"Each day learn something new, and just as important, relearn something old."

– attributed to Robert Breault

"Het is niet goed maar één ding te weten, men raakt daar verstompt van, men moet niet rusten voor men ook het tegenovergestelde weet."

"It is not good to know just one thing, one becomes deadened by that, one should not rest before one also knows the opposite."

– attributed to Vincent van Gogh

"Estudar não é um ato de consumir idéias, mas de criá-las e recriá-las."

"To study is not to consume ideas but to create and re-create them."

– Paulo Freire in The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation, originally part of a speech in Chile

"Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings."

– Jane Jacobs in The Death and Life of Great American Cities

PLANNING WITH ROOTS AND WINGS Critical and constructive reflections on social learning in planning | Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld | 2021

PLANNING WITH ROOTS AND WINGS

Critical and constructive reflections on social learning in planning

Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld

2021

"The illiterate of the 21 st century will not be those who cannot read and write, but those who cannot learn, unlearn and relearn."

– attributed to Alvin Toffler

"That is what learning is. You suddenly understand something you've understood all your life, but in a new way."

– attributed to Doris Lessing

"Zwei Dinge sollen Kinder von ihren Eltern bekommen: Wurzeln und Flügel"

"There are two things children should get from their parents: roots and wings."

– attributed to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

Propositions

1. Planning for change and planning for the status-quo are two faces of the same coin.
   (this thesis)

2. The results of social learning are unpredictable.
   (this thesis)

3. Neoliberalism builds on people's incapacity to learn quickly.

4. Innovation policy is harmful.

5. Putting people in boxes helps to approach them, but later makes truly listening to them harder.

6. Third cultures provide the potential of truly integrative planning. (Third cultures emerge when a person grows up or is thoroughly embedded in more than two cultures over their lifetime.)

Propositions belonging to the thesis, entitled

Planning with Roots and Wings. Critical and constructive reflections on social learning in planning

Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld
Wageningen, 12 April 2021

Planning with Roots and Wings. Critical and constructive reflections on social learning in planning

Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld

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This research was conducted under the auspices of Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)

Planning with Roots and Wings. Critical and constructive reflections on social learning in planning

Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld

Thesis
submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor
at Wageningen University
by the authority of the Rector Magnificus,
Prof. Dr A.P.J. Mol,
in the presence of the
Thesis Committee appointed by the Academic Board
to be defended in public
on 12 April 2021
at 4 pm in the Aula.

Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld
Planning with Roots and Wings. Critical and constructive reflections on social learning in planning,
206 pages.

PhD thesis, Wageningen University, Wageningen, the Netherlands (2021)
With references, with summary in English, Dutch and Portuguese

ISBN: 978-94-6395-695-6
DOI: https://doi.org/10.18174/540630

For Celina Iara
whose social learning I most look forward to witness and let myself be surprised by

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Acknowledgements

"*You live, you learn*" – Alanis Morisette

The journey of completing this dissertation has been incredibly valuable. Although I argue throughout that learning does not lead to a particular normative outcome, the every-day use of the phrase 'at least I've learned something' tends to assume that any learning is positive, that expanding our minds is always somehow positive. I struggle to accept this fully because I know we can also learn in this way that 'it is cool to smoke', that 'all men are horrible beings', that 'school is boring', that 'the world is doomed' and many more such things that experience and social interactions may teach us in certain contexts. But I acknowledge that even when learning these things is not in itself 'positive' from my perspective, even these things might lead to later realisations of important lessons in life, such as 'peer pressure works a certain way on me', 'no homogeneous categorization of a group of humans is constructive', 'enjoyment of school depends a lot on how subjects are taught', or 'the world may be doomed to horrible outcomes if nothing is done to prevent this', which I would personally agree more with. And thus, encouraging learning and seeking it in life nevertheless seems to me to be an important norm. The past four to five years of my life have in this sense been truly valuable. I have been enriched in every area of my life – and much of it can be attributed to social learning, though reading, writing and experimenting by myself were of course also important. Here, I want to thank all those that contributed to my own social learning in this journey.

First and foremost, I wish to thank my supervisors, Leonie Janssen-Jansen, Wendy Tan, Carina Wiekens, and Willem Salet. I have to thank Leonie first, as the mastermind behind not only the critical insight shaping the R-LINK project in which this dissertation is embedded, but also the wonderful, warm person that made sure my other supervisors and friends from R-LINK would be around to support me even when she no longer could do so personally. Her strength, drive, motivation for the greater good and force for defending the rights of women in academia, all despite anything she may be going through, was and is incredibly strengthening. Without her, this dissertation would never have been possible. Thank you, Leonie, you are with us, in our minds and hearts, and you are in this dissertation, in some way, on every page. And in every cheesecake and Starbucks coffee I have!

Wendy has been the strongest continuing link to Leonie, and so much more. She has been the key support in my daily work, understanding my need to explore academic work in multiple directions even when they were tangential to the core of

the dissertation. She went through my texts in detail with me, much improving my ability to convey the messages I wanted to convey; she showed me the value of and strategies for managing my supervisors, and encouraged me to hang on to my high ambitions even when I felt they may be overwhelming – she understood they were the wings that kept me going. At the same time, she also had the necessary patience when I needed longer to finalise things, and gave me the courage to let things go when I did need to. For all the practicalities she helped me to face, we also had many discussions on the content of this dissertation, on mobility planning, on gender issues and inequalities around the world, on what it means to be foreign to a country about as much as one is at home in it. So most of all, Wendy, you have been a friend, and one that I could count on for everything – including the introduction to Paddy, the cuddliest dog in the world, and the wonderful cooking nourishing inspiring dinners with Geert, Paddy and you! Thank you so much!!

Carina has been an inspiration both for engaging with the world of psychology, and for reflecting on how my work sounded to someone quite foreign to the world of planning. Such an 'outside perspective' really enriched my work, and allowed me to ask questions about it I may otherwise never have thought of. She was also a great support in the more tumultuous times of this dissertation's journey, offering me space in Groningen in her group – a space I wish I could have taken better advantage of, but other circumstances got in the way of. I look forward to keeping a warm relationship with you, as well as with Lynette, who works more closely with you and whom I also hope to collaborate with more in the future! Carina, thank you for your support, advice and critical eye!

Willem has been a true and warm support, and at the same time a challenge that I was both happy as well as a little scared to take on. His critical eye has much improved my work, and has made me extremely careful in the statements I make (at least in writing…). He helped me to sharpen the arguments and research that my intuition had indicated only more roughly. The Seminar on Institutions in Action he organised for his ensuing book, which I was honoured to attend, was an incredible inspiration. During his supervision, as I already knew to expect, he could be almost brutal in his feedback – but kind in equal measure whenever he perceived improvements or praise-worthy ideas. It was certainly no accident, I knew, that Leonie and Wendy had recommended him to become my Promotor once Leonie would be unable to continue. And during our frequent café meetings we had many laughs and fervent debates; and I will always remember how supportive and excited you were about Celina's budding existence, and the moment you first held Celina– both moments in a café at Utrecht Central Station. Thank you, Willem, it has been a real pleasure and inspiration. I hope we can keep in touch even when you decide

to focus more on your new 'job' as grandfather – something you will always be a little for Celina as well, at least to my mind!

I wish to extend a special thank you also to Prof. Arthur Mol, for his support in the last phase of this journey, which was an enormous relief and such a kind reception in view of the circumstances of Leonie's passing. Thank you!

Great supervision and a willing mind are not enough to create a dissertation, however – especially in the social sciences, and planning in particular: as with planning practice, varied social interaction is necessary. I want to extend my enormous gratitude to all those who took the time and energy to give me an interview, sometimes even allowing me to follow them (for years!) in their endeavours to make a difference. It has been a privilege to know you, and to be able to get a closer look into your work. I cannot name you here, to help keep you as anonymous as some of you wanted to be, but I thank you all. I look forward to continue following what becomes of your ambitions, and wish you all the best in pursuing them!

Next, I must thank Lilian, Michiel and Fabi, for their friendship and sharing. For teaching me some more humility – even the ideas I feel most strongly about can and should not be imposed, and my initial struggle to deal with your criticisms in some instances helped me to reflect on that struggle itself. Of course, and probably much more importantly, you were my partners in crime and peers to level with and to let out any frustrations. Leonie was right in anticipating the importance of this when setting up R-LINK. Thank you for your friendship! Lilian, thank you especially for the personal support in Utrecht, and for the fun times that lightened some of the harsher sides of the past years. From Vancouver, Seattle and Portland, to Gothenburg, Vienna, Lisbon and many more places. To be able to share this with someone who really knew what was going on was invaluable!

Thank you also to the Landscape Architecture and Planning Group, which provided a space for focused work, kind words at the coffee corner, occasional encouraging jokes and even support for finding housing. A special thank you goes to Annelies, who helped countless times for me to figure out the intricate bureaucracies behind a PhD trajectory! Staying within the (semi-) academic circles, I want to thank the PUMAs and the ATLOTers. Since 2013 I have been a member of PUMA – the Planning for Urban Mobility and Accessibility group at the University of Amsterdam – which thankfully has agreed that 'once a PUMA means always a PUMA'… though I might be one member that takes this perhaps a bit too seriously, it's been a truly inspiring group to continuously be involved with, to share ideas with and to also provide feedback – sitting on both ends of that process is

very important for an academic! And thank you especially to Luca, and Marco, for supporting this, and for keeping PUMA a comfortable, friendly, constructive environment. Similarly, ATLOT – the AESOP Transport Laboratory of Thought – has been something like a second home since 2016. There is some overlap in the two groups (though some of the exceptions are key, also due to the even more international nature of this group), and the environment reflects this: discussions can be truly tough but in the end we are also true friends. This has often reinstated my belief in academia whenever it was failing…thank you to all of you!!

But despite my enthusiasm for work and related friendships, I could not have remained sane without the friends beyond it! In alphabetical order, because you are all important!!: Arend (& Esther), Bas, Beatriz (& Luis & Julia), Carlos, Carolina, Catarina, Celia, Claire, Dani, Edda, Enrica (& Anna), Fabi, Fede, Fritz, Geert (@Raquel), Geert (@Wendy), Helena, Irene, Isabella, Jennifer, José, Katherine, Kathleen (& Dennis & Joni), Lilian, Lisa, Marie, Michael, Michiel, Mirjam, Mufty, Ori (& Maarten), Pablo, Paddy, Raquel (& Ária), Roolijn (all of you!), Sam, Wendy and Ying-Tzu. I have to pick out a few of you, because you have been an enormous support especially for this dissertation. Thank you, Edda, for being the amazing, incredible friend and inspiration that you are, with all your intelligence, cynicism, and power, self-criticism and radiating love. You know I could not have done this (and not just this) without you – that first talk at the sushi restaurant is all the proof you need, though many followed…and there will (!!!) be many more!! And thank you for taking on another extra task by being my paranymph! Isabella, you have probably the kindest heart I know, and your tolerance for my sometimes (okay, maybe always?) exaggerated passions about political or normative subjects has been more important to me than you can imagine – your intelligence and love for and belief in life and beauty have helped to keep me going countless times, thank you!! Let's use the distance as an excuse to travel? In relation to you, I also want to thank Michael and Pablo, for our little 'book club' that is more about crazy discussions than really reading…but it really has fed my soul! Irene, I wish we had been able to spend more time together, you are a huge inspiration for me, and I hope to see more of you in the future, wherever we are! Ori, I feel like we are close friends although it doesn't often manifest, and I hope you know you have been an important part of allowing me to both start and finish this dissertation! And, fittingly, you are now also my paranymph - thank you! Marie, Mirjam, and Lisa, I wish I had had more time with you the past years, but when we met it always felt like old times, and that gave me courage! Kathleen, the more recent events in our lives I feel have brought us closer, despite the distance, and I am so happy to be able to somehow share these experiences with you even though time is too short to do our friendship justice at the moment. Thanks for always being a friend to count on for whatever, wherever. Jenny, I hope to see more of you again, I know that

with both you and Kathleen it will always immediately be like 'good old times' as soon as we can be in the same space. Let's make it happen! Celia, you know you've helped inspire the name of the most important person in my life now, and that is not without reason – you are one of the most intelligent and powerful women I know, and I am incredibly proud to call you my 'sister' whenever I can – you are the friend I know longest in life and it means so much that we continue to have this bond. Dani and Helena, you made my research in São Paulo possible, and more than that, I can't thank you enough for your true friendship and hospitality in those extraordinary times! Obrigada! But no acknowledgements can do justice to what any of you, including all those I haven't named explicitly, have meant these past years. Thank you, again.

I also want to thank David, as well as Martha, Milan and Sadko. They gave me incredible support at the beginning of this journey. I will be forever thankful, and this obviously extends way beyond anything related to this dissertation. I hope with all sincerity that you are all well.

Last, but most certainly not least, I want to thank my family. I must begin, with all my heart, with the newest addition to it: Celina Iara. You have provided me with the biggest challenge and the largest love of my life, and a wish to share with you all that is to come, one way or another (at some point you'll want me to lay off, and I hope I'll be wise enough to do so!). António, you have made her possible, in more ways than one, and so already for that you are simply amazing. But beyond that, you know that finalising this dissertation would also not have been possible without you. Thank you for your generous input and reviews, and for the countless discussions on the content, which helped me develop ideas, strengthen arguments, and renew my motivation. I continue to be amazed with our synergies, and am so happy that we are sharing so many small and big adventures. The challenges we provide each other have always felt enriching. Thank you for sharing all the ups and downs and unexpected turns!!

Großmutter, du warst in der Zeit in der ich in den Niederlanden war eine riesige Stütze für mich; es war toll dich, wenn auch nicht oft, einfach spontan besuchen zu können! Ich hoffe wir sehen uns auch in Zukunft trotz aller anderen Entwicklungen oft! Calle, Ulrike, Janina, Marlina, Carsten, Leander, Claas…es ist toll zu wissen, dass ich diese liebe Familie habe. Dau, ich weiß wir sehen uns zu wenig, aber ich bin so froh, dass es dich gibt, und nicht zuletzt hast du mich inspiriert in dieser Arbeit Psychologie als wichtiges Element mit zu nehmen. Danke, dass du immer für mich da warst und bist. Thomie, ich weiß, wie sehr ich auf dich zählen kann, und schätze dich enorm – für das, was du mir als kleines Kind gegeben hast (Liebe,

Zeit, und riesig viel Spaß, daran erinnere ich mich!!) aber auch immer danach. Danke!!

Obrigada também à minha família mais recente (por ordem alfabética): Ária, Belém, Belinha, Carlos, Claire, Cristina, Francisco, Geert, Henrique, Isabel, João Pedro, José Filho, José Pai, Liliana, Natacha, Olivier, Raquel, Rogério, Tia Zita, e todos aqueles a que ainda tenho de conhecer. Têm todos sido extremamente carinhosos em me receber nesta linda família, a mim e à Celina Iara. Muito obrigada! Um agradecimento muito especial, claro, à 'vovó' Isabel, claro, pela incrível ajuda que deu para me ser possível terminar este trabalho mesmo dentro do confinamento dos últimos meses!

But despite all of the above, both the deepest roots and widest wings of this dissertation have to be traced to my parents. They are the reason I have roots in so many places around the world, and they have been a larger inspiration for the wings of my imagination than they probably know. Papa, danke, dass du oft mit mir philosophiert hast; dass du mir Reisen ermöglicht hast die mir die Welt noch weiter geöffnet haben; dass du mich nach Jena begleitet hast und mit deinem kritischen Blick glaube ich früh dazu beigetragen hast, dass ich meine Augen für die Welt weit – wenn auch sicher nicht immer weit genug – öffnen konnte.

Mama, danke, dass du mich in die weite Welt mitgenommen hast, auch wenn ich's dir nicht leicht gemacht habe; dass du mich in den letzten Jahren immer wieder mit deinem Enthusiasmus für meine eigene Arbeit und für die Suche nach politischer und sozialer Relevanz angesteckt hast; dass du an mich glaubst und mich darin unterstützt meine Wege zu finden; dass du bist, wie du bist, und meine Mama bist. So wie unsere intensive Suche in Berlin nach der Brille die du letztendlich die ganze Zeit schon auf hattest, weiß ich intuitiv, dass es so einiges gibt das ich schon fast nicht mehr sehe, weil ich den Luxus habe mich daran gewöhnt zu haben, aber du bist die beste Mama die ich mir vorstellen kann! Ich hoffe du hilfst mir weiter dabei, von dir zu lernen. Mil, mil beijos und abrazotes!

Again, thank you all for giving me such amazing input to socially learn from!

Section 1.

Introduction

Section 1. Introduction

Social learning has been presented in planning-related academic literature chiefly as a constructive process with positive outcomes, which occurs when a diverse group of people and certain favourable conditions are put into place (Albert et al., 2012; Holden, 2008; Reed et al., 2010; Rydin, 2010). Without denying that such manifestations of social learning are possible and worthwhile, this thesis posits that social learning invariably occurs as a result of any social interaction and that its outcomes are neither necessarily positive nor predictable. Defined this way, a fuller view of social learning and the tools to identify it and analyse its effects are necessary. First, we turn to understanding why social learning as emerging from any social interaction is especially relevant to today's planning practice. This is followed by a definition of the concept, how it has been understood in planning and psychology, and why a critical view on it is warranted. Next, the research questions guiding the remainder of the dissertation, and the structure of the book are presented. This introduction concludes with a link to how this renewed perspective on social learning can help planners in research and practice (re-)unite roots (i.e. deep and diverse contextualised existing knowledge) and wings (i.e. imaginative visions) of planning.

"That's the way it crumbles, cookie-wise"[1]

To understand the relevance of social learning in planning, a brief illustration of a nowadays unrealistic planning scenario attempting to exclude social interaction (and, therefore, also social learning) is helpful:

Imagine a planner sitting at a desk making drawings and feverish notes about how the future should look according to her vision. A grand plan emerges, designating locations of schools, hospitals, cycle paths, roads, public transport lines, social housing, developing rights, commercial areas. It specifies which ministries will be in charge of maintenance and who will have access to what, with careful calculations including predictions of future population increase or decline, economic potentials, climate change expectations (will the sea level rise, will hot or cold determine ideal as well as inadequate building spaces?) and more. Piles of predictive reports surround the planner, and her brain fumes with information and ideas. And then, she stops. The plan is done, every detail thought of. Her back straightens, she looks at her design and her notes… [2]

[1] This is a quote from the movie 'The Apartment', directed by Billy Wilder and written by Billy Wilder and I.A.L. Diamond.

[2] Peter Hall's classic book *Cities of Tomorrow* (1988) shows different ways that such and other planning practices existed over time. McGuirk (2015) describes some of the ways such non-interactive planning existed and shaped Latin American countries during the modernist age in his book *Radical Cities* – mostly with noble intentions and catastrophic results.

If this was a movie sketch, dominated with silence and occasional energetic pencil scraping, keyboard tapping and paper rustling, at the end there would be a loud screeching sound, and an enormous question mark above the planners' head. Because the vision of a planner without immediate social interaction can only be stretched so far – latest at this point, it crumbles.

Planning demands social interaction

In this dissertation, planning is understood as the act of thinking about the future, what it can hold and what it should; about how this can be actualized, as well as the act of coordinating this actualization (Hall, 1988; Rydin, 2011). The above illustration is thus not a realistic image of planning in a world that revolves around more than one person and reality, and certainly not in a world that has increasingly emphasized participatory and communicative planning, culminating in calls for the 'Big Society' (UK) and the '*Participatiesamenleving*' (Participation Society; The Netherlands), among others (Bailey & Pill, 2011; Koning Willem-Alexander, 2013; Smith, 2010). In the Dutch planning context in particular, the King announced that The Netherlands would work on becoming a true 'participation society' in 2013 and latest since then more and more planning contexts have been incorporating participatory activities, while its compulsory nature in some cases has deteriorated the quality of these interactions (see e.g. Hurenkamp, 2013; Kleinhans, 2017; Stapper & Duyvendak, 2020). At the same time, the latest revision of the country's general planning guidelines is being presented especially in popular discourse as focused particularly on encouraging and enforcing participatory methods (Arnoldussen & Chevalier, 2019; Gierveld, 2019; van de Kamp et al., 2019). Much as these concepts are contested (Hasanov & Zuidema, 2018; Savini, 2016; Zandbergen & Jaffe, 2014), they have affected the planning profession enough to at least guarantee a minimum need for social interaction.

Nevertheless, the illustration above may be a vision some people would like to believe, such as a planner when he wishes he could just do anything he pleased without consultation, or an angry 'planned' citizen when she argues that she has not been given enough space to express her own ideas for the environment she wishes to live in. But, like it or not, a planner must seek out social interactions, and is confronted with them, when making plans (Forester, 1999; Healey, 1992, 2015; Rydin, 2011; Tewdwr-Jones, 2002). This applies in all dimensions of planning, which can be categorised as values, knowledge, stakeholders, process and content (see Ferreira, 2020). For example: who decides which values should be ascribed to, how they are interpreted and operationalised? Where does the information in those reports mentioned above come from – scientists, local spokespeople, analysts? Who is going to build the roads, and develop the plots of land in which housing or schools or parks are meant to emerge? Who will make sure the ministries are

actually put in charge of their respective responsibilities – if they even agree to them? Where does the money come from to allow for building, renovations, planting? And if the devised plan does not intend to begin on a tabula rasa, how does the planner know what existing and potential residents and public space users and school-kids wish for, need and seek in those spaces? These questions highlight that there are societal consequences to ignoring social learning processes in planning, such as the misuse and mismanagement of public resources, and the side-lining of negative social impacts of development projects on those who are vulnerable to it.

However deeply an individual planner might interpret their work to include social interactions, the complete act of planning cities and regions, towns and the countryside, necessitates social interactions. And those individuals engaged in this complete process, engage in social interactions with a large variety of actors (for further literature exploring planners' need for social interactions, see Forester (1999), Healey (e.g. 1992b), Tewdwr-Jones (2002), and many others, also explored throughout the Chapters of this dissertation).

Each time they do so, planners and others involved *socially learn*. Along the same dimensions of planning indicated earlier, they socially learn, for example, which values are represented or dictated by politics, who knows what (and what do I need to know), who is to be included, who needs this space and who wants it, who is trusted to act or defend, who has the money, how can a developer, citizen or planner be manipulated to a certain end, how can an adversary or ally be understood, what type of building material makes sense in this location, who wants a park and who prefers housing, and so on.

Social learning in every-day planning practice

This dissertation sets out to critically and constructively review how this crucial process of social learning in planning has been understood in the discipline, academically and in practice, and which possible fruitful future avenues could be explored. It asks what social learning does to individual minds, what kind of learning occurs when different people need to or are asked to work together, and which are the triggers for such learning. It also asks what might be the effect of these individual learning processes on the direct planning practice in which the individuals are involved and at higher levels of abstraction (such as whether the learning process reinforces or challenges status-quo thinking, a reflection that is intimately intertwined with thinking in terms of structure-agency relationships). Benefits of social learning have been studied and highlighted throughout literature on the subject, including broadening one's mind, gaining collaborative skills, or understanding of a variety of perspectives that one was not aware of before (e.g.

Muro & Jeffrey, 2008; Pahl-Wostl et al., 2008; Reed et al., 2010; Rydin, 2010, Chapter 5). Potential drawbacks, and a critical view of the extent to which the benefits really occur, have been studied very little and generally only as side-comments or brief disclaimers in the literature that focuses on its benefits (even such critical accounts as by Reed et al (2010) end up emphasizing the societal benefits of social learning. The potential drawbacks and the critical view therefore make up the area to which this dissertation sought explicitly to contribute to, without losing sight of the benefits that do exist.

As developed in this dissertation, social learning is defined as a process of confirming, disconfirming, gaining or indexing knowledge, skills and/or experience through interaction between two or more individuals. This process co-determines the short and long-term effects of social interactions. As described above, these interactions are crucial to planning, such as whenever negotiations about the future of a given area are carried out; when consultations and participatory processes take place; when decisions are communicated or when plans are implemented in conjunction with various stakeholders (Healey, 1992b; Tewdwr-Jones, 2002). As this happens, both the planners and the individuals or groups they interact with, socially learn, as described above. Social learning in planning is assumed to occur in planning irrespective of whether this is the explicit objective (through e.g. a planning workshop, as in Albert et al., 2012; but see also Reed et al., 2010), or of whether people are encouraged to reflect on their learning process. Social learning is also seen as having an impact on planning outcomes, whether these are deemed to be according to a certain objective or not.

Social learning and co-creation in planning

Participatory forms of planning have become increasingly common over the past two or three decades, and have been strongly encouraged by political guidelines as well (Beebeejaun, 2016; Caldeira & Holston, 2015; Forester, 1999; Koning Willem-Alexander, 2013; Rosa & Weiland, 2013; Smith, 2010; Stapper & Duyvendak, 2020; Zandbergen & Jaffe, 2014). This has also encouraged the mushrooming of citizen initiatives to fill spaces left abandoned in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis – though now many of these spaces are being claimed back as economic upturns manifest (note that it remains to be seen how the 2020 pandemic will affect this). In participatory planning, citizens that are not normally – or at least not as their main function and employment – involved in formal planning of their city or region take an active role in determining its future (i.e. beyond elections). Co-creation is a type of participatory planning in which citizens are, or at least are envisioned to be, involved at every step of a plan (Voorberg et al., 2015) – the anti-thesis to the planner at the desk described at the beginning of this introduction. Within the context of participatory planning, and especially within co-creative planning, social

learning can have particularly powerful immediate and future consequences. However, these cannot be (easily) 'directed' towards a particular outcome, as is shown throughout this dissertation. As individual people's backgrounds (their individual social learning landscapes) collide, they might confirm or disconfirm stereotypes, gain or reject knowledge from people they would usually not interact with, become aware of 'who knows' (knowledge indexing) and so on. As the web of interactions spreads across all types of stakeholders relevant to planning a given area, opportunities for inspiration as well as for tensions increase. And social learning from these interactions can lead to gaining – or losing – interest in future joint activities, or to supporting a more – or less – inclusive process and outcome.

As co-creative practices gain traction in planning (Koning Willem-Alexander, 2013; Smith, 2010; Voorberg et al., 2015), reflective practices become more challenging but all the more necessary (Forester, 1999; Porter et al., 2015; Schön, 1982). The drawbacks of co-creation and similar practices are insufficiently understood, and the benefits claimed without full understanding of their (certainly also positive) implications (for constructively critical views and calls for more critical insights see Hasanov & Zuidema, 2018; Janssen-Jansen & R-LINK Consortium, 2016; Nederhand et al., 2016; Savini, 2016; Zandbergen & Jaffe, 2014 and others). Social learning in planning has emerged as a concept highlighting the importance of bringing different people together in such participatory settings so that they learn from each-other – emphasizing the positive results that social learning can lead to (Blackmore, 2007; Collins & Ison, 2009; Eriksson et al., 2019; Holden, 2008; Muro & Jeffrey, 2008; Reed et al., 2010; Rydin, 2010, Chapter 10). Further developing an emergent, more critical look into how social learning unfolds within these contexts can help to reflect on benefits as well as drawbacks of co-creative planning – it is here that this dissertation provides its broader contribution.

Social learning in planning and psychology

Readers familiar with social learning literature from various disciplines will note that the above introduction to the concept of social learning is a relatively unusual interpretation, as it does not refer to how "people learn from each other in ways that can benefit wider social-ecological systems" (Reed et al., 2010, p. 2), nor to necessarily a *change* in understanding (Reed et al., 2010, p. 4). While this dissertation does not discredit other approaches, it deliberately seeks the individual level, and uses social learning as an analytical lens that is open to reinforcement mechanisms as well as change mechanisms, and to beneficial as well as less beneficial consequences thereof.

Seeking the individual level in planning entails considering each person involved in a planning process as multi-faceted; a person that may act or be involved based on

one particular role, but has many other roles and characteristics that are relevant to the interaction. These, for example, include previous knowledge from other planning interactions, and living, study and work experience in different areas (e.g. an individual involved as a planner may also be a resident in the affected area and may have worked previously as a developer). Such previous knowledge and experiences give each individual a specific starting position (see personal dynamics in Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; but also Ferreira, 2018; Pred, 2020; and Healey, 1992b on the importance of individual specificities for wider consequences). Educational levels, gender, age and many more factors can constitute other such co-defining characteristics. Perceiving the individual as a complex palimpsest does not pretend that awareness of every detail can realistically be held as dozens of individuals join participation meetings. However, recognizing the importance of such factors highlights that effects at the individual level will matter for the planning process, and that it is therefore important to at least occasionally reflect on how the dialectic relationship between the individual participants and planning processes are evolving.

In psychology, the individual tends to constitute the starting-point of analysis, even when factors outside individuals are considered (e.g. Atkisson et al., 2012; Kalkstein et al., 2016; Zimmerman, 2000), whereas in planning groups and societal-systemic perspectives are more common, in which the individual, if mentioned, is perceived in a more generalised form as a representative of a given societal group affected by systemic processes, or as an actant based on a role that can be recognized in various settings (of course, in both psychology and planning there are exceptions to this, but the general tendency carries weight for how each discipline develops its general logic and proposals). Social learning approached from a psychology-based perspective then means zooming in on the workings of the mind of individuals and how they are affected by social interactions. Infiltrating these insights into a planning perspective means providing understanding that can be applicable to various settings of participatory planning – not through generalization, but through a gradual and situated building of knowledge.

Approaching social learning as an analytical lens departs from the basic assumption that learning always occurs, that it has cognitive consequences which are not always noticeable, visible or acknowledged, and that the outcomes of social learning are not by definition positive nor negative from any given perspective (this positioning is more in line with a psychology-based understanding of social learning (see e.g. Heyes, 2016; Wiekens, 2012) than with most understandings in planning so far (Blackmore, 2007; Holden, 2008; Parson & Clark, 1995; Rydin, 2010)). Planning literature has inspired its understanding of social learning chiefly from philosophy, policy theory, organizational studies, and environmental studies (Albert et al., 2012; Blackmore, 2007; Holden, 2008; Muro & Jeffrey, 2008). This has led to a focus on

societal and organizational levels of analysis. However, in co-creative planning the variety of people interacting and socially learning, and the consequences for planning outcomes and visions, make it increasingly necessary to consider also this more individual level.

To do so, this dissertation has added insights from psychology to the planning repertoire[3], and has zoomed in on micro-level social learning. It draws chiefly from planning-based authors Forester (1999) and Tewdwr-Jones (2002) for inspiration on how to approach this micro-level. Forester (1999) highlights the human dimension of planning interactions, showing how individuals react to each-other as persons and not as pure roles. Tewdwr-Jones (2002) takes this even further and highlights what he calls 'personal dynamics.' These are shaped by a planner's education, personal and professional experiences, the media and so on. In turn, personal dynamics also shape the planner's reactions to and interactions with other stakeholders encountered in their every-day work. As Tewdwr-Jones defines them, personal dynamics are "personal preferences, gathered independently from experiences and influences, not only from relations with other contacts but through varying sources, including media, culture, education, and environment" (Tewdwr-Jones, 2002, p. 70) which influence professional activities. This refers to all that which shapes an individual at a personal level before engaging in a particular planning activity. Tewdwr-Jones demonstrates the complexity of individual backgrounds that cannot be reduced to a particular 'role' played in an interaction. The role one attributes to oneself in one context can differ from the role others perceive one to have (creating expectation-mismatches) or one can have multiple roles in one context, and certainly multiple roles throughout life (Ferreira, 2018a, 2020; Lamker, 2019; Lamker & Keitel, 2019).

Thus, when a planning interaction is perceived as the interaction between 'a planner', 'a developer' and 'a citizen', this does not give sufficient information to understand the effect of their interaction, especially in terms of social learning. It is therefore necessary to recognize the complex individual within their complex environment, which is shaped through group dynamics created when several personal dynamics come together. Group dynamics refer to forms of interacting, collaborating or rejecting collaboration, that emerge from two or more individuals joining efforts in an activity (Dornyei, 1996; Forsyth, 2014). However, and crucially, all this doesn't mean the complexity needs to be overwhelming (i.e. not every little detail needs to be known or understood to make sense of it). Rather, it calls for awareness and

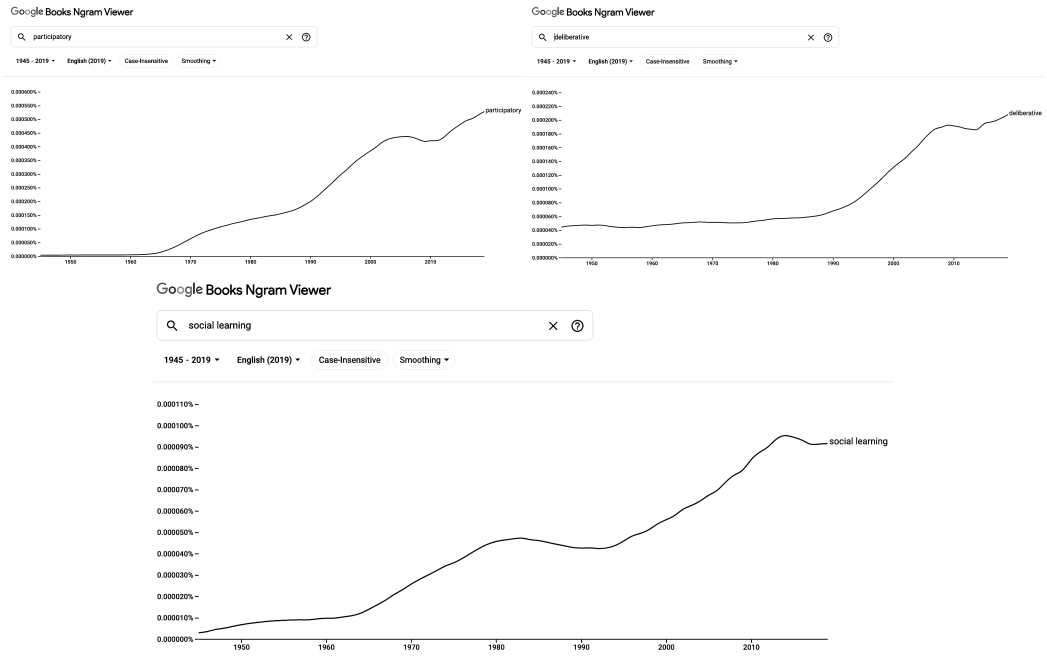
[3] Psychology is of course not entirely alien to the planning discipline, but the understanding of the concept of social learning, while sometimes related to the work of Bandura (1971), has not been more deeply discussed from a psychology-based lens in planning literature.

reflection on the complexity as such (i.e. acknowledging that there is complexity, without knowing and unravelling all its details) when understanding social learning processes – they are not based on simple roles facing each-other but on complex personal and group dynamics shaping the learning landscape and possibilities for learning between people. Chapter 2.1 enters into more detail on this subject.

When applying social learning as an analytical lens, then, social learning emerges from a dialectic relationship between personal dynamics and group dynamics. Together, personal and group dynamics mingle and collide during social interaction and determine what is socially learnt (see Section 2 for details).

Why a critical and analytical lens?

Despite the relevance of the concept of social learning, it has been heralded frequently, like many other concepts, as a golden bullet or 'hype' concept in planning. It has been associated with developments positively aligned with the mainstream norms of planning from the past two decades, such as citizen empowerment and becoming more conscious about sustainable resource use (Albert et al., 2012; Blackmore, 2007; Holden, 2008; Pahl-Wostl et al., 2008; Parson & Clark, 1995; Reed et al., 2010). Its use has experienced similar growth curves to that of 'deliberative' and 'participative' planning or action, for example (see Figures 1.1-1.3).



Figures 1.1-1.3 *Google Books Ngram Viewer showing the use of 'participatory', 'deliberative' and 'social learning' terms from 1945 to 2019. Accessed 27.11.2020. Compiled by author.*

Interestingly, the way these concepts have been dealt with appears to be constrained within a second learning loop, showing (nearly) no signs of performing the third loop (see Argyris & Schön, 1978 on learning loops). Each concept is first understood on its own terms and heralded as a fantastic solution (first learning loop), and as experimentation and understanding of the implications of its implementation manifest, its benefits and drawbacks trigger a second loop of learning. However, as the drawbacks of each concept become more visible, it is sometimes discarded or used with much more care, while in the meantime a new concept gains momentum to replace the former one. As this happens, the next concept is treated with the same initial naiveté of the previous one, instead of triggering a third loop of learning. Such a third loop would likely demonstrate that every concept has both benefits and drawbacks, and every concept could therefore be approached directly with a more critical perspective. This would allow reflection on both positive and negative aspects, and allow those applying the concepts to attempt to benefit from the advantages of various previous concepts *as well as* the emerging ones. This, however, requires letting go of the amazement and enthusiasm for the new, and the political traction that such feelings can often generate. Perhaps, therefore, the third loop of learning is deliberately skipped in contexts of practice – in planning, policy-making, and politics. However, why do hypes also persist in academic circles (despite existing critical academic reflections on hypes and buzzwords (see e.g. Cornwall & Brock, 2005; Grisolia & Ferragina, 2015; Reimer, 2013)), and is it not possible to move beyond this also in practice? These questions set the underlying tone as the journey leading up to this dissertation began.

As these tendencies were gradually uncovered, a drive for a more critical analysis of social learning emerged. With the help of insights from social and cognitive psychology, a critical perspective on social learning could develop. This perspective provided the tools to perceive outcomes of social learning that could, in principle, be aligned with any normative preference, and that could lead to behaviour that one stakeholder might consider helpful while another might consider it harmful. Adjusting the social learning framework in this way by no means negates the value of research that seeks to understand how social learning contributes to more sustainable resource use or mutual respect, to name but a few examples. It only seeks precisely to look more closely at the *how* of that process, allowing for the possibility that the same process could also lead to different outcomes. This dissertation shows the ways in which social learning does both: it reinforces the status quo *and* contributes to change; it can increase mutual understanding between actors *as well as* reinforce tensions. These aspects of social learning need to be better understood so that paths towards particular normative preferences (over others) can be uncovered and, perhaps, reinforced.

