Nature-based solutions within the Dutch urban environment

How collaborations between actors shape processes and activities of citizens' initiatives

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Preface

The setting up of the research had some struggles. Initially for this research I would be focusing on the social aspects of Nature-Based-Solutions. When a possible connection could be made with a contact of my supervisor, the focus was directed more towards different modes of governance of urban green spaces. But unfortunately, due to issues with communication the connection was not possible after all, and the research finally focused on citizens' initiatives. As this pathway has helped me to gain insights in different governance arrangements and the roles of different involved actors, this change in plan can be seen in the flow of the introduction. The introduction therefore symbolizes the timeline of this research. Resulting, the concept of Nature-based-solutions is only briefly considered, as the final focus of this thesis lies more on the governance aspects rather than the effects of the projects itself.

During the many months of conducting the research and writing this thesis I obtained quite some new insights. One of my main personal goals was to speak to different actors and organizations. The conversations that I had were rather interesting; both for the research as it created an understanding of the collaborations, as for me personally as it contributed in understanding how our society is set up and how everything and everyone is related. I much appreciated to see how people are highly motivated and passionate about their work and other activities, and how people contribute to our natural environment in all kinds of ways.

In addition, I am sparked to see that one of the involved subprojects - the Tiny Forest - is becoming a widespread concept. It started in Japan and was adopted by a man in India, and now IVN is starting to collaborate with several municipalities in our country to develop those small forests. Such examples provide good prospects for the future of our close environment and that of other urban landscapes. I am happy that several of my friends and relatives noticed me about this project, showing how my passion for nature is passed on to others.

I would like to thank all of the respondents who were happy to make some time to share their insights with me. I furthermore appreciate all the effort that my supervisor put in and feedback that he provided me with. I have obtained many new insights and understandings of social research and the applicability in society, so thank you very much Arjen. In addition, thanks to everyone else who has supported me in this period, it is much appreciated!

Cover picture: Personal photograph of the park Oosterspoorbaan

Content

Abstract

Nature-Based Solutions (NBS) address how innovative solutions using nature or natural aspects are explored to address environmental, social, and economic challenges. Participatory governance such as active citizenship can enable addressing the challenges effectively, leading to inclusion of a multitude of perspectives. In such participatory arrangements, the balance between governmental involvement and high autonomy for civil society actors can vary. In addition, the collaborations between involved actors are subject to effects of power and discourses, possibly having effects on other processes and activities of the citizens' initiatives. These effects can differ depending on different involvement of most importantly the governmental and civil society actors.

With a governance framework including dimensions on actors, institutional framework, resources, processes and activities, allows analysing different governance arrangements. The effect of discourses and power is considered with the theory on performative discourses, explaining how actors adopt discourses of other actors and perform in accordance with those discourses. This theoretical framework enables analysing how collaborations between involved actors interact with the processes and activities of these initiatives. A case study on two green citizens' initiatives in Utrecht, the Netherlands was conducted. Qualitative interviews with 14 respondents took place, which were transcribed and coded to enable analysis and comparison of the two governance arrangements.

The results show the different institutional frameworks to affect collaborations, availability of resources and participation processes. The types of ownership and involvement of the two authorities leads to characterization of the Cremertuin project as self-governance and the Oosterspoorbaan as co-governance. Unexpectedly however, the resulting processes of citizen engagement in the design of the projects reached higher levels in the project of the Oosterspoorbaan than in the Cremertuin. In activities, citizens are highly involved in both projects. The findings indicate how power was exerted by both authorities and civil society actors; which is also seen in the performative effects of discourses. Concluding, this case study illustrates how involved actors and institutional frameworks can affect the development of a citizens' initiative, through effects of power and discourses. The type of collaborations of the citizens' initiatives with the authority were not binding for the actual processes of citizen engagement, as the different levels of engagement were more related to the goals of the involved actors and the power processes that enable the concerning actors to act according to these goals.

1.   Introduction

Ideally, this will achieve diverse goals and facilitate a comprehensive and inclusive approach: incorporating local knowledge, advocating environmental interest, and stimulating local acceptance. The specific forms of self-governance and active citizenship have become important concepts in Dutch policy-making. Such arrangements like citizens' initiatives indicate high autonomy for civil society actors, and are thought to increase the democratic character and effectiveness of governance. Citizens' initiative however might need to collaborate with government or other actors, e.g. for permission to use an area or for specific knowledge or skills.

The following introduction provides the relevant background information for this research. First, a general overview is provided of the relationship between humans and ecosystems. This is further specified to ecosystems in the urban environment, to inform how nature copes with our densely populated areas. Nature-Based-Solutions provide natural solutions to environmental, social and economic challenges in such urban environments. Involvement of a wide range of actors is needed to realize the full potential of Nature-Based-Solutions; this is employed with the steering processes of governance. Subsequently, specific participatory forms of governance illustrate how the relationships between the involved actors are more equal, also insuring incorporation of all involved goals more equally. Active Citizenship is a participatory arrangement in which autonomy of civil society actors is high and involvement of a governmental actor is not necessarily a fact. Finally, the provided background information delineates a gap in research, which is subsequently addressed in the problem statement. This leads to the formulation of the research questions and the objective of this research.

Humans and ecosystems

It's becoming ever more clear how ecosystems are affected by humans (See e.g. Hooper et al., 2005; Vitousek et al., 1997). Not only does our population directly affect the environment that we live in, adjacent areas and ecosystem functions are also influenced by the human population (e.g. Dubois et al., 2017; Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005; Lubchenco et al. 1991; Vitousek et al., 1997). Besides the important relationships between the processes of ecosystems and biodiversity (Hooper et al., 2005; Loreau et al., 2001), ecosystems also provide many essential services to people: tangible ones such as the provision of food and water, but also less substantial services like energy and climate regulation, societal well-being and cultural services (Green et al. 2015; Haase et al., 2014; Hartig et al., 2014; Kabisch et al., 2016; Keniger et al., 2013; Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005). This shows that ecosystems play an important role for ecological, societal and economical purposes, and it is of great importance to safeguard their presence and use their services sustainably. With the realization of the relationship and dependency between humans and nature, ideas and terminologies have been proposed that enable within science, policy and practice to define and properly manage natural resources. Besides the term ecosystem services, other concepts have been proposed: sustainable development - as first mentioned by the United Nations (Brundtland et al., 1987), natural capital *(encompassing economical aspects)* (Costanza & Daly, 1992), ecosystem-based adaptation (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2009), and ecosystems as infrastructure with the terms ecological, green, natural and blue infrastructure (see for an overview da Sylva & Wheeler, 2017; Nesshöver et al., 2017).

Urban ecosystems

Most of the previously mentioned terms, used to define and manage natural resources, have predominantly been used in relation to urban environments (da Sylva & Wheeler, 2017). The considered definition of urban environments is based on Pickett et al. (2001), and henceforth reads *contiguous areas with a high proportion of built infrastructure, in which people live in high densities*

of at least 1500 households per square kilometre[1]. Urban areas are of great importance for the human population: of the total human world population, 54 percent was residing in urban areas by 2014, and an increase up to 66 percent by 2050 is expected (United Nations, 2015). Also in the Netherlands, the urban population is increasing[2]. The many inhabitants of densely populated urban environments depend on the productivity of the surrounding ecosystems, and at the same time also affect these ecosystems through the use of their services and waste assimilation (Folke et al., 1997; Grimm et al., 2008; McDonald et al., 2013). Such effects of urban areas affect ecosystems covering larger areas than the cities themselves (Folke et al., 1997). However, within the petrified urban environments, also many ecosystems and natural areas reside. Parks, gardens and other types of vegetation can be found throughout urban landscapes. Such patches of nature provide different services for the urban environment, such as climate regulation through the lowering of temperature, providing shade, and breaking winds (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2012). Furthermore, urban ecosystems can provide recreational values and can host a number of plant and animal species (Goddard et al., 2010; Green et al., 2016; Haase et al., 2014; Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2012). These are just few examples of the many services urban ecosystems provide, showing how urban environments can offer environmental, social and economic benefits (Green et al., 2016; Haase et al., 2014). However, also ecosystems in urban environments are negatively affected by the expanding urban population (see for an overview McWilliam et al. 2015). This stresses the importance of safeguarding natural values in urban areas, through e.g. protection, restoration or introducing of new natural areas. Many innovative ideas and technologies are increasingly being developed in response to this issue, as for example roof gardens and green walls to increase green surfaces in urban areas.

Nature-based solutions

With the recently developed concept of Nature-Based Solutions (NBS), the research and innovation policy of the EU is searching for suchlike innovative applications of biodiversity and ecosystem services that can provide environmental, social and economic benefits (European Commission, 2015). These Nature-based Solutions are 'inspired by, supported by or copied from nature' (European Commission, 2015, p.4). The concept of Nature-Based Solutions encompasses facets of many other concepts, such as ecosystem services, sustainable development, natural capital, ecosystem-based adaptation, and ecological, green, natural and blue infrastructure (Nesshöver et al., 2017), and like these concepts also provides a wide range of benefits (Faivre et al., 2017; Maes and Jacobs, 2015). For example, the EU regards NBS as a fundamental component in realizing sustainable development (European Commission, 2015 p.5). To realize the full potential of NBS and address environmental, as well as social and economic challenges, involvement of a wide range of actors enables inclusion of relevant perspectives and contributes to achieving challenges in all three of those dimensions (Cohen-Shacham et al., 2016; European Commission, 2015; Kabisch et al., 2016; Nesshöver et al., 2017). Within the steering processes of governance, the involvement of a diverse set of actors is a natural component.

Governance

In general, governance indicates the processes of steering to address societal problems, in which the government is no longer the sole institution with hierarchical power representing the collective interest, but responsibilities are shared among state, market and civil society (Glasbergen & Driessen, 2002; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006; Tacconi, 2011). It is not a theory explaining the kinds of politics taking place, but a concept encompassing the organization of policy processes and various forms of actor involvement in steering processes. Hence, governance is an extensive concept that can take many forms, differing in inter alia involved actors, their motivations, and the resulting processes and effects. The definition of governance used in this thesis is based on the definition as

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[1] https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/onze-diensten/methoden/begrippen
[2] https://www.cbs.nl/

given by Tacconi (2011): *The collective decision-making processes with involvement of both formal and informal institutions, which, together with the operating rules and mechanisms, enable a range of actors to advocate their interests and needs*. Participation of multiple relevant actors can thus facilitate the representation of different perspectives and objectives in the decision-making process (Raymond et al., 2010). In addition, depending on different levels of involvement of actors and relations amongst the actors, governance can occur in different arrangements (Arnouts et al., 2012; Bulkeley & Mol, 2003; Driessen et al., 2012; Treib et al., 2007). Theoretical typologies and frameworks enable identifying such different governance arrangements, through focusing on specific aspects of governance and providing different conceptualizations. The major conceptual focus often lies on the extent of involvement of the different actors, mostly considering the balance between intervention of the state and autonomy of society (Treib et al., 2007). Together with this diversity in actor constellations and levels of engagement, differences in the distribution of power and new policy discourses have led to the characterization of many different types of governance arrangements (van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003).

Participatory governance

Some governance arrangements reveal levels of hierarchy, with the government having a central role and non-governmental actors taking part in the policy process (Aarts & Leeuwis, 2010). Such 'classical' steering arrangements are referred to as hierarchical governance (Arnouts et al., 2012), in which power between the lead actor and other relevant actors can be regarded a vertical relationship (van Zeijl-Rozema et al., 2008). Moreover, in more deliberative governance arrangements with less involvement of the government, responsibilities of the governmental and non-governmental actors become more equal, and cooperation between these actors is essential (Arnouts et al., 2012). Such arrangements are also referred to as participatory governance and are increasingly gaining attention. When involvement of non-governmental actors is high and there is no hierarchy, it concerns a mode of self-governance or active citizenship. This is a specific form of participatory governance, in which civil society or market actors initiate governance arrangements, regardless of the role of the government (Aarts & Leeuwis, 2010), whose involvement is not necessarily a fact. Responsibility mainly rests with the non-governmental actors, which gives them high degree of autonomy (Arnouts et al., 2012).

Numerous frameworks propose conceptualizations of such different modes of governance, to allow for theoretical underpinning of empirical findings. Van Zeijl-Rozema et al. (2008) suggest modes of governance can be expressed as manifesting in between the two hierarchical and deliberative modes of governance. The ideal-typical arrangement of Arnouts et al. (2012) provides a comparable framework, following a shift from 'old' to 'new' modes of governance. They define four governance modes, differing in terms of actors, power and interaction rules: hierarchical, closed co-governance, open co-governance, and self-governance. Both the frameworks of van Zeijl-Rozema et al. (2008) and Arnouts et al. (2012) distinguish extent of involvement of governmental and non-governmental actors, but propose merely ideal-typical categorizations that explain the interaction between actors as a static equilibrium (Driessen et al., 2012; Lange et al., 2013). Such concepts describing a change in governance modes continuously arise, but do not necessarily also reflect the current policy practices: 'old' forms of governance, i.e. hierarchical, have not necessarily totally disappeared or lost their applicability (Arts & van Tatenhove, 2004; van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003). In response to this, other typologies have conceptualized modes of governance with multiple dimensions (Driessen et al., 2012; Lange et al., 2013), to enable identifying modes of governance more dynamically. In Driessen et al. (2012) the roles and relations of state, market and civil society are conceptualized by means of a dimensional approach, resulting in a framework identifying five modes of governance: centralized, decentralized, public-private, interactive, and self-governance. These modes are considered building on each other's features, rather than completely replacing the other modes.

The latter three modes of governance as described by Driessen et al. (2012) entail characteristics that reflect participatory governance modes. Important aspects characterizing participatory

governance are namely collaborative partnerships between state, market and civil society actors, in which relationships are mainly built on trust and reciprocity, decentralized decision-making processes, and more equally distributed power and resources (Fischer, 2012). Being a subset of governance, participatory governance emphasizes democratic engagement of non-governmental actors in the steering processes. It is therefore assumed to contribute to the democratic character of governance and benefit its effectiveness (Irvin et al., 2004). With interactive governance multiple actors initiate the collaboration and all participating actors have equal roles. Active citizenship takes this even further, with the private sector or civil society organizing themselves rather independently from governmental actors. In this particular mode of participatory governance, citizens hold an important position whereas the extent of governmental involvement is indistinct.

Active citizenship

Certain participatory modes of governance like active citizenship are increasingly encouraged by Western European governments, such as in the Netherlands (Sørensen & Triantafillou, 2013), where the Dutch government highlights the benefits of citizens' initiatives and 'is willing to contribute to a do-democracy' (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013: 3). The development towards a citizen-driven society is supported by the launch of programs from several ministries, such as 'In actie met burgers' ['Into action with citizens']; 'InitiatiefRijk' ['Enterprising']; and the establishment of 'Platform Participatie' ['Platform Participation'], to promote citizen participation in governmental projects[3]. These examples illustrate that the concepts of self-governance and active citizenship are becoming of great influence in Dutch policy-making (Hajer, 2011). With such high autonomy levels of non-governmental actors increasingly becoming important, collaborations and power distributions between governmental and non-governmental actors are changing. Even though citizens' initiatives arise without involvement of government and governments increasingly promote such initiatives, it might in some cases be helpful or even necessary to do engage governmental actors. This all depends on the objectives of the actors and on the characterization of the governance dimensions. Moreover, through inter alia power processes the involvement of government and other actors can have effects on the activities undertaken by the citizens' initiatives. These activities performed by citizens' initiatives oftentimes contribute to biodiversity, recreation, social cohesion, and environmental awareness (Mattijssen, Buijs & Elands, 2018a). An important issue to be explored is thus the involvement of other actors in citizens' initiatives (Gray, 2007) and possible influence on the initiatives' activities. Therefore, to explore the role of civil society and government in governance arrangement, this thesis will focus on citizens' initiatives and the collaborations with involved actors.

The analytical framework proposed by Lawrence et al. (2013) allows for analysis of different governance dimensions and the collaborations between actors. With this framework, the authors aim to enable describing urban forest governance and allow for comparison between cases. Their framework distinguishes different governance dimensions along which governance arrangements can be described: Institutional framework, actors and coalitions, resources, and processes. In a certain sense, this governance framework has some overlap with the framework for modes of governance by Driessen et al. (2012). However, where Driessen et al. (2012) focus on identifying shifts in modes of governance, Lawrence et al. (2013) mainly aim to clearly describe and compare governance arrangements. As active citizenship is a specific mode of governance and therefore only apparent in a certain part of the framework of Driessen et al. (2012), the framework of Lawrence et al. (2013) is better suitable for the analysis of citizens' initiatives and collaborations with other relevant actors. The activities undertaken to realize the objectives in practice are characteristic for active citizenship, as these initiatives do not function on a policy level but mere in practice. These activities executed by citizens' initiatives are however not considered within the framework of Lawrence et al. (2013), although being an important aspect of citizens' initiatives. Therefore, activities are included as an additional dimension in this research. The resulting framework with its

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[3] http://www.platformparticipatie.nl/

five dimensions institutional framework, actors and coalitions, resources, processes, and activities encompasses all important features and processes of citizens' initiatives, and is elaborated upon in the chapter Theoretical Framework.

Concluding from the previous paragraphs, the level of engagement of the actors can play an important role for the mode of governance. These modes are ranging from levels of hierarchy when governmental actors taking a steering role, up to modes of governance in which civil society and market actors have more responsibility and power, and government actors might not even play an important role. Such latter modes refer to participatory arrangements, such as self-governance and active citizenship, which are playing an increasingly important role in Dutch policy-making. Although autonomy of civil society is an important aspect in active citizenship, questions can be asked about the importance of collaborations with other actors and the possible influence on the processes and activities of the initiatives.

1.1 Problem statement

With the recently developed concept of Nature-Based Solutions (NBS), innovative solutions using nature or natural aspects are explored to address environmental, social, and economic challenges (European Commission, 2015). Considering a wide range of actors in the governance processes can enable addressing these challenges effectively (Newig & Fritsch, 2009). Such participatory governance of NBS projects leads to inclusion of a multitude of perspectives, and will ideally help achieving the diverse goals of involved actors, facilitating a comprehensive and inclusive approach: incorporating local knowledge, advocating environmental interest, and stimulating local acceptance. In Dutch policy-making such participatory governance is encouraged, and the specific forms of self-governance and active citizenship have become important concepts. Arrangements like these, such as citizens' initiatives, indicate high levels of autonomy for civil society actors, and have been argued to increase the democratic character and effectiveness of governance. As such, one could question the need for government involvement. Certain circumstances being posed to projects could however ask for involvement of government or other actors, regarding for example permission for the use of a certain area or required knowledge or skills of a specific actor. This could thus require the citizens' initiative to collaborate with other actors. Being under influence of power processes, such collaborations could have diverse effects on other processes taking place and on actual activities that the citizens' initiatives perform. Therefore, in an attempt to provide new insights and address this gap in research, the objective of this thesis is:

To understand how collaborations between involved actors in citizens' initiatives interact with the processes and activities of these initiatives

1.2 Research Questions

Main question

How do collaborations between citizens' initiatives and other actors interact with the processes and activities of the initiatives, within the scope of Nature-based Solutions?

Subquestions

In order to provide an answer to the main research question, the following subquestions aim to provide more insight in the underlying processes:

1. What are the most relevant actors and collaborations?

2. How do discourses of important actors, other than the citizens' initiative, act upon the processes and activities of the initiative?

3. Which other characteristics of the governance arrangement have influence on processes and activities of the initiative?

2.   Theoretical Framework

A theoretical perspective helps to provide an understanding of the phenomena that are investigated. Combining several theories allows constructing a conceptual framework, which will ideally create a comprehensive understanding, while improving the validity and credibility of the framework. This chapter aims to elucidate which theories are considered in this research and providing a conceptual framework. In order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the interaction between actor collaborations and the processes and activities of citizens' initiatives, theories and concepts are considered. In the introduction, several underlying concepts have been explained: steering processes with actors, instruments, rules and processes defined as *governance* arrangements, with varying levels of involvement of actors characterizing different *modes of governance.* In *participatory governance* responsibilities are equal and non-governmental actors are highly involved. *Active citizenship* is a specific participatory mode, with civil society initiating collaborations. The following chapter elaborates on these concepts through explaining how the *governance framework* by Lawrence et al. (2013) and inclusion of the *activities* dimension as proposed by Mattijssen et al. (2018a; 2018b) have been adjusted for this research, allowing to providing descriptions of and comparisons between different governance arrangements. In addition, the influence of government discourses on the processes and activities of citizens' initiatives is explored through considering three performative discourses as proposed by van Dam et al. (2015), explaining the process of *performativity*. In the subsequent chapter the framework by Lawrence et al. (2013) and findings of van Dam et al. (2015) are described, followed by a conceptual framework that combines the different concepts.

2.1   Conceptualizations related to participatory governance

The term governance refers to steering processes in which state, market and civil society share the responsibilities, rather than the government having hierarchical power (Glasbergen & Driessen, 2002; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006; Tacconi, 2011). The concept of governance is thus a comprehensive assemblage of steering processes; therefore, many theories and typologies aim to distinguish between the prevailing differences. These differences are caused by variable aspects such as the composition of actors, their levels of engagement, the distribution of power, accessibility of resources, and various policy discourses, of which the differences form the basis of different modes of governance (Treib et al., 2007; van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003). More deliberative governance arrangements, also participatory governance, are characterised by less involvement of the government, and responsibilities of the governmental and non-governmental actors are more equal (Arnouts et al., 2012). From the conventional perspective of government and policy, participation refers to the levels of involvement of civil society and market actors (e.g. Arnstein 1969). But in participatory arrangements civil society actors have high autonomy and more important is whether the government is or should be participating. Active citizenship is a specific form of participatory governance, with high involvement of non-governmental actors. Such civil society or market actors initiate the governance arrangements, regardless of the role of the government (Aarts & Leeuwis, 2010), These non-governmental actors have high degree of autonomy as responsibility mainly rests with them (Arnouts et al., 2012). Trough considering such modes of governance from a governance perspective, a sharpened understanding can be formed on the important aspects and processes for civil society actors to execute governance collaborations.

Governance framework

Contributing from a governance perspective, Lawrence et al. (2013) provide a framework that can help create an understanding of the complexity in governance processes. Their proposed framework facilitates describing governance arrangements through analysing governance dimensions and collaborations between involved actors. Through considering relevant concepts from this framework,

important aspects of the citizens' initiatives arrangements and actor collaborations can be explored and key features these have in common or difference can be highlighted. In order to understand governance arrangements, the authors have incorporated four relevant dimensions in their framework: Actors and coalitions, institutional framework, resources, and processes. Each of these dimensions is specified with several descriptors, which form the guidelines for the eventual narrative of each case study. The elements from Lawrence et al. (2013) that are relevant for this research are considered, of which some are adapted to serve the objective. As such, a descriptor of *goals and targets* is included in the first dimension, which is adapted from Driessen et al. (2012) in order to evaluate the objectives of the actors. In addition, a fifth dimension of activities as proposed by Mattijssen et al. (2018a; 2018b) is included to consider how the citizens' initiatives achieve their goals in practice. The resulting dimensions and their related descriptors are depicted in Table 1. The information that this will produce enables interpreting how the collaborations of actors interact with the initiatives' processes and activities, and comparing the results between cases. In the next paragraphs, an explanation is provided on the five dimensions and descriptors of the framework. Two of the descriptors particularly provide useful insights in the governance processes important for exploring the interaction between actor collaborations and initiatives' activities: discourses and power relations. Basic assumptions and a theoretical basis for these two concepts are provided in the paragraph on Main analytical concepts.

Table 1. Overview of the dimensions and related descriptors in the framework, based on Lawrence et al. (2013) and Mattijssen et al. (2018b).

Dimensions	Descriptors
I. Actors and coalitions	*Main actors*
	Other actors
	Goals and targets
	Collaborations
II. Institutional framework	*Planning and regulations*
	Ownership
	Access and use rights
III. Resources	*Funding*
	Knowledge and information
	Delivery mechanisms
IV. Processes	*Participation, engagement and conflict management*
	Monitoring and evaluation
	Discourses
	Power relations
V. Activities	*Physical activities*
	Political activities
	Awareness and knowledge

I.   Actors and coalitions

This dimension allows for a description of actors that are involved and the relationships between them. In each governance arrangement, actors having an influence on the governance processes or are affected by those are involved. It is assumed that a distinction can be made between *main actors* that have initiated the project and or take a leading position, and *other actors* who do not take a central position but are nevertheless important in the project. The descriptor of *goals and targets*, which is adapted from Driessen et al. (2012), is an addition and enables exploring the types of goals and objectives that the actors pursue, and whether these are different or rather uniform amongst the actors. Furthermore, collaborations might exist between some involved actors in order to achieve certain goals within the project.

II.   Institutional framework

Institutional features applicable to a governance arrangement are of influence on the interactions between the actors. Therefore, this dimension includes *planning and regulations* that affect the initiative or pose requirements. Furthermore, *ownership*, and *access and use rights* of actors with regards to the project environment provide information on the proprietary or use rights of certain actors.

III. Resources

This dimension can inform about the availability of resources to certain actors. *Funding* can provide the necessary financial support for the project. How *information* is provided, and whose *knowledge* is available and employed. In addition, the *delivery mechanisms* that support the employing of goals and agreements can also be of influence for the governance processes.

IV. Processes

Within the governance arrangements and the collaborations between the actors, different processes are at play. The ways in which actors are involved and consulted in decisions are defined in *participation, engagement and conflict management*. This research considers participation as the process of involving actors in the project, and engagement when actors show commitment and actively contribute to the process. Furthermore, the descriptor *monitoring and evaluation* allows for documentation of the processes and could contribute to transparency. The collaborations between involved actors could encompass processes that influence decision-making. Involved actors have their own narratives and perspectives on reality and the concepts considered in the governance arrangements. These processes related to these *discourses* can influence decision-making. Through accessibility to resources and incorporation of discourses, *power relations* can influence decisions of certain actors. These power relations are considered processes as the power is manifested through other dimensions, i.e. actors, collaborations, discourses and resources. Both *discourses* and *power relations* are explained in further detail in the next paragraph on Main analytical concepts, as these are two focus points within this research.

