Society & Natural Resources

An International Journal

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/usnr20

Negotiating Authority in Facilitation Practice – A Conceptual Framework to Describe Facilitators' Use of Power in Collaborative Governance

Martin Westin & Emily Montgomerie

To cite this article: Martin Westin & Emily Montgomerie (2024) Negotiating Authority in Facilitation Practice – A Conceptual Framework to Describe Facilitators' Use of Power in Collaborative Governance, Society & Natural Resources, 37:12, 1635-1654, DOI: 10.1080/08941920.2024.2394943

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2024.2394943

© 2024 The Author(s). Published with license by Taylor & Francis Group, LLC.

Published online: 27 Aug 2024.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 482

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=usnr20

SOCIETY & NATURAL RESOURCES
2024, VOL. 37, NO. 12, 1635–1654
https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2024.2394943

Negotiating Authority in Facilitation Practice – A Conceptual Framework to Describe Facilitators' Use of Power in Collaborative Governance

Martin Westin and Emily Montgomerie

Department of Urban and Rural Development, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala, Sweden

ABSTRACT
The purpose of this paper is to develop a conceptual framework to describe facilitators' use of power in facilitation practice. Facilitators are mainly, in theory as well as in practice, described as neutral power sharers. This reductive understanding of the role of facilitators is problematic as it hides the influence that these practitioners have over the process and outcome of collaborative governance. Analyzing two Swedish collaborative governance processes, we develop a framework that sheds light on facilitators' use of power. The framework includes three alternative power moves that facilitators can make: sequencing, framing and concluding. Facilitators' attempts to make these moves are, in the framework, located on a continuum between authority and argumentation in the following positions: authority, tempered authority, tempered argumentation and argumentation. This paper contributes to the facilitation and collaborative governance literatures by providing a conceptual framework applicable for further research into facilitators' use of power, as well as for developing facilitation handbooks and training programmes.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 15 June 2023
Accepted 26 July 2024

KEYWORDS
Argumentation; authority; collaborative governance; facilitation; natural resource management; power

Introduction

When the NGO representative said "what the heck is this? Numbers that I don't recognize are showing up!" the facilitator hesitated. Her plan for this multi-stakeholder meeting had been to present and discuss a new way of measuring the status of a predator population. This was far from just a technical discussion, as the choice of method would have an impact on the power relations between conservation and hunting organizations. Should the facilitator attempt to move on in the presentation or should she open up for discussion with the participants? How could she act so that the group would accept her authority to lead the discussion?

Collaborative governance brings together actors across boundaries of organizations, interests and worldviews in order to handle sustainability challenges. Facilitators are

CONTACT Martin Westin martin.westin@slu.se Department of Urban and Rural Development. Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, P.O. Box 7012, SE-750 07 Uppsala, Sweden.
The research reported upon in this paper was conducted in accordance with ethical guidelines issued by Swedish research councils.
© 2024 The Author(s). Published with license by Taylor & Francis Group, LLC.
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

commissioned to enable communication between collaborative governance actors. These practitioners work in the public sector, academia or consultancies. Their task is to structure communication between actors with divergent interests and worldviews. As such, they can influence the communicative process and the material outcome of collaborative governance. As evident in the vignette, the manner in which facilitators structure communication matters to power relations between the organizations involved in a collaborative governance episode and might also influence power relations in the larger system of governance (Bherer, Gauthier, and Simard 2017; Forester 1999; Reed 2008).

Facilitators, along with all governance practitioners, can act in positions of authority. "They can influence, or even direct, the thoughts and actions of other(s) in ways that the other actor(s) consent to without asking for arguments" (Westin, Hallgren, and Montgomerie 2023, 2058, see also Förster et al. (2017); Haugaard (2018); Weber for definitions of authority). Even so, in the facilitation literature facilitators are—with some exceptions (Heron 1999; Moore 2012; Westin, Hallgren, and Montgomerie 2023)—mainly treated as neutral power sharers (e.g., Brisbois and de Loë 2016; Förster, Downsborough, and Chomba 2017; Innes and Booher 2018). This reductive understanding of facilitators is problematic as it might mislead facilitators' training programs and handbooks, as well as hide the influence that this growing group of practitioners has over collaborative governance.

In this paper, we approach facilitators' use of power as social events that entail, tacit or explicit, justification and reason-giving, with the aim of convincing participants in collaborative governance that certain ways of structuring communication are justifiable. In general terms, we define power as the capacity of A to influence B so that B thinks and acts in ways that they would not have done without the interference by A (Dahl 2007; Forst 2015). Following Haugaard (2018a) and Forst (2015), we distinguish between "is- "and "ought-questions" about power, ie. we differentiate between empirical analysis and normative appraisal. Our interest is not to establish criteria for when facilitators' use of power is legitimate, but to describe what is going on in the relations between facilitators and participants in terms of power and authority.

The purpose of this paper is to develop a conceptual framework to describe facilitators' use of power in facilitation practice. The conceptual framework is intended to be useful both for further theorizing and for practical application in facilitators' handbooks and training programs. We analyze power as performed in relations between facilitators and participants (Haugaard 2018a; Mik-Meyer and Haugaard 2019). The analysis is informed by Hannah Arendt's (2006) distinction between authority and argumentation, and Mark Warren's (1996) conception of deliberative authority and previous work on authority in facilitation practice (Westin, Hallgren, and Montgomerie 2023; Mäntysalo, Westin, and Mattila 2023). In pursuit of our purpose, we ask *in what ways do facilitators use their power to influence collaborative governance processes?*

We observe and analyze the communication between actors in two Swedish collaborative governance processes within the management of large carnivores and forestry. These two processes are typical examples of contemporary collaborative governance practices: they bring together actors across differences in interest and worldviews, with the intention of handling collective governance challenges through facilitated communication. Hence, studying these processes provides ample opportunities for us to conduct

in-depth analysis of how interactions between collaborative governance actors and facilitators unfold under ordinary circumstances (see studies on characteristics and definitions of collaborative governance, Ansell and Gash 2008; Emerson and Nabatchi 2015; Roos et al. 2022).

Collaborative Governance, Facilitators and Authority

Previous Work on Collaborative Governance, Power and Authority

Collaborative governance is a form of governing that is intended to enhance the quality and quantity of communication between societal actors in handling collective challenges. As such, collaborative governance brings together stakeholders across sectors and professions. Collaborative forms of governing have become increasingly important for dealing with sustainability challenges (Ansell and Gash 2008; Boschet and Rambonilaza, 2018; Brown et al., 2016). In literature and in practice, collaborative governance is most often seen as a horizontal, argumentative and consensus-oriented way of governing (Koebele et al. 2024). In this paper, we apply a broad definition of collaborative governance as signifying the public policy decision making and management that involves actors "across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private, and civic spheres to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished" (Emerson and Nabatchi 2015, 18).