Research questions

In view of all of the above, this dissertation sought out to address one main research question, subdivided into two research objectives and four sub-research questions. Table 1.1 summarises the questions and designates where in this dissertation they are most substantially addressed. All questions and objectives are presented further below, highlighting some of the key findings relating to each – these will be returned to in more detail in the conclusion.

Table 1.1. *Research questions and objectives of the dissertation and where these are chiefly addressed (table by author)*

Type of Question / Objective	Question / Objective	Addressed in Dissertation Section/Chapter
MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION	How does social learning at the individual and small group levels impact co-creative planning processes?	Throughout; Conclusion
RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 1	What does a psychological perspective on social learning in planning uncover?	Section 2
Sub-research question 1	How is social learning understood in planning thus far, and what can insights from psychology contribute to this understanding?	Chapter 2.1
Sub-research question 2	Who learns what from whom in planning processes?	Chapter 2.2
RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 2	If social learning does not lead to change as easily as previously presupposed, how *can/does* it nevertheless impact change?	Section 3
Sub-research question 3	How does social learning impact change as understood through turning points and critical junctures?	Chapter 3.1
Sub-research question 4	How does social learning affect framing dynamics in contested planning processes?	Chapter 3.2

The main research question for the dissertation was coined as:

MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION:
How does social learning at the individual and small group levels impact co-creative planning processes?

As a first literature review revealed, the most pertinent research gap could be found in a relatively shallow engagement with literature from psychology. This discipline, however, showed promise in terms of addressing the main question by providing information on cognitive and social psychological processes impacting perceptions,

capacity to absorb and index information, deep or shallow understanding, the emergence of tensions or friendships and so on. Therefore, the first research objective was determined as:

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 1:
What does a psychological perspective on social learning in planning uncover?

The first research objective was addressed via two sub-research questions, as discussed below:

Sub-research question 1:
How is social learning understood in planning thus far, and what can insights from psychology contribute to this understanding?

This research question is addressed in Chapter 2.1, entitled "Social learning as an analytical lens for co-creative planning". It reviews existing literature on social learning in planning and explores existing and potential additional contributions from psychology. The Chapter uses a pilot case study to explore what this could mean in planning practice. Its key findings are that a psychology-based understanding of social learning can benefit planning analytically, by helping to (i) identify both positive and negative potential effects of social learning, (ii) untangle hidden social-psychological power relationships at individual and small group levels, and (iii) provide more balance between the specifics of individuals and small groups and their impact on their larger contexts.

Sub-research question 2:
Who learns what from whom in planning processes?

This research question is addressed in Chapter 2.2, entitled "Unpacking social learning in planning: who learns what from whom?" This Chapter zooms in on the methodology of studying social learning in planning at an individual and small group level, and presents a hypothetical case study, inspired by two separate anonymous cases, to explore what social learning can lead to, and how. It provides a methodology for how to identify who learns what from whom during moments of social learning, and shows how storytelling can be a valuable method to present findings on social learning so as to safeguard the privacy of those studied. This is considered necessary because the findings can sometimes reach into personal arenas that breach important privacy barriers upon publication and sharing if not well anonymised.

Overall, the first research objective highlighted that, in the words of my promotor Willem Salet, "Social learning is not a one-way street towards improvement." Instead, this first part of the research showed that social learning cannot be linked per se to any particular outcome, whether normatively ascribed to or not. Social learning can lead to better understanding between two individuals, and to more environmentally sustainable use of space, energy or transport. But it can also lead to or reinforce existing tensions between individuals, and to righteous attitudes or wasteful behaviour. This is an important consideration, because it means that when we analyse social learning processes, it makes sense to review in depth which interactions led to certain understandings and actions between members of a planning team, and identify which (kinds of) personal and group dynamics have which (kinds of) outcomes. Subsequently it can become possible to seek specific settings through which social learning might lead to a particular understanding or behaviour – keeping in mind that this kind of orchestration has to be considered very carefully in terms of its legitimacy and inclusion (e.g. if one type of personal dynamics tends to dominate discussions and lead them in an unsustainable direction, should the person bringing these dynamics be excluded from debate, or controlled within the debate? Such questions are crucial, and this legitimacy question is further addressed in the conclusion to the dissertation, as it poses serious ethical constraints on how the findings can be applied to practice).

Furthermore, the results of the first research objective hinted that what happens during social learning is not always about learning something new, but about reinforcing or highlighting that which was already known. It showed ways that social learning contributes to the status quo *as well as* to change. The insights from this first phase of the research begged the next question to be about how, then, social learning can or does nevertheless also contribute to challenging the status quo, or to induce change. Therefore, the second research objective was defined as follows:

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 2:
If social learning does not lead to change as easily as previously presupposed, how *can/does* it nevertheless impact change?

This research objective was again studied via two sub-research questions, as described below.

Sub-research question 3:
How does social learning impact change as understood through turning points and critical junctures?

This research question is addressed in Chapter 3.1 and explores how social learning affects both endurance and implementation dynamics through the influence on turning points (i.e. relatively small moments of change, followed by relatively shallow path dependence) and critical junctures (i.e. relatively major moments of change, followed by relatively deep-seated path dependence). An in-depth case study of a small-scale neighbourhood initiative to facilitate the local mobility of the elderly and less mobile, which had particularly defining interactions with government and can be considered a form of co-creative planning, provides rich material for this study. This Chapter's key contribution is highlighting the importance of small steps towards larger change, and how social learning can be a key lever in such steps – either in enabling them, or in hindering them.

Sub-research question 4:
How does social learning affect framing dynamics in contested planning processes?

Contested planning processes provide an especially fertile ground for exploring the various dynamics of social learning, as emotions and stakes run high. Chapter 3.2 explores an in-depth case study of a heavily contested co-creative planning context (the 'Minhocão' in São Paulo, Brazil) to see how social learning affects framing dynamics and thus at least the potential for change in terms of planning outcomes. This Chapter contributes with key insights into how social learning shapes particular frames that emerge when contestants face each-other – and especially when they aim to convince not each-other, but an absent third party.

Overall, the results from this second part of the research demonstrated that social learning can have specific impacts on change or increase the likelihood for change. For example, as in the case presented in Chapter 3.1, social learning can turn frustrations into spite, which fuels endurance sufficiently to last until a solution for implementation is found. Alternatively, as in the case from Chapter 3.2, it can strengthen different framing strategies, such as one that emphasizes being outwardly coherent, as users of the given strategy look for emotional feedback and content confirmation in social interactions and reject other knowledge. Being aware of or analysing these 'social learning dynamics' can thus provide tools for action in various contexts. Nevertheless, these findings continue to highlight that change is not a *given* outcome of social learning (as often portrayed in existing literature in planning, as discussed for example by Reed and colleagues (2010)), but only one of the possible outcomes, depending on the dynamics that emerge in particular contexts and social interactions.

Research design and methods

The research design for this thesis is based on an exploratory approach seeking to uncover how social learning at individual and small group levels impacts co-creative planning processes. The methods used were mainly qualitative in kind, though some quantitative aspects (such as how often particular themes or terms emerged) were considered in both the literature reviews and through semi-structured in-depth interviews. The research design was split into two key phases.

Phase I sets the foundations for the research by means of a thorough literature review focusing on existing insights on social learning in planning on the one hand and laying particular emphasis on literature from psychology on the other. It showed both what has already been explored within planning (a limited amount, usually relying heavily on disciplines such as environmental governance) and how social learning is explored within psychology without a translation into planning. This phase resulted in one conceptual article on the subject (Chapter 2.1) and one more methodological article (Chapter 2.2). The key methods used in this phase were twofold. First, extensive literature reviews in various disciplines, involving systematic searches, snowballing and recurring to experts for identifying key publications. Second, one pilot case study and an anonymised case study based on two studied cases. The case studies were chosen based on their adherence to at least the following criteria: (i) involving a planning process co-created by actors from several different affected arenas, (ii) providing several researchable (i.e. accessible for the researcher) moments of interaction between these actors, (iii) one early-stage case as embedded researcher (participant observation and action research, see Bryman (2012)) to enable following a project longitudinally and trailing social learning as it unfolds over time, and one late-stage case allowing to see effects of social learning for the outcomes of the planning objective and for involvement in future planning processes. Feasibility for researching a given case was also an important secondary criterion. Each case-study was studied through in-depth interviews, social network analysis, participatory observation and field visit observations. More details on the methods can be found in the respective Chapters.

Phase II builds on the foundations by exploring how, as the results from Phase I (as discussed briefly in relation to the research questions) demonstrated that social learning often confirms or reinforces the status-quo, social learning nevertheless can also contribute to change. It therefore sets out to explore two contexts in which this can occur: in the endurance-implementation dynamics of small-scale neighbourhood initiatives (Chapter 3.1), and during highly contested planning (Chapter 3.2). The first is explored by studying turning points and critical junctures at an unusually small level of analysis (i.e. at the level of a small initiative rather than, for example, the history of a country over decades or centuries); the second through

framing processes. In this phase, literature reviews and case studies were also key methods of analysis, but while Phase I relied more heavily on the literature review, Phase II relied more heavily on the case study material. The two in-depth case studies were early- to mid-stage cases of co-creative planning processes involving multiple interacting actors from highly varied backgrounds and contexts. The case studies were approached chiefly through in-depth interviews, participatory observation and field visit observations. Ethical considerations and feasibility were again important considerations for the case studies as well. The respective Chapters provide more details on the methods of data collection and analysis.

Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is structured as follows. The following section, Section 2, presents the results of the exploration of contributions from psychology, as outlined above in the discussion of research objective 1. Section 3 discusses two ways that social learning contributes to change (Research objective 2, see sub-questions 3 and 4). Without claiming to have a complete answer to research objective 2, at least a beginning has been made – together with results from Section 2 – for understanding how social learning relates to both the maintenance of the status quo *as well as* change for planning.

Section 4 provides the conclusion of the dissertation, reflecting on the findings from Sections 2 and 3, both specific to social learning, and in a broader sense for planning theory and practice as a whole.

Section 5, the epilogue, provides a short outlook into open questions that this dissertation has triggered and that could be explored through future research.

The introductions to Sections 2 and 3 additionally connect the Sections and Chapters to each-other and to further research already conducted or suggested for the future.

Figure 1.4 visualizes the relationships between the different sections and subjects therein.

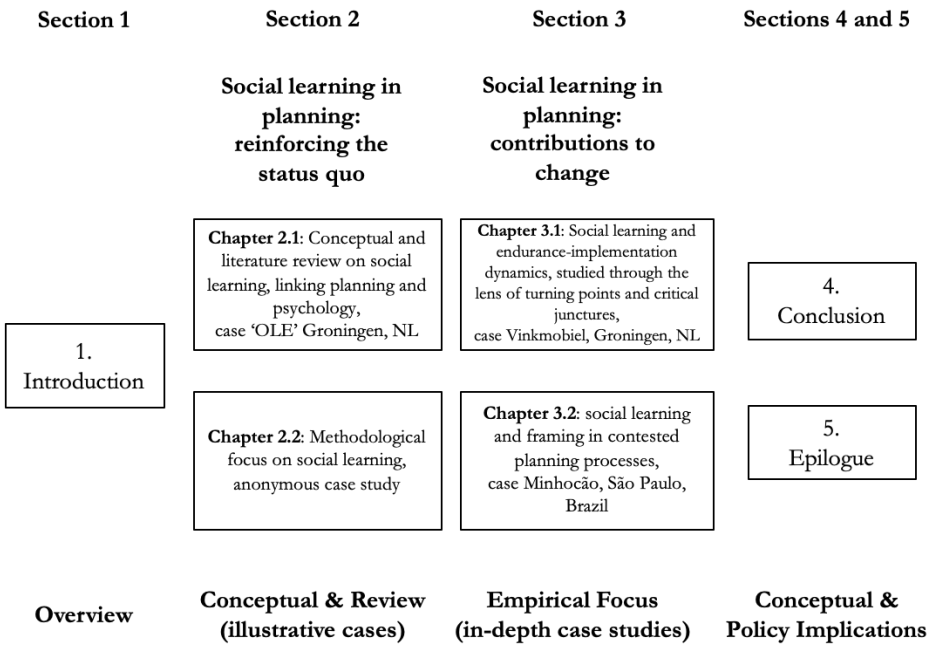


Figure 1.4. *Structure of the dissertation (source: author)*

Roots and Wings for Planning

As a person growing up in a variety of countries in different continents (namely Latin America and Europe, with significant stays in Africa), my cultural background is neither that of the nationality my passport proclaims nor that which official addresses assert. Rather, my background can be seen as made up of a 'third culture' that emerges from a unique mix of national and international cultures and experiences distinctive to never quite fitting the national or regional cultural understanding of any place of residence. This does not mean that no feeling of 'home' – or *roots* – ever emerges. Rather, in my case at least, it has meant that home is the world. The ability to travel and discover and revisit places and people – in depth, not as a brief or superficial encounter – requires *wings*. But it enables roots – roots that are watered and fed through contact, not necessarily through constant presence. These experiences have inspired a keen awareness of the possibility and power of joining roots and wings, seeing them as co-constitutive rather than as opposites. And this, specifically, can also be applied to planning.

What can the joint power of roots and wings mean for planning? The roots in planning can be conceptualised as local and deep knowledge, as wisdom, as awareness of history and present, of the needs for survival and the blind, intuitive, searching manifestation of healthy life. The wings in planning can be seen as the imagination, magical and drifting, flexible and flowing, keenly observant, choosing and hopeful side of inspired life. The planner at her desk described at the beginning

of this Chapter seems focused on wings, but lacks understanding from and connection with roots. This dissertation shows that social learning can contribute to both roots and wings, and ultimately, in the conclusion and epilogue, gives first reflections on how planners can be the connecting element between healthy roots and inspiring wings.

Section 2.

Theoretical Roots and Methodological Wings. Social Learning in Planning and Psychology – Reinforcing the Status Quo?

This section seeks out **what a psychological perspective on social learning in planning uncovers** (research objective 1). It provides a conceptual (Chapter 2.1) and a methodological (Chapter 2.2) view. It also reflects on how studying social learning can be done while taking into account important privacy considerations due to the often-sensitive content of such studies. The section highlights that social learning can lead to both positive and negative outcomes (as perceived by any one entity) and that it often leads to the reinforcement of existing knowledge and networks, and thereby the status-quo.

This section employs chiefly explorative and abstracted case material, for piloting ideas and to explore a privacy-maintaining form of research into sensitive qualitative material. The results inform the basis for the next section of the dissertation, and have also inspired work beyond the dissertation, such as policy recommendations (von Schönfeld, 2019; von Schönfeld & Tan, 2019a), practical know-how shared in workshops (e.g. for consultancy company ANTEA, in Almere, the Netherlands, see von Schönfeld (2018)) and questions for further research (see e.g. Epilogue of this dissertation). The results can also be applied beyond the context of urban development projects, such as in the field of co-creative mobility planning (see von Schönfeld & Bertolini, 2016, 2017; von Schönfeld & Tan, 2019). In mobility planning, and perhaps more widely, the analytical lens of social learning has also inspired work on the valuation of every-day knowledge for informing research and practice (see von Schönfeld et al., 2020). However, it is important in any application to remain wary of an instrumental use of social learning. There are serious ethical considerations involved with attempting to actively interfere with individual cognitive processes, which can – perhaps too easily – turn into manipulations crossing boundaries of privacy and free will. A reflective application of social learning as an analytical lens is therefore suggested. The Conclusion and Epilogue (this dissertation) unfurl this further and raise some open questions for further research.

Chapter 2.1.

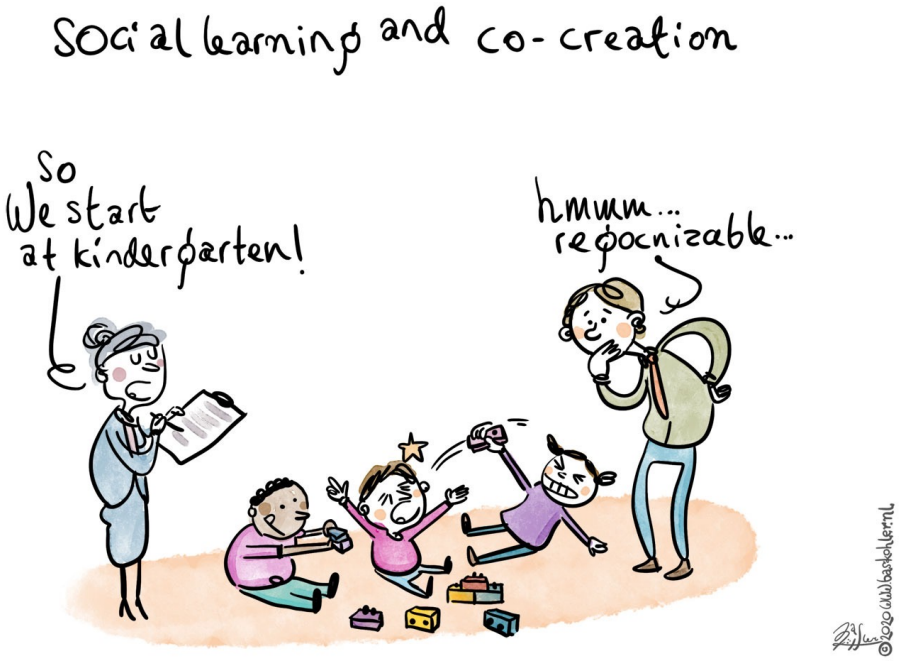
Social learning as an analytical lens for co-creative planning

Published as*[1] *:
Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld, Wendy Tan, Carina Wiekens, Willem Salet & Leonie Janssen-Jansen (2019) Social learning as an analytical lens for co-creative planning, *European Planning Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/09654313.2019.1579303

Abstract
This article highlights the psychological dimension of social learning. Insights from psychology address the interrelated role of personal and group dynamics in social learning. This can provide a useful starting point for a rewarding use of social learning as an analytical tool in co-creative planning. Such an approach to social learning proves beneficial to (i) identify both positive and negative potential effects of social learning, (ii) untangle hidden power relationships at play at individual and small group levels in relation to social psychological factors, and (iii) discern the role of individuals and small groups within their larger contexts. The findings are empirically illustrated with a case of incremental urban development in Groningen, the Netherlands.

Keywords
Social Learning; Co-creation; Planning Process; Planning Practice; Psychology

[1] Please note that the section numbering and referencing within Chapters refer to the same Chapter and not to the sections in the dissertation as a whole. Figure and Table numbering has been adjusted throughout to be unique throughout the dissertation.



Caricature of the idea that social learning occurs at all times, by Bas Köhler, 2020

1. Introduction

In the context of planning today, co-creation – that is, the involvement of various actors in the creation of a plan from start to finish – is increasingly common (see also below and section 2). Actors usually join co-creation processes based on (self-) ascribed roles, such as local urban planner, resident, entrepreneur, or large-scale developer (e.g. Rydin, 2010). This is a useful starting-point to understand their functions and effects in the planning process (e.g. Scharpf, 1997, Chapter 3). Yet, tensions between individuals and groups, questions of legitimacy, disagreements on priorities, and other such themes continue haunting co-creation processes (e.g. Voorberg et al., 2015). In view of increasingly diverse forms of co-creation among a variety of actors in planning, it is important to dig deeper for influential factors. To better grasp and potentially intervene in what happens when individuals and small groups co-create, a number of factors beyond their roles, especially at the individual and small group level, become crucial. While planning literature has certainly acknowledged several of these factors from the perspective of planners – such as the importance of emotions, personal dynamics, and power relations (e.g. Baum, 2015; Ferreira, 2013; Forester, 1999; Tewdwr-Jones, 2002) –, co-creative planning by definition includes several non-planners (Voorberg et al., 2015). The psychological aspects of the interaction between planners and non-planners, as well as between different non-planners involved in planning processes, warrant deeper engagement in planning research and practice, especially in view of their increasing relevance to the field.

Co-creation among the above-mentioned groups has a great impact on forms of collaboration and on how and what people learn from the emerging interactions. For example, individuals might confirm or refute stereotypes and expectations about 'greedy developers', 'unappreciative citizens' or an 'overly bureaucratic government', which may affect their future choices on whether to interact and how. A key contribution to understanding and potentially impacting the opportunities and challenges this leads to can be found in social learning (Blackmore, 2007; Holden, 2008). This article defines social learning as a process that describes how knowledge, skills and experience are exchanged and built through interaction between two or more human actors (see Salomon and Perkins (1998) and Reed et al. (2010) for an overview of various meanings attributed to the term, and see below for an elaborate discussion of various interpretations). Social learning has become something of a 'buzzword' in planning practice, seen as a solution to issues of legitimacy, inclusion, sustainability and several wicked problems (Collins & Ison, 2009; Dumitru et al., 2017; Holden, 2008; Moulaert et al., 2013; SLIM, 2004). Social learning has also been studied in various other fields, such as organizational studies and governance, which planning has drawn from, and in psychology, a field which planning has engaged less with. As shown in this article, however, psychology can

provide important insights at the level of individuals and small groups, especially when it comes to understanding interactions between and with non-planners. This article therefore explores different conceptualizations of social learning within planning and psychology and reveals the potential of social learning as an analytical lens based on key insights from psychology. It explores how psychology can enrich planning's understanding of social learning, specifically in view of (the interplay between) personal and group dynamics among all actors involved in co-creation. Personal dynamics refer to, for example, education, social networks, attitudes, and motivations that an individual develops over time and that influence their and others' social learning during co-creation. Group dynamics refer to forms of interaction and elements that impact these interactions, such as the development of leadership or bias in favour or against another individual (based on previous experiences interacting with this person, or on their physical or professional features, for example).

There is a wide-ranging wealth of studies on social learning in planning, especially when closely related themes, such as policy transfer, deliberative or communicative planning, reflexivity and emotions in planning are also taken into consideration (e.g. Baum, 1983, 1987, 2015; Ferreira, 2013; Forester, 1999; Friedmann, 1981, 1987; Healey, 1992a, 2008, 2013; Holden, 2008; Mäntysalo et al., 2018; Peel, 2000; Schön, 1982; Tewdwr-Jones, 2002). This article builds on these important contributions and demonstrates the value of the development of social learning as an analytical lens informed by psychology, in relation to the impact of various personal and group dynamics, specifically in the context of co-creation. This also significantly contributes to planning practice, moving social learning (back) to a conceptualization beyond a 'buzzword.' Engaging with a psychology-based understanding of social learning offers the following benefits for co-creative planning: i) identifying positive and negative potential effects of social learning, ii) untangling the power relationships behind the process at individual and small group levels in relation to (social) psychological factors, and iii) highlighting the role of individuals and small groups, even when we see them as part of a larger whole.

This article first clarifies co-creation as the context of operation for social learning as studied in this article. Then, the ways social learning is defined and conceptualized in planning and psychology are presented. The contribution from psychology is studied in further detail to show its particular added value for planning, especially when it comes to personal and group dynamics. Subsequently, empirical material from a co-creative planning initiative in the Netherlands is used to illustrate the findings. To conclude, suggestions for policy and further research are made.

2. Co-creative planning as a context

Co-creation in planning is a form of collaboration in which policies and plans (for projects such as community gardens or local mobility projects) are created through ongoing interaction among multiple actors, all of whom contribute to the implementation of emerging decisions and plans for spatial development (Voorberg et al., 2015). As such, co-creation in planning subscribes to the wider participation literature (Beebeejaun, 2016; Innes & Booher, 2004; Jacobi, 2008; Rydin & Pennington, 2011). To better understand co-creative planning, one needs to position it within urban planning policy and practice of the past decade. On one hand, many changes are attributed to the global economic crisis of 2008, which led several governments to increasingly devolve responsibilities to citizens as a solution to their own financial incapacitation and logistical challenges. Others argue that such trends emerged earlier, related to the rapid expansion of neoliberal policies, and a gradual, if hesitant, turn away from welfare (e.g. Juhlia et al., 2016; Zandbergen & Jaffe, 2014). Co-creation emerged, along with co-production and other such concepts, to address ways in which such responsibilization could take shape (e.g. Voorberg et al., 2015). Co-creation, then, implies a process in which policy-makers, planners, experts (often from universities or research institutes), developers, and end-users (often citizens) are included in the creation of a policy or plan and its implementation (Rooij & Frank, 2016). As a consultancy website puts it, co-creation means 'developing strategies and solutions alongside our clients instead of for them' (Carlson, 2017). Applied to governance in planning, co-creation redefines the power relationships and expectations between citizens, the state and the market. As such, it impacts opportunities for and types of social learning that occur between the involved actors, and what potential outcomes can be expected from such learning processes. Social learning has been described as a 'trading zone' or strategy for crossing communication boundaries and barriers within such governance settings (Mäntysalo et al., 2018). Therefore, this is the context and bounding frame within which social learning in planning will be discussed below.

3. Social learning in planning

Planning has drawn extensively from two fields of research for its understanding of social learning: organizational studies and environmental governance and participation. Table 2.1.1 gives a brief overview of how the different fields of research and planning practice so far define social learning. It also includes the same information for psychology (see section 4), from which planning has drawn relatively little so far. There are, of course, significant differences in approaches within the presented fields, as well as cross-dissemination between them. However, there are some key differences among research fields that uncover a complementarity that can be useful for the development of a more comprehensive analytical understanding of social learning. Besides showing the usual terms used

per field and exemplary definitions, the table also shows what the core units of analysis are in each field and some sources are given, which exemplify the use of the concepts in these research fields. The units of analysis provide a useful category for comparison because they highlight the key differences in approaches (see Reed et al., 2010; Salomon & Perkins, 1998), also showing the particular added value of psychology, as explained in more detail below.

3.1 Organizational Studies

The unit of analysis in organizational studies is the organization, which learns, for example, how to organize its finances, how to produce a product, or how to deliver a service. The discipline tends to focus on organizations learning in a conscious way, emphasising deliberate reflection to identify and correct errors (Argyris & Schön, 1978; Morgan, 1986). The goal usually lies in the creation of efficiency and improvements through innovation are prioritized (e.g. García-Morales et al., 2012). Organizational studies show the power of negative feedback for achieving desirable effects: learning what does *not* lead to a desirable outcome cautions for avoidance of that undesirable path and might lead to a better understanding of how the desired goal can be reached (Mäntysalo et al., 2018; Morgan, 1986). Mistakes and negative feedback are thus seen as a necessary and valuable part of the learning process. This research field argues that while outcomes of learning can be varied, and not necessarily positive from society's perspective (see also Huber, 1991), the organization's learning should eventually lead to desired outcomes from the perspective of the organization, if it is given enough time and reiterations (Argyris & Schön, 1978).

Organizational studies developed the notion of learning loops, differentiating between learning about a direct consequence of action (first loop), learning about how such insights can be arrived at and thus, for example, anticipating errors (second loop), and learning about the learning process itself (third loop) (Argyris & Schön, 1978; Morgan, 1986). The third loop was further conceptualized as Learning III, based on the notion of double-bind situations and inner contradictions: 'In a double bind situation, learning acts follow one another, but no improvement in terms of capability building takes place' (Mäntysalo et al., 2018, p. 167). The double bind eventually leads to 'skilled incompetence' and 'defensive routines'(Mäntysalo et al., 2018, p. 167). Learning III is then a reflection on the learning process itself, and the governance culture of an organization, so that it can move beyond double binds (Mäntysalo et al., 2018).

Planning has drawn significantly from organizational studies, specifically in relation to learning loops (e.g. Deyle & Schively Slotterback, 2009; Mäntysalo et al., 2018). It has mostly used this field when studying planning departments as a type of

learning organization, and understanding learning and reflexivity in planning (e.g. Holden, 2008; Rydin et al., 2007; Schön, 1982). Closely related to organizational studies, policy transfer, diffusion and innovation literatures have also informed planning in terms of how policies are learned from and transferred (e.g. Monios, 2017).

3.2 Environmental Governance & Participation

In studies on environmental governance and participation, social learning is usually understood at a societal, relatively abstract level (Wals, 2009). In this case, individuals are still those who learn, but the unit of analysis is usually wider society or a policy-framework as a whole. For example, such studies analyse how knowledge about energy- or water-saving lifestyles become standardized or mainstreamed in a country, or in national policies (Nilsson, 2005b; Reed et al., 2010). Achieving such societal learning is understood as a conscious effort to learn about particular goals and how to achieve them (e.g. Nilsson, 2005b, 2005a; Pahl-Wostl et al., 2008). Thus, policy-making processes are situations in which such learning is developed, with the goal of reaching wider dissemination of emerging knowledge through policy and through the participants' interactions with others.

In this field, social learning is usually studied in relation to natural resource management and sustainability, with specific attention to the content of what is socially learnt in terms of sustainability, for example. In several cases, this is mixed with an intrinsic valuation of social learning as a participatory method. The latter approach often blurs the distinctions between social learning as a process that can lead to a variety of outcomes, and social learning as an outcome itself, which is desirable and leads to increased sustainability (e.g. Albert et al., 2012; Dumitru et al., 2017; Van Der Wal et al., 2014). In relation to governance and policy-making specifically, several approaches to policy learning have been employed, distinguishing for example between technical and conceptual learning at policy level, or on political learning as distinguished from these (see e.g. Nilsson, 2005a). The tension between political power and policy learning processes is also explored (Nilsson, 2005b). Despite their frequent focus on social learning at the level of societies or national policy, (environmental) governance and participation studies often draw inspiration from organizational studies and planning literature (see Rydin, 2010), who tend to use other units of analysis, sometimes leading to confusion in relation to how the term should be defined (Reed et al., 2010). Nevertheless, the insights on social learning, and the integration of a number of fields of research has delivered important insights. For example, emphasizing the importance of moving from a linear to a networked understanding of the process of learning for policy-making, and showing the relevance of social networks and social capital in these processes (Rydin, 2010, Chapter 5).

Planning and environmental and participation studies are intimately related also beyond the understanding of social learning. In relation to this concept, planning has added the idea of social learning at the level of society, and the use of it as a tool in participatory planning (such as co-creation) (Albert et al., 2012; Holden, 2008). By extension, it also took on the links between social learning and legitimacy, inclusiveness and sustainability. In some cases the integration of these various units of analysis and ways of understanding social learning have contributed to a somewhat variegated use of the term (as also shown by Reed et al., 2010) that has also influenced its use in planning.

3.3 Planning practice and research

While drawing from the above-mentioned fields of research for its understanding of social learning, planning has embedded these in the pragmatist ideology (e.g. Hoch, 1984). As a discipline, planning poses both the challenge and opportunity to connect all levels of analysis: planning works through the integration of practical applications at individual and small group levels, but also through the continuous incorporation of a meta-perspective at city, regional and societal levels and in terms of ethical choices. While this complex combination is valuable and inherent to planning, it poses the challenge of identifying core units of analysis for the understanding and use of concepts such as social learning (see also Table 2.1.1).

In planning, social learning was first seen as its own planning paradigm, with roots in pragmatism, focusing on interaction between different actors (Friedmann, 1981, 1987). It was understood as a discontinuous process (i.e. after a particular social learning moment the knowledge would dissipate), and did not at first focus on individual learning, but often on planners in general. The concept of social learning was developed in the 1980's and '90's into various directions, sometimes along with other, similar or related concepts (such as deliberative learning, reflective learning, policy learning, communicative planning, tacit knowledge and emotions in planning (e.g. Baum, 2015; Ferreira, 2013; Forester, 1999; Healey, 1992a; Holden, 2008; Schön, 1982)). For example, some studies focused on what affects planners' learning processes, often including ways in which planners learn to interact with others, or how they learn through education, interactions, experiences and from stories and friends (e.g. Baum, 1983; Forester, 1999; Schön, 1982; Tewdwr-Jones, 2002). At the level of national or municipal policy-making, the role of learning from 'best' and 'worst' practices elsewhere was studied (Bennett & Howlett, 1992; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Healey, 1992a). With this, some linkages to a longer-term and process-based understanding of social learning grew. In parallel, learning in collaborative and participatory settings was frequently used to explain how collaboration worked and to uncover its value for participatory and collaborative

planning processes (e.g. Healey, 1992a, 2013; Holden, 2008). Despite a traceable provenance of the concept, social learning as an analytical lens inspired by psychology remains a promising direction for research, especially in view of the increased variation in actors expected to co-create. We contribute to such a lens below, through an integration with insights from psychology.

Table 2.1.1. *Overview of frequent representations of social learning (compiled by authors)*

Research field	Main term(s) used	Example definition	Core unit of analysis	Example Sources
Organizational studies	Organizational learning	'Organizational learning involves the detection and correction of error.' (Argyris & Schön, 1978, p. 3) [note: special emphasis is then given to the differentiation between single and double loop learning]	Organization (small to large group)	(Argyris & Schön, 1978; Huber, 1991; Morgan, 1986)
Environmental Governance and Participation	Social learning, group learning	'Social learning may be defined as a change in understanding that goes beyond the individual to become situated within wider social units or communities of practice through social interactions between actors within social networks.' (Reed et al., 2010, p. 6); 'Although the idea of social learning is a bit messy in and by itself, in this book it tends to refer to learning that takes place when divergent interests, norms, values and constructions of reality meet in an environment that is conductive to learning.' (Wals, 2009, p. 18); 'definition of social learning as a convergence of perspectives' (Van Der Wal et al., 2014, p. 2)	Society and large groups	(Blackmore, 2007; Jacobi, 2008; Muro & Jeffrey, 2008; Nilsson & Persson, 2012; Reed et al., 2010; Van Der Wal et al., 2014; Wals, 2009)
Planning Theory	Social learning, group learning	'Embodied in group relationships, social learning is a cumulative process that lasts for the duration of a given action cycle. When a cycle terminates and the group dissolves or undergoes a major change in composition, what has been learned is dissipated and lost. Action groups are	Individual, small group, large group, society	(Albert et al., 2012; Friedmann, 1981, 1987; Holden, 2008)

		a form of collective memory. […] Social learning in small groups takes place primarily through face-to-face relations, or dialogue. […] In social learning, objectives tend to emerge in the course of an ongoing action.' (Friedmann, 1987, pp. 186–187)		
Planning practice	Social learning, collective learning	'Sustainable urban development requires "social learning". Social learning seeks to change understandings on the part of urban stakeholders (and, thus, their behaviour) through social interaction and, in so doing, stimulates new ways of thinking about and responding to the challenge of sustainable urban development' (URBAN NEXUS, 2015, p. 12) Under heading 'social learning through interaction': 'Communication means that individual knowledge and beliefs are confirmed or actively contested. In this context, social psychologists argue that innovative learning takes place especially in social contexts […]' (Gelauff & van der Knaap, 2016, p. 37, author's translation)	Individual, small group, large group, society	(Gelauff & van der Knaap, 2016; SLIM, 2004; URBAN NEXUS, 2015)
Psychology	Social learning, group learning	'In the social learning system, new patterns of behavior can be acquired through direct experience or by observing the behavior of others' (Bandura, 1971, p. 3)	Individual and small group	(Ajzen, 1991; Bandura, 1971; Gallotti & Frith, 2013; Heyes, 2016; Salomon & Perkins, 1998)

4. Social learning in psychology

In the field of psychology, the concept of social learning emerged in relation to how social settings lead to observations and experiences, which lead to certain behaviour patterns of individuals or small groups in both a conscious or unconscious process

(Bandura, 1971). The units of analysis are individuals and small groups, in contrast to most other fields planning has drawn from (see Table 2.1.1). Later studies in psychology have explored how social learning can be understood from a cognitive perspective (e.g. Rosenthal & Zimmerman, 1978), going into detail on how social learning occurs in a developmental context such as with children learning from adults and peers (e.g. Heyes, 2016), and how our brains are wired to facilitate social learning (e.g. Apps & Sallet, 2017). Kalkstein and colleagues (2016) show how the extent and type of distance between a learner and who she or he learns from leads to different levels of contextual binding of what is learnt: when we learn from someone close to us (physical or psychological distance) we are more likely to consider what is learnt to be contextually dependent, while if there is more distance, we see it as more widely applicable. A number of authors have also studied the role of intentions, for example showing how 'a generative knowledge system underlies our skill at discerning intentions' of others, which determines 'how we understand and remember others' actions, how we respond, and what we predict about their future action' (Baldwin & Baird, 2001, p. 171) and how shared intentionality is developed through interaction (Gallotti & Frith, 2013).

As mentioned in the introduction, a psychology-based understanding of social learning offers the following benefits to planning: i) identifying positive and negative potential (psychology-based) effects of social learning, ii) untangling the power relationships behind the process at individual and small group levels as they are impacted by (social) psychological factors, and iii) highlighting the role of individuals and small groups, even when we see them as part of a larger whole. For example, the psychological lens confirms that it is possible to gain insights on other actors' perspectives through social learning, as is claimed in much collaboration and deliberation literature (Forester, 1999; Healey, 1992a). It similarly shows, however, that we also socially learn how to manipulate or exclude undesirable opinions or groups without this being apparent (see Heyes, 2016). Furthermore, individual backgrounds (e.g. schooling and motivations) are put centre-stage in psychology, in contrast to mainstream planning literature, especially when it comes to how they affect collective work – even though notable exceptions have addressed different parts of this gap in relation to planners' own individual backgrounds (e.g. Forester, 1999; Healey, 2008; Tewdwr-Jones, 2002). As shown in psychology, the educational level and previous knowledge of the individual not only determine content outcomes but also have the ability to skew power relations (see e.g. Raven, 2008).

There are at least two areas through which the added insights from psychology for the planning discipline can be understood, helping to develop an analytical understanding of social learning in co-creative planning: (i) personal dynamics and (ii) group dynamics. Each of these is now discussed in more detail.

