In search of a co-operation ecosystem for participatory planning and co-governance

Learning from participatory cultures

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Contemporary urban planning with linear administrative processes, based on the ideals of predictability and control, has come to its end. Even public participatory planning has struggled to incorporate the input of engaged citizens into urban development and the co-governance of common resources. The self-organized actions of urban activists and the needs of mundane everyday life have not been sufficiently addressed in participatory urban planning processes. However, local initiatives and even the temporary utilization of urban space have been regarded as a contribution to urban development. The problem with this is that thus far, we lack knowledge about the co-operation ecosystem required for new approaches to urban planning, such as the expanded urban planning. In this article, I examine two case studies, which outline a co-operation ecosystem for expanded urban planning. I argue that such an ecosystem for co-operation can significantly help cities integrate self-organized citizen initiatives for urban and community development. It might, however, also require planners to take a stronger role in enhancing a culture of participation.

Keywords: self-organization, self-governance, co-governance, co-operation ecosystem, expanded urban planning, participatory planning

Introduction

Contemporary urban planning theories and practices are still dealing with linear procedures and institutional sense-making from earlier decades. However, a new planning paradigm is emerging. The actor-based perspective acknowledges self-organizing urban development, which is able to operate apart from traditional statutory planning and decision-making (Wallin, 2019). The traditional planning system is based on the notions of rationality, predictability, and control. It is at odds with the complexity of urban transformation[1] ; the emergence of which is impacted by many factors beyond, for example, statutory plans (Alppi & Ylä-Anttila, 2007; Väyrynen, 2010; Wallin, 2019; Beekmans & de Boer, 2014).

Urban processes often arise from the interaction between people and organizations. Aspirations to better engage and incorporate the human perspective into planning and to enhance the co-creation of cities are often referred to as the communicative turn in planning. These participatory processes and their design have been of great research interest as well as the changing role of planning professionals and the normative justification of their use of political power (see e.g., Healey, 1997; Forrester, 1999; Puustinen et al., 2017). This communicative approach also aims at linking the self-organized initiatives of citizens to the formal planning and steering systems. However, this perspective has remained more limited in research and practice, requiring deeper examination (Rauws, 2016; Anttiroiko, 2016; Rantanen & Faehnle, 2017; Wallin, 2019).

One interesting approach to the linking of self-organized citizen activities to planning and urban development has emerged from new approaches to urban planning, such as expanded urban planning (Horelli et al., 2012) and models of co-governance on local issues between administrations, local agents, and networks (Staffans & Horelli, 2014; Faehnle & Rantanen, 2017). The expanded approach does not only expand the extent of spatial planning to include community development and co-governance but also the dynamic temporal aspect, including participatory strategic planning, statutory planning, implementation, collaborative production of space, and its evaluation. This includes also the temporary urbanism in the form of varying self-organizing, emerging phenomena, such as guerrilla gardening, food trucks, pop-up phenomena, and placemaking initiatives, like the famous Flying Grass Carpet, initiated in Rotterdam (Beekmans & de Boer, 2014). This temporary urbanism can be regarded as an alternative approach to planning strategy within the complexity and disjuncture of contemporary societies. According to Bishop and Williams (2012, p. 5), the concept of "temporary" varies

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1 "the term 'urban transformation' refers to spatial and functional urban change which has arisen as a result of activities aimed at urban development. This activity can comprise either intentionally carried out urban planning or local community development. The latter can also be self-organizing and can arise from the everyday activities of local actors" (Wallin 2019, 73).

widely, but it usually concerns an intentional phase, where the "time-limited nature of the use is generally explicit".

These new approaches seek to deconstruct the traditional roles and processes of planning and attempt to build a new ecosystem[2] of co-operation. The problem with this is that thus far, there is insufficient knowledge regarding the potential requirements for an ecosystem of co-operation. In this regard, *it may be possible to learn from the experiments of planning temporary cities by communities that have explicitly set out to combine self-organized initiatives with participatory planning and the co-governance of collective endeavors?*

Thus, the aim of this article is to present insights into the potential for a co-operation ecosystem for expanded urban planning. I chose the expanded urban planning approach amongst other participatory approaches because it aims by definition to expand the realm of participation to incorporate both the planning and the use, evaluation, and further development of urban space. It also aims at a lasting collaboration between local agents and networks. However, most well-known conceptualizations of participatory planning focus either on temporary collaborations between the administration and local agents and networks or on a certain phase or phases of the planning-production-use process. In order to sketch an ecosystem of co-operation, it is imperative to consider as wide of an array of collaborative action as possible. This need seems to be fulfilled quite well by the expanded urban planning approach.

