Applying a Collaboration Model to Collaboration Corvallis

By

Dennis Dugan

MPP Essay

Submitted to

Oregon State University

In partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the

degree of

Master of Public Policy

Presented December 16th, 2013

Master of Public Policy Essay of Dennis Dugan presented on December 16th, 2013

APPROVED:

_____
Andrew Valls

_____
Lori Cramer

_____
Hilary Boudet

_____
Dennis Dugan, Author

ABSTRACT

Oregon State University and the City of Corvallis have recently embarked on a three-year series of meetings and forums ('Collaboration Corvallis') designed to increase collaboration between the two organizations and other relevant stakeholders as well as find solutions to worsening problems in the areas of parking, noise and student population density, among others. Organizations can embark on such collaborative processes without a clear understanding of the determinants of success or failure of such processes. Using Ansell and Gash's (2007) development of a contingent proposition model, this research seeks to answer the question 'to what degree do the conditions for success exist in the case of Collaboration Corvallis'? Publicly available documents were used to generate a list of stakeholders with whom I conducted semi-structured interviews. Analysis of the interviews focused on identifying conditions for success that existing research suggests are important in predicting the success or failure of a collaborative process. Overall, I found that the Collaboration Corvallis project followed the model, and where deviations existed, they were grounded in specific local contexts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The community of Corvallis, Oregon sits at the intersection of the Marys and Willamette Rivers. Since its founding in the mid-19th century, the town has been dominated by the surrounding agricultural lands and the presence of what was first Oregon Agricultural College and is now Oregon's only land grant institution, Oregon State University, which has strong agricultural, engineering and life sciences emphases. In 2000, the Corvallis population stood at just over 49,000 and OSU's enrollment at just under 17,000. Fast forward to 2010, and Corvallis has grown to just over 54,000 people – barely more than a 10% increase – while the university's enrollment has increased to over 23,000, representing an increase of around one-third in enrollment. The town's presentation and self-image as an overgrown yet idyllic farm town, complete with nearby county fair, farmer's market, and the very occasional piece of large farm equipment rolling through downtown is threatened by the increase in students as a percentage of the population. A sharp uptick in public outcry over perceived problems related to student population growth ultimately led to the formation of the Collaboration Corvallis project, a joint effort between the City of Corvallis, Oregon and Oregon State University (OSU) (Participant F). The collaboration started in the summer and early fall of 2011 with a series of meetings between OSU and City of Corvallis officials that included the leaders of both organizations as well as high-ranking planning and finance officials, with a goal of addressing "opportunities and issues associated with the future growth of OSU and the Corvallis community" (MOU 2011). A Scoping Committee was established that outlined the terms of the project:

- A predicted three-year timeline

- Joint cost-sharing between the City and OSU

- Temporary staff hiring

- Organization of the different issues to be addressed into three 'tracks'

  o Parking and Traffic (PT)

  o Neighborhood Planning (NP)

  o Neighborhood Livability (NL)

An Intergovernmental Agreement (IGA) between the City and OSU was signed to formalize the arrangements, and then – per the plan – the Scoping Committee was disbanded and a Steering Committee was formed to oversee the collaboration. The role of the Steering Committee was to oversee and coordinate the three track-based work groups developed to address the issues raised by the Scoping Committee as well as make the final call on moving work group recommendations forward. Steering Committee members also chaired and sat on each of the work groups. The Steering Committee itself was co-chaired by the Corvallis Mayor and the OSU President, and its 16-member roster included additional high-ranking officials from both organizations, former and current City Councilors, OSU students, a representative from a local housing nonprofit, and a representative from an investment group. Initially, two staff members supported the committee, one each from the City and OSU.

I focused on the overall Steering Committee as well as the Parking and Traffic Work Group. The latter was tasked with dealing with the perceptions that neighborhoods near campus were being overwhelmed with student-owned cars, as well as the perceived traffic problems on major Corvallis roads, presumably due to the same increase in student-owned cars. The other

two work groups focused on issues such zoning, land use codes, and noise complaints; but all three work groups were given some latitude to modify their Steering Committee created agendas.

The creation of the Corvallis Collaboration Project (CCP) represented a significant change in the way town-gown issues had previously been resolved in Corvallis, according to a key stakeholder (Participant F). While such collaborative efforts certainly exist or have existed in other college towns, generally speaking, each town-university combination adapts the collaborative processes to their unique context when they embark on a collaborative problem-solving process. While the process in Corvallis is far from over, it has advanced far enough for me to begin to analyze the Collaboration Corvallis project. I am interested in this research primarily to understand how the Collaboration Corvallis project matches up with Ansell and Gash's (2007) collaborative governance model. Therefore, the primary research question is this: To what degree do the conditions for success exist in the case of Collaboration Corvallis? Conditions for success here are largely, but not exclusively, taken from the Ansell and Gash model. In order to examine the Collaboration Corvallis project, I interviewed project participants in the Parking and Transit Work Group and Steering Committee to determine the degree of presence or absence of specific factors that contribute to the success of collaborative efforts. I examined only the Steering Committee and Parking and Traffic work group; future research could detail the experiences of the other two work groups.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is evidence that historically, university-community relationships have often been poor, but are improving in recent years, as members of both parties have been convinced of the necessity and usefulness of working together (Martin 2005). Suggesting that there is single dominant kind of relationship is, in most cases, oversimplifying, though sometimes the communities that engage universities do think of universities as monolithic (White 2010). Following World War II, U.S. universities, often in urban areas, began to reach out to and engage with nearby communities. They sought to do urban renewal despite not necessarily having any expert knowledge of their nearby communities (O'Mara 2012). However, an immediate clash of cultures occurred as university representatives treated the projects as one-way knowledge transfers, from university experts to community members (O'Mara 2012). The perceived arrogance of university faculty and staff is at least partially due to straightforward class conflict: university representatives are often perceived as having more money and social standing than members of the surrounding communities. The resulting power dynamics often inhibit collaboration (White 2010). After the backlash, a second wave of collaborative efforts started in the 1980s and 1990s, this time with more attention paid to all parties being treated as equals (O'Mara 2012).

More recently, research has been done on how to create successful town-gown collaborations, and though the focus is mostly on service learning, some of the lessons are germane here (Vidal 2002). Community members and university representatives often clash not only on class

grounds, but on cultural grounds as well: the stereotypical slow-moving, triple-approval-required faculty committee with separate pots of money for each project that views working with the community as service work for instance, may run up against community members who are used to pulling in needed resources from every corner at speed using less-hierarchical organizational structures, and do not understand that a single university representative likely has little to no institutional authority or ability to move resources (Bringle & Hatcher 2002). As well, community members are often incensed being looked at as charity cases. Instead, Weerts & Sandmann (2008) suggests that more recent town-gown collaboration efforts have boosted their chances of success by following some general principles: First, that university representatives be given genuine authority to make decisions and use resources without prior approval; second, that decision-making processes may look different than typical university processes, and that the university must be at peace with that; third, that visible, public leadership must be used by the university to convince all parties that the effort is genuine, up to and including appointing representatives to the collaboration effort that have genuine institutional power; and fourth, that centralizing community relations efforts within the university helps avoid being defeated by the silo-like nature of academic disciplines. However, even an increased recognition of the need to meet the community halfway may not always be enough to fully ameliorate existing class differences or heated histories (Bringle & Hatcher 2002). Next I will look at different ways university-community partnerships have been constructed.

Defining Engaged University and University-Community Partnerships

9

The 'engaged university' is set up as an evolution from universities that have historically been autonomous and separate from nearby communities, tending to make decisions without significant consideration of the impacts on the surrounding areas (Mayfield 2001; O'Mara 2012). There is some evidence this is changing (Martin 2005; LeGates & Robinson 1998), but changing institutional norms in the academy can take a long time (Bringle & Hatcher 2002). The form of engagement taken by the university in question can vary, but is often centered on 'service learning' or providing university expertise to the surrounding community in a targeted, discipline-specific way. The most common subjects of engagement are social work, economic revitalization, or business/technology incubation, etc. (Seedco 2002; O'Mara 2012). Engaged university analyses tend to be marked both by a more permanent stance towards engagement as well as a broader conception of what it means than those exhibited by the Corvallis Collaboration Project, and, perhaps most importantly, a sometimes-implicit claim that universities ought to be participating in the economic and social health of the community in which they reside. It is unclear how to reconcile the idea of a university as a place of cutting-edge research and knowledge generation with the idea that they should be able to contribute in the here and now to their immediate surroundings (Breznitz & Feldman 2012).

University-Community Partnerships

'University-community partnerships' is another common descriptor for joint enterprises between a university and the surrounding community. For the past few decades, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has been providing grants to such partnerships. A 2002 report summarizing 25 cases found that, like the 'engaged university', the majority of the benefit is designed to accrue to the community (Vidal, Nye, Walker, Manjarrez,

Romanik, Corvington, & Kim 2002). It was common for universities to provide expertise in various areas with the goal of positive economic or social development. It was also common for the university to partner with a 'community-based organization' (CBO) such as a local nonprofit or school, not a citywide organization – suggesting that much of the goal is delivery of service, and that the capacity building followed from that endeavor was a secondary goal.

In cases where there is a significant university-community relationship, it is often ongoing or permanent (Martin 2005; LeGates 1998). Further, such a relationship is often framed as how the university can help the community, even if the university stands to benefit as well. Breznitz and Feldman (2012) note three main ways universities engage with the surrounding community: knowledge transfer, policy development, and economic initiatives.

There are many examples of university-community partnerships in the existing academic literature, and a few are drawn out here in order to illustrate the boundaries and nature of the Corvallis Collaboration Project (CCP). In Worchester, MA, Clark University partnered with the city to "enact a broad-based strategy that emphasizes developing neighborhood amenities and expanding the economic opportunities for neighborhood residents" (Brown & Geoghegan 2009). What followed was a series of efforts to win grants for economic development, provide neighborhood-level social and recreational opportunities, improve public safety, and offer free enrollment to people within a certain radius who met the university's entrance requirements. The outcome was to stabilize home ownership in the neighborhood. While stabilizing home ownership is a background consideration of the Corvallis Collaboration Project, the mechanisms in place have more to do with zoning and city-level code changes than they do with utilizing the

measures used by Clark to incentivize single families into staying. Such measures are not generally on the table for the CCP; one possible reason for this is the general lack of funding available to the CCP.

In another case, Cornell University worked with a local land trust to both preserve open space around the community but also to encourage "community and stakeholder collaboration in planning and development decisions" (Wiewel & Knapp 2005). In this case, significant faculty time was dedicated to providing expertise and overseeing student participation in the planning process. In Corvallis, the situation is different: there is an existing nonprofit dedicated to the creation of a land trust; there is no urban planning program from which to draw expertise; and representatives from the university have not shown an interest in involving community members or students in any kind of strategic planning or development process. In fact, the opposite has been true, since the university has declined to include such processes or decisions in the CCP.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has partnered with the University of Massachusetts system to provide education in 'Smart Growth' to local leaders in various Massachusetts communities (Wiewel & Knapp 2005) as an effort to give local leaders tools they could use to retain desired community characteristics in the face of development that was otherwise likely to lead to significant and unwanted (and not necessarily university-driven) changes. This partnership was intentionally about capacity-building and long-term agreements, offering the

university's expertise to outside entities, and involved a permanent organization, the Community Preservation Institute.

The Collaboration Corvallis project stands apart from these examples in several ways. It is designed as a limited-time project and has not involved creating a new institute or organization or seeking grants (though such a transformation is one possible outcome of the process). It does not consciously focus on any of the areas listed by Breznitz and Feldman (2012), nor does it seek to draw on the expertise of significant numbers of OSU faculty, staff or students as a resource (for example, there is no mention of service learning or class projects focused on issues related to the Collaboration Corvallis project) as do many of the cases cited in Wiewel and Knapp (2005). It is not the university partnering with a local nonprofit or CBO, but with the City of Corvallis itself. It is about solving problems relating to university growth, which is not terribly uncommon, but it is somewhat unique in that the framing of the project is explicitly about addressing an existing negative situation, rather than more generic language about positive growth or development or redevelopment of a university or nearby community.

I do not know to what extent the creators of the CCP were aware of the options available to them under the 'university-community partnerships' umbrella, but there are many organizational forms and policy areas that are available to be included in this type of project that have not been utilized in the CCP. In short, despite some important similarities (such as a focus on process) it is substantially different than most reported cases. So while the term 'university-community partnership' may be accurate in a general sense (or as accurate as any

term that covers such a wide variety of cases), the term 'collaborative governance' is a more accurate descriptor of the CCP.