4.1 Personal dynamics

In every planning interaction, and especially in co-creative planning, individuals from diverse backgrounds come together in varied and changing actor-constellations, usually with diverging motivations. Several planning scholars have highlighted that it is problematic to assume that planners' personal dynamics do not exist or are irrelevant (e.g. Baum, 1983, 2015; Ferreira, 2013; Schön, 1982; Tewdwr-Jones, 2002). The assumption that individuals are 'blank pages' at the beginning of a planning process, disregarding their previous knowledge, networks and experiences, is nevertheless persistent in much planning research and practices. When this is not the case, the planning discipline has naturally tended to focus on planners themselves, while it becomes increasingly necessary to understand planning as shaped by many more groups and individuals than planners. Therefore, while some of the aspects below have been studied in relation to planners, it is worth expanding this knowledge to other involved actors, as well as deepening and further disseminating the knowledge on planners in relation to the newer actors. A psychology-based approach highlights how different individuals' predispositions, self-esteem, motivations, character, tacit knowledge, and experiences (e.g. those obtained through previous interactions, joint decision-making and social learning) often influence the current interaction (see e.g. Heyes, 2016; Kalkstein et al., 2016; Nijstad, 2009; Raven, 2008). Importantly, the personal dynamics developed outside the workspace affect the workspace, as noted by Tewdwr-Jones (2002), but they are also further developed *within* the workspace, as well as developing specific professional dynamics (Heyes, 2016; Raven, 2008). What is included into what is 'professional' and what is 'personal' can be seen as quite interconnected when one considers social learning from a psychological perspective – a useful insight particularly in co-creative planning contexts in which several involved actors are not there (solely) in their professional capacities. Perhaps this strict separation of personal and professional perspectives is not always useful, and rather, it might be valuable to acknowledge more overlap between professional and personal spheres.

Consider individuals as palimpsests instead of blank pages, where their previous social networks contributing to social capital can also positively or negatively affect any interaction, such as when an actor knows someone else from previous encounters, professionally or privately (Carrington & Scott, 2011). In existing planning literature, a profession or expertise might be attributed, but individual behaviour is assumed to be based on what occurs at the moment of the studied interaction, with implicit rationality (e.g. Albert et al., 2012; Holden, 2008). When it comes to valuing certain knowledge over another (e.g. 'lay' vs. 'scientific' knowledge), this is often linked to an ascribed and assumed category, such as 'citizen', 'scientist' or 'expert'. These categories can provide clarity but also alienate

and presuppose that one cannot be both a citizen and a scientist, for example (see Beebeejaun, 2016; Owens et al., 2006).

Contributions to alleviate this assumption can be found in organizational and governance studies, and in planning literature through discussions on trust, or the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion through knowledge management (e.g. Beebeejaun, 2016; Nilsson, 2005; Rydin & Pennington, 2011). However, they tend to neglect personal and group dynamics based on, for instance, personal backgrounds and social relations of all those involved. To address this gap, studies on social learning in the field of psychology are helpful in showing how previous knowledge and pre-dispositions are layers that can impact a collaborative process – for instance, what individuals learn is often built on what and how they have learned previously (e.g. Goldstein et al., 2010). How constructive social learning is in co-creative planning therefore depends significantly on the 'baggage' individuals bring to the table. Of course, not all the details of an individuals' palimpsest structure can be considered in planning; nevertheless, a better understanding of certain of these elements can shed light on crucial parts of co-creative planning processes, as also shown below.

4.2 Group dynamics

Interactions in planning do not happen in isolation, especially when co-creation and social learning are encouraged. Within these groups, there are unseen and unidentified dynamics that affect how decisions are made and knowledge is absorbed. Group dynamics are concerned with forms of collaboration and factors that influence them, such as personal or professional tensions; inspiring or frustrating joint experiences. Studies in psychology detail how we choose whom to learn from and what we retain in terms of knowledge, for instance through prestige bias where peers who already enjoy high visibility and status are more likely to be chosen as models when a choice is available (e.g. Heyes, 2016). Barsade (2002, p. 2) reports on a study in which 'group members experienced positive emotional contagion, and this contagion improved cooperation, decreased conflict, and increased perceptions of task performance.' Studies on the effect of hidden profiles, i.e. the tendency to refrain from sharing information that is not already known by others in a group, further highlight the influence of group dynamics on co-creation (Stasser & Titus, 2003). Even when more motivated knowledge sharing might overcome the hidden profile effect, as Wittenbaum and colleagues (2004) argue, an effect of the particular dynamics between collaborating individuals remains.

Social learning is affected by group dynamics and vice-versa. For example, 'people usually learn to cooperate more when the probability of future interaction is higher' (Rand & Nowak, 2013, p. 416). Furthermore, motivations for collaborating in

groups can be affected by whether direct or indirect reciprocity is expected. One usually adjusts one's way of collaborating depending on spatial-, multi-level, or kin selection (Rand & Nowak, 2013). Through group dynamics, individuals may socially learn that they are irritating others during interpersonal feedback, or they might lead to direct (verbal) feedback on attitudes or actions (see e.g. Forsyth, 2014). Psychology-based literature on conflict and mediation and on sources of power can furthermore be insightful (e.g. Raven, 2008). Across various disciplines, trust and positive relationships often figure as important favourable conditions for collaboration (Albert et al., 2012; Heyes, 2016; Nilsson, 2005; Switzer et al., 2013). Social networks and trust can be rooted in multiple time-periods and can be influenced from beyond the confines of a particular space or context in which actors co-create. In co-creative planning, there might be inherent motivations to collaborate but the temporally sensitive constellation of actors involved can lead to group dynamics that steer the social learning process away from desired outcomes.

4.3 Conceptual relationships

As shown in the introduction, personal dynamics can overall be defined as a number of factors internal or inextricably linked to individuals, such as education, social networks, attitudes, and motivations, which an individual develops over time and that influence their and others' social learning during co-creation. Group dynamics can be defined as forms of interaction and elements that impact these interactions, such as bias in favour or against another individual based on previous experiences interacting with this person. By seeing them in a continuous dialectical relationship, co-creative planning becomes better graspable. The specific contribution of psychology is its in-depth insight into personal dynamics, their impact on group settings, and vice-versa.

Figure 2.1.1 shows the relationships between the concepts presented above, as well as their relationship to outcomes of the co-creative planning process that they are a part of. The starting point are the roles based on which individuals or (representatives of) groups take part in a co-creative planning process. This can be a local resident, developer, planner, government official or small business-owner, for example. These individuals or groups come together in co-creative processes, in which the social learning that occurs between them is influenced by their personal dynamics and the group dynamics that exist and emerge within and between the actors. All of this leads to outcomes in terms of behaviour, policy, or physical interventions. Zooming in on personal dynamics and group dynamics in the context of this scheme from the perspective of psychology helps uncover how we might understand social learning as an analytical lens that highlights the role of individuals and small groups, while untangling different power relationships at those levels and showing the significance of different types of social learning for different outcomes.

This is especially valuable when attempting to understand the personal and group dynamics that arise in relation to planning with non-planners. It is worth acknowledging that the causal relationships presented in the figure are bidirectional (represented by the thin dotted arrows), but for the purposes of this research project only one direction is analysed.

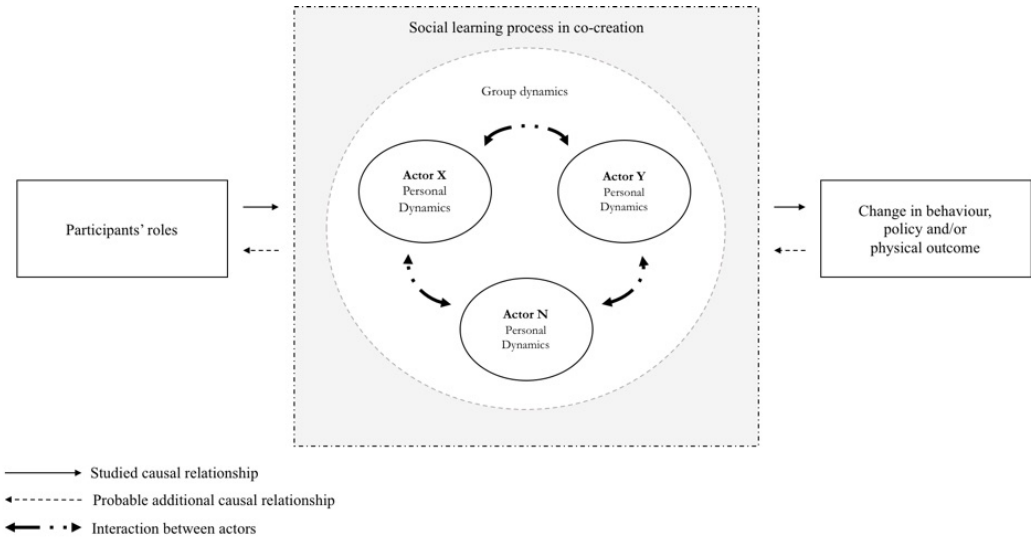


Figure 2.1.1*. Conceptual relationships in social learning in co-creative planning processes (source: authors)*

5. Social learning as an analytical lens: an application

This section explores how social learning as an analytical lens as suggested above can be used to study a concrete case of co-creative planning in the Netherlands. First, we turn to an overview of the case. The Open Lab Ebbinge is a case from Groningen, the Netherlands, which is widely quoted as an example of co-creative urban development within planning practice (Bergevoet & van Tuijl, 2013; Inden et al., 2016; Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2013). We then briefly describe the research methods used for the case study and subsequently present the results of the analysis.

5.1 Case description

The Open Lab Ebbinge (OLE) initiative is located in Groningen, the largest city in the North of the Netherlands. OLE was an urban redevelopment of about 1km^2, housing start-ups, artist and event spaces in temporary structures (built from shipping containers) for approximately seven years (Inden et al., 2016; Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2013). The initiative was begun in 2010 by a collective of local business-owners and artists who were worried about the vitality and safety in the area due to what was essentially an abandoned brownfield redevelopment site. The original intention was to establish temporary structures – to be removed

after five years – for a variety of functions such as a restaurant, a collective working space, an escape room, and an exhibition-space. The site, one of the largest remaining urban redevelopment sites within the city, housed many cultural events and festivals. The initiative was extended until 2017, ultimately with collaboration between the initiators, the municipality, a number of managers, and the implementers of projects in the space. However, the real estate market recovery and emerging development pressure eventually cancelled out the community initiatives and temporary use.

5.2 Research methods

The lifecycle of the initiative (2010-2017) allowed for sufficient information and data gathering via nine one-on-one, semi-structured interviews with seven key actors and by compiling various documents that were published or accessible through respondents, describing the various stages and agreements made between stakeholders for this initiative. The respondents are kept anonymous to protect their privacy and to remain in accordance with ethical guidelines. Both the interviews and documents were analysed in Atlas.ti (qualitative data analysis) and Gephi (social network analysis) to look for which roles were included in the process (from whose perspective) (5.3.1), the personal (5.3.2) and group (5.3.3) dynamics that played a role in the development, and which decisions and outcomes (5.3.4) emerged. The case was considered a pilot study, which meant that the analysis allowed various conceptualizations and operationalizations to emerge.

The analysis below combines approaches from planning, organizational studies, environmental governance and participation, and, most crucially, from psychology. The information on roles (5.3.1) was gathered mainly through a classic planning approach of the identification of relevant actors based on their roles in (relation to) the co-creative planning process. The subsequent subsections draw more from psychology, and therefore each include a brief concluding paragraph describing the specific contribution of this approach.

5.3 Analysis

5.3.1 Participants' roles

As a starting point, those who took part in the co-creation of the OLE initiative can be categorized according to a number of primary roles at the beginning of the process. They included, for example, the president of the local store-owner association, local entrepreneurs, several artists and architects, an independent planner as well as government-based planners, an overall manager, specific financial and event managers, a secretary, and so forth. These roles were either ascribed to individuals by their employer or organization, or self-ascribed through the wish for

influence or job-creation in relation to the initiative. In two known cases, the roles were represented by different individuals throughout the initiative, such as the secretary, whose position was fulfilled by at least three different individuals over the course of the initiative. Respondents in this particular initiative did not find that these changes were significant for the collaboration within or outcomes of the initiative. The above roles were also the ones that were recognized as such by other involved actors, as emerged through interviews. Importantly, a number of these individuals were initiators of OLE, while others joined them later in the development process.

5.3.2 Personal dynamics

Those who started the initiative brought with them a number of personal characteristics, backgrounds, networks and motivations that were different from those who joined later. Due to ethical and privacy considerations, not all of these can be related here in detail, but some examples are presented. First, the creative-artistic and entrepreneurial backgrounds of individuals or their networks, especially among those who began the initiative, were key to facilitate the emergence of the idea for the initiative, as well as the know-how to make first steps towards its realization. The initiators' motivation related to somewhat precarious working conditions in the area also made the development of the space in question pressing for the initiators. Some familial and friendship-based networks among the initiators helped as well. It seems that among initiators it was crucial that each individuals' personal dynamics were relatively similar to those of the other initiators, including related backgrounds in expertise and motivation. This was likely due to the necessity to understand and identify with each other in the still relatively early and fragile beginning of the initiative, and to 'liking', which can be a strong determinant for collaboration and is often encouraged by experienced similarities. 'You really needed those early-believers to get some élan into the project,'[2] noted one of the initiators. This respondent also noted that there were residents initially involved who wanted bakeries and butchers back in their street, instead of more creative stores and activities, but others convinced them that those stores would not survive in the local environment at the time. Several interviewees among initiators and government representatives insisted that it was not so much residents, but local business-owners that were sufficiently motivated to make the change. When the higher goal was not shared, the basis of this difference was rationalized away, and the individuals in question were not further involved. The importance of aligned personal dynamics can, to a large extent, be explained by social capital and related theories, but can also be understood in relation to social learning: in this case, close relationships, similar backgrounds and a shared motivation led to a form of social

[2] quotes freely translated from Dutch to English by authors

learning that did not lead to divergent or new types of thinking, but to the emergence of a particular new idea within their own field.

Subsequently, however, the initiators required help for financial purposes as well as management-related tasks. This led to the addition of actors that were positioned much farther away from the initiators in terms of social networks – they knew each other on a less personal basis, if at all. The new group of actors and facilitators in the initiative was much more varied in terms of personal dynamics related to individual characteristics, education, interests, and motivations. Importantly, the motivations were sufficiently aligned with a shared vision for them to move towards it. The motivations included the aforementioned drive to improve the area for local entrepreneurship as well as for artistic and social benefits; the government's wish to upgrade and brand the neighbourhood to drive up land values and developers' interest in building in the area; the desire of some to try out a new business idea; opportunities for social engagement with some payment, or for a job to pay the bills; or the chance to participate in the kind of temporary spatial and architectural development that was still highly uncommon at the time. Each individual might in fact be led by more than one of those and other motivations, but crucially, the different motivations could at this point be united towards the common goal of implementing the temporary use and architectural design of the space, at least for a limited number of years (though the different motivations did lead to conflicts later on; see group dynamics below). By contrast to the relative commonality in their goal, the educational and professional background of the newly involved was very different from the initiators as well as among themselves. They included planning, management of temporary facilities (previously temporary housing for asylum-seekers), finance, policing, and communications, among others. Interestingly, some of the newcomers had personal inclinations that were not necessarily linked to their job description, which either facilitated or hindered exchanges between different actors (see 5.3.3). The personal dynamics became much more varied for the implementation phase of the initiative, and thereby significantly influenced the social learning process (see 5.3.3) and the physical outcomes of OLE (see 5.3.4).

The psychology-based approach used here highlights, for example, that motivations differ significantly per individual, and are often rooted in several personal characteristics, but when a common higher goal can be identified, this is likely to bundle efforts and lead to implementation of something at least akin to the common vision. When such a common goal is lacking, the process may be jeopardized, or those thinking differently may be rationalized away – a form of socially learning how to reinforce certain group formations over others. It is therefore important to understand the different motivations and potential tensions emerging between them, especially in co-creative planning where involved actors

are less used to each other. The next subsections will show instances in which certain personal dynamics, such as motivations and personal preferences, become influential for group dynamics and outcomes.

5.3.3 Group dynamics

The introduction of new actors throughout the initiative's formation resulted in shifts in power relationships: while at first the group dynamics relied mostly on friendship or 'liking' (perhaps something akin to referent power) among initiators, the introduction of government and management functions led to very different power relationships, related to financial dependence, which can be categorized as a combination of legitimate and reward power (see Raven, 2008). Expert power (or the power-holder's perception that they had expert power) was used to legitimize the exclusion of a group of people with a different vision. These different types of power-based group dynamics likely affected the observable kind of social learning. Knowledge and skills among all actors were shared to different extents, for example the joint knowledge development and demonstration of how temporary structures can take shape and how they can be used or the confirmation of knowledge on how temporary spaces should be managed. Key was the alignment of knowledge sharing with the shared vision to actualize the initiative. The managing group of the initiative placed emphasis on knowledge exchange beyond the core OLE group through interactions with residents across Groningen, as well as through talks and tours of OLE, in which the actors would share their experience with other potential co-creative developments in the Netherlands and internationally (Inden et al., 2016; interviews). However, as soon as the implementation phase had begun, visions of how this should happen began to vary more, and 'legitimate' power from government was enforced to focus on their version of the vision. From then on, among the core OLE group (initiators, managers, and implementers), the more divergent the backgrounds, the less explicit and content-based knowledge was shared. For example, several artists and actors realizing projects in the temporary structures on the site were provided only necessary practical information by the managers of the space, and vice-versa, while interacting very infrequently. This was meant to facilitate the initiative in terms of efficient implementation but did not reflect on the value of facilitating knowledge exchange between the co-creators. Multiple interviewees also attributed the stunted communication channels and knowledge exchange to mounting personal tensions between at least three key individuals of different backgrounds. Indeed, as hinted at before, conflicts due to different motivations emerged, partially because motivations were not discussed or shared among all actors from the outset – as can be explained partly by hidden profiles and prestige bias. For example, actors who were motivated by an interest in the particular socio-cultural development of this area and by the success of their new business there, found it hard to accept that others would (or seemed to) see

their work in the area primarily as a convenient job that paid their bills. Two respondents were particularly upset by the distribution of financial risk, which they felt was too heavy on one end, while the managers were paid very regularly, even if little. This went hand-in-hand with a lack of mutual understanding between, for example, more artistically or entrepreneurially oriented actors, and actors who were educated primarily in managerial functions and felt less drawn to artistic circles. Personal and professional dynamics became heavily blurred. Several individuals in this case furthermore socially learned to stereotype associations between certain personal characteristics and a particular professional position, albeit probably already influenced toward similar assumptions from the start. As seen in section 4, this can be partly explained by the human tendency to be more inclined to generalize or create stereotypes based on few experiences when someone is seen as more distant to ourselves. Three interviewees from different sides of this situation claimed that this disagreement contributed to the lack of continuity for one project in the space after OLE's termination.

In general, the group dynamics among OLE's initiators led to the creation of an idea for implementation and for enough networks and abilities to eventually result in its actualization. However, these same dynamics seem to have affected social learning adversely: between those who knew each other, little but confirmation of expectations occurred, while those who did not know each other previously became alienated from each other through tensions. The managerial group kept a formal distance to implementers of the temporary structures, unlike relationships between the latter with the original initiators. The lack of direct communication between a growing number of actors with different backgrounds and motivations contributed to limiting chances for (meaningful) social learning between those individuals and groups. From the city's perspective, this was instrumental in enforcing the temporary character of the initiative and ensuring less emotional bonding with other actors. For social learning it meant that expectations concerning the distant nature of managers (from the perspective of the implementers) and the chaotic and irrational nature of creative implementers (from the perspective of the managers) were 'confirmed.' Knowledge pooling (i.e. complementary knowledge brought to an initiative through different actors, but not shared among them) and indexing (i.e. knowing who to ask to contribute which knowledge, instead of acquiring the knowledge oneself) rather than knowledge sharing allowed efficient implementation. This also means that the coalition would need similar actors in future initiatives rather than one of the individuals utilising knowledge from this initiative to start with a new (perhaps less experienced) group elsewhere. However, the emerged tensions also mean that the actors might be disinclined to form such an alliance again, resulting in a knowledge gap from both sides.

This section relied on insights from psychology for several findings. They helped to show the importance of interrelations between personal and group dynamics, as well as the emergence of key dynamics that affect learning: the level of alignment between motivations (largely based on personal characteristics, not only professional opinions for example), the types of relationships (e.g. friendship, liking, perception of closeness), and power types rooted in personal and group dynamics. Furthermore, the focus on learning at the individual and small group level shows the relevance of tracing learning at individual levels as well as at the level of policies or organizations, as it gives a grasp on the fragility of knowledge development through co-creation, for example, but also its potential impact outside its direct aims. Finally, this section uses psychological insights to demonstrate how social learning can have both positive and negative effects.

5.3.4 Outcomes

As already hinted above, the physical outcome of the initiative was the implementation of temporary uses in the area for about seven years. This was followed by the development of housing, a student hotel and a school in the same area (see e.g. DeNieuweStijlvanWonen, 2018; Gemeente Groningen, 2015; interviews). The type of development continued to focus on housing and a school after the end of the OLE initiative, as it had before, with the exception of the student hotel (confirmed through interviews). Particularly, not much more public green space or commercial and artistic facilities were provided despite the success of such spaces during the OLE initiative – a shame according to two interviewees, though two others highlighted that the new plan is already much more open and commercially active than originally planned. The design and density of the constructions has indeed been revised substantially (Gemeente Groningen, 2015; interviews). Another physical outcome is that several of the entrepreneurs of the space were left to move their workplace elsewhere, at which some succeeded more than others, also due to their financial situation after the end of the initiative.

Policy and behavioural outcomes go hand-in-hand for OLE. In terms of observable behaviour, several effects can be discerned. The initiative was instrumental in implementing a policy of earlier interaction with citizens and interested parties for developments: 'not that we didn't do that at all [i.e. involve citizens], but we do this in a different way now. It's no longer "oh, we have a zoning plan, we'll have a consultation", because that doesn't work. That's so abstract, people are not engaged through that' (interview government official). Furthermore, the same government official noted that the planning department has received significantly more applications from citizens wanting to be involved in planning for their neighbourhood than before OLE began. At least in part this seems to be related to citizens not involved in the initiative directly perceiving OLE as a 'success' in terms

of functioning, and collaboration with government. On a more individual, but not as easily observable level, most OLE actors feel the initiative confirmed or strengthened their convictions in terms of who they do and don't (like to) cooperate with. Their behaviour towards those groups will likely stay the same or strengthen in its intensity. Some interactions between government officials and involved artist-entrepreneurs became more frequent and friendlier, generally speaking. Overall this confirms some of the impacts group dynamics appear to have had on social learning in the initiative. Furthermore, it shows that there is a significant impact of individual and relatively personal interactions on broader developments.

It is important to note that the outcomes can never be entirely attributed to one particular initiative. Part of the lessons that an analytical approach to social learning raises is that interactions and circumstances outside one particular initiative are likely to influence what occurs within it. However, OLE was described by all interviewees as a significant initiative in the evolution of their careers and the city's development. Together with the media and document analysis that shows intense engagement with the initiative over several years, this indicates that OLE – and the social learning processes occurring within and surrounding the initiative – had at least a significant impact on the outcomes described above.

The outcomes show that a focus on the individuals and small groups (emphasized in psychology) highlights how social learning plays an important role in reinforcing existing knowledge and relations, and that such a reinforcement can nevertheless lead to changes in physical outcomes. It also shows that social learning does not immediately tend to overrule existing overarching power structures (e.g. the tensions with some artists and entrepreneurs did not lead to changes in their favour due to social learning processes), though it remains to be seen how the creation and reinforcement of existing tensions and negative sentiments plays out in the longer term, especially for future initiatives. Thus, the psychological approach provides an interesting complementary and reinforcing perspective for planning research and practice.

6. Conclusion

This article has presented social learning as a process, which's psychology-inspired analysis in planning can be useful, at least, to i) identify positive and negative potential effects of social learning, ii) untangle the power relationships behind the process at individual and small group levels as they change based on (social) psychological factors, and iii) highlight the role of individuals and small groups, even when we see them as part of a larger whole. To do so, the article showed how psychology can add to our existing understanding of social learning in planning, namely through additions to conceptualizations of personal and group dynamics.

As Figure 1 shows, it is useful to take roles in co-creative planning processes as starting points, as is common in planning. As shown through insights from psychology, however, it is then insightful to understand social learning as a process within co-creation, in which personal and group dynamics are crucially interrelated, and have significant impacts on outcomes. The analysis of the case study revealed that this uncovers otherwise hidden key relations and processes, such as tensions that hamper collaboration and the continuation of (parts of) an initiative, or knowledge pooling and indexing that can benefit short-term circumstances but potentially hinder longer-term capacity building for urban development among the various involved actors.

These findings have a number of consequences for planning research and practice. The article shows that they can affect current discourses on social learning in relation to co-creation and the responsibilization of citizens. On one hand, the article challenges the idea that social learning can be predictably associated with certain desirable outcomes and argues that it should therefore not in itself be a policy agenda. Indeed, social learning is revealed as a process that occurs whether or not an agenda is determined for it. However, understanding social learning as a fruitful analytical lens is proven to have value for understanding how co-creative planning unfolds – which quickly leads to the question how this might be instrumentalized for policy. In this article, we propose that such a step be made carefully, focusing less on trying to steer social learning itself, but focused on the various elements that have been described. For example, understanding social learning better can allow planners to (i) be more aware of the role of tensions or friendships; (ii) possibly intervene when certain groups have certain (social learning) effects on each other; (iii) develop trust in initiatives that have relatively good social learning dynamics; (iv) be better able to reflect on effects certain interactions have on planners *and others* in a co-creating group – both short-term and long-term; and by understanding these, (v) be better able to steer future reactions to this. More generally, it can be valuable to pay more attention to the interplay between personal and group dynamics, and the blurring of personal and professional boundaries in co-creative planning. In any case, it appears important for planning to acknowledge that individuals and groups in co-creative planning should be recognized as more than the roles based on which they join the process.

Further research should, first of all, further operationalize and methodologically develop social learning as an analytical lens for co-creative planning. This involves enabling a more systematic analysis of personal and group dynamics within social learning, based on the insights of this article. Among other things, it should then be possible to further understand who learns what from whom in co-creative planning, and how. Furthermore, power relationships provide an interesting avenue for

further research, as this article revealed possible new insights with methods from psychology, which however remain underdeveloped. Finally, a deeper engagement of planning research and practice with literature from psychology proves promising. Psychology is a large field of research and many relevant areas in psychology have only been briefly touched upon – or not yet uncovered – in this article; each warrant at least further exploration for possible engagement within planning.

Chapter 2.2.

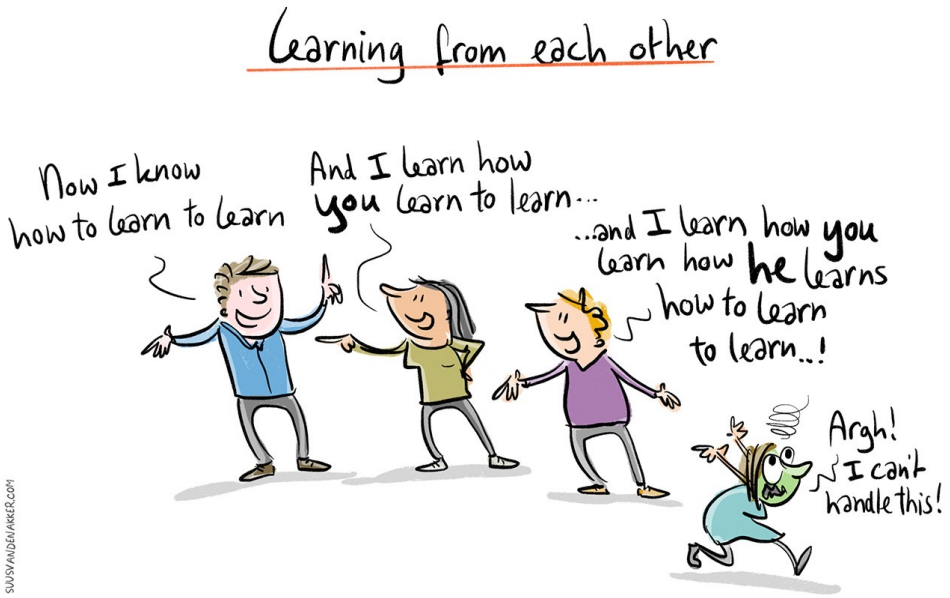
Unpacking social learning in planning: who learns what from whom?

Published as*[1]*:
Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld, Wendy Tan, Carina Wiekens & Leonie Janssen-Jansen (2019): Unpacking social learning in planning: who learns what from whom?, *Urban Research & Practice*, DOI: 10.1080/17535069.2019.1576216

Abstract
Social learning is the process of exchanging and developing knowledge (including skills and experiences) through human interaction. This key planning process needs to be better understood, given the increase and variety of non-planners influencing planning processes. This article explores who learns what from whom through social learning in planning. We unpack social learning theoretically to be able to map it, and employ empirically based storytelling to discuss its relevance to planning practice. We conclude that social learning can lead to positive and negative outcomes and provides a useful analytical lens to understand planning practices at the level of individuals.

Keywords
Social Learning; Knowledge; Planning Practice; Storytelling; Individual

[1] Please note that the section numbering and referencing within Chapters refer to the same Chapter and not to the sections in the dissertation as a whole. Figure and Table numbering has been adjusted throughout to be unique throughout the dissertation.



Caricature of triple-loop social learning, by Suus van den Akker, 2020

1. Introduction

Planning and development processes depend on social learning (see Friedmann & Abonyi, 1976; Rydin, 2010; Scholz et al., 2014; Vlaev & Dolan, 2015; Young, 2009). Social learning is the process of developing knowledge (including skills and experiences) through human interaction. As Baum (1983, 1987) and Schön (1982) have argued, planning practitioners rely on the ability to negotiate and reflect on knowledge emerging and developed through interaction with others involved in planning, such as developers, activists, citizens, politicians, and business-owners. These actors interact to defend their own motivations and self-interest, although this can be broader than personal financial or social gain. The engagement of various actors in planning is expected to increase in quantity and intensity, as contemporary planning practice harbours wide advocacy for the ideals of 'collaborative governance', 'participation', and 'co-creation' (EC, n.d.; Ehlen, 2015; Savini et al., 2014; UN-Habitat, 2010; van den Berg, 2013; Westerink et al., 2016). The role of social learning in planning processes remains obscure and begs the question of who learns what from whom, and what it leads to. Planning studies on social learning frame the concept with a positive narrative and a connotation of guaranteed desirable outcomes (Dumitru et al., 2017; Holden et al., 2014; Sánchez, 2009; SLIM, 2004). While those studies are valuable, the a priori emphasis on positive outcomes can be problematic, as social learning could also lead to reinforcing mistakes or tensions.

Social learning as studied in planning and related disciplines is often entangled in three interpretations. First, social learning is understood as an inevitable process resulting from interaction among actors. Second, social learning is seen as an agenda that should be embedded in planning practice. Third, social learning is considered as a process that intrinsically leads to desirable and constructive outcomes (for examples of these three interpretations see EC, 2014; Gelauff & van der Knaap, 2016; Reed et al., 2010; UN-Habitat, 2016). The latter two interpretations assume that social learning is an intrinsically positive process, neglecting possible undesirable consequences. Mapping the social learning process more comprehensively allows for a better grip on what these processes can – and cannot – accomplish.

Seeking details of who learns what from whom through interaction is fundamental to understanding planning as a practice of knowing (Davoudi, 2015). Developing typologies of who learns what from whom does not aim to "demarcate knowledge from 'non-knowledge'," but rather to provide tools for planners – and others – to "fully engage with the tensions and contestations of their knowing and doing" (Davoudi, 2015, pp. 322, 328). To provide these tools, and drawing key insights from psychology, this article develops an overview of types of knowledge,

interaction and learning that social learning relates to. Based on this overview, a map of social learning is proposed. This map enables the empirical review of planning projects and unpacks how social learning influences planning practice in its various phases and contexts. It thereby contributes and relates to key skills planners need (see Baum, 1983, 2015; Ferreira, 2013; Forester, 1999; Healey, 1992a; Schön, 1982).

This article aims to (i) further develop social learning as an analytical lens inspired by psychology, (ii) apply the emerging map to planning practice, and (iii) show how anonymised storytelling can enable the sharing of sensitive empirical material on social learning. We begin with an overview of what sets social learning apart from other forms of learning, and then present a number of relevant typologies of who learns, what, from whom, as identifiable within social learning processes in planning. This provides a map of social learning embedded in planning practice. Next, this map is applied to study an anonymised case through storytelling. The gained insights and their contribution to planning are then discussed. The conclusion reviews the main contributions of this inquiry and makes suggestions for further research.

2. Social Learning

Below we give a short definition of types of learning to clarify the specificity of *social* learning. We then identify typologies to explore 'who learns', 'what', 'from whom,' while reflecting on how this can inform planning practice.

2.1 Learning

Learning is a process of adaptation to one's environment, in which an experience in one moment leads to alterations in (implicit) knowledge structures [2] and eventually is likely to impact behaviour. In psychology, four types of learning are usually identified: classical conditioning, operant conditioning, cognitive learning and social learning. Classical conditioning works through the gradual association of a representation of something with the thing itself. Classical conditioning might lead an individual to learn that pink is a ballet-colour through the continuous appearance of the colour pink in ballet shoes. Operant conditioning works through perceived consequences of voluntary actions. Operant conditioning might induce an aspiring dancer to learn that an intense warm-up is unpleasant but leads to better results during practice. Cognitive learning is learning through reading or other internal activities, such as thinking to oneself. A dancer might read about human mechanics and then relate this gained knowledge to the way she can perfect a certain

[2] A term used in psychology to refer to the structural distinction between, for example, procedural and conceptual knowledge. It relates to the identifiable human tendency to organize information into patterns (see e.g. Day et al., 2001).

movement. *Social* learning is understood as imitation or other forms of learning *through a social context* (e.g. direct instruction). In this case, the dancer might learn by observing and copying the movements of other dancers, or through the discussion with others of how certain movements could work. These types of learning are not mutually exclusive; for instance, cognitive learning can occur through social learning. The only point at which any of the other types of learning exclude social learning is when individuals learn cognitively by reading an informational text or experimenting by themselves. For more information on each type of learning see Wiekens (2012, Chapter 2).

Baum (1983) and many subsequent authors on governance and participation in planning have shown that planning is in fact an inherently social and interactive discipline. Although this is not always acknowledged, even in non-participatory planning, planners cannot do their jobs without interacting with developers, funders, landowners and various government authorities (Baum, 1983; Forester, 1999; Rydin, 2010; Schön, 1982). Even if planners are inclined to working by themselves, thus avoiding social learning processes, this is no longer considered acceptable or workable in an age where citizen participation and negotiations between government and market actors are considered essential (Beebeejaun, 2016; Savini et al., 2016; Swyngedouw, 2005; UN-Habitat, 2016). Social learning therefore warrants further scrutiny in planning. This is even more so when the intentions in governance turn to further diversification of actors involved (see e.g. Beck & Schnur, 2016; Beebeejaun, 2016; Franke et al., 2015; Rosa, 2011; Rydin, 2011; van den Berg, 2013; Zandbergen & Jaffe, 2014).

2.2 Social Learning

In this article, the following definition of social learning is used: Social learning is a process in which individuals and groups exchange or jointly develop knowledge (including skills and experiences) through human interaction (De Jaegher et al., 2010). Knowledge exchange differs from knowledge development: in the former, knowledge is new only to one or a few people involved, while knowledge development means that the emerging knowledge is new to all those involved – an important distinction for observing when social learning leads to the reproduction of existing knowledge, and when it leads to the creation of new knowledge (Bandura, 1971; Hasson et al., 2012; Heyes, 2016; Kalkstein et al., 2016; see also Savini, 2018 for how this distinction can be crucial for planning). This definition relies mostly on understandings from psychology (e.g. Bandura, 1971) but is also informed by organisational studies (e.g. Argyris & Schön, 1978), environmental and participatory governance (e.g. Blackmore, 2007, 2010; Wals, 2009), and planning (e.g. Holden, 2008; Muro & Jeffrey, 2008). Note that (perceived) avoidance is also a form of social interaction. This broad definition is meaningful because it allows an understanding

of the effect of common social interactions in planning practice, ranging from formal planning meetings between actors and informal discussions over coffee, to exchanges via email and annoyances about lack of face-to-face meetings amongst decision-makers and other actors. All these interactions have an impact on social learning – for example how a planner expects a citizen or a large-scale developer to behave, how a citizen perceives planning practice, or what knowledge about measurements and regulations is gained or retained in a more or less formal setting.

It is possible that a social learning process does not create easily noticeable change. It can simply confirm or reassess the value of existing knowledge (see e.g. Argyris & Schön, 1978). This is a subtle yet important form of change because it can reinforce convictions and make them resistant to change. Furthermore, one social learning process is likely to influence the next. Thus, it is important to see each observed moment of social learning as part of a string of related social learning processes.

The approach to social learning in psychology focuses on how individuals and groups learn to behave in certain ways, which could have a positive or negative outcome from the perspective of normative goals (e.g. it could make something more socially inclusive but could also promote social exclusion instead) (see also Bandura, 1971). Similarly, organizational studies look at social learning from the perspective of the correction of errors, usually regarding economic stability or gain, but acknowledge that this need not be in the interest of wider society (Argyris & Schön, 1978; Huber, 1991). Organizational studies are also relatively open in terms of the direction of learning, particularly in terms of what can be learned (e.g. Davis & Luthans, 1980).

By contrast, a normatively directional understanding of social learning is employed in environmental governance and (collaborative) planning. Here, the concept becomes intricately intertwined with desired outcomes such as social inclusion, equity, justice and sustainability, especially as these outcomes are meant to emerge through communicative practices (Albert et al., 2012; Blackmore, 2007; Holden, 2008; Muro & Jeffrey, 2008; Pahl-Wostl, 2006; Scholz et al., 2014). Some authors in these traditions interpret social learning as a socially beneficial or outcome-based concept, in which the learning process has a necessarily positive social impact (e.g. Moulaert et al., 2013). What and when something is 'social' remains unspecified (e.g. it may not be clear if it refers to 'social' in terms of involving two or more people, or in terms of 'good for society'), and the expectation of positive impact can create confusion in comparison to other authors' and disciplines' approaches to social learning. Notably, the contributions of such literature are very valuable, yet they tend to neglect how social learning can have undesirable effects as well. This creates

a gradual association of social learning with a panacea for solving problems, and risks to muddle our understanding of the process and its connection to a particular outcome. This article therefore builds on the valuable existing literature on how social learning contributes to desirable outcomes (Albert et al., 2012; Blackmore, 2007; Blackmore & Jiggins, 2007; Brookfield, 2016; EC, 2014; Gelauff & van der Knaap, 2016; Holden, 2008; Holden et al., 2014; UN-Habitat, 2016; Wals, 2009), and proposes to add a more critical dimension to these studies, which incorporates an understanding of how social learning may lead to undesirable consequences as well. The outcomes of social learning processes can then be evaluated in relation to the desired goals, and the process potentially changed in the next instance to better encourage the attainment of the desired goal.

