

Pilot Projects as a Platform for exploring Participative Accountable and Transparent Governance in Water Management: Some Insights on the Diffusion of Experience

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Abstract:

Participation of stakeholders, Accountability of decision-makers and Transparency of the decision making process is conditional for Integrated Water Management, encouraged by the EU WFD and desired by stakeholders. However, many barriers exist to implement the proposed Participative Accountable and Transparent governance (PAT governance). Pilot projects are considered useful instruments to explore and initiate PAT governance since they provide space for trial and error of innovative approaches and reduce risks. However, diffusion is often problematic. In this paper we explore the nature, patterns and channels of diffusion so as to deepen the understanding of diffusion and to provide starting points for strategies to diffuse PAT governance. Given the nature and context-dependency of pilot projects, diffusion of managerial best practices is mainly related to experience through actors, while institutionalization of the practices provides a dilemma in hindering the adaptive component of PAT governance.

Key words: Pilot Projects, Governance, Integrated Water Management, Participation, Accountability, Transparency, Diffusion, Social learning, Experience

1- Introduction

Traditional approaches in water management have shown their limited efficiency in integrating economical, societal and ecological dimensions for sustainable development. Conventional fragmented approaches to water management which distinguish between water resources and water services, domestic, industrial and agricultural usage are suggested as contributing factors to what is now referred as the “world water crises” (UNESCO 2003, p.1) or more pertinently as the “water governance crises” (GWP 2000, p.9). We argue, with others, that Integrated Water Management (and Sustainable development in general) is no longer a technical or scientific issue, it is a socio-political affair that questions what a democratic decision is, and what sort of governance one

wants to live with (Deleon 1995, De Marchi 2003, De Marchi & Ravetz, 1999, Funtowicz & Ravetz 1993, Graffy 2006, Ker Rault 2008, Ker Rault & Jeffrey 2008a, White 1996). Applying Integrated Water Management is a complex societal problem, based on a multitude of components with relationships of changing qualitative and quantitative nature; IWM requires the consideration of a wide range of economical environmental and social dimensions and is subject to the interpretations of a multitude of stakeholder's interests (Collins et al. 2007). The transition towards adaptive water management (Mostert et al. 2007, Pahl-Wostl et al. 2007, Tabara & Pahl-Wostl 2007) and the integration of both water resources and water services management (Ker Rault 2008) requires before all a transition in water governance (Ker Rault 2008). This shift in water governance practices is based on the acknowledgment of a general lack of stakeholder participation, accountability of decision influencers and transparent decision-making processes (UNESCO 2006 GWP 2000). The EU Water Framework Directive explicitly promotes to change water governance by requiring the development of river basin management plans and reaching 'good ecological status' of the water bodies (CEC 2000, CIS 2003). Current literature presents a normative but empty argument: one emphasizes the need for 'good governance' (UNESCO 2006) but one often lacks in conceptualising the characteristics for such new governance style. Therefore, we propose in this paper the PAT governance model that is based on these three pillars: Participation, Accountability and Transparency.

Due to the nature of the decision at stake and the level of uncertainties in defining integrated water policy, pilot project initiatives are encouraged since they limit risks (economical, potential stakeholder conflict, ecological) and enable the exploration of innovative managerial practices through trial and error approaches. River management authorities can use pilots project to explore new approaches to Integrated Water Management through changing water governance practices. However, the diffusion of the pilot projects into policy making and management practices is often limited because hurdles arise for diffusion or the pilots are not considered pertinent for the new situation (Sanderson 2002, Weiss 1975, Vreugdenhil et al. 2009). Consequently, pilot projects do

not meet the expectations of initiators and the diffusion process need to be managed actively.

The objective of this paper is to explore the challenges associated with the diffusion of insights gained on PAT governance developed during pilot projects, into standard national policy (and contributing to the standardisation of the implementation of the EU Water Framework Directive). The questions addressed in this paper are:

1. How can PAT governance be promoted through the use of pilot projects?
2. How and to what extent can managerial innovations be diffused from pilot projects into standardised policy?

First, we introduce the Participative Accountable and Transparent governance model, thereafter referred to as PAT governance. Second, we illustrate the need for governance change based on insights from the Levant (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey) by identifying the gap between perceptions of current and desired governance styles in water management. Third, we discuss the usefulness of pilot projects for exploring PAT governance and their diffusion based on three pilot projects in the Rhine Basin. Fourth, we discuss the hurdles that are associated with initiating PAT governance and the diffusion of pilot projects. Finally we present some recommendations to address these hurdles, grounded in decision influencer's experience.

