AS GREEN AS IT GETS

Researching the strategies of involving unusual suspects in Nijmegen Green Capital 2018

Radboud University
Nijmegen School of Management

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Hannah Markusse
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Radboud University	**Gemeente Nijmegen**
Supervisor: Prof. P. Leroy	Supervisor: K. Pruijsen
	Hannah Markusse
	s4151364
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Summary

Nijmegen is European Green Capital 2018. This is an award granted by the European Commission. Throughout this year activities are organized for professionals and citizens of Nijmegen, all under the umbrella concept sustainability (Green Capital, 2018). The Green Capital year and title functions as a platform for collaborations of sustainability activities and projects. Activities could be lectures, events, challenges, tours, congresses, etc. Not every citizen in Nijmegen is pre-assumed to be participating in Green Capital activities. Highly educated, wealthier people are more likely to perform conscious sustainable behaviour and have a higher global environmental concern (Van Liere & Dunlap, 1980). These are more likely to be participating in Green Capital activities and therefore are 'usual suspects'. 'Underprivileged' groups in society are less likely to be involved and, in this thesis, called 'unusual suspects'. However, citizen participation is important for the city of Nijmegen and is one of the Green Capital ambitions. Furthermore, literature about environmental justice and sustainable development extensively argues that the road to sustainability needs to involve all people, from all societal groups (Agyeman, 2008; Ghai & Vivian, 2014). Therefore, this thesis researches the involvement of unusual suspects in the European Green Capital year in Nijmegen. The main question is: *To what extent are unusual suspects involved in the Green Capital year Nijmegen; how and with what results?*

The involvement of these unusual suspects is researched by analysing the strategies that actors have deployed in the Green Capital year. Strategies consists of a message and/or goal, a target group and resources needed to reach the aim. As we address strategies for sustainability, the concept sustainability is important and therefore explored, because it has many different explanations. One could focus more on for example environmental sustainability or social sustainability. Strategies can target a certain societal group explicitly or implicitly by their concept of sustainability, message, course of action or target group. In either case, strategies therefore may include and/or exclude particular categories of people and thus are evaluated in terms of environmental justice. This concept has three distinguishable aspects: recognition, procedural and distributional justice.

There are four initiatives in the Green Capital year that target specifically (a subgroup of) unusual suspects by one or more activities: Green Capital Challenges, Colourful Green, Go Green and Lentekracht. Different strategies are used: framing sustainability as fun, focusing on facts and awareness, combining sustainability with social cohesion, taking nature as a starting point for environmental awareness, using environmental advices as a means for saving money, etc. Strategies to involve unusual suspects are often times unconsciously targeting higher educated people by focusing on creating awareness through communicating facts. Short term results are limited, and long-term results are not visible (yet). The results show that involving unusual suspects sometimes is normatively driven and other times functionally; only wanting to involve 'more people'. All actors recognize characteristics of the group of 'unusual suspects', so the first aspect of environmental justice is in play. Secondly, only with Go Green and Colourful Green unusual suspects participate in plan-making, the first aspect of procedural justice, the second aspect of procedural justice, involving unusual suspects in the process of sustainability often remains the questions, as results in terms of awareness or sustainable behaviour are often times unmeasurable. Furthermore, distributional justice as a just distribution of activities and sustainability benefits differs per activity. However, little results can be seen regarding unusual suspects being consciously involved in sustainability. Being involved in a fun activity is not the same as becoming involved in the process of sustainability.

Advice to improve existing strategies, is first to think about follow-up on the one-time activities, because only single shot activities do not seem to reach intended goals. Furthermore, actors could address a specific need among their target group, and fulfill it with sustainable benefits, for example through saving money or combine sustainability with social cohesion. Also, if facts are taken as a starting point for awareness and behaviour change, it should be accompanied with a normative statement and a specific action perspective. Lastly, as an actor, it is important to set the right example yourself and communicate in words and deeds what sustainability means.

Preface

This master thesis was written for the completion of the Master Environment & Society Studies, Department Geography, Planning and Environment at the Radboud University Nijmegen. It was an amazing opportunity to perform this research on the involvement of 'unusual suspects' at the municipality of Nijmegen, in the Nijmegen Green Capital year 2018. Becoming Green Capital was a blessing for the city. My hope is that Nijmegen continues to be a Green Capital, even without its official title.

I want to thank all the people I interviewed for their time; from the Green Capital team, the Green Capital Challenges, Bureau Wijland, Go Green and Lentekracht. I am thankful for their efforts and energy in making this city and this world a better place. It may seem that I am a little critical on some of the employed strategies, however, this is never to judge, only to help! Designing strategies to involve unusual suspects takes trial and error and I hope to contribute to that. I love the city of Nijmegen and I am proud of all the people who continue to place effort in making this world a better place.

I want to that the municipality of Nijmegen and especially Klaas, for the opportunity to do my research in this unique context. Thank you for all the encouragement! I would also like to thank Pieter Leroy, for all the hours of reading and giving feedback on all the ten different versions of my thesis. Many thanks! Lastly, thank you, my family, for reviewing the English language in this thesis. Love you!

Have fun reading!
Hannah

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1. Introduction

1.1 Context

Nijmegen is European Green Capital 2018. Throughout this year activities are organized for professionals and citizens of Nijmegen, all under the umbrella concept sustainability (Green Capital, 2018). The Green Capital year and title functions as a platform for collaborations of sustainability activities and projects. There are existing annual events that will be organized more sustainably, but also new and one-time activities. The activities comprehend the following themes: vital city, smart mobility, climate adaptation, circular economy and energy transition (Green Capital, 2018). They range from a local/regional scale to international and are organized for citizens to professionals to companies. They are events, initiatives or projects. There is not a simple and clear categorization of the activities that take place, but the Green Capital year does function as broad collaboration of all sorts of initiatives which take place around the word sustainability. Nijmegen's ambition is to involve all citizens; which was an important element for being granted the award (European Union, 2017).

Environmental concern and sustainable behaviour

While there is an ambition to involve all citizens in the Green Capital year, we cannot assume that every citizen has environmental concern and performs sustainable behaviour. From the 70s and 80s onwards authors have written extensively about environmental concern and environmental behaviour (Van Liere & Dunlap, 1980). Environmental concern is "the degree to which people are aware of environmental problems and support efforts to solve them and/or indicate a willingness to contribute personally to their solution" (Dunlap & Jones, 2002, p. 484). Several authors have argued that environmental concern is to be observed in particular with higher social classes; high education and income groups. Poor people seem to have a different environmental concern, referred to as 'environmentalism of the poor' indicating that poor people are often more dependent on the environment and experience poorer environmental conditions. This leads to a different type of environmental concern (Buttel & Flinn, 1978; Van Liere & Dunlap, 1980; Martinez-Allier, 2012).

Recent studies building on this research on environmental concern, focus more on sustainability. And yet their results and outcomes are largely similar: the environmental sustainability movement is dominated by white, highly educated and middle class people (Agyeman, 2008). Also, sustainable behaviour is mostly carried out by people with a higher education and age (Carabain et al., 2012) and females (Boonstoppel & van Elfrinkhof, 2014). Interestingly though, poor people often show more sustainable behaviour, but a possible explanation is that they can't afford flying and other types of unsustainable behaviour (Carabain et al., 2016).

To summarize, demographic and socioeconomic factors largely explain differences in environmental concern and environmental behaviour. There is a difference between people, dependent on ethnicity, education, income level and gender. Usual suspects to be participating in a sustainability activity are then the white, highly educated and high-income groups, while the others are labelled unusual suspects here. They are not suspected to be participating in a sustainability activity. Chapter 2 will provide a further exploration on the literature that is used to define usual and unusual suspects within the Green Capital year.

1.2 Problem statement

Literature about environmental justice and sustainable development extensively argues that the road to sustainability needs to involve all people, from all societal groups (Agyeman, 2008; Ghai & Vivian, 2014). The vision and practice to involve all citizens was also one of the reasons why Nijmegen won the award (European Union, 2017). On the other hand, literature about environmental concern and sustainable behaviour shows a difference in involvement between certain groups of people. This could also be expressed in differences in involvement of people in Green Capital activities. Some people in Nijmegen, like the municipality and the Green Capital team, have expressed their concern of the participation of a particular (and always the same) group of people. Consequently, they are concerned that only the usual suspects are often involved and participating in activities while unusual suspects are not. The problem is, this is unknown and not yet researched. There is a

knowledge gap, because it is unknown whether unusual suspects are participating, what the strategies are for their involvement and what the results are thereof.

1.3 Research aim

The aim of this research is to observe whether and to what extent unusual suspects are involved in the Green Capital activities. This is done by researching the influence of actors' strategies and the view on sustainability on the involvement of unusual suspects, and to evaluate whether the strategies meet environmental justice criteria.

1.4 Research questions

The main research question is:

To what extent are unusual suspects involved in the Green Capital year Nijmegen; how and with what results?

The four sub-questions questions are:
1) What are the strategies of the activities in the Green Capital year?
2) What are the results of these activities?
3) What influence does the strategy, including its conception of sustainability, have on the results of the activities in reaching the desired target group?
4) Which of the environmental justice criteria do the strategies meet?

Green Capital activities are all activities, events and initiatives with the Green Capital label, all revolving around sustainability. A specific focus is on activities that target (a subgroup of) unusual suspects.

To analyse the involvement of unusual suspects, strategies are analysed and evaluated. The different aspects of a strategy are explored in section 2.2, as well as the concept of environmental justice and its contemporary explanation in section 2.4. In section 2.5 the above research questions are supplemented with theory-informed questions.

1.5 Scientific relevance

The answer to the research questions will lead to the understanding of the participation of unusual suspects. A lot is written about explaining factors why there is a gap between environmental concern and particular behaviour (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). This research will take on another level by looking at strategies and particular concepts of sustainability, and to what extent that has an influence on involvement and participation. No research is done yet on the influence of strategies or the view on sustainability on the involvement of unusual suspects. Thus, this research will add to the literature about involvement and participation of unusual suspects. Also, the concept of environmental justice is interpreted in a new way which is not about an equal distribution of environmental problems, which is researched often, but about an equal distribution of participation in sustainability activities, which has not been done before. This thesis will therefore also contribute to this strand of literature.

1.6 Societal relevance

Literature about environmental justice and sustainable development extensively argues that the road to sustainability needs to involve all people, from all societal groups (Agyeman, 2008; Ghai & Vivian, 2014). Also, the vision of the municipality of Nijmegen is that if we want to reach sustainability, we need citizens to cooperate. The municipality cannot reach it on its own. Citizens are needed to make sustainable choices.

The answer to the research questions will lead to a deeper understanding of the problem that some people are not involved in sustainability and how strategies have an influence on that, and therefore could contribute to a solution on a strategy level. The understanding of the reasons why people are or are not involved could lead to better and more specific strategies to involve all people. This research will help sharpen these strategies, to be

appealing for usual and unusual suspects. Then, sustainability can be reached with all the citizens of Nijmegen, instead of a small group only.

2. Theoretical framework

This thesis researches the involvement of unusual suspects in the European Green Capital year in Nijmegen. The concept of 'unusual suspects' has been briefly introduced in the previous chapter, it will be elaborated upon below as part of this theoretical chapter. The involvement of these unusual suspects is researched by analysing the strategies that actors have deployed in the Green Capital year. This chapter provides a theoretical framework to identify and qualify these strategies.

First, as promised, I'll provide a clear definition of unusual suspects. Then, strategies are elaborated upon, by distinguishing their message and/or goal, their target group and the resources needed to reach the aim. Third, as we address strategies for sustainability. This latter concept needs to be discussed as different actors have different ideas about sustainability, and I'm curious to see what conception of sustainability is – conscious or not – used to target unusual suspects. In addition, strategies can target a certain societal group explicitly or implicitly. In either case, strategies therefore may include and/or exclude particular categories of people. As I envisage to evaluate strategies in terms of justice, the fourth concept to address is environmental justice and three distinguishable aspects thereof: recognition, procedural and distributional justice.

2.1   Uneven environmental concern and sustainable behaviour

To define who is likely or unlikely to be involved in sustainability initiatives and therefore is a usual or an unusual suspect to participate in the Green Capital year, I turn to the body of knowledge on environmental concern and sustainable behaviour. The basic idea is that not everyone has the same level of environmental concern and/or sustainable behaviour. People with a lower environmental concern and/or a lesser propensity to behave sustainably are less likely to be involved in sustainable activities, and therefore are unusual suspects in the Green Capital year. Below I review the literature on these concepts.

2.1.1 Environmental concern

Dunlap & Jones (2002) define environmental concern as: "the degree to which people are aware of environmental problems and support efforts to solve them and/or indicate a willingness to contribute personally to their solution" (p. 484). Best & Mayerl (2013) argue that environmental concern is not that specific, and focus on the values, beliefs and attitudes (cognitions) related to the environment: "we will use the phrase 'environmental concern' to tap the relatively vague, general concept of cognitions (values, beliefs, attitudes) related to the environment and will use more specific terms to describe specific elements of that cognitive structure (e.g., values)" (p. 692). This latter definition is broader and does not focus on contributing or supporting to solutions but is about awareness, thoughts and concerns about the environment. This is the definition that is used by the authors that I cite, so henceforth this definition is guiding.

Authors on environmental concern write about the seemingly differences in environmental concern between cultures and countries, and depending on wealth, age, education level and gender. First, I turn to culture, countries and wealth to explain the most prevalent differences that authors have found. Next, I mention some social and demographic factors at personal level.

Culture

Inglehart (1995) has argued that there is a difference in environmental concern between people with post-materialist and materialist values. More environmental concern was observed in countries with predominant post-materialist values, such as Sweden and Norway. Post-materialist values are for example self-expression and quality of life. In those countries, environmental concern was seen for the benefit of 'aesthetics'. He says: "Increasingly, environmental concern may be motivated by concern for the quality of life, rather than by survival need" (Inglehart, 1995, p.64). Countries with mostly materialist values, which were predominantly Third World countries, have a more direct problem with environmental pollution. There, environmental concern was more of a local thing and not for the sake of aesthetics but for survival needs. Poor environmental conditions were an actual threat (Abramson, 1997). However, Abramson (1997) argues that this divide between post-materialist and

materialist values is not that simple: "Many factors influence overall levels of post-materialism, overall levels of environmentalism, and actual environmental policies" (Abramson, 1997, p.23). To say that there is a divide in environmental concern because of certain values may then be too simple.

Countries and Wealth

More studies have found a difference in environmental concern between countries. Diekmann & Franzen (1999) have researched environmental concern and compared countries on the basis of their income level. Poor countries seem to have a lower environmental concern. Why? "Standard economic reasoning suggests that the restoration of a damaged environment is not only a collective good but also a 'superior' good, that is, demand rises with income." (p. 541). This seems right, because it is true that richer countries generally face less environmental problems than poorer countries. They conclude that richer countries prioritize environmental goals more than poorer countries (Diekmann & Franzen, 1999). Also, Franzen (2003) concluded that environmental concern is positively related to gross domestic product (GDP) per capita.

There is also a lot of critique on the rich/poor country divide in environmental concern. Dunlap & York (2008) indicate that "the overall results suggest that citizen concern for the environment is not dependent on national affluence, nor on affluence-based postmaterialist values" (p. 529). Others say it is too simplistic to say whether wealth or postmaterialist values explain environmental concern (Abramson, 1997). Authors also critique the way in which environmental concern is measured and how post-materialism is used. "The theory of post-materialism provides a clear and, in many respects, persuasive explanation for the development and popularity of the environmental movement in the North. [But] it appears that the post-materialist framework does not allow for the expression of environmental concern in the less developed world" (Guha & Martinez-Alier, 1997, p. viv). They say that there is environmental concern in the less developed world, but maybe a different kind of concern, as we will see, focussed on the local environment rather than the global or transnational environment.

There is a difference between rich and poor countries, but what kind of difference, and for what reason is not yet clear. It is not sure whether poor people or poor countries have less environmental concern, or instead may have a different kind of concern.

2.1.2 Global and local environmental concern

As suggested above, the difference between rich and poor countries in environmental concern level could in fact be a difference between types of concern, e.g. global and local environmental concern. Local environmental concern is directed towards local issues, whereas global environmental concern is concerned with transnational and global environmental problems. Diekmann and Franzen (1999) for instance carefully conclude that people in poorer countries have more local environmental concern and people of richer countries have predominantly a global environmental concern. Also, Dunlap et al. (1993) found that, when mentioning their countries most important issues, citizens of poorer countries actually address more specific environmental problems than people in richer countries.

Dunlap & York (1997) plead that poorer nations have more environmental concern, and in terms of the global/local divide, have a more local environmental concern. "In short, recognizing that citizens of poorer nations, particularly those whose livelihoods depend directly upon available natural resources, are motivated to protect the environment can help both national and international governmental bodies design more effective policies" (p. 551). This indicates that poorer nations actually do want to participate in initiatives towards a better environment and certainly display environmental concern.

2.1.3 Social and demographic factors

In addition to the environmental concern on a national level, there are also studies on environmental concern on a personal level. McMillan et al. (1997) write about social and demographic factors which explain environmental concern. In their research they use the definition and dimensions of the New Environmental

Paradigm (NEP) as a scale to measure environmental concern. "The NEP is an ecocentric view that sees human beings not as the authority over nature but rather as part of a larger ecological system" (McMillan et al, 1997, p.90). Dunlap & Liere (1978) have set three principles to explain the NEP, the first one is the basic idea that people a part of nature, and do not have more rights than any other part of nature. The second principle is that people have an influence on nature which may also be negative, to bring it out of balance. The third principle is "the belief that the earth can support only a limited number of people and, thus, industrial expansion should be controlled." (McMillan et al. 1997, p.90). This paradigm is associated with environmental concern and environmental attitudes. This is in line with the definition Dunlap & Jones (2002) give to environmental concern, that is, not only being aware of environmental problems, but also be willing to personally contribute to a solution. Next to 'awareness', environmental concern also comprehends the willingness to act, e.g. a pro-environmental attitude. According to McMillan et al. (1997), "the analysis generally supports the hypotheses that younger people, women, whites, and people of higher education levels hold more environmental attitudes as measured by the NEP index." Other studies confirm this. For example, Raudsepp (2001) researching environmentalism defines the latter as not only concern, but also as attitude, behaviour and beliefs. She says that age, sex, education all have significant correlations to environmentalism and environmental concern.

2.1.4 Environmentalism of the poor

Environmentalism is not only related to environmental concern, it is also associated with a social movement. Environmentalism is originally "a cultural and social movement concerned with the preservation of nature" (Martinez-Alier, 2012). This concept, like environmental concern, refers to a certain awareness people have of nature and environmental problems, and of what their personal contribution towards it could be. As I just mentioned, this is not only environmental concern, but also the willingness to contribute, which relates to the definition Dunlap & Jones (2002) give to environmental concern.

Research repeatedly confirmed that environmentalist movements were dominated by white, highly educated and middle-class people (Agyeman, 2008) and mostly found in northern and rich societies (Davey, 2009). Martinez-Alier (2012) gives a side note to this, saying that there is another movement referred to as 'environmentalism of the poor', explained as a movement of citizens from poorer countries concerned with their local environment. Poor people in certain areas are often dependent on their direct environment and they therefore are very much concerned with the environment (Davey, 2009). Environmentalism of the poor is an example of mostly local environmental concern. The 'environmentalism of the poor' thesis is in itself a critique on the relations found between wealth and environmental concern.

Martinez-Alier (2012) says that this latter movement is overlooked in the environmental movement literature and argues that this could contribute more to governmental decisions. Also, Davey (2009) argues that the environmentalism of the poor movement could contribute more to sustainable development, due to collaboration between northern and southern countries. He pleads for more participation and empowering of the poor, to reach a truly sustainable environment.

2.1.5 Preliminary conclusion

Based on the above, one can hypothesise that people with a lower environmental concern are less likely to be involved in sustainable activities, and therefore may be labelled as 'unusual suspects' in the Green Capital year. According to the literature I just reviewed, these are mostly non-white and lower educated people, in brief, parts of the underprivileged.
However, the environmentalism of the poor movement and related research suggests that there are different kinds of environmental concern. The hypothesis therefore is that these underprivileged people may have a more local environmental concern instead of a global one.

To further refine the unusual suspects concept, we now turn to what is written on sustainable behaviour. Do these or similar factors - ethnicity and education in particular, being underprivileged in general – also determine who performs more sustainable behaviour and who is less likely to do so?

2.1.6 Sustainable behaviour and concern

Recently, studies have been carried out that, while building on earlier research on environmental concern, focus more on sustainability. And yet the results and outcomes are largely similar. For example, a Dutch organisation called Fawaka researched differences in sustainable behaviour among Dutch people with and without a migration background. The conclusion was that there is no difference in sustainable behaviour among these categories, but that there is a difference among people with a higher and lower education: people with a higher education perform more often and more consciously sustainable behaviour than people with a lower education (Lagunas, Lobbrecht & Heilbron, 2017). Since people with a migration background often have a lower education than people without (Huijink & Andriessen, 2016), the former might less often perform sustainable behaviour. So not migration, but education is the crucial variable, or as the authors state "Instead of a 'white' sustainable vanguard, it is more accurate to say that there is a highly educated vanguard. That this vanguard is 'white' says more about educational segregation than about sustainability" (Lagunas et al. 2017).

Other studies confirm that sustainable behaviour is mostly and more consciously carried out by people with a higher education and age (Carabain et al., 2012) and by females (Boonstoppel & van Elfrinkhof, 2014). Interestingly, though, poor people often show more sustainable behaviour, yet part of the explanation is that they can't afford flying and other types of unsustainable behaviour (Carabain et al., 2016).

This conscious sustainability behaviour actually also says something about people's environmental concern. Following the definition by Dunlap & Jones (2002) these people are aware of environmental problems and are willing to contribute it, which they do by consciously performing sustainable behaviour. Poorer people then may perform more sustainable behaviour, yet they might do so unconsciously, so without being based on environmental concern. Anyway, these studies on sustainable concern and behaviour conclude, parallel to the ones on environmental concern, namely that highly educated, white people are to be labelled 'usual suspects', and the lower educated, non-white people to be labelled the 'unusual suspects' in all sorts of sustainability initiatives. Do these results apply to Nijmegen?

2.1.7 Environmental involvement in Nijmegen

In 1995, a study performed by the municipality of Nijmegen among the citizens of Nijmegen shows that education and income level are significantly related to environmental involvement (Gemeente Nijmegen, 1995). In other words, this local study confirms the findings of the literature mentioned above. Also, a more recent study confirms these. In March 2018 Nijmegen could vote for a new local council. Preceding the elections, research was done to find out what citizens thought to be the important themes for this election (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2018b). This was measured through a citizen poll to which 1200 citizens responded. The results were, among others, divided by welfare class – defined by income and education. The highest welfare class thought 'sustainability and green' was the most important theme these elections (52%), compared to the lowest welfare class, which thought it was an important theme, but it did not appear among the highest three rankings (23%) (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2018b). Arguably it could be that the lower welfare class has a different environmental concern, which expresses itself less in vague terms as 'sustainability and green'. So also, these local studies suggest people from the lowest welfare class to be less involved than people from higher welfare classes in mainstream sustainability activities. Yet these studies also raise questions on how the former categories might define environment and sustainability – and whether and how that is picked up by European Green Capital initiatives.