Recently, scholars have paid attention to the workings of power in collaborative governance (Morrison et al. 2019; Ran and Qi 2018; Morrison et al. 2019). The increased interest in power is due to a realization that constraining power relations often stand in the way of realizing the benefits of collaborative governance. The structural power of business and government is frequently used by powerful actors to block the potential for learning and transformation in collaborative governance. Scholars have conceptualized counter actions from those who organize collaborative processes in terms of agency, capacity and legitimacy (Healey 2012; Innes and Booher 2018). Other scholars have taken the step to also develop more comprehensive frameworks to shed light on power relations in collaborative governance. For example: Purdy (2012), has developed a framework for assessing power that considers authority, resources, and discursive legitimacy as sources of power; Morrison et al. (2019), show how various types of power shape rule setting, issue construction, and policy implementation; Ran and Qi (2018), propose a framework "on power assymmetry" in order to analyze the relationship between power sharing and the effectiveness of collaborative governance; and Brisbois, Morris and de Loe (2019) integrate theory on power within the institutional analysis and design (IAD) framework in order to examine hidden power and non-decision making in collaborative governance. Even so, power dynamics in collaborative governance are "difficult to observe, tough to define, slippery to measure, tricky to generalize about, and challenging to manage" (Morrison et al. 2019, 2) and much of the workings of power in collaborative processes remain to be explained (Kashwan 2016). In this paper, we add to the recent work on power in collaborative governance by developing a framework for describing the, until now under-researched, use of power by facilitators when they structure communication between collaborative governance actors.

On Facilitators and Authority

The mainstreaming of collaborative governance has resulted in increased demand for facilitators of communication. These practitioners design, facilitate and evaluate collaborative processes with the aim of developing trust and mutual understanding between actors with divergent worldviews (Bherer, Gauthier, and Simard 2017; Forester 1999; Westin et al. 2021). Facilitators work in the public sector and civil society as well as in academia, and in consultancies. Although these practitioners share similarities, facilitators face different kinds of tensions in power relations depending on their organizational belonging. Public sector facilitators can, at best, function as legitimate representatives of elected bodies, but they might also be critizised for being biased and partial since they serve a government with a political orientation that might not be accepted by all (Wondolleck and Yaffee 2000; Mayer 2011). In contrast, facilitators who work as consultants might potentially be perceived as non-partial, but they instead run the risk of being accused of acting as a hidden power without a democratic mandate, i.e. acting in the interest of a consultancy firm, or its clients, whose activities might be less transparent than that of a public agency (Scott and Carter 2019; Marciano 2022; Bell and Scott 2020). Academics who facilitate transdisciplinary forms of governing such as living labs and test beds, must instead navigate a tension between being reflective scholars and being political actors in power-laden practices (Hakkarainen and Hyysalo 2016).

Facilitators go by many names in the governance literature, including *deliberative practitioner* (Forester 1999), *public participation professional* (Bherer, Gauthier, and Simard 2017), *deliberative bureaucrat* (Puustinen et al. 2017), *cross-sector strategist* (Svensson, 2017) or *dialogue expert* (Westin et al. 2021). In this paper, we use the term facilitator broadly, to cover the heterogeneous group of practitioners who structure communication by designing, facilitating and evaluating collaborative governance processes.

In the facilitation literature, scholars discuss and categorize the actions and influence of facilitators, but—with a few exceptions (Heron 1999; Westin, Hallgren, and Montgomerie 2023)—rarely in terms of power and authority. Chilvers (2013, 288–289) has classified activities that facilitators do. He identifies four areas of work: (1) orchestrating, which includes commissioning, sponsoring, and guiding participatorion; (2) practicing, which includes designing, facilitating, reporting on participatory processes; (3) coordinating, which includes networking, capacity building, and professionalizing; and (4) researching, which includes theorizing, evaluating, and reflecting. Bherer et al. (2017, 18–19) discuss the duties of "public participation professionals." These facilitators stage the participatory arrangements by: "producing […] informational materials, stakeholder outreach and process marketing, selection of process methods, design of the topical scope and coverage, recruitment of participants and small group facilitators, overall facilitation and 'master of ceremonies' duties, event logistics, ongoing communication with participants, and evaluation of process efficacy."

Scholars have also paid attention to the tasks that facilitators perform. Quick and Sandfort (2014, 317–318) identify the following duties: selecting the processes best suited for the task at hand; establishing and upholding ground rules and group norms; supporting inclusive participation and managing potential problems of exclusion, power,

and associated conflict; supporting the group to work toward its objectives, e.g. focusing on relevant topics and managing time. More (2012, 152–155) conceptualizes facilitation as related to "conducting deliberation" and argues that "Facilitators generate internal constraints on discourse." Stromer-Galley (2007, 13) identifies the tasks of, what they call a "moderator," as including: prompting comments from silent participants; articulating positions and reflecting these back for affirmation; asking speakers to sum up or clarify messages; summarizing the discussion; clarifying who agrees or disagrees with a particular position; limiting excessive contributions; directing the discussion back to the given topic if necessary; intervening if conflicts arise between participants. Reed (2008, 2425) identifies that facilitators maintain positive group dynamics, handle dominating or offensive participants, encourage participants to question taken-for-granted assumptions and re-assess entrenched positions, and help reticent individuals to participate. Blue and Dale (2016) maintain that the facilitator frames the selection of deliberative approaches, the viewpoints that are admitted into the procedure, the alternatives that are defined, as well as the solutions that are ultimately proposed.

In view of our intention to describe facilitators' work in terms of power, we will in this paper introduce the term *power move* to signify what in the facilitation literature so far, as discussed above, has been described in terms of activities and tasks. Power moves are actions that facilitators take to structure communication in collaborative governance (see sections "Method" and "Findings: analyzing Two Collaborative Governance Processes").

As evident from this review of the literature, facilitators can exercise authority over the communicative process in collaborative governance. Even if they are given instructions by their commissioners, and can thus be limited in what decisions they can make when they design, facilitate and evaluate, they also have space for discretion. They can impact the process, as well as the outcome of governing (Bherer, Gauthier, and Simard 2017; Forester 1999; Westin et al. 2021). A few contributions to the collaborative governance literature show how authority has both negative and positive potential when it comes to realizing the promises of horizontal forms of governing. Purdy (2012, 410) distinguishes between "the 'power over' perspective [that] frames authority as a trump card that dictates which participant ultimately gets to decide an issue" and "[t]he 'power to' perspective [that] suggests that authority is vital to the success of collaboration […]." Prokopy et al. (2014) and Thomas (2002) draw attention to how authoritative regulatory interventions by governments might motivate stakeholders to seek collaborative solutions as an alternative. Mudliar and Koontz (2021) show that power does not always operate in the service of injustices, since domination and empowerment might occur concurrently.

