

Growing civil participation in the garden

The study of different approach of participatory design, taking community urban farming in Amsterdam and Almere as comparative examples

Lin Ying Tzu



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Preface

I would like to use the metaphor of a lonely but never alone road trip to describe the journey of doing an independent thesis research. It is fun at the beginning, but most of time, I feel like I am walking along the endless road. Finally, with the help of many people, the road comes to the end. I reach the destination at the end of summer 2012. Here I am going to feature characters that always accompany with and support me in the side, and those who gave me a hand on the road.

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor: Professor Hank de Haan. With the utmost patient and wisdom, he always listens to all of my vague ideas, critical questions and unclear expression. Every time after listening my unstructured thoughts, he can always point out the core which I can't even express so well in my words. During this long trip, he guided me to go the right direction when I was helpless, helped me to formulate a clear research focus out of the mess. Most important of all, he made me to understand that a research will not always follow the way you planned at the beginning. It is important to keep balance and enjoy the unexpectable scene on the road. Without his supervision, it is impossible to finish this research.

Beside my supervisor, I also receive a lot of friendly helps and inspiring supports during the field study. To participants in SWOMP and Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein, thank you for let me join your community meetings, especially for those who translating the dialogue from Dutch to English to me. To people I have met and interviewed, thank you for showing so much friendly to a foreign girl. They are Alex, Maaïke, Annet, Lenny, Badri, Zainab, Eva, Ton, Karina, Annalies, Suzanne and Ann-Martin. When you were talking about the happiness of being a urban farmer, I saw the most beautiful shining eyes from you. I hope you all enjoy your garden well and wish your

garden will bring you so much happiness forever. To researchers I had talked to, thank you for those informations and inspiring thoughts you gave me. They are Jan Jasma, Arjan Dekking, Esther Veen from Wageningen University, Gaston Remmers from CAH Almere University of applied science, Kirsten de Wit and Erwin Zwaan from Almere municipality.

Without supports from family and friends, I won't be able to walk through the adventure in Europe so far. Thanks my parents for the unconditional love and material supports. I love you. I hope Dad will be alright after the surgery tomorrow. I am waiting for you to visit here. JC and Jing, you are my best everyday friends to share everything happens here. I will miss all the time we struggled here and hope you all success with your thesis. Colleagues from school also give me strong supports. I feel that we are walking together. You are Talida, Diana and Kim. Ianthe, it's glad to meet you in the urban farm, and being friends more than just sharing our work. To friends back at home and all around the world, Shang-Chun, Ting-Hao, Pin-An, Nereid, Soham, Edward, David, Kenya and Knowhow Chao, its good to have you on the road. Thanks to listening all kinds of complains and stories from me, discuss my thesis with me. To Dean, nothing could describe your support. You always take good care of me no matter with or without staying together in the same place.

At the end, Thanks to professor John K. C Liu. It is you lead me to walk on this road. It was an accident to participate the environmental design studio at the beginning. However, you teach me what is participatory design in knowledge, and show me the endless passion to the social and spatial issue. I wouldn't be able to walk so far without meet you in that year.

It has been a long adventure since I decided to jump in here from sociology research. Sometimes it is hard to explain what I am doing and what is my interest. Here I am going to quote Italo Calvino's description about what is city in his fabulous work '*invisible cities*'. He said: *The city is consist of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past.* What I am doing is to find out the relationship between the measurements of its space and the events of its past, present and future in the city. That is the best answer for me to explain what is socio-spatial analysis, cultural geography, urban study or whatever they called. I am glad I still keeping a pair of fresh eyes in seeing what's happening in the city, enjoy asking questions and find out the answer through books and the real world after finish the thesis. There are always new things to discover, new questions to ask, new places to go. The world is so big, I am just starting to discover it. Let us begin with participatory design and community urban agriculture first.

Summary

Over past 40 years, participatory design become one of the most popular design methods in architecture, landscape architecture and urban design. The evolution overtime results in quite different approaches in the interpretation of participatory design. It is quite obvious that different participatory design discourses develop totally different research methods (ex, New Urbanism and civil engagement). However, besides the clear distinction in theories, not so much research talk s about how they differ from the spatial outcome.

The thesis study begins with the question ‘what’s the difference between different approach of participatory design?’ Later in the research, we identify the top-down and bottom-up approach of participatory design as two representatives under this big umbrella. The problem statement of the thesis become what’s the difference of top-down and bottom-up participatory design from the perspective of the everyday space they produced. Based on the idea of comparing the spatial outcome between different approaches of participatory design, and taking community urban gardens as a space category to focus on. The research plan was to examine whether bottom-up and top-down developing community urban gardens show significant differences under the criteria of social cohesion, social justice, and participatory democracy. In order to focus on the comparative study, we decided to use the case study method as the main research method for the thesis. Based on the above research settings, we chose Amsterdam and Almere as the two cities that represent the bottom-up and top-down urban development models. Within Amsterdam and Almere, we are going to find community urban gardens that fit into the criteria of the research case object. The research use participatory design, everyday urbanism and urban agriculture to structure the theory framework. All of these

theories show the paradigm that collective civil efforts could be a strong power to improve the quality of urban space.

The result of investigation present three cases in Amstderam and not yet a community urban farming site in Almere. Since there are no comparable sites of top-down participatory designed space, we can only analyze the empirical case study findings in Amsterdam. I used the research findings concluded from the Amsterdam experiences to examine what is missing in Almere, and how the two approaches can learn from each other. The research concludes with four points which are important for both bottom-up and top-down participatory design: **(1)The balance between top-down and bottom-up forces, (2) Creating a dynamic network relationship, (3) Diverse strategy/ tactic operational system, (4) Community urban agriculture is an efficient sustainable lifestyle practice.**

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research object

The starting point of this thesis is to try to answer what is the essence of participatory design. This idea came in one year ago. I had a 'participatory design' lecture in my advanced design research method course. In the lecture, the guest lecturer first gave a distinction between civil participation and civil initiative in design and planning practices. According to him, civil participation is the top-down way of spatial construction. It begins with a policy decision from the government, such as renovating a square in a neighborhood. During the planning and design process, professionals invite local people to give opinions and cooperate with them in certain design processes. With the help of local residents, designers and planners are able to execute the mission that was given by the government without being opposed by citizens. On the other hand, civil initiative represents a bottom-up way of spatial construction. A civil initiative movement begins with some local people proposing an idea, such as transforming urban residual land into a neighborhood public space. Then they look for help from planners and designers. Finally, they succeed in persuading the government to execute this project.

The lecture overturned what I had learned about the definition of participatory design. From a historical approach, participatory design is a bottom-up design method. To work with people, designing with people is the main value of the theory. It first started in the late 60s in the U.S. It was the combination of a grassroots civil movement and alternative practices in design and planning (Hester, 1999; Sanoff, 2000). At that time, social architects were working with low-income

communities and socially disadvantaged people to defend their right to live in a good environment. Participatory design addresses that the focus of architects and planners should be designing with people instead of designing for people (Sanoff, 2000). The designed space is mainly for serving people to practice their everyday lives, and at the same time to get empowered by the interaction between space and life. Back to the doubt I was left with from the lecture, I didn't find a good answer from that course. Therefore, I had motivation to trace back the context of development in participatory design.

Over the past 30 years, participatory design has been broadly accepted in the mainstream of design theory. Meanwhile, more and more different discourses and practices of participatory design methods also appeared to enrich the context of participatory design methods. Among different discourses in participatory design, it motivated me to think of the heterogeneousness of a broad concept called 'participatory design,' and how theory and practice influence each other. The various design concepts are not only written and debated about on paper, but are also showed in the process of space making and the everyday practices in the space. However, most discussions on participatory design method seem to stand on a particular side to defend their own discourse. There are few studies focusing on the heterogeneousness of this method under the use of the same name. **This thesis aims to discuss the heterogeneousness of participatory design. Taking bottom-up and top-town approach of participatory design (or participative place-making) as two categories, the research object is to find out their differences more than in theoretical level, but also in the empirical level.** The dialogue between theoretical exploration and empirical study are expected to point out a new dimension to examine the quality of

participatory design and its designed space.

1.2 Problem statement

The research object in this thesis is to find out the difference of top-down and bottom-up participatory design in the empirical study. To do so, two steps will be taken in the research process. One is building the theoretic framework of participatory design through theory exploration. The theory findings will form the basis to start the empirical research. Second, a comparative case study with top-down and bottom-up participatory design projects is going to structuring the empirical level. What are the differences shown in the concept, process and result of design and to what extent produce differences in people's every life.

1.3 Draft sketch of the research

Responding to the research object and problem statement, the following paragraph will give an draft sketch of the approach I plan to take in the empirical research. First, in order to have a pair of comparative examples, I need to choose a concrete space category as the topic to focus on. It can be park, school or garden. Among all the choices, I choose urban agriculture as examples on the basis of personal interest. Taking the participatory design and scale of the project as two indicators, I made an scenario view to identify different typology of urban agriculture (see figure 1.1). In this thesis, I will put my scope on the small scale urban agriculture (see figure 1.2).

Relating the research approach to the actual geographical mapping, my target is the urban agriculture development in Amsterdam and Almere, specifically at the neighborhood scale of participatory design oriented community projects. Amsterdam has the blood of bottom-up urban development. In early times, it is one of sixth cities that consist the

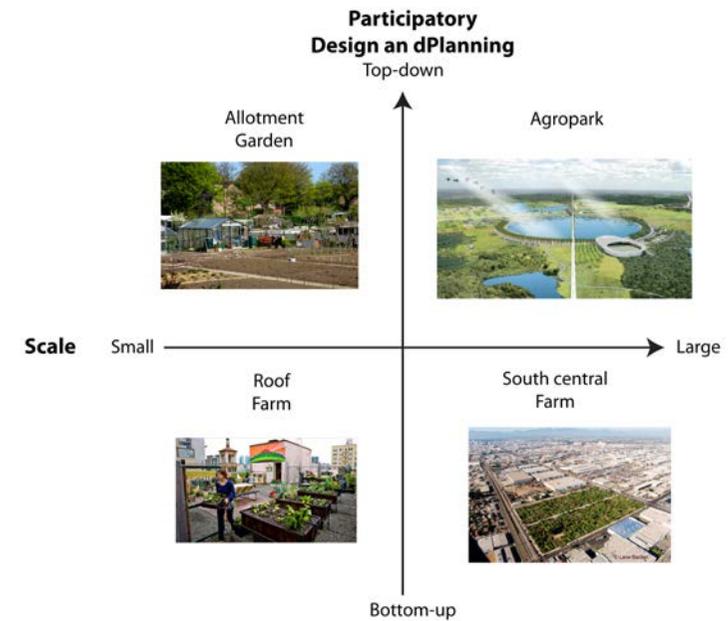


Figure 1.1 Research scenario

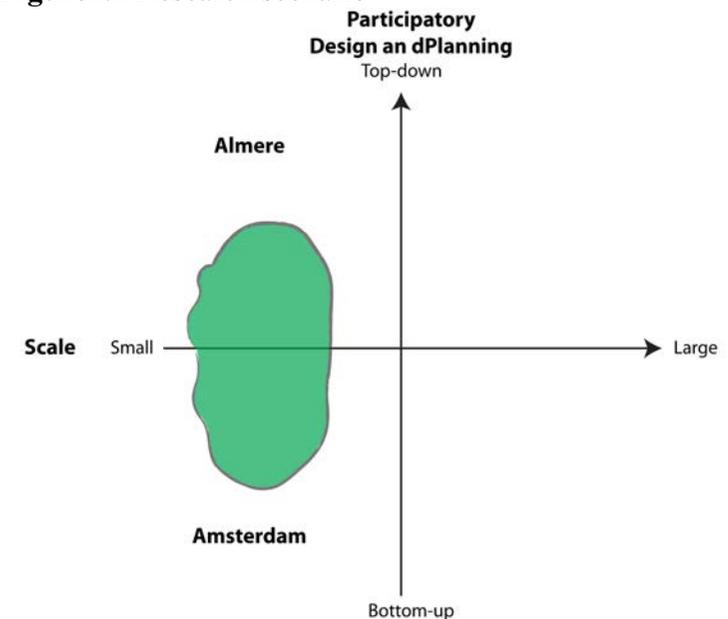


Figure 1.2 research object

Dutch East India Company (VOC) and also strong civil movement in urban space (squatting) in 1960s. Currently, it has very diversified urban agricultural community projects proposed by different civil initiatives. On the other hand, Almere is contemporary paradigm of the new town movement. The wholistic approach of top-down urban planning and city making has known for the world. From the related government archival, we know that Almere pretty much focus on green development. The city Almere holds a very supportive attitude towards developing urban agriculture. Currently, the top-down governance also promotes different scales of urban agricultural projects in the city. Therefore, I plan to take a comparative study specified in community-based urban agriculture, which the former one is doing through bottom-up participation and the latter one is doing through top-down participation. To prove whether different approaches of participatory design methods show distinctions between each designed space, the thesis study first traces the theoretical context of participatory design in space production. Upon the basis of theoretical recognition, case studies representing the top-down and bottom-up approaches of participatory design will be examined, along with whether the ambition of the design is reflected in what we see in the everyday practice of space, and whether the quality of space fits the criteria of the core values in the roots of participatory design. The chosen field for case studies are three urban agricultural communities in the cities of Amsterdam (SWOMP4, Buurttuinen Transvaal and Osdorp Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein) and Almere.

The spatial configuration of urban agricultural communities has shown an interesting new possibility of using urban space. It can be a solution to improve food shortages, save hunger, and improve food sustainability, food education and social cohesion. This thesis research is focused on the representative value of social functions on urban agriculture, which is similar to the core values in participatory design

discourse. Whether participatory design in the urban agricultural community can empower people to realize the importance of sustainability, environmental justice, etc., will be an important criterion in the evaluation.

1.4 Expected contribution

There are two expected contributions from the thesis study. For the academic community, by investigating the process and quality of participatory designed space, the research is expected to enrich the discussion of the heterogeneity of participatory design. For the professionals and participants in everyday landscapes, by revealing the importance and value of community-based urban agriculture projects, I hope the research will be empirical evidence that might help those professionals and participants to know what they can learn from other projects. Most important of all, for those who helped me with my field research, most of them have to work very hard to persuade the government about the importance of turning urban residual land into community gardens. In this way, they can get more resources, subsidies and land use permission from the government. I hope this research will be a powerful back up for them to get more resources. Through the investigation and theoretic comparisons, a better quality of participatory design strategy wishes to point out a better living environment for people.

1.5 Research overview

Chapter one will be the general overview of the research. Research objects, questions and expectations will be introduced in this chapter.

Constructing the theoretical framework is the main product in chapter two. Theories here offer a fundamental base for the thesis, helping to refine research questions out of previous study and my research object. Theories in participatory design, everyday urbanism and urban

agriculture are the three sections of theory exploration. The theoretic structure of this thesis is constructed on the basis of these three perspectives. At the end of this chapter, research questions will be proposed for the thesis study.

Chapter three will introduce the case study research method mainly used in the thesis. The evaluation criteria of spatial quality are also included in this chapter.

Stories of the four cases used in this thesis will be presented in chapter four. The previous three cases: SWOMP4, Osdorp Dijkgraafplein and Buurttuinen Transvaal are all located in Amsterdam. Three of them all present the bottom-up development of urban agricultural projects. On the other hand, an investigation of Almere tells another story about community urban agriculture development under the top-down vision.

Chapter five is the discussion of the findings, and the qualitative research analysis will first be presented in this chapter. Interviews and participative observations are transformed from fragmented single voices into a collective voice. Results of the analysis are expected to have a dialogue with the theoretical framework. The results of fieldwork will be discussed along the theoretical framework. The interaction between empirical studies and theoretical studies are expected to answer research questions.

In the conclusion, the research questions of this thesis should be answered. More than a conclusion, limitations and future expectations will be proposed in chapter 7.



CHAPTER 2
STANDING ON GIANT'S SHOULDER

Chapter 2: Standing on Giant's shoulder (Theory Exploration)

The theoretical framework in this chapter provides a foundation for the following empirical research. Two aims of the theoretical exploration are:

- To clarify the distinction between top-down and bottom-up approaches of participatory design by evaluating the quality of its designed space.
- To explore how participatory design and planning are link to the community urban agriculture.

In the following chapter, theories in participatory design and planning, everyday space and urban agriculture will compose the three layers of the theoretical framework in this research. The theoretical layer is the history and development of participatory design and planning in spatial production. Randolph Hester and Mark Francis' discourses give keynotes to the definition of traditional participatory design and planning. New Urbanism on the other hand, presents the different conceptual model. The theory exploration will limit in these two ends of spectrum. The conceptual layer continues to elaborate the participative space production to everyday space, urbanism and landscape. The concept of everyday space profiles the physical domain in everyday life practice (Chase, Crawford, Kaliski, 2008). The theory of everyday life in public space offers a good structure to interpret the specific topic in the study, which is urban agriculture and the everyday life practices in urban agricultural farming. This represents the observable layer in the research. Urban agriculture reconnects the city and agricultural production, as well as the multi-functional meaning of agricultural practice. To discover the role of design in this newly developed topic will be the emphasis in this sector. Here we summed up the type of urban agriculture we discuss here should be limited

within the small scale community approach. Three layers of the theoretical framework direct the research to frame its own structure. At the end of the chapter, on the basis of problem statement and understanding of theory, clear research questions will be proposed, which guide to the further operationalization of the empirical research.

2.1.1 Short history of Participatory design in space production

Participatory design and planning first appeared on the stage of the design profession in the 1960s. At that time, huge waves from the civil rights movement entered into legal, educational, environmental, urban renewal and social issues in the United States. Participatory design and planning thereby played a role in intervening into the physical battleground (Hester, 1999).

One of the most influential cases is the advocacy planning movement lead by Paul Davidoff. As a planner, he advocated for the low-income ethnic group's right to live in suburban areas. Together with his low-income ethnic clients, the team finally took back the right of residence as well as challenging the planning policy of zoning at that time in the U.S. (Davidoff, 1965, Hester, 1999). The case of Paul Davidoff's advocacy model of intervention has influenced a group of radical architects and planners to work on community participation (Sanoff, 2008). Advocacy oriented planning requires not only creating a plan for those at social disadvantages, but furthermore, it wishes to empower those at social disadvantages to improve their living conditions and to become involved in community life (Davidoff, 1965; Hester, 1999). In that sense, planners' and designers' work often engages with grassroots social movements. Davidoff argued that the movement proves the necessity of planning practices to become involved with people from

socially disadvantaged groups and to discuss political and social values (Davidoff, 1965) The aim is to achieve social justice, democratic values and human rights through the process of space production (Mitlin, Thompson, 1995; Hester, 1999; Parnell, 2001; Sanoff, 2008).

The notion of participatory design and planning is made explicit in several approaches. In a political approach, social justice, participatory democracy and citizen empowerment are major statements of this alternative design practice (Hester, 1999; Parnell, 2001; Sanoff, 2000; 2008). The strategy of engaging the design practice with grassroots movements, as well as using civil participation as a design method are proof that the notion is deeply influenced by the political statements above. In a philosophical approach, it is a reflection of modern architectural style. The truths of aesthetics were replaced with user's needs, everyday aesthetics and local wisdom. The aesthetic standard turned from a fine art approach to a social approach. Continuing the discussion of everyday aesthetics, the form 'civil participation' then becomes a very important platform to bridge public opinion and professional practice (Mitlin, Thompson, 1995). The wave that radical planners and designers rode out from their studios, getting their hands involved with community and social issues in the 1960s, did not disappear with history. As an alternative practice in design and planning, participatory design and planning brought an even louder voice in 1970.

Derived from the strong movement background, participatory design and planning in 1970 kept its idealistic practice (Comerio, 1984; Parnell, 2001; Toker, 2007). Community design centers were settled in low-income communities. Architects and planners embraced the participation values and worked in poor neighborhoods such as in New York and Boston (Crewe, 2001). In community centers, planners and designers offered information, design assistance and management skills

to help the socially disadvantaged in the community to define their own planning goals and effectively present them to city hall. The community centers in this case played the role not only of spatial professionals but advocacy groups in the idealistic civil society (AOD, 1976; Toker, 2007)

However, the trend of community design practice transformed from idealistic to pragmatic at the end of 1970 in the U.S. The conservative political climate and economic problems forced the management of community centers to shift from being empowerment oriented to bureaucratically disciplined organizations (Toker, 2007). Instead of helping poor people to have a better life, the community centers in the 1980s became institutions that served for private practice or solving the economic crisis by expanding community revitalization (Curry, 2000a). Comerio (1984) defined the community design movement as an entrepreneurial phase. Moreover, Toker (2007) regarded this as the beginning of recession community planning, which participatory design shifted from its original principles. On the contrary, also in the 1980s, community planning and participatory design in academic communities had extended its concerns from social disadvantages to broader aspects (Crewe, 2001). Environmental perceptions had been brought into community design. For instance, Sanoff 's (1984) participatory models for environmental awareness; Zeisel (1984) developed tools for environment-behavioural design for children, elderly people and central business districts; Alexander's (1987) work in collaborative campus experiments and pattern language tried to offer a communicative space language for participation. Contributions by scholars had made the alternative practice in space production move forward.

Participatory design and planning had spread the wave to a broader branch in the 1990s. Throughout, planners, designers and activists kept practicing their idealism with residents and communities, and their

effort finally received attention from the mainstream (Parnell, 2001). As practitioners practiced the participatory activities such as community design and planning, community based development (Parnell, 2001) empowered impoverished urban neighborhoods (Crewe, 2001; Fulton, 1993; Hester, 1991), local place identity developed in the small scales of towns and communities (Crewe, 2001; Arendt, 1993; Bray, 1993) and embodied the local historical view from marginalized groups in historical preservation projects (Crewe, 2001; Dubrow, 1993; Hayden, 1992). The diversity of practices indicated the importance of involving communities' voices within the projects. Since then, community has been seen as an effective factor in the process of space making (Crewe, 2001, Parnell, 2001, Toker, 2007). However, the popularity of taking the community and participation into the design and planning process had also attracted new-urbanism's eyes. In a good sense, the New-urbanists do awake the 'community lifestyle' awareness in society. The concept 'community' has become common sense to ordinary people. In a negative sense, what New-urbanists brought to be popularized is not the original principle advocated by the community designers and planners, but instead the gentrified practice in communities (Toker, 2007; Crewe, 2001). Moreover, the gentrified community practice took the voice of grassroots community participation. Although the concepts of civil participation, community planning, participatory design, etc., seem to be well known and broadly practiced in the mainstream, the original practice still remains in its alternative voice (Toker, 2007; Francis, 2003).

2.1.2 Influential discourses in Participatory design

The aim of showing these different perspectives of participatory design approaches is to profile the criteria for evaluating the participatory designed space in this research. In this section, several influential discourses in applying civil participation to spatial design and planning will be introduced. Henry Sanoff and Randolph Hester are important

scholars advocating for civil participation in space making since 1970. The core values in their discourses are to embody human rights, participatory democracy and a sense of community in the design and planning profession (Hester, 1990; Sanoff, 2000). On the other hand, landscape architects like Mark Francis and Michael Rios examined the quality of participatory designed spaces to see if they fulfilled the user's demands and bring up new possibilities to the community, place and people. Different from the grassroots approach, New urbanists also found that civil participation could be a very useful tool that creates a good community. By using participation as a design and research method, a better quality of spaces is expected to be made.

Randolph Hester

Randolph Hester is a landscape architect who promoted participatory design for most of his career. As one of the founders of the movement that applies sociology, democratic thinking and ecological approaches to design practice, he dedicated his efforts in neighborhood design, community participation and sacred landscapes. Participatory democracy and environmental justice are two major statements guiding his theory and practice. In his book 'Community Design Primer'(1990), he established a set of methods to help community designers working on civil participation in the process of place making. In addition, responding to the transformation of the participatory design movement in past few decades, Hester pointed out the trends of the change and proposed a refraining view in his article 'A Refrain with a View'(1999).

In this article, Hester analyzed five trends of transformation and outlined five characteristics of a new form of participation in community-making (Hester, 1999). The five changes in participatory design are:

From idealism to entrepreneurship:

Through more and more delicate legal governance in collective action and community development, it is becoming difficult for idealism to break the operating procedure of the bureaucratic structure. Moreover, instead, community design now counts on the knowledge of real estate, bank practices and housing loans (ibid).

From urban renewable to environment racism

For the poor ethnic community, thirty years ago they fought the threats of urban renewal and freeways that would diminish their homeland. Unfortunately, thirty years after, other than the old threats, new threats had come from the participatory planning of wealthy citizens that had led them to receive a disproportionate number of unwanted and dangerous land uses. The discriminated participation makes environmental racism even worse than before.

From non-violent amateurs to high-tech professionals

The development of computer technology made designers and planners more equipped to share the design process with people.

From community to self interest

In the era of community planning involved with the civil rights movement, the poor community sought a better environment as 'all together in one'. However, things changed when the leaders of a community got the resources, and then abandoned their neighbors. The selfishness made trust collapse in communities. Words like NIMBY and SLAPP are suitable descriptions for this. (ibid)

From informing to educating

In the past, participation was considered as a way to inform the public. Today, grassroots groups use sophisticated educational campaigns themselves to influence the results of plans. Education has become one

of the powerful tools in grassroots work (ibid).

The five suggestions for participation in community place-making are:

Cross-linked participation

Instead of parallel working lines between different groups in a project, cross-linked participation is willing to stitch the parallel efforts together. To break the barriers of locality, region, ideology and cultures, an integrated participation is better than segregated participation.

Renewable participation

To take sustainable and ecological perspectives into account is another dimension suggested by Hester. The key here is to institute participatory processes that raise people's environmental awareness in their everyday lives. The aim is not to create a model community fitting the requirement of a sustainable label. The aim is to make people conscious of their choices in their everyday lives. Therefore, working with ecological scientists and local people, the knowledge in a scientist's mind should be transformed into knowledge suitable for the city environment and people's daily execution.

Reflective participation

A bridge between lab science and local wisdom should be built. Decentralized education makes it possible for localized science to reduce the mistrust. To learn the local wisdom from local people, and to execute the local wisdom in the participatory design by local people is way more reflective than a plan from an outsider's decisions.

Refocused participation

It is important to refocus the fundamental reason of participatory design, which is to enhance the sense of community, overcome environmental injustice and empower the disempowered.

Local checks and regional balance

The dynamic power relationship between the local empowerment and non-local authority should be kept in a balanced tension.

Mark Francis

Inherited from Hester and Sanoff's perspective, Mark Francis and Michael Rios continue to focus on the discourses and practices of community driven participatory design in landscape architecture.

Mark Francis puts the notion 'participation in community garden' in a broader context of discussing quality urban open space. In the book 'Urban Open Space', Francis articulates the typology of urban public space. Furthermore, derived from William Whyte and Jane Jacobs' urban public theory, Francis puts 'fulfilling user's need' as one of the items in evaluating quality urban space. Under this context, community participation is an essential ingredient in making successful urban open spaces (Francis, 2003). Community participation creates a boundary between people and their living environment. Thus the sense of place and the feeling of belonging are embodied in the process of participation.

Apart from promoting the benefits of participation, Francis also reflects on a landscape architect's role in the process of participation. He directly pointed out '*the problem is not the concept of participation but in the roles that designers and planners have taken in relationship to their clients and projects*' (Francis, 1999). He criticized that instead of being a profession coming up with solutions for its clients, the professional practices should be able to conceive the problem their clients really face and propose a visionary approach to them. He named this working approach as 'proactive practice.' According to him, proactive practitioners can be '*distinguished from their visionary approach and their commitment to a participatory process through which the community can modify or enlarge the vision*' (Francis, 1999).