Based on this, I take as a starting point a co-operation ecosystem model that has been created for cities to enhance co-governance with their citizens. I then apply the model to two cases of expanded urban planning to assess whether it is able to incorporate processes of participatory planning in addition to co-governance. The two cases present the planning and production of special temporary cities. These are Burning Man near Reno, USA and the Borderland near Hedeland, Denmark, which, as in most years since their respective inceptions, were created for one week in 2019. Both communities' culture held at their core the values of participation and self-governance, which were also reflected in the planning process and governance of the "cities". Based on my analysis of these cities, I suggest modifications to the original model for the needs of expanded urban planning. I argue that the model of a co-operation ecosystem sketched in this study can help in the creation of new collaborations between the government and local agents and networks in urban development. It may

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2 Inspired by natural ecosystems, other areas of praxis, such as business, media, digitalization, and here co-operation, have adopted the term ecosystem to refer to models that inform aspects of interaction and relationships among diverse entities within a certain area or sphere (Wallin et al. 2010; Sorbal 2018).

also help in evaluating the nature of existing collaborations and developing them appropriately.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. The background and framework section describes the theoretical framework and methodology. After which, the empirical cases section presents, compares, and discusses the two case studies. Finally, the conclusions and discussion section discusses learnings for participatory planning and provides possible areas for future research.

Background and framework

This section explains the practical and theoretical background of the study. Thereafter, the methods of data gathering, analysis, and interpretation are described in detail.

Demands for the revision of current planning and steering systems

The increasing critique of traditional urban planning, based on the notions of predictability and control, implies a recognition of cities as complex dissipative systems. This would seem to demand a revision of the planning and steering systems to better embrace the local realm and to open up opportunities for new actors to impact future development (Rauws, 2016; Boelens & de Roo, 2016; Wallin, 2019).

Complexity thinking has its roots in natural sciences, which has expanded to other realms, such as social sciences, economics, and psychology (Allen, 2012). In the context of urban planning, complexity thinking enhances the understanding of unpredictability and seemingly autonomous dynamic processes. Complex systems often involve self-organization: multiple agents interacting and producing unintended order without guidance from an outside force. Qualitative research on self-organization in the urban context has focused on citizen initiatives and grassroot movements that rise without government activation (Rantanen & Fahnle, 2017; Wallin, 2019). The management of urban complexity calls for a realization that urban development takes place outside and often irrespective of the formal urban planning process (Wallin, 2019).

The understanding and use of self-organization in urban planning and development can also be seen as separate from participatory planning. In this respect, Anttiroiko (2016) has divided planning into three types: technocratic, collaborative, and self-organized. Collaborative planning, such as public participation in the statutory planning phase, is professionally facilitated and government-driven, whilst self-organized planning is manifested in urban hacktivism and other forms of action that are outside government control (or are even counteracting it). Although collaborative planning and self-organization in planning clearly have their unique challenges and pose distinct demands on

the planning process, I believe that they should not be seen as sequent phases in the development of planning practice rather they are complementary, as noted in this case study as well. Governance studies make a distinction between self-governance and self-organization. Self-governance refers to deliberative civic actions and citizen initiatives while self-organization involves non-intentional, city-scale outcomes of local citizen initiatives and activities (Rantanen & Fahnle, 2017; de Bruijn & Gerrits, 2018). This distinction has also in recent years become more known within the urban planning context, and it is important because the two processes ask for different policy recommendations to support public planners in dealing with civic initiatives (Rauws, 2016). Given this distinction, this study focuses on self-governed initiatives that aim at realizing a shared vision. Therefore, I will hereafter refer to self-governance instead of self-organization. It was, however, important to utilize the term "self-organization" in the beginning to contextualize the study for the reader.

