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D2.4

Critical review of the literature and relevant bibliography

Working document

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WP2 : Theoretical Framework for the project
Local democracy, participation and inequality

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Context - WP2.1 in FAIRVILLE

FAIRVILLE project is about interrogating and analysing the relationships between processes of coproduction of urban resources (material and immaterial – basic services, housing, planning, knowledge…), urban inequalities and local democracy. This will be done by taking stock of existing (academic and community) knowledge on the matter, but also conducting, participating in, observing and analysing coproduction processes through several contextualised FAIRVILLE Labs.

WP2.1's objective is to provide a theoretical framework to the project – and more precisely to interrogate what academic literature, what scientific research have said on these issues : how they have conceptualised the various notions we are collectively interested in, in which contexts, what debates and key interrogations they have opened to, what arguments they have advanced, what gaps they leave that are relevant to FAIRVILLE.

The process to construct this theoretical framework involves the production of short initial academic syntheses ("literature reviews", or rather "theoretical framings" - relevant ways of analysing the broad phenomena and processes we wish to observe), as working documents to kickstart the debate around research contributions to the project ; and the presentation, debate and reframing of these syntheses (and specification of what knowledge we want to coproduce together) through focused debates with activists, facilitators and practitioners in the larger consortium.

Iterative alternance of theoretical academic moments and interaction/ confrontation and reframing moments through engagement with activists in FAIRVILLE lab as well as empirical studies, is key to the project. It is key to the selection of relevant theoretical tools (concepts/ framings/ methods) for the FAIRVILLE lab (which involved considerable reading and analytical work), and to the adaptation and discussion of these tools to the purposes and needs of the consortium. Such a process of knowledge coproduction is challenging and of course will be marked by trial and errors - this working document is a first step in that direction

1.Introduction – Towards a theoretical framing of coproduction for FAIRVILLE

This first working document presents elements towards a theoretical framing of “coproduction”.

It has become obvious in the first stages of the FAIRVILLE project, and the diversity of the experience of members as well as of the FAIRVILLE labs, that they were different, sometimes contradictory, at least contrasted, understandings of “coproduction” – amongst which two main understandings prevail:

- ➔ The more classic definition of coproduction is linked to forms of collaborative engagements between civil society and state institutions (“state” in the broad sense of public authorities)
- ➔ A starting point for FAIRVILLE has been rather centered on coproduction as a form of community mobilisation around alternative urban strategies, policies and projects through engagements with community facilitators, NGOs, and Universities.

Three cross-cutting arguments can be made at this stage:

1.1. Taking seriously the dual definition of coproduction, depending on the place of the state in the coproduction process

This paper argues we need to consider this dual definition, this tension between two definitions that place “the state” (public authorities) in very different positions towards the process of coproduction. Both definitions stem from Ostrom’ s influential definition (1996), defining coproduction as

> **‘the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service is contributed by individuals who are not “in” the same organization’**

- ➢ From there, some have developed the concept of “institutional coproduction” (Joshi and Moore, Bovaird, Watson) : in this conception, the state (or public authorities) are a direct party co-producing an urban good, whether or not initiating the coproduction process (a key question, but not the point here).

The first section of this paper, coordinated by Giuseppe Faldi, deals with a this meaning of coproduction.
The theoretical stakes for this approach are in particular:

- ➔ What do we already know about institutional coproduction, what are the gaps? What are the key debates in this literature, and which ones are relevant for FAIRVILLE?
- ➔ How is this literature dealing with issues of power & inequality, and what are the gaps? To what extent has institutional coproduction of services for instance led to different ways of addressing inequalities (in access to the service in particular)?

- Other researchers are more interested in the civil society or community's side of the process, and understand co-production as:
  - ➔ either a process of production of an urban good (material or immaterial) conducted by local communities with the intervention of a facilitator (an NGO, a social movement activist, an advocacy planner, an engaged University). NB in this understanding, we seem to be quite close to a movement of community mobilisation (production is about producing a sense of the community / an alternative project or plan / a strategy to engage with the state).
  - ➔ or, forms of community self-organisation to regulate a common pool resource (a 'common'). NB in this understanding, the notion that there are several organisations or parties involved in the production of an urban good somehow gets lost, or at least a bit blurred.

The second section of this paper, coordinated by Agnes Deboulet, focuses on this meaning of coproduction.
The theoretical stakes for this approach are notably:

- ➔ Which academic authors already use coproduction in that sense, and how? If this definition of coproduction has not been made explicit, what other definitions (of close concepts) exist (cf collaborative, advocacy or insurgent planning), and how is "coproduction" a different (and better) term for FAIRVILLE's objectives?
- ➔ What does it mean to use the conceptual framing of « coproduction » to analyse social processes, rather than other, more usual approaches in terms of community organising / mobilising / empowerment (social movement literature in particular) ?
- ➔ What does it mean to use the conceptual framing of « coproduction » rather than framing it in terms of « commons », as is also derived from Ostrom's seminal work (see Gomes 2022)?

1.2. «Coproduction» as a concept is useful to interrogate processes of hybridisation of practical/ professional cultures in the different «organisations» involved

Terminology
NB the term "organisations" (taken from Ostrom) here is not fully adapted, as civil society groups or local communities are not always (in fact seldom are) constructed as "organisations". The proper term here would be "institution" in the broad sense of a set of norms and rules common to a social group and guiding their practice. But the term "institution" is also ambiguous and has a narrower meaning (referring to public organisations, local authorities for instance): when we talk about "institutional coproduction", we mean "institution" in this narrower meaning.

The concept of coproduction puts at the center the issue of difference between the parties engaged in the process – this difference ought to be articulated and analysed.

In the case of a coproduction process involving public authorities and community groups:

- ➔ It seems obvious, but it needs to be specified that the two parties have different power positions
- ➔ They have different types of resources that need to be identified and may shift over time ;
- ➔ They bring to the process different types of knowledge and expertise, but these evolve throughout the process and so do each parties' practices
- ➔ Less often mentioned, often demonstrated as a critique, but that should perhaps be a starting point rather, they have different objectives for engaging in coproduction – but can share a joint interest in the urban good being coproduced.
- ➔ In line with what precedes (different power positions, different resources and expertise, different objectives) they also have different temporalities – the temporality of the most powerful (often, public authorities') being dominant.
- ➔ For instance, public authorities will be interested in coproduction as much as they see it and understand it as a more efficient way of providing a service (more efficient, less costly or more adapted to local needs, or just the only way to be able to intervene in a locality/ to overcome a crisis). Public authorities' primary objective will be efficiency in service delivery or urban governance - although of course, sections of public institutions may have other objectives in mind (remobilising constituencies, deepening democracy).

Local communities might have several, or differentiated, objectives in engaging in coproduction processes (or some might be clear and formal objectives, other might be secondary or informal objectives, or even lateral positive side effects) : a state more responsive to local needs, especially when services are missing or in a crisis ; this can lead to the objective of constructing a more democratic state ; or the objective of constructing a more unified (and a more resilient ?) community.

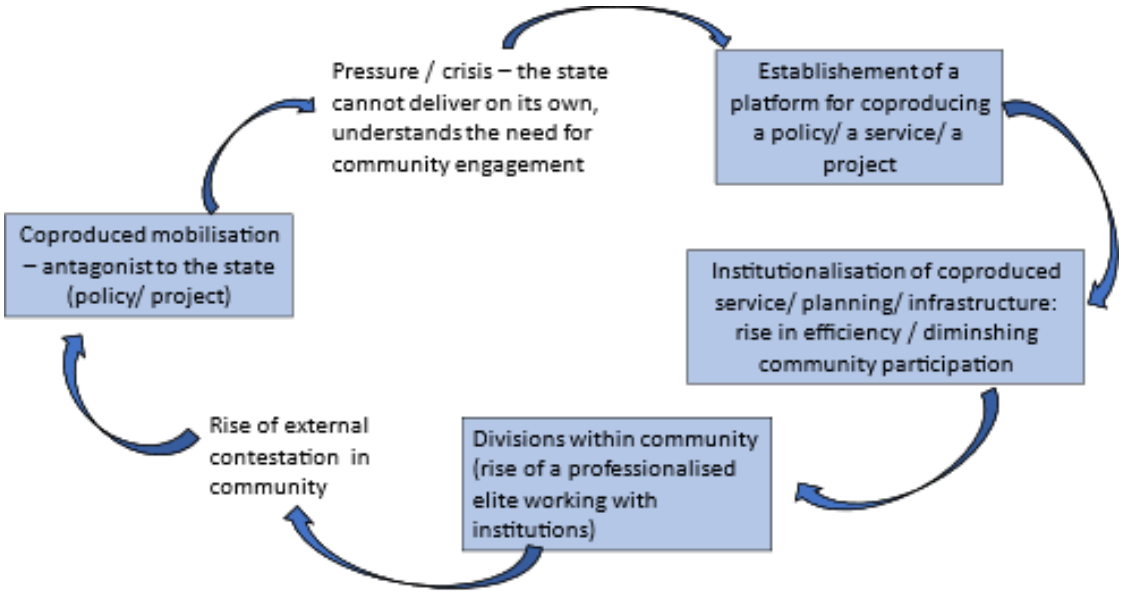
But these differences (in position, power, temporality, objectives, resources, knowledge) are also relevant to observe and analyse in the second meaning of « coproduction », between communities and facilitators.

This is often a blind spot in analyses using an approach in terms of community organising / mobilising. By using the frame of coproduction, we emphasize the work of facilitators / organisers / mobilisers, and may be able to show that:

- ➔ It requires work to facilitate/ organise and consolidate the emergence of collective mobilisations and strategies - this work could be made visible and the position and role of facilitator could be theorised
- ➔ There are power relations involved, even though the facilitators aim at being 'at the service' of local communities – facilitators too work from an organisation with their own rules, regulations, objectives, resources and temporalities.
- ➔ There is a dynamic of hybridisation of knowledge and practices (on both sides - facilitators and communities) in the coproduction process.

1.3. Community and institutional coproduction processes – two phases in a cycle

Each of the two meanings of "coproduction" (institutional and community in short) entails different positions vis-à vis the state: institutional coproduction entails a predominantly collaborative approach with the state (not meaning devoid of tensions); community coproduction tends to entail a predominantly antagonistic position towards the state (not meaning a lack of engagement).
But as much as antagonism and collaboration can be seen as in a continuum of interaction between state and civil society (community organisations resort to both, and in the "landscape" of civil society organisations, there is a variety of modes of engagement with the state), we could consider, on a longer time-span, community coproduction and institutional co-production as two phases in a cycle.