Nevertheless, in the more specific literature about facilitation, direct use of authoritative power in interactions between stakeholders is mainly treated as a problem. The main task of facilitators is, in the literature as well as in handbooks, to even out power asymmetries between governance actors (e.g., Forester 1999; Innes and Booher 2018; Reed and Abernethy 2018). This emphasis on the negative aspects of hierarchical power is understandable given the tendency among powerful actors to misuse their power. Even so, the negative connotations that power and authority have in discussions about facilitation is a distraction from the fact that facilitators need to use authoritative power themselves to perform their task of structuring communication. Even if

facilitators' use of authoritative power can sometimes certainly be deemed as illegitimate, it is confusing to exclude the possibility that facilitators' power use also holds the potential of being legitimate, or at least acceptable, for those subject to it (Heron, 1993; Westin, Hallgren, and Montgomerie 2023).

Reconsidering the Relation between Authority and Argumentation

In this paper, we shed new light on facilitators by describing their actions in terms of power, authority and argumentation. We define power, in the tradition of Robert Dahl (2007), as social relations where actor A motivates actor B to think or do something that B would otherwise not have thought or done (see also, Forst 2015). To be a subject of power is, "to be moved by reasons that others have given me and that motivate me to think or act in a certain way intended by the reason-giver" (Forst 2015, 112). We use the concept of authority to signify a specific form of power: power wielded with the consent of those subject to it (Weber 1978; Haugaard 2018). The main theoretical move we make is to reconsider how authority and argumentation are related.

In collaborative governance there is a strong emphasis on open communication in the form of *argumentation*: a mutual exchange between actors concerning preferences, values and interests (e.g., Ansell and Gash 2008). In the literature on facilitation, scholars often contrast argumentation to authority, seeing the former as desirable and the latter as undesirable (Maia, Laranjeira, and Mundim, Reed and Abernethy 2018). In the spirit of Hannah Arendt (2006, 91) authority is then seen as the opposite of argumentation:

> *Against the egalitarian order of persuasion stands the authoritarian order, which is always hierarchical. If authority is to be defined at all, then, it must be in contradistinction to both coercion by force and persuasion through arguments.*

In Arendt's conception, authority is based on deeply held beliefs by those subject to the authority. In her view, these beliefs are not easily accessible to open communication and argumentation. According to Arendt, those who perform in positions that are considered by members of society as charged with authority, do not need to argue for their positions and explain their actions through rational discourse. It is this conception that leads to the mistaken idea, in the facilitation literature, that we must do away with authority altogether, as its character is irreconcilable with the argumentative spirit of collaborative governance. Even if authority á la Arendt is the opposite to argumentation, we cannot do away with the concept: authority is needed in facilitation practice as a means to structure communication, to reduce power asymmetries and to solve conflicts over meaning or objectives.

To reconsider the relationship between authority and argumentation we employ Mark Warren's (1996) work on authority. Warren builds on Arendt's conception of authority as power use without reason-giving, but does not see authority as solely legitimized by unreflected beliefs among those subject to it. On the contrary, according to Warren (Ibid) a democratic authority is conditioned by the possibility for its subjects to, through open argumentation, call into question the decisions made in authority. Hence, if an authority, when questioned, is unable to provide arguments that are

accepted by those subject to that authority, their long-term standing as authority is weakened, and vice versa. Thus, according to Warren (Ibid., 56), in modern democracies authority is not distinct from argumentation ("deliberation" in Warren's conception), but linked as "ongoing critical challenge is essential to maintaining an authority as an authority." This conception of the links between authority and argumentation is arguably fruitful for understanding authority in facilitation practice, as it can reconcile the tension between authority and argumentation, the "argumentation is good; authority is bad" perception, that confuses handbooks as well as theories of facilitation.

In line with the reasoning above, we employ a relational view of authority (Bartesaghi 2009; Haugaard 2018a). As explained above, Warren (1996) usefully shows that authority must be accepted by those subject to it. A relational view of authority helps understanding of *how* this is done in facilitation practice: authority is socially negotiated through interactions between facilitators and participants. Through the relational perspective, we see collaborative governance as social processes where authority takes shape through interactions between actors who perform in roles such as politician, citizen, planner, facilitator and expert. We consider these roles as authority positions in social systems (Haugaard 2018a; Mik-Meyer and Haugaard 2019). On a general level, attempts to act in positions of authority can be accepted or rejected by those under that authority. If subjects perceive that an actor is performing their role correctly, acts of authority can be accepted and vice versa. Whether an attempt to act in a position of authority is considered as successful by other actors depends on the explicit argumentation for actions, as well as on the extent to which the authority performance corresponds with subjects' deeply held beliefs about the sources and scope of authority for the specific position (see, Haugaard 2018; Arendt 2006).

In Table 1, we sum up the reasoning in this section by defining the key concepts.

Method

We observed and analyzed two Swedish collaborative governance processes: one concerning the management of large carnivores and one on the environmental impact of forestry. The characteristics of the two processes are summarized in Table 2.

In the large carnivore process, a governmental agency invited interest organizations to provide inputs to, and comment on, a policy document that was under development. In the forestry process, another governmental agency invited participants who represented nature protection and industry, with the purpose of developing a policy document together. In total, four facilitators were observed: three of these were employed at the governmental agency that initiated the process in question, and one (in the large

Table 1. Definitions of key concepts.

Concept	Definition
Facilitation	The practice of structuring communication between actors in collaborative governance.
Facilitator	A practitioner tasked with structuring communication between actors in collaborative governance.
Authority	When facilitators in collaborative governance influence, or even direct, the thoughts and actions of other(s) in ways that the other actor(s) consent to without asking for arguments.
Argumentation	Communication that, in an open and comprehensive manner, clarifies differences in perspectives in order to reach a shared understanding of how collaborative governance ought to be facilitated.
Power moves	Actions that facilitators take to structure communication in collaborative governance.

Table 2. Overview of cases.

Topic	Initiated by	Facilitated by	Observed meetings	Type of process	Goal of participation
Forestry	Governmental agency	Representative of governmental agency	8	Co-creation (joint decision-making)	Co-write policy document
Large carnivores	Governmental agency	Representative of governmental agency and consultant	7	Consultation (final decision-making made by governmental agency)	Provide input to policy document (co-writing certain parts)

carnivore case) was a consultant. Two facilitators were male, and two were female. All four had experience in facilitating collaborative processes, albeit to various degrees. In the examples that we use to illustrate our findings (section "Findings: analyzing Two Collaborative Governance Processes"), we have chosen not to describe the characteristics of the facilitator in question (although gender becomes clear from pronouns), to avoid identification of study participants.

