

# Communal shrubbery theft, pavement extraction and other methods by green initiatives: Success factors in the approach towards higher long-term communal participation in greening



Source: Struikroven.nl

Yvette Detiger  
Student number: S1004901  
Radboud University Nijmegen  
Supervisor university: Rianne van Melik  
Supervisor province Noord-Brabant: Koen Antonis

Words: 33.234

## Abstract

*Green initiatives in The Netherlands are arising all across the country. In 13 interviews with national green initiatives, a wide scale of results were found. How these green initiatives have been able to succeed in reaching as many communities as they have, is among others, by keeping their activities accessible, inclusive and by customizing the activity to a neighbourhood or even individual level. To stimulate communities to green their environment for the long term, it is important to contribute to their community capital. Especially human, social and cultural capital were seen as important forms of needs for communities to succeed in a long term greening of their environment. Green initiatives should focus on the broad stimulation of communities, as well as on what these communities need, to maintain sustainable green. This broad stimulation can be done nationally, while the long term success in motivation and long term maintenance are often found by putting effort towards the needs of a community on a local level.*



Source: Struikroven.nl





# Content

Abstract .....	2
Introduction .....	6
1.1 Problem statement.....	6
1.2 Research questions.....	7
1.3 Social relevance .....	8
1.4 Scientific relevance.....	9
1.5 Methodology.....	10
1.6 Reading guide.....	10
2. Theory .....	11
2.1 Concepts and definitions .....	11
What is greening?.....	11
What is a green initiative? .....	11
What is an active and resilient community?.....	11
2.2 What are success factors within green initiatives to stimulate communities in being active in greening?.....	13
2.3 What characteristics does a community need to achieve long-term greening of cities?.....	18
2.3.1 The need for capital.....	18
2.3.2. Community capital .....	18
2.4 Conceptual model.....	24
3. Methodology .....	25
3.1 Research design.....	25
3.2 Data collection .....	25
3.3 Casus selection.....	26
3.3.1 Criteria for selecting green initiatives: .....	26
3.4 Operationalization.....	28
3.5 Data analysis.....	31
3.5.1. Thematic analysis .....	31
3.6 Reliability and validity .....	32
3.6.1. Reliability .....	32
3.6.2. Validity .....	33
3.7 Summary of the chapter.....	33
4. Results sub question 1 .....	34
4.1. Legal form .....	34
4.2 Finances.....	35

4.3. Leadership .....	36
4.4. The use of existing places of encounter .....	37
4.5. Inclusion .....	38
4.6. Regularity of activities (with a fun factor) .....	39
4.7. Good cooperation .....	40
4.8. Emergent factors.....	43
4.9. Conclusion.....	47
5. Results sub question 2 .....	49
5.1 Human capital.....	49
5.2. Social capital .....	50
5.3. Cultural capital .....	52
5.4. Public structural capital .....	54
5.6. Long term visions of green initiatives .....	55
5.7. Conclusion of the chapter.....	55
6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations .....	57
6.1. Conclusion.....	57
6.2 Discussion .....	59
6.2.1. Reflection and recommendations for future research.....	59
6.2 Policy recommendations .....	60
References .....	61
Appendix A: Interview guide .....	66
Appendix B: Code book.....	70
Appendix C: .....	73

# Introduction

## 1.1 Problem statement

During the Covid-19 pandemic, we were using our urban green more than ever (Bruzz, 2020). The need for urban greenery grew enormously. Parks that used to be empty were full of people during the summer of 2020. The relationship between humans and nature seems to become more visible again, now that we were forced to travel less. While staying at home more often, we used the green around us more to go out for a little break, or for leisure. But in contrast to this growing need for more greenery, the amount of greenery in our cities is decreasing (De Sloover, 2020). In Brussels, for example, the amount of greenery decreased by 14.4% between 2003 and 2016. In addition, the amount of greenery was measured by photos from above, in which trees seem to take up more space than they actually do and the smallest pieces of grass were counted as greenery as well. In addition, studies that measure the amount of greenery would not look at the biodiversity of the greenery (De Sloover, 2020). A lawn then seems just as important as a park or forest, while these can just consist of grass. What was striking about the study was that not only the amount of urban greenery decreased, but it also became more fragmented. This means that there were often little pieces of greenery in the city, instead of larger urban parks for instance, which are much better for recreation or biodiversity. Many people therefore protested to prevent the felling of for example large trees. Despite the effort, these were often cut down to make room for new parking facilities or new apartment complexes.

This does not only happen in Brussels, there are countless examples in the Netherlands where greenery has to make way for new construction. A good example is a case in 'Amsterdam Noord', where thousands of trees were felled to make room for new construction (Oomen 2020). Although green is considered in the design and in the construction plan of the area, greenery is still being replaced on a large scale by new urban expansions. In this case, thousands of trees were cut down, and only a few were replanted. There also seems to be little attention for biodiversity in the plans for the new greenery. In Nijmegen, large trees were felled for new construction (Gelderlander, 2021). New trees should then stabilize the amount of trees, but can they really replace the older, thicker trees? Old trees do not only retain more water, but often provide more biodiversity in their soil, bark and branches. Additionally, emotional value is also often lost for many people who used to enjoy the tree, or had memories containing the tree. The same accounts for other forms of nature that are replaced by new construction.

In the trade-off between urban green and new construction, green often seems to lose the battle. In short, we seem to include greenery in our considerations in plans for new construction, but including it appears not to be enough to prevent a reduction in the amount of urban green (Oomen, 2020). Yet we need greenery in our cities. Not only for our own (mental) health (Spijker et al., 2003), but also for our living environment (Crabtree et al., 2014). The shade of trees can provide a better living climate and less heat stress in the summer. Greenery can also absorb water, which makes our cities more climate-proof, this also helps to prevent flooding due to heavy rainfall, for example. It can improve our air and water quality as well. With a growing amount of people living in cities, this becomes a more and more relevant topic. We seem to be happier when we live closer to nature. For example, the closer people live to trees, the less antidepressants are taken on average (Alter, 2015). There are countless examples for why it is important to maintain and protect the green that is left in cities, and to try to smartly increase the amount of greenery again.

The fact that we need more greenery seems to be increasingly recognized in society. The government is not the only one to take care of urban green anymore, countless organizations, companies and citizens' initiatives are trying to improve urban green in the Netherlands (Trouw, 2021). These initiatives often arise as policies of municipalities fall short (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). The initiatives take matters into their own hands and ensure the improvement of their living environment. Many of these organizations have long-term greening as their goal, but to what extent do they make that possible? They want to prevent a further decline of urban nature or more loss of biodiversity. Therefore, they want these

improvements in urban green to be sustainable. But how can they ensure this? The help provided by volunteers is in an increasing amount short-lived (Meindersma et al., 2017). The help is more often concrete and demarcated instead of ensured for the long term. This can make it harder for green initiatives to achieve their long term goals. Additionally, many initiatives depend on grants of municipalities or governments (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). This often makes it difficult for green organizations and initiatives to make long-term decisions or to reach their full potential. However, these green initiatives could play a big role in improving or extending our urban green.

A solution for this, is the use of communities. People within a certain neighbourhood ensuring their own needs regarding to the green in their environment. As mentioned before, there is an increasing amount of local and national green initiatives. The local green initiatives that are committed to make their living environment greener are more often citizens' initiatives. The commitment of citizens could form a solution to the problems we have with our lack of green. In practise, this means that citizens take care of the green areas in their neighbourhood, or they initiate to make place for new or a better form of greening (Mattijssen et al., 2015). Mattijssen et al. investigated 264 green citizens' initiatives on what makes them successful. The usage of citizens is a way in which these green initiatives get a certain form of greening done, and hope to be ensured that citizens will keep this up at the same time. Having a strong community also increases the public support in greening the neighbourhood. Using citizens for greening is a way of making greening possible, while having a bigger chance of ensuring that the greening will last long term (Flax et al., 2020). When citizens are enthusiastic or motivated to keep this going, or to even increase the amount of greening their neighbourhood, they could form a solution for the decreasing amount of green in our cities. A lot of regional or national green initiatives work with citizens as well. When looking at citizens as a solution, it is interesting to look at how these green initiatives are able to motivate them, and keep them active in greening. Communities on their own might not know how to, and need certain forms of stimulation or knowledge to be able to achieve an increase of green in their neighbourhoods. That is why this research will look at how green initiatives have been able to stimulate citizens in doing so. Especially when it entails greening their own environment, it would be most logical if everyone in a neighbourhood can get involved, to get the most sustainable results in greening the environment.

## 1.2 Research questions

Green initiatives can directly influence citizens to take matters into their own hands and start making their neighbourhood greener (Mattijssen et al., 2015; Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). What a green initiative exactly entails in this research will be discussed in the first paragraph of the next chapter 2.1. The existence of these initiatives is necessary for long-term greening, but initiatives seem to struggle with a shortage of volunteers. Stimulating whole communities could be a solution. If they would like to help to make their own livelihood greener, we have higher chance for a large scale and long term greening. Enthusiastic communities, for example, have a major influence on the long-term success of many of these green citizen initiatives (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015; De Haan & Haarsen, 2015). This research will look at the role green initiatives can play in the long-term greening of cities through the stimulation of communities into becoming active in greening their environment. It will focus only on regional or national green initiatives, because these tend to reach communities on a larger scale. Additionally, research on local green citizens' initiatives has already been done many times in The Netherlands, while research on the impact of more regional or national green initiatives is less common. To summarize, initiatives could use communities to achieve a large scale change into greener, and more resilient cities. This leads to the following main question: *How can green initiatives succeed in stimulating communities in order to achieve a long-term greening of Dutch cities?*

This research question can roughly be split in two parts. Green initiatives will need certain characteristics or tactics for being able to stimulate communities. Second, communities will need certain characteristics in order to achieve a long-term greening of cities. To properly investigate this topic, the main question

will therefore be split in these two smaller, sub questions. In the next part I will explain why these questions will be researched and in what way.

What makes a green initiative successful in motivating communities? There seem to be a lot of different methods for them to do so. Some for example, do this by organizing fun activities in green, or to offer help with the greening. Others have more educational or inspirational way of stimulating others, but what makes it that they succeed in these? It is very useful to examine what characteristics make them successful in stimulating communities, in order to maybe expand a broad societal participation in greening. Therefore this research will look at the characteristics they have, and the methods they use to stimulate communities. This will be done by doing an initial literature review regarding possible success factors for green initiatives to do so. Next, these possible success factors will be tested by interviewing the organizers from green initiatives. They seem to have the most experience in stimulating communities and are able to tell more about what works and what not. These interviews will then be compared and analysed to form a set of final success factors for green initiatives. With this knowledge, green initiatives can learn from each other, and governments can adjust policies in helping them to succeed. So in this research, it is examined what characteristics of green initiatives are the most helpful in motivating communities on a national scale. The first sub-question therefore reads as follows: *What are success factors within green initiatives to stimulate communities in being active in greening?*

Besides the need for top-down management (from government or green initiative to communities), it is also important to look at communities from a bottom-up perspective. Communities must be made enthusiastic, but they must also have the right knowledge and materials to be able to maintain or expand the greenery on a longer term. Research into green initiatives shows that they work best with a strong and active community behind them (Meindersma et al., 2017; Ham & Van der Meer, 2015; De Haan & Haarsen, 2015). But these communities have to be resilient to be able to maintain the created or expanded urban green long term (Flax et al., 2020). To stay or become resilient, active communities can make use of the knowledge and tools national green initiatives can give them. This can for instance be knowledge about green, or knowing who to contact when questions arise. This research will look at what active communities need to be able to improve and maintain green themselves for a longer amount of time. The second sub-question therefore reads as follows: *What characteristics does an active community need to achieve long-term greening of cities?*

### 1.3 Social relevance

As stated above, creating a green city is very important for our mental and physical health. Being in nature can be a form of exercise and relaxation, but not only that. Frequent use of nature also reduces the risk of disease (Helmet et al., 2020). When expanding the greenery in De Noordelijke Maasvallei, they even expect that the plans will eventually finance themselves through savings on healthcare costs. Area development appears to be an effective way to reduce the pressure on healthcare, while at the same time creating a biodiverse and more sustainable landscape. Additionally, a green city could reduce social inequality (Stuiver et al., 2022). Especially when zooming in locally and improving green at a local level with the participation of citizens, social inequality regarding green can be reduced. Right now, there is a 'green gentrification', green neighbourhoods rise in value and popularity. Neighbourhoods with less green fall behind, with a focus on local improvement of green, further inequalities can be prevented or decreased.

In addition, it is important for our future to start thinking more in the long term (Faber, Van Dijk & De Goede, 2017). In order to leave a liveable environment for our next generations, we need to learn to plan ahead. The usage of communities can be a solution for long-term greening. Creating active communities to expand and maintain greenery in our cities can a sustainable solution. If we can provide them with enough knowledge and motivation, and they can pass this on to new people in the community, it could become a way of long-term greening. It is important to look at what role green initiatives can play in



this, since they often have a goal of motivating and stimulating citizens. Unfortunately, many green initiatives run into financial problems or have problems with municipal regulations (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). In this research, national initiatives will be looked at to find out how they see their future. These national green initiatives often arose from smaller, local citizens' initiatives. What is their secret behind their growth into a national organization? And what do they need to continue to motivate people in the long term?

#### 1.4 Scientific relevance

Many research has been done into local green citizen initiatives (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015; De Haan & Haarsen, 2015; Meindersma et al., 2017; Mattijsen et al., 2015). These researches made it clear what the possible requirements are for the success of a green initiative. However, these often involved citizens' initiatives or green organizations on a small, local scale. Less research has been done on green initiatives that operate nationally. Many citizen initiatives run on volunteers from a community. It is therefore interesting to look at organizations that operate nationally, who do not dependent on the efforts of a local community, but the efforts of communities, volunteers or employees on a national scale. It is interesting to investigate their efforts to make the city greener. How they can motivate and inspire people locally, without being tied to one place. Also, their effectiveness in creating an active community that wants to continue this in the long term is still unclear. When green initiatives gets a neighbourhood enthusiastic about the initiative, it is unclear to what extent they will continue this enthusiasm after the organized activities, when the initiative or organisation behind them is not funded locally. It is therefore scientifically relevant to investigate this in order to have clearer and broader knowledge of what features are effective in stimulating intrinsic motivation of citizens.

Additionally, various studies have shown that there is a demand for better cooperation between the municipality, initiative and community (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015; Meindersma et al. 2017; Province of Noord-Brabant, 2021). This cooperation does not only entail the receipt of subsidies or other financial support, it also entails sharing knowledge or networks. It is interesting to find out whether national initiatives already have a good cooperation with other parties. Or whether they are still looking for better cooperation to improve these relations. The importance of collaboration and the extent to which it can be improved in particular is important for the long term operating of green initiatives. It is scientifically interesting to see with whom these initiatives work together and how they are able to operate. The network that these initiatives can have as a result on working on a larger scale could have benefits. This research could give a clearer view on how and with whom these initiatives work. If it is clear that local green initiatives struggle with having a good cooperation with municipalities, it is scientifically interesting to test whether this problem also occurs on a larger scale. The same accounts for others success- or failure factors on the local scale, it would be interesting to test these and see in what amount these factors account for the initiatives on a more national scale as well. This research could therefore give insights in the differences and similarity between the different scale sizes.

Finally, the combination of theories on greening public space and the stimulation of communities has not been researched to this extent before. The comparison of the different goals and methods of green organisation to predict success indicators therefore helps expanding the knowledge about what works and what does not. The combination of greening public space with the help of green initiatives and community building has not been researched in this form before. Not only will this research provide new information on success factors for a short term, it will also look at what communities need to maintain the green long term. Theories about the needs of communities in the form of community capital will be tested. This will provide new information on the resilience of communities and their ability to achieve long term goals.

## 1.5 Methodology

This research has taken place between November 2021 and June 2022. To conduct this research, the methods were discussed multiple times with the mentor of my internship by the province Noord-Brabant. Together, the following methods on how to best answer these research questions were decided. This research was done with a field search design. This means that the research will focus on gathering and interpreting primary data. This primary data was gathered by conducting 13 semi-structured interviews with experts from 13 different green initiatives. Conducting interviews was seen as the best data collection method here, because of the possibility to ask in depth questions about this subject, of which relatively few is scientifically known. In dept questions are needed here to figure out what success factors are in this subject. This can only be done by asking the people in the field, who have experience and expertise. The Interviews were held with the founders and organizers of these initiatives. To gather the fitting data, green initiatives had to require to some aspects to be selected. These selections were discussed with my supervisors of the province. With their knowledge and experience with green initiatives and projects, they were able to help me make relevant choices regarding the casus selection. After making the selection criteria, many green initiatives were asked to participate with this research by email. In the following months all interviews were held, with the help of operationalizations of the topics in the interview guide shown in Appendix A. These were then transcribed literally, followed coding them thematically. The codebook is shown in Appendix B. More elaborate information about the methods that were used are found in chapter 3 of this thesis.

## 1.6 Reading guide

In this paragraph the structure of this thesis is explained. To start, some important concepts that were used in this research are defined. After clarifying these most important concepts, there is an elaborate literature review regarding the research questions. In this theoretical chapter possible success factors for green initiatives will be indicated based on how they are able to stimulate communities in the best way. Furthermore, there will be literature on community resilience and what communities need to stay active in, in this case, greening. Next, the methods will be discussed in chapter 3 of this research. In this methodology chapter the research design will first be explained. Then, the data collection process is addressed. How the data is gathered will become clear, as well as where it is gathered. The casus selection will be explained next and the participating respondents are addressed. This is followed by an operationalization of the indicated success factors for green initiatives. These concepts will each be measured with the usage of multiple questions. This is also found in the final interview guide, which was used for the interviews. The interview guide is shown in Appendix A. After the operationalization the data analysis is discussed. The interviews were namely coded and analysed in a certain way. Finally, the reliability and validity of this research is discussed in this chapter. After the methodology chapter the data that was gathered and analysed is shown in two result chapters. The coding of the data can be found in the code book shown in Appendix B. All success factors that were tested will be addressed in this first result chapter. Additionally, new emergent success factors that came up during the data collecting are discussed as well. This is followed a second result chapter regarding answers on the second sub question. This chapter will show the results on what a community needs to greener the city on the long term. Where the first sub question focusses on the stimulation of communities to start with greening their environment, the second will focus on how to make sure that they are able to continue it long term. Each result chapter will end in a table that summarizes the found results. This will make clearer to what extent all factors would indicate success, and in what way. The main question will then be answered in the conclusion. This last chapter will address the main question, and give a review on this research in a discussion paragraph. To end, policy recommendations are given for green initiatives to optimize their operating.

## 2. Theory

In this chapter a literature review will be given regarding the research questions. To start, important concepts will be defined in paragraph 2.1. These are concepts that are frequently used in this study and need to be clarified to give a clear picture of what is meant by them in this research. Second, a literature review on research about green initiatives is given to show how they work and what features could make them effective in what they do in paragraph 2.2. Because of the lack of studies on green initiatives operating on a larger scale, literature on smaller scale green initiatives like green citizens' initiatives is used to indicate possible success factors. To answer the second sub question, international literature on resilient and active communities is used to clarify what features are important for them to be able to greener cities long term. This will be shown in paragraph 2.3.

### 2.1 Concepts and definitions

#### What is greening?

Greening is a very broad concept. In this research I will focus on physical greening. This entails all green that is placed or being placed in our living environment. It makes our physical environment greener, more climate-proof or bio-diverse. The focus is only on physical greenery, because that can be directly created or maintained by communities. It also needs maintenance on the long term. Greenery always has a geographical location and can thus also provide a place for communities to meet. Various studies have shown that a physical meeting place is very important for creating an active community (Wolfe, 2019; Könst, 2017). No further distinction will be made between the different forms of greenery, because the participating green initiatives often work with different methods and different types of greenery. To find out which organizations have the most effect on creating or stimulating an active community, it is important to look at a variety of methods used by a variety of organizations. In this way different green initiatives can be interviewed, each having different methods, making different places greener. For example, some initiatives are concerned with giving children knowledge about nature by organizing activities for them in the woods, others are expanding the knowledge of how to move and plant trees, and yet another method is making roofs greener. Because initiatives could each have similar goals, but a completely different method and sometimes include different types of greenery, it seems best not to specify greening to a specific type. In this way, the most rich knowledge about what is most effective way to motivate communities in participating and maintaining urban green is gathered.

#### What is a green initiative?

The province of Noord-Brabant uses the following definition for a green citizens' initiative: "initiatives that make a positive contribution to the environment and/or nature." (Province of North Brabant, 2021). This definition will also be used in this study. But in this research, a distinction will be made between local initiatives and initiatives that operate on a larger scale. An initiative is considered local when it only operates on one location. All participating initiatives in this research therefore operate on two or more locations. As mentioned before, this distinction is made because relatively much research has already been done on local green initiatives, but less is written about initiatives that operate on a larger scale. It is important to keep this distinction in mind, because there is sometimes spoken of local initiatives in the result chapters 4 and 5. This was done to reflect on the theories spoken of in chapter 2.

#### What is an active and resilient community?

According to Ham & Van der Meer (2015), there are only ambiguous definitions for this. Citizens' initiatives, the entrepreneurial citizen, entrepreneurial communities and the 'do democracy' in which citizens take matters into their own hands, are all terms used to describe active communities. Ham &

Van der Meer (2015) see these communities as a solution to fill the gaps where government and market forces fail. According to them, there are still few limits to concepts such as citizens' initiatives. When it comes to the active citizen, it often refers to "Citizens who solve social issues in their own circle. Some viewers stretch it even further to include almost every action by citizens that contributes to social goals, preferably something that is social and sustainable." (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015, p. 7). Furthermore, Carton, Otteman & Wiering (2015) talk about the power of citizens, and Zoetbrood (2012) talks about citizen functioning. They all talk about citizens who themselves solve social issues or want to improve their neighbourhood or their current situation. An unambiguous definition is difficult to form due to the many comparable concepts. What the definitions do have in common is that they all refer to a community that is resilient, active and enterprising. In this research I will follow the definition of Kais and Islam (2016) on communities. They conducted research into the resilience of a community. This resilience is especially important for staying active as a community in the long term. Kais and Islam (2016) define a community as follows: "community is defined as a place-based geographical entity, located at the intersection of household and regional levels, which displays few distinct functional characteristics of its members that include (1) community members interacting on a somewhat regular basis; (2) this interaction is not significantly mediated by the state; and (3) members have some degree of shared preferences or beliefs." (Kais & Islam, 2016, p3.). In this research the resilience of the community is only about maintaining and improving the greenery in the neighbourhood of the community, despite any threats that could occur. For example in Nijmegen a 'tiny forest' was destroyed (De Buissonjé, 2021). If the concerning community that maintained the tiny forest is resilient, they will not disband their beliefs and preferences. Instead, they will rather continue the advance towards their goals and build a new one.