2. Need for PAT governance

2.1 The PAT governance model

For the governance process to better meet democratic policy-making while the different water systems and interests can be better integrated and integrity promoted, stakeholder participation, decision-makers that can be held accountable and a transparent decision-making process are needed (WIN 2008). These three elements form the basis of the P A T governance model (Figure 1). Each element offers starting points for improvement of the governance process thereby enforcing the other elements as well. For the sake of argumentation and pragmatism of social enquiry we use stakeholder's participation as a

starting point in this paper. Indeed participation was considered to be an easier aspect to enter a discussion with decision influencers than accountability and transparency.



Figure 1: The PAT governance model

Participation of stakeholders is a wicked process, whereby the stakeholders include organised stakeholders such as farmers unions, industrials, NGOs, but also authorities other than the competent authority for water management. The process is wicked since the interpretations of the objectives of IWM and the participatory practices that support them evolve as problems are identified and solutions developed (Rittle & Webber 1973). Given the wicked nature, methodological guidelines for participation are considered more pertinent than a list of success stories and pseudo-substantive guidelines (Ker Rault 2008). Participation can imply empowerment in the decision-making process and communication exchange of different knowledge and objectives. Regardless of the type and objective of participation, to be meaningful, participation requires accountability of the decision-maker and transparency of the decision-making process. Whether the competent authority takes into consideration opinions and suggestions of stakeholders or

not they have to be accountable of the decision made and justify why they decided as they did. The justification of decision requires a transparent decision making process as promoted by the Dublin Principles (ICWE, 1992), the Rio de Janeiro Declaration (UNEP, 1992), the Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1998) and the EU WFD (CEC, 2000).

The culture of the competent authority can foster or inhibit a favourable context into which communication will flow and power will be shared depending on the objectives to initiate participation, as pointed out by Dahl (1989), Deleon (1995), Dobson (2003), Dryzek (2000), Fiorino (1990), Hamlet (2003), Laird (1993), Pateman (1970), Reich (1985), Renn et al (1993), Sewel & O’Riordan (1976) and van Ast & Boot (2003). The competent authority can take many roles, represented in the Ladder of Governance Styles (Ker Rault 2008) (Figure 2). The ladder is based on the “*Interactive Ladder of Governance*” of Pröpper & Steenbeek (1998, 1999) who draw six parallel styles of governance and roles of participants according to an increasing degree of interactions between decision-makers and participants. It was enriched by Ker Rault (2008) to reflect the objective of participation as indentified in the literature (CIS, 2003; English *et al.*, 1993; Glass, 1979) and to emphases accountability of decision maker and transparency of decision making process as corroborated by grounded research based on interview and questionnaires of water stakeholders (Ker Rault 2008, Ker Rault & Jeffrey 2008a).