Therefore, time to turn to strategies now.

2.2   Strategies

While organising their activities in the Green Capital year, the initiators thereof have certain strategies as to the why and how a certain activity is designed and organised. Strategies contain goals, courses of action and resources for carrying out these goals. This section aims to make clear what a strategy is, how strategies are used in the Green Capital year, and how a strategy can influence inclusion or exclusion of certain groups in society.

2.2.1 Strategies

The definition of a strategy that I use is the following: "A strategy is the determination of the basic long-term goals and objectives of an enterprise, and the adoption of courses of action and the allocation of resources necessary for carrying out these goals" (Chandler, 1962). So, to dimension a strategy, in particular strategies that involve people in the road to sustainability, certain aspects stand out. First, a strategy has a goal. This contains a certain **message** initiators want to communicate and the **target group** they want to reach with it. In this case, the message of a strategy contains how and why they want to sustainabilize, how sustainability is framed, and what the action perspectives are. Then a strategy contains **courses of action**, which is the way to reach the goal, which could be organizing an event to mobilize people to reach the particular aim. Lastly, there are **resources** that help realize the goal.

The Nijmegen municipality has a vision to create a sustainable city (EC, 2016). In the past years, much has been done to carry out this vision. This vision is translated into a strategy to reach certain goals, as mentioned in the EGC-bidbook – which will be analysed in chapter 4 -. Other actors in Nijmegen, the many initiators of activities in the Nijmegen Green Capital year also have their definitions on and strategies towards sustainability.

To illustrate how I search to apply the above concepts, a few fictional examples of strategies:
- Citizens in Nijmegen should separate waste, because it is better for recycling and therefore better for the environment (message). We will give out free trash bags (resources) to citizens in Nijmegen (target group) in grocery stores, so that it becomes easier for people to separate waste (plan).

- Home owners (target group) should install solar panels on their rooftops, because this is more sustainable (message), and eventually cheaper in costs (message). We will communicate the importance (plan) through newspapers (resources) and social media (resources) and create an information desk (resources) to communicate and give out information (plan). Also, we will give out subsidies (resources) that will make it easier for people (message) to install solar panels.

- We want to reach citizens in Nijmegen with sustainability, because we have to create a living environment that is healthy and sustainable, for those yet to come (message). Everyone in Nijmegen should know that Nijmegen is Green Capital and should take a few steps towards sustainability (message/goal). Therefore, we invent challenges (plan) where citizens in Nijmegen (target group) could participate in. This will make sustainability easier and more fun (message).

2.2.2 Involvement

The European Green Capital year, whether in Nijmegen or in previously award-winning cities, is meant to involve people in the search for sustainability. Involvement is defined here as related, maybe caused by people's attitude and behaviour, and likely to reinforce that attitude and behaviour in turn. Strategies aim at influencing the involvement or the participation of people, most likely from different target groups. Given the differences among groups in society as to their environmental concern and sustainable behaviour, as explained in section 2.1, the question arises what target groups are addressed by strategies and how. Strategies thus imply an element of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion', or 'justice', as target groups may be forgotten or not addressed, implicitly or explicitly. Therefore, we need the concept of environmental justice to evaluate the strategies on their respective target groups. These concepts are to be explained in section 2.4.

Each aspect of a strategy may influence inclusion or exclusion of certain groups in society, intentionally or not. A few examples: as we have seen in section 2.1, not everyone has the same environmental concern, neither with regard to level nor regarding scale. As a consequence, people are more sensitive and attracted to a certain **message** than to others. Messages thus might be attractive to some people and not to others. The explicit **target group** of course also has an influence. For example, if the explicit target group of a certain event is homeowners, then everyone who does not own a home is not addressed. The same applies to **courses of action**. For example, if the strategy is to implement solar panels, a specific group is addressed. The **resources** that are used also play an important part whether or not unusual suspects are addressed. Websites, newspapers, social media, etc., are dependent on their users. As well as for example subsidies, which are often only available on expensive products like solar panels, that are not affordable for everyone.

This thesis will pay extra attention to the message communicated through the strategy. The message, indeed, implies a definition of sustainability (that might even be silent or hidden), which determines for a large part the involvement of unusual suspects. This aspect of the selective attractivity of dimensions of messages, sustainability in particular, is explained in the following section.

2.3   Sustainability

There are many different ways to define and conceptualise sustainability, as sustainability has many different meanings and implications and can be operationalized in multiple ways. With these definitions come goals, messages and – intended or not – target groups. This section provides an overview of the different ways to view sustainability, from the perspective of different target groups.

2.3.1 Classic definition

The United Nations defined sustainable development as: "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987). This definition of sustainable development brings together two components. On the one hand environmental, and on the other human development problems. "Essentially the Brundtland report argued for integrating the vast and complex issue of environmental deterioration with the equally vast and complex issue of human development and poverty and suggested that both had to be resolved simultaneously and in a mutually reinforcing way" (Robinson, 2004, p.372). This still is a relatively vague definition, with many ways to put sustainable development into action.

The question why sustainability is needed has implications on how sustainable development or sustainability is put into action. There are two sides in this debate. On the one hand people say environmental problems are caused by humans, hence humans are responsible. The solution then is creating a value change among people, because lifestyles, production and consumption are the reason why there are environmental problems in the first place. On the other hand, people say that technology is primarily responsible, and the world therefore needs a 'technical fix' (Robinson, 2004). This is shown in table 1.

	Technical fix	Value Change
Natural area management	Conservation (utilitarian)	Preservation (romantic)
Pollution and resources	Technology (collective policies)	Lifestyles (individual values)
Preferred language	Sustainable development	Sustainability

Table 1 Responses to environmental problems (Robinson, 2004, p. 372)

If strategies are on the 'technical fix' side, they probably do not focus on groups of people that are involved, but more on technical solutions such as solar panels, wind mills, and the sort. If strategies are on the 'value change'

side, they would care more for involving (different) groups of people. So, the question as to what of these two is the predominant definition of sustainability has implications for the (choice and relevance of) target groups.

2.3.2 People-planet-profit model

The people-planet-profit model, also called the triple-P or 3P model, is an often used approach to sustainability. Sustainable development is interpreted as the intersection of the three P's (Hall, 2011). Also, Robinson (2004) mentions that sustainability has these three words and describes them as such:

- "The ecological imperative is to stay within the biophysical carrying capacity of the planet,
- the economic imperative is to provide an adequate material standard of living of all, and
- the social imperative is to provide systems of governance that propagate the values that people want to live by" (Robinson, 2004, p. 381).

If sustainability is at the intersection of the three P's, it contains an environmental, social and an economic aspect. For many actors, these three aspects are not all as important, but instead they focus on one of the three. According to the authors of this model, focussing on one of the three instead of on all three is not truly sustainable. True sustainability needs to imply all three.

In addition, also the explanation of these three aspects could differ among actors in the Green Capital year. This model is still multi-interpretable, which makes it difficult to draw conclusions on the impact on inclusion of exclusion of unusual suspects. Many actors, like businesses or NGOs, however view sustainability as environmental sustainability. The social and the economic aspect is undervalued.

2.3.3 Environmental sustainability

Sustainability is often viewed at as environmental sustainability. A clear example of this is viewing sustainable development as development inside the 'planetary boundaries' (PBs). These are boundaries based on scientific research, grounded on what is needed for the earth to stay in a 'stable state'. The vision is for the planetary boundaries was "to define a safe operating space for human societies to develop and thrive" (Röckstrom et al. 2009a, b). There are boundaries identified for the earth to stay in and thrive in. We need to stay inside the boundaries and not exceed them, if we want the earth system (ES) to be resilient. Human activities have an influence on the ES in such a way that the ES proves to be less resilient and in the case of some boundaries, are at high risk. "PBs are scientifically based levels of human perturbation of the ES beyond which ES functioning may be substantially altered" (Steffen et al. 2015, p.1). The boundaries describe crucial processes that have an influence on the ES, to look at whether they are at risk or are healthy. The nine boundaries are presented in figure 1. Based on this framework, sustainable development is development that stays inside these planetary boundaries. The authors of this model clearly mention that they only focus on the physical side of environmental sustainability, not on social aspects, although they fully recognise these to be also important for sustainable development (Steffen et al. 2015).
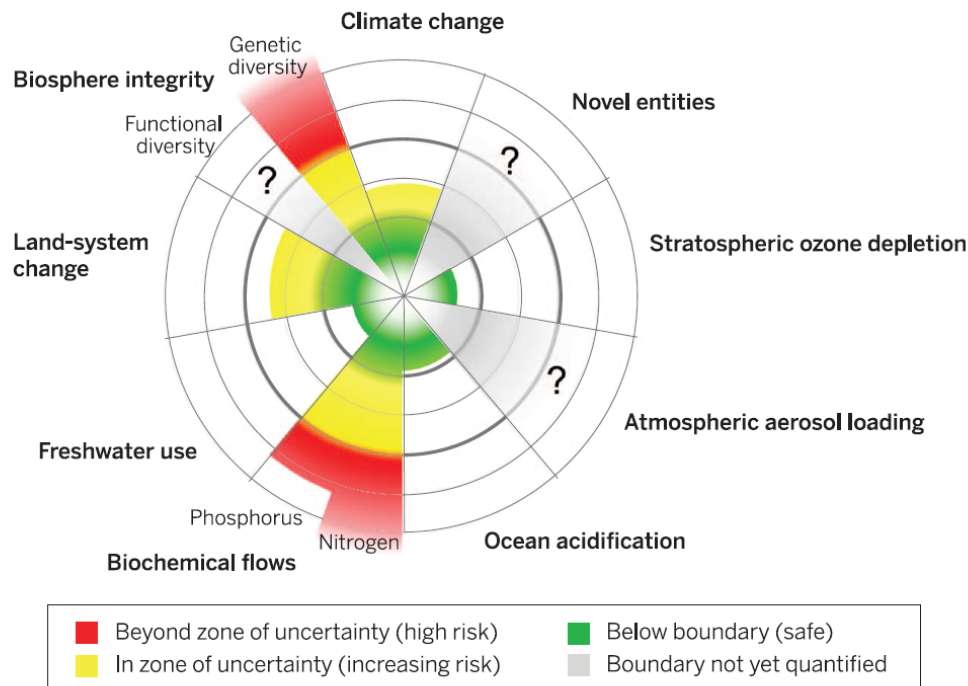
Figure 1 Planetary Boundaries (Steffen et al. 2015).

This environmental model doesn't tell us what the solution is to stay inside the planetary boundaries. It also doesn't translate into concrete actions for people or organisations to make sustainable choices. It only describes the impact human actions have on the earth. If this model is used in strategies, then it probably does not appeal to unusual suspects. The usual suspects, which are high educated people also even might have trouble interpreting this model. In addition, this model appeals to global environmental concern, as the earth as a whole is addressed. In section 2.1.2 it was made clear that unusual suspects, in particular poor people tend to have a more local environmental concern. Unusual suspects therefore might not feel addressed by the PBs approach.

2.3.4 Doughnut

Raworth (2012) designed another model for sustainable development, based on the concept of sustainable development and the planetary boundaries. She focusses on two different aspects: on the one hand the social demands imply that everyone has the resources needed to fulfil basic human rights; on the other hand, environmental requirements imply that we should not exceed the earth's limits, as reflected in the PBs. She says: "The earth is pushed out of the stable state" (Raworth, 2012, p.4), which means that we have to go back. But how? The answer lies in sustainable development, which she describes as development within the doughnut, the space between the planetary boundaries and the social boundaries "an environmentally safe and socially just space for humanity to thrive in" (Raworth, 2012, p.4). The doughnut is visualized in figure 2. The social boundaries describe the fight against poverty, the search for equity, education, health, etc. These eleven dimensions, labelled social foundations, are based on the priorities from RIO +20. The planetary boundaries or 'environmental ceilings' are as Rockstrom et al. (2009) defined them.
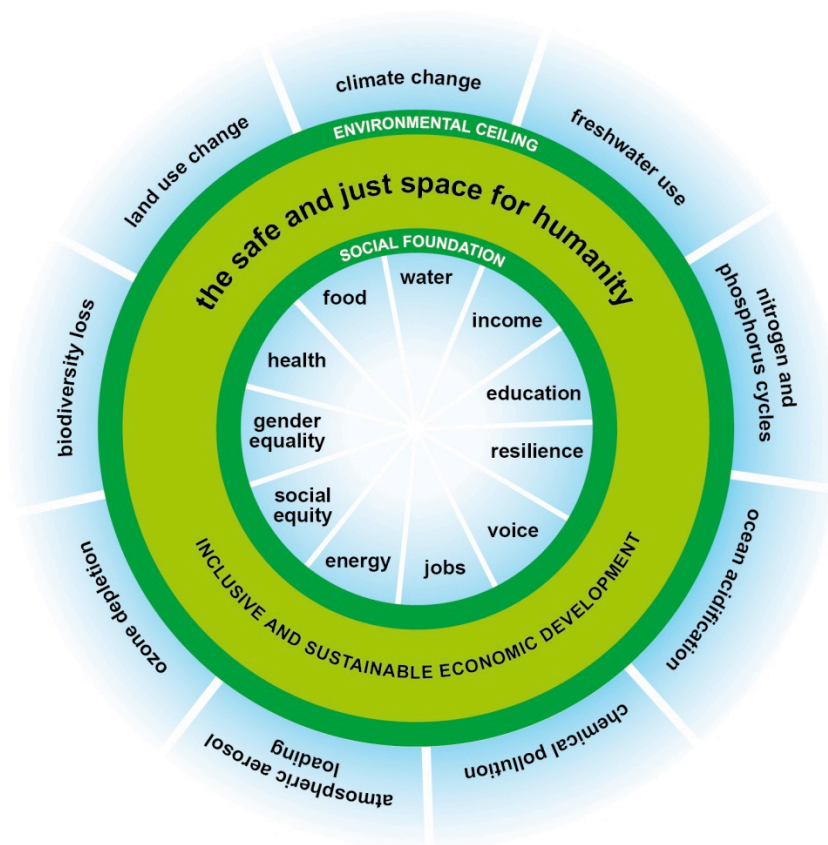
Figure 2 The Doughnut (Raworth, 2012, p.15)

Raworth (2012) says that "social and planetary boundaries are interdependent." For example, climate change causes rising temperatures and heightened risk for flooding, and this causes for people in poorer areas that they have more trouble finding clean drinking water, which is in turn one of the social boundaries. Environmental policy can stimulate injustice, but also the other way around: policy for fighting poverty can harm the environment. She pleads for sustainable development that simultaneously realises environmental and social sustainability. It will be difficult, but it is possible: "moving into the safe and just space for humanity demands far greater equity in the distribution of incomes and resource use, within and between countries, as well as far greater efficiency in how resources are used" (Raworth, 2012, p. 20). These boundaries are also interdependent in another way. People not having the social foundation probably do not have the resources to work on sustainable development. Also, these people probably care less about global environmental problems than about their own local problems, which this model does not address. However, social equity is one of the social boundaries, and a precondition for environmental justice – a concept to be elaborated upon below -. In other words, when actors have a clear 'equity' message in their strategies, they might target other groups to be involved. Therefore, my hypothesis is that addressing both the social and the planetary boundaries has a positive influence on the involvement of unusual suspects in the Green Capital year. There will be more unusual suspects involved due to the focus on the social issues which is about people and includes all people.

2.3.5 Social sustainability

But what then is social sustainability? Looking back at the people-planet-profit model, the people-side, which is often regarded as the social aspect, is undervalued. Some authors have tried to include this aspect in environmental sustainability. For example: Robinson (2004) holds the view that social dimensions should be integrated in environmental (biophysical) dimensions: "If sustainability is to mean anything, it must act as an integrating concept. In particular, it is clear that the social dimensions of sustainability must be integrated with the biophysical dimensions" (Robinson, 2004, p.378). The social dimension should be explored more. Raworth

(2012) included social aspects as a necessary part of her model, but there are more ways to view social sustainability. Vallance, Perkins & Dixon (2011) made a framework based on different attempts to cover social sustainability. They identified three fields of literature on social sustainability and present a model to reflect these three dimensions. The three dimensions are: development sustainability, bridge sustainability and maintenance sustainability (Vallance et al., 2011).

Development Sustainability
Development sustainability is in line with the social foundation as Raworth (2012) describes it. It is about dealing with people's needs and improving living conditions of the poor. Vallance et al. (2011) adds to this: "Underpinning such work is a belief that in both developed and developing countries, poverty and under-development act as barriers to securing better social and bio-physical environmental outcomes" (p. 344). This is however debatable because economic growth, with consumption and production can also be identified as a cause of environmental problems. There are two types of development, tangible, like housing, access to clean water and intangible, like education and justice. A collection of the aspects of development sustainability are: "Inter and intra-generational equity, the distribution of power and resources, employment, education, the provision of basic infrastructure and services, freedom, justice, access to influential decision-making fora and general 'capacity-building'" (Vallance, 2011, p. 345).

Bridge Sustainability
Bridge sustainability is concerned about 'changes in behaviour so as to achieve bio-physical environmental goals' (p. 342). These changes could be transformative or non-transformative. Transformative changes refer to changes in people's lifestyles and people's relationship with nature. These are fundamental changes in people's lives. Non-transformative changes do not require transformations in lifestyles but are rather technological changes that make it easy for people to behave sustainably, like to install solar panels on the roof (Vallance et al., 2011). These two categories are comparable to the two sides of the debate on how to solve sustainability as Robinson (2004) explains it, the 'value change' side and the 'technological fix'. The transformative side about changes in lifestyles is comparable to the 'value change', because it requires changes in peoples' lives and values. The non-transformative changes are comparable to the 'technological fix' side.

Maintenance of social sustainability
The maintenance of social sustainability is about the preservation of social, cultural living conditions and traditions; the specific practices people want to sustain. There are (environmentally sustainable) ways of living that people do not want to change and that should be sustained/maintained. It is very well possible that improvements to be made in the environmental sense, face either support or resistance dependent on whether people think these are compatible with the cultural values they cherish.
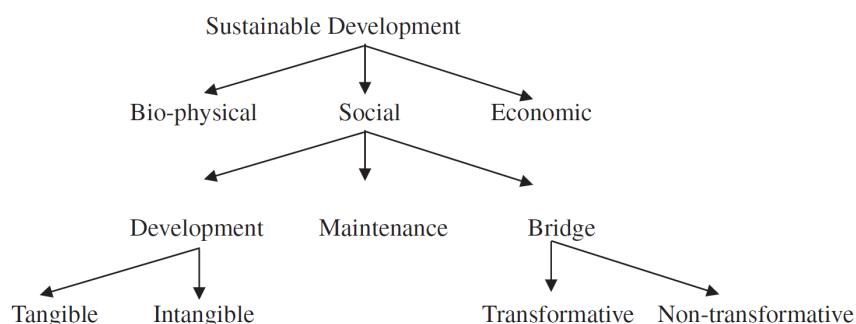This social sustainability model is visualized in figure 3.

Figure 3 Dimensions social sustainability (Vallance et al. 2011, p. 345)

The three dimensions can overlap or contradict each other, as they all have a different focus.

My hypothesis is that a sustainability concept that pays attention to tangible social developments would appeal unusual suspects more, as these are concrete measures to improve local liveability, a topic unusual suspects tend to be more concerned with than transnational problems, as section 2.1 states. Another hypothesis is that, if strategies are concerned with certain aspects of social sustainability like equality, equity or social cohesion, the values Vallance (2012) mentions, these will also have a positive influence on the involvement of unusual suspects in the Green Capital year.

Maloutas (2003) mentions that the concept 'social sustainability' lacks guidance. Social sustainability could be anything, in contrast to environmental sustainability, which has a normative direction to not deplete the earth's resources for example. Social sustainability is therefore often linked with environmental sustainability, where social sustainability is never the goal, but a sub-goal. Then sometimes the main values such as justice and social equality are narrowed down to less ambitious goals such as for example social cohesion or solidarity (Maloutas, 2003). Social sustainability is then connected to environmental sustainability in a way which does not cover all that is in social sustainability (Littig & Griesler, 2005).

The 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs) that the UN issued in 2015 are also an example of combining social and environmental sustainability. The goals include for example eradicating poverty, quality education, reduced inequalities, climate action, and so on (UN, 2015), shown in figure 4. These goals are both social and environmental sustainability simultaneously. My hypothesis is that when social sustainability is not only a sub-goal, but a main goal with themes like equity and equality, more unusual suspects tend to be included.

Figure 4 Sustainable development goals (UNDP, 2018)

In summary: every concept of sustainability has implications on who is to be attracted and included on the road to sustainability. Both through the strategy itself, in who is explicitly targeted, and by whom is implicitly targeted depending on the message. The next section presents a concept of sustainability that explicitly describes justice as crucial aspects of true sustainability.

2.3.6 Just Sustainability

Some authors hold the view that the social dimension of sustainability cannot be seen apart from environmental sustainability. They then add justice aspects to the definition of sustainability. Environmental justice will be further explained later in section 2.4.

For example, Martinez-Alier (2012) says "The environmentalism of the poor centers then on social justice, including claims to recognition and participation, and builds on the premise that the fights for human rights and environment are inseparable." (p.514). He argues that environmental problems are intertwined with social justice problems. Environmental problems are unevenly spread, the larger burden of them is imposed on the poor, and therefore environment and justice have to be addressed together. This idea is called 'just sustainability' (Agyeman, 2008), in which he distinguishes four aspects:

- Quality of life;
- Present and future generations;
- Justice and Equity;
- Living within Ecosystem limits (Agyeman, 2008, p. 755).

He adds "It is only through a just sustainability focus that the true potential of sustainability and sustainable development will be realized" (p.755), stressing the importance of justice within sustainable development.

At former UN conferences, a north/south divide was present in sustainable development debates. The 'north' had a green agenda, they wanted to continue sustainable development. The 'south' wanted development and good living conditions, fighting poverty, etc. The recent UN sustainable development goals (SDGs) provide a comprehensive approach to both these agendas. Agyeman (2002) mentions: "Sustainability cannot be simply a "green", or "environmental" concern, how important "environmental" aspects of sustainability are. A truly sustainable society is one where wider questions of social needs and welfare, and economic opportunity are integrally related to environmental limits imposed by supporting ecosystems" (2002, p.78). A crucial point here is that environmental sustainability can't be reached without social equity. Agyeman (2008) offers a middle ground, which is 'just sustainability'. This is development which includes justice, so dealing with poverty and dealing with equality problems, while also including green development.

My hypothesis is that this, like any other definition of sustainability explicitly influences which target groups actors intend to attract onto and involve into their activities, because justice implies narrowing the divide between rich and poor, high and low educated etc. Given the separation between unusual and usual suspects described in section 2.1, actors will be focussed on narrowing this divide when they want to focus on justice aspects. Therefore, and inherently, this concept of sustainability may attract unusual suspects more as it addresses not only global environmental problems, yet also local, social issues. The concept of 'just sustainability', however, is not very concrete and remains vague so far. I wonder whether it would pop up in Nijmegen's Green Capital year, and if yes, whether it indeed appeals to unusual suspects.

As said, the concept of 'environmental justice' will support our evaluation of Green Capital year initiatives. The next section addresses that concept.