Based on the reflection of participatory community design and the new paradigm of a proactive practitioner, Francis developed a new method of evaluating the quality of participatory community design. He used a case study method to examine the results and impact of participatory community design systematically. This method is developed specifically for landscape architecture. The method specially puts user involvement and community participation into account in design and planning projects. The aim is to adapt this method to help advance theory development, practice and teaching in democratic design (Francis, 2003).

In this case study method, Francis classifies the type of case studies into four different bases. There are Place-based, Issue-based, Method-based and Teaching-based, each type with different approaches in their design needs. However, no matter what type, in order to analyze the case in its unique context, and thus making the cases useful for advancing knowledge in the profession, information from the case, such as baseline information, the roles of key participants, financial aspects, process, problem definition and response, goals, programs, designs, site visit(s), use, maintenance and management, and perception and meaning should be recorded. Additional critical dimensions to include in a case study are scale, time, unique constraints, community and cultural impacts of the project, environmental sensitivity and impact, impact on the profession, infrastructure impacts, lessons learned and theory, outside critiques, reports of the projects in the popular media, and peer reviews in the form of awards and honors. These are all the elements needed for doing case study research (see table 1, 2, Francis, 2001, 2003).

<p>Abstract/ Fact Sheet Photo(s) Project background Project significance and impact Lessons learned Contacts Keywords</p> <p>Full Case Study Project name Location Date designed/ planned Construction completed Size Community Designer(s) Client Consultants Managed by Context Site analysis Project background and history Genesis of the project</p>	<p>Design, development, participatory and decision-making process Role of community designer(s) Program elements Maintenance and management Photograph(s) Site/ Context plans to scale User/ use analysis Peer reviews Criticism Significance and uniqueness of the project Limitations General features and lessons Future issues/ plans Bibliography of project citations/ related references Web sites/ links Contacts for further information</p>	<p>In-depth Analysis Archival research (e.g., project records, newspaper articles, etc.) Awards or special recognition for the project Copies of articles or reports on the project Interviews with client Interviews with managers and maintenance people Interviews with users Interviews with non-users Longitudinal studies of the places over time</p>
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Table 2.1 Francis' suggested format for case studies in community design (Francis, 2003).

<p>•Placed- based •Identity types of projects to evaluate in different countries- need New urbanist projects •Public spaces in community development •Integration rather than separation of design, technology, ecology and community</p>	<p>Method-based •Describe and evaluate the workshop technique •Asses methods such as scored walks, surveys and interviews, etc. •How much does community design cost as compared to traditional practices</p>
<p>Issue-based •Develop community design typologies •Test assumption that participation creates more humane environments •How does community design empower participants •Do community design projects result in distinctly different aesthetics than traditional design</p>	<p>Teaching-based •Develop studio projects that can be used in different schools •Develop both real and hypothetical teaching cases •New forms of practice including 'proactive practice'</p>

Table 2.2 Francis' classification of case studies needed for community design.(Francis, 2003).

New Urbanism

Different from the context we described above, New urbanism has developed its own perspective to take a participatory process into design practice. New urbanists believe that good physical space will induce a good quality of social life. Therefore, to design a good community is important. In order to achieve the design guidelines they believe in, several methods are necessary to use, participation being one of them. Similar to the grassroots community movement, New urbanists also place 'community' as one of their central focuses. *Charter of New Urbanism* (Congress of new urbanism, 2000) documented the values, beliefs and design principles of new urbanism. According to the *Charter of New Urbanism*, New urbanists are committed to use citizen-based participatory design and planning to reestablish the relationship between aesthetics and the making of a community (Congress of new urbanism, 2000). On the neighborhood scale, they recommended the mixed use of land and large pedestrian areas in each community, where activities of daily living can occur within walking distance and without the dependence of cars. This design principle is especially in favor of the elderly and the young, and also for sustainability. In addition, the charter also encourages each community to develop its unique identity. The architecture and landscape design should represent the local history, climate, ecology and building practice, with the distinctive form constituting the fabric of the city (Congress of new urbanism, 2000).

The summary of the values New Urbanism embraces simply indicates that the making of a community is the first goal in achieving an ideal city and region. In order to design a desirable community, using a participatory design and planning method is one of the key points. Responding to connecting community input and the design profession, different approaches have been applied. Charrettes is one of the methods frequently used to both solicit community input and to educate

residents about design alternatives (Kelbaugh, 1997; Ellis, 2002).

According to the Charrettes Center, a charrette is '*an intensive, multi-disciplinary week-long design workshop designed to facilitate an open discussion between stakeholders of a development project*' (Charrette center, 2002). Furthermore, the New Urbanists' charrette can be defined as:

An intensive design-based planning workshop where all required information and specialists are present to enable relevant issues to be considered simultaneously and in an interactive way, with resultant decisions on detailed design and planning options.

(Rollison, 1996)

In another words, it can be seen as a kit to execute participatory design. The charrette's emphasis is on the 'simultaneous' and 'interactive' process of design, which aims to seek a balance between the sequentially reactive nature of formal planning systems and the spontaneous civil participation process (McGlynn & Murrain, 1994; Morris & Kaufman, 1996, Thompson-Fawcett&Bond, 2007). On the website of the National Charrette Institute, the New Urban charrette specifies the process into a three-phase approach (see also Lennertz, 2003, 2004):

(1) The pre-phase is the phase for gathering information, site, stakeholder analysis and research. Other works like systematic organization of the budget and time, education, publicity and promotion for the upcoming design workshop may last two to six months.

- (2) The second phase is the charrette event, including an interactive, multidisciplinary design workshop that will take a few days. Stakeholders involved in the project will be invited to the workshop to join the brainstorming for the design. The result of the workshop will become the prototype of the preferred plan for the next phase.
- (3) The third phase is the implementation phase. After the charrette event, designers and planners synthesize their work according to the material they gathered from the last two phases. There will be extra public meetings for giving design feedback, testing feasibility and plan refinement.

The three-phase charrette looks forward to embody the participatory design process within the setting of this event. It also seeks to build its distinction from other participatory design methods. Lennerts (2003), the co-founder of the National Charrette Institute in the U.S, as well as a New Urbanist practitioner, suggests nine strategies that distinguish genuine charrettes:

1. Work collaboratively
2. Design cross-functionally
3. Compress work sessions
4. Communicate in short feedback loops
5. Study the details and the whole
6. Produce a feasible plan
7. Use design to achieve a shared vision and create holistic solutions
8. Include a multi-day charrette
9. Hold the charrette on or near the site

Although the participatory design from New Urbanism's trend is very different from the advocacy tradition, it still takes a big part in the

mainstream. Toker (2007) investigated the recent trends in community design and participation. The results reveal that the representative architects from New Urbanism (Andres Duany, Peter Calthrope and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk) have become the 'name' when the interviewees think about community and participatory design. The research concludes that New Urbanism has become one of the new grounds in community participatory design that designers and planners are looking forward to (Toker, 2007).

2.1.3 Discussion

Over the past 40 years, civil participation in community scale design has moved from an alternative position to the mainstream. User's needs and people's opinions are more and more important to the design field. Also many different approaches have adopted the term 'participatory design' into their practices. In this thesis, it is important to articulate the original type, further extending interpretations and their relationship. This section is going to present the similarities and differences between the participatory design discourses introduced above.

From the timeline, the civil rights-induced participatory design began its alternative voice in 1960. The voice was engaged with social movements, and practitioners aimed to interfere with society through their spatial profession (Curry, 2000; Toker, 2007). Issues such as participatory design, environmental justice and a sense of community are major principles they were concerned with (Hester, 1999; Sanoff, 2006). Derived from these concerns, projects are more related to public buildings and open spaces such as schools, community spaces and parks. The highly politically oriented characteristics made the practice very easily influenced by the contemporary political climate in each era.

On the other hand, as participatory design gets more popular in design practice, reflective discourses also examine the quality and principles of the current practice in multiple perspectives. Some have re-examined the participatory design theory from the democratic political development point of view (Hester, 1999, 2001; Sanoff, 2000, 2008). By re-inventing basic values such as participatory democracy, and social and environmental justice, this approach values itself as using the design profession to empower social advantages. Facing the problem of institutionalized participatory design practice today, being reflective on its own practice and re-focusing the value of participation is what they are concerned with. Meanwhile, some others have refined the significant revelations from their case studies and professional practice: Francis (1999) highlights that professionals should be more proactive in their practice; Hou and Rios (2003, 2004, 2007) made the values and struggle of civil society explicit through presenting the process of civil participation work in public space creation. On the other hand, Crewe (2001), Rios (2000) and Francis (2001, 2003) also proposed their own perspectives in evaluating the quality of participatory design work. Finally, Toker (2007) concluded the recently developed trends in participatory design. In her conclusion, she claimed that although community participation seems to be part of the design mainstream today, the grassroots based design approach still stays in a minor place. Instead, the new attendees, which have totally different views but share the same name (ex. New urbanism and sustainable development), are the forces gaining momentum in participatory design.

The grassroots participatory designers value the ‘participatory’ more than ‘design,’ seeing participatory design as a design approach social movement. Social benefits such as empowering low-income neighborhoods (Habraken, 1999; Hatch, 1984; Hester, 1982) and civil educational benefits in developing political awareness and inducing communication (Hertzberger, 1984; Dubrow, 1993) are what people

receive through the practice of the participation process in design. The New Urbanism approach has a totally different angle to see how civil participation can accomplish their design work. New Urbanism is notable for reclaiming the traditional community lifestyle with modern design guidelines. In order to achieve the vision, to cooperate with people in the community is one of the ideas that might improve the quality of space. Civil participation can be seen as a tool that helps designers to enrich input and broaden the design concept that takes users’ needs into account. Methods like Charrette and the Visual Preference Survey technique serve as instrumental tools to help the design. With these communicative platforms, designers get to know the real place and real people, knowing the local preferences. At an organization level, the charrette method is promoted by several charrette institutes (ex. The National Charrette institute). A charrette, as well as the design workshop, is presented as a kit-like standard operation, and this makes it easy to be executed. Kelbaugh (1997) and Ellis (2007) see civil participation in New Urbanist practices as soliciting community input and as education about design alternatives to people.

The difference between the two trends of participatory design reveals a disconnection in each design discourse. The disconnection is between what Crewe (2000) called ‘radical design practitioners’ who summon community involvement as well as abandon regular practice, and regular practitioners who put the social community as an additional value in their design (Crewe, 2007). The traditional participatory design here can be seen as a bottom-up approach participation. It is mostly civil initiative, a spontaneous process. Strong political statements and highly idealistic perspectives often make the process take a lot of time. Conflicts and selfishness in different stakeholders, even people within the same group, happens in many cases. The participatory design process might be interrupted by other factors more than the design itself

(Hester, 1999; Hou,). The inefficient and complicated situation makes it hard to follow the regular design practice. Meanwhile the New Urbanism approach and charrette meeting aim to create a holistic solution: a communicative design process, design in detail, effective time control, etc (Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2007). It is a top-down process where designers create an opportunity for people to get involved. However, the charrette method and the participation applied in New Urbanism have attracted many criticisms, as well as the core values of New Urbanism. Different from the reflective attitude the former one presents, the New Urbanists are very protective to their charrette, seeing the charrette as a genuine participation method and a lack of critical self-reflection. The tokenistic attitude (Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2007) in Warburton's (2000, p. 149) words "just a box in the process flow chart", becomes the 'participation bit' in the conventional project design. Furthermore, Grant (2006) also regarded New Urbanist practice as:

At the same time as new urbanism welcomes a level of citizen participation, however, its fear of local opposition to projects is palpable ... In the charrette process, the rhetoric of local control encounters the reality of slick graphics, romantic watercolours, and celebrity designers. Difficult policy or environmental issues are set aside as participants focus on design questions. (p. 184)

This criticism also points out New Urbanists' participatory design has a weak commitment to democracy (Grant, 2006), such as a lack of a long-term interactive participatory process (Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2007). In this case, Crewe (2000), Day (2003), Thompson-Fawcett & Bond (2007) and Toker (2007) all point out the fact that New Urbanism makes its participatory design into another form of design hegemony. The simplified participation kit (charrette) executed in this way will draw more exclusion to disadvantaged groups and make the

participation only in favor of elitist people. As Toker (2007) concludes in her article, New Urbanism's participatory design has nothing the same with initial participatory design except in name.

2.1.4 conclusion

In this section, a short history and important discourses of participatory design were introduced. Two approaches of participatory design were categorized here: The initial grassroots oriented, representing a bottom-up approach, while New Urbanism's approach tends to work in a top-down way. The former one focuses on how space and society change through the process of civil participation in design. The latter sees design as a statement, the change of physical environment leading to the change of social environment. In another word, the bottom-up grassroots place-making is the result of people socially and physically interact with the space. The top-down approach place-making is space-oriented. The priori space become meaningful place based on certain fixed scheme and people's involvement within the scheme.

The theoretical structure of the thesis will use the initial definition of participatory design, which evaluates the quality of space not only from the physical environment, but also the social cohesion, and social environment of the space. From the theory exploration, we know that although there are big differences between these two approaches of participatory design at the theoretical level, whether or not there are differences between the space products made from the two approaches is not clear. The thesis study aims to address this research gap.

2.2 Everyday Urbanism

To realize in what context urban agriculture can be seen as an object that connects people, environment and urban public space, the second section of theory exploration will explore theories in the dimension of understanding urban agricultural space as the space of everyday life practice. This practice not only transforms conceptual ‘sustainable life style’ into daily practice. Moreover, it re-connects the relationship between the modern city and nature at a physical body level.

To explain how urban agriculture and participatory design meet together, and how they have a positive influence on urban space, we need to articulate several concepts in everyday urbanism and everyday life practice in public spaces. Henri Lefebvre’s theory on everyday life and the production of space will be the philosophical base in this section. Second, the strategy and tactics in everyday life practice proposed by Michael De Certeau offer a conceptual framework link to the top-down and bottom-up spatial practices. Based on the abstract framework, several examples mentioned in the books ‘Everyday Urbanism’ and ‘Insurgent Public Space’ indicate a close relationship between urban agriculture, quality public space and everyday life practice. Note that urban agriculture here refers to community based, small-scale urban farming land. Commercial agricultural production is not included in discussion.

2.2.1 Everyday life experience and space

‘(Social) space is a (social) product.’ Marxist French philosopher Henri Lefebvre had this claim in his book ‘The Production of Space.’ Space is not only a physical existence; it is a human production that serves as a tool of thought and action (Lefebvre, 1991). Space is produced under a certain kind of social value that represents the value and deploys the power of the value. In his context, the dominant value of a modern city is capitalism. That is to say, the produced spaces in the modern city, as

well as the city itself, are made for the production and reproduction of the capitalist social system (Chen & Orum, 2003). To put it more critically, the internal logic of land use planning and architectural design in modern cities are deployed for the capitalists’ own benefit. The representation of space presents capitalism’s system, class, and power from an abstract relationship into a concrete physical existence. For example, urban gentrification is a significant phenomenon referring to the bourgeois’ predatory nature towards the poor through space invasion. Areas that used to be poor communities transformed into high economical, social and cultural capital spaces through the process of re-planning and re-deployment. It is a spatial issue that represents the social relationship.

From this point of view, Lefebvre considers that the capitalist social system has been expanding through the deployment of physical space. Within this expansion, social inequality and alienation are deeply embedded in people’s everyday lives. Therefore, the system can dominate people’s daily production and reproduction as well as maintain its own operation (Chen & Orum, 2003). To resist the oppressive cycle of ‘system-space-everyday life,’ Lefebvre proposed to deal with it from the practice of everyday life. Lefebvre was the first philosopher who justified the importance of trivial, everyday life. He described everyday life as a ‘screen on which society projects its light and its shadow, its hollows and its planes, its power and its weakness’. He sees trivial everyday life as the ‘basic element constituting all social experience and the true realm of political contestation.’ (Chase, Crawford, Kaliski, 2008).

So starting from the view of everyday life, Lefebvre regards everyday life in modern society as being alienated by the capitalist social system. Through a spatial discipline, the practice of everyday life in this capitalist setting is what strengthens the system. The homogenous city

spaces force people to have homogenous lives under this system. For example, every city has the same chain stores, people who live in different cities still go to the same shops, eating the same food distributed by global food enterprises, wearing the same clothes sold by global companies. Daily production and consumption has constituted the flow of commodity chains as well as this capitalist lifestyle. It doesn't make any difference whether you live in London or Singapore. For Lefebvre, taking back the autonomy of using space can be a strategy for people to reverse capitalist domination. To change the logic of space production is to change the way of using space in everyday life. Therefore, in order to change the social inequality, injustice and alienation lead by capitalism, changing the logic of space production is necessary.

2.2.2 The practice of everyday life: strategy and tactic

Similar with Henri Lefebvre, Michael de Certeau also holds the attitude that theory is connected to our social practice in everyday life. Abstract mental philosophy is the accumulation of practical life experience. In his book 'The Practice of Everyday Life', he addresses attention to making the systematic operation to everyday life explicit. De Certeau uses a group of binary concepts to distinguish two modes of operation. They are 'strategy' and 'tactics.' Strategy represents the practice of power. It is an operational system based on building a 'proper' space, 'proper' being the victory over time (De Certeau, 1984). The strategy is the calculation of power relationships, which makes it possible to build its power and will separated from the environment. Within the territory of power deployment, the strategic operational system seeks to master the place through sight, and transform the uncertainties of history into readable spaces by the power of knowledge. Strategies are structural systems that own the absolute rules of panoramic sight. By fixing the indicators of time, place and power, in De Certeau's own words: *'strategies are actions which, thanks to the establishment of a place of*

power, elaborate theoretical places capable of articulating an ensemble of physical places in which forces are distributed' (ibid). Political, economic, and scientific rationality are constructed on the basis of a strategic model.

In contrast, 'tactics' do not have the power and 'proper' resources that 'strategies' count on. Because they don't have visible power and space of their own, it has to take the opportunity and time to seize the chance from the owner of power and space. As a matter of fact, a tactic always insinuates itself into another's place temporarily. It must constantly manipulate the events that respond to an unpredictable situation. Seeking permanence is not what a tactic can achieve, but it can utilize its biggest advantage through combining heterogeneous elements and making an intellectual synthesis out of them. As Certeau regards, tactics are the art of the weak, as well as the weapon of the weak. Many everyday practices work in a tactical operation system. For people outside of the power structure, knowing how to grasp the right opportunity and time is the way to transform a favorable situation into success in their pocket. In Certeau's words, *A tactic is 'a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactics is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power'* (ibid).

If we use the 'strategy/ tactic' analysis structure Michael De Certeau proposes to see modern urban spatial governance, it is likely we will see that what we called 'top-down' as a strategic approach, and on the other hand, a 'bottom-up' approach is more tactical. Strategic urban planning run by the government often takes a political and economical approach to structure space. Power and space are centralized in the government's or big landlord's hands. Most of time, they make the

rules, and their people live in the space and practice their everyday lives following the rules they made. In contrast, tactics are more close to the bottom-up perspective of place-making. Usually with a lack of proper resources, people start to propose a plan without the support of the power structure. They have to struggle with public power, taking the risk of repression by powerful institutions, making their best effort out of the least resources. The guerrilla characteristic of tactics as well as a bottom-up operation system can be seen as a kind of flexible everyday creativity (Chase, Crawford, Kaliski, 2008). By challenging the 'proper' urban public space, temporal and informal activities create a dynamic urban environment, loosening the power deployment constituted by a strategic plan.

Neither strategy nor tactics can exist independently. The relationship between strategy and tactics is kept in a dynamic of growth and decline. It is clear that with the control of power, strategic planning dominates urban space. However, there is not a fixed pattern revealing the rule of tactical place-making. In the next section, the concept of everyday urbanism and insurgent public spaces will try to respond to the tactical place-making experiences in contemporary cities.

2.2.3 The making of everyday urbanism and insurgent public space

John Leighton Chase, Margaret Crawford and John Kaliski proposed the concept of everyday urbanism in the book 'Everyday Urbanism' which was published in 1999. For more than ten years, it has been the classic discourse in discussing city space and everyday life. Derived from Henri Lefebvre and Michael De Certeau's philosophical base, the book combines essays that '*explore the city as a social entity that must be responsive to daily routines and neighborhood concerns and offer both an analysis of and a method for working within the social and political urban framework*' (Chase, Crawford, Kaliski, 2008). The theoretic approach of everyday urbanism tries to make a distinction of

the social and advocate architectural movement in the 1960s, which they think is too narrative and deterministic. Instead, this new discourse aims to reveal the existing power of creativity and imagination in daily life and daily space, and more importantly, this every day creativity should be seen as the means of transforming urban experience and the city (ibid).

From everyday life to everyday space, the book presents different cases that show the alternative approach of using public spaces to facilitate the everyday lives of people. Most of the cases in everyday urbanism indicate the fact that the tactical, bottom-up approach of place making does constitute lively everyday life spaces. The design-oriented analysis gives a justified status of everyday creativity in place making by using design language. In the expanded version, the author approves that their attention in everyday urban design has shifted status from spatial practice irrelevant to professional design to one with the most competing urbanism in the decade (Kelbaugh, 2001). Another piece of evidence is that the everyday perspective of spatial practice has been one of the important tools used in New Urbanism, which still dominates the current urban discourse. However, the reputation of everyday place making should not be taken by the one proposed in this discourse, because this phenomenon has existed for as long as human historical development. In other words, for tactical everyday urbanism, there is not a fixed rule to guide other people about how to make quality everyday spaces. Every case is so unique, being developed on the basis of local condition. Most important of all, the essence of everyday urbanism is not to take out the designer's profession, but to create the demands that designers are able to fulfill using their design intelligence and visualization to open more possibilities for tactical place-making, and thus reflect the consensus of an open and democratic community in their profession as well as our urban environment.

If the point of *'everyday urbanism'* is to try to propose the importance of everyday creativity in spatial practice without taking charge of the social and advocate architecture movement in the 1960s, then the book as well as the concept *'insurgent public space'* is a new interpretation derived from the 1960s movement into the 21st century. Different from *'everyday urbanism'*, the theoretical approach of this book didn't take from Henri Lefebvre and Michael De Certeau. It directly stands on the base of public space discourse from the 1960s. More than being in an advocate position, the concept of insurgent public space and guerrilla urbanism stands one step further to a more radical argumentative position. It uses the conceptualization of *'insurgent public space of citizenship'* from John Holston (1998: 39). Similar to the opposite relationship between *'strategy/tactics'* and *'state's legitimization/citizenship'*, insurgent public space is an opposition to the regulated, controlled and maintained public space by the state (Hou, 2010).

This book is edited by Jeffery Hou. It is a collective work composed of diversified experiences in the perspective of alternative public space making from the participative, community-based, and civil initiative process in the U.S, Taiwan and Japan. It attempts to give a better understanding of *'everyday and not-so everyday making of public space that defies the conventional rules, regulations, and wisdom'* (Hou, 2010). By studying the alternative space, activities, and expressions that have claimed themselves in the public space, and how they respond to opportunities, constraints, and transformation in contemporary society, those cases reveal the new possibilities of public space and the public realm in representing a more diverse, just and democratic city (ibid).

Most of the cases in this book work in a participatory and spontaneous mode that Hou regarded as a more open and inclusive way. The physical scales of those insurgent public spaces are not necessarily big, but Hou sees it from both a physical and social scale. In his opinion,

those insurgent public spaces have created both smaller and grander public space. The physical space might be small. However, considering the degree of public space *'reflect(s) the subjectivity of its multiple actors and the broader instrumentality of space as a vehicle for a wider variety of individual and collective actions'*, a grander social space is represented in a small space. In a sense the physical space is not the only indicator in evaluating influence, but also the social and cultural effect it brings to the bigger urban pattern. Moreover, Hou claims that if the significance of public space is to show the identities, meanings, and social relationships in cities that are produced, codified, and maintained, then insurgent public space and guerrilla urbanism can be seen as a responsive action from civil power.

It is interesting to see that both everyday urbanism and guerrilla urbanism are extending the notion of tactics into the dynamic system of physical space. It is the story of *'how,' 'who' and 'where'* people can use their creativity to make their everyday life environment become a more visible discussion in the academic community and the design profession. However, comparing the notion of everyday urbanism and guerrilla urbanism, it is obvious that guerrilla urbanism holds a more radical argument on the antagonistic relationship between strategic and tactical operational systems. Because it has a basis inherited from the classical public space discourse and participatory design movement, to articulate the relationship between the design profession and civil participative space-making is not a problem. On the other hand, although everyday urbanism tried to distinguish itself from the radical social and participative movement, it still needs to face the situation of how the design profession can replace itself in this everyday context.

2.2.4 Conclusion

To answer the question at the beginning of this section, ‘in what context can urban agriculture be seen as an object which connects people, environment and urban public spaces,’ by looking through the relationship between power and space, we know that the contestation of power is represented in our everyday life space. The analysis of ‘strategy/tactics’ and the following series of spatial research tell of different operational systems and related practice in space. Urban agriculture practices farming in urban areas, and in a sense can be interpreted in different scales and ways of practice. It can be a strategic planning that the government wants to use agriculture as one of the layers in land use planning. It can also be a tactical guerrilla movement initiated by individual citizens. Between the two ends of the spectrum, different scales and ways of involvement are located inside. However, if we see urban agriculture as a practice connecting people, environment and urban public space, it is actually about how people perceive nature by practicing farming in urban public spaces. Under this scenario, the involvement of people is an important element. So either:

1. In the tactical approach, a group of people organize the farming action in urban public space without the government’s permission.
2. People farming in public spaces become one with strategic planning that is convinced by the government.
3. There are some other negotiations between 1 and 2.

Therefore the answer can’t be solely because of tactical operations or strategic operations, but in between the two ends of the spectrum. Although in *everyday urbanism* and *insurgent public space*, urban farming is regarded as one of the practices in everyday space making, it can also be that government encourages people to use urban public space as a vegetable garden. In the following part of the thesis, different

cases of community-based projects will be analyzed under this structure of strategic planning and tactical initiative.

2.3 Urban agriculture

As mentioned before, the issue of urban agriculture is a collective term including different scales and reasons for farming behavior in urban space. It is necessary to define within the generalized definition of urban agriculture what kind of urban agricultural practice the thesis will discuss. In the following theory exploration, by presenting diversified urban agricultural research essays, our focus in urban agriculture will be located by resorting those essays.

2.3.1 Urban agriculture: Food demand and a better vision

An industry that produces, processes, and markets food, fuel, and other outputs, largely in response to the daily demand of consumers within a town, city, or metropolis, on many types of privately and publicly held land and water bodies found throughout intra-urban and peri-urban areas. Typically urban agriculture applies intensive production methods, frequently using and reusing natural resources and urban wastes, to yield a diverse array of land-, water-, and air-based fauna and flora, contributing to the food security, health, livelihood, and environment of the individual, household, and community.

(Smit et al., 2001)

The quotation above written by Jac Smit, Joe Nasr and Annu Ratta clearly defines the distinction between urban agriculture and traditional agriculture. In many previous researches (Smit et al., 2001; Mougeot, 2006), urban agriculture is expected to become a new hope for cities to feed themselves. From ancient Maya to the allotment tradition in

Europe during World War Two, this life fact has been rooted in many different cultures (Smit et al., 2001). Although urban agriculture is still a young topic within the academic community, it is actually a life fact that has existed for a long time in human history. However, urban agriculture is an important subject that steps on the intersection of many fields, such as agronomy, urban planning, food security and safety, urban environmental management, etc. If we place urban agriculture into the geographical context, different areas and countries also vary a lot in their development of urban agriculture. Considering the main reason of development, there is one important reason to divide the two situations of development, which is the demand of food. In countries and areas such as Africa, South Asia and Cuba, where people are still suffering from hunger and poverty, urban agriculture can be a new hope to guard the basic survival line. On the other hand, in developed countries in Europe and wealthy cities in United States, food shortage is no longer a problem. Urban agriculture therefore becomes a vision that leads to a city's sustainable development.