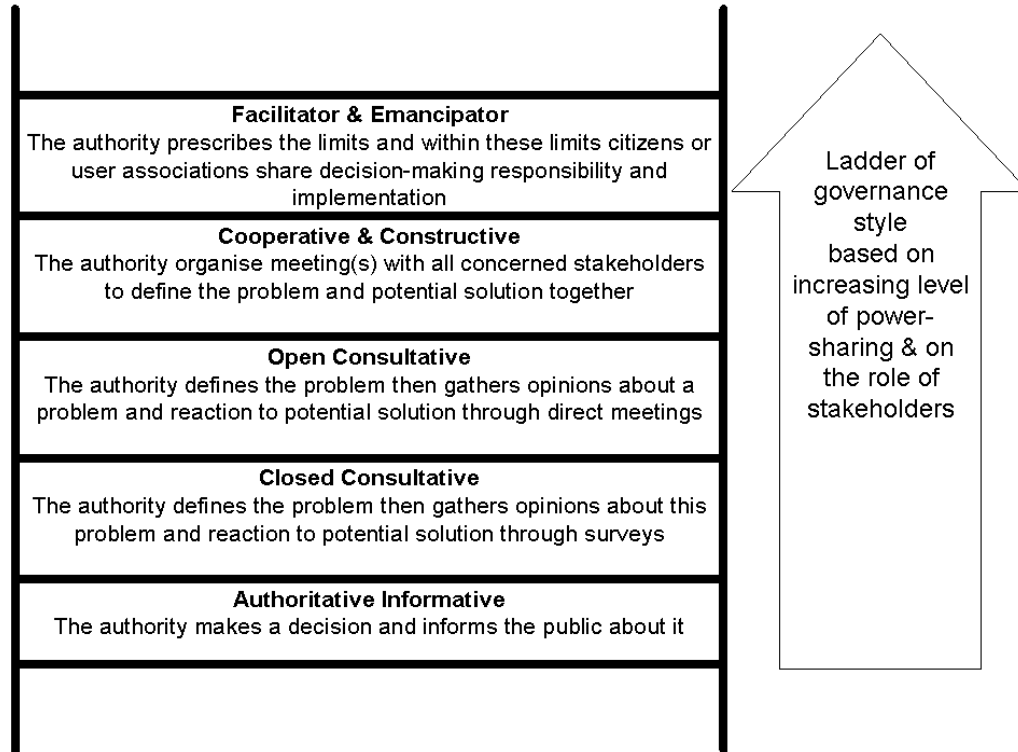


Figure 2: *A Ladder of governance style based on the role of the Competent Authority (CA) and increasing level of stakeholder's participation, accountability and transparency (Ker Rault 2008)*

2.2 Perceived current and desirable governance style: some insights from the Levant

In order to explore perceived suitable governance styles to encourage stakeholder participation, accountability and transparency in IWM, the ladder of governance styles was used to compare decision-influencers' perceptions of current versus desirable roles of the Competent Authority. Information presented was elicited from interviews or questionnaires at river basin level: 121 in total and respectively 25 in Jordan (Amman Zarqa Basin), 28 in Lebanon (Chekka Bay), 36 in Syria (Tartous Mohafaza) and 32 in Turkey (Gökova Bay). Decision influencers include representatives of Central Administration, Local Authority, Water Authority, Farming Sector, Business & Tourism, University & Research Institute and International Institutions (UNDP, EC, and Foreign Aid Agencies).

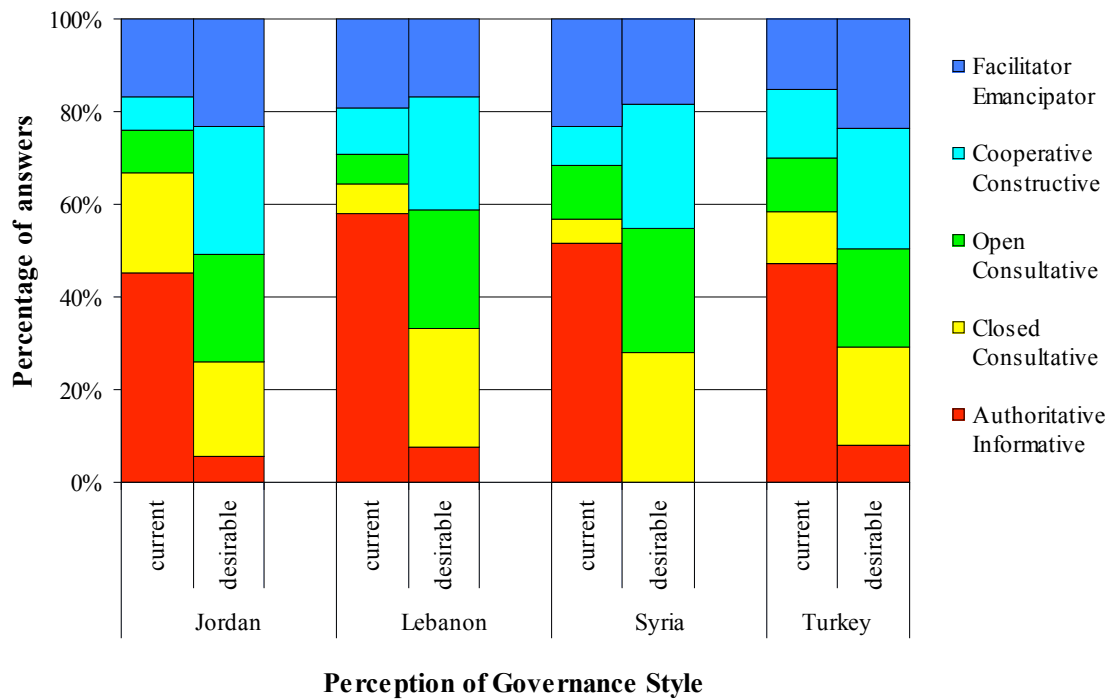


Figure 2: Perception of governance style in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey