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This cycle echoes what had been theorised by Robert Michels for social movements, that he called the 'cruel game' – reading it in terms of perpetual failure of social movements, being deradicalized or "domesticated" as they get institutionalised and as their policy ideas get incorporated into government and policy documents. However, other readings could also see it as a part victory, when social movements ideas and values become incorporated in the public organisation ("institutionalised"). This will be developed in another conceptual framing around institutionalisation and progressive urban politics.

2. Theoretical framing of “institutional coproduction” for FAIRVILLE

This first section, coordinated by Giuseppe Faldi, presents various relevant definitions of "Institutional coproduction", reflects on its genealogy, before presenting what academic literature has argued about the main benefits and shortcomings of coproduction, in particular with regards to inequality in cities.

2.1. Various definitions of the concept

Two different definitions (from Joshi and Moore, and Bovaird) moved from the early definition of service co-production from E. Ostrom (1996), which remains seminal:

> **“co-production is the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not “in” the same organizations”**

2.1.1. Definition 1 - Joshi and Moore (2004)

Joshi and Moore’s (2004: 40) define institutionalised co-production (of public service) as follows:

> **“Institutionalised co-production is the provision of public services (broadly defined, to include regulation) through regular, long-term relationships between state agencies and organised groups of citizens, where both make substantial resource contributions”.**

Anaradha Joshi and Mick Moore, research fellows at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, proposed this definition in 2004. They moved from asking what are the best organisational arrangements for the delivery of public services are (focus on Global South contexts), in particular in a context of reactions to the New Public Management agenda that strongly pushed for privatisation and private-public configurations for service provision (that manifested its limitations especially in Global South contexts). The authors moved from the recognition of the ambiguity of the early definition of co-production proposed by E. Ostrom (1996) that depicted ideal synergic cooperation between any organisations involved in provision of a good or a service. For Joshi and Moore, instead, in Global South contexts the most diffuse situation of service provision merges different typologies in which citizens can be differently involved, from self-provisioning through collective action to direct social provision through private associations, direct market provision on a commercial basis, direct social provision through state agencies and indirect state provision.

Therefore, their idea of institutionalised co-production includes all form of hybrid, complex and informal interactions between public agency and organised groups of citizens in the production of a service – either logistical (poor management capacity) and governance (declining governance

capacity) driven – grounded on relationships that might be "undefined, informal and renegotiated continuously".

Limitations of this definition situate on the non-specification of which other actor can be part or service co-production (confining co-production only with state agencies), in which phases of the service co-production might occur and the lack of reference to the physical dimension (technology, space) related to some urban services (e.g. water) that plays a decisive role in the sustainability, equity of the service.

Giuseppe Faldi - relevance of these definition for my research project

In our research on sustainability of service co-production Global South contexts, we found this definition useful as it recognises: i) the complex governance dimension behind co-produced services, ii) the existence of hybrid forms of co-production, iii) the evolving nature of co-production. In some of our studies, this helped us exploring the process of governance and technological hybridisation and spatial incrementalism of some water co-production configurations in African, South American and East Asian cities. This definition helps us in composing a comprehensive framework to analyse co-production of water and sanitation services in the Global South, in particular to recognise certain "non-official" or "tolerated" hybrid forms of interaction between public actors, citizens (and other actors) as co-production practices (Faldi et al., 2019). One can argue that applying this definition (and the argument developed in Joshi and Moore 's paper) in Global North contexts can be less useful, as it mostly refers to contexts of weak states.

2.1.2. Definition 2 – Bovaird (1997)

Bovaird (2007: 847) defines user and community co-production as:

> **"the provision of services through regular, long term relationships between professionalized service providers (in any sector) and service users or other members of the community, where all parties make substantial resource contributions".**

This definition was proposed in 2007 by Tony Bovaird, professor of public management and policy in the Institute of Local Government Studies, School of Public Policy, University of Birmingham. He can be considered one of the main scholars of that strand of the public administration and management scholarship interested in the study of the governance-institutional dimension of service co-production (with Nabatchi, Pestoff, Loeffler, Verschuere, Steen, Brandsen and others).

This definition facilitates recognition of the role of certain actors in service co-production, namely the 'intermediaries', such as volunteers, community groups and NGOs, and private actors, who frequently assume relevant roles in service provision for low-income households.
In a certain way, this definition (and the argumentation developed in the Bovaird's paper) can share the same ambiguities of Ostrom's definition, even if it provides more details on the types of actors involved in service co-production (blurring boundaries between public, private and voluntary sectors).

Moreover, benefits of co-production are mostly framed in terms of efficiency of state delivery rather than community empowerment or democratisation.

Giuseppe Faldi's use of this definition

In our research aiming at the defining a comprehensive framework to analyse co-production of water services, we referred to the work of Bovaird (and of the other scholars belonging to this strand) to define the elements characterizing the actor dimension of water service co-production by categorizing them in 3 types (end users, intermediaries and providers) with their different relationships.This definition helps us in building a comprehensive framework to analyse co-production of water and sanitation services in the Global South, particularly in the definition of the actor dimensions of the framework, that the opening of the consideration of the role of intermediaries in the service co-production model.

2.1.3. Definition 3 – Watson (2014)

Generally defining coproduction as "**processes of state-society engagement around urban development issues**", Watson proposed a reflection on what the concept of co-production can offer to urban planning theory, from a Southern perspective.

Whilst she does not provide a unique definition of co-production, Watson offered a clear distinction between - **state-initiated co-production** (referring to the large literature of co-production of public services (Ostrom, Joshi and Moore, Bovaird, see above definitions; and that corresponds to what we define here as "Institutional coproduction"); and
- **social movement initiated co-production** (mostly referring to Mitlin (2008: 339), and other authors - this corresponds to what we define in this paper as community coproduction, see section III below):

> **"bottom-up co-production [as a political strategy used by citizen groups and social movement organizations to] enable individual members and their associations to secure effective relations with state institutions that address both immediate basic needs and enable them to negotiate for greater benefits".**

For both forms of coproduction, Watson's key paper develops the commonalities and the differences between coproduction and collaborative planning approaches, in ways that are very relevant for FAIRVILLE:

- **Commonalities between co-production and collaborative planning**

"In some respects the various approaches to co-production (above) and ideas of collaborative and communicative planning have elements in common. Firstly, all these positions have been concerned with how state and society can engage in order to improve the quality of life of populations, sometimes with an emphasis on the poor and marginalized, and sometimes with these outcomes specified as socio-spatial justice and more equitable and sustainable outcomes of state intervention in urban development, and how professionals can act to promote this. Certainly, underlying goals and values have much in common.

Secondly, variants of co-production, and collaborative and communicative planning approaches would find common ground in that none takes a radical approach to social change. All take an incremental, evolutionary and social learning approach to shifting actions of the state in particular directions and securing gains for particular groups or places.(…) Thirdly, variants of co-production, along with collaborative and communicative planning positions, assume a context of democracy, where "active citizens" are able and prepared to engage collectively and individually (with each other and with the state) to improve their material and political conditions."

- Differences between co-production and collaborative planning

"While participatory planning approaches and variants of co-production do have elements in common (with a degree of qualification), in a number of other respects they are significantly different. Firstly, co-production, particularly when initiated by social movements, almost inevitably works outside (and sometimes against) established rules and procedures of governance in terms of engagement with the state, while this is much less usual (although not impossible) in collaborative and communicative planning processes.
Co-production processes have often come into being precisely because formal channels of engagement do not exist or are not satisfactory, and other ways to engage have to be found. In many parts of the global South, planning and urban development laws and regulations are inherited from colonial times and channels for engagement at best may allow for no more than formal presentations of state plans to communities.
Secondly, collaborative and communicative planning processes have generally focused on the debates needed to shape plans but have been less concerned with involvement in delivery processes and subsequent management of projects, although the suggestion that planning processes should consider this has certainly been raised. (…)
Thirdly, bottom-up co-production takes a different position on power and conflict from certain positions in collaborative and communicative planning. The latter have long been criticized (see Huxley, 2000, for an early critique) for understandings of power in deliberative planning processes, and assumptions that its destructive effects can be overcome through debate. Ostrom's writings on co-production, as well as related writings largely from the public administration field, acknowledge the issues of conflict and power struggles between parties involved in co-production processes, but neither seem to be central issues in these writings and in a sense are again assumed away. Power and conflict have not been thoroughly theorized in relation to co-production initiated by social movements either, but there is an awareness (drawing on Foucault) that power is embodied in development processes and in technologies of rule such as surveys and maps (Chatterji & Mehta, 2007), and these must be appropriated by communities."

Categorisations are useful for analysing specific co-production processes, but we have to bear in mind that it is unlikely that in a specific context there exists this sharp distinction. Relations between actors can be more blurred - in this perspective, the definition from Joshi and Moore is also very useful if we want to look at the hybridization process of service co-production.

Why local government may engage in coproduction:

It is important to reflect on why and how local government in some cities, at some time, engage in coproduction processes - bearing in mind that these processes often involve a way of sharing power over the production of the good or service considered, and that no institution from its own initiative, may volunteer to share power. Watson quotes Bebbington et al (2010, p 1320), suggesting that these dynamics are reflective of

> "histories of state–society interaction, of perceptions of the state, development and political parties, and of the formation of individuals who subsequently emerge as leaders, influenced by the culture that their own histories lead them to carry with them."

As illustrated in the sketch presented in this paper's introduction, public authorities will engage in coproduction when they are confronted to various crises - inability to deliver a service or to fulfill their mandate in a specific sector of intervention or territory escaping its control, social movement and forms of collective rebellion or violence, external catastrophe or crisis for which it is clear that public authorities alone will be unable to respond to. In this respect, the existence of strong community or social pressure for coproduction, or claims for the delivery of a specific urban good or service, with the potential development of alternative modes of delivery (see below, "community coproduction"), will certainly be a factor explaining the exploration of coproduction by local governments. But other interests or rationalities may be at play leading local government to embrace coproduction- such as a quest for more efficient (adapted or cost-effective or both) ways of delivering a service. These contexts and interplay of rationalities will need deeper interrogation, theoretical as well as empirical.

Giuseppe Faldi's use of the concept in his research

In our research and master course, we found the categorisation offered by Watson relevant to clearly differentiate an idea of co-production more linked to a radical / community planning culture to an idea of co-production more linked to a collaborative/communicative planning culture (more institutional in this sense). How co-production evolves (and the implication of this evolution) from a radical to a collaborative approach is also a reflection we started in the case of Brussels stormwater management, with reference to the evolution from the citizens' mobilization around the construction of the underground retention basin in Place Flagey (started in 2002) to the implementation of Brusseau co-creative project (initiated in 2017 by activists, citizens organization, academia and urban design studios) and finally the BrusseauBis experimental development project (initiated in 2020 by activists, citizens organization, academia, urban design studios, municipalities and regional agencies).