## *2.2 What are success factors within green initiatives to stimulate communities in being active in greening?*

This paragraph I will look at how green initiatives can encourage communities to increase and/or maintain green in their living environment. This will be done by looking at the available scientific literature on the existence of green initiatives and their life histories. Since there is a lot of available literature on citizens' initiatives, and many larger scale green initiatives have started as citizens' initiatives, success factors of green citizens' initiatives will be used indicate what characteristics are needed to succeed in the stimulation of communities. Few (international) literature was available for larger scale green initiatives, this is why the indicated success factors will mainly be based on local green initiatives. The fact that there is few international literature available about this topic, could be a result in itself. The Netherlands could be a precursor in research on citizen participation especially in the greening sector.

As mentioned before, a lot of research has already been done into citizen initiatives in the Netherlands (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015; Mattijssen et al., 2017; Meindersma et al., 2017). Some studies have summarized success indicators to provide more insight into what can make a citizens' initiative succeed. Many larger scale green initiatives arose from green citizens' initiatives. They start from a citizens' initiative and grow into a national organization once they have succeeded in their own environment and want to establish this for other neighbourhoods as well. To start, Ham & Van der Meer (2015) conducted a study into various citizens' initiatives. They see citizens' initiatives as initiatives where the market and government fall short. Citizens then take action to arrange things themselves. A citizens' initiative needs an active and enthusiastic community. As a result of their research, they provide a number of criteria that are needed for a good working citizens' initiative. Things that citizens' initiatives need to start up and to keep up their popularity. I will only discuss the criteria that the green initiatives in this research can also respond to. This means factors that not only apply to a local initiative, but might be applicable for the larger scale. Next to this research, other research on green (citizens') initiatives will be addressed as well. In table 2.1 all addressed success indicators are listed to give an overview of the factors that will be included in this research.

### *2.2.1. Legal form*

To start, an important factor seemed to be the legal form a green initiative has. Legal form appears to be very important for the way local green initiatives are able to operate (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). It for example determines to what extent members are allowed to participate in decision-making. Many green initiatives do not tend to make a profit. They often have the legal form of foundations or associations (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). An association is a collaboration between several people who want to achieve a goal together. An association always has members. These often pay a contribution, which is sometimes is the main income of an association. In an association, the members are also part of the decision-making process. The extent to which members are allowed to participate in decision-making is very important for some initiatives, it gives members the feeling that the initiative really belongs to them (Meindersma et al., 2017).

Other initiatives could prefer the form of a foundation (Meindersma et al., 2017). A foundation is a form of business with legal capacity. The purpose of a foundation is often to achieve a certain idealistic goal. People often choose to set up a foundation, because this form of business is sometimes necessary for applying for grants, and it sometimes makes it easier to manage the organisation. In a foundation, the members do not always participate in the decision-making. Because members do not have to pay a membership fee, the relationship with the board is often less complex. Being a foundation or association can therefore have different consequences for what is possible within the organization, and who is in charge.

But not all green initiatives have to be associations or foundations. More profit-oriented organizations can also contribute to the greening of the city with help of communities. Consumers may also be asked to pay for the construction of greenery, such as for the construction of green roofs. Consumers pay per square meter, and thus the organization receives income from the sale of a good. This does not exclude that such organizations cannot receive income from subsidies.

It is interesting to check whether the legal form has an influence on the operating of the participating green initiatives. It could be possible that they have different methods for achieving their goals, or different outcomes.

### *2.2.2. Finances*

Many initiatives need a start-up subsidy to get started (Ham & Van de Meer, 2015). It is striking that most citizens' initiatives indicate that they want to stand on their own two feet, but that they are almost always dependent on governmental grants. The independence on grants can therefore be of influence on their operating. Their possibilities in what they are able to organise, as well as the influence it can have on their decision making and methods.

The costs often outweigh the benefits. Ham & Van der Meer (2015) distinguish between two types of grants; structural and incidental grants. Structural grant is sometimes seen as an indicator of failure, because it makes initiatives more dependent on the organization or government who provides the grants. Incidental grants often come in the form of a one-off subsidy or investment, with which they can get started, and then try to become independent. It is also possible that an initiative receives multiple structural or incidental grants. It makes a lot of difference to initiatives what requirements are set for the grant, because this can hinder or steer their organization in what they do. It can oppress them if they feel that their initiative is being embraced too much and that they have to be held accountable too much (Könst, Van Melik & Verheul, 2018). It can also give them the idea that the initiative is not theirs but the grants provider's, if the provider of the grant has too much power in the decisions that are being made. However, citizens' initiatives often do poorly in their independent survival (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). The question is therefore where more national green initiatives stand in this dependence. The research by Ham & Van der Meer (2015) is about local citizens' initiatives. Many national green initiatives have emerged from these local initiatives, so what is their secret when it comes to their finances? Are they able to somehow be independent of grants? Subsidizing often makes it questionable whether a structurally subsidized initiative has actually been successful (De Haan & Haartsen, 2015). When it comes to urban green initiatives, they often have more mutual contacts and better contact with other parties than green initiatives in more rural areas. They receive more subsidies and have a wider range of volunteers. In the countryside, on the other hand, the initiatives are often older and more sustainable than in the city. Success in a rural area can have a different meaning than in growth areas such as cities. According to De Haan & Haartsen (2015), taking the lead is an important success factor, the leaders of an initiative must have a substantive, intrinsic motivation. When people would start an initiative based on the idea of getting grants, they have a smaller chance of succeeding. Grants may help, but should not be the motive behind the initiative. However, applying for a grant can be difficult (De Haan & Haartsen, 2015). Sometimes governments are slow in their actions or communication, while initiatives themselves seem to have little time to submit documents. Contact between initiatives and municipalities often seems not always to go smoothly. This seems to be because many municipalities do not yet have clear guidelines for cooperation with (citizens') initiatives.

Green initiatives can also receive financial resources in other ways. Könst, Van Melik and Verheul (2018) distinguish the five most important sources of income for a future-proof revenue model. These are: grants from the government, grants from non-profit organizations, sale of goods or services and member contributions. Most initiatives initially seem unable to stand on their own two feet, and are dependent on grants. According to Könst, Van Melik and Verheul (2018), it is important to spread the



risks associated with financial dependence. They concluded that it is best to depend as little as possible on grants for a future-proof model. Grants would reduce the flexibility and resilience of the initiative in the long term. To be resilient for the future it is important to be financially stable and preferably independent.

In this study, the question will be asked whether the initiative receives a subsidy, and whether this subsidy is incidental or structural. Structural subsidies make them more dependent than incidental subsidies (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). Also other forms of receiving income will be questioned, like whether the initiative receives income from the sale of goods, services or member contributions.

### *2.2.3. Charismatic leadership*

Good charismatic leadership turned out to be very important for the success of a citizens' initiative (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). This can concern one or a few enthusiastic leaders who are really committed to the initiative. These people can make others enthusiastic and persuade them to participate as well. Flax et al. (2020) emphasize this as well. Their international research on greening schoolyards showed that leadership is important to gather a consistent level of participants. This is difficult and depends strongly on the leadership within the project.

The power of a story is important for the success of a citizens' initiative as well (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). Having a good story can motivate and inspire people to participate. This good story the community can also be proud of, and sharing this pride can make them closer. When the initiative has a charismatic leader who shares this story, a community could get inspired and could be more willing to participate long term. In this research leadership will be addressed in the interviews. Questions about the effects leadership has within the initiative will be asked. Examples are asked about who this leader might be and what effects it brings to the stimulation of communities.

### *2.2.4 The use of existing places of encounter*

The presence of an existing organization or place of encounter often works when starting an initiative (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). Citizens' initiatives do not come out of the blue, but often arise at existing places of encounter. Think of home care organizations, swimming pools or community centres that can facilitate a place to gather and create a citizens' initiative. For large scale green initiatives, this can mean that when they are planning an activity at a certain neighbourhood, it might be important to look at the places where people already come together. Existing places of encounter are often good starting points for green initiatives, because people have already gathered here before. People already know one another, and it will be more familiar and accessible to go there.

Könst, Van Melik & Verheul (2018) conducted research into the private management of public space. They investigated the necessary conditions for the management of neighbourhood gardens by residents. These conditions may also be generally useful for creating active communities. Particularly because these focus on the management of public green spaces, and not on the creation of them. These conditions can stimulate the conservation of greenery, and may therefore be an indication for long-term greening. The conditions that were drawn up from interviews with volunteers are the following; working together with a fun factor, a strongly involved neighbourhood and a lively meeting place. Working together with a fun factor and a strongly involved neighbourhood are related to social cohesion, which will be discussed in the next paragraph 2.3. A lively meeting place is important so that people like to come there, it is also good for awareness and word-of-mouth advertising. In this research it will be questioned whether the participating initiatives see success in the usage of existing places of encounter. It might be different for them, working on a larger scale. It is therefore interesting to see whether they make use of these places and what it brings them.

### *2.2.5. Inclusion*

Inclusion and exclusion of the citizens' initiative are important indicators of success (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). There are up- and downsides of inclusion. If people from outside the community would come to make use of a local initiative, that could be fine, but it can also mean the end of an initiative, because it can become overloaded. The tragedy of the commons is often used to explain this phenomena. Drawing the line on who can use an initiative and who can not can therefore be difficult when interest grows. When it comes to greening, however, there may not be many limits to users. Although, this can differ per approach and per organization. On the contrary, it may be important that as many people as possible from as many layers of the population as possible can participate in the initiative. So that it is widely distributed among the community, and the entire community can gain knowledge and enthusiasm. De Haan & Haarsten (2015) made success indicators for citizens' initiatives as well. They mention to be strongly against the exclusion of people outside the initiative. As many people as possible should participate in order to maintain as much support as possible. Inclusion will be seen as a success factor in this research, but to acknowledge that there might be downsides to it, the question whether there is a limit to the participation on the initiative will be asked as well.

Inclusion can also be seen as a form of inclusivity in the sense of being able to participate. To reach as many people as possible, it is important that all layers of society are able to participate (Hunt et al., 2021). Hunt et al. (2021) did a research on urban greening in Perth, Australia. They distinguished several drivers for residents to adopt street verges. Regarding inclusion, they found that local government funding was a big driver for people. These local fundings were for instance used for seeds or other costs connected to the verge makeovers. The financial costs to participate should be as low as possible to attract a wide range of participants. This means that an initiative is more inclusive when the activity is for instance cheap or even free. It could also be the case that activities are too psychically challenging for some, or that certain knowledge or skills are required to participate. When everyone is able to participate, despite their socioeconomic status, knowledge, skills or psychical state, the initiative is fully seen as inclusive in this research. This inclusion is seen as very important for communities, because they often exist of a diverse range of people. They can be old, young, rich or poor, and in order to create a resilient and active community, they must all be able to play a role in the greening process.

### *2.2.6. Regularity of activities (with a fun factor)*

Haan & Haartsen (2015) emphasize the regularity of activities. To keep people motivated, it is important that they are regularly involved in the initiative. It decreases the risk that people greener their environment and later neglect it. For something to work long term, there must be a regularity in the maintenance of the space. Additionally, if people meet on a regular basis there is a bigger chance that they become closer as a community. Könst, Van Melik & Verheul (2018) concluded that working together with a fun factor is one of the most important conditions that are needed to maintain community gardens together. Not only is it important for people to meet regular, it must also be fun. Fun is a very important part for people to join an activity in their spare time. Therefore, this is a very important conditions green initiatives should comply to. So working together on a regular basis is tested here as a success factor. It will be asked whether the participating initiatives think whether this is indeed a success factor for them, or that they leave the regularity of a activities by the community itself.

### *2.2.7 Cooperation*

The collaboration with governments, water boards and other interested actors can be very important for the success of a green initiative or a green organization (Könst, Van Melik & Verheul, 2018; Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). Although, communication with municipalities can sometimes be difficult due to

unclear regulations within municipalities regarding cooperation between parties. This could be a problem for larger scale green initiatives as well. It could also be the case that they have much better relations with municipalities which give them a boost in their working. It is interesting to see how and with whom these bigger green initiatives work together. With whom they have good cooperation's, and with whom they have not, or what could be improved.

#### 2.2.8. *Visibility*

External communication also appears to be important for good cooperation between parties (Meindersma et al., 2017). This increases the visibility of the initiative. This creates awareness, which may attract more volunteers. It shows clients and financiers what is happening. Social media and local press are very useful here. It is important to regularly invite stakeholders such as municipalities, financiers or other cooperation partners to come and view the project or initiative. Or to keep them informed by means of e-mails, Christmas cards or by sharing the harvest, for example. This does not only lead to more enthusiasm, but also to more confidence in the initiative. A positive tone and accessible contact appear to be important factor in the success of a green initiative. Being visible will therefore be included in this research, since the investigated initiatives operate on a large scale, they probably have thought of their visibility and social media. It is important to test in what amount they think visibility brought them success with stimulating communities to participate.

**Table 2.1: Possible success factors**

---

Legal form
Finances
Charismatic leadership
The use of existing places of encounter
Inclusion
Regularity of activities (with fun factor)
Cooperation
Visibility

---

## 2.3 What characteristics does a community need to achieve long-term greening of cities?

In this third part of the theory chapter, I will explore the requirements for creating a long-term active community. The framework of community capital of Callaghan and Colton (2008) will be used to properly map out what a community needs to remain active. This framework contains various forms of capital that need to be available for a community. These forms are first explained on the basis of the findings of Bourdieu (1986), after which the forms of capital are brought together and expanded to the concept of community capital. The different forms of capital that together form community capital are discussed and then applied to what communities need in order to achieve a long term greening of their neighbourhoods. This framework is used in this research to test how active or resilient a community could be as a result of the stimulation by green initiatives. Additionally, theories about societies and communities of influential theorists such as Durkheim, Parson and others will be used to further establish the need for these forms of capital.

### 2.3.1 The need for capital

According to Bourdieu (1986), in order to be able to achieve things, you must possess different types of capital. These depend on various restrictions and resources. Bourdieu distinguishes three kinds of capital; economic, social and cultural capital. Economic capital is capital in the form of money or property. This is capital that can be converted directly into a certain value expressed in money. Cultural capital is capital generated from, for example, education. Social capital is capital generated from social contacts. From networks on which you can fall back or get further along. These can be people who can help you, teach you things, or introduce you to other contacts. This also includes social obligations, reciprocity and the ties you have with your environment. Social capital is important for generating both cultural and economic capital (Ultee, Arts & Flap, 1996). The three forms are closely related. Social capital is needed both within and outside the entrepreneurial community. There must be strong mutual ties within the community. This can cause a high level of social cohesion and makes that people cultural and economic capital.

When it comes to making the city greener, communities will need these forms of capital to be able to achieve this. Economic capital is needed in the form of financial capital to get started with the initiative (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). Economic capital is not included in this research, it is something that initiatives might need (see 2.1), but not something they can give to communities. Green initiatives will not increase the amount of economic capital in a community in the sense of giving them money or property. They might give them free plants or soil, but not to an extent that the total economic capital in a community will grow. Cultural and social capital will be tested in this research, but in a more communal form, instead of an individual level.

### 2.3.2. Community capital

Callaghan and Colton (2008) merged the foregoing types of capital of Bourdieu (1986), together with new ones into the concept of community capital. There are several forms of community capital, but all types focus on community balance and the flexibility to drive community resilience and long-term contribution to sustainable development. Community capital is important to include, because this research is not about individuals, but about communities. It is also a concept that looks at the sustainable, long term functioning of the community. Callaghan and Colton (2008) emphasize the importance of focusing on community capital when it comes to community resilience and sustainability. After all, people are in a community together. You must therefore possess this capital together. They distinguish six dimensions of community capital. Environmental capital, human capital, social capital, cultural capital, structural capital and commercial capital.

### ***Environmental capital:***

Environmental capital is a form of capital generated by local, regional and global ecosystems (Callaghan and Colton, 2008). This form of capital includes all terrestrial systems such as the atmosphere, water systems, land and area development and the climate. It can be measured in, for example, an amount of trees, animals or services that our nature provides us, such as water retention. It is important that this shape is resilient in the long term. More environmental capital leads to a stable and sustainable living environment for community properties. It is the underlying foundation of community capital. There is a lot of overlap within the forms of capital. In this way nature can take place on someone's land, which is at the same time someone's economic or commercial capital. Recognizing and dealing with this overlap is essential for the resilience of a community. In the last 50 years a lot of environmental capital has been lost globally. Now it is important to find the balance between man and nature. This is particularly important in order to be able to use the other forms of capital. Without our environmental capital, the other forms of capital cannot take place or take place to a lesser extent. The living environment is essential for having a resilient and active community. In this research you could say that expanding environmental capital is the main goal of every green initiative. Achieving long-term greening of cities entails increasing environmental capital. Because every green initiative has the goal to improve the environmental capital of communities, this form of community capital will not be tested. This is because it is already clear that they are all committed to improve our living environment.

### ***Human capital:***

Human capital is often thought of in the form of strengthening your chances on the labour market. Human capital is a set of knowledge and skills, often acquired through education. Everything you learn can be seen as human capital. Training and education can therefore strengthen human capital. For example, following a course is an investment in the future. The idea is that with more knowledge you can do your job better. Investing in your human capital then yields a higher income in the long term. However, when we apply this to communities, it becomes a different story. There would be only a weak relationship between education and the growth of economic or social capital within a community. But the goal of a community is not necessarily economic, there are more complex goals. Although knowledge and skills are necessary for economic growth within a community, they are not sufficient in themselves. They need other community investments to ensure a healthy and resilient community. However, human capital also consists of knowledge about activities and knowledge about 'what is nice or good'. As a result, human capital contributes to a piece of culture within a community. In this way, human capital can contribute to the creation of pride and social cohesion within a community. If people share the same human capital, their bond can be strengthened. In the case of this research, human capital would entail knowledge about green. Theoretical knowledge about soil and plants for instance, as well as a set of skills on how to establish the greening.

### ***Social capital***

Social capital is the set of relationships that we have developed through shared norms, values, and trust (Putnam, 2000). Unlike other forms of community capital, social capital cannot be measured or observed on its own. It is always something related to others. Between individuals and between groups. Social capital helps a community build trust, tolerance, security and social cohesion (Callaghan and Colton, 2008). The downside is that it can also create suspicion and fear if the social ties within a community are less strong. It can also lead to the exclusion of other groups outside the community. When social capital is too community-bound, it can be bad for a community. Social capital exists of two elements; bonding and bridging (Putnam, 2000). In addition to bonding (strengthen the relationships within the community), you also need bridging (increasing the amount of relationships with people outside the community) in order to have sufficient new ideas and innovation within the community (Putnam, 2000). This is important for the development and resilience of a community. There must be a certain degree of flexibility in order to be a resilient community in the long term. The exchange of outside knowledge and relationships are just as important, or perhaps more important than good ties within the community. Human capital and social capital are closely related. You gain knowledge through interaction with

others. You also often learn things at school together with others, and you develop social skills while you learn.

The regularity in which communities engage in activities together influences the long-term maintenance of greenery within the community (Könst, 2017). People must meet and come together in order to achieve long-term greening. Sufficient social capital is therefore to a certain extent essential for the success of greening in the long term. Seeing each other regularly through activities can contribute to this to some extent. Seeing each other on a regular basis and knowing each other well keeps people motivated to keep spending their time together, and participate together in something like maintaining green. Here social capital is both the cause behind the activities and the consequence of the activities.

### *Social cohesion*

Something that is closely related with social capital is social cohesion. This is mainly important for the social bonding of a community. A society or community must be sufficiently close to undertake things together. To begin with, there is the principle of structural functionalism to explain a measure of social cohesion (Ultee, Arts & Flap, 1996). Durkheim, an important sociologist, came up with this idea of structural functionalism, he explains it as follows:

"Every society has a certain coherence, insofar as it consists of certain intermediate groupings (has some structure), and has certain generally shared values and norms (that is, possesses some culture) , and the more closely integrated the members of such a society into these groups, the more they adhere to those values and norms, resulting in greater cohesion" (Ultee, Arts & Flap, 1996, p. 105).

Durkheim explored this by comparing Catholic and Protestant communities. Protestant groups were much more likely to commit suicide, they were said to have a less close-knit group than Catholics. The intermediate grouping here would be a neighbourhood or district. Based on the structural functionalism, it is important for the creation of entrepreneurial communities with regard to greening that people are sufficiently integrated in the community to adopt and comply with norms and values. The community, in this case often neighbourhoods and districts, must therefore be sufficiently close, and people must be sufficiently integrated to comply with the norms and values regarding greening. These standards and values can be, for example, having a biodiverse garden or maintaining shared or public greenery. Parson then further developed this theory with a greater focus on the norms and values that are adhered to. He came up with the socialization and internalization hypothesis. It reads as follows:

"The more the members of a society are socialized in its norms and values and they have internalized them more deeply, the more they adhere to those norms and values" (Ultee, Arts & Flap, 1996, p. 113).

Durkheim then builds on this again through his theory of anomie. This means that the more the means and goals in a collaboration are better aligned, the better the standards and values within society are observed. For example, means and goals can be a high standard of living, and the money to achieve it. If this were applied to greening, the goal would be a certain amount of greening. The means would not only be money, but also, for example, space, time and knowledge. The better these resources are fitted to the goals, the greater the chance that these goals will be achieved. That the standards and values regarding greening can be better adhered to, and people will start to care more for maintaining green for instance. In this sense, multiple forms of capital are coherent here as well. In order to have a clear measure of the social capital of communities, questions about social cohesion and bonding within the community as well as bridging outside of the community will be asked.



### ***Cultural Capital***

Cultural capital is particularly needed in order to know how to establish things (Bourdieu, 1986). In this case, how to make places more bio-diverse for instance. Knowledge about biodiversity, but also knowledge about regulations of the municipality, knowledge about possible restrictions and knowledge about possible methods. Cultural capital consists of material and non-material aspects. Materially, this includes old buildings, gardens, art, instruments, and all other objects that are manmade (Bourdieu, 1986). The things we have that touch us in our culture is reminiscent. This could entail gardens or forms of nature as well. The non-material aspects of cultural capital are things like customs, beliefs, myths, stories and traditions. Our norms and values are also a form of cultural capital. They are things we are socially integrated into.