V. Activities

This dimension is included to explore what activities are carried out by citizens' initiatives in order to achieve their goals and objectives. Activities are a main focus of this research, as the objective is to create an understanding of how collaborations of citizens' initiatives with other actors interact with the activities they carry out. Practices of citizens' initiatives are mostly concerned with benefits for nature by carrying out hands-on and political activities (Mattijssen, Buijs & Elands, 2018a). The different forms that the performed activities can take are referred with the descriptors *physical activities*, for example the maintenance of the area; *political activities* referring to those activities aiming to influence policy or management, such as protests or deliberation; and lastly educational or monitoring activities are included in the descriptor of *awareness and knowledge*.

Table 2. The research questions address dimensions and descriptors of the governance framework. The number (**#**) and **question** are indicated in the first two columns, with the two right columns of **Part of governance framework addressed** indicating the **dimensions** and **descriptors** that are addressed providing the useful information.

Research questions		Part of governance framework addressed	
#	Question	Dimensions	Descriptors
1.	What are the most relevant actors and collaborations?	I. Actors and coalitions	Main actor Other actors Goals and targets Collaborations
2.	How do discourses of important actors, other than the citizens' initiative, act upon the processes and activities of the initiative over time?	IV. Processes	Participation, engagement and conflict management Monitoring and evaluation Discourses Power relations
		V. Activities	Physical activities Political activities Awareness and education
3.	Which other characteristics of the governance arrangement have influence on processes and activities of the initiative over time?	III. Resources	Funding Knowledge and information Delivery mechanisms
		IV. Processes	Participation, engagement and conflict management Monitoring and evaluation Discourses Power relations
		V. Activities	Physical activities Political activities Awareness and education

Research questions and the governance framework

The governance framework helps structuring information and eventually providing answers to the posed research questions. Each of the research questions can therefore be related to the dimensions of the framework. Table 2 indicates for each research question which dimensions and descriptors of the governance framework are addressed.

Main analytical concepts

All of the dimensions and their descriptors that have been elaborated in the previous chapter contribute to creating an understanding of each case and the most important features. In order to explore important processes and interactions in greater depth, this research puts explicit focus on two concepts: discourses and power. In addition, in order to explore how discourses can affect governance processes and relationships between actors, the concept of performativity is introduced. Concise explanations of these concepts and their relevance for this research are explained in further detail in the following paragraphs.

Discourses

Each individual and institution creates their own values and perspectives based on experiences and culture, which are subject to change over time and space (Hajer, 1995). Human descriptions of the external world are therefore not verifiable representations of reality, but rather personal perceptions that can differ. These constructions of meaning of reality are called discourses. Within the scope of this research, discourses are considered related to concepts that are constructed in the social realm rather than descriptions of material objects. Knowledge and power are considered playing an important role in the construction of such concepts (Lawrence et al., 2013).

In the interaction with multiple involved actors in participatory governance, different perspectives, values and thus discourses are involved. Through interactions of actors in a certain context and policy meaning, some discourses can develop to become the dominant subject of debate (Bettencourt, 1993; Fischer, 1998; Hajer and Versteeg, 2005). In line with this, ideologies or moralities can indicate generally accepted discourses. Discourses can also influence the interpretation of a policy, and its related outcomes and effects (Hajer 1995; Hajer and Versteeg 2005). In the next paragraphs, the effects of power are explained, in which the role of discourses are incorporated.

Power relations

Higher levels of participation are considered having more equal power distributions between governmental and non-governmental actors (Aarts & Leeuwis, 2010; Arnstein, 1969; Fischer, 2012). But the effects of power in participatory governance arrangements should not be underestimated. A few decades ago power was assumed to be inherently associated with policy processes, as Lasswell and Kaplan considered policy processes "the shaping, distribution, and exercise of power" (1950: 75). More recently, Arts and van Tatenhove (2004) agree on this statement, and regard it as important to consider the notion of power in policy arrangements. In governance arrangements policy processes and collaborations between actors take place, which could be susceptible to effects of power. Many different theories and conceptions exist on power. But as this thesis focuses on collaborations between actors, it is beyond the scope of this research to go into depth on different notions within the concept power. Therefore, a basic conceptualization of power within participatory governance that is relevant for this thesis is proposed.

An overview of power theories according to different dichotomies is provided by Arts and van Tatenhove (2004). This overview can provide useful guidance in finding the relevant notion of power for this research. In particular, Arts and van Tatenhove (2004) propose a dichotomy on power at the level of the actor versus power at the level of structures. The basic assumption on power in this research is based on Dahl (1957), and considers power as the accessibility of an actor to use resources, which can change the behaviour of other actors. Power is thus formed through interactions between actors, rather than being an inherent characteristic of individual actors (Elias,

1970 in Aarts & Leeuwis, 2010). Essential in this understanding is the base of the power, which can originate from the governance dimensions such as resources or processes, and the means of the actor to actually employ the power base (Dahl, 1957). Regarding the dichotomy that Arts and van Tatenhove (2004) propose, the focus thus lays on the level of structures. Power can therefore be described in terms of processes between actors within a governance arrangement. The processes between actors through which power is manifested are related to discourses and resources. Constructions of meaning can impose generally accepted discourses and can affect the capacity of actors to mobilise resources. This could result in an uneven access to the use of resources. As the use of resources can invoke incentives or disincentives, an uneven access to resources is a process enabling certain actors to exhibit more power than others. The establishment of power through the structural aspects of discourses and resources thus enables actors to effectuate certain outcomes or objectives (Arts and van Tatenhove, 2004).

In the next paragraphs, the relation between power and discourses is elaborated upon in a conceptualization of performative effects of discourses.

Performativity

From the previous paragraphs it becomes clear what role discourses can play in social interactions, and how power can have an effect on the behaviour of actors. Elaborating on this, the concept of performativity provides useful explanations on the manifestation of power in discourses. In van Dam et al. (2015), the interdependence between citizens' initiatives and governmental actors is considered in relation to the effects of discourses. This inherently includes the effects of power relations. Van Dam et al. (2015) argue for discourses produced by governmental actors to have a performative effect on citizens' initiatives; an actual response taking place as a result of a discourse. Van Dam et al. (2015) consult the two concepts *performativity* and *self-transformation* in order to understand how discourses affects citizens' initiatives.

Performativity refers to the process in which subjects, experiences or phenomena are presented as a reality, which other actors adopt as reality. As a result, the actors show a response that has incorporated the reality and acts accordingly. As it concerns constructions of reality and the change of behaviour of an actor as response to another actor having accessibility to resources, discourses and power play an important role in this process of performativity. In other words, meaning of language and concepts, i.e. discourses, appear to have an effect on social practices (Hajer, 1995); it is thus discourse creating social realities.

Social realities can have an influence on the behaviour or identity of actors involved (Turnhout et al., 2010), as power processes can affect actors' behaviours through social relations. Van Dam et al. (2015) suggest that the process of *self-transformation*, the shaping of identities as a reaction to a social reality, can be an effect of performativity. With the theory of subjectification, they propose that performativity and self-transformation together entail the reaction of a citizens' initiative on social realities showing how discourses are internalized in the initiatives. This internalization can take place as the social realities are adopted by actors as internal discourses, creating shared assumptions, to which as a response a change takes place in the identity of the actors (van Dam et al. 2014; van Dam et al. 2015). Concluding from these concepts, in particular the process of performativity can provide an explanation on how a governmental discourse can be accepted as a social reality, which can lead to the citizens' initiative internalizing the discourse and whose identity as a response to the discourse is shaped (van Dam et al., 2015).

In their research, van Dam et al. (2015) identify governmental discourses as expectations on the role and functioning of non-state actors, and recognize how these discourses have a performative effect on the citizens' initiatives through three resulting performative discourses. The three performative discourses that van Dam et al. (2015) identified are the identification of I) *politically justified objectives*; II) *the identification of formalized organization forms*; and III) *the avoidance of a 'Not-In-My-Back-Yard' argumentation*. In the first performative discourse, the governmental actors have a

preference to collaborate with citizens' initiatives of which the objectives are corresponding with the objectives stated in governmental policies. When as a response the citizens' initiative adjusts its plan and objectives as to meet this discourse, this discourse on politically justified objectives becomes performative. In the second performative discourse, governmental actors openly favour those citizens' initiatives with forms of organization that resemble those of the governmental actor, such as a legal entity with a clearly written project plan. Responses of the citizens' initiatives appear to be under influence of the collaborating actors: as the initiatives collaborate with institutional actors they will likely establish an institution, whereas they appear to engage in informal collaborations with e.g. volunteers or fellow citizens. The last performative discourse concerns an argumentation referred to as 'Not-In-My-Back-Yard' (NIMBY). When actors do not agree with decisions taken by the government, they can be considered providing a 'Not-In-My-Back-Yard'-argumentation: the actors are regarded as advocating only their personal interests and looking from a local perspective rather than considering the wider aspect. To prevent applying a NIMBY-argumentation, citizens' initiatives can anticipate by presenting themselves as proactive, aiming for objective argumentation and considering a wide perspective rather than merely the local interests. As such, they aim to be considered as a constructive, positive initiative in order to avoid being regarded as using a NIMBY-argumentation.

Summarizing from the theoretical conceptualizations elaborated upon in this chapter, governance dimensions and associated descriptors from Lawrence et al. (2013) and from Mattijssen et al. (2018a; 2018b), activities, enable gathering information on the collaborations of citizens' initiatives' with other actors. Building upon these concepts, discourses and the effects of power relations are considered as important concepts. Through considering performativity as delineated in van Dam et al. (2015), additional insights can be provided on the interaction between the collaborations and the initiatives' performances. In the subsequent part, the relevance of these concepts will be emphasized, and an explanation provided on how these will be applied in this research, leading to the construction of the conceptual framework.

2.2   Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that is used in this research to study the effects of collaborations between actors on citizens' initiatives performances is constructed by two parts. First, important concepts from the descriptive framework on urban forest governance of Lawrence et al. (2013) and the activities dimension considered in Mattijssen et al. (2018a; 2018b) are scrutinized. Second, important notions of discourses and power, and the effects of performativity as considered in van Dam et al. (2015) are explored. As these processes can relate to all of the dimensions, such as resources or collaborations, this second part enables analysing how key processes integrate the different dimensions of a governance arrangement. This results in a conceptual framework, allowing analysing case studies of citizens' initiatives of Nature-Based solutions.

I.   Governance dimensions

Firstly, the relevant dimensions and corresponding descriptors that are considered in this framework (See Table 1) enable gathering sufficient details on important aspects and processes for each of the cases. Of the five dimensions and descriptors of the framework of Lawrence et al. (2013), the following are particularly important for understanding actor collaborations and the interactions with the initiatives' activities. Within the first dimension on actors and coalitions, *goals and targets* can provide an indication on the objectives of the involved actors and whether these correspond or deviate. Together with information on the *collaborations* between the actors, this provides insights in the relationships between the involved actors. From the second dimension on the institutional framework, *ownership* defines to which actors the area or environment belongs, and *access and use rights* describes what actors are granted permission to the area or environment. All of the resources – i.e. the third dimension - that are held by the involved actors, can provide insights into the availability of *funding*, whose *knowledge and information* is available and employed, and which *delivery mechanisms* assist in carrying out the project plans. How values and perspectives differ and dominate between actors is captured in the concept of *discourse* in the fourth dimension on processes. This can provide information on which constructions of meaning are accepted as reality and how this affects activities of the project. Discourses, as well as resources, are also related to the important concept of *power relations* occurring between actors. *Participation, engagement and conflict management* elucidate how actors are engaged and empowered, and how conflicts between the actors are managed, which are possibly affected by discourses and power. Lastly, the fifth dimension on activities entails what is actually effectuated by the initiative, apparent either as *physical* or *political activities*, or through activities related to *awareness and knowledge.* Creating an overview of these important descriptors enables identifying key features of the processes, and highlighting differences and similarities between the cases.

II.   Processes: Discourses, power and performativity

Subsequently, identifying important resource availability, perceptions of realities and related processes and integrating these features of the first part, provides specific information on how discourses and power relations can influence the collaborations between actors. Discourses inform how actors perceive important concepts and realities, and can also provide information about which of such constructions of meaning are dominant or generally accepted. Furthermore, such discourses can affect the collaborations between actors through processes of power. Power concerns the ability of an actor to use resources, which can lead to an influence on the behaviour of other actors. Power has a base in governance dimensions such as resources or processes. In addition, the ability to influence other actors' behaviour is dependent on the means of the actor to employ the power base. The process of performativity incorporates discourses and power processes, allowing analysing how governmental discourses can shape identities of citizens' initiatives. The three performative discourses proposed by van Dam et al. (2015) represent how governmental discourses can have a performative effect on the identity and activities of citizens' initiatives. Van Dam et al. (2015) have

defined and explained these performative discourses based on the cases they have studied. The specific cases of this research could exhibit similar discourses to have performative effects, but also other discourses could appear to affect the citizens' initiatives identities. The three performative discourses defined by van Dam et al. (2015) therefore function to recognize performative effects, which form the basis for identification of performative discourses: either related to the three mentioned discourses or related to other discourses.
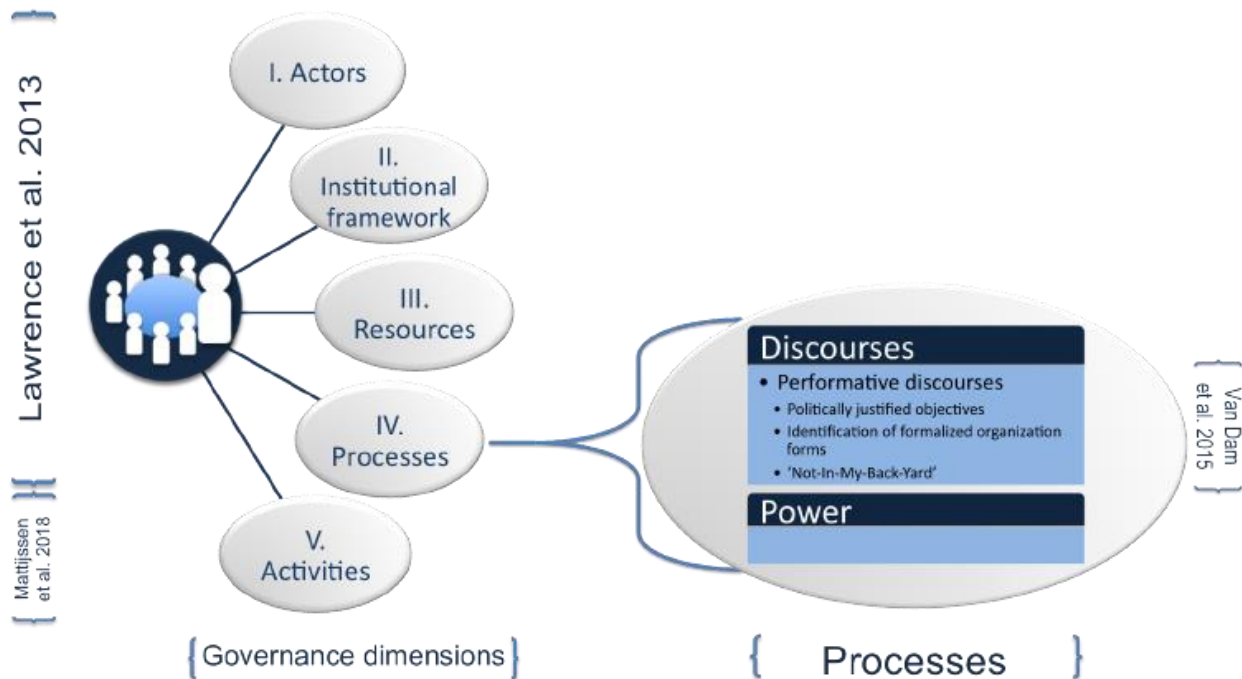
Figure 1. The conceptual framework including different concepts. The vertical axes indicate the literature on which the concerning part of the framework is based the horizontal axis indicates the part of the framework. On the left side, the governance dimensions are depicted. The four dimensions that are adopted from Lawrence et al. (2013) are *I. Actors*; *II. Institutional framework*; *III. Resources*; and *IV. Processes*. In addition, the dimension *V. Activities* is adopted from Mattijssen et al. (2018). On the right side, the important dimension of processes is delineated in terms of discourses and power. Within discourses, three performative discourses derived from van Dam et al. (2015) can be perceived.

Figure 1 shows a schematic overview of the conceptual framework including the concepts divided in the two parts. The schematic overview is representative of the analytical process, starting with the left part on gathering information on the governance arrangement according to the five dimensions. The central circle on the left side indicates the governance arrangements with different involved actors, with the large figure depicting the citizens' initiative playing the most important role. In the right part, important processes taking place within and between the different dimensions are investigated. These include discourses and different power relations. Subsequently, related to the found discourses performative effects are sought-after, of which the proposed three performative discourses are provided as guiding examples.

3.   Methodology

The following chapter considers the methodology that was applied in this research. First, the character of the thesis is set out. This is followed by the methodology on how the cases were selected and an elaboration on the process of information gathering. Subsequently, the process of data analysis is described. Lastly, ethical considerations are delineated.

3.1   Character of the thesis work

The objective of this research is to understand how collaborations between citizens' initiatives and other actors interact with the processes and activities of the initiatives. Therefore, this research explores the processes of governance and power in a qualitative case study, through comparing two individual cases in the Netherlands. The qualitative methods enable to consider such collaborations in depth from different perspectives. A deductive approach is applied, using a theoretical framework on governance arrangements as theoretical lens for the cases. This research is thus characterised as an empirical, deductive 2-cases study. An additional component of the research includes comparing the two case studies according to the most important governance features and interactions, which enables finding explanations for the observed similarities and differences (Pickvance, 2001). In the following sections, the selection of the cases is explained, followed by an elaboration on the gathering of data, and the last paragraph covers the analysis of the data.

3.2   Selection of the cases

The cases for the case study have been selected as to be an example of both nature-based solutions and active citizenship: respectively contribute to achieving challenges in the environmental, social and economic dimensions, and be a citizens' initiative. For practical reasons and according to personal interest, both cases were to be situated in the city of Utrecht. Furthermore, the citizens' initiative needed to have collaborations with other relevant actors; from the public (governmental) and private (non-governmental) sector. Other selection features were the project to be already ongoing for at least one year in order to have experienced sufficient governance processes and collaborations with other actors. The project should have a sufficiently large scope, as to exclude small projects such as those counting merely a few local citizens maintaining a small plot in the neighbourhood. This scope appears for example from attention in the media (e.g. newspapers), policy reports, or received grants, as these indicate that more people were reached than merely a few local citizens. Such documents and articles were found through using the project names "Cremertuin" and "park Oosterspoorbaan" in the Google search engine.

Following the selection criteria, a first exploration found several projects: Bikkershof[4], Cremertuin[5], Nieuw Rotsoord[6], and Oosterspoorbaan[7]. Of these projects, two projects were selected as case studies. This selection was done based on information availability, the number of involved actors, responsiveness and willingness of the main actor to be involved in the research. As such, the projects of the Oosterspoorbaan and the Cremertuin have been selected.

3.3   Information gathering

The qualitative case study was realized through an in-depth research of the governance processes and the perceptions of the involved actors. In order to do so, the following steps as inspired by Runhaar et al. (2006) have been regarded:

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[4] http://www.bikkershof.nl
[5] https://cremertuin.nl
[6] http://nieuwrotsoord.nl/
[7] http://oosterspoorbaan.nl/

- *Desk research*

A first overview of the chronology of the project with important events has been created through consulting grey literature, including media, policy reports, and other documents referring to the project. These documents were also analysed to gather additional information on the cases. No scientific literature was found on the selected cases. The found sources can be found in 1.Annex I.

- *Interviews*

The most important actors that are or have been involved have been interviewed. In order to do so, the 'snowball-method' was applied, starting with the main actor of each project. In total 14 interviews have been conducted, of which three were telephone interviews and some belonged to the same actor. Unfortunately, one of the most important actors for the Cremertuin, NS real estate, was not approached, as the main actor of the Cremertuin repeatedly requested to not approach NS real estate. It was therefore decided based on ethical considerations to comply to this demand. Two of the respondents were approached once more as analysis showed additional information was needed. An overview of the interviewed actors and their function is provided in Table 3, depicting the individual respondents and their function. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner, allowing for certain topics to be covered and simultaneously for other important, unanticipated information to also be discussed. The questions that have been posed are depicted in 1.Annex II.

  o *With the main actor*

  The first interview for each case study was conducted with the main actor in the project. This main actor was either the initiator of the project or the current most important actor. The actor was approached using the general email-address of the project.

  o *With other actors*

  In order to understand the different perspectives on the course of the project and collaborations between actors, the 'snowball-method' was applied to approach other actors: through asking the main actor about other important actors involved in the project, these mentioned actors could also be approached. Subsequently asking them about other important actors enabled creating a comprehensive overview containing all involved actors. Of each of these actors, one or more respondents have been interviewed according to their role in the project. These actors had been approached through contact details either provided by another actor or found on the website of the concerning actor.

- *Additional events*

Project meetings or activities taking place during the research period could enable observing and creating an understanding of the project processes. One relevant meeting was attended during the research period, even though the meeting was related to one of the subprojects of the Cremertuin and not directly affiliated with the project itself.

- *Data management*

After each interview, the gathered information was transcribed into a text document as soon as possible. The spelling and major style errors of these documents were revised for legibility and clarity. The revised documents were send to the concerning respondent, who was asked to check for any factual inaccuracies. The possible feedback was integrated and the final version of the interview was saved. Subsequently, preliminary analysis was conducted to allow recognizing important trends or aspects that had not been covered, which were then considered with the following interviews. This analysis consisted of the first step *coding* of the data analysis, delineated in the next part.

	Actor	Respondent	Date	#
Cremertuin	Foundation Cremertuin	Board member; local citizen	25-04-'18	1
	Institute for Nature Education (IVN)	Initiator of Tiny Forest Cremertuin; Product market manager 'Nature in the Neighbourhood'	15-05-'18	2
		National project leader Tiny Forest	07-07-'18	3
	Utrecht Natuurlijk	Chief project and education	30-05-'18	4
		Advisor sustainable initiatives: district West and South-West*	03-07-'18	5
	District office West	District advisor*	08-08-'18	6
Oosterspoorbaan	Foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht	Board member; local citizen	23-04-'18	7
		Board member; local citizen	21-06-'18	8
	Municipality	Project leader*; **	27-06-'18	9
		Project leader	23-05-'18	10
	OKRA	Landscape architect	16-05-'18	11
	Ruimte voor Advies	Associate	28-06-'18	12
	HappyLand collective	Initiating landscape architect; local citizen**	27-06-'18	13
		Initiating landscape architect*	08-08-'18	14

Table 3. An overview of the interviewed actors, with 14 respondents and some belonging to the same actor. The name of the concerning project is given in the first column, with the concerned actor in the second column, the function of the respondent in the third column, followed by the date of the interview and the number (#) of the respondent in the last two columns. *Concerning a telephone interview; **This respondent was approached a second time for additional information.

3.4 Data analysis

With the gathered data, the following different steps, as inspired by Runhaar et al. (2006), have been conducted in order to interpret the gathered information in relation to the theories mentioned in the chapter Theoretical Framework:

- *Coding*
  The transcribed interviews have been imported into the software of NVivo Pro (version 11.4.1.1064). Subsequently, relevant fragments of the interviews were coded to highlight meaningful parts. In order to do so, codes were created according to the governance framework and based on additional information provided by the respondents. The highlighted fragments have been grouped along the codes, which allowed organising the gathered information of each case in the governance framework along the dimensions and their descriptors. Following from this coding process, a code tree was developed, which is shown in the result section, with main codes that are supported by subcodes.

- *Analysis of the governance arrangement and important processes*
  For each case study an understanding of the governance dimensions was created through considering the relevant fragments with regards to the governance framework.

  The involved actors and their collaborations were analysed, together with institutional aspects and resources. Subsequently, analysis of important processes has been conducted. As such, discourses, power distributions, and the performative effect of discourses were examined in further detail. The corresponding steps related to the specific analyses are described in further detail below. In certain cases, the analyses pointed out additional information was needed, and three of the respondents were approached by phone to ask for clarification on certain subjects.

Analysis of the governance arrangement

In order to develop an understanding of the governance dimensions of each case, the unit of analysis has been defined as the project including the different involved actors. For each case, all five of the dimensions and their descriptors have been considered in the interviews and the coding thereof, allowing analysing the most important features of each case. These key features are presented in a comparative table, enabling to deduce what features are most important for the processes of each case and allowing for comparison of aspects the different cases have in common or differ in.

The analysis focussed mainly on certain aspects of the governance arrangements. Analysing the collaborations between the actors enabled discovering how collaborations took form and the actors' positioning therein. Possible developments in the collaborations over time have also been interpreted. Analysing discourses enables exploring for ways in which the actors interpret and give meaning to particular phenomena and concepts, and enables understanding the relations between actors' perspectives and dynamics of the participatory processes. Furthermore, power distributions between the actors were evaluated. Lastly, the performative effect of discourses was examined, according to three proposed performative discourses. The analysis on discourses, power and performative discourses is elaborated in the following paragraphs. For all these different analyses, integration of the results is key as many of the concepts and underlying processes are shared.

Discourse analysis

Exploring for discourses allows considering how actors define the problem that is addressed by the citizens' initiative and what these actors expect or experienced from other actors. In this research discourse analysis concerns the content of the data rather than a linguistic level. All actors have been asked about their goals and objectives. Subsequently, the objectives of the different involved actors were compared as to evaluate how actors value particular phenomena and concepts. In addition, aspects of value were examined to recognize if such discourses had effect in the collaborations.

Power analysis

Exploring what power processes have taken place allows integrating the effects of resource availability and important discourses on collaborations between actors. In addition to discourse analysis, the possible effects that discourses had was evaluated in light of power processes. Furthermore, such power processes were, where possible, related to resource availability or other differences between the governance arrangements of the actors.

Performative discourses

In order to research whether relevant discourses have a performative effect, the proposed three performative discourses were considered. When found, the discourse and the following response of the citizens' initiative were delineated. In addition, if other discourses were found to have performative processes these were indicated according to the last proposed structure.