2.2. Genealogy of the concept of (institutional) coproduction

This section will start by interrogating how "coproduction" has become a new buzzword, in global institutions as well as in academic and possibly activist networks - contrasted with the notion of "participation" which had become mainstreamed in the 1990s (Williams 2004).

It will then focus more precisely on how different strands of literature have framed the concept of "institutional coproduction" depending on their discipline and political position.

2.2.1. Coproduction as part of a cycle of fashionable concepts

"Coproduction" seems to be gradually replacing "participation" as a buzzword (Cornwall 2008) for development studies and as a global mantra for "good governance". It comes as a response to the failures, disappointments and criticisms of participatory democracy, stemming from civil society and academics alike.

"Participation", especially after its mainstreaming in global institutions, development policies and local government reforms across the globe (North and South) would be criticized as "tokenism", superficial, a tick-box exercise for public authorities in most of its occurrences, and create a "participation fatigue" amongst participants not leading to any substantial nor substantive change in their lives nor in their access to urban basic services. Hence the notion of "co-production", which both emphasizes the notion of the *production* of a material, concrete, physical object (good, service, project…) (as opposed to "participation" criticized as unsubstantial 'talk shops'); and the reality of a partnership (*co-*), a form of horizontality allowed by the coming together of civil society and state joining forces in a bounded process in time and space (Bénit-Gbaffou 2018).

The interest in co-production (of urban services) has indeed recently increased at international level, becoming somehow mainstream. For example, the Article 117 of United Nations Policy Paper 9, Urban Services and Technology, prepared for the conference Habitat III, states that

> "local governments should promote co-production of basic services with local communities, particularly in informal settlements and slums" (UN, 2016: 22).

For many global actors but also several scholars, co-production increasingly appears to be a valuable alternative for delivering services capable of improving the efficiency of provision, while also contributing to citizens' empowerment and local governments' effectiveness. However, it is necessary to approach the study of service co-production with a critical attitude. Indeed, co-production may also be subject to resource capture by elites and to conflicts among groups over service management and/or lead to environmental decay and urban fragmentation.

Differently to co-production, but part of the same cycle of development buzzwords, the term co-creation is often used to qualify the involvement of citizens in the conception and strategic planning phase of a service/solution, while co-production refers to the involvement of citizens in the design and implementation phases (Brandsen and Honingh, 2018). The term co-creation might currently be replacing co-production, and the terms are often used interchangeably.

2.2.2. 'Institutional coproduction' in three strands of research: public administration & management, political ecology and urban/technical systems

Here there a specific focus on the different framings of the concept of co-production of public services, based on excerpts from one of our papers (Faldi et al., 2020):

> ***"The strand of the public administration and management scholarship*** *(Bovaird, Nabatchi, Pestoff, Loeffler, Verschuere, Steen, Brandsen and others) has probably the strongest legacy in the study of the governance-institutional dimension service co-production since the first conceptualization by E. Ostrom (1997). Research has focused on the potential benefit that service co-production could offer to urban public governance, especially in Global North contexts, intended as potential integrating mechanism and incentive for resource mobilization, through the development of decentralized management systems and the redistribution of certain levels of power and control from the state to citizens (Osborne and Strokosch* 2013; Ostrom 1996; Pestoff et al. 2012). *Studies have mostly looked at the roles and responsibilities of actors (users/providers/ intermediaries) involved in different levels (i.e., co-planning, co-design, co-managing, co-delivery, co-assessment) and scales (i.e., individual, group, collective) of service co-production (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012; Nabatchi et al. 2017; Verschuere et al. 2012) and at the institutional regulatory frameworks facilitating co-production (Bovaird 2007; Pestoff et al. 2012; Verschuere et al. 2012), including questions related to identification of leading initiators (citizens or governments) (Jakobsen 2013) and motivations to co-produce (Van Eijk and Steen 2014).(…)*
>
> ***A political-ecological strand****, mainly belonging to urban political ecology scholarships (Swyngedouw, Allen, Ahlers, partially Mitlin and others, including us at ULB), has primarily explored the relations between the managerial and techno-environmental dimensions of co-production of public service, such as water, sanitation and drainage, with a specific interest in the Global South contexts. Unlike the widespread technocratic and apolitical approaches dealing with infrastructure development in the Global South, studies have addressed questions of poverty, marginalization, inequality and informality (Allen 2013; Kooy 2014) related to different socio-ecological configurations that are produced and transformed by socio-economic and political processes (e.g., urbanization, social power, capitalism and economic transactions) (Heynen et al. 2006; Monstadt 2009; Swyngedouw et al. 2002). This perspective has mostly looked at material characters of service co-production (for example quality/quantity/technology in water services) within broader political and ecological contexts, being particularly focused on understanding which social, political and ecological dynamics activate service co-production and how the materiality of co-produced services influences social and ecological structures at different scales (Ahlers et al. 2014; Budds et al. 2014).(…)*
>
> ***An incremental-urban strand,*** *belonging to contemporary studies on participatory urbanism and on the spatial nature of socio-technical infrastructures (Jaglin, Coutard, Silver, and others),*

especially in the Global South, has mainly stressed the relationships between the spatial and managerial dimensions of co-production. Studies have mainly addressed the technologies of everyday life, namely technologies and techniques through which urban flows, infrastructures and spaces constituting the social life of cities are produced, maintained and reconfigured on a daily basis by ordinary citizens (Coutard and Rutherford 2015; Graham and Marvin 2001; Graham and McFarlane 2014; Rosati et al. 2021; Silver 2014; Simone 2004). In particular, this perspective has mostly explored the roles of community in producing the urban space through evolutionary socio-technical infrastructures and observed how co- production contributes to changing socio-spatial relationships, which ultimately can bring significant advances in the quality of, and access to, urban services and settlements."

2.3. Benefits and shortcomings of (institutional) coproduction

2.3.1. A review of main benefits as argued by literature

Faldi et al. (2019, 2022) synthesizes what different strands of literature conclude on the benefits of coproduction for urban societies and states:

*"Literature about service co-production, particularly belonging to t**he public administration and management scholarship,** has largely analysed the potential benefits the co-production can provide to service provision. Research has suggested that service co-production may improve the equity and efficiency of provision, while also contributing to citizens' empowerment and local governments' effectiveness (Allen 2013; Mitlin 2008; Nabatchi et al., 2017; Moretto 2010). As suggested by Natbatchi et al. (2017), the potential of service co-production lies in its instrumental value, because it can improve the efficiency and quality of services as outcomes of the practice, and in its normative value, because it can deepen citizenship and help promote more collaborative governance during the co-production process.*

*F**rom a management and institutional perspective**, it has been argued that the participatory nature of co-production of basic services may contribute to the development of skills and capacities, and thereby empower citizens (Allen, 2013; Mitlin, 2008). Mitlin (2008) suggests that by involving groups of citizens in civic action, co-production facilitates a creative process, leading to growing social capital and stronger horizontal relations.*

By reducing the distance between development experts and communities, co-production challenges the existing state–society relationship and increases the political capacity of the poor to claim their rights within appointed institutions. As an example, Moretto (2010) shows how, beyond the concrete outcome of improved water services, co-production of water services allows residents of informal areas to claim and legitimize their presence on occupied land.

***From a techno-environmental perspective,** especially in Global South cities, benefits of co-production of urban services such as water and sanitation have been mostly associated to the capacity of service decentralization to ensure fulfillment of basic needs for certain citizens,*

especially in contexts of general lack (or inadequacy) of centralized services (co-production often as the only reliable solution to access a service), users' adaptability to contextual (water) stress and to reduce the operation and maintenance costs of the (shared) infrastructure underpinning the co-produced service (reduction with respect to other modalities of accessing service, such as water purchasing from street vendors, but not with respect to centralized services)."

In general, the benefits of individual and collective co-production can be individually or collectively enjoyed. They remain difficult to be fully assessed of course, context-related and depending on a diversity of factors that the (above-mentioned) techno-environmental literature illuminates. In order to better measure their multi-dimensional benefits, Mees et at. (2018) propose the following classification:

- Private individual co-production: i.e. provided on an individual basis for the private benefit of the person directly involved in the activity.
- Private collective co-production: i.e. provided by a group of citizens for the private benefit of those directly involved in the activity.
- Philanthropic individual co-production: i.e. provided on an individual basis for the benefit of a wider group of people.
- Philanthropic collective co-production: i.e. provided by a group of citizens for the benefit of a wider group of people.

2.3.2. Shortcomings of institutional coproduction as listed by literature

Echoing the work of numerous scholars (such as Lund, Steen, Bovaird, Watson, Leino and Puumala), service co-production can show some "evils" that most researchers encounter partially in their field experience. They touch on fundamental issues, such as:

➔ **Lack of accountability (who is responsible?)**

Within a service co-production process, there can be a deliberate rejection of state responsibility in favour of a shift to individual responsibility, as well as the risk of diluting public responsibility and blurring the boundaries between the public, private and voluntary sectors. In this perspective, shortcomings are also found in relation to the challenges of guaranteeing maintenance of service standards, equity and efficiency in time (who is responsible to control?)

➔ **Loss of democracy (who participates?)**

In the co-production of services, there is a risk that democratic legitimacy is much more based on the outputs (i.e. the service produced) than on the legitimacy of the inputs (i.e. the process of coproduction). Thus, there is a risk of allowing only 'professional citizens' to participate effectively, while other more spontaneous citizen initiatives may be excluded, also including the difficulty of defining what the 'community' is or who represents it.

This professionalisation however can be seen as a structural feature of institutionalisation (see Bénit-Gbaffou's point in this paper's introduction) - and be the result of multiple dynamics at play: exclusion of the newcomers or the less professionalised, intentional or unintentional depoliticisation of the service provision, and/or fatigue of the community in the daily, regular and long-standing management of a service.

➔ **Reinforced internal inequalities** (**who accesses, in the community ?**)

Service co-production can be subject to resource capture by elites and to management conflicts among groups, resulting in discrimination and exclusion of certain individuals from access to services. There is no guarantee that the co-production process does not reinforce short-sighted or parochial views within the community - and the trend towards professionalisation of coproducers of the service (and their legitimation by recognition from public authorities) certainly will produce competition and differentiation within local communities (Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura 2014).