What is perceived as cultural varies by community, and the reinforcement of cultural capital depends very much on one's social capital (Callaghan and Colton, 2008). What you learn and who you interact with has a major influence on what you like or find beautiful. Communities often have their own identity and can also have their own cultural traditions. Tradition contributes to a sense of community and to the direction that the community will take in the future. In this research the cultural capital is the view communities have regarding the greening of their neighbourhood. It is the question whether this becomes a ritual or habit, and how they view these activities. When greening is viewed as something beautiful and is liked throughout the community, the cultural capital regarding greening increases in a positive way. In this research it will be asked how green is viewed by participating communities, and in what sense working in green becomes a habit or gains cultural value.

### ***Reasoned action***

Ajzen (1991) was one of the first to devise a theory of reasoned action. In his theory, he explains why people behave in a certain way. Reasoned action is strongly coherent with the cultural capital people have. Figure 2.1 below shows that behaviour arises from a certain behavioural intention. This intention will eventually lead to behaviour. This intention is based on one's attitude toward a particular type of behaviour, and one's subjective norms and values towards it. This attitude is often based on people's cultural capital. A person's attitude, in turn, is determined by what a person believes in with regard to the behaviour and the person's evaluation of the outcome of the behaviour. What do I achieve with this behaviour? Does it get me anything? One's norms and values are based on normative beliefs and one's motivation to comply in this behaviour. When this theory is applied to the greening of the city, the question arises why people actually participate with an activity in greening, and to what extent people will help with the greening of the city for a long time. Also the reason to participate is investigated. What does one get out of it? And what attitude is common under participating communities? The underlying intentions, considerations and norms and values that lie behind this are important to investigate in order to determine behaviour. In this research reasons are sought to what convinces people to participate in activities organized by green initiatives. And why they will continue the greening after the activities or not.

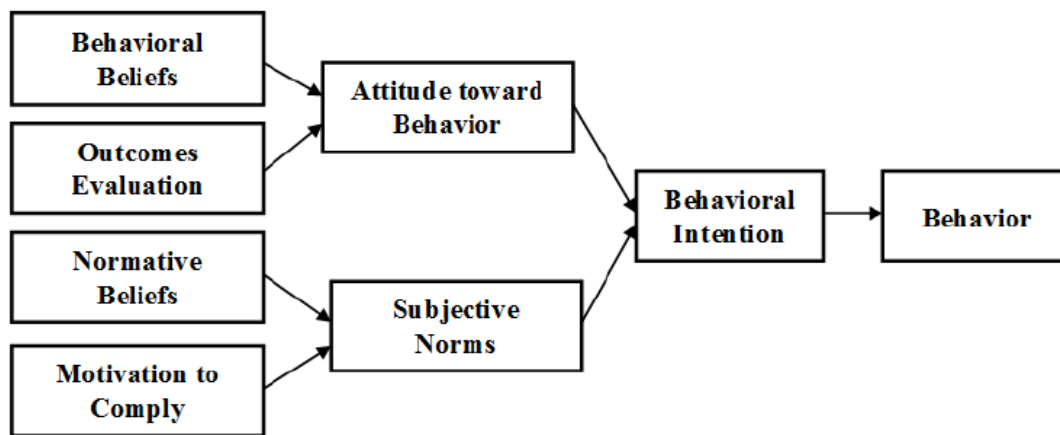


Figure 2.1: Theory of reasoned action (Ajzen, 1991)

### ***Public Structural Capital***

These are the structures and institutions in our communities that are public by nature (Callaghan and Colton, 2008). They are accessible to everyone, but not necessarily free. Such as healthcare institutions, infrastructure or schools, but also libraries, parks and community centres. These are often organized through governments, but this does not necessarily have to be the case. These are often places where people within the community come together. There is a strong overlap between private commercial capital space and public capital space. For example, people like to gather in public spaces, such as parks and libraries, but also in restaurants and cafes, which in turn are more private capital.

Public structural capital often has to do with 'the tragedy of the commons'. This means that because these places can be used by everyone, they can be used to a certain limit. They might not be available to everyone, because there might be a maximum to the capacity of the place. But with sufficient human, social and cultural capital, a community would be able to deal with this well and good public structural capital can be developed. Inclusivity and good communication here is therefore important. When it comes to public structural capital in the form of urban green, the maximum amount of people who can make use of it is often not reached. This will not be a problem for most communities. A community that has a healthy amount of culture, heritage, contacts and knowledge can counter the misuse of public capital. Think of preventing the littering of parks, or cleaning them. Also the maintenance might need good agreements. In this research, public structural capital in the form of urban green spaces is often maintained or created by the activities of green initiatives. Green initiatives can stimulate communities in maintaining or creating urban green spaces, which can contribute to their public structural capital. They can also make use of public structural capital as spoken of in paragraph 2.2 about the usage of existing places of encounter. This could therefore be a success indicator for the stimulation of participation among communities, as well as something that can help them maintain the green long term.

A placemaking perspective could influence this structural capital. There may be social, geographical or spatial reasons that people do not use urban greenery or have less need to visit a (green) place. A placemaking perspective focuses on how to develop places that one likes and appreciates (Coffin & Young, 2017). When spots are appreciated, they are more often preserved and can last a long time (Wolfe, 2019). Think of old buildings and churches; when people find them beautiful and feel comfortable with visiting these places, they are being remained and used. A placemaking perspective can provide insight into why people do or do not use public structural capital, or why this capital does or does not meet the needs of a community. Könst, Van Melik and Verheul (2018) confirm the importance of lively places of encounter for the long-term maintenance of communal gardens. The same

can be said for other forms of (urban) greenery. When one has a lively meeting place, or urban areas themselves become more pleasant to live in, they become more popular and will be more likely to be maintained.

In this research the public structural capital is seen as public places where people can meet each other. These will more often entail urban green spaces like parks. It will be asked whether the place really is or becomes a meeting spot, whether people value and visit the place or not, and to what extent the interviewees think such a place is of importance for the long term maintenance of green.

### ***Commercial capital***

Commercial capital is capital that arises from participating in commercial activities (Callaghan and Colton, 2008). These are activities that generate profit from services and products. It falls on manifested capital, which consists of everything made by man. Unlike public structural capital, commercial capital is only available for those who pay, such as when purchasing a service or good. Commercial capital produced by a community can generate economic growth within the community. Commercial capital will not be included in this study. In the creation of a long-term greening of the city by communities, there is no commerce. Green is seen more as a public good that is expanded and improved. This development in greenery can only be commercial if the community can make a profit from it, which is not the goal here.

These forms of community capital as shown in figure 2.2. would ensure a community of a long term establishment of their goals, in this term the greening of their living environment. In this research, the focus is to strengthen the environmental capital of a community by reassuring the other forms of capital. Commercial capital is not included in this research, because urban green has no commercial means. The remaining forms of capital will be tested in this research. The results on this topic are found in chapter 5.

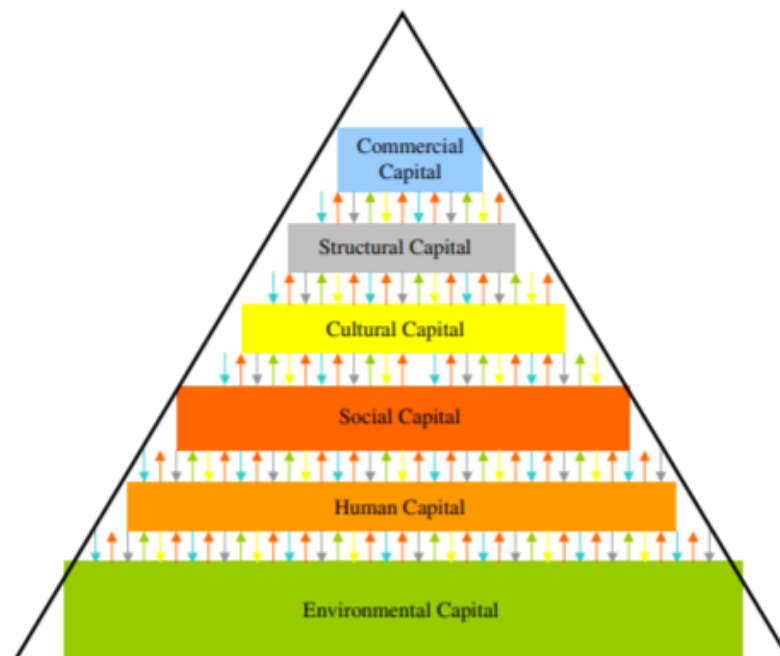


Figure 2.2: Forms of community capital (Callaghan and Colton, 2008)

## 2.4 Conceptual model

In this conceptual model the content of this theory chapter is simplified to give a clearer picture of what the research will entail. In paragraph 2.2 the first sub question was addressed. Possible success factors for green initiatives were indicated. These success factors would strengthen the chances of green initiatives to stimulate communities in becoming active in the greening of their environment. In paragraph 2.3 the second sub question was addressed. It is indicated what a community will need to be able to stay active and are able to achieve a long term green of cities. As seen in the conceptual model, they each fulfil a different part of the main question.

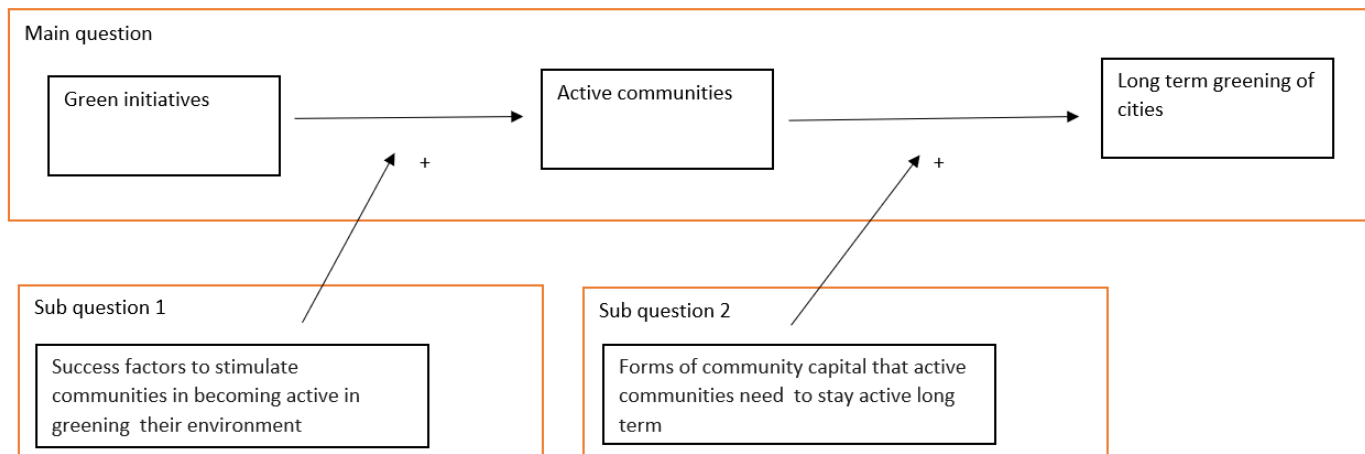


Figure 2.3: Conceptual model

### 3. Methodology

In this chapter the methodology of the research is addressed. First, the research design will be explained. Second, the data collection is described, as well as the selection process of respondents and the operationalisation of the data. After explaining what data is collected and how, the data analysis will be clarified. Finally the reliability and validity of this research will be discussed.

#### 3.1 Research design

The research design that is used in this research is a field search design. This entails the gathering and interpretation of primary data. The goal is to answer the research questions with the gathered data. This will be done by doing semi-structured interviews. This entails that there will be one on one conversations in which several questions about the pre described topics are conducted (Scheepers, Tobi & Boeije, 2016). In this research it will be semi-structured interviews that gather the information that secondary policy research would not get. This means that the data that can already be found online about the green initiatives will not be asked about in the interviews. More information about the methods regarding the semi-structured interviews is given in the following paragraph about data collection

This research design is chosen, because it seemed to be the best fitting method to answer the head- and sub questions of this research. To find out success factors for national green initiatives, it is not possible to do this research at the hand of secondary data. Few data is found online about the operating of green initiatives. To find these success factors it is therefore essential to gather new, primary data. Because it is still unclear whether all success factors are thought of and mentioned in the theory chapter, it is best to do this field search at the hand of semi-structured interviews. This leaves the possibility to ask open questions about the possible success factors, as well as the opportunity to ask about success factors that were not thought of at first. Qualitative research is most fitting here, the openness qualitative research offers is essential for the explorative nature of this research. With quantitative research the options to explore more success factors or obstacles for green initiative would be less elaborative. There would be few or no space for emergent topics or factors that could come up during an interview. Qualitative data carries the opportunity to go in depth more compared to quantitative data, and is most promising approach here to be able to get the richest data on this topic.

This research method is deductive, which means that the theoretical framework is used to give an indication of answers on the research questions. It means that this research will try to confirm or deny the theoretical framework. This does, however not exclude the option to ask further than the theoretical framework. Respondents are getting the possibility to add success factors or other important factors as well. In this sense, the research will have a small inductive side well.

#### 3.2 Data collection

To collect the data, a policy research will be conducted first to gain a better understanding of green initiatives. This will be done by looking at annual reports, overviews and other policies available regarding the green initiatives. This will make how they work and what their goals are more clear. The proposed features that could be success indicators will be investigated here as far as possible. In addition to information from the initiative itself, other sources that say something about the initiative will also be examined. Examples are news items or articles written about the initiative. This is done to prevent asking questions that could already be found online.

Next, 13 semi-structured interviews were held. All of the interviews were held in January and February 2022. The interviews were held online because of the Covid-19 pandemic, this brought some advantages and disadvantages to the method, more about this in the discussion paragraph in chapter 6.2. The interviews were held with respondents that were mainly in the boards of the concerning green initiatives.

Some fulfilled multiple functions, or had experience in multiple functions, which provided rich answers for this research. All interviews were held in Dutch, because that made it easier to gather Dutch respondents. Additionally, it would also give richer information, since all respondents were Dutch and were therefore more likely to express themselves better in Dutch.

Semi-structured interviews are interviews in which some of the questions asked are determined beforehand (Scheepers, Tobi & Boeijs, 2016). However, the order in which the questions are asked can be flexible and the respondents can answer freely. There is room to ask further questions about the answers of the respondent. It is a method with which answers to specific questions can be obtained, but it also leaves room for the vision and knowledge that a respondent has at his disposal. This method was chosen so that respondents themselves also have the opportunity to share their vision about their possible successful characteristics. It is possible that they name characteristics that are lacking in the previous literature search. The operationalization of the possible success factors of green initiatives, as well as the operationalization of the various forms of capital are shown later in this chapter.

### 3.3 Casus selection

To approach respondents, they first had to meet a number of criteria. As discussed earlier, this research only studies physical greenery. Other forms of greening or sustainability such as clean energy or isolation of buildings are not included in this study. The next criterion is that they must contribute to greening the city. Due to the great demand for more greenery, the importance of climate resilience and the increasing burden of heat stress in cities, this research focuses greenery in cities. Only initiatives that can directly or indirectly affect the city are included. Think of a direct greening of the city by for example, making roofs green. But an initiative can also indirectly respond to the greening of a city. For example by giving communities knowledge about greenery. This could motivate them to greener their neighbourhoods without directly greening doing so. As a third criterion, only initiatives that operate at a regional or national level are taken into account. This was decided because a lot is already known about green initiatives at the local level. It is therefore important that the selected initiatives do not take place in one place, but in several districts, cities or provinces. As a fourth criteria, the initiative should at least have one goal regarding the stimulation or activation of communities in participating with the green initiative. This is to exclude all green initiatives that do have great effects in greening our living environment, but do not do this with the help of participation communities. A distinction between goals regarding the stimulation of communities is made in table 3.2. After reaching out to many initiatives that met the criteria the following green initiatives have participated with this research. Some did not respond or did not find the time to participate. One initiative did not had the time to participate in an interview, but was willing to answer the questions per email. This was 't Groene Locket. Because, in that specific case, there was no possibility to ask further and go beyond the content of the prepared questions. Some follow-up questions were added to the interview guide and then send to the initiative as a replacement of the interview. All participants can be seen in table 3.1.

#### 3.3.1 Criteria for selecting green initiatives:

The initiative ...

1. Is directly or indirectly involved with physical greenery (no sustainability in other areas such as solar panels, etc.)
2. Can contribute to greening the city
3. Operates on a regional or national level
4. Aims at stimulating communities to participate



**Tabel 3.1: List of participating green initiatives**

	<b>Initiative</b>	<b>Form(s) of physical green</b>	<b>Contribution to greening the city</b>	<b>Area in which the initiative operates</b>
<b>1</b>	Steenbreek	Gardens, but also public spaces	Stop the trend of tile usage in urbanization	Nationwide
<b>2</b>	Natuurpodium	Education about physical green as well as experiences in green areas	Educational; improve knowledge, increase the experience with, and valuation of nature	Regional / Nationwide
<b>3</b>	't Groene Locket	The construction of green rooftops	Making gray rooftops green	Nationwide
<b>4</b>	Struikroven	Save all kinds of green from demolition	Saving urban green	Nationwide
<b>5</b>	IVN: Tiny forest	Construct small forests as well as adequate education	Experiencing nature, increasing biodiversity, improving air quality and preventing heat stress	Nationwide
<b>6</b>	IVN: Groene Schoolpleinen	School yards	Climate resilient school yards in urban area	Nationwide
<b>7</b>	Nudge	Knowledge about physical green / local projects	Create lasting behavioural change	Nationwide
<b>8</b>	Creatief Beheer	Urban green parks	Maintaining and improving parks in the sense of biodiversity	Municipality of Rotterdam
<b>9</b>	Bureau Binnentuinen	Courtyards	Creation of more private and public green, making use of the places we already have	Municipality of Amsterdam
<b>10</b>	Guerilla Gardners	Green or more biodiverse urban area	Tree mirrors and other parts of urban green that sometimes are hard to reach	Nationwide
<b>11</b>	Meer bomen nu	Increasing the number of trees everywhere	Increase the number of trees	Nationwide
<b>12</b>	Sociaal Tuinieren	Improving gardens in the sense of biodiversity	Increasing the amount of green gardens, and their biodiversity	Nationwide
<b>13</b>	Natuur in de wijk	Improving neighbourhoods in the sense of biodiversity	Making neighbourhoods greener and more biodiverse	In the province of Noord-Brabant

### 3.3.2. The Goal

Green initiatives can have different goals regarding greening in cooperation with communities. Mattijsen et al. (2015) examined 264 green citizens' initiatives. They concluded that a distinction can be made between three goals that these initiatives can have. They make a distinction between initiatives with a protective, experiential or influencing purpose. Protecting here means developing new greenery, maintaining greenery and protecting greenery. In this research these distinction will be made as well to ensure that all kinds of goals are represented.

Monitoring and improving greenery to ecologically valuable greenery is also part of the protective goal. For this purpose, citizens often have formal ownership and take care of the green area together that matters in the neighbourhood. This often is a social goal is and often also has a social purpose. Such as the gathering of people, but also, for example, preventive care. Mattijsen et al. (2015) also describe this goal as nature management and development.

The experiential goal is often about an experience. This includes, among others, the management of green spaces and public green spaces in built-up areas. Awareness of nature is central, and the goal is often also educational. People learn what green is and how to appreciate it. People are often more

involved here. The third goal is influencing, these initiatives often mainly focus on influencing existing policies regarding green. To combat felling, for example, or to prevent other loss of greenery. This goal is therefore more politically oriented. Mattijsen et al. (2015) also call this goal green politics. Finally, there is a broad form of goals. They distinguish these initiatives from the rest because they have broader goals. Often these are split into different types of activities with different goals.

This research will examine which goal(s) each initiative has. In this way it can be identified which goals has the greatest chance of making a community continue to become greener over the long term. A goal can make a big difference to the extent to which it ensures that a community remains active in green areas for a longer amount of time. The goal of the initiative will be clear beforehand, because all initiatives mention their goals on their websites and external communication. This is why there will be made a distinction between initiatives beforehand based on their goals. In the following table 3.2, the interviewed initiatives are distinguished by goals. Some initiatives have multiple or overlapping goals.

**Table 3.2: Goals of participating green initiatives**

	Protecting	Experiencing	Influencing
Steenbreek	X		X
Natuurpodium		X	
't Groene loket	X		
Struikroven	X		X
Tiny Forest	X	X	
Groene Schoolpleinen	X	X	
IVN		X	
Nudge			X
Creatief beheer		X	X
Bureau Binnentuinen	X		
Guerilla Gardeners	X	X	
Meer Bomen Nu	X		X
Sociaal tuinieren		X	X
Natuur in de wijk	X		

### 3.4 Operationalization

#### *Sub question 1; Success factors regarding green initiatives*

The data that is needed for each success factor is given in this paragraph. Multiple ways in which these success factors are measured are shown, but this does not mean that the feature can not be discussed more elaborately in an interview. The interviews are namely semi-structured, which leaves space for the respondents to add ways in which these concepts can be explained in their success or not. In the table 3.3 the operationalization of each feature is summarized. A broader explanation of the operationalization

is explained here. These operationalizations are based on the discussed scientific researches and theories in paragraph 2.2 and 2.3.

#### *Legal form*

First of all, the legal form of a green initiative appeared to influence the effectiveness of influencing or motivating a community. In the previous chapter it was discussed that many green initiatives take the form of a foundation. They can also take the form of an association or a legal form that can make a profit. Table 3.3 therefore shows the three dichotomies of having or not having these characteristics. In the interviews, it will be asked how and whether the respondents think this effects their way of operating in a positive way.

#### *Finances*

It is then determined whether or not an initiative receives a subsidy. A distinction is made between structural subsidy and incidental subsidy. An initiative can of course also receive both. This distinction is made because previous research mentioned that the dependence on subsidies can be a negative impact on their way of operating (Könst, Van Melik & Verheul, 2018). Initiatives could also receive income by selling goods or services. This could make them independent of subsidies. These three forms of income are shown in table 3.3.

#### *Leadership*

An success factor can also be charismatic leadership. This is a somewhat more subjective characteristic. Based on the interviews and what I read in news articles about the initiatives, I will make as objective as possible a decision about whether an initiative has a charismatic leader or not. A leader is charismatic when they inspire and persuade people to participate.

#### *The use of existing places of encounter*

The use of existing places of encounter concerns places of encounter for a community. These can be public spaces, but also private spaces in case these private cases are accessible for a community. For instance courtyards and community gardens are not fully public, but are accessible for a certain community.