3.5   Ethical considerations

As this research includes the perspectives of different involved actors, the following ethical aspects were taken into consideration. All respondents participated voluntary, and were informed about the intentions of this research and the anonymous use of their information in advance. Concerning this latter aspect, the respondents were asked how they wanted to be referred to, which was incorporated (see Table 3). The respondents were also able to provide feedback on the transcribed interview, through which they could indicate if information was correct. Furthermore, the data could include sensible information. The mentioned informed consent enabled informing the respondents about the use of their provided information. This could however also have had an effect on the information availability, being dependent on the willingness of the respondents to cooperate. Furthermore, the role of the researcher in the interviews was recognized, as the type of questions and the formulation could have influenced the answers given. Also interpretation of the data is subject to the perspective of the researcher. As different actors have different perspectives it can be sensitive as to regard what is true or which perspectives are heard.

4. Results

The two cases of the Cremertuin and park Oosterspoorbaan were analysed according to the governance framework with its five dimensions. Both projects are located in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands (Figure 2). The results are considered separately for the Cremertuin and Oosterspoorbaan. For both cases, the first paragraph is a short case description of each project including general information on the project. Subsequently, information considering the different dimensions of the governance framework are described and analysed. First, the dimension of actors and coalitions is delineated, including with which other actors important collaborations have taken place. This is followed by the goals and targets of the important actors. Subsequently, the second dimension of institutional framework is elaborated upon, followed by the third dimension on resources. Within the fourth dimension on processes, first the initial descriptors are explained. Subsequently, being the main focus of this research, the processes of discourses and power are considered separately, being followed by performative discourses. Lastly, the fifth dimension of activities is deployed. The paragraphs of each of these dimensions are commenced with a short summary and interpretation of the results. Furthermore, summaries of the gathered results are provided in Table 4 and Table 5 for the Cremertuin and park Oosterspoorbaan respectively.
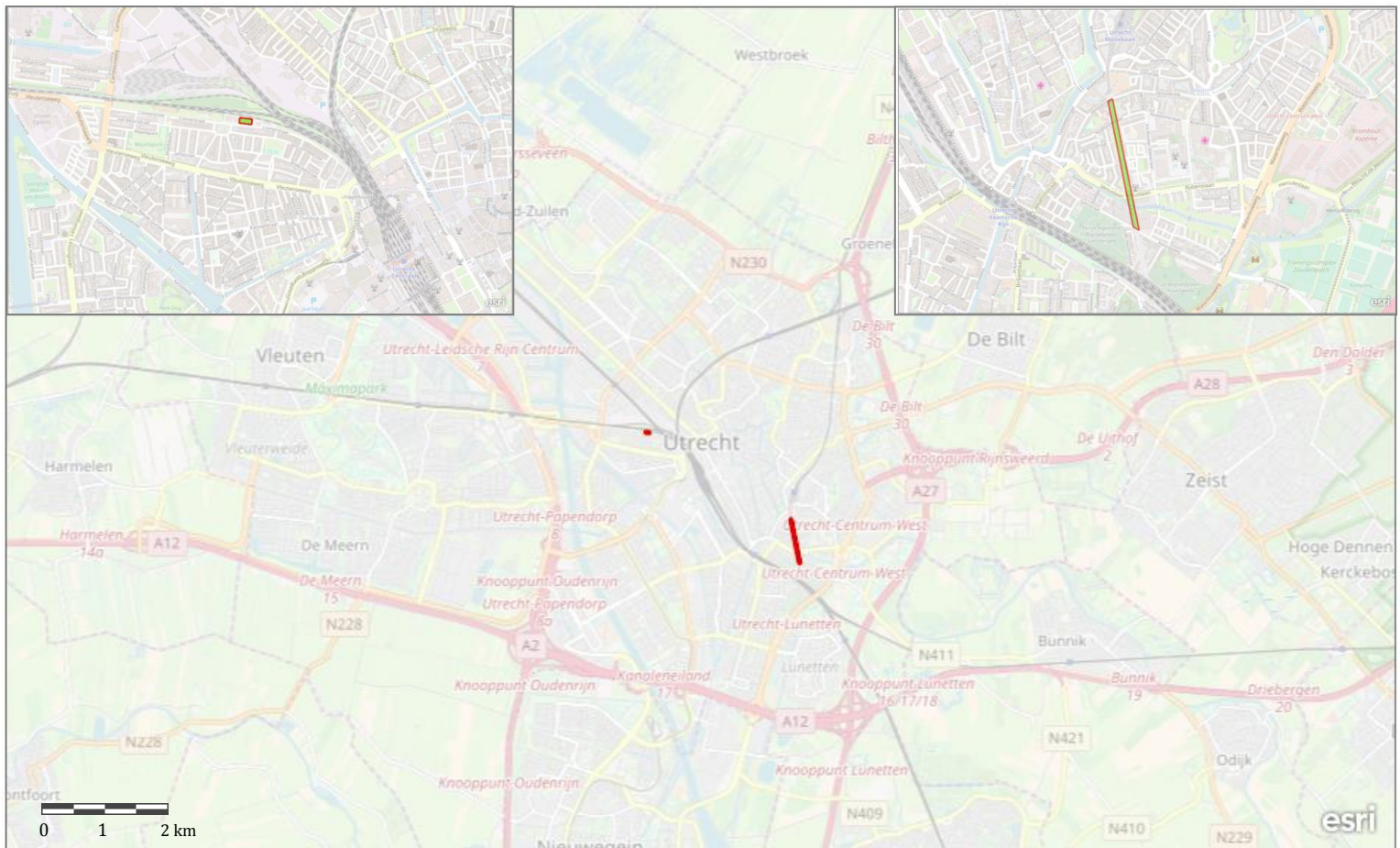
Figure 2. Map of Utrecht indicating the location of the Cremertuin (top left inset) and park Oosterspoorbaan (top right inset) with the red rectangles. The insets are enlargements of the park, on the same scale. Source: esri, OpenStreetMap.

4.1   Cremertuin

Short case description

The Cremertuin is a garden for the neighbourhood, located on a previous wasteland owned by NS real estate between the neighbourhoods of Majella and Nieuw Engeland in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands (Figure 2). It measures around 60x35 meters, and includes vegetable gardens and a natural play area (Figure 3). Together with local citizens, a local organisation promoting greening, **'de Vergroening van Utrecht'**, discovered a wasteland that had potential to become a safe and green community garden. The organisation had much experience with developing community green spaces and could help the citizens in trying to create a natural community meeting place of this area. Together they created a video[8] addressed to the owner of the area: the management of **NS real estate**, asking permission to make use of the undeveloped parcel. In the video the state of the terrain at that time is showed, displaying construction waste and rubble, and the filmed local citizens stress that they would like to create a nice, safe area from the terrain so it can serve different purposes for the neighbourhood. Soon thereafter, access to the parcel was granted and the **foundation Cremertuin** was formed with a board of five people, including 'de Vergroening van Utrecht'. Subsequently the area was developed together with volunteers, independent of NS real estate. In 2014 the garden was opened and parts of the terrain are still being developed through subprojects. Local citizens can become member of the garden to gain access and participate in activities; currently around 80 households are member and their levels of involvement are rather diverse. The subprojects include individual vegetable gardens that can be rented by members. Furthermore, a 'Tiny Forest' was constructed in April 2017, indicating a dense forest with native plant species, which promotes urban nature and enables educating about natural growth. A natural play area is integrated around the Tiny Forest. The foundation Cremertuin is considered the main actor in this project, as they initiated this project and the board regularly has meetings concerning subprojects and new ideas.

I. Actors

Collaborations

The main actor the foundation Cremertuin has been involved in diverse collaborations with other actors. Together with local citizens, the foundation Cremertuin forms the citizens' initiative. In addition, external actors have been involved for different parts of the project. The involvement of some of these was self-evident due to their connection with the terrain, whereas others were

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[8] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJMIxn45CTg

approached for specific reasons. In order to realize the development of the terrain, collaborations with several private sector actors and non-profit organisations took place. Furthermore, the need for specific expertise led to collaborations with private sector actors, non-profit organisations and a school foundation. The municipality and a non-profit foundation provided financial resources. The following paragraphs explain the collaborations that the foundation entered into.

First of all, **local citizens** can make use of the garden and participate in activities when they become a member of the Cremertuin. The foundation and local citizens together form the citizens' initiative. **Centre Emma** is a foundation located on the adjacent area, which is also owned by NS real estate, and is committed to humanity, peace and environment. The centre provides the Cremertuin with water and electricity supplies. One of the people of centre Emma is part of the board of the foundation Cremertuin. **Natuurlijk** is a small gardening company, providing support to different subprojects in the common parts of the garden, such as flower and herbs gardens. **NS real estate ('NS Stations B.V.')** is a private company that manages, operates and develops properties at and around train stations. The area at which the Cremertuin is located is one of their properties. NS real estate granted permission to the local citizens to use and develop the area, but has not been involved in any other way. The **Voedselbank Utrecht** is a food bank organisation providing food and financial support to people living around social minimum income. In the beginning the Voedselbank was involved with the project through providing volunteers and participating in the board of the foundation Cremertuin, but this organization withdrew soon after.

In addition, the foundation entered into collaborations due to need for specific knowledge and experience. For the Tiny Forest subproject collaborations took place with several other actors: An individual person wanted to initiate a Tiny Forest project in Utrecht. The **institute for education on nature ('Instituut voor Natuureducatie'; IVN)** was contacted as this organisation has introduced the Tiny Forest concept in the Netherlands and promotes its implementation in different areas. In addition, **Utrecht Natuurlijk (UN)** has been involved as facilitator to connect the initiator of the Tiny Forest – who would later be employed by IVN - and IVN to a relevant location, which lead to the Cremertuin. UN was formerly part of the municipality of Utrecht but currently a foundation that receives subsidies from the municipality of Utrecht to provide support to citizens' initiatives. Thus, for the construction of the Tiny Forest the foundation Cremertuin collaborated with its initiator, IVN and UN. In addition, teachers and children of the elementary school **KBS the Catharijnepoort** were involved during the planting of the Tiny Forest. They are granted access to the area in order to visit the garden and take classes in the forest to create engagement of the children with the area. **Niche agency** is a company concerned with the planning and development of landscape providing environmental and recreational services. As such, it was involved concerning the design of the natural play components of the Tiny Forest. Lastly, the **District office West** was sporadically consulted on the process, but not much involved.

Furthermore, several actors were approached to apply for their subsidies. These included the **municipality of Utrecht** through the provision of subsidies from the 'Wijkgroenplan West' and the funding for initiatives. The **Nationaal Groenfonds** provided funding as the initiator of the Tiny Forest was the winner of the 'Natuurprijs' 2016.

Goals and targets

Even though different actors have been involved in this project, the goals and targets are not very different. Of the interviewed actors, almost all appear to have goals that are characterised by a local perspective: to create a meeting place for local citizens and engage them with nature. The citizens' initiative thus has such a perspective in common with the other external actors, showing the local character of the project. In addition, it appears that NS real estate eventually wants the terrain to be left in practically its original state. Some of the actors also have goals that adopt a wider perspective: UN aims to enable citizens to work independently of any other actor, and for the Tiny Forest® project IVN aims to increase small forest area in any environment and with that reduce the gap between

Being part of the citizens' initiative, foundation Cremertuin has a goal that consists of three parts, namely creating meeting space for local citizens; providing the citizens with space to create their own vegetable gardens; and create a children's natural playground. In addition, while targeting local citizens, people of foundation Emma and the Voedselbank, an important value of the initiative is stated in the handbook Cremertuin as "We make the garden together" (Handbook Cremertuin, 2017: p.3), expecting contributions of all who are involved. Apparent from the initial video, the local citizens wanted a safe place for their children to play, and space for urban agriculture.

The goals of the other externally involved actors appear rather comparable. Only NS real estate has not communicated any concise goals for the area. From their agreements with the foundation Cremertuin it appears that they do not impose many limitations on the use of the area, but to the foundation they indicated to want to retrieve the area in practically its original state, although the details thereof require further clarification. Concerning the Tiny Forest in the Cremertuin, IVN values biological aspects and benefits for climate adaptation, as well as social benefits, such as educational value and a gathering place. In order to ensure reaching these objectives, requirements for the forest were native tree species, a specific method for preparation of the soil, the ´Miyawaki method´, and an outside classroom. In essence, IVN had in mind to plant the forest for a longer time. IVN aimed to contribute to the Cremertuin as to create value for the local citizens. The perspective of the concept of Tiny Forest in general is to apply it to any environment, but adjust it to the local conditions. The overall goal of UN, which they also applied in the project of the Cremertuin, is bringing nature and environment closer to the citizens of Utrecht. In light of this, they regard it as important that citizens can be active in their neighbourhood independently, and work ideally towards a situation where the citizens do not need the help of another organisation such as UN.

II. Institutional framework

The institutional framework of the project creates limitations in access and use rights of the terrain. The area at which the Cremertuin is situated is private property of NS real estate. The citizens' initiative is granted permission to the area by NS real estate. This is however bound to agreements, including a termination period and retrieval of the terrain in practically its original state. Of the initiative, the established foundation Cremertuin with its board of five citizens oversees the management and maintenance. The terrain is enclosed by a fence and gateway that is managed by the foundation, which thus also provides limitations to access and use. Through becoming a member and agreeing on the principles and organisational structure described in a handbook, local citizens can gain access to the garden. The following paragraphs elaborate on these institutional components of the project.

The area is owned by NS real estate, and is surrounded by a fence. Adjacent to the Cremertuin are two parcels, at which one centre Emma is located. Previously they also sought contact with NS real estate to ask for permission to make use of the centre lot, but without success. After a group of local citizens made an online available video requesting NS real estate to grant them permission to the area, NS real estate contacted them and agreed upon loan for use. Why NS real estate was motivated to dó grant access in the case of the Cremertuin is ambiguous, as they appeared hesitant in providing permission. An analysis thereof is provided in the part on **Power**. The approval was captured in a user agreement for an indefinite period, which can be terminated with one month's notice. Although no concrete information was gathered on the actual agreements between NS real estate and the citizens' initiative, not many restrictions appeared to be imposed by NS real estate. The area should be retrieved in practically its original state, and no environmental contamination should be taking place. For several subprojects aiming to develop the garden, NS real estate was approached by the foundation to ask for their consent on the plans. As for other regulations not

much applied; for soil remediation an archaeological license was checked, but was not necessary due to reaching a limited depth.

The foundation Cremertuin consists of a board of five citizens. The following quote of the respondent motivates the establishment of a foundation and why this was preferred over an association:

The foundation thus created an organisational form and responded to the request of NS real estate. Citizens were believed not to prefer regular meetings. Therefore, meetings regularly took place only with the board of the foundation, to "organise the structure, maintenance and management of the terrain" (Handbook Cremertuin, 2017: p.3). The foundation Cremertuin manages the gateway of the surrounding fence that is secured by a lock. Citizens that want to have access to the garden can become a member of the foundation. In the handbook Cremertuin the principles of the garden and the organisational structure are delineated. A membership is bound to a fixed payment per year and citizens need to endorse and sign general values and agreements. Part of this is the common maintenance of the terrain. In return, the citizens receive the code of the lock and are free to make use of the garden. Additionally, citizens can rent vegetable gardens of different sizes and can initiate their own projects after endorsement of the foundation. Other actors that have been provided access by the foundation include children and teachers of the Catharijnepoort, and other actors that have been involved in the project. The school is alerted that use is at own risk, and is given some regulations and restrictions. For the rest, use of the terrain is unrestricted.

III. Resources

The utilisation of different resources throughout this project indicates the importance for citizens' initiatives and possible presence of unequal accessibility to resources. Financial resources were provided as investments rather than for ongoing maintenance. This could indicate financial resources over the longer term to be more difficult to receive than one-off contributions. However, the foundation created financial autonomy for the management and maintenance of the garden. Furthermore, resources of knowledge and information were found both within the initiative as in external actors. The dedication of local citizens and individuals adopting a driving role were acknowledged as important contributors. In addition, some external actors had an important role as facilitator. Furthermore, as the video showed local support and led to positive media attention, it possibly functioned as a medium for power. The resources that have been utilised in the project are described in the next paragraphs.

For the project, an investment was needed at the start, and after that financial resources were sought for several subprojects. Through the 'Wijkgroenplan West' the municipality of Utrecht funded the construction of the Cremertuin. Subsequently, the municipality also supported the painting of a mural through their funding for initiatives. For the subproject of the Tiny Forest Cremertuin, the initiator - who was later employed by IVN - won the 'Natuurprijs' 2016 of the Nationaal Groenfonds. All funding that has been received was intended for investments. As the board member of the foundation Cremertuin indicated in the interview, it thus appears to be easier to get funding for new investments rather than for ongoing costs such as maintenance or labour. In addition to funding, the Cremertuin has its own income due to the membership of citizens and the rent of vegetable gardens, through which management and maintenance can be financed. The board member stated that in contrary to the start of the project, finances are not anymore the biggest concern of the project.

Other resources that were of importance in the project are knowledge and information. The involved board members and other citizens provided relevant knowledge, due to previous experience with citizens' initiatives and green projects. Also, the dedication of the citizens is crucial, especially for the management and maintenance of the garden. As the respondent of the board indicated, the project has benefitted much from citizens adopting a driving role:

> *Quote 2.Foundation Cremertuin – Respondent 1*
> *Well everyone is involved in what they like {…} Is goes rather organically. There are also people who like to be more involved, with the maintenance of the common garden. And we as board or with other really try to enable those potentials, which is not always easy. So [as board member] you have to show enthusiasm and that things get realised in order to make others enthusiastic and want to participate. Because if you don't it falls apart fast into everyone to have something for itself without cohesion.*

Such citizens, like the board members, can thus contribute effort, shown enthusiasm and a personal approach, and as they know the local citizens this all contributes to motivating other involved citizens. In addition, the importance of a facilitator was highlighted throughout the interviews; such a person can contribute local knowledge for the benefit of engagement; see IV. Processes. Furthermore, a facilitator can help finding out whom to approach, what permits are needed, where to apply for funding, or to structure the idea into a feasible plan. As for the Cremertuin, UN connected the initiator of the Tiny Forest Utrecht to the Cremertuin. Furthermore, certain knowledge was gathered for the Tiny Forest through informing about methods and information, such as the applied 'Miyawaki method' and native tree species. In addition, other actors were approached for required knowledge. Niche agency was engaged for their knowledge and expertise on design of the natural playground, and based on that introduced some ideas such as certain play components and the material used for benches.

Besides committed citizens and facilitators, other components also acted as delivery mechanisms. The video to NS real estate functioned as a medium showing several citizens arguing their interest in the area, and thus indicating presence of local support for the project. Furthermore, delineating a concise concept and limiting the time until implementation created clarity for local citizens:

> *Quote 3.IVN – Respondent 2*
> *When considering citizens' initiatives many have stranded on not being implemented. {…} It should not take too long from idea to delivery, because that not feasible in a neighbourhood. {…} So to keep the size of the project limited, that might be the most important {…} So having a strong concept, which people can surely think along but it is important to have a delineated idea otherwise people do not know what to do with it.*

The conciseness of a project can thus improve the efficiency and feasibility, and also promoted engagement of citizens. Furthermore, through involving a school being an institute, the project was intended to be incorporated in their programme, and ensure commitment of the teachers and children. Eventually, IVN considered this could lead to incorporation of the concept in the organization and embedding in a social approach, leaving the project less dependent on the commitment of individual enthusiastic citizens.

IV. Processes
Participation & Engagement
In this project, several participation and engagement processes have been important. The structure of the foundation implicated regular meetings with the board, and citizens could only participate during practical days. Excluding citizens in meetings was argued as to make efficient use of their time. Furthermore, as was explained in the paragraph on resources, an external facilitator acted as a delivery mechanism for engagement. As such, a school was engaged. Collaboration with non-governmental organisations was considered more efficient than with the municipality. Institutions, on the other hand, are considered adjusting arrangements to increasing amounts of citizens'

The establishing of the foundation and its board created a structure with regular meetings taking place with the board. As stated in the institutional framework, this structure was chosen as to prevent consulting citizens too often. In the Cremertuin citizens' involvement is voluntary, and their commitment in terms of time is subject to their own willingness and availability. Therefore, the foundation and IVN perceived it important to consider well when to consult citizens to prevent requesting too much of their time:

Quote 4.IVN – Respondent 2
So that is a consideration, not that you don't want to involve people but how to do it effectively. Where are people already and can you ask a question, rather than bothering them with all the small ideas.

Quote 5.Foundation Cremertuin – Respondent 1
In general, not many people want to conduct management duties or organise it all, but many do have a couple of hours to do things. And if they know there isn't a real must and know when something is done and they have time and it will be fun, then they of course like to make effort. Well than suddenly there are many helping hands and things will be achieved. But you do need driving forces, it much depends on that.

So rather than involving the citizens at all times, the foundation and IVN both considered it more efficient to employ their effort and contributions wisely. With that reasoning they argued that citizens had not been engaged in final decisions. However, an important aspect of the Cremertuin is to engage people with nature and enable people to use nature. Therefore, citizens are invited to practical days to be involved with the design and share their opinion. These practice days occur four to five times a year, and are mostly related to maintenance and implementation of new subprojects. Furthermore, the concept of the Tiny Forest had to prove the presence of sufficient support of citizens through gathering signatures. The involvement of citizens ranges from only occasionally present to very actively involved: citizens can rent their own vegetable garden but can also participate in organized activities or even the board of the foundation.

Engagement of other actors has also taken place, like the involvement of KBS the Catharijnepoort. The teachers are invited to use the outside classroom for their lessons. As support in doing so, the IVN coaches teachers in teaching outside, and after a certain period asks the teachers for their feedback so IVN can improve their coaching methods. The teachers and children also occasionally care for the monitoring of the Tiny Forest. However, IVN considered the engagement of the school less than was intended, as the financial resources to do so had been limited. In addition, as was indicated in the part on resources, a facilitator can provide important support to a citizens' initiative: contacting the right organisations or people, leading to engagement of relevant or interested actors such as active citizens or schools. Such a facilitator could be part of different types of organisations: two respondents of UN and IVN elucidated the positive contributions of UN and other local organizations that provide nature and environment education ('natuur en milieu educatie'; NME) services, and also denoted governmental organisations like a district office or the municipal funding for initiatives can adopt such a role. In case of the facilitator being part of a non-governmental organisation, the processes are perceived by UN as taking less time than when dealing with a governmental organization:

Quote 6.UN – Respondent 5
A decision sometimes has to pass several departments {…} at times that takes a couple of days. It works slowly, such a huge, unwieldy institution. {…} We [Utrecht Natuurlijk] are more effective than when we were part of the municipality. {…} Now we are responsible ourselves, which I regard a benefit.

UN previously was part of the municipality. This quote indicates that after UN becoming independent, they have been much more efficient due to preventing dependence of the many different municipal departments. One of the respondents of IVN supports this:

Quote 7.IVN – Respondent 3

I also noticed it with previous projects: as soon as a municipality becomes involved it slows down. So, it just costs more time when working with a large organisation with many different departments.

Collaboration with the municipality thus makes the process less efficient, due to its large size and the many different departments that are oftentimes concerned. Another respondent of UN pointed out to rather avoid such bureaucratic hurdles if possible:

Quote 8.UN – Respondent 4

That kind of bureaucratic nagging is the least fun for initiatives, providing a large chance of them dropping out. So, if is somewhat unnecessary I think you should avoid it as much as possible.

Respondent 4 thus regards the bureaucratic processes possibly discouraging citizens' initiatives. In order to keep initiating a project approachable and not to discourage small initiatives, UN therefore has arrangements that are fitted to small initiatives. An example is a stimulation fund for initiatives related to sustainable developments ('Stimulering Initiatieven Duurzame Ontwikkeling'; SIDO). Comparable, IVN and UN noticed a change in the approach of the municipality, increasingly having arrangements that support initiatives. The following quote of one of the respondents of IVN illustrates this:

Quote 9.IVN – Respondent 3

Around five to six thousand people work for the municipality of Utrecht, so finding that person who is enthusiastic and wants to help you is like looking for a needle in a haystack. {…} But I have to say that quite some cities currently have policy applied to that {…} the somewhat larger cities {…} currently have such policy as increasingly initiatives are arising from society and they [the municipalities] create arrangements for that. The municipality of Utrecht has a fund for initiatives where you can even apply for money. So, you see a reversal in many of the governmental organisations that recognize the increase of initiatives arising from societies and who try to support those in way one or the other.

The respondent thus perceives several municipalities to adjust certain arrangements as to respond to the increasing amounts of citizens' initiatives. This indicates that also in organizations with many bureaucratic processes changes are initiated that strive to meet changed demands from civil society.

Conflict management

A minor account of friction was noticed in the Cremertuin, which concerned the communication with NS real estate. According to the respondent of the foundation, the institution did not respond to the plan with much interest, and stayed rather distant during the project. It also appeared difficult to get in touch with the relevant person. This difficult correspondence with NS real estate suggests an uninterested attitude, which is elaborated further in the part on Discourses, Power and Performativity.

At the start of the project, when NS real estate and the foundation Cremertuin were in contact concerning the use of the terrain, it appeared to the foundation that NS real estate was not very willing to support the project. As the respondent of the foundation stated:

Quote 10. Foundation Cremertuin - Respondent 1

I noticed in our contact with them [NS real estate] that they would rather not have all this, and that it is quite some hassle to prepare such an agreement. So, they spend more time, effort, and money on it than they would if they would leave the area unused.

From their contact with NS real estate, the respondent thus interpreted the project to be inconvenient to them in comparison to the initial state. In addition, NS real estate neither responded to the invite of the foundation for the opening of the garden. When later on the developments had been taken on and plans were set out for the Tiny Forest, it appeared challenging to get into touch:

There was thus no contact point for the foundation within NS real state, and this perception of the respondent indicates there was not much interest or effect coming from the institution. Unfortunately, NS real estate could not be asked about their perspective on this issue. Therefore, this conflict is regarded only from the perspective of the foundation, and not much is known about any other contact between these actors.

V. Activities

Physical activities taking place are related to the construction of the Cremertuin and sub projects, for which local citizens, children and collaborating actors have been involved. Furthermore, citizens regularly make use of the garden for relaxation and for using the vegetable gardens. During practice days citizens are invited to help with maintenance. Other actors also make use of the place for meetings. Activities related to awareness and knowledge are carried out by the school, and some publications about the Tiny Forest were made. Based on this, the foundation and citizens from the initiative are mostly involved in regular activities, whereas external actors have only been involved during construction activities and sporadically making use of the garden. The mentioned activities are explained in further detail below.