An enlarged scope of collaboration through expanded urban planning
The attempt to combine local self-governed initiatives and collaboration in planning (Healey, 1997; Forester, 1999; Hillier, 2011) lies at the core of the expanded urban planning (EP) approach. It has been developed from bits and pieces in the context of case studies in Finland and Italy (Horelli, 2013; Staffans & Horelli, 2014; Horelli et al., 2015; Wallin, 2019). The features of EP include the following:

1. planning *horizontally* expands its extension from focusing solely on statutory spatial planning to deal with community development and co-governance with different stakeholders and communities;
2. planning *temporally* expands in the sense that participation and self-governance can flexibly take place in all stages, including strategic planning via 'statutory planning', implementation, co-production of space, and evaluation.
3. planning requires the application of multiple methods, including digital and non-digital tools (Horelli, 2002; Wallin et al., 2010); and
4. increasing prominence of the issue of co-governance due to the relationships among constantly emerging new groupings (Mäenpää & Faehnle, 2017).

Co-governance becomes a necessary element of planning as the approach to planning (in EP) expands to comprise collaboration around urban and community development over an extended period of time. Co-governance invites social actors to participate in the state governance processes (Ackerman, 2004; Gaventa, 2006). It also aims at empowering citizens with more responsibility than simply

participation in a sporadic participatory planning session (Jarenko, 2013; Horelli et al., 2015). However, we have little knowledge about the institutional design (e.g., agents, bodies, laws, and other principles of operation) and operational elements (e.g., issues addressed, methods, and tools) of the collaborative models. "Institutional design" is a term widely utilized in the field of deliberative studies. There, it has been used both on the larger scale to model the deliberative system of a society and on the smaller scale to model the design of, for example, a citizen board (Johnson & Gastill, 2015; Hendriks, 2016). In a previous study, I analyzed the institutional design of a neighborhood-level co-governance model from the perspective of the formality of various fora and the activity level of the participants in the neighborhood (Jarenko, 2013). However, in this study, I wanted to address the operational elements of collaboration.

A recent contribution to the modeling of the operational elements of a co-governance model was presented by Laura Sorbal (2018). Her model is based on studies in Berlin, Lisbon, Bologna, and Madrid in which the city administrations have sought to enhance co-operation and co-governance with citizens in the context of urban development. She calls her model "the co-operation ecosystem" (Sorbal, 2018).

Sorbal's model comprises the following six elements or dimensions (Figure 1). Firstly, she begins with *identifying local resources*, which includes mapping and monitoring mechanisms of citizen initiatives as well as recognizing and building networks that can contribute to the strengthening of civil society. This requires a thorough understanding of different users' needs, both current and future. It also includes broad participation mechanisms and channels (online and offline) that allow various means of participating in the co-production of city life. Secondly, *facilitating the emergence of a civic financing sector* can help by enabling public-civic cooperation through suitable funding conditions, with grants, favorable loans, and appropriate regulations, particularly covering the maintenance cost of civic spaces by various potential revenue streams. For example, matching the funds raised through crowdfunding campaigns considered relevant to the city. Thirdly, she proposes *supporting micro-innovation in co-governance*. This calls for strategic frameworks with open calls for initiatives that promote public spaces as spaces for community meetings and that offer a platform for spontaneity and autonomy through innovative projects, delimiting spaces in the city for prototyping and testing. Fourthly, she recommends *creating a legal framework for cooperation*. These frameworks can support citizens' initiatives, simplify the bureaucracy, establish co-created parameters, and standardize the answers and criteria through which co-operation between citizens and the municipality can be formalized. Fifthly, *online platforms for*
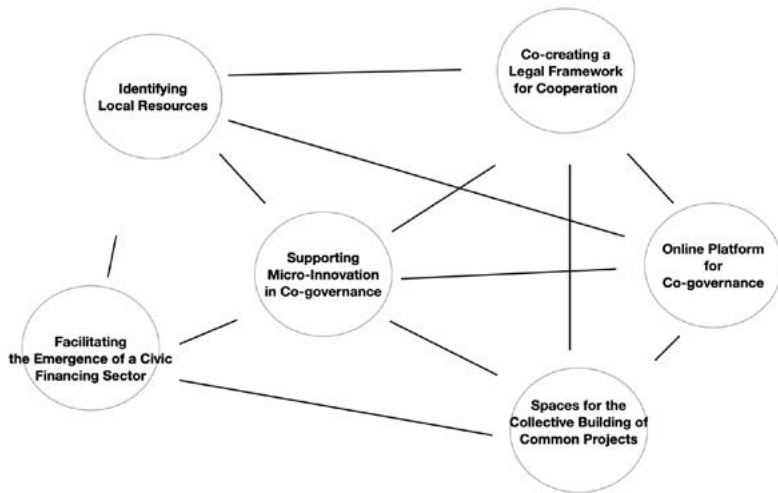
FIGURE 1 Laura Sorbal's model of a co-operation ecosystem to help cities create collaboration and co-governance with residents for urban and community development (Sorbal, 2018)