#### *Inclusiveness*

The inclusiveness depends on whether the activity is free, whether everyone is psychically able to participate, and whether the target group entails the whole of society, or specific groups of society. It also depends on whether there is a maximum amount of people who can participate with the activities.

#### *The regularity of activities*

The regularity of activities is something that is hard to operationalize. Many national initiatives did not organize multiple activities for the same community. The activities are on a regular basis in this research, when multiple activities were organized per neighbourhood/community.

#### *Cooperation*

Good cooperation with other parties. Every national green initiative does work together with governments and other parties involved. But whether this is a good collaboration depends on their satisfaction with the collaboration. Some initiatives are already clear about with whom they cooperate on their websites, but whether this is a good cooperation will be concluded only after the interviews. Important is to know their satisfaction with it.

#### *Visibility*

Visibility will be measured in two ways in this research. First, visibility is seen as the ways in which green initiatives try to reach out to communities in order to get them to participate. Initiatives first have to introduce themselves and ask people to participate, followed by the maintenance of this contact in order to stimulate them to keep participating. The second form of visibility will be a more general visibility. The extent in which the green initiative is generally known in The Netherlands. This will be

measured by whether they use (social) media or get media attention to become more known. This can be on media platforms or for instance news papers.

**Tabel 3.3: Operationalization of possible success factors**

Possible success factor	Operationalization
Legal form	Foundation
	Association
	For-profit company
Finances	Incidental subsidy
	Structural subsidy
	Income from the sale of goods or services
Charismatic leadership	Able to get people to participate
The use of existing places of encounter	Use of existing places of encounter of the community
Inclusion	Costs
	Physically inclusive
	Target group
	Maximum in participation
Regularity of activities	Just once
	Multiple activities
Good cooperation	Satisfaction with cooperation
	Satisfaction with whom the initiative cooperates
Visibility	How does the initiative reach potential participants
	Has the initiative a certain amount of media attention

*Sub question 2; The community capital*

For this sub-question, data must be collected about the forms of capital discussed in the previous theoretical chapter. In order to find out to what extent an initiative provides a community with a certain amount of capital, several questions are asked about this in the interviews. These operationalisations are based on the research of Callaghan & Colton (2008). The forms of community capital are operationalized as shown in Table 3.4 below.

**Tabel 3.4: Operationalisation of community capital**

<b>Form of capital</b>	<b>Operationalisation</b>
Community capital	Broad question of what an initiative thinks to add to a communities capital
Human capital	Expanding the educational knowledge about plants, trees, soil, or other forms of green Expanding the skills of the community
Social capital	Bonding social capital and social cohesion Bridging social capital
Cultural capital	Increasing value of green Working in green becomes habit Proudness on what they have achieved during or after activities
Public structural capital	Improving places of encounter in the sense of placemaking Usage of these places

### 3.5 Data analysis

#### 3.5.1. Thematic analysis

The interviews with the green initiatives will be transcribed first. Afterwards they will be analysed, this will be done through a thematic analysis. This is an appropriate analysis for determining and interpreting patterns and themes in qualitative data (Scheepers et al., 2016). In order to perform a good thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke (2008) have developed a step-by-step method. In six steps they describe how to do this thematic analysis. These are: familiarization, coding, generating themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and writing up. This method will be used to analyse the data conducted by the semi-structured interviews.

To start, familiarization means getting to know the data. This is important to get a overview of the data that is collected, before starting to analyse the individual items. This would involve reading the transcriptions of the interviews, or listening to the recordings again. In the second step, coding, the text will be coded by highlighting sentences or groups of words that have a certain theme. These themes, or codes, will be clarified in a code book. This code book entails all the codes that are used in the analysis, with a brief explanation. The code book can be found in the Appendix B. Within this step, all the text will be coded by highlighting the text with certain colours that match with those in the codebook. After going through all the text, the data will be collated together into groups identified by code. This makes it possible to gain a overview of the main points and common meanings throughout the data. In this research the data was first analysed in a deductive manner, which means that the data was analysed and coded at the hand of the theory that was pre-given in the theory chapter. Based on the factors that were theoretically of importance, the data was coded. But this did not exclude a little inductive coding. Which means that if there were outstanding new themes that were of importance, these were coded as well. This gives a combination of deductive and some inductive codes, as seen in the code book in Appendix B. Third, generating themes. This way of coding is also called axial coding. It entails that I will look at the existing codes, and identify patterns among them to create themes. Themes are somewhat broader than codes, and exist of multiple codes. For instance there are multiple codes of within the theme social capital. Social capital therefore exists of bonding and bridging social capital. These are then two codes within the theme. In this research, certain themes have already been made before analysing, based on the theoretical framework. These are the codes that together form a form of community capital. These are environmental capital, human capital, social capital, cultural capital and structural capital. They will each consist of certain codes. It could be possible that some codes might be too vague or not as relevant

to the research, these can be discarded. Other codes might become new themes. Followed by, reviewing themes. In this part I will make sure that all themes are relevant for the research. I will return to the data and compare the themes. I will check if there is not a theme that is missing, and make sure all themes really present the data. Themes can be changed to make them work better, or present the data better. The goal is to explain the data as good as possible by adjusting and improving themes. If there are problems with the themes they can for instance be split up or combined, whatever is most fitted and accurate. In step five the themes will be defined and named. This entails giving them a description in the code book. This helps with understanding the data, and makes it easier to read. This entails determining what each theme exactly means, and what codes come with this theme. This is the final step in making themes. In this research the themes were already described as operationalizations. Based on these operationalizations, certain themes and codes were adjusted. Step six is called writing up. This will entail writing a paragraph about the results found in the data. The themes and codes made in the steps before will help with giving an overview of the data. This will be done in the result chapter of the research. Success factors and other emergent factors are then discussed.

### 3.6 Reliability and validity

#### 3.6.1. Reliability

Reliability is the extent to which accidental errors can be excluded (Scheepers, et al., 2016). By combining document analysis and interviews, the reliability of this research is more ensured. The data is therefore partly collected by what was available on the internet. This data entailed the websites of the initiatives, as well as some news items, as explained before in 3.4.7. This makes the research more reliable, because the interviews are based on one interview per initiative. This one person could give other answers or have other opinions than someone else from the same initiative. It is therefore important to combine these research designs, in order to minimize the extent to which accidental measure errors occur. It for instance can happen that a respondent does not know the answer, or gives (by accident) not a fully right answer. To minimize this chance, it is good to do literature and policy research next to the interviews, to ensure the reliability of this research.

Another way of reducing the chance of accidental errors in the data is measuring a construct or theme with multiple questions that cover the load of the construct. Therefore, for measuring the previously chosen topics and characteristics, multiple questions will be asked for each characteristic a green initiative could have for the first sub question. For the second sub questions, multiple questions will be asked to be sure that the initiative provides communities with a certain kind of capital. By asking multiple questions about one construct, there is a lesser chance of getting the wrong answer, or drawing the wrong conclusion when doing the analysis. There is also the possibility of asking the question again in the interviews, when the question is not answered in the way that is wanted.

A disadvantage of this research design is that with thematic analysis there is a risk of missing nuances in the data, this could be bad for the reliability of this research (Scheepers, Tobi & Boeije, 2016). It is often quite a subjective analysis method, because you get to decide what codes are part of what theme. It relies on the researchers judgement. To keep this thesis as reliable as possible, a lot of the themes and codes were generated from previous research. The operationalisation of the possible success factors as well as the forms of community capital were all used in previous research as well. The deductive coding makes the research therefore more reliable. Additionally, the choices that were made regarding the data are given, which makes it easier to check what was done.

The reliability of the casus selection of the green initiatives that are being included in this research might not be fully guaranteed in this research. In The Netherlands, there is a growing amount of green initiatives. With the pre given criteria this group of green initiatives could be quite representative, but because there is a growing amount of green initiatives, this is hard to ensure. The selection of these initiatives was not a random sample, but a selective process, it can be asked whether the green initiatives that have been chosen is a representable sample. All found initiatives have been reached out to, but since

there is no clear list that mentions all green initiatives in The Netherlands, it is hard to say whether the current sample is reliable or not. But, on the other hand, the reliability is ensured by saturation. This means that there were no green initiatives invited anymore since there was few new information brought up by the interviews. When finishing a certain amount of interviews and fewer new data came up, this was a sign of saturation. It enhances the reliability, because the chance that the same data comes up with a different selection of green initiatives is very plausible.

### 3.6.2. Validity

Validity is about whether the research examines what it needs to examine, to answer the research questions (Scheepers, et al., 2016). It is about collecting the wanted data. In this research, the validity is ensured by doing both policy research and conducting interviews. The chance of measuring the right data is higher when multiple sources are being consulted. The usage of multiple ways of data is good for the convergent validity of the research.

Before doing the policy research and the semi structured interviews, a literature overview was given in the theory chapter of this research. With this chapter, the content validity of this research was ensured as good as possible. By reading and learning from other researches, it became clearer what topics and questions should be addressed in this research. Not only gave literature of previous research good insights in what themes were important to involve, they also made clear how to operationalize these themes. The community capital framework of Callaghan & Colton (2006) gave for instance clear explanations and examples of what each of the capitals contained. This made it possible to operationalize good questions for in the interviews.

Whether the respondents were a valid representation of the target group is ensured by making criteria for the casus selection. In this way all participants are in the wanted target group. To ensure that it is a totally valid reflection of the target group is hard to say. As mentioned before, it is not a set target group, it is a group that is growing and developing, and therefore hard to say whether it is a valid representation.

## 3.7 Summary of the chapter

In the previous paragraphs all topics regarding the methodology of this research were addressed. The data collection and selection was discussed in paragraph 3.1 and 3.2 , as well as the criteria green initiatives in this research had to meet In 3.3. Operationalises of all the concepts that were addressed in the interviews were explained in 3.4. Additionally the data analyses were discussed in paragraph 3.5. Finally the reliability and validity of this research were discussed in paragraph 3.6. These paragraphs were the preparation and validation of the interviews. In the next chapter, the conducted interviews will be shown and discussed to be able to answer the sub questions.

## 4. Results sub question 1

In this chapter the results regarding the first sub question are presented. This was the following: ‘What are success factors within green initiatives to stimulate communities in being active in greening?’ Possible success factors for the operating of green initiatives regarding stimulating communities to greener the city will be discussed. First it is mentioned how many initiatives thought of each factor as a success factor, followed by explanations on the basis of quotes. Then, there will be a final conclusion on each possible success factor on whether they really contribute to the success of national green initiatives. Additionally, emergent success factors on this topic are discussed as well. Finally, a summary of the chapter will be given to sum up all found success factors. Table 4.1 gives an overview of the success factors and their found importance for the success of the green initiatives.

### 4.1. Legal form

Only three of the 13 interviewees mentioned their legal form as something they linked to their success. Although legal form was mentioned as an important factor for the way of operating in research on local initiatives (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015), this did not seem an important success factor for national green initiatives. This could do with the fact that most of them were ensured of a certain form of income, within citizen’s initiatives this was often less ensured. Additionally, according to Ham & Van der Meer (2015) the legal form was important for the decision making process of local initiatives, for national initiatives this is proven not to be the case. A reason could be that national initiatives often have more layers in their organizations than the local initiatives have. This could cause less friction in decision making processes. The community stands further away from the organisation than they stand within local initiatives.

The legal form mainly functions as a way of being able to reach their goals. This is why it was mostly considered as something that was just there, and not as something that made them successful in itself. Nine of the interviewed initiatives were foundations. Only two of the interviewed initiatives were associations. This entails Tiny Forest and Groene Schoolpleinen. These two initiatives come from the same organization, namely IVN. IVN is a foundation as well as an association. This did not seem to change their way of operating in these initiatives. The remaining four initiatives had other legal forms. Nudge, Creatief Beheer and ‘t Groene Locket are for-profit companies which operate like social enterprises. Nudge had a quite special legal form, in which one of the key stake holders was ‘Stichting Nudge’ or Foundation Nudge in English. In this way their social values were legally guaranteed. When it comes to Creatief Beheer, their social values were guaranteed by agreements with the municipality of Rotterdam. They are obligated to ensure the urban green they maintained was done right and ensured the usage of local volunteers. ‘t Groene Locket is less clear about their social values. They stimulate people to greener their roofs together with their neighbours, but it is unclear if their way of operating has a higher social goal. Bureau Binnentuinen existed of a group of Freelancers. Although the interviewee mentioned that they were looking in to becoming a foundation as well. This shift could be observed at the initiative Guerilla Gardners as well. They used to be a group of freelancers before they decided on becoming a foundation. The same applies for Struikroven. This might say something about the phase that these initiatives are in. These national initiatives can often start small with a group of enthusiastic freelancers, but when they grow bigger they choose other legal forms that then fit better to their needs.

“yes, so it started as a neighbourhood initiative. then I became a freelancer for a while and continued with it. And now we have become an official foundation since the summer because I thought it was a more appropriate form” Struikroven



“Well, it is now, I am a freelancer and I work with all kinds of freelancers in a kind of network. We all do the assignments for the municipality. And I just happened to be thinking about turning it into a foundation or an association last week.” Bureau Binnentuinen

Legal form can best be seen as something that is important for an organisation to be able to fit and reach goals. It can therefore help them in getting successful, but it is not proven to be a success factor in itself. There was not a single legal form that fitted better than others. It depended on what the initiatives goals and practices were. Overall, the relation between legal form and the success of the initiative is mainly mediated by their goal so to say. When the legal form fits their needs regarding their goal, it can in some way be seen as a indirect success factor.

## 4.2 Finances

Nine of the 13 interviewed initiatives receives a form of subsidy. Six of them receives structural subsidy, which means they are ensured of income throughout a certain period. Six of them received incidental subsidy, which often means that they get money for a certain temporal project, like an event. Three initiatives received both. Eight of the initiatives also received income from the sale of goods or services. The services often entailed lectures or workshops. The sale of goods often entailed seeds, soil, or flower bulbs. Most of the green initiatives with a protective goal gave plants, soil or seeds away for free. Most of their services were free as well. Subsidies made it possible to do so. These were therefore often foundations. They say they do so, because they want to make participation as accessible as possible. This was not possible for all initiatives. Guerilla Gardners for instance mentioned that the sell of goods and services was a way of getting by. The interviewee mentioned that more green initiatives would have problems with getting by, and it would be beneficial for their possibilities in operating to be ensured of more income.

Indeed, more green initiatives seem to struggle financially. Most of them gave the reason that is was too complex and time consuming for them to go after subsidies. A problem that arose was that most subsidies are provided locally, and when you want to operate nationally, it is a challenge to get sufficient subsidies. You could go after multiple local subsidies, but that would be too time consuming. Next to the struggles with getting subsidy, it was also mentioned that communication with municipalities in general was quite hard sometimes. While municipalities were often the ones granting the subsidies to these initiatives. Both these results confirm research of De Haan & Haarsten (2015) where they mention this struggle with applying for subsidies combined with poor communication of municipalities. Initiatives that were not receiving subsidy often generated their income by getting hired by clients. These clients would often be companies, municipalities or regional water authorities. This mainly accounted for Nudge and Bureau Binnentuinen.

Compared to more local initiatives, finances are an important success factor for national initiatives as well. Especially the certainty of an income was of importance. The money was needed to make the organised activities as accessible as possible, which is seen as something of great importance. Enough income was therefore seen as very important. A big difference compared to local initiatives investigated by Ham & Van der Meer (2015) was that national organisations did not seem to worry too much about the dependence a subsidy. A reason for this difference is that almost all initiatives were not dependent on only one provider. This confirms the results (Könst, Van Melik & Verheul (2018) which stated that it is best to spread the risks associated with financial dependence. The green initiatives often had multiple sources of income. Multiple subsidies, or subsidy as well as paid services for instance.

“I think that in terms of financial flows, we (IVN) are of course a foundation, we are therefore dependent on subsidy funds ourselves. So the province pays us, but municipalities also hires us for certain neighbourhood projects, tiny forest is for instance actually a municipality project. We also have the postcode lottery that structural supports us with 1.5 million per year. Uhm, but

we also have, for example, we have a tiny forest for business parks. Business parks hire us because they want a nicer break with less asphalt for their employees.” Groene Schoolpleinen

Although the national initiatives did not seem talk to about the downsides of these dependences, it might still influence their operating on the long term. It is therefore hard to say whether the dependence on subsidies is something successful or unsuccessful in the future. For now, based on the results of the interviews, it is seen as success factor, because the subsidies gave them the freedom to organize the most accessible activities. When initiatives did not receive subsidies, it sometimes was hard to reach their full potential. As a result, it was not the form or finances that influenced the success of an initiative, but it was the assurance of a certain amount of income. This assurance was mostly found in structural subsidies.

#### 4.3. Leadership

Four out of the 13 interviewees mentioned that good or charismatic leadership was an effective characteristic within their initiative. What was interesting was that many interviewees talked about leadership within the local communities they do activities with, when I actually asked about leadership within their organisation. Most initiatives consider charismatic leadership of importance within communities. This entails someone on a local scale who is able to motivate others in their neighbourhood.

Charismatic leadership was considered an important factor regarding the literature on green local initiatives (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015; De Haan & Haartsen, 2015; Flax et al., 2020). After gaining knowledge about national green initiatives, leadership as a concept can be split in two; leadership within green initiatives, and leadership within the community. In small scale local citizen initiatives, this often would be one and the same, but because the interviewed initiatives were not only operating locally, a difference in leadership was found. Namely that good leadership within the green initiatives was often regarded as being able to nationally boosting the amount of participants. This would entail taking initiative in showing that the green initiative is there, and taking initiative in getting people to participate with the organized activity. In practice, this would mean getting them to participate by being positive and making it accessible. This was by most of the interviewees seen as an important factor within their organization. They often saw leadership as taking the initiative, but it was not seen as something that was done by one person alone. More often, they did not mention to have one charismatic leader. They would all be enthusiastic, and each colleague would have their own specialties. Having colleagues with each different specialties within the organization is perceived as an important success factor as well. The freedom to deliver custom work, or the freedom to come up with new innovative ideas. Also the benefits of having a diversity of talents within the organization was emphasized by some.

“Monoculture is very vulnerable, here it's the same view. A team with only the same types is very vulnerable, because you can only do one thing. Diversity always leads to more resilience, more strength, a better team. So what applies in nature also applies to us” Tiny Forest

But when it comes to having just one charismatic leader, instead of leadership in general, it was seen as a successful feature in a community rather than within the green initiative itself.

‘I've thought about that and I think it has to do with being a *best person*. So once there is a best person in a neighbourhood, someone in the neighbourhood who tries to bind green people, and takes initiative in that. In for instance vegetable gardens, tree mirrors, facade gardens, well just make it up. And that is often initiated by a best person. So a best person is within a community, a local neighbourhood, so not an entire city. And within that space people would get the feeling, he/she would give volunteers the feeling that they belong and get them to participate for instance every Wednesday, or every two weeks. He/She takes the lead there. And that best person can be anyone; a retired person, or someone who is unemployed and looking for something. And

when a best person is there, around such a person a community is created with volunteers who are very open and willing to motivate other people to participate. I have heard many great stories about that. I see that happening myself too. And those are the easiest neighbourhoods to work with for us, for social gardening, to do a project day with such a community” Sociaal Tuinieren

A good leader is seen as important to get the community to participate. Multiple interviewees mentioned that often when a community leader leaves or moves, the community will stop the activities to a certain extent.

“Yes of course, that's the other side of the coin, so it's looking for a balance. It's very often with a group of enthusiasts, then there's a puller, or there are a few pullers, but not everyone is a puller. You do need someone who always gives the feeling of well let's put our shoulders to the wheel. And if such a person falls away, you also notice that such a group falls apart. So I always try to advise if you want to do this well in the long run, uhm be aware of the roles people have. That you also have to have someone like that who indeed gives the feeling of uhm we are making progress. Or preferably several people, so that you share that feeling” Guerilla Gardners

“... those agreements are made, those contracts are signed, you name it. But ultimately in practice, there are a lot of neighbourhood initiatives where grandma Jan or aunt Lenie uhm is the trigger from the neighbourhood, and the moment that person disappears, it's done.” Natuurpodium

The activities organized by green initiatives are often made as accessible as possible, but in the end the community itself has to do and maintain it on the long term. An enthusiastic leader is then needed to get others in the community along with him or her. To conclude, leadership was seen as important for both national initiatives as for local communities, but when it really comes to having a charismatic leader, it was mainly seen as a success factor for a local community rather than for a green initiative. It is therefore not proven to be a success factor for national green initiatives.

#### 4.4. The use of existing places of encounter

Three of the participating initiatives made use of existing places of encounter. Some other initiatives created places of encounter rather than using them as a starting point. This seemed to have great effects on the participation and usage as well. This confirms the research done by Könst, Van Melik & Verheul (2018) since they emphasized the needs of lively places of encounter. The usage of these places was especially successful when those places had a certain function or importance towards the community. Many interviewees also mentioned that a sense of responsibility for the places would boost the involvement of a community. For instance school yards or courtyards. Especially when the community has to say something about these places, the involvement grows.

The usage of an existing place of encounter could be a big success factor according to research of Ham & Van der Meer (2015) since there could already be a community attached to the place. This theory is confirmed by only three of the participating initiatives, others did not use existing places of encounter and therefore did not have much to say about the success of it. This was probably the case, because quite some green initiatives would work with private places, like gardens or rooftops. So, this might be a success factor for some, but it is not applicable for every green initiative. The success of this factor is therefore dependent on the kind of activities a green initiative organizes.

“... the location is very important. So if you look at a tiny forest I often visit, the place already had a neighbourhood garden with vegetable gardens, we have added a tiny forest. Additionally, a very nice seat has been added, so you see that every time I'm there, there are just people sitting

there. It has really become a meeting place. Another Tiny Forest close by, is also part of a playground, which also has a piece of pavement. You always see children playing there, but that is also because it is combined with another place. For example, you also have the forest near me, which is going very well in terms of biodiversity but it's not a very interesting meeting place. It wasn't designed that way, because we wanted to try out forestry techniques in particular. You see that it is located along a cycle path, it is a bit of a lost green belt. We hadn't even made a seat at the time. So you have to design it that way. So I think it should really be within walking distance of a school, it is also very useful to combine it with places where people already come. I think that works well, because that is where really such a meeting place starts. Because, as in Zaanstad (the lost green belt), turning such a bush into a meeting place is difficult. It is also a bit the placemaking theory, I see that now also with time. For example, we created a tiny forest next to a train station, which used to be a parking lot. That was great fun, now that entire square is gone, all the parking spaces have been removed. There is a nature playground, sports facilities, pond, and many more trees for shelter. Now it is a nice meeting place where people play a lot. That forest is also used more, sometimes in ways you don't want to, but I think it is important that if you really want a meeting place, that you think about the place. Or go for a place where many people already come. Or see if you can add some other things around the Tiny Forest. To ensure that there is something for more people to do.” Tiny Forest

To conclude, the usage of existing places of encounter is definitely a success factor for some initiatives. But this really depends on the kind of initiative. When working with private places, it might be useless to gather at an existing place of encounter. It is therefore only proven to be a success factor when the initiative is operating in public places.