In this project, mostly physical activities are taking place. In the initial phase, the construction of the garden took place. This included developing the general area, and structuring the vegetable gardens, in which both internal and external actors were involved. Subsequently, the planting of the Tiny Forest was done by children and guided by involved citizens and other actors. The development of the Tiny Forest also included the construction of natural play components and an outside classroom. In addition, a mural painting was made for which the children of KBS the Catharijnepoort collected and drew bugs from the Tiny Forest.

On a regular basis, the Cremertuin is being used by citizens residing in the garden. Around 80 households have become member of the foundation and with that gained access to the area and frequently relax, sit in the sun, read a newspaper, have a picnic, or make bonfire. Citizens are also gardening in the vegetable gardens, which are rented by around 60 households. Furthermore, children of the neighbourhood are frequently playing in the Cremertuin, and children of KBS the Catharijnepoort also have access. Four or five times a year practice days are organised, for maintenance and the construction of new subprojects such as a trampoline recently. Smaller maintenance is also done more often. Other actors with access to the garden also make use of the terrain, as for example IVN hosts meetings with different people.

Activities related to awareness and knowledge are teachers and children of KBS the Catharijnepoort having school lessons in the outside classroom. Occasionally they also monitor the flora and fauna of the Tiny Forest. One of the involved citizens has published some newspaper and magazine articles on the Tiny Forest.

Discourses, Power and Performativity

Discourses
Meaning of the area

Amongst the involved actors, different discourses concerning the meaning of the area are identified. Some appear similar: for both the foundation and local citizens the area is a place for citizens to meet and reside in, and the project improves the quality of the area. In addition, for both these actors as for IVN the area enables people to engage with nature. A common aspect thus seems to be to create a meaningful, natural place for citizens. However, also conflicting discourses are present: for IVN the

area enabled planting a forest for a long term, but NS real estate provided no guarantee on the time period of use. Moreover, the meaning of the area for NS real estate is unknown: the lack of information about this project could indicate a discourse of citizens on the state of the area possible exerted power upon NS real estate to keep this agreement behind the scenes. This effect is elaborated upon in the part on **Power**. A different discourse could be present as designating the area for nature could prove unbeneficial for NS real estate due to increased protection. As the perception of NS real estate is however unknown, the presence of these discourses is presumptive. An extended description of all perceived discourses on the meaning of the area is provided in the following paragraphs.

The Cremertuin has a different meaning to the involved actors, indicating diverse discourse to be present. For the foundation, the area is primarily intended for local citizens; as a place where they can meet, be engaged with natural processes, and where children can play. In addition, the foundation considers the project beneficial to the area, making it more pleasant and clean as rubble is removed during the project. In line with this perspective, the garden is the place local involved citizens use: it is close to their living environment and functions as a safe place where they come on a regular basis to relax, cultivate their own fruit and vegetables, meet other citizens and occasionally host a party or gathering. Some citizens are intrinsically motivated to contribute to the management of the project and are board member or involved as volunteer. The foundation thus facilitates the construction of meaning for citizens, whereas for citizens it hás this meaning.

The discourse of IVN on the Tiny Forest is its value to enable engaging citizens in natural processes. IVN thus values both the hard, biological effects and the soft, social effects:

> Quote 12. *IVN – Respondent 2*
> *The Tiny Forest concerns both a hard and a soft component, so the growing of trees, nature in the city {…} and on the other hand also on the soft, or social component, because it is citizens' nature so to engage people with nature and let them use that nature. A forest like this is for children to be educated and for neighbours to meet each other, so the functions that nature has for humans are as important as the hard components.*

The social effects thus concern the forest enabling to apply functions of nature that directly benefit people. Through involving citizens in the planting and monitoring of the forest, they can learn how the vegetation grows. This can also contribute in creating the garden as a meaningful place for citizens to meet and create engagement of citizens for the long-term:

> Quote 13. *IVN – Respondent 3*
> *I think the strength of the Tiny Forest is that people give a certain meaning to it {…} as children follow lessons there {…} they will come back with their parents to show it. {…} Such a forest becomes more fun when many social activities are hosted. And I specifically selected the school as {….} the chance that it will be there in another ten years is rather large. So, if we make sure to engage the school as institute to such a forest and have it integrated in their educational plan, that provides the greatest chance of it [the forest] being used in the next decade.*

Through engaging citizens with the Tiny Forest, IVN thus aims to create meaning of the area. An attempt in doing so is by involving the school KBS the Catharijnepoort. Being an institute, a school has a certain structure in which the project could be incorporated, ensuring embedding the objectives in the social structure of the institute. As such, the teachers of the school could have the Cremertuin as part of their program and lessons, making the engagement of citizens less dependent on individual enthusiastic people.

Conflicting discourses also appear to be present. Quote 13 illustrates how IVN wanted to plant the Tiny Forest with the intention to leave it grow for a longer period of time. This appears to be in contrast with the perspective of NS real estate who would not provide guarantees on the permission to use the terrain and who want to retrieve the terrain in original state. As the forest was planted and the agreement with NS real estate has not changed, there is no effect of performativity in this situation. The lack of information on the perception of NS real estate of the Cremertuin could also

indicate a discourse: not wanting to present information on their involvement in this project to the outside world. This reluctance on providing information indicates a process of power taking place, therefore this is elaborated in the part on **Power**.

A paradox seems to be nested in the presence of the fence around the terrain. On the one hand, the actors of the citizens' initiative perceive the terrain as a safe place. On the other hand, the fence can act as a barrier for local citizens to participate, which interferes with the important aspects of the Cremertuin to engage local citizens with nature and enable them using nature.

Perception of other actors

Another type of discourses that was recognized in this research is the perception on other actors. As was indicated in the section on processes, the perception exists that collaboration with the municipality is less efficient than with non-governmental organisations, due to the size of the municipality and the many departments. At the same time however, the municipality is also considered an important, if not essential, partner in many cases. These different discourses on the municipality could influence collaborations between actors and with that the accessibility to resources. In addition, these discourses also appear to influence actors in the formulation of a project, as was argued that fitting a project to policy or coalition agreements can endorse implementation, and formal agreements are regarded to provide certainties. The discourses on institutional aspects could thus affect the project design. In the following paragraphs, the found discourses are explained in further detail.

Amongst the interviewed actors, the notion exists that involvement of the municipality goes hand in hand with a lengthier process (see Quote 6 and Quote 7). As the municipality is a large organization with many different departments, which department is needed is much dependent on the phase and scope of the project. Furthermore, when a project concerns an area governed by the municipality, the project is bound to all sorts of regulations and agreements. Two respondents of UN and IVN therefore stressed that if it is not necessary, it can be practical to prevent needing to collaborate with the municipality (see Quote 8). At the same time however, the municipality often is an important partner according to IVN:

> *Quote 14. IVN – Respondent 3*
> *Oftentimes it makes it better in my opinion {…} Well, evidently the municipality knows a lot, they have a lot of green areas under their management. {…} A good contact point within the municipality will help you to streamline many things that are too complicated for you [as being part of a project].*

The municipality thus is an actor with a lot of experience and expertise on a broad range of topics, who can help you ease certain processes. In addition, through fitting a project to municipal objectives, the chance of implementation can be strengthened:

> *Quote 15. IVN – Respondent 3*
> *So, one should look how to associate with current policy, because it [the project] should be in line with a coalition agreement or policy plan. For example, a municipal official of Alphen aan de Rijn has integrated the Tiny Forest concept in his new policy addressing trees. Those are the associations we look for, as then you know that even if that official will leave the policy is formulated and that policy will eventually be implemented, providing financial resources and enabling realisation. So, we try to connect to that policy level.*

With this IVN states that address current policy plans or a coalition agreement in a project, the project could become incorporated in an institutional framework; which could strengthen the chance of realization. Furthermore, formal regulations and agreements could provide some certainties, whereas undefined agreements do not provide any guarantees on the long run, as is the case for the agreement between foundation Cremertuin and NS real estate.

Power

Processes with power are discovered throughout the different governance dimensions. Through limitations in access and exclusion of citizens in the foundations meetings, power was exerted through the institutional framework. Resources provided actors with power to take decisions. Furthermore, power was exerted on NS real estate through the delivery mechanism of the video showing local support. Possibly discourses have played an important part in these power processes, but due to lacking information no decisive answer can be provided. Power was also related to discourses on the institutional aspects of the municipality, existing in two-fold: on the one hand, the perception that collaboration with the municipality is characterised by a slow process, whereas on the other hand the perception that formal agreements provide certainties. Both these contrasting discourses exerted power on actors who took certain actions. In an opposite direction, a possible discourse of citizens on the benefits of participation could have led to increasing institutional arrangements dedicated to citizens' initiatives. The following paragraphs elaborate on the mentioned power processes taking place through the different governance dimensions provided.

Power in institutional framework

Regarding the institutional framework, power was exerted through limitations in access to the area. Through their ownership of the terrain, NS real estate provides the citizens' initiative limitations to the use and a termination period. In addition, the fence surrounding the area is managed by the foundation and implies limited access for people to enter the terrain, including citizens. This also provides the foundation power to demand a membership of the foundation to the citizens including a fee. The structure of the foundation also effectuates power, as meetings take place with the board to which citizens are excluded.

Power in resources and processes

Considering the resources that have been utilised in this project, power was exercised through knowledge and expertise. IVN stated that the person with the financial resources – in case of Tiny Forest Cremertuin this concerned the initiator - had the power to take final decisions, although these were taken in accordance with the board of the foundation.

Power was also exercised through other resources and processes. The board member of the foundation speculated that due to the video that the initiators made publically available, which indicated the area being a wasteland, NS real estate was positively confronted:

> *Quote 16. Foundation Cremertuin – Respondent 1*
> *Through making a video and sharing it through social media, our message was specifically aimed at the director of NS real estate: he was put on the spot in a positive way, and within a few hours I was already called by the director that he had been notified several times and wanted to do something about it.*

The video acted as a delivery mechanism showing both a discourse on the bad state of the area and local support for the project plans. As NS real estate responded to the message soon after, the media attention exerted pressure on NS real estate. This effect of the video was also pointed out by UN:

> *Quote 17. Foundation Cremertuin – Respondent 1*
> *He [respondent 1] gave a voice to local citizens to show their local support. And within a few days they had access to the area. This is a true jewel of a story that you can tell very nicely, what you can achieve with a playful action [the video] with such a large organisation.*

As such, the video was a medium through which power was exercised. The base of the power is however unclear, and debated upon in the discussion chapter in the part on Power.

Another discourse that appeared powerful is the perception that collaboration with the municipality implicates a slow process (see Quote 6 and Quote 7); some actors regarded this as a motivation to collaborate with other actors. As this includes an effect of **Performativity**, this is elaborated upon on page 36. In contrast, a discourse on the benefits of institutional aspects also exerted power, as the

perception existed that fitting a project to a policy or coalition agreement would imply a higher chance of implementation, influencing the adaptation of the project design. Lastly, several institutions were considered to have adjusted arrangements specially directed to citizens' initiatives as a response to an increase in numbers of citizens' initiatives. This could indicate a discourse of citizens on higher demand for participation, and if so, power is exerted through the discourse of citizens on participatory processes.

Performativity

When an actor accepts discourses of another actor as reality and acts according to this discourse, a performative effect can be discovered. For the Cremertuin such performativity has been found in several situations. Considering the separate Tiny Forest project, the discourse on politically justified objectives appeared performative as the initiators considered policy in the project design. When considering formalized organisation forms, the municipality prefer to collaborate with citizens' initiatives with formal organisation forms. As such, demands of NS real estate have influenced the structure of the foundation, showing a performative effect of NS real estate's discourse on formalized organisations. To the contrary however, UN aimed to avoid collaboration with the municipality for the Tiny Forest project rather than adjusting to this discourse, thus no performative effect was found for this subproject. Furthermore, the video asking for access to the terrain is the performative effect of the discourse on avoidance of a NIMBY-argumentation. Lastly, an unforeseen performative discourse was observed as institutions are considered to have created arrangements in response to an increase in citizens' initiatives. The performative discourses are explained in further detail below.

I)   *Politically justified objectives*

Some actors involved with the Cremertuin acknowledged considering the municipality an important, if not essential partner in many cases. Supporting this perception, the respondent of IVN argued that fitting a project to current policy or coalition agreements could strengthen the chance of implementation (See Quote 15). From this quote, it appears that one of the subprojects of the Cremertuin the Tiny Forest concept the initiators considered three important subjects of current policy, i.e. "biodiversity, climate adaptation and involvement of people in public space and green" (Personal communication, Respondent 3), with the design of the project. As such, they consider the Tiny Forest concept to be a practical solution addressing a current policy as currently Tiny Forest projects are developed in collaboration with different municipalities.

II)   *Formalized organisation forms*

Performativity of this discourse is observed regarding the structure of the foundation Cremertuin. Although the establishment of the foundation was argued in light of practical reasons, the demand of NS real estate of a contact point also functioned as motivation for the establishment of the foundation with a board with regular meetings (see Quote 1). The foundation has also set up a document with their objectives and values, and information on the structure of the initiative. This shows the performative effect of the organisational discourse by institutions. Not much information is provided on the interaction between the foundation and NS real estate, besides the respondent of the foundation considering it a 'relaxed mode', but the interactions within the citizens' initiative are informal.

However, an opposite effect of this discourse is observed within the Tiny Forest Cremertuin. Amongst the actors involved in the Cremertuin project the perception exists with UN and IVN that due to the size of the municipality and its many departments, collaboration with the municipality is less efficient than with non-governmental organisations. Employing this perspective, the respondent of UN indicated to have adjusted its plans in order to avoid collaboration with the municipality in their projects:

So, I started looking for ways to get around the municipality, and that is when I ran into such self-management initiatives. {…} Well, something like a Tiny Forest is quite an intervention, before a municipality has a place available or has conceived it as something nice, that is complicated and then they [the municipality] want all sorts of guarantees on who will maintain it, who will pay for it, who will prune the trees, all those kinds of things. And from the role of the municipality I understand that, but it does not always ease up the process. So, if you want to take swift action it can be more convenient to find something that the municipality has no influence on and where a group is already active, rather than get involved with a municipality.

UN thus regarded the institutional structure of the municipality and related demands for a possible maintenance agreement somewhat hindering the process. This implicates that for the Tiny Forest project UN did not want to adjust to these formalized organisation forms of the municipality, and actions were taken to prevent collaboration with the municipality. Rather than a performative effect of the discourse on formalized organisation forms, this shows how this discourse influenced UN to prevent needing to adjust to the organisation form of the municipality.

III)   *Avoidance of a 'Not-In-My-Back-Yard' argumentation*

To avoid being framed as applying a NIMBY-argumentation, van Dam et al. (2015: p.173) state that "citizens' initiatives have completely mastered the technique of anticipation and of framing themselves constructively: they position themselves as initiators instead of protesters and formulate their activities 'strategically'. What sets out as citizens' protest {…} is often converted into an initiative, an alternative of at least as something positive." This appears to be applicable to the citizens' initiative of the Cremertuin. With the publication of the video, the initiators of the project illustrated the state of the terrain as a wasteland, and presented their ideas as mere improvements of the terrain, making it a nice and safe area for the neighbourhood. The local citizens speaking in the video show the much support the project has amongst a diverse range of citizens. As such, the initiative portrays itself as a constructive initiative with solely positive contributions, and addressing the interests of a range of citizens. This is supported by the point of view of the respondent of the foundation, which is delineated in Quote 16. The positive attitude is integrated in the initiative, as the respondent of the foundation indicated their collaboration with NS real estate as being relaxed, and the values in the handbook of the Cremertuin state: "Visitors of the garden come to enjoy, to be able to reside in the garden without too much 'hassle'." (Handbook Cremertuin, 2017: p.3). With this attitude, the initiative thus frames itself as positive and constructive to avoid NS real estate regarding them as using NIMBY-argumentation. Therefore, the NIMBY-discourse is considered as having performative effects on the citizens' initiative of the Cremertuin.

General information	
Case	Cremertuin
Type	Neighbourhood garden; Conversion of land-use
Scale	Between two neighbourhoods; Site of 60x35 meters
Description	The Cremertuin is a garden for the neighbourhood, located on a previous wasteland owned by NS real estate. The garden includes vegetable gardens and a natural play area. A group of local citizens, volunteers and an organisation promoting greening asked permission to use the terrain, after which they developed the area independent of NS real estate. In 2014, the garden was opened and since then, parts of the terrain are still being developed in different phases through subprojects. One of such is part of the garden that is designated for individual vegetable gardens that local citizens can rent. Furthermore, a Tiny Forest was constructed, indicating a dense forest with native plant species, promoting urban nature and educating about natural growth.

Dimensions	*Descriptors*	Summary	Narrative
I. Actors	*Main actor*	Foundation Cremertuin: Including Vergroening van Utrecht and a Board of local citizens.	Together with local citizens, a one-man organisation promoting greening created a video addressed to the management of NS real estate, asking permission for the use of the unused area. The enthusiastic involved citizens and person of the organisation formed a foundation and a board thereof.
	Other actors	Centre Emma, foundation; Non-profit organisation	Centre Emma is an adjacent foundation, providing the Cremertuin supplies.
		District office West; Government	The district office West was regularly informed and when needed asked about their knowledge
		Instituut voor Natuureducatie (IVN), foundation & association; Non-profit organisation	Instituut voor Natuureducatie (IVN) has been involved for the construction of the Tiny Forest, as this organisation has introduced the Tiny Forest concept in the Netherlands and promotes its implementation in different areas.
		KBS the Catharijnepoort, elementary school; School foundation	KBS the Catharijnepoort was involved for the planting of the Tiny Forest.
		Local citizens	Local citizens can access the Cremertuin through becoming a member of the foundation. Together with the foundation, the involved citizens form the citizens' initiative. Currently, around 90 local households are member, with diverse levels of involvement.
		Natuurlijk, gardening company; Private sector	The gardening company Natuurlijk provided support for the components in the common garden.
		Niche, landscape consultants; Private sector	Niche agency was responsible for the design of the natural play area in the Tiny Forest.
		NS, real estate; Private sector	NS real estate is the owner of the area at which the Cremertuin is located, and has granted permission to the local citizens to use the area.
		Utrecht Natuurlijk, foundation; Non-profit organisation	Utrecht Natuurlijk is a foundation that provides support to citizens' initiatives. They have been involved to connect relevant people to the Cremertuin, contributing among others to locating a Tiny Forest in Utrecht.
		Voedselbank Utrecht, association; Non-profit organisation	The Voedselbank Utrecht was in the beginning involved in the board and with volunteers.
	Goals and targets	Foundation Cremertuin: meeting space for local citizens, vegetable gardens, children's	The foundation Cremertuin wanted to create a meeting space for local citizens; providing space to create own vegetable gardens; and create a children's natural playground.

			natural playground.	
			IVN: native tree species, ´Miyawaki method´, outside classroom, create value for citizens. Utrecht Natuurlijk: bring nature and environment closer to citizens, enable active citizens to be independent.	The IVN wanted to ensure use of native tree species, employment of the ´Miyawaki method´, and an outside classroom. Their aim was to create value of the Cremertuin for local citizens. Utrecht Natuurlijk goals are to bring nature and environment closer to citizens of Utrecht, and enable citizens to be active in their neighbourhood independently.
	II. Institutional framework	*Planning and regulations*	Agreement NS real estate	The agreements with NS real estate on access and use rights of the area posed limitations to the initiative. The area would have to be left in practical the original state, and the use rights could be terminated with a one month's notice.
		Ownership	NS real estate	NS real estate is the owner of the area.
		Access and use rights	Foundation Cremertuin has permission, members & partners are granted access	Foundation Cremertuin has been granted permission to use the area, bound in a user agreement for indefinite period. The area should be retrieved in practically its original state, without any environmental contamination taking place. Members of the foundation or collaboration partners are granted access to the locked gateway. Use it at own risk.
	III. Resources	*Funding*	Funding for initiatives; ±€4000 'Natuurprijs' 2016; €10.000 Wijkgroenplan West; €30.000	With the funding for initiatives the municipality supported the painting of a mural with ±€4000. The initiator of the Tiny Forest project in the Cremertuin won the 'Natuurprijs' 2016 of the Nationaal Groenfonds. The municipality of Utrecht funded the construction of the Cremertuin through its scheme for Wijkgroenplan West with €30.000.
		Knowledge and information	Citizens: knowledge, experience, and driving role. Facilitator Utrecht Natuurlijk: local knowledge, expertise.	Involved board members and citizens provided relevant knowledge, and experience with citizens' initiatives and green projects. Citizens' dedication and driving roles contributed effort, enthusiasm, personal approach, and motivation for other citizens. Utrecht Natuurlijk functioned as a facilitator, contributing local knowledge on active citizens and relevant organizations like IVN.
		Delivery mechanisms	Membership; €30,-/year/household. Rent of vegetable gardens. Video showed local support. Clarity on goals and clear plan. Involvement of school: incorporation in school programme & commitment of teachers and children.	Local citizens can become member to gain access to the Cremertuin, the costs for a membership are for one household €30,- per year. The video directed to NS real estate showed the presence of local support for the project. Providing clarity on the goals and delineating a clear plan improved the efficiency, feasibility, and engagement of citizens. Involvement of the school institute enabled incorporating the project in the school's programme, and ensured commitment of teachers and children.

IV. Processes	*Participation and engagement*	Only board of the foundation involved in final decisions. Citizen engaged in practical days for design, maintenance and construction, support for Tiny Forest. Individual levels of involvement. Use of outside classroom by KBS the Catharijnepoort	Regular meetings take place with the board of the foundation. Citizens are not engaged in final decisions to use their commitment in terms of time efficiently. Citizens are engaged in practical days, occurring four to five times a year, related to design, maintenance and construction of new subprojects. Citizens could provide their support for the Tiny Forest with signatures. Citizens' involvement varies between occasionally present to actively involved, as they can rent their own vegetable garden, participate in organized activities or board of the foundation.	
	Monitoring and evaluation	Occasional monitoring of Tiny Forest by KBS the Catharijnepoort. No evaluation occurred.	Occasionally the children of KBS the Catharijnepoort monitor the biodiversity and growth of the Tiny Forest. Throughout the project no evaluation occurred.	
V. Activities	*Physical activities*	Construction of the common garden and vegetable gardens; planting of Tiny Forest; construction of natural play area and outside classroom; mural painting. Citizens reside in the garden, use vegetable gardens; children playing; Regular maintenance during practice days; Meetings taking place in the garden.	First, construction of the garden took place, including development of the general area, and structuring vegetable gardens. Children guided by citizens and other actors planted the Tiny Forest, and the natural play components and outside classroom were constructed. A mural painting was made with drawings of bugs from the Tiny Forest made by children of the school. Citizens reside in the garden to relax, sit in the sun, read a newspaper, have a picnic, or make bonfire. Citizens also use the vegetable gardens and children play in the Cremertuin. Maintenance takes place regularly and during practice days, which are also for construction of new subprojects. Other actors use the area for meetings.	
	Awareness and knowledge	Awareness on the Tiny Forest: School lessons in outside classroom. Occasional monitoring by school children. Knowledge created with publications on Tiny Forest.	Teachers and children of KBS the Catharijnepoort have school lessons in the outside classroom. Occasionally flora and fauna of the Tiny Forest are monitored. Newspaper and magazine articles on the Tiny Forest have been published.	
Main analytical concepts	*Discourses*	**Local**: Place to meet, engage with natural processes, and play. Beneficial to the area: more pleasant and clean. Increase social meaning of the place. **On municipality involvement**: more lengthy process, regulations and agreements. But municipality also an important partner, and formal regulations and agreements provide certainties. **Implementation:** Fitting a project to policy plans or coalition agreement could strengthen financial support and realization (i.e. Tiny Forest). **Support:** Directed approach of municipalities of non-governmental organizations towards citizens' initiatives.	Cremertuin is a place for local citizens to meet, engage with natural processes, and for children to play. The project makes the area more pleasant and clean. The social meaning of the place is increased through involvement of the school, as teachers incorporate the project in their program and lessons. Involvement of the municipality relates to more lengthy process, and regulations and agreements. At the same time, experience and expertise of the municipality makes them an important partner, and formal regulations and agreements could provide some certainties. Fitting a project to policy plans or a coalition agreement could strengthen financial support and realisation. The Tiny Forest appears to be a practical solution addressing a current coalition agreement. Directed approach of municipalities of non-governmental organizations towards citizens' initiatives: Utrecht Natuurlijk has arrangements for small initiatives, to avoid bureaucratic hurdles when possible to prevent discouragement. Possibly comparable change in approach of municipalities, increasingly having arrangements supporting citizens' initiatives.	
	Power relations	The video exercised positive pressure on NS real estate: power base is possibly a discourse of local support.	Power was exercised through media attention, as the video exercised positive pressure on NS real estate. The base of this power process possibly lies in a discourse of local support. NS real estate is the owner of the terrain, with this institutional framework they could exert	

		The institutional framework provided power to NS real estate and the foundation. Financial resources provided decisive power to the initiator of the Tiny Forest Cremertuin.	power by posing limitations to access of the area and use rights. As the initiative was granted access by NS real estate and managed the surrounding fence, they could also provide access limitations and enable the board of the initiative to exercise power to require membership from citizens. Financial resources provided the initiator of Tiny Forest Cremertuin with power to take decisions, although these were in accordance with the board of the foundation.
	Performative discourses	**Politically justified objectives:** IVN considered policy in the Tiny Forest design to benefit its implementation. **Formalized organisation forms:** The citizens' initiative integrated the preferred formal structure of NS real estate in their foundation. To the opposite, the perception of a less efficient collaboration with the municipality led to UN adjusting the plans of the Tiny Forest Cremertuin to circumvent collaboration with the municipality. **'Not-In-My-Back-Yard'-argumentation:** The positive attitude of local citizens supporting positive development was integrated in the initiative. Thus, avoiding NIMBY-argumentation.	**Politically justified objectives:** The municipality was regarded an important partner by several actors. As such, IVN stated that fitting the Tiny Forest project to policy could benefit its implementation. This thus shows the performative effect of political objectives. **Formalized organisation forms:** NS real estate demanded the initiative to have a contact point. The initiative integrated this preferred structure of NS real estate in their foundation, thus indicating this discourse to be performative. A contrary effect was however observed in Tiny Forest Cremertuin. The perception of a less efficient collaboration with the municipality led to UN adjusted the plans of the Tiny Forest Cremertuin to circumvent collaboration with the municipality. Thus, rather preventing to adopt formalized organisation forms. **'Not-In-My-Back-Yard'-argumentation:** Local citizens showed support for a positive development of the wasteland of NS real estate. This positive attitude was subsequently integrated in the initiative. The initiative thus tried to avoid being considered with a NIMBY-argumentation.