2.4   Environmental justice

This thesis researches the inclusion and exclusion of particular groups in the Green Capital year. This inclusion and exclusion, whether intended or unintended, has an element of justice or equity in it. The concept of environmental justice is used to indicate differences between groups in society regarding environmental problems and/or policies. Essentially it refers to certain categories, mostly socially and economically underprivileged categories, being more exposed to all sorts of environmental risks and suffering more from environmental policies (Agyeman & Evans, 2004). As a result thereof, they bear a disproportional part of the burdens of environmental issues. I elaborate on the term below, which I basically use to underpin my evaluation of Green Capital actors' initiatives and strategies. Below, I explore the history of the concept, its three aspects: recognition, procedural and distributional justice, and its applicability to evaluate strategies deployed in the Green Capital year.

2.4.1 Origin and definition environmental justice

The concept environmental justice emerged as it became a label of a societal movement in the USA and Australia in particular. Environmental risks and burdens were not equally distributed among groups in society; they were affecting mostly poorer areas and lower class societal groups. This was regarded as an unjust distribution. One of the first scientific examples of the unequal distribution of risks was a study in 1987 about an increased risk due to toxic waste impacting communities of colour (Adeaola, 1994). The movement that incorporated this line of thought began pleading for environmental justice, being a more equal distribution of environmental risks and problems. Later the concept evolved and now a widely shared definition is: "Environmental justice is based on the principle that all people have a right to be protected from environmental pollution and to live in and enjoy a clean and healthful environment. Environmental justice is the equal protection and meaningful involvement of all people with respect to the development, implementation and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations and policies and the equitable distribution of environmental benefits." (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 2002).

2.4.2 Linking environmental problems and justice

Environmental problems are often related with justice and human equality issues. Agyeman and Evans (2002) say "Wherever in the world environmental despoliation and degradation is happening, it is almost always linked to questions of social justice, equity, rights and people's quality of life in its widest sense" (p. 5). There are three dimensions that explain this connection. The first is that in countries with high level civil liberty, human rights implementation, literacy levels and equal income distribution, there is a higher quality of the environment than in countries with lower equality, liberty, literacy and rights. This is also true on a more local level. The second dimension is that environmental problems are unevenly distributed on the poor, whilst richer people and countries cause more environmental problems/pollution by consuming more. The third dimension is the realization of sustainable development as explained by the UN and in the Rio Earth Summit of 1992. The goal thereof is to improve living conditions in a just way. The sustainable development goals (SDGs, see above section 2.3.4) contain both social and environmental aspects. "This emphasis upon greater equity as a desirable and just social goal, is intimately linked to a recognition that, unless society strives for a greater level of social and economic equity, both within and between nations, the long-term objective of a more sustainable world is unlikely to be secured" (p.6). This is why it is important to evaluate the strategies to see whether there is environmental (in)justice. It is an important aspect because it is very much interlinked with sustainability.

Recent debates about environmental justice in the Netherlands are about the increasing divide between rich and poor people. Recently an opinion article headed: "Sustainability as a privilege" (Tielbeke, 2017). Tielbeke argues that subsidies are often available for people with more money, for example, subsidies to green your roof, or to take solar panels or to buy an electric car. These environmental policies might increase inequities rather than decreasing them. In a similar manner, biological vegetables are more expensive than mainstream ones, this again could increase the divide between poor and richer people.

2.4.3 Aspects of environmental justice

The concept of environmental justice comprehends three distinguishable aspects, two of them were already reflected in the definition given in section 2.4.1: procedural and distributional. The procedural aspect is about involving people, e.g. through their participation in society at large and in political decision-making in particular. The second aspect is about the actual distribution of exposure to environmental problems or the access to environmental benefits (Agyeman & Evans, 2004).

Schlosberg (2004) adds a third and important aspect: recognition: "(…) global environmental justice is really threefold: equity in the distribution of environmental risk, recognition of the diversity of the participants and experiences in affected communities, and participation in the political processes which create and manage environmental policy." This definition includes the procedural and distributional aspect of environmental justice,

but it is mostly focused on the equal distribution of burdens regarding environmental laws and policies aiming at sustainability. Recognition of these inequity aspects is important as it is the first step in dealing with environmental (in)justice. Without insight in and recognizing of the differences between affected societal groups, whether burdens or benefits, these policies cannot lead to an equal distribution.

This concept is important for this research: initiators of Green Capital year activities have strategies, including target groups and messages. Target groups can be included and excluded, which implies that there is an element of justice in play. In section 2.1 we have seen that environmental and sustainability concerns are unequally spread over the population. The question therefore arises whether and how the unusual suspects are approached by Green Capital year activities: are they being equally treated, are they equally addressed? And if they are targeted in particular, how is that done and with what outcome? These questions can be further refined, taking on board all three aspects of environmental justice to evaluate Green Capital strategies.

Recognition justice is about whether unusual suspects are thought about in initiators' strategies and who is thought to be part of the unusual suspects. Actors could target unusual suspects in general or target specific characteristics/a specific group within the group of unusual suspects. To address and recognize a group of unusual suspects could be a deliberate choice to include more people in sustainability or could be driven by other motives. Both is regarded as recognition justice.

Distributional justice in the Green Capital year is about an equal distribution of (access to) activities, benefits and knowledge to all target groups. So, distributional justice is about whether the benefits of sustainability are equally attainable and distributed.

In comparison with procedural justice, distributional justice is more about creating specific activities and their results, where procedural justice is more about involving unusual suspects in the process of sustainability, which eventually could lead to specific activities.

Procedural justice is therefore first about the question if unusual suspects are involved in the process of sustainability. Secondly, it is about whether unusual suspects are being included in plan-making in target group specific activities.

These elaborated aspects of environmental justice can be formulated in the following questions to evaluate strategies:

- Recognition: Are the unusual suspects thought about? Who is thought to be part of the unusual suspects?
- Distributional: Are the Green Capital activities and sustainability knowledge and benefits equally distributed among target groups? Are there special efforts to involve unusual suspects?
- Procedural: Are the unusual suspects being included in plan-making? Are initiators in the Green Capital year trying to involve unusual suspects in sustainability?

These three aspects will inform whether strategies, either intended or unintended, target particular groups, if so what special efforts are deployed and with what result.

2.5   Research questions

The main research question in this thesis is:

To what extent are unusual suspects involved in the Green Capital year Nijmegen, how and with what results?

The research questions as formulated in section 1. are now further refined and replaced by the following theory informed questions. These questions will be answered for the general Green Capital strategy and the special activities intended for (a subgroup of) unusual suspects.

1) What are the strategies of the activities in the Green Capital year?
   - What message do they spread?
   - Which conception of sustainability do they have?
   - What is the intended target group?
   - What are the courses of action?
   - Which resources do they need?

2) What are the results of these activities?
   - Do they reach the intended goal?
   - Do unusual suspects participate in the activities?

3) What influence does the strategy, including its conception of sustainability, have on the results of the activities in reaching the desired target group?

4) Which of the environmental justice criteria do the strategies meet?
   - Recognition: Are the unusual suspects thought about? Who considered part of the unusual suspects?
   - Distributional: Are the Green Capital activities and sustainability knowledge and benefits equally distributed among target groups? Are there special efforts to involve unusual suspects?
   - Procedural: Are the unusual suspects being included in plan-making? Are initiators in the Green Capital year trying to involve unusual suspects in sustainability?

3. Methodology

This chapter addresses the methodological choices that are made to answer the research questions. The following section explain: the research philosophy (3.1), the research strategy and case selection (3.2) the research methods (3.3) and the validity and reliability of the research (3.4).

3.1 Research philosophy

The research philosophy contains the assumptions a researcher has on what knowledge is and how to attain it. These are often underlying thoughts that influence the choices one makes as a researcher. To be aware of these assumptions is important, as they shape the way the research is done and how data is gathered. This way, conscious decisions can be made on whether the assumptions lead in the right way (Creswell, 2012).

In research philosophy there is a clear division between two trends: positivism and constructivism (Moses & Knutsen, 2012). Positivism considers reality as objective and given. This reality could be discovered by a factual approach. It is characterized by a focus on facts and truths, which can only be interpreted in one way. As a consequence of this philosophy one opts for natural science methods to perform research. Constructivism, in contrast, assumes that there is not one single interpretation of reality, yet there are multiple, socially constructed realities. Nothing can be seen as factual and objective, rather is reality subjectively perceived by everyone. Everyone has his/her own interpretation. Facts are thus seen as 'social constructs' (Creswell, 2012).

This research takes on a constructivist view. The concept of 'sustainability' and how its translated into all sorts of initiatives can be seen as a 'social construct'. Everyone has his/her own interpretation of the sustainability, so everyone has constructed his/her own reality. Even though some of these conceptions of sustainability are similar and the practices built thereon might have common patterns, still everyone has his/her own interpretation and, consequently his/her own practices built on that conception. The same goes for concepts such as strategies and 'involvement': actors certainly could interpret 'involvement of unusual suspects' in different ways, resulting in unique, maybe diverging strategies.

3.2 Research strategy

This research opts for a qualitative research strategy. A qualitative study is about researching interpretations and meanings people give to certain things. This research is about the conception of sustainability, involvement and strategies, and how these concepts influence initiatives, practices and results. As this research is about interpretations, rather than on regulatory patterns as quantitative research would do, a qualitative study fits well (Creswell, 2012; Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

The present research that is a case study, looking for an in-depth and detailed understanding of the whole case (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007; Yin, 2003). The case under scrutiny here is the whole bunch of sustainability activities in the Nijmegen Green Capital year. The case study has two main levels of research: first, the involvement of unusual suspects in the Green Capital year in general; second, the strategies and results of four actors that are specifically targeting unusual suspects in their activities. By researching the involvement of unusual suspects on these two levels, we hope to cover the issue as it emerged throughout the Green Capital year.

3.2.1 Case selection

The four specific actors that I chose including their activities are:

Green Capital Challenges
- The Green Competition
- Waste separation Dukenburg

Bureau Wijland/Colourful Green

- Africa festival goes Colourful Green
- Nature excursion
- Inspirational garden event

Go Green
- House visits

Lentekracht
- CityQuiz

In the next chapter I explain what these organisations are and will provide case descriptions. These case studies are selected, because these initiatives and activities are all consciously targeting (one specific group of) unusual suspects. Strategies on how to include unusual suspects lie beneath these activities and these strategies can be analysed.

3.3 Research methods
3.3.1 Data collection
This research uses three ways to collect the empirical data that is needed; document analysis, participatory research and interviews, with interviews in the centre of the research. Using multiple ways to collect information is called method triangulation (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). This contributes to internal validity of the research and adds to the credibility of the results. The three ways of data collection will now be described. First there was extensive literature research. Then, empirical data was collected through multiple methods, which in turn was interpreted by the theories found in the literature reported on in chapter 2. For example, by interpreting the conception of sustainability and distinguishing the aspects of environmental justice. The three ways to collect data are now described.

Document analysis
The first method of gaining information is document analysis. This entails analysing documents through the lens of the theoretical framework as was presented in chapter 2. Relevant information can be deducted through these documents. The documents that are analysed are: the 'BidBook' (BB) (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016) and the 'ambition document' of Nijmegen Green Capital (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2017). The BidBook is an extended booklet that Nijmegen made, based on the application procedure for becoming European Green Capital. It contains general and summarized environmental policy and achievements of the past decades, and also ambitions and challenges that Nijmegen will face, so it shows the view Nijmegen has on sustainability, and the road how to get there. However, because the BidBook is based on the application for becoming European Green Capital, the subjects dealt that are dealt with are the same as in the application. This limits the freedom to write what they want to write and therefore the BidBook has limitations. That is the reason why interviews are held to check the view on sustainability and other aspects regarding involvement of unusual suspects.

The second document that is analysed is the 'ambition document' for the Green Capital year (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2017). This is a municipal document that describes the ambitions to achieve in the Green Capital year, including which target groups are important and how a team is formed coordinates this year. This document contains the strategy how to shape the Green Capital year. This document was a source of information regarding the Green Capital strategy, especially concerning target groups and goals.

Next to these two crucial documents, three other documents will provide information on results. These are worth mentioning here, because they provide new information and insights about the Green Capital year but are not thoroughly analysed as the two documents above. These additional documents provide general information on how the Green Capital year is formed and is continuing.
The first document is the midterm 'key figures' made on 15-05-2018 by Pieter van Ree (chair Green Capital board). This document is a source of information, alongside the second document, the intermediate survey which

was filled in by the inhabitants of the city of Nijmegen gathered in a city panel in June 2018: the 'City Panel Halfway Poll'. These two documents shed a light on how the Green Capital year was going so far and what the results are on how the Green Capital year is going. These documents show key statistics and messages, and how the people of the city are responding to the various activities in the Green Capital year. The third document that is used, I call 'key messages' is a collection of all the key messages in the Green Capital year of activities that are targeting inhabitants of Nijmegen. The research department of the municipality of Nijmegen collected all the key messages of all the activities that are on the Green Capital calendar as part of monitoring the Green Capital year, for an eventual report as required by the European Commission. Many of the activities on the calendar are not for all the citizens, but for professionals or a selected group instead. From all the activities targeting every citizen, I collected the key messages and attendance if possible.

Participatory research
Empirical research is obtained through participatory research/fieldwork. The research site are the different activities or events that play a role in Green Capital. The activities that I joined are activities of Green Capital Challenges, Bureau Wijland, Lentekracht or Go Green Nijmegen that are directed towards including particular groups in society.

Participatory research is a strategy to observe people in their natural surroundings. This a way to gain knowledge about how people communicate, react and handle in different situations. The questions that are researched here are: who is participating/involved, who is responding to what, what is the message of the activity. There were observations and conversations on the field to gather the answers to these questions. Participatory research can be carried out freely without an agenda or with more structure (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). I chose to add structure by keeping a list of points to observe.

There are four roles to take on in participatory research: complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, and complete observer. Complete participant is to participate fully and the researcher functions as part of the participants. Participant-as-observer is to participate and be part of the group, but also to be known as a researcher. Observer-as-participant is mainly observing and not participating. A complete observer only observes and does not participate. There are no interactions between participants and the researcher (Bryman, 2012). Disadvantages of complete participant is that data becomes subjective or that the role as a researcher will be forgotten because of participation (ibid.). An advantage is that as a participant you can empathize with participants and through introspection can understand someone's behaviour (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). A disadvantage to be a complete observer is the greater distance to the group which makes it hard to empathize with participants.

The fieldwork documentation is done through making field descriptions. Saunders et al. (2016) describe four types of information to write down during fieldwork. This is also done this way in this research.
The four types are primary, secondary, experiential and contextual.
- Primary observations: what happened and what was said;
- Secondary observations: observers interpretation of what was said;
- Experiential data: data about what I as a researcher am feeling about what is happening, and what the values are that are being transferred;
- Contextual data: data about the context, setting, the event, structures, etc.
These four are noted during the fieldwork.

Activities
The following activities are attended.
- Africa festival goes Colourful Green: June 17, 2018
- CityQuiz (Lentekracht): July 8, 2018
- Go Green Workshop: March 17, 2018

- Nature excursion (Colourful Green): August 13, 2018
- Online Green Contest: July 8, 2018 and September 20, 2018

At the Africa festival and the Nature Excursion I was a participant-as-observer. To some people I revealed my role as a researcher, but data did not get influenced by it, because it was at the end of conversations. At the CityQuiz I was a complete participant. It made correspondence with attendees easier, I did not reveal my role as researcher. It gave new opportunities and insights that I wouldn't have got without participating. At the Go Green Workshop, I was a complete observer. My role as a researcher was known, but it did not influence the other attendees at the workshop.

Interviews

To collect empirical data, interviews are held. During interviews people can tell their thoughts, reasons and feelings. The interviews are semi-structured, so that not only relevant theories could be tested, but there is room for discovering new insights (Bryman, 2012). Because of the structure, the interview can be led to the important subjects, but also new information could be attained. Discovering someone's view on sustainability is only possible through asking and asking further. Also, pragmatically it is a fast way to collect information.

The interviewees are selected through theoretical sampling, which is theoretically arguing which people were interviewed. Below I review why I choose the interviewees. The names and positions of the interviewees are in Appendix 1. Per actor in four sub- cases, one, two or three people are interviewed. The interview guide used with interviewing the Green Capital Team is shown in Appendix 2. Appendix 3 contains the interview guide for the sub-cases.

The three Green Capital team members are interviewed because they have a good overview of the overall strategies of Nijmegen Green Capital. People from Green Capital Challenges, Colourful Green, Lentekracht and Go Green are interviewed because of their involvement in the strategies regarding the activities for unusual suspects. These were all people who organised an activity or are a chair member; the people that are involved in strategy making.

Interviews are held face-to-face, because this is the best way to build trust make the interviewees comfortable to express their thoughts. One of the interviews could not be held face-to-face (interview with Peter van de Munckhof). The preferred length of the interview was 60 minutes, this was also communicated in advance. In a few cases the interview took less time, because of external conditions or limited time from the interviewees.

In one case, a second interview was held because not all the information was gained with only one interview. This was with Bert Lagerweij. The second interview took less time, 30 minutes instead of 60 minutes.

The interviewees were asked for an interview by e-mail. Every interview is recorded and transcribed.

In three cases there was extra email contact regarding activities, this was because either one of the organizers could not do an interview (Africa festival, Caroline de Greef and Henk Moeniralam), or extra information was needed because not every question could be asked during the interview (CityQuiz, Bram Lamberts). The last email contact was about the nature excursion organized by the Colourful Green network. This activity was held after the interview with the organizer, results of the activity were exchanged in an email (Nature excursion, Henk Moeniralam). These emails are also used as data.

3.3.2 Data analysis

Fieldwork and notes have the following phases of data analysis: description, analysis and interpretation (Creswell, 2012). The interviews are analysed on the content with help of Atlas.ti. Analyses are mostly inductive: explaining the findings on the basis of the literature.

The interviews and documents are coded in Atlas.ti. Codes are added in Atlas.ti deductively and inductive. Inductive codes are codes without knowledge of interpretation beforehand. These codes can be words or parts of sentences that are significant. This way of coding gives room to unforeseen interpretations and connections between concepts.

Deductively coding was also part of the analysing process. Before coding a list of codes is made based on the literature. This is to check and test relevant concepts of the literature in the data. Together these two types of coding will provide a list, seen in Appendix 4. The codes are used to structure and interpret the data, for example to structure the data into the four dimensions of a strategy.

In each form of data: documents, interviews or participatory research, the same codes are used to see connections and interpret the data well. Patterns and structures are clarified through this process.

3.4 Validity and reliability

To make sure that research is scientifically sound and robust, it is important to ensure its validity and reliability.

Validity

Validity is about ensuring that this research is measuring what is said and should be measured (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). Validity is firstly concerned with measuring the right concepts. The main concepts in this research: sustainability, involvement, strategy and environmental justice, have been clearly defined, based on scientific literature, and, if applicable, distinguished in different aspects. In line with the constructivist philosophy, documents have been searched and respondents have been asked for their own definition of sustainability, involvement etc. This will secure the internal validity.

Second, methodical triangulation may add to validity. Triangulation is using multiple sources of gathering empirical data, in this case interviews, participatory research and document analysis. The internal validity increases when all three methods lead onto similar conclusions, as that seems to avoid possible biases (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

The present research is a unique case study, which means that a single case (the Nijmegen Green Capital activities and their strategies) is interpreted in a unique context. This makes it difficult to generalize. Generalisation or external validity, therefore, is not envisaged. Other Green Capital cities could have different outcomes and conclusions about involvement of unusual suspects. That being said, the recommendations at the end of this research (section 5.3) are based on existing literature and might therefore be applicable to more cases.

Reliability

Reliability is about whether the research is traceable, repeatable and controllable (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). The reliability of this research is increased by documenting every single conceptual and methodical step and by writing down the research methodology in this chapter. As to the data, the public sources and municipal documents that are used are accessible to the public, which makes it possible to repeat this research. Also, the interviews are recorded, transcribed and stored well. While reliability is warranted as good as possible, some remain a challenge, e.g. the fact that some initiatives changed their strategies over the year, while I observed them once, in a few cases twice. As one of the interviewees, Margot Ribberink, explicitly mentioned during the interview, it is therefore likely that respondents would have given different answers to some questions if they would have been interviewed earlier or later. Whether they changed their strategies, and if so, for what reason (learning, feedback from outside or others) is not researched in this thesis.

4. Results

This chapter shows the results of the empirical study to answer the first two research questions:

1) What are the strategies of the activities in the Green Capital year?
- What message do they spread/what is their goal?
- Which concept of sustainability do they have?
- What is the intended target group?
- What are the courses of action?
- Which resources do they need?

2) What are the results of these activities?
- Do they reach the intended goal?
- Do unusual suspects participate in the activities?

To answer these questions, the strategies of the involved actors in the Green Capital year are described. The Green Capital year functions as an umbrella for many different activities in the city. The projects and organizations related to Green Capital that I have looked at are the Green Capital organization itself, the Green Capital Challenges, Colourful Green, Go Green and Lentekracht. These actors all have certain ways of involving unusual suspects in the Green Capital year and have one or more initiatives. I will analyse and evaluate the strategies of their initiatives.

As explained in section 2.2, strategies show the efforts actors have in involving unusual suspects. Strategies are distinguished in messages, target groups, course of action and resources. The message in the strategies carries a certain conception of what sustainability is, which arguably influences the involvement of unusual suspects. Certain hypotheses are drawn in section 2.3 how this influences the involvement of unusual suspects. These hypotheses are tested.

Per actor, the background of their activities is given, following the strategy, including the conception of sustainability, the target group, course of action and resources. Lastly the results of the activity will be discussed. The elements of environmental justice, as explained in section 2.4, are also reviewed throughout the analysis. These are also described in the conclusion (chapter 5).

The activities that are discussed all want to involve some group of unusual suspects. However, involvement is described differently – involvement in an activity, in sustainability, in sustainable behaviour, or involvement in sustainability benefits or in knowledge. With each activity the goal is different, therefore the results cannot be compared unambiguously. That is why the results per activity are described in terms of attendance, awareness, knowledge, (change of) sustainable behaviour and in some cases social cohesion or network relations.

4.1 Green Capital

In this subchapter, the strategies of these projects are analysed and evaluated, along with the strategy of the Green Capital organization itself. To begin with, some background information is helpful.

4.1.1 Background

Nijmegen won the award granted by the European Commission to be the European Green Capital 2018. The purpose of the award is to reward cities for their contribution to sustainability for the preceding years. Cities play a huge role in realizing a sustainable future, therefore the award is given to cities who can also function as a role model for other cities. Other European cities can learn from the award-winning city by sharing experiences,

realised plans, best practices. Kurstjens (2017) describes the Green Capital award as a (soft) policy instrument. Through this award, cities can boost sustainability and other cities can learn from them.

To become the European Green Capital, municipalities must apply and describe the past realizations, present state and future plans concerning sustainability. The application is assessed by an expert panel. Cities should hand in a document reporting on twelve themes regarding sustainability. These twelve environmental themes are:

- Climate Mitigation and adaptation
- Local transport
- Green urban areas
- Nature and biodiversity
- Ambiant Air Quality
- Quality of the acoustic environment
- Waste production and management
- Water management
- Wastewater treatment
- Eco-innovation and sustainable employment
- Energy performance
- Integrated Environmental Management (EC, 2017)

On each of these points, cities should write about the current situation, the implemented measures and future ambitions on the subject (EC, 2017). "Each city's application is therefore a very detailed description of its activities and credentials to become a European Green Capital Award winner" (EC, 2017, p.23). Nijmegen applied three times for the award and won the third time. In the application for 2018, seven cities applied for the award and were all assessed. Three cities were then chosen to present to a jury their plans to give shape to their Green Capital year were they to win the award. The cities were assessed on communication skills, how they would be a role model for other cities and show the best practices, their actual future plans and commitment to it.

