we follow the same trajectory as we did when analysing empowerment: we begin the analysis by constructing the truth table in fsqca (see table 3.3), which again shows the 16 logically possible combinations for the four causal conditions and assigns each of the empirical cases to their combinations. This table is based on a frequency threshold of 1 and a consistency threshold of 0.8.

Table 3.3 Truth Table for the Outcome Inclusion

Rows	Friend	Leader	Mediator	Representative	Number	Inclusion	Consistency	Cases
1	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	CDWF2 CDEF2
2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	CDAC2
3	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	CDAC1
4	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	CDEF1
5	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	CDEF4
6	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	CDL3
7	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	CDAP1
8	1	1	1	0	1	1	0.875472	CDAP2
9	1	1	1	1	3	1	0.819672	CDL2 CDEF3 CDAC3
10	1	0	1	0	2	0	0.8744361	CDG1 CDWF1
11	1	0	0	1	1	0	0.66	CDL1

In table 3.4, the intermediate solution shows three different role combinations that may lead to inclusion in community development projects. These combinations explain at least one truth table row, which is not explained by the others. The consistency scores for each single configuration and for the entire solution term are rather high. In fact, 83.5% of the empirical data is consistent with this solution, while 96.8% of the outcome "Inclusion" is covered by one or more of these three combinations.

Table 3.4 Intermediate Solution for the Outcome Inclusion

	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency	Cases with greater than 0.5 membership
~FRIEND	0.611594	0.289855	0.95045	CDEF4 CDWF2 CDEF2 CDAC2 CDAP1 CDAC1
LEADER	0.613527	0.0975845	0.79375	CDAP1 CDL2 CDEF3 CDAP2 CDAC3 CDEF4 CDAC1 CDEF1
MEDIATOR*REPRESENTATIVE	0.38744	0.0647343	0.802	CDAP1 CDEF3 CDAC3 CDL2 CDL3
solution coverage: **solution consistency:**	0.968116 0.835			

The first, and most noticeable, configuration suggest that in order to achieve inclusion, the 'friend' role must be absent from the professional's repertoire. It was found that in six cases (with greater than 0.5 membership) the absence of the friend role could be causally linked to more inclusion, contrarily in the three cases where membership dipped below the 0.5 membership score, the presence of the condition friend was noticeable present (see Annex D). We can conclude that the absence of the friend role in the majority of successfully inclusive cases significant as 61% of the cases are covered and their outcomes explained. Moreover, 28% of the cases are uniquely covered by the absence of a friend role. It could thus be posited that when the role of friend is acutely present in the project, the professional has become too involved with the current participants in the project and hereby forgets the main goal of including new faces. *" [the professional]'s part of the group, you know." "[the professional] belongs to our group." "Because, you know, [the professional] started here as an intern, can you imagine, and we were already here … (CDL1)"*

Secondly, as seen in table 3.4 there is also a clear and positive link between the role of the leader, supported by eight cases whose membership is greater than 0.5, and inclusion. This implies that when a professional takes up both the role of Leader, they can also positively influence the inclusion of citizens in community development cases. Looking at the coverage percentages, the proportion of outcome cases that are uniquely covered by one of these paths are little to non-existent (9%) whereas the raw coverage (61%) indicates that cases wherein inclusion occurs, often hold the leadership role in high regard. *"… And then [the professional] said, do you know you have a right to have this? And I said, no, I have never heard of that. And he said, you have a right to have [a culture pass] and you have a right to have a ten-times-card at [a restaurant], and you can go to the playground for only one euro. And I said, really? I pay loads to go there, I didn't know all that, and [the professional] immediately drafted a mail for me.(CDEF4)"*

Lastly, one more paths, or role-combination, where a causal relation with inclusion can be found is the combination mediator and representative. Though this combination covers less (39%) of the cases whose membership is greater than 0.5, in comparison to the other two, there is still a positive link when the professional combines the roles of Mediator and Representative which results in Inclusion. *"You can sit on the threshold, but no one will open those doors. And [the professional] can enter and say, come we'll go and have a talk. That's [the professional]. [the professional] does what we cannot …(CDL3)"*

CONCLUSION & DISCUSSION

In conclusion, in this study we questioned and found answers as to what professional role-combinations result in empowerment or inclusion of vulnerable citizens in community development. The findings of the study contribute to the research on professional roles in co-productive community development in two ways.