The perceived current role of the competent authority in all study areas is ‘authoritative informative’, or ‘closed consultative’ and this role is not selected as desirable for integrated water management. The desirable roles are ‘open consultative’ and ‘cooperative constructive’, with enhanced sense for direct and bidirectional communication. Hence these results suggest the need to transitionalise water governance to open the public sphere to participative development of water management policy. These consultative and cooperative styles are considered to enable integration in policy development while current governance of bureaucratic hierarchies are perceived to be lacking in internal and external communication. This is a major cause of water management inefficiency (as also reported by Mostert *et al.*, 2007; Pahl-Wostl *et al.*, 2007). In order to redress this lack of integration between technical, environmental and social aspects, the information elicited corroborates suggestions made by Tabara & Pahl-Wostl (2007) that a change in decision-making culture is necessary to change the governance paradigm towards a more PAT- oriented governance.

2.3 Some hurdles to initiate participative governance

The information elicited in the four study areas through (121) semi-structured interviews (open questions) highlights that hurdles to initiate participation and water governance transition are of three different origins:

- **Scarcity of accountability** (*do not want*): autocratic decision- ‘Decide Announce Defend’ attitude, participation can challenge existing power structure;
- **Scarcity of organisational capacity** (*can not*): lack of experience in participation, lack of team-work (mediation/facilitation of multi-actors dialogues); lack of experience in multi-actor mapping (poor knowledge of who are the interested parties)
- **Scarcity of transparency**: (i) lack of horizontal dialogue and cooperation between administrations resulting in poor shared planning; (ii) lack of vertical communication (top-down and bottom-up)

Additionally, some country specific issues currently prevent participation and water governance transition. These include the lack of teamwork culture, lack of trust between actors and an undermining of the efforts by NGOs and existing institutional structures that prevent cooperation in river basin management. Mostert *et al.* (2007) present similar evidence based on European study areas where governance style and opportunities for participative opportunities are seemingly incompatible. A key suggestion of the interviewed decision makers to address these hurdles was to promote managerial innovation through pilot project settings.

3. The role of pilot projects in innovating governance: examples from Europe

The results from the case studies (more participative styles desired and existing hurdles) suggest that the current administration could learn from pilot projects promoting cooperative and constructive, facilitator and emancipator roles. Pilot projects are suggested to be able to foster opportunities to avoid direct power confrontation between the competent administration and stakeholders, allow for facilitation by independent and neutral third parties and to ensure a transparent and accountable process in order to focus on the water policy development process rather than on the content. Given these prosperous expectations, we explore the concept pilot projects in this section and further discuss their role for innovating governance.

The results are based on both literature study (e.g. Sanderson 2002, Hoogma et al. 2002, Rogers 2003, Weiss 1975) and comparison of three pilot projects in the Rhine Basin in Europe. In Europe, pilot projects are more common than in the Levant which gives a broader selection of pilots to be studied, while patterns and mechanisms at the conceptual level are comparable. Insights from Europe can therefore be used for the Levant and vice versa. The pilots include: Cyclic Floodplain Rejuvenation in the Netherlands, Ecological Floods in Germany and Restoring Groundwater-Surface water interactions in Switzerland. In the Dutch pilot project researchers, daily manager and the competent authority jointly initiated and developed the pilot project to mitigate an identified flood defence problem with an innovative management approach. A facilitator and emancipator governance style was practiced. In the German pilot project the competent authority initiated the pilot project as an early evaluation of a national policy program. Experts of various disciplines were involved. Initially, a closed consultative style was practiced, later this changed into a more cooperative and constructive style. In the Swiss case, researchers initiated the pilot project to answer research questions. The competent authority cooperated and initially supported the pilot project until the project was used for more societal purposes. The competent authority first practiced a facilitative style, while this changed later into an authoritative style.

Experiences gained with these pilot projects complete insights gained on the hurdles to initiate PAT governance. One must acknowledge the political, cultural and historical context to overcome these hurdles; whether in Europe, in the Levant or elsewhere there is no *tabula rasa* in democratic policy development.