➔ **Increasing inequalities at city level** (**who accesses co-production and urban goods & services, within a city?**)

Similarly to some shortcomings of participation (and as argued by political scientist Robert Dahl for democratic societies - that power can be seized as long as actors are mobilised), coproduction is more likely to occur for communities and in areas marked by a capacity and a history of collective mobilisation.
Whilst the advent of a "crisis" (social, environmental) with visible local effects can provide the opportunity for the strong and rapid emergence of community mobilisation, depending on national and urban contexts it may happen that large section of urban communities are not or are de-mobilised - as reflected by the high level of electoral abstentionism in large parts of popular neighborhoods in contemporary European cities. So there is a risk that coproduced service delivery would occur only in neighborhoods and communities with strong histories or local institutions of mobilisation, whilst less mobilised communities would continue being deprived of access to services. Yet, this inequality is not specific to coproduction or participatory processes, especially in neoliberalising times where public welfare policies become territorialised and competitive. One may argue that the mobilisation required by (and at times, at the core of) coproduction may spread to other neighborhoods, open opportunities, change institutional practices and be upscaled (Mitlin 2008).

2.4. Some contemporary debates around "coproduction" relevant for FAIRVILLE

Two main debates are presented here, that seem of relevance to FAIRVILLE

2.4.1. How sustainable is the coproduction of public services?

The question of sustainability of co-production of public services is much discussed at the moment, especially in the public administration and management scholarship, which seems very interested in understanding how to make co-production of public services (especially health, education) a diffuse and efficient practice. This debate has been fuelled in the post-covid era with the emergence and spread of IT solutions.

The debate on sustainability in the public administration and management scholarship mainly focuses on aspects of effectiveness or environmental performance of service co-production and more rarely poses issues related to equity or justice, which are more of a political-ecology or socio-technical literature.

We need to have a critical attitude (co-production is not a panacea) when analysing the extent to which co-production can reduce inequalities and strengthen local democracy.

Echoes in Faldi et al's research

Our more recent research (in different research projects since 2017, most of them in Global South contexts) has mostly focused on the analysis of the sustainability of co-production of water services (water supply, sanitation, drainage). Moving from the assumption that the analysis of co-production of water service requires consideration of its multiple dimensions (governance, techno-environmental and spatial), our studies have entered into previous debates, in particular with respect to the following points:

* Questioning the role of technology in service co-production in its relationships with materiality (technology as a means of physical change in both resource/ space and human practices), knowledge (technology as a means of knowledge exchanges between actors, relevant in generating new knowledge and applying it in human practices), actors (technology as a means of influencing social relationships between the actors of co-production) and the outcome of co-production technology as a means influencing equity and power in service co-production) (Faldi et al., 2022)
* Exploring processes of technical and governance hybridization of water co-production in Global South contexts, with a particular focus on complementarity and/or concurrency in service configurations, blurring actors categories and drivers of hybridisation (Moretto et al., 2023)
* Studying the evolution of co-production of sanitation and drainage services in time by using the transition to sustainability framework in both African cities and Brussels, by analysing which are the internal variables that change (of the practice), the external drivers of change (e.g. policies and norms, social and environmental changes, infrastructure, urbanisation), the phases and levels (niche, regime, landscape) of changes. Here the question of institutionalisation enters into the consideration of co-production as a niche or as part of the regime, and in its potential movements between these two levels, as we have been observing in Brussels and in Dar es Salaam for example.

2.4.2. What happens to coproduction when it becomes institutionnalised?

A key question focuses on the process of institutionalisation of co-production, and what happens to its "radical" (critical / antagonistic) dimension.

Some of the shortcomings of co-production mentioned in the previous section, in particular those reflecting on professionalisation and depoliticisation of coproduction once institutionalised (pointing to its de-radicalisation), can also be framed in the broader debate on collaborative vs radical approaches of planning - by civil society towards the state.

This debate parallels the conceptual distinction made by Miraftab and Cornwall on participation, between **"invented" and "invited" spaces of participation**: contrasting and opposing participation initiated by civil society (invented) or initiated by public authorities (invited). After long-standing and quite normative conceptual opposition between the two (seeing the former as radical and authentic whilst the second would be coopted and tokenistic), many researchers however acknowledge the complementary nature of the two spaces of participation.

In any case, there seems to be a clear gap and also interest for FAIRVILLE in better understanding the implications of the shift of co-production from bottom-up citizen initiatives (social movement) towards collaborative approaches with institutions.

This question also interrogates the role of intermediaries who can act as frontrunners, catalysts but also change the dynamics between state actors and citizens. More research could be done on their action as mediators, to unpack various configurations where the nature and the impact of these processes of intermediation on coproduction processes may differ.

Echoes in Fadli et al's research

We are interested in the influence of two variables of the actorial dimension of co-production: the level of involvement of citizens (Sarzynski, 2015), and of local municipality and water operators, using Mees' Government involvement Ladder (Mees et al., 2019). We observe two objects:

a) Technology. The construction of large infrastructure. Hypothesis: The reduction of flooding led to a decrease in co-production. The planning, construction and functioning of the large infrastructure creates conditions for an increase in contestation and citizen involvement. (In the case of Rue Gray, Brussels – the underground retention basin)

b) Actors. The role of intermediaries (Howells, 2006; Kivimaa et al., 2017). What are the mechanisms intermediaries put in place in the coproduction process ? How did it impact the level of citizen involvement? In the case of Rue Gray, Brussels – the platform 'Au fil de temps' acting as intermediaries.

2.4.3. The interest of Mees' typology - intersecting questions of sustainability with an actors' approach to coproduction

Some of the categories proposed by Mees et al. may be useful to study the evolution of the actor dimension of co-production of services in the different phases and levels of the "transition to sustainability" framework.

The categories are the following :

- ➔ Hierarchical co-production (top-down): when governments legally enforces inhabitants to take specific measures related to the production of a service (e.g. building regulations for in-house flood risk management);
- ➔ Incentivised co-production: when there is an attempt to encourage citizens to co-produce a service by providing financial and/or non-financial incentives (e.g. subsidies, awareness-raising, etc.)
- ➔ Deliberative co-production (bottom-up): a co-production type that can be built on multi-directional dialogue and cooperation between citizens and authorities (e.g. local policy practitioners and citizens discuss and cooperate on measures to store rainwater on private grounds).
- ➔ Substitutive co-production: it includes situations, in which users' efforts replace actions that would otherwise have been taken by governmental actors. This is the case of many examples of service co-production we observed in the Global South contexts, that emerged from the need to fill the gap created by a lack of municipal centralized services.
- ➔ Complementary co-production: it includes situations in which users' efforts to co-produce aspects of an urban service in a way complements (instead of replacing or reducing) existing governmental activities. This is the example of the project we currently run in Brussels with the EGEB about co-creative integrated stormwater management (BrusseauBis).

2.5. Literature on co-production and the question of inequality/ injustice

We hope the following text, based on excerpts from one of our papers on sustainability of water service co-production (Faldi et al., 2020) can be useful:

> *"Some studies (Jakobsen and Andersen 2013; Pestoff 2014) dealing with the governance dimension of service co-production (public administration and management scholarship), have shown how the discourse on service efficacy/efficiency and management mechanisms to improve service quality, is strictly correlated with the key principles of socio-economic equity. Equity refers to the capacity of the services to provide an output performance able to allocate benefits and costs of the services to all the users efficiently, fairly and affordably (Wiek and Larson 2012). It is not defined in an absolute sense but with respect to the needs of people (Pena 2011; Talen 1997) and it is therefore based on a comparison of groups (Kooy et al.*

2016), identifiable with respect to income, gender, ethnicity, geography or use of a service (conventional vs. alternative).

When referring to water co-production, studies have highlighted how discourses about service equity consider a series of objective and subjective outcome elements, including physical, economic and social accessibility to the water services (to resources and technology); the distribution of costs and benefits among users of the co-produced service and among citizens in general; the level satisfaction of users' needs and expectations with respect to the quality and quantity of the service; and the perceived value and acceptance of the service (willingness to pay or complaining) (Demsey et al. 2011; Kooy et al. 2016; Marques et al. 2015; Wiek and Larson 2012). The benchmark is usually represented by people's access conditions before the introduction of the co-produced service and by the performance of the existing conventional networked systems. However, the relationship between equity and efficacy/efficiency may be bivalent. Increasing the quality and efficacy/efficiency of the co-produced service may or may not correspond with an equal service outcome for the involved citizens. As Jakobsen and Andersen (2013, p. 705) suggested, "distributional consequences"of co-production are directly related to knowledge and tangible resources of co-producers: "unbalance in knowledge and available resources may exacerbate gaps between advantages and disadvantages [for] service users". (…)

In the political-ecological strand, discourses of equity refer to economic, physical and social accessibility to service, but this strand, differently from the previous one, is more interested in analysing the allocation of benefits, who gains and who loses (and how) from a certain practice that entails a socio-environmental change (Heynen et al. 2006). In other words, the principle of equity does not refer to economical and physical distributional questions only, but it also includes an understanding of the evolution of political and ecological contexts that have determined certain conditions of inequality (Perrault 2014). In such a political perspective, equity is intimately correlated with a discourse of social and environmental justice, where justice corresponds to "the need for the socially [and environmentally] excluded to be acknowledged as legitimate claimants, to be recognized as having valid political, social and cultural standing" (Perrault 2014, p. 239), expressing their right to obtain a certain quality of life. In fact, especially in the cities of the Global South, inequality in accessing the service can be grounded in conditions of deep ecology vulnerability and elite capture of the best option within a diversified landscape of available infrastructures. Service fragmentation in "archipelagos" is often the result of service privatization policies and/or decentralization policies, growing environmental pollution, limited availability of water resources, or poor infrastructure capacity of the centralized systems. These dynamics can work at different urban scales, given the multi-scalar nature of a (water) resource system, from global to local (Moretto et al. 2018).

In this perspective, looking at the equity of service co-production therefore involves understanding of the existing barriers to access to service, including possible mechanisms of marginalization and exclusion in accessing the collective action, and socio-economic and

ecological changes determining eventual disparities between groups of inhabitants with respect to their access to existing services, either co-produced or not (Kooy et al. 2016; Perrault 2014). First, such understanding induces consideration of if and how the quality and quantity of the accessed water fulfill all users' consumption needs and desires or, by contrast, the limited consumption of a certain group renders the access of a wealthier one more secure. (…)

Still, the political ecological perspective, situated sustainability of co-production also in the existing power dynamics across the wider socio-ecological systems in which co-production operates. As previously stated, the political ecological literature has clearly highlighted that "socionatural arrangements and water politics either enhance or challenge the unequal distribution of resources and decision-making power in water governance" (Boelens et al. 2016, p. 2). Metabolic flows of water and wastewater through the socio-ecological system may induce "enabling" or "disabling" conditions for different individuals and groups, producing conditions of empowerment and disempowerment (Heynen et al. 2006, p. 10). Consequently, water co-production cannot be always considered a neutral collaborative practice. It may instead reproduce asymmetrical relations of power and thus determine contested water services (Ahlers et al. 2014; Perrault 2014).