The empirical material, gathered during 2021-2022, consisted of recordings of 15 meetings in total (7 in the forestry case, 8 in the large carnivore case). In both cases, one or two researchers attended, observed and recorded the meetings from the second meeting of the process, that is, the first meeting of each process took place without the researchers being present. The meetings lasted between 1-5 hours, with 2-15 participants, several of whom already knew each other and the facilitator(s). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, all meetings took place digitally (on Skype). The two processes are typical examples of contemporary collaborative governance processes and therefore provide opportunities for us to do the in-depth analysis of interactions between facilitators and other actors under the ordinary circumstances that our purpose requires (see studies on characteristics and definitions of collaborative governance, Ansell and Gash 2008; Emerson and Nabatchi 2015; Roos et al. 2022).

A consent form was sent out to all participants before the meetings took place. This included a description of the project, of the purpose of observing the meetings, and of how and within which limits the data would be used, as well as contact details of the researchers. If one or more participant(s) did not consent to having researchers present at the meeting, the researchers did not attend that meeting. At the first meeting that the researcher attended, information about the project and data management was also provided verbally, with space for the participants to ask questions about the study and how data would be managed.

One or two researchers participated in each meeting, listening and observing but without participating in discussions. Data collection through direct observation allows us to study what happens in interaction, when it happens. Since the observations were made during genuine governance processes, it was particularly important to be aware of the possibility of the researchers affecting the processes through their presence. This risk was thus discussed with facilitators and participants before gaining access to the meetings. The meetings were recorded (video and audio) and transcribed verbatim.

We conducted an abductive analysis (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2013), moving back and forth between the empirical material and literature on authority (Arendt 2006;

Haugaard 2018a; Mik-Meyer and Haugaard 2019; Warren 1996). For consistency, the second author made the initial coding of all transcripts, identifying instances where facilitators could be said to perform in authority. All excerpts identified by the second author were then discussed with the first author, until a code for type of power move, and for the position (or movement between positions) on a continuum between authority and argumentation, was agreed upon.

Since we view authority as a relational phenomena, we focused on interactions in sequences of communication in the selected process. To identify the sequences where the facilitator performs in authority, we made an in-depth analysis of four out of the 15 observed meetings (the first two meetings of the large carnivore and forestry process respectively). We chose the first meetings because we expected that the social mechanism related to authority would be activated early on in the collaborative process as group dynamics were being formed. We carefully read through the four transcripts, noting all instances where the facilitator performed in authority. Based on these excerpts, and the facilitation literature (Bherer, Gauthier, and Simard 2017; Chilvers 2013; Moore 2017; Reed 2008; Stromer-Galley 2007), we identified 16 categories of power moves. Further analysis of these categories showed that many were overlapping and difficult to distinguish from each other. Thus, these were, through further abductive analysis, reduced to three types: sequencing conversation, framing of topic, and concluding. The excerpts were also analyzed based on the idea of a continuum between authority and argumentation (Westin, Hallgren, and Montgomerie 2023), which led us to initially specify and define six positions on the continuum, from 'very strong authority' to 'very strong argumentation'. We then looked at the examples again, asking ourselves: *how does the facilitator move on the continuum between authority and argumentation during this sequence, and how can this be described*? We realized that there were overlaps and difficulties in distinguishing the six positions on the continuum and therefore decided to reduce the categories to four positions. The definition of the positions was informed by the empirical material as well as by the theoretical understandings of authority and facilitation that we gradually developed by engaging with the literatures (see section "Collaborative Governance, Facilitators and Authority").

The remaining 11 transcripts were then analyzed, looking for examples of the three types of power moves, as well as for additional power moves that might not have been picked up in the in-depth analysis of the first four meetings. However, no such additional moves were identified. Our review of the remaining transcripts also confirmed that the explanatory value of the framework increased when the initial 16 categories were merged into three types of power moves, as this reduction of complexity enabled focused analysis. The examples from all 15 transcripts were analyzed in depth, based on the power moves, with the question *what type of power move is this and how can it be characterized*? We used this analysis to define and describe the different types of power moves, and to validate their usefulness in identifying instances where facilitators perform in authority.

In section "Findings: analyzing Two Collaborative Governance Processes," we present examples to illustrate in detail how the facilitators altered between authority and argumentation, thereby defining the four positions on the continuum. We focus on the acts of the facilitator, but since we have a relational view on authority (Haugaard 2018), the responses of other participants are included in the analysis. The facilitator's

attempts to perform in authority can either be accepted or rejected by other participants (see section "Reconsidering the Relation between Authority and Argumentation"), and the facilitator may alter their way of performing as a response to the participants' reactions. Therefore, we pay attention to how the facilitators interacted with participants over an episode of communication, rather than focusing merely on the facilitators' actions.

Findings: analyzing Two Collaborative Governance Processes

We present the findings by first describing the concepts that we have developed through the analysis (section "Power Moves, Authority and Argumentation"), and then illustrating how these concepts are useful for describing facilitators' use of power through four examples of episodes of communication (section "Four Examples"). In section "A Conceptual Framework for Describing Facilitators' Use of Power," we will draw together these concepts into a framework for describing facilitators' use of power.

Power Moves, Authority and Argumentation

Through the previous studies discussed in section "Collaborative Governance, Facilitators and Authority" and the analysis of the two collaborative governance processes, we have identified three power moves that facilitators can make when structuring communication: sequencing, framing and concluding (Table 3).

We conceptualize facilitators' use of power on a continuum between authority and argumentation (Westin, Hallgren, and Montgomerie 2023). On the left side of the continuum, facilitators facilitate through authority: they influence the thoughts and actions of other(s) in ways that the other actor(s) consent to. On the right side of the continuum, facilitators facilitate through argumentation: they engage in open and comprehensive communication with participants, clarifying differences in order to reach a shared understanding of how to structure communication in collaborative governance (Figure 1).

When a facilitator attempts to make a power move to structure communication (sequencing, framing and concluding), the approach they take when they make the move can be positioned on the continuum as displayed above. To enable understanding

Table 3. Three power moves.

Power move	Definition
Sequencing	The facilitator attempts to influence or direct the order of speakers, the order of topics or the order of interactions.
Framing	The facilitator attempts to influence or direct the topic of communication.
Concluding	The facilitator attempts to influence or direct how and when a sequence of communication ends.

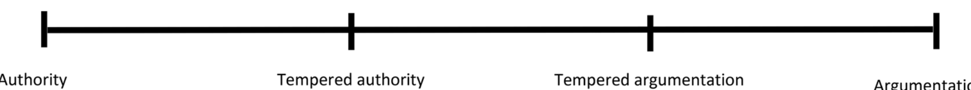

Figure 1. The continuum of authority and argumentation.

of how facilitators and participants negotiate authority, the framework includes distinct positions on the continuum, as well as movements between positions as facilitators adjust their actions depending on the responses they get from participants. In the position *authority,* the facilitator makes a power move and assumes that participants will accept without asking for any justification of the move. In this position, the facilitator does not draw attention to the fact that they have made a power move and hence does not imply that argumentation could be possible. In the position *tempered authority,* the facilitator makes a power move and draws attention to the move that they have made and thereby implies that it might be possible to argue for different moves/options for structuring communication. Even so, when the facilitator takes the position of tempered authority they do not open up for argumentation explicitly. This is instead what happens in the position *tempered argumentation*: the facilitator makes a power move and invites the participants into argumentation about the usefulness of the move. Finally, in the position *argumentation*, the facilitator indicates in advance that they are about to make a power move and invites the participant to enter into argumentation on the pros and cons of alternative moves/options for structuring communication.