Aside from the division of developing and developed countries, there is an even more important phenomenon. The world is facing a large degree of urbanization, so facilitating urban areas with green space becomes a global challenge (Knight & Riggs, 2010). Urban agriculture, under this context, becomes a subject which crosses the issues of agronomy, energy, food supply and demand, food safety and security, urban waste re-use, green public space, climate change, civil engagement, local food system, civil empowerment in sustainable education, land use planning, etc. (Pearson, Pilgram & Pretty, 2010). Nevertheless, considering the whole picture of this thesis, which is to take urban agriculture as an example to see how different operational systems of participative place-making work in everyday spaces in the Netherlands, I will pin my focus on the social aspect of urban agriculture. How to embody social cohesion, civil engagement, and

sustainable practice by practicing agricultural activities in urban public space, and the importance of doing so are the main discussions in this study.

2.3.2 Growing food, growing awareness

Focusing on the scope of how urban agricultural activities can contribute to the quality of urban public space as well as social cohesion, the following cases will present the significance of community-based urban agriculture to the local community.

Long before urban agriculture became a hot topic, the discussion of community gardens as a contested space in the city was already an issue in the field of geography. Karen Schmelzkopt (1995) had discussed the urban community garden in Loisaída, New York City. The analysis first pointed out that urban vacant lands on the one hand serve as a contemporary neighborhood space when the economic climate goes low. On the other hand, when the economic climate rises, those lands become the potential profit that may be taken from real estate. From the urban public space point of view, those vacant lands in Loisaída transformed into quality community gardens that offered social and economical functions such as safe, open space for socialization and a source of food (Schmelzkopt, 1995). This early example clearly profiles the positive effect of community-based urban agricultural activities and the contested relationship between this kind of contemporary urban green space and real estate development.

Lately, by studying the urban agriculture and insurgent public space in South Central Farm, Los Angeles and Marra Farm, Seattle, Teresa M. Mares and Devon G. Pena illustrate the possibilities of enhancing urban agriculture and marginalized communities who seek to create their sense of place within the contested urban space (Mares & Pena, 2010). In both cases, the urban agricultural activities are practiced by the

immigrant community. The practice of gardening not only builds up their local food network, but also empowers community awareness. The accumulated cultural and social capital helps them to transform their own identity as well as struggle for legitimacy in keeping the sites. Compared to Schmelzkopt's finding, it not only points out the contested relationship between these community gardens and real estate profit, but more than this, it shows the possibility these gardens can be competitive in urban land contestation. The harvests are not only their home food, but also their sense of community, social justice, environmental self-determination and food sovereignty. It is a civil movement by food and farming.

2.3.3 Conclusion

This section of theory exploration started with a general concept introduction of urban agriculture. Then it quickly shifted to the scope I will focus on in this thesis. Several studies have proven that community-based urban agricultural practices mean much more than just greening the city and producing cheap foods (Schmelzkopt, 1995; Mares & Pena, 2010; Summer et al., 2010). These examples tell us that community-based urban agricultural practices will have an important role (and already do) in enhancing the sustainable urban environment management with space, people and society. It is the action of '*putting culture back into agriculture*' (Summer et al., 2010). This approach of urban agricultural practice is very close to the spirit of participatory design and the making of everyday public space in everyday urbanism. The theoretic framework of this thesis will try to link these three topics with their similar internal logic, and aims to structure the connection between empirical research analysis and this theoretical framework.

2.4 Theoretic framework

To develop a theoretic perspective for the study, the theoretic framework is built on the basis of the findings in the theory exploration. Summarizing the findings from the theory exploration above, we see an internal connection between everyday urbanism, participatory design and urban agricultural practice, which is the achievement of civil power. All of these show the paradigm that collective civil efforts could be a strong power to improve the quality of urban space. Yet the motivation of this thesis is not going to justify the function of civil engagement. The motivation of the thesis is to try to find out the niche where civil power can engage with professional governance in urban public space management. Urban agriculture, under this context, is taken as an example, but also as a possible future for a sustainable urban environment.

From the literature on theory, we know that the term 'civil participation' now refers to all different kinds of spatial creation with non-professional's involvement. To what degree, or in what aspect they contribute to the work is not revealed throughout the use of the term. Therefore, the empirical investigation in the thesis also attempts to discuss the role of civil participation in different ways of spatial practice, hoping that by clearly presenting the heterogeneous nature of the term 'civil participation,' it will be more helpful for civil associations and professionals in spatial design and planning to tackle the point. Michael Foucault (1986:26) once said 'the garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world.' From the small gardens in cities, to the grand structure of spatial governance, we hope a better structure will bring more beautiful gardens, and a better life.

2.5 Research question

With the understanding of theories in participatory design, everyday urbanism and urban agriculture, we have better understanding of where we stand at the moment. Now we know how three different concepts are linked together, and formulate the theory framework. Based on the theory framework and research onject, several research questions are proposed below for heading to study in the empirical research. After a series of field study, we hope we can answer they following questions in the discussion and conclusion of the thesis:

1. What do the gaps between theoretical discouse and observable situation in field reveal in the operational system and result in top-down and bottom-up participatory design?
2. What are the key factors lead to the gaps?
3. According to the case studies in this thesis, how can the different approaches of participatory design projects learn from each other?
4. In what context can community-based urban agriculture be seen as the everyday landscape in a modern city? What are the positive effects that might benefit the urban environment?
5. If the aim of participatory design is to creating a better living environment from people's own hand, is there any possibility to see a better integrated participation model break out from the frame of top-down and bottom up?

The previous three questions will be answered in the chapter 5.3: dialogue between theory and empirical findings. A more integrated view to answer the last two question will be presented in the conclusion chapter.



**CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY**

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Research method: Case study

According to Earl Babbie in his book *'The Practice of Social Research'* (2004), the case study method is an in-depth examination of one or a few instances. The motivation of this research method is to limit the researchers' attention, allowing them to focus on certain social phenomenon. In lots of situations, case studies are descriptive, and the descriptive results seek an idiographic understanding of the research object. However, for sociologists like Michael Burawoy (1991), they think descriptive results from the field do not constitute the intertextuality between empirical study and theory. He states that the significance of a case study is to *'lay out as coherently as possible what we expect to find in our site before entry'* (Burawoy et al., 1991: 9). Burawoy regards the value of case studies is to improve the dialogue with theory. It should be a bridge to connect the *'theoretical gap and silence'* (ibid), and discuss the findings instead of rejecting or approving the test. This kind of method, in Babbie's words, is called *'extended case method,'* which refers to the use of case studies as a way of discovering flaws in and to rebuild or improve the existing theories (Babbie, 2004: 293). Considering research design and strategies, Yin (2009) suggested that a multiple-case design is preferable to a single-case design. It is safer to put eggs in more than one basket. Therefore, he argues that to use at least two cases will be more persuasive for the research. On the other hand, the case study method is a flexible and highly exclusive research method. Different ways of data collection can be encompassed within this method.

Applying the case study method to spatial research, Mark Francis designed a case study method for examining user needs in urban public space. According to Francis (1999), in *'a case study method for landscape architecture,'* a case study is *'a well-documented and*

systematic examination of the process, decision-making and outcomes of a landscape project or issue that can inform future practice, policy, theory and education'. It is a method developed for documenting and evaluating landscape architecture and community design projects issued in a uniform and comparable way (Francis, 2003). A suggested rigid research framework, which consists of a series of elements, should be investigated during the process of data collection (see table 3.1). Furthermore, based on one prototype of the case study method, Francis extends his prototype to four different typologies of research issues, with different motivations of research adapted to different types of case study methods (Francis, 2003). In his classification, there are *place-based, issue-based, method-based and teaching-based* case methods. In this thesis study, I will use an issue-based case study method as my methodological framework.

Francis argues that the motivation of an issue-based study method is to review and synthesize the knowledge from studying landscape architecture and community design projects, then to integrate the data into accessible and useful documents. The distinction of an issue-based case study method from others is that it focuses on a specific issue across several studies, such as community participation or green facilities for neighborhood relationships. Responding to the theme, the study findings are aimed at discovering a common pattern in the issues. In practical research outcomes, an issue-based case study is expected to offer general design or management principles to guide the future practice in conclusion (ibid). In a short conclusion, the definition and related suggestions to issue-based research Mark Francis proposed above show a suitable match to my research focus, which is to examine the quality of participatory design from community-based urban agricultural projects. Similar to a traditional case study method, an

issue-based case study method can also be developed by using various methods. Francis lists the following possible methods in the process of data collection in landscape study for user needs:

- *Archival research on user needs and conflicts in urban open space.*
- *Published case studies of urban open space.*
- *Internet searches.*
- *Selected sites visits to urban open spaces to observe open space use and conflicts.*
- *Interviews with key experts.*
- *Interviews with open spaces designers and managers*
- *Interviews with urban open space users.*

(Mark Francis, 2003: 10)

In conclusion, the issue-based case study research method proposed by Francis is a research method focusing on one or a few specific issues in urban public space. By using various data collecting methods and the suggested analysis format, the core issues we want to discuss in the research can be revealed with a structural comparison. Table 3.1 and table 3.2 are the suggested case study format instances Francis designs for a landscape study for user needs and a community design study.

Back to the thesis then, the issue of the study is about the quality of participatory designed space in different design approaches, and the research takes community urban agricultural projects in Amsterdam and Almere as comparative indicators. With two specific cities as comparative indicators, in each city, we plan to find the real practice sites to give in-depth examination. In this situation, the research strategy is fit into the scope of case study methodology. Within the scope of case study methodology, my approach is close to what Michael Buroway (1991) proposed in the previous paragraph-- you

have an clear research object before you enter into the study sites, the value of the descriptive case study is to improve the dialogue with theory, which Babbie called it 'extended case method'. In order to give a clear descriptive structure under the 'extended case method', I choose to use Mark Francis' format in documenting my research. It is a research issue related to both community design and landscape architecture for user needs. Moreover, it is a concept that applies participative citizen action in the course of everyday space creation. In order to adapt the thematic issue, I use the suggested format from the landscape study for user needs and community design study, picking up the important elements for my research. Table 3.3 is my format version for my case study research. In the research, archival study, internet research, participative observations, in site visits and community meetings, interviews with urban open space managers, community garden participants, and initiators are my main methods for information collection. Photos, transcripts from interviews, archives and personal field notes are the material of the research analysis.

Fact Sheet	Full case study	Graphics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Issue name •Landscape type •Issue significant and impact •Lessons Learned •Contacts •Keywords 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Back ground and history •Genesis of the issue •Past research on issue •Design, development and decision making implications •Role of Landscape architecture •Maintenance and management approaches •User/ user analysis •Peer review of issue •Limitation/ problems •Criticism •Significance of the issue •Generalizable features and lessons •Future plans •Implications/ recommandations •Conclusions/ directions for future work •Contacts for further informations •Bibliography •Useful websites •Useful journals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Photographs of issue •Site plan to scale of case study sites

Table 3.1 The issue-based case study suggested format for landscape architecture

Fact Sheet	Full case study	In-depth analysis
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Photo(s) •Project background •Project significance and impact lessons learned •Contacts Keywords 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Project name Location •Date designed/planned Construction completed Cost Size •Community Designer(s) Client •Consultants •Managed by Context •Site analysis •Project background and history Genesis of project •Design, development, participatory and decision-making processes Role of community designer(s) Program elements •Maintenance and management Photograph(s) •Site/Context plans to scale User/ use analysis Peer reviews Criticism •Significance and uniqueness of the project •Limitations •General features and lessons Future issues/plans •Bibliography of project citations/ related references •Web sites/links •Contacts for further information. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Archival research (e.g., project re- cords, newspaper articles, etc.) •Awards or special recognition for the project •Copies of articles or reports on the project •Interviews with client •Interviews with managers and maintenance people •Interviews with users •Interviews with non-users •Longitudinal studies of the place over time

Table 3.2 The issue-based case study suggested format for community design

Fact Sheet	Full case study	Graphics	In-depth analysis
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Issue name •Landscape type •Issue significant and impact •Lessons Learned •Contacts •Keywords 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Project name •Location and scale •Designed date •Back ground and history •Genesis of the issue •Past research on issue •Site analysis •Design and Development process •Role of designer and planner •Program element •Maintenance and management •User/ user analysis •Limitation/ problems •Criticism •Significance •generalizable features and lessons •Future plans •Implications/ recommendations •Conclusions •Contacts for further informations •Websites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Photographs of issue •Site plan to scale of case study sites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Archival research •Interviews with client •Interviews with managers and maintenance people •Interviews with users and non-users

Table 3.3 The issue-based case study suggested format for this thesis study

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Data collection in Amsterdam

The research analysis is based on a series of interviews, field notes from participative observation and related archive study. Within the cases in Amsterdam, they are picked from the website ‘*Farming the City*’ (<http://farmingthecity.net/>). I made a list of all of the community urban farming projects in Amsterdam according to the websites, and picked three from the list, each representing different types of community urban farming.

Within these three projects, I first attended the routine community meetings and visited the key organizers of the projects. Based on first hand observation, I proposed a half-structure interview guide. I invited the practitioners to join my interview during the meetings and sent an invitation by e-mail. Between December 2011 and January 2012, twelve participants were interviewed (2 from SWOMP4, 6 from Buurttuinen Transvaal and 4 from Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein in Osdorp). Except for one interview being conducted in a group format because of language limitations, all other interviews were done individually, lasting about 50 minutes. All the interviews were done face to face, and were taped and transcribed following the qualitative research guidelines in the book ‘*The Practice of Social Research*’ written by Earl Babbie (2004). According to Babbie, a qualitative interview is a flexible and interactive way to explore the field by conversation. The conversation helps the researcher to find out the general situation in the field through the respondents’ words, and also gives the chance to focus on more specific situations (Babbie, 2004).

All interviews were conducted on the basis of a standard interview guide, which was for the motivation of comparison. Before every interview, the interviewer explained the motivation of the research, and

asked for consent for taping the interview. The structure of the interview was clustered into three parts. The first part is the basic investigation of the interviewees, including gender, age, occupation, nationality, family status and farming experiences. Questions in the second part were aimed at inducing the respondents' course of participation as well as their perception of the sense of social cohesion and neighborhood interaction through their daily practice in the community garden space. Based on this principle, spontaneous conversations related to the topic of public space involvement and neighborhood relationships were raised in this part of the interview. The third set of questions was prepared for an optional situation. If the respondents were the main organizers in the farming project, detailed information such as the exact number of participants or the exact scale of the gardens of the project needed to be known by the interviewer. In this case, the optional set of questions thus helped to integrate the necessary information in the case.

Table 4 shows the descriptive statistical findings from the interviewees. Among the 12 interviewees in the three projects, only 16.7% of the participants were male, while 83.3% of the participants were female. From an age perspective, only 25% of the participants were younger than 40, indicating that most of the participants are over middle age. The percentages of those who are married and have children are 41.2% and 58.8% respectively, but only one respondent claimed that she took her child to work in the garden. The results are reasonable since most of the participants are over middle age, with their children living independently. As for farming experience, only 25% of the people said they already had some farming or gardening experience before, while the other 75% were having their first experience with farming in their life. About the cultural population, 58.8% of the respondents were Dutch, the rest being from the U.S, Morocco, Iran and Austria.

Aside from the interviews, informal interviews at the first hand exploration of sites, site visits and the attendance of community meetings are documented in the form of field notes and pictures. Archival studies include both paper document study and internet research, especially from the websites of the cases. By using the data collected in the above methods, three issue-based case studies will be conducted by the Francis research method.

n=12		
Gender		
Male	2	16.70%
Female	10	83.30%
Age		
<40	3	25%
>40	9	75%
Marrage		
Yes	5	41.20%
No	7	58.80%
Children		
Yes	7	58.80%
no	5	41.20%
Experience		
Yes	3	25%
No	9	75%
Nationality		
Dutch	7	58.80%
Others	5	41.20%

Table 3.4 The descriptive statistical finding of the respondents

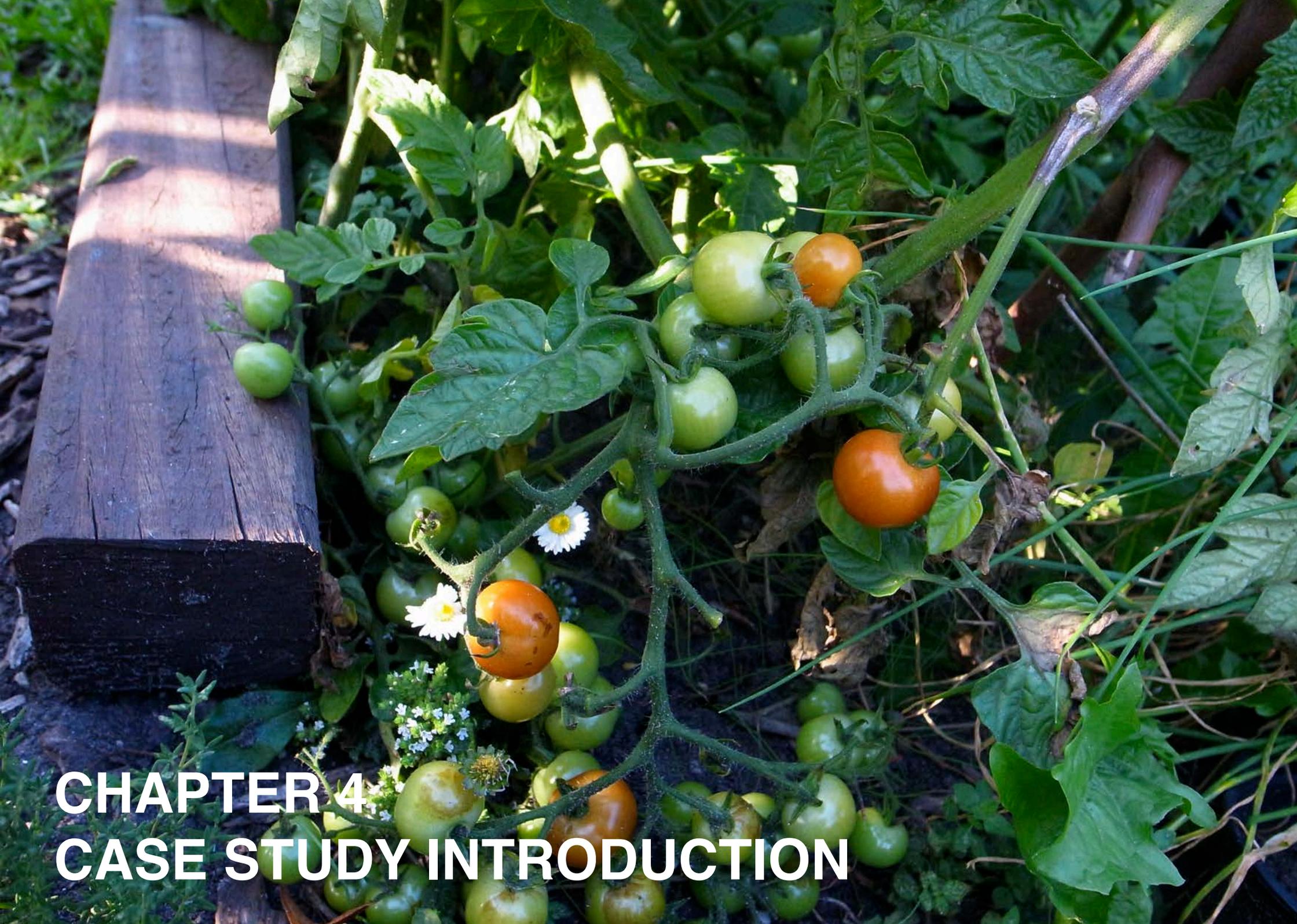
3.2.2 Data collection in Almere

Different from the Amsterdam case studies, the result of investigation in Almere turned out that there wasn't a community urban farming site. Therefore, instead of specific case study, more interviews about understanding the current urban agriculture development in Almere were taken. Besides archival study, one formal interview and five informal interviews were taken. Both transcript and personal field notes are research materials presented. Within the interviews, two are civil servants from the municipality Almere, four are from research institute in Wageningen University and CAH Almere university of applied science. All of researchers are step into the field of urban agriculture, civil servants are from urban planning department and urban environment maintenance department which involve with urban agriculture.

3.3 Criteria of evaluation

Derived from the previous theoretic exploration of participatory design, we find out that there are two main different approaches of participatory design theory standing at the two ends of the spectrum. One of them is the genuine participative spatial creation from the 1960s, and the other is the method new urbanism practices applied to their community making. Like it was already claimed in the previous chapter, this thesis will take the viewpoint of participatory design from a people approach, which is more close to genuine participatory democracy. Therefore, core values such as social justice, participatory democracy and citizen empowerment (Hester, 1999; Parnell, 2001; Sanoff, 2000; 2008) will be the major evaluating indicators in examining the urban public spaces in our cases.

In order to operationalize the abstract concepts into observable facts, I use the definition of quality public space proposed by Steve Carr, Leanne Rivlin, Andrew Stone and Mark Francis' (Carr et al., 1992), which is needs, rights and meanings. They found out that successful public spaces fulfill the users' needs, showing democratic spirit in their accessibility, and create a significant collective meaning in a larger social context. These three outcomes can be seen as the goal of implying social justice, participatory democracy and citizen empowerment into the process of participative space-making. Therefore, to discuss if our cases create social cohesion, participative involvement and accessibility to multi-populations in the urban public space will be the main criteria of the study.



CHAPTER 4
CASE STUDY INTRODUCTION

Chapter 4 Case study introduction

This chapter will present the result of investigation in Amsterdam and Almere. In Amsterdam cases, general profile of the three sites are presented in the form of Mark Francis' issue-based case study format (Francis, 2003). Elements including fact sheet, background and history, Genesis of the issue, site analysis, role of the designer and planner, maintenance and management, user analysis, limitations/ problems, significance, generalizable features and lessons and future plan are used to telling the stories. In the Almere part, we start from the historical context of the city, then presenting the findings based on the historical reasons. Note that in this chapter, we only give the general profile of the findings, the in-depth analysis and discussion will presented in the chapter five.

4.1 Cases in Amsterdam

In this research, I use three different cases to present the community urban farming in Amsterdam. Each of them are in different part of the city, and have totally different stories considering the development context and the spatial outcome. In the figure 4.1, we see the distribution of these sites from the city map. One of them is in the south west of the city, and the other two are more close to the east. The gardens are all built in the residential area. Within the three, SWOMP4 is no longer exist, while the other two are still keep running.

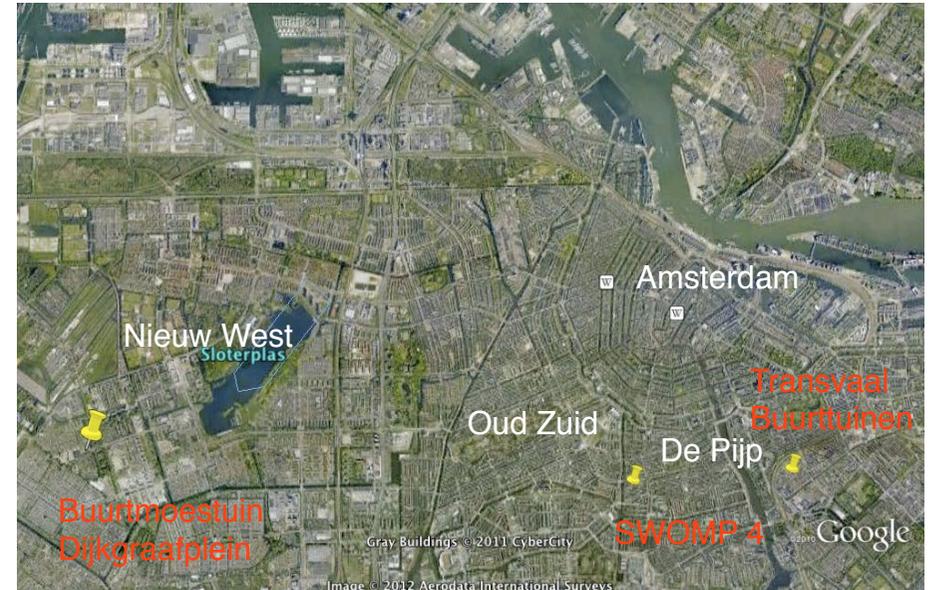


Figure 4.1 the distribution map of the sites in Amsterdam

4.1 .1 SWOMP4

Project name	SWOMP4
Location	Rustenburgerstraat 440 , De Pijp, Amsterdam.
Project start day/ end day	11, 07,2008-12, 2011
Scale	983 square meter
Landscape design	SWOMP4ers and permaculture design
Program elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •A self-built fortress •Several caravans •A eco-toilet •A rain water gather tank •Solar panel •A wooden built kitchen •A permaculture circle •Several individual plots •A vertical garden •A green house, •A composting can

Table 4.1 the fact sheet of SWOMP4

Background and history

S.W.O.M.P stands for ‘*Slimme Woonwagenbewoners Op Mooie Plekjes*’ in Dutch, which means ‘Smart caravan living people on Beautiful places’ in English. It is a squatting action group basically doing activities in De Pijp, Amsterdam. The group was formed in the mid 90s. For the past fifteen years, they have been occupying four

places in De Pijp in caravans. Each occupation lasted for different durations, from 3 weeks to 3 years. The current SWOMP4 is called SWOMP4, which is the fourth movement of the group. SWOMP4 4 started on July 11th, 2008, and ended at the end of 2011.

According to the declaration of independence of free state SWOMP4, the ‘SWOMP4ers’ claimed themselves as a group of anarchists who are committed to a sustainable future in a self-sufficient manner. Based on the principle of being against powers of governments and capitalism, they believe in the lifestyle of ‘D.I.Y’ (do it yourself). Being friends with nature and realizing it through their own hands is the central attitude of the SWOMP4ers.

Genesis of the issue

SWOMP4 is an experimental organic garden located in Rustenburgerstraat 440, de Pijp, Amsterdam. Before the piece of land was squatted, there used to be a vacated school building on it. The city government was planning to demolish the old school building and rebuild a new one. However, because the design of the new building would cause the demolition of big trees (meeting monumental tree status by Amsterdam standards) on the land and place the neighborhood houses in shadows, the local neighborhood was against the plan. After a number of neighbors successfully applied for the approval of the monumental status of the trees, the new building plan had been stopped for a while.

By then, the old school building was already vacant for over one year, which met the legal status for a squatting movement. When the government knew that a group of squatters were planning to squat the house, they soon demolished the building but left the trees. After being vacant for 2 years, without any concrete plan for the land, the

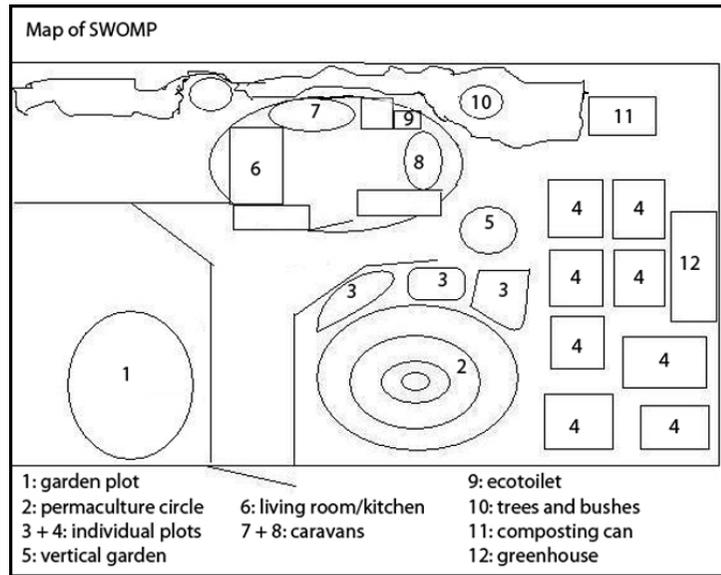


Figure 4.2 The garden map and pictures of SWOMP4

SWOMP4ers squatted the land with their caravans on July 11th, 2008. SWOMP4 was organized in the way of an experimental garden showing a sustainable and energy neutral life. The garden lasted for three years and five months. After the government had finally reached an agreement with the local residents about a new plan for the school building, SWOMP4 completed its temporary task at the end of 2011.