The strategy and vision of 'Green Capital' is constructed by many different sources. First, the BidBook. This is a summary of all environmental achievements and describes the vision how they want to continue sustainability (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016). Secondly, the ambition document, which contains a large part of the strategy of they want to shape the Green Capital year and its organization (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2017). Third, the Brochure for Nijmegen Green Capital, which is released by the EU, contains information and tells readers about sustainability in Nijmegen (EC, 2017). Lastly, the interviews with the Green Capital Project organization make clear how they form the Green Capital year and how they translate their ambitions into concrete actions.

The strategy for sustainability in the Green Capital year and how they involve people is analysed. Through this analysis, also more is explained about what the Green Capital award entails and why Nijmegen won the award.

4.1.2 Sustainability
In this section we look at how Nijmegen Green Capital conceives sustainability, both *environmentally* and *socially*, by analysing the Brochure, BidBook, the ambition document and the interviews.

Environmental sustainability
Nijmegen won the Green Capital award because of its environmental ambitions and projects. In the brochure made about Nijmegen Green Capital (EC, 2017), many environmental reasons are given why Nijmegen won the Green Capital award. A few environmental achievements that the jury assessing the cities application approved, were for example; land use, the greening of the city, investments in cycling lanes, public transport running on biogas and the room-for-the-river project (EC, 2017).

As for the Nijmegen Green Capital year, sustainability does not have one single definition, it rather has an open and broad meaning. Throughout the Green Capital year, it is operationalized in multiple ways. Ultsje van Gorkum, the project manager of the project organization, agrees that for Green Capital the meaning of sustainability is broad: "There are many different interpretations and definitions of sustainability. For our Green Capital year, we will not say: this is the only right definition of sustainability, because it's about setting people into motion. So, whether people have different explanations of sustainability, if you take steps within this definition, you are welcome in the Green Capital family." Kim Kerckhoffs, part of the Green Capital project team, adds "This is the beauty of the Green Capital year, there is a taste in it for everyone." Even though sustainability is broadly defined, the focus in the Green Capital year is on environmental aspects. That is for example visible in the five themes they choose to focus on in this year:
- Vital city: Healthy and green together
- Energy transition: Happy with sun and wind
- Climate Adaptation: Living with water
- Circular economy: Everything is useful
- Smart mobility: Sustainable transport (GC, 2018)
These five themes and the twelve themes that Nijmegen reports on in the BidBook are almost all environmental themes. This shows the main sustainability message is framed environmentally.

Social sustainability - Participation
Another important focus point in the Green Capital year is *participation;* specifically, participation of organizations and individuals in moving towards sustainability. This is described by the Green Capital team as the 'people-side' of sustainability, or social sustainability. In the Brochure, the BidBook and the interviews this focus was visible.

Nijmegen's mayor Hubert Bruls writes in the foreword of the Brochure: "We learned that the involvement of citizens, social organizations, entrepreneurs and research institutes is absolutely necessary to successfully implement change" (EC, 2017, p.7). Next to that, according to Bert Lagerweij, coordinator of the Green Capital Challenges, the jury was impressed with the way that sustainability was not something only from the municipal government, but also from the citizens. "The jury said: 'Nijmegen won because you took half the city with you. This shows commitment; it is not only something from the government'" (Lagerweij).

Participation, according to Kim Kerckhoffs, part of the Green Capital Project team, became a common thread throughout the application, BidBook, and is also woven into the five main themes in the Green Capital year. "You have to report on 12 themes, but we included participation in it as well, that is unique in Nijmegen."

She says they didn't want to only focus on environmental aspects. After explaining the five main themes in the Green Capital year, Van Gorkum also adds: "As a matter of fact, we are forgetting one [theme], that is not specifically one of the themes, but that is the *social side* of sustainability." When asking what the social side of sustainability is, he explains it as the importance of involving all people in environmental sustainability; e.g. the participation of citizens. Social sustainability explained in this way is like 'bridge social sustainability' (Vallance et al., 2011). Targeting the 'bridge' between people and the environment. They however do not go into whether they want a transformative or non-transformative transition with people, as Valance et al. (2011) does explain. Mostly Green Capital focusses on the first step of getting people to attend a Green Capital event and that people know the name of Green Capital. The Green Capital project team links social sustainability to environmental sustainability: social sustainability is a means to reach environmental sustainability. Participation is regarded as a prerequisite for environmental sustainability. Participation as Kerckhoffs describes it, has aspects of procedural justice. Procedural justice is, as explained in section 2.4, concerned with involving people in the process of sustainability, which the Green Capital team aims to do. More about this under 'target group'.

4.1.3 Target Groups

This subsection first deals with the target groups in Nijmegen in the general environmental policy about Nijmegen, not specifically in the Green Capital year. This section is mainly based on the BidBook, as the BidBook is a summary of recent environmental policy in Nijmegen. It then goes on by dealing with target groups for the Green Capital year specifically. This is based on the ambition document and the interviews.

Involvement of target groups in general

Policy in Nijmegen concerning sustainability targets businesses, organizations, citizens and the municipality itself. There are rules and regulations and other policy tools to help the city in sustainability. This thesis is about involving unusual suspects, and as is explained in section 2.1.1 these are a subgroup of citizens. I will therefore focus on what is said about the involvement of citizens. Citizens are targeted to be involved in all kinds of sustainability initiatives. The city also shows throughout the BidBook how citizens are already involved. For example, there are citizens and children who clean up living environments, the 'Neighbourhood Heroes'. By mentioning this, the value Nijmegen gives to citizen participation is showed. "There is a great deal of collaboration in Nijmegen in working towards a sustainable and healthy city. Nijmegen is not working towards this goal alone but is happy to give its citizens the opportunity to design and manage the public spaces themselves. There are currently 271 participation projects, with themes including: management of green spaces, sport and play, and security and surveillance. The projects are supervised by account managers from the municipality" (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016, p. 33).

Green Capital ambitions

The ambition document for the Green Capital year describes four target groups: Professionals, tourist, citizens and students (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2017). The award is first and foremost a prize for what Nijmegen has done in the last couple of years. Therefore, Van Gorkum states: "In the first place, this award is for city marketing and for professionals. That was in the assignment we got from the EU. So, we must first meet that goal." Winning the award, Nijmegen is showing professionals and other cities what the city has done in the last couple of years with sustainability.

Citizens

After professionals, citizens are a main target group. The goal specifically for citizens is that everyone knows that Nijmegen is the Green Capital of Europe, adding that Green Capital will strive to increase awareness of sustainability. To realize its ambitions, Green Capital wants to cooperate with citizens by bringing together sustainability initiatives and stimulate them (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2017).

Kerckhoffs, Van Gorkum and Van Ree say citizens are one of the main target groups of Green Capital. When talking about the involvement of citizens, Kerkhoffs herself begins talking about the importance of including *every* citizen, not just some. She says: "It remains a point of attention how to involve those people who are less affected by the hype." The easiest to reach people are according to her: "a little exaggerated, but Nijmegen Oost." Nijmegen-Oost is also mentioned by Van Gorkum as the neighbourhood that is the most involved when it comes to citizens and sustainability. Nijmegen-Oost is not used to only describe the people from this neighbourhood but is rather a name for a group with certain characteristics. According to Kerckhoffs, the characteristics of these people are the high education, wealth, the presence of more two-income households, and left-wing political orientation of these people. Relevant literature, described in section 2.1, supports the conclusion that when these characteristics of a neighbourhood are in place, that neighbourhood is more likely to be involved in sustainability. People who are wealthier and/or are highly educated portray more often conscious pro-environmental behaviour (McMillan et al., 1997, Agyeman, 2008). Examples of neighbourhoods that participate less are Hatert, Dukenburg and Neerbosch-Oost, these neighbourhoods are regarded as 'unusual suspects'. These 'unusual suspects' according to Van Gorkum are for example people who have to fulfil their basic needs.

Interestingly, Van Gorkum realizes that people that have very little money often perform more sustainable behaviour, which literature also has concluded (Carabain et al., 2012). However, he still believes they need to be more involved in sustainability. Being 'more involved' means, according to him, being *consciously* sustainable. "Because conscious decisions stick longer. If you don't travel often because you don't have money, you will travel when you have more money". Consciousness and awareness about consequences of people's behaviour are important aspects according to Van Gorkum. According to the literature on environmental concern, environmental *concern* is mostly found with wealthier people (Carabain et al. 2012). It is therefore less likely that less wealthy people will perform pro-environmental behaviour consciously.

The reason to target also 'unusual suspects' in the Green Capital year is because "it is a collective assignment" (Kerckhoffs) and "we can't do it alone. The government cannot do it alone, citizens cannot do it alone, businesses cannot do it alone and institutions cannot do it alone" (Van Gorkum).

4.1.4 Course of Action
In this section, the course of action in the Green Capital year, based on the ambition document and the interviews is described.

Green Capital as mobilisation
Green Capital is first of all an award for the sustainability of the city, to make Nijmegen a showcase for other cities. General policy is less important and creating and shaping the Green Capital year requires another approach. Van Ree, head of the program committee, explains the strategy and course of action they have chosen to fill in the Green Capital year. First of all, Van Ree argues the importance of an event. "An event ensures that parties in a city move in the same direction. This sounds easy, but it is a very important aspect." An event has the power to boost what is already happening in the city. Green Capital has the power to mobilise parties in the city, which means parties are encouraged to organize activities and to join the Green Capital year.

Shared ownership
The municipality had to apply for being Green Capital but does not necessarily carry out all the tasks needed to be a Green Capital. The municipality, after seeking advice, chose a model of *shared ownership* for the Green Capital year. They set up a Green Capital Program Committee, existing of the alderman of sustainability, including some civil servants, and other involved people from various parties in the city, for example a manager of an academic hospital. To execute the decisions, there is a Green Capital Project Team that works on this from a day-to-day basis. They are busy organizing, networking and leading this year in a good direction.

Van Ree, head of the Green Capital Program Committee, explains how they include other parties in the city: "My organization model is fairly simple. It assumes *shared ownership* and assumes *own initiative*. We have a bottom-up approach and I am cheering them on from along the sidelines." Organizations and businesses can organize an event in cooperation with the Green Capital organization. This approach is not something new that was created this year. In Nijmegen, this is a popular model and has a history. Besides, cooperation and participation were also reasons why Nijmegen became Green Capital in the first place. In the Bidbook and the Brochure, the cooperation between the local government and other organizations, including the bottom-up approach gets a lot of attention: "That symbiosis between an active municipality and a bottom-up movement that stretches across all walks of life, ensures that good intentions and empty promises do not bog down sustainable objectives" (Bruls, EC, 2017, p. 7).

Van Ree describes Green Capital as a train. "We [the Green Capital program committee] are shunting the train, I always say. My program committee is the locomotive, and we ensure that the right wagons are part of the train. But I don't interfere with the content, that is far too complicated." A train wagon can join if there is a link to

green or sustainability and joins in with one of the five themes. The team has a steering and communicating role but does not determine what activities should take place or what the content is.

As a result of the bottom-up approach, there are many Green Capital activities on the Green Capital calendar targeting many different societal groups, also 'unusual suspects' like people with a migration background, or refugees. However, the Green Capital organization should keep an eye on the different target groups and can't choose everything themselves. The team is largely dependent on initiators that approach them. Van Ree says they continually ask themselves: "Are we doing enough for Nijmegen? (…) Is it only for Nijmegen Oost, or do you also serve Lindenholt or Hatert? Do we serve colourful Nijmegen? Do we serve young Nijmegen?" The answer of this question sometimes leads to decisions to stimulate initiatives that target these 'unusual suspects'. In the interview he mentions that the Green Capital organization financially contributed to the CityQuiz for one of the neighbourhoods.

As was said in the previous section about the target groups, the main target group is professionals, which results in a main focus on congresses and other activities for professionals. Van Ree is however also actively engaged in pursuing an equal distribution of activities on the Green Capital agenda for different target groups, which is an aspect of distributional justice. Through paying attention to this distributional aspect in terms of the distribution of activities, he recognizes the many different groups in society, and also identifies them, meeting these justice criteria.

The bottom-up approach leads to many different activities and initiatives carried out by a wide range of actors. Looking at the key messages of the activities that are on the Green Capital calendar, it is noticeable that the main messages are environmental. Besides, many activities accessible for citizens have a knowledge-sharing character.

Marketing vs content
There is a dilemma in the Green Capital strategy that Van Gorkum describes. On the one hand Green Capital and the municipality want to improve the sustainability of the city, and on the other hand they want to promote Green Capital. Promoting Green Capital could be a means for people to be involved in sustainability through hearing the brand name and becoming aware of the environment. Van Gorkum describes this dilemma between marketing (promoting Green Capital) and content (improving sustainability): "In the first place a Green Capital year is more marketing based than that it has real content. It is more about *awareness* and marketing than about the real stuff."

Green Capital Challenges
Involving citizens in the Green Capital year is mainly carried out by the Green Capital Challenges (GCC). Kerckhoffs: "These people (GCC) already thought about what they wanted to do to involve citizens in Green Capital. (…) Before we thought about how to involve citizens, their plan was already presented to us, which was indeed a good plan." The Green Capital organization decided to cooperate and invest in the Green Capital Challenges financially with 80.000 euro in 2017, and the same amount in 2018. Their approach will be discussed in section 4.2.

Green Vibe
Next to the Green Capital Challenges, the Green Capital organization has another strategy for involvement, which is creating a so-called *Green Vibe*. This is a strategy to not only reach professionals, but to involve the larger crowd of people into Green Capital. To create this 'vibe', they have cycling excursion routes to show example projects and next to that, activities organized by Green Capital themselves. Van Gorkum: "In those activities Green Capital or the content is not so much a focus point, but rather letting people do fun things, and as a kind of extra something there is a Green Capital stamp on it". The goal is that by associating Green Capital with fun things, sustainability would be associated with fun and people will begin asking themselves questions about sustainability: "Ultimately that people start asking themselves questions, like, gosh, how sustainable am I actually

if I do this or that? Or maybe I can do something or change things?" (Van Gorkum). This Green Vibe hopefully results in more 'unusual suspects' becoming involved in Green Capital.

4.1.5 Resources

The most important resource to shape the Green Capital year is its large network of partners. Without all the parties Green Capital cooperates with, this year would not have been as it is now. Actors, whether it is a business, NGO, supermarket, a church, school or a group of individuals, all organizations can join in and together form the Green Capital year. For example, they can join in an activity, organize an activity, or make an existing activity more sustainable. The activity or initiative can then enter into a cooperation with Green Capital: they get a Green Capital logo on a website/flyer, or the activity can be on the calendar of Green Capital. In some cases, the Green Capital organization can contribute with knowledge, money or with marketing. Also, the Green Capital organisation can ask or stimulate parties to organize a certain event.

Another resource that enables and restrains the Green Capital organization is money. There is limited money available to organize the Green Capital year. Money enables them to boost existing activities, but also limits them in the plans they have. The ambition document presents a basic budget, presented in table 2. The document notes "for our extra ambitions we need more money than is now budgeted" (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016, p. 13). To fund the ambitions, the team will look for other ways to collect funds, because "the more money we have, the more ambitions we can achieve".

	2017	2018	
Project manager/program manager	€150.000	€150.000	
Execution team (Program team)	€250.000	€250.000	
Commissioning partner Municipality of Nijmegen	€100.000	€100.000	
Representation and external relations	€100.000	€100.000	
Communication, representation and activities, etc.	€300.000	€300.000	
Opening event EGC 2018		€500.000	
Award ceremony EGC 2020		€150.000	
Closing event		€150.000	
Total	**€900.000**	**€170.000**	**€2.600.000**

Table 2 Basic budget (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016, p.13)

4.1.6 Results

The results of the Green Capital year are based on two documents and the interviews. The first is the 'first key figures of Green Capital' document gathered and released by Pieter van Ree on May 15th, 2018. The second is the 'City Panel Halfway Poll'. Before the start of the Green Capital year, Nijmegen carried out a city poll among citizens in Nijmegen. This took place in May 2017. During the Green Capital year, a halfway poll was set out to indicate results in June 2018. The most important aspects in the poll were: awareness and support, involvement and judgement of Nijmegen Green Capital (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2018a).

After describing overall results of the Green Capital year, I go deeper into the involvement of citizens in the Green Capital year. I describe three areas mentioned in the introduction of this chapter: Attendance, awareness, and sustainable behaviour.

Overall results

In general, the 'first key figures' indicate that the Green Capital organization is satisfied with how this year is taking shape. An overall impression is they see that the message of sustainability is often framed as fun and not in a condescending or merely educational way. The communication and reporting are perceived as positive. There are multiple Green Capital news items in the local newspapers and websites, some articles were released

in journals and there have also been nationwide news reports on Green Capital. Furthermore, the key figures state that "It seems that Nijmegen Green Capital also attracts tourists (urban traveling) and even has significance for companies and institutions with a green image" (Van Ree). For professionals there are multiple congresses, which is also seen as a positive result.

Table 3 shows the most important results of the City Panel Halfway Poll, published July 2018 (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2018a).

Awareness and Support	May 2017	June 2018
Awareness EGC Nijmegen	10% (28% somewhat)	34% (47% somewhat)
Support principle EGCN	77%	75%
% expects inspiration for themselves	46%	47%
Involvement		
Curious about the activities	74%	
Took part in activities		11%
Wants to be actively engaged with the organization or activities.	9%	
Actively engaged with the organization or activities		3%
Judgement of EGCN until now		
Positive judgement		43%
Negative judgement		26%

Table 3 Important results City Panel Halfway Poll (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2018a)

Involvement citizens
Attendance: As we see in table 3, 11% of the respondents took part in activities. This result is however not significant for the Nijmegen population, but gives an indication. The key figures document states: "We still mainly reach the in-crowd, but the leading group is getting bigger and the peloton is closing in more easily". So, 'unusual suspects', who are by definition not part of the in-crowd, remain largely unreached.
Awareness: As seen in table 3, awareness about Nijmegen Green Capital has clearly grown. The Green Capital organization and team often have encounters with people or parties in the city that want to cooperate. Van Ree for example tells about an encounter: "One of the most fun encounters I had recently was with a pastor from a local church, that asked: 'What can I do to contribute?'. We came up with the idea of greening the church square: remove the tiles and plant plants!" Awareness about environmental issues is hard to measure and little can be said about it. To see awareness among unusual suspects, we should look at specific activities targeting them.
Sustainable behaviour: The results of the City Panel Halfway Poll show that 7% of the respondents have made specific steps towards pro-environmental living (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2018a). Respondents mention different changes in behaviour, like recycling, less car use; sustainable investments like solar panels or electric cars; changes in the gardens, less cement, more green; different food choices like eating less meat; talking with others about their behaviour. This indicates that Green Capital is a means for changing behaviour. A distinction between usual or unusual suspects can't be made here.

4.1.7 Analysis
This section analyses the strategy in involving unusual suspects by analysing the shared ownership strategy, the Green Vibe and the focus on promoting. Lastly, I will conclude by analysing the involvement of unusual suspects in general.

The Green Capital strategy of letting other parties organize activities, the *shared ownership* strategy, results in many different activities. Some of them especially targeting some groups of unusual suspects, as is described in the following subchapters, people with a migration background, refugees, or people from specific neighbourhoods in Nijmegen. The downside of the approach is that they are largely dependent on external parties to organize these activities for 'unusual suspects'. If there are no such parties to organize these activities, then 'unusual suspects' stay 'unusual'.

Creating a *Green Vibe* is the strategy to involve people who are not yet participating but are along the sidelines of sustainability. The Green Capital team organizes activities for citizens in Nijmegen to spread the Green Vibe, which do not necessarily spread a sustainability message, but offer a fun activity. These are activities like the Opening festival: Miracle Garden, NK water cycling and the Concert on the Waal. Green Capital may reach unusual suspects through these activities but involving them in *sustainability* is another question. If there is a basic knowledge about sustainability, then being constantly reminded of it might result in people beginning to ask questions. But, if there is no direct need for it, or if there is no benefit in asking question, they won't. Thus, the second aspect of procedural justice, involving unusual suspects in sustainability, is limited. The first aspect of procedural justice, involving unusual suspects in plan-making is also not visible.

Furthermore, as explained under 'course of action', through the activities which are focused on creating a Green Vibe and through Green Capital promotion, the organization wants to create *awareness*. The question is, what kind of awareness is this? The Green Capital name, or sustainability awareness, the content? Does the name (Green Capital) make people think about the real content? Promoting Green Capital is a helpful way to create image and a city-identity, which could eventually lead to people asking themselves questions and in a rare case lead to change in behaviour, but this strategy of promoting and hoping that through marketing people change behaviour, sometimes misses the ultimate aim of becoming a true sustainable city. So, creating awareness through marketing-style promotion might not be the best strategy for involving unusual suspects into sustainability.

As the Green Capital organization says in the key-figures, Green Capital largely reaches and involves the in-crowd - the 'usual suspects'. Van Gorkum mentions that this point of critique is also expressed by the opposition parties in the municipal council. Van Gorkum: "They say: it is an expensive elitist party." Although he does not entirely agree, he says: "The first people to be involved are indeed the people who already are sustainable, so if you think that is elitist, then, yes, a certain *elite* group is more involved than other groups. But, with other themes, like sports, it's the same story, you always reach a certain group."
The City Panel Halfway Poll also revealed negative responses. 43% judged the Green Capital positively, and 26% negatively. Some of the respondents that judged Green Capital negatively criticized how many people Green Capital reaches and that there is no effect on citizens. One of the respondents said for example: "On the one hand much is organized, which seems nice. On the other hand, it seems like an event for a relatively small group of people. The average citizen in Nijmegen does not know of Green Capital" (Respondent, Gemeente Nijmegen, 2018a).
Why is it that they mainly reach the in-crowd? First of all, it largely depends on the activities offered and events. The message of sustainability which is prevalent through the BidBook and interviews is one that is concerned with environmental issues. Environmental sustainability therefore is the main goal. Many activities have a knowledge-sharing character, like lectures or discussion moments. Usual suspects are the highly educated people who more quickly understand these subjects and might find more pleasure in discussing it than the unusual suspects. So, the character of the events may be a reason that unusual suspects are less involved.

In conclusion, the general or mainstream activities are largely targeting usual suspects, and not so much involving unusual suspects in sustainability, due to either on the one hand the knowledge-sharing character of the events, or, on the other hand, due to the unspecific way sustainability awareness is tried to be reached by creating the

Green Vibe. There are however, due to the shared ownership strategy, activities in the Green Capital year organized by other actors specifically aimed at targeting unusual suspects. Let's look at what they accomplish and the strategies they have.