participation can serve as the main tool for transparency in the municipality's decisions. Finally, she urges for *spaces for the collective building of common projects*. Physical spaces throughout the city can function as experimental incubators of co-operative proposals.

Research questions and method

I adopted Sorbal's model as a starting point for my analysis of the two case studies. In this, I set out to see how the two communities operated, how these contemporary cities were planned and co-governed, and how fruitful Sorbal's model was in analyzing them. My goal here was to sketch a "co-operation ecosystem" for the EP approach. The weakness of my research design was that official city planners had only a minor role in these planning processes. However, these two cases were otherwise fruitful as they comprised both participatory planning and co-governance, and they linked self-governed initiatives to the centrally led participatory planning process. These two communities were also known for successfully relying almost completely on citizen initiatives in urban and community development. Thus, even though they did not represent "real urban planning", they could operate as "extreme best practices". Therefore, we might be able to connect learnings from their co-operation ecosystems to "real urban planning".

The research questions of this explorative study were as follows. Firstly, what is the co-operation ecosystem that structures expanded urban planning

(including co-governance) in the two cases and how do these elements affect the nature of collaboration? Secondly, what are the means and tools that link self-governed initiatives and activities to the centrally led planning of the contemporary city? Thirdly, what can be learned from these cases in terms of expanded urban planning, and what learnings can be generalized to apply to all participatory planning?

The comparative qualitative analysis of the cases has borrowed its methodology from the meta-analysis of qualitative studies (Timulak, 2009); the purpose of which is to provide a more comprehensive description of the phenomenon (in this case, the intersection of self-organization with expanded urban planning). The methodology involved an analysis and synthesis of the similarities, differences, and patterns across the cases that share a common focus or goal in a way that produces knowledge to answer the research questions. The potential generalization of the results can eventually take place by employing the theory of substance (Krehl & Weck, 2019; Scott & Storper, 2015; Alasuutari, 1993).

The data gathering methods comprised deep interviews with three key persons and shorter conversations with around 70 persons, an analysis of documents (e.g., related material on the Internet (see references), participatory observation (i.e., I attended the Burning Man main event in August 2019, taking field notes), and participatory dialogue (i.e., I participated in the planning process for the Borderland event for 2020 until it was cancelled due to COVID-19; this enabled my observation of the planning process). The three interviewees were chosen because of their central roles in these communities and because of their special interest in the themes addressed in this study, such as participatory planning, self-governance, leadership, co-governance, and institutional design. The shorter conversations with a large number of individuals contributed to my preliminary understanding of the participatory planning process and the linkage between self-governed initiatives and the centrally led planning of the whole. These conversations also developed my understanding of the culture as a whole, enabling me to discuss research questions on a deeper level with the interviewees.

The data analysis methods comprised content analysis starting with organizing and sampling the material, making an index and carrying out the preparatory thematic analysis with preliminary codes; writing the rules for the codes and coding; comparing the codes (cf. the constant comparative method by Strauss & Corbin (1990)) and sorting them into domains relevant for the research questions and the theoretical framework; delineating the data into domains, which allowed for the categorization and comparison of different meaning units;

systematization of the categories, pattern identification, process tracking, and the making of typologies (Krippendorff & Bock, 2008).

The themes of the analysis included the following points: What are the elements of EP? How are they manifested in these two cases? How do these two communities operate? What is their institutional and organizational design? Why is it like that? What is the role of the planner? Is there a planner? What are the means and tools of participatory planning? What is self-organized? How are the self-organized initiatives linked to participatory planning? And drawing from all of this, what is the co-operation ecosystem in each of the cases and are the elements of Sorbal's model valid and functional in them? I then compared the cases according to all of these dimensions (see Table 1 for summary).