Defining Collaborative Governance

The term 'collaborative governance' (CG) is widely used, but there is much debate about what it means. Susskind and Cruikshank (1987) made an early attempt to define it as an effort to bring in stakeholders and reach consensus on a proposed solution to a distributional policy problem, but did not actually use the term 'collaborative governance'. It is notable that they did not view it as an ongoing process, but rather a process that existed to solve a particular problem. Nevertheless, their early work contained all the major elements that often appear in later definitions of the term. Gerry Stoker (1998) also doesn't use the term 'collaborative', but his definition offers a similar shift towards a focus on process: "Governance is ultimately concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action. The outputs of governance are not therefore different from those of government. It is rather a matter of difference of process" (Stoker 1998. It is important to note that though it is not included in the definition, Stoker also suggests that his 'governance' involves bringing in non-state actors and institutions.

Jody Freeman's (1997) normative model for CG has the following elements: 1) a problem-solving orientation; 2) participation in the process by affected parties; 3) provision solutions that allow for revision based on new information; 4) accountability to the public and other participating organizations; and 5) a convening agency that is responsible for facilitating the process such that information sharing and capacity building can take place (8). Though coming from the point of view of a regulatory agency sets it apart from other definitions, the same

elements are still there – broad(er) stakeholder inclusion and an increased focus on process as compared to agency-based decision-making.

Fung and Wright (2003) synthesized several case studies and built a model they termed 'Empowered Deliberative Democracy' (EDD); despite the difference in terminology, most of the basic elements are present: a focus on solving concrete problems, stakeholder involvement, and the pursuit of consensus. However, they come from a different perspective: rather than seeing the inability of one government agency to effectively create policy or regulate a natural resource, which is the problem that gives rise to many collaborative governance efforts, they see the same complicated problems as indicative of modern representative government being insufficiently democratic to solve a problem. So for Fung and Wright (2003), EDD is about reimagining a democratic ideal more than solving a complex problem, and is more idealistic and less technocratic compared to other definitions. However, when I delve a bit deeper, it is clear Fung and Wright have the same concerns as those who use the collaborative governance terminology. For example, both are concerned with powerful interests dominating otherwise egalitarian decision-making processes, though only Fung and Wright express a concern about secondary associations' ability to be militant, where 'militant' is set in opposition to 'reasonable'. Both are concerned with the ability of those same powerful interests to use outside forums to get their way. Both are concerned with the sustainability of the decision-making body.

In 2004, Donahue made an effort to put forth a definition of collaborative governance, though

he came from a slightly different perspective – his work was part of the Corporate Social

Responsibility Initiative at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government (Donahue 2004). Beyond

mandating the inclusion of the public sector and multiple organizations and noting that CG

comes up when 'regular' government fails, Donahue does not offer a concise, detailed

definition of collaborative governance, but he does outline additional dimensions upon which a

definition may rely: level of formality, duration, narrowness of focus, diversity of participating

institutions, valence (i.e. network size), shared normative views on governance, source of

initiative, and being problem- vs. opportunity-driven. The variance in each of these dimensions

is one way to show the broad spectrum of cases that fall under the CG moniker.

More recently, Ansell and Gash's (2007) model weaves much of the existing literature together

to suggest that collaborative governance is a "governing arrangement where one or more

public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process

that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public

policy or manage public programs or assets" (544). It is important to note that all of the

definitions involve a combination of state and non-state actors attempting to solve a problem

using means that are comparatively more open and consensus-oriented than means

traditionally used by government agencies. While at this point Ansell and Gash (2007) is over

six years old, their piece reflects the ongoing work that is being done on collaborative

governance: while there are common threads, because the models often arise organically out

of case studies and specific organizations, there is a tremendous amount of variety, and no one

has found the 'right' answer, where 'right' means the sort of model that will work in all situations. Though the comparison of their model to a case study is designed to evaluate the case study more than the model, the inverse could also true – I may find places where the model falls short of the case study's particulars. I know this won't invalidate the model any more than it suggest the project that is the focus of the case study is wrong; the reality of collaborative governance is messy and highly context-specific (Ansell & Gash 2007).

A more recent definition of collaborative governance has been offered by Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2011, who define CG as

> "the processes and structures of public policy decision making management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private, and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could otherwise not be accomplished."

This is broader than the definition offered by Ansell and Gash (2007), and includes projects that are not initiated by state agencies. Emerson et. al. (2011) place their definition in the broader context of collaborative governance regimes, emphasizing the political and other contexts in which collaborative governance efforts take place, and how those contexts shape and are shaped by collaborative governance efforts, with an eye towards having a generic model that can be used to compare future case studies. For example, the Collaboration Corvallis project was created in a time of rapidly increasing student enrollment at Oregon State, and the success or failure of the project could impact both student enrollment and relations between the community, city, and university. Though Emerson et. al. (2011) take a broader focus than Ansell and Gash (2007), they do not generally disagree with the latter; both sets of authors note that

their causal propositions used to describe collaborative governance are preliminary and subject to revision by reality and future empirical work. This research aims to provide one additional case on the basis of which theoretical propositions may be revised. It is safe to say, however, that the sheer variety of examples available will continue to make it difficult to reach agreement on what counts as a 'theory of collaborative governance'.

Evaluating Collaborative Governance Outcomes

The literature on collaborative governance and outcome evaluation is wide-ranging, but there are three types of outcomes that are often mentioned in the evaluation context. The simplest is whether or not a written, formal agreement was reached as the result of the collaborative process in question, but there are many processes that do not result in such a clean outcome (Innes & Booher 1999a; Yaffee & Wondolleck 2003). A second outcome is of the 'was the problem solved?' or 'did the state of the world improve in the ways I wanted?' variety (Conley & Moote 2003). This can be tricky to measure, especially when the desired change is a long-term one. The third type is what most of the literature and this analysis is focused on, and it can be framed most simply as asking 'was the process sound?' 'Sound' can be highly subjective, and there are many, many elements in a collaborative governance process that can be evaluated, but in general, there seems to be a strong belief that process is a strong predictor of outcome. Conley and Moote (2003) summarize common process-centric criteria: broad, shared vision; clear, feasible goals; diverse, inclusive participation; local government participation; linkages to individuals and groups beyond primary participants; open, accessible and transparent process; a clear, written plan; consensus-based decision-making; decisions

regarded as just; and consistency with existing laws and policies. I will expand on selected items from this list in the methods section.

Though I will rely primarily on the Ansell and Gash (2007) model in developing the analysis of the Collaboration Corvallis project, they acknowledge and I understand that their model is not exhaustive of all aspects of collaborative governance. Donahue (2004) suggests a four-part agenda of clarifying theory, building an empirical base, evaluating what works, and pedagogic (what should be taught about CG). I focus on the third part here: using a model to evaluate a case study. Conley and Moote (2003) warn against comparing theories to case studies, both because many cases fail to meet normative theoretical requirements and the causal link between theoretical claims and instantiated outcomes is often unproven. These are both good criticism of which I are aware. To the former, I respond by noting that I are less interested in binary yes/no answers and more in evaluating the 'how' and 'why' of the Collaboration Corvallis project, because that is where I understand the most useful sort of data to reside. To the latter, of course, I can only agree, and suggest that the model and any theory behind it are an analytical guide, and not a determiner of truth.

In the next section, I will further explore the model, focusing on the elements that are the most relevant for the Collaboration Corvallis project, and in the process address questions related to process-centric evaluation. In order to provide structure to the analysis, I will utilize Ansell and Gash's (2007) conditional approach, asking generally 'does Element X exist in this project? If so,

to what degree, and how is it manifested, and what are the consequences?' Finally, I should say

that I will not be utilizing all of the conditionals, but only the ones that fit this particular project.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Collaborative processes are often highly complex, and attempts to separate them into different elements, concepts, or moments for analytical purposes can result in no overall increase in clarity. I have found the model proposed by Ansell and Gash (2007) to be both reasonably clear in its own right but also to have the benefit of having accounted for almost 130 other pieces of research. (See below for their graphic depiction of the model.) I will be addressing all parts of the model except for post-process outcomes, as the process has not yet finished. I also benefit from the fact that the Ansell and Gash (2007) model is a quasi-normative or 'contingent propositions' model, meaning that they identify a series of propositions, that, if true, they claim will increase a collaborative governance project's chances of success. Taking the model as a guide, I will be asking (1) if the elements listed as important by Ansell and Gash (2007) are present in the Collaboration Corvallis project; (2) to what extent they are present; and (3) the impacts the presence or absence of certain model elements may have. For example, it may turn out to be the case that the CCP differs radically from the model in one or more ways, but that the variation makes sense in this particular context – and Ansell and Gash (2007) suggest that this is often the case when they acknowledge that there exist collaborative governance projects that are successful without following all of their propositional elements. Or, to put it more simply, I will be focusing on understanding what happened before the project that is relevant, how the project operates now, and where and why the project deviates from the model and what those deviations mean.

Figure 1
A Model of Collaborative Governance
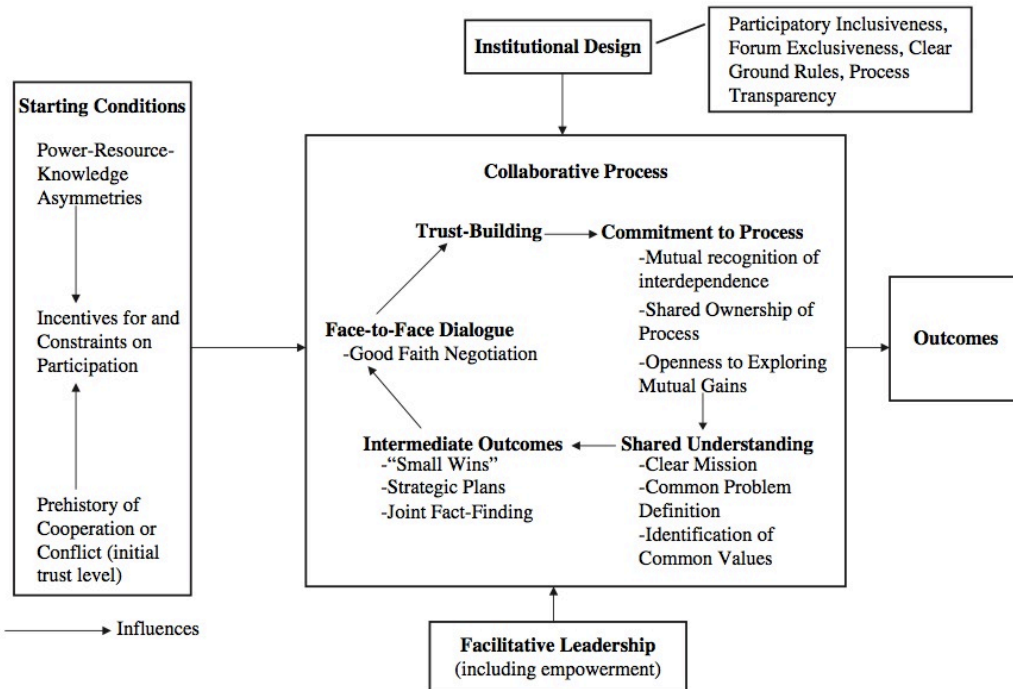
The above model from Ansell and Gash (2007) separates out different functions and moments in a collaborative process. Below, I will expand on each element and break them down into specific research sub-questions.

Starting Conditions
The question 'what existed before the collaborative effort, and how did that impact the subsequent effort?' is common in the collaborative governance literature (Ansell & Gash 2007).

Also common are the existence of *power-resource-knowledge asymmetries* between collaboration participants. One source of imbalance is the existence of a party or parties to a collaboration that have significantly more resources than other parties; this can include 'resources' in the form of specialized or technical knowledge that isn't easily understood or

obtained otherwise. A second may be an organization that has significantly more decision-

making or regulatory power in an alternative venue and is willing to use the threat of that

outside power as leverage within the confines of a collaborative project. I break down *power-

resource-knowledge asymmetries* to the following three questions:

(1) Are there power, resource or knowledge imbalances between stakeholders in the

Corvallis Collaboration project?

(2) If so, do such imbalances prevent meaningful stakeholder participation in some way?

(3) If imbalances are preventing meaningful participation, is there a strategy for

empowerment and representation of weaker or disadvantaged stakeholders?

A second sub-element of starting conditions are *incentives to participate*, namely, a reason or

reasons for any organization or individual to put effort into a collaborative governance project.

Incentives can vary among stakeholders and change over time, and are subject to influence

from within and without a collaborative project.

In the context of negotiations, this is often referred to as the Best Alternative to a Negotiated

Agreement, or BATNA; one's incentive to participate is inversely related to the likelihood of

getting a positive outcome in another venue. In practical terms, an organization that can win via

regulatory avenues or the courts isn't likely to commit to participating in a non-binding

collaborative effort without those other avenues being closed off, leaving the collaborative

project as the only or best option for a given organization or stakeholder. While this

interdependence may or may not be 'real' in a legal or regulatory sense, the key is that it is perceived as real by participating organizations or and stakeholders. The impact of this line of thinking is an especially interesting topic in the case of the CCP, since the collaborative process does not formally shift formal authority from other venues to the CCP, but adds additional veto points, though there may be an informal shifting of authority at play.