Table 4. Summarizing table providing general information about the Cremertuin in the first rows, and information for the five governance dimensions. In the left column, the concerning dimension is depicted, with the second column indicating the descriptor. The third column provides a summary of the information and the last column the information as narrative.

Figure 4. Personal photographs of the park Oosterspoorbaan. Left image shows the cycle and footpath with characteristics of the old railway. Centre image shows part of the natural playground; one of the citizens' initiatives. Right image shows the pathways and an information sign.

4.2   Park Oosterspoorbaan

Short case description

The park Oosterspoorbaan is a publically accessible park, located on the grounds of a former train track that no longer served the destination for train transport. It is located between the neighbourhoods of Tolsteegsingel and Rubenslaan in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands (Figure 2). The park has a longitude of around 900 meters, and passes through different neighbourhoods. It is designated for cyclists and pedestrians, with a character of cultural heritage, natural aspects and room for citizens' initiatives (Figure 4). When a few local citizens, landscape architects and an area manager met in an unused gardeners' complex, they set off a brainstorm and resulting exposition about the potential of the complex and its surroundings in the eastern part of Utrecht. The population of Utrecht is expected to increase, and the area could potentially have been to interest for different destinations. The exposition included amongst others the train track, as they realized it was no longer in use. Following the exposition, several enthusiastic local citizens formed the **foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht** with a board of three people, to address the potential of the train track. Three of the landscape architects, who collaborated as the agency **Happyland Collective**, were commissioned by the foundation to make an inventory of the stakeholders and their perspectives on the area. This was in collaboration with the **Natuur en Milieufederatie ('Federation for Nature and Environment') Utrecht**, and gathered in a workbook (Werkboek Oosterspoorbaan) and presented to the municipality. Concluding from the inventory, the two most mentioned opportunities were paths for slow transportation, i.e. pedestrians and cyclists, and increasing of green. The two most mentioned threats to the area were related to construction of buildings and fast transportation. The **municipality of Utrecht** started negotiations with **ProRail**, the management of Dutch rail infrastructure who was owner of the parcel at that time. In 2015 the municipality organised a meeting with citizens to announce that they had acquired the terrain. The design of the area took place in co-creation with **local citizens**, and considering the workbook in the planning process. The design of the park consisted of two aspects, first the area within the portals was designed as park, and second the area outside of the portals became available for citizens' initiatives. In 2017 the park was officially opened, and diverse citizens' initiatives have been developed since then. Currently, six initiatives have been developed, including Buitensporig Sportief promoting the placement of sports devices; Eetbaar Groen to increase the amount of edible vegetation; Markt om de Hoek organising a local market every quarter of the year; Natuurlint indicating the development of a strip of land with habitat for different flora and fauna; the natural playground of Natuurspeeltuin; and Utrechtse Aarde who was initially involved to promote using plant-based waste for the nursing of vegetables.

I. Actors

Collaborations

After the municipality had acquired the terrain, the designing phase of the park was initiated, with collaborations between the foundation and other actors. Collaboration with the municipality as owner of the terrain was inevitable. Furthermore, design of the area was in co-creation with local citizens, who form the citizens' initiative together with the foundation. Other external actors were also involved, distinguishing between the first aspect of the project, the design and implementation of the general park located between the boundaries of the portals; and the second aspect, with citizens' initiatives making use of the space outside of the portals. For the first aspect, local citizens, actors from the private sector, and a non-profit organisation were involved. Informal, participatory meetings took place with these actors. The municipality provided financial resources for the realisation. For the second aspect, a 'core group' was formed having informal meetings with representatives of each initiative, the municipality, and the foundation. Other private sector actors were approached for specific knowledge or expertise for the initiatives separately. A non-profit foundation, a private bank and the municipal funding for initiatives provided financial resources for several initiatives. These collaborations that the foundation entered with other actors are elaborates upon in the following paragraphs.

Two project leaders of the municipality were assigned to the project, one of who was responsible for the planning of the project and including appropriate departments of the municipality, and the other operating mainly as contact point for initiatives. Additionally, an alderman was involved considering important decisions. From the start two main aspects of the park were set out: 1. The design of the common area of the park located between the portals. 2. Space outside of the portals available for citizens' initiatives. For the technical design, the municipality commissioned the consultancy agency **OKRA landscape architects**. Publically accessible meetings were organized where citizens of all different adjacent neighbourhoods were welcome. Enthusiastic citizens could subscribe to participate in the designing process of the park, which resulted in around 40 people. To gather ideas for this first aspect of the park the subscribed citizens were invited to participatory evenings together with the project leaders and landscape architects of the Happyland Collective and OKRA. The participatory evenings were led in an informal way, in which all involved actors could contribute ideas. This led to the formulation of two models for the design of the park within the boundaries of the portals, which were designed by the landscape architects of OKRA. The models were spread via email, newspaper and Facebook, and subsequently citizens could vote. Finally, 468 votes were counted, resulting in a preference for the model with a natural character and an asymmetrical arrangement. This chosen design was implemented, and for its construction collaboration with the landscaping contractor **Agterberg** and the engineering company **Civilink** took place. The municipality specifically selected Agterberg due to their good connection with the neighbourhood, considering the participatory project. The approval of the design in terms of regulations and maintenance was done by the municipal commission for maintenance, design and usage ('*commissie Beheer, Inrichting en Gebruik'; BING)*. Finally, when the park was finished, an official opening was hosted in 2017. Since then, the second aspect on the citizens' initiatives is being developed. Several actors that were involved in the design of the general design have finished with the collaboration. The respondent of Happyland Collective is now individually involved in the board of the foundation as local citizen. Currently, diverse citizens' initiatives are being established to utilize the space outside of the portals. Representatives of these initiatives collaborate with the board of the foundation in a formation called the 'core group', with whom regularly meetings take place on the progress of the initiatives. Each initiative has to care for its own financial support and transfer a certain percentage to the foundation to cover general costs. The initiatives are in different stages of development, some of which already realized and others only starting. One of the initiatives is the Natuurlint ('Natural land strip'), for which different kinds of flora has been planted to create habitat for animals. To ensure that the needed maintenance would fit with the management measures of the municipality, the

public space consultancy agency **Ruimte voor Advies ('Room for Advice')** was assigned to discuss the feasibility of the citizens' plan, and devise and digitalize it.

In order to ensure implementation of the projects, several actors were approached for financial resources. The municipality of Utrecht provided a subsidy for the park within the portals according to a cycle plan. Furthermore, several initiatives received funding from **Rabobank** through their stimulation fund 'Stimuleringsfonds XL', which aims to assist projects in supporting their neighbourhood. In addition, **Stichting Utrecht Oost Gezond** and the **municipal funding for initiatives** also supported several of the initiatives financially.

Goals and targets

Regardless of the diversity of actors involved, their aims for this project represent both local goals and a broader perspective. All the interviewed actors had goals with a local perspective: to create a park with and for local citizens, with recreational aspects and connecting the different adjacent neighbourhoods. Specifically, local citizens aimed for a green area with room for slow transportation, the municipality pursued co-creation with local citizens, and OKRA wanted to display the heritage of the railway. In all of these actors, a wider perspective for the project was also aimed for: connecting the city with the hinterland. Some conflicts arose due to particular differences between local and broader perspectives. The municipality wanted to create a connective red cycle path, whereas local citizens preferred pathways for slow movement. Within the citizens' initiative, local and wider perspectives varied between individual citizens, resulting in minor conflicts. The goals of the involved actors are explained more comprehensively in the following paragraphs.

All of the interviewed actors indicated the importance of engaging citizens in this project. The park crosses through different neighbourhoods with many different people in a high density. The goals and targets amongst the involved citizens are therefore dispersed. What appears from the inventory done for the workbook is that in general, the citizens desired a green area with room for slow movement, i.e. pedestrians and cyclist. More specific goals were twofold, with the ambition to create an elongated park, connecting a larger area of the city; and also to create recreational aspects locally, such as a natural playground, dog field or to plant trees that existed there historically. Within the latter, some goals were conflicting, aiming for different realizations for the same areas. The foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht predominantly addresses the different perspectives of the neighbourhoods, but specifically captures their objectives within the articles of the foundation: care for a sustainable development of the Oosterspoorbaan through initiating an interactive process with consideration of perceptions and ideas of local citizens (Sorko & Swane, 2013).

The main goal of the municipality was to create a park for the neighbourhood in co-creation with the citizens. But some divergence was present between the different involved representatives of the municipality. The two project leaders had a facilitating role, for which one (respondent 9) had been assigned particularly with regards to co-creation and the other one (respondent 10) was responsible for the support of the smaller citizens' initiatives. The involved alderman mainly advocated the specific objective of forming a connecting pathway. Respondent 9 considered this project to fit nicely with the policy 'Together we make Utrecht' *('Samen maken we Utrecht')*, and the following quote indicates how it provided a unique opportunity to see to what extent collaboration with citizens was possible:

> *Quote 19.* Municipality – Respondent 9
> *It is quite an interesting project, as it functioned as a sort of experiment to see how far we could go in co-creation; in collaboration with the neighbourhood. As government, it is always exciting because on the one hand you want to collaborate and on the other hand you need to abide all kinds of rules. As project leader, I like to be flexible with regulations, and this project provided a unique opportunity to do so. We had a subsidy for a cycle path, but we could only obtain that if we were ready for tendering within ten months. Normally you would have 22 months to do so, so we could not follow all regular procedures and had to work much faster.*

This quote also indicates the other goal of the municipality: to create a connecting cycle route. The alderman advocated that the cycle path had to consist of red asphalt, which would enable providing a subsidy to the project.

The Happyland Collective aimed to create a park not only for the neighbourhood, but also for the city. Also, OKRA shared these goals, wanting to connect the city centre and the hinterland with a park designated for pedestrians and cyclists, and connect the different neighbourhoods. Additionally, OKRA wanted the park to display the railway heritage, which would encompass the conservation of the portals. OKRA would deliver a basic park, with room for citizens' initiatives

II. Institutional framework

As the municipality took over the ownership of the terrain it became a public space. The takeover was bound to limitations for development, resulting in the construction of the park. Being publically accessible, the park has no restrictions in terms of access. However, the institutional structure of the project is characterised by diverse agreements. Agreements on the structure of the design process were made amongst the different involved actors. For the first and second aspect of the project respectively participatory meetings and meetings with the 'core group' took place on a regular basis. These meetings had a rather informal character. The foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht was established with a board of three people, of which the related citizens' initiatives also take part. In later stadia, agreements were made on responsibilities of management and maintenance of the park its aspects. The following paragraphs provide more information on these institutional components of the project.

After the municipality had acquired the terrain it became publically accessible, whereas formerly it had been private terrain of ProRail and designated for trains. Some conditions applied to this takeover by the municipality, as only developments with no or low revenues were allowed, which meant no development of residences, car parking, hospitality sector, and offices etcetera. The public character of the area provided anyone with access, but made the citizens' initiative subject to policy and regulations. The foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht was already established at that time, and consisted of a board of three people. Their establishment was motivated considering practical reasons: forming a legal entity representing a group of people, with the ability to obtain subsidies on its bank account, and needing to justify expenditures of such. The respondent of the foundation argued that by formulating the objectives of the foundation in its articles, it could protect its fundamental values and goals. In addition, the citizens' initiatives are part of the foundation and can make use of its structure and resources, in exchange for a financial contribute to the foundation.

The municipality demanded from the initiative to be organised and approachable, without specifying in what form. At first, as the project concerns a rather large area, it was set out that the project would consist of two main aspects: a general design and room for smaller initiatives. This created clarity on the structure of the project and possibilities for citizens' initiatives. Secondly, clarity was provided on the roles of the two assigned project leaders of the municipality. One project leader was responsible for the planning of the project and involvement of the right departments within the municipality, and the other was responsible as contact point for the citizens' initiatives. A structure on gatherings was set out for the two aspects, with associated meetings with representatives of the involved actors. For the first aspect, regular participatory evenings took place, where municipality, the foundation and citizens, and the landscape architects of Happyland Collective and OKRA could contribute to the designing process for the common facets of the park. For the second aspect, a 'core group' was formulated to have regular meetings with the representatives of the citizens' initiatives and the assigned project leader. The initiators could develop and implement their initiatives if these were regarded financially feasible, for which the project leaders would provide guidance. These initiatives were required to be part of the foundation and contribute financially. Furthermore, agreements were formulated on the responsibilities of the different involved actors with regards to the management and maintenance of the park and its elements created by the initiatives, being

divided between the municipality, the citizens' initiatives and the contractor. One of the project leaders emphasized the importance of flexibility during the project. Preventing the project from being delineated according to regulations already from the start enables the co-creation process with citizens. This was especially of importance for this project, as the deadline for the subsidy was confined to a rather short period of time, which demanded a flexible process to consider regulations and procedures innovatively.

III. Resources

The importance of resources for this project shows the dependence of the citizens' initiative on other actors. Financial resources have been the most important resource. A financial investment enabled formation of the workbook. Furthermore, funding of the municipality for the cycle path showed to be both enabling ánd limiting, as it facilitated realisation on short notice but required the disputed red asphalt. The citizens' initiatives had to provide their own funding, but the structure of the foundation enabled submitting collective applications. Other resources as knowledge and expertise were provided by the municipality and external actors. The economic situation was acknowledged an important delivery mechanism for the project at that time. In addition, citizens were regarded having an important role in terms of the presence of local support and their personal commitment. The role of one of the project leaders as facilitator proved rather important for finding the way within the municipality and rules and regulations. The resources that have been utilised in this project are elucidated in the following paragraphs.

Along the process of the formation of the park, diverse resources were necessary for its design and implementation. At the start, an investment of one of the foundation's board members funded the costs needed to make the inventory of the workbook. Even though this was intended as a loan it was not fully retrieved, as a lobby at the municipality resulted in a partial funding of the costs made. Further in the process, the municipality had a grant available for a cycle path, providing the opportunity to realise the park on short notice, but at the same time demanding a connecting, red cycle path. In addition, a minor funding for the layout of greenery was available. Considering the citizens' initiatives, each initiative had to gather its own funding. However, the structure of the foundation enabled doing collective applications, and the fund of the municipality for co-financing ('cofinancieringfonds') did provide extra financial support when funding was found. As such, a price of the Rabobank Stimuleringsfonds XL was won for the initiatives of a local market 'Markt om de Hoek' and placement of sport devices by 'Buitensporig Sportief'. Furthermore, with the funding for initiatives the municipality contributes to a soil analysis needed for the development of the natural play area.

In addition to financial resources, knowledge and information also were important. Two of the board members of the foundation were already board members of the foundation of the adjacent Kromme Rijn park, of which one respondent in this research. This respondent indicated that their experience with the structure of the foundation and development of the park was beneficial to setting up the foundation and project Oosterspoorbaan. Furthermore, according to their own insights, the municipality offered essential resources:

> *Quote 20. Municipality – Respondent 10*
> *This couldn't have been carried out without the municipality, everybody knows that. We paid for it almost entirely, and contributed expertise. {…} This is a project with a large scale, if it concerns a garden we as municipality can let them [citizens] arrange is themselves easily. But this is a new city park that we developed, so good agreements should be made on the maintenance because the citizens are not going to do that all by themselves; they are not going to mow the whole Oosterspoorbaan. So, the municipality then really has a function. {…} I think that is the most important aspect, but also the provisioning of the budget: the cycle path had to be included otherwise there wouldn't have been a park.*

With this quote, the respondent indicates the municipality was essential in the project through providing expertise required by the size of the project, inter alia related to aspects of maintenance. It

also indicates the importance of the financial resources that were mentioned before. In addition, the knowledge and expertise of OKRA enabled delivering a feasible design in relatively little time. Also considering the smaller initiatives, the municipality indicated to have assigned Ruimte voor Advies for their expertise, to contribute to the delivery of a feasible design for management and maintenance.

Different types of resources are the delivery mechanisms contributing to meeting the aims of the involved actors. Several respondents stressed the economic situation then as important: being a crisis it left the landscape architects unemployed, and led to the municipality having no intensions to develop the area for construction, as might be different in current times. In addition, the respondents assigned a significant contribution to sufficient support for the project. The workbook provided a good overview of the different actors and their opinions, concluding the common goals among most of the actors were creation of cycle and footpaths, and creation of a green area. For this reason, it was perceived that the workbook brought about interest from the municipality. Related to this delivery mechanism are the roles that the actors adopt. Amongst citizens, their commitment is considered an important driver of the total project. Citizens acting as driving forces can contribute effort and show enthusiasm, and with that motivate other citizens. The workbook illustrates this, as enthusiastic citizens made the initial effort and subsequently included themselves in the foundation. As the realisation of the initiatives lies beyond the task of the municipality, it is the responsibility of citizens and with that highly dependent on the input of enthusiastic citizens. Considering the roles of other actors in collaborations the importance of a facilitator was stressed during several interviews. This facilitator had relevant knowledge of the municipality and could consider the feasibility of their ideas. The role of the facilitator is described in more detail on page 47.

The previous paragraphs have analysed what have been important resources in the project. Financial resources proved most important, and knowledge led to the involvement of external actors. Several delivery mechanisms have had an important role, including such as local support and the roles of specific actors. This indicates these important resources to have played an important role in the different processes that took place in the project. These processes are analysed in the next part.

IV. Processes

This part analyses what important processes have taken place amongst the involved actors. Related to participation and engagement, conflicts and evaluation. These processes included many actors to have put effort into the process of participation, and as a result engagement of local citizens and actors in the design took place. Furthermore, conflicts took place in relation to the exclusion of actors and ambiguity in communication. In the design and implementation processes, evaluation took place but was also regarded not sufficiently provided.

Engagement & Participation

The engagement of local citizens was considered an important aspect by all interviewed actors. As such, engagement and participation occurred extensively in this project. Already at the start, the foundation and Happyland Collective involved diverse actors for the development of the workbook. Furthermore, the municipality invited adjacent neighbourhoods to participate by spreading many notifications: more than usual with participation projects, showing the large size of the project. Citizens and the landscape architects were engaged in the design and selection of the plans. Although co-creation was an important aim for the municipality, the process was not transparent at all times and some actors were excluded in some phases. The engagement and participation processes are further explained in the subsequent paragraphs.

Participation of actors has taken place throughout the project. Already at the start a number of stakeholders deemed relevant participated in the workbook. Furthermore, due to the elongated character of the railway many different neighbourhoods would be affected. In order to inform everyone and invite citizens to participate, the municipality spread several thousand neighbourhood-

notifications; much more than usual in participatory projects. Also, conversations were held with citizens by the municipality and Happyland Collective.

Also, engagement was an important aspect of the project. During the informal participatory evenings, interested citizens together with OKRA, Happyland Collective and the municipality could provide input for the design, which was eventually put together in two models. These were distributed to the citizens who could subsequently vote. Within the citizens' initiatives, enthusiastic citizens adopting a driving role also engaged other citizens, to create a feeling of responsibility for the use of the area. Considering the initiative of the Natuurlint, Ruimte voor Advies was asked to consider the initial design made by the citizens. This revision of the design by Ruimte voor Advies went in collaboration with the citizens, to ensure their ideas would be incorporated in a feasible design. At the same time, Ruimte voor Advies engaged the contractor of maintenance, who could contribute to the feasibility of the design. As was indicated in chapter III. Resources, it was unique for this project to have a municipal project leader assigned as contact person for the smaller initiatives. The contributions of this project leader were valued greatly by the foundation:

> *Quote 21. Foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht – Respondent 8*
> *I mean we are a volunteer organisation, so they [the municipality] should teach us how things are organised within the municipality {…} So that is when [the project leader for the initiatives] became involved, a great person who went of looking how things could be arranged. Because we of course posed many questions, can we do this or this. And she opened possibilities.*

The foundation thus considered the project leader of added value, as this facilitator had the right knowledge of the municipal organisation and its departments and could consider the feasibility of their ideas. The project leader described her contributions as being rather diverse:

> *Quote 22. Municipality– Respondent 10*
> *The idea was to also have room for citizens' initiatives, which was included in the design. Usually we leave those rather on their own {…}. Here however, it was decided - I do not know by whom exactly - to make someone responsible for that, which is me. {…} When they want to know something, they ask me and I can find it out and let them know. Or I can arrange a meeting for them with someone relevant, and I can think along like considering what permits are needed or through adjusting their design it could go without permit. Those kinds of things.*

The project leader thus could provide the citizens with relevant information and expertise on who to approach within the municipality and what rules and regulations would apply. Many citizens' initiatives are not aware of such kind of information, and can therefore have a difficult time implementing their idea. The role of facilitator thus contributed to engagement of the citizens with the smaller initiatives.

However, not all actors were engaged at all times. When the municipality was negotiating with ProRail for the takeover of the ownership, the foundation and Happyland Collective were not involved. Happyland Collective was neither engaged by the municipality in the assignment for the design of the project, which was handed over to OKRA. In addition, citizens were not involved in all meetings, which the municipality motivated as the project being rather big, it would be efficient not to discuss everything in detail with all actors. A respondent of Happyland Collective considered this process could have been much more participatory. As different discourses are involved herein, this situation is analysed in further detail in the part on **Discourses** (p.53). Furthermore, the engagement of citizens varied between different neighbourhoods.

Along the project much effort was put in participation and engagement of actors. However, this did not occur at all times and exclusion of actors at certain moments created frictions. The difficulties that such processes induced are explained in the next part on conflict management.

Conflict management

As the size of the project was extensive, it brought also challenges to the participation occurring extensively and some conflicts arose between the different actors. It appeared difficult to engage all neighbourhoods, because when citizens of a certain neighbourhood only expressed their concerns at the end of the project it led to friction with those citizens who had contributed much time and effort to the design. The municipality argued placing a fence as to respond to the citizens' feeling of fear, but other actors considered this impeding the goals of creating connection. In addition, the formulation of a maintenance agreement also led to friction, as the content of the agreement was considered ambiguous. In the next paragraphs, the processes related to these conflicts are explained.

Although engaging the different neighbourhoods led to a connection between many different people, all actors realized that so many involved citizens could not all have the same ideas in mind and this diversity was also a cause for friction between citizens. Many neighbourhood-notifications were spread and citizens were invited to meetings, but not all citizens from each neighbourhood responded. Nearing the end of the design phase some citizens from a certain neighbourhood unexpectedly expressed their opposition against some aspects of the final design. They plead for leaving out some connections between their and another neighbourhood and the placement of a fence adjacent to their backyards as to provide them with security. The municipality decided upon placement of the fence to respond to the citizens' feeling of fear. Some of the actors did not agree with this decision, as they felt that the placement of the fence could have been negotiated with the citizens, and created the feeling that the objective to establish a connecting space was not fully met. This conflict includes the presence of different discourses and effects of power, which are analysed in further detail in the part on **Discourses** (p.50).

Furthermore, a conflict between actors also took place concerning the initiative of the Natuurlint. The municipality and the citizens involved in the initiative are to sign an agreement, which considers responsibilities related to the maintenance of the land strips. A contract was set up by the municipality with support of Ruimte voor Advies, but ambiguity existed on the conditions and the citizens have not agreed until now. Lack of communication and the existence of discourses play an important role in this conflict, therefore it is further elaborated in the part on **Discourses**.

Evaluation

Communication on the process and evaluation of the project was regarded important in several interviews. In the design process, participation included that the citizens could provide feedback on the design of the models in different stages. Additionally, even though the choice of the alderman for the red asphalt was discussed upon, the resoluteness of the decision was appreciated as it provided clarity on the limitations and possibilities.

To the opposite however, more feedback could have been provided on the motivation of certain aspects in the design. The voting on the two models resulted in a preference for the model with a natural character. The actual placement of the pathways and tree species appeared not in line with the chosen model. A motivation had not sufficiently been provided for all actors to comprehend the adaption of the design. Having in mind that the municipality selected certain actors conform to co-creation, this lack in feedback proves a contradictory effect. Furthermore, as the project was subject to different processes related to approval of the design and authorisation for the implementation, Ruimte voor Advies considers it key to keep the other actors, especially citizens, informed about the project:

> *Quote 23. Ruimte voor Advies – Respondent 12*
> *Participation is virtually communication. You should {…} provide clarity on what is possible and what not.*

This stresses that communication has an important role in participation processes, as many components of a project are unfamiliar to some actors involved. The commitment of volunteers is also partly under influence of the clarity of the project; therefore, clear communication is essential.

Lastly, one of the respondents of the foundation indicated he would have appreciated general evaluation on the project:

Quote 24. Foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht – Respondent 8
To evaluate, as you are doing now. Because others can learn from this, through evaluating what went well and what could have gone better. Also, to acknowledge that together with the municipal project leaders, and I would like to hear from the maintenance people if it went well in their opinion.

The respondent thus acknowledges the importance of evaluation in order to learn from the processes.

Concluding, evaluation and communication are important in order to learn from the project and processes and to prevent misunderstandings. This latter also indicates that discourses play an important role. In the following part, the actual activities that followed from the occurring processes are elaborated.

V. Activities

Activities taking place in the park Oosterspoorbaan are distinguished as physical activities related to the construction of the park and its initiatives, and after this implementation also the use of the park and political activities. In the construction activities, external actors were mostly involved, whereas with the activities that have been taking place after opening of the park mostly local citizens and the foundation have been involved. In the following paragraphs, the mentioned activities are described.

This project is associated with different kinds of activities. Physical activities related to the development of the park are the construction of the cycle and footpaths and the planting of the green features such as trees, in which mostly external actors were involved. After the park was constructed, an official opening took place. Since then, initiatives have been developed: So far, the planting of the Natuurlint has taken place, some components of the natural play area for children have been placed, and recently the placement of the sports devices has been completed. Both external actors as the foundation and local citizens have been involved therein. Furthermore, physical activities are related to the regular use of the park. Undoubtedly, citizens reside in the park on a daily basis, inter alia to walk, cycle, run, and sit in the sun. Children are also playing in the play area, and the sports devices are also used. Activities related to the initiatives are the maintenance of the Natuurlint, and Markt om de Hoek taking place once every quarter of the year. Political activities related to the project are the pleading that the foundation has made with the municipality, for all initiatives to have access to an allocated public official. Considering awareness and knowledge, the foundation of the park and its initiatives regularly provide information on their website and Facebook page. Some of the events organised by the initiatives aim to create awareness of local products and natural processes.