#### 4.5. Inclusion

All 13 interviewed initiatives saw inclusion as an important success factor for stimulating communities. There was often no limit to the amount of participants that could participate. This disproves the theory of Ham & Van der Meer (2015) in which they mention that exclusion sometimes is necessarily. When it comes to greening this theory does not seem to apply, until now there is no limit in who can participate. It does confirm the research of De Haan & Haartsen (2015) who were strongly against exclusion and emphasized the need for inclusion for the success of such initiatives. Inclusiveness is a broad concept. It was therefore divided into three indicators of inclusiveness (see section 2.2.5), namely the costs, the availability for a whole community to participate (old/young etc.), and the extent to which the participation has a limit. Most of the interviewees were very occupied with getting as much people to participate as possible. Most of the events that are organized by these green initiatives are therefore free, or as cheap as possible. This confirms the research of Hunt et al. (2021) that emphasized the financial inclusiveness of urban greening. This mainly applied to the initiatives that received subsidy. Other initiatives, who are depend on other forms of income were not always able to organise activities for free. They either get hired by a government or company, or had to ask money for the activities they organized. That the activity is free, is often an important factor to get people to participate.

“um, that depends. If a municipality makes a budget available for something to organize something in, for example, a neighbourhood where there is a lot of urbanization. Street action or a neighbourhood action, then it is often the case that they make a certain number of plants available. And to really get everyone involved, that a subsidy pot is often available there. In any case, municipalities often have subsidies available for residents to take climate adaptive measures. This can often be seen on the website of a municipality, and you also notice that the percentage of reimbursement to purchase a rain barrel helps people to cross the threshold.” Steenbreek

Whether everyone is able to participate depends on the activity that is being organized. Some activities are quite physically demanding. But to make it accessible, most initiatives provide external help to include the whole street or neighbourhood. This help would for instance consist of someone who can help you get the tiles out of your garden. Or someone who would help planting the seeds, etcetera. Whether everyone can participate also depends on the target group of the initiative. Some initiatives target on schools or children. The activities organized are then mainly focused on the education of children. It is often appreciated when parents help, but other people living in the neighbourhood are not always involved. Often there was no maximum of people who could participate on an activity. The more people that help making the city greener, the better.

“Start small, easily accessible. Financially accessible, for everyone, cuddly, good for the press, then you're actually there. If you then still don't want to participate then you won't be convinced either” Groene Schoolpleinen

To conclude, every national green initiative was occupied with being as inclusive as possible for their target groups. The only problems some initiatives faced regarding inclusion were to make the activities as cheap as possible. It was not possible for every initiative to make activities free. Inclusion is definitely seen as one of the most important success factors in stimulating communities in being active in greening in this research.

#### 4.6. Regularity of activities (with a fun factor)

Eight of the interviewed green initiatives did not plan multiple activities for the same community. While operating nationally, they often organize only one or two days where communities can greener their neighbourhood together for instance. When this is done, and a lot of gardens in a neighbourhood are improved, the national initiatives consider their part done. They do not have the time to do the long term maintaining of these gardens for instance. This is then the responsibility of the neighbourhood itself. This results in that it is unclear how often communities come together after the organized activities by national initiatives. According to Haan & Haartsen (2015) a regularity of activities was very important for the long term motivation of people. The interviewed initiatives simply did not have the capability to do. Their theory is therefore not confirmed neither refuted. But, the results of Könst, Van Melik & Verheul (2018) are confirmed in this research. Their research concluded that working together with a fun factor is an important condition for a long term maintenance of greenery. This was mentioned by many interviewees as a success factor as well. That the participants bond grew stronger due to working together and having fun together with the neighbourhood. More about this is found in the next result chapter in paragraph 5.2.

The other five green initiatives did organize multiple activities. The regularity differs. Some organize activities every day, like Creatief Beheer. Natuurpodium sees a group of children every year or every two years. Some have a full program for 1.5 years, like Tiny Forest or Natuur in de Wijk. But after that 1.5 years the maintenance lays in the hands of the community. Some lay the initiative of participating by the participant. This would mean that people could join activities whenever they want, but these are not always involved in their own neighbourhood. For example, Natuurpodium has a lively place in nature, which you can visit. Or Meer Bomen Nu emails every time an event is taking place within a certain reach of your home. Events are then not meant for people living in a certain neighbourhood, but is organized in general, and everyone in every neighbourhood is welcome to join. The regularity of activities then lies in your own hands.

The activities are in every case considered as fun. Working in green would be fun and connects people. New contacts are being made, and all initiatives hope that the participants bring this enthusiasm home.

“And always after a day like that, whether it's Struikroven or other green initiatives that I still organize in my own neighbourhood, every day, at the end of the day, it feels like I've had a

wedding so to speak. You know, I always feel so happy, and it makes people so happy. And it's nice too, nice to be out of your head, nice to be with your hands in the earth, nice to walk around in your dirty clothes you know.” Struikroven

“Fun hey, it's about the fun. Also from being busy in green, and I hope that once you have been working on flower bombs, you will also look further at other opportunities.” Guerilla Gardeners

To conclude, most national initiatives did not organize activities on a regular basis. It is not that they consider this as a failure or success factor, it might just not be doable for initiatives that operate on a larger scale. When operating in multiple neighbourhoods across the country, it might not be possible to organize activities on a regular basis. Fun was a factor that was definitely seen as a success factor. When people would see how much fun working with greenery is, they might continue the maintaining or increase it.

#### 4.7. Good cooperation

Whether a cooperation is considered good depends on what the initiative considers as good. All 13 initiatives were happy with the collaborations they had. Some mentioned that they would like to have more partners, or are not fully satisfied with their collaboration with municipalities. But, in general, everyone mentioned that good cooperation was an essential success factor for being able to reach their goals. This confirms the results of Könst, Van Melik & Verheul (2018) and Ham & Van der Meer (2015) that both emphasized the importance of good cooperation for a long term success of an initiative. After coding the data on cooperation, it seemed important to make certain distinctions between with whom an initiative cooperates. First, the cooperation with municipalities is discussed, second the cooperation with others, and finally their mediating role regarding communities.

##### 4.7.1. Cooperation with municipalities

To start, every initiative cooperates with governments. This mainly entails municipalities, but sometimes provinces as well. Whether this cooperation is experienced as good depends on each initiative. Most initiatives seem two sided about the cooperation they have with municipalities. On the one hand is it a cooperation they need in order to be able to operate properly, on the other hand is the communication was not always as good as wanted, and municipalities do not always cooperate in the way that is wanted. This confirms the results of Ham & Van der Meer (2015) that described the same struggles that were often faced regarding the cooperation with municipalities. Here an example of a struggle that was faced by the initiative Natuur in de Wijk:

“What we encounter is that some municipalities are quite bureaucratic. And that they feel a bit too involved in the project, look, they pay an amount annually, and with that they sometimes also feel like a part of the client, but what they provide is a part of co-financing. The province is the client, and we are the project leader. We implement the plan in the municipality, and flatly said we have nothing to do with the municipality” Natuur in de Wijk

The communication with municipalities is an aspect many initiatives seem to struggle with. Not all municipalities seem to have a clear policy regarding green initiatives. But these initiatives often have to do with governmental rules and have to request certain things. Additionally, it seems very difficult to get a subsidy to organize activities. Most municipalities do agree on having to become more green and sustainable in the future. However, the lack of policy and slow communication makes it very difficult for some green initiatives to actually make the municipality greener. Even the initiatives who have subsidies and arrangements with municipalities agree on the slow communication, and having to be lucky with whom you meet within the municipality. Some civil servants are enthusiastic and willing to help, while others seem to not care at all.

“.. you know it just wasn't his responsibility so I talk to the head of that department and I say yes but here we want to do things differently is that possible? And then that is often possible, but then you just have to find the right person.” Bureau Binnentuinen

“... she is now overstrained, so now we have a situation in which those tree mirrors were hoed, because my employee is overstrained and then yes, where is the knowledge in the organization? It was only with one person. But uhm the bridge to larger municipalities. What I hear from many people in the Guerilla Gardening network is that especially in larger municipalities, there is such a layering, there are so many players, so many people that play a role. That if you agree with person x that this and this will happen, person x should pass it on to the performer in the right way. And those executors also have subcontractors and they may also have subcontractors. So all that information just has to seep through in the right way. And that brings a lot of disappointment. That people think it has been agreed on, I have support from the municipality, and that things still go wrong.” Guerilla Gardners

“ yes, it always works well. Yes, look at the IVN you are of course, that is also at the municipality, you depend on the local department so to speak. Sometimes you have very fanatical people, sometimes less, but actually our cooperation with those clubs is good.” Natuur in de Wijk

#### *4.7.2. Cooperation with other parties*

Some initiatives also mentioned that they think that it is important to work together with a different range of people. Many of the interviewees mentioned to work together with municipalities, provinces, schools, other green initiatives, housing cooperatives, companies and sometimes even more. Especially the foundation Steenbreek was mentioned a lot as an organization with whom they liked working together. In the following quote an example of the initiative Guerilla Gardners.

“... because I am very happy with the cooperation we have now. They ensure that campaigns are well coordinated, they do a bit of promotion towards municipalities for us, we spar with each other about the design of a project. So I'm very happy with this collaboration” Guerilla Gardners

Multiple green initiatives made sure that activities were not on the same day as those of others for instance. They additionally shared knowledge and networks with each other in order to boost each others activities. The shared network in terms of reaching the right person within a municipality was seen as very useful as well. This way, also municipalities have less struggles with getting applications to reach the right person. This strong collaboration between green initiatives was not expected in such elaborate way. Because they often seem to have different methods or different parts of physical green they try to enhance, they seem success greatly in helping each other. They do not see each other as competition, rather as equals who can help each other reaching similar goals.

#### *4.7.3. Cooperation with communities; a mediating role*

Some initiatives mentioned that they often have to mediate between communities and municipalities, because communication with municipalities can be slow or frustrating and they have better ties with the municipality than communities do. In order to keep the communities motivated, they would have to mediate between municipality and community. Municipalities can be quite complex, this is often not known by participating communities, it can work quite demotivating when they take weeks to communicate back. The initiatives that connect communities with municipalities say that this was very important for a successful greening of our cities. Keeping the communities hopeful and make the municipalities clear what is needed. That is something these initiatives often succeed in, because they have more knowledge about the working of municipalities and can help them in how to operate. Many communities do for instance not know that they can get subsidies from the municipality, when this is being told by an initiative like these, and help is offered for the request of this subsidy, it makes greening more accessible. Often green roofs are subsidized for instance, but also the greening of a school yard or

the purchase of a rain barrel. This is in a way a kind of human capital as well. Giving communities the knowledge they need to be able to greener their environment.

“And then our role, in addition to coming up with plans and knowing exactly what the municipality can or cannot do, is that we say to residents: 'Hold on! It will take a while but it will really happen' and we say to the municipality 'faster! Faster!'. ... and to the municipality we say 'yes, you think it's not possible, but if you do it this way and that, it might be possible' and to residents we say 'yes that's a good idea, but imagine if you the whole city has to maintain, that's a lot of work' ... Yes and there is often a middle situation, but a translation is needed. ... I always call it the social intermediaries, as we are then. Civil society or whatever you call it. The parties in between. Yes. I think that's really necessary.” Bureau Binnentuinen

“So we form the connection between the professional organizations and the residents. And we are going to organize everything, so that the youth can also get started with it, and that there is eventually an action day.” Natuurpodium

“... visit the schools to say 'you can do all this, it will cost so much' and they can also help with the grant applications. So those are actually tricks that we use to get them moving. So they must know about it, IVN really does that a lot, and we connect them, we are a kind of broker. 'you want this? Then you have to go to so-and-so, and they will help you with that and so-and-so subsidy is ready for you and try to fill it in and if it doesn't work out, so-and-so will help you” IVN - Groene Schoolpleinen

#### *4.8. Visibility*

Another success factor that came up in many interviews was media attention. Ten out of the 13 green initiatives think they could reach more people and work more successfully when they were more well-known nationally. Next to being known nationally, the local newspapers play a role as well. This confirms the results of Meindersma et al. (2017) regarding the importance of the visibility of an initiative.. First, some examples of the importance of the well-knownness of an initiative. This well-knownness was importance to get people to participate. When they know the initiative and its positive results there is a greater chance of participating.

“Yes, we need to be more widely well-known, in the sense that people don't overlook us anymore.” Struikroven

“What is important is that the theme itself; so sun or water or electric driving or something like that is in the publicity, has been on television, something like that” Nudge

Next to a broad well knowingness, the local newspapers and media has great influence on the willingness and motivation of local communities. In the following some quote's explaining the local importance of media is given.

“... we try to plant it with people from the neighbourhood, with IVN or with local volunteers, or with scouting or such local clubs. And then we can turn it into a newspaper article or a website message. That it also generates attention. And that is how you try to spin that flywheel.” Natuur in de wijk

“... on the first day of planting we had an article by Trouw and also the Jeugdjournaal came along, RTV Noord-Holland and Vroege Vogels. That helps a lot for local motivation well, you know, then everyone is proud, we have really done something special. The press comes along, so yes, that is fun and motivating for yourself too.” Tiny Forest



#### 4.8. Emergent factors

While interviewing, multiple success factors came up that were not represented in the previous literature review in chapter 2. The open design of semi-structured interviews namely allows participants to come up with other related topics they find relevant. Multiple success factors emerged, as well as factors that could make an initiative fail in stimulating communities. In the next paragraphs, the emergent factors that were mentioned most by the interviewees are discussed.

##### 4.8.1. Success factor: Taking away the thresholds / accessibility

Taking away the thresholds of potential participants was a success factor mentioned by all the interviewees. It is probably the most emphasized success factor. These thresholds could be the costs, the efforts, or other worries that people have regarding the greening of their environment. Another closely related success factor that was mentioned, was to make the activities as accessible as possible. Make the thresholds as low as possible. Make it as cheap as possible, be sure that all the working materials are there, make sure everything is there so that the participants have no reason not to do it. A difference with other related success factors is that this one is taking place at a more individual level of participants, instead of a broader level. It therefore does not entail inclusivity at the level of the initiative, but it entails personal struggles and thresholds regarding the greening activity.

“Organize a meeting, get people together, hand out flyers, be enthusiastic. Have a plan, tell them how it will work, take people's worries away. Because people often have a lot of worries, and also a little bit of fear, because people often think something like 'how much work is that?' 'How much time will that take me then?' ” Nudge

“Because you have to do it collectively, you have to do it together. That really works 1000 times better. I've heard that so many times, and seen it so often, people have a threshold because they don't have the equipment at home, because they don't have the experience, because they don't have a car, because they never go to a garden centre, but if it happens in front of them with a lot of volunteers who help them, and it's free, then if you do it together, people want it. It's the accessibility, that's essential.” Struikroven

“No, but people think that's a step, a threshold. For example a drainpipe is something that functions well, water goes through it. Then there is a ton in between, and they have to connect that themselves, and that is difficult. We now have a project, for example, where we are laying demonstration gardens at supermarkets in Ettenleur, at least that's what we're going to do. Then people can see what is possible, and workshops are given at the local garden centre in that period, where you can learn how to do things. You know I try to link that again, that insight and on the other side help people over that threshold. And sometimes that threshold is financial, then we have to connect a rain barrel action or a tile out green in action again. So yeah that's uhm, that's what we all do.” Natuur in de Wijk

Most green initiatives held activities in which communities could improve their home environment. According to some initiatives people would get really enthusiastic about greening once they started participating. The accessibility is therefore of great influence on getting people to start working on green. It is also nice to see that once people are over those thresholds, they want to continue it.

##### 4.8.2. Customization

A factor that was of great influence on the individual level was customization. 11 of the 13 interviewees mentioned the importance of delivering custom work. This was an interesting result coming from national green initiatives, because they operate on a broader societal level, but still emphasize the need for individual attention. The customization often entailed looking at the possibilities for greening on an individual level. For instance looking at how someone's garden could be improved, or where to place certain plants. This customization on an individual level made a lot of

difference in the degree in which people were willing to participate. When someone is really putting effort in your personal space, people are much more willing to invest their time in it as well. It is another threshold taken away. When you do not have to figure out yourself how to do something, which plants are fitted for your garden and which plants are low maintenance for instance, it is a lot easier to start greening.

Even while the organizations would operate on a national level, they would emphasize the importance of customization per neighbourhood. It should fit with the needs of the people on a local level. But most importantly people get the feeling that it is meant for them, they feel special or at least more personally approached. This was seen as a big success factor for participation.

When organizing an activity, or stimulating a community to participate in something, it is essential to always think of what is in it for them. Then they are a lot more open to participate. They often do not know yet how much fun it will be, but when they get free plants, a free new garden, or a subsidy for greening a school yard, they are more likely to participate and put more effort in it. This confirms the theory of Ajzen (1991) on reasoned action. For people to act a certain way, or to participate in an activity, it is important that there is something in it for them.

“... and then someone, me, or another expert, will ask the residents what they want in their garden. What do you want in your garden? Do you want plants? What kind of plants? Can we take the tiles out? Well that's a whole story, we all record, we make a small garden plan and from the moment that the day of implementation arrives, we always plan a whole day, because due to the problems of these residents, who are vulnerable are and often lonely, and often old or disabled or whatever problems they have, it is important that you spread it out over a whole day.” Sociaal Tuinieren

“We do a custom sketch per house. It is actually a tailor-made advice, and that works very well. Normally when I find such a brochure in the bus, 9 out of 10 times I think whatever, and throw it in the bin. If I read it at all, then it must already have my interest. This, \*points at brochure\*, precisely because something has been scribbled and handwritten on it, attracts everyone's attention. Because everyone thinks 'hey, what is this?' And then you have their attention. You always have the people who are interested anyway, but you also attract quite a few people who might initially would throw the brochure away. So that works really well, customization. And well, we see that there are always a lot of orders coming out this method. We do this work for a few days, then you will see the registrations flowing in. And exactly from the streets where you've been doing the customized sketch per house.” Natuur in de Wijk

To summarize, customization is seen as a very important success factor in the individual level. It really gets people to participate. A disadvantage of this success factor is unfortunately that it costs a lot of time to deliver custom work to every individual case.

#### *4.8.3. Success factor: scientific research*

Three interviewees mentioned that scientific research is a success factor for them. The success was to prove of the effectiveness of their activities. When they could show to that people there is prove that it works, it would make the initiative more successful nationally. It would be easier to do the same activities elsewhere in the country, because you can show that it actually works. It helps convincing investors, municipalities, other parties, but also by getting more participants.

“It is asked. We should have data, not just a story. That states that we have a certain amount of gardens and this many volunteers, and just numbers. We do measure things, but if someone asks how many tiles have you taken out this year, I say oh, I don't know. So measuring the effects, of everything really. Collect data, and because you measure it, you can analyse it and interpret it scientifically.” Sociaal Tuinieren

“... and that it is also a meeting place for the neighbourhood, the method is growing rapidly, we are also following this by research. So I think that, media attention, but also that we have research data on biodiversity, the soil, trees and birds. These are all things that contribute to making it successful.” Tiny Forest

Scientific research is seen as something that could be of great success in terms of showing people that your initiative really has an effect on people. It could therefore convince people to participate or to fund the organization. This success factor emerged only in three interviewees, but this could be the case for more initiatives.

#### *4.8.4. Failure factor: Not being able to reach all layers of society*

A thing that multiple green initiatives said to have struggles with was reaching all layers of society. They especially seemed to have struggles with getting the lower income neighbourhoods to participate with their activities. According to most interviewees a reason for this was that the people in those neighbourhoods have other priorities. When having trouble with getting by, making the neighbourhood greener has a lower priority for them. This was the reason that was mentioned by most initiatives who faced this struggle.

“Nowadays, the knowledge is already quite there. And many people know what is going on, but what is still an exception are deprived neighbourhoods, or low incomes, they are mainly busy with other things. That is also a big one, that is also true, if you look out from your house on a petrified public space, then you will not get started so quickly. So that municipalities can really set a good example in public space.” Steenbreek

“... you do get to them, but you notice that sometimes you don't reach them so easily. Because they are less involved with that, it is not standard in education. But very simply, schools that are in neighbourhoods with really social disadvantages, those schools often struggle enough to keep parents happy. And to prevent vandalism. So they don't just start thinking 'oh let me make my schoolyard greener for thousands of euros' with the risk that everything will be stolen within 2 weeks.” Groene Schoolpleinen

But what was interesting was that Creatief Beheer works especially with this group. Most volunteers that helped maintaining urban green parks in Rotterdam were from low income neighbourhoods. This was very interesting, knowing that many others struggle with participation in these neighbourhoods. According to the initiative Creatief Beheer, these neighbourhoods have the highest level of social cohesion, and by just listening to the needs of these people, he gets them to volunteer. It is another social skill, you have to listen to them, and talk to them in the way they do as well. Customization is mentioned as a big success factor by this interviewee. What makes Creatief Beheer successful might also be the way of working. They work a few hours per day. It therefore gives people something to do, some structure and enough space to talk while working. Because you do it every day, people start to get to know each other very well, and while working they get to talk and speak their minds about the problems they are facing. The combination of social skills, customization and accessibility is what probably makes this initiative so successful in getting this specific group to participate. According to Creatief Beheer, people in these neighbourhoods do have the time, but the interest in urban green often is not there. When you get them to start working in green, they seem to enjoy it. Getting to participate might be the hardest part for other initiatives, but according to Creatief Beheer, you just have to be there, start a conversation and ask them to help. Be on their level and offer them more than a green environment, offer them a listening ear and see working in green more as a form of healing, or a form of therapy. The interviewee was convinced that working in green is very good for the mental health of people and increasing biodiversity therefore is not the only goal. Additionally, the parks this initiative maintains are public spaces, there is always a chance to meet new volunteers and start a conversation with others who enter the place. What seemed especially important is that you have to gain their trust, that you honour existing commitments and do not lie. Do not create wrong expectations. These volunteers often seem to have a

lot of problems in their life, exactly the reason why other initiatives do not get them to participate. But Creatief Beheer does not make the greening a priority for them to begin with, he makes them feel that they are being listened to, and gives them a fun and useful activity. The approach is wat differs from the rest.