The Methods of interpretation comprised the final synthesis, which focused on the whole body of research with implications for theory and practice. The interpretation of the results and the drawing of conclusions were supported by the so-called quasi-judicial case method, developed by Bromley (1986). It is based on the network of empirical facts, relations, and relevant concepts, such as the theoretical framework in this article.

The Empirical Cases

The choice of the cases was based both on my personal and theoretical interest in wanting to identify what can be learned from these two communities in terms of expanded urban planning. The objects of planning in the case studies were small "cities" that were created for the duration of a one week-long event in 2019. The larger event, Burning Man, founded in 1986, gathered approximately 75 000 in 2019. It took place in the desert north of Reno, Nevada, USA. The second event, called Borderland, was chosen from around 15 larger regional events of the Burning Man global network, due to its flat organization and its familiar Nordic culture. Borderland comprised around 3500 people, and it took place in Hedeland, Denmark. Both events are organized on an annual basis. The events and organizations behind them are not formally linked, but their communities overlap to some extent. Both communities follow the ten cultural principles that have been created in the context of Burning Man[3] . Their mission "is to generate a society that connects each individual to his or her creative powers, to participation in community, to the larger realm of civic life, and to the even greater world of nature that exists beyond society." (Burning Man Project, the mission statement, 2018). Radical inclusion, participation, and self-governance are at the

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3   The communities follow ten principles that encapsulate the culture. These principles are 1) radical inclusion, 2) gifting, 3) decommodification, 4) radical self-reliance, 5) radical self-expression, 6) communal effort, 7) civic responsibility, 8) leaving no trace, 9) participation, and 10) immediacy.

cultural core of both communities. The events are collaboratively produced: participants bring with them everything that they need for the week, and all activities, arts, and "services" are gifted to the community.

Both events are growing in size and their planning and governance models are respectively evolving. The two case studies examined the planning, production, and governance for the events of 2019. Hereafter, I refer to the events as BM2019 (for Burning Man) and BL2019 (for Borderland).

Case Study: Burning Man 2019
BM2019 took place in the Black Rock desert of Reno, Nevada, USA, between 26 August and 1 September 2019. The event site is called Black Rock City. It is in the shape of a hexagon and almost 15 000 km^2 in size.

The discussions that could be referred to as "strategic planning" took over the course of a year before the event in seminars and workshops concerning the culture and the nature of the event, i.e., "the strategic goals" of the BM2019. Active members of the Burning Man community from around the world participated, and a survey was also sent out to collect viewpoints from those who were not able to attend the discussions in person.

The Burning Man event has a city plan. In the past 20 years, the city has grown outwards to accommodate the growing population, but the shape has remained the same, since it was created by Rod Garret in 1999. As the city developed, the placement team of the head organization has become the key agent in the planning process. In addition to adapting the city plan to the BM2019 needs and requirements, it handled land use permissions, waste management plans, and requirements from Reno city administration. Urban and community development, including both buildings and other constructions as well as the "services", activities, and arts, were a collaborative act of the placement team and the citizens of the city. Each citizen had their own project through which their contributed to the community. Some projects were massive in size and in need of community resources; others were quite modest. Helping facilitate this, the placement team handled camp applications and placed the camps in the city plan. They were very aware of their role in designing the overall BM2019 experience for participants and had internal discussions on planning and creating livable neighborhoods. In terms of resources, it was possible to apply for grants for art and the applications were processed in the head organization. Several art projects were also self-financed. Closer to the event, the placement team, expanded with volunteers, marked the city plan, roads, and camp borders on the ground with small flags. The actual building

itself was done by residents, and apart from security restrictions, there were no guidelines related to appearance nor to the placement within the camp areas.

BM2019 was planned and operated with a co-governance model, which linked the self-governed projects of residents to "formal planning" and opened a wide realm of participation for residents. The tools and means for linking the self-governed projects to formal planning were camp and art grant applications. However, from the point of view of transparency and inclusion, art grants were handled in the head organization, and there was little information or public discussion about the applications. The realm of self-governance focused on art, activities, and other "urban development", not so much on the co-operation model itself. Moreover, there was no formal process to re-evaluate and redesign institutional roles nor the governance model itself. Likewise, BM2019 did not have an online platform for co-governance. The online presence in the form of a website, blog, and newsletter was quite inspiring, well updated, and thorough. They proved central for sharing knowledge and "acculturation", but the information flow on the website was top-down rather than interactive. Furthermore, the community had numerous Facebook and other social media groups, but these were self-organized and not linked to formal co-governance.