Uneven relations may emerge among different users, especially when water co-production is coupled with other service arrangements. Meehan (2014) has underlined the role of complementary technology (such as water tanks and booster pumps) as a means of power that allows inhabitants who can afford such artefacts to secure their individual access to the best water supply options, in the framework of the general conditions of limited water quality and quantity at the urban level.

Faldi et al. (2019), Jaglin (2012) and McMillan et al. (2014) have shown that uneven power relations may also emerge between users, provides and intermediaries as a consequence of the contradictory role that water service co-production may have in the Global South. In fact, the state can consider co-production as a regulated transition phase towards an ideal universalization of the service through a fully centralized network. Still, co-production has sometimes been mobilized to justify the reduction of state responsibility and investments, especially when coupled with a service commodification policy (Faldi et al. 2019; Jaglin 2012). In such cases, "coproduction arrangements work to legitimate unequal power relations, not to change them" (McMillan et al. 2014, p. 203). (…)

Infrastructure policies, key actors and their power relations (i.e., competition between power arrangements and competition in the long run) are therefore fundamental elements for assessing the process sustainability of water co-production in a political-ecological perspective. As an example, what may happen when the conventional network arrives in settlements previously served by co-produced services? Cases of African cities show that social relationships and community power dynamics may disappear once the public network arrives, leaving space for new stakeholders and power relations."

So, the public administration and management literature focused mostly on spatial and socio-economic equity, while the political ecological literature focused more on environmental and social justice and power imbalance, (but this has not been developed in direct reference to service co-production). A more developed literature (including our work on technologies of water co-production) is looking at material inequalities of service co-production.

3. Theoretical framing of "community coproduction" for FAIRVILLE

In contrast but related to "institutional participation", and linked to Ostrom seminal definition of "co-production" (and in particular the way she analyses community initiatives, in ways that could be seen as close to contemporary debates on "the commons": see Gomes 2022), we could define for FAIRVILLE "community coproduction" as:

> **Processes through which inhabitants (residents or users) of a neighborhood (or area) come together to produce (define, conceptualise, construct) a common good or service in their direct environment**

They construct It as an alternative, a complement, in replacement or in opposition, to state-provided urban goods and services judged insufficient, inadequate or absent. Through these processes the group also constructs itself as a (local) "community" and even sometimes as a (supra local) "network" or "movement".

It needs to be noted that this definition does not explicitly refer to actors 'from two different organizations', as in Ostrom's initial definition. This duality or diversity of practical, political, social or professional cultures is kept implicit in this definition, at the risk perhaps of diluting the concept. It does however emphasize the process of community-building and mobilization through the process of producing a concrete output (good, service, mapping, etc).

In practice however, communities engaged in such coproduction processes often engage with, seek out or are approached by an array of universities, professionals and technicians, facilitators and intermediaries as a step to co-produce the urban good or service at hand. Moreover, they eventually will engage with public authorities, for tolerance, legalisation, recognition or forms of support to their initiative, in ways that may deepen, consolidate, expand, or institutionalize the co-production process they have initiated.

It is very difficult to find "pure" community-driven coproduction since the state or public authorities, or even international donors (especially in the global South) are often present and driving to some extent the demand and capacity of action. That said, we can broadly identify three approaches (rather than definitions) to community-driven coproduction: service coproduction, housing coproduction and knowledge coproduction. We duly note that, *in practice*, the line between the three is often blurred, and *in theory*, some authors (e.g. D. Mitlin) have theorised the continuum between housing, service delivery and planning co-production (but with housing possibly as key) - this continuum will be worth exploring. For now however, because each of these forms of coproduction has been explored by different strands of literature, it is useful to start by considering them in turn.

The **first one** is service co-production and is the closest to institutional co-production, but centered on the role and place of grassroots movements when they initiate such processes. The **second one** is housing co-production and is sometimes in between the first and third, with strong associations between stakeholders but a very large set of initiatives given to communities, a quest for autonomy, under the term of "self-help". The **third one** is possibly more obviously community-driven since it is based on claims rather than responses to coproduction from above or strategic collaborations to improve a given (urban) situation, often resulting from perceived injustices. Beyond improvement to given material situations, co-production in this approach is more obviously thought as a tool for democratic change or spatial justice (even if the terms are not necessarily used as such and that this analysis is not always clearly stated). This is more broadly termed as "knowledge co-production" or "co-production in planning". In this last strand of co-production, the link with citizen sciences approaches and epistemic justice is often made more explicit.

Another main driver or difference between these approaches is the place of claims and the role of facilitators. In Fairville early definitions, we started using co-production according to the third definition which includes the critical role of facilitators or citizen advocacy and epitomize the role of university and engaged practitioners/professionals in fostering initiatives that would otherwise not be heard. The role of intermediaries and facilitators is an important component of community coproduction practices, playing a key role in strengthening and mobilizing community groups or social movements influencing local politics through their independent expertise, advice and co-piloting.

> **Terminology**
> NB: other terms or expressions could be used, that will need discussion : "community-driven coproduction" or "contentious coproduction" or even "fairness-oriented coproduction". But for now, there is a simplicity in "community coproduction" that makes no statement on the nature of leadership (is it community-driven, what role does the facilitator play especially when the community is in the process of being organised?), nor on the modalities of action (not necessarily only antagonistic, resorting to a variety of repertoires of action).

3.1. Definition 1 - Community role in the co-production of services

This section relates to the discussion on water and sanitation in section 2 ("institutional coproduction") but adopts far more a community and mobilisation perspective, opening to other conceptual framings and key debates. It is inspired in particular by Diana Mitlin's definition:

> **"The concept of co-production has been explored within literature on state and citizen relations in the North and South alike. The concept refers to the joint production of public services between citizen an state, with any one or more elements of the production process being shared. Co-production has been primarily considered as a route to improve the delivery of services, and it has rarely been considered as a route through which the organized urban poor may choose to consolidate their local**

> **organizational base and augment their capacity to negotiate successfully with the state" (Mitlin, 2008, 340)**

Much of the work on community-led co-production related to services is indeed understood as a relation between grassroots movements and the state to guarantee access to basic infrastructure through self-help in underserved or poor communities and mostly in slums. The focus on self-help relates to the invisibilisation of large swathes of urban populations from formal service provision (especially in global south contexts) and the need to organize collectively in order to respond to this absence and address minimal service provision. That said, community-led coproduction around services is almost always understood within a staged approach, that includes linking with state resources and state-provided trunk services. Coproduction in such instances, therefore, entails both a horizontal process of community building, as well as, often coproduction with engaged practitioners and experts; *and* a vertical movement of involvement with the state (at various scales) in various stages of data and infrastructure delivery, that might include co-decision.

It's important here to note the seminal experience of the Orangi Pilot project in Karachi, Pakistan which has been instrumental in spelling out the doing and the conceptualisation of community-led coproduction for service delivery in such a staged approach (Hasan, 2020). In this experience, local communities have come together to finance and build their own neighbourhood infrastructure, whilst mobilising for local government to build off-site infrastructure such as truck sewers and treatment plants.

> "The project expanded to other areas of Pakistan with the OPP's Research and Training Institute, training local communities in surveying, estimating materials and labor required for construction works, and motivating communities in building their sanitation systems and negotiating with local government to build the off-site infrastructure. The project methodology has been adopted by local governments and bilateral and international development agencies. The philosophy and methodology have also become a part of universities' and bureaucratic training institutions' curriculum" (Hasan, 2020)

This approach to collective action in precarious neighborhoods is evidenced in the case of Dakar with the experiences of UrbaSen and the Senegalese Federation of Inhabitants (recently part of the SDI network). An important component of coproduction in these cases, is the battle for recognition of slum and existing communities. A number of tools are deployed to that effect, including community enumeration and community mapping, leading to service delivery practices that factor in the presence of slum- or underserved neighborhoods. Other dimensions of self-help include financing through the leveraging of community savings to access larger loans or, in some cases, grants.

The limitations of this approach can be a utilitarian vision of collective action: limited to obtaining specific kinds of services and getting out of poverty ("communities of poor" is often the expression used). Part of these definitions conceptualise politicization through empowerment; co-production is an engine to obtain something and get empowered and to gain victories, whatever the local power configuration, but the material and infrastructure gain is often the most pressing need, allowing for different forms of compromises with the state.

We use this large chunk of literature of the south to underline the competencies of large neighborhoods or poor/marginalized actors to self-organize in order to bring/attract technical and logistical support from large national networks and therefore to combine “pride” and better living conditions. The next iteration of work for WP2 will focus on elaborating a literature review of practices and their theorisation in northern contexts. In particular, interesting avenues for exploration are the linkages between community-led approaches to coproduction for service delivery with literature on commoning which has stronger roots in global north settings (and is increasingly being used as analytical frame in global south setting too).

3.2. Definition 2: housing co-production

A more specialised set of literature examines community initiatives, often linked to engagement with state actors (but not as a central aspect of the process), in the field of housing production. This set of literature focuses on housing co-production and is based on a financial participation of the communities ; a co-design phase ; and a housing scheme that takes into consideration existing and self-responsible savings groups (see Boonyanancha et al. 2018). It is close to the movement for participatory housing, cooperative or co-housing movement in the US, in the Americas or Europe.

3.2.1. From self-help to coproduced housing?

Galuszka has done substantial critical work on self-help housing schemes in the Philippines through an observation of a national resettlement programme called “Peoples’ plan” (2020). He defines housing co production as:

> *“a process of involvement of urban poor groups through self-help or engagement in the construction process”* through programs including sweat equity, with the public sector agreeing to delegate the creation and the building process to redevelop and upgrade former slums (Galuszka, 2020; Boonyabancha, 2018).

This approach relies on “trust”, that self-help and savings groups are based upon. This trust is seen as key to empower the more disadvantaged and also provide medium to large scale solutions for housing. A large part of this literature has initially referred to the strength of self-help and self-organization (see for Latin America in the early 70’s Peter Ward or John Turner…) in tackling the needs and therefore look when necessary for alliances with facilitators or social movements (or facilitators within social movements). But as self-help has more or less vanished in most of the metropolises, this naturalized reference form of organization is diminishing.

3.2.2. Genealogies of self-help housing initiatives in France, post WWII

These housing self-help groups, or various forms of coproduction in housing, are not restricted to the cities of the Global South - and also have a strong history in the North. Busquet illustrates the genealogy of self-help housing movements in France, that (like in the South, around the work of Turner “self-help housing” for instance) may not have been framed in terms of “coproduction” (a more recent concept), but help us understand some of its key dimensions.