In the following section "Four Examples," we show the explanatory value of the framework through four examples. These examples display how the framework can capture the interactions, between facilitators and participants, through which authority is negotiated. The framework describes these interactions as movements back and forth between the positions at the continuum of authority and argumentation. Hence, the framework is capable of describing how facilitators adjust their actions depending on the responses from participants to their attempts to make power moves. Thereby, the framework highlight how facilitators' authority is dependent on how well they can interpret and fulfill the expectations that participants have on their performance as facilitators.

Four Examples

Example 1: from tempered authority to tempered argumentation. In this first example, we analyze a sequence that begins with a couple of participants debating when to count and assess wolf populations. Even though this topic is not included in the meeting agenda, the facilitator listens to the discussion for a few minutes, before making the power move to sequence the communication by referring the debate to another forum.

> F: I think we drop that question and then you can call each other later and continue the conversation.

The facilitator is using her authority to *sequence* the conversation: she attempts to influence who gets to speak and when. She makes this power move by interrupting the participants, asking them to close the discussion. Applying our framework we can see how the facilitator makes this power move through *tempered authority*. The facilitator interrupts the two participants, and suggests a new course of events, giving no reason as to why she suggests this, and without asking for the other participants' opinion as to whether this is the best way to structure the communication. This is a

move made in authority. However, by starting the sentence with “I think,” she implies that there are alternative courses of action, even though she does not explicitly open up for argumentation. In this way the facilitator’s authority is tempered, since she implies that argumentation is possible. One of the participants replies.

> P: Yes, yes, we will get back to this in a letter.

Here, the participant makes an adjusted suggestion: he agrees to drop the discussion in the meeting, but instead of (or possibly, in addition to) calling the other participant, the suggestion is to continue the communication in a letter.

> F: Yes exactly. That is good, and it is good that you have an idea about what statement you want to make in this, so that it is made clear for us as well, like, how you are thinking and that you may be as precise as possible about that when you write the letter.

In this statement, we interpret that the facilitator again makes the power move of sequencing the conversation, this time making the move through tempered argumentation. She provides a response to the participant’s opening of an argumentation, albeit a brief one, and accepts the adjusted suggestion from the participant (that they send a letter). She also adds her own argument for how the letter should be written, and expresses an interest in understanding “how you are thinking,” which is a request for arguments, about the particular topic. However, she still refers the discussion to another forum, and does not, for example, ask the participants whether this issue should indeed be a topic for discussion in the current meeting. It is these characteristics which lead us to position it as a power move made through tempered argumentation.

The participants, neither of whom makes another statement, tacitly accept the facilitator’s suggestions. Thereafter the sequence comes to an end when another participant raises a different topic, which the group turn to discuss. We interpret this as a sign that the facilitator has returned to a position of authority. Her power move to sequence communication has been accepted by the participants, without them asking for further arguments or reasons. Thereby, the facilitator has successfully influenced the process of collaboration by determining when this topic is to be discussed.

Example 2: from argumentation to authority. Our second example is also about a facilitator who makes the power move to sequence communication. In this example, the facilitator does not merely sequence communication during a meeting, but during a longer process consisting of multiple meetings.

The facilitator opens a discussion about the meeting design.

> F: And then we have time for, I thought, some reflection about the format of the meetings […] in all three meetings we have had so far, we’ve had group discussions and split up in small groups. And that was the question then, for [the next meeting]. Should we do it in a similar way, or do we imagine a different meeting design? […] What do you think about that?

This is an example of argumentation. The facilitator asks an open question (“what do you think”) about how to sequence the conversation, or how to structure the upcoming meeting. The facilitator himself then suggests two different options, thereby to some extent influencing which possible solutions the other participants are likely to come up with, but there is still an opening for participants to bring up other

suggestions. In this case, there has been no previous discussion on meeting design in the conversation thus far; however, even if the solutions were to build on previous suggestions from other participants, the act of highlighting particular solutions can also be considered part of a power move. Arguments for and against the suggested options are made by the facilitator, and this can be understood as an invitation to the other participants to enter into argumentation on how to make the power move to sequence communication.

After a couple of clarifying questions from a few participants, one of the participants continues the argumentation, arguing for smaller group meetings, but also reflecting back the question about sequencing to the facilitator, asking him which meeting design he thinks is the best for the process as a whole, and for the outcome of the process. This is an interesting turn, since it can be seen both as a part of the argumentation—asking further questions and highlighting what is perceived to be most important for this participant—but it could also be seen as a request for the facilitator to perform authority. The facilitator, however, does not take an authoritative stance, but reflects the question back once again to the participants, staying in argumentative facilitation.

> F: Yes, then we should turn the question to the whole, to the working groups, because it's not just [the other facilitator] and me. It's the entire, everyone who has been part of the working groups has been involved too. So you're welcome to comment, [what] do you think, those of you who have been part of the working groups so far?

A couple of participants accept the facilitator's invitation, and give their views on the best meeting format. The facilitator then, after opening up again for more comments, makes the power move to conclude the discussion. He states how the input on the meeting designs will be treated from now on in the process.

> F: Yes but that's good. Any more thoughts on that? Mm, otherwise we'll take that, take that with us when planning the upcoming meetings, then we'll think about this [refers back to the suggestions from participants].

With this statement, the facilitator moves into a position of authority. Without giving reasons, he says "we will take that with us" (back to his organization) and make the decision later. He gives no reason for why the final decision should be made later, and not then and there together with the group, but assumes that his power move (to conclude) will be accepted by the meeting participants. What happens next is that the participants confirm the facilitator's authority by accepting this suggestion, and the communication is concluded. In this manner, the facilitator has influenced the collaborative process by taking charge over the decision about the format for communication. He does this first by argumentation (asking for input from other participants) and then by moving to authority (assuming that the participants will accept that he makes the final decision).

Example 3: from tempered authority to authority. In this example, the facilitator attempts to make the power move of framing the topic. It is the first meeting in a series, where several actors meet to discuss large carnivores. The facilitator opens by explaining the purpose of the meeting series: to get multiple perspectives and input on a policy document for large carnivores. She then opens a discussion about predator-related conflicts.

F: So this is a copy of this conflict pyramid from this article that I sent to you. And I would like to hear a bit, because I think that within this work with the management plan, we would like to focus a bit on that. When we had the wildlife conference for example last year, and in other forums, other dialogue meetings it keeps reappearing, that we should focus on the conflict.