Site analysis

The actual land size of SWOMP4 is about 983 square meters. Within the land, it can be separated into two parts, which is the garden, and the fortress. The fortress is composed of several caravans, an ecological toilet, some wooden structural spaces and a wooden fence enclosing the fortress into a closed space. There were a few people constantly living in SWOMP4, but not always the same people. The residents kept their private things inside the fort, so the gate had to be locked. Besides the fort, most of land used in SWOMP4 was for gardens. From the map of SWOMP4, we can see that there were plenty of different gardening forms existing in SWOMP4. The most significant was the permaculture circle. Fruit trees were placed in the center of the circle, and bushes were placed around the trees, followed by vegetables and herbs on the outskirts of the circle. Individual plots were shaped into small squares by wood and bricks. An experimental vertical garden was made from stones piled into a spiral tower, and a green house was made with window frames. Because the land itself is sand land, most of the plots were limited into terrain with a layer of soil paved on it. Most of the plants grown in SWOMP4 were common daily vegetables, such as carrots, tomatoes, spinach, berries and courgette. In a way, it was an edible garden that supported the idea of local food production.

Design and development process

Urban agriculture was one of the strategies SWOMP4 engaged with sustainability. At the same time, urban agriculture also accounted for the largest proportion of land use in SWOMP4. The SWOMP4ers believe that to produce your own food is the most easy and efficient way to reduce the waste of energy. In this case, urban gardening is the best way to realize the practice of sustainability for the SWOMP4ers.

The approach they applied to the practice is based on the principle of permaculture. Permaculture, quoted from the website of the permaculture institute¹, is '*an ecological design system for sustainability in all aspects of human endeavor. It teaches us how build natural homes, grow our own food, restore diminished landscapes and ecosystems, catch rainwater, build communities and much more.*' The core value of permaculture is fit into SWOMP4's principle. Therefore, to apply permaculture's method in SWOMP4's garden is an appropriate strategy. They took the help from a permaculture lecturer in garden design and eco food production. On the other hand, SWOMP4 became one of the permaculture sites in the permaculture system, which was a 'win-win' alliance for both organizations.

Role of the designer and planner

There was no such professional designer or planner in this case. Instead of a traditional design approach, SWOMP4 applied a permaculture design to their sites. The design of the garden was combined with the permaculture practice. A lecturer certified by the permaculture institute gave a skill-sharing workshop to the SWOMP4ers and local residents there. Therefore, the garden design was a process of doing by learning. In a way, the permaculture method can be seen as the design principle of their garden.

¹ <http://www.permaculture.org/nm/index.php/site/index/> (accessed on 21-11-2011)

Maintenance and management

As in the declaration of independence of the free state SWOMP4, SWOMP4 is an anarchistic free state committed to a sustainable future. Theoretically, fully participative democracy is the only and highest guide for managing the place. In practical situations, it is a place of learning by doing. Self-sustainability in energy and food are practiced here. The SWOMP4ers believe that practicing sustainability does not require the government's permission. Any empty spaces in the city could be used in a similar way as SWOMP4. In a higher level of meaning, SWOMP4 aimed at being a demonstration site for showing the possible use of urban residual space.

The daily maintenance and management of SWOMP4 was run by a group of activists, university students and local residents. According to one of the main initiators in SWOMP4, there were constantly about 20-30 people involved in SWOMP4. Some of them came from the squatter's network, and others were from current inhabitants and ex-inhabitants. Aside from special events, routine monthly meetings occurred on the first Sunday of each month. On that day, the locked gate would be opened, and anybody was welcomed to join the meeting. If there was someone interested in SWOMP4 but they were not able to join the meeting, then he or she could contact the group by e-mail, which was shown on the gate, or see if they were lucky enough to meet people who happened to work in the garden. Besides routine meetings, SWOMP4 also actively participated in community events. They welcomed people in the city to visit and get to know more about a practical sustainable lifestyle. Also, they set up a tent at community events to advertise themselves. They saw it as an opportunity to get involved with the local community. However, the main organizer said in the interview that people came and went. It was hard to keep people constantly involved for a long period of time.

It is worth paying attention that SWOMP4 and the 'Transition Town De Pijp' had to form an alliance started during their early development. With this engagement, it is easier for SWOMP4 to become rooted in the community, sharing resources like water and some electricity from the local community center. On the other hand, the existence of SWOMP4 also provided a good demonstration for promoting a transition town practice to the local community.

User/ user analysis

SWOMP4 4 was a claimed public space with locks. The result is that people needed accessibility to get into SWOMP4, which meant knowing the code of the lock was part of the group. In any way, people who were able to get into the site had to get involved with the group. The closed gate of SWOMP4 lowered the accessibility of the site for the community. Therefore, daily acquaintance in community public spaces did not happen in the SWOMP4 community garden. Only people who knew the code or people inside the garden letting strangers come in were possible. From this point of view, this was not a community place that carried the function of gathering people.

Besides people living inside the fortress, some participants in SWOMP4 had their own individual plots, or they worked in the public plots. According to the respondents, spring and summer were the seasons when people visited most often. The plants needed to be taken care of so people would come more often. However, by the end of the closing, there were not that many people who came to the site or community meetings anymore.

Limitations/ problems

There were two limitations influencing the development of SWOMP4. The first was its legitimacy of using the land. Although SWOMP4 had

its legality of squatting action, the landowner, which is the government, still had the right to take the land back. In 2011, the government successfully negotiated with the local community, and the local residents agreed with the new plan. The monumental trees would be kept, and the height of the new school building wouldn't shadow the nearby houses. SWOMP4 finished its temporary task until this step, when it became impossible to keep the site anymore. The second limitation was the locked gate. The locked gate on the one hand was set for safety. On the other hand, it also set a limitation for the people who might have had an interest to visit. Although contact information was hung on the gate, and the people in SWOMP4 were nice and welcoming, it still missed the instant acquaintance between space and people. The locked gate blocked the spontaneous interaction between the garden and the community. In my opinion, it was something that really influenced the relationship between this squat land and the nearby community.

Significance

There are three characteristics I observed from SWOMP4. First, the squatting-based guerrilla gardening in SWOMP4 makes it very different from the other two. Compared with most of the squat movements doing house squatting, land squatting gives more transparency to the space they take, and provides more possibilities for the local community to share the land. The strategies SWOMP4 chose, to cooperate with the permaculture organization and the De Pijp transition town association, were also smart. An alliance with the transition town makes the site more easily connected with the local context. On the other hand, to engage with the permaculture system creates benefits for each other. With the help of professional ecological designers, SWOMP4 managed the garden in a systematic pattern, with food production and education functioning well under the permaculture context. At the same time, the garden was also incorporated into the

world permaculture system, which gained capital for the movement.

Generalizable features and lessons

In general, SWOMP4 made a sufficient use of the land they squatted. The existence of SWOMP4 itself indicated the possibility of an energy neutral, self-food production lifestyle in the city. It was not only a closed community, but also part of other environmental movement networks, such as permaculture and transition town. It was a process purely initiated by grassroots power. The uncertain situation did give a negative influence on the garden, but this was a predictable result. Considering lots of urban garden projects in the Netherlands are about to happen, the three-year successful experience at SWOMP4 is worth taking as an example.

Future plans

Since the government evicted the site of SWOMP4 at the end of 2011, there are no future plans at the moment. However, the SWOMP4 organization will not stop their movement. The transition town of De Pijp is still working, and people are already searching for a new place for SWOMP 5.

4.1.2 Buurttuinen Transvaal

Project name	Buurttuinen Transvaal
Location	Afrikanerplein, Amsterdam.
Project start day/ end day	August, 2010
Scale	1300 meter square(out of 4500 meter square in total plein)
Landscape design	co- design by the early members of Vereniging Buurttuinen Transvaal
Program elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A walkway with benches • A small dog Fri picnic field • Several corners and flower gardens • A public herb garden • An educational garden for the children • A strip of small fruit and picking flowers • A raised plot for people who can not stoop. • 25 small vegetable gardens. • Enthusiastic locals who make this all possible • An association with the administration

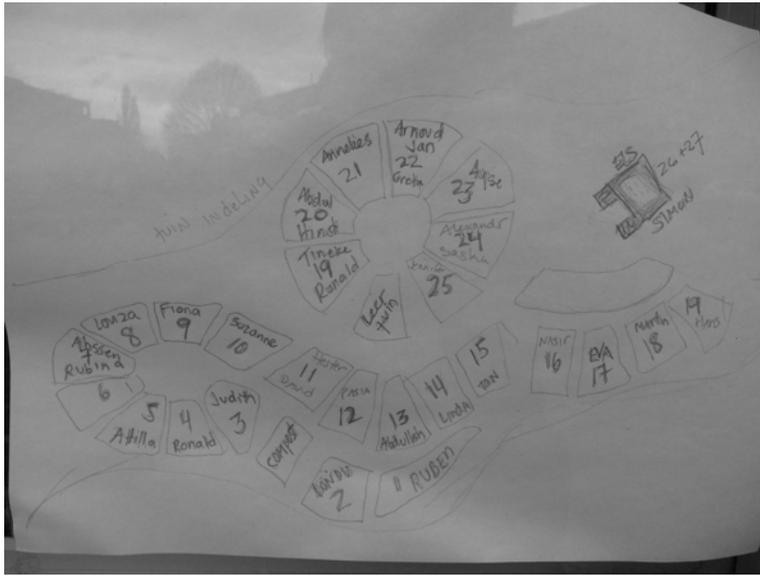
²Table 4.2 the fact sheet of Transvaal Buurttuinen

Buurttuinen Transvaal is a community garden project initiated purely by the local residents in the neighborhood of Transvaal. The garden is located in Afrikanerplein, a neighborhood in Transvaal, East Amsterdam. It is a community garden made out of a common pocket park by the local community.

Inside Buurttuinen Transvaal, there are 25 individual vegetable plots and collective areas divided into flowers, fruit, herbs, and educational and raised plots for people with disabilities. There are about 50 people officially involved with the garden. In addition, there is also one school and one day care center adopting plots in Buurttuinen Transvaal. It is a neighborhood public space operated independently by the local residents in Transvaal.

Figure 4.3 (next page) Garden map and pictures of Buurttuinen Transvaal. Top left: the current distribution map, numbers represent the individual plot, others are public fruit, flower, educational plot, raised plot and herb garde; Top right: the overview of the garden from nearby house; Middle row: individual plot, public toolbox and public bulletin board of the garden; Down row: over view of the garden from two ends and the raised plot.

² Translate from the website <http://buurttuinentransvaal.wordpress.com/about/>



Background and history

The story began from a national project called 'Stimuleringsfonds Volkstuinen'. This is a project proposed by the ministry of VROM, which in translation is the department of housing, spatial planning and environment in the Dutch national government. The project aims to improve the quality of 40 selected neighborhoods in the Netherlands by using green facilities. With a certain amount of budget, residents in those neighborhoods are invited to propose some ideas and realize their projects with the help of a national government subsidy. The neighborhood Transvaal is on the list of those subsidized neighborhoods, which brought up the chance to make their dream come true.

The major principle of the project is to improve the social cohesion, health and involvement of people in green projects. According to the administrative presentation of this project, there is a 100,000 euro budget available for the construction of new gardens or related green facilities in each selected community. The grant provider (which is the national government) invited residents in the selected communities to the meetings, and possible projects were proposed by the local communities. In the Transvaal neighborhood, there were 9 places developed into small 'schoffeltuinen' with the people who lived nearby. Among all of them, Transvaal Buurtuinen in Afrikanerplein is the biggest one.

Genesis of the issue

In August 2010, five people living in the Transvaal neighborhood met each other at the first meeting of "Stimuleringsfonds Volkstuinen" in the community center. It was a meeting for explaining the project to the public, and also allowed a chance for the people who were interested in this project to meet each other. These five were a group interested in renovating the pocket park in Afrikanerplein. For this reason, they

started to meet each other at one of the member's homes to discuss their plan. Although these people had different opinions and motivations about the renovation plan, they all wanted to transform the park into a community garden. Based on this common vision, they spent three months making the detailed plan and design down to the earth. At the end, they proposed a community garden project to the government. The government agreed with the project, and they signed a 5-year contract of use permission for the park. In February 2011, the government helped the new community garden association to reform the shape of the garden according to their design, and brought rich soil to cover the land. The garden was officially opened on March 26th, 2011.

Site analysis

From the floor plan, we can see that the original park surrounds the 1300 square meter community garden. The shape of the garden is composed of an irregular curve. Bushes make the fence of the garden. There are two unlocked short gates at the two ends of the path, showing the entrances to the garden. At the north side entrance, there stands a bulletin board showing important information or children's paintings. A pathway with benches separates the garden into a circle and the rest. The garden can be clustered into several areas, according to its function. There are 25 individual vegetable gardens, a public herb garden (where anyone can pick herbs if they want), an educational plot for the children, a raised plot for people who are not able to stoop, and rest spaces are offered for flower gardens and fruit gardens. In addition, a day care center and a school nearby also adopted a small plot in the garden. About the public facilities, there is a compost bucket, a toolbox and a public tap in the garden. These small elements mentioned above constitute Transvaal Buurtuinen. Besides the individual gardens, which are managed by the people who adopted them, all other parts of the garden are co-managed by the garden association.

Design and development process

In many aspects, the design and development process of Transvaal Buurttuinen is worth seeing as a role model for participatory design. First, for the process of member recruitment, the association first sent flyers to all households in the neighborhood through the local government. The result was not very responsive; also the population attracted by the mail was homogenous. Quoted from one of the core members in the association: *'They are Dutch people who have high education, who are white, and they were inviting each other. So, the first maybe the ten people are all of like that. And I was getting worried because I thought I don't want just to be uh... people who are all from the same circle.(Ec)'* The early stage initiators were not satisfied with the outcome. They wanted more multi-cultural participants in the project, as the neighborhood Transvaal is a multi-cultural community. To reach the goal, they made some effort to get in touch with the Muslim community, which represented the Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the neighborhood. The oriental shops in the neighborhood, where these immigrant communities meet each other, spread these informal networks. In one of the key initiator's words, *'We did a kind of hard way to put the things difficult for ourselves. When you succeed, it more successful when you do it a easy way' (Tf).*

Nowadays, members in the association come from more than 10 different nationalities. Different cultural interactions happen in the garden. The garden serves as a cultural exchange platform, as well as an important field for increasing social cohesion in the community.

Second, the design process of the garden was conducted in the way of co-design. During the condensed preparatory meetings, participants proposed their own designs for the garden. At the meetings, different designs were put on a big desk at the same time. After a long discussion and negotiation, the final design was the integration of all the designs. None of the participants were professional designers or planners, but

that didn't influence the garden becoming a quality neighborhood public space. This relates to the third remark, full participation. According to the articles of the association, there are 7 sub-organizations in the association, including several gardens and committees (see the table). Every participant should be specified in at least one of the sub-groups when they sign the member contract. All members have a voice and the right of voting at the general meetings and the sub-groups they participate in. The obligatory participation binds all the participants not only in gardening, but also daily maintenance and management. It successfully motivates the movement of the network. For these three remarks, Transvaal Buurttuinen developed into a dynamic neighborhood public space of high accessibility and participation. In the following analysis, observations collected from the field research will justify the positive judgment I have made here.

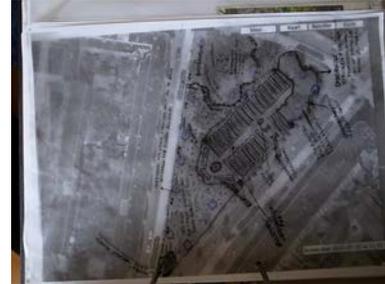
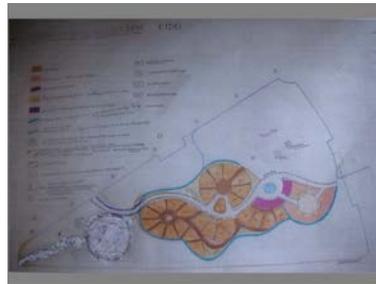
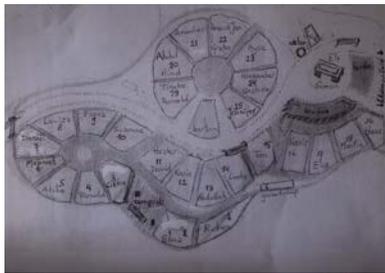


Figure 4.4 Different design proposal during the process and public facilities in the garden.

Sub-organizations in Transvaal Buurttuinen
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The vegetable gardens 2. The flower gardens 3. The herb gardens 4. The fruit Garden 5. The elevated garden 6. Committees: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Education</i> • <i>Communication</i> • <i>Fundraising</i> • <i>Party Committee</i> • <i>General maintenance</i> 7. Donation

Table 4.3 Sub-organizations in Transvaal Buurttuinen

Role of the designer and planner

As mentioned before, the role of the designer and planner in this case is of a collective character. There is not a specific designer or planner responsible for this project, but every participant shared the responsibility of the project. Based on the information from interviews, the way they evaluated the necessity of increasing social cohesion and accessibility to all of the population, community empowerment and participative democratic decision-making acted as an important part in the project. When the interviewer mentioned the design and planning process, the key respondents always referred to their decision as a collective decision-making process, and how hard it was. As for the participants who joined later, they showed respect for the rules. They were happy about the beautiful garden and well-planned organization.

Maintenance and management

The maintenance and management of the garden is executed by the garden association of Transvaal Buurttuinen. According to the contract signed between the government and the association, the organization is responsible for the daily maintenance of the garden, as well as mowing, waste removal, and the filling of holes in the garden. Because the garden is using public property, in the contract they were also asked to maintain the public character of the place. This includes the installation of pavements, buildings, fences or other equipment not permitted unless the district has given a prior written consent. This also applies to the removal of trees, fences and other public property in the garden. The most important thing is that no chemical pesticides are allowed to be used in the site.

On the basis of the land use principle in the contract signed with the government, the garden association also set a contract for all the participants. In the contract, the conditions for participants and contributions participants should pay are clearly written. Summarized from the contract, participants should live in the Transvaal neighborhood. Members should be over 16 years old, and pay 10 euros for the members' fee. Participants have to join at least one sub-group in the association, and help with general maintenance three times a year. Chemical pesticides and fertilizers are not allowed to be used in the garden. Commercial cultivations are not the motivation of the garden. For the individual gardens, participants have to keep their garden in a good condition. If they are not able to take care of the garden, they have to give the garden to someone else who is able to take care of the garden. Through the running of sub-groups in the association, Transvaal Buurttuinen was maintained in a good condition during the first year. 25 individual vegetable gardens all had a rich harvest during this year.

The design of the organization created a good self-governance system for the garden. Because every participant had to participate in the daily affairs, more social interactions happened in the neighborhood. The garden is no longer only a place for growing vegetables and flowers, but also for growing social awareness, neighborhood relationships and environmental justice. Through the appropriate management and maintenance, Transvaal Buurttuinen successfully transformed a pocket park full of dog feces into a friendly neighborhood space through civil participation. In addition, the success in the first year actually attracted more people to join the garden. Now there is already a waiting line for participation in the individual vegetable gardens.

User/ user analysis

The user analysis will first profile different kinds of participants in the garden, then give a more general description of the daily activities in the garden. Within the members, there are mainly two kinds of participants. One is people who work on weekdays. Because they are busy on weekdays, they mostly work on Saturday morning. Therefore, members with this lifestyle meet on the same day, Saturday morning. From the interviews, we can see a lot of times they also brought their children with them. Then, while parents were working in their garden, children also 'worked' in the educational garden with the help of the organizer in the educational garden. At the same time, children who come from the same neighborhood, but whose parents are not official participants in the garden, would also come to join the educational garden. In this case, we can say Saturday morning is a quite important life scene in Transvaal Buurttuinen. On the other hand, there is also another population in the garden. People with occupations such as artist don't have fixed working hours. In this case, since they can work more often on weekdays, they won't appear on Saturday mornings, which another group of people used to work. The description above indicates that people with different lifestyles work in the garden at different

times, the result being that very often in the summer there are always some people in the garden. Once people meet each other in the garden, in a way the garden also heightens the possibility of the neighborhood's social interaction. What is even more, one of the respondents said that although she doesn't have a fixed working time, she still tries to go to the garden on Saturday morning. The reason is not that her work was not done during the week, but to meet people and talk to people. Because of the garden work, the park creates a chance for neighborhood acquaintance, which they didn't have before creating Transvaal Buurttuinen. The social interaction in the garden strengthens the social cohesion in the neighborhood. People start to know their neighbors, and they chat, discuss garden work, as well as have parties or picnics in the garden together. Social context was thus built upon the agricultural context in the garden.

Besides the interactions between the official garden members, the garden also created an aggregation effect on the whole neighborhood. People passing by would go into the garden because there were people inside. Before the park was transformed into the garden, respondents said that they just passed the garden everyday without walking into the garden. After the garden was created, more people would take the pathway into the garden, instead of just passing by. They were attracted by the beautiful garden, and then they wanted to participate in the garden. The result of this aggregation effect is simple. People like the public space, so they use the public space. They use the public space, so then criminal activities are expelled from the public space, because there are always people in the public space. At the end, the empty park became a beautiful and safe neighborhood public space. From the angle of user analysis, occurrence of people in the garden is the best criterion to evaluate the quality and utilization of public space.

Limitations/ problems

There were no significant problems during the first year. The garden was maintained in good condition. In a few cases, people were not able to take care of the garden, so some new participants took over, becoming new members in the individual vegetable gardens. Also there were some vegetables stolen, but nothing seriously influencing the projects. One of the respondents did mention that it is hard to communicate with participants who don't speak Dutch and English, while others do not think this is a problem. For the official announcement, the key members said they will try to offer the information in different languages. They hope the communication problem will be fixed in the upcoming year. Besides these three small marks, respondents have positive attitude for the upcoming year. The only limitation is that this project has only signed a contract with the government for 5 years. However, it won't be a problem during these two years.

Significance

From the participatory design perspective, this case demonstrates a highly participative process in neighborhood public space making. People empower themselves to create their ideal neighborhood public space. Through the participative spatial design and planning, users' needs are fulfilled, and civil rights were shown in the process. On the other hand, from the quality public space perspective, Transvaal Buurttuinen provides a highly accessible public space. People with different nationalities, ages, cultural backgrounds and physical body disadvantages are all considered as potential users. Thus, the garden facilitates enough different people to participate. A friendly neighborhood public space and participative urban green space are both realized in this garden. The most significant remark is the community, representing the bottom-up force, reaches the top-down force represented by the government. The two forces meet together creating

an amazing public green space for the Transvaal neighborhood.

Generalizable features and lessons

The story of Transvaal Buurtuinen seems to be a perfect story. With the financial support of the central government, people living in a neighborhood with a bad reputation cooperated to renovate their useless neighborhood garden into a hot spot community garden. It is important that the government showed support first. Then people in the community worked in a highly participative self-organization, trying to utilize the budget and place in the most comprehensive way. The recognizable lessons in this case are the balanced working model of both top-down and bottom-up, and the comprehensive participation the garden association chose to work into their design, planning and management of the project.

Future plans

Since Transvaal Buurttuinen had a rich harvest in both vegetables and social cohesion, people in the neighborhood are looking forward to the upcoming season. More and more people are asking to join the project, and there is already a waiting list to join the individual vegetable gardens. Meanwhile, a group of school children also want to adopt a small place for their gardening club. This project brought unexpected success to the community.

On the other hand, for the key organizers, they actively participate in the urban farming network in Amsterdam. The plan is to strengthen the urban farming capacity in the city of Amsterdam with network support and resource sharing in the future.

4.1.3 Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein

Project name	Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein
Location	Dijkgraafplein, Amsterdam.
Project start day/ end day	August, 2011
Scale	540 meter square
Landscape design	Permaculture landscape design
Program elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A permaculture circle • A container (no longer exist) • A circle garden with fences • Several bag plots • Several bucket plots

Table 4.4 Fact sheet of Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein



Figure 4.5 Location map and pictures of the garden; Top left: the dijkgraafplein; Top right: the container for storage and public meeting (no longer exist); Down left: the compensation area in the garden; Down right: the permaculture circle.

Background and history

Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is a young project formed less than one year ago. It is one of a series of community-based urban agricultural projects in Osdorp, Amsterdam. This is an extension project from the 'Groene Ruimte Maken'. The project 'Groene Ruimte Maken' is a community-based food program for local, socially disadvantaged groups in Osdorp.

In the backyard of the women's center 'Vrouw & Vaart' in Osdorp³, a permaculture garden was set. Related permaculture courses and practices are available for members in the women's center, which are mainly female immigrants from Muslim countries. The intention of the 'Groene Ruimte Maken' is to empower inhabitants in Nieuw West Amsterdam by developing community garden projects. The vision of the project as well as extension community garden developments see community gardens as a vehicle to bring vitality and energy to the community and people, and ultimately develop the capacity of local resilience. According to the interview of the project manager Annet Van Horn on the website 'Farming the City,' the goal of the development is to *'offer people a wide range of opportunities to grow, build a community and offer mutual help'*. Therefore, besides the permaculture garden in Vrouw & Vaart, other community garden projects are also developed in the nearby area, of which Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is one of them.

Genesis of the issue

Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein was developed in the name of an art project in February 2011. Annet Van Horn, the project developer of Groene Ruimte Maken, cooperated with an artist to start up this project. In June 2011, after they got enough financial support, the garden was

officially started.

They first discovered a school just nearby the garden. Inside the school, there was also a garden, so she asked about the possibility of working with the school. The school garden manager agreed with the new idea, and then helped Annet to search for people to practice coordinating this work of the garden. With both private and public networks, there are 7 participants constantly working in this garden so far.

Design and development process

The physical space of the garden is developed based on the permaculture outline. Networks and knowledge of 'how to build a garden' are derived from the experiences in Groene Ruimte Maken. However, the goal of developing this space is to create social cohesion and multi-cultural interaction in the area of Nieuw West Amsterdam.

In the premise of empowering the community by gardening, food production thus will not be the emphasis, but the process of citizen engagement. In order to find as many interested participants as possible, the project manager tried to find possible participants from the local community center, men and women's centers, nearby the school, and local ethnic groups. At first, there were more people coming because they were interested in having a small garden. However, the soil in the ground was polluted, so traditional gardening was no longer available on this site. Instead of planting vegetables directly into the ground, they had to use bags or buckets as planting plots. This form of gardening is not what most of the people expected, and since they couldn't have their own allotment, a lot of them decided not to participate. At the end of 2011, the government intended to take back the land use permission of the garden. But through negotiation, the government agreed to the continued use of the garden and signed a

³ <http://farmingthecity.net/?p=1109>

contract with the local residents. From the start until now, there have been about 7 people constantly involved with the projects. The whole project is still in the developmental phase.

In the summer, most of work is in the garden. Flowers, herbs and some vegetables are grown in the plots. In the winter, most of work is about empowerment and planning activities for the upcoming year. The organization on the one hand connected to the local community center, proposing activities such as a carpentry workshop in the garden and applying for public funding in the neighborhood. On the other hand, because a big percentage of the population in the neighborhood of Osdorp is Islam immigrants, the organization is also looking for an external network connection with other Islam green initiatives. The outcome of these networking activities will be presented in the upcoming year's agenda. Workshops, excursions and lectures will be organized in the spring of 2012.