Edelenbos (2005) suggests paying attention to the relationship between existing organizations, such as the City of Corvallis and any new 'interactive governance' institutions that may be created as part of the collaborative effort. His suggestion is that processes that do not seek or achieve buy-in from existing organizations (and especially the administrative staff of those organizations) or maintain good lines of communication are less likely to succeed, as existing organizations may not take kindly to a perceived usurpation of their authority.

On the other hand, Freeman (1997) suggests that having an existing organization act as a convener and facilitator of a collaborative process is a *good* thing precisely because it can bring more resources to bear – though Freeman doesn't explicitly address the potential for regulatory capture or other forms of power imbalance, and even admits that having an existing organization 'sponsor' a process may set limits on what the process can achieve, which runs counter to much of the rest of the collaborative governance research. I break down *incentives to participate* into three questions:

(4) Do stakeholders believe there is an alternative venue that will allow them to meet their goals?

(5) Do stakeholders self-identify as interdependent?

(6) How has the project addressed the question of forum exclusiveness with other relevant agencies and institutions?

The third part of starting conditions, say Ansell and Gash (2007), is the *initial trust level* of participants in a collaborative governance project. This may be not only trust in each other, but trust in the integrity of the process itself. Simply put, if participants come in without trust or with a *history of antagonism*, then either they need to be forced to work together via interdependence (which requires not only that interdependence exists but that participants recognize it exists) or they need to learn to trust each other via a conscious, intentional process of shared trust-building (and likely group identity development, the development of shared knowledge, etc.) (Andranovich 1995) that likely occurs both early in the process and often via the generation of short-term 'intermediate wins' that serve to show that the collaborative governance effort may be successful. Ansell and Gash (2007) also suggest that if there is a participant subset with a positive prehistory, other organizations and individuals can be impeded from participating via a clique effect (553). In order to more easily analyze the results, I am characterizing Ansell and Gash's (2007) *history of antagonism* as resulting in *initial distrust*. I break down *initial trust level* into two questions:

(7) Is the initial set of relationships among stakeholders one of trust or distrust, and can it be characterized as weak or strong?

(8) Has the Collaboration Corvallis project undertaken any efforts to build trust and/or social capital among stakeholders?

These three sub-elements and associated questions provide the analytical structure to evaluate the starting conditions of the Collaboration Corvallis process with an eye towards predicting outcomes. At this point, I will shift from looking at what happens before a collaborative process to the rules (broadly construed) to be used during the process itself.

Institutional Design
The process doesn't start once everyone is in the room; at the least, it starts with *identifying stakeholders*. For Ansell and Gash (2007), the list of stakeholders must be 'broadly inclusive'. Innes and Booher (1999) note that the process must include representatives of all 'relevant and significantly different interests,' though what this means, of course, is highly context-dependent. In any collaborative governance process, however, it is important to consider whether or not there is an authority that designates people or organizations as relevant stakeholders, and if so, what that authority's role and interests in the collaborative governance process are.

There are multiple reasons for inclusiveness: Stakeholders left out of the process may make trouble and cause the process to lose legitimacy. Beierle (2000) suggests that stakeholder-inclusive processes result in higher quality decisions as well as improved relationships among

participants, increased networking, and easier conflict resolution. Freeman (1997) adds, "broad participation has an independent democratic value" (8). Conley and Moote (2003) claim that 'diverse, inclusive participation' is a typical criterion for evaluating a positive process outcome, but they do not define what it means, except to note that even successful projects often do not include all possible stakeholders (378).

Wiewel and Knapp (2005) suggest that stakeholder identification is also important – he notes that asking one person to represent a whole university, which has many disparate interests and types of expertise, was not as effective as identifying a representative from each department or area within the university. As much as the general advice is consistent across authors, few offer concrete criteria of who should be considered a stakeholder and who should not. Chrislip and Larson (1994) define stakeholders as "all… who are affected by or care about the issue." This, of course, is impractical in a literal sense, but I note that there is space in the definition to self-define – one cannot tell someone else if they care or do not care about an issue. So while the definition is inclusive, it still does not offer a bright line. Infer, too, that all interests and groups that are affected or care about the issue should be given a chance to be involved, even if every individual is not involved. Because, however, it is difficult or impossible to create an exhaustive list of stakeholders or stakeholder types *a priori*, I construct the relevant questions as follows:

(9) What efforts were made to identify and include relevant stakeholders?

(10) Are there stakeholders who should be included in the process who are not?

'Should' here carries a very specific meaning – an individual or group that is significantly impacted by work of the CCP and is or was interested in being involved, but was not allowed to participate by the Steering or Scoping Committees.

The conscious, intentional pursuit of *consensus* as a decision-making rule is an element included in every definition of collaborative governance or evaluative criteria I found (Stoker 1998, Ansell & Gash 2007, Susskind & Cruikshank 1987, Andranovich 1995, Conley & Moote 2003). Generally, it is included because of the believed positive effects, which may include achieving the wisest, fairest and most efficient outcomes possible, the development of social and intellectual capital (which allow for the group to continue working together in the future), success in achieving initial buy-in (because groups know that consensus allows them to block a proposal that doesn't benefit them or otherwise helps convince them they'll have a meaningful voice due to a level playing field within the process), and a greater chance at coming up with a long-term solution (Susskind and Cruikshank 1987, Wiewel & Knapp 2005, Healey 1996, Conley & Moote 2003).

It is important to note there's no consensus on consensus; where Ansell and Gash (2007) list seeking consensus as a requirement in their definition of collaborative governance, Conley and Moote (2003) note that there are plenty of examples of successful projects where consensus isn't one of the rules being used.

For my purposes, then, I will adopt the Ansell and Gash (2007) stance of considering the seeking

of consensus to be important – more so than the achievement of it, or even the adoption of

consensus as the formal decision-making rule.   This leads me to the following questions:

(11) Is consensus generally sought at the work group level, the Steering Committee

level, both, or neither?

(12) Is consensus generally achieved at any level?

The third element of institutional design is the presence of *clear ground rules*. That is, are the

rules used by the collaborative governance effort clear and transparent to stakeholders such

that they allow for or even result in increased legitimacy? It is easy to imagine a situation

where an already-skeptical stakeholder is confronted with an outcome that doesn't make sense

due to rules the stakeholder doesn't understand or of which they have not been informed, and

the stakeholder – or stakeholders – choosing then to reduce their level of participation or

withdraw entirely from the collaborative effort on the grounds that it is impossible to commit

to the process without clear ground rules.

(13) What ground rules are used by the Corvallis Collaboration project?

(14) Do participants have a clear understanding of the ground rules?

Facilitative Leadership
Though collaborative governance may imply less hierarchy in decision-making than more

traditional single-organization structures, it does not necessarily mean less leadership. Ansell

and Gash (2007) are clear in pointing out that research suggests that the importance of

leadership is inversely related to trust level and incentives to participate. That is, if there are

low initial trust levels and/or weak incentives to participate, strong facilitative leadership,

especially organic leadership, can become increasingly important to the success of a

collaborative process. Leaders can come from inside or outside the process, and arise

organically or be installed; those that are outside the process and installed may have less sway

over the process, but it may be necessary to go that route if internal leadership is not a good

option. Outside leadership often takes the form of a mediator or professional facilitator who is

official neutral, while in-group leadership can arise from a stakeholder group. While

considering the relationship between a potential leader and various stakeholders is important,

the relationship between a potential leader and outside organizations may also be important in

terms of protecting the exclusivity of the venue and increasing the perceived legitimacy of the

decisions made by the collaborative group.

Collaborative Process

Once stakeholders have been established, the next step is getting everyone in a room to work

directly together. Ansell and Gash (2007) are clear in suggesting that *face-to-face dialogue* is a

necessary but not sufficient condition for a successful process. Such dialogue, they contend, is

one thing that allows for the occurrence of meaningful conversation and genuine learning.

Healey (1996) concurs, suggesting that "fostering styles of discussion which allow the different

points of view of diverse stakeholders to be opened up and explored" is key to the creation of

effective institutional design (213).

Putnam, Burgess and Royer (2003) suggest that participants' changing their framing can offer a way out of conflicts that otherwise seem intractable. Such a frame change requires trust in the sense that it requires a willingness to be open and take risks both by being honest and by learning – and that can often happen only when participants can engage in face-to-face dialogue.

What happens once participants are all in the same room? What needs to happen? I will focus on criteria drawn from Ansell and Gash (1997) and Conley and Moote (2003), as both list the following as common or necessary process elements that increase the chances of a good outcome; Ansell and Gash (2007) group them under the heading 'shared understanding'. The first criterion is the development of a *shared problem definition.* That is, do collaborative governance project stakeholders all agree on the problem to be solved? It is easy to imagine a situation in which participants in the Corvallis Collaboration project came to the table defining problem two different ways – the first being that the university is growing too fast and pushing too many consequences off on the community, and the second being that the community failed to prepare for publicly predicted student growth. Therefore, I want to ask the following:

(15) To what degree do project participants share problem definitions?

Similarly, it is obvious that reaching agreement on a *shared set of potential solutions* is more difficult when there isn't shared problem definition in the first place. Collaborative governance

efforts that fail to agree on even possible solutions, it hardly needs to be said, are less likely to

succeed than those that can find a common solution to get behind. I ask:

(16) To what degree do project participants agree on shared set of potential solutions?

The third part of Ansell and Gash's (2007) 'shared understanding' can be described as

collaborative governance project stakeholders achieving a *shared vision* for their particular

effort. A shared vision may be what allows for the other elements to occur in the first place,

and all three elements are often part of a collaborative learning process, where project

participants learn to work together collaboratively in order to solve whatever problem it is that

gave rise to the collaboration. In the case of the Corvallis Collaboration project, the *shared

vision* will likely revolve around a normative set of claims regarding what the Corvallis and OSU

communities should look like in the future. Here, I have two questions:

(17) To what degree do project participants share a vision for the collaboration?

(18) To what degree is the presence or absence of a shared vision important?

A collaborative learning process is somewhat co-dependent on the level and nature of

commitment to process of collaborative governance project participants. Ansell and Gash

(2007) break commitment to process down into three parts, two of which I will utilize here:

mutual recognition of interdependence and *shared ownership of process*. The first is relatively

straightforward; Ansell and Gash (2007) make the claim that collaborative efforts are more

likely to succeed if the project participants believe their success is intertwined with that of other project participants – and conversely, that not collaborating will hurt any given group's ability to achieve their goals. To some extent, the belief of interdependence is as important as the reality. The second part, *shared ownership of process*, encapsulates the potential shift in mindset that takes place when one goes from merely consulting or advising to taking responsibility for the outcomes of a process, and it is the latter part that is key here. I ask the following question regarding these model elements:

(19) To what degree have project participants taken ownership of the Corvallis Collaborative project process?

Outcomes
At this point I will turn to examining the role of outcomes in the Ansell and Gash (2007) model. I will bring in the perspective of Conley and Moote (2003) to elaborate beyond Ansell and Gash (2007). The CCP is designed to last for two or three years or more and addresses a wide variety of topics; these two factors, especially the second, lead to intermediate outcomes being inevitable. Therefore, I seek to identify intermediate outcomes of the process. However, the mere existence of intermediate outcomes doesn't address the reason Ansell and Gash (2007) believe them to be important; for them, intermediate outcomes can serve to build trust among stakeholders who are participating in the project as well as the non-participatory public by showing that success and trust are possible and interconnected.

From Conley and Moote (2003), I identify three relevant types of outcomes. The first is the simple *written agreement* – did the collaborative process result in a formal, written agreement to do something? Even reaching that stage, regardless of quality of agreement or eventual success or failure, is sometimes considered a measure of success. The second type of outcome I will address is the presence of *world-state change*s. Here, I look for any instances in which the project can report that their agreements or outcomes have resulted in a material change in the world. Note that these can be positive, negative, or neutral, and that not only can their value be contested, but their very existence and relation to the project can also up for debate and interpretation by stakeholders. Third, I will look for evidence of *relationship-building* among stakeholders, on the grounds that increased social capital or trust are not only intrinsically valuable outcomes, but, as intermediate outcomes, can make possible positive future outcomes. I ask the following two questions:

(20) Are there intermediate outcomes the project has achieved, and if so, what are the types of outcomes that have been achieved?

(21) If there are intermediate outcomes, have those outcomes resulted in positive relationship building among stakeholders?