In terms of inclusion of vulnerable citizens in co-productive community development, three combinations appear in our results: Firstly, our findings confirm that the presence of a single role or role-combination is not sufficient for inclusion to occur. As Van Meerkerk et al. (2013) noted, a constant balance between the different roles must be maintained. Moreover, this study most notably highlighted the adverse effects that can occur when a professional becomes too strongly intertwined with their co-producers. Specifically, the impact of the friend role, or rather the absence of the friend role, on inclusion stands out from the results. It would thus seem that, when the professionals admit to adopting the friend-role, they (unconsciously) exclude potential newcomers to the project. This finding validates what previous studies have remarked upon: the professional must maintain sufficient distance between themselves and their citizens in order to remain focused on the organisational goals, and not the participants' personal needs (Agger & Larsen, 2009; Lombard, 2013; Vanleene et al., 2019). However, as has been noted in previous research, the professional as leader can also influence the citizens' sense of inclusion by providing sufficient knowledge and resources to create an inclusive project (Vanleene et al., 2019; Wright et al., 2012). Lastly, the professional also plays a role in inclusion whilst adopting the mediator- and representative-roles. By strengthening group cohesion as mediators and representing dual interests as representatives they can thus influence the citizens' sense of inclusion (Bovaird et al., 2016; Parsons, 1991; Vanleene et al., 2019).

Secondly, when considering the empowerment of citizen co-producers in co-productive community development, our findings are affected by a dissimilarity in the cases. More specifically, the results of the QCA study cannot be further analysed as an additional condition can complicate the role combinations (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009). Due to the qualitative nature of our study, the discrepancy between these cases only appeared once the data was analysed. Simultaneously, that qualitative empirical data provided further insight and suggested a possible answer to the limitation: when studying community development projects, the types of citizen participants can differ within one case. Our study thus makes a case for an additional role, for the citizens, as intermediates when aiming for empowerment.

In theory, the roles are clear cut, in practice however, it appears one group of the citizen participants can be positioned between the professionals on the one hand and their weaker citizen peers on the other. It could thus be posited that a group of citizen participants can act as intermediaries or bridge-builders and could potentially take up aspects of the roles that we had assigned to the professionals in other cases. Future research on professional roles in co-production, should therefore take the different types of citizen co-producers into account in order to further specify what role combinations can influence the empowerment of citizens in co-productive community development.

APPENDIX

ANNEX A CONTEXT DATA OF THE DIFFERENT PROJECTS

Project	Organisation	# prof.	Estimated # participants	Location	Start	Mission	Target group
CDWF1	Community Development West Flanders	3	500	Gistel	2009	Door middel van het opzetten van wijkwerkingen en de organisatie van een overkoepelende huurdersraad willen we de stem van de huurders zwaarder laten doorwegen in het beleid van SHM WoonWel.	Sociale huurders SHM WoonWel
CDWF2	Community Development West Flanders	7	15	Roeselare	2016	Het komt er dus op aan om een generalistische ondersteuning op maat aan te bieden en om de meest kwetsbare profielen te activeren.	kwetsbare werkzoekende gezinnen, alleenstaande CDWF2 met kinderen die geen leefloon ontvangen, wel werkloosheidsuitkering of ziekteuitkering…
CDL1	RIMO Limburg vzw	3	100	Genk	2003	De leefomgeving en het samenleven zijn verbeterd in territoria gekenmerkt door leefbaarheidsproblemen.	de buurtbewoners van de tuinwijken met specifieke aandacht voor de maatschappelijk achtergestelde buurtbewoners