Case Study: Borderland 2019
BL2019 took place in Hedeland, Denmark between July 22 and July 28, 2019. The event drew about 3500 inhabitants to the site, which is around 1.1 km² in size.

The Borderland organization does not have any permanent organizational roles. The community re-organizes itself each year to create the event. All roles and tasks within the community are open to anybody. The required roles and tasks were announced, and participants volunteered for them. The role holders from previous years mentored the newcomers in their adopted responsibilities. Everybody was allowed to contest current processes, principles, practices, and roles. This took place via an "advice process" in which the modus operandi was described with its problems, and a solution proposed. The proposal was then discussed until a decision emerged.

Planning was also managed in this manner in 2019. From here, a few people sketched a "city plan", which was accepted through an advisory process. The proposal predefined a grid of circles outside of which camping was not allowed. The central circles were intended for activities and surrounded by smaller circles that were meant for camping. The larger structures were to be built inside the central circles. In between the circles, there was space for the natural creation of fire access roads. Among the camp circles, the loud sound camps were placed

at the far end of the area, facing a field, and a silent area was created at the opposite end of the area. This grid created the "urban plan" for Borderland 2019.

After having created and accepted the grid, the placement of camps began. All the camps had different themes, and they were to provide for the activities of the event. This meant that the placement was expected to have a key impact on the overall experience of "the city". With self-governance as an underlying goal, the responsibility for the placement was given to the participants themselves to determine. It was assisted by a well-planned Google spreadsheet that guided the users to fill in all required information and to take into account all important considerations. The issues included, among others, safety restrictions, the camps' need for electricity, the number of campers, and the audio footprint. It allowed the residents to place themselves as they preferred, while recognizing coherence and restrictions. Moreover, the spreadsheet was also open to everybody, allowing any mistakes to be identified and quickly corrected.

Borderland aspired to expand self-governance not only to "urban development" but also to the collective provision of infrastructure and decision-making. This aspiration was manifested in the architecture and functionalities of digital platforms. "The Dreams" platform facilitated innovation and co-creation with the city planning: ideas were presented, prototyped, and co-created. Their financing was also decided upon within the platform. The city needs and responsibilities were managed on the "Realities" platform. All of these tasks were described, and operators and mentors were identified. The third digital platform was "the Talk"; on which, matters were discussed in threads. The Talk also included "the Advisory Process", which was the means to contest current processes, principles, practices, and roles. The existing modus operandi was described along with its perceived problems, and a solution was proposed. The proposal was then discussed until a decision emerged. In addition, the community also had Facebook groups for lighter conversation and outbursts of collective enthusiasm, and many art and community development projects were governed in these groups.

Comparison of the cases
BM2019 and BL2019 naturally have many features in common as they are part of the same subculture and they follow the same ten principles. Both cases also follow a planning process that can be interpreted as an application of the expanded urban planning approach. In this respect, urban space is planned and produced in a collaborative manner, beginning from the definition of the overarching strategic goals and ending in the actual building of the city, the