3.1 What are these things called pilot projects?

When developing innovations, pilot projects are often considered attractive instruments since they provide space in which innovation can be developed, creativity is encouraged and resources are relatively easy streamlined (Hoogma et al. 2002, Vreugdenhil et al. 2009). Alike, the Common Implementation Strategy guidance document on Public Participation in relation to the WFD suggests the use of pilot projects to enhance learning on governance and allow for adaptation (CIS 2003, Ker Rault & Jeffrey 2008b). The rationale for pilot projects is that space is created in which trial and error is allowed,

while uncertainties and risks are reduced (Vreugdenhil et al. 2009). Within a pilot knowledge can be developed, creativity is encouraged and existing barriers can be overcome (Lee 1999, Pahl-Wostl 2006, Huitema et al. forthcoming). Pilots are thereby considered as a preparation for the wider introduction of the innovation since the innovation can mature and the innovation can be diffused (Raven 2007, Rogers 2003). Pilot projects can thus be used for research and managerial purposes, but also for more policy purposes such as predevelopment to standardisation of innovation for national (and even European) policy.

There is little convention on what a pilot is or ought to be, while it can be continuously adjusted to new circumstances. This flexibility allows pilots to be applied in many types of situations. To indicate the broadness of the concept, we use pilot project as an umbrella term for projects that are undertaken in the spirit of experimentation in a field setting, so to distinguish them from standard management projects and laboratory experiments (Lee 1999, Weiss 1975).

The confined scale of pilot projects enables the project to mitigate the nature and depth of uncertainty associated with societal complexity. By first applying the innovation on a confined scale and evaluating the policy in an early stage, larger policy and financial flaws can be prevented (Pawson and Tilley 1997). Scales can be confined in temporal and geographical dimensions, but also in problem scope (Douthwaite 2003, Vreugdenhil et al 2009). In conjunction with the attitude towards pilot projects, deriving from its special status, 'failure' is explicitly marginalized since also this provides input for learning. This enables people to engage in situations that bring otherwise too large personal or political risks. The pilot project further encourages participation since it is at the forefront of innovation.

Pilot projects are processes in which actors participate and undertake different activities such as designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the innovation, but also negotiating. The intensity of the different activities can vary though. Through continuous interaction with the biophysical, institutional and socio-cultural context, the pilot and its context co-evolve. A pilot project is shaped by the context in which it is

undertaken but also influences its context for instance by physical responses and learning processes. Again, in some pilots interactions are more frequent than in others where boundaries are less permeable. Social learning occurs through developing and explicating knowledge (Bhatt 2000, Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995) and by interacting stakeholders (Leeuwis 2003, Pahl-Wostl 2006). New interests are expressed, particularly by the involvement of newcomers. The knowledge development and transfer vary in nature (process and content) and intensity. Formal monitoring processes can be short or long (or even lacking), while the nature of knowledge ranges from methodology to public acceptance of substantive measures (Vreugdenhil and Slinger 2009). Learning processes that take place in the pilot prepare throughout the pilot project its diffusion.

3.2 Diffusion of pilot projects

Despite the promising nature of pilot projects, its diffusion into policy making is often limited (Sanderson 2002, Howlett and Bennett 1992). Identified reasons are multiple and include that the results from the pilot are just one of the sources influencing decision-makers (Weiss 1975) and the issue has lost its momentum (Cabinet Office 2003). To be able to develop strategies to increase the impact of the pilot, first the diffusion process needs to be better understood. In order to design a strategy to build on knowledge gained in pilots into standardised policy, we emphasis three keys elements: i.) the nature of what is being diffused (the content i.e. PAT governance, working methodologies, experience, artefacts); ii.) the patterns of diffusion (the process i.e. how it is taking place) and iii.) the channel of diffusion : actors promoting diffusion.

Nature of what is being diffused

In general the nature of what is being diffused can be classified into artefacts, hard and soft knowledge. Examples of artefacts include dikes or groynes, but also specific designs. Hard or explicit knowledge includes the change in indicator species or mechanisms affecting the water quality. Soft knowledge includes experiences, actor relations and concepts. Pilot projects projects initiated to explore and enhance PAT governance provide predominantly soft knowledge to be diffused, rather than artefacts or precise designs. In contrast to commercial contexts where profitable artefacts are to be diffused,

in these pilots both experienced ‘success’ and ‘failure’ lessons are subjected to diffusion. However given the nature of the soft knowledge (i.e. many experiences from the pilot project are context-dependent and embedded within individuals) diffusion is particularly difficult.