4.2 Green Capital Challenges

4.2.1 Background

Green Capital Challenges (GCC) is a foundation closely linked to Nijmegen Green Capital. The goal of the Green Capital Challenges is "that as many people as possible know that our city is European Green Capital 2018 and that people are motivated to take a few sustainable steps" (GCC, 2018). The name of the foundation refers to the challenges they set up. There are thirteen themes for which they set up challenges, with every month a central theme. Each month one of the themes is discussed with its corresponding challenges at a monthly event called the 'sustainability café'. Sustainability cafés are discussion evenings where knowledge, ideas and action perspectives are shared to stimulate sustainability in people of the city.

The foundation started with a group of enthusiastic citizens of Nijmegen, who supported the city to become Green Capital 2018. Bert Lagerweij, the program director of the Green Capital Challenges and program coordinator of the sustainability cafés, explains there was such an energy in this group when Nijmegen was chosen to be the European Green Capital 2018. They thought: "the city will organize all kinds of congresses and activities for professionals, we want to do something for citizens". This became Green Capital Challenges. The Green Capital organization embraced the ideas and invested in this foundation. Each of the thirteen themes has one initiator, a team of stakeholders and involve people who help shape the challenges. In 2017 many challenges already began. In 2018 challenges continued or were set up and discussed.

This case study particularly focuses on one of the themes: 'social sustainability and co-creation', because as we will see, the Green Capital Challenges explains social sustainability as involving the 'unusual suspects' into environmental sustainability. The two challenges that go with this theme, the Green Contest and a Waste separation project will be discussed. Additionally, some insights from the challenge and project 'Operation Stone Break' are added. The content of this section is based upon three interviews: with Bert Lagerweij, Margot Ribberink and Dirk-Wim in 't Hof.

We look at the way they view sustainability, how this is reflected in their actions and what their strategy is involving the 'unusual suspects' in their activities.

Goal

The main goal of the Green Capital Challenges is to involve as many people as possible in Green Capital. Lagerweij mentions a more specific goal: he hopes to reach 20.000 Nijmegen citizens with the Green Capital Challenges. But in the end, involving people in Green Capital and getting people to participate in the challenges, is really the means to a greater goal: everyone contributes to a more liveable world. Each challenge has its own goal to contribute to a more liveable world.

4.2.2 Sustainability

Environmental sustainability

The Green Capital Challenges uses the classical definition of sustainability. Dirk-Wim in 't Hof, initiator of the 'social sustainability' theme, and Lagerweij both reproduce the classic Brundtland (WCED, 1987) definition of sustainable development. In 't Hof says sustainability is about "meeting the needs of the current generation without compromising the needs of future generations." Next to this, both also refer to the People-Planet-Profit model (Hall, 2011). The intersection of the three P's is then true sustainability. "That means, not only printing double-sided, but also being aware: where does your paper come from? Does it go at the expense of something else?" Implicitly mentioning that people's actions could have consequences which we do not always see, and implying that consequences should be evenly distributed, which is an aspect of justice. To Lagerweij and Margot

Ribberink, initiator of the 'Water' theme and ambassador for the Operation Stonebreak campaign, these invisible consequences are for example the growing inequalities in the world "between poor and rich, white and black". She adds: "this gap should not get bigger" (Ribberink). Green Capital Challenges talk about the growing inequalities around the globe, between the third world and the western world, and also the local inequalities between rich and poor, for example: "if you raise the tax on meat, that affects a certain type of people". Dismissing inequalities is seen as an aspect of social sustainability, which is in their case directly linked to environmental sustainability.

Social sustainability
When asked to further explain what social sustainability means, In 't Hof, Lagerweij and Ribberink mention the people-side of the people-planet-profit model (Hall, 2011) and explain it by mentioning many different 'social' things, like social cohesion. All three of them add that the Green Capital Challenges does not have such a large focus but chooses to focus on one explanation instead. Even though they believe social sustainability is very important, the Green Capital Challenges chooses a focus on environmental sustainability. This is made visible in the themes they have chosen. Most of the themes are environmentally related, such as water, saving energy, food, waste, biodiversity. Two of them could be seen as 'social' sustainability: 'Fair trade' and 'Social Sustainability'. To explain social sustainability, the Green Capital Challenges have chosen a specific explanation. In 't Hof: "Social sustainability is involving people into (environmental) sustainability", especially those who are not yet involved (explained under 'target group'). In 't Hof, Lagerweij and Ribberink all three refer to this explanation. This focus is chosen not because the rest is unimportant, but because it otherwise stays to broad. Ribberink adds: "We actually shouldn't see it as a separate theme. (…) Actually, we have to think about it (involving people) in everything we do."

4.2.3 Target Group
The Green Capital Challenges is an organization for citizens. The social sustainability theme and the corresponding challenges have a more specific target group within the group of citizens. The definition the GCC gives to social sustainability already implies a specific target group, the 'unusual suspects'; people who are not yet involved in sustainability or Green Capital. In 't Hof explains what their goal and target group is within the social sustainability theme: "We try to move outside the 'usual suspects' and in a fun way involve the 'unusual suspects'". The 'usual suspects' according to the GCC are "Nijmegen-Oost. That is the green, left-wing neighbourhood of Nijmegen" (Lagerweij). Demographic factors that cause Nijmegen-Oost to be 'green' are the "high education and the wealth of the people" (Lagerweij). Unusual suspects are the people from different neighbourhoods, the people that do not yet know a lot about sustainability: "someone from Dukenburg or Willemskwartier" (Lagerweij). In 't Hof adds that he thinks unusual suspects are "the normal Nijmegen citizens".

The Stonebreak Campaign also targets citizens. This campaign targets all citizens to take out the tiles in their garden and replace them with green/plants. According to Ribberink, there are no specific characteristics of people that do or don't participate. Not only education or wealth are significant indicators of participants. She says: "People could have 15 different reasons why they don't change their garden", each person needs a different approach.

There is not one particular group, or particular characteristic that stands out or that the Green Capital Challenges specifically target. Lagerweij and In 't Hof agree on the usual suspects: Nijmegen-Oost. But, in the end, everyone outside this neighbourhood is an unusual suspect. They generally want to involve more citizens and enlarge the group of usual suspects. Lagerweij and In 't Hof do recognize important features about the group of 'usual suspects'; the education, and wealth of people (McMillan et al. 1997).

The next section describes specifically how the Green Capital Challenges try to involve the unusual suspects into their challenges and activities and which specific target groups there are.

4.2.4 Course of Action

How do they realize their goal of involving citizens? They do this by means of the challenges. The challenges are made to give action perspectives to citizens, so they know what they can do to contribute to a sustainable society. Lagerweij says: "We try to organize a few appealing, fun projects and then we try to communicate these to people, so they are stimulated to be involved".

The themes and challenges are seen in the following table:

Month	Theme	Challenges
January	Circular Economy	Model house Circular Economy City furniture from old electronic devices An alternative official chain for Mayor Bruls
February	Waste	Live without waste Walk of waste Nijmegen picks it up at once!
March	Biodiversity	Nijmegen greens Insect hotels City birds Invasive exotics
April	Mobility	Come on… your bike! Share your (E-) car! Goods without emission Meet electric cars
May	Sustainable events	Sustainabilize events in Nijmegen Sustainable Green Capital events Involving visitors in sustainability
June	Energy generation	Will you also switch to a green energy contract? Contribute to the realization of solar projects in Nijmegen
July	Care and exercise	Together 1,000,000 km on the bike for a charity Cleaner drinking water thanks to returning unused medication
August	Water	Rain out of the sewer Walk for Water Beer from rainwater TAP-ART
September	Energy saving	You are on top! Hospitable without heat curtains LED's do it in Neerbosch-Oost Saving energy together while enjoying apple pie.
October	Food	Eating healthy together in Nijmegen – activities in the city and districts Nijmegen eats Sustainably – Facebook-challenge A kitchen garden for every school in Nijmegen
November	Fair trade	#Dare2beFair – Fair trade, fair clothes Green Capital Fair shops-route Fair products in the spotlight
December	Social sustainability and co-creation	The Green Contest Waste separation high-rise Dukenburg

Table 4 Themes and Challenges (GCC, 2018)

Specifically, the 'social sustainability' theme targets 'unusual suspects'. The two challenges that belong to this theme are: 1) The Green Contest. 2) Waste separation project in Dukenburg. We will also discuss some of the insights from the Stonebreak campaign.

The Green Contest
The Green Contest is an online contest with five rounds. Every citizen of Nijmegen can play along and answer online questions. People can participate each of the five times. Each round has its own theme and people have to answer a few knowledge questions about the theme. The themes are similar to the five main Green Capital themes as chosen by the Green Capital organization; 'everything is useful' (circular economy), 'happy with sun and wind', (energy transition), 'sustainable transport' (smart mobility), 'living with water' (climate adaptation), 'healthy and moving' (vital city). The prizes of each round are linked to the theme; for example, an electric bicycle, a year subscription at the local swimming pool, a sun power-based telephone charger, etc. The questions in the contest are often based on a website people need to read or based on a little video they need to watch. The video's and websites are given in the questions, encouraging people to open the sites and search for the answers. One of the question, for example, was the following:
"In order to prevent flooding, the dike at Lent was moved 350 meters inland, and another channel (Spiegelwaal) was dug in the flood plains. How many centimeters can the water level of the Waal be lowered because of this extra water drainage? Read the following link for the answer: https://www.gelderlander.nl/nijmegen-e-o/spiegelwaal-bewijst-zijn-waarde~ac2f682b/" (GPV, 2018).

Goal
Specifically, the goal of the Green Contest is to involve as many people as possible into sustainability. In 't Hof initiated and organized this online quiz. He says: "On the one hand the contest is meant to bring people from the outside to the inside. On the other hand, it is meant to put the other existing challenges in the spotlight". 'Involving people into sustainability' according to the Green Capital Challenges is to make people think about their own impact on the environment, so that they hopefully see what they can do themselves.

Courses of action
Why did the Green Capital Challenges choose an online contest to reach this goal? In 't Hof says they asked themselves: "How can we inform people just a little bit, in a fun and playful way, without pointing the finger?" (In 't Hof). They wanted to attract people in a fun way by. In this way sustainability is framed as fun and associated with winning prizes, which they think most people like.

They try to reach the goal by formulating questions that inform and encourage other (sustainable) behaviour. In 't Hof hopes "that we can give people a specific action perspective. Just to do something specific. That people will be like, 'well, all that nagging about cars, you know what, I will go on the bike for once'."

Contest Questions
Each round has about 4-7 questions. The questions are quite varied; I made the following distinction:
  - Knowledge based
For example: "How many times more often does a downpour occur in the summer these days, compared to the 1950s?" (GPV, 2018). Or: "What is the most frequently bought fair trade item in the shops?" (GPV, 2018). Some questions have a small introduction containing information: "If medicines end up in the drinking water, this has negative consequences for the health of both humans and animals." (GPV, 2018).
Lagerweij mentions they try to connect to people's own living environment. For example, by adding a question about beer: "Why did people in the middle-ages drink more beer than water?" (GPV, 2018).
  - Action perspective
In some introductions or questions an action perspective is hidden, like installing solar panels, using the bike more often than the car, etc. Most of the time, just the action perspective is given, but some questions include

some judgement about it or the specific behaviour is encouraged. For example, in a question about food waste, they mention how much food is wasted and then say that it is a pity, which is a normative statement. Also, in the same question, a specific challenge is encouraged: "Do you want to fight in the battle against food waste? It is possible! Go to foodbattle.nl and participate!" (GPV, 2018) A very specific encouragement is given in this case.

- Reflection on own behaviour

Other questions require people to reflect on their own thoughts and arguments of why they would or wouldn't perform a particular kind of behaviour. For example, the following question: "Which argument appeals to you the most to get on your bike more often than the car? Health – Environment – Finances – Practical – other"

- Tip

The last question of each round is a 'bonus-question'. Each person should give one tip regarding the theme, like: "Do you have the ultimate tip when it comes to greening a specific place in your area?"

Results
Attendance: For the first round they had 430 participants; the second round 853. "The third draw was a little disappointing. We had a little more than the second round. We did not get over a 1000, that was a shame. We hoped for something like 2, 3 thousand, that wouldn't be bad." (Lagerweij). They hoped participation would double with each round: "In the beginning we thought, we will end up in December with a full Goffert-stadium with 20.000 people" (In 't Hof). Unfortunately, this is not the case. About attracting unusual suspects, they say: "We shouldn't have the illusion that we reach people outside our own circle" (In 't Hof), because of the number of participants. Reasons why the participation is disappointing is firstly the way of communicating: "Communication has to go through your own circle of people" (In 't Hof), which makes it hard to reach people beyond it, and secondly the questions in the contest could be too much work: "Maybe it is too ambitious, because you have to watch a video, search a webpage and answer questions" (Lagerweij).

Results are unknown as to whether knowledge is gained, sustainable behaviour is performed, or awareness is increased due to the Green Contest. To answer the research question whether unusual suspects are involved in the Green Capital year through this specific initiative by the Green Capital Challenges, this is, also according to the organization itself, very unlikely.

Waste separation project Dukenburg
The Green Capital Challenges wanted to run a specific project concerning involving unusual suspects, that would combine sustainability, people and the economy (Lagerweij), which is comparable to the 3P-model: people, planet, profit (Hall, 2011). It became the waste separation project in two apartment buildings in Dukenburg, stimulating waste separation through a people-based approach. Apparently, diapers were often thrown on the ground from the apartment windows and there was a problem with waste and litter around the building. Dukenburg is chosen because it is regarded to be one of the neighbourhoods where 'unusual suspects' live, generally less educated and less wealthy. Together with Lentekracht, the municipality and ARN, a waste company, they tried to form a specific project which would improve the waste and litter problem in this neighbourhood. Lentekracht specifically tried to involve the neighbourhood by organizing public participation meetings, which is procedural justice; involving the people who this is about.

There are no concrete results as it did not turn into a specific approach or a concrete project. That is why I will not go into this project any further.

Interestingly, this project was part of the 'social sustainability' theme. Why not the 'waste' theme? There was no specific reason for this.

Stonebreak
The Stonebreak campaign is one of the biggest campaigns during the Green Capital year in terms of scope and many organizations and people are involved, including the Green Capital Challenges, the municipality and other

organizations. The goal of the campaign is "Less tiles, more green", by removing tiles from yards, public areas, schools, and replacing them with grass, plants or trees.

The campaign team among other things, tries to join events and make it as easy as possible for citizens to remove tiles and plant green. From the beginning, Ribberink is involved in this campaign as an ambassador and spokeswoman. She has a lot of experience in trying to get people to remove tiles from their own gardens. She tried many strategies, which every time evolves and develops into a better strategy.

Course of action

First of all, she says, focusing on providing information does not lead people into changing their garden. She tried this by organizing neighbourhood evenings and participation meetings, but this is a waste of time according to her. Rather, she now believes it requires an individual approach, because everyone's reasons are different. So, the new strategy is listening and persuading people to change their thoughts and change their garden. Ribberink: "I could give you 15 different reasons and motivations, so the strategies I have are custom made"

She adds an important aspect: "Green is fun, that is the motto. Instead of: we have to, because of the climate." Making it easy for people to change their garden is also crucial. They work together with the DAR, a waste company that removes the tiles. Also, they receive money from the municipality to do this. Joining in already existing events, like a neighbourhood day, is also crucial for their success. Ribberink adds: "We have to join with existing networks and use that social trigger."

Lastly, she adds that it does not matter whether people are aware of the climate reasons, if they change their garden, it's okay. This is a very different approach than the Green Contest, where they focus on knowledge and awareness as a way of eventually changing behaviour. It does not matter here whether people know why they perform sustainably, but it does matter that they do it.

The goal of the Stonebreak campaign was to remove 100.000 tiles. During 2018 they reached 177.000. This includes removing tiles from schoolyards and public spaces, but also "a few dozen households" (De Bastei, 2019).

4.2.5 Resources

The main resource for the Green Capital Challenges is a large network of organizations, NGO's and people. The GCC is a foundation that works mostly with volunteers. Each theme has its own initiator, who are sometimes self-employed people. They also have a large network of organizations which help them in executing projects or promoting them or vice versa. For example: Lentekracht, Bureau Wijland, DAR, de Bastei, but also schools, and small businesses. Specifically, also for the Green Contest they are dependent on businesses, entrepreneurs and organizations, because all the prizes are sponsored.

The municipality is the GCC's largest and indispensable partner. First of all, they receive money from the municipality, €80.000 in 2017 and the same amount in 2018. Secondly, partnership with the municipality creates awareness for the challenges, because they are often times put on the Green Capital calendar.

The Green Capital Challenges already has a network of involved people; the 'in-crowd' or the inner circle; people who are involved in some challenge or come to the sustainability café's. This inner circle is also the main means for promotion. They make the challenges known among their own network of people.

Media is also very much needed for promotion. Often the Green Capital Challenges receives media attention through the local newspaper: De Brug or De Gelderlander. Specific challenges also receive media attention from special magazines or journals. Also, the weekly neighbourhood newspapers offer attention to the challenges. According to Lagerweij, every week a large part of the neighbourhood newspaper in Nijmegen-Oost is dedicated to the Green Capital Challenges or Green Capital in general. Nijmegen-Oost is the neighbourhood which is known to participate in the challenges. This also confirms the idea of the 'inner circle'; that Nijmegen-Oost participates.

4.2.6 Results

The results of the specific challenges are discussed earlier. The general results of the Green Capital Challenges will be discussed here.

Attendance: Attendance and participation in the challenges slowly grew during the Green Capital year in Nijmegen. Lagerweij: "In general, there is a certain layer of people that participates quickly, who always participate. Those are the people who are aware. That is awesome, but we don't really care about that, because those people are already aware. But, we are seeing that that layer of people is attracting their environment. That is the second layer. We see that the first layer is growing." Ribberink agrees, she sees that the group of usual suspects is growing through the group of (already) usual suspects. So, unusual suspects defined in section 2.1 as the underprivileged group, are then unlikely to be more involved due to the Green Capital Challenges.

Behaviour/Awareness/Knowledge: Again, involvement in terms of changed behaviour, knowledge or awareness is unmeasurable. When talking about achievements, the Green Capital challenges talks about realized projects, like the circular model house; the number of media expressions, or attendees at the sustainability café. Lagerweij: "Sometimes we ask ourselves: Do we feel we are on the road to being successful? Then we look at each other and agree that it's too difficult to tell, to say yes or no to that".

4.2.7 Analysis

This section analyses the approach of the Green Capital Challenges and in particular how the GCC attempted to involve unusual suspects in the Green Capital year.

First of all, the very definition the Green Capital Challenges ascribes to unusual suspects is people who do not yet participate. They want to involve more citizens in general in their activities, rather than to specifically target onto one group of unusual suspects. Only with the waste separation project in Dukenburg they did want to involve the more 'underprivileged' people, which is indeed a characteristic of 'unusual suspects', but this project didn't work out. Therefore, one can conclude that recognition of justice is present, but the GCC don't specifically target these groups, outside of the waste separation project. When defining 'unusual suspects' as people who don't yet participate, there is no procedural justice by definition, because when unusual suspects are involved in the procedural steps they are no longer unusual. The second aspect of procedural justice, wanting to include the 'unusual suspects' in the process of sustainability is more present; as the GCC want to include the 'unusual suspects' because "we can't do sustainability alone" (Lagerweij). However, this is a rather functional way of wanting to include everyone. Distributional justice, described here as an equal distribution of (access to) activities, knowledge and benefits for the 'unusual suspects', is not specifically reached.

As to the strategies, the Green Contest is mainly focused on creating awareness and gaining knowledge about environmental issues, while framed as 'fun'. The main sustainability message is clearly environmentally, and the social side of sustainability is 'involving' people into their activities. Their strategy in involving people in sustainability is therefore: *attract people in a 'fun' way (contest/prizes) > inform them secretly about the issues (knowledge) > raise awareness of the environmental impact > make them reflect about their own behaviour > change behaviour.*

Creating awareness through informing and spreading knowledge is a very common way in trying to create awareness and change behaviour. However, when people are not able to assess whether certain behaviour has negative effects, or don't know how they should do things differently or don't experience any benefit in changing behaviour, it is very unlikely that these people will eventually change their behaviour. Furthermore, this type of global (in any case, not-local) awareness and environmental concern that is being addressed, is mostly found in countries with higher education and wealth. As a consequence, the goal of wanting to create awareness under the group of 'underprivileged' people seems overambitious. In the Stonebreak Campaign, Ribberink also agrees that only informing and thereby persuading people to change their garden, does not work. She now carries out

custom-made strategies, which do not specifically target 'unusual suspects' as 'underprivileged' people but appears to her as a better strategy to involving more people into sustainability.

Next to that, the image Green Capital Challenges wants to create about sustainability is an image of 'fun'. This refers for example to the contest and the prizes participants can win. However, the idea that 'sustainability is fun' is not necessarily reflected in the questions asked in the contest: these questions are not so much 'fun', but rather informative, e.g. knowledge oriented. Hence, rather than the idea that sustainability is 'fun', this type of framing rather reflects the idea that sustainability is about environmental knowledge. Furthermore, the image of sustainability that is created through the online contest specifically, is an image of everything related to the environment or 'green', and therefore arguably not unambiguous itself. In 't Hof says: "You can undermine everything I do" as a way of saying: 'what I do does not so much encourage true sustainability'. For example, one of the prizes of the contest was an electric bicycle. Riding an electric bicycle is a more sustainable way of transportation, sure, if it is used instead of driving a car. But is less sustainable than riding a normal bicycle, which is not communicated. The electric bicycle is only framed as 'sustainable'. Next to the fun-element, this frame has no normative statements and the contest questions lack any normative guidance. Thus, sustainability remains ambiguous and mainly knowledge related.

Concluding, the Green Capital Challenges are not so much involving 'unusual suspects', neither in their initiatives, nor in their conception of sustainability. The strategy the Green Capital Challenges uses to involve 'unusual suspects' is mainly focusing on knowledge and awareness.

4.3 Colourful Green

4.3.1 Background

Bureau Wijland is a project organization that aims to contribute to a diverse and sustainable society. Its mission is to equip organizations to get the most out of a diverse society. Sustainability has a broad meaning in this case, containing social as well as environmental aspects. Bureau Wijland, especially the Colourful Green Network, which is part of Bureau Wijland, targets a specific group of 'unusual suspects' to be involved in sustainability. The following sub-chapter discusses the strategy of this initiative.

4.3.2 Sustainability

Schoch, a professional at Bureau Wijland and initiator of the Colourful Green Network (to be discussed in section 4.3.4), says when talking about sustainability: "Sustainability to us is first of all a social issue (…) It is not only ecological sustainability, but sustainability is actually a long-term vision. If you have a long-term vision, then people should live in a way that causes as little damage as possible". She goes on to explain why people should cooperate; "because it is nature that connects people, and we all have to deal with it carefully". Social issues she mentions concern accepting diversity, reducing differences between the rich and poor, and social cohesion. Environmental and social aspects are also linked with each other. Schoch argues that "if you live in a socially privileged environment, there is more access to sustainability initiatives, or more privileges to even think about it or to buy biological food. (…). If you are in a social economic class that isn't as affluent, then you have less easy access to these things. Yes, it very much connected". She sees the social separation between rich and poor yet does not consider it a hurdle that cannot be overcome. "You have to have activities that connect to the social economic position where people are in. You shouldn't talk about electric cars and solar panels, but you should talk about community gardens and greening the neighbourhood." The social economic position is important, which in this case - that of people with a migration background - means that sustainability is not about expensive technological fixes that people should integrate in their lives, yet rather, according to Schoch, is about community and neighbourhoods, combining the social aspects with nature.