Site analysis

The location of the garden is near the end station of tram 17 in Amsterdam. De Punt is the name of the nearby neighborhood. The garden itself is on the green yard between a school and a row of low houses. It is like a normal green yard in Dutch suburban communities, the green yards between high buildings with nothing in them. However, something finally grew on one in Dijkgraafplein.

The garden was composed of one permaculture circle, one circular fence with several plots inside, and one container before January 2012. The container will not exist in the future for the reason that it is not permitted to be set there according to the government. Within these basic elements, several bucket plots and bag plots were set in the garden. The bucket plots were made by the participants. There was an

activity to paint the buckets last year. Nearby schoolchildren were invited to join the activity. So the colorful buckets shown in the garden now were painted by them. Common herbs and vegetables like Brussel sprouts and sunflowers are grown in the buckets and bags. The permaculture circle is newly created, with only one tree in the center of the circle. In the spring, more plants will be grown in the circle.



Figure 4.6 Pictures of the garden; Top row: the overview of the garden; Down row: the bag plots and bucket plots, the drawing of the bucket is done by children in the nearby school

Role of the designer and planner

As mentioned before, the permaculture outline basically outsourced the design and planning task in the garden. The project initiator and a few participants all attended permaculture courses before. Under the basic principle of permaculture, all the participants in this garden jointly determined the detailed development of the garden.

Maintenance and management

At the current moment, both the scale of the garden and organization are small. It still remains in a very initial status of development. The goal of the garden is to create a social place where the elderly, school children and other residents in this community can meet each other because there is not a quality public space to meet people in this area.

The responsibility of maintenance and management is taken by the collective participants in the garden. Since the garden was developed in the late summer, the garden only experienced half of a suitable season last year. According to the respondents, during the summer, they went to the garden almost everyday or a few times a week to irrigate the plants, and did some daily maintenance. In the winter, there was not so much focus put on the garden, but more on the empowerment work. Weekly meetings were organized for every Friday morning. Meetings took place in the container, one of the member's homes or the local community center. The average number of participants in the meetings was about five. Three of them came every week, while the other four came every two or three weeks. The content of the meetings was mostly about how to make more people engage with this garden, and the daily management of the garden.

User/ user analysis

Besides the project manager, Annet van Horn, all other participants are

from the nearby neighborhood. Most of the participants are Muslim immigrants and elderly people living alone. They all have different reasons to join the project, no matter if it is just nice to meet people, or if it is a way out from their close family relationships. The group offers a social function as well as an empowering community relationship for the members. The project Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein in this sense is not only about growing plants in a public garden, it is about growing social relationships between the solitary building communities with no street function. It opens the chance for female Muslim immigrants and elderly people living alone to connect with the public sphere, and become part of the neighborhood network, which they used to be invisible in.

Limitation/ problems

There are lots of limitations in Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein. First, because the project was applied under the name of an artistic project, when art project was officially over, the legal status of the garden did not exist. However, the government finally agreed to an extension of land use. The official contract was signed at the end of 2011. Besides the validity of the land, the polluted soil in the garden did not allow for the management of an edible garden in Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein. Bag and bucket plots thus replaced the function of soil in the garden. Soil pollution reduced the willingness of participation of people in the community, because most people wanted to have a ground garden where they could have their own area in the garden. On the other hand, the garden does not have enough public facilities such as water and space for putting gardening tools. They have to put their tools in the nearby school garden, and bring water from their own house. In the near future, there might be a new school construction just next to the garden. These limitations and problems have somehow influenced the garden from being a community hot spot. However, participants are not discouraged by the current limitations, since they already got

empowered during the working process during the first year. With the principle of permaculture, they believe the potential of small land could be far bigger than we can imagine. They will keep the faith and try to utilize this small garden as much as they can.

Significance

The significance of this project is the intention of stimulating social cohesion through the gardening project. Although the social and economical capital in Osdorp is lower than what we see in Afrikanerplein, Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein still struggles with the utmost network it can reach. On the other hand, a community project like Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein, which was not initiated by the local residents, but professional green initiators from outside of the community, has to find a way to get embodied into the local community network. The transforming process of a leading role would be a significant point to see if the project could be rooted in the local community.

Generalizable features and lessons

Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is a small community garden project inside a series of urban farming projects in Nieuw West Amsterdam. The goal of the project is to stimulate community empowerment through gardening activities. As a bottom-up project with lots of constraints from the public department and low social capital, the development of the project is comparatively slower than the cases in the central area of Amsterdam. However, the organization of civil initiatives as well as citizen engagement is a long and slow process. Seeing a 78 year old woman talking about community empowerment and her wish of create an open public space for the elderly, you know the function of the garden could be a lot more than growing vegetables.

Future plans

The future plan of Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is not clear yet. Although the government finally agreed to land use permission, the container is not permitted to be in the garden anymore. Also because the soil is polluted, the garden can only use bag or bucket plots to do the gardening. In the future, the nearby school might expand their campus to the place where Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is now, and it might be a smart strategy to cooperate with the school in the community garden management in the future according to Annet. However, the spring is coming, and people have made an agenda for the upcoming year. More excursions and workshops have been planned during the weekly meetings. After the container was moved away, participants started to have weekly meetings in the community center. More connections to the local community were also built during the process. For the participants in Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein, the garden might not be the best physical space to work with, but the garden did open their lives, empowering them to walk from their lonely apartment and single social network.

4.2 Almere

In contrast to the actively bottom-up approach of urban farming, the development of urban agriculture in the city of Almere tends to go in a top-down approach. In this section of the case study introductions, I will first make a review of the historical development background of the city of Almere and the recent policy direction. In the second part, the result of my investigation about the current urban farming situation in Almere will be summarized. The main forms of the research materials are one official interview, five unofficial talks recorded by field notes and other desk research. In the third part, a short overview of the top-down approach to community-based urban farming research is pictured based on the previous two parts. Deeper analysis and a contextual analysis of the different approaches of community-based urban farming will be mentioned in the next chapter.

4.2.1 Introduction of Almere

Almere is a planned city based on a new polder, a newly created open field from the sea in the 20th century. It is located in the south west of IJsselmeerpolders. Together with Lelystad, Zeewolde and three other small municipalities, the city of Almere constitutes the province of Flevoland. It is the youngest city in the Netherlands and the largest city in the Flevoland province. According to the demographic statistical data from January 1st, 2010, there are 196,748 inhabitants in the city, which is the seventh biggest city in the Netherlands. The original plan of the city is to solve the housing shortage in the Randstad area, and especially in Amsterdam (Commandeur, Zhou, 2009).

Until 1970, the land was known by the name of ‘Zuidweststad’ or ‘South West City.’ Thirty-five years ago, the first group of people took residence in this place. In 1984, Almere became a municipality. Almere is a city designated in the form of several semi separate nuclei

surrounding a city center. Each of them is separated by large green areas, and each nucleus has its own independent residential district, facilities and town characteristics. All the sub-centers are connected with the city center and share the same infrastructure. There are 6 urban districts in Almere city. They are:

- Almere Stad
- Almere Buiten
- Almere Haven
- Almere Poort
- Amere Hout (early developmental stage)
- Almere Pampus (planning stage)

In terms of population density, there are nearly 200,000 inhabitants living on a 130.47 square kilometer piece of land. Compared to Amsterdam (767.457 per km²), the population density of Almere is 188.160 people per square kilometer, which is almost 1/4th less dense than Amsterdam. On the other hand, it is clear that residents in Almere share more open space and green space than residents in Amsterdam.

4.2.2 Sustainable development in Almere

Being a new town, Almere city is expected to buffer the housing shortage in the western Netherlands. By 2030, there will be 300,000 inhabitants living in Almere, which is 100,000 more than now. That means within 18 years, the city is required to create 60,000 new houses and 100,000 jobs for the future development.

Facing this challenge, the municipality of Almere positioned its stressful task into a national demonstration site for the large-scale implementation of sustainable systems. In other words, the city decided to “do it by embracing and advancing the state of the art of sustainable city development,” in Remmers’ words (Remmers, 2011). Responding to the sustainable development policy direction, in 2008, the city created the Almere Principles in collaboration with Cradle to Cradle guru William McDonough. Seven principles were made to be adopted into the city’s policy making (See table 4.5).

<p>The Almere Principles Almere was established as a suburban city, providing a sustainable alternative to the dense, urbanised metropolitan region of Amsterdam. The city was built implementing a multi-centred structure, incorporating the surrounding water and nature as much as possible. In the decades to come, Almere will continuously renew and transform itself as it evolves from a young city into a mature one.</p> <p>The intended growth of Almere will take place in an ecologically, socially and economically sustainable fashion. The aim of the national government, the provincial government of Flevoland and the municipality Almere is to position Almere as a national demonstration site for the large-scale implementation of sustainable systems. The joint desire is to turn Almere into an icon of sustainability. To inspire everyone who contributes to the future of the city, the Almere Principles were defined in concurrence with international sustainability expert William McDonough.</p> <p>1. Cultivate diversity To enrich the city, we acknowledge diversity as a defining characteristic of robust ecological, social and economical systems. By appraising and stimulating diversity in all areas, we can ensure Almere will continue to grow and thrive as a city rich in variety.</p> <p>2. Connect place and context To connect the city we will strengthen and enhance its identity. Based on its own strength and on mutual benefit, the city will maintain active relationships with its surrounding communities at large.</p> <p>3. Combine city and nature To give meaning to the city we will consciously aim to bring about unique and lasting combinations of the urban and natural fabric, and raise awareness of human interconnectedness with nature.</p> <p>4. Anticipate change To honor the evolution of the city we will incorporate generous flexibility and adaptability in our plans and programs, in order to facilitate unpredictable opportunities for future generations.</p> <p>5. Continue innovation To advance the city we will encourage improved processes, technologies and infrastructures, and we will support experimentation and the exchange of knowledge.</p> <p>6. Design healthy systems <i>We will utilize ‘cradle to cradle’ solutions, recognizing the interdependence, at all scales, of ecological, social and economic health.</i></p> <p>7. Empower people to make the city Acknowledging citizens to be the driving force in creating, keeping and sustaining the city, we facilitate them in pursuing their unique potential.</p>
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Table 4.5 Almere Principle

More than just the Almere principles, the city developed the strategic vision Almere 2.0 -a visionary plan aimed at accommodating the future growth of Almere city until 2030 based on the 7 principles. With an ecological and sustainable development mentality, Almere 2.0 was developed not to dominate or foresee the blueprint of the city, but to facilitate the organic growth of the city, based on the ‘discernible market demand.’ According to the summary policy document from the Almere city government website, Almere 2.0 envisions to create ‘an ecological, social and economically sustainable city, which will contribute to the development of the Northern Randstad and the Amsterdam metropolitan area’. Besides making the city into an economically and culturally diversified city, to keep the natural and agricultural layer in future city development is also mentioned in this plan. For example, Almere Oosterwold is a newly planned area devoted to more rural and organic urbanism. Urban agricultural production is expected to become the green structure for future inhabitants in the plan.

Back to the urban agricultural development in Almere, as a new city with large green space, Almere is the first city in the Netherlands to officially host urban farming in the city (Remmer, 2012). Since 1996, the city farm of Almere (De Stadsboerderij) began to facilitate urban agricultural production in the city. Scattered farmland is distributed in the Pampushout, Waterland Forest, Almeerderhout, Kievitsweg and Veluwe Kant areas of the city. The farms produce organic vegetables, milk and meat, which contribute to both the local and world market. With the envisioning policy and historical urban farms in this city, an investigation of the current urban agricultural development in Almere will be discussed in the next section.



Figure 4.6 Map of Almere and places mentioned in the paragraph



Figure 4. Photos of the Almere city farm

4.2.3 Urban agriculture in Almere

Almere is one of the few cities in the Netherlands that puts urban agriculture into the urban development agenda. Having a large scale planned green space in the city, it is reasonable to use those green spaces as agricultural production sites. Almere city farm and agricultural production businesses have already existed in the city of Almere long before the notion of urban agriculture became popular in the planning and design profession. Besides the base of agricultural business in Almere, the city government of Almere also actively plans to put agriculture and food production as a new layer of the urban development along with its sustainable vision.

However, it is important to articulate the typology of urban agriculture before we discuss the current urban agriculture development in Almere. As mentioned before, Almere is a new city building on a new polder. Although the administrative level of municipality for Almere is a 'city', the actual population density of the city is far lower than other compact cities in the Netherlands. From the point of urban typology, Almere is more close to a low-density developed suburban city with large green spaces and a more independent housing element. Under the urban conditions above, it is not hard to understand the current urban agriculture development in Almere is a more large-scale production than small-scale community production.

Looking back at what Almere has done to develop urban agriculture, it is clear that the city has developed a top-down approach to facilitate agricultural activity in becoming one of the layers in the city. From an academic approach, Almere has hosted AESOP Sustainable Food Planning Conference in October 2009, RUAF International Conference "Urban Agriculture for Resilient Cities: Lessons learnt in Policy, Research and Practice" in May 2011 and the Day of 'Urban Farming' conference in March 2012. The municipality has cooperated with

Wageningen University, the RUAF foundation and CAH Almere University of Applied Sciences to brand the multi-functional urban farming estate in the city and welcome more discussion about urban agricultural development in Almere. From a policy approach, although the Almere principles do not directly point out the importance of developing urban agriculture in Almere, in Almere 2.0, the plan clearly puts agricultural production into the housing development in Almere Oosterwold:

The city and its environs will be developed together as a single unit. For each building unit, the environs will offer space for green structure combined with urban agriculture, space for lines of sight, generation of renewable energy, water purification and the required infrastructure. Almere Oosterwold will be the paragon of sustainable area development.

Meanwhile, as the city of Almere is actively proposing a visionary urban agricultural development in the future, the existing agricultural activity also keeps its function in the city. The city farm still serves the function of offering organic food and food education partly to the local residents and other visitors, and partly to sell their products to the world market. Glass houses in Almere-Buiten produce orchids for the world market. The future 'Almere Oosterwold' places are also currently keeping the agricultural landscape. From the desk research, we know that large-scale agricultural production exists in Almere, and large-scale master plans involved with urban agriculture also exist in Almere. The municipality of Almere seems to have a supportive policy and enough land resources for developing urban farming from the top-down approach, but what about small-scale community-based urban farming in Almere? The next section will give the answer.

4.2.4 Community-based urban agriculture in Almere

In order to find out about the proper community-based urban farming projects under the top-down vision in Almere, I had six interviews with professionals working in different fields related to urban agriculture development in Almere. Unfortunately, I got the answer that there's not a proper comparable top-down approach community-based urban farming case in Almere. There is big scale agricultural production in the city, and there are small-scale private or public allotment gardens scattered in the city, but it is not like people in the community working as a whole to work in a collective garden. Summarizing the small-scale urban farming projects from civil servants working at urban planning and urban environmental maintenance departments in the Almere municipality, researchers from the Wageningen University applied plant science group and CAH Almere University of Applied Sciences, there are private allotment gardens from a former glasshouse flower farm in Almere-Buiten, and scattered public allotment gardens in the city. The land scale of allotment gardens is small, and pretty much similar to community-based urban gardens, but the problem is that the owners of the gardens are not necessarily from the nearby neighborhood. The neighborhood near the allotment gardens usually doesn't have a connection with the gardens near them. There was once a project about using urban residual space for urban agricultural use to gain social cohesion in a multi-cultural community in Almere-Haven, but the project failed in the end. Another ongoing project in Meridiana Park, Almere-Buiten, is about opening a new farm from people in the community, with professional farmers taking charge of producing food on the farm, so that people have more chance to interact with the nature as well as buy local food. Other than this, there are no real projects going on at the moment.

However, talking about how the Almere government sees community-based urban agriculture as one of multi-functional urban agriculture

development, I got the following answer from an interview of a civil servant in the Almere city government:

And I think the sustainability is one of the guideline and urban agriculture fits into several things. Sustainability is ecological and is also social economics. Diversity, for example, agriculture makes it greener, spacious more diverse, also this connects places and the contacts. The city is in relation to the nature and the agricultural surroundings. That's here combines with city and nature as well. It sounds a very logical outcome that you have the idea or you have the shape of developing the city as a gardening city. So it's very naturally comes that urban agriculture is a very good things to help it within this two vision. (Km)

That is, if we look at the Almere principles 3, 6 and 7: 'combine city with nature, design health system, empower people make the city,' it is logical to take citizen involved urban agriculture as a one of the visions in Almere. However, the principle is a vision, a guideline. This civil servant who works in the urban environment maintenance department also talked about the relationship between the guidelines and their daily work:

So the vision doesn't say anything about we will do "in" the city, they just said it is important. It is more concrete on the new part of Almere. For the maintenance of the city, it not a very good work, because that would say you keep it as it is. Maintenance and development go hand in hand, but at the existing city, we don't have the real strategy or policy. (Km)

In other words, the principle is a declaration about some important directions the city government thinks are important in urban

development. There's no direct link between the declaration and the policy. As civil servants working for the Almere city government, they try to make their own translation from the spirit of the Almere principles to their daily work. On the other hand, during the interview, the civil servant made a claim several times about her position in the system. She works for urban environmental maintenance, which means she only knows the affairs of her job. Although it is highly related to urban planning, she doesn't know what people in the urban planning department think about the relationship between the principles and what really happens in the city. Everyone made their own translation of the principles, there's no specific policy telling them what to do. However, in her opinion:

If you say you want people have more influence in plan, but also make them more active in the neighborhood. Then you have to make a plan of "what to do", so you said that there are a lot of things going on. We think people are they know what is good for their streets, for their neighborhood. And there is a normal potential among these people do to make a difference in the neighborhood. Specifically put that citizenship in the agreement for this is what we are going to work for 4 years. So we have to make the translation of that. (Km)

Then the story comes to the question of if the government is supportive of the idea of developing citizen driven urban agriculture, and there is also enough land for doing it, what happens with the people? The interview also revealed some perspective from the top-down approach:

People themselves didn't say they want to have urban agriculture over the whole city. That's sort of why the idea didn't happen, because it is not possible to do that tore down. Maybe the whole problem was if you have that vision of urban agriculture,

but at the same time you want people to have the bottom up ideas. Also Almere has a lot of house with backyards, so people will maintain their backyards, but it's a different thing to ask them to do more than that. There are some people who want to do that of course, but there are also people have a garden with apparently fill with stones. They said they save their garden. You have small amount of people, I am not sure about the exact percentage, they like to make the public space more their own, and do something like more beautiful for urban agriculture. But all it needs is all small skills, and then for starting, they sell the ideas of how it become.

It is the same story in another interview with a landscape architect in the municipality. In the project of renovating Arnhemplein, they tried to propose a community garden as a possible future to re-use an empty square in the neighborhood. The proposal turned out to be refused by local inhabitants in the participative community meeting. The landscape architect said they tried but they can't do anything if people just don't want it. In conclusion, from the governmental point of view, they are supportive of urban agriculture development in principle. However due to the lack of clear policy and the people's 'Not In My Back Yard' attitude, it's hard to make things happen, although they would be happy to see things happen.

On the other hand, the story from the other researchers' versions is that they do know that there are some people who want to initiate citizen-driven urban agriculture. However, due to the lifestyle of most people spending most of their daytime in Ranstad and a lack of knowledge in citizen movement, they don't know how to organize themselves as a group to work with the government. From their point of view, there is an empty space in between the municipality and the local initiative group. The gap is the reason why community-based urban agriculture

does not appear in Almere.

4.2.5 Conclusion

The investigation in Almere presents a bizarre situation: the government is fully aware of the importance of making a sustainable urban system and empowering people to make the city. From both policy declaration, and institutionally oriented events, we can see that the municipality of Almere is actively building their sustainable icon based on their original nature and agricultural identity. Meanwhile, from the interviews of researchers working on urban agriculture in Almere, there are initiatives that also want to cooperate with the municipality, willing to create a more interactive green environment by conducting urban farming in their neighborhood. Both groups can't reach each other. Thus there's almost nothing happening in Almere in terms of community-based urban farming. In chapter 5.2, I will use the analysis factors concluded from Amsterdam, and the theoretical framework and the investigation results above to give an analysis about this phenomenon in Almere.



CHAPTER 5
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 5 Analysis and discussion

In the previous chapter, the general introduction of study cases in Amsterdam was presented in the form of an issue-based case study format. The investigation in Almere is out of expectation, we still present the story. This chapter contains an in-depth analysis of the field study, and the dialogue between empirical research and theory. The first part give the analysis of integrated experiences learned from the cases in Amsterdam. Furthermore, seeing a successful case as a good stakeholder of networks with good flow, the analysis will discuss several important factors that constitute the network analysis from the results of investigation in Amsterdam. With the findings in the Amsterdam experiences and the theoretical framework from previous chapters, the possible reasons and constraints causing Almere's absence of community-based urban agriculture will be the second topic of analytical discussion in this chapter. The third part discuss the relationship between empirical research and theory. This part will talk about what can two cities learn from each other. At the end, we give some suggestions and recommendations.

5.1 Cross-cases analysis in Amsterdam's urban farming experiences

In this thesis, three cases are studied in the city of Amsterdam, which represent the bottom up approach of the community-based urban farming movement. As mentioned in previous chapters, they are SWOMP44, Transvaal Buurttuinen and Dijkgraafplein. The cross-case analysis in this section categorizes six topics to discuss about the practice experiences in Amsterdam. They are **motivation, physical environment, social environment, operational system, time and challenge, user experience**. The analysis will present different observations, constraints and benefits from the life events I observed in field study.

5.1.1 Motivation

Analyzing the motivations of participants joining community urban farming activities, there are two levels of answers that can be observed from the interview answers. At the individual level, the reason people want to 'do something green in a public space' comes from the desire of getting more interaction with both nature and the social environment. At the collective level, for people like environmental activists or those conscious about the quality of neighborhood space, community-based urban farming serves several benefits to their goal. It can be the daily practice of a sustainable life-style, a movement to empower people's environmental awareness, or just simply a way to get people together to do something beautiful.

From the following selective answers, people who participated for their individual interest had explanations related to personal interest, a desire to get in touch with green practice, and social interaction:

I like farming and we only have a balcony, so if I do this I should have my own garden. It's very unique and it's also nice to meet people in the neighborhood. We only live here for two years now, and I only knew the people who live above. So it's a nice way to meet different people, and also people I would not have met when I didn't participate in, like Moroccan people, Turkish people. It's not only people from Netherlands, it's nice to meet people with different nationalities.(Ad)

There are two levels, the social level, for sure, that's what I also like to look for when I am making photos, what's happening socially, you can always see things are growing, but it's hard to put in photos. You can experience it all the time, but talk with people, work together, and know more neighbors, somebody with different nationality, obviously multi-cultural neighborhood, and so I think we have at least 20 different nationalities in the garden, so it is great that there is that kind of interaction. But also the fact that, for the first time I'm growing my own

food, it was really exciting. It was so much fun. You just go and pick it up and take it home and cook it. If you talk about the ecological footprint, it's really small, there is no wagon bring in, not wrapped in plastic, no more carbon, oil. I love that. I really enjoy it a lot. It is also the fact that you put something in the ground and watch it grow, it is also exciting. You don't even know what it is anymore, and then, oh! It's that! It's nice little surprises. (Se)

For me, it was not only interesting, but necessary. Because I had a rough time at home. I need to go out. I love the nature. (Zl)

I want old people like me can meet in this garden. Also children from school can meet here. (Lk, elderly who lives alone)

It is obvious that for people who live in a dense city without their own green space, to practice gardening in a public space is an efficient way to get close to nature. On the other hand, more than gardening in their own yard, community urban farming enriches participants' social interaction with their neighborhood. The encounters in a community garden offer a social support function for both human and non-human actors.

However, for the project initiator or other active participants, they see the reason of participation in a more collective point of view:

It brings people together, and it puts people together from all kinds of culture, in everyday and nature manner. Not complicated and every meeting they like to talking about, even if people are not gardeners, they watch what we are doing, and they say "Oh, in our place we are doing like this, and in our place, we are doing like that" All the interactions are very interesting. (Kg)

I have different target that were closed with it. One is to pay more attention with people. Because in this society there is context between people and the neighborhood are cultural specific. The Turkish people only meet Turkish, and all they have to rely on social groups which is

very much the same and they cannot make the strong connects, and I think it has very poor understanding and it's very much concluded that everybody's life is like a footage that a garden is very good for it. One of my goals is to encourage absolute employments. Because of the garden experiences and the change, the opportunities we care. With this aspect, I still have to glue, and they are no longer to see if it is all specious at school. We have the attitude to help people. It is how we grow there and it is important for help. (Ai)

It's a really good way of communicating with people. In many squats, people say to the neighbors, "please come with us to a cup of coffee." But when you're inside, it's a barrier for people. While being outside like this, you could really bring your message on stage. You have direct contact with the neighbors and people in the street. We also noticed that the press was really interested. We thought like with this action you're always against things, but we also like to show what alternatives we would like. We thought this would be a good combination of the kind of action. So we was squat piece of land, and at the same time show to people you can do this as well. We started up the garden, and we were already sort of involved with people from permaculture. That's why we started food gardens there. We basically wanted to make a bit of a example out of people, like what can you do for yourself. (Aa)

From their responses, there are more strategic considerations to push the movement to the stage. For them, community-based urban farming is not only just for food production or an urban nature class. It is a social collective action to prop up the issue they are concerned with, a tool for promoting community empowerment and a sustainable lifestyle, and a life event to gather people, creating a quality community public sphere in everyday life space.

To discuss the context of community-based urban agriculture development, the motivation of doing it must be taken into account. From the bottom-up experiences in Amsterdam, we see that the activists' proposals do catch people's eyes. For people who live in a flat lacking green space and neighborhood public space, community-based urban agricultural sites both fulfill their needs of interacting with

people and nature. From the three cases in Amsterdam we know that it might not be that all the participants hold the same reasons and attitudes for joining the practice, but indeed they all find their own significant reasons to join, and get empowered in social, environmental, and neighborhood scale civil participation aspects.

5.1.2 Physical environment

5.1.2.1 Land resources

The first step in starting up a community garden is to find some land. In a compact city like Amsterdam, land resources are limited. To find suitable land to start up an urban farming project is not an easy task. In our cases, SWOMP4 used the squatting movement to reach land in order to show sustainable living to the public. Transvaal Buurttuinen and Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein, on the other hand, applied for land use permission from the local government. Transvaal Buurttuinen renovated an almost abandoned pocket park in the neighborhood, while Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein made use of a functionless green yard, which is very common in Dutch suburban areas. From these experiences, we can see that the physical space condition of developing community-based urban farming is not based on the strategic planning approach, but more closely to the concept of guerilla tactical action. The government did not set a proposal for the participants. They had to grab every possible opportunity to find out the best locality, and the best chance to get the most important non-human actors to start with. Many times, in the beginning, legal actions did not allow for the use of the land, but gradually, a negotiating process would decide whether or not it would succeed. SWOMP4 ended up giving the land back to the government, while Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein successfully signed an agreement of land use permission with the local government. In the bottom-up cases, nothing is permanent for sure. The practitioners have

to find the tactics that tackle the proper power structure. The characteristic of a ‘tactical’ land use approach in De Certeau’s words (1984) is therefore applicable to explain the land use situation of community urban farming in Amsterdam.