The following sub-sections unpack social learning into 'who learns', 'what', 'from whom'– keeping in mind that this analysis is made artificially static for illustration purposes but in fact occurs as part of a dynamic process over time.

2.2.1 Who learns?

Social learning occurs at four levels: individual, group (e.g. Deyle & Schively Slotterback, 2009), organization (e.g. Argyris & Schön, 1978) and society (e.g. Pahl-Wostl, 2006), each of which involves different dynamics in terms of time taken for learning to manifest, and in terms of how and what knowledge is exchanged. This article focuses on the individual level because of the relevance of personal dynamics (Tewdwr-Jones, 2002c) to planning practice, and because this is possibly the less well studied, yet most fundamental of the four levels, which best allows to understand how social learning can lead to both desirable and undesirable consequences.

At the individual level, it is possible to identify a variety of actors participating in a planning project. These should be identified on a case-by-case basis, for which various authors provide inspiration to avoid missing important actors (e.g. Bennett & Howlett, 1992a; Bryson, 2004; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Freeman, 1984; Reed et al., 2009). In collaborative planning, actors likely include individuals from the local planning department, the police, public maintenance, representatives from large-scale development companies, individuals implementing projects, people living in the area, representatives or owners of businesses in the area, representatives from non-governmental organisations and social movements, and so on. Actors usually get involved in planning based on one core role, such as those named above, but importantly each individual actor might have several roles, some of which may be more overt than others, and which might change over time (see also Lyles (2015, p. 1969), Scharpf (1997) and Scholz et al. (2014) on ways roles have been reflected upon in planning). These roles can function as starting points in planning processes,

but can also restrict how a person is awarded power and legitimacy. It can also impact who is involved and who learns (what) from whom.

The 'who learns' question uncovers the intentions and backgrounds of each individual, which influence their actions. Intentions to behave in particular ways are shaped by attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control, as shown in the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). Beyond intentions, each individual has a particular background that shapes how he or she learns (see Schön, 1982; Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Wiekens, 2012). For instance, common social learning strategies are to 'copy when uncertain', 'copy the majority' and 'copy the most successful' (Heyes, 2016), and each of these strategies is relative to the individual's own existing knowledge and their (initial) position in a group. Thus, it is also important to determine the knowledge and social position an individual (planner as well as non-planner) attained before interaction takes place.

2.2.2 What?

If we accept that what is socially learned can go in any direction, whether we normatively ascribe to it or not, then it is especially important to understand the content. To know what to look for, we distinguish between types of knowledge, types of interaction and sub-types of (social) learning.

Types of knowledge

Knowledge in planning can be split into two types: process knowledge and content knowledge. Process knowledge indicates what we learn *about* the interaction with others and the *how* of planning. This includes technical knowledge (i.e. skills), such as how to use certain software to communicate better among actors. For example, mapping software (GIS) can visualize and represent options for change in a certain area and help to communicate about policy choices among a wider audience. For example, this can be applied for mapping options of flood prevention in areas prone to flooding (Albert et al., 2012). Similarly, a person can learn how financial requirements are met through the interaction with and copying of others. Process knowledge also includes subjective knowledge (this can also be seen as a skill), such as reflexivity and emotional management under stress (Ferreira, 2013; Schön, 1982; Vanderhoven, 2016). An individual can socially learn during and about any part of project development.

Content knowledge refers to facts, such as the required width and materials for building roads, or the relationship between the location of a road-signpost and the ability of someone to read and understand the signage in a timely manner. Content knowledge can also refer to financial safety standards or requirements and formats

for grant applications and so on. It might also refer to 'social content', such as who has what kind of network, or what is usually considered acceptable behaviour in which social circles (see also Salomon & Perkins, 1998). This type of knowledge is topic specific, and thus vital to certain situations but usually not widely applicable. After a period of strong focus on process knowledge, there is renewed interest in content knowledge in planning, as for example argued by Talen and Ellis (2002) in relation to 'good city form'.

Knowledge has also been categorised in other ways, such as by source (e.g. expert knowledge, 'lay' knowledge, community knowledge), or along its 'explicitness' (explicit vs tacit knowledge), among other possibilities (Asheim et al., 2007; Beebeejaun, 2017; Boyd et al., 2011; Natarajan, 2015; Stone et al., 2014). These distinctions can be made within both process and content knowledge when this is considered relevant. Many studies in planning have so far focused on how planners themselves learn, gain new knowledge, and/or avoid 'reinventing the wheel' (Baum, 1983; Peel & Lloyd, 2008; Schön, 1982). This could indicate that planners prefer to learn through non-social means. However, as Baum (1983, 1987) shows, interaction is key in the profession and tendencies show that social learning with non-planners will continue to play a significant role in planners' learning processes. In the current context of increasingly collaborative planning, this article suggests to give more attention to contributions from non-planners involved in planning practice and to their impact on social learning for all involved.

Types of social interaction and sub-types of learning

Social interaction is a necessary condition for social learning to occur. The frequency of interaction matters. However, the type of interaction also does. Interactions can be classified as verbal or non-verbal; formal or informal; mediated (e.g. through phones, emails, social media) or face-to-face; and more (see e.g. De Jaegher et al., 2010; Jiang et al., 2012; Williams, 1977). As shown in the map below (Figure 2.2.2), the verbal or non-verbal typology is a first-level classification identified within a certain moment of a second-level classification as formal or informal, mediated or face-to-face and so on. Uncovering differentiations between types of interaction leading to what outcomes in terms of social learning provides interesting insights for planning practice.

Learning has been categorised into five types (section 2.1). Here we divide each type of learning into four sub-types: confirming, disconfirming, changing (building) or indexing (see Argyris & Schön, 1978). This is important because social learning, far from assuming that people begin a learning process as blank slates, starts from the premise that there is existing knowledge in each individual from the start (see Tewdwr-Jones, 2002 for this in the case of planners). However, social learning is

not only about adding knowledge to one's own by getting it from or developing it with others (Salomon & Perkins, 1998). It is also about confirming what one already knows or expects, or disconfirming it, in some cases without immediately offering an alternative to what was assumed as known (D. Schön, 1982). Furthermore, it is possible that individuals identify a gap in their knowledge and choose not to fill it. Instead, they learn who knows. This is knowledge indexing: that is, learning who knows what, and so instead of learning what others already know, simply referring to them or asking them to provide context-specific advice based on their knowledge when needed.

To fully understand social learning in planning it is necessary to identify and map the sources of knowledge. This has important consequences for which individuals should be included where and when in different parts of the project. The actors who learn can belong to the same category as those who provide the knowledge (see section 2.2.1). For example, one planner might learn from another planner. At the same time, individuals from different (primary) categories – planners, developers, citizens – might learn amongst each other. The background of each individual, whichever categories they belong to, should be identified separately. It may be significant to a planning project what its participants learned from interaction with residents in an area slated for redevelopment, or from interaction with others in previous projects or in personal circles. Even if these aspects are not considered in the direct analysis of a case, it is crucial to be aware that the 'from whom' question can be partially explained, for example, by confirming knowledge based on interaction with people outside the immediate planning project's participants. For example, a business-owner might have had a previous experience with a planner that did not lead to a discussed result. He may now 'confirm' his knowledge that the planner of the project under study uses similar terms and acts in similar ways, and so decides that he also can't be trusted.

Several theories exist on who one is most likely to socially learn from. This is linked to *how* individuals socially learn, and to topics such as group dynamics. This largely goes beyond the scope of this paper, but we refer readers to authors such as Heyes (2016) who goes into depth on the different theories of how we choose who to learn from; Rand and Nowak (2013) who describe how collaboration is influenced by who we choose to interact with through different mechanisms; and Kalkstein and colleagues (2016) who show the impact of physical and psychological closeness. Knowing who a certain individual learns *from* is influential to the outcomes of a decision, and provides information for further analyses of social learning processes (e.g. at the group level).

2.3 Mapping social learning

Figure 2.2.2 maps one moment in a social learning process – the production of a readable map necessitates an artificially static representation, which we nevertheless consider useful. We integrate the above conceptual discussion by representing individual realms and the social realm through which their interaction occurs. The social realm can be mediated, for example, by the physical space in a room or through emails. The individuals have different backgrounds (indicated by the shading of their individual realms), representing the discussion on who learns. Their individual realms contain knowledge on process (circular figure) and content (squared figure), representing part of the discussion on what is learnt. Since knowledge can be under revision, from the start or after a social learning moment, such knowledge figures are outlined with dotted lines. The arrows represent interaction, either verbal (full arrow) or non-verbal (dotted arrow). The triangle represents a potential outcome of the social learning process (see T3). The social learning moment is divided into three parts: T1, in which the individuals take on a particular constellation among each other; T2, in which these individuals interact; and T3, in which an outcome can (but doesn't always) emerge. A planning project, or even one get-together for a planning project, can consist of thousands of these tripartite moments. In practice, these moments can be aggregated to increase feasibility (e.g. observing the kinds of social learning occurring during a one-hour formal meeting, and those occurring via email over a month). However, to understand the process of social learning, it is useful to be aware that it is composed of a large amount of small moments, as described below.

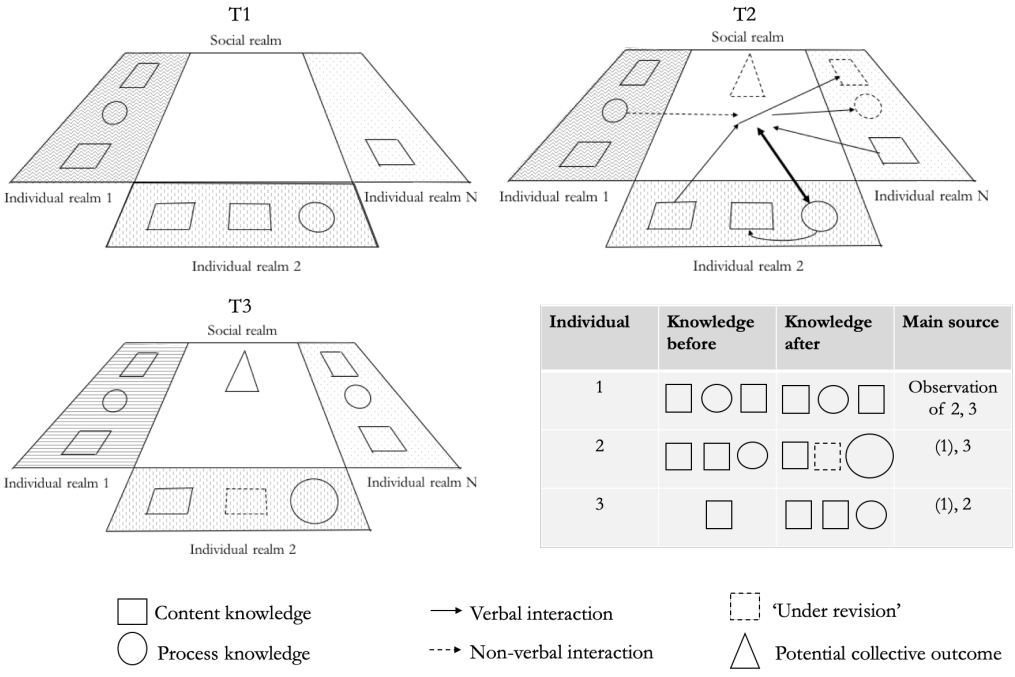


Figure 2.2.1 *Mapping a social learning moment (Source: authors)*

T1: Coming together

At T1 individuals 1, 2 and N[3] are not yet interacting, each harbouring potentially different knowledge (divided into content and process, see the different shapes) and personal characteristics, as represented by the differently shaded individual realms. They come together around a social realm, which is the space or medium through which they can share knowledge with each other through interaction. The social realm is potentially also accessible for N number of individuals. The potential collective outcome (triangle) does not always emerge, but can be, for example, a development plan, a physical object to be placed in a public space, or a formalized agreement. The potential collective outcome can also be accessed by others without the presence of the individuals that created it, albeit remaining subject to the newcomers' reinterpretation (for example, a created plan or policy document can be read and changed by others, but they might interpret it somewhat differently from those who were part of its production process).

T2: Interaction

At T2, the individuals begin interacting, and so each individual contributes to the social realm. A potential collective outcome (triangle) can emerge in the social realm, which is at least one of the subjects about which the interaction takes place. Individual 1 non-verbally contributes process-knowledge, for example through a relaxed posture and open observation that makes the others feel at ease. Individual 2 verbally contributes content and process knowledge, for example through discussion. Through this interaction she gains process knowledge, which induces her to reconsider some of her content knowledge (see shifts in knowledge figures in T2 in the figure). For example, by learning about the convincing nature of the interaction with individual N, individual 2 becomes more inclined to revise her knowledge on the value of temporary building solutions for the revaluation of public space. Individual N brings in content knowledge, and for example gains knowledge on the process of interacting with individuals 1 and 2 and on the content of proposed plans for a discussed area.

T3: Outcomes

At T3, the change in knowledge is represented by the solidifying shapes in the individual realms, and a slight change in the structure of individual 1's personal characteristics: he had only shared process knowledge, but through observation he had emotional reactions which changed his attitude to the plan or to others. For

[3] N is a representation of one individual, but indicating that there might be any number of additional individuals, each with their own social realm.

example, he may have become more or less genuinely interested and motivated for the plans discussed.

In this mapping process of a moment of social learning, change in knowledge is represented by a given shape increasing in size (knowledge confirmed), the emergence of new shapes (knowledge gained) or faded shapes (knowledge disconfirmed or unsettled, becoming 'under revision') in the individual realm. If, as the example shows, the triangle in the social realm solidifies, it can be seen as a collective outcome of a social learning moment, and can later be taken up again (e.g. a plan might be left to work on again another day). Each individual is likely to have their own interpretation of what the triangle represents to them, but there is enough overlap for it to be a collective entity outside the individual realm, which could be shared with another individual who might enter the social realm.

Table: Tallying outcomes

The table in the figure summarises what each individual learned, in terms of knowledge, through the interaction with the others. In a real-life example these would of course be specified in terms of their content, and thus also show the differences and similarities between different forms of content and process knowledge, which are left out in Figure 2.2.1 for the sake of clarity of the figure.

Overall, Figure 2.2.1 maps the process behind who learns what from whom, and qualifies what in some detail. It helps visualize the connections between the various elements of types of learning, knowledge and interactions as discussed above. By unpacking social learning through the mapping of particular moments of social learning, this concept's practical implications can be observed and understood. As noted before, the moments can be aggregated or selectively studied. Such a study becomes particularly valuable, as will be shown below, to acknowledge and understand the consequences of planning interactions for their outcomes and for future collaborations between actors. Below, we apply this map to analyse an example from planning practice, demonstrate how taking social learning as a lens to understand planning practice can be useful.

3. Methodology

We propose to illustrate and analyse social learning with a story of co-creative planning (as a form of collaborative planning) by applying the proposed map to it. Scholars increasingly recognize the value of storytelling for the development of a meaningful and convincing narrative that speaks to theory as well as practice. Here, we provide further clarifications of this method and how our analysis is constructed from empirical data collected by the authors.

3.1 Why storytelling?

Storytelling based on empirical data is a valuable method in bridging the gap between planning research and practice (Allison, 2014; de Neufville, 1979; Flyvbjerg, 2002; Forester, 1999; Girard & Lambert, 2007; Hoch, 2009; Saija et al., 2017; Sandercock, 2003; Schön, 1982). It is used to clarify a multiplicity of perspectives or to make data more accessible, among other aims. Crucially, this method allows an empirical discussion of a very delicate research topic, in which highly personal data is processed, and which it is hard to anonymise since the data is derived from small-scale and unique projects, where subject recognition is highly probable. Next to anonymising the data, we are bounded by ethical considerations to minimise possible harm to their reputation, careers, or future endeavours. This has led to our adoption of storytelling as a method.

3.2 Case selection

The case study is a typical case of co-creative and collaborative planning in the country of study, The Netherlands. It was selected for its relevance and potential for understanding social learning in planning. It involved a high level of interaction between a variety of stakeholders who came together in an unusual constellation. The progression of the case mirrors a consistent trend toward the use and propagation of co-creative, collaborative planning practices, as identified by various authors (Carlson, 2017; Rooij & Frank, 2016; Savini et al., 2014; URBAN NEXUS, 2015). There were actors of various backgrounds involved and interacting, including from government, local communities and businesses. Particular challenges for collaboration and learning were present. Social learning was *not* an explicit aim of the project; rather, it exemplified collaborative planning by engaging with other goals, such as the financial health of an area, and issues of safety and social inclusion. Through their engagement with these aims, it was possible to understand how social learning impacted, positively and/or negatively, their aims.

Given the discussions on who learns, the unit of analysis used in this article is the individual. Within the case, it was important to identify individuals that played a key role in the project. This was achieved through the mapping of actors and stakeholders based on interviews and informal conversations with those involved in the project or who had studied it before, and through preliminary desktop research of various websites, policy documents and previous studies. For feasibility purposes, the chosen case was relatively small in terms of the amount of people involved, so that a proportionally large sample of involved individuals could be interviewed, comprising all involved types of actors (government, businesses and other participants). To allow for relative anonymity, we refrain from a further description of the selection of individuals. In addition, the case is praised as a success of new planning practices and was concluded recently under much scrutiny.

Therefore, relatively recent and well documented secondary sources of data were accessible.

In the story below, we have altered some personal details (e.g. gender, age and names), and aggregated some actors into one, while separating others, to ensure anonymity and therefore avoid that any individuals might identify themselves or others in this article. Thus, some characters in the story are fictional, but representative amalgamations of individuals in the case. The alterations are, of course, only made when they do not infringe on analysis or findings.

3.3 Data collection

Data collection included multiple in-depth semi-structured interviews with seven key stakeholders, who were involved with the project in different ways. The selection of respondents was made through seeking mentions of key experts or gatekeepers in policy documents or previous research and subsequently through snowballing. Saturation was reached when no new actor was mentioned or found. Policy documents and various media produced by and about the project over its lifespan provided a reconstruction of the project history and timeline. The author also attended meetings and events and collected observations of various interactions. The project had an end date which impeded participation in further meetings. Some potential respondents refused to be interviewed because they thought they had given enough time to the project, and that it had been sufficiently researched. Certain respondents were adamant on complete anonymity due to their controversial opinions. Research was conducted close to the end of the project's life-span, which had the advantage of providing information on prior and current time-periods, and on the social learning effects after the project. Therefore, some otherwise avoided limitations were considered acceptable.

3.4 Data analysis and processing

Data was analysed based on the theoretical discussion on who learns what from whom. All collected resources (interviews, documents, media) were qualitatively analysed with Atlas.ti. The systematic approach included applying the same codes to all resources to ensure internal validity, looking for the different types of learning, knowledge and interaction per individual and information on who and through what interaction they learned. Non-interactive (and thus non-social) forms of learning were disregarded unless they were connected (i.e. cognitive learning related to social learning, see section 2.1), in which case this was noted separately. The coding results were summarised in Excel. Secondary documents such as media coverage and previous academic studies of the project were used to validate the qualitative data analysis results. A basic social network analysis (whole network) (see

Carrington & Scott, 2011) was conducted to create an overview of which actors were connected and how.

Specific findings concerning each studied variable (content knowledge and process knowledge; individual characteristics; verbal- and non-verbal interaction; confirming, disconfirming and building knowledge and so on) structured which stories are presented. The stories are chosen based on how well they exemplify more general trends of social learning. They give examples of how the map of social learning as discussed can provide crucial insights for planning practice. Although they are not exaggerations, we do prioritise the stronger or more extreme examples (i.e. where conflicts or outcomes occur, and where surprising results in terms of positive as well as negative outcomes of social learning occur), as they convey the most interesting findings for this research.

4. Illustrating who learns what from whom in planning practice

4.1 The Story: setting the scene

The setting of the story is a key redevelopment area close to the centre of an old industrial, medium-sized, western-European (Dutch) city. The general aim of the project was the urban transformation of a neglected brownfield site to increase the economic value of the surroundings. The site is one of the few remaining urban expansion sites within city boundaries. The redevelopment in question remained stalled for over ten years due to economic recession, resulting in decreasing social safety for the surroundings related to visible building deterioration and on-street drug use, among other things. This resulted in loss of clientele for surrounding businesses and avoidance of the area. This is phase 0 in the project.

In phase 1, Megan and George[4], who are business-owners living and working in the area, had the idea of co-creating a new mixed housing and leisure development in the old industrial buildings on the site (below we also call these actors the 'initiators'; see Table 1 for an overview of all actors appearing in the story). They had specific knowledge about the area as residents and entrepreneurs. They felt they needed practical ideas and political connections to make their plan feasible. They pitched their idea at a local government event starting the next phase.

In phase 2, new actors joined the initiator group, including one engineer (Carl) and one artist (Tom). Knowledge was exchanged and discussed between the initiators and a few local government planners (Linda and Sjoerd). The planners, representing the city as the main government actors, were interested and saw this as a chance to

[4] All names are fictitious for the sake of anonymity

solve the stalled development of the area. Additionally, the experimental nature of the proposed project could provide inspiration and spin-offs for similar stalled developments in the city. In this phase, then, the initiators mobilised their own social networks and local government via the planners to arrange funding to kick-start the redevelopment efforts. The funding was finally attained through various subsidies and grants from various governmental levels.

Subsequently, in phase 3, as funding options and plans became more concrete, management tasks became more complex. The initiators experienced challenges in implementation of their plans, operating in arenas relatively foreign to their own backgrounds and roles. The local government then chose to employ an external manager as implementer (Laura).

Laura's role marks phase 4 of the project. She had career experience in redeveloping existing structures for alternative uses and had experience dealing with various local and regional governmental actors from previous jobs. She was considered a helpful addition for the project by the local government and one of the initiators. She was authorised to gather a team of her own choosing to implement the project. This was considered necessary because Megan and George had been pulling a lot of weight for the project and felt they needed to focus on other activities. The local government felt comfortable giving this kind of responsibility to the relatively well-known Laura. Laura then recruited Thijs, Albert, and Melanie as implementers. She received full-time remuneration from the projects' funding. Thijs, Albert, and Melanie were paid on an hourly basis as and when needed. One of the main goals of this implementation group led by Laura, was to make the area attractive by sharing insights about the redevelopment process and collaboration experiences locally and with other cities nationally and internationally.

During phase 5, the wrap-up of the project and the life of the space after the project, shows that the space is now marketed as a novel way to redevelop an attractive and liveable mixed-use neighbourhood. Most of the temporary uses dreamt up by the initiators that gave the site its added value were eventually removed, and the originally contracted developers resumed their work in the area again, with different plans.

Overall, the project's actors developed different perceptions of the level of success of the project. The quick sale of new residential units measured success to some. The initiators from phase 1 and 2 saw success in terms of increased land values, but were somewhat disappointed that the final development lacked creative stimulation. This meant fewer financial returns than they had hoped for. At least two of them felt it could have brought more contrast to 'business-as-usual' development in the

local context. From the local government perspective, the national and international attention, and increases in land values made the project a great success. To Laura and her team, the project was a good addition to their career track record, seen as a good experience, and impacted their social networks mostly positively.

Table 2.2.1. *Overview of actors involved in the planning process (anonymised; overview by authors)*

Actor	Core Background	Role	Phases involved
Megan	Commerce	Initiator	Phase 1 and 2; less in phases 3-5
George	Commerce	Initiator	Phase 1 and 2 mainly
Carl	Engineering	Early supporter	Phase 2 mainly
Tom	Art	Early supporter	Phase 2, 3, 4, less in 5
Linda	Planning	Government	Phases 1-5
Sjoerd	Planning	Government	Phases 1-5
Laura	Management	Remunerated implementer	Phases 4 and 5
Thijs	Planning	Implementer	Phases 4 and 5
Albert	Communications	Implementer	Phases 4 and 5
Melanie	Creative business management	Implementer	Phases 4 and 5

4.2 Who learns…?

The actors presented above were involved based on their motivations for the site. Most have not taken part in conventional planning processes other than as users. In a co-creative collaborative planning process, they lead as initiators, supporters or implementers. Phases 1 and 2 involved self-selected participants, who ascribed themselves their roles (see table 2.2.1). Phases 3-5 involved more prescribed roles, defined by local government planners and by an external manager and implementer. These actors then each contributed from their individual realm to the shared social realm of the project (see Figure 2.2.2 and discussion in the next section for an example of an interaction between four of the individuals). The roles shown in Table 2.2.1 give an idea of the kinds of knowledge each individual brought in, although their backgrounds were more complex. For example, an expert in commerce also had a planning background, and a government planner had previous pedagogical training and experience. These background complexities, though not immediately relevant, did influence how these individuals understood the planning process, and the way they interacted with each other.

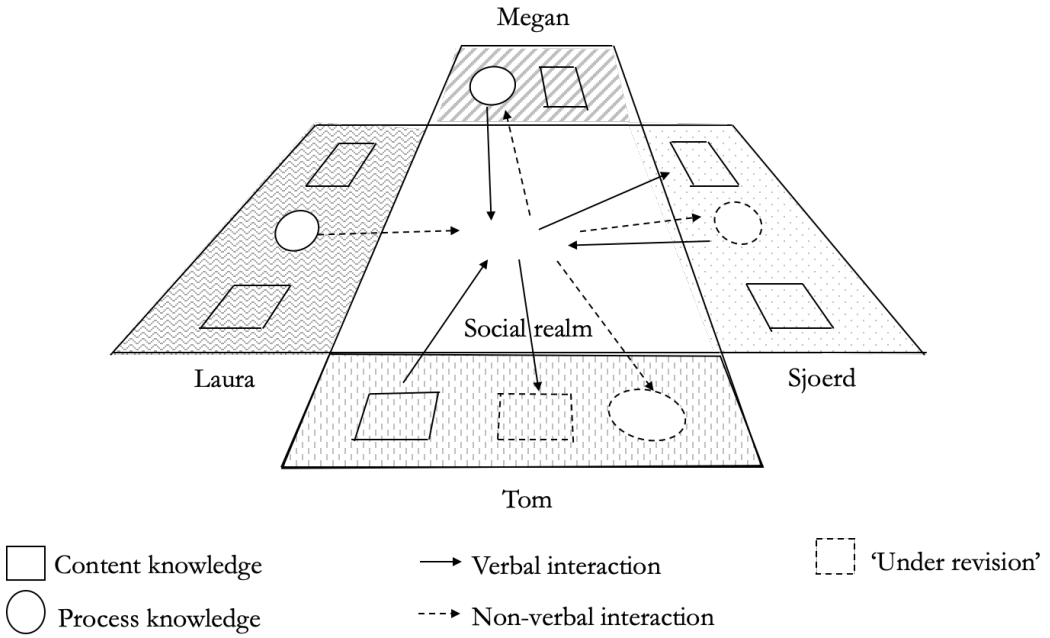


Figure 2.2.2. *Map of social learning between actors in story, T2 of one moment of interaction (source: authors; refer also to Figure 2.2.1)*

4.3 …What…?

Zooming in on the interactions and what they led to in terms of social learning – specifically, who learns *what* from whom – a key finding is that each group employed very different methods of knowledge exchange and management. First, the initiators Megan and George devised the project together and used their existing process and content knowledge in the small-scale business sector to build joint knowledge for a novel redevelopment plan involving art and temporary use. They also jointly figured out who to approach in government and where to get funding, what kind of redevelopment would be possible with which materials, etc. When they lacked expertise, they activated their social network to gain the missing knowledge, such as involving Carl and Tom for creativity and practical know-how, and later Linda and Sjoerd for governmental collaboration. Social learning was, and especially fruitful in this example, as all actors gained new knowledge or connections for knowledge indexing.

Mapping one single moment of interaction (see Figure 2.2.2) shows other insights of social learning in this group of initiators, supporters and implementers. Please note that this moment is reconstructed based on a variety of insights from different interviewees, and may carry subjective biases. Although not an exact replication of what happened, the multiple perspectives and views are triangulated.

Joining in a face-to-face meeting in the beginning of phase 4 – in which the project moved from ideation to implementation – Megan, Tom, Sjoerd and Laura discussed the practicalities involved to reach implementation. Laura, hired to implement, was confident that she knew what there was to know, and had discussed plans with Sjoerd and others at the government prior to the meeting. Allegedly, she leaned back throughout the meeting and listened with moderate interest to what the others were discussing. She observed Tom, and felt that the situation confirmed her perception about how artistically oriented people could not be taken seriously for business purposes. Tom, from his perspective, was keen on sharing his content knowledge about what he wanted to do on the site. He had alternative ideas about how the process should go, but was prepared to see how things would unfold, building his process knowledge along the way. He perceived Laura as arrogant and problematic, and felt this confirmed his previous (negative) knowledge about 'managers'. Sjoerd and Megan contributed both process and content knowledge from previous experiences in planning and commerce. They discussed practicalities (i.e. what kind of permits might be necessary, and who would be responsible for safety in the area) and were happy that Laura paid attention and seemed confident. For Tom, this interaction was unsatisfactory; he perceived it as the government clinging onto business-as-usual approaches and reverting to their usual methods, based on Sjoerd's actions and Laura's confirmation of expectations. Megan was more understanding in this regard, as she could empathise (through her own commercial activities) with the implementer's and the government's hesitation in the face of lack of predictability.

The starting points of each actor involved in this interaction differed greatly. This affected how they perceived each other, interacted, and eventually the outcome (plan). Although some building and activity experimentation were allowed, many of the formalities and the amount of involvement by government or actors hired through the government returned to business-as-usual models. For Tom and similar actors, this was a disappointment and a confirmation of negative expectations of government (and related) actors. His personal experiences had positioned government actors as adversaries. For Sjoerd, representing government actors, the project was considered quite experimental. Laura perceived the outcome as positive, since it was close to what she did in her previous work and conformed to the usual policy processes. Megan was satisfied with the outcome as a logical development from idea to implementation, that still gave her enough room for improving the area to an extent that benefitted her commercial activities.

Many other moments could be mapped just like Figure 2.2.2, and they would give a variety of insights. Nevertheless, the above is a representative example of the different positions that were taken, and the ways in which knowledge, skills and

experiences were shared and developed through that interaction (i.e. the way social learning occurred). Another important finding in the project, however, is related to the impact of lack of interaction. Laura's team of implementers, for example, worked mostly independently of one another as freelancers. Most of them kept face-to-face interaction with each other and the initiators and supporters to a minimum. Instead, they conducted most work from their own office despite being located at small distances within the same city. Knowledge was only exchanged when considered strictly necessary, which was infrequent. These freelance implementers ended up using social interactions to confirm their existing knowledge and were not looking to exchange or build knowledge. Reasons mentioned included lack of motivation to do so, lack of urgency, and focus on their freelance work that led them to want to develop more in their personal field than that of the project as a whole. This worked efficiently for the management of implementation, but did not generate especially creative solutions and did not contribute to building new knowledge at the individual level through social interaction. The implementers mentioned that what they learned from the project was mainly through their own experiences through action or through cognitive learning. *Social* learning among actors co-creating within this project led mainly to confirmation of knowledge or to the reinforcement of conflicts and tensions.

4.4 …From whom?

In this case study, each individual had different expectations of what the project should deliver in terms of knowledge, when and for whom. They brought with them assumptions about who they would learn what from. The initiators wanted to improve their own business through the improvement of the neighbourhood, and were open to learning about how to do this from anyone willing to act (e.g. creatives, government, builders, developers). Carl and Tom wanted to develop their knowledge through collaboration and experimentation, hoping to create a new commercial product. Laura expected payment for her knowledge and experience. The other implementers looked for experience through collaboration and experimentation, but especially expected the project to lead to a better image for the neighbourhood and city in the context of the country and internationally. They did not see interaction with other actors as part of their role. This culminated in a mismatch of expectations, seen if we compare those of the initiators, supporters, and implementers. These expectations were never made explicit or discussed, so this mismatch led to tensions between actors in some moments, and to the delegation of knowledge management in others (e.g. the freelancers not learning everything themselves but indexing their knowledge (see section 2.2.2)). This means that limited interaction and therefore very little social learning took place between the initiators and implementers, for example – which they saw as particularly effective. Laura and Tom developed conflicting narratives about and with each

other, leading to process knowledge with a negative connotation. They continued to interact but found whatever the other said inaccurate or useless. These are also forms of social learning.

5. Discussion

The map of social learning (see Figure 2.2.1 and 2.2.2) facilitates the disentangling and uncovering of who learns what from whom. This allows both positive and negative outcomes based on different social learning processes to be understood, nuanced, and potentially used to help achieve certain goals. It helps demonstrate that social learning is not always the key to what is perceived as a successful outcome. Through social learning, Tom for example begins to perceive what others celebrate as a successful development, as a negative experience and a disappointing outcome, through which his preconceptions about local government and managers were reinforced. His knowledge, expertise and personal characteristics were meaningful for how he perceived these interactions. This is exemplary for the 'who learns' element of social learning.

Furthermore, the story shows that using social learning as an analytical lens can help identify how expectations evolve and change, uncovering mismatches in expectations, and their influence on whether knowledge is exchanged between which individuals, and what that knowledge is. For example, Tom was less likely to reach his expectations when Laura held more power during implementation and could choose not to heed Tom's demand for more alternative forms of development. Likewise, Tom's negative perception of Laura and vice-versa also meant that neither would engage in constructive knowledge exchange with the other. The dissonance between Tom and Laura meant a breakdown of the potential for transferring both content and process knowledge, though this might have led to compromise or to a more inclusive outcome. This became significant for how the project reverted to more conventional development plans during its implementation and especially after its wrap-up. The lack of sharing or understanding for certain process knowledge – the 'what' and 'from whom' – such as the impact of one's own and others' emotions and expectations significantly affected the collaborative process and outcomes.

There are two possible ways to interpret this social learning process. The taken approach may have led the project to achieve conventional success (e.g. increasing land values in the area of the project), since the engagement of more alternative and experimental propositions from Carl and Tom could have led to riskier but more creatively valuable implementations, or no implementation at all. Alternatively, this might have limited the success or effect of the project for socio-economic improvement of the area for the creative sector. Conversely, the story also shows

that significant parts of the project functioned through and benefited from non-social forms of learning. For example, the interactions between Laura and her implementing team in phases 4 and 5 show that it was efficient for them to focus less on social learning and rely instead on solitary cognitive learning. They reverted to this form as it had served them well in the past and they were not focused on creating social interactions or learning together. Their efforts were considered successful by the government and one of the initiators.

It is unlikely that an individual learns nothing at all through social interaction, as shown by the impact of the expectation mismatch between Laura and Tom, or the way in which Laura's team learned to divide their tasks even though their focus was not on social learning. Here, one should be aware that when social learning is set as an explicit agenda, the process can become a self-fulfilling prophecy (social learning does happen when people are brought together) wherein superfluous interactions are encouraged to the detriment of the outcomes. Individuals will indeed learn, but what? For example, social learning can lead to increased understanding of other actors' perspectives, but can also reinforce existing prejudices. Instead, if the focus is on what is learnt, and the planner and scholar observe the social learning process, this might help uncover which forms of social interaction and knowledge exchange might be best suited for a goal at hand. The case, as told through the story and mapping tools, confirms that 'what' one socially learns is dependent on 'who learns', and 'from whom' (linking back, for example, to Wolman & Page, 2002, as well as to many authors from psychology discussed in section 2) and shows how this process can be better understood.

6. Conclusion

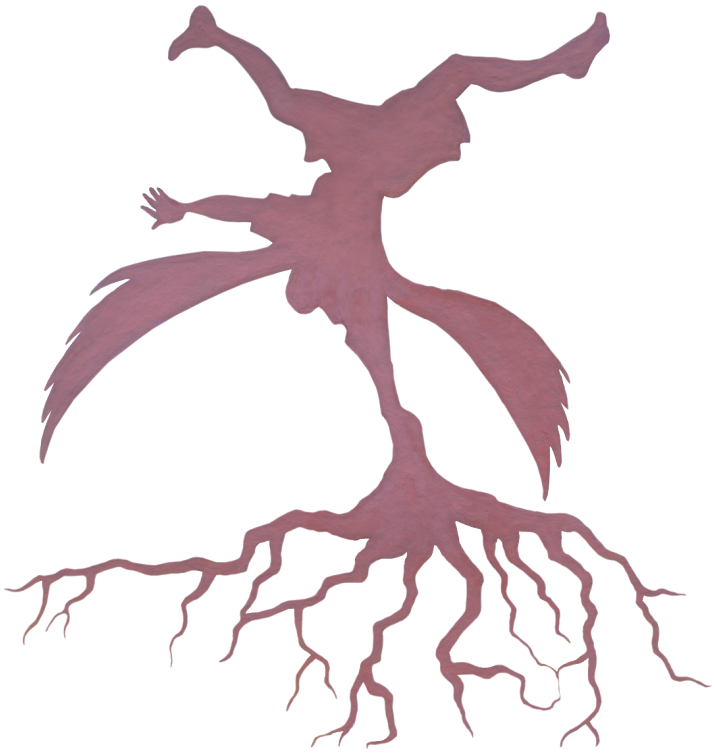
Unilateral planning practices have become virtually impossible to sustain. Therefore, social learning is a key process to understand planning practice. Within the planning discipline, social learning is commonly perceived as contributing to desirable outcomes. By unpacking how social learning functions at individual and small group levels, this article emphasises the importance of considering the possibility for both positive and negative outcomes. This provides an enlightening lens to analyse planning practice, with the aid of typologies and elements to consider when studying social learning.