The facilitator has thus framed the topic of the meeting: predators should be discussed in terms of social conflicts. This power move structures the communication by including this particular framing of large carnivore management in the conversation and excluding other possible framings of the topic. The agenda has not been discussed with the participants before the meeting, and it is possible to imagine that participants may have other ideas about relevant issues to discuss. The facilitator makes this power move through tempered authority. It is a move in authority since she does not open up for argumentation about whether this is the most useful framing of the topic. Even so, the move is one of *tempered* authority since the facilitator provides an argument for why she wishes to make this framing: "it keeps reappearing, that we should focus on the conflict." She also implies to the group that she has made a power move ("we would like to focus a bit on that"), and thus indicates that there are other possible ways to frame the topic.

Thereafter she explains the conflict model that she wants to be the basis for the discussion. Then the facilitator enters into a position of authority, seemingly assuming that the participants will follow this course of action and that no explanation or acknowledgement of other options than the conflict framing is necessary. She asks one participant to start the discussion and thereby makes another power move: she sequences the conversation.

F: Let's start with you [P1], you have read the article. What's your thoughts on it all? What do you take with you?

P1 accepts this act of authority without asking for further arguments for this particular way of sequencing and answers the question by explaining his understanding of the article about the conflict model. The one-hour long meeting then proceeds with participants adhering to the facilitator's conflict framing. Hence, the facilitator is in authority and the participants have accepted her power moves of sequencing and framing. By making these power moves, and getting them accepted, the facilitator has exercised considerable influence over the process of communication.

Example 4: failing to return to authority. So far, we have described examples where participants eventually accept the facilitator's authority to make power moves. Now we turn to an instructive example of a facilitator who does not receive acceptance for her attempt to make a power move.

The facilitator opens the meeting in a position of argumentation.

F: I'm thinking I want to start by asking you if there is something in particular that you want to talk about? Or should we dive into this discussion on this working method [name of a method for measuring a predator population]?

The facilitator starts with an open question about what the participants want to discuss. She thus invites them to argumentation about how to frame the topic and how to sequence the communication. By suggesting a first topic (discussing a method

for measuring the predator population) she opens for argumentation. The participants answer by confirming that they do want to start by talking about the working method.

After some discussion, where the facilitator has presented the new method to measure the number of predators, there is a distinctive turn in the discussion: participants start expressing discontent.

> P: […] you know, my gut feeling was, already when the first slide appeared, what the heck is this? Numbers that I don't recognize are showing up.

This expression of discontent initiates an episode of communication where the participants question the facilitator's authority to sequence as well as to frame the topic: they do not accept the working method suggested by the facilitator and they do not accept the facilitator's attempts to move on in the discussion. The facilitator responds to the participants' critique through argumentation. She gives reasons for why she has suggested this working method, and explains the advantages with this way of measuring predator populations. She also asks the participants to expand on their arguments, encouraging them to discuss further, thereby demonstrating that she wants to understand their perspectives. During the rest of the meeting, the facilitator continues to facilitate by way of argument and the participants continue to engage in discussion about the working method. When the time for the end of the meeting is approaching, the facilitator moves along the continuum toward authority when attempting to make the power move to conclude the discussion.

> F: I see. Now we will nevertheless move on in this process and hold that meeting tomorrow.

The facilitator makes it clear that her power move to sequence the communication is not open for discussion or argumentation in this meeting ("now we will nevertheless move on"). We see this as an attempt to act in authority, by seemingly assuming that participants will accept the facilitator's move without justifying arguments.

However, the participants do not accept the facilitator's attempt to perform in authority. Instead they continue to argue against the suggested method. After a while, the facilitator makes another attempt to conclude the conversation.

> F: The idea was that this would have been the last meeting before summer. But you can let me know if you want to have an additional meeting if you are worried.

This move is also unsuccessful; the participants continue to engage in argumentation about the method, neither commenting on the facilitator's suggestion of a new meeting, nor accepting the facilitator's attempt to conclude the meeting.

A few minutes later, the facilitator instead makes the power move to conclude the meeting by saying that she has to leave for another meeting. She thanks the participants for sharing their perspective and leaves the online meeting. Although this power move (to conclude) effectively ends the meeting, we argue that the facilitator has not returned back to a position of authority. We make this interpretation since the meeting ends without the participants having accepted the facilitator's suggestions and without clarity on how the communication will continue.

Summary

We have defined three power moves that facilitators make when structuring communication: sequencing, framing and concluding. When making these moves, facilitators interpret responses from participants and move back and forth on a continuum between authority and argumentation in view of performing authority according to the participants' expectations. There are four positions on this continuum: authority, tempered authority, tempered argumentation and argumentation. These positions help understanding of how facilitators seek to anticipate when participants accept authoritative facilitation without asking for justification, and when they instead require arguments and open communication.

A Conceptual Framework for Describing Facilitators' Use of Power

In this paper, we ask *in what ways do facilitators use their power to influence collaborative governance processes?* In pursuit of the answers to this question, we have analyzed two collaborative governance processes and thereby developed a conceptual framework for describing facilitators' use of power.

The framework is based on a relational view of authority, i.e. it describes authority as arising from interactions between facilitators and participants. We showed, in section "Findings: analyzing Two Collaborative Governance Processes," how linking authority with argumentation sheds light on these interactions. We now draw together the conceptual framework, as displayed in Figure 2.

The conceptual framework includes three *power moves* that facilitators can make to structure communication: sequencing, framing and concluding. Facilitators' attempts to make these power moves can be located at the following positions on a continuum: *authority, tempered authority, tempered argumentation* and *argumentation*. Facilitators move back and forth between these positions when attempting to perform as authorities, in a manner that is acceptable to other actors in collaborative governance.

The conceptual framework sheds light on authority as a social phenomenon. As illustrated by the examples in section "Findings: analyzing Two Collaborative Governance Processes," the framework helps in understanding how authority is performed through relations between facilitators and participants. The framework is capable of describing how facilitators interpret and anticipate responses from participants and act in a manner that they, often intuitively, think is in accordance with participants' views about how facilitators ought to act, to be accepted as authorities. Facilitators make situated

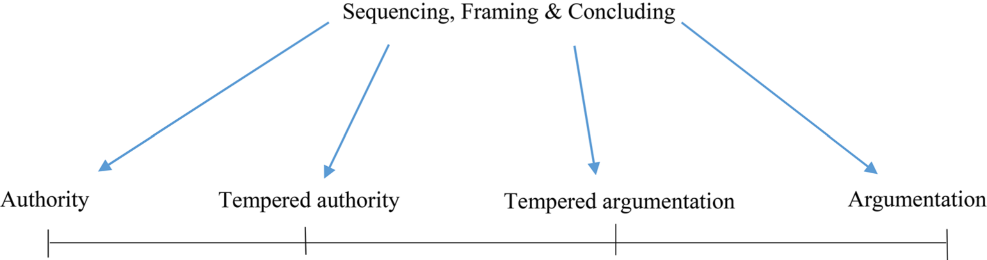

Figure 2. A Conceptual framework for describing facilitators' use of power.

judgments about when participants might accept authoritative facilitation without asking for justification, and when they might instead require arguments and space for discussion. Our framework describes how facilitators perform differently depending on how the interactions with participants unfold, moving back and forth on a continuum between authority and argumentation. Importantly, it is not only the facilitators' attempts to make power moves that matter, but even more so the participants' assessments of, and responses to, these attempts (see, Warren 1996). The examples in section "Findings: analyzing Two Collaborative Governance Processes" illustrate how facilitators must, after sequences of argumentation, attempt to return to a position of authority in order to be capable of structuring communication in collaborative governance.