“... the success of a project is the project leader. He must be able to move well formally and informally. And trust the qualities of his employees. So, how I do it, yes I have 20 years of experience, I'm good with people, I'm comfortable in my own skin. I don't know, that works. So you have to be someone who is relaxed, who says "oh don't worry too much" and who cries with them. A regular gardener is not too quick to do that, because that is no part of his job, he does not have to. So that's why I'm now thinking you need more of a city doctor who works more from a holistic perspective. Which heals not so much the individuals but the whole, you see? By listening to the individuals, giving them peace of mind, and giving them more then the activity of greening itself.” Creatief Beheer

“We only have neighbourhoods that are on the worst lists, don't we. We are proud of it. These are always in the top 10 of the Netherlands of where the most is shot. Not during the time we work there, but still. They are on the worst lists. But if you would make a list about togetherness, mutual help, friendliness, these neighbourhoods also score higher than any other. So those neighbourhoods are great fun, I've been working there for 20 years. I would never go, when I come to other neighbourhoods I think it is boring. I love those neighbourhoods.” Creatief Beheer

What could make an initiative fail to reach this group, according to Creatief Beheer is when you stand too far a way from the participant. When there is someone between you (the leader) and the group of participants, they do not communicate directly to you anymore and you lose a part of the leadership and customization. Some of the other initiatives might have too much layers in their organisation, since there is often a board and different project leaders per region.

To summarize, this is an issue for multiple green initiatives. It is important to look at how this failure factor can be handled and learn from those who were able to reach them, in order to be able to stimulate all layers of society in greening their environment. According to Creatief Beheer, especially the approach towards this group differs from others.

#### *4.8.5. Failure factor: lack of diversity*

What was mentioned in one of the interviews with IVN is that the organization itself does not consist of a broad range of diverse people. The organization consists of mainly white, high educated people. It was mentioned that this might be a threshold to be able to reach other groups in society to participate in their activities. Because there are cultural differences, you do not know about, or are not accustomed to. This could also apply to other green initiatives. They did not mention it, but when looking at their boards, it could be possible that this lack of diversity applies to other initiatives as well. They might not know it that it stands in their way, but it could be a reason for not being able to reach all layers of society, when these are not represented in the organization itself.

“I think that we as IVN, that in many projects we run into the fact that we are a very Dutch organization, let's say just highly blond. Yes, are you inclusive? No, I think we are not inclusive in a lot of projects, while I do think that nature has everything in it, green has everything to take everyone along. ... Look, we simply employ very few people with an immigrant background. We employ few people with a distance to the labour market. Because our work is so ad hoc that that is not always possible. Or well, maybe people don't have the right education, eventually people also apply for a certain position. But because of the lack of diversity in our organisation, we don't know about some cultural differences.” Groene Schoolpleinen

This failure indicator is closely related to the previous. Not being diverse could cause that the organization is unable to reach all layers of society. Next to the reasons that were previously stated, not being diverse as an organization itself could also have great impact.

#### 4.9. Conclusion

A lot of success indicators were addressed this chapter. In table 4.1 a summary on each of the possible success factors is given. In Appendix C an overview of the success factors per initiative is given. To answer the first sub question: ‘What are success factors within green initiatives to stimulate communities in being active in greening?’ I will start by mentioning the great overlap between the success factors. This is logical, because it is often a combination of factors that create the best results. Next to the success factors that were indicated by the literature review in the second chapter, some more success- and failure factors came up in the interview. These success factors entailed accessibility, customization, and scientific research (9, 10 & 11 in table 4.1). The failure factors that came up were not being able to reach all layers of society and a lack of diversity. ). These are coloured green in the table to make the distinction clearer. Because these factors were brought up by the interviewees, these factors were not spoken of in all interviews. This means that they could be of more influence then is shown in this results chapter. To conclude; the success factors that were seen as most essential for green initiatives to be able to stimulate communities are inclusiveness, good cooperation and accessibility. These were said to be of great importance by all interviewees. Customization was of great importance as well for stimulating people to participate in greening activities. Visibility was mostly of importance for the initiative so that they become more well-known in general and to give the participants a proud feeling. These are so to say the success factors within green initiatives that helps them stimulating communities in being active in greening. The main relation between these success factors is that they all have a certain connection to the locality of the community. These factors all focus in some way in that the local community is able to participate easily, and more importantly, wants to participate. While these initiatives all operate on a regional or national basis, they must not forget that each community has a different composition, and a different method might be needed to get all of them active in greening. As one of the interviewees beautifully said: “I think boosting is national, but making success is really happening on a local level”  
Groene Schoolpleinen

**Table 4.1. Summary of results on sub question 1**

<b>Success factors</b>	<b>Summary</b>
1 Legal form	3/13: Did not seem to matter as long as the goal is to greener the environment with communities. The legal form seems to become a side issue when they are financially able to reach their goals.
2 Finance	9/13: The form of finance did not seem of great influence, but the assurance of a certain amount of income is.
3 Leadership	4/13: A charismatic leader is in particular important within the local community to be able to stimulate long term participation. Charismatic leadership on the side of the initiative is of importance for stimulation, but was not seem as important as a charismatic leader in the community itself.
4: The usage of existing places of encounter	3/13: This was successful for three of the national green initiatives, the other initiatives did not make use of this. Although it is not proven to be a success factor for green initiatives in general, it could contribute to the success for some, because the ones that did make use of these places all emphasized the importance of it.
5: Inclusiveness	13/13: This was seen as essential for a lot of initiatives. All green initiatives tried to be as inclusive as possible (for their target group).
6 Regularity of activities	5/13: This could be a success factor, few national initiatives organized activities on a regular basis for the same community. So this could be the case, but it is not proven in this research.
7 Cooperation	13/13: All green initiatives did have a broad range of partners. The most important collaborations would be with municipalities and with each other.
8 Visibility	10/13: The visibility of green initiatives was important in two ways; to be well-known through national or local media, and visibility in the sense of giving the participants a feeling of proudness after their hard work is seen in the media.
9 Accessibility	13/13: This was proven to be a success factor for all initiatives. To get as many people as possible involved, accessibility was seen as one of the most important things to consider as an initiative.
10 Customization	11/13: Customization makes people feel more spoken to. This was of great influence on the amount of participants some initiatives would have. This works great, but is time consuming.
11 Scientific research	3/13 :This was seen as a factor that could help initiatives prove their effect. With scientific research they would stay stronger and it would increase their popularity and trust by other parties.
<b>Failure factors</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
1 Not being able to reach all layers of society	This was an issue for a lot of green initiatives.
2 Lack of diversity	A cause of not being able to reach all layers of society. When the organization is not diverse in itself, it is harder to reach some groups of society.

## 5. Results sub question 2

In this chapter the results regarding the second sub question are shown. This was the following: ‘What characteristics does an active community need to achieve a long-term greening of cities?’ The chapter will start by discussing the forms of community capital as operationalized in chapter 4. It is shown to what extent they contributed to a long term greening by communities according to the participating green initiatives in this research. Additionally, some long term views of green initiatives are given to show their view on the long term greening of Dutch cities.

### 5.1 Human capital

Every initiative gave communities or participants in general multiple forms of human capital. Knowledge is shared with participants by every initiative in this research. The extent to which there is attention for this knowledge sharing although differs per initiative. The initiatives with an educational goal like Natuurpodium or IVN did pay more attention to it than initiatives who had a protectional goal, like MeerBomenNu. This does not mean that participants were not learning, it just differs in method. Learning by teaching children or learning by doing and developing skills.

Some initiatives mentioned that knowledge really is a bottleneck when it comes to greening our cities. Inhabitants more often do not know enough about nature to effectively start with greening the city. This is why these initiatives give attention to learning people why and how you can make your environment greener. Not only do they help with knowledge about greenery, but also knowledge about how to apply for a subsidy, or knowledge on what you can contribute in general.

“... subsidies for a green roof. You can be reimbursed 50%. Only those subsidies are always quite complex, or people do not know that they exist at all. So if we are in such a garden, where we think hey you could put a green roof on it. We'll tell you, you have a subsidy for a green roof, maybe that is something for you, here's a link, and if you can't figure it out, we'll help. And with trees too.” Bureau Binnentuinen

Next to learning how things work, people get to learn skills for greening as well. This accounts for seven of the interview initiatives. These skills help community to really carry out and perform what they have learned about nature or greening.

“Yes, one of the nice things about Struikroven is that it really has an educational element to it. Because you work with a green expert or with people who have a lot of experience with greenery, many participants are very experienced in this. They also go with during the action day, so you come across plants that you don't know, that you don't recognize. So you learn new plant species, but you also learn how to move it, where it should return. How should you take care of him. You learn about greenery, and I also notice during the planting days that many people are insecure, because they don't know how it works. And it is very important and very nice to bring people with you who know a lot and can teach that in a good way. And we do that very well. We always have enthusiasts who tell us about the plants we encounter in a very nice way.” Struikroven,

Often within human capital, interviewees emphasize the importance of learning to look at nature with different eyes, learning to appreciate nature and working in nature. This therefore affects people's cultural capital as well. This confirms the theory of Callaghan and Colton (2008) in the sense that all forms of community capital are coherent and strongly related to each other.

“yes they actually learn a lot, I think the most important thing they learn is that they look at nature with different eyes, so that a little wimpy blade is a tree that grows into a big tree within well, in a short amount of time” Meer Bomen Nu

Most of the initiatives say that people are proud on what they have achieved after the organized activities. This proudness was mainly seen in how happy people were with their new gardens or plants, how happily they were taking pictures during the activity, or how proud they are to be in a (local) new paper. In the following quote an example of the way Sociaal Tuinieren saw the proudness back in the behaviour of its participants.

“Certainly! Because they are all eager to pose for photos. while you try to be careful with that. We often try to take pictures, at least with the residents, we are very careful with that. But the volunteers like nothing more than having a good time, they are also taking pictures all the time. With each other. And uhm videos, those are often shared on social media.. Not everything, but that indicates that they are very positive.” Sociaal Tuinieren

To summarize, the human capital of communities was enhanced by every initiative. The focus on what kind of human capital would differ, but they all saw great value in learning communities how to make their environment greener. All would agree that once the organized activity was over, people would be more enthusiastic to continue, now that they know how. These results therefore confirm the theory of Callaghan and Colton (2008) on the importance of human capital.

## 5.2. Social capital

Social capital was proven to be very important. All the initiatives mentioned that the participants are meeting new people, or they were getting to know their neighbours better. Not only was this good for the sense of belonging and the bonding within a community, people were also given handles to reach other people outside the community as well. This is called bridging as explained in paragraph 2.3.

### 5.2.1. Bridging

This is very useful for the community, because it means that they are able to renew their knowledge. New contacts or extended networks can often bring in new information. In the case of many green initiatives, they would give communities new contacts in the sense of experts on greening. This was seen as something that was of great importance for people to be able to continue to good work and knowing whom to ask for help. For instance someone who can design a garden, or could tell you what plants are easy to maintain and which are not. These contacts are useful for when questions about greening appear. This confirms theory of Putnam (2000) on the importance of bridging capital as well as the theory of Callaghan and Colton (2008) on the importance of it on community capital.

“... what we also often see is that among those people who come to our activity, there are always 1 or 2 who know a lot about greenery. The residents then help each other. So everyone is actually always super helpful, which is why Struikroven connects, because you do something together. That way you get to know each other, you learn to recognize each other. And do you also notice that people talk to each other like 'oh do you live there?' 'oh have you lived there for so long?' 'oh our daughters went to class together' 'oh yes'. And always those little chats. Or people who sign up to meet others when they have just moved in. But mutual exchange of practical knowledge about plants also happens on an ongoing basis. That people stand at a plant like 'oh is it this?' 'no, it's this one because this leaf is just different'. That people give each other advice about what they encounter. And yes, that advice remains. Yes, we are available, but we don't get a lot of questions about plants afterwards, because we do that on the spot.” Struikroven

And sometimes initiatives would on purpose let certain people who could help each other meet.

“People find each other via our platform, our network. What do they do, for example, they put their project on our site, and then other people who live in their area automatically receive a message that something is happening. So if you sign up for that, you will receive a message, and then it can happen that someone says ‘I would like to start a neighbourhood vegetable



garden, who wants to think along or help me?' And if all goes well, something like this will start, so like that, that's actually very basically how it works." Nudge

"Well, just having a good idea isn't all. Usually, the best combination is, if you have someone with a good idea, and someone else who has knowledge on how to carry it out, and then it becomes kind of a small team that can execute it very well." Nudge

"We now have something like 150 schools with such a tiny forest and uhm how can we ensure that they inspire each other and learn from each other. Because you just have a lot of teachers who do super fun things in those woods, who really use that a lot, make great lessons. But, that inspiration could help a lot for schools that are in a dead end for a while, or where the enthusiastic teacher has just left. We are looking at ways of how can we do that, how can we ensure that those schools, that we connect them with each other, and that they can learn from each other in order to use them better and better." Tiny Forest

These activities can lead to new encounters, that could eventually lead to bonding with these new contacts.

"Very often people do not know each other. It is very difficult to meet in neighbourhoods. If you don't have a dog and no kids, it's very difficult to get in touch with new people. And our initiative is one such cause. And I also see Struikroven as a kind of momentum. A kind of drop in Stillwater to form such a community" Struikroven

#### *5.1.2. Bonding*

Bonding is essential for a community as well. To know each other and to inspire each other. Many interviewees told me that working in green is catching. It was also told multiple time that working together in green would give participants a sense of belonging. This sense of belonging is of importance for the social cohesion in the community. Here an example of the effectiveness of having close relations with neighbours to get more people to participate in a form of greening.

"... so that's the first thing, and the second thing is you light each other up. So what I notice, , we had the tree mirror party last year, that was a national project we did, and then you hear that people are working on their tree own mirror. And then people pass by, their neighbours or people from the neighbourhood. And they ask 'what are you doing?' 'why are you even doing that?' and then conversations arise. For example, the people who participated for the very first time during a pilot in Utrecht two years ago, participated this year with the entire street. Because, yes it spreads, the enthusiasm is transferred from one local resident to another because they see that there are opportunities." Guerilla Gardeners

Additionally, it is very important to bond to be able to maintain the neighbourhood together, and to feel responsible as a group. When you are not close as a community, it is less likely that you will maintain something together, or participate on activities together. Some green initiatives really saw a groups of friends form. These were mainly initiatives who organized multiple activities for a community. Six of the initiatives did so. Especially Creatief Beheer had a good view on friendships that were created. Creatief Beheer works with volunteers five days per week. Every day they see each other to clean and maintain the park in their neighbourhood.

"Those come on each other's birthdays, of course. Some don't, some do, there's gossip just like everywhere. Just like normal work. I make sure they get along, so to speak. Furthermore, friendships develop and people come back and visit residents. And they visit the place much more." Creatief Beheer

But also other initiatives seem to hear good stories about how friendships were created during organized activities. A beautiful example is the next:

“And another example in . That was also in Brabant. There is a Struikroven activity there, there were a lot of plants that we saved then, we were able to take them to the garden of a rectory. And that pastor, that was an important person in that community. But there were also people who were not religious. They have joined it anyway and poetry days are now being organized around that garden and they also cook together. And these are again the people who went to that activity. They did not know each other before and they now see each other every week. And that applies for me too. I have met people with whom I now have weekly contact, so I always say that is our slogan. Green connects and especially saving it together. Yes, and that is of course also why it appeals to housing associations. That we are concerned with circularity, biodiversity and social cohesion.” Struikroven

Another result was found in initiatives that, among other things, taught children about green. These were for instance Groene Schoolpleinen, Tiny Forst or Natuurpodium. Working with children does not only seem to motivate children to do something with greenery, they seem to motivate their parents as well. The impact is bigger then just on the children, because they tell their parents. So it is not only good for children to play and learn in a green environment, it is also an important factor in the general culturalization that greening is needed. Children would have a bonding role, when they come home and tell their parents how much fun they’ve had in a green environment, the parents might be more likely to participate in a greening project, or take the children more often to the woods for instance.

To conclude, social capital was found of great importance of a communities ability to greener their environment long term. The bonds with others are needed to keep each other motivated, to inspire each other, but also to know whom to ask for help so the good work will continue. Bridging as well as bonding social capital were seen as important. This confirmed the theories of Putnam (2000) and those of Callaghan & Colton (2008). Children were found as a connecting role between schools and communities to spread the enthusiasm on greening.

### 5.3. Cultural capital

Cultural capital seemed the most important kind of capital when it comes to the long term greening by communities. Looking towards nature with different eyes, enjoying working in green, are all things that were multiple times mentioned. All initiatives replied that they have seen that their participants were clearly enjoying nature, sometimes more than expected. Their attitude towards green may have changed. This indicates that cultural capital regarding greening is developing within these communities. It confirms the theory of Challghan & Colton (2008) that cultural capital is important for a long term achieving of community goals. The whole community must view greening in the same way to achieve the best results. This is what these green initiatives tried to achieve and what say to succeed in. it also confirms theory of Ajzen (1991) and his theory on reasoned action. It is confirmed that peoples norms and values are based on their believes and their motivation to comply to this behaviour depends on it. In this research it is proven that people value the greening of their living environment more and are therefore more willing to apply to the maintaining of it. Here an example of how people started viewing nature differently.

“Firstly, just literally sowing a seed and seeing something come up, that also does something to you, if you do that somewhere on the street. That just gives a feeling of wow I took care of that. And then you also look further and maybe I can do more. So I strongly believe that the effects of 'empowering' give a sense of responsibility for the situation in the neighbourhood. And that is actually a kind of turnaround that you make in your thinking, a turnaround that you make in your head.” Guerilla Gardeners

Nudge tries to achieve lasting behavioural change and have certain methods for this. This is were they try to focus on when getting people to make greener choices in life, or to participate with something.

“people also like to, if they see the opportunity, to just save some money or earn money. They are also willing to change their behaviour. So roughly speaking, it is fear, frustration, need for comfort, need for love. That's what can drive people to change behaviour. Or a reward, hey, that can be a monetary reward, or a pat on the back, or that can be a neighbour who says 'gosh you did that well', so reward is also a very important incentive for change. Punishment, of course. So the government, actually if you look at the government, they do it in a couple of ways. They want people not to drive through a red light, and that means a fine, or they want to reward people and then you have tax benefits, for example. So those are all ways to change behaviour, yes.”  
Nudge

Also the initiative Groene Schoolpleinen saw the effects of their activities back in the behaviour of their participants.

“... we can't go outside with the children for three days with every program. There are a number of programs that do this. If those kids see a spider on day 1 or 2, they might still find it exciting, but on day three, the spiders run from their fingertips to their shoulders and they don't care if they get stuck in the clothes.” Groene Schoolpleinen

Another indicator of developing new cultural capital is that you develop new habits. The habit of working with green or caring for green often started with an organized activity. When people were enthusiastic, they might do it again and again, until it becomes a habit to do so. Not all interviewees could give me a clear picture of in what amount people would persevere the greening. But especially initiatives who have seen the same communities multiple times could make the following statements about this.

“yes I notice that they are inspired, but also that they more often think of using plants from people who are moving or friends who want to remove something. That people now take the old plants with them. I have to say that people have already done that quite often. I often hear people saying ‘I am already a Struikrover because I took that with me there and there.’ So I notice that this already plays a role, that it happens that people now exchange plants, or use them among themselves. We are the first to do this on such a large scale with the entire neighbourhood. We do this, because otherwise it will stay very much in those bubbles, we make sure those bubbles come into contact with each other and start chatting. But people look in a different way and then behave differently yes.” Struikroven

“My experience is that anyone who gets started with something green and social, especially with greening, neighbourhood green initiatives, there is no going back once you've started it. You meet new people, you learn something from that, before you know it you will also set up a compost bin, deal with your plants in a completely different way. No longer buying the wrong plants at the garden centres, but cuttings from each other, that costs nothing at all.” Bureau Binnentuinen

But not everyone is open for this new habit of enjoying nature and working in green. Many interviewees mentioned that not everyone was having a positive attitude towards greening. Some might have other priorities, others just did not care for it. As mentioned before, not all layers of society are reached. This has probably to do with the cultural capital a community can have, and whether people are open for learning to enjoy green. An example of a negative attitude is like the following:

“You always have people who say, 'First they have to make sure I can park and then we'll talk about the bushes in my garden.' A bit of that attitude.” Natuur in de wijk

To conclude is cultural capital very important for communities to maintain the green in their environment. Without cultural capital, without valuing the green, there is no reason to maintain it. It is therefore essential for a community to have a certain amount of cultural capital regarding the greening

of their environment. Otherwise they will not be motivated to maintain it long term. All initiatives tried to share their enthusiasm with participants of the initiatives, and all thought the inspired others to look at green differently. The other forms of capital are then needed to know how and with whom these values are complied. It is another strong confirmation of the theory of Challaghan & Colton (2008).

#### 5.4. Public structural capital

Structural capital is important for a community to have a place of encounter. A place to meet and enjoy each others company. This form of capital is therefore related to the previous discussed success factor 'the usage of existing places of encounter'. The difference is that these places are now seen as something important for a community for the long term, instead of it being useful for a green initiative to use the place as a starting point to get communities to participate. This kind of capital was not applicable to all the initiatives. Only six of the initiatives used or created a lively place of encounter. This is because not all initiatives were occupied with public places. Some green initiatives were only occupied with private places like gardens, others were occupied with public places but not to make it a place of encounter. Some initiatives did mention the importance of public structural capital. And that the usage of such a place is really important for its popularity, and for the community. This accounts for six of the interviews. This therefore only partly confirms the theory of Challaghan & Colton (2008) on the importance of public structural capital. In this research, there is found some evidence for its importance, but not all initiatives seemed to need this form of capital to be able to succeed. It was not mentioned or agreed on by everyone. These findings by the initiatives who did use, create or enhance public structural capital, also confirms theories of Young (2017) and Wolfe (2019) on the importance of a placemaking perspective. The initiatives that were occupied with public spaces often would tell me that the beauty of green is of importance, the emotional values that are attached, and most importantly that it was important to have multiple functions to a green space in order for it to be used as frequently as possible. Here two examples of the importance of public structural capital.