CDL2	RIMO Limburg vzw	4	120	Maasmechelen	1995	Het recht op maatschappelijke dienstverlening is beter gerealiseerd met en voor kwetsbare groepen door een kwaliteitsvoller maatschappelijk dienstverleningsaanbod.	Gemeenschappelijke kenmerken: Gebrek aan informatie en toegang tot sociale rechten Beperkt sociaal netwerk, moeilijk verbintenissen aan kunnen gaan Gevoelens van machteloosheid Psychische, emotionele en fysieke klachten Beperkte sociale en communicatieve vaardigheden Negatieve ervaringen met hulpverlening 'overleef'-ervaringen
CDL3	RIMO Limburg vzw	3	110	Leopoldsburg	2009	Samen met kansarmen de hoge armoedecijfers in Leopoldsburg terugdringen via hulpverlening, ontmoeting, ontspanning, vorming, netwerking en beleidsparticipatie.	Volwassenen die zich in kansarmoede bevinden uit Leopoldsburg en omgeving.

CDAP1	Community Development Antwerp Province	3	250	Lier	2015	CDAP1 is een plaats waar mensen elkaar ontmoeten, kansen krijgen om te groeien en oplossingen zoeken voor problemen die ze samen ervaren.	mensen in armoede
CDAP2	Community Development Antwerp Province	2	30	Boom	2014	CDAP2 is een laagdrempelige ontmoetingsplaats, een veilige en vertrouwde plek voor allerlei verenigingen en organisaties, voor mensen met een migratieachtergrond en hun zelforganisaties.	Etnisch-culturele minderheden die geen toegang tot de dienstverlening hebben, zich niet welkom voelen.
CDAC1	Community Development Antwerp City	5	80	Antwerpen	2015	Tegen 2018 zijn de Buurtwerk in Dinamo, De Shelter, Centrum De Wijk en De Stek een toonbeeld van een meertalige context wat betreft toegankelijkheid en uitstraling.	Mensen die om welke reden dan ook, niet tot een basiskennis Nederlands geraken en die uitsluiting ervaren omwille van hun beperkte kennis van het Nederlands.
CDAC2	Community Development Antwerp City	4	50 (150?)	Antwerpen	2016	Mensen samenbrengen, ontmoetingskansen creëren en verbreden van het netwerk van mensen staat daarbij centraal.	Mensen die een administratieve kwetsbaarheid ervaren omwille van taal, gebrek aan computervaardigheden, onzekerheid

CDAC3	Community Development Antwerp City	9	1000	Antwerpen	2015	Duurzame wijken, stad, samenleving waaraan we zowel een ecologische als een sociale toon willen geven. Buurzame wijken waar er een beter nabuurschap gecreëerd wordt.	Maatschappelijk kwetsbare bewoners van Deurne noord, Antwerpen noord, Borgerhout en Kiel. - Mensen met een fysieke, mentale of psychische beperking - Bewoners en vrijwilligers die een solidair engagement beogen in activiteiten van de buurtwerkingen.
CDG1	Community Development Ghent	4	200	Nieuw Gent	2016	In het wegwerken van situaties van achterstelling en uitsluiting streven we naar blijvende structurele beleidsveranderingen met participatie van de doelgroep. Maar ook dat mensen in maatschappelijk kwetsbare posities ondersteund en versterkt worden om zelf een rol op te nemen.	maatschappelijk kwetsbare doelgroepen mensen met een beperkt financieel inkomen die aangewezen zijn op de sociale huisvestingsmarkt.
CDEF1	Community Development East-Flanders	2	15	Ronse	2016	In CDEF1 versterken we mensen via vorming en belangenbehartiging. Vanuit de basiswerking stromen mensen door naar de projecten rond wonen, onderwijs, arbeid en maatschappelijke dienstverlening.	mensen in maatschappelijk kwetsbare posities.
CDEF2	Community Development East-Flanders	2	300	Ronse	2016		