The previous parts provided analyses on the governance according to the five dimensions. The main aspects of focus in this research are discourses, effects of power and the relation between these with the performative effects of discourses. In the following parts, the presence of these important aspects is described and analysed.

Discourses, Power and Performativity

Discourses

Amongst the involved actors diverse discourses were present. These discourses are related to the meaning of the area, the project and its design, communication, and evaluation. The different value that actors assigned to the area and clear communication appear to have induced certain frictions. At the same time, communication also proved valuable in some participation processes. All actors considered to project important to create a recreational park integrating the perspectives of the citizens in the different surrounding neighbourhoods. But actors also assigned different meanings to the area: some actors valued the area locally as a personal environment in the neighbourhood, whereas others had a broader perspective considering the park a connection for the city on a larger scale. Resulting, not all ideas could be implemented, leading to some frictions. The project and its design were also characterised by discourses. According to the municipality, this project was unique in terms of co-creation, and this focus influenced the selection of certain actors for collaborations, also indicating that the municipality was able to exert power in doing so. Communication was by many respondents considered important in order to prevent misunderstandings, and deemed necessary for evaluation in the design and implementation. In the subsequent paragraphs the related discourses are described in further detail.

Meaning of the area

The discourses that are present among the actors have similar and different aspects. All involved actors recognized the importance of creating a recreational park connecting different neighbourhoods, and several actors also had a broader perspective connecting a wider area. Several actors had a broad perspective on the park forming a connection across a wider area of the city, including certain citizens, and both Happyland Collective and OKRA. With this broader perspective, Happyland Collective wanted to create a park for a wider population:

> *Quote 25. Happyland Collective – Respondent 13*
> *I think we all had the same: together create a cool park for the city. So really creating something for the city and not just for the neighbourhood. We did see that it was a kilometre in length and not just a neighbourhood garden, {…} so when creating something it should be fun for many people.*

They had the perception that everyone shared this idea. The municipality also regarded the area a connection between the city and the outer land, for which the cycle path was the chosen solution:

> *Quote 26. Municipality – Respondent 9*
> *It provided a unique chance with a large group of people having the same desire as the municipality {…} [One of the goals was] to construct a bicycle and pedestrian path to make a connection, which we as municipality wanted in any case. It was formulated in the workbook and the citizens wanted it as well.*

So, both Happyland Collective as the municipality perceived their broad-minded goal to be shared by the citizens. However, these broader perspectives were also in conflict with other local perspectives. For some citizens, the area had long functioned as a separation between different neighbourhoods, and had been the backside of their houses. The opening of the park changed this into a gathering space for citizens, what turned the backyards into front sides. According to one of the project leaders, this led to some citizens feeling frightened:

> *Quote 27. Municipality – Respondent 9*
> *Well you could see that it was tense for the citizens from Sterrenwijk [neighbourhood], as it had been a secluded area that would open up suddenly. Between Sterrenwijk and the students [adjacent student complex] there had been tensions. There used to be only a tunnel, which would be closed off during news years evening to prevent the worst fights. And not the whole area would be open, some citizens considered that exciting.*

In the quote, Sterrenwijk and 'students' refers to two different neighbourhoods that had been separated by the railway. Many of the inhabiting citizens apparently could not get along, and the

plans for the park would implicate the neighbourhoods to be more connected, which according to the project leader was argued by the concerning citizens as threatening their personal environment. Their following reluctance towards the plans indicated those citizens having their personal interests in mind rather than considering the project beneficial to the wider neighbourhood; this is perceived as a NIMBY-discourse. As a response, rather than framing the citizens as mere 'NIMBYs', the project leader understood their perspective as the following quote shows the argumentation of the citizens was perceived:

> Quote 28. *Municipality – Respondent 9*
> *The citizens [of Sterrenwijk] wanted some kind of fence between them and the students. {…} So, I went with two of those citizens into their neighbourhood, {…} to the concerning field, where they showed how they maintain and take good care of it. In our design, a bicycle path would cross right through the neighbourhood and that field. For us the path was not important at all and we honestly had not realised the unfortunate location. So, for that part we said it could probably be left out. {…} So, I left the building fence for the time being to meet their emotions. {…} Some of my colleagues considered it nonsense and wanted the fence removed, but I denied and told them the citizens were afraid and felt threatened, also have an important role. Emotions are important for the local support. So, we left the fences for quite some time, and eventually an external designer developed with the citizens a design for a green fence. There are few rational reasons to place such a fence, but it is not bothering anyone and the citizens are happy with it, which is also important to maintain the support.*

This quote clarifies how the project leader listened to the citizens and understood their arguments. Even more, he appears to downplay the design of the pathways, and acknowledged disagreeing with colleagues who did not see the value in placing the fence. The project leader argued the importance of considered the emotions of the citizens in order to maintain local support. The following decision of the municipality place the fence shows how power was exerted through emotions in the NIMBY-discourse. This decision however did not go unnoticed, as the respondent of Happyland Collective argues the project leader decided to meet their demands too quickly:

> Quote 29. *Happyland Collective – Respondent 13*
> *Some of the people living in that neighbourhood {…} said we do not want that [design of the park], we feel unsafe and being looked at, theft could happen so we want a fence. And that was placed rather quickly, much faster than needed if negotiated. {…} They placed the fence here [between the former track and the backyards, in the middle of the grass area] while I would have negotiated to make a back alley here [right adjacent to the back yards] with a fence, so their houses would indeed be protected; exactly what they wanted. And now that grass field is situated within the fence as wasted space. {…} In my opinion, the municipality decided rather quickly to get them [the citizens] quiet. {…} I just considered it a pity to have been admitted that soon, because there are not eight people living in that neighbourhood but 600. {…} So, it concerned only a small group of people. They do live besides the railway though. But they are so scared I think you can fairly take that fear away.*

So according to the foundation the citizens applying the NIMBY-argumentation considered only a small group of citizens, and were not representative of the entire neighbourhood. The respondent regarded the decision of the municipality ill considered, and thought the placement of the fence could have been compromised. This perspective supports that the municipality accepted the NIMBY-argumentation and admitted to it. One of the goals of the municipality was co-creation: to provide citizens the opportunity to contribute to the area (see Quote 19). Therefore, considering the local support most likely acted as motivation for the project leader to meet the NIMBY-argumentation of the citizens. In addition, according to several actors the project leader of the municipality decided upon placement of the fence without considering other actors, indicating power processes to take place. The emotions of the citizens exercised power, and at the same time power was thus exerted, as the municipality did not engage any other actors in the decision-making process. However, the base of this power related to the exclusion of other actors is unclear, and is debated in the Discussion chapter.

These paragraphs indicated how actors gave meaning of the area and how these differences in discourses led to frictions between the actors. In addition, these different discourses on the meaning

of the area have had an influence on the designing process. How the participatory process was subject to different perceptions is elaborated upon in the next paragraphs.

Participation

All the actors indicated the importance of participation in this project. But between the actors the perception of participation seems to have been different, indicating the presence of different discourses. The municipality regarded this project as a unique opportunity to see to what extent collaboration with citizens was possible. According to the respondent of the municipality a discourse exists that collaboration with a large group of citizens usually takes lots of time and money. As limited time was available until the deadline for the grant for the cycle path, this project was an opportunity to prove how this project could achieve much in an efficient way. The municipality had the idea that they had clearly indicated their aim for co-creation, but also highlighted the limited time and consequences thereof:

> *Quote 30. Municipality – Respondent 9*
> *We told the citizens that we are delighted to conduct co-creation, but we have limited time. So, in two to three months there must be a plan, and we do not have much scope and need to work quickly. {…} Beforehand it was clearly communicated that citizens could propose ideas, which we would then elaborate in a professional manner and subsequently the citizens could then choose between several formulated models.*

At the start of the project the municipality assigned OKRA with a private tender to ensure the technical design of the project within the limited time availability. The landscape architects of Happyland Collective were the first to be involved with the initiative, and in their opinion no clear communication was provided about the motivation of the municipality to assign OKRA rather than Happyland Collective. Both the municipality and OKRA argued the ability of OKRA to meet the deadline for the grant acted as motivation for the collaboration. It is evident that with their decision to assign OKRA, the municipality exerted power. Subsequently, the actual design process took place. The perception of OKRA with regards to the process appears to be in line with the information provided by the municipality. The following quote shows how OKRA had perceived the assignment and implementation thereof:

> *Quote 31. OKRA – Respondent 11*
> *As pre-condition, the design would have to go in collaboration with the local citizens, which is only logical to us as we actually always do that. {…} The advisory evenings were in presence of the municipality, OKRA and the citizens. And those were the most important moments for ideation. {…} So eventually, ideas for development were proposed in agreement with the citizens, or actually were proposed by the citizens, from which two models were distilled so to say. {…} We made a proposition, which we presented during the subsequent evenings with the question if we were heading the right direction or if it was nonsense what we were drawing {…} So it was our role to shape 800.000 ideas of people into one, as it could only be implemented once. {…} At the end, we are the ones that need to develop the design as to become accepted by the municipality, so also by the department traffic, the department maintenance, the department green, and etcetera. They all should agree.*

OKRA thus understood the participation process as incorporating citizens' ideas, and at the same time recognising how the design had to be agreed upon by the municipality and its departments. The different perspectives on the meaning of the area had an effect on the actual layout of the park. The landscape architects of OKRA mainly wanted to emphasize the monolithic aspect of the portals with the placement of straight pathways and vegetation. A majority of the citizens however expressed a preference for a natural character, with the pathways meandering and savage vegetation. These strong opinions are considered related to the meaning of the area; for the citizens, it is their living environment whereas for OKRA it was perceived mere from a design perspective. Considering these differences, Happyland Collective regarded the processing of the citizens' input too much under influence by OKRA their own perspective:

In this participation process, it concerned the design and management together with each other, but OKRA integrated their own style too much in the design; more than the citizens had actually wanted. {…} I have always been critical on the interpretation of OKRA of the input of citizens, as it went in a very traditional manner. Afterwards the citizens could choose between different models. But I would have rather seen the citizens really making the design themselves

Happyland Collective thus had a more participatory process in mind in which citizens could do the design process. When the respondent approached the project leader on this issue, he indicated that the project leader steered OKRA to a more participatory approach, thus indicating the project leader to aim for sufficient participation. This situation shows how the involved actors thus appeared to have different discourses on the participatory process. They had different expectations on the involvement of the citizens and the designing of the models, whereas the municipality had the idea that they clearly communicated the idea beforehand.

The examples show many different discourses related to the participation process were present and eventually led to tensions between the actors. Thorough communication could clarify how involved actors value different aspects and can create clarity on the importance of certain processes. The following paragraphs elaborate on the importance of communication in relation to discourses.

Communication

Several respondents have pointed out the importance of clear communication to prevent misunderstandings. An example of such is related to the initiative of the Natuurlint, for which the agreement on maintenance responsibilities is to be signed. Ambiguity existed on the conditions and the involved actors had different perceptions on the process of agreeing. The respondent of the foundation was rather offended by the content of the agreement that they received:

Quote 33. Foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht – Respondent 7
We have the sign an agreement that we accept the maintenance, and we absolutely do not want to meet the agreement that we received {…}. We are not allowed to leave stinging nettles or make dead hedges, whereas that is exactly what we wanted. We just want a green zone that attracts many birds, insects and hedgehogs. {…} There is a large patch with Japanese knotweed {…} I do not want to be responsible for [the removal of] that. {…} If I would have known four years ago that we would have to sign a contract stating [all that] {…} I would not have started this Natuurlint. Then, the municipality could have sowed grass everywhere.

But according to Ruimte voor Advies one of the concerning definitions is that of a dead hedge, is subject to interpretation, and is therefore important to agree upon:

Quote 34. Ruimte voor Advies – Respondent 12
Well there is no policy for the layout of a dead hedge. So rather aligning with one another to understand each other on what a dead hedge should look like. {…..} Hence, that understanding should be agreed upon as for everyone to have the same perception in mind.

These quotes indicate that the involved citizens of the Natuurlint regarded the proposed conditions in the agreement unreasonable, whereas Ruimte voor Advies saw it as a first concept and was still expecting feedback in order for all actors to agree. A lack of communication on the understandings of the conditions and the formulation of the agreement left room for interpretation, and lead to frictions between the involved actors.

In order to understand each other's perspectives, it is deemed important for the different involved actors to clearly communicate about understandings of certain concepts and what one considers important. In addition to this, through providing evaluation along the process of collaboration clarity can be provided on decision that were taken, and conflicts can possibly be prevented. The different discourses that were analysed in the previous paragraphs indicate how different perspectives on the meaning of the area, the project and its design, and communication can be present within a project, and how these can lead to frictions between the actors. Through some of these discourses power

was exerted by several actors. In the following part, the effects of power are analysed, and where possible the role of discourses indicated.

Power

In the project of park Oosterspoorbaan, power exerted by actors was based in the institutional framework and resources. The ownership of the area and financial resources gave the municipality the power to prosecute certain decisions. In addition, policy regulations provided the municipal commission BING with power to demand changes in the design of the project. Both the municipality and OKRA were able to exert power to engage specific actors without consultation of others. This does not appear to be conforming their perspectives regarding participation. Also, the base of power in these situations is unclear; these power processes are regarded in more depth in the chapter Discussion.

Power in institutional framework

The most important source of power that was exerted in this project is the power related to the ownership of the area by municipality. However, the municipality also provided the crucial funding for the project, which is elaborated in the next paragraphs. Both the ownership and the financial resource were crucial in the project ánd inherently linked to the municipality. Therefore, it is not within the scope of this research to distinguish the base of the municipal power between the institutional framework or resources.

Power in resources and regulations

Power related to local support appeared to be exerted as the workbook that was presented to the municipality was considered by respondents to have influenced the municipality in favour of the project. The local support shown in the workbook could act as the base: even though the municipality most likely already had considered to develop the area in co-creation with citizens, the local support presumably exerted power that strengthened their motivation for realisation. The previous part on discourses explained how certain actors argued from a NIMBY-discourse (p.50), also indicated how power was exerted through local support.

Furthermore, some actors considered the municipality an important, if not essential, partner in many cases, and acknowledged the project could not have been completed without collaboration with the municipality. This is indicated with the following statement by the foundation:

> *Quote 35. Foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht – Respondent 7*
> *Of each initiative, at least one representative was present in the core group, which was agreed upon with the municipality. The core group keeps an overview of where the initiatives want to take place and what is needed, and someone of the municipality is always present in such meetings. {…} You need that interaction because whatever the plans, you always need the municipality.*

This thus indicates the important role of the municipality. Almost all respondents indicated that the municipality had the final say as they provided the funding for the cycle path, which was a crucial element in the project. The following example proves this power, showing how the alderman determined the cycle path would consist of red asphalt:

> *Quote 36. Municipality – Respondent 10*
> *It was mainly financed through the programme 'bicycle'. This created some tension within the co-creation, definitely as all local citizens wanted something different, but also as our alderman said, which I find a nice statement, "but I am from the municipality and I co-create red asphalt".*

The funding from the municipality thus proved an essential resource, and despite a cycle path not being an initial goal of the initiative, it was eventually constructed. The other actors involved in the project felt that they had to honour the condition of the municipality for the red asphalt; otherwise the entire project could not be implemented. As OKRA stated:

OKRA – Respondent 11
Eventually it is the municipality who pays for it and who must provide approval for the implementation.

This thus indicates that OKRA considers resources providing the municipality power on decisions.

This analysis indicates how different resources provided actors with power. The presence of local support provided a base for the foundation to exert power. Furthermore, the municipality could exert power through providing the crucial funding for the project. However, as indicated before, the institutional aspect of ownership was just as important in the project. The power exerted by the municipality was thus based in either the institutional framework or resources. Furthermore, when discourses are the base of power and influence other actors' behaviour, the effect of performativity is taking place. The next part provides an analysis on which discourses had such a performative effect.

Performativity

Performativity is observed as the discourse of an actor is adopted as reality by other actors, who respond according to the discourse. For the park Oosterspoorbaan, such a performative effect has occurred for the discourse on politically justified objectives, as the municipality preferred to collaborate OKRA, who had objectives in agreement with their policy objectives, and who subsequently adopted the discourse and acted as to realise the policy objectives. Furthermore, the municipality expected the citizens' initiative to be formally organised; the initiative integrated such a structure in the foundation as a response, thus indicating the discourse on formal organisation forms to have become performative. Lastly, the NIMBY-discourse was performative on the citizens' initiative, who presented themselves as a constructive and positive initiative to avoid being framed with the NIMBY-argumentation. The observed performative discourses are elucidated below.

I)   *Politically justified objectives*

Politically justified objectives of the municipality did not have a performative effect on the initiative. The objectives of the foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht are captured in their articles, as was indicated in the part on I. Actors in the results chapter. One of these concerned the sustainable development of the Oosterspoorbaan. Related to this objective, several natural and sustainable ideas were brought up for the design of the park, also related to the pathways:

Quote 38. *Happyland Collective – Respondent 13*
An artist created a very nice cycle path that would light up as you cycled on it {…} And [a fluorescent cycle path] is also from the same artist. There is also the type of material that creates energy what makes your lamps produce light or something similar. Those kinds of things were all ideas {…} for this park. But it wasn't possible; it had to be red asphalt with white dots.

This quote indicates how different suggestions were made to develop a sustainable pathway. For other parts of the park the initiative also had natural or sustainable components in mind. However, the municipality could exert power to take decisions in accordance with their own objectives, including a red cycle path. Rather than adopting the politically justified objectives, one of the respondents of the foundation indicated that the initiative searched for ways to integrate their own ideas without disagreeing with policy and regulations. This illustrates that the initiative has not adopted the municipal objective but acts according to the rules only where necessary, thus implying the discourse on politically justified objectives has not been performative on the initiative.

However, the previously described different discourses on participation (p. 52-53) do appear to effectuate performativity. As OKRA stated, they were assigned by the municipality in order to ensure meeting the deadline for the grant:

Quote 39. OKRA – Respondent 11
> *The municipality appreciated the ideas of Happyland Collective and the citizens, but to meet the deadline for the grant application they wanted to work with more clout, so work with an agency who are certainly able to meet the deadlines.*

This implies that the municipality regarded OKRA adequate in sufficiently considering the requirements of the municipal grant. Both the municipality and OKRA had the goals to connect the city centre and the hinterland, and to construct a cycling path. The actors thus also shared objectives. With the statement "At the end, … and etcetera" of Quote 31, the respondent of OKRA indicated how OKRA formulated the design in order to have it be agreed upon by the municipality, therefore implying OKRA had the idea to realise the policy objectives. The political objectives are thus adopted by OKRA as discourse, who subsequently act to meet the discourse; a performative effect.

II)   *Formalized organisation forms*

The establishment of the foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht was argued for practical reasons and took place before involvement with the municipality. The accompanying structure was however under influence of demands from the municipality. The following perspective of the municipality indicates their preference for a formalised organisation form:

Quote 40. Municipality – Respondent 9
> *The [organisational] form was not relevant to me, but it was important that they would be organised and approachable.*

Even though the project leader thus did not demand a specific organization form such as an association or a foundation, the citizens had to be well organised and easily reachable. The foundation indicated how they perceived the municipality as important (see Quote 35), illustrating the municipality could exercise power (p. 54). In addition, another respondent of the foundation argued the establishment of the foundation for organisational reasons (Quote 42). The structures of meetings with involved actors and citizens' initiatives were agreed upon with the project leaders. Respondents of both the foundation - Quote 35 - and the municipality mentioned this:

Quote 41. Municipality – Respondent 9
> *So, we formulated a core group, of involved citizens, and with some supervision of us they could develop the initiatives, and implement it if all agreed and it was financially feasible.*

The municipality and the foundation thus agreed upon the formation of the core group, with representatives of the initiatives and one of the project leaders. As such, overview could be created on the progress of the different initiatives.

Thus, although the foundation was established for practical reasons, the preference of the municipality to collaborate with a well-organised initiative became performative as the initiative integrated the demanded structure in the foundation.

III)   *Avoidance of a 'Not-In-My-Back-Yard'-argumentation*

In order to avoid being perceived as using a NIMBY-argumentation, citizens' initiatives can present themselves as a constructive initiative, having positive ideas (van Dam et al., 2015). In the case of the citizens' initiative of park Oosterspoorbaan, this description is applicable. With the formulation of the workbook, the initiators addressed the perspectives of different stakeholders and with that showed the local support for their positive ideas for the area. This is supported by the view of one of the initiators in Quote 25 of a respondent of Happyland Collective. In addition, part of the motivation to establish the foundation was to present themselves as a constructive initiative:

Quote 42. Foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht – Respondent 1
> *You can go stand in front of the municipal office and start yelling "we want this, we want this" but that doesn't make much impact. {…} We established a foundation: foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht. {…} So, we would be an official organisation rather than a shouting group of campaigners. {…} Having a good plan and organising participatory evenings is the work municipalities used to carry out previously, and now we did that for them. So, beneficial to the municipality I would say.*

The respondent of the foundation thus acknowledges that rather than being a criticising group of citizens, the initiators wanted to present themselves as organised and having considered local perspectives in their plans. This constructive presentation and the positive attitude as indicated by the respondent of Happyland Collective both support that the initiative aimed to avoid the municipality regarding them as applying a NIMBY-argumentation. Thus, the discourse on avoiding a NIMBY-argumentation is considered performative on the citizens' initiative of park Oosterspoorbaan.

General information	
Case	Park Oosterspoorbaan
Type	Park; Conversion of land-use
Scale	Between several neighbourhoods; Site of approximately 900x10 meters.
Description	The park Oosterspoorbaan is located on the grounds of a former train track that no longer served the destination for train transport. The park has a longitude of around 900 meters, and passes through different neighbourhoods. It is designated for cyclists and pedestrians, with a character of cultural heritage, natural aspects and room for citizens' initiatives. A group of local citizens and landscape architects made an inventory of the different stakeholders, and the government decided to buy the terrain from the former owner, ProRail. The park was opened in 2017, and diverse citizens' initiatives are in different stages of development.

Dimensions		*Descriptors*	Summary	Narrative
	I. Actors	*Main actor*	Foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht; Foundation of local citizens.	After a few local citizens and landscape architects met and set off a brainstorm about the area, several enthusiastic local citizens formed a foundation with a management team.
		Other actors	Agterberg, landscaping contractor; Private sector	Agterberg is the landscaping contractor that was assigned for the construction of the design.
			Civilink, engineering; Private sector	For engineering components in the construction of the park, Civilink was assigned.
			Happyland Collective, landscape architects; Non-profit organisation	Three landscape architects who collaborated as the Happyland Collective, initiated a brainstorm on the potential of the train track. They made an inventory of different perspectives in a workbook, and have been guiding the design process of the park in the participatory meetings.
			Local citizens	Local citizens from the different surrounding neighbourhoods make use of the park being in the vicinity of their living environment. Together with the foundation, involved citizens form the citizens' initiative. In addition, some citizens are involved in the smaller initiatives.
			Municipality of Utrecht; Government	The municipality of Utrecht is currently owner of the area on which park Oosterspoorbaan is located. Two project leaders have been involved in the designing process of the park and its smaller citizens' initiatives.
			Natuur en Milieufederatie Utrecht, foundation; Non-profit organisation	The Natuur en Milieufederatie Utrecht has been involved in the stakeholder inventory for the formulation of the workbook.