Approaching social learning by asking 'who learns', 'what' and 'from whom' we propose a way to map moments of social learning and through that, a psychology-inspired methodology for studying it. We represent the individual and their realm through existing knowledge and personal characteristics ('who learns'). Then, the type of knowledge exchanged and the types of social interactions and subtypes of learning ('what') are shown through the interactions and outcomes in the social

realm. This view also allows tracing where a particular impact on knowledge originated ('from whom'). Overall, findings highlight that while planning practice sees individuals based mostly on their primary roles, planners need to be mindful of individual backgrounds and motivations, and how combinations of these can lead to a large variety of outcomes in terms of the planning and learning outcomes.

Applying the map to a typical case of co-creative (as a form of collaborative) planning, where variety in actors is encouraged and expected, recommends social learning as a key lens through which to understand planning processes. Consciously untangling the interactions and moments at the level of individuals provides insights that might be missed if social learning was enforced via policy agendas. For example, that in later phases a lack of social learning allowed for very efficient implementation. By studying who brings what knowledge to a planning process, and who exchanges what with whom, we can uncover what makes certain projects 'successful' from whose perspective, and what can impede such 'success'. This lens complements existing approaches to understand power structures, institutional change and learning. Contributions from psychology are key here. A crucial caveat is that such an approach does not work if social learning is understood as intrinsically 'good', as it reinforces a false image of the fruitfulness of, for example, collaboration, co-creation and incremental development – and obscures what can indeed be meaningful positive sides to these processes and to social learning.

This article makes a two-fold contribution by i) providing ways to map social learning and using it as a lens to understand collaborative and co-creative planning practices and ii) employing the storytelling method for dealing with sensitive cases where anonymity is important. The narration and abstraction from processes, actors and events helps to focus on the process and the significance of individuals and their interactions. It also makes unique cases and scientific analysis more accessible and relatable for practitioners, and makes it easier to show failure without shaming particular individuals or projects. Future research could test the application of this method further. We also propose that future research apply the provided map to further develop the understanding of social learning in planning.



Section 3.

Empirical Roots for Inspired Wings. Social Learning in Large and Small Participatory Planning – Contributions to Change?

This section asks **how, if social learning does not lead to change as easily as previously presupposed, it can/does nevertheless impact change** in the context of planning (research objective 2). The section explores this subject through two contributions. First, the study of turning points and critical junctures in the context of a small-scale neighbourhood initiatives' pre-implementation lifecycle, showing how social learning contributes to endurance and implementation. Second, the study of how social learning contributes to framing dynamics in contested planning contexts. The section shows that social learning does contribute to both change and the status-quo, but also hints that taking both results together is 'where the magic happens', as is discussed further in the concluding Chapter of this dissertation (Section 4).

This section discusses how social learning can lead to change without presupposing which change it should be, as it employs the concept of social learning analytically (Chapters 3.1 and 3.2). However, the author has also sought out to engage more normatively with which changes may be desirable, for whom, and why (see Ferreira & von Schönfeld, 2020 on degrowth; von Schönfeld & Bertolini, 2017 on the flexible use of streets as public spaces; and to some extent also van den Brandeler et al., 2014 on inclusion through participation). It would be a worthwhile endeavour to analytically research how social learning evolves surrounding those subjects in particular – again, keeping in mind that, as shown in this section as well, applying social learning through an analytical rather than instrumental lens is important (see previous section and the dissertation's conclusion). On a different note, however, it can be argued that it is worthwhile to keep in mind that change is not in itself desirable (for example, there are always winners and losers depending on who determines the change). Debate about the content of change is urgently needed, and normative goals such as degrowth can benefit from a mix of continuity, historical retrieval and innovation, rather than chiefly the latter (see Ferreira et al., 2020; von Schönfeld & Ferreira, 2021; von Schönfeld & Tan, 2019b). In this section, a first exploration into how an analytical perspective on social learning can highlight how change occurs is explored.

Chapter 3.1.

Endurance and implementation in small-scale bottom-up initiatives: how social learning contributes to turning points and critical junctures

Submitted[1] *(co-author Dr. Wendy Tan)*

Abstract
This article studies how social learning can contribute to change, by applying the concepts of turning points and critical junctures to the pre-implementation lifecycles of small-scale bottom-up initiatives. It proposes that turning points, which have a relatively small immediate impact, and critical junctures, which have larger, more visible and more immediate effects, should both be considered crucial to the pre-implementation lifecycle of such initiatives and their capacity to endure and act towards implementation. It shows how social learning contributes to turning points as well as critical junctures (and 'near misses') by, for example, turning frustrations into spite, which fuels endurance and eventually implementation; or by allowing long-term endurance to make at first rejected possibilities become acceptable. The emerging turning points, near misses and critical junctures each play relevant roles for endurance and implementation dynamics. These findings highlight the importance of a more differentiated approach to bottom-up initiatives (including those not yet implemented) in urban planning and urban studies, recognizing their struggles for implementation, as well as the potentials and hurdles that social learning processes can provide therein. To support this differentiated approach, a micro-level application of the concepts of turning points and critical junctures is shown to provide a useful lens, especially when considered in conjunction.

Keywords
Social Learning; Critical Junctures; Turning Points; Endurance; Implementation; Bottom-up

[1] Please note that the section numbering and referencing within Chapters refer to the same Chapter and not to the sections in the dissertation as a whole. Figure and Table numbering has been adjusted throughout to be unique throughout the dissertation.

Caricature of the finding that frustration leads to learning, by Suus van den Akker, 2020

1. Introduction

Small-scale initiatives seeking to contribute to improvements at the neighbourhood level often emerge 'bottom-up', that is, led and motivated by local citizen initiative rather than by 'top-down' governmental action. This process has been studied in terms of 'self-organization' (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011; Hasanov & Zuidema, 2018), 'bottom-up initiatives' and 'grassroots innovation' (Edelenbos et al., 2017; Elwood, 2002; Ross et al., 2012), among others. Both high hopes and strong criticisms have developed in relation to such initiatives, especially in relation to, on the one hand, their empowerment potential (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011; De Dreu et al., 2011; Hasanov et al., 2019; Ross et al., 2012) and on the other hand the responsibilization of citizens[2] (Bailey & Pill, 2011; Mees et al., 2019; Nederhand et al., 2016; Zandbergen & Jaffe, 2014) and the neoliberalization that can be a consequence of relying on such emergent planning (Elwood, 2002; Parker et al., 2015; Savini, 2016). Whichever evaluation is made however, such initiatives emerge frequently and often have important consequences for urban development and for the involvement of citizens in urban planning and development. Although these initiatives have therefore been studied extensively, at least one important element remains understudied: the process by which social learning and crucial events or time-periods impact their capability to endure and break through to implementation.

Social learning is the process of gaining, confirming, disconfirming or indexing knowledge, skills or experience through interaction between two or more individuals (von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, & Janssen-Jansen, 2019). Social interaction is key in the development and implementation of all kinds of urban (and regional) initiatives – for example when inspiration is sought in verbal exchanges to identify and solve a societal problem, when work is decided upon and divided to implement ideas, and when financial, managerial and other support is sought from governmental-, land-owner- or similar stakeholders. This interaction invariably triggers social learning processes, which can strengthen social ties (Borgatti & Cross, 2003; Mandarano, 2009), but also weaken them through emerging tensions (von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, & Janssen-Jansen, 2019; von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, Salet, et al., 2019); it can create inspiration for or dissuade from (future) participation in the public domain, and so on. Existing literature has shown that social learning often reinforces the status quo rather than leading to change (von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, & Janssen-Jansen, 2019). However, too little is yet known about how this process impacts change in the areas of planning and urban studies.

[2] Responsibilization of citizens referring to the process of placing responsibility on citizens that used to lay on the state, a process that several authors have argued is highly problematic in terms of social justice, equal opportunities and other issues (Zandbergen & Jaffe, 2014).

This article seeks to address this knowledge gap by conceptually and empirically exploring the relationships between social learning and the dynamics of endurance and change (specifically, implementation versus discontinuation) in bottom-up initiatives. To do so, the article employs a psychology-based understanding of social learning and a conceptualization of change through turning points and critical junctures. Two key problem statements structure the article. First, that social learning landscapes and dynamics within initiative groups constitute an important contribution to *critical antecedents* (Rinscheid et al., 2019), which enable or constrain the occurrence of critical junctures, and the direction these take. This contribution has been insufficiently recognized in the way that bottom-up initiatives are treated in planning and urban studies. Second, that several small events – which can be conceptualized as turning points that do not materialize into full critical junctures – are nevertheless important for the endurance-implementation nexus dominating the lifecycle of bottom-up initiatives – much more so than the literature on change in planning and urban studies suggests (see e.g. Buitelaar et al., 2007).

To address this topic, a conceptual exploration is followed by an empirical case-study of a bottom-up initiative in Groningen, the Netherlands. The case study, Vinkmobiel, was ideated as a mobility solution for isolated elderly and other less mobile groups in a neighbourhood with a relatively large population suffering from the consequences of isolation. It is a small-scale neighbourhood initiative that emerged in 2016 and went through many phases of near- or even full discontinuation, but repeatedly returned to an endurance standpoint, and eventually pushed through to implementation. The case was followed through participant observation between 2016 and 2018; in-depth individual interviews served to deepen understanding of learning processes and perceived turning points and critical junctures.

The article is structured as follows. The next section discusses the theoretical framework constituted by the relationship between social learning on the one hand and turning points and critical junctures on the other. This is followed by the introduction of the case study presentation and then of the research methods. Next, the findings are presented and discussed. A concluding section outlines policy and planning recommendations and avenues for further research.

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of this article consists of three parts. The first explores social learning in relation to small-scale bottom-up initiatives; the second defines critical junctures, near misses and turning points. Finally, the third part shows the relations between the former two theoretical building blocks, presenting the conceptual framework guiding the remainder of the article.

2.1 Social learning and small-scale bottom-up initiatives

As psychological studies highlight, humans learn continuously throughout their lives, through experience, experimentation, reading, observation and interaction. Many observations and all interaction require social environments, and when such social environments present themselves, learning will occur – whether consciously or unconsciously. This article focuses on the lessons people draw from such social settings: *social learning* – i.e. that which is learnt from interaction between two or more individuals or groups, which can take the shape of experience, skills or knowledge, and which can entail a gaining, confirmation, disconfirmation or 'indexation' thereof (see for more details von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, Salet, et al., 2019). In planning and the shaping of urban (and regional) environments, social interaction is crucial to 'get things done' – through negotiations, for inspiration, collaboration, or even in disagreement and contestation (Allmendiger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Forester, 1999; Healey, 2003; Mandarano, 2009; von Schönfeld et al., 2019). Though this might seem obvious, a number of important consequences of this process are often overlooked: namely social learning landscapes which extend in time and content beyond the particular event in which interactions are being experienced, and personal and group dynamics that emerge from a combination of these pre-established landscapes with preconceptions and expectations of those a person interacts with (von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, & Janssen-Jansen, 2019). Each individual brings a personal path-dependency with them, blending consciously or subconsciously with those of others in a group to create a complex web that can in many ways determine the pathway that a neighbourhood initiative takes. These factors can then lead to specific consequences and path-dependencies for future citizen engagement (e.g. encouraging or discouraging participation, or a certain type of attitude in or expectation of participation or in actions undertaken). These factors highlight tacit knowledge and intangible group dynamics, but they also apply to specific content and process knowledge, which is crucial for citizens to be able to impact and 'co-create' their environments (see e.g. the current crucial effect of entrepreneurial knowledge for acceptance and implementation in urban planning, as discussed by Stapper and Duyvendak (2020)).

In many ways, social learning thus leads to the reinforcement of the status quo, and to confirming knowledge, as one is more likely to confirm one's beliefs than to challenge them. Conditions for challenging one's beliefs are not necessarily there or chosen when interacting to create a bottom-up initiative (Rinscheid et al., 2019; von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, & Janssen-Jansen, 2019). But change does happen, also through social learning. How? A frequent contention is that contact between people that are very different will lead to challenging one's thinking (Forester, 1999; Johannessen & Mostert, 2020), but others show that this *can* also have the opposite

effect (von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, & Janssen-Jansen, 2019). It seems necessary to have more or other conditions in place for social learning to contribute to change. This article hypothesises that in the case of bottom-up initiatives, these dynamics of both reinforcing and challenging the status quo through social learning can be crucial for whether an initiative endures, is discontinued or is (eventually) implemented[3]. That is, when social learning reinforces the status quo, it can allow initiatives to be implemented quickly if their knowledge is well aligned with the formal structures within which the implementation is meant to take place (e.g. entrepreneurial knowledge and an understanding of governmental priorities and processes; see also Stapper and Duyvendak (2020)). When existing knowledge among agents in an initiative is not aligned in this way with the needed context, then this knowledge either needs to be gained from beyond the initiative, or other knowledge that can challenge the status quo is needed. How this can happen can be explored by studying turning points and critical junctures and how these are perceived by the involved agents. The article therefore now turns to defining these concepts.

2.2 Turning points, near misses and critical junctures

Critical junctures (CJ) are "relatively short periods of time during which there is a substantially heightened probability that agents' choices will affect the outcome of interest" (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007, p. 348). Critical junctures are usually understood in relation to path dependency – a critical juncture will set into motion a relatively long period in which the relatively large amount of choices that were available before and during the critical juncture are no longer simply accessible (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007; Sorensen, 2015a). Though critical junctures should not be equated with change, since they may also end up resulting in a re-establishment or re-enforcement of the status-quo, they are periods in which change is more likely to occur than during 'normal' times (see Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007).

Critical junctures have been used synonymously with 'turning points', but in this article these two concepts are treated as different in a crucial way. Turning points (TP) are here understood as relatively short periods of time during which there is a high probability that agents' choices will affect the outcome of interest, but which have a relatively small impact compared to critical junctures. A CJ then is always also a TP, but a TP does not always turn into (or contribute to) a specific CJ. This differentiation highlights an important hypothesis explored in this article: from the perspective of small-scale neighbourhood initiatives, the difference and relationship

[3] Note that bottom-up initiatives that emerge spontaneously from a perceived problem or need are intent on enduring until implementation is met, which means that usually they will not easily choose discontinuation.

between small-impact (turning points) and big-impact (critical junctures) events or time-periods, can be very important for the dynamics of endurance and implementation. This is akin to studying 'critical antecedents' (see Rinscheid et al., 2019), but highlights a more interwoven relationship between TPs and CJs, also in terms of timing (TPs do not always precede a CJ and thus impact the CJ, but there are mutual relationships between TPs and CJs following each-other). In turn, social learning is hypothesized to have a particular relationship with whether an event or time-period is a Turning Point or Critical Juncture in this sense.

Furthermore, this article applies the differentiation between Candidate Junctures, Critical Junctures and 'Near Misses' (see Rinscheid et al., 2019). As noted by Capoccia and Kelemen (2007, p. 351), "if change was possible and plausible, considered and ultimately rejected in a situation of high uncertainty, then there is no reason to discard these cases as 'non-critical' junctures". These are called 'Near Misses' (NMs). Importantly, there are nevertheless time-periods which might appear to be CJs at first, but afterwards are demonstrably part of the continuation of an existing path-dependency. This highlights a differentiation between expected and unexpected TPs, NMs and CJs. This article goes on to show that it matters whether there is the perception that a particular time constitutes a CJ, in which case agents may behave differently during a 'candidate juncture' than when they perceive their position and actions to fit within 'business as usual'. A CJ identified with hindsight but unexpected as it happened can only be assessed as such after the juncture has passed. The underlying assumption is that if one expects a CJ to occur, one might act – and learn – differently from when one expressly does not. For an overview, a glossary of the key terms is provided in Annex 1.

It is important to note that this article applies the concepts of Critical Junctures and Turning Points to a somewhat unusual context: most existing literature on Critical Junctures applies it at the level of countries and emphasizes macro-level change (as in politics and policy analysis as well as in planning (e.g. Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007; Hogan & Doyle, 2007; Rinscheid et al., 2019; Sorensen, 2018)); Turning Points are mainly studied in psychology to analyse life stories of individuals (e.g. Sutin et al., 2010) (see also organizational studies, e.g. Erbert et al., 2005, which also provide important input for conceptualizing Turning Points, but which need to be cosidered at yet another analytical level from that used in psychology or in political studies). In both cases, a postdictive perspective is the norm (i.e. they are identified with hindsight rather than before or during their occurrence; for a significant exception see Hogan and Doyle (2007)). Crucially, this article seeks parallels with both of these literatures, but applies the concepts to bottom-up initiatives and their path toward implementation, or their lifecycle before implementation. Underpinning this choice are two key assumptions:

- that bottom-up initiatives depend on personal and group dynamics akin to those experienced by individuals and small groups as studied in the discipline of psychology, and which allow interesting parallels with the ideas of Turning Points from psychology.
- that many of the key characteristics of Critical Junctures and path-dependency apply to bottom-up initiatives' lifecycles, especially in their phase up to implementation. Here, phases of relatively rapid change are followed by a path-dependent phase which, if it doesn't lead immediately to implementation, needs to be followed by a(nother) Critical Juncture before hopes for implementation can resurge and implementation might occur. The lifecycles of bottom-up initiatives thus oscillate between times of insecurity and (major) decision-making, and times of acting out the consequences of previous Critical Junctures without creating further deep-seated change. The time-scale is therefore *proportionally* similar to historical institutionalist analysis, although the factual time-frame is much smaller. Importantly, however, Critical Junctures are likely to occur more frequently at this smaller scale, only because what would constitute a small impact at a large scale can constitute a very significant impact in terms of path-dependency at the scale of an initiative. CJs are identified at any level, however, as by Cappocia and Kelemen, in terms of their relative large number of options for change, and their marking a 'point of no return' in which those opportunities are not simply available again.

This article hypothesises that TPs can be as important as CJs in bottom-up initiatives' struggle towards implementation. Most literature discussing CJs in politics and planning focuses on large-scale change (e.g. Buitelaar et al., 2007; Hogan & Doyle, 2007; Rinscheid et al., 2019; Sorensen, 2015a, 2015b, 2018). The alternative is seen as 'incremental change' (see e.g. Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007; Hogan & Doyle, 2007; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010), which focuses on change through small steps. However, it is precisely in light of large changes – i.e. CJs – that small surrounding changes are often ignored and their importance forgotten. This article thus seeks to contribute a better appreciation and conscious engagement of *both* CJs and TPs in understanding the needs and potentials of bottom-up initiatives. This goes beyond recognizing the importance of TPs (as in, for example, Mahoney and Thelen (2010)), by exploring them together with CJs, introducing the relationship with social learning, and applying the insights to bottom-up initiatives' emergence-lifecycles.

Furthermore, this article highlights that TPs, as opposed to CJs, may be easier to identify as key steps leading to a certain level of path-dependence, giving more (perceived) agency to initiators. CJs require hindsight to be identified because they must have *relatively* large impact, while TPs are simply based on actions that have

significant impact on the future possibilities and available pathways for the initiative to follow. While Hogan and Doyle (2007) argue in the context of macro-economics that even CJs can potentially be identified a priori through the help of certain indicators, this is more difficult at the micro-level of bottom-up initiatives, due for example to their relative dependence on contextual variables and factors that the agents do not control (while macro-level studies by definition study systems as a whole, about which meta-data such as annual inflation rates and media perceptions of a country is relevant and usually available).

2.3 Conceptual relationships

The relationships between the key concepts explored in this article are presented in Figure 3.1.1. The figure begins with the social learning cycle, in which personal and group dynamics play a crucial joint role in what individuals and groups learn through interaction (von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, & Janssen-Jansen, 2019; von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, Salet, et al., 2019). The social learning process impacts the emergence and quality of Turning Points, Near Misses or Critical Junctures. The figure does not specify the unexpected versus expected differentiation, as this is seen as a qualifying element of the TPs, Near Misses and CJs. These in turn lead to an outcome for the initiative in terms of endurance, implementation or discontinuation (noting that discontinuation is usually strongly resisted in initiatives until their defeat is really inevitable, due to their strong and often intrinsic motivation toward implementation). The outcome then feeds back into a new cycle of social learning, which starts the process anew (or, in the case of definitive discontinuation, feeds the learning cycle but does not start another Turning Point or Critical Juncture for the particular initiative in question).

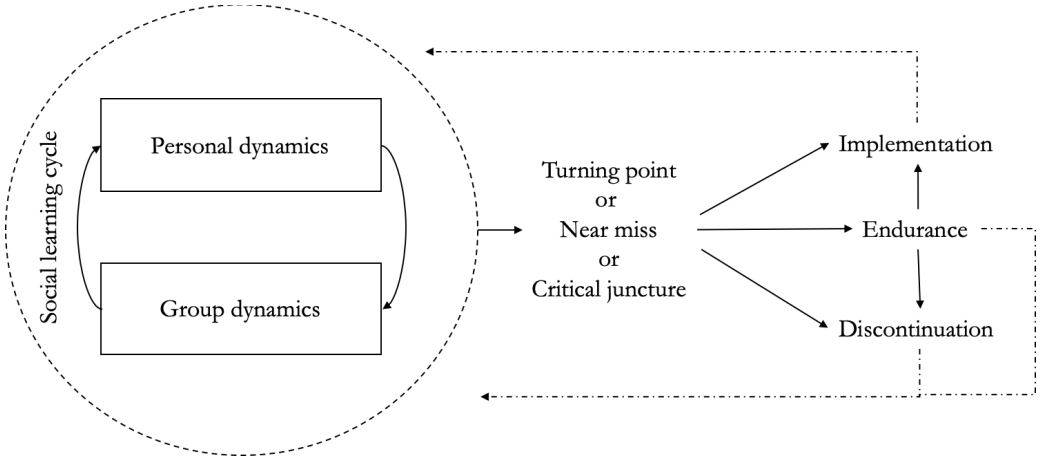


Figure 3.1.1. *Conceptual framework: social learning and change in the lifecycle of small-scale bottom-up initiatives (source: authors)*

3. Case presentation: Vinkmobiel, Groningen, the Netherlands

The case study of Vinkmobiel serves to explore the hypothesised conceptual relationships and to create first insights into how social learning can contribute to change in the case of small-scale bottom-up initiatives.

3.1 Context and urgencies

Vinkmobiel is a neighbourhood-based, bottom-up initiative to facilitate the mobility of less mobile persons, especially the elderly, with the aim of combating the social isolation of those groups while simultaneously promoting sustainable mobility. The neighbourhood of Vinkhuizen is located in the north-west of the largest town in the north of the Netherlands, is known for a majority of senior citizens of a mid-to-low-income level. The area has experienced a reduction of public transport services and welfare (transport) services in the last five years due to governmental budget cuts. As a result of reduced mobility, this vulnerable group developed physical and mental symptoms as they were not able to go about their daily activities (medical appointments, grocery shopping or personal care). Social workers started to lose sight of who needed help as well. The initiative was proposed in 2014 by members of the local community, namely representatives of the local community centre and of the main healthcare facility provider. The original idea was to have at least six electric carts ferrying those who need it for daily activities such as shopping, or going to the hairdresser for distances up to six kilometres. In addition, the initiative would recruit and train structurally unemployed persons to drive the vehicles in collaboration with the social services department.

3.2 Phases of development

The case went through five distinctly identifiable phases (i.e. ideation, initiation, conceptualisation, activation, reformation and implementation). The phases are described in detail below.

Phase 0: Ideation

Motivation emerged as the initiators were confronted through their work (social service, community development and elderly healthcare) with the damaging effect of social isolation of the elderly in this neighbourhood. These elderly mostly lacked social networks to rely on for transport. In extreme cases, elderly were found neglected in their residences. At an external event in 2014, both initiators saw a product and service presentation in another city demonstrating the use of former golf-cars to ferry elderly around in the south and eastern parts of the country. They agreed that this could be a viable solution for their neighbourhood as well. They approached the company with collaboration in mind. A franchisee was suggested based in the area as a potential operational provider.

Phase 1: Initiation

In phase 1, the initiators and the operational provider began to explore possibilities to start-up, fund and implement a sustainable local mobility solution for the elderly and less mobile that would also benefit the structurally unemployed. They had frequent contacts with the social services and healthcare departments of the local city government to discuss how to collaborate, with the idea that the local government would become a key partner. The local healthcare provider promised their representative that she would be given leeway in exploring this initiative (i.e. time and resources), if they were not the sole funders or official party involved. The representative (also the director) of the local community centre promised managerial capacities and linkage to the community to aid with implementation. The operational provider, with links to the company that had implemented such initiatives before, promised to provide know-how on the vehicles and operation, subsequent route and scheduling logistics and eventual maintenance and operation of the 'business'. A key goal was to affect 'professional'-level implementation, where those who were unemployed would be trained well in caring for the less mobile and gain driving skills.

With that in mind, a search was started for further funding and implementation opportunities. Via informal channels, they were suggested for and eventually invited to present their idea to a public containing local politicians and civil servants. They received positive feedback and went on to submit their ideas to various politicians via backchannels. They were hopeful of receiving support when it was proposed that their idea would be discussed during the city council meetings. Unfortunately, just before the meeting, they were informed their idea was deemed unfeasible. Informally, they were told via their network that their approach of various politicians had allegedly created a political conflict. This led to great disappointment within the group and they decided to stop any further activity.

Phase 2: Conceptualisation

In phase 2, the idea was recalled and supported by a regional non-governmental organisation (NGO) that promoted sustainability through democratic processes in 2015. The idea was mentioned in passing during their Sustainable Mobility Table discussion with various local government, transport authorities, and knowledge institutes present. The idea was deemed interesting as a potential case for a European grant proposal. The chairperson of the NGO and the involved researcher from the local university submitted the idea with agreement from the initiators, as a potential pilot with the hope that funding could be secured to restart the idea. The grant was unfortunately rejected. Simultaneously, the researcher received a national grant and was seeking a case of a citizen-led initiative in the theme of mobility. With that in mind, the initiator group was approached for a formal meeting to discuss if

part of the grant could provide funding for the initiative to restart. Part of the initiator group was reluctant as they felt they had gotten their fingers burned in the previous phase. This was then brought to vote in the executive boards of their respective organisation as it required formal involvement with the project consortium. All represented organisations eventually agreed to join the project and revive the initiative, so work began on restarting the initiative.

The key goal became to prepare a feasible case for the initiative and to secure funding, preferably from the local government. The first attempt to organise and structure the initiative came in the form of a written covenant detailing the roles, responsibilities and agreements of the initiator group and the two new entrants. The document was drafted by the representative of the NGO acting as facilitator, turning it from an idea into a 'project'. The document took shape in a period of about nine months. In the meanwhile, frequent (fortnightly) meetings were held with the implicit goal of sharing possible avenues and attempts at securing funding.

Phase 3: Activation

After being officially inducted into the project consortium, the involved researchers designed and implemented a workshop inviting the community, local businesses, local city officials, and transport authorities to re-launch the idea as a project. The workshop was well-attended but drew concerns from the local community who felt underrepresented. Active (elderly) individuals were invited to join the newly formed initiative group. Attempts to connect with local city government via formal and informal channels remained unsuccessful. The initiative was deemed simultaneously not feasible and not innovative enough in attempted grant applications. The initiative group was disappointed and made a conscious choice to direct their attentions to other funding sources (i.e. national charities and volunteer support funds). In preparation for the applications, research on potential demographic, demand and transport/mobility impacts was carried out. Three applications were made to various national and local grants. The initiative won the local grant and received a small amount towards implementation.

During the seeking of funds in mid-2017, the initiative group was (informally) tipped of a similar initiative being implemented in an adjacent neighbourhood with subsidy from the local government. That initiative was proposed by a civil servant to the local community. The initiative group was devastated as they felt their idea (which was continually rejected) was 'stolen and misappropriated'. Several rounds of complaints (official and unofficial) to civil servants and politicians in their personal network followed. This led to a meeting with the civil servant involved, in which the local government denied that the idea was 'stolen' but agreed to explore

options to still fund the initiative, if certain conditions were met regarding professionalising the initiative and establishing a viable business case.

Phase 4: Reformation
Due to the long period of stagnation and personal setbacks, the initial operation provider decided to leave the initiative group at the end of 2017. A regional car-leasing company and a locally active social entrepreneur decided to step into that vacant role at the start of 2018. The initiative was brought to their attention via the involved NGO. Their approach focused on reshaping the commercial side of the initiative, effectually transforming it from a citizen-led initiative towards a social enterprise. Disagreement followed and the initial initiative group felt torn between retaining the co-op model run by volunteers or to embrace the more commercial model with an aim to upscale to other neighbourhoods. The decision was finally taken during a vote in which, due to previous frustrations, the group decided it was better to implement the idea in any form rather than to have it dissipate again. A key agreement was that the price of each ride must be kept as low as possible (ideally below €2 per ride). The new model was then presented to the local government in relation to previous promises for funding. It was rejected then as being too 'professional' and its legitimacy (i.e. support from the community and whether the idea originated in the community) was doubted.

Phase 5: Implementation
Despite the unease of the initiators, the initiative went into implementation at the end of 2018 with the stipulation that it would be run as 'Stichting Welmobiel' in other areas but would always remain Vinkmobiel in Vinkhuizen in all communication and intent. As of early 2019, the first vehicles are in use and well-received, baring teething issues. Sponsorship and one-off funding were given by local banks and volunteer groups. In mid-2019, three more vehicles were added to the fleet. The initiative has been presented at local sustainability exhibitions and at the neighbourhood open day.

The following section outlines the research methods used to study this case in detail in relation to the conceptual framework and hypotheses presented above, after which the findings are discussed.

4. Research methods

Vinkmobiel was formally observed and studied as an in-depth single case-study from December 2016 until June 2020. The authors were officially involved as embedded researchers with permission from the initiative group; the first author acted as a more removed observant researcher, while the second author conducted action research and thus intervened directly in the initiative. Between December

2016 and December 2018 most meetings of the initiative were attended in person, providing participant observation. In-depth interviews with all members individually were conducted in the same period. After December 2018, the developments of the initiative were followed more indirectly, through a Whatsapp messaging group, internal newsletters and email chains. This included several iterations of the initiative's 'covenant', updates on the fleet progress and operational details (i.e. scheduling, complaints and financial accounting). The information presented here is actual until September 2020. One of the authors was involved as an initiative group member since 2015 and provided background and contextual information prior to 2016.

First and throughout the data collection phase, three facets of the occurring interactions were studied: i) personal and group dynamics among the group of initiators, ii) social learning results, and iii) changes in terms of endurance, discontinuation and implementation. For the first facet, the backgrounds of involved individuals and the dynamics that occurred between them were studied, both when they were all present as a group and when some of them met or communicated only bidirectionally instead of including the entire group. The latter were necessarily studied only through the accounts of them during interviews. For the second facet under study, social learning was studied based on the approach suggested by von Schönfeld et al. (2019): interactions between members of the initiative were studied and changes in terms of knowledge were observed, differentiating between gaining new knowledge, confirming existing knowledge, disconfirming existing knowledge without replacing the emerging gap, and knowledge indexing. Furthermore, special attention was given to what appeared to be learnt through social learning within the initiative, outside it, or what was learned through other forms of learning such as reading or personal experience (without being based on interaction). For the third facet under study, endurance and discontinuation were chronicled and progress made in terms of implementation, as well as the experienced levels of hardship or strength related to endurance were recorded. In interviews, respondents were asked to report what they considered crucial moments (analytically to be determined with hindsight in terms of Turning Points, Near Misses, Critical Junctures or none of these) in the development of the initiative and why; observations throughout were used to gain insight into the moods and expectations for change experienced by the involved agents.

Next, the data was analysed in terms of types of relations between TPs and CJs (see section 2.2/Annex 1). This was done by assessing the relative impact a turning point (analytically identified as a moment that triggered change) had, and how intensely the path-dependency it created became rooted. Defining factors for candidate junctures include, i) does the turning point result in a limitation of choice sets and

ii) is the intention of the turning point realised either at the moment itself or later? If both the first and second factors are positive, then it is a Critical Juncture. If not, it is a candidate juncture that could potentially become critical later but we classify it at time of analysis as a Near Miss.

For example, in the ideation phase of our case a key Turning Point was the decision of the initiators to adopt a similar model (project, technology and organisation) from elsewhere in the country (see row 1 in the table of Annex 2). This narrowed down possible options discussed beforehand such as a car lease system, or private car hire or car-sharing. From this point forward, no other technological options or operation systems were considered, even after the initial operator stepped out of the project, although they could have been. The unexpected part of the Turning Point was that the intention was to have 'plug-and-play' operations directly transplanted from other projects. This was never realised as the initiative had to reinvent how their operation/operational partners would fit into the local socio-political situation. Although this can't be classified as a Critical Juncture, since the options were still available, it demonstrates the importance of considering Turning Points, as the members of the initiative never did consider different options in this particular regard.

The analytically identified types (Section 2.2) were also related to – but not defined fully by - which Turning Points, Near Misses or Critical Junctures had been identified by respondents.

Finally, patterns were sought out in the relationships between social learning and the five types (Section 2.2). Comparisons were made between social learning that preceded and followed each type. The findings are presented below.

5. Findings & Discussion

This section describes the findings of the case study, structured along the elements in Figure 3.1.1.

5.1 Social learning, endurance and implementation

The core group of the Vinkmobiel initiative consisted of six to eight members over time. As the case presentation already showed, the first initiators and most members were intimately connected to the neighbourhood in which they wanted to implement the initiative though work or by living there/nearby. Those that were not, were strongly motivated through larger work- and ideological factors (i.e. research, promoting sustainability and promoting local engagement). One member for example described her motivation in an interview as being based on how she sees through her work "*the dependence [of the elderly] and [that] the self-determination power*

for people is really lacking" (Interview 2018). Besides having these strong personal motivations, however, the members had little in common in terms of their backgrounds (e.g., community centre work, elderly care management, university research, coordination and religious leadership, unemployment agency work, and so on). They also had very different experiences in working with government, which created varying expectations that they did not share explicitly with each-other. While several members were hopeful, others already had developed a cynical attitude toward all governmental instances through previous work. This 'social learning landscape' in which they operated meant that they had enough common ground to keep them motivated to collaborate, but made it relatively hard to read each-other and manage expectations. Personal and group dynamics thus often oscillated between feelings strong companionship and of deep frustration or even annoyance. During individual interviews some critical remarks were sometimes voiced, but these were considered off-limits for discussing directly amongst each-other. The later involvement of a social entrepreneur broke through this dynamic a little by providing a predictable, though not as desirable, normative set of expectations and deliverables. This was also possible because the social entrepreneur was perceived as an outsider, who could more easily and openly be critically evaluated, allowing expectations to be discussed and managed as well.

Interestingly, the initiative endured several years before the social entrepreneur stepped in. In that time, a number of key social learning outcomes occurred:

- the networks and know-how some of the members shared allowed them to contact civil servants directly, and to win their approval – this did not suffice, however, and ended up backfiring due to an internal political dynamic that was not known to the initiative's members and which they were not prepared to deal with. Lack of knowledge in this case led to unexpected results. This led to a phase of (eventually temporary) discontinuation, but also developed a spiteful attitude in the initiative that turned out to be crucial for its endurance.
- expected critical junctures that turned into near misses occurred several times in the beginning and, especially when coupled with disappointing experiences with the local government, hardened the initiative's spite-based resolve to endure.
- the friendship-like group dynamics preferred by the members did not allow for direct confrontations, which inadvertently led to the solidification of an evasive attitude regarding the sharing of practical information, which the member in question did not actually have, although expectations by others were that the member did have this information and was simply not willing to share it. This led to endurance through hopeful expectation that was continuously not fulfilled, while others sought alternative ways to procure the relevant

information (through outside contacts and individual online and offline searches).

- the experiences shared by the group in their interactions with the municipality created a strong bond between them, but also led them to endure partly due to an emerging logic of spite, fuelled by confusion and frustration. In terms of social learning, a lot of confirmation of existing knowledge was sought among the members, which fed continued frustration but also continued spite, which eventually took them far enough for implementation to occur.
- the development of self-identification of each member over time showed their gradual shift from professional distance to a group-based identification: they first saw themselves as representatives of their different employers, and later began to identify as the Vinkmobiel group, especially when they saw themselves in contrast or conflict in relation to others, such as the government or the 'copied' initiative. This also occurred in parallel to choices of terminology, which moved from 'initiative', which was understood as more of a loose and voluntary format, to 'project', which was seen more as a joint and binding format. This went hand-in-hand with more technical language, making extensive notes from meetings, writing formal documents for the project and so on.

When the social entrepreneur entered the stage, it was mainly knowledge confirmation (i.e. recognizing regular business structures, financial expertise and an existing, though low, profit orientation) that convinced the initiative as well as the municipality that the initiative could be implemented (the municipality then deemed it 'too professional', and did not contribute funding, but it did recognize that the initiative was now feasible for implementation). However, it was clear that the decision to accept the entrepreneur's proposal as the way forward was not easily taken and it was the social learning landscape's evolution during the years that preceded it that made it possible.

5.2 Turning Points, Near Misses and Critical Junctures

Thirty-five events or actions were identified during the initiative's lifecycle up to implementation, which could be categorised as Turning Points, Near Misses, or Critical Junctures. A chronological account of each TP, NM and CJ is found in Annex 2. Table 3.1.1 provides an excerpt of TPs, NMs and CJs per phase, noting whether they were expected or unexpected, since this plays an important role (as mentioned in section 2.2.).

Table 3.1.1. *Excerpt of Turning Points, Near Misses and Critical Junctures for Vinkmobiel. (compiled by authors)*

Phase	Excerpt Events/Actions	Type
0. Ideation	The lack of information and knowledge of the franchisee created stagnation.	Unexpected CJ
1. Initiation	Community centre board members and healthcare provider department greenlit participation. Support would be given in resources, time and hosting meetings for the group.	Expected TP
2. Conceptualisation	The formalisation through documentation and covenant was not initially seen as important, but eventually led to solidifying and legitimising the initiative from outside perspectives and to future funders.	Expected CJ
3. Activation	To the initiative group, the start-up difficulties in the 'copied' project proved the value of their idea.	Unexpected TP
4. Reformation	Although there was mistrust and control was sought, the group expected relatively minor changes due to previous experience. The new stakeholders became unexpectedly crucial to a speedy but commercialised implementation.	Expected and Unexpected CJ
5. Implementation	Weak expectation that additional funding from the local government might follow. However, operations were planned as if it would not.	Expected NM

The early phases of ideation and initiation demonstrate a typical initial lifecycle of an initiative when, as ideas develop, several turning points mark decisions, only some of which become Near Misses or Critical Junctures. An unexpected critical juncture marks the ideation phase, where lack of information and knowledge of the franchisee created stagnation. But turning points demonstrating unexpected results based on the ease with which things could be implemented were important as well in shaping the social learning landscape described above. The subsequent disappointment through Turning Points and a Near Miss and the unexpectedly negative critical juncture of lack of support by the government set the initiative firmly on the path of distrust toward government and a spiteful but hardened attitude.