	Burning Man 2019	Borderland 2019
Identifying local agents and networks and monitoring mechanisms of citizen initiatives	In seminars, Burns, and other events. An expectation that those wanting to contribute will send a theme camp application or apply for an art grant or contribute without support from the head organization. A significant means of "monitoring" is also via personal relations.	Active people identified as they participate in discussions on digital platforms, and they take up responsibilities, take part in seminars, Burns, and other events.
		Community fosters initiatives and new ideas for both arts and activities and concerning the governance model and its processes. An expectation that those willing to contribute will bring the contributions forth on the digital platform.
Supporting micro-innovation in co-governance	Ideas to develop collaboration between the head organization and the community are constantly discussed, but discussions are head-organization-led. The city plan is pretty much given, the placement team does the placement, but what is placed is the self-governed projects of the residents.	Digital platforms have been chosen and developed to enable co-governance and the constant co-development of the governance model and collaboration tools. All ideas are open for everyone to see.
Co-creating a legal framework for co-operation	A head organization was originally established to facilitate the production of the Burning Man event and to take care of administration on behalf of participants. As the event grew, the head organization continued to operate on behalf of the community, but despite participatory events and processes, the distance between the core group and the random participants began to grow.	An aspiration to extend co-governance to not only concern the creative uses of the urban space but also the decision-making principles and governance processes of the community. The infrastructure of the BL2019 was explicated early on and manifested in the way in which the digital platforms were chosen and developed. The community has managed to maintain a co-governed model up to its current size.
Facilitating the emergence of a civic financial sector	Art grants could be applied for from the head organization. Decision making was not very transparent.	The Dreams platform was developed for citizens to bring forth their ideas, to co-create them further, to find people to make them happen, and to collectively decide upon their financing.
Online platform for collaboration/co-governance	Not really. Informative website, blog, and newsletter, but no digital platforms for collective decision-making.	Advanced digital platforms created specifically for co-governance. "Borderland Talk": discussions and decision-making (the Advisory Process); "Dreams": art projects and their financing; and "Realities": what is needed for BL2019 to happen.
Spaces for the collective building of common projects.	None apart from the event site.	None apart from the event site.

TABLE 1 Comparison of the co-operation ecosystem of BM2019 and BL2019.

co-production of activities and services, and the life that inhabits it along with the appropriation of spaces.

The governance model was, however, different in these two cases. The Borderland community had consciously built a co-governance model, whereby all decision-making strived at transparency and took place on digital platforms. The platforms and other digital planning tools were key to the operation of the community. They guided the planning and steered individual efforts to act in the common good. In fact, much of the leadership and management that is usually required in the organized action of multiple persons was located "inside" the digital architecture. On the other hand, much of the leadership and management in Burning Man was in the hands of the head organization. It aimed to serve the community as best as possible, but it withheld many tasks and responsibilities for itself. Thus, it ended up operating in a more closed manner than the Borderland organization.

Results

My first research question was: what is the co-operation ecosystem that structures the expanded urban planning in the two cases and how do these elements affect the nature of collaboration? The co-operation ecosystems in the two cases have similarities but also key differences. Both ecosystems are designed to govern the planning and production of the events and have an emphasis on linking the self-governed initiatives into a coherent whole. BM2019 supported these initiatives via art grants while BL2019 also helped people to network and co-create around the ideas, thus facilitating the process much more. In terms of finances, financing decisions were made in the BM2019 head organization while the BL2019 community decided upon them collectively on the digital platform. The self-governing ethos of BL2019 was manifested in the functionalities of the digital platforms in use as compared to the participatory but head organization-led processes and communications of BM2019. Moreover, any member of the BL2019 community was able to contest the decision-making, collaboration processes, and the governance model itself (i.e., innovation in co-governance), whilst the BM2019 operated in a more opaque manner, offering wide opportunities for participation but mainly in the realm of urban and community development — not in developing the model of cooperation itself.

The elements of Laura Sorbal's model for a co-operation ecosystem were identified in both cases, but their "depth" varied. In this regard, decision-making was more transparent and collaborative in Borderland as there was no head organization to provide services on behalf of the community.

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My second research question was: what are the means and tools that link self-governed initiatives to centrally led participatory planning? In Burning Man 2019, self-governed initiatives were linked to formal planning through rather traditional means, such as camp and grant applications. BL2019 self-governance was expanded to "statutory planning" with the help of a digital tool. The whole planning and production process was self-governed on digital platforms created specifically for co-creation, resourcing, and decision-making.

My third research question was framed in the following manner: what can be learned from these cases in terms of expanded urban planning, and what learnings can be generalized to apply to all participatory planning? These are discussed in the final section.

Conclusions and Discussion

The aim of this article was to present insights into the potential for a co-operation ecosystem for expanded urban planning. For this purpose, I analyzed two cases of Expanded urban planning to observe how they operated and what methods and tools they utilized for co-governance and participatory planning. As well, I investigated whether it would be fruitful to structure their modus operandi according to Laura Sorbal's model of a co-operation ecosystem. To this end, I first discuss the findings concerning the ecosystem. Then, I turn to the conclusions and discussion concerning the practice of EP. Finally, I discuss what learnings can be applied to traditional participatory planning that does not include the element of co-governance.