METHODS

To what degree do the conditions for success exist in the case of Collaboration Corvallis? This

research question and the nature of the Collaboration Corvallis project lead me to a qualitative

approach. Process-centric criteria that are found in collaborative governance, such as improved

social capital or participatory inclusiveness, are difficult to quantify (Conley & Moote 2003).

Though I could establish tightly structured interviews in order to facilitate a quantitative

analysis, the complex nature of collaborative processes suggests that semi-structured

interviews are better in this case. Additionally, since I are comparing one instance to an

existing model, and the model is not already quantified, I feel a quantitative approach would

fare poorly, and that a qualitative approach is an overall better fit to the available data, model

and research question, with the caveat that many of the research sub-questions are of the

'yes/no' variety, which is, I suppose, a crude form of quantitative work.

A basic description of the Corvallis Collaboration project at the time of the research is provided.

The Steering Committee was charged with overseeing the Collaboration Corvallis project as a

whole, and by June 2013 had only met four times – roughly quarterly. However, they had

approved roughly 50 recommendations to be moved to OSU or the Corvallis city government.

In general, one Steering Committee member described the role of the committee as that of a

'traffic cop' – the most common view of the committee's role was to simply vet proposed

recommendations for political and logistical feasibility.

The Parking and Traffic work group, on the other hand, was doing detail-oriented work in developing recommendations. Between their first meeting on May 24th, 2012, and June 2013, they met 32 times and had approximately 25 recommendations endorsed by the Steering Committee. During that time, they primarily addressed parking issues on campus, though there was some effort to address public transportation on and off campus as well. The most-discussed recommendations made by the committee were a) a set of recommendations increasing funding from OSU to the Corvallis Transit System, align the CTS with the on-campus shuttle, and increase shuttle marketing; b) a recommendation to increase the size and number of parking zones around campus; and c) a recommendation to change the on-campus parking permit structure from a single type of lot to a tiered system where the cost of parking would increase the nearer to the core of campus one parked. The first set of recommendations was uncontroversial, and while the second and third had a lot of support, participants also reported being uncertain about how they would be handled by the City and OSU after being passed by the Steering Committee. It was only after this research was conducted that the work group began to address traffic issues in earnest. In other words, I selected the project and work group I did because both were far along enough in their process to provide valuable information on the collaborative process, but, since the project was not done, participants were still able to recall relevant details.

Answering the research question generally hinges on establishing the degree of presence or absence of certain elements of a successful collaborative process in the case of the Collaboration Corvallis project. In general, these are elements that participants in the process

are in a position to be aware of – degree of trust among participants, history of cooperation or conflict among participants, the resources being contributed, etc. Therefore, are interview targets are participants in the Collaboration Corvallis project itself.

While I cannot list all of the stakeholder groups represented in the interview group for reasons of confidentiality, I can report a general list of project stakeholders. Because the project is primarily a joint effort between the university and city, the majority of participants come from one of the two organizations. Represented are positions of leadership within the city and county governments, both elected and appointed, as well as positions of policy expertise, such as planning, transportation or housing specialists. There are also community representatives, some of which represent geographic areas within the city of Corvallis, and some of which represent specific groups interests, again, for example, various facets of housing.

Data Sources
As part of the agreement between the City of Corvallis and Oregon State University that led to the Collaboration Corvallis project, a project website was created and run by the two organizations. The first source of data is the documents publicly available on the Collaboration Corvallis website. These documents were accessed and read to develop a general base of knowledge about the project prior to conducting interviews. Documents included meeting agendas, work plans, meeting minutes, memos, and other background information. Participant observation in the form of attendance at project meetings was also used to develop a relationship with some project participants and staff, help decide whom to interview, and

inform the choice of theory for the analysis. Participant observation and documents were not used as data sources in this essay.

The primary sources of data were qualitative, semi-structured interviews with project participants, who included both volunteers and paid staff. Using the lists of project participants and staff available online, I generated a list of 50 potential individuals to be interviewed. I sought representatives from each of the targeted sub-groups within the project, as well as individuals who I judged were in good positions to provide a lot of information (i.e. individuals who had formal roles that involved leadership, facilitation, connection to other parts of the project, etc.) (Bernard 2011). I balanced this by also including individuals whom I believed, based on participant observation and a review of the written documents, to have a significantly different background or perspective on the process than those selected for other reasons. Decisions on whom to interview are consistent with purposive sampling techniques used in case studies according to Bernard (2011). Institutional Review Board approval for this research was acquired prior to contacting any potential participants. Potential participants were contacted in person, by telephone, or by email and invited to participate. Contact information was acquired from paid project staff, by attending meetings, and publicly available data. At the time of interview requests, there were ten members of the Parking and Traffic work group. Nine were interviewed, and the tenth did not respond to requests for interview, meaning that virtually all of the points of view represented on the Parking and Traffic work group are represented in the data presented here. Among the Steering Committee members, eight of nineteen members were interviewed, with only three potential interviewees failing to respond

to a request for interview; interviews stopped at that time due to saturation, where saturation

was defined as 'no new or relevant information emerging' (Given 2008). Interviewees were

selected to represent a range of interests on the Steering Committee, but focused on

representatives from Oregon State University and the city of Corvallis. Interviews were

conducted one-on-one and had a median time of 57 minutes and an average time of 59

minutes. Recordings and later transcriptions were made using an H2 Zoom audio recorder and

the software program Transcription, respectively. Both recordings and transcriptions were kept

secure, and participants were informed that they would not be identified in the final write-up

of the research. Actual anonymity, given the low number of project participants, was impossible

to guarantee.

The interview questions focused on soliciting information that would allow me to evaluate the

degree of presence or absence of elements of the theoretical model, and were thus generated

by each specific model element and sub-element. For example, to get at 'starting conditions', I

asked participants 'how did you get involved with the Corvallis Collaboration project?' and

'Have you worked with any of the other organizations or individuals involved before? How did

that go?' To elicit information on the presence or absence of trust building, I asked the

following series of questions:

> During the collaboration, do you feel that you've been able to get to
> know other participants better?
>
> If yes, how has that happened? Has it been a natural part of the process,
> or has there been time set aside for participants to help understand each
> other?

While many questions were designed to get at the model elements without using too much jargon, some questions were more direct, such as 'How would you define the problems that the Collaboration Corvallis project is trying to solve?' Because the interviews were semi-structured, I also asked follow-up questions depending on the answers provided, meaning the questions here and in the appendix are simply the interview guide, not the exclusive list of questions that were used. Interviewees have been labeled A-N to allow for quotes to be used without providing identifying information. A semi-structured interview format was chosen because it provided the best fit with the theoretical framework and research question (Bernard 2011).

Analysis Methodology
Initial analysis of transcribed data was done using the coding system in the NVivo software package. Coding was done using elements of the Ansell and Gash (2007) model with additional codes based on Conley & Moote's (2003) description of outcomes types as well as a few codes that were generated inductively through the coding process.   For example, I broke down Ansell and Gash's (2007) 'starting conditions' into their constituent parts of 'power-knowledge-resource- asymmetries', 'incentives for and constraints on participation', and 'prehistory of cooperation or conflict'. I added codes such as 'public relations' when multiple participants mentioned a topic repeatedly. Predictably, some codes were used extensively and some sparingly; this seems to reflect the importance of the topic to the participant. The full list of codes can be found in Appendix C. The result of this coding was a body of interview material that was sorted by model element and searchable by code and source and used to generate the results and subsequent discussion. Because I were interested in identifying previously-used model elements, coding went straight to assigning interview data to predetermined codes to

help answer questions about whether or not and how that model element was present in this case, not building an interpretation of the results based on inductively-generated themes. In short, if I had chosen a different model, or no model, I would be asking somewhat different research questions and likely see different results (Bernard 2011).

RESULTS

Our primary research question is this: To what degree do the conditions for success exist in the case of Collaboration Corvallis? I generally organize findings according to the Ansell and Gash (2007) model and Conley and Moote's (2003) three-pronged typology of outcomes, as well as the research sub-questions, but also follow the results where they differ from the sections laid out in the model.

Starting Conditions
The first operationalized question was "(1) Are there power, resource or knowledge imbalances between stakeholders in the Corvallis Collaboration project?" The participant makeup of the CCP leads to an inherent real and potential imbalance of power, knowledge and resources in multiple ways. The primary imbalance is related to the structure of the project itself: as it is centered on and started and funded by two large organizations, OSU and the City of Corvallis, project participants that do not belong to either organization are at a potential disadvantage simply due to the lack of easy access to other members of the large organizations or resources of the organizations. There is an additional potential imbalance created by the fact that the two primary organizations are jointly sharing the major project costs thus far – staffing and external consulting – and thus have some measure of control over the basic project data and staff.

Interviewed project participants do not report any meaningful imbalance of power with regards to access to project staff or data generated by external consultants. Similarly, no participants reported that either large organization was meaningfully withholding resources in terms of staff

time or data. In fact, participants reported that both organizations were devoting significant amounts of staff time and resources to fulfilling requests generated from the CCP.

(2) Do such imbalances prevent meaningful stakeholder participation in some way? When considering these imbalances in the context of starting conditions for the project, I can say that project participants reported that the two large organizations, and especially OSU, held significant amounts of power due to their ability to act mostly unilaterally with regards to things like enrollment management and both on- and off-campus construction – things that are perceived to impact community livability. Participant C gets at some of the nature of the imbalance:

> *"The university has always been and has become more so over the past several years an important economic driver for the community. It has control at least initially, primarily over decisions it makes on land that it controls. But that land and how it's used isn't the only thing that dictates whether additional students or additional faculty choose to come to OSU and support the university. The city has control over that and the community has control over that. There's that mutually beneficial relationship. The power balance isn't necessarily always equal."*

Additionally, at the beginning of the project, there was a potential knowledge imbalance related to the lack of public knowledge of OSU's long-term strategic plan. To some degree, this has been ameliorated among the project participants as OSU has shared some elements of their planning with work group and steering committee members; however, there remains no obvious mechanism to disseminate that information in an ongoing fashion, which could give rise to additional knowledge imbalances in the future. That said, there is consensus among project participants that the CCP represents the best effort to date among the parties to level the playing field, even if power is not evenly distributed.

(3) Is there a strategy for empowerment and representation of weaker or disadvantaged stakeholders? Project participants noted no strategy in use by the project to consciously try and ameliorate real or perceived power differences among work group or Steering Committee members, but, when asked directly, participants suggested they did not see a need for one. It is worth noting again that the perspective of outsiders may vary significantly from that of project participants, but that was outside the scope of this research.

The City government and OSU leadership both have multiple incentives for participation in the CCP. OSU participants report that they need to participate in the project because they have the ability to make changes that would help solve the problems; OSU participants also report that Corvallis does not have the carrying capacity for the number of students OSU is predicted to have by 2025, and that OSU has an interest in seeing that change. More generally, Participant F suggested "…I have to coexist to make Corvallis a successful community. Whether it is people that sell hot dogs or shirts in old downtown or how our employees come to work and go home, that I make all of those aspects as good as they can be for everybody that's involved from my standpoint."

Many non-OSU participants perceive the university, though not the city, as seeking to achieve the maximum public relations impact regardless of genuine commitment, though those same project participants also generally agreed that OSU's commitment to the project was in good faith. Participants from various parts of the university agreed that it was a good-faith effort,

though some were clear in noting that the university's unwillingness and inability to cede decision-making authority was a constraining factor in participation.

Participants believed the City has a genuine interest in resolving the perceived problems related to rapid student growth because the City lacks authority over the university and relies on a collaborative effort in which the university has a strong commitment. Both organizations are constrained by finances; participants reported multiple instances in which a policy recommendation was rejected at the work group level or tabled for later consideration on the basis of perceived cost, with the caveat that participants also suggested that even having done the groundwork to develop proposals that could be adopted later if financing was found was a positive move.

Overall, participants from all different types of stakeholder groups (city, university, and community) reported that their participation, as well as their perception of the incentives for participation on the part of OSU and the City of Corvallis, was due to a belief that the CCP stood the highest chance of success among possible ways to address the problems facing the community – including, in some cases, participants saying explicitly it was better than existing channels like the City Council or OSU acting unilaterally, because it had the attention of senior leadership from the university and city. So while there is no or minimal formal interdependence between the two organizations from the point of view of participants, there is still a belief that collaboration is the best course of action.

(6) How has the project addressed the question of forum exclusiveness with other relevant agencies and institutions? Neither OSU nor the City of Corvallis attempted to directly limit other venues as ways of addressing the problems related to livability. In fact, the use of existing venues is part of the process' design, since the Corvallis city government or the university then takes up recommendations passed by the Steering Committee. CCP members who have leadership positions in both organizations were clear in stating that not only did they not want to cede their regular decision-making authority, they did not think it would be legally possible. In the case of the university, participants noted the legal obligations of the university as a state institution; in the case of the city, participants put forth the belief that avoiding the elected City Council would be undemocratic and not in keeping with the history of governance in Corvallis. OSU stakeholders also expressed a fear that some of the CCP recommendations could not be in the best interests of the university, and thus ceding authority could potentially damage OSU in the long term. Neither organization has sought to abridge any existing decision-making rules, nor have they asked for other venues to cede authority to them or to the CCP. Participant B summed up the response well: "I think this is the show. The reason why the collaboration project came about was because of frustration from many different standpoints. And feeling as though the city could come to OSU and not necessarily get the attention they needed and vice versa."