Henk Moeniralam, chair of the Colourful Green Network, describes sustainability as working towards a cleaner and more liveable environment, including a good management of the earth's resources. Social sustainability

according to him is involving citizens in environmental sustainability. Furthermore, his definition includes aspects of social justice; acting environmentally conscious is a shared responsibility. Hence, not only should privileged groups be included as is done presently, yet also underprivileged groups. This was the main motivation for setting up the Colourful Green Network, which targets migrant groups.

4.3.3 Target Group

Schoch's vision to contribute to environmental sustainability and diversity therein started with realising that those societal groups involved in sustainability initiatives were mostly white, highly educated people. Furthermore, Moeniralam argues that currently sustainability is an "elitist event", and that it should not be, because "sustainability and caring for a clean environment in our world society is not the task of one particular group. It is a task for all people. It is a common responsibility we have for this". Moeniralam: "Our goal (Colourful Green) is to involve as many members of migrant groups as possible in the sustainability process". Schoch and Moeniralam recognize the unusual suspects. They see people with migration backgrounds are not involved in mainstream sustainability initiative and therefore target them.

Essentially, the goal of engaging with more people from migrant groups in the sustainability process is a 'procedural' justice issue. Presently, such migrant groups see no equality or justice in the composition of involved parties of mainstream activities. At the same time, Moeniralam says he wants to work on concrete projects that target migrant groups, because there are no such projects yet, which is a 'distributional' issue. So, both procedural and distributional justice are being reached.

4.3.4 Course of Action

Schoch started developing the course 'Colourful Green' as a means to involve more 'coloured' people in nature and sustainability initiatives. This course envisioned a method to educate 'colourful green ambassadors' among people from migration backgrounds, which in turn could influence their respective communities. While designing the course, the Green Capital Challenges approached Bureau Wijland with the question on how to reach those communities. The Green Capital Challenges, Wij Zijn Nijmegen (We Are Nijmegen, a municipal organization) and Bureau Wijland, deliberated on how to approach the challenge, led by Bureau Wijland. For Bureau Wijland, this was an opportunity to expand on this vision. Together they organized a conference on November 11, 2017, which 80 people from different cultural communities in Nijmegen attended, to discuss various themes concerning sustainability. Schoch explains the goal of the conference: "We thought about what kind of activities we could do and how to involve people. And not only think about it top-down but think about it together with people this is about." Involving the 'unusual suspects' in the process of plan making is an aspect of procedural justice. Key figures from ethnic communities were invited through the network of Bureau Wijland, while others came as per hearsay. The conference was on the *Pannenkoekenboot* in Nijmegen, where five themes were discussed: waste, energy saving, food, consumption, and sustainable mobility.

A network composed of people from migration backgrounds from different communities in Nijmegen was established, called the *Colourful Green Network*, to continue the plans that were the product of the conference. Five plans were deemed feasible and were to be further developed.
The plans were as follows:
- Stimulating diversity and sustainability by collaborating with events
- Planting community gardens in the city
- Nature excursions throughout Nijmegen with a nature guide
- Planting a diversity forest ('Wij-bos' in Dutch, 'Us-forest' in English), where each cultural community in Nijmegen will be able to plant a tree
- Producing vlogs, instructing how to cook sustainable, international snacks

The first three of the five plans have already been implemented, these are discussed below. The results will be given in terms of attendance, knowledge, awareness, social cohesion and sustainability/sustainable behaviour.

Africa festival goes Colourful Green (Afrikafestival gaat kleurrijk groen)
The Africa festival is an annual and cultural festival that is organized in a city park in Bottendaal, a neighbourhood in Nijmegen. This year it was organized on June 17ᵗʰ, 2018. It is a festival with music, a market, food and drinks around the theme Africa, organized by multiple parties involved. This year the organization collaborated with the Colourful Green network to make sustainable edition of the festival, hence the title 'goes Colourful Green'. Extra attention was given to sustainability, expressed in more sustainable foods and a cycling activity to inspire sustainable mobility. Green Capital Challenges and the Colourful Green Network were present with a market stand. Moeniralam, the chair of the network was present, including other members of the network to explain to passengers and attendees of the festival what they do and why.

Goal
The Colourful Green Network's goal for collaborating with the Africa festival was to inspire people with sustainable mobility. They hoped they could inspire people to think about mobility and to take the bike more instead of the car. Moeniralam explains why they focus on children: "Research found out that the earlier you learn to ride a bike, the more you will cycle later on in your life". And, "in Africa there are no bikes", so that is why it is important that they learn to cycle.
Sustainability in this case is linked with an environmental and a cultural goal: sustainable mobility, which in this case means cycling instead of taking the car. This is a way of transportation without emission, and therefore, climate change and air quality are targeted here as goals to improve, which are environmental goals.
The cultural goal is to teach children who did not grow using bikes, to cycle, and to stimulate them to cycle. They tried to show that cycling is fun and easy, and in this way stimulate sustainable mobility.

Courses of action
Attention was given to sustainable mobility through the cycling activity for children in the neighbourhood. Moeniralam: "The intention has been to show children the nice sides of cycling, in the hope that they will continue on cycling or will cycle more." There was a trail set up where children could cycle through avoiding obstacles on the way. If they made it through, they got a little present. This activity was organized with the bicycle counter in Nijmegen. The message given through this activity was: cycling is fun and rewarding.

Results
Attendance: First of all, there were more colourful people attending the event than previous editions, due to the collaboration with Colourful Green. The festival is not a mainstream sustainability initiative but was organized this year as a sustainable edition through cooperating with the Colourful Green Network. Secondly, the cycling activity went well according to the organization, because it was a positive experience for the children and the neighbourhood. More than 65 children participated in the cycling activity. In total the trail was cycled more than 230 times. According to Moeniralam this is a good result and the organization was satisfied.
Knowledge: Spreading knowledge about the nice sides of cycling, or about the sustainability of the event was not a focus point to the Colourful Green Network nor the Africafestival organization. However, Moeniralam, who was present at the festival, could explain to some visitors at the festival why they organized the cycling activity. Through these conversations knowledge was spread about sustainable mobility and the reason behind the activity.
Awareness and sustainable behaviour: According to Moeniralam changing people's thoughts about sustainable mobility or influencing people's behaviour does not happen at once. It is a slow process and for now, this was good. Moeniralam: "Many children cycled and people from the neighbourhood liked it. We brought cycling, a sustainable way of mobility, to the attention of people. But you can't say whether people are really changed in their behaviour in using their car less often and cycle more." The awareness it may have brought was the fun children experienced while cycling.

Social Cohesion: The event was organized also to connect people from different cultural backgrounds, the organization for example focussed also on attracting refugees from Syria and Eritrea. This was however not the goal of the Colourful Green Network, but the event did contribute to social cohesion.

Sustainability event: Furthermore, the event itself was organized more sustainable, in offering sustainable food and more vegetarian options. Also, the cutlery was produced sustainably and was biodegradable as were the drinking cups. It was chosen not to communicate it, but to let it be accepted as the new 'normal'.

Inspirational garden event in the Ooygaard (Tuin & Inspiratiemiddag in de Ooygaard)

On July 13th, 2018, an inspirational garden event was held in the Ooygaard, where a family living there made 1ha piece of land available for the realisation of a community garden where 20-25 people could work on. The event was about local gardening.

The event was meant to meet and connect people, gather, share and gain ideas about healthy local gardening, also to inspire people to bring gardening into the neighbourhoods of Nijmegen or to participate in this particular gardening project. Community gardening is seen as a social activity increasing social cohesion, which is environmental at the same time. Schoch's vision that 'nature connects' is visible through this activity. The environmental and social goal are combined and dependent on one-another and therefore mutually reinforcing.

Courses of action

There afternoon consisted of a time to meet and chat, and a tour across the acre about local gardening and other knowledge about nature. Visitors got more information and knowledge about gardening. Everyone who was interested could come.

Results

Attendance: There were a total of 35 people, which the Colourful Green Network was happy about. The people came from different cultural backgrounds and also Dutch people. The visitors were mostly gathered through the spread of word and the network Bureau Wijland has within the migrant communities. There was room for chatting and meeting each other, which was also one of the goals. This goal is met.

Knowledge: The event inspired people, and they gained knowledge about nature and how to take care of vegetable gardens. Knowledge about the local nature and how to garden could have inspired people to increase their own gardening.

Awareness and sustainable behaviour: Environmental awareness in this case is not so much focussed on sustainability, but more about environmental concern, to increase the concern and importance of nature. No visible concrete actions came out of this event, whether concrete things changed in behaviour, again, can't be said.

Nature Excursion

On 13th of August a nature excursion was held to get people from different cultural backgrounds acquainted with nature in Nijmegen. A tour was given through the Ooijpolder.

Goal

The goal of the organizers, the network Colourful Green was threefold. Moeniralam: "Moving in an environmentally-friendly manner, moving healthy, gaining knowledge of nature, and getting people out of their isolation". Moeniralam also mentioned: "That is why we do this, to let people from different groups experience and get acquainted with nature".

Nature is seen here as a means and a goal. Nature is a means to get people out of isolation, combining with social cohesion. Nature is also a goal by taking nature as an entrance for awareness, knowledge and concern – which, in the same train of thought, could lead to sustainable behaviour. These last goals of leading towards concern or sustainable behaviour are not explicitly mentioned, but reasoning in the line of contributing to a sustainable society, this could be the train of thought. These goals include environmental, social and justice aspects.

Course of action
The tour began with everyone shortly introducing themselves and explaining why they participated. During the tour a nature guide explained to the participants much about the history of the Waal, the formation of the Ooijpolder, she gave information on many plants, stones, birds and other parts of nature. The guide informed on many local nature processes. During the part in the Ooijpolder on the Waalbeach, the children were given an assignment to clean up litter that was on the beaches. The message in this assignment was: nature is too valuable to be littered, it should be kept clean and should not be used as a human dump. Thus, creating acculturation, gaining local knowledge and valuation of nature.

Results
Attendance: The nature excursion: There were 16 participants. People from Syria, Eritrea, Pakistan, Morocco, India and the Netherlands. Amongst them there were three children. The question whether people wanted to do it again was answered positively by everybody. The attendees were actively participating in the little assignments the guide gave them.
Knowledge: The focus of the excursion was gaining knowledge about nature to increase the wonder and -maybe-concern, which was stimulated by cleaning up the beaches by the children. Sharing knowledge about nature was successful.
Awareness and sustainable behaviour: The participants were often amazed by the knowledge shared by the guide, which grew their valuation of nature. Much information was about local issues like the river or the beach, or plants on the side of the road. Wonder grew, and many pictures were taken of the local nature. Because the children were given the assignment to clean the litter on the beach, the adults were also helping. They were aware of the mess and continued in sustainable behaviour with cleaning the beach.
Social Cohesion: People had a good time with each other and people were actively connecting. People had a good and social afternoon and gained contacts.

4.3.5 Resources
An important course of action that Bureau Wijland carries out is to educate 'Colourful Ambassadors'. This can also be seen as an essential *resource*, as it is a means to reach the goal for wanting a sustainable and diverse society. Educating 'Colourful Ambassadors' entails identifying and educating key-figures amongst the ethnical communities in Nijmegen. There is a clear 'social change' theory behind this. Schoch: "you need to educate people that can make a difference". Difference in behaviour or awareness comes through inspiring and influencing people. Moeniralam agrees and described what kind of people this should be: "You need authority among your community. You need to have integrity, be trustworthy and people should know you, otherwise it doesn't come close." Change will come only through influencing people by people, and "not from the paper, because they do not read it, not from the residents' magazine, because they only look at the pictures. No, it has to come from people who have a moral appeal to them and who they trust" (Moeniralam). These key-figures should therefore first be part of a community and should also have authority amongst it. Social pressure is found to be one of the most powerful forces to change behaviour. Communities are more susceptible for social pressure because of the social cohesion. Also, it is likely that people with a different cultural background are more often part of cultural communities. That is why cultural communities probably need these kind of 'multipliers' more to change behaviour than 'white' communities. Also, just like Moeniralam said, the people in these communities often don't read the newspapers or magazines where they talk about sustainability. Therefore, it is plausible that this approach will be successful in these communities compared to the usual suspects; the high educated white people.

The resources Bureau Wijland needs to reach the goals are a large network of many cultural communities in Nijmegen, because their approach is based on communities. Inviting people to their different activities is also done through spread of word in the Colourful Green network of communities. To find entrance in these communities, knowledge and sensitivity for reaching people with a migration background is essential.

They also need a network of other partners for more possibilities in continuing their work, that for example enlarge awareness. One of the essential partners is the Green Capital organization. They are connected and recognized by the Green Capital organization for example on their website. It gives the Colourful Green network an opportunity for publicity and brand awareness.

Another resource that lifted Colourful Green to a higher level was through the link they made with the Green Capital Challenges. This collaboration was a possibility to continue the vision that more cultural communities in Nijmegen are involved in sustainability.

Other partners are also essential, for example the Africa Festival committee, or the family owning the piece of land they made available. Through networking, possibilities for collaboration open up.

4.3.6 Results

The short-term results of the single activities have already been described, so we will look at the long-term right now. The results of the activities conclude that each single activity doesn't result in a sudden change of behaviour or awareness, but this is also not how the Colourful Green Network intended it to be. The short-term results are part of the long-term plan. Moeniralam says the plan is to keep people interested by organizing multiple activities, so through repetition people change awareness or behaviour. "Sustainability awareness among multiple groups in society needs time to develop." (Moeniralam).

4.3.7 Analysis

First analyses of the single activities are given, with the main question: do these activities include people in the Green Capital year and in sustainability?

Africa-festival

This Africa- festival has attracted many coloured people and the cycling activity went well. The sustainability of the event itself was also given extra attention, which is a positive result. As for the cycling activity; there was a concrete action perspective: cycling. However, awareness about why people should cycle more or use the car less often, nor knowledge about what it means for our environment nor a benefit why people should do it more often, was given. The message that was communicated was that cycling is fun and rewarding. This is the message that people may have accepted. My conclusion is that this event did not involve them consciously in awareness, nor sustainable behaviour, but, it did involve them in a Green Capital activity.

Inspirational garden event

The interesting thing about the garden event was the combination of multiple goals. Combining multiple goals towards sustainability has the advantage of mutually reinforcing each other. The goal of social cohesion: connecting people, is reinforced by combining it with an environmental goal of promoting gardening and sustainable food production, because people could be attracted by either one of these goals. Both of the goals work towards sustainability in a different way. If one is met, the other one is closer to be met. Whether this single event changed something is or if it leads to more community gardens is not (yet) clear. My conclusion is combining goals leads to more participation, especially combining social goals with environmental ones in the case of involving unusual suspects.

Nature excursion

The strategy for involving the unusual suspects into awareness, knowledge and concern in this activity was to create wonder about nature and the local environment, both natural and manufactured. This is a typical start for the beginning of concern. This activity contributed to environmental concern through knowledge about the local living environment. The excursion contributed to sustainable behaviour on that particular moment. The concrete action perspective given to the children was cleaning the beach. Because the children were doing it, and because the awareness and knowledge grew about the local nature, many more participants eventually participated in

cleaning the beach. Thus, in this case, awareness, including a concrete action perspective, led to a local environmental concern, and because it didn't cost a lot of effort (the children were doing it anyway), sustainable behaviour (cleaning the beach) was triggered. Not to say that all the participants will continue in this behaviour, but, it is again made clear that multiple facets need to be in play before people will act in sustainable behaviour.

An interpretation in terms of Environmentalism of the Poor could be made. Environmentalism of the Poor represents a movement of 'the poor' in regard to environmental concern for their own local environment where they are dependent on (Martinez-Alier, 2012). In an urban area this is a different story, because there is no specific part of nature where people are dependent on. Caring for your own living environment, which may mean standing up for the need of social connection with people. So even though the participants gained 'local' information about nature processes, and valuation of a new – to them – local environment, I would argue this is actually a case of 'global' environmental information. With 'global' information I mean information far removed from their personal lives and *needs*. The information given does not help people – except for cleaning the beach – to gain their own needs. People are not dependent on this particular local environment. However, environmentalism of the poor in an urban context may mean: seeing nature and the local environment as a means for overcoming other needs of people. The needs of the people with a migration background are for example in social contacts and integrating in society. Environmentalism of the poor in this context is: Nature connects. Sustainability in this case is seen as both social and environmental and this activity contributed to both.

Value change vs. technology
Through choosing the three activities described in 'Course of Action', it seems that the Colourful Green Network choose the 'value change' side in the debate where Robinson (2004) talks about, opposing the 'technical fix' side that is only about technological fixes instead of people's thoughts and believes. Schoch and Moeniralam both say sustainability and influencing people is a long-term process. This shows that they indeed want to see change in behaviour, awareness or concern, and they focus on changing values, through for example increasing knowledge and wonder about nature (nature excursion) or using nature as a way to connect people (diversity forest, nature excursion) and thereby stimulating sustainability (community gardens, cooking vlogs).
As Schoch said, the Colourful Green Network wants to connect to the social economic position people are in, including their 'status' as migrant. The activities they have chosen are mainly focusing on social sustainability and value change, so this is their way to connect to the position. The 'unusual suspects' are involved by focusing on social sustainability. The fact that the Colourful Green Network needs human resources as their main resource also shows that they focus and therefore are also dependent on social aspects.

Environmental justice
Recognition-wise, the Colourful Green Network recognizes that people with a migration background are not often involved in sustainability initiatives, that is why they organize activities especially for this group. This is also directly a procedural aspect concerning involving them through organizing activities. Also, plan-making was first done through the conference on the boat, which involved people with a migration background, and later on also through the Colourful Green Network, which also consists of people with a migration background. This is also a procedural aspect which contributes to environmental justice. Furthermore, as to distributional justice, whether Schoch mentioned, there is no ambition to involve unusual suspects in mainstream activities, because they do not fit the social economic position they are in, but they try to organize activities that fit their social economic position. The results seem to show this is indeed working, by successfully carrying out three activities. Concluding these insights, I would say this particular group of unusual suspects are involved in Green Capital.

The image and conception of sustainability in the case of Colourful Green is one that is holistic, both addressing social and environmental aspects. The (local) environment is seen as a means to connect people. Sustainability seen this way is therefore not associated with *knowledge*, but with wonder, concern and connecting. The 'Colourful Ambassadors' as their main resource in involving people in sustainability also shows the importance

of people and community. This conception of sustainability, together with the initiatives they have do involve 'unusual suspects' in Green Capital.

To dig a little deeper, in whether these 'unusual suspects' are also involved in 'sustainability' is a different question. Throughout the Green Capital year, sustainability has taken on a number of different 'colours'. In each context the meaning and how people deal with it is different. Even in one organization like in this case the Colourful Green Network, there can be multiple definitions/colours or goals to it. Involvement in 'sustainability' therefore depends on its meaning. People will give other answers to it. However, the question now is whether people are involved in sustainability – whatever the definition is. As Schoch and Moeniralam mention, results about awareness, changed behaviour or concern are not that visible and don't happen overnight. These activities do contribute to involvement in sustainability, environmental and social sustainability. All three the activities in another way.

4.4 Go Green

4.4.1 Background

Go Green Nijmegen is an initiative from Huis van Compassie (House of Compassion), a project by and for refugees in Nijmegen. Go Green started in 2017 and their goal is to help (former) refugees to live sustainable. Go Green consists of eight members. Seven members originate from Eritrea, Iraq and Syria and have been refugees themselves. The eighth member is Peter van den Munckhof, Dutch, educated and specialized in sustainability. He educates the new Go Green members through giving workshops.

4.4.2 Sustainability

The goal of Go Green is to learn refugees how they can use energy sustainably and to perform pro-environmental behaviour. Go Green's vision on sustainability is a good management of the earth's resources. Adam, the initiator of Go Green, explains sustainability as "to use resources friendly, especially natural gas and oil. We also need to find alternative ways of generating energy." Van den Muckhoff describes a wider definition of sustainability, which is "everything that helps to preserve the earth for us and the coming generations". For Go Green sustainability also entails social aspects. Van den Munckhoff: "In the sustainability definition of Go Green, there are also social aspects. We need to accept people and help them to integrate in our society." Accepting people and integrating them leads to social cohesion and therefore a more sustainable society. The concept of sustainability used here is holistic in the sense that it does not only entails environmental aspects, but also the aspect of how people (should) live together: social sustainability. This concept fits in the definition Raworth (2012) gives to sustainability. A society is truly sustainable when social and environmental conditions are inside boundaries; fulfilling basic human needs while developing sustainably.

Regarding the relation between the importance of social cohesion and the environment, Adam states: "Look, in our experience, we have seen that people want more than just what we do. (…) There is a need. A lot. Refugees want to connect with Dutch people." Adam points out that refugees are in need for more connection with Dutch people and that they long for more than just the house visits. Social sustainability is not dependent on environmental sustainability but Go Green views both social and environmental aspects as rather mutually important. Environmental sustainability can be a way of facilitating and stimulating social cohesion. Subsequently, Go Green's plans for the future include activities to increase social cohesion, this will be explained at 'courses of action'.

Go Green has three main messages they want refugees to know. The first message is the importance of using resources in a 'friendly' and 'responsible' way that doesn't harm the environment. The second message is that people can save money through changing certain habits. Thirdly, practical information is given for stimulating integration in Dutch society. For example, in Nijmegen information is given on how separating waste works, which bin to use for different kinds of waste, and how to interpret the energy bill.

During the house visits, Go Green communicates several specific action perspectives regarding waste and electricity. Waste and electricity are their two main themes. The action perspectives they communicate during house visits are for example using LED lamps instead of normal light bulbs, separating waste, how to treat the heater, to close the window if the heater is on, to install curtains so the heat can stay inside, and to switch off devices when not used. These are all practical environmental advices. Looking at these advices, it becomes clear that Go Green educates refugees with knowledge on Dutch culture, grids, infrastructure, common rulings etc., while at the same time giving environmental advice. The sustainability message is therefore framed culturally.

4.4.3 Target Group

The target group of Go Green is refugees and their (rental) house. The motivation Adam gives for starting Go Green for refugees is that he wanted refugees to learn what he had learned himself while a refugee in the Netherlands. He knows that refugees have a knowledge gap, because of his own experience. Adam: "When I came here, I got a flat in Nijmegen, that was in 2010. In Africa, where I come from, there is no heating. So, I had no experience. How does the heating work, the lighting, the electricity and waste? I had a hard time with the language. I didn't know that when I turned on the heating, you should close windows. Then someone from *Vluchtelingenwerk* came along. He showed me that when I turned on the heating, I should close the window. So, I learned from that. Then, I received money from Nuon. I said: 'wow, I did a good job!' This story stayed in my memory. So, Go Green, people like me need to know how they can use energy friendly." Adam recognized the need of the group of refugees and saw that this information was not yet available for the refugees. This is why he started Go Green, as a way of creating awareness and spreading practical knowledge among 'unusual suspects' – people for whom this knowledge is not directly available.