CDEF3	Community Development East-Flanders	2	106	Lokeren	2014	Proactief bereiken en toeleiden van maatschappelijk kwetsbare gezinnen met kinderen naar maatschappelijke dienstverlening, in kaart brengen van hiaten en overlappingen in het dienstverleningsaanbod en voorstellen formuleren om deze te verbeteren	Het project richt zich tot maatschappelijk kwetsbare gezinnen met kinderen (van 0 – 18 jaar) in Lokeren. Gezinnen met een beperkt netwerk of problemen met de toegang tot en het gebruik van hulp- en dienstverlening, vormen onze prioritaire doelgroep.
CDEF4	Community Development East-Flanders	2	200	Denderleeuw	2014	Het project wil daarop een antwoord bieden door de uitbouw van een basiswerking, met aanbod op vlak van ontmoeting, onthaal, vrije tijd, vorming en belangenbehartiging.	Maatschappelijk kwetsbare gezinnen met jonge kinderen

Annex B The Calibration Procedure: Professional Roles

1. Survey data

Statement	Context	Role
e. Ik doe alles om de deelnemers het gevoel te geven dat ze erbij horen.	Creates a sense of belonging & community	Friend
g. De deelnemers vertrouwen mij.	builds trust & relationship	Friend
l. Mijn deur staat altijd open voor de deelnemers bij problemen.	Lower the threshold, Is present & reachable in the project	Friend
o. Ik zorg ervoor dat ik toegankelijk ben voor de deelnemers.	Lower the threshold, Is present & reachable in the project	Friend
a. Deelnemers zien mij als een voorbeeld.	Acts as a role model	Leader
d. Ik probeer nieuwe deelnemers voor het project te rekruteren.	Manages the project	Leader
n. Ik ben eindverantwoordelijke voor de dagdagelijkse goede werking van het project.	Manages the project	Leader
p. Door mij kunnen deelnemers nieuwe kennis opdoen of vaardigheden bijleren.	Educates & recruits participants	Leader
c. Ik moedig deelnemers aan hun problemen zelf op te lossen.	Encourage citizens to communicate and resolve their issues themselves	Mediator
i. Ik zorg dat er naar alle deelnemers geluisterd wordt.	Join and reconcile different perspectives	Mediator
k. Ik kom op een neutrale wijze tussen bij eventuele conflicten tussen deelnemers.	Mediate between arguing co-producers	Mediator
m. Ik luister naar de problemen die mijn deelnemers hebben over andere deelnemers.	Mediate between arguing co-producers	Mediator
b. Ik hou in het project rekening met de vragen en belangen van de overheid.	Links between government and citizens	Representative
f. Ik ben verantwoordelijk voor het voortbestaan van het project.	Has suggested, discussed and created the project and is continually responsible of sustaining it	Representative
h. Ik vertegenwoordig de belangen van buurt/doelgroep bij de overheid.	Links between government and citizens	Representative
j. Ik probeer de belangen van de buurt/doelgroep aan te brengen bij de overheid.	Links between government and citizens	Representative

2. Calculation: Averages, median

	Friend	Leader	Mediator	Representative	QCA Score
Minimum	4,08	2,96	3,25	3,08	0,00
1ste Kwartiel	4,28	3,47	3,83	3,31	0,33
Mediaan	4,38	3,75	4,08	3,42	0,67
3de Kwartiel	4,50	4,00	4,33	3,86	1,00
Maximum	4,63	4,38	4,50	4,25	1,00
Gemiddelde	4,38	3,73	4,02	3,58	

Project	Friend	Leader	Mediator	Representative	Friend	Leader	Mediator	Representative
CDAC3	4,63	4,38	4,38	3,25	1	1	1	0
CDAP2	4,56	4,03	4,50	3,89	1	1	1	1
CDEF3	4,13	3,38	3,50	4,00	0	0	0	1
CDL1	4,44	3,69	4,25	3,38	0,67	0,33	0,67	0,33
CDL2	4,30	3,85	3,90	3,30	0,33	0,67	0,33	0
CDEF1	4,25	3,56	3,75	3,31	0	0,33	0	0,33
CDG1	4,50	3,33	4,33	3,42	1	0	1	0,67
CDL3	4,33	4,00	4,33	4,08	0,33	1	1	1
CDWF1	4,08	2,96	3,42	3,42	0	0	0	0,67
CDAP1	4,50	4,00	4,50	4,25	1	1	1	1
CDAC1	4,38	4,19	4,13	3,81	0,67	1	0,67	0,67
CDEF4	4,42	3,25	4,08	3,08	0,67	0	0,67	0
CDAC2	4,25	3,88	3,25	3,50	0	0,67	0	0,67
CDEF2	4,38	3,75	4,00	3,25	0,67	0,67	0,33	0
CDWF2	4,58	3,67	3,92	3,83	1	0,33	0,33	0,67