After the Second World War in France, urban struggles became widespread, often centered around the housing crisis linked to war destruction and large movements of population towards cities (during the war and in its aftermath). Two types of movements developed
- The "Castor" (beaver) self-build movements in various french cities (Pessac, Angers, Le Mans, Montreuil, etc.), a cooperative self-build movement recognised by the public authorities, and following a principle of “do-it yourself” (Hall, Ward, 1998)
- Squatting movements of the poorly housed, mostly as informal settlements burgeoned in the periphery of large cities(that would lead to the massive public housing construction effort in the 1960s),
Both were supported by the Christian movement, including the Mouvement Populaire des Familles (MPF) and the Jeunesses Ouvrière Chrétiennes (JOC) between 1945 and the mid-1950s. Over time, they were more or less well received but supported, at least initially, by the public authorities and the law in a country that was just beginning to rebuild and was suffering the full force of the housing crisis.

However, these actions and movements focused solely on "housing" as a means of remedying or adapting to the crisis, even though the “Castors “ and Catholic movements were also concerned with "emancipating" the working class (Villandrau, 2002).

During the 1960s, in the midst of a policy to renovate city centers and build large housing estates in the suburbs, important housing trade union movements emerged: the Confédération Nationale des Locataires (CNL, linked to the Communist party) and the CGL (Confédération générale du logement), with a Catholic tradition and self-management in line with the reformist left movements (Parti socialiste unifié, CFDT, Groupes d’action municipale….) (Busquet, 2007).

With regard to the issue of housing, renovations, living conditions of precarious populations, facilities (social, local, cultural, collective, public services) or transport, local struggles highlighted the participation of citizens, encouraged the production of urban, housing or neighborhood counter-projects. A seminal example is the movement born during the renovation of the neighborhood of Alma-Gare in Roubaix (1966-1983), making the following claims:
- maintenance of populations on site at affordable prices and good conditions (comfort, hygiene)
- participation of current residents in the renovation,
- respect for customs and aspirations - far beyond the “satisfaction of needs” defined by the administration and its services.

The 'Ateliers populaires d’urbanisme' that grew out of these movements, which appeared in Roubaix in 1973 and more recently in 2012 in Grenoble's Villeneuve district, with the idea of producing counter-projects to

institutional (state or municipal) projects by bringing together professionals (urban planners and/or architects), academics, residents and local associations, are a matrix for the idea of co-production, which is more in opposition to the public authorities than in joint work with them (Cossart & TAlpin, 2015; Breynat et al, 2016).

The work of researchers at the CERFI, the Foucauldian research center founded by Felix Guattari (marked by a strong critique of institutions, particularly in the field of town planning and urban development), is significant. The desire to take into account the desires and aspirations of residents during demolition operations will be in line with the principles of participation and self-management promoted by social movements and theorized by the marxist Henri Lefebvre in 1968, in his famous “right to the city”.The idea of a counter-project alongside the inhabitants was thus theorized and tested from the 1970s in popular neighborhoods under threat of demolition in Roubaix or Marseille (Lamarche-Vadel, Cotlenko, 1976 ; Anselme, 1981).

Urban co-production, in France, comes from this self-management, intellectual nebula, resulting from post-war social movements and the 1960s. The participationist and self-management ideas were included in the socialist party’s programme and ideology during the 1970s. Those who would become part of City government or administrations in the 1980s would then test these ideas in practice, making it a laboratory for citizen participation working closely with local associations.

The mobilisation of these practices and ideas, in activist and academic circles, are closely linked, historically, to Henri Lefebvre's concept of the Right to the City (1968) (Busquet, 2011), which could be summarized by

- a right to a renewed recreational centrality and the appropriation of symbols and functions offered by this centrality;
- a right to participation, with reference to self-management and a right to information, a right to decide collectively about our living conditions
- a right to the recreational and "supra-functional”, in other words, a free, unalienated social and everyday life in spatial terms (Lefebvre 1968 ; Busquet, 2018)

3.2.3. French “Politique de la Ville”, from (failing) participation to (claimed) coproduction

After the headlong rush of city policy (“Politiques de la Ville”, focused on precarious neighborhoods) in the 1990s and 2000s and the establishment of the ANRU (its contemporary, more centralized avatar), the idea of participation receded. Yet literature on co-production directly follows from mainstreamed practice and theorisation of participation, influenced by the reflexions on local and “proximity” participation but also the southern turn and the social movements literature and contentious practices, emerging in French low-income neighborhoods and often crystallized around ANRU top-down interventions (aimed at regenerating those neighborhoods and often leading to displace local residents).
Co-production has occured as one on the direction within a very large literature production animated by the mainly the Groupement d’Intérêt Scientifique “Démocratie et Participation” and the Revue Participations. During the 90’s and early 2000, reflexions on participation focused on local

democracy (“démocratie de proximité"), initiatives usually undertaken by local authorities following the decentralization process and the first signs of electoral and democratic “fatigue” with an always higher abstention rate and the delusion of the traditional left (Bacqué and Gauthier 2011).

Co-construction is now part of the French law since the report conducted by MH Bacqué (a sociologist) and M. Mechmache (a community and political leader leader) (2013). The report advocates for co-production to be part of a more democratic “*politique de la ville*”, and is at the heart of the creation of Citizen councils (“*conseils citoyens*”). Even though these citizen councils have been criticised for being either coopted or not really taken into consideration (Bellavoine, 2019; Billen 2019), this creation has fueled a huge demand for “co-expertise” since these councils are often connected to CSO’s but deprived of their capacity of searching information, making their own mind and opposing to the technical democracy.

Institutionalized participation in Europe appears as a remedy to democratic crisis and to the growing divide between citizens and the State/public authorities. This is where incidentally the term of “co-production” emerged : it started by reflections made during various conferences (more than written texts) on the relation between participation and social movements on the one hand, and on participation in contentious situations stemming from bottom-up or community claims, on the other hand.

Various set of academic influences can be stated : participatory planning litterature with an emphasis on citizen’s knowledge (Deboulet, Nez, 2013) following the division established by H. Nez and Y. Sintomer between users’ knowledge (“savoirs d’usage”), professional knowledge and expertise and activists’ knowledge (“savoirs militants”) (Nez, Sintomer, 2013), all pertaining to different logics (Ordinary logics ; citizen’s expertise and political knowledge). These analytical categories are namely the outcome of observations and surveys of various actors system and practice of collaboration between institutional participation and defense of right to housing, right to stay and right to participate (for instance, see H. Nez (2015) about Paris rive Gauche project).

Type de savoir / Dimension	Raison ordinaire : Savoirs d’usage	Expertise citoyenne : Savoirs professionnels	Savoir politique : Savoirs militants
Individuelle	Savoirs d’usage individuels « Bon sens »	Savoirs professionnels « diffus »	Savoirs militants individuels
Collective	Savoirs d’usage collectifs	Contre-expertise/ expertise technique collective	Savoirs militants collectifs

Ext. from Héloise Nez, Yves Sintomer, 2013

These academic works echo reflections on urban movements and co-production in the south as being the outcome of “insurgent” rather than “invented” spaces of participation (according to the

classical definition of Miraftab, 2009). As participatory planning, coproduction genuinely involving communities and taking their request or claims into consideration is a growing movement, but is clearly more present in countries with a tradition of insurgent / contentious politics (Brasil, and Latin America at large, France, UK ?, South Africa ?, India?) whereas co-production appears more institutionalised - seeking the support of public institutions - in Asian mobilisations (except India) and in the recently urbanized countries in Africa.

3.3. Definition 3 : Knowledge and strategic Co-production or co-production in planning

This third definition emerged inductively from on-going or recent research programmes (COPOLIS on the one hand, KNOW on the other - see below) engaged in supporting poor communities' mobilisations, claim-making and participation in planning and more generally decision-making about their urban environments. Tentatively, the notion of coproduction they rely on seems to be defined as:

> **The process through which communities, engaging with professionals in planning or urban studies (academics, NGOs, engaged professionals, etc), mobilize and construct claims to participate in the planning and governance of their environment.**

This process often takes the form of the joint development of alternative neighborhood settlement plans, upgrading or planning documents, as a practical and concrete claim to both address material inequalities *and* be considered as a legitimate partner by public authorities. It always implies the exchange and hybridisation of knowledge between communities and their local /tactical expertise, and professionals and their technical and academic expertise - thereby coming back to the initial tenet of "coproduction" as a process involving parties belonging to at least two distinct organizations (and thereby bringing different resources to the table as well as in need of hybridizing their own practices and cultures).

This set of reflections is based on various forms of action-research and undertaken by two sets of academics.

- **The first (3.3.1)** is developed by academics who are involved as stakeholders in the overall co-production process and take time and opportunity to write on these experiences with or without the "concerned" actors.
- **The second (3.3.2)** is proposed by academics, community groups and practitioners engaged in projects of "participatory sciences" and/or "citizen sciences" programs and as such also reflect on these processes.

We will define the first as community mobilizations for coproduction with university and/or independent facilitators, and the second as citizen sciences in association with community groups.

3.3.1. From advocacy planning to coproduction: academics & professionals as facilitators of community urban claims

This first approach has been developed in the ANR Co-Polis research programme. A few years ahead, various articles about co-production (see f.i Deboulet, Poumerol, Ragoubi, 2018) scrutinized the voluntary collaboration between local residents (often loosely organized or members of tenants associations) and actors such as APPUII (a facilitator) or Pas Sans Nous (a social movement, litt. "Not without us"). As Pedro Gomes has underlined in his literature review for Co-Polis (2021), there is as of today very few critical understanding of practical processes of co-production with intermediary/ facilitating actors in the field of urban mobilizations (Mc Mullin, 2019)[1].

This approach can most helpfully be understood as a continuity of advocacy planning. Advocacy planning is one of the main influence of the co-production processes especially in the North.

Extracts from A. Deboulet (2018) "Plan and advocate for the inhabitants in the competitive city", Dossier CITEGO, on-line. (in French)

Le glissement de l'*advocacy* vers les questions urbaines (mais non sa réduction) se produit dans les années 1970 (Davidoff, 1965). Il s'est fortement implanté dans les lieux de forte ségrégation aux Etats-Unis et apparaît également dans les mobilisations d'architectes et de socio-anthropologues vivant aux côtés des communautés d'habitants des barrios ou quartiers populaires, notamment au Pérou (Redfield Peattie, 1968). L'*advocacy planning* consiste alors à faire cause commune en mettant en avant d'autres armes que celle de la protestation de masse. Ces formes sont alors celles du plaidoyer, c'est-à-dire celles de l'aide à la formulation de revendications, de l'assistance juridique, voire juridictionnelle. Le travail d'émancipation porté par l'***advocacy planning*** se caractérise par le « faire avec » et l'étayage de compétences plutôt que la substitution ou la délégation.