5.1.2.2 Location and scale

Location and scale matters a lot when discussing community-based urban agriculture under a spatial context. Comparing community-based urban gardens with Dutch traditional allotment gardens, community-based urban gardens are closer to people’s everyday life space. They are not located in the peripheral urban residual land, but in the center of residential areas. From the cases in Amsterdam, SWOMP4 and Transvaal Buurttuinen are located in the city’s old neighborhoods with compact urban patterns. The neighborhood houses are adjacent to the gardens. People in the community pass the garden during their everyday lives. Especially in Transvaal Buurttuinen, the community garden directly replaced the function of a community park. The garden creates affinity between people’s everyday lives and the green space they can interact with by practice. The affinity not only works for people who participate in the project, but also cheers up people who might just be passing by. One of respondents from Transvaal Buurttuinen expressed her observation:

Even people I don’t know, I mention to the people, and they said, “Oh, yeah, I was riding my bike by there. It’s really beautiful. What’s that?” People just give you a nice feeling, even you are not a part of the neighborhood, you don’t live here. (Ec)

More than affinity in everyday life and aesthetic perception, to embed the community garden in the center of a compact city pattern is also a movement strategy to put the issue on the stage. The key coordinator of SWOMP4 clearly claimed that the reason to squat the land in the city

center, and not to find a place on a farm in the middle of nowhere is to *'make a bit of a example out of people, like what can you do for yourself'*. At the experience level, the coordinator of Transvaal Buurttuinen described that actually more people in the neighborhood showed the willingness to participate after they really started to work in the garden. The neighbors got interested because they saw it everyday and it was close to their homes. All these reasons express the significance of placing a collective garden in the center of a residential area instead of a peri-urban residual place.

Different from the two cases in the city center, Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is located in a suburban area. The space pattern of the area is a typical post war suburban neighborhood developed by modernist urbanism. High apartment buildings are surrounded by a functionless green yard. Streets are wide but lack social function. People living in a flat seem to have enough of a green environment, but the real situation is that people are isolated in their building, which is surrounded by functionless green land. They are both detached from nature and a social environment. Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is located in one of these functionless green yards. The garden is close to the end station of the tram and a school. However, people just quickly disappear into the buildings after they get off the tram. Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein started up in a comparatively good location in Osdorp, close to a school, residential buildings and traffic node. One of the main goals of the garden is to empower the local community and functionless green space in that area. Like the cases of SWOMP4 and Transvaal Buurttuinen, they want to keep people out on the street by working and meeting in the garden. As an experimental project, one of the meanings of creating Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein in the neighborhood of Osdorp is to renovate social life in a public space, which it is supposed to have.

Aside from the location of a community garden, the land scale is also an important factor in a garden's design and planning. Both the land scales of SWOMP4 and Transvaal Buurttuinen are over 1000 square meters. The scale and condition of the land allows for individual plots and a collective garden. The choices are more diversified so different people can be attracted. In contrast, Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein's limited condition of land scale and polluted soil made it difficult for the garden to be separated into individual plots for people in the community. Furthermore, because the soil was polluted, bag plots and bucket plots replaced the function of the ground soil. According to the interviews, this situation resulted in fewer people who were interested in participating in the project at the beginning.

Concluding the influence of location and scale on community urban agricultural development, two suggestions are revealed through this discussion. First, on the scale of the land, it is better for it to be big enough for hybrid use. Diversified functions will attract more people. Second, on choosing the location, community-based agricultural sites aim to work on both environmental and social improvement of the urban environment. Instead of the traditional allotment always being located in the invisible peri-urban area, it is important to put the garden in the visible public, where people see it and perceive it in their everyday life.

5.1.2.3 Neighborhood

As mentioned before, the three cases have their own developmental context based on the specific urban pattern. SWOMP4 is a temporary squat land in the residential area of De Pijp. It is a highly dynamic neighborhood in the city. The existing meaning of SWOMP4 is to show another possible sustainable lifestyle to people. In contrast, the neighborhoods of Transvaal and Osdorp have a comparatively lower urban dynamic and quality of street life. The reason the neighborhood

of Transvaal got a subsidy for renovating the park in Afrikanerplein is just exactly because of its bad reputation on the government's list. However, in the local resident's eyes, it is not that bad or dangerous:

Let's see this neighborhood is a good neighborhood, because it had been a less good neighborhood in 10 years ago. But in every neighborhood, even in the smartest and the most fascinating neighborhood, there is communality, and there is everyone evaluating and suiting like it. But this neighborhood, unfortunately, it has a name of being a bad neighborhood. I would say no. Some people even think this is a no good area, I always get angry when I hear this. This is the government keeps more subsidy, and the image is kept alive a little bit. With the garden, we called the supporting subsidy, but I don't think we get supported. (Kg)

I don't think it is that bad. It is really about your feeling. But it's not like you get a lot of violent crime in the street, but it's a kind of bad neighborhood because there are a lot of dealers. You didn't feel like a lot of people using drugs, but there are a lot of people dealing drugs, or live in the apartment. One of our neighbor, was obvious a dealer in our old house. Fortunately, not in the same stair, there were lots of people coming in and out. There were also lots of businesses that more exactly legal work. (Se)

Personally, I don't think this is very dangerous, but there are very subjects of course. I know about 3 or 2 years ago, someone was shot down in the middle of the day. People can get afraid of this kind of things, but I am not so easily get scared. I think this neighborhood doesn't look too much different from other neighborhood; every neighborhood has some kind of constraints. I am really happy. I don't think the neighborhood with problems. (Tf)

No matter whether the neighborhood of Transvaal is bad or not, residents do feel a significantly different neighborhood environment with the opening of Transvaal Buurttuinen:

The Buurttuinen definitely influenced and improved the quality of the

neighborhood. As far as crime I think was good about before it was just a big grass. The only thing is that nobody walked through because there was full of dog shit. So you just knew it is great to have a dog if you like to take dogs out, but you don't want to walk through, you know, minefield. Now, there is always somebody on the square for there are more people been what happening. There are more people walk through instead of walk around. More pleasant, there are more people there because there something to do, there are more people around, there are more people been what happening. What I actually heard was that they had some neighborhood meeting about safety, and apparently, since the garden is there, the amount of crime in the neighborhood has gone down, but is not for sure if it is because of the garden. (Se)

I think now it's much better. And I think the Buurttuinen, and the playground helps, not that much because of more interaction with people, because still not that much communication between people (mainly with dealers). It helps but then they just go to another squares. It is less attractive to them, the buurttuinen also. More normal people there, less possible to just to hang around. Probably they go somewhere else. (AMh)

In summation, people who live near to Transvaal Buurttuinen do feel that their homes are safer than before because the garden has created a friendly public space. As more people stay in the neighborhood's public space, crime and drug dealers don't stay in the same place. The effect Transvaal Buurttuinen has created is also the goal Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein wants to achieve. As for SWOMP4, we will discuss the case of the physical space in the garden next.

5.1.2.4 Garden space

In analyzing the designed garden space, we will start from the door. Within the three cases, only SWOMP4's door was locked. According to the interview of the key coordinator of SWOMP4, the reason they put a lock on the gate was because people who lived in the caravan had their private things to keep inside: *'It is a place in the middle of the city. So actually to let anybody go there without any check means you'll have to*

take the risk with that'. In a way, it was more of a semi-public space than a total public space because there were residents inside. Because of the lock, the accessibility of SWOMP4 was lower than the other two for people who were just passing through. And because of the lower accessibility, SWOMP4 did not become an accessible neighborhood everyday space for everyone living in the community or just passing by. From a social interaction perspective, what SWOMP4 created was a semi-public network. They welcomed anyone to join and visit the garden during the limited open times or to be lead by someone already in the network. Therefore, SWOMP4 might be a demonstration space for showing a sustainable lifestyle for a community, but it will not become an everyday neighborhood space for spontaneous encounters.

Besides the door and lock, the spatial design of the three cases shows significant development orientations. Within the three sites, the designs of SWOMP4 and Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein were guided by the permaculture method. Permaculture is an alternative sustainable lifestyle philosophy as well as a practice guide. The advantage of outsourcing the design and planning system to permaculture is that the support system is already there. Participants learn the knowledge, techniques, and philosophy from an integrated system. For a bottom-up movement that lacks enough resources, it is a very smart way to make things work. In comparison, the design of Transvaal Buurttuinen was a collective decision by the participants. Participants in Transvaal Buurttuinen did not have the permaculture system as a background. Frequent community meetings and a long collective decision process were used instead. Grassroots power was grown in the process:

It is difficult. We invite one drawing, and everybody has to agree with it. We have several meetings that everyone is asked everybody to make his own drawing. So everybody did "This is my drawing!" things like this. It was really very nice...we did a

kind of hard way to put the things difficult for ourselves. When you succeed, it's more successful when you do it a easy way. (Tf)

The results of this difficult way are reflected in the accessibility of the space. Comparing the three cases, Transvaal Buurttuinen has specific plots for children and physically disadvantaged people. A raised plot is made for people who are not about to stoop. Another children's garden is for an educational motivation. The coordinator of the children's garden helps the children to do the garden work, and teaches them the knowledge and techniques. The respondents from Transvaal Buurttuinen also talked a lot about their opinions and experiences in the collective decision making. 'Why is the space looks like this?' *'The door is not so good. You (handicap people) can get in, but someone has to open that door for you. It would be good there is a solution for that,' (Suzanne)*, etc. Compared to the other two, participants in Transvaal Buurttuinen showed their degree of involvement by talking about their daily observations and experiences in the garden. In contrast, respondents talked less about the relationship between physical space, design and space used in the garden. A lot of times, for them, permaculture is enough to explain a lot of things, such as the attitude, ways of farming, spatial design and land use planning. In my observation, 'permaculture' is too holistic to guide them in many aspects. Meanwhile, it outsources knowledge and the technique system, and it also reduces the public discussion and space use pattern in the process of civil participation.

5.1.3 Social environment

Community-based urban agriculture is a form of urban agriculture focused on the community scale. Compared to traditional agricultural production, as well as the bigger scale of urban agriculture, community-based urban agriculture is very much concerned with neighborhood relationships. It is not only about food production, but also about

carrying social issues such as neighborhood relationships, safety and environmental awareness. Therefore, to discuss social forces that have made impacts on the development of community-based urban agriculture is an important aspect in analyzing the social interaction that has grown with the food at the same time. Here, I define the social forces into an external force and internal force. The power of the government represents the external force. Meanwhile community organization represents the internal force. Between the external and internal, there are several stakeholders also playing roles in the event. There are environmental activists (either individual or as a group), local community centers and the supportive network of the grassroots movements in urban agriculture.

5.1.3.1 External force

In the three cases, the influence and power of the government is a major external factor. As the only and biggest landlord of public spaces in the city, any collective activity happening in public space should ask for permission from the government. Derived from the tradition of World War Two, the Netherlands' government still rents out urban residual lands as allotment gardens to citizens. In the allotment garden, citizens individually pay rent to the garden management association. There are neither shared public facilities nor community relationship in the gardens. Also, because the locations of the gardens are mostly in the periphery of the city, allotment tenants are not necessarily connected to the local area. Like one of the respondents said in an interview: *'It might have been more like parking spaces for park'*(Ec).

However, using public space as a community garden is both different from a traditional allotment garden and temporary festival use. It is a long period use of public space as either collective or individual farming, which is related to the local socio-spatial context. Since the land resources in a compact city are in a shortage, most community-

based urban agriculture has to use public lands to realize the project. Government, as the landlord, undoubtedly becomes one of the important stakeholders in this event.

As the resource owner, the government holds the power and right to dominate their property. Public space is the spatial demonstration of the grand power structure which governments own by. People, as individual forces, cannot be free to use it without permission. Therefore, all bottom-up community-based urban agricultural development cannot avoid the phase of negotiating land use permission with the public power. In De Certeau's (1984) concept, the tactics need to find the right time and opportunity to tackle the power structure.

Examining the three cases, SWOMP4 used legal squatting as the way to get land resources for their sustainable lifestyle practice. Squatting is the most direct way of getting the sources. The movement of squatting fully expresses what De Certeau(1984) said about the importance of time in tactical movement. Although squatting is the fastest way to take the legal statement of land use, without support of the public department, land resources are the only thing the group gets from the public power. In SWOMP4, there are no public facilities like water and electricity, and there is not a contract of land use permission. The garden could be evicted once the government decides to take the land back. Within this situation, SWOMP4 luckily existed for three and a half years. After the government had made agreements with the local community about new development plans on the land, SWOMP4ers agreed to give back the land.

In contrast, Transvaal Buurttuinen is an example of seizing the chance of an existing policy. The neighborhood of Transvaal was regarded as a neighborhood to be improved by the national government. The neighborhood was on the list for executing the project

‘Stimuleringsfonds Volkstuinen.’ The project ‘Stimuleringsfonds Volkstuinen’ is a project aiming to improve neighborhood quality by implementing green facilities. As mentioned in the previous chapter, people are able to propose ideas and realize their ideas with a subsidy given by this project. Transvaal Buurttuinene is one of the several neighborhood projects subsidized by the ‘Stimuleringsfonds Volkstuinen’.

In this case, people successfully took the opportunity offered by the external force. The external force itself created an extra channel to increase the internal social mobility of the neighborhood. This channel simplifies the complicated bureaucratic system in policy execution. People in the community directly got help from the central government without the process of bureaucratic red tape. The helpful external force from the national government is thus able to be directly implemented locally. On the other hand, the local community caught the right opportunity, which does not happen everyday, offered by the government. They tackled the gap in the power structure: through the execution of the ‘Stimuleringsfonds Volkstuinen’ in the neighbor of Transvaal, a subsidy was given by the national government, while land use permission of public space and public facilities was given by the local government under the order of the national government. In conclusion, instead of going against the external force, residents in the neighborhood of Transvaal cleverly used appropriate external force to help them create an ideal green neighborhood space that benefits all.

Different from the other two examples, the situation in Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is more ambivalent. There wasn’t an organized social movement group, appropriate policy or a solid community association at the beginning. It is an empowerment community project lead by an environmental activist from outside of the community. Both social and spatial resources started from the zero. Under this situation, the impact

the external force made is much stronger than in the other two cases. Reflecting on the relationship between the project and the public power, any decision from the government would strongly influence the project, no matter if it was land use permission or the limited activity they could do on the land. Furthermore, because Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein started from an artistic project, the legitimacy of the project was not as clear as the other two. It needed more effort to convince the public power about transforming of the project’s character from an artistic garden to a community garden. The government then had the right to decide if they wanted to support the project with land and financial resources. From this project, more of a struggle with the government is observed. The daily struggle about whether the land could be used after the end of the art project, whether they could keep the container in the old place, or if having a carpentry workshop in the garden was allowed etc., all these small and big daily affairs had to be negotiated with the public power, due to the fact that the legal status was not clear. When the public power has a more dominant influence in a community project, it is not a surprise that the autonomy of the community is compressed.

Analyzing the role of external power, which is the public power in the cases in Amsterdam, it can be observed that the public power can have one of the determining roles in the development network. With the constraints from public power, the community can have hard moves during the project development. However, with a certain space of relative autonomy (no matter if it’s by cooperation or squatting), the community will have more space to develop its context. Although it is an old topic to discuss the boundary between state control and grassroots power (the debate of strategy and tactics in De Certeau’s words), it is also one of the most important considerations in both theoretical analysis and practical operation in all kinds of community projects. To conclude about what the appropriate external force that will

help a community is, here I answer it by using a quotation from one of the interviews at Transvaal Buurttuinen:

As a government, you need the support of the inhabitants, people from the neighborhood, and their neighborhood. You need their support and they have to get involved. You cannot say, "Well, we do a project here" and they, they won't count, No. I think like here it's a small group of people who decide the things and they say, "Wow, you should do it". And then they convinced me they should do it, at different approaches. (Ad)

5.1.3.2 Internal force

The internal force of a community-based urban agriculture project is the power of the community. Among the three cases, Transvaal Buurttuinen has the strongest community organization. The project itself was initiated by the residents in the neighborhood. Compared with the other instances, the development of an internal social network is easier, because people already know their neighbors. The garden organization, as a group containing all the participants in the garden, represents the voice of the community. The association led the design and planning process of the garden, negotiated with the public power, and executed the daily maintenance of both the garden and administration affairs. With a strong internal force, the garden association self-governed the garden. The association is composed of several committees that are responsible for executing different functions in the garden (see ch4.1.2). An effective internal community force like this is thus able to integrate different resources (both material and non-material), creating a maximum utility of the place for people in the community.

In contrast, SWOMP4 and Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein were not initiated by the local residents. Both of them were initiated by

environmental activists from outside of the community. They first started up a project on the chosen land, and then tried to invite residents from the neighborhood to participate. Under this situation, it is not surprising that the congenial conditions of internal networks are weaker than projects initiated by the local residents. In order to compensate for this innate weakness, both projects tried to build relationships with the local community center. The community center, as a local resource-gathering place, can act as a node to connect local residents and the developing community-based urban garden. In SWOMP4, the idea of practicing sustainable life in SWOMP4 was engaged with the movement of the 'transition town of de Pijp.' They tried to attract more local participants, extending the connection with local networks and other local movement groups. However, the key coordinator expressed that although they did attract local residents to participate, people came and went often. It was still hard to maintain a stable participant network. In my observations, the movement in SWOMP4 did not successfully transform the leading role from the activists to the local community network. Even at the end, activists were still responsible for most of the affairs in the garden.

In Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein, the project is still in the pre-phase of empowerment. The initiator constructed the initial network by her personal social network and social resources accumulated from previous working experiences in the Nieuw West area. As an actor from outside of the community is fully aware of the importance of transforming the leading role to the community, with the weekly meetings, she helped participants to build the project agenda, which they execute themselves. During the two months of participative observation, it was obvious that the dominant role of the initiator gradually got weaker. As local participants get involved in more daily affairs, with a more stable status they will stay in the network. In the process of networking, the small group tried to connect with the school

next to the garden, the local community center and the men's center in the neighborhood. They visited the constitution, invited them to the weekly meeting and daily affairs, proposed workshops in the community center, and had weekly meetings in the center after the contemporary meeting space in the garden was gone. The local group is small and slow, but they work at a steady pace. However, it is not fair to judge that people in SWOMP4 did not work hard enough at community engagement, for the reason that I participated at the end phase of the garden.

From the internal force analysis, we can see that the innate force of Transvaal Buurttuinen is stronger than other two. From the social perspective, the impact community-based urban agriculture made is not only on 'urban agriculture,' but integrating social cohesion through community engagement is as important as the making of a physical environment. Comparing the internal force in the three cases, we found that all of them were aware of the importance of empowering the local force. Luckily, like Transvaal Buurttuinen, the strong local force had successfully integrated the multi-social and physical functions in the garden as well as the neighborhood. The other cases show that if the community forces are strong enough like in the neighborhood of Transvaal, then for keeping close relationships with the nearby community center, associations are also methods to strengthen the internal force of the network.

5.1.3.3 Intermediate force

Besides the internal and external forces, the intermediate force is also a very important actor in community-based urban agricultural development networks. Here, we define the intermediate actors in the network as actors neither from community nor public departments, but who put their efforts into the development or empowerment of the community-based urban agricultural projects. People who work in the

NGO, students researching about this topic, environmental activists, social movement groups or professional practitioners of sustainable environments, urban agriculture or community empowerment can be seen as actors in the intermediate force.

In Transvaal Buurttuinen, the place of the intermediate actor is not obvious since pretty much the garden association did all the work. However, in the situations with a weak internal force such as SWOMP4 and Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein, the intermediate actors are relatively important to make the network flow. The project manager and initiator in Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is a self-employed lady who works on urban agriculture and community empowerment in the Nieuw West area in Amsterdam. As being of an intermediate role in the network, the influence of this intermediate force reflects in several flexible ways. For the reason that they mostly have more social and cultural capital, the actors in intermediate roles connect different interest groups, establishing the actors network in a single project. It is important to embody the scattered bottom-up community-based urban farming projects into a regional level so that individual tactical practices in the city can connect with each other. The tactical network here has more flexibility to support individual practice, such as sharing knowledge, information and techniques, as well as an alternative alliance. These are the possibilities the intermediate force can bring to the community. In SWOMP4, we also saw a similar effect.

In SWOMP4, intermediate forces were the main actors in the project. There were researchers, social movement activists, volunteers and other groups such as the permaculture organization playing roles in between the local community and government. According to the development history, squatters from outside of the community were the initiators of the project. It was not set for a mini-utopia of their own, but a public demonstration for a possible sustainable lifestyle going against the

unjust public construction plan. As an outsider stepping into the local community, the most important campaign work is to root the movement into the local context as well as get support from the local residents. To do so, on the one hand they engaged with the local community center for more local support, and on the other hand, they connected to the permaculture organization, other squatting groups and urban agriculture projects to reach more experiential support. The inner connections supported the community empowerment work, while the external connections offered practical help in managing the farming practice. It is very important that the initiative urban farming networks in Amsterdam share their experiences, and material and non-material sources with the participants.

Back to Transvaal Buurttuinen, although they needed less support from an intermediate force, they still kept a connection with the big network in Amsterdam. As it was a community project developed at a stable pace, the key coordinator also helped other activists to organize projects in other places. For example, from the interviews, I know that Transvaal Buurttuinen received some plants and trees from SWOMP4 before SWOMP4 closed down. The key coordinator also helped SWOMP4 look for new sites. In addition, the websites as well as the project 'Farming the City Amsterdam' offers a very important virtual community on the internet for information sharing. In conclusion, besides local actors and public power, intermediate actors play a very important role in coordinating community-based urban farming projects. With their external help and social network organization, the community thus receives a lot more support than a single community force could reach. These flexible actors indeed are making an important contribution to bottom-up community urban farming development that can not be ignored while analyzing the whole actor network.

In summation, analyzing different forces in the community-based urban farming networks help us to identify the importance of each player in

the network. Although the proportion of each force might have a different influence in each case, each of them cannot be ignored in making the practice work.

5.1.4 Operation system

Through out the bottom-up experiences in Amsterdam, several remarks and findings about how the operational system works in those three cases will be mentioned in the following paragraphs. The analysis is based on the research material that was collected from the field study. Besides the fact analysis, it is also interesting to examine the analysis results from a theoretical perspective. In what aspect can the bottom-up community-based urban agricultural farming in Amsterdam be connected to the everyday practice of urban landscape through the participative process? Within the contextual analysis between life facts and theories, the significance of this operational system practice is expected to be revealed.

According to the research analysis above, the 'Amsterdam experience' in community-based urban farming projects clearly shows that the trend is instigated from the people's side. In other words, it is not a project proposed by the government first, with people then executing the project by following the requirements and using the resources offered by the public power. Instead, it is a movement initiated by the local residents in the city and environmental activists who care about the living environment, sustainability and quality public green space. Although each garden doesn't have a rich resource background, the individuals connect with each other into a contested network. The shared experiences and resources empower scattered individuals in the city's alternative farming network.

From the philosophical perspective, the operational system in the 'Amsterdam experience' is very similar to the concept of a 'tactical

operational system' that French philosopher Michael De Certeau argued in his work 'The Practice of Everyday Life' (1984). In his system, a tactical operational system is a system lacking power and 'proper' space. In order to operate the system in a movable dynamic, the tactical system has to utilize the biggest advantage out of the limited resources they can get. It is true that all these urban farming projects are not developed along the existing urban planning strategy. Citizens in Amsterdam city seize the opportunities they get to fight for an interactive green space. In tactics, 'time' and 'opportunity' are the most important elements effecting the success of the operation. In the three cases, we saw each of the projects seized the right time and right place to make things happen. Squatters squatted SWOMP43 during the time the community was arguing with the government. Transvaal Buurttuinen used their disadvantaged reputation to take advantage of the national government, with the support of the national government. It is not a problem to take resources from the local government. As for Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein, the project manager used her personal social and cultural capital to start up an art project then transform it into a community project with the help of participants in the local community. From the significant decision points and poor resources we see in the story, it is no doubt that the 'Amsterdam urban farming experience' in this thesis belongs to the tactic category in De Certeau's definition.

Although Michael De Certeau had a sharp eye to distinguish how different operational systems run the world, he didn't give empirical proof in his theory. A tactical system is enough to explain the external logic of a bottom-up urban farming movement in Amsterdam, but not enough to explain the internal logic of the movement. It is obvious that people who want to do something without a 'proper' and supportive power structure are likely to use tactical operations in general. But what is the specific internal logic supporting people in my case studies to

organize interactive green space in their neighborhood or invite people in the neighborhood to join with them? What specific inner values guide them in the process? How do the core values influence the end result of the project? Here, I use the notion of community empowerment and participatory democracy to explain the internal values of those projects.

Summarizing reasons community participants are willing to join the urban farming projects from the previous section, willing to have a better living environment, quality (green) public space, and a better neighborhood space are the major motivations. The motivation 'willing to change something for a better living environment by ourselves' is the interpretation of 'empowerment' in laymen's language. According to Staple (1990) in his article '*Powerful Ideas about Empowerment*', the notion '*empowerment*' includes both the process and product dimensions that individuals or groups manage to gain, facilitating power for improving or controlling their lives. People are either 'to be empowered' by themselves or others. Within the idea of changing, they project hope on the success of an action first, and by changing the current situation, they get more power from the action, and the power they get will remain after the successful experience. Based on the comparison of what respondents describe about the idea of 'changing something' in everyday language and the theoretical explanation of empowerment, we can say no matter whether the bottom-up practitioners are aware of the term 'empowerment' or not, the meaning of the notion 'empowerment' is one of the core values that support the whole project.

Among participants, people in the role of professional sustainable environment practitioners and social movement groups are aware of the importance of community empowerment and participatory democracy. For example, the coordinator of Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein talked

about the motivation of doing urban agricultural projects. She said:

I like working with two or three things empowerment and agriculture. I think this can be put off to the changes. One of my motivations is to make people healthier, and I have to be more very cautious about what is important to health. (Ai)

In a sense, other than the notion of tactics, empowerment is the internal value to support the operational system. However, to execute the empowerment change, many respondents also talk about participatory democracy. In Transvaal Buurttuinen, the collective decision-making process was emphasized all the time in interviews. The importance of self-governance and multi-cultural participation constitute the core values of their practice. Moreover, the coordinator of SWOMP4 made explicit the importance of participatory democracy in their project. She mentioned that:

I think the concept of anarchism is really close to participatory democracy. I mean one of the things that is basic to anarchism is basic democracy like bottom-up democracy, not representative democracy where you vote for people and then those people decide for you what's happening, but really being actively involved in the decisions being made. The participatory democracy is one of the main key points of this project. (Aa)

From analysis of the interviews, we recognize empowerment and participatory democracy are two important internal logics that support the operational system of bottom-up community-based urban agricultural projects in this thesis field research.

Looking at the big picture of the operational system in bottom-up governance community-based urban farming experiences, the positive effect of this operational system is that a guerilla personality lets the organization of the urban farming project have relatively high

flexibility, less limited by the bureaucratic system and lower threshold to start-up the project. All of the bottom-up cases here spent less than one year to form their farming projects. It proves that the collective decision making process does not lower efficiency. What's even more, the collective decision-making process offers the capacity of community empowerment in neighborhood relationships and residents' awareness of sustainability. The garden might be the visible product of the collective work, but an invisible community resilience and mobility is created through the bottom-up working process.

On the other hand, due to the lack of a congenital condition in a tactical system, bottom-up urban farming faces more difficulties in resource shortages and low project stability. Without 'proper' in space and power structures, the farming activities can easily be affected by the public power's decision. For this reason, grassroots farming groups like Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein or SWOMP4 struggle most with the negotiation of legal land use permission and the use of resources most. Even Transvaal Buurttuinen, although the contract with the government guarantees a period of legal land usage, is still not a permanently stable situation for the farming group. Therefore, informal urban farming, like the cases we mentioned in this section, basically face more severe situations compared to a policy oriented operation system strategy.