1. CODE BOOK

(EXPLAIN)

Codes		Subcodes	Files	References
Empowerment			16	385
	Behavioral		14	64
	Interactional		16	179
	- Dependent of others		6	7
	- Responsibility, politics		5	6
	+ Altruism		9	37
	+ Partnership with professional		16	73
	+ Responsibility, representative for project		15	56
	Intrapersonal		15	129
	+ Self-confidence (personal life)		15	68
	+ Self-efficacy (sense of control)		15	61
Inclusion			16	357
	Active in the neighbourhood		15	59
	- No other projects availabe		4	10
	- No participation in other projects		6	7
	+ Active within other projects		11	42
	Experienced Inclusion		16	183
	- Negative Interaction between participants		2	3
	- No space, applicable for specific group		7	17
	+ Everyone equal		11	29
	+ Needsoriented		15	85
	+ Trusted professional		14	49
	Understanding, knowledge and skill of the project		16	115
	- No new people		6	12
	- Treshold		8	18
	+ Learning new skills		15	50
	+ New people participating		13	35

2. GMET

Generic Membership Evaluation Template (GMET) Membership in the set of 'Empowerment'		Case number:		
Overall Case Description from an "Empowering" Perspective	*Here we give a description of the case in terms of empowerment (operationalised as …)*			
Dimensions **#1**	**Context-specific Description** **#2**	**Direction /Effect on Membership** **#3** (*Negative/positive*)	**Intensity /Relative Importance** **#4** (*Low-Moderate-High*)	**Illustrative Quote(s)** **#5**
Before the project				
Outside the project				
Within the project				
(Supportive quantitative data)				
Set Membership in 4-Value Fuzzy Set	*Here we insert our score on the 4-value fuzzy set*			
Reason for fuzzy-set attribution score	*Here we give a qualitative explanation for scoring the project with the abovementioned membership score*			

ANNEX D

CASE MEMBERSHIP SCORES

CASES	FRIEND	LEADER	MEDIATOR	REPRESENTATIVE	EMPOWERMENT	INCLUSION
CDWF1	0,67	0	0,67	0	0,3	0,33
CDL1	1	0,33	0,33	0,67	0,7	0,33
CDG1	0,67	0,33	0,67	0,33	0,7	0,33
CDL2	0,67	1	0,67	0,67	0	0,67
CDAC3	1	1	1	1	0,3	0,67
CDAP2	1	1	1	0	0,7	0,67
CDAC1	0,33	0,67	0,33	0	0,7	0,67
CDL3	1	0	1	0,67	1	0,67
CDAP1	0,33	1	1	1	1	0,67
CDEF3	1	1	1	1	1	0,67
CDEF4	0	0,67	0	0,67	1	0,67
CDAC2	0	0,33	0	0,33	0,7	1
CDWF2	0	0	0	0,67	1	1
CDEF1	0,67	0,67	0,33	0	1	1
CDEF2	0	0	0	1	1	1

ANALYSIS OF NECESSARY CONDITIONS (OUTCOME VARIABLE: INCLUSION)

Conditions tested:	Consistency	Coverage
FRIEND	0.547826	0.679856
~FRIEND	0.611594	0.950450
LEADER	0.613527	0.793750
~LEADER	0.514010	0.760000
MEDIATOR	0.547826	0.708750
~MEDIATOR	0.611594	0.904286
REPRESENTATIVE	0.645411	0.833958
~REPRESENTATIVE	0.514010	0.761087

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