Le professionnel engagé, souvent architecte ou urbaniste, est appelé par "les communautés" pour traduire leur demande et plaider leur cause auprès des décideurs. Dans cette vision pionnière, l'urbanisme pluriel" doit faire contrepoids à l'urbanisme standardisé, réglementaire, descendant, pour inclure les points de vue de tous les acteurs concernés mais aussi faire levier en proposant de vraies alternatives. Au lieu de se focaliser exclusivement sur la forme, l'intervention est alors vue comme un moyen de réintroduire le social et en particulier l'attention à "*la justice sociale et raciale dans la formation en urbanisme*" (Rao, 2012). La vision développée par Davidoff n'est pas celle d'une programmation linéaire mais inclut la nécessité, pour les communautés, de formuler clairement des options (politiques et sociales) dès le début du processus participatif.

Les nouveaux contextes d'urbanisation dans les pays émergents pressent urbanistes et décisionnaires de changer leur compréhension des compétences et des capacités à agir des habitants/résidents et militent pour le renouveau et de la transformation de l'*advocacy planning*. L'**urbanisme alternatif est aujourd'hui en passe de redoubler les formes d'*advocacy planning*** en mettant en place des outils collaboratifs susceptibles de mettre rapidement les groupes d'habitants en capacité d'administrer la preuve de leur présence et de leur capacité à appréhender le tissu urbain

[1] This will also be discussed in a later stage through the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights associated littérature (Archer et al (2012) and Luansang (2012)

The major difference is that co-production is not only about planning as such but more broadly about giving support to participate in public decision. In this respect, it is less interested (than advocacy planning) by the expertise of architects and planners, than by the mutual understanding and alliances between these professionals and local communities. In this respect, it brings to the forefront the role of facilitators: universities, urbanist/ architects and advocacy planners at large, do not just play the role of technicians and experts advising the community, but they also open spaces for reflexivity.

APPUII, an institutionalised facilitator working in link with Universities (in French)

APPUII's action is based on the desire to enable the co-production of proposals and responses, and even to accompany certain urban struggles. This means that, in order not to speak on behalf of the people concerned, it is imperative to define the types of action planned beforehand and throughout the process. APPUII's role is to weigh up the possibilities. Not responding to an order, the association always proposes compromises when requests are vague, inaccessible or sometimes biased (in favor of one category: the most stable...). All this leads to an awareness of the need to develop the means available for co-expertise or independent expertise. We need to work on citizen empowerment, which does not, however, exclude working with people trained in urban planning issues, hence the term "co-expertise" (Deboulet Mamou, 2015). Co-expertise can also take the form of "independent expertise", at the service of local residents, leaving them in full control of the "politics" of the place (Merklen, 2009).

The complexity and interest of studying various forms of facilitation and intermediation in knowledge coproduction processes requires a deeper literature review and probably more theorisation. FAIRVILLE is well-placed to reflect on the politics of facilitation, based on a vast array of practices that FAIRVILLE members have been involved in, and will continue to practice within the programme. An empirical example of such multi-dimensional intermediation (universities, NGO such as APPUI but also an intermediary within the municipality) is presented in details in Bellavoine (2019).

Multi-layered facilitation of community claims for urban coproduction in Saint Denis

Christine Bellavoine is an interesting figure, at the interface between expertise and research. She is the head of a Research Department within the CIty of Saint-Denis (a popular suburb next to Paris). The City is one among a dozen in France to have its own department for research, headed in this case by a sociologist. Bellavoine has long-time ties with M-H Bacqué and academics.
She was a municipal partner for Agnès Deboulet and Sylvain Adam when they initiated a pedagogical involvement with their respective students (in sociology and in planning) at the University Paris 8 in 2017.
During one year, they worked along the newly born ‘citizens councils’ (CC) in Saint-Denis, trying to answer their main queries : helping them to position themselves towards the municipal council and other steering committees of the urban renewal project on one hand, and assisting them in understanding the programs and plans of the urban renewal program written by the national ANRU (Agence nationale de rénovation urbaine).
Christine Bellavoine played a role of interface within the municipality with the different executive powers, elected or technical. Then, the citizens council decided to use the 20 000 euros expertise fund (given by the municipality to the Citizen council: a rare opportunity within French municipalities) to pilot a study

on fires in the decayed housing stock in Saint-Denis city center. C. Bellavoine helped the CC to build the contractual framework for hiring a consultant with a strong background in urban studies and social sciences. Meanwhile APPUII was also given the responsibility to assist, with the University, the relationship between different bodies (including fireman, architects…).
C. Bellavoine's article is one of the few that is documenting thoroughly the position of the Citizens council and the hurdles of autonomy in such a complex political and urban setting. She is also keen in this article not to blame local authorities for the instrumentalization that was often denounced by the CC. The article shows some articulations between the CC and APPUII and the issue of training to be able to voice and being heard in such situations.

This practice and empirical conceptualisation of knowledge coproduction, focused on the work of facilitation and hybridisation of knowledge, cultures, practices and representations, highlights the need to better see and theorise the work and the role of facilitation and intermediation, between social groups (becoming "communities" through the process) and public authorities (often not less fragmented).

3.3.2. Knowledge coproduction - from tackling epistemic injustice to interrogating citizen sciences

This section is still work in progress, as it is one of the areas that may be explored by the FAIRVILLE project itself - in its making and in its results. It reflects on knowledge coproduction from two concepts that have been mobilised by existing members of FAIRVILLE: "epistemic injustice" and "citizen science". More thorough literature reviews and theoretical framings of these concepts will need to be developed.

The KNOW Project - fighting epistemic injustice through co-production of knowledge

The KNOW (Knowledge in Action for Urban Equality) Project, ended in 2022, was formed by a consortium comprised of researchers and community-based partners in Africa, Latin America and South Asia. The project was built on an understanding of inequality as related to both economic and cultural injustices (Fraser 1995), and in particular epistemic injustices. The focus on epistemic justice in KNOW relates to the added understanding that the various dimensions of inequality are related to processes whereby some people's views and experiences are systematically ignored and/or denied. Castan Broto et al (2022) explain:

> "The history of the organization of slum dwellers and their efforts to portray themselves not as passive, vulnerable people but as people holding knowledge resources speaks to attempts to make visible epistemic injustice. Addressing epistemic injustices is an initial step towards broader efforts to deliver urban equality". (Castan Broto et al, p. 3).

Further elaborating on the nature of epistemic injustice, Fricker (2007) proposes two types of epistemic injustice:

- Hermeneutical injustices, which consist in not having conceptual and interpretative resources available to express a lived experience (example of harassment)
- Testimonial injustice, i.e. not being heard as "knowing" because of a marginal position in social relationships (example of marital rape where victims are not heard or taken seriously because of their marital status)

These conceptual tools have assisted in addressing epistemic injustice in the knowledge coproduction processes that the KNOW programme has been embarking in.
Another interesting discussion in the KNOW programme, with relevance to debates on coproduction generally and Fairville specifically, pertains to the nature of transformation (or more specifically, the urban equality outcomes) implicated in coproduction processes. In the diverse experiences of coproduction practices regrouped under KNOW, the focus was placed on the iterative and incremental nature of change through coproduction. The separation between affirmative and transformative outcomes (Fraser, 2013) was seen, especially by the practitioners, as overly academic and not attuned to the complexities of coproduction for change on the ground. This is a debate we may want to explore in greater depth in Fairville.
Participatory research, citizen science and the place of academic knowledge in knowledge coproduction

Knowledge co-production is central in the definitions of participatory research and, we will see it below, in citizen sciences. Maité Juan (2021) has worked on the international genealogy of participatory research works, and she makes the following distinction:

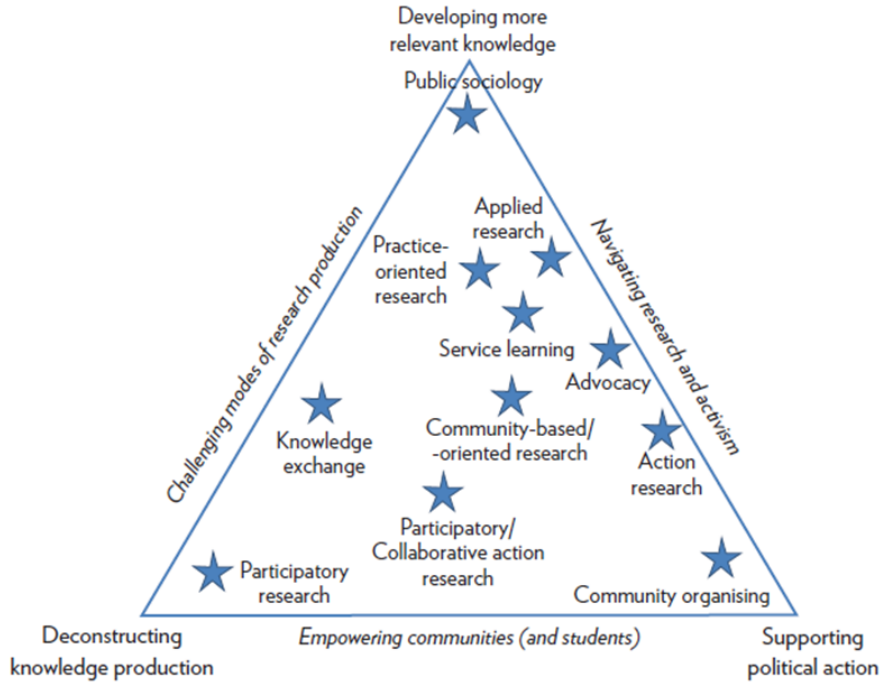
> "We find first the radical participatory research works, characterized by the mobilization against the hierarchy of power and knowledge in the wake of critical epistemologies ; the collaborative and partnership-based research works, relying upon a reflexive partnership aiming at the coproduction of “actionable” knowledges (i.e. built in the action and for action) ; both functional and instrumental participatory research works most often used in biodiversity and risk governance" (Juan 2021, translation AD).

Juan traces the origins of participatory research-action in Latin-American struggles following the liberation theory and all the community-based initiatives linked to it (cf the *assessorias technicas* in the urban favelas). It does probably also echo the civil rights movement in the USA in the 70’s, in the wake of the advocacy planning movement. The convergence between feminist and decolonial studies (and Juan adds, disability studies) have created a new trend for community based-research.