We have shown how the conceptual framework explicates the influence facilitators can have over collaborative governance processes. Through this explication, the framework adds value to the collaborative governance literature by providing resources for understanding how facilitators' actions can impact collaborative processes. This impact has so far been somewhat hidden in the facilitation literature, behind a language of neutral and impartial facilitators. The framework enables understanding of how facilitators' power moves (sequencing, framing and concluding) can impact important process qualities, such as inclusion and exclusion of topics, as well as the closing of deliberation and the sifting out of items to be fed into further decision making. The framework draws attention to how the success of facilitators' attempts to influence the process of collaboration is conditioned by them performing authority correctly, according to the expectations of other involved actors. This explanatory value of the framework is displayed in example 3, where we showed how a facilitator made the power move to frame the management of predators in terms of social conflicts. Example 4 instead shows how our framework can also shed light on situations where facilitators' attempts to influence the process fails. In this manner, the framework we have developed fills an important gap in the literature by shedding light on how facilitators influence collaborative processes and also by providing possibilities to analyze why certain attempts succeed and other attempts fail. As authority is reductively treated in the facilitation literature, this conceptual framework adds theoretical nuance and clarity and opens avenues for future research. By describing the facilitators' role in terms of power and authority, previously hidden aspects of facilitators' practices are now made explicit.

Nevertheless, the framework has its limitations. Firstly, we have in this study not tested if and how the framework can enable understanding of the design and preparations before episodes of collaborative governance. Since previous studies (Connelly and Richardson 2004; Westin et al. 2021) show that the design phase is important for explaining both process qualities and outcomes of collaboration, it would be interesting to further develop the framework to also capture negotiations of authority during the design phase. Secondly, as our interest in this study was to describe facilitators' use of power, the framework has not been developed to answer normative questions about power use. Even so, since the framework makes the previously hidden power relations between facilitators and participants explicit, it can be further developed through future research to normatively assess relations of power in facilitation practice. Thirdly, this study has only focused on verbal communication. Hence, we have not captured how authority is negotiated not just through words, but through a complex interplay between words, bodies and materials. In future

research it would be interesting to amend the framework's focus on spoken language with resources for understanding how body language and materials are used in negotiations of authority (see e.g., Mik-Meyer and Haugaard 2019; Reckwitz 2002). Fourthly, the framework, in its current version, cannot capture how facilitators' influence over collaborative processes might also have an effect on the outcome of collaborative governance, i.e. we have not identified causal relationships between facilitators' actions and material and social outcomes. This limitation points to the importance of future research into the mechanisms through which facilitators' power use in the process of collaborative governance might influence outcomes of collaborative governance.

Our main motivation for developing the framework is an interest in furthering facilitation practice. Therefore we would like to draw attention to the fact that the conceptual framework can be useful for training new facilitators, as well as for producing facilitation handbooks. By correcting the misunderstanding that facilitators ought to merely be neutral power sharers and show that facilitators, on the contrary, must bounce back to positions of authority after sequences of argumentation, we add clarity to the conceptual basis for this bourgeoning group of practitioner. Explicating authority in facilitation practice makes it easier both for new facilitators to learn the trade and for more seasoned practitioners to question what they may have taken for granted.

Acknowledgement

We wish to thank Doctor Lars Hallgren for providing useful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

Funding

This work was supported by Mistra, the Swedish Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research, through the research programme Mistra Environmental Communication, and by the Swedish Research Council for sustainable development FORMAS (Grant numbers 2016-00657 and 2011-2014-545).

References

Ansell, C., and A. Gash. 2008. Collaborative governance in theory and practice. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 18 (4):543–71. doi:10.1093/jopart/mum032.

Arendt, H. 2006. *Between past and future: Eight exercises in political thought*. New York: Penguin Classics. Penguin Books.

Bartesaghi, M. 2009. How the therapist does authority: Six strategies for substituting client accounts in the session. *Communication & Medicine* 6 (1):15–25. doi:10.1558/cam.v6i1.15.

Bell, E., and T. A. Scott. 2020. Common institutional design, divergent results: A comparative case study of collaborative governance platforms for regional water planning. *Environmental Science & Policy* 111:63–73. doi:10.1016/j.envsci.2020.04.015.

Bherer, L., M. Gauthier, and L. Simard. 2017. *The professionalization of public participation*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Blue, G., and J. Dale. 2016. Framing and power in public deliberation with climate change: Critical reflections on the role of deliberative practitioners. *Journal of Public Deliberation* 12(1). Article 2.

Boschet, C, and T. Rambonilaza. 2018. Collaborative environmental governance and transaction costs in partnerships: evidence from a social network approach to water management in France. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 61 (1):105–23. doi:10.1080/09640568.2017.1290589.

Brisbois, M. C., and R. C. de Loë. 2016. Power in collaborative approaches to governance for water: A systematic review. *Society & Natural Resources* 29 (7):775–90. doi:10.1080/08941920.2015.1080339.

Brown, A., R. Langridge, and K. Rudestam. 2016. Coming to the table: collaborative governance and groundwater decision-making in coastal California. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 59 (12):2163–78. doi:10.1080/09640568.2015.1130690.

Chilvers, J. 2013. Reflexive engagement? Actors, learning, and reflexivity in public dialogue on science and technology. *Science Communication* 35 (3):283–310. doi:10.1177/1075547012454598.

Connelly, S., and T. Richardson. 2004. Exclusion: The necessary difference between ideal and practical consensus. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 47 (1):3–17. doi:10.1080/0964056042000189772.

Dahl, R. A. 2007. The concept of power. *Behavioral Science* 2 (3):201–15. doi:10.1002/bs.3830020303.

Emerson, K., and T. Nabatchi. 2015. Collaborative governance and collaborative governance regimes. In *Collaborative governance regimes*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Forester, J. 1999. *The deliberative practitioner: Encouraging participatory planning processes*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Forst, R. 2017. *Normativity and power: Analyzing social orders of justification*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Forst, R. 2015. Noumenal Power. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 23 (2):111–27. doi:10.1111/jopp.12046.