During conceptualisation, the frequent Near Misses and unexpected Critical Junctures mirror the hopeful yet not always fulfilled expectations of the initiative group as alternative avenues and resources are being sought and cultivated. For example, the initiative group agreeing to be part of research proposals which carries neither guarantee of success nor funding security. Towards the end of this phase, organisational capacity (a lead facilitator) and knowledge management structures (a covenant of roles and responsibilities) helped to move the initiative towards institutionalisation as the group perceived themselves and their actions as being

increasingly more professional. These events and actions have a finite quality but end up having an unexpected determination and reinforcement (i.e. type of governance structure and resource distribution) in the later phases.

The activation phase brought a rush of events and actions with very frequent Near Misses and almost only unexpected Candidate Junctures when these did occur. This was greatly due to this being a phase of pursuing funding alternatives (i.e. application for subsidies and grants) that were not realised due to grants being denied or amounts received being less than expected. The (mainly unexpected) Critical Junctures taking place here were mostly rooted in significant previous Turning Points. The first being the building of internal and external legitimacy as a group, a second the anger toward felt governmental injustices, and the third the engagement and reaching out to other potential stakeholders. The issue of their idea being 'copied' in another neighbourhood was an unexpected Turning Point which they had no influence over, but which did trigger further events and actions due to how the group saw this as their idea being legitimised and valuable despite previous reactions from the local government, and how it strengthened their resolve to look for other funders. This experience highlights the important combined effect of Turning Points and Critical Junctures.

The reformation phase saw more expected events in general and Critical Junctures in particular as compared to the earlier phases. This is also likely due to the heavy load of path-dependency inducing events that had already occurred until then, which left little room for manoeuvre or surprise. For instance, the path-dependence created by actions such as the choice of new entrant stakeholders who influenced the style of operation led eventually to the group deciding to forgo prior values (i.e. cooperative vs. commercial model of governance).

Finally, in the implementation phase, the path of non-reliance on local government due to earlier frustrations is completed as local, social entrepreneurs were fully and formally inducted into the project. They proposed to create a cooperative model with a less neighbourhood-specific name and branding. The strong identity of the project is witnessed by the Turning Point of deciding to keep the neighbourhood identity and name specifically for the part of the project running in that neighbourhood, even though all operational and legal identity belongs to the cooperative.

Overall, this section shows that paying attention to Turning Points and Near Misses as well as Critical Junctures helps unravel the triggers behind endurance and implementation. It is tempting to study implemented bottom-up initiatives and look

at the moment of implementation to understand how they came into being. But this neglects to important elements:

- initiatives that do not become implemented may have a long trajectory of Turning Points and Near Misses which can help understand what is important for such initiatives to thrive, and what are the important barriers they experience.
- the importance of less visible but crucial Turning Points that either build up to or just slowly influence the path that leads to a Critical Juncture, or that co-determines the shape a Critical Juncture will take. This is not equal to incremental change, because Critical Junctures may still be required as well. But it is akin to recognizing the importance of 'critical antecedents' (see Rinscheid et al., 2019), and social learning outcomes, for endurance and implementation. The entrance of new stakeholders may have been an easily identifiable Critical Juncture, after which the initiative was implemented, but this would result too easily in saying that if a social entrepreneur is introduced, an initiative will have more implementation capability. In this initiative, however, a lot of social learning and Near Misses were required for this entrance of the social entrepreneur to be accepted, and still it was done with some reluctance. Future consequences of this reluctance might still become new Turning Points or Critical Junctures in the post-implementation phase.

5.3 Relationships between social learning, turning points, near misses and critical junctures, and the effect on endurance and implementation

In this section, we discuss the relationships between social learning on one hand and Turning Points, Near Misses and Critical Junctures on the other in the case of Vinkmobiel, to reflect on their joint impact on endurance and implementation. We make use of certain examples, though the same exercise can be done for the entire table presented in annex 2.

In phase 0, ideation, the members of the initiative expected to quickly implement their idea based on inspiration from others' initiatives, but the lack of information and knowledge of the involved franchisee created stagnation instead. In terms of social learning, new input through new collaborations was indeed gained, and inspiration was garnered from the initiatives that they had witnessed elsewhere. Simultaneously, frustration was built through the group dynamics that emerged due to stagnation. Nevertheless, this Turning Point delivered the groundwork from which the initiative set itself up – although it had the possibility to do so, the members did not choose to revisit other options for how they could set up the initiative (e.g. a different type of car).

In phase 1, initiation, deep mistrust of local government was developed. Those who already mistrusted local government felt their knowledge confirmed, while others experienced gained or disconfirmed knowledge as they felt the disappointment in the lack of support from local government. This led to temporary frustration, but also to endurance in the shape of spite, where the general feeling was that of wanting to prove the power and value of the initiative despite the government's rejection.

In phase 2, conceptualisation, an expected critical juncture occurred as the NGO representative took on a leading role in the facilitation of the initiative, though exactly what effect this would have was still to be seen. This members' previous experience in leading a group contributed to the formalisation of the initiative into a project, including through notes, keeping an overview of progress in shared documents online and through mail and so on. This led to the organisational capacity and knowledge management structures noted above. For a few members of the initiative, this development seemed exaggeratedly complex, but overall it created a more professional feel and contributed to the identification of the members more with Vinkmobiel rather than seeing their participation mainly as representatives of their respective organisation. Knowledge was gained and confirmed by actors, though in at least one case the knowledge was rejected as too complex and contributed to frustration. Mostly, there was a greater sense of 'can-do' in the group due to this facilitative leadership, and the initiative began to be understood as a formalized project.

In phase 3, activation, the initiative's members were confronted with a project they considered a 'copy' of their idea, which was funded by government. As the anger over the 'copied' project dissipated a little, the members of Vinkmobiel could slowly see its value as an example, and even met up with representatives from the other initiative. Social learning though these sources led Vinkmobiel to strengthen its endurance resolve, as they saw the other initiative struggle being based only on volunteer work and having relatively little demand. In the end the initiators gained much knowledge, discarded some ideas and confirmed others, and were able better to endure. The idea of spite still continued to drive the endurance of the initiative as well, however, as the negative interaction with the local government had been so impactful.

In phase 4, reformation, an only partly expected Turning Point and Critical Juncture was that the new stakeholders became crucial to a speedy but commercialised implementation of Vinkmobiel. As discussed above in section 5.1, these stakeholders brought in some new knowledge but also some existing knowledge that had been rejected before. It could be accepted now precisely because it came from outside the group and because the initiative had gone through such a long

phase of endurance that they could accept working with a type of knowledge – with a more commercial logic than before – which they had thus far explicitly rejected. This is a special example of endurance feeding into the learning loop multiple times and needing those reiterations to create the necessary workable ground for the ideas then presented to take hold. Note that the new stakeholders did not turn the initiative fully commercial, and the initiative was sure to follow negotiations for the ensuing changes closely (see also below).

In phase 5, implementation, an expected Turning Point was that the group stipulated that any initiative within Vinkhuizen will retain the name and logo of the initial initiative. Through social interactions between the new stakeholders and the original Vinkmobiel initiative, a combination of confirming and disconfirming knowledge allowed the construction of an alternative format for the neighbourhood, in which the original initiators would still be involved and bring in a more local voice to the implemented project, that would otherwise function in a more standardized form toward other neighbourhoods. This compromise allowed implementation to occur, though it was minor in terms of generating path-dependency.

Beyond these examples, it is possible generally to note that Turning Points, Near Misses and Critical Junctures all tended to have important consequences in terms of social learning, and for endurance and implementation. Importantly, as noted before, spite was a crucial social learning outcome that encouraged the creation of turning points and critical junctures forming endurance. And a long period of endurance finally allowed an implementation that in an earlier stage would not have been accepted or even thought of. The difference between social learning impacting Turning Points versus candidate junctures is not so significant as hypothesised, and yet social learning importantly contributes to both, and both are important in the creation of capacity for endurance and implementation. Thus, understanding social learning (and the personal and group dynamics that constitute it) is nevertheless demonstrated to be imperative for grasping TPs, NMs and CJs and *how* they impact endurance and implementation[4].

6. Conclusion

This article has contributed a number of key messages pertaining to bottom-up initiative's capacity for endurance and implementation:

[4] Note that the authors are aware of the occasional need for simplifying arguments, but also would like to highlight precisely the importance of understanding certain details and, more importantly, not forgetting their existence when we do zoom out to a bigger picture (see e.g. Scott, 1998).

- the pre-implementation phase of bottom-up initiatives can be crucial to understand, as such initiatives can often stagnate or be discontinued despite being valuable for their neighbourhoods.
- to understand this phase, it is important not to be blinded by the large Critical Junctures that mark, for example, implementation itself, but also to give attention to both Turning Points (as defined here) and Near Misses as well as Critical Junctures. Turning Points may not always generate deep-seated path-dependencies, but they can often have important preparatory impact to enable a Critical Juncture or to facilitate endurance where otherwise an initiative would be discontinued.
- to understand Turning Points, Near Misses and Critical Junctures, in turn, we have shown the value of looking at social learning cycles driven by personal and group dynamics, which work through a feedback loop with the TPs, NMs or CJs to impact endurance and implementation dynamics.

The article has also contributed to social learning literature by proposing ways in which social learning crucially contributes to both maintain the status quo and to creating change, through the dynamics of confirming, disconfirming and adding knowledge.

Overall, the article suggests that policy and planning should pay more attention to the smaller Turning Points as well as to Critical Junctures as they play out in the pre-implementation phases of bottom-up initiatives, and in particular to ways in which social learning cycles based on personal and group dynamics of participants shape their impact. The case study provided unique longitudinal material of the long endurance and finally implementation lifecycle of one initiative, through largely participatory observation and interviews. Further research could explore more bottom-up initiatives in terms of how Turning Points, Near Misses and Critical Junctures influence them. It would also be interesting to explore these dynamics further from the perspective of other involved stakeholders, such as the local government, whose perspective was less studied here. Finally, however, this article hopes to have shown that studying social learning, Turning Points, Near Misses and Critical Junctures is an important field for understanding urban planning and urban development dynamics in an age in which bottom-up initiatives are increasingly responsibilized for local (and sometimes regional) well-being.

Annex to Chapter 3.1

Annex 1: Glossary of key concepts used

A Turning Point (TP) is a relatively short period of time during which there is a high probability that agents' choices will affect the outcome of interest, but which have a relatively small impact compared to critical junctures. Creates path-dependency, but it is not as deep-seated (yet) as with a critical juncture.

A candidate juncture is a moment in time that is perceived as having the potential to become a CJ (critical juncture).

A Critical Juncture (CJ) is a relatively short period of time during which there is a high probability that agents' choices will affect the outcome of interest. It creates deep-seated path-dependency.

A 'Near Miss' (NM) is a candidate juncture that does not manifest as a critical juncture.

Note: A critical juncture is always also a turning point, but a turning point is not always a critical juncture.

Annex 2: Table of empirically identified TPs, Near Misses and CJs for the case of Vinkmobiel

In the following table, the Turning Points, Near Misses and Critical Junctures (expected and unexpected) throughout the initiative are chronologically described.

Table Annex 2: *Chronological account of turning points, and potential and realized critical junctures for Vinkmobiel. (compiled by authors)*

Event/Actions	Turning point	Candidate juncture	
		Near miss	***Critical juncture***
Phase 0: Ideation			
Representatives from the community centre and the main elderly care provider in the area came together to seek solution to social isolation of elderly in Vinkhuizen. They visited a presentation on similar idea and initiatives elsewhere in the country.	Decision to adopt the same model (operation and vehicles) in Vinkhuizen. *[Unexpected]* Expectation to take structure and technology directly as 'plug and play' to Vinkhuizen did not materialize. Still, stuck to format and type of car.		
	Franchisee (local resident) of the company running similar initiative joins as operational provider. Delegation of operational form and choices to an experienced individual.		*[Unexpected]* The lack of information and knowledge of the franchisee created stagnation.
Phase 1: Initiation			
Representatives from the local community centre and the healthcare provider brought the matter to vote at their respective executive and management board.	Community centre board members and healthcare provider department greenlit participation. Support would be given in resources, time and hosting meetings for the group. Community centre provided resources and access to local community. Healthcare centre provided demand (clients) and place to store vehicles.		

	Healthcare provider gave institutional support on the condition that others are involved and paying for it.		The initiative has to be supported (resources) by multiple stakeholders.
The initiative group presented the first iteration of the idea at a local neighbourhood event that was attended by local politicians to positive reactions.	Initiative group solicited various local politicians via informal channels to gain their support (i.e. financial subsidies and organizational help).	Expectations of receiving funding and support from local government for immediate implementation.	
The idea was to be feature in a local council meeting. However, prior to the meeting the initiative group were informed formally that the initiative does not fulfil the subsidy criteria and was not of interest.	The initiative group officially requested information as to why their idea was rejected.		
It was informally communicated that multiple politicians raised the subject without knowing that another was championing it. This led to internal conflicts in politics.	The initiative group is disappointed and stops all activity.		*Unexpected.* The decision is made to stop with the initiative altogether and to not seek alternative funding. Frustrations from lack of official support and funding led first to deactivation. Later, this created a deep mistrust of local government.
Phase 2: Conceptualisation			
The idea became known to a non-profit organization interested in sustainability through democratic processes. The initiative was shared with members of the Sustainable Mobility (SM) table within the organization during a formal meeting.	A researcher (local university) and member of the table suggest to adopt the initiative as a potential pilot to receive EU funding in a proposal.	Renewed interest from new potential stakeholders would lead to new potential funding and support from those avenues. Not realized as the project was not won.	

The proposal was denied but the same researcher won a national grant and was looking for a local case that showcased citizen initiatives.	The researcher suggested the initiative as a local case, eligible for research support.	*[Unexpected]* Official status (i.e. part of a national project) was expected to bring big returns such as direct implementation support and funding. Support received was substantially less than expected.	
The initiative group was approached again as to their interest to receive both research interest and financial support for start-up activities.	The initiative group was reluctant but proposed to vote on re-starting in their respective organisation.		
Voting was conducted at the local community centre in favour of restarting.	The representative of the NGO would act as 'lead' facilitator and received resources for it. Initiative would restart as voted bearing in mind the failures from the first phase.		*[Unexpected]* Critical effect of this new 'leader' in documenting and institutionalising the process.
A written covenant was set up delineating the role and responsibility of the participating organization and their representatives.	The initiative formed an official initiative group. The legitimacy of the initiative is increased in the self-perception of the initiative group.	The stakeholders involved were limited to those listed in the covenant and each representative had to sign to their roles.	
After a few rounds of drafting, the covenant was confirmed and would be a living document detailing the progress of the initiative.	Knowledge management was also set up to ensure that all initiative group members had access to the documents, necessary information and data. An email list was set up for the group.		*[Unexpected]* Was not initially seen as important, but eventually led to solidifying and legitimising the initiative from outside perspectives and to future funders.
Phase 3: Activation			

The research project council voted to adopt the initiative as an official consortium member and committed resources and research support.	Plans for a workshop to help relaunch the formalized initiative to the local community and relevant stakeholders.	*[Unexpected]* High expectations of relaunch to gain recognition by local council for speedy implementation of initiative. Did not materialize.	
The meeting resulted in a wider interest in the community for the initiative. Questions were raised on community involvement and commercial feasibility.	Community members indicated that they would like to be more involved. This led to the induction of a group of elderly citizens who would function as ambassadors and to give feedback on the operation.		Begin of building legitimacy within local community. *[Unexpected]* Legitimacy was later a key criterion when seeking external funding.
	Agreements were made to share information regarding operations and implementation of the mother company providing operational support.	Having detailed operational technical information would enable the calculation of a feasibility of the initiative. Unfortunately, the information was insufficient.	
Attempts to connect with local city government via official and informal channels were met with failure. The initiative was deemed simultaneously not feasible and not innovative enough.	The initiative group was disappointed and made a conscious choice to direct their attentions to other funding sources (i.e. national charities and volunteer support funds).	Resuming contact with the city council (as sole funder) under expectation that implementation would be imminent. Not realised.	
Frequent meetings were held between the initiative groups (i.e. once every two weeks) with the goal of establishing legitimacy in the neighbourhood, finding financial subsidy sources and cooperation from the local government, and preparing a feasibility study (prognosis on potential demand and impacts to mobility).	Proposals were submitted to local and national subsidies and competitions.		

The proposal to a national lobby/interest group was denied. Proposal to the local entrepreneurship challenge was granted.	The small sum awarded was to be used to start the initiative as much as it could stretch. The group gained knowledge that seeking (not local city) sources of funding could be a fruitful avenue forward.	Expectations that the sums applied would kickstart implementation. Not realized as sums granted were much less than required.	
The initiative group were informed via their informal networks that a similar initiative was going to be funded by the local government in the neighbourhood adjacent to theirs. That initiative seemed to them like an 'exact copy' of Vinkmobiel.	The initiative group experienced both intense disappointment and anger.		*[Unexpected]* The resulting anger fuelled the group in moving forward and seeking other funding sources.
	The initiative group reached out via formal (email to the local city council representatives) and informal means (backchanneling with civil servants and politicians in their own network) to demand satisfaction as to 'how and why their idea was stolen' and if this meant they should now be eligible for local city funding as well.	Restitution (in the form of funding the initiative) were expected and requested. However, this was not realized.	
Start of the 'copied' initiative in neighbouring area. Idea was initiated by a civil servant of the local government who had previously rejected the group's idea.	*[Unexpected]* To the initiative group, this proved the value of their idea.		
The initiative group became aware that there was insufficient demand for the neighbouring initiative and were determined to not repeat the same mistake.	They reached out to local business associations and shopping centre management teams to ensure that.		*[Unexpected]* Engagement and reaching out to other potential stakeholders and investors.
Phase 4: Reformation			

The operational provider decided to step out due to frustrations and personal issues.	The initiative group started to look for another operational provider. Decision to seek more reliable and knowledgeable partners with more immediate know-how for feasible implementation and professional operations.		
Via the sustainable mobility group, contact was made with a local car leasing company (which had been previously lightly connected with the operational provider who stepped out) and a locally active social entrepreneur. They expressed interest in joining the initiative group to bring the initiative to implementation.	The group deliberated as to how and under what conditions these new entrants could contribute to the project. The group was wary of over-commercialisation and insisted to first test out what was proposed before agreeing.		Although there was mistrust and control was sought, the group expected relatively minor changes due to previous experience. *[Unexpected]* These new stakeholders became crucial to a speedy but commercialised implementation.
The initiative group received an official response from the local city government requesting a meeting to resolve the conflict and the negative feelings the initiative group had about their initiative being 'stolen'.	*[Unexpected]* The initiative group attended the meeting but no resolution was reached. Instead, an offer was made from the local government representative that perhaps if the initiative group could refine their proposal (to more professional standards), a subsidy could be arranged.		
Working with the new entrants to the initiative group, the first business case report was drawn up and a brochure	Internally, the initiative group had to decide if they preferred remaining as a citizen initiative collective or to accept the more 'commercial' approach from		The business case report and brochure were key to get funding and support. The decision to implement at potential cost of certain values was

detailing implementation and operational steps was made.	the new entrants. The majority voted that they would rather see the initiative implemented in any form possible than to go back to the initial stagnation.		critical to move to implementation rather than renewed stagnation.
Phase 5: Implementation			
A new foundation was created and officiated. The initiative was now carried out by the foundation (initiative group + new entrants).	The group stipulated that any initiative within Vinkhuizen will retain the name and logo of the initial initiative.		
The new business case was presented to the local civil servant. The proposal was praised to be very professional, albeit too professional. The civil servant called into doubt how much the idea was still "from the community" and requested the group to prove that they had local community support from the right demographic.	The initiative group decided to proceed without the government subsidy. Preparations were made to start the service in 2019. Volunteers were being trained as drivers.	Weak expectation that additional funding from the local government might follow. However, operations were planned as if it would not.	
The first vehicles started to run in the neighbourhood. There were teething issues with the service. Some complaints were generated in the first week. In general, the service is well-received.	Vehicles (3) in operation. Rides were programmed and flyers and brochures available in locations most elderly would frequent (shops, care centre, pharmacy etc.)		Implementation is successful. Three more vehicles are added, and initial research and talks are conducted with other neighbourhoods in the region.

Chapter 3.2.

Social learning and framing in contested planning: the case of the Minhocão, São Paulo

Submitted[1] *(single author)*

Abstract
This article contributes to the debates on deliberative and agonistic approaches to planning. It does so by studying frames and framing strategies adopted by involved actors in a context of contestation and revealing the consequences for social learning. It considers the case of the Minhocão in São Paulo, an elevated highway to be either removed or turned into a park, as an in-depth explorative case-study. The results show that the intended audience of the frames is not usually the direct opponent in the participatory arena but rather a third party. The aim is not to convince opposing parties of the content of a frame but rather to build a strategy that directly addresses the actor's desired planning outcome. This leads the major actors involved to employ three major framing strategies: adaptive, coherent, and deliberative. Each framing strategy led to different results in terms of social learning among interacting groups: while the adaptive strategy tends to emphasize socially learning deliberation tactics and basic content of frames, the coherent strategy emphasizes emotional feedback, and the deliberative strategy looks for in-depth knowledge and emotional feedback. These findings deliver at least two key insights for planning theory and practice. First, they demonstrate that the intended frame audience of different contestants helps determine interactions and outcomes in participatory planning that go beyond deliberation or agonism. Second, the resulting framing strategies have wide-reaching and sometimes unexpected impacts on social learning practices and planning outcomes.

Keywords
Social Learning, Framing, Contestation, Deliberative Planning, Agonistic Planning

[1]Please note that the section numbering and referencing within Chapters refer to the same Chapter and not to the sections in the dissertation as a whole. Figure and Table numbering has been adjusted throughout to be unique throughout the dissertation.

Caricature of Contestation about the Minhocão, drawn by Bas Köhler, 2020

1. Introduction

Planning requires a wide range of skills, including deliberation (Forester, 1999; Healey, 1992a), reflection (Schön, 1982; Schön & Rein, 1994), negotiation (Shmueli et al., 2008), agonistic capabilities (Mouffe, 2013), and learning (Kolb, 2015; von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, Salet, et al., 2019). These skills converge in indispensable social interactions: with citizens, developers, funders, politicians and more. Contested[2] planning can become especially difficult to navigate, and disorienting in terms of what planners should learn and expect others to learn from these tense contexts. Overcoming this difficulty is pertinent, however, given how central learning capacities are to planning processes (Bertolini, 2011; Campbell et al., 2018).

A key factor that can help to understand how social learning unfolds in and influences contested planning processes are framing strategies of involved interest groups. Frames are configurations of understanding meant to coherently organize perceptions of a given subject (Schön & Rein, 1994). Frames provide the foundations for arguments presented in contestation. Groups involved in contested planning will purposefully create, alter and use certain frames, arranging them in particular ways in relation to those of opposing groups to gain advantage over them – this process is referred to here as a framing strategy. This article explores how framing strategies influence the depth and breadth of knowledge and skills accepted and adopted, and how this might affect planning in both theoretical and practical terms.

To address this subject in a real context, the article presents an in-depth explorative study of the Minhocão in São Paulo – an elevated highway to be turned into a park or removed. The case-study is based on the analysis of interviews, primary and secondary documents and media (formal and social). The article is further structured as follows. Section 2 presents the theoretical framework, explaining links to the literature on collaboration and conflict in planning, as well as elucidating social learning and framing strategies and why these are related. Section 3 briefly presents the Brazilian planning system and the Minhocão. Section 4 presents the research approach and section 5 the findings. Section 6 discusses the findings in more depth and section 7 concludes.

2. Theoretical framework: Collaboration and conflict, social learning and framing

Two major theoretical strands inform the discussion on social learning via framing in contested planning. First, collaborative planning (Forester, 1999; Healey, 1992a),

[2] Contestation is understood as an activity in which two or more frames clash – or are strategically employed – to achieve a goal on which the different actors involved disagree.

which highlights the importance and benefits of consensus, dialogue and communication, in contrast with more technocratic and exclusive forms of planning. The literature associated with this strand usually perceives conflict as beneficial to the extent that it creates opportunities for discussion and eventually reaching consensus (Gualini, 2015). Social learning literature in planning often aligns itself with the collaborative planning literature. Both have a strong methodological focus on social interaction and share the assumption that more social interaction will lead to more constructive learning and thus to more just and sustainable results (Albert et al., 2012; Holden, 2008; Pahl-Wostl, 2006).

Studies on conflict and agonistics (Ben-Arie & Fenster, 2019; Gualini, 2015; Mouffe, 2013; Murtagh & Ellis, 2011), the second major theoretical strand, have challenged the collaborative approach, namely based on its heavy reliance on seeking and achieving consensus. These studies highlight the significance of conflict and heated debates, also for learning, and the traps associated with seeking consensus. This literature analyses the (re-)politicization of political arenas, planning and decision-making where the status of conflicting positions may be recurring and durable rather than being resolved by consensus. While conflict is often experienced in planning, the conflict and agonistics literature has not taken as much of a foothold in mainstream planning practice, though it is gaining attention as democratic deficits and contestations become more apparent at global as well as local levels (Klein, 2017; Mouffe, 2019).

Following Legacy and colleagues (2019), however, the two strands presented above are not necessarily mutually exclusive. As they demonstrate, conflict and consensus are "co-constitutive", and there is increasing recognition that both need to be understood in their dialectic relationship in planning processes. Von Schönfeld and colleagues (2019; 2019) begin to connect the concept of social learning with a more critical view on collaboration; this article takes this approach a step further.

The value of understanding social learning in planning becomes most apparent when studied in the context of (the tensions between) collaboration and conflict (Murtagh & Ellis, 2011). Social learning is the process of gaining or developing knowledge, skills or experience from interaction[3] between two or more subjects (von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, Salet, et al., 2019). Social learning can be understood as mediated through frames and framing strategies, especially when contestation arises, since each interest group will attempt to influence understanding of a given contested subject or object so that their objectives are perceived as the most

[3] Interaction can take a wide array of forms, including relatively unilateral ones such as in traditional teaching settings, to one-on-one or group discussions (see von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, & Janssen-Jansen, 2019).

desirable or necessary. Frames are "underlying structures of belief, perception, and appreciation" (Schön & Rein, 1994, p. 23), which determine how we give weight to a certain topic over others (Nelson et al., 1997). Framing is "an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614), and has also been described as "the process by which a communication source constructs and defines a social or political issue for its audience" (Nelson et al., 1997, p. 221). Who this audience is, is in itself often crucial for how the frame is developed, as will be discussed in more detail below (Benford & Snow, 2000; Donald Schön & Rein, 1994).

Framing can be done consciously or unconsciously, packaging the interests of a certain party into positions for negotiation (Shmueli et al., 2008). This packaging can make social learning especially challenging for planners to decipher and react to in contested planning contexts, since it is likely to be very strategically employed (Gualini, 2015; Schön & Rein, 1994). Furthermore, "frames have […] both a discursive and pre-discursive dimension. It is precisely their combination that makes symbolic-cognitive frames powerful in defining the conduct of actors but, conversely, may also determine resistance to communication, exchange and learning" (Gualini & Majoor, 2007, p. 300). When strategic interactions take place, at which some actors are likely to be more adept than others, it falls to planners to keep an overview, and to be aware of the learning effects the ensuing interactions have on all participants, and through them also on themselves. Furthermore, planners have the key capability to connect learning moments from planning processes over time, including an awareness of who else has participated how and why – if they are able to be reflective about this (Schön, 1982; Schön & Rein, 1994; von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, & Janssen-Jansen, 2019; von Schönfeld, Tan, Wiekens, Salet, et al., 2019).

Both collaboration and conflict are, often simultaneous, realities of (contested) planning practice, and shape the social interactions and frames that lead to particular learning outcomes (Gualini & Majoor, 2007; Murtagh & Ellis, 2011). In contested planning, multiple frames face each-other. Snow and colleagues (1986) discuss framing in Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) and identify five types of frame alignment processes: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation. Alignment here refers to the congruence between the frames of potential members and the frames of SMOs. In framing analysis, it is important to understand how frames are strategically employed, i.e. used in frame strategies. This may be to face rival groups, as well as to influence the (frames of) third parties, who are often the ones who can implement or influence certain decisions over others (see Benford & Snow, 2000 on audience effects (p 630) as well as on 'counterframing' (p 625), though in both cases their discussion does not refer to framing directed at third parties). The literature suggests that framing strategies

arrange frames between opposing parties in different ways. Frame alignment is considered key in reflections by planning scholars in particular (along with frame reflection), as 'success' of framing strategies is seen in "extending the perception of what is at stake in a policy process to broader arenas and for defining and consolidating collective goals as a result of an evolutionary process" (Gualini & Majoor, 2007, p. 301). When it comes to frames facing each-other in contested planning arena's, frame alignment can, however, be seen as only one of four frame arrangements. This article proposes that the others are: frame appropriation, frame alienation and frame annihilation. An overview of the proposed typology of frame arrangements, ranging from more consensual to more conflictual, is presented in table 3.2.1. Frame arrangements can be expected to have certain effects on social learning as they mediate the social interactions that occur.

Table 3.2.1. *Typology of frame arrangements (source: author, including adaptation from Snow et al. 1986)*

Frame arrangement	Description
Alignment	Frames remain distinct but accept each-other and find common ground. Processes by which this alignment is sought are frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation (Snow et al., 1986).
Appropriation	Frames are taken up by one group or 'swallowed' by a different frame with the effect that it no longer fulfils its original function.
Alienation	Frames highlight their distinctions from one another and reject common ground.
Annihilation	Some frames are actively or more passively destroyed, while others take over their space, remaining themselves unchanged.

Several studies on social learning in planning highlight collaborative planning moments that lead to learning, for example, about sustainable activities and understanding for each-other's perspectives (e.g. Albert et al., 2012; Pahl-Wostl, 2006). As Gualini and Bianchi (2015, p. 48) write,

> at the operational level, a demand for more communicative planners emerges; they should mediate between local and expert knowledge, thus promoting social learning while including the results of participatory and bottom-up processes within a wider framework that includes the analysis of contingent and place-based dynamics.

Social learning is then understood as a process of mutual understanding that emerges by seeking consensus. However, the same authors note that critical theorists and planners inspired by radical agonistic planning analyse planning as political and therefore focus on passionate debate rather than consensus-seeking (Mouffe, 2013).

This article explores how social learning can be understood in contested planning contexts, in which learning effects are especially difficult to understand and respond to. Here, frames play an important mediating role (see Gualini, 2015, p. 25), as they are used – intentionally or not – in the interactions within, between and beyond interest groups contesting a planning project. It is through these frames and framing strategies that interest groups understand their own as well as others' standpoints and experienced realities (Schön & Rein, 1994), and thus it is also through them that knowledge is filtered or built, acknowledged, ignored, or disqualified. Whether inclined to consensus or agonistics, understanding framing and learning processes in contested planning can be essential for planners to "[craft] plans or [recommend] actions that solve current problems while laying the groundwork for a better future" (Shmueli et al., 2008, p. 360) – noting that the frames they are analysing may well be specifically designed to influence their definition of that 'better future', and hopefully allowing them to (re)act reflectively (Schön, 1982).

The Minhocão in São Paulo serves as a case-study to explore this subject. This is a contested planning project, in which multiple points of interaction between interested parties have taken place, and in which frame developments and learning effects over time can be identified. We now turn to describing the case.

3. Case-study presentation

The Minhocão is an elevated highway located in the centre of São Paulo, Brazil (over 20 million inhabitants in the metropolitan area). To understand the case and what is at stake, we first briefly introduce the Brazilian planning system, to then turn to the Minhocão.

3.1 The Brazilian Planning System

Brazil's current planning system was set up as part of the reforms by left-wing political parties at the start of the century, aiming to address stark inequalities and to democratize planning (c.f. Friendly, 2013). It is based on three key planning tools, two of which are relevant for urban areas such as São Paulo: the City Statute and the Metropolis Statute. Both make participation in planning and decision-making compulsory. However, these participatory requirements are frequently criticized in terms of the quality of their implementation (e.g. Caldeira & Holston, 2015; Moura et al., 2018).

Based on the City Statute, a Master Plan for the city is devised and then renewed every ten years, always with extensive mandatory public participation (see *Estatuto*

da cidade, 2001). The *vereadores*[4] of the cities are in charge of making sure this participation occurs; the mayor (executive) and the legislative chamber ratify the Master Plan. Once a plan is decided upon through political and legislative processes, including public participation, the government's planning agency (in São Paulo this is *SP Urbanismo*) implements the plans, again including public participation at each stage of the process.

3.2 The Minhocão

The Minhocão (i.e. 'The Big Worm' (Oliveira et al., 2018)) is an elevated highway in the centre of São Paulo. It was built as the first – and for a long time only – direct connection between east and west of the city centre in 1970, constructed as a flagship project during the military dictatorship. The structure was built directly adjacent to housing; some housing was demolished to make way for the Minhocão. This diminished the area's access to light in the lower apartments and houses, as well as on the streets underneath the structure (see figures 3.2.1 and 3.2.3). It also increased air- and noise-pollution. The area, which had been relatively wealthy, was downgraded significantly in its quality of life, which affected real-estate costs. Soon after the Minhocão's construction, the strain on the area's residents was considered so strong that the highway was closed to car-use at night. This was gradually extended, over the course of several decades, to include Sundays, Saturdays, and longer times at night, partly a result of the contestation described below.

[4] This article uses the term 'vereador' in Portuguese throughout, since its translation can cause confusion as to their function, which differs across countries. São Paulo has 55 vereadores, with elections every 2 years. Together, the vereadores form the *Câmara Municipal*, which is the legislative body of the municipality. Its composition is based on elections of political parties every two years (individual vereadores are prioritized through elections based on open lists).

Figure 3.2.1. *The Minhocão above and below on a Sunday in 2019. (photo by author)*

Figure 3.2.2. *The Minhocão on a Sunday in 2019, mixed public space uses. (photo by author)*

Figure 3.2.3. *Underneath the Minhocão in 2019: darkness and graffiti. Areas with homeless not photographed due to ethical considerations. (photo by author)*

There was often discussion of demolishing the Minhocão. After 2002 this became more feasible due to its relatively decreased importance for traffic because of the (partial) construction of a large ring-road connection that could substitute the east-west connection through the city-centre. Several mayors openly noted their intention to demolish the structure, but they never acted. In the meantime, while this discussion stalled, the highway was gradually appropriated in the car-free hours for public space uses. At first, this included mainly drug use, prostitution, unauthorised late-night- and noise-heavy activities. Over time, however, it involved increasingly more generally accepted recreational activities (such as skating, cycling, running, yoga classes, picnics, sun-bathing, casual walks, dog walking, etc.; see figure 3.2.2). In the meantime, the space underneath the Minhocão maintained a relatively deteriorated form (see figure 3.2.3), housing homeless people and drug-addicts in varying degrees depending on the country's fluctuating economic and social conditions.

The appropriation of the Minhocão's street space as public space has to be seen in the context of several political and activist movements and struggles for the improvement of public space in São Paulo, especially in the city centre (see de Freixo, 2016). In 2014 the then mayor, Fernando Haddad, sanctioned the final draft of the city's new Master Plan. This plan not only stated that the Minhocão would be fully deactivated for car-use (at first leaving open whether the structure would be removed or its use redefined), but also defined other places for similar types of public space use, such as the main traffic, culture and business artery of the city, the Avenida Paulista (Rolnik, 2017, pp. 157–159; 162–164). The occupation of a park

near the Minhocão, the parque Augusta, further stirred the debate on public and green space in the city centre, and made this – along with sustainable mobility and economic and liveability/residential upgrades – a core agenda-point for the ensuing plans for this part of the city (Rolnik, 2017, pp. 113–114). The Minhocão produced and reproduces spatial inequalities, but its removal may not be able to eliminate them – the negotiations for its future are thus crucial to determine which groups are affected in which ways by the resulting inequalities and social injustices.

In 2013, an association was founded to officially promote the implementation of a park on the structure of the Minhocão. The alignment with the city's new master plan was no coincidence. As a reaction, two other initiatives formally sprung up in 2014 with counterarguments. And thus, what had been an informal contestation through alternative use and some relatively weak political engagement, became a more formal contestation of what should happen with the Minhocão. The municipality began to engage these groups through formal public deliberations. This contested arena provides a highly relevant setting to study how social learning through framing in contested planning unfolds.

4. Research approach

The case-study research on the Minhocão was carried out between December 2018 and April 2019. The study looked at how social learning unfolded between individuals and small groups interacting about the Minhocão. Involved individuals and small groups were approached and studied, and the frames and framing strategies they used over time to achieve their goals for the Minhocão were identified. 2014 was chosen as the starting point for the in-depth analysis because that year the city's Master Plan was renewed, several decisions concerning the Minhocão were taken, and three contesting actors began to encounter each-other in the struggle over the future of the Minhocão. Nevertheless, the time before 2014 was analysed in terms of contextualizing the findings. A qualitative research approach was used, triangulating three types of input: primary documentation (including laws, regulations and primary material from public deliberations), secondary documentation (including news, blogs, articles and social media discussions), and 32 semi-structured interviews.