		OKRA, landscape architects; Private sector	Landscape architects of OKRA were assigned by the municipality for the technical design of the park. They were involved in the participatory meetings.
		ProRail, rail infrastructure management; Private sector	ProRail was the former owner of the area, and sold the terrain to the municipality.
		Ruimte voor Advies, public space consultancy; Private sector	The municipality assigned the public space consultancy agency Ruimte voor Advies to discuss the feasibility of the plan of the citizens, and devise and digitalize the design.
	Goals and targets	Foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht: sustainable development of the Oosterspoorbaan through initiating an interactive process.	The foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht aims to represent the different perspectives of the local citizens, and in addition captures their objectives within the articles of the foundation: care for a sustainable development of the Oosterspoorbaan through initiating an interactive process in which perceptions and ideas of local citizens will be considered.
		Happyland Collective: park for citizens across the city	Happyland Collective wanted to create a park for the neighbourhood but also for citizens of the city.
		Local citizens: green, connecting area with room for slow transportation and recreation	Local citizens had diverse goals: to create an elongated park forming a connection through the city, and to create local recreational aspects such as a natural playground, dog field and planting native trees.
		Municipality Utrecht: co-creation with local citizens; connection between the city centre and the surrounding area with red cycle path	The goals of the municipality were to create a park forming a connecting between the centre and the hinterland with a red cycle path. In addition, the goal was development of the design in co-creation with the citizens.
		OKRA: park forming connection across city and between neighbourhoods; display heritage of the railway	OKRA wanted to create a park for pedestrians and cyclists, forming a connection between the city centre and hinterland, and between the different neighbourhoods. A minor goal was to display the railway heritage.
II. Institutional framework	*Planning and regulations*	Municipal policy	Design was subject to regulations and limitations due to municipal policy that is enforced by the BING. This has had influence on the design as it could only consist of components that the municipality can maintain.
	Ownership	Municipality	After negotiations with ProRail, the municipality took over the ownership of the area.
	Access and use rights	Developments with no or low revenues	Only developments with no or low revenues were allowed, which meant no development of inter alia residences, car parking's, hospitality sector, and offices.
III. Resources	*Funding*	Personal investment workbook; ± €30.000; of which €7500 retrieved from the municipality	For the stakeholder inventory formulated in the workbook, one of the board members of the foundation provided a personal investment that was intended as a loan. After lobbying with the municipality, they financed €7500.
		Funding for initiatives (Initiatievenfonds);	Funding for initiatives supported several initiatives, including 'Markt om de Hoek', soil analysis needed for the development of the natural play area.
		Rabobank Stimuleringsfonds XL; €22.000	Through their stimulation fund 'Stimuleringsfonds XL' the Rabobank provided funding to the foundations' initiatives the local market 'Markt om de Hoek' and placement of sport devices by 'Buitensporig Sportief'.
		Stichting Utrecht Oost Gezond;	Stichting Utrecht Oost Gezond provided funding for placement of sports devices for the initiative 'Buitensporig Sportief'.
	Knowledge and information	Board members foundation: experience structure foundation and development park.	Two of the board members of the foundation contributed with their experience in the foundation of the Kromme Rijn park. The municipality offered essential expertise

			Municipality: large scale expertise. OKRA: expertise technical design. Ruimte voor Advies: expertise management and maintenance.	regarding the scale of the project. The knowledge and expertise of OKRA with technical design contributed to a feasible design. Ruimte voor Advies contributed expertise of feasibility for management and maintenance.
		Delivery mechanisms	Economic situation. Sufficient support; local support shown in the workbook. Actors roles: citizens commitment, citizens as driving forces, municipal project leader as facilitator.	The economic situation was highlighted as leading to the municipality having no intensions to develop the area for construction. Sufficient support for the project, shown in the workbook, was regarded as important. Actors also provided important delivery mechanisms, including citizens commitment and citizens acting as driving forces, and facilitators, which in this case was the municipal project leader.
	IV. Processes	*Participation and engagement*	Participation of stakeholders in the workbook; Notifications to inform and invite citizens to participate. Following participatory design process with citizens, OKRA, Happyland Collective, and municipality. Driving roles to engage others in initiatives. Facilitator engaged and supported initiatives.	At the start of the project, diverse stakeholders participated in the workbook. Notifications were spread to inform all adjacent neighbourhoods and invite the citizens to participate. This led to participatory evenings, during which citizens, OKRA, Happyland Collective, and the municipality provided input for the design process. In the smaller initiatives, enthusiastic citizens adopted a driving role to engage others. One project leader functioned as facilitator to engage and support the initiatives.
		Monitoring and evaluation	No monitoring taking place. Clarity on red asphalt appreciated. Citizens could provide feedback on design, but in return feedback on the actual construction was lacking. Absence of overall evaluation	No information was found on monitoring activities of park Oosterspoorbaan. Clarity on the decision of the alderman for the cycle path with red asphalt was appreciated. Citizens could provide feedback on the design of the constructed models. However, following the actual construction of the chosen model sufficient feedback was lacking. Overall evaluation could have been improved.
	V. Activities	*Physical activities*	Development activities: construction of pathways, nature and initiatives. Regular use: recreation, exercising children playing, and initiatives' events	Activities related to development of the park are construction of the cycle and footpaths and planting of natural components. Several initiatives have also been constructed. Furthermore, regular use occurs with recreation, exercising and children playing. The smaller initiatives regularly have events taking place.
		Political activities	Plea with municipality for initiative support	The foundation had made a plea with the municipality for citizens' initiatives to be supported by a public official, such as the allocated facilitator.
		Awareness and knowledge	Information on website and Facebook page. Events to create awareness.	The foundation of the park and its initiatives regularly provide information on their website and Facebook page. Some events of the initiatives aim to create awareness of local products and natural processes.
	Main analytical concepts	*Discourses*	**Local:** Create recreational park in participation with local citizens **Broader:** Connecting the different neighbourhoods **Participation:** diverse perceptions on involvement of actors in participatory process **Communication:** misunderstandings present as actors did not provide clear communication	The creation of a recreational park and the participation of local citizens therein are regarded important values of this project by all actors. A broader meaning concerns the connection that the park forms between different neighbourhoods and the city. Although all actors valued participation, their interpretation of a participatory process differed. A lack of clear communication resulted in misunderstandings, inter alia on an agreement concerning the Natuurlint.

	Power relations	The municipality had ownership and access to resources, providing ability to exercise power. Local support exercised power on the municipality to realize the project.	The municipality had an essential role in the project through their ownership and accessibility to financial resources. They therefore could exercise power in favour of their goal on the construction of the red cycle path. Power was exerted by local support, strengthening the motivation of the municipality for realisation of the project.
	Performative discourses	**Politically justified objectives:** OKRA adopted the discourse of municipality, and formulated its design to realise policy objectives. **Formalized organisation forms:** The initiative integrated the organisational form preferred by the municipality in the foundation, by agreeing on structure in their collaboration. **'Not-In-My-Back-Yard'-argumentation:** Citizens applied a NIMBY-argumentation to the developments, which the project leader adopted by placing a fence.	**Politically justified objectives:** The municipality and OKRA shared objectives on connectivity of the park, and OKRA formulated the design to have the municipality agree upon it. This implies OKRA realising the policy objectives. **Formalized organisation forms:** The foundation perceived the municipality as important, and agreed upon a structure in their collaboration. The initiative thus integrated the preferred structure of the municipality in their foundation. **'Not-In-My-Back-Yard'-argumentation:** Local citizens disagreed with developments considering the safety of their personal environment. This NIMBY-argumentation was adopted by the project leader, who supported the discourse by placing a fence.

Table 5. Summarizing table providing general information about the park Oosterspoorbaan in the first rows, and information for the five governance dimensions. In the left column, the concerning dimension is depicted, with the second column indicating the descriptor. The third column provides a summary of the information and the last column the information as narrative.

Conclusion & Discussion

The following chapter provides a conclusion on the main findings and discusses the results and methodology. In the first part, systematic conclusions on the research questions are formulated. In the second part, the results of the governance dimensions are discussed, providing a comparison between the cases and considering the results with other literature. Of the separate dimensions, the first paragraphs provide a summary. Subsequently, the applied methodology is discussed upon. In the last part, recommendations are done for future research on active citizenship.

Conclusion

In participatory governance arrangements like citizens' initiatives civil society actors are considered having high levels of autonomy. Involvement of a government is not always necessary, but collaboration with governmental or other institutional actors could be needed for different reasons, such as the need for a specific area or certain resources. As such collaborations are under influence of power processes, diverse effects on processes and activities of the citizens' initiatives can take place. In an attempt to provide new insights with a theoretical understanding, a case study research was conducted in order to provide an answer to the objective *to understand how collaborations between involved actors in citizens' initiatives interact with the processes and activities of these initiatives.* A governance framework including dimensions on actors, institutional framework, resources, processes and activities allowed analysing and comparing the different governance arrangements of the cases. Effects of discourses and power were considered with the theory on performative discourses. With this theoretical perspective and the mentioned objective in mind, this research was conducted in order to answer the following research question:

> *How do collaborations between citizens' initiatives and other actors interact with the processes and activities of the initiatives, within the scope of Nature-based Solutions?*

Following the proposed governance framework and its important dimensions, the following subquestions were considered to clarify the different aspects of the main research question:

1. What are the most relevant actors and collaborations?
2. How do discourses of important actors, other than the citizens' initiative, act upon the processes and activities of the initiative?
3. Which other characteristics of the governance arrangement have influence on processes and activities of the initiative?

The findings of the case study allow providing systematic answers to the posed research questions. First, the subquestions are answered, followed by an answer to the main research question.

1. The most relevant actors in both projects are from civil society, the private sector, governmental, and non-profit organisations. For the Cremertuin project these concerned the foundation Cremertuin within the citizens' initiative, NS real estate as owner of the terrain, and IVN being involved in the subproject of the Tiny Forest. These collaborations identified as a form of self-governance (Arnouts et al., 2012). For the park Oosterpoorbaan, the most relevant actors concern the foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht from the citizens' initiative, the municipality of Utrecht as owner of the area, and landscape architects of Happyland Collective guiding the process and of OKRA being responsible for the development of the design. This concerned a more cooperative form of governance ('co-governance': Arnouts et al., 2012).

2. Firstly, almost all internal and external actors in both projects shared a discourse on creating a natural gathering space for local citizens and engage them with nature. Both projects could be implemented and created such natural spaces due to agreements with NS real estate and the municipality: the Cremertuin was developed into a community garden and

Oosterspoorbaan into a public park. In the Oosterspoorbaan project citizens were invited to think along in the design process, as to make the park for and with the citizens. Regular activities in the areas included citizens recreating and being involved with nature. Concluding, this discourse on a natural gathering space for citizens was present in almost all actors, including both citizens' initiatives. The activities and processes implementing the discourse were strengthened by the external actors sharing the discourse. Therefore, the discourses of the external actors are perceived to have acted upon the processes and activities, even though the initiatives also held the discourse already themselves.

Secondly, in the Oosterspoorbaan project all involved actors shared a discourse on a participatory process. Efforts were put in participation and citizens were engaged throughout the project: the municipality invited all adjacent neighbourhoods to participate, the engagement of citizens in the design was enabled by several external actors, and citizens could vote on the final model. However, on some occasions perceptions of the participatory process differed between several actors. This resulted in critique on the level of citizen engagement in some processes, although citizens' perspectives were implemented in the actual design and citizens much participated in activities taking place. Concluding, the different perceptions of external actors on participation affected the processes. Although the citizens' initiative already held this discourse, the fact that the external actors shared the discourse amplified the discourse acting upon the occurring processes and activities.

In the Oosterspoorbaan project external actors had a discourse on connecting a larger area, which was shared by some local citizens but also opposed by other local citizens who valued a safe living environment. The municipality decided on the construction of a cycle path of red asphalt, coherent to the layout of connecting cycle paths. Including processes of power, the discourse on a connecting area that was shared by external actors thus acted upon the occurring processes and activities.

A more elaborate effect of discourses acting upon activities and processes was observed through the performative effects of discourses. This can be observed when goals of actors are adopted by other actors, who then perform in accordance with the discourse. Four performative discourses (I-IV) have been observed in this research, of which one is contested with a more applicable contemporary concept.

In Oosterspoorbaan project, the municipal discourse on politically justified objectives was not performative on the citizens' initiative, although it had become performative on OKRA (I). Surprising, the findings suggest a performative effect of an environmentally justified objective, as the discourse on the Tiny Forest concept was adopted by the municipality of Alphen aan den Rijn (II). The performative effect of the institutional discourse on formalized organisation forms of NS real estate and the municipality was in both projects present although limited, as it affected the organizational structures but interactions of the citizens' initiatives were informal with nearly all actors (III). The institutional NIMBY-discourse was found performative in both projects, with the citizens' initiatives framing themselves in avoidance of being regarded using NIMBY-argumentation. (IV). It is however argued that the positive attitudes of the initiatives towards development of the areas are more supported by the contemporary concept of 'Yes-In-My-Back-Yard'-argumentation.

3. Besides discourses, the governance dimensions of institutional framework and resources also affected processes and activities. From the institutional framework dimension, the different ownerships of both areas influenced the accessibility and engagement of actors. In the Cremertuin, NS real estate as owner could exert power and grant access to the citizens' initiative. But due to little involvement of NS real estate throughout the rest of the project, the initiative was rather independent in its decision-making and establishment of collaborations. Having permission to use the terrain, the foundation had the power to manage access of other actors

and have regular board meetings, within which citizens were excluded. As such, power was thus exerted through the institutional framework of the Cremertuin project. The different institutional framework of the Oosterspoorbaan project also had effects on processes and activities, although different: the area was owned by the municipality, and with that publically available. Two municipal project leaders were involved, who had the power through the municipal ownership to establish collaborations with actors aiming for participation. This led to engagement processes occurring throughout the project, although the municipality exclude some actors on certain occasions, which is in conflict with the before mentioned discourse on participation. These different institutional frameworks resulted in higher citizen engagement in the design of the project with the Oosterspoorbaan than in the Cremertuin. To the contrary, management and maintenance of the area was more citizen-led in the Cremertuin than in the Oosterspoorbaan. Concluding, the institutional frameworks of both projects had different aspects and with that different effects on processes and activities.

The governance dimension on recourses also affected the occurring processes and activities. In the Cremertuin project, investments from external actors enabled the construction of smaller subprojects, while the foundation had created its own income to provide financial resources for management and maintenance. In the Oosterspoorbaan the initiative was dependent on the funding provided by the municipality. This proved both enabling and limiting for the project: it enabled the design and construction of the park entirely but led to construction of a cycle path of red asphalt, which was contested by many actors. The smaller initiatives had to gather their own subsidies, which enabled them to independently manage the concerning design processes.

These systematic answers to the three subquestions provide conclusions to the most important actors, and the effect of discourses and of other important governance characteristics on processes and activities of the citizens' initiatives. This finally leads to providing a concluding answer to the main question that was posed in this research:

The collaborations between the actors in the two projects lead to characterization of the Cremertuin project as self-governance and the Oosterspoorbaan as co-governance. These different forms of collaborations resulted in different processes occurring. It was however not the type of involved actors that influenced these processes, but mostly the associated discourses and power processes. Discourses of the authorities had effect on the organisational structures of both citizens' initiatives. Discourses on a natural gathering space were shared by internal and external actors in both projects, but the external actors specifically contributed to the related processes and activities. The discourse on a participatory process was also shared between the actors In the Oosterspoorbaan project, for which the external proved to mostly influence related processes and activities. This discourse was absent in the Cremertuin. Resulting, citizen engagement in the design of the projects reached higher levels in the Oosterspoorbaan project than in the Cremertuin project. In the other direction, the discourses and attitudes of citizens' initiatives also affected the institutional actors, with municipalities having adopted an environmental discourse and providing support to constructive, positive initiatives. The results of this research thus show the collaborations of citizens' initiatives with the authorities to affect processes through effects of power processes and discourses.

Discussion

In the following part, the results of the research on the two cases are compared and discussed considering current research. First, the five dimensions of the governance framework are considered. Subsequently, the main analytical concepts of discourses, power and performativity are regarded. Of each part, the first blue paragraph contains a concluding summary. The second part allows for a reflection on the methodology to discuss the limitations of the research.

Results

I. Actors and coalitions

The involved actors and their roles indicate how participatory governance is applicable to these projects. The citizens' initiatives of both project are led by a foundation, and have collaborations with a range of private and non-profit actors. The level of involvement of the municipality is however a large difference, having a much more important role in the park Oosterspoorbaan than in the Cremertuin. The overarching types of objectives of the involved actors concern social and environmental goals. In the project of park Oosterpoorbaan however, the aim for a participatory process was explicitly indicated by all actors. In addition, the Oosterspoorbaan included an infrastructural goal. In both projects, the involved actors had a local perspective, but the Cremertuin has a more local character. This is due to the scale of the project, with the Cremertuin covering a small area between two neighbourhoods, while park Oosterspoorbaan is an elongated park crossing several neighbourhoods, therefore having a much broader character.

In both projects, the main actors are part of the citizens' initiatives: the foundation Cremertuin and foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht, including a board and engaging local citizens. The foundations entered into collaborations with a diverse set of external actors for different reasons, including actors from the private sector, governmental and non-profit organisations. These established collaborations between the foundations and both governmental and non-governmental actors indicate both projects as deliberative forms of governance (Arnouts et al., 2012) and can help creating support amongst the actors (Seymoar et al., 2010). Although the performance of partnerships is dependent on many aspects (Pattberg & Widerberg, 2016) and is not uncontested (see Newig & Fritsch, 2009), the involvement of a multitude of actors can prove beneficial in diverse terms (e.g. Bulkeley & Mol, 2003; Jones et al., 2005; Nesshöver et al., 2017; Newig & Fritsch, 2009; Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2012). The involvement of the municipality was the main difference between the two projects; for the Cremertuin the municipality has not been involved besides providing funding, as NS real estate is involved as institutional actor being owner of the concerning terrain. For the park Oosterspoorbaan collaboration with the municipality was inevitable due to their ownership of the terrain.

The overarching objectives in both projects are comparable, concerning social and environmental goals. Environment-related objectives are to increase green space area, and improve the quality of such. The social-related objectives are to enable experiencing and recreating in nature, and to create social cohesion and integration. These findings of these two overarching objectives are consistent with the results of an extensive research on the governance of urban green spaces across different European cities (Ambrose-Oji et al., 2015). These objectives were found in both local and broader perspectives. Almost all interviewed actors of both project had a local perspective: to create a meeting place for local citizens with room for nature. Parks and gardens traditionally have had a function of meeting place for citizens. This binding characteristic is also incorporated in the relative new trend considering participation: for the park Oosterspoorbaan project all respondents had a specific aim for a participatory project, which influenced the involvement of certain actors in accordance with participation. This finding is not surprising, as in another research of van der Jagt et al. (2016) on urban green spaces half of the studied cases are also characterised as aiming to improve social cohesion. Citizens' initiatives such as community gardens are also considered as contributing to

social cohesion (Buijs et al., 2017; Wakefield et al., 2007). Specifically, the perspective of the municipality acknowledging the benefits of participation of the citizens' initiative in the governance is supported by research (Bendt et al., 2013; Rosol, 2010; van der Jagt et al., 2017). In the Cremertuin however, participation was not specifically mentioned besides the value in the handbook addressing the importance of citizens' contributions.

Furthermore, both projects involved actors having also a wider perspective. In the Cremertuin these perspectives are however more regarding the projects of UN and IVN in general, rather than being applicable to the Cremertuin specifically. With park Oosterspoorbaan, several actors aimed for the park to function as a connection between the city and the hinterland. The scales of both projects were of influence for the characters of the projects and the perspectives of the involved actors. The Cremertuin covers a small area between two neighbourhoods, whereas park Oosterspoorbaan has a larger range crossing several different neighbourhoods, on one side located near the city centre and on the other side near the hinterland. Therefore, an important difference between the projects is the Cremertuin to have a more local character than park Oosterspoorbaan.

II. Institutional framework

The institutional frameworks are of important influence through the ownership and accessibility of the two projects. The citizens' initiative of the Cremertuin was subject to agreements with NS real estate, whereas the initiative of the Oosterspoorbaan was limited by political regulations. The accessibility of the area has influenced agreements of management and maintenance, for which the citizens' initiative was responsible in the Cremertuin, and for the Oosterspoorbaan responsibilities were shared between municipality, the citizens' initiative, and the contractor. The institutional framework of both projects thus also had an influence on the collaborations that the citizens' initiatives established: for the Cremertuin and Oosterspoorbaan respectively collaborations with NS real estate and the municipality were inevitable due to their ownership.

Differences in the institutional frameworks of the two projects have diverse implications. Agreements on the use of the terrain of the Cremertuin imposed limitations to access and use rights. Why NS real estate was motivated to grant access to the citizens' initiative is ambiguous. Possibly the change to a more natural character of the area serves as reason, as different laws and regulations apply to a natural area than to the state of a wasteland. Designating the area for nature could then prove unbeneficial for NS real estate due to e.g. increased protection demands. As the perception and goals of NS real estate considering the Cremertuin are however unknown this reason is presumptive. Moreover, a different explanation for the permission of access is provided by the role of power, which is explained in the part on **Power**. With the management of the gateway the foundation could also impose limitations in access: membership and agreement on the principles and organisational structure were required for citizens. As stated by the respondent, the foundation created a hierarchical structure, which enables decision-making by the board and unequal power distributions: this is also elaborated in the part on **Power**.

In contrary to the corporately owned terrain of the Cremertuin, park Oosterspoorbaan is a public area. The municipality acquired the terrain from the previous owner of the terrain; ProRail. The economic situation at that time most likely implicated investments in real estate not being profitable, as also applied to community gardens in Berlin (Rosol, 2010). This probably stimulated ProRail to make the transfer to the municipality. The resulting public accessibility imposed different use rights, allowing only low revenue developments: this is considered an important driver for development of the park. Furthermore, with the municipality being owner of the terrain, the project leaders were provided managing functions in the process, which provided them the final say in decisions (Janse & Konijnendijk, 2007; Molin & Konijnendijk van den Bosch, 2014). The institutional framework thus implicated a more cooperative form of governance ('co-governance': Arnouts et al., 2012), although the citizens had more autonomy in the smaller initiatives.

Concluding, the institutional framework implicates the decision-making and management was done almost exclusively by the citizens' initiative, and the authority NS real estate was almost absent. Therefore, the project Cremertuin is considered a form of self-governance as described by Arnouts et al. (2012), although within the initiative hierarchy is present to some extent. To the contrary, in the Oosterpoorbaan project final decisions were taken by the municipality, thus characterising this project as cooperative management.

III. Resources

Different resources were of importance for both projects: financial resources, support by local citizens and facilitators, and local support. The foundation Cremertuin received investments and created its own income, whereas the foundation Oosterspoorbaan was for a large part dependent on the municipality for funding, providing both possibilities and limitations. Different ownership of both terrains and the related unequal involvement of the municipality in both projects were of influence on this difference. Local support was also an important catalyst for both projects: the video and the workbook are symbols showing how local support acted as delivery mechanisms for the Cremertuin and the Oosterspoorbaan respectively.

In both projects, financial resources proved important and were provided by internal and external actors. External actors proved important in providing diverse resources, which is also observed in other research (Glover et al., 2005; Saldivar-Tanaka & Krasny, 2004; van der Jagt et al., 2017). Financial resources from external actors had a different role in the projects. For the foundation Cremertuin, funding was provided only as investments. In order to sufficiently support ongoing management and maintenance costs the Cremertuin created its own income. Local support also proved an important delivery mechanism. Concerning the Oosterspoorbaan, the then economic situation was considered an important catalyser for the project. The municipal funding for the cycling path was an essential resource, both enabling ánd limiting for the project. As the citizens' initiatives had to provide their own funding, local support and voluntary work also proved essential. Concluding, where the Cremertuin was supported through investments, the Oosterspoorbaan project received more extensive funding; both projects had to gather additional financial resources for smaller initiatives and maintenance. Funding provided by external actors was thus essential in both projects, which is supported by findings of previous research (Stenseke, 2009; Wakefield et al., 2007).

In both projects, knowledge and expertise was provided by internal and external actors, and guiding for collaborations. In addition, support by local citizens proved to be an important delivery mechanism (de Wilde, 2014): in the Cremertuin local support was shown in the video, the local support for park Oosterspoorbaan was illustrated in the workbook. Both were regarded an important driver for the interest of the authorities NS real estate and the municipality, which is further explained in **Power**.

IV. Processes

Important processes in both projects appeared to be participation and engagement, conflict management, and evaluation. The involvement of a diverse set of actors reveals both projects as deliberative governance, although levels of engagement are different. This are related to the goals of the involved actors: in the Cremertuin participation was not clearly aimed for, and citizens were involved only to a limited extent; while in the Oosterspoorbaan all actors mentioned their intention for a participatory project, and citizens were involved in many different processes and diverse actors put effort in ensuring so. Facilitators were important contributors to engagement, and the function of both is related to the differences in institutional framework: the non-profit organization supported the foundation Cremertuin without bureaucratic processes, whereas for the foundation Oosterspoorbaan the municipal project leader provided relevant expertise of policy and regulations. Conflicts that arose in the projects were all to communication. Communication between foundation Cremertuin and NS real estate was deemed laborious, and processes of power are considered having

an important influence. The frictions between the citizens adjacent to park Oosterspoorbaan were intensified by the decision of the municipality. Also in this case power processes played an important role. Although it is important in participatory processes, the process of evaluation was merely absent in both projects. This is related to a lack of communication, and implicates effects of discourses. Regular evaluation can provide learning throughout the process.

Participation & engagement

As has already been indicated, the involvement of different actors can provide diverse benefits (e.g. Bulkeley & Mol, 2003; Jones et al., 2005; Newig & Fritsch, 2009; Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2012). This involvement of a diverse set of actors reveals both projects as deliberative governance. But in order to identify these as participatory arrangements, the level of engagement of involved actors, and specifically those of the concerning authority and citizens, are considered. For the Cremertuin project, local citizens were engaged in the initial video, but could not participate in the meetings of the board of the foundation (see **Power**). The involvement of the school was intended as to institutionally embed the project in the school organisation, which could lead to strengthening realisation on the longer term (Seymoar et al., 2010); but engagement reached not the level as was intended due to insufficient financial resources. In the Oosterspoorbaan project, local citizens and stakeholders were engaged at the start of the initiative in the workbook, and effort was also made by different actors to engage the adjacent neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the involvement of multiple actors in meetings and the ability of citizens to provide input in the design show how engagement was implemented in the project. These different levels of engagement are related to the goals of the involved actors, as participation was not formulated as goals in the Cremertuin project; while all actors mentioned participation as a goal in the Oosterspoorbaan.

Another important aspect was the role of facilitators, who proved important in connecting relevant actors. Previous research also indicates the contributions of such 'exemplary practitioners' (Durose et al., 2015; van Hulst et al., 2012). Facilitators can have different characteristics (Durose et al., 2015) and work for diverse organisations: organisations providing nature and environment education ('natuur en milieu educatie'; NME) services, such as UN for the Cremertuin, or governmental organisations like a district office, the municipal funding for initiatives, or project leaders as in the Oosterspoorbaan. In the case Cremertuin the municipality was not much involved, but the facilitator of UN could provide comparable knowledge and expertise without discouraging small citizens' initiatives with lengthy bureaucratic processes. Several articles also propose comparable "removal of administrative barriers" (Kabisch et al., 2016: 38) and recommend municipalities to refrain from bureaucratic and formal processes (Lawrence et al., 2014; van der Jagt et al., 2017). However, the increase in numbers of citizens' initiatives most likely has led to a response of governmental organizations like municipalities: change in the approach of municipalities was perceived by UN and IVN (Quote 9), increasingly also having arrangements supporting citizens' initiatives. However, in the Oosterspoorbaan project the feasibility regarding policy and regulations was important due to necessary acceptation of the design by the BING in public spaces. The knowledge and expertise of the municipal facilitator proved rather beneficial in this case.

Therefore, what is most effective differs for each local situation, but it is recommended for involved organisations to minimise possible barriers for citizens' initiatives as much as possible (Lawrence et al., 2014; Kabisch et al., 2016; van der Jagt et al., 2017). Depending on the context, contributing facilitators or 'practitioners' can have different roles and backgrounds (Durose et al., 2015). The projects in this research concerned different situations, and the different roles of the facilitators proved rather suitable in both cases.

The levels of engagement were thus rather different between the two projects: in the Cremertuin citizens were involved to a limited extent, and in the Oosterspoorbaan different processes involved citizens, which diverse actors put effort in to ensure engagement. The different functions of

facilitators proved beneficial for engagement in both projects, and were also relevant with regards to the different institutional settings.