4.4.4 Course of Action

The course of action Go Green does are house visits. Currently this is their only activity. Go Green visits refugees to give practical advice and tricks about how to use energy, water, waste and gas in sustainable ways. Refugees, whether alone or with families can ask for Go Green to visit them. Every house visit is done by two team members, including at least one of them who speaks the language of the people they visit. They make an appointment for 1,5 hours. Their strategy is trying to influence people by making people aware of their own behaviour, so they can make their own choices based on the information provided. Adam: "We show people what the difference is between two types of behaviour. Instead of communicating: 'You should do this or this', we let people reflect on their own behaviour, and show people the difference of two types of behaviour". They do this by taking a power consumption meter with them to measure the kWh from different devices and light bulbs. They calculate how much money using the devices and lamps costs on a yearly basis. This shows people how much energy they consume, and how much they will save by changing their behaviour. Go Green then advices people to lower consumption or to replace light bulbs with sustainable LED lights and calculate how much money it saves. This information increases awareness and knowledge. In any case, every visit Go Green replaces one light bulb for a sustainable LED light.

Thus, Go Greens strategy to encourage people to change their behaviour combines three aspects: awareness, action and an advantage/profit. They show how much energy people use (*awareness*), giving an *action* perspective and then telling them what the *advantage* is to change the behaviour. The *advantage* in this case, showing how much money they will save. Van den Munckhoff explains his vision on the issue of responsibility for people's own behaviour: "I feel responsible for my own behaviour. But I know that through the knowledge and the skills I have, I can also help other people to make them feel responsible. (…). This is my own vision on it. I think feeling responsible is a key-issue." Responsibility of people's own behaviour is created through raising awareness. It is a crucial point for Go Green that they not say refugees have to do certain things, but that refugees make the choice for themselves to participate in this new pro-environmental behaviour, because it saves money.

Next to creating awareness about energy, they also advice and give *information* about how to use heating economically. Furthermore, they give information on how to use the different waste bags, how to separate and recycle different types of waste. Environmental reasons are only communicated as background information in the beginning of their visit.

Go Green's plans for the future is to increase social cohesion among refugees, by for example organizing a street cleaning day, Go Green education for kids, and giving advice on transportation. In this way Go Green responds to the needs of people.

4.4.5 Resources

Go Green thrives on human resources. Members are Go Green's most important resources, since they have to perform the house visits. The members are educated by by Van den Munckhoff. The more members, the more house visits they can do. Important is also, they need to speak the language of the people who they visit. Go Green had to turn down some requests from Syrians at first, because none of their members spoke their language. Procedural involvement in the organization; that 'unusual suspects' are involved in plan making and executing is therefore important for Go Green.

Another human resource, important for Go Green are the connections with refugees in Nijmegen. Refugees get into contact with Go Green through other refugees who already have a connection with them. Leaflets don't seem to work as effective as mouth to mouth marketing.

During the Green Capital year, Go Green and Green Capital Challenges collaborated. This may have resulted in more publicity for Go Green. However, since Go Green focusses on targeting refugees specifically and Green Capital Challenges focusses mainly on sustainability activities for the mainstream, the publicity may not have resulted in more refugees signing up for the house visits. These mainstream sustainability activities often do not reach refugees.

4.4.6 Results

Attendance: Until September 2018 Go Green did up to 48 house visits. Because house visits were always done by at least one person that speaks the language of the person or people being visited, this resulted in that most of the visited people were from Eritrea.
Awareness: People find the information and advice given by Go Green interesting and positive. Van den Munckhoff: "I experienced until now that people are positive and thankful. They are also grateful for the attention we give them. They also understand more (…) You see a kind of AHA-effect." The kind of awareness the people gain is more economic than environmental awareness.
Knowledge: The practical knowledge on how to save money by saving energy, and how to read energy bills etc. is gained. However, knowledge about sustainability is often still lacking. Adam and Van den Munckhoff both agree on the fact that most of the refugees are interested in performing pro-environmental behaviour because it saves them money. Adam: "Many refugees don't have a high education. So, if you want to tell them about the environment, it's very difficult to understand. So, you need something to stimulate them. And that is possible when for example you save money by doing it. If you save energy, you save money. That stimulates them."
Sustainable behaviour: Even though environmental reasons are not why people perform pro-environmental behaviour, a result from the house visits is more sustainable behaviour. Many people follow the advice. Van den Munckhoff looks at house visits positively, because even when they don't follow any advice, Go Green still has changed one lightbulb into a sustainable LED light, which will save them at least a few euros on their energy bill.
Social cohesion: People are happy with the attention they get through the house visits. However, social cohesion is not one of the goals Go Green is now focussing on.

4.4.7 Analysis

This section analyses how Go Green attempted to involve unusual suspects in the Green Capital year.

An interpretation in terms of the Environmentalism of the Poor movement can be made. The Environmentalism of the Poor is characterized by a direct *need* of 'the poor': their own environment. The need in this movement is to take care of the environment on which they are directly dependent on. In the case of Go Green, refugees also have a certain *need*: The need of integration into the Dutch society and education about it, and the need of saving money. This is the current 'need' of this underprivileged group. In the Environmentalism of the Poor movement people are environmentally concerned because they are concerned about their own needs on a local scale. This is comparable with the concern refugees in this case have; they want to perform pro-environmental behaviour because they can save money. It is their own household, which is also a (very) local scale, they are concerned about. 'Environmentalism of the poor' becomes 'Sustainability of the refugees', a contemporary way of explaining the environmentalism of the poor movement.

Go Green's conception of sustainability is thus concerned with saving money, practical knowledge and acculturation, which in the results is shown to be attractive to unusual suspects, in this case, refugees.

There are justice aspects to what Go Green does. To educate refugees, an underprivileged group, in environmental issues is in itself a way to lower the differences between privileged and underprivileged groups, which is essentially an aspect of justice.
Adam recognized the 'unusual suspects', which in this case are refugees, and acted on this. Next to the recognition aspect of justice, also the procedural aspect is present in the case of Go Green. Adam wants to involve refugees in pro-environmental behaviour, the process of sustainability. Besides, the second aspect of procedural justice can be identified, as plan-making is also done by refugees. The members of Go Green, the people who do the house-visits, are all refugees.

The question arises whether it is a requirement for environmental justice that people perform pro-environmental behaviour for environmental reasons. Arguably, it is not. Environmental justice is about *recognizing* unusual suspects, involving them *procedural* in the process of sustainability and involving them in plan making and executing plans, and a just *distribution* of sustainability activities and benefits. Consequently, the question regarding environmental justice in sustainability is one about access to the benefits of sustainability and about knowledge and awareness. In the case of Go Green, 'unusual suspects' indeed have access to the benefits, knowledge and sustainability activities, through the house visits which educate them in Dutch culture and basic environmental knowledge and help them to save money on electricity bills. Refugees do change behaviour, however not because of environmental reasons. Thus, involving them *consciously* in the process of sustainability is not the main result, but they are however involved in this process but for other reasons. We can say that also the second aspect of environmental justice, involvement in the process of sustainability, is met. Thus, Go Green meets the environmental justice criteria.

4.5 Lentekracht

4.5.1 Background

Lentekracht is a social enterprise which focusses on sustainable innovation. They realise projects relating to contemporary issues in society. Together with Upbeatles (PubQuiz organization), We Are Nijmegen (a movement and network set up by the municipality of Nijmegen to connect different social initiatives) and the Green Capital organisation they organized the CityQuiz. The CityQuiz in principle does not have a connection to the Green Contest. However, the Green Capital Challenges organization shared ideas with Lentekracht organization and therefore may have inspired each other.

4.5.2 Sustainability

Sustainability is important for Lentekracht. Bram Lamberts, one of the two Lentekracht professionals explains sustainability as an awareness issue. "Eventually sustainability is that people think about the consequences of their deeds. So that when you order a hamburger, you will also think about the consequences of this, instead of that you are just satisfying your hunger". It doesn't stay with awareness of the consequences, it is also acting on the awareness by making choices. "You have to stop certain behaviour, so that the people around me and the people after me can still make the same decisions." Sustainability is strongly associated with awareness and behavioural change.

Social sustainability according to Lentekracht is explained as reducing inequalities, community-feeling and social cohesion. These social sustainability aspects should also go hand in hand with environmental sustainability, it is interlinked. Lamberts explains how when working on environmental sustainability, there may be inequalities created. This is not desirable, so he says, when working on environmental issues, social impacts and growing inequalities should always be thought about. Lamberts: "Long story short, it [social and environmental sustainability] needs to go hand in hand". However, in the quiz, there was no focus on social sustainability. Sustainability was only associated with environmental aspects.

The goal of the quiz was "eventually spreading the concept sustainability among the population of Nijmegen, and Green Capital is a means for that" (Lamberts). And as to sustainability, creating awareness is what Lentekracht focusses on. Lamberts: "In terms of sustainability, the goal is that maybe people will think about how they can change things in their daily activities. Or perhaps on a less ambitious scale, that they will think: Green Capital is fun and sustainability too, maybe I can join another event like this, to see if I can learn anything more about it". Communicating that sustainability is 'fun' is also one of the messages they want to communicate through this quiz. Lastly, they wanted to contribute to social cohesion, Lamberts: "On the social side we hope they had a fun evening and maybe got to know some new people."

4.5.3 Target Group

Their goal is to involve more people in sustainability, therefore they choose to organize an event specifically for people who are not involved in sustainability already. Lentekracht, just like the Green Capital team and the GCC, "came to the conclusion that Green Capital is only staying within the group of usual suspects; the people who are 'green' already, the people who are already sustainable. We thought that was a shame that such a big thing for the city stays in such a small group of people. That made us think: Can we spread this in a fun way?" (Lamberts). Therefore, the goal of the quiz was to spread sustainability to the 'unusual suspects'. According to them, unusual suspects are the people that live 'deeper in neighbourhoods'. The target group therefore is a neighbourhood in the southwest of Nijmegen: Neerbosch-Oost. This is regarded a neighbourhood where less educated and wealthy people live. Lagerweij says about the target group: "we hope [to reach] people, how do I say it, maybe this is disrespectful; the bingo-audience, people who play bingo."

Why do more people need to be involved in sustainability? Lamberts believes sustainability is something to be pursued by everyone, because "the more people participate the better". Just like the Green Capital Challenges, this is a rather functional approach, but still a justice issue: everyone is responsible for contributing to a solution for a problem created by society. Lambert says: "We should participate, or in any case do as much as we can, because working with many people will make this task easier."

4.5.4 Course of Action

To reach their goal of involving 'unusual suspects' in sustainability, they organized a CityQuiz in Neerbosch-Oost, because "a quiz is of course something where you can ask many things, but you can also secretly send information. In general, people like a quiz and also you can discuss many themes in it." (Lamberts). The quiz had nine rounds, each round with 9 questions. Many questions were associated with Nijmegen as Green Capital or

sustainability/ 'green'. Other themes were for example neighbourhood specific questions, cafés in Nijmegen or other general things in the city.

In organizing a quiz, they frame sustainability as 'fun'. Sustainability becomes associated with a quiz or other 'fun' activities. The 'fun' aspect attracts people to the quiz, where Lentekracht and involved actors can spread information and address themes concerning sustainability.

Throughout the quiz sustainability was translated into different themes, as their strategy is "to address certain themes concerning sustainability". Sustainability was associated with 'green' and 'nature'. There were questions about green things, nature and environmentally related themes in Nijmegen, for example, naming green logo's, naming parks in Nijmegen and naming the windmill park in Nijmegen.

As was described under 'Target Group' eventually their goal is not only to create awareness or having a fun evening, but also eventually changing behaviour (because they want people to contribute to a sustainable society). The goal was not to reach this in one evening, but to make a start. They believe 'follow-up' is needed, because people change through repetition. Follow-up could be other activities within Green Capital.

During one of the breaks, it was motivated to participate in the online Green Contest (as designed by the GCC, described in section 4.2.4). The answers of the questions in the contest were already given on a PowerPoint slide, so people only had to fill those in. During the quiz, the local snack-bar handed out snacks, not typically 'sustainable' snacks, like vegetarian ones. The quiz prizes were items local shops made available, like a bag, t-shirts, powerbank, socks, and more. The first prize was a package of wine or beer.

4.5.5 Resources
There were a few important resources to make the CityQuiz possible. The most important one is a network of people from the neighbourhood Neerbosch-Oost where the quiz was held. To gather people to join the quiz went through connecting to neighbourhood clubs, entrepreneurs, through handing out flyers, and most importantly identifying key-figures in the neighbourhood. Lamberts explains: "I accidentally met a woman, one of the two real 'controllers' as they call themselves, in the neighbourhood. Despite of the bad timing as it was almost summer holiday, she helped us out a lot. In any case she helped out with promoting."
Especially seeing people face to face helped out a lot: "In particular the face-to-face contact with people does help a lot. If they see your face, they are more inclined to continue talking to you." They also tried to involve people from the neighbourhood to organize this quiz, but that was difficult to realise. The vision behind this was that the quiz would have become better organized and people felt more ownership of it like it is a bottom-up approach instead of top-down.

Another important resource was the link to the Green Capital organization and We Are Nijmegen, a municipal organization stimulating social cohesion. Through this cooperation they could use Green Capital as a means to communicate sustainability, also, Lentekracht had money and therefore time to work out this quiz in depth.

4.5.6 Results
Attendance: There were 25 participants to the quiz. There were six teams in total, with 3-6 people per team. Next to that, there were initiators and facilitators or people who helped out. Lentekracht was satisfied with how many people came. Still, there were less people than they hoped for, but it was because of the summer holidays that less people showed up. At the end of the quiz, a small survey was held with the question whether people would attend another Green Capital event. Everyone answered 'yes'. Lentekracht interpreted this as people are interested in more of Green Capital and sustainability.
Awareness: In the beginning two elderly ladies answered to the questions if they heard of Nijmegen Green Capital "Oh, that is in English, we have nothing to do with that anyway". The two were involved in neighbourhood

centres. "No, I don't speak English. Everything nowadays needs to be in English. No, we don't participate in that. We never learned that." After the evening, it was impossible to have missed out that Nijmegen was Green Capital. Beforehand, Lentekracht asked if people already knew Nijmegen is Green Capital. About 2/3th already knew, but only in terms of the name. After the quiz, everybody knew because it was repeated multiple times. Environmental awareness is however unmeasurable. Lamberts believes that the quiz did upscale awareness and mentions an example about a question about shutting the power plant in Nijmegen. Lamberts: "After that question, she began actively thinking about where the energy for her own house came from".

Knowledge and sustainable behaviour: Whether the quiz contributed to gained knowledge or more sustainable behaviour is unmeasurable.

Social cohesion: The evening was received positively. People had fun and "some people gained new contacts" (Lamberts). This stimulates social cohesion in the neighbourhood and was also one of the goals.

4.5.7 Analysis

This section analyses the approach of Lentekracht and in particular how Lentekracht attempted to involve unusual suspects in the Green Capital year.

Just like the Green Capital organization and the Green Capital Challenges, Lentekracht distinguishes different neighbourhoods in Nijmegen to be involved or not. However, it is not so much about the neighbourhoods specifically, as it is about people characteristics. Similar to the Green Capital organization and the GCC, they view Neerbosch-Oost as generally less educated and wealthy. Recognition justice is therefore in play and they act accordingly. Wanting to involve people from the neighbourhood to organize this activity shows their effort for the first aspect of procedural justice, however this didn't work out. The second aspect of procedural justice, involving people in the process of sustainability, is also one of their goals, but mostly functionally driven.

Facts were taken as a starting point for spreading sustainability. Many quiz questions were about facts associated with 'green' or 'nature', like the name of the green parks in Nijmegen, or the name of the windmill park, etc. However, in the quiz, the message regarding sustainability remained vague and fairly unspecific. This message was not accompanied by a normative judgement, an action perspective nor any explanation on environmental issues. The image that is created, is that sustainability is associated with green, nature, energy and waste, and remains mostly factual. The organizational matters of the quiz, for example the snacks and the prizes, were also not typically sustainable. Lentekracht could have taken this opportunity to show example behaviour, which could have added to their goal to create awareness, however this opportunity was not seized.

Lentekracht wants to create awareness and behaviour change through communicating facts in the neighbourhood quiz. The strain of thoughts is, by hearing certain themes and facts (about green, nature, windmills, waste), people will think about their own behaviour and eventually change it. This is however hard to reach when the facts were not normatively or accompanied with an action perspective. Also, I would argue that to begin with creating awareness about one's behaviour and its consequences is too hard to reach with unusual suspects. The consequences of one's behaviour where Lentekracht talks about are mostly globally oriented instead of local consequences. It has been argued that underprivileged groups, are often more locally oriented instead of globally (Dunlap & York, 1997). The goal of creating awareness about the global consequences is therefore arguably a goal too hard to reach.

A positive result is the spreading of the Green Capital name. People now know that Nijmegen is Green Capital and that is also one of the Green Capital organization's goals. Also, the survey held at the end of the quiz showed everyone wanted to join another Green Capital event. However, I doubt that it was because of 'Green Capital'. Do they know what they say yes to? Do they know what the other Green Capital activities are? Or did they say yes to fun and the quiz? I would argue the latter.

Do they involve unusual suspects? In their activity, yes. But if you dig deeper, are they really involved in sustainability? And is there, as I defined distributional justice, a just *distribution* of activities, benefits and knowledge? In this case, unusual suspects took advantage of the 'fun' side of the activity and enjoyed social cohesion. Knowledge and awareness however are unmeasurable and further involvement in sustainability is limited. Only time will tell if these quizzes and the general publicity of the Green Capital name leads to more awareness and sustainable choices over time.

5. Conclusion

This chapter answers the main research question: **To what extent are unusual suspects involved in the Green Capital year Nijmegen; how and with what results?**

In order to do that, first a summary of strategies and results as described in the previous chapter is provided, including a comparison of the strategies. Second, the last two questions of the four research questions are answered:

1) What kind of influence does the strategy, including its conception of sustainability, have on the results of the activities in reaching the desired target group?
2) Which of the environmental justice criteria do the strategies meet?
- Recognition: Are the unusual suspects thought about? Who is considered part of the unusual suspects?
- Distributional: Are the Green Capital activities, sustainability knowledge and benefits equally distributed among target groups? Are there special efforts to involve unusual suspects?
- Procedural: Are the unusual suspects being included in plan-making? Are initiators in the Green Capital year trying to involve unusual suspects in sustainability?

5.1 Strategy

Per actor a short summary of their strategy of involving 'unusual suspects' is described, including its conception of sustainability. Following, comparisons and similarities of these change theories are presented, and an in-depth analysis thereof.

5.1.1 Summary per actor

Green Capital

Green Capital is the umbrella under which all sustainability activities are covered. Besides organizing activities itself, Green Capital employs a *shared ownership* strategy, which results in various activities and initiatives organized by parties within the city, all reflecting a different conception of sustainability. The Green Capital team's conception of sustainability as described in the BidBook and other documents is very broad and unspecific, yet environmentally related. This is also reflected in their main activities. Recognition justice is being pursued by monitoring the different target groups. The procedural aspects are not identifiable, as the organization itself does not consist of unusual suspects, and their main activities do not involve them considerably in sustainability. The Green Vibe strategy results in 'fun' activities with a Green Capital stamp on it, with the goal of generating awareness, which results in limited content and, hence, limited involvement in sustainability. Furthermore, other Green Capital activities initiated by other actors often have a knowledge-sharing character, which also does not involve unusual suspects into sustainability. Results show that Green Capital mainly reached an in-crowd, however growing. Distribution justice is pursued when it comes to a just distribution of activities, however the result of a just distribution of benefits and knowledge is limited. In conclusion, the general or mainstream activities seem mostly to be targeting usual suspects, as opposed to involving unusual suspects in sustainability.

Green Capital Challenges

The Green Capital Challenges is an organization that targets citizens. The term 'unusual suspects' is described by them as those who are not yet participating, which is rather unspecific. While they do mention some critical characteristics of the unusual suspects, in realizing their ambitions, they do not seem to involve them much. Per definition, there is no procedural justice such as involving them into plan-making. The second aspect of procedural justice, involving unusual suspects in sustainability, is more present but is, however, functionally motivated. The image of sustainability is one that is related to the environment. Throughout the online Green Contest, the sustainability concept behind the questions is factual, is not accompanied by normative statements, and often does not include an action perspective. Social sustainability has nothing to do with social aspects but

is a means to create environmental sustainability. Thus, sustainability remains ambiguous and mainly knowledge related. Distributional justice is not specifically reached.

Colourful Green

Colourful Green targets people with a migration background, encouraging them to be involved in sustainability. They take nature and the local environment as a starting point for environmental concern and social cohesion, both of which are part of their conception of sustainability. Furthermore, they believe in the power of human resources, expressed in the 'Colourful Green Course' in which Colourful Green educates colourful ambassadors as multipliers to bring change in their respective communities. Motivated both normatively and functionally, they target, and therefore recognize, the migrant groups as 'unusual suspects', which they involve in environmental concern and the process of sustainability. They also involve individuals in the Colourful Green Network. Thus, the procedural and recognition aspect of justice is met. Also, distributional justice, the presence of specific activities for this target group, and the benefits they experience from these activities, show there is also distributional justice.

Go Green

Go Green targets refugees and recognizes them as 'unusual suspects'. Go Green does house visits in which they give practical tips and advice on how to save money by saving energy, together with teaching them basic knowledge like how to read the energy bill, etc. The conception of sustainability they hereby create is culturally associated, because of the practical advice given, and also associated with saving money. After these house visits, the refugees are likely to perform more pro-environmental behaviour. The only concern, however, is that the reason is not especially because of environmental concerns, but rather because of financial benefits. Next to the recognition aspect of justice, they meet both procedural aspects because Go Green consists of refugees themselves, and they include refugees in the process of sustainability by creating awareness and involving them in pro-environmental behaviour. They also meet the distributional justice criteria because refugees are included in receiving the benefits of saving money, and of gaining practical knowledge.

Lentekracht

Lentekracht organized a CityQuiz for the people in the Neerbosch-Oost neighbourhood. The conception of sustainability that is spread throughout this quiz remains largely vague and fairly unspecific. Sustainability is associated with facts regarding 'green' and 'nature', with the goal to upscale awareness. However, creating awareness is a goal (too) hard to reach. By recognizing the characteristics of 'unusual suspects' they meet this criterion. Both aspects of procedural justice are attempted to be met however the realization did not turn out as planned. Unusual suspects were present at the neighbourhood quiz, as a result 'unusual suspects' were involved in a Green Capital activity. However, involvement in the benefits of sustainability, or involvement in further knowledge beyond the simple facts is limited. Distributional justice is therefore also limited.

5.1.2 Comparison and similarities

This section compares the strategies for involvement, by grouping and evaluating strategies.

Functionally vs normatively driven

The actors in the Green Capital year, as described above, all want to involve a certain target group in activities stimulating sustainability. The Green Capital organization, GCC and Lentekracht want to involve more people into sustainability because "we can't do it alone" (Lagerweij) and "working with many people will make the task easier" (Lamberts). Involving unusual suspects in this way can be seen as functionally motivated. On the other hand, there is a normatively driven approach, which is justice-motivated and responds to a certain *need* within a group of unusual suspects. This is for example visible in Go Green, which was a response to the need of basic environmental knowledge to the process of integration of refugees into the Dutch society. A normatively driven approach, visible at Go Green and Colourful Green, results in more specific target groups and courses of action,

which leads to more concrete results. Thus, involvement in sustainability, the second aspect of procedural justice, is pursued by all, though from different motivations.