Patterns of Diffusion

Diffusion patterns are conceptualized as “*dissemination*” and “*scaling up*” (Vreugdenhil et al 2009) (see Figure 3). *Dissemination* includes the replication or spread of the pilot project to other pilot projects or comparable management projects in other locations or times. The context changes, while the scales and accompanying type of issue addressed and level of complexity remain comparable. The stakeholder group also remains comparable (e.g. from farmer to farmer) (Douthwaite et al. 2003, Van den Bosch and Rotmans 2008). In contrast, “*scaling up*” refers to increasing the scale dimensions of the pilot project, whereby the qualitative and quantitative nature of the problem changes. In case of “*organic scaling up*”, the initial pilot is expanded in the scale dimensions of time, space (e.g. from floodplain to river branch), problem scope (e.g. issues included) and institution (e.g. expanding administrative boundaries) (Douthwaite et al. 2003). In case of “*transposed scaling up*”, new full scale management projects and policies are initiated or adapted based on the pilot project. Again the different scale dimensions (time, space, problem scope, institution) are expanded. However, the change in context is larger in this case.

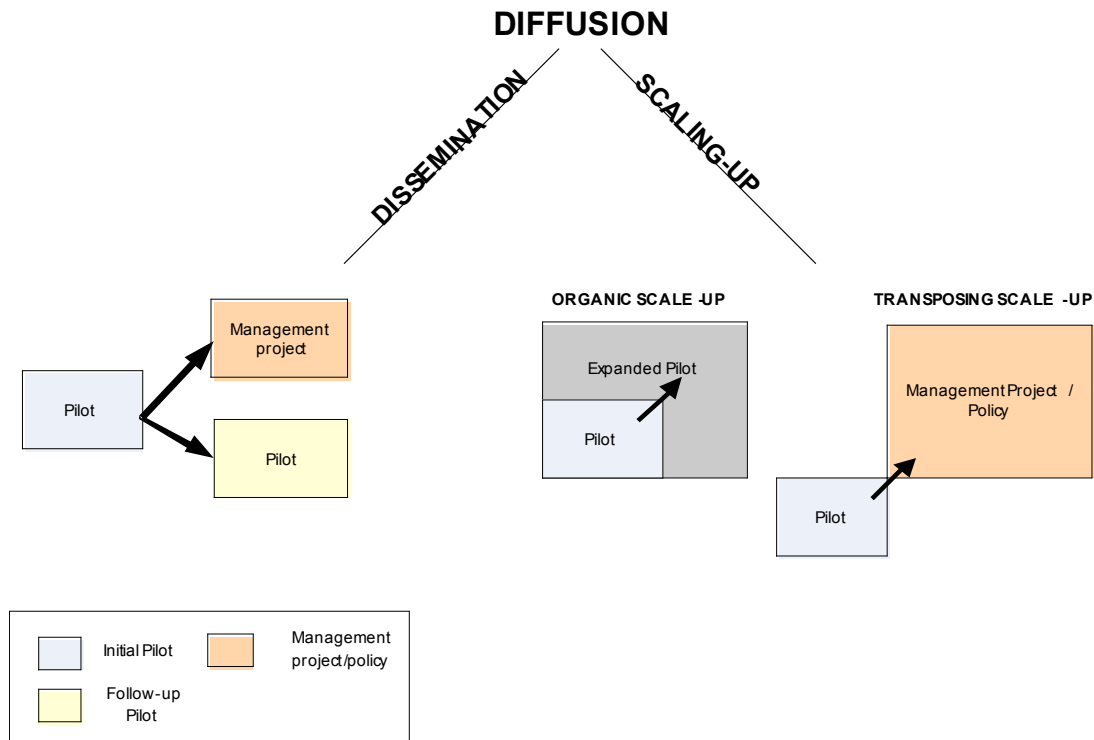


Figure 3: Diffusion of Pilot Projects through dissemination and scaling up

Channels of diffusion

Channels of diffusion refer to the actors promoting the diffusion of pilots project. Channels of diffusion affect and are affected by both content (what is diffused: PAT governance, working methodologies, experience, artefacts) and process (how it is taking place: dissemination or scaling-up). The channels of diffusion are based on who takes ownership of diffusion because of social learning goes through individual experience. Indeed, the initiators and stakeholders involved in the pilot process became familiar with the newly developed concepts and gained experience in, process management design and interests in other stakeholders values and point of view. We consider three types of channels of diffusion. On the one hand channel of diffusion is based on the actors that experienced the pilot: “*internal channel*”. The people involved in the pilot project jointly expand the pilot or develop new projects. On the other hand channel of diffusion relies on actors external to the pilot project: “*external channel*”. External actors decide to adopt the concept, independent from the initiators of the pilot project. They have seen and heard about the pilot and decide to promote it. Contributing factors to this diffusion and