The consequences of this structure are unknown. Requiring the CCP's recommendations to go through traditional channels adds additional veto points, though only a small minority of project participants believed that the City or OSU would significantly modify or reject the

recommendations, especially if representatives from the project continued to be engaged in advocating for the CCP's recommendations to be approved. The structure of the CCP does suggest that the main role of the CCP is to generate potential solutions; this assertion is supported by the testimony of multiple participants in leadership positions within the project.

(4) Do stakeholders believe there is an alternative venue that will allow them to meet their goals? Participants reported a belief that other venues were not being tried at the time of interviews because everyone knew the CCP was the venue to which city and university leadership was paying attention, and thus the only venue likely to have any effect. A minority of participants believed that other venues might be tried in the future only if the project fails to generate policy recommendations and/or passed recommendations prove unsuccessful.

I consider transparency to have two aspects. The first is transparency within the project – that is, do project participants have access to other parts of the project? Do they have the ability to acquire the information they deem necessary to move the project forward from other stakeholders and their organizations? In both cases, I found that the answer was an overwhelming yes. Participants, especially on the Parking and Traffic work group, reported that the City and OSU were very forthcoming with requested information and staff participation. Similarly, I found that information generated by the other work groups and Steering Committee was readily available online – but that project participants generally did not have the time or interest to thoroughly examine other work groups' recommendations. Participants were intentional in collecting only the knowledge they thought they needed to fulfill their role within the CCP, though that sometimes did mean gathering information from other work groups when policy areas overlapped.

The second aspect of transparency is transparency to the public or interested individuals. All project documents are posted online in a centralized location, including agendas, meeting packets, minutes, supporting documentation, and outcomes. Meetings are publicized well in advance. Project participants reported that existing back-channel communications were minimal and about scheduling and coordination, not decision-making; all participants reported a belief that the decisions were being made in public forums, even those participants who reported they believed they were not party to back-channel communications. I should add a note of caution to the effect that back-channel meetings that I were unaware of could have occurred; even with strong protections for anonymity, the number of participants was small enough that some participants may not have disclosed everything in interviews. That said, Participant C raises a point about the relationship between transparency and merely making information available:

> "Yes, I have made an adequate opportunity for the public to participate and have their views known. Whether or not they elected to make themselves aware of what's going on and participate in the process is a different question, but that's always the case… for each set of recommendations at least six meetings plus SC and a lot of the recommendations weren't just formulated within those three-month windows, they'd been building up to [them]."

The limit to this transparency is what happens after the Steering Committee approves a recommendation – though participants understand that recommendations move to the City or OSU, most participants from both the Steering Committee and PT work group reported they did not understand what happened next. Participants did report a strong belief that the general public did not understand the CCP, mostly because of the complexity of the project, though some reported dissatisfaction at the lack of media coverage.

(5) Do stakeholders self-identify as interdependent? Participants strongly and unanimously cited the interdependence of the two organizations as a key driver for the project as well as a key way in which the two organizations would maintain accountability to each other and the public. Participants defined 'interdependence' in this context as the well being of both community livability and the student experience, but tended strongly towards the former. Participants did not generally define interdependence as having a material component, only a political one, and were generally unable to define specific consequences for backing out of an agreement:

> "One if either organization decided to not move forward with a recommendation that was viable for whatever reason - viable and almost certainly effective - I think there would be very real consequences for not moving." – Participant C

> "Well, I've lived in Corvallis for twenty-eight years and I've never seen anything like this in terms of the level of mutual commitment that I made to this relationship and the multiple levels at which that commitment is being demonstrated." – Participant E

There is a strong rhetoric of mutual gains, but participants generally identified the majority of material gains as helping the community, and the majority of non-material gains – public relations, being seen as a good neighbor – as belonging to the university. For example, Participant K said:

> "So in doing our part, I think that what we're doing - there's going to be things that will come out of the collaboration that are real, that people will see, and then there will be this ongoing communication between the two entities [the City and OSU] and if we've done nothing more than say you know what I agree we're linked, I both are speaking publicly and otherwise, respectfully of each other, that we've established these ground rules of how this has to work, and I think as long as I stay committed to that, a lot can be accomplished."

Despite that, university-related participants also believed that the university was legally forbidden to pay the city for certain services like fire and police services, despite an apparent community belief that it was the right thing to do. The process was clearly seen as being co-owned by the city and OSU predominantly, with citizens and other organizations comprising a second tier of contributors. The primary evidence cited for this was the co-chairing of the project by leadership from both the city and OSU. And while rhetoric from leaders suggested that both the community and university stood to gain, participants from university leadership claimed most of the benefit would go to the city, which, in their view, had failed to adequately prepare for student growth. The perspective of non-OSU participants (and some OSU-related participants) on the parking and traffic work group can be summed up by the phrase 'trust but verify': while they believed OSU was doing the right thing while under scrutiny, they also were wary of the university failing to live up to its commitments without constant public pressure.

(7) Is the initial set of relationships among stakeholders one of trust or distrust, and can it be characterized as weak or strong? Because both major participating organizations are so large, it is difficult to speak of trust levels between organizations as a whole. As well, some stakeholders and stakeholder organizations have relatively high turnover, limiting the amount of time participants had prior to the project to develop trust or distrust. Participants often reported having no reason to have contact with other individuals involved in the project prior to the project's inception, with the exception of high-level leadership. Participants reported having positive relationships with other project participants prior to the project.

In the parking and traffic work group, participants most often reported beginning the process with a lack of trust towards other participants, but not a high level of active distrust. Over time, those same participants reported gaining an increased level of trust towards other participants. The City of Corvallis was the most trusted entity, with the university being the subject of much skepticism, most often due to a lack of transparency regarding how the university made decisions, a lack of transparency around the university's long-term strategic planning and development, and a minority-held belief that the university was not really invested in the livability of the city prior to the project.

Individuals involved in city-university relations claimed there was only sporadic communication between the two organizations, suggesting that they most often saw communication occur on a case-by-case basis, not a systematic or planned basis. Participants also reported a lack of understanding of how the other major organization operated, with community members reporting that the city was far more transparent than OSU and thus deserving of a higher level of trust.

(8) Has the Collaboration Corvallis project undertaken any efforts to build trust and/or social capital among stakeholders? At the Steering Committee level, participants generally reported a moderate level of trust towards other participants. Participants did not report high levels of antagonism or distrust. At both the SC and PT levels, there were no efforts made to consciously and intentionally build trust that were separate from efforts to orient participants and achieve 'quick wins' to build momentum. It should be noted that both efforts had the secondary effect

of building trust according to participants; it should also be noted that participants almost

unanimously agreed that they believed that additional trust building was not necessary for the

success of the project. Participant A is representative of the group here:

> "I'm somebody who doesn't want to spend time getting to know somebody, I
> just want to dive into the work and I'll figure it out as I go. I think I did the intros
> and why we're here type of deal. I probably spent 20 or 30 minutes on it. But did
> I go in depth? Certainly not."

Institutional Design
The 16-member Collaboration Corvallis Steering Committee contains representatives from the

City of Corvallis, including City Councilors and the City Manager. OSU representatives include

the university President, head lobbyist, VP for Finance and Administration, and VP for Public

Relations and University Advancement. Students from the student government and Greek

system also sit on the Steering Committee. The surrounding county has one representative, as

does the rental community. Finally, there is representation from the low-income housing

community. Interviewed Steering Committee members thought that the committee had

representation from all major stakeholders; some participants even reported the belief that 16

people was too many, though no participant suggested another Steering Committee member

should be dropped or that there was an interest represented that shouldn't have been.

10-member parking and traffic work group contains four members from OSU, including the

chair; one representative from the local community college; one business and property owner,

and two representatives from neighborhood associations near the university. Generally,

participants were happy with the makeup of the group, with the exception of a perceived lack

of participants with relevant technical expertise, i.e. planners or parking or transportation engineers. Participant A reported, "…I have a lot of OSU people, a lot of community people, and no [Public Works] people. I mean, what the hell? I just do not understand it." It is important to note that there was strong disagreement about the necessity of including individuals with technical backgrounds.

(9) What efforts were made to identify and include relevant stakeholders? The leadership of the OSU and City of Corvallis delegations to the CCP selected individuals to serve on the Steering Committee and work groups. With assistance from staff, volunteers were solicited using public meetings, word of mouth and an online application system. This was paired with names generated by project staff, and leadership from both organizations made final decisions. When asked about the thought process used to select individuals, participants in leadership positions clearly stated they sought to include individuals with dissenting views, on the grounds that the project would be more likely to be successful with them participating than not:

> "You can either have people at the table helping you come up with a constructive solution that's acceptable to them, or you can have them on the outside throwing rocks and causing trouble. Beyond the legitimacy consideration, from a PR perspective, it goes back to what I said before in answer to your question about why did not city and OSU staff sit around a table and figure this out on their own. You need to have those other perspectives to fully form a viable solution." – Participant C

(10) Are there stakeholders who should be included in the process who are not? Leaders in the CCP report there was a conscious effort to bring all major stakeholders to the table as part of the collaborative governance effort, and that they believe their efforts were successful. Though non-leader participants agreed that all major stakeholders were present, they also reported

potentially missing groups at the parking and traffic work group level: Senior citizens, City staff, additional students, underrepresented communities, and business community members, though there was some opinion that the City representatives were representative of business interests. A minority of those interviewed also suggested that OSU was over-represented in the CCP, even though OSU participants, especially at the work group level, represented different interests within the university.

Participants reported that failing to include major stakeholders would have endangered the success of the CCP; as well, participants who were not involved with the City of Corvallis or OSU reported that they felt the CCP was a chance to influence policy in a more direct way than was otherwise available to them.

(11) Is consensus generally sought at the work group level, the Steering Committee level, both, or neither? (12) Is consensus generally achieved at any level? While both the Steering Committee and work groups formally use Robert's Rules of Order (RRO) to make decisions regarding which policy recommendations to forward, only the Steering Committee use exclusively RRO in practice. Parking and traffic participants all report that they seek to achieve consensus in practice, and that consensus on recommendations is common, though formal votes are still taken. In cases where consensus is not achieved, or where deadlines for reporting to the Steering Committee are in play, the work group reverts to RRO. As well, the work group, despite being responsible to the Steering Committee to submit and get approved a

formal work plan, has the ability to revise its work plan, including modifying both the agenda and timeline.

(13) What ground rules are used by the Corvallis Collaboration project? The CCP differs from many other collaborative governance efforts in one key way: it does not have any direct policymaking or decision-making authority whatsoever. The project is set up in relation to existing processes used by the City and university – the Steering Committee tasks the work groups with a set of issues to address, and the work groups report back to the Steering Committee with work plans and later policy recommendations. Those recommendations that are approved by the Steering Committee are then passed on either to the City's regular process, which ends up at the City Council, or to OSU for adoption within OSU's regular workflow, which usually leads to decisions made at the level of the President's Cabinet. Participant H offered a unique reason why they do not see the lack of direct decision-making authority as a problem:

> "I don't see that as a problem. And the reason I don't is because we're not city employees and they're bureaucracies and I don't mean that in a derogatory way. Bureaucracies are how things get done, in the private sector side or not. They're all processes for getting things done. And they understand the ins and outs of code changes and administrative rules versus recommendations and suggestions a lot differently than I do. And I think that's important."

(14) Do participants have a clear understanding of the ground rules? Participants reported varying views on the formal role of the SC; some described it as a 'traffic cop' whose role it was to act as a veto point for recommendations that Steering Committee members knew would be difficult or impossible for their organizations to enact. Others were not sure of the formal role, and a small minority did not think the Steering Committee served a valuable purpose at all.

Multiple participants from both the parking and traffic work group and the Steering Committee itself expressed a belief that the Steering Committee did not vet recommendations in depth, but individuals in a position of leadership reported that was not how they viewed the role of the SC. Some work group members reported an initial belief that Steering Committee approval meant that policy recommendations were to be enacted, but later discovered the recommendations still needed approved by either OSU or the City, or both.   This finding may be important insofar as a lack of clarity about the process may limit participants' trust in the process, thus limiting legitimacy. However, all project participants believed the process was a legitimate effort. A minority of participants noted they approached the project skeptically and that they still saw opportunities for the project to turn into a sham, but that as of the interviews, they were convinced that project participants took it seriously.