"The nicer the place is, the more encounters there are, the more beautiful memories are made there, the greater the chance that the place will last" Tiny Forest

"yes everyone knows you and at some point you meet everyone. And yes indeed it is spectacular, a park is an incredibly beautiful thing, everyone passes by, it is such a beautiful park. Because the more beautiful a park is, we also get compliments every day that it looks so beautiful, the cleanest park in Rotterdam, and it has nice flowers and such. But yes, there are more people and the children who play especially and because hey that park I said now. There are two schools there and there is also a playground. That is a very busy place." Creatief Beheer

The function public structural capital has is also of importance. When the place that is made greener has another function next to just being green, there seems to be a higher chance that it is being appreciated and maintained. Only green attracts less people then when it has multiple functions or reasons to visit. This is true for Tiny Forests, green schoolyards, urban parks and green rooftops. People have to have a reason to build and use the place. Think of functions regarding climate change or heat stress, a tree can hold a lot of water and give shade for instance. But also functions regarding the usage, like school yards for children to play, urban parks to recreate or vegetable gardens offer vegetables etc.

To conclude was not every initiative occupied with the public structural capital of communities. those who did emphasized its importance, those who did not proved that it is not necessarily for success. In the end, it can be very useful for a community to have such a place, it can boost the green within such a place, but communities seem to be able to maintain green also without. More research on this form of capital should be done to draw further conclusions.

### 5.6. Long term visions of green initiatives

A long term vision that was mentioned more often was that in the future, communities would maintain the greening of the city alone. Responsibilities has to lie more in the hands of the inhabitants, and less with the municipality. Some mentioned that the municipality should be more facilitative instead of doing all things regarding greening themselves. They should facilitate knowledge and a budget for instance, and then let the greening itself in the hands of others. This shift towards responsibility of the community is one that is mentioned by 5 interviewees as a long term development.

Other long term visions regarded the increase of participation among civilians in general. They say there is a trend occurring in which more and more people see the value of (urban) green. Almost every initiative mentioned this trend.

How long term an initiative plans ahead is very dependent on other organizations. It often depends on where they get their subsidy or income from, and for how much years that is guaranteed. To ensure long term existence, some use these organizations to ensure the maintenance of the new built green. This was the case for Tiny Forests for instance, or the green school yards. This was typical for these initiatives, because the places weren't private, but in the hands of an institution that will keep existing long term. Like schools or municipalities. For others, thinking long term was harder. It is often unsure what will happen in a few years. How the trend develops and for how much longer they are needed or funded. Some even mentioned that if the trend keeps developing in a positive way, they won't be needed much longer. Communities won't need their help anymore because they will then do it their selves.

"I just think, yes I am curious, because in 10 years so much has changed in a neighbourhood. People are moving, including the turnover of teachers, so it is sometimes very difficult to predict how that will go. Anyway, in any case, we always try to have a municipality involved in it. Because that is a party that is always involved anyway." Tiny Forest

### 5.7. Conclusion of the chapter

To summarize, the extent to which these green initiatives contribute to the community capital of a community differs per initiative. To answer this question, I've looked into every operationalization of every form of community capital and decided whether the initiative did this or not. To give a clearer overview, the results are shown in table 9. Every initiative seemed to expand knowledge of their participants in one way or another. Just as that every initiative mentioned to increase the value of green for their participants.

The second sub question was the following: *What characteristics does an active community need to achieve long-term greening of cities?*

To answer this second sub question on what communities need in order to maintain the greening of their urban environment long term, an overview of the results is given here as well. To start, human capital. This form of capital was implemented within the operating of every green initiative. This was often done in different ways, some gave human capital in the form of more theoretical education, other more in the form of learning by doing. All operationalizations of human capital were considered as very important for a community. The same accounts for social capital. Many initiatives emphasized the importance of bonding within the community. The importance of knowing your neighbours and how important it was to motivate each other in to greening. Most activities organized by these initiative were therefore fun and accessible for everyone in the community. This does unfortunately not mean that everyone would participate, but they try to make it as accessible as possible. This was important for getting to know one other. Many people did not know who exactly lives nearby them, it was often mentioned that people would know each other from walking by, but did not know what they did for a living etcetera. These Activities really made a bonding between residents possible. Additionally, almost every initiative made the networks of communities bigger, in the sense of bridging social capital. This

was seen as very important for communities to be able to maintain the green long term. Knowing who to contact, or where to find requested information. The cultural capital of a community often seemed to be part of the goal of the initiative. They often describe that they would want everyone to participate, and everyone to like and appreciate green. To create lasting behavioural change. Cultural capital was therefore definitely seen as something communities needed to ensure a long term greening. Without appreciating green to a certain extent, and make habits and traditions regarding greening, it can be hard to really get the greening going. Cultural capital is in this sense a form of motivation as well. Being proud on what they did is therefore important as well. The media attention that is then given in local news papers should not be underestimated. Public structural capital was found as a less important factor for a long term greening regarding the interviews. Some really emphasized the importance of having lively places of encounter for a community, while many others did not make use of a form of structural capital at all. This might be something that really is of importance, but not being used or improved by national initiatives yet. It could therefore be interesting to give this particular form of community capital more attention in future research. To reflect on the community capital framework of Callaghan and Colton (2008), human, social and cultural capital were proven to be of great influence on the community capital of a community. For public structural capital, less evidence is found. This could be something that national green initiatives could use more to enhance community capital even more.

To conclude, when it comes to what communities need to be able to green the city long term, was mainly a swift in their operating. A change in their view of green, and their view or working in green. Many participants would find the activities very enjoyable and it would changed their views on greening. Human capital in the sense of gaining information was proven to be really important, as well as the gaining of more social capital. Public structural capital was proven to be important on the local level as well, but is not always used by national green initiatives. This is where they could maybe improve themselves.

**Table 5.1: Summary of results on second sub question**

<b>Form of community capital</b>	<b>Results</b>
Human capital	Proven to be of big importance. Learning by doing as learning by education as well. The learning together as a community also strengthens the social and cultural capital of the community.
Social capital	Proven to be of big importance. The bonding within the community as well as the bridging with people outside the community is of great importance. Especially the bonding part was emphasized in the interviews.
Cultural capital	Proven to be of big importance. Maybe even the biggest challenge for these initiatives. They believe that this is what is essential for the long term greening by communities. That they are motivated and see the beauty and fun of working in green all depends on their cultural capital.
Public structural capital	Proven to be of big importance for only 3 of the 13 interviewed initiatives. These three really emphasized the importance of having

## 6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

In the previous two chapters the sub questions of this research have been answered. In this chapter the main question will be answered in the conclusion paragraph. After having discussed all the results of this research, there is a discussion paragraph on this research. Tips and recommendations are given for future research. Finally, there will be policy recommendations for green initiatives and municipalities to optimize their effects on stimulating communities to greener their environment long term.

### 6.1. Conclusion

In this chapter answers on the research question will be given. The main research question was the following: *How can green initiatives succeed in stimulating communities in order to achieve a long-term greening of Dutch cities?*

To answer the main question of this research, I will try to look at the broader picture of the two sub questions. The answer to this question is very complex, since every factor that is discussed in this research has some sort of influence on the whole of succeeding in this long term greening that is wanted. They are all coherent and one success factor on its own is not telling, rather a combination of success factors will lead to the best results. Some were proven to be of more importance than others. Their importance is summarized in tables 4.1. As shown in table 5.1, the forms of community capital were of great importance as well. So to answer the main question I will bring both sub questions together. A lot of important factors play a role in how to stimulate communities in starting to participate in the greening of their living environment. In order to motivate them to do this long term, you need those success factors of sub question one. And that is crucial for the second sub question, because before a community is able to develop all kinds of community capital, they must first be willing to participate. They must start somewhere. And how effective this start is indicated by those success indicators. Once communities start to participate, and are open to learn, they can develop. Then there is a chance that after the activity that gets them started, they are open to learn more. To learn more about green, to get to know the right people, to value green more then before. Then the forms of capital will play a role in the next part which is maintaining. So to answer the main question; green initiatives can succeed in stimulating communities by putting in effort on the found success factors to get as many people of a community started, followed by helping communities develop the forms of community capital. In this way, once communities are willing to participate, once they get enthusiastic, and are offered enough help in developing several kinds of community capital, they can maintain and increase the green and bio-diversity in their neighbourhoods themselves. That is the goal.

The most important factors were definitely accessibility to get the greening started and cultural capital to keep them going long term. These were the things communities need at first. An easy and accessible start, and what was found is that cultural capital is most important for a long term motivation. Another way of looking at green, and valuing green was found essential for a community in order to be motivated to develop other kinds of capital. And in order to pursue this long-term.

It is therefore important that green initiatives would not only focus on what gets people started, but also on what keeps them going. This was something that most green initiatives would already focus on and thought of. Although not all green initiatives were able to plan ahead long term, they often did have a long-term vision and an ideal. This ideal they work to was often a long term greening of our environment, that is why it is especially good to see that they do not only focus on short term participation, but on a long term change. One interviewee even mentioned that she was hoping that their initiative would not be needed anymore in a couple of years, because neighbourhoods themselves would keep up the good work.

When looking back at the scientific literature of this research, a lot of the predictions for the success factors were based on research on local citizenship's initiatives (Meindersma et al., 2017; Ham & Van

der Meer, 2015; Mattijssen et al., 2017; De Haan & Haartsen, 2015). This research contributes to the existing literature by adding a lot of data on regional or national green initiatives. These were not bound to one locality, but organised activities for multiple neighbourhoods, which requires a different approach on several fields. The researches on local initiatives therefore would not always apply. Some research results were confirmed and others were not. Some simply did not apply when operating on a larger scale. Some did, and this comparison brought new scientific insights on the working of green initiatives on different societal levels.

The community capital based on the research of Callaghan and Colton (2008) is partly confirmed in this research. The need of environmental capital was not tested but lays in the basis of this research. The importance of social, human, cultural capital for a long term resilient community are confirmed here. Especially cultural capital was proven to be of great importance for getting communities to participate long term. The importance of public structural capital is partly confirmed, since it was seen successful by those who used it, but others were able to be successful without. But that a green initiative can be successful without using this form of capital does not mean that it is not of importance to a community.

The conceptual model that was made in chapter 2 is now updated in figure 6.1 as shown below. Not only the answers of the research questions are found in this research, other important data on this topic came up as well. The emergent research results are added in green in the figure. Municipalities are proven to be of big influence on the operating of green initiatives. Not only have municipalities themselves policies regarding the (increasement/improvement of) greening of their municipality (1<sup>st</sup> green arrow), they also more often worked together with the examined green initiatives. These mentioned that their operating was often dependent on the policies of a municipality. This makes their relation interdependent. What a community can and can not change regarding the greening of their neighbourhood is often also dependent on the policy of the concerning municipality (2nd green arrow). The policies of municipalities were often unclear to communities, and contact was often slow and demotivating. Some of the green initiative would therefore place themselves between municipalities and communities to stimulate both parties. This mediating role was seen as important to stimulate both parties and get the best long term results. This is also mentioned in paragraph 4.7.1.

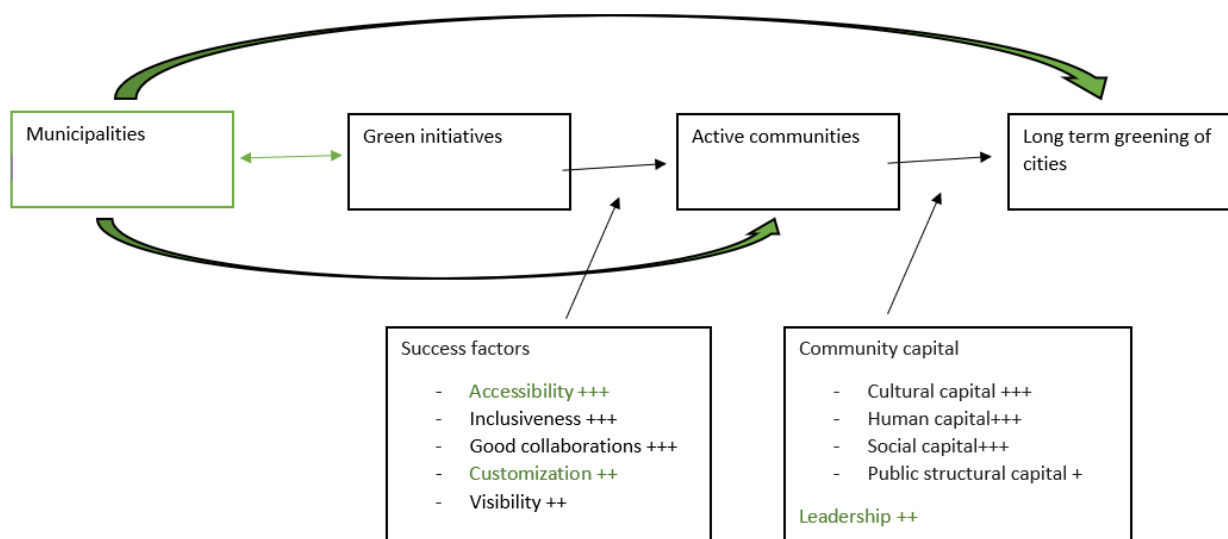


Figure 6.1: Renewed conceptual model



## 6.2 Discussion

### 6.2.1. Reflection and recommendations for future research

In this section the research is reflected. The research process and the gathered data are discussed. Followed by recommendation for future research on this topic. To start; what went well during the interviews is that the interviewees felt comfortable with me to share a lot of their knowledge. They would answer all the questions openly and they would sometimes have a laugh with me. Some said the research I was doing was very useful and mentioned that I would have good questions. This is good for the validity of the research. It would also imply that they would answer honestly, and the questions I asked were clear. What might be a downside regarding the interviews is that they were held online, because of the Covid-19 pandemic. This could decrease the quality of the interviews. It might namely be harder to read their body language. An advantage of holding the interviews online was that the recording of the interviews often were clear of background noises. Additionally it would make it easier and faster to take notes while the interviewees were talking.

Another point of discussion is the choice to interview only people who work for green initiatives. In this research this was fitting regarding the research questions. The respondents were experts in this field and had a lot of valuable experience. But, they might be biased in their answers. Although I had the feeling they were really open to me, they could for instance be overly positive about their success to promote themselves better. They might also not tell everything about what went wrong for them, because they are involved or responsible themselves. Someone from outside an initiative could maybe talk more easily about the failures they might have been through. For this research it was the best choice to interview the green initiatives themselves, but for future research it might be good for the validity to interview more parties involved. Like participants or involved municipalities. Participants could give more information about what helped them the most to continue greening their neighbourhoods. Or why they do not. When only using interviews with people from within the green initiatives, other important information might miss out. They know best what effect these activities had on them, and in what amount this drives them to continue greening. They might also have a better view on what they, as a community, still need to establish a long-term greening. The involvement of municipalities or other governments in research would be beneficial for this topic as well. They for instance provide subsidies and decide with which initiatives they work together. Their view on the operating of these initiatives would be interesting to know as well, because they are of great influence on their operating. To summarize, a more interdisciplinary approach could be of great importance on this topic. Maybe a focus group with multiple parties could be a design for future research.

To make statements about the long term, more measures should be taken to see if communities keep maintaining the areas they have made greener. Longitudinal research would therefore be fitted. This recommendation for future research was also given by some initiatives. They would like to have clear results by scientific research about what they accomplish to further improve themselves, and to have prove of there effects on for instance community building or bio-diversity.

Another recommendation for future research is to zoom in on certain aspects. Because of the broad approach and open questions in this research, a wide scale of answers was given. These were long answers that sometimes lied far apart. It gave a very rich overview of views of the green initiatives. But in further research, it would be valuable to also zoom in some more on some of these broad themes. To gain more specific answers per success factor for instance.

## 6.2 Policy recommendations

For green initiatives a recommendation would be to work together even more. The sharing of knowledge and networks seems of great influence on the way they are able to operate. It is great to see that this is already happening, but I think they could win even more by improving and enlarging this collaboration. They could for instance share their networks regarding municipalities, since finding the right person often seems complicated. When an initiative has a contact person within a certain municipality, other initiatives could for instance use that contact as well. This could also be beneficial for municipalities themselves, since the questions or requests are then more organized and send to the right person, and do not have to be send on and on to colleagues for instance.

This brings us to the policy recommendations for municipalities; municipalities could improve their policies regarding the greening of their cities. It is found that often policy is lacking or unclear. Also the communication within the municipalities could be improved, the layered organisational structure sometimes led to the removal or greening projects like tree mirrors, or even a tiny forest removed by accident in Nijmegen (De Buissonjé, 2021). Since this might be a big task, many green initiatives would recommend municipalities to play a more facilitating role in greening. To share knowledge on how communities or inhabitants themselves can adopt a tree mirror, or how they can change their garden into a more bio-diverse one. They could make a web page regarding what is possible within their municipality, or make advertisements to inform and stimulate people. When this knowledge is more well-known, it would make it easier or more accessible for people to make the decision to do a form of greening. What was often said is that people think that they are not allowed to do certain forms of greening in public space. More clearance could take over work of municipalities, instead of the disappointment that now often comes if green projects are accidentally hoed. If municipalities could facilitate information on what is possible, they could let the greening lay in the hands of inhabitants more and more, instead of doing the maintenance of urban green themselves. This could also save costs on the long run.

Few green initiatives focussed on the public structural capital of communities. This could be a point of improvement for green initiatives as well as municipalities. Creating places that communities can gather for the greening of their neighbourhood could stimulate them to maintain it. When it becomes a place of encounter, it might become more popular. It might be easier to maintain it long term as well. When green initiatives do not organize events anymore and citizens maintain these places themselves, it is important that these places are liked and appreciated. What could be useful regarding this structural capital is for instance that the place has multiple functions. A placemaking perspective to arrange these places would be fitted. Such a perspective entails that places are created in such a way that they are liked and used. Lively places of encounter could have multifunctional means and can stimulate creativity or collaborations between citizens or organisations.

Finally, not all initiatives seem to have a long term policy for their organizations. When the goal is a long term greening of cities, a long term goal or plan could be useful. A recommendation therefore is to create policies in which the long term goals of the initiative becomes clear. Planning ahead could be very useful, although it is sometimes hard to predict the future. Green initiatives could make some agreements with municipalities to ensure their long term policies or find other ways in which their long term goals are more ensured. To conclude; green initiatives as well as municipalities can learn from the success factors found in this research to be able to achieve a long term greening of cities by stimulating a growing amount of active communities.

## References

- Aalbers, C.B.E.M., Kamphorst, D. A. & Langers, F. (06, 2018). Bedrijfs- en burgerinitiatieven in stedelijke natuur. Opgehaald van: [https://www.wur.nl/upload\\_mm/d/c/e/3b297a42-b361-48b6ad5b-36cd9f43b0f9\\_WOt-technical%20report%20118%20webversie.pdf](https://www.wur.nl/upload_mm/d/c/e/3b297a42-b361-48b6ad5b-36cd9f43b0f9_WOt-technical%20report%20118%20webversie.pdf)
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital.
- Breman, B. C. (2018). Jane Jacobs in Ulrum: Tactical Ulrumism. *Rooilijn*, 51(1), 16-24. Opgehaald van: <https://www.rooilijn.nl/artikelen/jane-jacobs-in-ulrum-tactical-ulrumism/>
- Bureau Binnentuinen. (n.d.). Projecten. Retrieved from: <https://www.bureaubinnentuinen.nl/projecten/>
- Bureau Binnentuinen. (n.d.). Publicaties. Retrieved from: <https://www.bureaubinnentuinen.nl/publicaties/>
- Bureau Binnentuinen. (n.d.). Stadsgroenridders. Retrieved from: <https://www.bureaubinnentuinen.nl/>
- Callaghan, E. G., & Colton, J. (2008). Building sustainable & resilient communities: a balancing of community capital. *Environment, development and sustainability*, 10(6), 931-942.
- Carton, L. J., Oteman, M. I., Wiering, M. A., & Kalf, S. (2015). De slag om duurzame energie: De kracht van burgers. Opgehaald van: <https://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/151388/151388.pdf>
- Coffin, C. J., & Young, J. (2017). *Making Places for People: 12 Questions Every Designer Should Ask*. Taylor & Francis.
- Creatief Beheer. (n.d.). Creatief Beheer. Retrieved from: <https://www.dokterbiemans.nl/o-v-e-r-o-n-s-a-b-o-u-t-u-s>
- Creatief Beheer. (n.d.). Stadsgeneeskunde. Retrieved from: <https://www.dokterbiemans.nl/stadsgeneeskunde>
- Creatief Beheer. (n.d.). Video Channel. Retrieved from: <https://www.dokterbiemans.nl/copy-of-stadsinitiatief-rotterdam>
- De Buissonjé, R. (14-10-2021). Blunder: eerste tiny forest van Nijmegen platgemaaid, ‘binnen vijf minuten was alles weg’. Gelderlander. Retrieved from: <https://www.gelderlander.nl/nijmegen/blundereerste-tiny-forest-van-nijmegen-platgemaaid-binnen-vijf-minuten-was-alles-weg~a93b0e0e/>
- Dam, R.I. van, T.J.M. Mattijssen, J. Vader, A.E. Buijs & J.L.M. Donders (2016). De betekenis van groene zelfgovernance. Analyse van verschillende vormen van dynamiek in de praktijk. Wettelijke Onderzoekstaken Natuur & Milieu, Wageningen UR
- Dijkshoorn-Dekker, M.W.C., K. Soma, A.T. de Blaey, 2017. Groene initiatieven in de stad; Handelingsperspectief provincies voor het stimuleren van maatschappelijke betrokkenheid bij groen in de stad. Wageningen, Wageningen Economic Research, Rapport 2017-012. 52 pp.; 6 fig.; 1 tab.; 27 ref.
- De Haan, E., & Haartsen, T. (2015). Succespercepties van burgerinitiatieven in Randland. *Rooilijn*, 48(4), 296-301.
- Faber, A., Van Dijk, D., & De Goede, P. (2017). Specifieke of generieke institutionalisering van beleid voor de lange termijn. *Boom bestuurskunde*.