adoption are knowledge spread and media attention whereby good examples can be very powerful (Flyvbjerg 2001). Between these two types of actors we proposed a third type of diffusion channel: “*internal-external partnership*”. The diffusion is promoted by a joint partnership between actors with experience in a Pilot and those willing to promote innovation. This broadens the network of actors familiar with the newly developed concept.

3.4 Identified hurdles to diffusion of pilots

Diffusion of pilot projects is often a difficult process. Identified hurdles from the case studies in the Rhine Basin (see Vreugdenhil et al. 2009) include:

- **Lack of effective diffusion management:** Diffusion is not actively promoted due to limited awareness of the need for active and focused diffusion management (e.g. who are potential users), and lack of interest and capacity (pilots are designed and financed as projects whereby no resources are reserved for diffusion). Additionally, timing of diffusion management might not be appropriate because taking place after the pilot instead of during the pilot.
- **Lack of support from decision-makers:** Future or targeted users do not want to use the knowledge because it is not part of their standard practice or protocol, while added value of the knowledge gained from a pilot is not yet recognised by decision influencers. Experience and enthusiasm is intertwined with the initiator. Additionally, the pilot is not perceived as relevant to other contexts since conditions are inherently different. Transferability is not recognized.
- **Lack of democratic quality pilot initiative:** Opposition exists to the process and practiced governance style (e.g. autocratic decisions, limited legitimacy).

3.5 Strategies for diffusion of pilot projects

The hurdles for diffusion of the pilot projects are mainly related to the process management of the pilot. We provide two starting points (nature and timing) for developing strategies to encourage diffusion.

First, for diffusion to occur, active promotion is needed since a wait-and-see strategy is unlikely to be effective. Potential actions include i) the explication of the context-dependency of knowledge so that it can be related to new situations and focus of transfer of knowledge on the conceptual level rather than of the details, ii) encouraging

social learning between actors in order to create shared problem perspectives and to broaden enthusiasm across different administrative layers and domains, iii) initiation of standardisation/institutionalization processes and iv) applying PAT governance so as to create broad engagement and trust in the decision-making.

Second, not only the nature of diffusion strategy is of importance to be effective, but also the time management. Considering pilots as part of larger innovation strategies and recognizing the necessary “*incubation time*” of the ideas and knowledge is crucial in its diffusion. The familiarization and learning process in which experience can be gained and enthusiasm can be created with the relevant actors, is often a long and ongoing process. This implies that diffusion strategies should be applied throughout the process, starting in the early stages by creating pleasant learning environments. Additionally, pilot projects should not be designed as a regular project in which only (biophysical) targets are set and budgets are restricted to these narrow project objectives. Resources should be made available after the pilot to encourage continuation of the pilot with diffusion strategies. The notion pilot becomes enlarged and the diffusion can be included in the pilot evaluation.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Conclusions

The two initial research questions were how i) PAT governance can be promoted through the use of pilot projects and ii) how and to what extent managerial innovations can be diffused from pilot projects into standardised policy.

For the first question, we illustrate that Participative, Accountable and Transparent governance is needed for establishing IWM, as promoted by the EU WFD and desired by decision-influencers themselves. However, despite the acknowledgement of the need for change and the need to try out, we found different hurdles that exist to initiate PAT governance. Pilot projects are considered as an important means in exploring new governance practices since they provide space for learning in context-specific situations, while risks and negative consequences are limited (Lee 1999, Hoogma et al. 2002). Scales are confined and the spirit of experimentation allows for perceived failure since

both success and failure provide input for learning (Cabinet Office 2003). Given the confined scales, power structures are not directly fundamentally challenged during pilot projects, while actors can learn how to change governance styles and gain experience in participation and cooperation. Additionally, in pilot projects the relative freedom from institutions, the experimental attitude and the ability to adapt to contexts allow for strengthening the dialogue between organisations and between administrative layers. As such, pilot projects enable stakeholders to overcome the major hurdles for initiating PAT governance.