Collaborative Process
Early in the process, participants met for orientation sessions that also allowed them to share their motivations for participating in the project, but no other effort was made to explicitly engender trust. This research was conducted over a year into work group meetings, and participants in the parking and traffic work group generally reported that trust of other participants grew over the course of the year the group was together. However, participants also reported that they did not see a need for more explicit or intensive trust building. One participant stated, of their experience with the parking and traffic working group, that despite coming in with some suspicion of the motivations and agendas of others: *"That's the end result, that's the critical element of any working group, that there's a respectful relationship and*

opportunity to weigh in and express your opinions without being verbally bashed for it. I think honesty and respect are part of that," according to Participant H.

At the Steering Committee level, however, participants did not feel a need to spend a lot of time building trust with other participants. Participants cited the clarity and nature of their charge as the cause, but it is also possible this is due to the makeup of the participants. For both the SC and Parking and Traffic work group, there is some indication the clear ground rules and charges of both the work group and steering committee decreased the need for trust among participants, since there was a well-defined common goal from the outset. More than one Steering Committee member expressed a slight distrust at student participation, suggesting the students were unable to really participate due to the time commitment or the idea that students wouldn't be able to really understand why they should participate in the CCP.

Because Oregon State University is a state organization, participants reported that it does not generally pay property taxes. As well, the university reports to the Oregon Board of Higher Education, not the City in which it resides. Therefore, the City is generally unable to exert much direct control over the university. Similarly, the university has little direct authority over anything the city does, although the way OSU constructs new buildings and caps – or does not cap – enrollment have strong impacts on the community as a whole.

(15) To what degree do project participants share problem definitions? Interviewed participants unanimously gave extremely similar or even identical responses when asked about the goals of the Collaboration Corvallis project or the reason the project exists. They reported

that the project was initiated as a response to a perceived decrease in livability in Corvallis that was itself due to rapid student growth at OSU. They were able to specifically cite parking, traffic, parties, noise, trash, and the replacement of standard single-family homes with single-purpose duplexes and townhouses. Participant D described the project as follows:

> "At the crux of your question, [it] is about, I think, trying to find a civilized, orderly way so that stakeholders are able to be heard and to contribute to this public discourse, but find a way to make things better that preserves our livability but also acknowledges economic drivers like growth of the university."

(19) To what degree have project participants taken ownership of the Corvallis Collaborative project process? (16) To what degree do project participants have a shared set of potential solutions? Participants on the parking and traffic work group understood their role as being responsible for coming up with policy recommendations that would address the parking and traffic aspects of the overall problem. Participants on the Steering Committee had a wider understanding of their role, but they mostly saw themselves as 'traffic cops' who were there to make sure the proposals put forth by the work groups were viable. They also saw themselves being responsible for helping build links between the two major participating organizations and the community.

Participants' views differed when asked who was responsible for the problems the Collaboration Corvallis project was attempting to solve. Participants related to OSU were not inclined to suggest the university was at fault, or that it could have addressed the problems on its own, whereas non-OSU participants were much more likely to suggest OSU was ultimately at fault and thus significantly more responsible for solving the problems identified by the

collaboration than any other organization. Specifically, participants made the connection between rapid student growth as a choice that OSU could make and the problems associated with it as things for which OSU was responsible.

(17) To what degree do project participants share a vision for the collaboration? (18) To what degree is the presence or absence of a shared vision important? Participants did not necessarily agree on ideal outcomes, though this was less noticeable at the Steering Committee level, as participants spoke in more general terms. At the parking and traffic work group level, disagreements about specifics were common. Participants even disagreed about the necessary level of detail for policy recommendations, though it is worth noting that participants were clear in saying they thought such disagreements ought not get in the way of successfully passing a recommendation on to the Steering Committee.

Though it was not discussed by all participants, some believed that settling on a common goal and common problem identification was due in no small part to the work of the Scoping and Steering Committees, prior to the formation of work groups. Broad agendas that contained timelines and issues to be addressed were formulated beforehand and given to work groups, though work groups were able to modify the agendas with Steering Committee approval and demonstrable cause. Participants in major leadership positions also indicated that a clear plan for how the project would unfold was essential to their willingness to expend resources on the project.

Parking and traffic work group participants, when asked about the agenda, uniformly

responded that it was the correct agenda, and that they would not add or subtract any major

agenda items, even if they differed on the relevance or importance of smaller items.

Outcomes
(20) Are there intermediate outcomes the project has achieved, and if so, what are the types of

outcomes that have been achieved? It is important to acknowledge that the CCP is far from

complete. For the most part, recommendations put forth by the Steering Committee are, as of

the time of the interviews, yet to pass through either the City or OSU processes. However,

outcomes are relevant in certain ways. I find results related to the timing and form of early

outcomes, as well as results related to participant relationships.

Participants in leadership positions within the CCP were clear in stating that achieving 'quick

wins' or 'low-hanging fruit' was a conscious priority of theirs in the early weeks of the project,

and that building momentum and trust both among project participants and the general public

were considerations; the PT recommendation to increase OSU's funding to the Corvallis Transit

System is one example. PT participants generally agreed that getting some recommendations

out the door quickly was a good idea and helped cement their belief that the CCP was a

legitimate effort on the part of the City and OSU, though it is also worth noting that the PR

aspect was intentional:

> "It's just human nature you identify a problem you want to find a solution that's
> most immediate within certain constraints. And yeah, the whole quick wins,
> low-hanging fruit, whatever you want to call it, yeah, that was - those things
> were more PR exercise. They also made sense, thankfully." – Participant C

It is not clear if the process – having the Steering Committee make non-binding recommendations that are forwarded to the City and OSU – has made it more or less difficult to approve recommendations. As of June 2013, the Steering Committee had approved roughly 50 recommendations, the dispensation of which is unknown to work group participants and most Steering Committee participants. However, participants in leadership positions were able to confirm that as far as they knew, all recommendations were being considered by either the City or OSU and none had been rejected.

(21) If there are intermediate outcomes, have those outcomes resulted in positive relationship building among stakeholders? Conley and Moote (2003) consider an increase in problem-solving capacity to be one mark of a successful collaborative effort. Some, though not all, participants reported a belief that the community as a whole was better equipped to handle problems related to rapid student growth even after only half of the allotted time of the Collaboration Corvallis project had passed, suggesting that there are communications channels that have been created and strengthened that wouldn't have otherwise existed. Only one participant suggested that spending any time working on building relationships explicitly would have improved outcomes; the rest believed that it wouldn't have made any difference. Participants involved in the City or OSU mostly reported that their working relationship with the 'other' organization had been significantly strengthened by the existence of the project, and were optimistic that the improved relationship would continue going forward, with the almost universally held caveat that leaders from both organizations needed to set the tone. Participants not directly involved with the city or university's leadership suggested that the Collaboration Corvallis project had resulted in an increased ability for the community to weigh

in and impact future development decisions by having city staff more amenable to listening to community members, and that this was a good thing.

Within the Parking and Traffic work group, Participant H reflected on how the work group operated:

> *"Everybody's interested in the process and I think there's a good, general collaborative relationship in the work group. People are respectful of other opinions and those kinds of things, and that's important. That's the end result, that's the critical element of any working group, that there's a respectful relationship and opportunity to weigh in and express your opinions without being verbally bashed for it. I think honesty and respect are part of that. I owe that - I think I owe that to one, the people who were chosen and two, I all understand this is a public process. There's public visibility there, and I have an obligation to do good for the public."*

Despite the overall positive way in which work group members described the experience of collaborating with other stakeholders, there was little indication that at the work group level, relationship-building was a priority or that relationships formed during the work group's time together were likely to last after the project had ended. The timeline of the project is such that few of the recommendations passed by the project had been enacted by the time of this research. However, participants, especially those in leadership positions, reported that they perceived the 'temperature to have dropped significantly' with regard to previously expressed community discontent. They cited a public effort to work on the relevant issues – i.e. the project – as the primary reason for the cooling off.

From the parking and traffic perspective, questions of measuring outcomes were met with a wide variety of responses. Some participants suggested OSU could easily measure their

internal outcomes with regard to parking, but did not know the corollary for the city-related

proposals. Who was responsible, if anyone, for monitoring evaluating the overall success of the

proposals, presuming they passed, was an open question – some participants wanted the work

group to do it, but others believed it was beyond their mandate. There was consensus,

however, that it needed to be done but that it could be difficult and/or expensive to do. At the

time of the interviews, no metrics had been agreed upon, but there was a general sense that

figuring out how to monitor enacted policy changes was a priority. There was a strong

consensus that the project in some form would continue to work on the identified issues if the

proposed recommendations were found to be ineffective.

Participants claimed that while the project had consciously sought to achieve balance in terms

of who benefitted the most and who paid the most to enact recommendations, the city's

residents in the study area were in line to benefit the most, and OSU was in line to pay the

most. Only a small minority of individuals believed the city residents would face significantly

increased costs, and even they suggested that it was a trade-off for increased livability.

Emerging Themes
There are two areas where participant responses were substantive and relevant that emerged

inductively during the coding and analysis process. First, literature strongly supports the claim

that facilitative leadership can be essential to the success of collaborative governance projects,

due to the ability, especially of leaders that arise organically, to forge consensus among

stakeholders. Leadership can develop from within or come from a neutral third party, such as a

mediator (Ansell & Gash 2007). In the parking and traffic work group, respondents indicated

the chair showed a significant amount of positive leadership in terms of bringing the group back

to the agenda and helping to move the conversation forward by seeking common ground

among participants. Participants also suggested that the project manager had done the same

but to a lesser degree, generally filling in when the chair was absent. No participants reported

a need for 'weaker' participants to have a strong leader to help their voice be heard; rather,

they suggested that participants' lack of speaking was due to their own choices, not the

environment.

Though Ansell and Gash (2007) suggest that having a leader arise organically from among

project participants often helps with the success of a collaborative effort, participants generally

reported that having the work group chair, who was chosen by the Steering Committee, be a

part of the Steering Committee and have a leadership role within a local organization was a

positive move.

> "To me personally, it's not mattered…I really hadn't thought about that - I
> thought about that initially, and I just assumed that because the Steering
> Committee is selected by the Mayor and the President that this is a little more a
> top-down than bottom-up approach, which I'm OK with. I don't have any
> problem with that. I think it's a more efficient way of doing things. And I think I
> need somebody who has the skills to facilitate meetings." – Participant A

However, a minority of participants reported the chair had blurred the roles of facilitative

leadership and representing their organization in a way they felt was inappropriate, up to and

including the perception that certain proposals were arbitrarily vetoed without full

consideration and others were considered that should not have been.

At the level of the Steering Committee, participants reported a strong belief that the leadership of committee co-chairs was essential to the existence and survival of the Corvallis Collaboration project. Leadership was not defined necessarily as making decisions or even speaking often, but instead being willing to put energy into the process and make commitments on behalf of the stakeholders' respective organizations – to show the public and other stakeholders that their participation was in earnest. Compared to the work group level, the project manager had much less of a facilitative leadership role at the steering committee level.

The second theme that emerged during the coding and analysis process is public relations. Part of the reason for the Collaboration project's existence is communicating the work being done by the City of Corvallis, Oregon State University and other stakeholder organizations to the public, and creating additional opportunities for the public to communicate with representatives from the two organizations. Participant C again: "I think the community could have a better understanding of what some of the direct or indirect benefits of OSU being in Corvallis actually are and whether or not that would change their perspective on whether a certain, paying for a certain solution was acceptable."