- Flax, L., Altes, R. K., Kupers, R., & Mons, B. (2020). Greening schoolyards—An urban resilience perspective. *Cities*, 106, 102890.
- Gofman & Schneider (2009) An Introduction to Crisp Set QCA, with a Comparison to Binary Logistic Regression. In *SAGE Quantitative Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publishing
- Guerilla Gardners. (n.d.). Tips en inspiratie. Retrieved from: <https://guerrillagardeners.nl/tips/>
- Guerilla Gardners. (n.d.). Webshop. Retrieved from: <https://guerrillagardeners.nl/webshop/>
- Guerilla Gardners. (n.d.). Zet je buurt in bloei! Retrieved from: <https://guerrillagardeners.nl/>
- Ham, M. & Van der Meer, J. (2015). De ondernemende burger: de woelige wereld van lokale initiatieven. Utrecht: *Movisie*. Opgehaald van: [https://www.movisie.nl/sites/movisie.nl/files/publication-attachment/De-ondernemende burger%20%5BMOV-5826478-1.0%5D.pdf](https://www.movisie.nl/sites/movisie.nl/files/publication-attachment/De-ondernemende-burger%20%5BMOV-5826478-1.0%5D.pdf)
- Hospers, G. J. (2006). In memoriam Jane Jacobs. Universiteit Twente. Opgehaald van: <https://research.utwente.nl/en/publications/in-memorian-jane-jacobs-1916-2006>
- Hunt, S., Maher, J., Swapan, M. S. H., & Zaman, A. (2022). Street Verge in Transition: A Study of Community Drivers and Local Policy Setting for Urban Greening in Perth, Western Australia. *Urban Science*, 6(1), 15.
- Hustinx, M. (07-2020). Manifest voor een vitale groene stad. Nijmegen. Opgehaald van: [https://greencapital2018.nl/app/uploads/2020/07/Manifest\\_72dpi\\_def.pdf](https://greencapital2018.nl/app/uploads/2020/07/Manifest_72dpi_def.pdf)
- IVN. (n.d.). Groene Schoolpleinen. Retrieved from: [https://www.ivn.nl/het-groene-wiel/groene schoolpleinen](https://www.ivn.nl/het-groene-wiel/groene-schoolpleinen)
- IVN. (n.d.). Onderzoek. Retrieved from: <https://www.ivn.nl/tinyforest/onderzoek>
- IVN. (n.d.). Over Tiny Forest. Retrieved from: <https://www.ivn.nl/tinyforest/over-tiny-forest>
- IVN. (n.d.). Tiny Forest Rangers lesprogramma. Retrieved from: [https://www.ivn.nl/tinyforest/tiny forestrangers-lesprogramma](https://www.ivn.nl/tinyforest/tiny-forestrangers-lesprogramma)
- Kais, S. M. & Islam, M. S. (2016). Community Capitals as Community Resilience to Climate Change: Conceptual Connections. *Int. J. Environ Res. Public Health* 13(12), 1211.
- Kanters, J. (18-05-2022). Struikrover Bernice: 'Bloembol of boom, elke plant is mij heilig'. Omroep Brabant. Retrieved from: [https://www.omroepbrabant.nl/nieuws/4088011/struikrover-bernice bloembol-of-boom-elke-plant-is-mij-heilig](https://www.omroepbrabant.nl/nieuws/4088011/struikrover-bernice-bloembol-of-boom-elke-plant-is-mij-heilig)
- Könst, A., Van Melik, R., & Verheul, W. J. (2018). Civic-led public space: favourable conditions for the management of community gardens. *TPR: Town Planning Review*, 89(6).
- MeerBomenNu. (n.d.). Ik doe mee. Retrieved from: <https://meerbomen.nu/ik-doe-mee/>
- MeerBomenNu. (n.d.). Op naar de miljoen bomen! Retrieved from: <https://meerbomen.nu/>
- MeerBomenNu. (n.d.). Over ons. Retrieved from : <https://meerbomen.nu/over-ons/>
- MeerBomenNu. (n.d.). Over de actie. Retrieved from: <https://meerbomen.nu/over-de-actie/>
- Meindersma, J. Panhuijzen, B. Versluis E. Ankoné, M. Brugman, C. Lammers, M. & Van Spronsen, M. (September, 2017). Groene vingers in de buurt. *Movisie*. Opgehaald van: [https://www.movisie.nl/sites/movisie.nl/files/publication-attachment/Groene-vingers-in-de buurt%20%5BMOV-13320328-1.0%5D.pdf](https://www.movisie.nl/sites/movisie.nl/files/publication-attachment/Groene-vingers-in-de-buurt%20%5BMOV-13320328-1.0%5D.pdf)

Mattijssen, T.J.M., Buijs, A.E., Elands B.H.M. & Van Dam, R.I. (2015). De betekenis van groene burger initiatieven. Retrieved from:  
<https://edepot.wur.nl/374044#:~:text=Grote%20diversiteit%20in%20groen%20burgerinitiatief&text=Deze%20diversiteit%20aan%20initiatieven%20kan,te%20beheren%20of%20te%20ontwikkelen>.

Natuur in de Wijk. (n.d.). Actueel. Retrieved from: <https://www.natuurindewijk.nl/actueel/>

Natuur in de Wijk. (n.d.). Bestellen. Retrieved from: <https://www.natuurindewijk.nl/bestellen/>

Natuur in de Wijk. (n.d.). Natuur inclusief bouwen. Retrieved from:  
<https://www.natuurindewijk.nl/natuurinclusief-bouwen/>

Natuur in de Wijk. (n.d.). Instructies. Retrieved from: <https://www.natuurindewijk.nl/instructies/>

Natuur in de Wijk. (n.d.). Over het project. Retrieved from: <https://www.natuurindewijk.nl/over-het-project/>

Natuur in de Wijk. (n.d.). Ruim de helft van de wereldbevolking woont in steden. In Nederland is dat zelfs 70%. Retrieved from: <https://sociaaltuinieren.nl/nieuws/>

Natuurpodium. (n.d.). Met wie. Retrieved from: <https://www.natuurpodium.nl/met-wie/>

Natuurpodium. (n.d.). Voor gezin en recreant. Retrieved from: <https://www.natuurpodium.nl/voor-gezin-en-recreant/>

Natuurpodium. (n.d.). Voor thuis en in je eigen buurt. Retrieved from:  
<https://www.natuurpodium.nl/thuisenindebuurt/>

Natuurpodium. (n.d.). Wat we doen. Retrieved from: <https://www.natuurpodium.nl/wat-we-doen/>

Natuurpodium. (n.d.). Wie we zijn. Retrieved from: <https://www.natuurpodium.nl/wie-we-zijn/>

Nudge. (n.d.). Initiatieven bij jou in de buurt. Retrieved from: <https://nudge.nl/projects/?#all-projects>

Nudge. (n.d.). Jouw initiatief op Nudge.nl. Retrieved from: <https://nudge.nl/start-project/>

Nudge. (n.d.). Over Nudge. Retrieved from: <https://nudge.nl/over/>

Pakhuis de Zwijger. (2021). GROENE TRANSITIE #10 Radicale vergroening van de stad. Retrieved from:  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MXy98SoR7HQ&t=340s&ab\\_channel=PakhuisdeZwijger](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MXy98SoR7HQ&t=340s&ab_channel=PakhuisdeZwijger)

Provincie Noord-Brabant. (juni 2021). Subsidies en fondsen voor groene burgerinitiatieven.  
 Opgehaald van: <https://www.brabant.nl/-/media/0d53cb60338546efbc82301bc8ab41d8.pdf>

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and schuster.

Rihoux & de Meur. (2008). Crisp-Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (csQCA)

Scheepers, P. L. H., Tobi, H., & Boeije, H. R. (2016). Onderzoeksmethoden (9e dr.).

Sharifi, A. (2016). A critical review of selected tools for assessing community resilience. *Ecological Indicators* 69, 629-647.

Sociaal Tuinieren. (n.d.). Groene berichten uit heel Nederland. Retrieved from:  
<https://sociaaltuinieren.nl/nieuws/>

Sociaal Tuinieren. (n.d.). Groene Aandacht. Retrieved from: <https://sociaaltuinieren.nl/>

- Sociaal Tuinieren. (n.d.). Over Sociaal Tuinieren. Retrieved from: <https://sociaaltuinieren.nl/wie-zijn-wij/>
- Steenbreek. (2021). Onze missie. Retrieved from: <https://steenbreek.nl/focus/>
- Steenbreek. (n.d.). Over ons. Retrieved from: <https://steenbreek.nl/over-ons/>
- Struikroven. (n.d.). Het Team. Retrieved from: <https://www.struikroven.nu/het-team>
- Struikroven. (n.d.). Home. Retrieved from: <https://www.struikroven.nu/>
- Struikroven. (n.d.). Partners van Struikroven Academy. Retrieved from: <https://www.struikroven.nu/partners>
- Struikroven. (n.d.). Roverstuin. Retrieved from: <https://www.struikroven.nu/roverstuin>
- Struikroven. (n.d.). Stichting Struikroven. Retrieved from: <https://www.struikroven.nu/stichting-struikroven>
- Struikroven. (n.d.). Struikrover worden. Retrieved from: <https://www.struikroven.nu/struikrover-worden>
- Struikroven. (n.d.). Werkwijze. Retrieved from: <https://www.struikroven.nu/werkwijze>
- Stuiver, M., Koele, R. G., Koffijberg, M., & van Leeuwen, E. S. (2022). Advies voor Groene Gemeentes: Handvatten voor Gemeenteraden en Colleges van B&W voor natuurinclusieve en klimaatbestendige gemeentes in Nederland. Wageningen University and Research.
- 't Groene Locket. (2022). Het Groene Locket. Retrieved from: <https://hetgroenelocket.nl/partners/>
- 't Groene Locket. (2022). Groen dak start jouw wijkaanpak. Retrieved from: <https://hetgroenelocket.nl/wijkaanpak/>
- Ultee, W. C., Arts, W. A., & Flap, H. D. (1996). Sociologie. Vragen, uitspraken, bevindingen. 2<sup>e</sup> herziene druk. Wolters-Noordhoff.
- Van Dam, R., Duineveld, M., & During, R. (2014). Delineating Active Citizenship: The Subjectification of Citizens' Initiatives. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 17(2), 163-179. doi:10.1080/1523908x.2014.918502
- Van Rooij, E. (2018). Een groen steentje bijdragen: Een gedragsinterventie die mensen stimuleert om tegels in hun voortuin te vervangen door groen. Gemeente Nijmegen – Operatie Steenbreek Opgehaald van: <https://steenbreek.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/masterthesis-emile-van-rooij-2018-gemeente-nijmegen-rev.pdf>
- Vullings, L.A.E., A.E. Buijs, J.L.M. Donders, D.A. Kamphorst, H. Kramer & S. de Vries (2018). Monitoring Green Citizens' Initiatives; Methodology, indicators and results of a pilot project and baseline assessment. Wageningen, Statutory Research Tasks Unit for Nature & the Environment, WUR. WOt-technical report 125.122 p.; 2 Fig.; 1 Table; 16 Refs; 6 Appendices.
- Witte, R. F. (08-06-2022). Gezellige dag en elkaar beter leren kennen: kwetsbare Woerdenaren krijgen hulp bij opknappen van tuin. *AD*. Retrieved from: <https://www.ad.nl/woerden/gezellige-dag-en-elkaar-beter-leren-kennen-kwetsbare-woerdenaren-krijgen-hulp-bij-opknappen-van-tuin~a5fe2c18/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>
- Wolfe, C. R. (2019). Urbanism without effort. Island Press.
- WUR. (n.d.). Een groene stad voor iedereen. Retrieved from: <https://www.wur.nl/nl/show-longread/Een-groene-stad-voor-iedereen.htm>

Zoetbrood, P. (03-2012). Burgerwerking noodzakelijk voor duurzame samenleving. *Thema: Duurzaamheid*, 11. Opgehaald van:  
[nvbe.nl/images/stories/pdf/podium%2019%201%20maart%2012%20voor%20website.pdf#page=13](http://nvbe.nl/images/stories/pdf/podium%2019%201%20maart%2012%20voor%20website.pdf#page=13)

## Appendix A: Interview guide

This interview guide is written in Dutch, because the interviews were held in Dutch as discussed in paragraph 3.1.

### Interview guide

De data voor dit onderzoek word gegeneerd door middel van semigestructureerde interviews. Dit betekent dat deze guide richtlijnen en structuur geeft aan de interview, maar er ook ruimte is om dieper op onderwerpen in te gaan die aan bod komen in het interview. De interviews zijn opgedeeld in twee delen. Het eerste deel focust zich op eigenschappen die het groene initiatief zelf kan bezitten, en hoeveel succes ze dat geeft in het stimuleren van gemeenschappen. Het tweede deel zal zich focussen op wat een groen initiatief gemeenschappen kan bieden om in staat te zijn op lange termijn te vergroenen.

### Introductie

Eerst zal er om toestemming gevraagd worden voor het opnemen van het interview. Wanneer dit mag zal er uitleg gegeven worden over het doel en de structuur van het interview. Ook zal vermeld worden hoe lang deze ongeveer zal duren, en dat het mogelijk is dieper in te gaan op vragen. Eerst zullen er wat inleidende vragen worden gesteld, hierna zal er specifiek in worden gegaan op de thema's. Tenslotte zal er nog gevraagd worden of de respondent nog iets te toe voegen of te melden heeft over de inhoud van het interview.

### Thema 1: Mogelijk succesvolle eigenschappen van groene initiatieven

#### Brede vragen

Wat denkt u dat een groen initiatief nodig heeft om langdurige vergroening te bereiken?

#### Vragen specifiek gericht op thema's

(juridische vorm als deze niet duidelijk was vermeld

- Welke ondernemingsvorm heeft de organisatie? Waarom is hiervoor gekozen? )

Hoe is het leiderschap binnen jullie organisatie?

- Hebben jullie iemand die meer dan anderen de leiding op zich neemt?
- Hoe verhoudt hij/zij zich tot de rest van uw collega's?
- Welk effect denkt u dat hij/zij op deelnemers heeft
- Is er een leider die gemakkelijk mensen enthousiast maakt over jullie initiatief?
- Zou je dit een charismatische leider kunnen noemen?
- En binnen de gemeenschappen/deelnemers? Is daar vaak een initiatiefnemer/leider te onderscheiden?

Waar vinden jullie activiteiten plaats?

- Is dit een bestaande ontmoetingsplek van de buurt/gemeenschap?
- Is dit een openbare plek? (als dit nog niet duidelijk was)

Hoe inclusief zijn jullie activiteiten?



- Kost het geld om mee te doen?
- Kan jong/oud fit/gehandicapt allemaal meedoen?
- Is er een maximaal aantal mensen dat mee kan doen?

Hoe trekt dit initiatief mensen aan om mee te doen?

- Via welk medium
- Is het initiatief algemeen bekend?

Waarom zouden mensen wel of niet meedoen?

Hoe vaak organiseren jullie activiteiten voor eenzelfde buurt/gemeenschap?

- Merken jullie dat hier vaak dezelfde mensen op af komen?
- Organiseren jullie vaker op dezelfde plek activiteiten, of is dit elke keer een andere plek in het land?

In hoeverre zijn jullie tevreden met de samenwerking met andere partijen

- zoals overheden/gemeentes?
- Is deze structureel?
- In hoeverre hebben jullie last/baat bij bepaalde regelgeving van de overheid?
- zijn er andere partijen met wie jullie een goede samenwerking proberen te creëren of behouden?

Ontvangt uw initiatief subsidie?

- Is dit incidentele of structurele subsidie?
- Kunnen jullie als organisatie gemakkelijk rondkomen?
- Als subsidie wegvalt, kunnen jullie dan voortbestaan?
- Zijn er nog andere inkomstbronnen?
  - o Zoals verkoop van goederen of services?
  - o Zoals contributie?

### **Afsluitende vraag**

Zijn er nog andere dingen die volgens u invloed kunnen hebben op de effectiviteit van een groen initiatief om gemeenschappen langdurig te enthousiasmeren?

## **Thema 2: kapitaal voor actieve gemeenschappen**

In dit tweede deel van het interview ga ik het meer hebben over wat jullie voor gemeenschappen kunnen doen, om hen te stimuleren zelf langdurig te gaan met vergroening.

### **Brede vragen**

welke kwaliteiten hebben gemeenschappen volgens u nodig om succesvol aan een langdurige vergroening te kunnen werken?

Wat denkt u dat uw initiatief een gemeenschap op de lange termijn kan bieden op het gebied van vergroening?

Denkt u dat gemeenschappen na de activiteit zelf de vergroening door zullen zetten?

## Specifiekere vragen

Humaan kapitaal: (kennis over activiteiten en kennis over ‘wat leuk of goed is’: het creëren van trots en sociale cohesie binnen een gemeenschap. Als mensen hetzelfde humaan kapitaal delen kan hun band versterkt worden.)

- In hoeverre breiden jullie de kennis over groen uit bij deelnemers?
  - o Waar je welke planten kan planten bijvoorbeeld
  - o Hoe je moet planten/snoeien/ omgaan met groen
  - o Krijgen ze een soort voorlichting / cursus / les?
  - o Leren ze door te doen?
  - o Leren ze omgaan met bepaalde materialen?
- In hoeverre geven jullie de deelnemers vaardigheden mee?
  - o Weten ze nu hoe ze bepaalde dingen omtrent vergroening aan kunnen pakken?
- Is er een verschil per buurt of gemeenschap qua kennis over groen?
  - o Waar zit hem dat verschil in?

Sociaal kapitaal: (de set van relaties dat we hebben ontwikkeld door gedeelde normen, waarden en vertrouwen)

- Richten jullie je op het versterken van de sociale relaties in de gemeenschap/wijk?
- Kunnen mensen jullie naderhand nog bereiken voor vragen of hulp?
  - o Gebeurt dit regelmatig?
- Leren ze ook anderen kennen bij wie ze terecht kunnen voor hulp?
  - o Wat voor soort mensen zijn dit? Hoveniers/adviseurs/
- Leren mensen elkaar beter kennen tijdens jullie activiteiten?
  - o Kun je een voorbeeld geven?

Cultureel kapitaal: (niet materiële aspecten van cultureel kapitaal zijn dingen als gewoontes, geloof, mythes, verhalen en tradities)

- Wat is het verhaal achter jullie initiatief?
  - o Vertellen jullie dit verhaal vaak?
  - o Merken jullie dat mensen daar geïnspireerd of gemotiveerd door raken?
- Merken jullie dat deelnemers op een andere manier naar groen gaan kijken?
  - o Veranderd hun visie over groen?
  - o Voorbeeld?
- Wordt het belang van groen versterkt?
- Denkt u dat mensen nu vaker met groen zullen werken?
  - o Kunt u een voorbeeld geven?
  - o Krijgen jullie dit echt nog teruggekoppeld van deelnemers?
  - o Zal het meer in hun systeem komen / meer een gewoonte worden?
- Zijn mensen trots op wat ze van jullie leren?
  - o Kun je daar een voorbeeld van geven?

## Publiek structureel kapitaal

- Is er een plek waar een gemeenschap samen kan komen voor jullie initiatief?
  - o En na het initiatief, verwachten jullie dat mensen hier nog eens samen zullen komen?
- Zijn dit openbare plekken?
- Is er een maximum aantal mensen dat gebruik kan maken van deze plek?

**Afsluitende vragen**

Hoe zien jullie een lange termijn vergroening van steden voor je?

- In welke mate komt hier het breed meedoen van gemeenschappen/de samenleving in voor?

Tenslotte zijn er nog dingen waar jullie als organisatie nog tegenaan lopen, of verbetering in zien?

Zou ik een keertje mee mogen wanneer jullie weer een activiteit organiseren?

## Appendix B: Code book

### Code book

This code book is based on the codes that were given in the program Atlas.

### Prepared success indicators

#### Legal form

- Foundation
- Association
- For profit company
- Free lancer

#### Subsidies and other finances

- Structural subsidy
- Incidental subsidy
- Income from goods or other services
- Income from being hired (as free lancer)

#### Cooperation

- With companies
- With governments
  - o Reaching the right person
  - o Communication problems
- With other green initiatives
- With schools
- With others

#### Use of existing places of encounter

#### Regularity of activities

- Once
- For certain amount of time
- On regular basis

#### fun

#### Inclusivity

- Free
- Target group
- maximum participants
- accessible

#### Leadership

- Within initiative
- Within community

## Visibility

- Local newspapers
- National news / broad well knownness

## Long term visions

- role of community mentioned
- role of state / politics mentioned
- role of municipalities mentioned
- Responsibility in hands of civilians/communities mentioned

## Emergent factors

### Scientific research

### Customization

- Per individual
- Per neighbourhood / case

### Failure indicators

- Not reaching all layers of society
- Lack of diversity

## Community capital

### Human capital

- knowledge
- skills

### Cultural capital

- inspiring story
- proud
- view regarding working in green
- view regarding green in general

### Social capital

- bridging
- bonding

### Public structural capital

- increasement of public place(s) of encounter
- multiple functions
- other placemaking views
- public but not a place of encounter
- place of encounter but not public

## Emergent factors

Responsibility

Feeling of belonging

Leadership

## Appendix C:

In the following table the results regarding the first sub questions are given per initiative. When an initiative would mention to consider the factor as successful, an 'X' is added. The factor 'leadership' is here considered as leadership within the green organization. Many green initiatives would mention the importance of leadership within a community, but it is about success factors for green initiatives, that is why only the ones mentioning the importance of leadership qualities within their organizations have an 'X'.

**Table 7.1: Results per initiative**

Initiative		Guerilla Gardeners	Meer Bomen Nu	Natuur in de wijk	Natuurpodium	Nudge	Steenbreek	Struikroven	Tiny Forest	't Groene Loket	Sociaal Tuinieren	Creatief beheer	Groene Schoolpleinen	Bureau Binnentuinen	Total
Expected success indicators	Legal form	X				X								X	3
	Finances	X						X	X		X	X	X	X	7
	Leadership	X		X				X	X	X		X	X		7
	Use of existing places of encounter	X		X			X								3
	Inclusiveness	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	13
	Regularity of activities (with fun factor)		X	X	X			X	X			X	X		7
	Good cooperation	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	13
Emergent success indicators	Visibility	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	10
	Accessibility	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	13
	Customization Scientific research	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11
Total		11	9	5	8	5	6	7	7	4	6	6	6	6	3

Second, an overview of the found importance on the tested forms of community capital is shown in table 7.2.

**Table 7.2: Found importance of form of community capital per initiative**

Initiative		Guerilla Gardeners	Meer Bomen Nu	Natuur in de wijk	Natuurpodium	Nudge	Steenbreek	Struikroven	Tiny Forest	t Groene Loket	Sociaal Tuinieren	Creatief beheer	Groene Schoolpleinen	Bureau Binnentuinen	Total
Human Capital	Expand knowledge	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	13
	Expand skills	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x			8
	Pride	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x			x	11
Social Capital	Bonding	x	x	x				x	x		x	x			7
	Bridging		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	12
Cultural Capital	Inspiring story	x	x		x		x	x	x		x				7
	Other way of looking at greening / importance increases	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	13
	Working in green becomes habit	x	x					x	x		x	x		x	7
Public Structural Capital	Lively place of encounter	x						x	x			x	x	x	6
	Inclusive for whole community	x						x	x			x		x	5
Total	10	9	8	5	6	3	5	10	10	5	8	8	4	7	