5.1.5 Time and challenge

Comparing each case history, it is quite surprising to find out that all three of them are young gardens. SWOMP4 is the oldest one, and the only closed one. It lasted from 2008 to 2011, three years long. Transvaal Buurttuinen just had their first fruitful year, and is headed towards a new season in 2012. Before they started their first farming season in March 2011, they spent seven months planning the project and then implementing it into the real space. About 50 people are already involved in the project. Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is the

youngest one among the three. The garden started in the late summer of 2011. Until now (2012), it has been less than a year. There are 8 people constantly working on this project, and they are trying to attract more people to get involved. The timeline of these projects shows that organizing urban gardens does not necessarily require a long period of planning. The guerilla gardening nature in Amsterdam, from this point of view, will be an interesting contrast compared to the top-down governance in Almere.

5.1.6 User experiences

Analysis in the socio-spatial relationship could be a dense net. How people create the space? how space influence people's everyday life? Under what kind of theoretical context, the observation in the field make sense to the theory? Endless questions could be ask in a research, but everything has to go back to the very beginning: are people happy in the space they stay? This section will tell some story about it, something hard to explain in academic language.

When I had interviews in the Transvaal neighborhood, I used to took three interviews per day. During the break from two interviews, I just walked in the park or stayed in the same cafe. Then my Asian face caught attention by people in the neighborhood. People asked why am I being here. Whenever I explain my reason, I always saw smile on people's faces. Some said they really like the garden, they were already on the waiting list of individual plot. The owner of they cafe even said she would like to buy vegetables from the graden, if they want to sell. In the interviews, people talked about all kinds of reasons and benefits of having a garden in the neighborhood. Mother talked about how her child met friends in the garden, old lady talked about how she enjoy the scene seeing families working together in the garden, young people talked about the fresh experience of eating their own harvest, and why they visit the garden everyday in the summer, even they don't really

have to. Smiles and body language tell me they really enjoy being in the garden.

The expression in the Morrican lady and the granny's eye in Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein was also unforgettable. Instead of showing happiness in Transvaal Buurttuinen, what they express with words are they attitude of absolute. More than 'like', it is 'need'. Housewife need a place to escape from home, old people need a place to meet new people. When they talked about how tired the feel after taking the permaculture class, or how cold the weather is, I recognized smiles on their face is happy. In SWOMP4, I saw people were just had tea time in the garden, enjoy the nice nature in the city. At the end, these might be the most intuitional reasons for people to participate. A successful case is the place with happy people get involve with. Participatory democracy and social justice are words for researchers. For everyday participants, they join and being in the garden because they feel happy. I think these small stories behind the scenes tell more about good quality and good place.

5.1.7 Conclusion

Summarizing the observations and analysis of the bottom-up approach of community-based urban farming experiences in Amsterdam, four conclusions are addressed below:

1. An important part of the internal driving force of civil movements is the need of pursuing a better life. Different from the need of saving hunger and improving public health by fresh food resources in developing countries/cities, developed cities like Amsterdam have another context for developing urban agriculture. That is, in dense cities that lack social and natural interactive neighborhood spaces and sustainable lifestyle practice spaces, urban agriculture can be one of the most effective community-oriented collective public practices

proposed by citizens.

2. Considering the external condition of a bottom-up approach to community-based urban farming practice, due to the spatial limitations in dense cities and a lack of support from the power structure, public departments in this case, and community and action groups in our case studies tend to seek other non-governmental organization's assistance for both farming techniques and organizational management, such as permaculture groups and other existing urban farming organizations in the city. On the other hand, they also tactically grab any possible resources from the gap in the power structure, such as letting the city government pay the water bill for them in the case of Transvaal Buurttuinen.
3. As for the internal forces and condition of the organizations, empowerment is the most important spirit off all. The 'empowerment' is not just about empowering people in the neighborhood to pay more attention to a sustainable lifestyle and social and cultural interaction in community. Moreover, it is about empowering the non-human actors (ex. space, vegetables, gardens). By given these non-human actors positions in the urban life network, people believe that new urban dynamics with nature will bring them a much higher quality life than the current urban living environment. Although two of the three cases had project management and coordination start with professional practitioners' help, they way of governance valued the importance of participatory democracy. Therefore taking a participatory design and planning process with the local residents became one of the most important principles these three cases. It is not only because of the ideal philosophical ideology, it is also because they realized that only with the full participation and support of local residents could the urban farming project lead to genuine stability and sustainability, which fulfills the original imagining of how urban farming can benefit a city.

4. Back to the scale of spatial governance. Community-based urban farming projects in Amsterdam are of a relatively small scale and fewer stakeholders get involved. A lack of support from the power structure results in several limitations in resources. The bottom-up guerilla approach they take in action still creates certain possibilities and agencies in changing the urban landscape. The merit of this approach is that its quick movement through its detachment from the bureaucratic system and state control creates a scattered alternative urban interactive green space in Amsterdam. On the other hand, the risk of this approach also comes from the same reason. Lacking certification from the power structure, the interactive green spaces will always stay in an unstable existence because they might disappear under law enforcement.

From the Amsterdam experiences, we see how a bottom-up participatory design and planning process and tactical operation system influence to create community-based urban agriculture without support from the power structure. Despite the congenital merits and demerits we observed from the guerilla urban movement, there is also another lesson we can learn from these experiences. That is, the more it cooperates with the power structure (in every possible chance, such as Transvaal Buurttuinen), the more stably the farming site can exist. On the other hand, the less contact there is with the power structure, the more threatening the influence the power structure might be (such as SWOMP4). Community-based urban farming gardens cannot be a utopia outside of an urban activity and power structure. It is a constant guerilla space movement under everyday struggle and negotiation with the power structure, and which finally intervenes with our everyday urban landscape.

5.2 Cross-analysis about Almere's absence in community-based urban farming phenomenon

This section will discuss the results of investigating Almere's community-based urban agriculture. First, we will have a review in the reasons of focus on community-based urban agriculture. Second, different voices in explaining the Almere phenomenon are presented. From different point of view, we see some common explanations but also contradictory voices from different social roles. After presenting these different opinions, I will also talk about my observation. In the cross-case analysis of Amsterdam, we already identified several important factors in developing successful community farming projects. We will use the findings from the Amsterdam experiences and other desk research references to structure the analysis of Almere's absence of community-based urban agriculture. The conclusion of the analysis will try to give an answer as to why there is no community-based urban farming activity in Almere, which highly agrees with Gaston Remmers' argument in his article 'City Resilience: Building Cultural Repertoire for Urban Farming in Almere (Remmers, 2011).

5.2.1 Why community urban agriculture

In the literature review chapter, we already discussed the importance of community urban agriculture. This type of small-scale collective urban farming does not aim for profitable agricultural production. It aims at re-linking the attachment between people and nature, people and community and local food networks by practicing ecological and friendly farming. The community-oriented urban farming activity we will discuss here is about the possibility that it can contribute to the quality of urban public space, citizen sustainability awareness and social cohesion.

With the review of the focus of community-oriented urban agriculture, the next question is why do we try to look for community urban

farming when there are already other scales of urban agricultural production going on in Almere? To answer this question, we have to look at the Almere Principles, which the city made for developing the sustainability icon as a future vision. In order to give Almere a sustainable future, it is impossible to make the city more sustainable without the citizens' involvement. Therefore, in principle 7, empowering people to make the city, it writes '*Acknowledging citizens to be the driving force in creating, keeping and sustaining the city, we facilitate them in pursuing their unique potential.*' Although the whole vision of the plan is based on a top-down approach, from this point we can see that the municipality is fully aware that people's involvement is also an important force in making the city. It is people and their everyday life practices that constitute the urban dynamics, and moreover, sustainable urban dynamics in the future. From this point of view, to reach for the people's support and for a willingness to practice sustainability in their daily lives is a part of the master vision.

Urban agriculture is one of the historical identities in Almere. How to link urban agriculture with people's sustainable life practices becomes an issue. Community-oriented urban farming is the answer that pops out from the mind. Both interviews from civil servants in the municipality of Almere and Gaston Remmers' article support this idea. In an interview of a civil servant from the urban environment maintenance department, a lady highlighted principles 3, 6 and 7, showing that they also expect people's involvement in building local food networks, social cohesion and sustainable everyday life practices by transforming vacant urban public spaces into community urban farming sites. More than the policy agreement in general, both interviewees from the urban planning department and urban environment maintenance department talked about the failure of community-based urban farming projects that they proposed but were rejected by the citizens in the target neighborhood they used to worked

in.

At the theoretic level, Gaston Remmers (2011) argued the importance of building a cultural repertoire for urban farming by using the model of ‘Eco-effective entrepreneurship in an integral perspective.’ He argued that in the case of urban agriculture, there is a need to re-link the sustainability performance between different stages of cultural development. In order to attain the goal of sustainability as the icon of the city, the city needs to present a ‘**culture of sustainability**’ from the individual scale to the collective scale. Remmers suggested that this goal in the reality of urban agriculture in Almere would be ‘*to facilitate the dynamic interplay between core value systems and life conditions at different levels (action habitats), that lead to generative urban farming practices, that is, practices that are open to contributions by several actors and can hence grow*’. In this sense, the local inhabitants in Almere also have to be involved with the urban farming practice if the municipality really wants to reach their goal. In other words, if the government puts urban agriculture as one of important items in practicing sustainability in their vision, under this vision initiated by the power structure, citizens are also one of the actors in the network. Then, from the view of this vision, it is not enough for the citizens to just consume organic food from the city farm or supermarket. People as well as the community need to get their hands in the soil, which community-based urban agriculture presents as its significant role in this vision.

5.2.2 Reasons of absence in different perspective

Although both policy makers in the municipality and scholars’ research about urban agriculture in Almere agree with the necessity of developing community-based urban farming in Almere, they hold quite different perspectives in facing the fact that community scale urban farming in Almere is still absent now. The following section will

present a summary of different voices from the investigation.

From the perspective of state power, which is represented by the voice of civil servants here, four reasons were mentioned to explain the fact that there’s no community-based urban farming so far:

The detachment between political claims and policy

‘The vision doesn’t say anything about we will do “in” the city, they just said it is important. Because of it is more concrete on the new part of Almere. For the maintenance of the city, it not a very good work, because that would say you keep it as it is. Maintenance and development go hand in hand, but at the existing city, we don’t have the real strategy or policy of urban agriculture or other sustainable policy.’ (Km)

The most significant presentation of showing the sustainable development vision in Almere is the Almere principles and Almere 2.0. Almere 2.0 is specifically focused on the future development for the new city and future developing area. The Almere principles show the core values that the municipality aims to work on. However, applied to the current urban development policy, the Almere principles are more close to political claims rather than policy guidelines. The Almere principles clearly address different aspects that the city aims to work on, but there is not a clear project about how to apply the principles into daily affairs. Since there isn’t an existing clear plan about how to apply the principles to the daily affairs and existing policies, civil servants can only try to make their own interpretation of the principles.

The gap between the political claims of ‘the Almere principles’ and existing policy which civil servants work on everyday results in a situation of multiple interpretation of the principles without one

consistent system. Therefore, we heard the story that civil servants in general agree and support the idea of empowering inhabitants in Almere to develop community urban farming projects. It is just that there is no policy specific focused on this object. In this case, civil servants from different departments can only try to facilitate sustainable development or propose something related to urban farming within the existing framework. Since there's not an integrated project to help local inhabitants to initiate community urban farming, it is not surprising that the top-down supportive idea can not be transformed into a strong power structure that facilitates the local development of community urban farming.

Bureaucratic system

Related to the reason that there is no specific project and policy for proposing community urban farming, civil servants are limited in their daily affairs and department. Even though a lot of civil servants and the alderman do regard sustainable development as an important issue in the governance of the city, the traditional bureaucratic system blocks the transparency, communication and possibility of cross-sectoral cooperation. From the following quotation in an interview we can see this:

'I work at one kind of department, and there are a lot of departments together they have their own subjects. Urban manners also have to do with garbage stuff, green, and road. The team I work in takes the policy for maintenance of public space, so that you are talking about the green, water, sewage that is on the gram for the garbage water, and then road, basically. We make the policy for that, so we also have to do something with the vision of our elder men, together work for the correlation.'

'Because you have already spoken to someone from urban planning, he explained to you for thing they work on, I only know my part.' (Km)

In this case, community urban agriculture, or even urban agriculture, do not directly belong to a certain department's governance. For the future planning of urban farming, it may be related to the urban planning department; for re-using existing public space to make urban community gardens, it is related to urban environment maintenance; for transforming the previous commercial glasshouse into a profitable allotment garden rental, it also related to another department. All these urban agricultural events are the responsibilities of different government departments. Without one consistent coordinating organization, it is hard for civil servants from different departments to spend extra effort outside of their daily work to work on urban agriculture together.

Land use pattern and lifestyle in Almere

Already from the beginning of setting a new city, Almere has aimed to provide more space for inhabitants, and release the housing pressure on the existing Ranstad cities. Almere offers a promising living environment with more green space, your own garden in the backyard and some convenient public transportation to Ranstad cities, which attracts people to live there. Since a big portion of the inhabitants work is outside of the city in the daytime, in the time they don't work, they already enjoy nature and their backyard. As mentioned in the interview of a civil servant in the municipality of Almere:

'There is limited thing that we can do stimulated. Almere has a lot of houses with backyards, so people will maintain their backyards, but it's a different thing to ask them to do more than that. There are some people who want to do that of course, but

there are also people have a garden with apparently fill with stones. They said they save their garden. (Km)

Unlike in Amsterdam, where people living in a compact housing area long for green space and neighborhood public space, community urban gardens provide a good space to combine multi-functional spaces. The specific lifestyle and the created natural space in Almere's cultural context limit the local inhabitants' willingness to participate in public projects.

How to empower a community?

One significant characteristic where community urban farming differs from other types of urban farming is that community urban farming does not only relate to urban land use and agricultural techniques. In order to initiate a community project, people's participation from the community is needed. Therefore, the challenge of initiating community urban farming with a top-down approach is not only in organizing the land resources, but that human resources are also necessary in the network. From both interviews of the civil servants in different departments in the municipality of Almere, I heard the response that they all try to propose the idea that using community urban gardens is a possible way for public space renovation as well as strengthening local social cohesion. However, during the community meeting, people did not buy the idea proposed by the representatives from the municipality. In other words, the state power did not successfully empower the local inhabitants to participate in their 'triple in one' ideal land use planning: healthy food production, sustainable lifestyle practice and building community identity through the community urban farming activity. Here lies an important issue: within a legitimate scope, it is not possible to force people to do what they don't want in a democratic society. For example, talking about the failure of a project in Almere-Haven, the interviewee from the municipality explained her role and position as a

policy maker:

We said from government perspective is sounds like a nice strategy, but if you want to reach some goal like that, it must be something that the citizens actually want to do. Because you can say that is a nice idea for an existing city, but we said that if the man is going to stop the principles, people decide how they develop the neighborhood, you cannot say this is how we are going to do it, like tore down; so we say we need a bottom-up approach. In the end, for the bottom-up approach, there are some initiatives of people that were not specifically urban agriculture, but they were in citizenship project in the green city. So there is one neighborhood that does their own maintenance of their neighborhood, but they don't make the agriculture. People didn't say they want to have urban agriculture over the whole city. That's sort of why the idea didn't happen, because it is not possible to do that tore down. Maybe the whole problem was if you have that vision of urban agriculture, but at the same time you want people to have the bottom up ideas. (Km)

The interview clearly addresses that it is not enough to execute a community project without reaching the bottom-up structure, even if the power structure has the willingness to offer supportive resources.

Seeing the reasons explaining the absence of community urban farming in Almere from the representatives of state power, next is the interpretation from the researchers working on Almere's urban agriculture development and local participants working to stimulate community urban farming in Almere. Summarizing their opinions, there are three aspects we can discuss regarding the current phenomenon.

1. Almere lifestyle

Scholars recognize the ‘Almere lifestyle’ as one of the reasons making it difficult to initiate civil activities in Almere. The concept of an ‘Almere lifestyle’ is similar with descriptions from the civil servants--lots of inhabitants have their work and social life in Ranstad cities. Almere is a place for them to take rests at night and enjoy nature and their personal lives. In addition, the housing typology in Almere makes most inhabitants have their own garden in the backyard. Although many neighborhoods in Almere identified themselves as having strong community identity, the community identity is structured by this specific suburban lifestyle, where collective green farming is not part of the activities they practice to strengthen their community identity.

2. Lack of experience and knowledge

Besides the suburban lifestyle reducing people’s will to participate in green initiatives in Almere, local initiatives which want to popularize urban farming also meet the difficulty in lacking empowerment experience and farming techniques. A researcher in Wageningen University’s applied plant research chair group, Arjan Dekking, described what he experienced in participating in the local organization concerns about community urban farming. He mentioned that as a local inhabitant, urban farming researcher and local participant, he has the observation that the missing piece in developing community urban farming in Almere is not support from the power structure or other non-human resources. The missing piece is more participants and time. In his understanding, Almere has very good conditions for developing a self-sustained food system. There is enough space, budget and a politically supportive structure to do so. However, unlike in Amsterdam where many professional community empowerment activists work with the local community, people who are interested in community urban farming do not know how to organize themselves efficiently to reach the supportive power structure. Therefore his new work in the Almere

city farm is to try to stimulate the top-down and bottom-up to meet each other.

3. Political climate

In both interviews and articles in RUAF magazine, Gaston Remmers holds a critical attitude in seeing Almere’s urban agriculture development. He criticizes that although Almere seems to have good conditions and is politically supportive towards developing urban agriculture, the conservative political climate in Almere does not keep as open of an attitude as it presents in the public sphere. In his article, ‘City Resilience: Building Cultural Repertoire for Urban Farming in Almere’ (Remmers, 2011), he criticized that despite the previous city farming experiences and the development of Agromeer in the future, the presence of urban farming in Almere to the vitality is limited and fragmented. Like previously mentioned, at present there is no coherent policy to address urban farming in the city. In his words, it is a pity that Almere has abundant yet uncovered potential for urban farming (Remmers, 2011).

Concluding the reasons of why community urban farming not yet happen in Almere, few points are address here: both researchers and civil servants think the suburban lifestyle at some point reduce people’s motivation in public participation, and urban farming plan in Almere is not yet a concrete policy but a vision without clear plan. On the other hand, it seems that both bottom-up force and top-down are lost in some labyrinth. Both of them claim that they know the importance of cooperation, but they can’t find each other. One said people are not interesting in it, the other said people are willing to do but can’t reach the top-down support. Regarding this contradictory interpretation, I think it is not responsible for the top-down force end up with the sentence ‘we can’t force people to do what they don’t want, so leave it there.’ According to my understanding of the strategic plan in De

Certeau's context, strategic plan means the power structure is a complete entity with proper space and enough resources. Therefore strategy is not a single action, but a systematic power structure that influences the individuals in the structure. If municipality Almere really wants to prove urban agriculture is the future, there are loads of things they can do more than political claim or said 'people are not interested in it'. Moreover, in the interviews of civil servants, I often heard the statement about the separate responsibility and affairs between different departments, or different departments didn't know each others' working plan. I didn't mean civil servants are shirk its responsibility. From their words, I see more like these ambitious civil servants are also stuck in between their daily bureaucratic works and new things they would like to work on. From this point, I think it is quite important for Almere municipality to move on from principle to an consistent policy in urban agriculture in Almere.

In this section, we analyzed reasons explaining the absence of community urban farming activities in Almere from the perspective of state power and academic observation. In the next section, an integrative analysis will be presented based on the comparative scope between the analysis above and the urban farming network I investigated in Amsterdam.

5.2.3 Seeing Almere's absence from the Amsterdam experiences

Summarizing from the discussion in the previous section, we find that the suburban spatial context in Almere structures the specific lifestyle in Almere. Communal weekdays make people tired enough to spend more time keeping their backyard. This individualistic suburban lifestyle results in less validity in organizing collective civil movements, such as community urban farming in this case. What is even more, limited by this communal working lifestyle, it takes more time for people who are willing to organize themselves to do

something. Here, lacking enough cultural capital and time results in a deficiency of empowerment techniques and farming techniques. It's hard for local civil initiatives to connect to the supportive power structure, or other informal urban farming networks either within the city or intercity. Without knowing how to reach the proper assistance from the top-down also makes for the misunderstanding of the municipality in thinking there are actually no people interested in their urban farming project proposal. So here, we see one communication gap between the weak bottom-up force and strong top-down state power. Second, the municipality is also limited in its own bureaucratic system. There isn't a coherent policy referred to urban farming. Even if civil servants are willing to make urban farming a policy, they can only be limited in the scope related to the range they work in. This bureaucratic limitation sets double barriers for people who want to cooperate with the government and civil servants who want to create an integrative policy for urban farming. More crucial is that we find the political claims are actually detached from the existing policy. Although the Almere principles show a genuine ideal in how to manage the urban environment in a more sustainable way, the actual policy and the daily affairs in the municipality are far behind the expectations we see in the Almere principles. We are not sure what kind of power relationship within the system leads to the scenario we find here. There is the political claim, and the future, but no significant direction to guide how to walk from the present to the desirable future.

Seeing the investigation results in Almere from the scope of the Amsterdam experiences, we find that there lies a complementary relationship between the community urban farming presence in Almere and Amsterdam. What Amsterdam has is the thing Almere needs most, and vice versa. The first observation is the relationship between urban residential form and the level of civil activity. Under compact urban development, inhabitants in Amsterdam own little green space and

neighborhood public space. Most people live in highly dense neighborhood housing. Most inhabitants don't have open space like gardens. Owning a balcony is almost the best vertical open space one can get. Under this spatial context, to reach more open space in a neighborhood becomes a logical driving force for local inhabitants to organize a civil movement. Community urban gardens, under this socio-spatial context, can be seen as a type of spatial outcome combining green space and community space. Most people who live in Amsterdam also work and study in Amsterdam. From the interviews, many respondents mentioned that they just want to have 'something nice that is not far away from home, and able to meet the neighborhoods.' On the other side of the story, in Almere, which already planned space for inhabitants from the beginning of its urban development, people own a lot more green and open space in their living environment. On the bright side, the low-density suburban lifestyle offers a better living quality for inhabitants, but the dark side is that the NIMBY attitude exists within the suburban lifestyle (Dear, 1992; Stifle, 1995; Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001) and is also a barrier for the possibility of civil aggregation. The NIMBY attitude here is not literally 'Not In My Back Yard', but the same coldness with the reverse version in which they refuse to get involved in public sphere both socially and physically.

For example, community urban farming participants in Amsterdam see the public space in the neighborhood as the extension of shared space. Therefore, they take care of the public space as if it was their own space. In this case in Almere, or the suburban context, people are likely to stay away from the public and keep their hands clean in their own territory. The public participation in public space becomes the 'non-place' in the suburban community. This branch NIMBY attitude results in the weak grassroots power in Almere in which civil servants claim that 'we can't force people to do community urban farming if they don't want' and researchers' observations about a few initiatives with

motivation but a lack of networking. People either have no time to participate in the civil empowerment activities or do not feel the necessity to fight for more space, because they already have it. It may not be fair to say that once people own enough space, they will keep their focus in their backyard. At least from what we see in the investigation, people transform the congenital demerit (limited public space) into a positive force in civil movements. On the other hand, so far we haven't seen significantly related results from the suburban community in Almere.

The second observed complementary relationship between Almere and Amsterdam is these two cities lie on the two ends of the 'top-down and bottom-up' spectrum. Although in discussing the process of place making, the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach used to be seen as two dualistic perspectives, but in most cases, the boundary is not that clear. The bottom-up and the top-down have to meet somewhere to reach a balance. (Maloney, Smith & Stoker, 2000; Eisebith, Formhold-Eisebith, 2005; Fraser et al, 2006)

With little support from the state power, civil initiatives in Amsterdam develop strong informal networks to support each other in reaching farming knowledge, empowerment movements and experience sharing. For example, the project 'farming the city' aims to provide an integrated on-line network of farming sites in Amsterdam. They also organize weekly DIY workshops about urban farming techniques in Amsterdam. SWOMP4 is allied with the transition town De Pijp association and permaculture. Urban farming sites in Nieuw West Amsterdam mostly start from the permaculture courses in the local women's center. From time to time, small meetings where people exchange seeds or experience sharing workshops also happen in the city. Scattered small community farms run without support from state power constituting an alternative urban landscape in the city. On the other hand, Almere is a city with a vision of sustainable development.

From the desk research, we see Almere is one of the cities in the Netherlands that is ambitious to develop urban agriculture. National and international conferences are held in Almere every year, and ambitious new town planning like Almere Oosterwold takes urban agriculture as one of the important elements in the planning. In contrast to the strong power structure, we find that the political claims seem to take over the actual policy making. The top-down approach so far hasn't formed a clear policy about urban agriculture, and it isn't deep rooted into the ground. In Amsterdam, we see the bottom-up needs to find the top-down. In Almere, the top-down is looking to reach the bottom-up.

In the Amsterdam experiences, I identified the intermediate force in the analysis of the cases as an important supporting role in the management of community gardens. The actors in the intermediate force are those such as people who work in the urban environment NGO, students researching about this topic, environmental activists, social movement groups or professional practitioners on sustainable environment. These people form an informal network dynamic between different urban community gardens. This intermediate force is especially important when the urban farming network lacks a role from the power structure. These intermediators often have more social and cultural capital, and with their social and cultural capital, they sometimes use their influence to reach the top-down, and sometimes they help participants to negotiate the legal status of the garden. In short, the intermediate force in the Amsterdam urban farming network plays a role in which it offers an extra network for people in the community. Sometimes it also becomes a platform where the bottom-up and top-down can meet together. From the scope of what intermediators can help with, I argue that this is what the community urban farming network in Almere is

missing. There has to be more things happening between the strong top-down approach and weak bottom-up approach. There should be somewhere they can meet together. Gaston Remmers (2011) has the conclusion in his article that mentioned:

The coordination between stakeholders at all levels (local up to global) is vital to unfold the potential of urban farming for city vitality.

In another article of his in RUAF magazine, he presents a new organization that aims to generate sustainable development in Almere. The Almere Development Centre for Urban Farming (or ⁴ OSA in Dutch) is the result of the Economic Development Board Almere (EDBA), which is composed of organizations from academic organizations, governmental organizations and consultancy (CAH Almere University of Applied Sciences, a new educational and research facility in Almere, with a background in agriculture and biology, Applied Plant Research - Wageningen University, with a research station in Lelystad (Flevoland province), Witteveen + Bos, consultancy and engineering, Flevoland Development Agency (OMFL), strengthening business development in Flevoland province.) OSA aims to generate the cultural repertoire that Remmers (2011) argued is an essential need to develop sustainable and synergized urban farming practices for a healthy and vibrant Almere. He has the expectation for OSA to form an interactive platform that is able to connect practice, policy and research.

In a way, we can say professionals, researchers and state powers in Almere are already trying to break the fragmented situation now. By creating an intermediate force between the top-down and bottom-up

⁴ <http://www.osa-almere.nl>

(but still forming a top-down approach), expect something more dynamic to happen in the near future.

5.2.4 Conclusion

In this section, we gave a structural analysis about the absence of community urban farming in Almere based on the investigation presented in chapter 4. Different from the experiences in Amsterdam, Almere has good conditions for developing various scales of urban agriculture with its abundant land resources and supportive state power. However, the strong state power until now has not exerted its influence in an effective way. There is a history and future for urban agriculture in Almere, but there is no clear policy to orient civil servants and people to walk from the present to the future. Another aspect is that the suburban lifestyle in Almere produces a NIMBY attitude, which results in that there's not a significant organization that the top-down can reach to cooperate with. Since the core of community urban farming is 'community,' the state power cannot support community urban farming without an actual community.