Förster, J. J., L. Downsborough, and M. J. Chomba. 2017. When policy hits practice: Structure, agency, and power in South African Water Governance. *Society & Natural Resources* 30 (4):521–36. doi:10.1080/08941920.2016.1268658.

Hakkarainen, L., and S. Hyysalo. 2016. The evolution of intermediary activities: Broadening the concept of facilitation in living labs. *Technology Innovation Management Review* 6 (1):45–58. doi:10.22215/timreview/960.

Haugaard, M. 2018. What is authority? *Journal of Classical Sociology* 18 (2):104–32. doi:10.1177/1468795X17723737.

Healey, P. 2012. Re-enchanting democracy as a mode of governance. *Critical Policy Studies* 6 (1):19–39. doi:10.1080/19460171.2012.659880.

Heron, J. *Group facilitation: Theories and models for practice*, Nichols Publishing, 1993.

Heron, J. 1999. *The complete facilitator's handbook*. London: Kogan Page.

Innes, J. E., and D. E. Booher. 2018. *Planning with complexity: An introduction to collaborative rationality for public policy*. London: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315147949.

Kashwan, P. 2016. Integrating power in institutional analysis: A micro-foundation perspective. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 28 (1):5–26. doi:10.1177/0951629815586877.

Koebele, E. A., L. E. Méndez-Barrientos, N. Nadeau, and A. K. Gerlak. 2024. Beyond engagement: Enhancing equity in collaborative water governance. *WIREs Water* 11 (2):e1687. doi:10.1002/wat2.1687.

Mäntysalo, R., M. Westin, and H. Mattila. 2023. Public planner – A deliberative authority. *Planning Theory & Practice* 24 (1):11–29. doi:10.1080/14649357.2023.2177713.

Marciano, R. 2022. Beyond consultocracy and servants of power: Explaining the role of consultants in policy formulation. *Governance* 37 (1):39–58. doi:10.1111/gove.12743.

Mayer, B. 2011. What we talk about when we talk about neutrality: A commentary on the susskind-stulberg debate, 2011 edition the future of court ADR: Mediation and beyond. *Marq. L. Rev* 95:859–72.

Mik-Meyer, N., and M. Haugaard. 2019. The performance of citizen's and organisational authority. *Journal of Classical Sociology* 20 (4):309–34. doi:10.1177/1468795X19860111.

Moore, A. 2012. Following from the front: Theorizing deliberative facilitation. *Critical Policy Studies* 6 (2):146–62. doi:10.1080/19460171.2012.689735.

Moore, A. 2017. *Critical elitism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Morrison, T. H., W. N. Adger, K. Brown, M. C. Lemos, D. Huitema, J. Phelps, L. Evans, P. Cohen, A. M. Song, R. Turner, et al. 2019. The black box of power in polycentric environmental governance. *Global Environmental Change* 57:101934 doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2019.101934.
Mudliar, P., and T. M. Koontz. 2021. Locating power in Ostrom's design principles: Watershed management in India and the United States. *Society & Natural Resources* 34 (5):639–58. doi:10.1080/08941920.2020.1864535.
Prokopy, L. S., N. Mullendore, K. Brasier, and K. Floress. 2014. A typology of catalyst events for collaborative watershed management in the United States. *Society & Natural Resources* 27 (11):1177–91. doi:10.1080/08941920.2014.918230.
Purdy, J. M. 2012. A framework for assessing power in collaborative governance processes. *Public Administration Review* 72 (3):409–17. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2011.02525.x.
Puustinen, S., R. Mäntysalo, J. Hytönen, and K. Jarenko. 2017. The "deliberative bureaucrat": Deliberative democracy and institutional trust in the jurisdiction of the Finnish planner. *Planning Theory & Practice* 18 (1):71–88. doi:10.1080/14649357.2016.1245437.
Roos, U., G. Lidestav, S. Sandström, and P. Sandström. 2022. Samråd: an institutional arrangement in the context of forestry and reindeer husbandry in northern Sweden. *International Forestry Review* 24 (3):441–57. doi:10.1505/146554822835941878.
Quick, K., and J. Sandfort. 2014. Learning to facilitate deliberation: practicing the art of hosting. *Critical Policy Studies* 8 (3):300–22. doi:10.1080/19460171.2014.912959.
Ran, B, and H. Qi. 2018. Contingencies of power sharing in collaborative governance. *The American Review of Public Administration* 48 (8):836–51. doi:10.1177/0275074017745355.
Reckwitz, A. 2002. Toward a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory* 5 (2):243–63. doi:10.1177/13684310222225432.
Reed, M. S. 2008. Stakeholder participation for environmental management: A literature review. *Biological Conservation* 141 (10):2417–31. doi:10.1016/j.biocon.2008.07.014.
Reed, M. G., and P. Abernethy. 2018. Facilitating co-production of transdisciplinary knowledge for sustainability: Working with Canadian biosphere reserve practitioners. *Society & Natural Resources* 31 (1):39–56. doi:10.1080/08941920.2017.1383545.
Schwartz-Shea, P., and D. Yanow. 2013. *Interpretive research design: Concepts and processes*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Scott, T. A., and D. P. Carter. 2019. Collaborative governance or private policy making? When consultants matter more than participation in collaborative environmental planning. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning* 21 (2):153–73. doi:10.1080/1523908X.2019.1566061.
Stromer-Galley, J. 2007. Measuring deliberation's content: A coding scheme. *Journal of Deliberative Democracy* 3 (1). doi:10.16997/jdd.50.
Svensson, P. 2017. Cross-Sector Strategists. Dedicated Bureaucrats in Local Government Administration, Available at: https://gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/54242 (accessed 21 February 2020).
Thomas, C. W. 2002. *Bureaucratic landscapes: Interagency cooperation and the preservation of biodiversity*. Massachusetts: Mit Press.
Warren, M. E. 1996. Deliberative democracy and authority. *American Political Science Review* 90 (1):46–60. doi:10.2307/2082797.
Weber, M. 1978. *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. Oakland: University of California Press.
Westin, M., L. Hallgren, and E. Montgomerie. 2023. Between authority and argumentation: Facilitators' use of power in collaborative governance. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 67 (9):2055–74. doi:10.1080/09640568.2023.2174835.
Westin, M., A. Mutter, C. Calderon, and A. Hellquist. 2021. "Let us be led by the residents": Swedish dialogue experts' stories about power, justification and ambivalence. *Nordic Journal of Urban Studies* 1 (2):113–30. doi:10.18261/issn.2703-8866-2021-02-02.
Wondolleck, J. M., and S. L. Yaffee. 2000. *Making collaboration work: Lessons from innovation in natural resource managment*. Washington, DC: Island Press.