Individuals from both the parking and traffic work group and the Steering Committee claimed frequently that the Collaboration Corvallis project 'is a bit of a PR exercise' and then went on to note that communicating what the City and OSU were doing to combat a perceived decrease in livability was an explicit, public goal. Participants with a long history in Corvallis reported a strong belief that significant public participation, and thus public relations, was a necessary

precondition of success for the project both because public input was needed to understand the problem and to avoid the problem of backlash once solutions were announced, thus framing the PR aspect as a necessary and positive move.
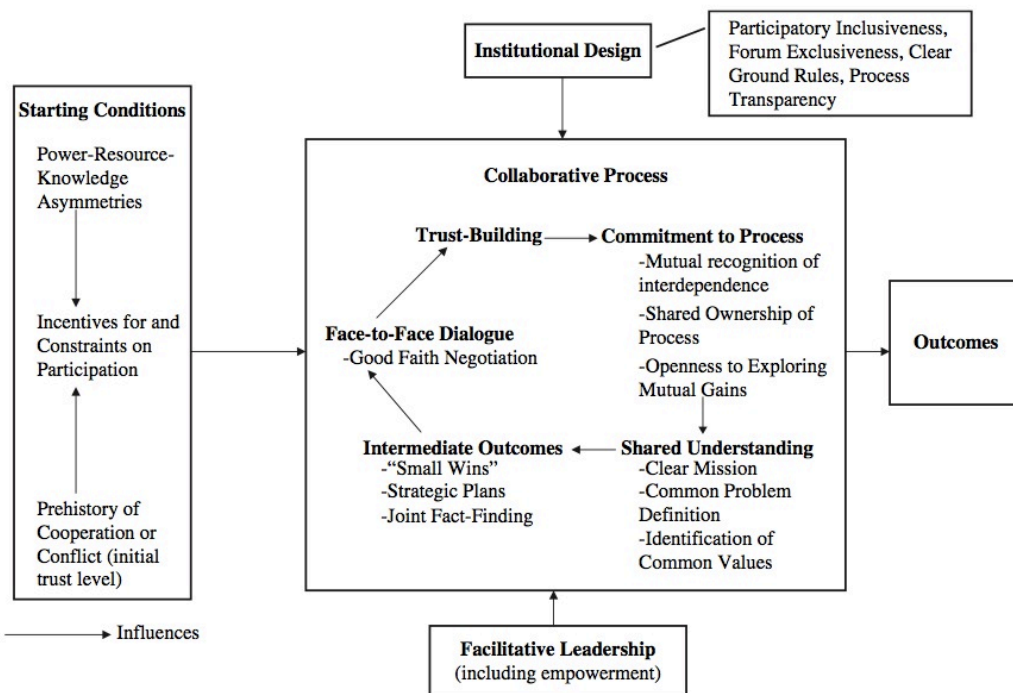
On the following page I have placed a table summarizing how well the Corvallis Collaboration project tracks with the Ansell and Gash model.

Research Sub-Question	Model Element Present?
Starting Conditions	
(1) Are there power, resource or knowledge imbalances between stakeholders in the Corvallis Collaboration project?	Yes
(2) If so, do such imbalances prevent meaningful stakeholder participation in some way?	No
(3) If imbalances are preventing meaningful participation, is there a strategy for empowerment and representation of weaker or disadvantaged stakeholders?	No, because the answer to (2) is negative
Institutional Design	
(4) Do stakeholders believe there is an alternative venue that will allow them to meet their goals?	No
(5) Do stakeholders self-identify as interdependent?	Yes, though they struggled to identify how
(6) How has the project addressed the question of forum exclusiveness with other relevant agencies and institutions?	No – they did not seek it at all
(7) Is the initial set of relationships among stakeholders one of trust or distrust, and can it be characterized as weak or strong?	Weak trust
(8) Has the Collaboration Corvallis project undertaken any efforts to build trust and/or social capital among stakeholders?	No, but trust has developed anyway
(9) What efforts were made to identify and include relevant stakeholders?	Public calls and brainstormed lists
(10) Are there stakeholders who should be included in the process who are not?	No major; some minor
(11) Is consensus generally sought at the work group level, the Steering Committee level, both, or neither?	Yes work group, no steering committee
(12) Is consensus generally achieved at any level?	Yes work group
(13) What ground rules are used by the Corvallis Collaboration project?	RRO, consensus in practice
(14) Do participants have a clear understanding of the ground rules?	Yes, but not of rec. disposition
Collaborative Process	
(15) To what degree do project participants share problem definitions?	Strongly shared
(16) To what degree do project participants have a shared set of potential solutions?	Moderately shared
(17) To what degree do project participants share a vision for the collaboration?	Strongly shared, but some skeptical of potential
(18) To what degree is the presence or absence of a shared vision important?	Shared vision was agreed not to be important
(19) To what degree have project participants taken ownership of the Corvallis Collaborative project process?	Minimal - OSU & City are perceived owners
Outcomes	
(20) Are there intermediate outcomes the project has achieved, and if so, what are the types of outcomes that have been achieved?	Yes - 50 recommendations, increased social capital
(21) If there are intermediate outcomes, have those outcomes resulted in positive relationship building among stakeholders?	Yes

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The primary research question relies on the Ansell and Gash (2007) model for collaborative

governance efforts:

Figure 1
A Model of Collaborative Governance

	Institutional Design — Participatory Inclusiveness, Forum Exclusiveness, Clear Ground Rules, Process Transparency

Starting Conditions

Power-Resource-Knowledge Asymmetries

Incentives for and Constraints on Participation

Prehistory of Cooperation or Conflict (initial trust level)

⟶ Influences

Collaborative Process

Trust-Building ⟶ **Commitment to Process**
-Mutual recognition of interdependence
-Shared Ownership of Process
-Openness to Exploring Mutual Gains

Face-to-Face Dialogue
-Good Faith Negotiation

Intermediate Outcomes ⟵ **Shared Understanding**
-"Small Wins"
-Strategic Plans
-Joint Fact-Finding
-Clear Mission
-Common Problem Definition
-Identification of Common Values

Outcomes

Facilitative Leadership
(including empowerment)

I began by asking if the elements of the model – which are used here as proxies for conditions

of success – were present in the Collaboration Corvallis project, and what the possible

implications would be given the degree of presence or absence of those elements. I also added

research sub-questions about those and the collaborative process elements in order to allow

theory to more closely direct data collection. During the course of the interviews, I gained

relevant data about all of the model elements, and so have included them in the results, and thus the discussion where appropriate.

The first, and I believe most important, result that I derived from interviews of project participants is that the majority of the model elements I sought to identify were found to be present in the project, and where the project deviates from model, there is generally a logical reason for it, though that does not preclude the deviation from negatively impacting the project in some way. The second main finding is that participants have an overall positive view of the project. They believe it is a good-faith effort on the part of all parties, and they are optimistic about the chances of success, especially when compared to past efforts, even as some participants have adopted a 'trust but verify' attitude.

The Collaboration Corvallis project fulfilled many of Ansell and Gash's quasi-normative requirements for a collaborative effort: First, though there is a power imbalance that isn't being directly addressed by the project, participants believed such an imbalance was unlikely to be a barrier to participation or reduce the chances of success, if success is defined as the Steering Committee passing recommendations.

Second, though the forum is not exclusive, the broader question of how the collaboration effort's authority and decisions relate to alternative venues was answered to the satisfaction of the project's participants, who believe that incorporating the traditional decision-making processes and bodies used by the City of Corvallis and OSU were necessary for the project to

stand a chance of success, and that the traditional decision-making bodies are unlikely to veto proposals without a good reason for fear of the backlash.

Third, trust between the two primary organizations, OSU and the City of Corvallis, was high going into the project, and though it may have been lower among other stakeholders, enough trust-building has happened along the way to make success possible. As well, the clarity of roles and ground rules has strongly contributed to overcoming any prior distrust or antagonism and creating buy-in from project participants. However, participants were careful to note they were unsure whether people outside the project but in positions to veto policy recommendations, like the Corvallis City Council, had any kind of buy-in or whether that would be a barrier. The lack of knowledge of this aspect of the process on the part of the individuals I interviewed may be viewed as problematic; however, one could also argue that it is not the role of most of the stakeholders to see that recommendations pass through other organizations – their responsibility was defined as ending at recommendations passing the Steering Committee.

Fourth and finally, participants, especially those in leadership positions in their respective organizations, seemed to have realized there was a need to increase the level of collaboration on an ongoing basis in order to effectively address the problems facing the Corvallis community. While almost all of the interviewed participants believed the specific structure of the collaboration might change, there was near-unanimous consent that the increased level of collaboration would continue as long as leadership from the city and OSU made it a priority.

However, this overall perception of success occurs in the context of some structural constraints. Namely, I cannot look past the fact that the Corvallis Collaboration project does not have any direct decision-making authority. While this certainly makes it easier to pass recommendations, it is one place in which the case study varies tremendously from the Ansell and Gash (2007) model. That said, it is both also the case that the Ansell and Gash (2007) model relies heavily on collaborative governance projects in an environmental context and that lacking direct decision-making authority may be more typical of university-community partnerships, for better or worse. Participants unanimously agreed that the project was predicated on the two major organizations and engaged Corvallis citizens being interdependent, but could not identify the basis of the interdependence beyond the political will of people in positions of power in the two organizations – basically, that the project would hold together as long as the leadership of the city and the leadership of the university were invested in it doing so. A few interviewees suggested that public shaming would be effective if one party were to leave the project, but there was no credible evidence offered to suggest this would be effective.

I also found that participants did not feel the need for significant trust-building efforts, even though they adopted a 'trust but verify' attitude, because the project's goals and ground rules, as well as limitations, were extremely clear. Participants knew their roles, and for the most part knew the general roles of other participants, i.e. Parking and Traffic Work Group members knew more or less what the formal role of the Steering Committee was, and were happy with that. The presence of an 'honest broker' in the project manager also helped convince participants at the work group level that the work group process itself was fair; having the

Steering Committee not torpedo recommendations went a long way towards convincing work group members that that part of the process was also fair.

When asked what success for the project would look like, participants generally reported that success meant passing recommendations and/or an increase in Corvallis' livability as the result of enacted recommendations. However, I find that it is worth asking about the consequences of the structural constraints under which the project exists. Lacking decision-making authority and being so heavily reliant on participation from the city and especially the university have, in my view, shaped the project's agenda and scope of possible recommendations – even before the work groups began their work. So while it is fair to say I believe the project as enacted is likely to be successful when 'success' is defined as meeting the goals, especially the process goals, set out by the Scoping Committee, I also wonder what could have been if the sponsoring organizations had put more effort into creating an exclusive forum with genuine decision-making authority. That this would have required them to divest themselves of ultimate veto power is, I think, telling, and tells me something about the extent to which this project's 'collaboration' genuinely includes Corvallis citizens.

With regard to the town-gown literature, I see this research as providing something of a unique contribution in the sense that little of the existing literature draws so heavily on a strong collaborative governance model. I know that this type of project has happened and is happening at many places around the country, and the literature on it seems to mostly come from practitioners, with a focus more on the specifics of individual cases than starting to create

a town-gown (as opposed to mostly environmental) model of collaborative governance. And while there is literature on university-community partnerships that discusses necessary elements for success, the models are underdeveloped when compared to the rigorously developed Ansell and Gash (2007) model. Further, many case studies are focused on the trinity of economic development, business incubation, and social / public health work and tend to focus on documenting their success or failure after the fact without delving quite so deeply into the guts of the project to see what makes it tick. There is little published work done on collaborative responses to student growth; the placement of large universities in urban settings may have contributed to this, as a few thousand more students doesn't make a dent in a large metropolitan area. Neither is there much published work wherein university staff are the primary representatives (instead of faculty and staff) (Bringle & Hatcher 2002; O'Mara 2012; Weerts & Sandmann 2008; White 2010).   I hope this research sheds some light on a process that will likely continue to happen around the country in various forms as long as there are universities with upwards of 20,000 students. I further hope I have added a little bit more to the voluminous literature on collaborative governance and that future research can further sharpen the theory.

The Collaboration Corvallis project has been successful at laying the groundwork for future productive collaborative efforts while developing policy recommendations to address a complex, multi-faceted set of problems related to community growth and livability, though there remain questions about the level of commitment to the process shown by the major sponsoring organizations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aggestam, M., & Keenan, J. (2007). "Contraversations" Constructing Conflicts Lessons From a Town-Gown Controversy. *Business & Society*, *46*(4), 429-456.

Andranovich, Greg. 1995. Achieving consensus in public decision making: Applying interest based problem-solving to the challenges of intergovernmental collaboration. Journal of Applied Behavioral Research 31:429–45.

Ansell, C., & Gash, A. (2007). Collaborative governance in theory and practice. *Journal of public administration research and theory*, *18*(4), 543-571.

Beierle, Thomas C. 2000. The quality of stakeholder-based decisions: Lessons from the case study record. Discussion Paper 00-56, Resources for the Future.

Bernard, H. R. (2011). *Research methods in anthropology*. New York, NY: Rowman Altamira.

Booher, David E., and Judith Innes. 2002. Network power in collaborative planning. Journal of Planning Education and Research 21:221–36.

Breznitz, S. M., & Feldman, M. P. (2012). The engaged university. *The Journal of Technology Transfer*, *37*(2), 139-157.

Bringle, R. G., & Hatcher, J. A. (2002). Campus–community partnerships: The terms of engagement. *Journal of Social Issues*, *58*(3), 503-516.

Brown, J., & Geoghegan, J. (2009) Bringing the campus to the community: an examination of the Clark University partnership after ten years. In P. Zhu & R.W. Bostic (Eds.) *Understanding Large Land Holders on the Urban Fringe: A Supply-Side Perspective.* Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Chrislip, David, and Carl E. Larson. 1994. Collaborative leadership: How citizens and civic leaders can make a difference. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Conley, Alexander, and Margaret A. Moote. 2003. Evaluating collaborative natural resource management. Society and Natural Resources 16:371–86.