Facts and awareness
A similarity in strategies is the goal to create awareness through communicating facts framed in a 'fun' way. Framing sustainability as fun should attract more people and through the facts about environmental issues, people will become aware of environmental problems or impacts of their own behaviour. The Green Contest and the CityQuiz can be classified in this category. The amount of awareness is difficult to measure, so results of this approach are unknown. However, without communicating normative statements or action perspectives, creating awareness become difficult. Also, creating awareness is often awareness on a global level, like addressing global climate change. However, underprivileged groups more often have a more local environmental concern than global (Dunlap & York, 1997).

Behaviour change
As compared to the factual approach, there is another approach which not so much wants to create awareness but rather wants to realize pro-environmental behaviour change. This is an approach by the Stonebreak campaign and Go Green. They both see the most concrete results, because they communicate concrete action perspectives. Both of these approaches use personal contact in which they discuss knowledge and arguments. They are not necessarily focused on awareness, but on behavioural change.

Fun
Another strategy and theory of change, which has been used mainly by the Green Capital organization in their 'Green Vibe' strategy, is the idea that through organizing a 'fun' activity, people will realize that sustainability is fun, and this fun will in turn facilitate a growth in awareness. This differs from the strategy mentioned above, because an attempt is made to reach awareness without the focus on communicating facts. Just through having fun through a certain event, people's attention is drawn to sustainability through the stamp of the Green Capital on that particular activity or event. This achieves a 'Green Vibe', the message that sustainability is important. However, just as Van Gorkum mentioned, there is a thin line between Green Capital marketing and real content. Unusual suspects may come to these events, but real content can also easily be missed, or remain vague. Awareness and environmental concern among unusual suspects are unmeasurable. The question, therefore, remains as to what extent unusual suspects are actually involved in sustainability.

Addressing a 'need'
Go Green's strategy of bringing change is anticipating the needs of refugees for integration and acculturation; in specific Go Green focusses on the need for refugees to receive information about energy and waste issues and the need to save money. Some aspects of the 'Environmentalism of the Poor' movement can be recognized in this strategy. As the Environmentalism of the Poor movement communicates: the 'poor' are dependent on their own living environment, and therefore in *need* if the environment is damaged (Martinez-Alier, 2012). The 'poor' in an urban area also have certain *needs*, which could environmentally, culturally or socially concern of their own living environment. As for Go Green, the 'need' which these 'poor' have, and which Go Green wants to fulfil, is, among others, the need to integrate, to save money, and the need to receive information about waste and energy issues. As for the Colourful Green Network, their target group's 'need' is for social cohesion. Nature and the local environment are a connecting factor in this. In this way, Colourful Green also connects to a certain 'need' for the group of unusual suspects. Connecting to a specific need of unusual suspects results in specific goals and often meets with the willingness of unusual suspects to cooperate.

Human resources
Go Green and Colourful Green have another similarity; they both thrive on human resources which is their main resource. They need people to participate in the house visits and to be ambassadors. Go Green functions entirely on volunteers. Interestingly, other organizations with more monetary resources rely less on human resources.

Relying on human resources results in the case of Go Green and Colourful Green that they require procedural justice and stimulate social cohesion.

Colourful Green seized the opportunity provided by their human resources and launched a course to educate key-figures among the migrant groups, creating multipliers and ambassadors. By launching the course, they clearly show their faith in the social pressure theory of creating societal change.

Long term

The activities that are described are mostly single shots and one-time activities. Many actors say that the real change will only come on the long term. Lamberts says for example that 'follow-up' is needed after organizing the quiz, because change won't come through one activity. These single activities do contribute to creating a 'Green Vibe', communicating the message that green and sustainability issues are important. However, no clear results are visible yet, and these will arguably remain limited if there is no follow-up. Follow-up could be provided by a similar course to the one designed by Colourful Green. This course educates colourful ambassadors who then influence people personally in their social circles to make sustainable choices by being an example and influencer themselves.

5.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that sustainability in Nijmegen is associated with the (local) environment, fun, facts, nature, social cohesion, integration, etc. The activities presented during the Nijmegen Green Capitol range from the communication of vague messages such as, 'sustainability is important', to specific action perspectives such as replacing lamps. Strategies to involve unusual suspects are also on this scale.

To what extent are unusual suspects involved in Nijmegen Green Capital; how and with what results? There are multiple attempts for involving unusual suspects in Nijmegen Green Capital. There are activities like the Green Contest, the CityQuiz, a nature excursion etc. Strategies are diverse. Actors try to involve people by organizing a fun activity, by communicating facts, by sharing knowledge about the local environment, etc. However, little results can be seen regarding unusual suspects being consciously involved in sustainability. Being involved in a fun activity is not the same as becoming involved in the process of sustainability. The long-term results of the activities are not yet visible, and therefore it is impossible to say whether or not activities have been in vain. Strategies to involve unusual suspects are often times unconsciously targeting higher educated people who are actually usual suspects, by a strategy of communicating facts or knowledge. Also, strategies are more often functionally-motivated rather than normatively motivated. This does not have be considered negative. However, clearer motives could lead to more specific results and more effective strategies due to addressing specific 'needs'. Two of the researched activities show specific results in behaviour change among unusual suspects; the Stonebreak campaign and the Go Green house visits. Awareness increase is however unmeasurable. The next section describes my advice on how strategies to involve unusual suspects could be improved.

5.3 Advice

First of all, it is difficult to create societal change. We don't have all the answers; if we did, there would have been change already. However, when comparing the strategies and results to the literature, it is possible to draw up a few pieces of advice. I am highly aware that pioneering with these strategies to involve unusual suspects is trial and error. Consequently, the advice will possibly be lacking, however it does give opportunities to look into. The advice is for actors that want to improve existing activities or start new initiatives.

To begin with, it even is the question if single shot activities involve unusual suspects in sustainability and how we can create change that stays through these single activities. Especially focussing on upscaling environmental awareness and concern could take some time and is not easily reached. The first piece of advice is therefore to

think about follow-up before starting a certain activity. Follow-up, while designed effectively, increases the exposure of environmental issues and messages, which in turn could lead to an increased awareness and environmental concern.

Furthermore, it is very important to start with asking yourselves the *why*-question; e.g. 'Why do we want to reach this group of unusual suspects?'. It is noticeable that there is a difference in motivation in trying to involve unusual suspects; functionally and normatively. When wanting to involve 'more people', which is functionally oriented, it may be helpful to either focus less on underprivileged groups or look at target group specifics and for example address a certain 'need' among them and connect to the *local* environment, instead of focussing on global or general items. This is based on the Environmentalism of the Poor movement (Martinez-Alier, 2012) and the fact that underprivileged countries have a local oriented form of environmental concern (Dunlap & Jones, 1997).

This brings us to the third piece of advice, awareness, specifically *global* environmental awareness, is arguably hard to reach amongst unusual suspects. Instead, focussing on one specific behaviour change, e.g. action perspective, like replacing tiles in your yard, could lead to more specific results of behaviour change. As learned from Go Green's house visits and the Stonebreak campaign, customary approaches are sometimes necessary.

As I just mentioned, connecting to a 'need' among unusual suspects creates willingness to contribute, and therefore more involvement in sustainability. 'Needs' could be saving money, social cohesion, integration or other aspects. By doing this, you automatically combine multiple goals; involving unusual suspects into sustainability and fulfilling a 'need'. In some cases, it might be effective to also include the goal of social cohesion or other social aspects. Then, social pressure as a means for change could have its way among unusual suspects. Thus, having multiple goals to reach in an activity could be effective and mutually reinforcing.

Furthermore, if facts are taken as a starting point for awareness and behaviour change, it should be accompanied with a normative statement, an action perspective and preferably a certain benefit for de participants. If these aspects are added, the sustainability message becomes clearer and it will be more likely that people will understand the necessity of sustainability. Also, when believing that sustainability is 'fun', this should then not only be visible in the way an activity is shaped, but also in the sustainability message and conception.

Lastly, as an actor, it is important to set the right example yourself and communicate in words and deeds what sustainability means. This could be done by creating sustainable events in itself and communicating 'true' sustainability, instead of vague expressions, without clear normative statements.

5.4 Reflection

This section provides a critical reflection on the used theories and methods and ends with research limitations.

5.4.1 Theoretical and methodological reflection

This thesis uses many theories, which I added together to answer the main research question. All the theories that are used are helpful in interpreting the data. The theories were difficult to find, as I made use of many different theories and added them in a way which has not been done before in scientific research. Finding and translating these theories to fit in my own research was a challenge, however, I did it to the best of my abilities. In this section I reflect on the used theories.

I first used theories about environmental concern and sustainability to define unusual suspects. These theories proved to also be helpful in interpreting strategies that are used to involve the unusual suspects, specifically the Environmentalism of the Poor theory (Martinez-Alier, 2012) and theories about the difference between global and local environmental concern in richer and poorer countries (Diekmann & Franzen, 1999; Dunlap & York, 1997).

Secondly a theory to define strategies is used, which helped me in distinguishing and structuring the different crucial elements within a strategy. As far as I know, this definition has never been used this way in research before. Distinguishing the elements of a strategy in message, goal, course of action and resources (Chandler, 1962) helped me to see the linkages between the elements, for example how the conception of sustainability influences the course of action.

Furthermore, theories about the different conceptions of sustainability are used because the conception of sustainability has an influence on the strategies and courses of action, and thus the involvement of unusual suspects. By identifying the different aspects (social, environmental, etc.), the interviews, documents and participatory research could be interpreted.

Environmental justice is also a crucial concept which is used and interpreted in a new way, in the specific context of Green Capital. Interpreting and translating the three aspects of environmental justice in a way as I did, has never been done before and was therefore a challenge. In earlier research, environmental justice is used in the environmental policy domain. This research uses the concept to evaluate strategies concerning sustainability activities, which required a different approach. In the end this concept was helpful to evaluate strategies. At the same time, it was difficult to say whether a strategy was 'just', because often multiple motives are in play, even in one strategy. Also, personally as a researcher, I was not convinced that it is 'just' to involve unusual suspects in sustainability. In some activities, actors wanted to involve unusual suspects to change them and not necessarily to involve them into the benefits of sustainability. Next to that, the underprivileged groups, the 'unusual suspects' often already live more sustainable than usual suspects. Thus, dealing with the different motives was hard, but I tried to the best of my abilities to make sense and interpret the strategies.

Uniting these theories has ensured that strategies could be evaluated, and meaningful things could be said about how to improve strategies. At the same time, a meaningful addition would be more theories about social change, however this is outside the scope of this research.

Methodologically, I used three types of data collection. All three were additional to each other. Interviewees could say one thing about for example sustainability, and activities or document could show another or additional view on it. This sometimes was a challenge, because the conception of sustainability as told in conversations was sometimes different than the conception of sustainability as was visible in the activities itself. Also, it was a challenge to ask about the many aspects of sustainability and strategies in the interviews, considering the time limit. However, the main elements of a strategy and the most important aspects were found because of the multiple methods of data collection.

5.4.2 Research limitations

The first research limitation is the language difference. The English language poses a challenge on interpreting the data, as the interviews were held in Dutch. Thus, when translating into English, meaning and interpretation could be different. Furthermore, another research limitation is the difficulty of interpreting the concept sustainability. As is said, actor's conception of sustainability could have many different aspects and could be associated with many different things. Theories about sustainability helped me to interpret the empirical data. However, interviewees could say one thing, for example that they find social sustainability important, but an activity could show another side of sustainability. This posed a challenge, however method triangulation; using interviews, additional documents and participatory research, helped me to interpret the data and to make sense of it. Furthermore, another limitation is the timeframe in which this research took place. Because this research took place during the Green Capital year, it is most likely strategies evolved during year. This research could therefore not be regarded as a total overview of all the strategies for involving unusual suspects. Also, multiple activities could have been added to Green Capital, which involve unusual suspects and are not taken into account. Moreover, in the case of Colourful Green, the Colourful Green course launched, but the results of this course or the content were not taken along in this thesis due to the scope and timeframe in which empirical data was gathered. Another research limitation is that it is very likely that multiple actors in the Green Capital year have tried to involve unusual suspects in the general, open activities. However, I might have not recognized them, nor did they mention 'unusual suspects' as such. So, to answer the question to what extent unusual suspects are involved, I could only look at the general overview of Green Capital and do an in-depth analysis of some target-group specific strategies. Furthermore, my own bias poses a challenge to deal with and might be a research limitation, as I was biased in which strategies were better than others. However, this also changed during the

course of writing my thesis, and I was aware of it. In general, I tried to the best of my abilities to not let it shape the objectivity of my thesis.

5.4.3 Recommendations for further research

During the course of writing this thesis, I was aware that I could not research every aspect that has an influence on strategies. As one of the research aims was to let the findings contribute to better strategies to involve unusual suspects, I came across a few possible options to further research, which I wrote down below as my recommendation for further research.

First, research could be conducted from the perspective of unusual suspects. The questions why they participate in certain activities, or specific research on what their 'need' is and how sustainability could contribute to that, improves strategies. Also, the unusual suspects that were participating in the target-group specific activities that are described in this thesis could be researched. Specifically, as I concluded in many cases, the results of activities in terms of awareness or sustainable behaviour among unusual suspects are unmeasurable, which could be researched. In-depth interviews with attendees could shed light on these unknown results. The perspective of the unusual suspects shows whether certain activities are effective and thus contributes to better strategies.

Another recommendation is to take on different perspectives of societal change theories on the presented strategies. The strategies as I researched them do have more aspects from for example larger sociological theories, and also, I discovered that there are also elements of personal change theories included in actors' strategies. Using these additional theories and find elements of these theories in the presented strategies, could improve strategies to be more effective.

Lastly, long-term research will show whether the single activities resulted in awareness and behaviour change. As Lamberts has said, follow-up is needed to create awareness. Next to that, Schoch and Moeniralam agree that change only comes on the long-term, after multiple activities. Is that true? A possible study could be to use the NEP-scale (Dunlap & LIere, 1978) as explained in section 2.1.3, or a variant, to measure awareness among unusual suspects that attended these activities, over the course of a couple years. This would give insight into the effectivity of the single shot activities that are focused on creating awareness. Therefore, my advice is to conduct a long-term research among unusual suspects about their environmental awareness and/or sustainable behaviour.

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Appendix 1

Names and position of the interviewees, per organization.

- Green Capital Team members
  - Ûltsje van Gorkum: project leader Green Capital team
  - Kim Kerckhoffs: project member Green Capital and senior advisor sustainability municipality of Nijmegen
  - Pieter van Ree: chair Green Capital team
- Green Capital Challenges
  - Dirk-Wim in 't Hof: initiator 'Social sustainability' theme GCC
  - Bert Lagerweij: Program manager sustainability café, program coordinator GCC, initiator 'Sustainable events' theme GCC
  - Margot Ribberink: initiator 'Water' theme GCC
- Lentekracht
  - Bram Lamberts: Organizer CityQuiz, professional at Lentekracht
- Bureau Wijland – Colourful Green Network
  - Henk Moeniralam: chair Colourful Green Network
  - Sara Schoch: Professional at Bureau Wijland and initiator Colourful Green Network
- Go Green Nijmegen
  - Adam: Founder Go Green
  - Peter van den Munckhof: involved volunteer Go Green, expert sustainability, teacher Workshop.

Appendix 2

Interview guide Green Capital team (translated from Dutch).

Who

Pieter van Ree, Ultsje van Gorkum, Kim Kerckhoffs

Start

Thank you for this interview. My research is about involving unusual suspects in the Green Capital year. I have two questions before I start. Can I record the interview? And may I use your name in my thesis and refer to what you have said, even if it means literally quoting you?

Explanation Research

The Green Capital award is an award granted to Nijmegen because of everything that has happened in the last couple of years. That is what Nijmegen shows this year. Also, there are goals for this year, to create a Green Vibe and a Green Legacy, to boost sustainability through this Green Capital year. Many activities are organizes by many different actors. I research the involvement of unusual suspect in Green Capital by researching strategies for activities and involvement. I look at the efforts actors put into that and what the results are. In this interview I would like to ask about the Green Capital ambitions, the strategies to involve people, the sustainability vision and the results.

Questions

Background
- Can you tell me shortly about your own position within Green Capital?

Message
- What does sustainability mean in Green Capital?
- How would you describe sustainability?
- I have noticed that the BidBook is fairly environmentally focused. Was that a conscious decision?
    o Michiel Hustinx told be that through the application of being Green Capital, you showed the people-side of sustainability, instead of only numbers and environmental facts. What does he mean by that? Why do you think that is important?
- For whom do we do sustainability?
- What is the message you want to spread to the citizens of Nijmegen?
- What is it that you want to make Nijmegen aware of?
- In the BidBook there are a few references to social sustainability. What does that mean according to you?
- Some people say you can't separate environmental sustainability and social sustainability. What do you think about that?
- What is the goal of creating a green vibe?

Target group
- The ambition document says that citizens is one of the target groups. Why is that?
- How do you give shape to this ambition?
- Do you think there are groups in society that are not involved/don't participate?
    o Who are that?
    o Does it matter?
    o Why is that?
    o Should there be something specific to involve them? A certain strategy or activity?

- When talking about target groups, Klaas said: Existing activities are a certain forefront training. How do you see that?
- Other actors organize activities and initiatives. How do you maintain control on the ambitions, target group, actions? Or isn't that desirable?

Course of Action
- How do you involve citizens? What is the strategy? What is being organized for Nijmegen citizens?
- How is it thought about and by whom?
- Are there special efforts or thoughts to involve unusual suspects?
- What are best-practices?

Resources
- What are the most important resources needed in this strategy?

Results
- What does Green Capital accomplish for citizens?
- Are you satisfied with what is accomplished?
- What is the effect this year has on citizens?

Concluding

Thank you very much for your participation! This will help me in my research. If you are interested in this thesis, I could email it to you if you like.

Appendix 3

Interview guide sub-cases.

Start

Thank you for this interview. My research is about involving unusual suspects in the Green Capital year. I have two questions before I start. Can I record the interview? And may I use your name in my thesis and refer to what you have said, even if it means literally quoting you?

Explanation Research

The Green Capital award is an award granted to Nijmegen because of everything that has happened in the last couple of years. There are also many activities organized this year by many actors. I research the involvement of unusual suspect in Green Capital by researching strategies for activities and involvement. That is why I want to use your activity as a case study. I would like to ask about your ideas of involving unusual suspects, the strategies, the results and the sustainability vision you have.

Questions

Background
- Can you tell me about your organization and your position?
- How is your organization involved in Green Capital?

Message
- What is the goal of your activity?
- What is sustainability in this case?
- What do you hope to reach with this activity?
- What is the message that you wanted to communicate?
- Why is sustainability translated in such a way?
- What do you hope to reach among people/unusual suspects?

Target Group
- What is the target group?
- How do you involve people?
- How do you reach these people?

Course of action
- Can you tell me about your activity and why it is set up?
- How is the activity set up?
- What is the strategy of involvement?
- How do you want to involve these people and in what?
- On what does success depend?
- How did you come up with this strategy?
- Tell be about the organization. Who is involved in organizing?

Results
- What are the results of this activity?
- What did you accomplish?
- Can you tell me about results in terms of knowledge/sustainable behaviour/communicating or experiencing sustainability benefits/social cohesion?
- How did people respond to the activity?
- Do you have any success stories?

- Are you satisfied with the results?

Concluding

Thank you very much for your participation! This will help me in my research. If you are interested in this thesis, I could email it to you if you like.

Appendix 4

Codes used in Atlas.ti.

Action perspective: Green garden

Action perspective: Led lamp

Action perspective: report energy-meter

Action Perspective: save energy

Action perspective: save heat

Action perspective: sustainable transport

Action perspective: use less electricity

Action perspective: vegetarian

Action perspective: Waste treatment

Classic definition

Cooperation

Downwards spiral

Environmental sustainability

Environmental sustainability most important

Environmental sustainability: boundaries

Environmental sustainability: Energy

Environmental sustainability: goal

Environmental sustainability: not clear

Framing: Cheap

Framing: Easy

Framing: Fun

Framing: good

Framing: not hard or heavy

GC is a means

Goal GC: showing sustainability

Goal: Change behaviour

How: Implement technology

How: Policy

How: the people

Just sustainability: Justice aspects

Multiple goals combined

No action perspective

Plan: Aansluiten bij leefwereld

Plan: Activity

Plan: Awareness of impact

Plan: Bottom-up

Plan: Certain Framing

Plan: Close to living environment

Plan: Combine with (financial) benefit

Plan: Combine with social cohesion

Plan: Communication

Plan: Concrete action perspectives

Plan: Creating awareness

Plan: Cycling activity

Plan: Event

Plan: GCC

Plan: Go with what works

Plan: Green Vibe

Plan: House visits

Plan: Invest in education children

Plan: Make people think

Plan: not always communicating

Plan: Personal

Plan: Send information

Procedural justice

Resources: certain tools for house visits

Resources: Communication channels

Resources: Finances

Resources: Flyers

Resources: Network

Results

Results: Actions: LED light

Results: Another GC-event?

Results: Awareness

Results: concrete events

Results: Fun event

Results: GC name is known

Results: good attendance

Results: ideas

Results: Integration

Results: Interesting

Results: less people due to bad timing

Results: Link to local environmental problems

Results: media

Results: No GC

Results: No GC because English

Results: No sustainability reasons

Results: no understanding

Results: not good attendance

Results: Only if practical

Results: partly unknown

Results: Positive

Results: positive influence on neighbourhood

Results: Replacing one LED lamp

Results: slow results

Results: Understanding

Results: Why: Environment

Results: Why: Not environment

Results: Why: Save money

Soc & Env sustainability linked: Global

Soc & Env sustainability linked: Local

Social sustainability: acceptance

Social sustainability: broad

Social sustainability: Diversity

Social sustainability: help people

Social sustainability: inequalities poor/rich

Social sustainability: involving unsual suspects

Social sustainability: justice aspects

Social sustainability: most important

Social sustainability: not clear

Social sustainability: Participation

Social sustainability: people

Social sustainability: social cohesion
Social sustainability: Accept
Strategy involving people: Flyers
Strategy involving people: key-figures
Strategy involving people: Network
Strategy involving people: newspaper
Strategy involving people: Social media
Strategy involving people: solo contact
Strategy involving people: Via-via
Strategy: cooperation
Sustainability: 3P
Sustainability: awareness of impact
Sustainability: broad
Target group: Bingo-audience

Target group: Children
Target group: Citizens
Target group: citizens Neerbosch-Oost
Target group: Deeper in the neighbourhood
Target group: Migration background
Target group: Other neighbourhoods
Target Group: Professionals
Target group: Unusual suspects
Target group: Why: essential
Target group: Why: everyone's responsibility
Target group: Why: Justice
Target group: Why: They don't know it yet
Unusual suspects: basic needs
Unusual suspects: Lower educated people
Unusual suspects: people in neighbourhood

Unusual suspects: People outside Nijmegen-East
Unusual suspects: People with migration background
Unusual suspects: Poor people
Usual suspects: high educated, wealthy, left
Usual suspects: Nijmegen Oost
Why: a need
Why: Fun
Why: GC is not known
Why: generations to come
Why: Good for the environment
Why: Integration
Why: make GC known
Why: Multiple reasons
Why: Necessary
Why: Our children
Why: Responsibility good use environment
Why: Social cohesion
Why: spread sustainability