Laura Sorbal's model of a co-operation ecosystem structured the collaboration and co-governance system of these two cases well. Therefore, I propose that it can be taken as a starting point for the creation of a co-operation ecosystem in the context of expanded urban planning. My analysis did, however, reveal two improvements. Firstly, the comparative case study demonstrated that subjecting not only issues of substance (i.e., urban and community development) but also those of the procedure (i.e., process and tools for cooperation) to co-creation had a wide impact on the nature of collaboration and the extent to which citizens were empowered. Thus, I suggest that this distinction should also be made in the model for expanded urban planning. In addition, since this distinction is not restricted to the context of expanded urban planning, as it also applies to co-governance in general, I suggest that Sorbal's model could be improved by separating the micro-innovation element into a) micro-innovation concerning the use of a common urban space and b) micro-innovation concerning the governance model itself. This distinction can be useful both in the analysis of existing co-governance models and in the creation of new ones.

The model of the co-operation ecosystem sketched in this study ought to be tested in a "real urban setting" preferably comprising all three participatory elements: self-governed initiatives, participatory planning, and co-governance.

The second improvement concerns the element of supporting citizen initiatives. In this regard, BM2019 supported self-governed citizen initiatives through art grants, but BL2019 also facilitated networking and co-creation around initiatives. This is an interesting "service" that the system can provide to the community and has been proven beneficial in "real urban contexts" as well (see, for example, McKnight, 2003 and Graham et al., 2013 for community building in various cities). Based on this, I suggest that this element in the co-operation ecosystem for expanded urban planning be named "facilitating the resourcing of initiatives", comprising both financial and human resourcing. This, too, is an improvement that might also benefit Laura Sorbal's original model.

In terms of learnings for traditional participatory planning, there are a few notions I would like to bring forth. BM2019 operated with participatory methods that are quite traditional and well known among city administrators and planners: calls for citizen initiatives and financial support for projects. Despite this "methodological traditionalism", BM2019 managed to create an experience of strong inclusion and participation that resulted in a substantial number of self-governed projects that contributed to the community. One reason for this is inevitably the subculture itself, that underlines inclusion, participation, and civic responsibility. does not seem to be reflected in "real urban contexts". However, some other dimensions do offer viable suggestions for EP in real cities. Firstly, the community was able to participate in the ongoing cultural redefinition, i.e., by discussing the "strategic goals" of the city and its community. In the "real world", this would mean that neighborhoods would be allowed to enhance their particular identity and citizens could participate in discussions to redefine the strategic goals for urban development. "What kind of a neighborhood is this? Why have we chosen to live here? In what direction do we want to develop this neighborhood?" A third reason for the strong sense of community is that the head-organization enhanced communality in multiple ways, for example, by the use of language: co-producers of urban development were identified as "people", "Burners", or as "lovely hippies", not as "local resources" as in the original model of Laura Sorbal (2018). This kind of community leadership of course links more to community building and social work than traditional blueprinting. However, as urban planning and development are perceived more and more as an ongoing collaborative process of various agents and networks (as laid out in the beginning of this article), these kind of details become relevant also for the planner to think about.

The Borderland 2019 community was a more extreme case. It was relatively small, which raises questions as to how we can draw conclusions for real urban contexts. It does, however, manifest an interesting philosophy of operation, when it comes to maximizing self-governance: principles and rules are decided upon collectively and decisions about single cases are left to the individuals, according to their interpretation of the principles that have been set together. However, more research is required in terms of the size of the community being able to operate thoroughly in this manner. However, it seems appropriate to assume that this idea can be applied to some extent to enhance the sense of autonomy and engagement of local agents and networks in other co-governance contexts, too.

Digital platforms for collaboration, planning, and decision-making are essential, if we want to enhance the co-governance of common resources[4]. As we saw in the comparison of BM2019 and BL2019 that in spite of the same strategic principles, the existence of a digital co-governance platform was the major factor in shifting the nature of collaboration. The lack of a digital co-governance platform restricts collaboration to activities that are merely participatory instead of co-governmental in nature. The architecture, functionalities, and user experience of such digital platforms of co-governance require more research and development in the context of real cities. However, the existence of a mere technical platform without the inclusive philosophy is not sufficient for real co-governance. Thus, in addition to technological research, the methods of creating and leading participatory cultures should be an important area of research in the overarching topic of managing future urban development.

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