Connick, Sarah, and Judith Innes. 2003. Outcomes of collaborative water policy making: Applying complexity thinking to evaluation. Journal of Environmental Planning and Management 46:177–97.

Donahue, J. D. (2004). *On collaborative governance*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard.

Edelenbos, Jurian. 2005. Institutional implications of interactive governance: Insights from Dutch practice. Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions 18:111–34.

Emerson, K., Nabatchi, T., & Balogh, S. (2012). An integrative framework for collaborative governance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *22*(1), 1-29.

Freeman, Jody. 1997. Collaborative governance in the administrative state. UCLA Law Review 45:1.

Fung, Archon, and Erik Olin Wright. 2001. Deepening democracy: Innovations in empowered participatory governance. Politics & Society 29:5–41.

Gebhardt, Thomas, Kimberly Kaphingst, and William De Jong. 2000. A campus-community coalition to control alcohol-related problems off campus. Journal of American College Health 48:211–15.

Given, L.M. (Ed.). (2008). *Qualitative Research Methods* (Vol. 2). *Thousand Oaks, CA. Sage.*

Huxham, Chris. 2003. Theorizing collaboration practice. Public Management Review 5:401–23.

Huxham, Chris, and Siv Vangen. 2000. Leadership in the shaping and implementation of collaboration agendas: How things happen in a (not quite) joined-up world. Academy of Management Journal 43:1159–75.

Innes, Judith, and David E. Booher. 1999a. Consensus building and complex adaptive systems. Journal of the American Planning Association 65:412–23.

Martin, L. L., Smith, H., & Phillips, W. (2005). Bridging 'Town & Gown' through innovative university-community partnerships. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, *10*(2), 1-16.

LeGates, R. T., & Robinson, G. (1998). Institutionalizing university-community partnerships. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *17*(4), 312-322.

Mayfield, L. (2001). Town and gown in America: Some historical and institutional issues of the engaged university. *Education for Health Change in Learning & Practice*, *14*(2), 231-240.

O'Mara, M. P. (2012). Beyond town and gown: university economic engagement and the legacy of the urban crisis. *The Journal of Technology Transfer*, *37*(2), 234-250.

Perry, D. C., & Wiewel, W. (Eds.). (2005). *The university as urban developer: Case studies and analysis*. New York: ME Sharpe.

Putnam, Linda L. 2004. Transformations and critical moments in negotiations. Negotiations Journal

20:275–95. Putnam, Linda L., Guy Burgess, and Rebecca Royer. 2003. We can't go on like this: Frame changes in intractable conflicts. Environmental Practice 5: 247–55.

Rogers, E., & Weber, E. P. (2010). Thinking harder about outcomes for collaborative governance arrangements. *The American Review of Public Administration*, *40*(5), 546-567.

Schedler, Petra, and Folke Glastra. 2001. Communicating policy in late modern society: On the boundaries of interactive policy making. Policy & Politics 29:337–49.

Seedco. 2002. *Opening the Door: Technology and the Development of University-Community Partnerships.* New York, NY.

Stoker, Gerry. 1998. Governance as theory: Five propositions. International Social Science Journal 50:17–28.

Susskind, Lawrence, and Jeffrey Cruikshank. 1987. Breaking the impasse: Consensual approaches to resolving public disputes. New York: Basic Books.

Vidal, A., Nye, N., Walker, C., Manjarrez, C., Romanik, C., Corvington, P., & Kim, D. (2002). Lessons from the community outreach partnership center program. *US Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington DC*.

Warner, Jeroen F. 2006. More sustainable participation? Multi-stakeholder platforms for integrated catchment management. Water Resources Development 22 (1): 15–35.

Weerts, D. J., & Sandmann, L. R. (2008). Building a two-way street: Challenges and opportunities for community engagement at research universities. *The Review of Higher Education*, *32*(1), 73-106.

White, B. P. (2010). Power, privilege, and the public: The dynamics of community-university collaboration. *New Directions for Higher Education,2010*(152), 67-74.

Wiewel, W., & Knaap, G. J. (Eds.). (2005). *Partnerships for smart growth: university-community collaboration for better public places*. New York: ME Sharpe.

Yaffee, Steven L., and Julia Wondolleck. 2003. Collaborative ecosystem planning processes in the United States: Evolution and challenges. Environments 31 (2): 59–72.

APPENDIX A: LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Conducting robust quantitative work on a collaborative effort with only ~50 overall participants presents a challenge. Future quantitative, as opposed to qualitative, work would likely require a survey of all project participants as well as non-participating community members, and the standardization of questions that goes along with it, and even then may struggle to achieve statistical significance. Due to time and resource constraints, members from only one of the three work groups were interviewed. Though this does limit the generalizability of the results to some extent, it is mitigated by participant observation, document review, the fact that members of the Steering Committee were interviewed, and the overall project structure.

When I conducted the research, the project was roughly halfway through a three-year planned cycle, and though project participants knew already the project would likely last beyond the initial cycle, insufficient time had passed to allow me to examine outcomes in terms of fully passed recommendations or world-state changes. Future work that is able to utilize outcomes in analyzing the Collaboration Corvallis project may yield new insights. Finally, the Ansell and Gash (2007) model, while reasonably complete in its coverage of the collaborative process falls a bit short in looking at different types of outcomes (Rogers & Weber 2010). While some might claim it also falls short in constructing a comprehensive set of conditional statements upon which to base research, I agree with Ansell and Gash (2007) that collaborative governance is a complex enough process that creating a comprehensive set of conditionals is as likely to leave key elements out as it is to be comprehensive.

However, I can say that to the extent that I were proofing or testing a theoretical model, I found that the model generally stands up well. This is not terribly surprising, given that their model is broad enough to cover most examples of collaborative governance. The one exception is an insufficient focus on outcomes. Rogers and Weber (2010) are already aware of this limitation of existing collaborative governance theory. I hope that this research adds one additional data point to future work that attempts to synthesize the diverse field of collaborative governance literature and create grounded theory.

Limiting the interviewees to project participants, however, does reveal some limitations. The most obvious relates to stakeholders – the ability to effectively identify stakeholders who are not part of the process is clearly limited by the knowledge of project participants have about non-participating individuals, groups and interests. Second, the sample population's sharing of the key characteristic of participating in the project may lead to a bias about the project or process that is unidentifiable given the current method. Even given that, however, I am confident that major stakeholders can be effectively identified.

The question of participant bias or participant fallibility, leads to a larger criticism of any methodology that relies heavily on interviews. Conley and Moote (2003) note that relying on inherently subjective data such as participant observations and interpretations can weaken the validity of the data. I share their concern, as indicated above by the method of selecting interviewees: getting the widest cross-section helps. Nevertheless, this methodology has the same limitations of any methodology heavily reliant on participants' perceptions, though it is

worth noting that the project is large and complex enough it is unlikely there are many people outside the Corvallis Collaboration project who have spent enough time studying the project to have achieved the same level of understanding of the relevant issues or the project's work as project participants.

Our methodology contains several limitations. First, the model to which I am comparing the case study contains some elements that are best informed by longitudinal data. Things like changes in social capital that rise and fall over time can be hard to accurately measure with a single set of interviews if the goal is evaluating the entire collaborative process. However, I do not believe this to be a serious problem for the following reasons: First, I am utilizing almost the entire model, and much of it doesn't require longitudinal data. Second, as mentioned, I am using a broad cross-section of the sample population. And third – and perhaps most relevant – the initial research question accounts for the fact that the process is ongoing, so I do not need to make definitive claims about longitudinal changes in the first place.

A second limitation – or perhaps direction for future research on this project - is simply the small sample size. While interviewing a larger percentage of the target population would have been desirable, it was practically impossible. The same goes for interviewing a significant number of non-participants; while the perspective is valuable, it was outside the possible scope of this research effort.

A third small limitation is related to the way in which the data were coded. While an inductive model would have certainly generated different themes than the ones I found, because the research question is predicated on an existing model, themes outside the model would have a different and possibly reduced utility. However, I did find during the coding process that there were some themes not accounted for by the model, and they were added to the coding and subsequent results and discussion.

A fourth limitation is the lack of scholarly work on similar cases to which this project can be compared. Many town-gown collaborations are broader, more permanent, and structured in significantly different ways, which strongly limits the direct comparison (Martin 2005). Similarly, much of the collaborative governance literature, especially the theoretical literature, is focused on environmental issues, especially those around natural resource use and rights (Ansell & Gash 2007). So while this is a limitation on the one hand, the lack of similar work also serves to highlight the potential usefulness of this research in helping develop a 'collaborative governance and town-gown issues' literature, especially as increased student population growth impacts livability in more and more communities around the world.

Finally, it is worth noting strongly that I am conducting research on a collaborative governance effort that has not run its course. While there is no reason to think the findings of this research would change were the research to be conducted after the project finishes, there is always that possibility.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Starting Conditions

How did you end up involved in the Collaboration Corvallis project?

Why are you/your organization participating?

What sort of experiences are you bringing to the project? What experiences are you seeing others bring to the project?

What resources are you/is your organization able to contribute?

Is there anyone or any organization that you can think of that's contributing a lot to the process in terms of time, resources or expertise? What about a little? Why do you think that's the case?

What do you/your organization hope to achieve through participation in the project?

What counts as success or failure from the point of view of you/your organization?

How do you know when success or failure has been achieved?

Do you think other folks have the same definitions of success and failure?

What will you/your organization do if the process doesn't work?

Have you worked with any of the other organizations or individuals involved before? How did that go?

Are there any organizations or interests represented that are new to you? What's it like to work with them?

Are there particular organizations or individuals that you came into this process really trusting or really not trusting? You don't need to name names, but I'm curious as to why there is a presence or absence of trust.

Collaborative Process & Institutional Design

I want to switch gears a bit and talk about the process itself. Can you generally describe to me how it works?

What are the various roles people are playing? What kind of authority does that give them?

How are decisions made?

Do you get the sense people are pretty committed to the process? Do they see it as something that's working or likely to work?

Are there parts that could be improved?

Is it working better for some people or groups than others?

Are there folks than generally participate more heavily than others? If so, why do you think that is?

Are there people or groups who could be involved that aren't? Why do you think they're not participating?

Do you think that you understand the other participants/organizations better as a result of this process?

During the collaboration, do you feel that you've been able to get to know other participants better?

If yes, how has that happened? Has it been a natural part of the process, or has there been time set aside for participants to help understand each other?

Has the opportunity to get to know other participants or understand where they're coming from been useful?

Do you think the other participants are working in good faith? More than you did when you started?

Results/Content/Outcomes

At this point I'd like to ask you a few questions about the work being done by the project.

How would you define the problems that the Collaboration Corvallis project is trying to solve?

How have those definitions changed since you started participating in the project?

The project has been around for more than a year now. What are some of the things, if any, that you've seen the project address in that time?

What do you think of how the project has addressed those things? Will the solutions be effective?

How did you decide which issues to address first?

Without naming names, is there one group or interest whose agenda has been advanced more than anyone else's by which problem have been addressed first?

Can you describe what else you think can be effectively addressed by the Collaboration Corvallis project? How has that changed over time as you've participated in the project?

If the process doesn't work, what do you think will happen with respect to the issues the Collaboration Corvallis project is trying to address? Is there another way the problems can be addressed?

If there is another way, why wasn't that way tried first?

Transparency

Do you feel like the public is generally pretty aware of what the project is doing?

Do you feel like you know what's going on with the other parts of the project? Does that matter?

Closing

We've talked about the history, the process, the sort of stuff you're working on, and what might happen in the future. Thinking about all of those things, is there anything else you would like me to know about the Collaboration Corvallis project?

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

APPENDIX C: CODES

Coding followed the Ansell and Gash (2007) model primarily, with outcome codes developed from Conley and Moote (2003) and others developed inductively. I should also note that NVivo allows for tiered codes, and I made use of them. Where parentheses follow a code, it indicates that I used the abbreviation in the parentheses to indicate the code.

Code	Description
Steering Committee (SC)	Anything from a SC member; Umbrella code
Parking and Traffic work group (PT)	Anything from a PT member; Umbrella code
Starting Conditions	Umbrella code
Power-Resource-Knowledge Asymmetries	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Prehistory of Cooperation or Conflict	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Incentives Constraints Participation	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Institutional Design	Umbrella code
Forum Exclusiveness	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Ground Rules	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Transparency	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Participatory Inclusiveness	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Collaborative Process	Umbrella code
Face to Face Dialogue	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Trust-Building	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Commitment to Process	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Shared Understanding	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Intermediate Outcomes	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Outcomes	Umbrella code
Written Agreement	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
World-State Changes	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Relationships	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Facilitative Leadership	From Ansell & Gash (2007) model
Agenda	Inductively generated
Public Relations	Inductively generated
Accountability	Inductively generated
Decision-Making Authority	Inductively generated