For the second question we identify that pilot projects have the potential to contribute to move towards PAT governance, but there are no guarantees if the diffusion strategies is not reflective of the three pillars: the nature of what is being diffused, the patterns of diffusion and the channels of diffusion. Indeed, during pilot projects new challenges arise, particularly related to their diffusion. Hurdles derive from the lack of effective diffusion management, lack of support from the decision-maker and a lack of democratic quality of the process. For diffusion, different patterns (dissemination and scaling up) and channels of diffusion (internal and external) can be identified. What is being diffused of PAT governance pilots is in the sphere of soft knowledge, shared values and experience (Pahl-Wostl 2006, Mostert et al.2007). However, these aspects are highly context-dependent and embedded in individuals and actor-networks (Flyvbjerg 2001) i.e. the inherent evolving nature of the system context-actor. For these reasons and the threat for loss of flexibility when standardising experiences, diffusion into standardised policy is often challenging and the channels of diffusion are of large importance when managing diffusion.

Overall, we can conclude that PAT governance and pilot projects have the ability to reinforce each other (see Figure 4). Pilot projects provide an arena for introducing PAT governance in water management. During pilots experience is being developed and hurdles to PAT governance are being explored. We suggest that when pilots are designed in the light of Participation, Accountability and Transparency, initiators and stakeholders are better equipped to anticipate the identified hurdles for diffusion of pilot projects.

Additionally, we can conclude that the challenges for introduction of full-scale PAT are comparable to those at the small pilot scale. Lack of diffusion management is associated to the scarcity of capacity, and lack of support from decision-makers is associated to the scarcity of accountability and transparency. The third hurdle (lack of democratic quality of the process) addresses external transparency. Let us notice that hurdles at macro and micro level are of similar nature.

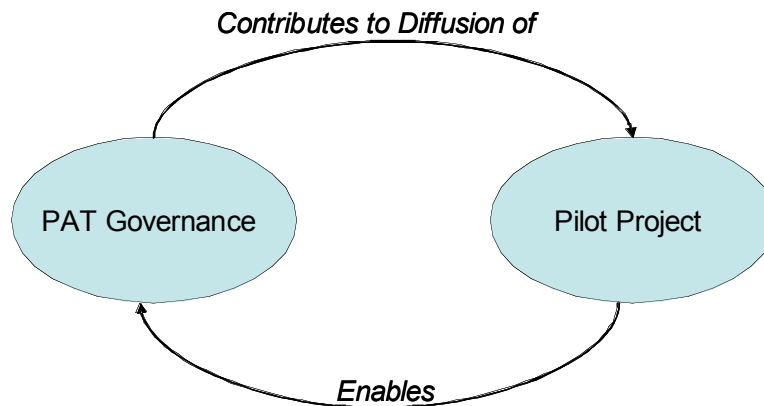


Figure 4: Pilot projects and PAT governance reinforcing each other

4.2 Recommendations

For pilot projects to become more effective in terms of diffusion to national or EU policy, diffusion strategies should be included in the design and budget of the pilot project and practiced throughout the entire pilot process. Since valuable diffusion of pilot projects for PAT governance mainly concerns experience and soft knowledge, internal and mixed channels of diffusion are highly important for developing strategies. Early and joint learning processes should be encouraged, while experience of people gained during the pilot should be extracted and transferred through training, coaching and moreover their participation in new projects. Competent Authorities need to change governance styles they are not always experienced in and so need to be trained in facilitation and mediation skills. However, rather than taking-up this task themselves, professionals with a more distance on the content and focus on process should be hired. Indeed, professionals also act as a by-pass between actors and facilitate conflict resolution. Furthermore,

institutionalization of the governance practices experimented with in pilots raises a dilemma. While institutionalization is necessary for civil servants to use the innovation and developed knowledge in their standard practices, it might hinder the strategic strengths in mitigating risks that pilot projects offer: flexibility to adapt the PAT process to the specific context, creativity and freedom to learn from failure. The dilemma is reinforced by the procedural and administrative thinking of civil servants of whom creativity, adaptability and flexibility are often capped by procedural requirement. Standardisation should therefore focus on processes and methodological guidelines rather than substantive guidelines in order to foster flexibility and creativity in PAT governance.

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