Frames were identified based on how i) a topic was articulated, ii) claims were made, and iii) other actors were addressed (see Benford & Snow, 2000; Schön & Rein, 1994). The frames were identified inductively, meaning that they were uncovered from the material in several rounds of reviews. As Schön and Rein (1994, p.34) note, "we tend to argue *from* our tacit frames *to* our explicit policy positions." Therefore, the identification of frames occurs through a kind of 'distilling' method: first, arguments and concepts were identified that are consistently used to influence

which decision should be taken on a given planning object (in this case, the Minhocão). Then, the underlying larger theme is gradually distilled, based on commonalities between arguments and references made to existing major frames such as 'health', 'democracy' or 'environmental sustainability'. In some cases, people emphasize that yes, this is indeed the core 'value' that a group is trying to achieve. In other cases, this is less clear cut, and each person in a group will employ a different frame or set of frames, despite their joint work for a specific goal (e.g. turning the Minhocão into a park). As Schön and Rein (1994, p. 34-36) highlight, there are several practical as well as theoretical difficulties for reconstructing frames, which is the only way to identify them. The inductive identification of frames is therefore always subject to some interpretation and bias (as one could argue any research is). However, all steps are made traceable, and this approach can be shown (as below) to be accurate enough to say something about the variability and change over time of frames and the way they are used. This can give indications for social learning and its effects.

Changes in frames indicate learning[5]. Social learning is identified if an existing frame is further consolidated, if it changes in content, in form, or in terms of who it is addressed to, if a frame is discarded, or if an entirely new frame emerges (if, that is, any of these happen through social interaction – otherwise the change is noted as non-social learning based). In many cases, such learning also leads to a change in the framing strategy of a group and in the frame arrangements (table 3.2.1) between groups. Monitoring the interactions between contesting groups over time aligned with the identified changes in frames, as well as answers in interviews, are used to determine when the changes indicate social (versus e.g. self-study) learning.

5. Findings

This section presents the findings from the case-study. It first presents the relevant actors for the present analysis, the frames they employ and the audiences they direct their frames at. Then the frame strategies are outlined. In the last subsection, the relation of the frame analysis results to interaction between groups and social learning outcomes are given.

5.1 Actors, frames and frame audiences

The most engaged actors attempting to influence the future of the Minhocão are either governmental bodies or Minhocão-specific action groups. In the remainder of the article, the latter are anonymised as Action Groups AG1, AG2 and AG3. Aside from these actors, there are non-organized stakeholders, of which residents in the area surrounding the Minhocão and homeless people using the Minhocão for

[5] Though learning may also occur when there is no frame change, this is not the focus of this article.

shelter are worth highlighting. Furthermore, there are general interest groups, which have an opinion on the Minhocão but are not themselves as a group actively or continuously involved in or focused on pursuing this particular subject. They include, for example, architecture groups, security councils and real-estate companies. Several of them were interviewed, and taken into consideration in the analysis. However, the focus in the remainder of the article lies in understanding the AGs, since they are the most vociferous and directly involved in the contestation for the future of the Minhocão, therefore giving the most relevant information on social learning via framing in contested planning contexts.

Below, the Minhocão-specific AGs are presented based on: their main goal, their membership, some key motivations of members to participate, interactions within and to the outside of the group, and the main frames used by the group. Figure 3.2.5, moreover, gives a general timeline of the key moments of contestation and achievements of the groups and relevant contextual occurrences. The public deliberations organized by the legislative had the purpose for *vereadores* to discuss their law proposals in relation to the Minhocão. The first was set up to influence the city's Master Plan's proposal for the future of the Minhocão (result: the Minhocão is to be deactivated for car-use, with the possibilities for disassembly or park use to be deliberated after the publication of the Master Plan). After the Master Plan was ratified, a temporarily involved *vereador*, pressed especially by AG3, organized forums for discussion outside the legislative body. After these forums ended, partly due to the rejection of continuation by AG1 who say to have been attacked too strongly, three more public deliberations occurred in the legislative body: one organized by the *vereador* in favour of the park, two by the *vereador* in favour of disassembly. Several other public deliberations occurred on locations outside the legislative chamber, usually at the Minhocão or in its direct vicinity to attract people from the area itself. Some of these were organized by the pro-park *vereador*, others by AG1 and AG3. However, these were less well documented and were actively opposed (and usually not attended) by AG2. After the mayor officially declared, in 2019, that the Minhocão would at least partially be turned into a park, SP Urbanismo organized a broader public deliberation from their own organization.

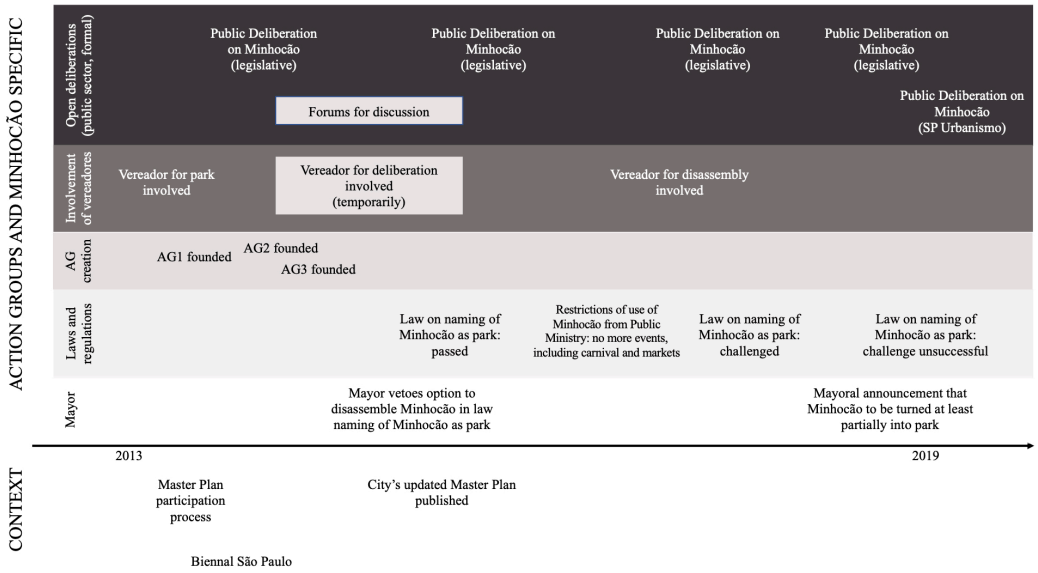


Figure 3.2.5. *Timeline of relevant events in the contestation for the future of the Minhocão 2013-2019. (compiled by author)*

5.1.1 AG1: park advocates

This action group's aim is to turn the Minhocão into an elevated park, ideally without any parts being removed. The group was founded officially as an 'Association' in mid-2013. Beginning with a small group of about three advocates, membership steadily increased. The core group grew to about ten, while the general supporters on Facebook, for instance, by 2019 had risen to 13.245. The key motivations to participate in the contestation surrounding the Minhocão's future are very varied in this group. They range from personal experience to environmental sustainability, social accessibility and gentrification as a positive development. In terms of personal experience, some members speak of enjoyment of the city while walking on the structure on weekends, the desire to work on an architecturally related project in an 'activist' way, seeking a like-minded group, or even seeking conflictual interaction to some extent. One of the key founders of AG1 takes the interaction with the other groups as a kind of 'sport'. As an engineer, this member also noted enjoyment of the experimentation with such a structure as the Minhocão and what it does to the city. Members of AG1 overall claim to have no personal financial investment in a significant way, except, in a few cases, an apartment at the Minhocão in use by themselves. Interactions among the group's members occur mainly through group- or personal Whatsapp messages, while interaction towards others occur at public deliberations and through Facebook. Public deliberations are the key platform through which contestation toward opposing groups occurs, aimed at convincing mainly third parties from government or other strategic partners to prefer the creation of the park to disassembly.

The frames employed by this group are extremely varied, including recreation, public space, 'green', air quality increase and noise reduction (due to less car use), art and creativity, gentrification as positive, social justice, passion for the city and architecture, among others. These frames could be summarized as fitting under the meta-frames of social and environmental sustainability, health and wellbeing. However, their variety makes it difficult to make a true summary: as will be discussed below, part of their framing strategy is precisely to be found in this wide variety of frames. Different frames are activated depending on the context and intended audience. In public deliberations facing the other AGs and (some) governmental bodies, the frames used are adjusted depending on what the other participants use, making strategic choices. For example, one interviewee recounted about their interactions with the other AGs:

> No, the interaction occurs only in the strictly necessary, such as a public deliberation. And thus, although I am participatory democracy guy, and Habermasian, which is the form of consensus, that world is shots, punches, and bombs. So, we have to go with the fist up and shoot the guys. So, eh.. in that sense, 'no, we're going to discuss what's better, I am going to convince you by force of the best argument', no. […] It's war, it's sabotage, it's playing low…so then we do go to war. (AG1 respondent, 2019)

The strong animosity and contestation between the groups is explained by this respondent as being based on the fact that the other groups emerged specifically as counter-groups to the emergence of AG1, rather than having emerged to promote their own particular agenda.

The kinds of images of the Minhocão presented by this group on their heavily used Facebook page are generally cheery and portray users of the space doing sports, walking dogs, taking a stroll and similar activities.

5.1.2 AG2: disassembly advocates

This action group's aim is to avoid the creation of a park and to disassemble[6] the Minhocão. The group was created in 2014, in reaction to the creation of AG1. AG2's founding members had been in favour of demolition since the construction of the Minhocão, or ever since they first knew the structure, and had been hopeful about the previous mayors' stated intentions to disassemble it. This AG counts about four key members. It is unclear how many passive members they have, as communication is centred on a website and email correspondence (with

[6] AG2 used to advocate demolition but rephrased this as disassembly since a demolition would create extreme damage to the area because the structure is built so close to its surrounding buildings. This argument was first put forward by a member of AG1, arguing that the Minhocão can't possibly be demolished. This is an example of social learning by AG2.

anonymisation of recipients such that their number cannot be discerned). On Facebook they have 700 members, but this site is not often used. In their communication, this group uses mainly dark images or the occasional nostalgic one about how the area looked before the Minhocão was built.

The directors of AG2 are highly emotionally invested in the removal of the Minhocão. The motivation of at least one key member derives from experience personal detriment from residing in the area. With a voice filled with anger and sadness, this respondent describes, for instance, how

> every three months, the cleaning help needs to dismount all curtains, and bring them to the laundry-service, because they start to become grey and dark [due to the pollution from the Minhocão]. […] And here we're confronted with a problem. The curtains can be washed. And our lungs? Can they be washed? So, we are faced with an environmental crime. […] So, the Minhocão is a structural problem. [Putting plants on top of the Minhocão] is adorning the corpse. […] The only valid option is its disassembly. (AG2 respondent, 2019)

The key interactions within this group occur through Whatsapp, email and face-to-face meetings, while interactions outside the group occur mainly through email, their website, and public deliberations. As with AG1, AG2 main moment for contestation in contrast to the opposing groups are public deliberations, though this is used mostly to convince third parties of the importance of disassembly. In fact, one of the key members of AG2 noted in an interview, when asked what they had learned from the process, that they had "*taught much*" – their motivation being to instruct in the correctness of AG2's goal.

The frames used by this group are those of health and safety for the residents of the area. Over the entire time of the contestation, these frames were consistently employed, with arguments, for example, about noise and air pollution affecting the surrounding residents – not only due to car use on the structure but particularly in the space underneath the Minhocão. In terms of safety, the arguments are mainly about burglars entering apartments at the height of the Minhocão for stealing, and about the fragility of the structure so that it might collapse if kept without very expensive renovations and maintenance. They frequently quoting quantitative data and especially health-related academic findings supporting their claims of the effects of pollution. When this overlaps with arguments from AG1, they claim that AG1 ignores the space underneath the Minhocão and its effects, which would not be addressed by creating a park. In public deliberations facing the other action groups and (some) governmental bodies, then, the frames used by AG2 remain consistent on the issues of health and safety. In their online interactions, especially on their website, the group makes use mainly of dark colours and images portraying types

of deterioration of the structure or sharing videos of, for example, people being robbed on nightly strolls on the Minhocão.

5.1.3 AG3: deliberation (and disassembly) advocates

This group's main aim was originally to create a bridge for discussion between AG1 and AG2, emphasizing democratic deliberation, while at the same time having an open personal bias towards the disassembly of the Minhocão. This bias is legitimated by the conviction that there has been too little attention given to a democratic evaluation of the wishes of the population living along the Minhocão, and that they would surely prefer the structure's removal given its impact on their health and safety. In this sense, AG3's members are primarily motivated politically and in terms of activism for the less able. So, for example, one respondent noted that the public deliberations

> are a moment of confrontation. It's conflagrated. It always was and continues to be. Especially because it ends up having a bit that character of conservatives [versus] progressives. […] At the moment I think it's pure antagonism, you know? […] That's why I was saying, in [our group] we avoid that avenue, we always continue to try. So, we proposed removing some of the access ramps […] to see what happens. (AG3 respondent, 2018)

The goal of this proposal was to find compromise between the two groups, although this attempt was not successful, and the other groups continuously rejected any compromise or consensus.

One member of AG3 lives in the vicinity of the structure. The others have emotional attachments such as having had family living there before and shortly after the Minhocão was built and being nostalgic about that time. The group is made up of a very small core group of four members, and more ample support via their Facebook page, which reached 1.815 members by 2019. Typical images used there show the before and after of how the area surrounding the Minhocão and its construction, and videos of deliberations about the future of the Minhocão. The key members also keep each-other motivated through a good friendship (emerged or strengthened mainly though the participation in this group) and enjoyment in the mutual support of their joint cause. One of the key members of this group is strongly motivated also to use this group and the contestation for the Minhocão's use as a learning experience about social interactions, public deliberation and the self, while also attempting to be an example for family members to show activism for *"make[ing] change happen for a future you want, […] with a generally 'communitarian' aim.*"

The frames emphasized by this group are the need for deliberative democracy and social justice. These themes can be considered meta-frames, and the group presents

content as secondary, if important, to their aim. In public deliberations, this group takes on a more passive, listening role. Mainly, they put forward the importance of listening to residents in the area. Some such residents were invited as speakers to the public deliberations, however both AG1 and AG2 invited them, and thus the opinions presented were divided. What AG3 wanted was a wider inclusion of that entire affected population, at least through voting or more accessible participatory events – something they were not to this point able to achieve at length, although the forums of discussion and some other external public meetings were co-organized by them and drew a wide, if sometimes small, audience.

5.2 Framing strategies

Table 3.2.2 gives an overview of the frame themes, frame strategies and frame audiences used per active actor. The table speaks of frame themes rather than frames because the full frames are each made up of a complex set of elements that would require a lot of text to elucidate; the frame theme however gives sufficient indications for what the frame is for the purposes of this article. For example, when health is the frame theme, then the frame is about looking at pollution leading to lung problems, about seeing people coughing in the street, or, for some, homeless people bringing sicknesses to the area and so on – while all this is united under the theme of health by the action group as it interacts with other groups and with its audience. The table shows that the intended audiences of the frame vary, and that they are mostly aimed at third parties. As the intended audiences vary, the frames are designed in such a way that they speak to that audience. When they clash with the frames of groups that are not considered the intended audience, this is generally not perceived as problematic by the group using the frame.

Table 3.2.2. *Frames, frame strategies and intended audiences per actor (compiled by author)*

Actor	Frame themes	Frame strategy	Intended audience (in order of importance)
AG1	Spontaneous use Complex city Passion/emotional/gut feelings Air quality Democracy/people speak with their feet Gentrification as desirable/improvement for residents and businesses	Adaptive (decidedly *not* Coherent, except in ultimate goal)	Any actor that could help them achieve the park Politicians Media NOT the other AGs
AG2	Health Safety Nostalgia	Coherent	General public Residents in the area Politicians in their favour
AG3	Democracy Social Justice Nostalgia	Deliberative	(AG1 and AG2) Politicians General public

In line with this, three key framing strategies emerged:

Adaptive: frames are kept purposefully flexible so that they can be aligned with whichever actor seems most likely to help achieve the desired planning outcome. Breadth of subjects is preferred over depth, and large group size is preferred so that different insights can be brought in (it is not considered a problem when these disappear). This strategy is aimed at third parties rather than opposing ones, at least in this studied case.

Coherent: frames are kept consistent over time, in an attempt to convince precisely through this coherence. Depth instead of breadth of understanding of the content of the frame is emphasized. This strategy is aimed mainly at third parties, at least in the studied case.

Deliberative: frames used to encourage and facilitate dialogue and to create optimal conditions for democracy to function in favour of the majority (as opposed to an elite minority). It is therefore aimed at (dialogue with and between) opposing parties, and at citizens in general who may want to be actively involved in the contestation.

AG1 uses the adaptive strategy. This works well for them since their intended audience is anyone who will help to transform the Minhocão into a park. The parties that have this power are many and changing, so flexibility is useful. AG1 sees AG2 and AG3 as enemies but considers it fun and useful to appropriate and/or alienate their frames. For example, one respondent described one of the early interventions of AG1 thus:

> And then the people against, [AG2], started to criticize, because – and then they invented, because it would damage health, that I don't know what – all sorts of things like that, absurd. […]. [Then, AG1 member X] one day came and said: we will talk to the public defence. We're going to appeal to the Statute of Children and the Elderly that it is damaging to health for the Minhocão to be open to cars. We'll ask them to close it on Saturdays. Let's go! We agreed like that, […] we didn't have a planning like that telling us we're going this way. (AG1 respondent, 2019)

This action worked in AG1s favour even though their focus previously had not necessarily been on health, while that of AG2 consistently was. AG1 thus made use of frame appropriation (table 3.2.1) for this particular intervention.

AG2 employs the coherent strategy and aims its frames mostly at third parties, but also at the opposing AGs, especially AG1. However, AG1 is seen as a frame audience only for frame alienation or annihilation (table 3.2.1), rather than trying to convince them of their own frames (i.e. not seeking frame alignment, as confirmed in the experience of the processes described by AG1 and AG2 and the attitude present in AG2 respondents' phrasing quoted above, such as '*The only valid option is*

its disassembly' and having '*taught much*'). They employ frames in a non-flexible way, trusting that coherence will eventually lead to alignment with an influential third party. Their personal connection to one political agent in particular, who has already been deeply convinced of the used frame, gives them confidence that this framing strategy will succeed to lead to the disassembly of the Minhocão.

AG3 uses the deliberative strategy, though they are also keen to demonstrate coherence as far as possible. AG3 is more interested in processual aspects, aiming for democratic processes to determine the outcome. Although they do have a preferred outcome, which is the disassembly of the Minhocão, their deliberative ideology does not allow them to build their frame and framing strategy accordingly. Their intended audience are AG1 and AG2 as well as citizens in general. However, over time, frustrating attempts to align the intended audiences in view of democratic values led to a shift toward reaching out to third parties meant to guard democratic planning (i.e. politicians and *vereadores*).

5.3 Interaction and social learning

Interactions between AGs occurred mainly at public deliberations or through social media. In all cases, the interaction took similar shapes: between action groups, especially AG1 and AG2, the interactions observed were openly hostile, ranging from relatively business-like 'factual' argumentation and presentations to dramatic emotional statements at a podium (see quote above from AG3 respondent). AG3 at first attempted to create more constructive deliberative exchanges between AG1 and AG2, for example by contacting both parties separately and attempting to convince them to engage differently, but this approach did not succeed. With time, therefore, AG3 did not interact much directly with AG1 and AG2 anymore but focused on observing AG1 and AG2 and on engaging the involved *vereadores* to attempt to facilitate a democratic outcome. Third parties were not usually present at interaction moments between groups, except when invited for specific purposes such as presenting an argument. This was then done in a very formal and ritualised manner.

The social learning occurring from interaction between AGs pertained to the following kinds:

- Basic content: e.g. what the height of the rails along the side of the Minhocão (which could impact the safety of events on the structure), or the costs of disassembly or park construction
- In-depth content: e.g. complex understanding of the legal frameworks, vested interests involved and which arguments have which effects on which groups

Emotional feedback: e.g. a sense of community, safety, anger or (in)justice reinforced through social interactions

Strategic knowledge: e.g. how to argue, how to act or how to engage or anger others

Exchange management: e.g. the conscious use of social interactions to promote frame alignment, frame annihilation or frame appropriation (table 3.2.1), and encourage or avoid the same being done to one's own frame(s)

AG1 engaged social learning most consciously and including all the above. This was used to feed their adaptive strategy, so that they could react flexibly to any new reality in terms of the most opportune third party to which they could align their frames. In relation to social learning within the group, one respondent highlighted that it was crucial that people with very different perspectives and motivations joined forces. For instance, one brought juridical knowledge, while another complemented this with the knowledge of a resident in the area and key connections to the media.

AG2 engaged social learning only for counterattacks and for feeding emotional feedback. Other social learning kinds were not engaged actively, though it may have occurred subconsciously. This is in line with their coherent strategy, for which new types of knowledge were not needed, while reinforcing their emotional relationship to the subject and to the opposing group fed a sense of entitlement that kept the group engaged and was assumed to work well when facing their frame audience.

AG3 engaged social learning through observation, studying content and the other groups' interactions. This aligns with their framing strategy, as they sought to understand both AG1 and AG2 to attempt to align the frames (table 3.2.1) as well as identify ways in which they might understand each-other and how AG3 could take a role in this. Exchange management, therefore, was the other central social learning type they engaged consciously. At the same time, AG3 was the most conscious about socially learning about themselves, their reactions and self-reflection.

6. Discussion

The case of the Minhocão delivers a number of interesting results. This section discusses them in relation to framing, social learning and planning outcomes. Table 3.2.3 is discussed throughout the sub-sections.

Table 3.2.3. *Framing strategies and their key characteristics in terms of frame arrangements, frame's intended audiences, types of learning, and the benefits and drawbacks for achieving the group objectives (compiled by author)*

Framing strategy	Frame arrangements	Frame's intended audience	Types of learning when facing opposing party	Benefits for achieving group objective	Drawbacks for achieving group objective
Adaptive	Preferred: Frame appropriation Other: all	Preferred: Third party Other: Very rarely opposing group	Preferred: Basic content and strategic knowledge Other: Exchange management, emotional feedback, in-depth content	Flexible to change in context Can convince multiple third parties, even if they don't agree amongst each-other Can make use of interactions for frame appropriation Breadth of knowledge	Opposing parties are likely to find this strategy dismissible because it is not coherent Third parties that prefer coherence may reject the group's aim due to its incoherence Might anger opposing parties due to frame appropriation Depth of knowledge is lacking
Coherent	Preferred: Frame alignment (with third party), frame alienation (with opposing party) Other: Frame annihilation or appropriation, but rarely	Preferred: Third party Other: none	Preferred: Emotional feedback Other: none	Convincing to opposing and third parties whose frames are aligned with the groups' Depth of knowledge	Vulnerable to change in context Breadth of knowledge is lacking
Deliberative	Preferred: Frame alignment Other: Frame appropriation	Preferred: Opposing party Other: Third party	Preferred: In-depth content Other: Exchange management	Flexible to change in context Can convince multiple third parties, even if they don't agree amongst each-other	A lack of concrete content may not speak to opposing nor third parties that aim to make concrete choices, and thus may dismiss the group/ their frame

6.1 Frames, frame arrangements and framing strategies

The case-study refutes the assumption that interest groups contesting the outcome of a planning project adjust their frames to each-other (i.e. seeking broad frame alignment). It shows instead that third parties, which are often absent from participatory moments, are the main audience for which frames and framing strategies are constructed. The public deliberations and interactions with direct opponents in a contested planning arena serve to develop framing strategies through experimentation and testing of frames, and as a space for potential frame appropriation. Rancière's concept of *la mésentente* comes to mind (cf. Gualini, 2015): AGs that face one-another in contested planning processes are unlikely to hear each-other or agree. Instead, they watch factors other than their speech, or especially other than their arguments – such as their framing strategy, their attitudes, the way others react to them. They use what they socially learn from this to influence third parties indirectly, hoping that they will act in their interests. Furthermore, at least in this particular case, framing strategies are mainly determined by the motivations of individuals and groups for contesting a planning outcome, as well as which party they have, therefore, chosen to address.

6.2 Effects on social learning

As Table 3 shows, each framing strategy leads to a different focus in terms of social learning. The adaptive strategy focuses most on basic, quickly gathered strategic knowledge; the coherent one on emotional feedback; and the deliberative one on in-depth content. These differences lead each strategy to develop its own particular strengths and weaknesses, each able to thrive in some environments more than in others.

The more strategically the groups act, the more they are likely to actively engage social learning to rearrange frames and perfect framing strategies. But when the audience of the frames is not the group they face but a third party, this learning does not lead to frame- nor interest alignment between AGs, nor necessarily to deep understanding of and for the other group. Rather, frame appropriations, alienations, and annihilations – nearly aggressive – are frequently observed strategies that are achieved through social learning.

6.3 Planning outcomes

The last word has not been said on the Minhocão's future. The adaptive framing strategy seems to have been the most effective thus far towards the objective of turning the Minhocão into a park. The uncertain political situation in São Paulo makes this strategy's adaptability particularly powerful. It is not necessarily less legitimate due to its flexible features, but planners should be wary of legitimacy issues in such situations. Furthermore, certain third parties have become irritated

by the adaptability of AG1. The coherent framing strategy has won some battles mainly by proving loyalty to a particular third party. This flatters the third party, and ensures returned loyalty. However, this has not (yet) led to secure steps towards disassembly. The deliberative strategy so far seems to be the least powerful in terms of achieving its planning objective in this case-study. Despite their frame alignment with several powerful political parties, their preferred outcome (disassembly) is not the one these parties are choosing. This might be due to the strategy's focus on process over content, leaving the third parties to agree on the practice but feeling free to choose a different outcome.

Each framing strategy has its own merits and depends to large extents on (its reaction to) contextual developments. The fact that the political environment in São Paulo is highly variable and complex make the final result very difficult to predict. Nevertheless, the above findings show that the framing strategies are effective and have important repercussions for social learning among participants in contested planning and for planning outcomes.

7. Conclusion

In the contested planning case-study of the Minhocão, social learning indeed appears to be mediated by frames addressed at other, usually third, parties. The case furthermore provides further insight into the co-constitutive nature of collaborative and agonistic planning (Legacy et al., 2019), and into ways in which conflict can be key to understanding the power of contextually specific skill development (Murtagh & Ellis, 2011). As opposing parties are likely to address third parties instead of each-other, an understanding beyond collaborative and agnostic practice is needed: the interactions that occur within the participatory planning process are used more for social learning and strategizing than to seek consensus or agonism among participants. There is mostly only an indirect relationship with third parties at whom framing strategies are aimed and who are expected to influence planning outcomes. This means that contesting actors devise often cleverly crafted framing strategies, informed by the participatory planning process through, most often, frame appropriations or alienations.

In this context, one can observe that different framing strategies tend to have specific consequences for planning outcomes and for social learning. In the case-study of the Minhocão, the three framing strategies that emerged are adaptive, coherent and deliberative strategies – in other cases others may emerge. For planning outcomes, they each have both benefits and drawbacks: while one may expect coherence to be key for pressing one's point (and sometimes it can be), this case-study shows that an adaptive framing strategy that avoids coherence can in some contexts be more effective. For social learning, the framing strategies impact

whether content, emotional feedback or strategic knowledge is emphasized – and in any case show that social learning does not lead to more collaboration between contestants.

For planners to be able to decipher and react to social learning processes in contested planning contexts, it is therefore especially useful to look for which (third) parties are addressed by the contestants and what framing strategy is chosen to do so. Whether consensus is sought or rejected might be less impactful than who is addressed and how. Planners may also find, in their search for these answers, that they are themselves being addressed. Uncovering which framing strategies they are being confronted with, and which framing strategies they might themselves actively employ, can be crucial for impacting both planning outcomes and the relationships with and learning impacts among contesting participants in planning.

Section 4.

Conclusion

Section 4. Conclusion

'Is it Learning?'

Luca Bertolini (2011) once wrote an editorial asking whether planning is essentially about learning. This thesis explores social learning in planning with the explicit assumption that learning certainly *occurs* in planning and *matters* for its development and outcomes. This approach builds on existing (social) learning literature in planning (Bertolini, 2011; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Friedmann, 1987; Glaser et al., 2019; Schön, 1982), but brings in more of a psychology-based perspective as well. The dissertation acknowledges that learning can contribute to change but challenges the idea that it always does, as well as the idea that it should. This conclusion revisits the key findings from this dissertation's approach to social learning and its repercussions. Finally, this section provides some explicit policy recommendations, reflects on limitations and makes suggestions for further research.

Key findings and reflections

This dissertation set out to uncover *how social learning at the individual and small group levels impacts co-creative planning processes*. To do so, two research objectives, with two sub-research questions each, were used to explore possible answers to the main question.

What does a psychological perspective on social learning in planning uncover?

The first research objective was explored through two closely related sub-research questions; each one looking at the topic of contributions from psychology, the first through a conceptual approach (Chapter 2.1), the second through a more methodological approach (Chapter 2.2).

The conceptual approach delivered a comprehensive overview of the concept of social learning as understood in planning – inspired by namely organizational studies, and environmental, governance and participation studies – and what conceptual contributions could be provided through a deeper engagement with the psychology-based understanding of social learning. This resulted in a conceptual model of social learning as an analytical lens. Here, participants in a co-creative planning context enter this arena from specific roles, but the social learning process between them is based on the feedback between personal and group dynamics unfolding through interaction (which goes beyond the original roles). As related in the respective Chapter (2.1), the outcomes of these interactions can affect behaviours, policies and physical characteristics of the environment of the participants. As further research, it may be interesting to explore how these interactions also affect social practices and structural conditions in which they take

place. In any case, the value of employing social learning as an analytical lens in planning is demonstrated to highlight both positive and negative potential outcomes of social learning (e.g. more tolerance for different views on a subject, as well as more knowledge of how to manipulate a certain group to one's advantage); to untangle power relations between individuals and groups at a psychological level (e.g. why does a certain individual manager appear to have power over a group of people that disagrees with her? Does it have to do with her network, or perhaps with the group's previous experience with another manager who in fact had a very different attitude but whose characteristics are being projected onto the newcomer?); demonstrating the importance of the micro-level, even when we are chiefly interested in higher levels of abstraction; and finally, showing that individuals and small groups are, to a crucial extent, more than the role through which they enter a planning interaction.

The methodological approach taken in Chapter 2.2 led to the development of a method for mapping social learning that helps to identify who learns what from whom in co-creative planning. This method reinforces the finding in Chapter 2.1 that social learning can lead to both positive and negative outcomes by considering all ways that social learning impacts individual minds as signs for social learning. Another key finding of the article – both conceptually and through a pilot case study – is the demonstration that an important impact of social learning processes is its contribution to reinforcing the status-quo. This occurs for example when knowledge is confirmed and therefore previous knowledge or assumptions are further solidified in an actor's mind. This Chapter furthermore applies the methodology of storytelling for studying social learning academically without infringing on ethical boundaries due to the sensitive nature of the subject.

In answer to the first research objective then, a psychological perspective on social learning in planning uncovers a great deal of analytical potential and important micro-level factors, such as highlighting personal dynamics and the way group and personal dynamics shape cognitive processes that can have important short but especially long-term effects on planning and planning interactions. Such micro-level factors can have repercussions at higher levels of abstractions that cannot be fully understood without zooming in – such as the further consolidation and spreading – or the challenging – in society of stereotypes about planners, managers, citizens, artists and others.

Overall, the psychology-based understanding of social learning in planning deepens the debate on learning within planning literature by connecting the individual, group and societal levels. It also highlights how individual characteristics (of the perceiving individual as well as of those the given individual perceives) matter for what is

learned and why. Elements that are usually side-lined or ignored as trivial can be determining for how a situation is conceptualised, and what the take-aways of a given individual will be – as this is repeated in various planning moments and for various individuals it can end up shaping a much wider, systemic picture of planning. This can help planners discern important elements going beyond stereotypes – though understanding as well when a stereotype might in fact be helpful for understanding a situation, as long as they are aware that they themselves are likely also seen through a number of stereotype-lenses. The tacit and explicit skills involved in the analytical task of understanding and valuing social learning dynamics can make planning interactions and co-creative endeavours easier to navigate and to evaluate in terms of given normative goals. As noted (and see also below in the discussion on societal relevance), ethical considerations narrow the instrumental possibilities of this framework – its analytical powers however should not be underestimated.

If social learning does not lead to change as easily as previously presupposed, how *can/does* it nevertheless impact change?

The second research objective was explored through two specific sub-questions (in the overall dissertation these are sub-questions 3 and 4), each taking on a different conceptual lens and a correspondingly different case study.

Sub-question 3 asked how social learning impacts change as understood through turning points and critical junctures. Chapter 3.1 explored this subject through a two-fold methodology. First, through a literature review on critical junctures and turning points and, second, through a case-study of a small-scale local level planning initiative that involved a large variety of stakeholders along its lifecycle up to implementation. Studying turning points and critical junctures at this micro-level of analysis through the lens of social learning uncovered ways in which social learning impacts endurance and implementation dynamics. The Chapter thereby also demonstrated how social learning as an analytical lens can shed light on other theoretical frames, namely by adding a micro-level dimension.

Sub-question 4 explored how social learning affects framing dynamics in contested planning processes. Chapter 3.2 demonstrated that this can occur through interactions between parties who socially learn from one-another but use what is learnt not to influence each-other or their interaction (though this happens as well) but third parties, with whom they are often not in direct contact. The framing strategies thus use opposing parties' interactions without aiming at one another in terms of convincing or influence. This contributes to transcend the opposition between collaborative and agonistic forms of planning, showing both their co-constitutive nature and their insufficiency in explaining interactions in planning.

Instead, the Chapter proposes that neither collaboration nor agonism can fully explain what happens in a planning process in which actors in fact speak to absent third parties. Their interactions can be better understood by studying what they socially learn from each other, and how they use the planning moments to influence the third parties with framing strategies.

In answer to the second research objective, Chapters 3.1 and 3.2 have demonstrated the continuously double-edged sword of social learning: it insists on contributing to both the status-quo and change, but certainly *also* to change. This change can take the shape of supporting endurance (sometimes in unexpected ways such as through the development of spite) and framing dynamics – as only two examples, demonstrating that the lens of social learning can deliver new insights in known terrain such as studies of critical junctures and of frames.

Overall, then, understanding the impact of social learning on change in planning contributes to highlighting especially two elements:
i) the cumulative and important impact of minor social learning and decision moments for both project development and the perception of it by participants. Small moments may be significant for triggering or significantly shaping systemic undercurrents, affecting planning outcomes in the process. A forensic evaluation of the often lengthy (pre-)implementation processes of initiatives may help to understand the implementation of small-scale planning initiatives beyond serendipity or visionary leadership.
ii) that conflicts and the framing strategies they involve have an important role in planning processes also for understanding how conflicts can be dealt with (e.g. if frames are not aimed at one another but at third parties they will have a very different learning impact than if they are aimed at one another). This also highlights the importance of valuing, and especially of attempting to understand conflict beyond dualities, in planning.

How does social learning at the individual and small group levels impact co-creative planning processes?
Returning to the main question, the findings of this research have demonstrated that social learning, if taken as an analytical lens at the individual and small group levels, impacts co-creative planning through an upward cascade of micro-effects. This impact can take a reinforcing or changing shape and does not have an inherent directionality (i.e. it cannot be assumed to lead in any particular direction, at least not without (ethically questionable, as discussed below) guidance). Certainly, this way of employing social learning analytically has highlighted once more the importance of reflection in planning research and practice (in line with e.g. Donald Schön, 1982). It has also provided further support for viewing co-creation – and

participatory planning more generally – in a constructively critical light (in line with e.g. Janssen-Jansen & R-LINK Consortium, 2016; Savini, 2016; Zandbergen & Jaffe, 2014). Namely, by highlighting that the benefits do not arise as pure diffusion mechanisms between individuals next to each other but through social learning based on specific personal and group dynamics. It shows some general and some concrete benefits and drawbacks that emerge during interactions in co-creative planning (cf. introduction p. 22). Furthermore, the findings have strengthened existing, and perhaps even introduced new, links between the discipline of planning and that of psychology. As such, the dissertation aligns itself well with its subject: it reinforces some of what has existed, challenges other aspects (e.g. understanding planning processes through the tension between agonism and collaboration), and introduces some new elements to the literature.

Societal relevance

As follows from the findings of this dissertation, for planning policy and practice the key relevance of this research lies in seeing social learning not in itself as a golden bullet that is activated to a desirable end when 'all the right people', as varied as possible, are seated around a table together, but rather as an analytical tool. Using social learning in an analytical sense might seem to focus purely on an academic wish for a posteriori understanding, but this is misleading. Both in practice and academia such an analytical perspective on social learning, used in hindsight, nevertheless can also be instrumental. For example, to identify starting points for discussion of specific subjects that previously appear to have led to an impasse or turning point that a given actor would like to reverse or return to, to potentially lead to a different outcome. Or weak- or strongpoints of the social learning dynamics in a particular group can be identified and addressed to allow for a particular content to be deliberated further – not forgetting that such tweaking is dependent on the particular content, as the social learning dynamics would likely evolve very differently if the subject under deliberation would be different.

In this vein, figure 4.1 shows five steps through which social learning could function as an analytical tool in co-creative planning, in a way that delivers insights on possible points of intervention. Note that this way of applying social learning analysis aims at moments of group discussions. If the objective is to understand social learning in a more longitudinal sense and based on for instance its impact on small-scale neighbourhood initiatives, then most of the same questions apply but it seems worthwhile, based on the findings from Chapter 3.1, to also look at endurance and implementation dynamics (namely in steps 1 and 4).

However, a very important caveat that must always be considered is the legitimacy and ethical boundaries of any intervention involving an attempt to influence social

learning, since this can infringe on the will and cognition of people who may not want to be influenced in such a way. This moral-ethical dilemma is, of course, rather common in policy action and probably much too rarely taken seriously. However, when social learning is understood at the micro-level as in this dissertation, a micro-level intervention might be sought which can't ethically be supported. It thus needs to be considered very carefully, and perhaps be transparently discussed rather than covertly applied – if at all.