Although Amsterdam and Almere have quite different socio-spatial structures, the successful movement model in Amsterdam might be hard to apply under Almere's own spatial context. Nevertheless, from the experiences of Amsterdam, we see the importance of the role that intermediators located between the top-down and bottom-up force. The intermediate force increases the complexity of the actors' network in community urban farming development, and also enriches the dynamics of the movement. Here we highlight that this force seems to be lost in the picture of Almere. There should be more different actors getting involved, therefore we argue that the intermediate force might be the key to turning on the network flow in Almere, to pushing the fragmented urban farming network in Almere to something more dynamic. Luckily, in Almere, researchers are also proposing a similar

idea. An organization aiming to repair the gap between the top-down and bottom-up was recently formed. It would be an interesting line to follow the further urban agriculture development in Almere by observing the work outcome of OSA.

5.3 Dialogue between theory and empirical findings

The thesis started by asking the question 'What is participative place-making?' What are different interpretations of participatory design and planning? In order to rethink these fundamental questions in a more structured way, I identified the top-down and bottom-up approaches of place making as the two ends of a spectrum. Second, I focused the field study on small-scale everyday community landscapes, in which I chose urban agriculture as an example. By comparing the bottom-up and top-down approaches of community urban farming projects in the empirical research, I expect to distinguish a heterogeneous interpretation within the term 'participatory design'.

The last part of the analysis will focus on the dialogue between the theoretic framework and empirical research findings. From the literature review, we know that it has been a trend that the aggregation of civil power forms an unavoidable force to change urban space into a more sustainable, quality environment. This unavoidable force shows the possibility of community empowerment, and through the empowered people, they create a better, livable public environment. On the other hand, we see other related research (Hou, 2010) in urban community agriculture, everyday urbanism and participatory planning argue an important issue: that is, DIY urban place made by ordinary people should no longer be considered as an illegal act. Sometimes people know what is more a suitable, sustainable space for themselves. We should look at these informal urban actions with more positive attitude, that they do have a positive influence on the culture and society. Local wisdom and civil power are worth respecting.

Although all these small and beautiful examples show us the potential that civil power can change, we should not forget that they all exist in a structured society. Once they are part of the society, we should not ignore the force of the power structure's influence, either in a negative or positive way. This research is not going to give more praise to the successful DIY community urban farming space. They are already good enough to receive the appreciation they already have. The research is aiming to find out the niche where civil power (bottom-up) can engage more with the power structure (top-down), and how this engagement can create more quality urban space with the efficient support of the power structure and lively civil power. Community urban agriculture is taken as a category to focus on in the empirical research.

The structure of discussing the intersection of theory and empirical findings will focus on what we see in the field, and how it is related to the theory. They will be described in an order that follows the order in the literature review chapter: participatory design and everyday urbanism. Furthermore, after discussing what is revealed through the double lens (theory and empirical research), we are going to answer the questions: What can top-down and bottom-up approaches learn from each other? What can be better? What are the key factors we recognize in the research?

5.3.1 Participatory design in top-down and bottom-up approaches

One of the research goals in this thesis is to find out if there is any observable difference between top-down and bottom-up participatory design in spatial outcomes. In the empirical research, I chose Amsterdam and Almere as two comparative cities, for the reason that these two represent bottom-up and top-down urban development in Dutch urban history (Boelens, 2012).

Before discussing the relationship between the empirical findings and

theoretic framework, a short review of what was mentioned in the literature review will help to connect the contextual analysis. In the literature review of participatory design in spatial practices, we set criteria in order to define a contrasting approach of participatory design. That is, the New Urbanism approach is regarded as the top-down approach of participatory design, because most times, there exists a predominant scheme in the project. Participatory design here is seen as a tool to enrich the design content and quality. In contrast, advocative participatory design mostly engages with civil movements. We see it as the bottom-up approach of participatory design for the reason that it grows from grassroots movements. Design is regarded as an action to embody the demand of people. These two approaches play the roles of the two ends of the spectrum. Most cases actually lie in between the two ends.

Based on the idea of comparative study, I chose to compare the degree of social cohesion embodied in the different approaches of participatory design. That is, whether social justice, participatory democracy and citizen empowerment can be observed in the target spaces' physical environment and use behaviour. With the research goals and specific indicators expected to be investigated in mind, I stepped into the field investigation. Unfortunately, the results of the field research were not fully close to expectations. From the investigation, we know that there do exist abundant bottom-up community urban farming sites in Amsterdam. However, coming to the top-down participatory design in Almere, no existing community urban farming appears in Almere yet, though there are different efforts being taken by different representative local powers.

Since there isn't a comparable site in Almere, we will take one step back. To analyze the process before the spatial outcome, what kinds of forces are orientating the process that lead to the current situation?

Before getting to the discussion, we will first map our three cases in Amsterdam and the ‘Almere ongoing effort’ on the line of the spectrum of bottom-up to top-down approaches. From the figure we can see SWOMP4 lies close to the left. The community garden on the squatted land is merely influenced by the top-down governance. The second is Buurtmoestuyn Dijkgraafplein. This project is a legal project under the land use permission from the municipality. Transvaal Buurttuinen stands in the middle of the line. The force between the top-down and bottom-up in this project is more balanced. Almere so far lies somewhere in the right. Failed community urban farming projects were all proposed by the municipality, but rejected by people.

According to the interviews and participatory observations in the Amsterdam cases, we recognize that participants are fully aware of social justice, empowerment and participatory democracy. In SWOMP4, the coordinator of the project talked about their anarchist approach being all about participatory democracy and living in a more sustainable way. SWOMP4, therefore, is a testing site showing the possibility of living in a more sustainable life with the neighborhood. The existence of SWOMP4 is to empower people. In Buurtmoestuyn Dijkgraafplein, the coordinator expresses her motivation for helping to stimulate urban agriculture is to gain social cohesion and build a healthy food system by practicing farming. Several interviewees in Transvaal Buurttuinen talked about their collective management mechanism and the importance of inviting participants from different cultural backgrounds and social economical statuses instead of just from the white Dutch middle class. In the latter two cases, inhabitants in the neighborhood also regard their community gardens as an extension of shared social space. With the opening of a community garden, more social interactions are observed in the neighborhood. Based on these results, we can say the urban farming sites in Amsterdam fit the criteria of a community space with the function of

social cohesion. On the other hand, the suburban urban structure in Almere gave more green space to people. According to the explanations of civil servants and scholars, the privatized property and commune lifestyle could be reasons that civil spatial movements are not active in Almere. However, in my opinion, the privatized property might be a reason for the people just wanting to stay in their garden, but not an excuse for the power structure (especially in a top-down approach) to stop pushing their statement of a sustainable vision just because people don’t seem to be interested in it. It might be too critical to say top-down participatory governance is problematic just because in this case there’s no result from the investigation. However I think it is fair to say more efforts should be pushed in the perspective of civil engagement and empowerment if the municipality of Almere wishes to achieve ‘people participating in making a sustainable city,’ as they claim in the Almere Principles.

Back to the Amsterdam cases, the distribution of the three cases on the spectrum also says something about the relationship between top-down and bottom-up. If we link the line between to what degree these garden cooperate with the power structure and the time they are sustained, we discover the hidden message that within the bottom-up approach, the more it stays in a balanced relationship between top-down and bottom-up, the more stable the root it sustains for a longer period of time. SWOMP4, the one fully formed by a squatting movement, received no help from the government. After three years, it closed because the government decided to take back the land. The case of Buurtmoestuyn Dijkgraafplein is one the land permission. The garden has the minimum legal status. In order to reach a more supportive force and participants, connecting the garden with the local community center and school is one of their goals to link with the community by people coming to the garden. The most successful case we see is in Transvaal Buurttuinen. By taking the funding and project permission from the department of

VR0M, the community ingeniously skipped long-term negotiation with the local municipality. What is even better is that the successful community garden became an alternative neighborhood model that the municipality can show to visitors, and the municipality offers free basic infrastructures (ex. water) as a way of supporting the garden.

Based on the questions we asked and the results from the fieldwork, answers to the research questions can be drawn like this: By asking what is the ‘real participatory design?’ or ‘What’s the difference between the top-down approach and bottom-up approach of participatory design?’ we discover the fact that things are not that easy to be realized within an extreme approach. Of course at the community scale, people are the main characters of the network relationships, but without either people or a power structure in the network, it won’t be a complete network that makes a relationship between people social and space dynamic. From our experience, a balanced influence of both the top-down and bottom-up might be the best situation to initiate a successful community urban farming project. However, each case is a different case and has its own socio-spatial context. What works for here might not work for there. In this study, we see that what cases in Amsterdam need is to reach for more opportunities to cooperate with the municipality. On the other hand, the Almere municipality needs more diverse ways to stimulate inhabitants’ action in public participation.

Interestingly, if we read again what Randolph Hester suggested in looking forward to the new participatory design paradigm in chapter 2, and think of what happen we see in the filed research, we will find out he’s actually quite write. In his suggestions, he proposed **Cross-linked participation, Renewable participation, Reflective participation, Refocused participation, Local checks and regional balance** should be focus. We also argue that the thing ‘who start the project’ is not that

important anymore, but how can different stakeholders create a dynamic network to work in balance power relationship. In the sense we see the old school participatory design adccator did not stuck in the history, reflectively to see what has been done, where do we stuck, and how can things be better are always the power to move on.

5.3.2 Everyday urbanism and everyday practice in strategy/ tactics

We understand how community urban agriculture links to the practice of space, and how different operational systems execute and deploy social value in space from Lefebvre’s and Michael De Certeau’s philosophical context. In ‘Production of Space’, Lefebvre gave the statement ‘*space is social product.*’ According to Lefebvre, physical space is the representation of social value. To consolidate physical space is to consolidate the social value system-- capitalism in his context. Through spatial discipline, the practice of everyday life in the reproduction of the capitalist social norm, homogenous city spaces force people to have homogenous lives under this system.

Derived from Lefebvre, Michael de Certeau distinguishes two operational systems that regulate the practice of everyday life. One is strategy; here we relate the strategy with the top-down approach of governance. The other is tactical, which refers to the bottom-up approach. Strategy relies on the regulation of the power structure. By building a ‘proper’ space, strategy operational systems aim to master the place through sight, and transform the uncertainties of history into readable spaces by the power of knowledge. In contrast, a tactical one is an implicit operational system. Without support from the power structure, this operational system seizes the right chance and time, utilizing limited resources, and making an intellectual synthesis. It is an art of the weak.

Meanwhile, back to the empirical research, community urban agriculture in the European context is regarded not as a solution to save hunger and improve public health, but a lifestyle practice to embed sustainable everyday life practices and healthy food education. Within this scope, the social value of community urban agriculture is more expected than the business value it could bring. Based on these theoretical frameworks and background settings, we will discuss the difference between the operational systems we observed in the empirical study.

As already mentioned in chapter 5.1, the operational system of the bottom-up case studies in Amsterdam is more close to Michael De Certeau's definition of a tactical system. Citizen groups who do not receive support from the power structure have to constantly negotiate with the power structure while managing the ongoing project. Because of a lack of proper space and enough resources, these small urban farmers organize an alternative network to help each other share more resources and experiences in practicing urban farming in Amsterdam, such as seed trading, farming workshops and harvest festivals. On the other hand, because the threshold of initiating a tactical system is lower than a strategic one, on average it takes less time to form a tactical system than a strategic system. It's way faster but comparatively more unstable than a top-down strategic operational system. The three cases in Amsterdam all spent more than one year to start up a community garden. However, only Transvaal Buurttuinen managed at a stable pace. SWOMP4 was evicted and Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein is struggling to get more public support besides the legal status. It shows that guerilla tactical gardens are easy to set, but also easy to be diminished.

In contrast, another way of practicing everyday life in space is through the path of strategic planning. The deployment of power in this structure offers a relatively stable environment to develop the target.

Regarding the top-down participatory design we see in a New Urbanist approach, in the process of designing a new project, designers will develop a scheme, which can be seen as the structure, then invite participants to give opinions under the scope of the existing structure. According to the comparison of the top-down and bottom-up approaches of participatory design, a top-down approach is seen as a sufficient one for its structured design method and fixed scheme. A bottom-up approach, in contrast, is regarded as an insufficient one. Because a collective civil engagement process will mostly take a long-term period of negotiation and discussion, it's hard to organize people's opinion without structure.

Interestingly, here we observe a controversial phenomenon in Almere and Amsterdam. The objective speculations according to the theoretic framework tell us that the top-down approach of participatory design should be more efficient than the bottom-up one. That means there are supposed to be more fruitful urban gardens in Almere than in Amsterdam, under the vision of organized and supportive strategic planning. However, it turns out that building a mobilized power structure takes more time than starting up a guerilla urban community garden. Theoretically, Almere and Amsterdam fit into the assumption of two representative top-down and bottom-up urban governances. However, the result of the investigation seems to tell that in this case, although a guerilla tactical garden might not be a stable space form, it can be a fast and efficient way to change the everyday urban landscape.

So what's the problem with the one that is expected to be fast and strong with a supportive government? In Almere, we receive answers explaining this absence, like people who are not interested in it, people rejecting proposed offers by the government, or the interested group lacks of proper knowledge to initiate the project. Then we ask, where is the power structure that is supposed to be there? Is the vision of the

Almere Principles and Almere 2.0 enough? Is that all there is? De Certeau did not give an answer about the time to build a stable structure. Here I argue that even though a strategic operational system makes top-down participatory design and planning more sufficient, in the empirical study, we find that building a stable power structure takes more time and effort than we expect. Although the Almere municipality in many aspects shows the interest in taking urban agriculture as a new layer of urban development, considering deploying this idea into people's participative everyday space and everyday lives, more efforts still need to be pushed.

Even though we say more work should be done in the future if the municipality wants to empower people with the strategic system, there might be an ethical dilemma that is what if people don't want it? To what degree does the state power have the right to influence, or even ask people to change their lifestyle? Can they say no? Already seen in the project of renovating the Arnhemplein, people rejected the proposal of making the square a community urban garden. Then what should civil servants do if they say no? In this case, I suggest we should see it as a dilemma between the individual and the structure. From the individual civil servant's view, of course they cannot force people to accept their proposal, even though they think it is better. From this point, it seems civil servants are also stuck in the structure. On the other hand, if we see it from the point of building a complete strategic operational system, when the top-down goal is to reach the vision of participative sustainable urban environment making, the strategic plan should have a consistent policy including various strategies that encourage people to participate in either individual or collective sustainable environment making. In my opinion, if the municipality of Almere claims that they are aiming to create a sustainable urban environment from the top-down scheme with people, then the municipality also has the responsibility of mobilizing people to

cooperate with them.

In this section, we examined the relationship between the making of everyday space and community urban agriculture with different mechanisms. There is no doubt that community urban agriculture shows the possibility of embodying a sustainable urban lifestyle by practicing farming activities. In the bottom-up tactical system in Amsterdam, we found that the liveliness of the urban farming in the city goes on in an unstable but dynamic way. However, what surprises us in Almere is that there isn't a sufficient mechanism existing to stimulate community urban agriculture under its visionary power structure, which claims that urban agriculture is the future of Almere. Something is missing in the strategic network. In the next section, we will find out what is missing, and suggest what would be the possible solution according to our observations from the Amsterdam experiences.

5.3.3 Suggestions and recommendations

The last part of the analysis comes to the final reflections of the study. After all the analysis and discussion about how different approaches of participatory design influence the space, community and everyday urban landscape, and why Almere and Amsterdam have wholly different stories of mobilizing people in practicing urban farming, here we are going to answer one of the main research questions in the thesis. That is, how can these two different experiences learn from each other?

There are three points from which I wish to draw the suggestions and recommendations at the end of the research. First is the importance of balancing the top-down and bottom-up forces in any community participative project. In both the Amsterdam and Almere studies, we find that the extreme top-down and bottom-up ways of project management are not easy to sustain or easy to make happen. It is

important to reach enough resource support from the power structure, but leave space for local inhabitants to self-govern the community space. The project Transvaal Buurttuinen shows a good example in reaching this balance and re-making the dog feces park into a source of community pride.

Second, referring to how to keep this balance, in the analysis of the social environment in the Amsterdam experiences from chapter 5.1, we identified there are internal, external and intermediate forces constituting the dynamics of the socio-spatial relationship in urban community farming projects. Besides the internal and external forces staying in a contested relationship, the intermediate force actually plays an important role in coordination of movement. The representatives of this intermediate force are students who are interested in this project, professional environmental activists who help to organize the urban farming project, and researchers and NGO workers who know the topic quite well. These people are not from either local communities or governmental organizations. However, they have a bit more social and cultural capital than most of the stakeholders in these urban farming networks. With their social and cultural capital, more knowledge, information and supportive resources can be passed into the network. For example, the permaculture association offered the principle of garden design to SWOMP4 and Buurtmoestuin Dijkgraafplein. In my opinion, this symbiotic relationship between the intermediators and the other two forces in a way creates a coordination that allows these bottom-up projects to exist quite well without a strong state power's protection. Furthermore, the informal network constituted by these intermediators in different projects also presents a dynamic that supports the guerilla everyday landscape in Amsterdam. Looking at the fragmented current situation in Almere, we know that besides the existing strong top-down forces, a comparable voice from the bottom-up is needed. We suggest that there should be more intermediators

getting involved in the urban agricultural network in Almere. One of especially important elements these intermediators can contribute is their ability in empower the community. From what we see in Almere, if the government looks forward to cooperating with people in making the city, surely more people need to walk out from their gardens, and more of the community needs to be empowered. Therefore, we recommend that to find the missing part of the network- an intermediate force in Almere would be helpful to make the dynamic of urban agriculture in Almere more active.

Third, from the perspective of making more diverse strategies and tactics, I suggest the municipality of Almere cannot stick to the statement that because people lack motivation, participative projects therefore just won't work. Instead of the disappointing 'proposed but rejected' experience, the government can propose more different possibilities that make people easily get access to participating in urban farming. For example, offering free seeds to interesting individuals, or if people just want to take care of the garden, they can offer a consultancy to help teach the inhabitants how to manage an eco-friendly garden. After all, it's a top-down approach. If the government claims that community urban agriculture is a good idea in compiling a healthy system, a green sustainable environment and participative place making, they shouldn't depend too much on the bottom-up force, or make the lack of a bottom-up voice an excuse. It is good to see that there are already associations forming from universities, the government and professionals, which all aim to stimulate more urban agricultural projects in Almere. We are looking forward to seeing what a stronger power structure can offer to people in the future.



**CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION**

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This thesis initiated from the idea of comparing the spatial outcome between different approaches of participatory design, and taking community urban gardens as a space category to focus on in the case studies. The research plan was to examine whether bottom-up and top-down developing community urban gardens show significant differences under the criteria of social cohesion, social justice, and participatory democracy. In order to focus on the comparative study, we decided to use the case study method as the main research method for the thesis. Based on the above research settings, we chose Amsterdam and Almere as the two cities that represent the bottom-up and top-down urban development models. Within Amsterdam and Almere, we are going to find community urban gardens that fit into the criteria of the research case object.

However, the empirical study presents the result that only bottom-up approaches of community urban gardening currently exist in Amsterdam. The community urban agriculture under the top-down governance vision in Almere is still an ongoing project. That means currently there are no community urban gardens in Almere. It will take a bit longer for the municipality of Almere to work on developing small-scale community urban agriculture. Since there are no comparable sites of top-down participatory designed space, we can only analyze the empirical case study findings in Amsterdam. Facing the situation in Almere, we turned the discussion into asking why there is no community urban agriculture in Almere, especially when the municipality of Almere has quite an ambitious vision to make urban agriculture one of the sustainable identities in its urban development. By presenting the situations in Amsterdam and Almere, I used the research findings concluded from the Amsterdam experiences to examine what is missing in Almere, and how the two approaches can

learn from each other.

In this conclusion, I will use four points to present my final findings:

1. The balance between top-down and bottom-up forces

The essence of design is change for a better life. Referring to participatory design, people who support this design method believe that users know what they want better than designers and planners. The only differentiation between top-down and bottom-up approaches of participatory design is the percentage that professionals take control of. In grassroots participatory design, the function of designers and planners is to facilitate public opinion into spatial representation. On the other hand, New Urbanism's participatory design sees participation as a tool of enriching the design quality. The power is still held in the professionals' hands. Participation is an objective method, not a subjective role in the civil engagement place-making project. According to our investigation, both pure top-down and bottom-up approaches are hard to sustain or be created successfully. A city is a complex organism. It is not enough to work with a single perspective. A good model for balancing different approaches and power relationships of design that we see in the empirical studies is the urban farming project Transvaal Buurttuinen.

2. Creating a dynamic network relationship

Different places have their own socio-spatial context. Participants in Amsterdam see community urban garden space as the extension of shared space from their homes. The semi-public/private gardens offer great chances for the participants to interact with neighbors and more quality green space, social space and healthy food. In the other case, unlike Amsterdam, inhabitants in Almere mostly have their own

property, including gardens and houses. Taking one more step out to the public sphere for the people who have a commune lifestyle is a bit much, according to the interviews in Almere. Although the socio-spatial contexts are varied, it is necessary to be aware that a successful community urban farm is built in a dynamic network. Different stakeholders have a different influential percentage in each case, but in all successful cases, these social and non-social actors work in a dynamic network relationship. The accordance of different stakeholders (or in the description in previous chapters of internal, external and intermediate forces) is embodied in the observable spatial behavior in the space. A lively space needs people. Only if people are willing to be in a community space, the social value of the space is signified.

3. Diverse strategy/ tactic operational system

In the cases in Amsterdam, we see local community groups engage their practice in a creative way. A supportive power structure not only comes from local networks, the national government is also an option; permaculture organizations, local schools, or green Islam organizations are all possible links in a broad network that coordinates community urban farming in Amsterdam. In Almere, the current connectivity between different stakeholders is not that fluent now. A more diverse way to stimulate public awareness of sustainable lifestyle practices in everyday life and space needs to be taken seriously if the government is looking forward to realize their political claims. Scholars like Gaston Remmers have already pointed out the problem of fragmented development in Almere, and related cross-sectoral associations have just been formed to stimulate more things to happen. We hope in the future we can see an active network really move on working in community urban farming in Almere.

4. Community urban agriculture: sustainable lifestyle practice

The social value that community urban agriculture has in a developed

society is to embody a sustainable lifestyle in spatial practice. In fact, it is way easier to buy fresh food from a supermarket than to organize a garden and spend months to grow vegetables. Nevertheless, what I have seen during the fieldwork is not just some vegetables grown from the ground in a small garden, but also the attitude of rethinking our food system, a closer neighborhood relationship and a more friendly social space. Community urban farming reconnects urban cities and nature through everyday practices. We see the results from people lingering in the garden, and the shining eyes revealed while they were talking about how much joy the garden brings to them. Moreover, we see the concept of practicing urban agriculture not only from grassroots movements, but the government is also gradually seeing its importance in recovering the sustainability of the city. Sustainable development is not a theoretical statement only existing in a book. From community urban farming, we see sustainability is practiced in our everyday life and everyday space. We are looking forward to seeing it become a broadened everyday landscape in the city.

At the end of this thesis, I realize that the question ‘What is the real participatory design’ is actually a false proposition. Urban agriculture is also one of the items when we think of urban sustainable development. The truth is the voice fighting for a healthier, happier and more beautiful urban environment is becoming an unavoidable force. In the path, urban areas are regarded as a worse living environment compared to the countryside. Now, the discourse is reversed. Creating a sustainable urban environment with your hands is not that hard. More voices should be heard, and more gardens and civil participation should be seen. If this thesis can offer any help for people spending their everyday lives improving their living environment, I hope they know they are not alone, and I hope it provides proof to the power structure that community urban agriculture is the future, no matter if they want to initiate a project or not, or whether or not they are thinking of accepting

all kinds of green guerilla place making in the city. The thesis is for people who fight for defending that people should have the right to change their urban environment and people who are already practicing their right in their neighborhood. A civil society doesn't need a hero to rescue it, but we do need more hands to push ourselves to a better future together.



CHAPTER 7
LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES

Chapter 7 Limitations and challenges

There were two limitations in the process of doing this research. First and also the most serious one was the barrier of the language. As a researcher who does not understand the local language, which in this context was Dutch, I faced difficulties in digging into Dutch governmental archives and understanding the language in the community meetings. Language carries the representation of culture and the social context under that culture. A lot of times in the field, I could only receive translated and simplified versions of the communication contents. In the community meetings or interviews most participants and interviewees were able to express themselves in English. Even if the meeting was in Dutch, or some interviewees were unable to speak English, participants who could speak English would kindly translate the conversation into English for me. It is expected that in translating a complicated dialogue into a simplified English version, lots of spoken and unspoken emotion and body language would be missed during the translation. On the other hand, the language problem also set a limit for me in finding Dutch data and other research materials. The research takes two examples in Dutch cities. It would be a lot better if I could understand the Dutch governmental archives and other related materials during the desk research phase.

The second limitation is about the cultural differences. Without understanding the local language, it's hard to collect first hand material under a social and cultural context. Urban community gardening is not only about the garden, but also the local political climate, bureaucratic system, neighborhood identity and the national culture of seeing the farming activity. It is a pity that my unfamiliarity with Dutch culture caused the fact that I didn't analyze the research findings from the local social and political perspectives. It would be better if the analysis could provide an in-depth analysis of urban community farming based on

Dutch urban development history and urban/rural agriculture in the Dutch cultural context.



**CHAPTER 8
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CHAPTER 9
APPENDIX

Chapter 9 Appendix

Interview guide

A. Basic information

1. Name:
2. Gender:
3. Age:
4. Occupation:
5. Marriage/ children:
6. Farming experience:

B. Common questions

1. How did you start to get involve with this project? and for how long?
2. How often you work on this project? (either farming and other works)
3. The reason you start to involve the project. (hobby/ food demand/ environmental practice/ social interaction...)
4. What do you grow in your land? Do you use any method or chemicals?
5. Do you take course for farming?
6. Can you tell about the process of forming the garden? What is the design/ planning process? Are there any designer help you to make this garden? How do you work?
7. Do you meet partners here? how? do you know each other before?
8. Do you invite other people to join this project? how? do they come?
9. Is there interaction between you and other farmers here? Other than meet each other when working here, do you have some other meeting?
10. What do you do in the meetings?
11. Do you perceive yourself as part of the community/ group here?
12. Are you worry about your plants might get damaged by people from outside? how do you prevent? do you using lock?
13. Do you like your garden?
14. How do you perceive the meaning of practice the farming in the city like this?
15. What do you learn from it? Do you discover something you never know before?
16. What it the happiness to get involve with this project?
17. What is the difficulty or problem you meet in this project?
18. How do you see the difference between your garden and the public allotment garden?
19. If you can, which one will you choose?

C. Optional questions

1. What do you think of the ending?
 2. Will you find a new place for yourself or the community?
 3. What is the reason you agree to end up the project? What's the process during the negotiation?
- (For the project organizers)
4. Introduction of the history, purpose, organizing process and vision of the project
 5. How you organize and communicate with different people?
 6. How to deal with the budget?
 7. What is the struggle with the land use permission, policy, people and professionals?

Interviewees' code table

Code	Gender	Age	Occupation	Marriage	Children	Experience	Nationality
Aa	F	28	Part time in Union	N	N	N	Dutch
Mb	F	25	Student	N	N	N	Dutch
Ec	F	54	Artist	N/A	Y	Y	U.S
Ad	F	26	Researcher	N	N	N	Dutch
Se	F	41	Photographer	Y	N	N	U.S
Tf	M	63	Psychologist	Y	Y	N	Dutch
Kg	F	66	Artist	N	N	SOME	German
AMh	F	46	High school teacher	N	Y	N	Dutch
Ai	F	50	self-employee	Y	Y	N	Dutch
Bj	M	47	teacher in men center	N	Y	Y	Iran
Lk	F	78	Retire	Y	Y	N	Dutch
Zl	F	44	Part time in Women center	Y	Y	N	Morocco
Km	F	n/a	Civil servant	n/a	n/a	N	Dutch