However, in practice participatory research seems quite institutional in its origin. It is often used by public institutions or large NGO to facilitate some transformative process or to get better feedback from left-out users : this is mostly the case in medical sciences, in education sciences but also in limited participatory research on squatters, migrants etc. Away from the Juan articles, our experience in France shows that most of these participatory research processes do not raise the issue of the co-survey or the co-elaboration of the survey protocol, mostly for organizational matters (takes time,

complicated, the "public" is often difficult to catch or transform into co-authors). However, this discussion is increasingly taking place and finding its ways amidst public research fundings.

In this respect, and in order to provide an analytical frame to navigate this vast array and lineages of participatory research initiatives, Bénit-Gbaffou (2019) has proposed a typology of what she calls "engaged" (rather than "participatory") research, that categorises its multiple forms and modalities depending on the main objective of the research process:



1: Forms of engaged research according to main objective

Source: Bénit-Gbaffou 2019

Each of the summits of the triangle highlights one specific objective of engaged research, seen as ideal-type (none exist in their pure form - hence the lines linking the summits, marking a continuum between each objective). The three borders of the triangle focus on the specific challenge to traditional modes of research that each objective (or combined objectives) raise - navigating between research and activism (using knowledge for social transformation at the risk of losing scientific rigor), challenging modes of research production (towards reflecting on the articulation between different forms and modes of knowledge, interrogating the notion of "citizen science" for instance), empowering communities (which puts an emphasis on specific pedagogies).

If one locates oneself in the bottom part of the triangle (adopting the objectives of "deconstructing knowledge production" and "supporting political action for communities"), which might be relevant for several FAIRVILLE participants, Juan's article (2021) points to a number of relevant debates

- The search for equal legitimacy is often difficult to bear for researchers who could feel de-legitimated. Participatory research, and even more, knowledge co-production, indeed unsettles traditional scientific knowledge production. Yet, the layman delegitimation of theory, more abstract (less applied) knowledge production and scientific publication processes (peer review and embedding of research in a state of the art on the topic being researched), is a prominent and populist political tool in all authoritarian regimes (see Brazil under Bolsonaro, South Africa under Zuma, USA under Trump, etc.). Knowledge co-production processes lead to forms of hybridisation of knowledge that do challenge and destabilise traditional knowledge production in positive and productive ways, but need to be wary of not falling into populist rejection of theorisation and scientific research processes as a whole.
- Research questions and methods (example in agro-ecology or eco-tourim RAP) are often chosen and validated by researchers only, which contradicts the idea of an equal decision and joint validation of the research steps. Yet, coproduction does not mean that all partners bring the same resources to the table, nor share the same interests and objectives all along. Moreover, a precious role of the researcher is often to offer a critical distance and a reflective space towards the doxa and what may seem as "obvious" claims or needs - researchers' recrafting and reframing of initial claims may be of value for the whole coproduction process. Here too, a careful balance and dialogue between researchers' and mobilised social groups' priorities in defining the research project, is to be found, in a context where neither researchers nor aresidents constitute coherent and homogeneous 'communities' from the start.
- Complexifying the knowledge coproduction picture is the consideration of (often invisible) community facilitators or activists in the process - intermediaries between mobilised social groups and various institutions (public authorities or universities). In the example of the ATD Tiers-Monde "recherche en croisement des savoirs" (research in knowledge crossing), we note the absence of intermediaries (activist-experts) that we find in Fairville and that act as bridge-headers. In FAIRVILLE we work with three categories of members: researchers, the NGO organizers or facilitators, and the beneficiaries.These facilitators may assist in bridging research and social groups' priorities and forms of knowledge, we but must not forget that they too as organisations or institutions, have their own priorities and interests. An additional level of complexity may be encountered when academics and researchers themselves play the role of facilitators and intermediaries between mobilised social groups and public authorities, for instance.

The turn to "citizen sciences"

Participatory research has a long tradition but the turn of citizen sciences has diffused in Europe since the turn of the year 2000. "Citizen science", also called "sciences with and for the society" has reinforced in light of the democratic delusions but also of the various environmental and health scandals that took place globally and alerted on the necessity to open up science to citizens. As Romain Leclercq wrote for the preparation of a previous call for projects (Fairville 1):

The genealogy of citizen sciences is so diverse that it is difficult to establish. However, they can be separated into two main streams. One inherits rather from naturalistic sciences, and aims at the participation of non-scientific actors in scientific experiments (species monitoring, data collection...) after the decline of “sociétés savantes” in Europe at the end of the 18th century (Charvolin, Micoud, Nyhart, 2007). The other inherits the social sciences and aims in the same way to encourage the involvement of non-scientists in the production of science, but also questions the latter's participation in the advent of more democratic societies (Dewey, 2011[1916]), through education, and even its contribution to emancipation and social movements (Freire, 1974[1969]).

It has also flourished amidst the environmental sciences at large, sometimes for pragmatic reasons, since citizens needed to be converted to data-collectors. Co-production has often occurred through voluntary practices of data collection, initiated by foundations, networks or state authorities with “butterflies” collectors (in the field of bio-diversity) or risks associated to pollution with series of citizens ‘s air samplers (f.i as documented in Antwerp region) or recently with residents of the vicinity of the largest incinerator in Europe located in a parisian suburb that seeks support from dutch researchers for an independent sampling.

Nicole Colston has theorized the kind of collaboration needed for ensuring the future of urban sustainability initiatives, with a special interest in land use (Colston et al., 2015). One main question raised is that of the nature of data collected, with a large sum of qualitative data and also geospatial data. Political ecology provides examples of the use of these data for open access. It does question more generally the university-community nexus at play, its intentions, the logics of legitimacy and contributive inputs; but also raises issues of transparency of data in an age of vulnerabilities, discrimination and violence.

Slum Dwellers International (SDI) networks offer an interesting type of knowledge production that is not necessarily considered as a scientific outcome with community-driven mapping in 7,712 slums and 224 cities. These enumeration processes might however provide the basis for knowledge production beyond the empirical and local action-oriented knowledge produced. Over the last decade, new alliances have emerged, at a global scale, between civil society organizations (CSOs), universities and research programmes, tackling issues of urban justice from both theoretical and practical perspectives. This trend parallels the growing number of university-community partnerships working in urban sustainability contexts by combining hybrid modes of knowledge.

Literature on citizen sciences may join the literature on epistemic injustices mentioned above, to interrogate the power issues raised by the production, implementation and involvement of knowledge production in social relations, and asks three fundamental questions for FAIRVILLE research:

- How can we address and integrate forms of knowledges produced outside scientific protocols and by non-scientific actors in our research as knowledge of equal legitimacy (knowledges ecologies)? It might well be worth explaining what this “equal legitimacy” means in practice, and what epistemological models found diverse articulations between different forms and modes of knowledge in the production of “scientific” knowledge. This has been

addressed by several research on university-civil society collaborations (Bonny, 2017) but not so much with co-production.

- How can non-research actors be integrated into coproduced research (what is their place in the mechanisms and processes for setting objectives, methods, protocols, monitoring results)? And what are the place and the roles of researchers in that process : a recorder and amplifier of collective's actions, a support to these actions and collectives, a critically constructive observer or commentator, a bridge-builder between theory and practice?
- How can we envisage the production of knowledge that is not a tool for domination or reification of documented actors and processes, or even that can constitute tools for emancipation (need to think, for example, on the degree of accessibility of our data - also depending on which data)?

At least two types of pitfalls mark these endeavours:

- First, hyper-critical postures runs the risk of pointing to the position of the "engaged" researcher as an untenable position because it necessarily produces relationships of domination. It is then a question of adopting a pragmatic posture by circumscribing, according to circumstances and coalitions, what research can or cannot do, thus affirming its potential utility but also its autonomy (Neveu, 2011). If the different forms of knowledges (academic / users/ activists/ local) produced can be considered as equal in terms of legitimacy, they are different and adapted to their respective purpose, which may remain different (although building intersections in the coproduction process) for each of the coproducers involved.
- Second, there is a risk to be caught in romantic vision of the "community" as a homogeneous whole, and as an essentially progressive institution by virtue of being in a position of domination. This vision is often not sufficiently challenged by participatory research - whilst local social groups are also marked by conflicts, politics, power games, competition over resources, and forms of internal discrimination, exclusion and violence (Bénit-Gbaffou 2019). They are victims but are often also agents in the production of power dynamics and domination processes. And throughout the research process itself, the politics of research are multi-directional - there are moments and phases where the researcher is not in a dominant position.

While the literature on the role of the researcher vis-à-vis communities is abundant, the literature on the practical and situated aspects of setting common objectives in participatory research projects is rather limited.
This is undoubtedly because the process, which is long, at least partly contingent and quite far from the theoretical work that traditionally underlies the definition of a research project, is considered as a premise, while the heterogeneity of actors involved necessarily requires significant negotiation and compromise (Callon et al., 2001).
This work of negotiation is central in that kind of research program, because they are subject to strong normative pressures combined with a relatively theoretical and rather impractical nature of approaches to participation and overcoming sharing between experts and non-experts people (Nez,

2011). In the European Union's call for projects, the objectives of “citizen sciences” are summarized either as ways of guiding or monitoring public policies or as "social innovations" that can be scalable or appropriated by the market. The ultimate goal of the “citizen sciences” approach is, according to the call, to restore citizens' confidence in science, in its ability to express the truth, in the interest of democracy. Such a vision, which also contradicts the affirmation of the plurality and equal legitimacy of forms of knowledge, questions our own objectives and their compatibility with a reforming and applied vision of research with citizens (Caruso el al., 2016).

4. Concluding notes

This framing of the theoretical framework based on a focused engagement with existing academic literature distinguished between two “ideal-types” of coproduction (institutional and community). This distinction aimed at exploring the different directions of theories sometimes developed often in disjoint ways, by different disciplines - looking at the same object from different perspectives, the first focusing on policy, service delivery, state institutions, and the second focusing on community mobilisations and strategies.

Institutional coproduction literature opened a path towards interrogating academic work on institutionalisation, whilst the community coproduction literature showed several paths to explore - better understanding the role of facilitators and intermediaries, on the one hand; reflecting on epistemic justice and knowledge production, on the other.

No doubt that the linkages between these two forms of coproduction will be at the center of our debates within FAIRVILLE - the three paths opened (institutionalisation, facilitation, epistemic justice) do talk to these linkages and articulations. In particular, further analysing the contexts in which local institutions open spaces for coproduction, and in which configurations they do so, seem crucial to understand both the setting, the evolution and the effect of coproduction processes on the reduction of Inequalities.

A clearly missing dimension of this first document is the difference that contexts make, and in particular what the circulations of concepts - from South to North, from North to South, tell us both about contexts and grounded relevant concepts.

Other under-developed ideas in this working document will need to be developed, and further debated, in a fine balance between their collectively-defined relevance for FAIRVILLE, and the sets of competence and appetites of the diverse members of the consortium.

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