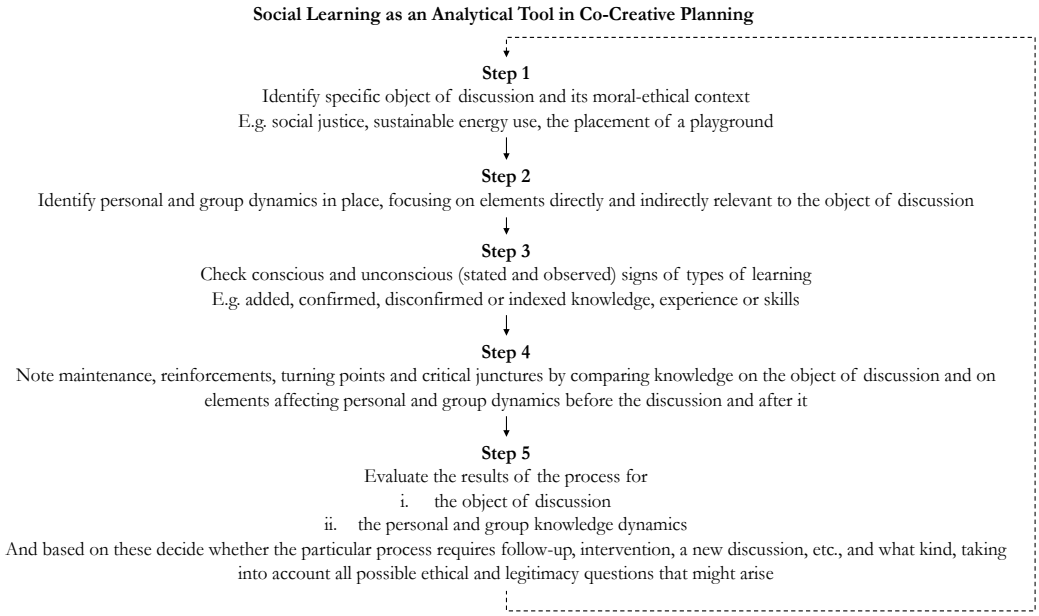


Figure 4.1. *A proposal for how social learning can be applied as an analytical tool in co-creative planning (source: author)*

Some other societal relevance is also worth noting. First of all, social learning can be valuable in itself, as a process of enriching one's mind from one's own perspective (again, not per se in a sustainable, inclusive or otherwise way deemed 'desirable' in a given policy/political context), this can be a very slow process and not per se one that planning research or practice can count on to any particular effect. Certainly, it is not a straight forward nor efficient process. The temporal element is important in another sense, too: what happens in a given co-creative planning moment will influence the next, and all that follow. In the same vein, what happens in this given co-creative planning moment can benefit greatly from understanding previous experiences participants have had with co-creating with other current participants or associations they make (e.g. stereotyping). Thus, this dissertation highlights the general importance of considering personal dynamics as well as group dynamics closely during co-creative planning, also in terms of their

long-term impact on the willingness and capability of participants to join other such engagements.

A key contribution of this dissertation is also the recognition that it is important to consider both what planners themselves learn and are able to reflect upon, as well as what happens from the perspective of all involved participants. The knowledge, skills, experience, biases and preconceptions brought in by 'lay' citizens, developers, managers, so-called 'creatives' and so on can be crucial for the involved planners' perceptions of what is at stake and what should be done. But those other involved people's take-away from the planning process is itself also important, for themselves but also for the planning outcome: directly, for instance for the way in which they react to the decisions of the planners, whether they become actively involved, whether they use a space, whether they are happy to contribute to it; and less directly, in the ways in which they engage with planning in the future.

The latter itself is also a take-away for citizens involved in planning processes, for example through their own initiatives. If they take an aware and reflective stance in relation to their own learning processes, this might help them uncover, for example, what stereotypes might be worthwhile to challenge and which can be helpful to keep, how best to inform their framing strategies more consciously, how small turning points can shed new light in the larger perspective of implementing initiatives or even of gaining advantage in a dispute over a planning outcome.

Limitations and further research

This dissertation took an exploratory stance. This was in part due to curiosity for identifying something that might not have been seen before, without already having seen it. But it was also in part because it sought to tap the relatively unknown potential of a psychology-inspired take on social learning in planning, and thus seeing its contribution as necessarily exploratory. An exploratory approach, however, necessarily neglects questions of broader findings and generalizability, which need to be further expanded to check and complement findings in this dissertation. Furthermore, more in-depth case studies in other locations, perhaps including a comparative analysis, could be a valuable way of further exploring and validating the findings. More quantitative research into social learning in planning could not be completed for this dissertation but would likely also provide very useful insights, especially by introducing psychology-based quantitative approaches in a planning context. For example, an ongoing research on this was begun in collaboration with Lynette Germes and Lector Carina Wiekens at the Hanzehogeschool Groningen, the Netherlands, to explore whether initiators of locally-based energy initiatives have similar experiences with social learning as those resulting from the cases from Sections 2 and 3 in this dissertation.

Further research with a more practice-oriented aim could also further explore the lifecycles of the particular cases studied, and involve the participants in an explicit exercise to reflect on how social learning has affected the planning process(es) they are involved in. Workshops with planners at different levels, or consultations in terms of social learning based on observations of group interactions could be envisioned, though here the question of legitimacy would always remain crucial. Consultations, finally, would have to remain mindful of the in-depth knowledge needed to truly reflect on social learning: a one-off observation (as attempted during a workshop by the author at consultancy-group ANTEA, in the Netherlands in October 2018, see von Schönfeld (2018)) will always remain very generalist and might completely bypass the true underlying sources of group dynamics and learning processes observed. Such consultation attempts could, however, in themselves be an interesting subject of further academic research.

Roots and Wings for Planning

Seeking change for the sake of change seems to call mainly for wings, while being relatively blind for the direction they should take the flyer into. Furthermore, it appears to neglect the value of roots. As with the planner at the beginning of the introduction to the dissertation, this is a difficult if not impossible stance to maintain. Holding on to roots and rejecting wings can also become toxic, however (see von Schönfeld & Ferreira, forthcoming). But how is it possible to acknowledge both roots and wings and still retain agency? If one remains in the metaphor of flight and land, one can imagine migrating birds, who always return to a place where they feel rooted, despite spending most of their time flying and in other places. But turning to a more human level, the idea of combining roots and wings leads to a potentially very valuable 'ambidextrous' (that is, capable of two things conceptualised as opposites equally well simultaneously; see e.g. Gibson and Birkinshaw (2013) and Raisch and Birkinshaw (2004) for a conceptualisation in organizational studies) position that can be both reflexive and visionary, knowledgeable of history and open to difference and innovation. Some subjects might benefit more from stronger roots, others from powerful wings – as with everything, really, there is no 'one size fits all'. Importantly, analytical perspectives can contribute to understanding both. An analytical perspective on social learning can inform about existing roots and wings. Combined with a reinvigoration of debate (in collaborative *and* agonistic terms, see Chapter 3.2, Lennon (2017) and Legacy et al. (2019)) on the public interest to help guide wings, this might give rise to the questions that allow true sustainable, inclusive and beautiful realities to emerge in variety across the globe (a vision based on the author's own normative hopes). Planners make part of the ideal discipline to make this link by seeking to understand and cherish what exists, while also seeking visions for alternative futures.

Overall, this dissertation has succeeded in leaving the author with many more – though more sophisticated (she hopes) – questions than at the beginning of the journey. It has crafted more details on existing as well as new roots in the planning and psychology disciplines, and sketched pathways that wings of planning could explore.

Section 5.

Epilogue

Section 5. Epilogue

This epilogue turns to some questions that have intrigued me throughout the research for this dissertation, but that could not feasibly be explored within the course of a single dissertation. I would like to share them here as a way to encourage thinking of the findings of the dissertation as stepping stones for wider and further research, and more philosophical debates. I am also open to further suggestions, and to collaborations to research these subjects.

First, some questions flowing directly from the findings in this dissertation are:

> *What are the implications of seeing social learning as an inevitable process in social interaction for how normative planning research and practice can be conducted, informed and shaped?*
>
> *If any social interaction generates social learning, what can this tell us more deeply about the impact of collaborative, agonistic, and hybrid forms of deliberation or collaboration?*
>
> *How does literature on ethics inform social learning applications further than the reflections applied so far in this dissertation discuss?*

More philosophical questions include what may seem like a rather random collection, and yet the logic that allowed them to emerge is related to my attempts to seek out: i) what kind of change I would like to envision for planning (I am exploring ideas of degrowth economics for this); ii) which root-factors may be contemporarily holding a strong grip on the ways in which we are able to perceive potential futures (fear and magic are the examples I feel compelled to explore, though there are certainly many others); and iii) whether a third culture perspective might provide fruitful insights for a connected dealing with roots and wings to envision the future of planning. The corresponding four questions are briefly introduced and then presented below.

Economic growth has been identified as an important driver of unsustainable and inequitable practices and realities around the world (Ferreira & von Schönfeld, 2020; Jackson, 2009; Kallis, 2018; Raworth, 2017). If social learning contributes to reinforcing the status quo as much as to change, it could be interesting to study how specifically the subject of economic growth has been and is now evolving through social learning in planning contexts and beyond. This could be used to better understand where turning points towards change seem most likely – remaining wary of not becoming too instrumental in this. The corresponding question could be:

How is the logic of economic growth perpetuated through social learning, and where might breaking points be found that could trigger a widespread reconceptualization of the economy in relation to limits to growth?

Fears can be powerful motivators (Megahed & Ghoneim, 2020; Sandercock, 2000; Tulumello, 2015; Zheng et al., 2021). If we see fears as some of the roots that nourish individual's understanding, then it is likely that they will also impact which wings – i.e. paths towards the future – are considered and taken. If social learning can uncover more about the connections between roots and wings, what would this say about the role of fear, uncovering it and seeing how it could be understood and dealt with? This might be one way of shedding light on the current state-of-affairs in relation to the Covid-19 pandemic, for example, and its consequences, which go far beyond the large impact of the illness the virus can cause. How will this impact ways in which our potential futures are envisioned, and what paths we are likely to embark on? I propose a general question on this subject to be phrased as follows:

If we hypothesise that fears provide roots that need to be faced and acknowledged as part of the paths that nourish planning and its wings, how can analysing social learning inform how these fears can be uncovered, understood and dealt with?

Another avenue for further research explores the subject of magic. Magic is here understood as that which we as humans produce to express strong and consequential emotional relations with objects, concepts, even people. Our wish to appear and act rationally tends to make us seek other explanations and yet there is a very strong attraction and power in certain symbols and objects, such as in the contemporary context the ideas of 'innovation', 'growth', or even 'participation'. I therefore would like to explore the following question:

How does the magic of certain concepts nourish social learning (as a root) and how does it provide inspiration (wings)?

And more closely related to a personal interest, I would like to explore third cultures and their potential to provide valuable input for planning research and practice, especially in terms of highlighting that it may be quite realistic to consider roots and wings in a joint way, and not as either-or categories.

How can third cultures (i.e. those which emerge from a mix of national and international cultures and experiences distinctive to never quite fitting the national or regional cultural understanding of any one specific place

of residence, as discussed in the introduction to the dissertation) provide valuable input for planning and for the united view of roots and wings?

Finally, I hope that these and other open questions that this dissertation has raised will be explored and help planners value the interconnections between their and others' roots and wings. I hope that this dissertation has shown the value of engaging with an abstract concept as social learning in an analytical way. Though fear can be an important emotion and driver, which in my view doesn't always have be avoided, I hope to have shown that there is no need to be fearful of taking on abstract concepts for critical scrutiny and development. I look forward to contributing further to a united view of roots and wings in planning, and hope to do so together with a wider community of planners and researchers.

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Summaries.

For all respondents involved in the research for this dissertation to be able to read at least the summary, it is provided in English, Dutch and Portuguese.

English Summary

Planning practice is increasingly intricately intertwined with social interactions at all levels and in all areas of society: involving local citizens and large-scale developers, local, regional and national level public officials, politicians and entrepreneurs, NGOs, private companies and self-employed citizens, rich and poor. This involvement is even dictated by official regulations (see for example Koning Willem-Alexander, 2013; Smith, 2010). In this context, social learning, as the process of gaining, confirming, disconfirming or indexing knowledge, skills and experiences through social interaction, becomes a key source of roots for planning, as well as a key contributor to its wings. Roots are here are understood as situated, contextual knowledge, skills and experiences, and highlight the value of the historical and the contemporary. Wings are understood as visionary knowledge about hopes, dreams and wishes for local but also global planning objectives, and highlight the value of looking to the future with inspiration that is informed by historical and existing knowledge but also going beyond it, including through change and the addition of the new.

Due to the above-described developments, the starting-point of this research assessed that social learning warranted a closer look in the planning context. So far, the concept has been understood as one that can actively structure participatory planning moments by focusing on encouraging the building of new knowledge and understanding for others' views and practices, often within the context of encouraging more sustainable planning and lifestyles (see e.g. Albert et al., 2012; Holden, 2008; Reed et al., 2010; Rydin, 2010). Notwithstanding the value of these existing research avenues, this dissertation proposes that a psychology-informed view on social learning can provide a more analytical than instrumental lens. This is helpful to be able to assess both benefits and drawbacks of how social learning can unfold in particular planning contexts, and to allow for reflectively informed planning research and practice.

To study this topic, this dissertation asked the question,

How does social learning at the individual and small group levels impact co-creative planning processes?

It furthermore set two key research objectives: First, asking what a psychological perspective on social learning in planning uncovers. This led to the findings that social learning leads to the reinforcing the status quo as much as to change, and that social learning does not lead to particular predictable outcomes (explored in Chapters 2.1 and 2.2). The second research objective therefore explored the question of, if social learning does not lead to change as easily as previously presupposed, how can/does it nevertheless impact change? The findings here present two ways in which social learning can lead to change, often in deep intertwining with its function as maintaining the status-quo. For example, endurance was made possible in one case study through the reinforcing effect that social learning had for the feeling of spite and mutual support felt by initiators, but

at the same time this in turn enabled the initiative to plough forward, making changes to the initiative until it could be implemented (see Chapter 3.1). In the other case study studied for this objective of exploring social learning and change revealed the role social learning can play in influencing framing strategies of contesting actors whose audience is not so much the other contestant but a third, usually absent party (see Chapter 3.2).

To conduct this research, I conducted in-depth case studies in The Netherlands (one of which was followed longitudinally between 2016 and 2018) and Brazil. For all, in-depth and semi-structured interviews were conducted with initiators of the given cases or, in one case, with contesting actors surrounding the subject at hand, and with surrounding actors and/or experts. Furthermore, meetings concerning the planning of the initiatives or contested object were followed.

The findings revealed, in summary, that:

- Social learning contributes to both reinforcing the status quo and to bringing about change (Chapters 2.1 and 2.2).
- Social learning cannot be expected to lead to a pre-defined result (Chapters 2.1 and 2.2).
- Social learning, if viewed analytically, can be a powerful tool for reflection in planning (throughout thesis).
- An instrumental approach to social learning, in terms of attempting to force it in any particular direction, can have ethically problematic effects due to its impact on the will and cognition of individuals (throughout thesis).
- Small social learning moments in an initiative's pre-implementation lifecycle can be critical for initiators to be able to reach implementation (Chapter 3.1)
- Conflicts, and the framing strategies they involve, can be better understood by analysing how social learning unfolds in them, who learns what from whom and with which audience in mind (Chapter 3.2).

Overall, this dissertation has contributed to a critical and reflective understanding of social learning in the field of planning, and has set up important connections to the discipline of psychology. It has highlighted the value of both roots and wings for planning, and how they can be understood in a connected sense.

Samenvatting (Dutch Summary)

De planningspraktijk is nauw verbonden met en afhankelijk van sociale interacties op alle niveaus en in alle gebieden van de samenleving: lokale bewoners en grootschalige ontwikkelaars, lokale, regionale en nationale overheidsfunctionarissen, politici en ondernemers, ngo's, particuliere bedrijven en zelfstandigen worden steeds meer betrokken (gevraagd of ongevraagd) bij allerlei planningspraktijken. Deze betrokkenheid wordt ook door officiële regelgeving gevraagd en verwacht (zie bijvoorbeeld Koning Willem-Alexander, 2013; Smith, 2010). In deze context wordt sociaal leren, als het proces van het verwerven, bevestigen, weerleggen of indexeren van kennis, vaardigheden en ervaringen door sociale interactie, een belangrijke bron van 'wortels' voor planning, en een belangrijke bijdrage aan 'vleugels'. Wortels worden hier opgevat als gesitueerde, contextuele kennis, vaardigheden en ervaringen, en benadrukken de waarde van het historische en het hedendaagse. Vleugels worden opgevat als visionaire kennis over hoop, dromen en wensen voor lokale maar ook globale planningsdoelstellingen, en benadrukken de waarde van het kijken naar de toekomst met inspiratie, geïnformeerd door historische en bestaande kennis, maar ook met oog op verandering en de toevoeging van nieuwe elementen.

Het uitgangspunt van dit onderzoek was dat sociaal leren nader bekeken moest worden in de planningscontext. Tot dusver werd het concept met name bestudeerd in termen van het actief structureren van participatieve planningsmomenten voor het stimuleren van nieuwe kennis en begrip voor opvattingen en praktijken van anderen, vaak in de context van duurzamere planning en levensstijlen (zie bijv. Albert et al., 2012; Holden, 2008; Reed et al., 2010; Rydin, 2010). Ondanks de waarde van dit bestaande onderzoek stelt dit proefschrift dat een psychologische kijk op sociaal leren een belangrijke, meer analytische dan instrumentele, lens kan bieden. Dit helpt om zowel voor- als nadelen te herkennen, af te wegen hoe sociaal leren zich kan ontvouwen in bepaalde planningscontexten, en om reflectief planningsonderzoek en -praktijk te bevorderen.

Om dit onderwerp te bestuderen, stelde dit proefschrift de hoofdvraag:

Hoe beïnvloedt sociaal leren op individueel- en klein groepsniveau co-creatieve planningsprocessen?

Verder stelde het twee belangrijke onderzoeksdoelen: ten eerste, te onderzoeken wat een psychologisch perspectief op sociaal leren in planning onthult. Dit leidde tot twee hoofdbevindingen (zie hfdst. 2.1 en 2.2): dat sociaal leren zowel leidt tot het versterken van de status quo als tot verandering, en dat sociaal leren niet voorspelbaar tot bepaalde uitkomsten leidt. De tweede onderzoeksdoelstelling ging vervolgens verder in op hoe sociaal leren dan wel tot verandering kan leiden (zie hfdst. 3.1 en 3.2). De bevindingen hier laten twee manieren zien waarop sociaal leren tot verandering kan leiden, vaak in sterke samenhang met het behouden of versterken van de status-quo. Zo werd in een bestudeerde casus het vermogen om door te gaan ondanks sterke tegenstromingen mede mogelijk gemaakt door het versterkende effect dat sociaal leren had op het gevoel van wrok of trots en wederzijdse steun dat door initiatiefnemers werd gevoeld. Tegelijkertijd stelde dit

initiatief zich juist door deze versterking van bestaande gevoelens en kennis in staat om vooruit te ploegen en veranderingen aan te brengen in het initiatief totdat het kan worden uitgevoerd (zie hfdst. 3.1). De andere casus die voor het verkennen van sociaal leren en verandering werd bestudeerd, onthulde de rol die sociaal leren kan spelen bij het beïnvloeden van framing-strategieën. Hier bleek dat in gevallen van sterke contestatie, het publiek van de framing strategieën niet per se de andere deelnemers zijn, maar derde, meestal afwezige partijen (zie hfdst. 3.2).

Om dit onderzoek uit te voeren, heb ik diepgaande casestudies uitgevoerd in Nederland (waarvan een longitudinaal werd gevolgd tussen 2016 en 2018) en Brazilië. Voor alle cases zijn diepgaande en semigestructureerde interviews gehouden met initiatiefnemers van de gegeven cases of, wanneer dit relevant bleek, ook met minder direct betrokken actoren, zoals experts of mensen die uiteindelijk ook de consequenties van mogelijke besluiten zouden ondervinden. Verder werden bijeenkomsten over de planning van de initiatieven of van het bestreden object gevolgd.

De bevindingen toonden samengevat aan dat:

- Sociaal leren bijdraagt aan zowel het versterken van de status quo als aan het bewerkstelligen van verandering (hfdst. 2.1 en 2.2).
- Van sociaal leren niet verwacht moet worden dat het leidt tot een vooraf gedefinieerd resultaat (hfdst. 2.1 en 2.2).
- Sociaal leren kan, mits analytisch bekeken, een krachtig instrument zijn voor reflectie in planning (doorgaans in proefschrift ontwikkeld).
- Een instrumentele benadering van sociaal leren, in termen van een poging om het in een bepaalde richting te forceren, kan ethisch problematische effecten hebben vanwege de impact ervan op de wil en cognitie van individuen (doorgaans in proefschrift ontwikkeld).
- Kleine sociale leermomenten in de levenscyclus van een initiatief vóór de implementatie kunnen van cruciaal belang zijn voor initiatiefnemers om tot implementatie te komen (hfdst. 3.1)
- Conflicten, en de bijbehorende framing-strategieën, kunnen beter worden begrepen door te analyseren hoe sociaal leren zich daarin ontvouwt, wie wat leert van wie, en met welk publiek in gedachten (hfdst. 3.2).

Al met al heeft dit proefschrift bijgedragen tot een kritisch en reflectief begrip van sociaal leren in planning, en heeft het belangrijke verbindingen gelegd met het vakgebied van de psychologie. Het heeft de waarde van zowel wortels en vleugels voor planning benadrukt, en hoe ze in samenhangende zin kunnen worden begrepen.

Resumo (Portuguese Summary)

A prática do planejamento está cada vez mais intimamente entrelaçada com as interações sociais em todos os níveis e em todas as áreas da sociedade: inclui cidadãos locais e grandes promotores de desenvolvimento urbano, funcionários públicos locais, regionais e nacionais, políticos e empresários, ONGs, empresas privadas e cidadãos autônomos, ricos e pobres. Esta participação também tem sido requerida por regulamentos oficiais (ver por exemplo Koning Willem-Alexander, 2013; Smith, 2010). Nesse contexto, a aprendizagem social, como processo de obtenção, confirmação, des-confirmação ou indexação de conhecimentos, habilidades e experiências por meio da interação social, torna-se uma fonte-chave de raízes para o planejamento, e um contribuinte fundamental para suas asas. As raízes denotam aqui conhecimentos, habilidades e experiências situadas e contextuais, e destacam o valor do histórico e do contemporâneo. As asas denotam conhecimentos visionários de esperanças, sonhos e desejos para os objetivos de planejamento locais, mas também globais, e destacam o valor de olhar para o futuro com inspiração informada pelo conhecimento histórico e existente, mas também incluindo a mudança e a inclusão de elementos novos.

Devido aos desenvolvimentos descritos acima, o ponto de partida desta pesquisa avaliou que a aprendizagem social justifica uma revisão no contexto do planejamento. Até agora, o conceito tem sido entendido como aquele que pode estruturar ativamente momentos de planejamento participativo, focando no incentivo à construção de novos conhecimentos e compreensão para as visões e práticas de outros, muitas vezes dentro do contexto de encorajamento de planejamento e estilos de vida mais sustentáveis (ver, por exemplo, Albert et al., 2012; Holden, 2008; Reed et al., 2010; Rydin, 2010). Não obstante o valor dessas vias de pesquisa existentes, esta dissertação propõe que uma visão informada pela psicologia sobre a aprendizagem social pode fornecer uma importante visão analítica (e não instrumental). Isto pode ser útil para avaliar os benefícios e as desvantagens de como a aprendizagem social pode se desdobrar em contextos de planejamento específicos e para permitir a pesquisa e a prática de planejamento informadas de forma reflexiva.

Para estudar este tópico, esta dissertação fez a pergunta:

Como a aprendizagem social em indivíduos e pequenos grupos impacta o planejamento co-criativo?

Além disso, estabeleceu dois objetivos-chave de pesquisa: Primeiro, perguntando o que uma perspectiva da psicologia sobre a aprendizagem social no planejamento revela. Isso levou à conclusão de que a aprendizagem social leva ao reforço do status quo tanto quanto à mudança, e que a aprendizagem social não leva a resultados previsíveis específicos (ver Capítulos 2.1 e 2.2). O segundo objetivo de pesquisa, portanto, explorou a questão de como a aprendizagem social tem sim impacto na mudança? As descobertas aqui apresentam duas maneiras pelas quais a aprendizagem social pode levar à mudança, muitas vezes em profundo

entrelaçamento com sua função de manter o status quo. Por exemplo, a resistência foi possível em um estudo de caso através do efeito de reforço que a aprendizagem social teve para o sentimento tanto de despeito por um grupo externo e apoio mútuo sentido pelos iniciadores, mas ao mesmo tempo, isso por sua vez possibilitou a iniciativa de avançar, fazendo mudanças na iniciativa até que pôde ser implementada (ver Capítulo 3.1). No outro estudo de caso estudado para este objetivo de explorar a aprendizagem social em relação à mudança, revelou o papel que a aprendizagem social pode desempenhar em influenciar estratégias de enquadramento de atores concorrentes cujo público não é tanto o outro contestador, mas uma terceira partida, geralmente ausente (ver Capítulo 3.2).

Para conduzir esta pesquisa, foram conduzidos estudos de caso aprofundados na Holanda (um dos quais foi acompanhado longitudinalmente entre 2016 e 2018) e no Brasil. Para todos, entrevistas em profundidade e semiestruturadas foram conduzidas com os iniciadores dos casos dados e quando relevante também com atores potencialmente afetados por uma iniciativa, indiretamente envolvidos, ou especialistas em temas relevantes. Além disso, foram seguidas várias reuniões sobre o planejamento das iniciativas ou objeto contestado.

Os resultados revelaram, em resumo, que:

- A aprendizagem social contribui tanto para reforçar o status quo quanto para provocar mudanças (Capítulos 2.1 e 2.2).
- Não se pode esperar que a aprendizagem social leve a um resultado predefinido (Capítulos 2.1 e 2.2).
- A aprendizagem social, se vista analiticamente, pode ser uma ferramenta poderosa para reflexão na prática e no estudo do planejamento (tese em geral).
- Uma abordagem instrumental da aprendizagem social, em termos de tentar forçá-la em qualquer direção particular, pode ter efeitos eticamente problemáticos devido ao seu impacto na vontade e cognição dos indivíduos (tese em geral).
- Pequenos momentos de aprendizagem social no ciclo de vida de pré-implementação de uma iniciativa podem ser críticos para que os iniciadores sejam capazes de alcançar a implementação (Capítulo 3.1)
- Os conflitos e as estratégias de enquadramento que são desenvolvidas neles podem ser melhor compreendidos via uma perspectiva analítica sobre a aprendizagem social, mostrando quem aprende o quê com quem e com que público em mente (Capítulo 3.2).

Em geral, esta dissertação contribuiu para uma compreensão crítica e reflexiva da aprendizagem social no campo do planejamento e estabeleceu conexões importantes para a disciplina de psicologia. Destacou o valor das raízes e das asas para o planejamento e como elas podem ser entendidas em sentido simbiótico.

Annex.

Annex

Annex 1. List of Respondents

The anonymity of respondents was key due to the private nature of the subject of social learning and the potential conflicts of interest that could arise if anonymity of interviews would not be provided. Therefore, the list here is anonymous and organised by country rather than by chapters and/or case studies. I would like again to thank all these respondents for their time and for their valuable input, it was unmistakeably key to this entire dissertation!

The Netherlands

Occupation	Date interviewed
Bar worker, Consultant	5 October 2016
Photographer, Planner and Geographer	5 October 2016
Local government official	6 October 2016
Consultant and local initiator	27 October 2016
Secretary	24 November 2016
Manager	24 November 2016
Local government official	12 December 2016
Regional NGO representative and initiator	27 November 2017
University researcher and initiator	6 February 2018
Self-employed and initiator	7 February 2018
Local community centre and initiator	12 February 2018
Local community centre and initiator	13 March 2018
Health provider and initiator	15 March 2018
Local community centre and initiator	9 April 2018
Local government official	1 May 2018
Electric golf car lease and manager	8 May 2018

Brazil

Occupation	Date interviewed
Vereador (councillor/alderman)	11 March 2019
PhD Candidate	9 and 11 March 2019
Architect and Director IAB	12 and 21 March 2019
Architect/Urban Designer, Urb-i, Master Student	13 March 2019
Investor/Business	13 March 2019
Homelessness activist	15 March 2019
Photographer/Journalist	18 March 2019
Architect (won prize on Minhocão)	19 March 2019
Homelessness activist/Homeless	21 March 2019
Architect	10 December 2018 and 21 March 2019
Architect	25 March 2019
Photographer/Artist	26 March 2019
Vereador (councillor/alderman)	27 March 2019
Lawyer	29 March 2019
Filmmaker/Architect	29 March 2019
Photographer	31 March 2019
Former campaigner/government official	1 April 2019
Engineer (own office)	2 April 2019

Teacher	2 April 2019
Director SP Urbanismo	3 April 2019
Director local CONSEG (and retired?)	4 April 2019
Professor USP Planning	6 April 2019
Professor Mackenzie Uni Planning	8 April 2019
Artist	9 April 2019
Activist	12 April 2019

Annex 2. Semi-structured base questionnaires used per Chapter

The semi-structured questionnaires were used as a base for structuring the interviews, though they were adjusted to each particular respondent in terms of asking relevant questions (for example whether someone would be speaking as an initiator, a user of a space, a local government official or an involved private party, would require a different phrasing of some questions, or the inclusion of extra questions or removal of some). The basis of what information was sought, however, remained aligned with the questions provided here.

Chapters 2.1, 2.2 and 3.1

Chapters 2.1, 2.2 and 3.1 used very similar base questionnaires or item lists, albeit with specificities for the particular projects at hand. A generalised version for all three Chapters is provided here, including a base questionnaire/item list directed at understanding involvement in initiatives, social learning and reflections and one more reflective base questionnaire used for the longitudinally studied case. The interviews took place in Dutch.

First round questionnaire/item list

Involvement
- Briefly describe initiative X in your own words and your participation in it
- Reason for participation
- When started to participate

Social contacts, knowledge and skills
- How did you come up with the idea to participate? Did contacts play a role?
- What is the impact of social contacts on the initiative?
- Who else is involved in the initiative?
    - o From the beginning - stopped
    - o From the beginning - still active
    - o Started later (recently) - how connected?
- Knowledge or skills that have been necessary or useful from start to now
- Which social skills were required?
- Was emotional bonding to the place or others involved needed?
- Have you ever had conflicts / disagreements with others involved?

Reflection
- Advice for yourself if you were to start over?
- Any other points that have not been addressed?

+ per respondent specialized questions about the person, e.g.:
1. What is your background in terms of education and work experience?
2. Do you have any hobbies that are (or have been) relevant to inventing and / or making this initiative possible?
3. To what extent have you shared your knowledge in this area with others in the initiative?

4. In which area(s) have you gained knowledge through interaction with others in the initiative?
5. Has the initiative mainly confirmed or contradicted existing knowledge and / or expectations or built up new knowledge?

Second round questionnaire

1. What do you think social learning is?
2. From this moment, if you think back, what have you learned through this initiative?
3. What do you think you contributed to knowledge in the group and for the initiative?
4. What kind of knowledge of theirs has helped you in this / in the initiative?
5. What do you think are important interactions for social learning? (General and what has happened in your initiative)
6. What lessons would you give to someone else who would start such a project right now?

Chapter 3.2

Chapter 3.2's interviews took place in Portuguese.

1. How did you begin to get involved in the park idea for the Minhocão? What was/is your motivation? [How do you see your role in organization X?]
2. Which group(s) have you interacted with/ do you interact with abut this topic? How? What kind of interactions are these and how frequent are they?
3. How do you access necessary information? Are there conflicts about access to information; if so, why?
4. What have been the main barriers or windows of opportunity in the process surrounding decision-making on the future of the Minhocão? How have you (attempted to) confront/make use of them?
5. How does the discussion surrounding the Minhocão relate to more general (City-Centre/ São Paulo-wide) discussions/politics? (think: mobility, public space, real estate…)
6. What do you think will happen from now onwards? Why?
7. What would you say you learned from the process of interacting with others about the subject of the Minhocão? How and why?

Training and Supervision Plan

Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld
Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)
Completed Training and Supervision Plan

Name of the learning activity	Department/Institute	Year	ECTS*
A) Project related competences			
A1. Managing research project			
WASS Introductory Course	WASS, WUR	2016	1
Research Proposal	WASS, WUR	2016	6
Reviews for academic journals (6)	Journals: Cities, European Planning Studies, Transportation, Transportation Research Interdisciplinary Perspectives and Urban Studies	2018-2020	1
'Social learning and social innovation in participatory planning: cases from the Netherlands and Brazil'	RSA Latin America Division Conference, São Paulo, Brazil	2017	1
'Moving beyond the myth: Social learning and social innovation in co-creative planning'	Young Academics AESOP Conference, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen, The Netherlands	2018	1
'Re-evaluating social learning and social innovation: an application to transport'	Mobil.TUM Conference, Technical University of Munich, Munich, Germany	2018	1
'Reconsidering the social innovation paradigm: theorizing change beyond social acceleration and creative destruction'	AESOP Conference, Association of European Schools of Planning, Università Iuav di Veneza, Venice, Italy	2019	1
'Social learning in contested urban planning: the case of the Minhocão, São Paulo'			
'Raumentwicklung trifft Postwachstumsökonomien'	Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung Conference, Kassel, Germany	2019	1
PhD Content meetings of chair group and research project (R-LINK)	WASS, WUR; UvA; MAS; Hanzehogeschool Groningen (all The Netherlands)	2016-2020	2

A2. Integrating research in the corresponding discipline (in-depth training)			
Frontiers in innovation systems: Measuring and modelling dynamics in innovation systems	Utrecht University	2017	3
AESOP PhD Workshop	Leuven University	2016	2
LASP Vienna Doctoral Colloquium on Research Methods and Methodology	WUR/Vienna University	2017	2
R-LINK Workshop Copenhagen	R-LINK, WUR	2018	1
B) General research related competences			
B1. Placing research in a broader scientific (social sciences and WUR) context (interdisciplinary overview)			
PhD Workshop Carousel	WASS, WUR	2016	0.3
Master Class Negotiation Theory and Practice	WASS, WUR	2016	0.5
Regular workshops on urban planning and mobility	University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands	2016-2020	1
'Urban Streets: Challenges and Opportunities in Public Space and mobility'	Mobil.TUM Conference, Munich, Germany	2016	1
Workshop on Doughnut Economics and Critical Thinking for PhD Candidates in Urban and Transport Planning	Porto University, Porto, Portugal	2018	1
'Social innovation and its stronghold in planning research and policy: what is it and why is it problematic?'	Porto University, Porto, Portugal	2018	1
R-LINK (WASS-based) Deep-Think Seminar series	WASS, WUR	2018	1
B2. Placing research in a societal context (research in context)			
Sociaal leren in participatieve planning	Rooilijn magazine	2019	1
Meer met mate: co-create en leren *(in samenwerking met Wendy Tan)*	PlanDag	2019	1
Newsletter and blog contributions R-LINK	R-LINK, WUR	2017-2020	1
C) Career related competences/personal development			
Teaching and student supervision	WUR	2017-2019	4
Editorial work	Rooilijn magazine	2016-2020	1
Total			**36.8**

*One credit according to ECTS is on average equivalent to 28 hours of study load

About the Author

Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld

Kim Carlotta von Schönfeld holds a BSc in Human Geography and Planning (with a minor specialisation in International Development Studies) and a Research Master in Urban Studies from the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. For her BSc she did fieldwork on water governance in São Paulo, Brazil, and for her RMSc thesis she took a comparative perspective on the acceptability of cycling in Mexico City (Mexico) and London (UK). In 2013 she did internships at a sociological-geographic research centre (TOPOS) and at the Heinrich Böll Foundation (German Greens Foundation structured around the themes of sustainability and democracy). She worked as a junior researcher at the Geography, Planning and International Development Group at the University of Amsterdam on the theme of streets as spaces of both mobility and public space, before beginning her PhD at the University of Wageningen in 2016. She has published in the areas of planning, international development, mobility, urban studies, critical innovation studies and degrowth.

Growing up in Germany, Guatemala and Brazil, and having travelled frequently in the Americas, namely Mexico and El Salvador, and to African countries, namely Angola, Mozambique, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Guinee-Conakry as a child, she has shaped her international and 'third culture' perspectives. She lived mainly in the Netherlands since 2009, with brief stays in the United Kingdom, Mexico, Germany and Portugal in between. Her experiences provided her with the intuition that psychology would be an important field to explore in relation to planning, see this dissertation.

Kim currently lives in Portugal, and is conducting research on Degrowth in the field of economics and planning. She is co-editing a book on the subject of Post-Growth Planning (Routledge), and is exploring the potentials of third cultures perspectives for planning and futuring. She is also further conducting research on mobility as a key factor in relation to sustainable futures, and her research on social learning continues to underlie many of her endeavours.

The Research in Brief

This dissertation explores how social learning helps to shape planning. It conceptualises social learning from a psychology-based perspective as the process through which individuals and small groups gain, confirm, disconfirm or index knowledge, skills and experience through interaction. Existing uses of the concept of social learning in planning highlight its benefits for developing mutual understanding, and more sustainable and just behaviours.

By drawing insights from psychology that reconceptualise social learning, this thesis shows some drawbacks of these high expectations. A key insight is that individuals and small groups tend to learn how to maintain what they know, more than how to change it. Social learning does not easily lead to more sustainability or social justice. When change does occur through social learning, it is for example in the small interactions that give strength for small neighbourhood initiatives to flourish, or by informing framing strategies in contested planning.

This revised way of perceiving social learning reveals how acknowledging its various facets - wherever they may lead - helps to value and understand the depth of what we already know, as well as to be more aware of the full breadth of what can be learned. Social learning is key to show planners - and the world at large - that both roots and wings are part of us, and they matter equally. Roots give historical awareness, depth and grounded insights; wings give imagination, breadth and change. Planning needs both.

The research described in this thesis was financially supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) under Grant [438-15-159].

Financial support in the form of a Junior Researcher Grant from the Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS), as well as financial support from Wageningen University for printing this thesis are gratefully acknowledged.

Cover design by Catarina França

Printed by Digiforce || ProefschriftMaken on FSC-certified paper