Conflict management

Communication is considered an important aspect in participatory governance (Luz, 2000; Stenseke, 2009), and has been important in the occurrence of conflicts in both projects. In the Cremertuin the collaboration with NS real estate did not take place without any struggles. The perception of foundation Cremertuin on the reluctance of NS real estate and vagueness on a contact point hints towards a negative attitude of NS real estate towards the project. As this research was only able to consider the point of view of the foundation, the perception of NS real estate is unfortunately not known. An explanation for these frictions and behaviour of NS real estate is sought for in processes of power, which is further elaborated in the part on **Discourses, Power and Performativity**. Considering the Oosterspoorbaan project, the involvement of many different neighbourhoods also led to frictions. Even though most actors realized the interests of the concerning citizens would not all be in agreement, the protest of a few citizens against certain aspects in the design led to conflicts. The project leader decided to place the fence, upon which some actors did not agree, leading to more friction. In this case, processes of **Power** and lack of participation intensified the conflict.

The conflicts taking place in the projects were all related to communication: contact between the foundation Cremertuin and NS real estate led to the foundation experiencing some frictions, and in the Oosterspoorbaan project the interactions between the many involved neighbourhoods led to conflicts, which were also under influence of power processes. In such situations, communication is of great importance in order to prevent misunderstandings and understand each other's perceptions. The next part elaborates on this.

Evaluation

In both projects processes of evaluation were rather absent. The findings indicate the importance of keeping all actors informed about ongoing processes, as it proved sometimes difficult to comprehend the tasks and operations of other actors. This was subject to misunderstandings and with that also discourses. Providing clarity on processes is also important for the commitment of volunteers.

According to the formulated goal of the municipality, the Oosterspoorbaan project provided a good opportunity to experiment to what extent co-creation could take place. This also included involvement of citizens early in the process, which can enable citizens to create a feeling of ownership of the project (van Herzele et al., 2005). However, in order to learn from such an experiment, it is important to consider evaluations in the process (Kruitwagen & van Gerwen, 2013; Stenseke, 2009). Through monitoring and providing feedback, recognition can be provided to actors who perform well and the municipality can learn how plans are implemented (van der Steen et al., 2015), as to reflect on learning experiences and outcomes. The same can be applied to citizens' initiatives to learn from each other. Through sharing both positive and negative experiences, initiatives can learn from 'best practices'. This could take place through making information available on for example an online platform.

V. Activities

In both projects, mostly external actors were involved in activities related to the construction of the areas. This is mostly related to funding and expertise, and thus influenced by resources. Furthermore, activities concerning the smaller initiatives and recreational use mostly concerned the foundation and involved local citizens. This shows that the citizens' initiatives had the ability to develop the detailed layout of the areas, and both areas are mostly used by the citizens. Relating the recreational activities, the local goals of the involved actors are thus achieved: the Cremertuin functioning as meeting space for citizens and their children, and citizens being engaged with nature through inter alia the vegetable gardens. The local goals of the actors of park Oosterspoorbaan are

also achieved as citizens use the park for recreation, and they meet each other in relation to the initiatives. The responsibility of maintenance is divided between the municipality, the initiative and the contractor for park Oosterspoorbaan. These differences are related to the ownership within the institutional framework, as the Oosterpoorbaan is owned by the municipality who assigns contractors for maintenance, whereas NS real estate is not much concerned with the activities of the Cremertuin.

Most of the activities taking place in both projects are comparable. Many physical activities were related to the construction of the areas, during which different actors were involved. In the Cremertuin, this concerned local citizens, children of the school and collaborating external actors. In the Oosterspoorbaan mostly external actors performed construction activities of the general park, whereas construction activities related to the smaller initiatives concerned mostly the internal actors, i.e. the foundation and involved citizens. In addition, both areas are used on a regular basis for recreational purposes, although differences are present. In the Cremertuin, the activities include relaxation, using vegetable gardens, children playing, and external actors hosting meetings. In the park Oosterspoorbaan, citizens make use of the park while walking and running, people using the sports devices, and children are playing. The maintenance of the Cremertuin is carried out by citizens, whereas in the Oosterspoorbaan the municipality, involved citizens and the assigned contractor share these responsibilities, as the public area of park Oosterspoorbaan is owned by the municipality who assigns contractors for general maintenance.

Furthermore, other than physical activities, activities in the Cremertuin are related to awareness and knowledge; a local school is engaged, and some articles about the Tiny Forest have been published. With the Oosterspoorbaan, other activities are political activities, as citizens involved in the initiative made a plea to allocate facilitators to all citizens' initiatives in Utrecht.

Discourses, Power and Performativity

This part elaborates on the three main analytical concepts of this research. Discourses that were found in the results concern those that were shared amongst the actors, but also discourses that were conflicting. The effects of these discourses are regarded through reflecting on the activities and processes that took place. Discourses having effects are also under influence of power processes, which are elaborated in the second part. In the Cremertuin, the foundation mostly exerted power, while in the Oosterspoorbaan power was predominantly exerted by the municipality. The last part on performativity explains how, through power processes, discourses became adopted by other actors who subsequently acted according to the discourse. The concept of performative discourses as proposed by van Dam et al. (2015) are however considered looking from a traditional government perspective. The proposed performative discourses are all institutional, whereas currently discourses coming from civil society or environmental organisations also show performativity. It is therefore proposed to consider more contemporary performative discourses in near research.

Discourses

In both projects, the actors shared a discourse on the value of creating a natural gathering space for local citizens. This discourse is reflected in activities and processes taking place. However, conflicting discourses were also present and expressed in activities and processes. The planting of the Tiny Forest in the Cremertuin was not coherent with the limitations that NS real estate provided to the use of the terrain. In the Oosterspoorbaan project a difference occurred between a local discourse and a broader discourse on connecting a larger area. The decision of the municipality to place a fence shows how the local discourse was integrated in processes and activities.

Even though different actors were involved and different processes took place, both projects broadly shared discourses. Almost all actors in the Cremertuin had a similar discourse on the meaning of the areas, considering the potential for a meaningful natural place for local citizens. Also in the Oosterspoorbaan project the discourse on the area as natural gathering space for local citizens was

shared by all involved actors. This discourse is reflected in the activities and processes taking place. In both projects citizens recreate in and are involved with nature: in the Cremertuin through the use of vegetable gardens, and in park Oosterspoorbaan through the operating of the smaller initiatives. The discourse is reflected in processes, as in the Cremertuin citizens are engaged in construction and maintenance of the Cremertuin garden, and citizens as driving force motivating other citizens to learn to use products of the vegetable garden.

In addition, all actors involved in the Oosterspoorbaan project recognised the value of participation. and in the Oosterspoorbaan project efforts were taken to engage actors throughout the project; including the workbook, neighbourhood-notifications, and in the design and voting of the models. But, also processes of exclusion took place, which are not in line with the discourse on participation. This however appeared to be subject to different perceptions on the participatory process. Effects of power and discourses therein are explained in the part on **Power**. Such a discourse on participation was not present amongst the actors of the Cremertuin.

Conflicting discourses were also present: within the Cremertuin IVN regarded the area suitable for a forest for the long term, whereas NS real estate provided no guarantees on the permission to use the terrain. The discourse of IVN became adopted in the activities, as these included planting of the forest. Furthermore, different discourses also existed amongst the involved actors of the Oosterspoorbaan project: some considered it a connection through the city, whereas others saw it more as a personal, local environment. The latter indicates a Not-In-My-Backyard-argumentation. The municipality supported the local perspective through placement of the fence, argued to maintain the local support. In this situation, discourses acted through a process of power.

These frictions related to different discourses indicate the importance of communication on perceptions and expectations in order to prevent misunderstandings (Luz, 2000). The maintenance agreement that the foundation Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht did not want to sign points out how the citizens' initiative was reluctant to be responsible of specific maintenance task, and therefore continue to be reliant on the support of the municipality in order to maintain the quality of the area (Mathers et al., 2015). Furthermore, how the discourses are reflected in the processes and activities is under influence of power processes, which are discussed upon in the next part.

Power

In the Cremertuin power based in the institutional framework enabled NS real estate and the foundation to exert power. In addition, the discourse of local citizens exerted power on NS real estate. In the Oosterspoorbaan, the ownership of the area and the funding for the cycle path afforded the municipality with power in several situations. In the decision for placement of the fence, the municipality was additionally influenced by citizens who exerted power based in their emotions. This leads to the conclusion that in the Cremertuin power was mostly exerted by the citizens' initiative, whereas in the Oosterspoorbaan the municipality predominantly exerted power. In both projects, the exerted power was based in the institutional framework and discourses. These results indicate power to be exerted both by institutional actors as by actors from civil society. In these power processes, the base of power is considered decisive. The following paragraphs provide elaborate explanation on these conclusions.

In the Cremertuin, the institutional framework provided power to NS real estate and the foundation. As was stated by respondent 1 (Quote 1), the structure of a foundation provided hierarchy to some extent, and excluded citizen members in meetings and final decisions. The organisational structure thus provided the board of the foundation with power. Furthermore, in both projects the presence of local support likely acted as a base for power. Considering park Oosterspoorbaan the municipality most likely already considered co-creation with citizens for the development of the area, and the power exerted through the local support strengthened this motivation. Considering the Cremertuin, rather than local support, the power exerted with the video could be based in a discourse of citizens on the bad state of the terrain, indicating a NIMBY discourse. With the video being publically

available, this discourse could motivate other citizens to also develop such wastelands. This possibly led to NS real estate keeping the agreement behind the scenes as to prevent more citizens calling upon their properties for development. The latter is regarded the most likely explanation, as NS real estate did not provide any information on the project and was not involved in the project to any further extent. However, due to lack of information of NS real estate their perspective on the terrain is unknown, and the presumptive power effect of the discourse of local citizens cannot be confirmed.

For several power processes in the Oosterspoorbaan project the base of the power is unclear. In two circumstances, power was exerted by the municipality. Firstly, the base of power that led to exclusion is ambiguous. Secondly, power was exerted as OKRA made certain decisions in the design process. In these situations, it was the municipality that exerted power, as the project leader exerted power to steer OKRA to a more participatory approach (Quote 32). A third and different circumstance was the decision of the municipality for placement of the fence. In the latter situation, the persuasiveness that came with the emotion of fear of the local citizens likely influenced the municipality to take that decision. Therefore, in this situation power based in the emotions of local citizens influenced the municipality. But the power that the municipality had in its turn to actually place the fence also has an uncertain base. Two possible explanations these power processes exerted by the municipality are provided: 1) power was based in different discourses on the process of participation; 2) Power had a base in the institutional framework and/or resources. The following paragraph further describes these explanations.

The first two circumstances are related to the decision taken by the municipality to assign OKRA. This most likely indicates power to be based in discourses, with the municipality and Happyland Collective to have had different perceptions on the process of co-creation. The municipality might have regarded the selection of actors necessary to provide sufficient capacity for co-creation. Through assigning OKRA, an adequate technical design could be ensured fast enough, leaving sufficient time and effort for the co-creation process. Happyland Collective however considered establishing collaborations already part of the co-creation, to which the decision taken by the municipality was not complying. In this case, power would be based in discourses. Aarts and Leeuwis (2010) acknowledge the importance of clarity on the roles of actors and, especially, of power processes for participatory processes. Alternatively, the base of power lied in the ownership of the municipality of the concerning terrain and their funding: providing power through the institutional framework or their resources. It is however difficult to distinguish the power base between the institutional framework and the financial resources, as both were essential for the project and inherently linked to the municipality.

Concluding, the power was thus exerted by the municipality; other research also concludes the project leader to have the ability to make decisions (Janse & Konijnendijk, 2007; Molin & Konijnendijk van den Bosch, 2014). Most likely, the power bases were different discourses, or the institutional framework and/or resources. The results on discourses provide sufficient insights to support the presence of different discourses. When approached by the respondent of Happyland Collective, the project leader took actions to steer the process as to be more participatory. However, ownership of the area and the financial resources proved essential in this project and are both intrinsically bound to the municipality. Therefore, the combination of both explanations is considered as best explaining the base of power processes. The results support the understanding that power is decided by the accessibility of an actor to use a certain power base (Dahl, 1957), and power only forms through interactions between actors (Elias, 1970 in Aarts & Leeuwis, 2010). This is thus in line with the conception that power is situated in the level of structures (Arts and van Tatenhove, 2004).

Performative Discourses

In this paragraph, the three proposed performative discourses are regarded. A performative effect was observed in the Oosterspoorbaan project of politically justified objectives. This discourse was not performative in the Cremertuin, although it was observed in the broader project of Tiny Forest. The discourse on formalized organisation forms influenced the structure of both citizens' initiatives, although not as extensive as concluded in van Dam et al. (2015). In contrary to the expected performative effect of avoidance of a NIMBY-argumentation, an actual NIMBY-discourse occurred in the Oosterspoorbaan project. In the Cremertuin, avoidance of the NIMBY-argumentation was observed, but it is argued that the findings are more supportive of a 'Yes-In-My-Back-Yard'-discourse with the local citizens welcoming developments in their local environment. The same applies to the initiators of park Oosterspoorbaan. Lastly, integration of an 'environmentally justified objective' in a municipality shows an unforeseen performative discourse. Although some of the three performative discourses proposed by van Dam et al. (2015) thus appear to apply to the case studies, they are all considered as applying a rather traditional perspective. All three consider an institutional discourse affecting a civil society actor. However, as proactive citizens' initiatives are increasingly occurring nowadays, it is argued to search for more contemporary descriptions of performative discourses.

I)   *Politically justified objectives*

The discourse on politically justified objective includes the municipality to prefer to collaborate with citizens' initiatives that have objectives in agreement with their policy objectives. The performative response of this discourse occurs as the initiative adjusts its plan and objectives as to meet this municipal discourse. Considering the case Cremertuin no such performative discourse was present. However, when considering the subproject of the Tiny Forest concept in general - not the Tiny Forest in the Cremertuin - the municipality was considered an essential partner in many cases. The initiators of the Tiny Forest argued having considered current policy in their project design. This is in accordance with van Dam et al. (2015), who state that in response to the discourse the initiator can use the anticipation and adaptation techniques, through considering relevant policies and answering to that. In doing so, the initiator actually deems its project to meet the objectives stated in policy. This is exactly the case with the Tiny Forest. Therefore, it is concluded that the municipal discourse on politically justified objectives had thus become performative to the general concept of Tiny Forest.

For the Oosterspoorbaan project, an objective of the foundation included sustainable development of the area. To implement this objective, several sustainable suggestions were proposed including an innovative cycle path design. The suggestions were however in conflict with the objective of the municipality, as a connective cycle path would need to consist of red asphalt. The municipality had the power to ensure construction of the red asphalt. But rather than the initiative adopting the municipal objective, the initiative searched for possibilities to integrate their own, sustainable ideas within the boundaries of policy and regulations. The initiative thus did not adopt the politically justified objectives, which had not been performative on the initiative. However, a performative effect of this politically justified objective was observed on OKRA. OKRA was assigned by the municipality to ensure meeting the deadline for the grant. The actors shared the objectives on forming a connection with the cycle path. OKRA adopted the design to meet the municipal objectives, and considered themselves to realise the policy objectives, thus indicating a performative effect. However, although this is considered performativity according to the description by van Dam et al. (2015), it is not surprising for OKRA to reply to the demands of the municipality as this concerns a relationship between contractor and client. Although this oftentimes also concerns discourses and power processes, other processes thus also appear present in such circumstances. It was however difficult in certain situations to distinguish between actors solely acknowledging other actors' discourses and respecting it, and the actors really adopting the discourse through performativity. The difference is related to the perspective and values of the actor, which appeared sometimes difficult to find out.

II)   *Formalized organization forms*

The discourse on formalized organization forms entails that the municipality prefers to collaborate with citizens' initiatives with formal structures. A performative effect is observed when the initiative organizes and institutionalizes itself. In this research, the establishments of both foundations were argued for practical reasons, but were also under influence of the concerning institutions: NS real estate demanded the foundation to have a contact point, and the municipality requiring the citizens' initiatives of the Oosterspoorbaan project to be organised and easy to approach. Both these requirements of the institutions were a reason for the establishment of the foundations with a board with regular meetings. The establishment of the organizational structure thus indicates a performative effect of the discourse on formal organisation forms of the formal institutions NS real estate and the municipality. But in contrast with van Dam et al. (2015) the interactions of the citizens' initiatives with the formal institutions as well as with other informal actors appeared all rather informal in both projects. Van Dam et al. (2015: p.173) state "the initiators manifest and frame themselves differently and act differently when dealing with different actors". Although the establishment of the foundations were argued also for practical reasons and the interactions in both projects had an informal character, a performative effect of the discourse on formalized organization forms as stated in van Dam et al. (2015) was observed to a certain extent.

III)   *Avoidance of a 'Not-In-My-Back-Yard'-argumentation*

'Not-In-My-Back-Yard' (NIMBY) refers to arguments that citizens use when they do not agree with plans of the government, as these citizens have a mere local perspective and regard the plans negatively affecting their personal environment. As a response, governmental organisations can label citizens as employing NIMBY-arguments. A performative effect is observed as citizens try to avoid being framed as using the NIMBY-argumentation.

In both the Cremertuin and Oosterpoorbaan projects this performative effect was observed. The citizens' initiative of the Cremertuin frames itself as providing a constructive, positive plan and addressing a wide range of interests, and the local initiators of park Oosterspoorbaan were positive regarding green developments of the unused railway, and the workbook presented their constructive, participatory ideas. Therefore, a performative effect of the NIMBY-discourse is observed in both cases. However, rather than the citizens' initiative trying to prevent NIMBY-argumentation, a different concept is much more applicable: 'Yes-In-My-Back-Yard' (YIMBY), also 'Welcome-In-My-Back-Yard' (WIMBY). With this perception, the citizens actually have a positive perspective towards developments in their local environments. Citizens want to participate and provide a positive contribution; such 'good citizens' have a valued place in current society and the Netherlands appears to provide a good environment for such local action (de Wilde et al., 2014). Grassroots initiatives have been emerging (Buijs et al., 2014). However, although with such innovative approaches citizens are thus more independently initiating, collaboration with governmental actors is considered important (Hurenkamp et al., 2011). Such needed support of municipalities appeared from the findings on the funding for initiatives and the objective of the municipality concerning co-creation. Also, UN and IVN believed both non-governmental and governmental institutions to have created arrangements as a response to increasing amounts of citizens' initiatives (see Quote 9). The findings of this research regarding the attitude of the citizens' initiatives of the Cremertuin and park Oosterspoorbaan are therefore supported by this contemporary concept of YIMBY or comparable concepts like 'good citizens' (de Wilde et al., 2014) or active citizenship (Buijs et al., 2016), which nowadays is much more applicable considering the presence of concepts like active citizenship.

IV)   *Other performative discourses*

Following the performative effect of the politically justified objective forms regarding the Tiny Forest, an even more striking effect is observed. The environmental discourse advocated by the Tiny Forest concept has led to collaborations with municipalities wanting to promote small forests. One of these

municipalities, the municipality of Alphen aan den Rijn, has integrated the Tiny Forest concept in its policy plan (Uitvoeringsprogramma 2018-2022. Gemeente Alphen aan den Rijn) (See Quote 15). On the one hand, this supports the performative effect of the politically justified objective as the objective is shared by the municipality. Moreover, it shows that the discourse of the Tiny Forest concept has been adopted by the municipality, and thus indicates a performative effect. The municipality namely adjusted its policy as to integrate the vision of the Tiny Forest, creating small, dense forest in particular. This thus shows a performative effect of not *politically* justified objectives, but rather *environmentally* justified objectives had taken place.

Methodology

This research provides an analysis of different participatory governance arrangements in the Netherlands and the importance of collaborations therein. However, methodological limitations may have affected the findings and their validity. This part therefore provides a reflection on the used theoretical framework and methodology, and interprets limitations of the research.

The ethical considerations as described in the Methodology chapter consider the informed consent. This enabled respondents to understand what the research consisted of and what the data was used for. However, providing this information in a style and with concepts that they would understand without altering the character of the research appeared challenging. The use of concepts like discourse, power and performative effects had to be translated and were described otherwise. Without losing the essence, this resulted in explanations that might not have informed the respondents fully on the concepts. However, as the analysis of the data was subject to the researchers own interpretation, the information provided by the respondents most likely consisted of sufficient relevant information. Furthermore, informing the respondents about the use of their provided information could have had an effect on the information availability. This was dependent on the willingness of the respondents to cooperate, and possibly the respondents could have chosen to withhold from providing sensible information. This appears to have occurred especially concerning the Cremertuin. The availability of information was dependent on the first respondent as a snowball-method was applied to reach other relevant actors. Limited information on the collaboration and agreements with NS real estate was provided, which possibly indicates a delicate relationship. The respondent did not provide a contact point within NS real estate and requested to not approach them in order to prevent interfering in their relationship. Although more effort could have been undertaken to discover a relevant person within NS real estate without information of the respondent, it was an ethical consideration to abide the respondents request to not approach NS real estate. This however has had quite some influence on the results, as the perspective of NS real estate could not be incorporated. This has left some points of discussion unconcluded and with that the research incomplete.

The role of the researcher in the selection of the respondents could have had an influence on the collected data. There has been a strong focus on the perspectives of the governmental and the citizens' initiative actors. However, it was only realized later that the respondents of the initiatives that had been approached were not very representative of all those involved. The snowball-method resulted in interviewing those citizens that were much involved in the initiative, without considering citizens only participating in sporadic activities or citizens with contrasting perspectives. Both initiatives concerned different neighbourhoods and local differences, such as social differences between the neighbourhoods or involved citizens. As such, these differences were not considered.

Furthermore, the role of the researcher in the interviews was recognized, as the type of questions and the formulation could have influenced the answers given. Also, interpretation of the data is subject to the perspective of the researcher. As different actors have different perspectives it can be sensitive as to regard what is true or which perspectives are heard. The focus lied on the governmental and citizens' initiative actors, despite considering many different respondents. This approach was applied as to enable a most thorough analysis on the relationship between municipal involvement and citizens' autonomy, but could at the same time have resulted in bias towards these actors and neglect of the perspectives of other actors. Furthermore, during the analysis it became clear that certain topics could have been considered more in the interviews through asking more profound questions. A resulting lack of relevant information indicated additional information was needed, and three respondents were approached by phone for clarification on certain subjects. This might have had an influence on the results as respondents can have different information in mind at another moment.

As has been argued in the parts above, the theoretical framework provided suitable conceptions but also had its limitations. The notions of power that were considered appeared quite applicable to the

governance arrangements, as power processes were found in relation to institutional frameworks, resources, and discourses. The proposed performative discourses were however regarded less applicable to the current day governance arrangements. The considered discourses are all related to an institutional actor, whereas performativity was also observed related to other types of actors. It is therefore argued in the next part on recommendations that future research should aim to consider performative discourse more applicable to current times.

The findings of this research indicate many lessons that have been learned in the processes. However, the with few experience the qualitative research appeared more time-consuming than expected, leaving not sufficient time left to formulate profound recommendations for the related types of actors. A short follow-up will therefore focus on providing the involved respondents with lessons learned that are distracted from this research. These will be presented in an easy and understandable way. However, some preliminary recommendations are already provided in the recommendations.

Recommendations

Future research

Power processes are in this research regarded as the accessibility of an actor to use resources. This inherently relates to the base of the power, which can originate from different governance dimensions such as resources or processes, and to the means of an actor to employ the power base. Although this research has only touched upon these theoretical conceptions briefly, the findings indicate quite some differences in power availability and power bases for the different involved actors. These differences have had effect on the processes and activities taking place and with that also affecting how goals of the actors were reached; indicating power to play an important role in the collaborations. Therefore, future research is recommended to consider such processes of power availability and exertion more into depth.

The employed performative discourses appear not very suitable for the considered governance framework. Therefore, research considering effects of discourses in participatory governance arrangements or more self-governance is recommended to look for performative discourses coming from civil society or other non-governmental actors. An example of a more contemporary concept is that of YIMBY, which is considered more applicable considering the positive attitudes of citizens. A NIMBY-argumentation was however also found, indicating presence of contrasting perspectives amongst citizens. It can therefore be valuable to inquire what determines citizens to employ either NIMBY or YIMBY perspectives, and how authorities such as municipalities can respond to those. The research on the conception of YIMBY appeared rather limited, although comparable concepts such as active citizenship are addressed more in current research. Through integrating findings on active citizenship with YIMBY and NIMBY argumentation, more profound understanding can be created on the diverse perspectives of citizens and the implications for governance of urban green environments.

As indicated in the discussion on the methodology, unfortunately no profound recommendations for the related types of actors could have been formulated yet. Some preliminary recommendations are however provided for the involved types of actors:

- Participatory collaborations seem very applicable current days. Municipalities are recommended to provide citizens' initiatives with sufficient support to develop their projects. It is advisable to search for ways in which the initiatives can learn from other actors and other initiatives, to eventually obtain the necessary skills and expertise in order for support to not be needed on the long term.

- Communication between actors is important in participatory processes. Especially different involved perspectives and values should be regarded and communicate. It is advisable to consider the terms and agreements for collaborations beforehand, in order to prevent frictions and misunderstandings.

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Werkboek Oosterspoorbaan. Stichting Oosterspoorbaan Utrecht, Happyland Collective en De Natuur en Milieufederatie Utrecht

Annex I. Documents and media referring to the projects

Project name	Park Oosterspoorbaan	De Cremertuin
Documents	Workbook Oosterspoorbaan	Handbook Cremertuin
	DO Oosterspoorbaanpark (OKRA landschapsarchitecten, 2015)	Uitvoeringsprogramma 2018-2022 Gemeente Alphen aan den Rijn
Web sources	http://oosterspoorbaan.nl/	https://cremertuin.nl
	https://www.utrecht.nl/wonen-en-leven/verkeer/verkeersprojecten/oosterspoorbaan/	http://www.devergroeningvanutrecht.nl
	https://www.uithoflijn.nl/trace/tracedeel-a	https://www.natuurprijs.nl/inzendingen/tiny-forest-utrecht
	https://issuu.com/duic/docs/duic_krant_021_oktober_2016	https://www.ivn.nl/zoeken?s=cremertuin
	http://www.wijkraadnoordoost.nl/projecten/oosterspoorbaan/	https://www.nmu.nl/interactieve-kaart/cremertuin/
	https://www.utrecht.nl/wonen-en-leven/verkeer/verkeersprojecten/oosterspoorbaan/	https://www.utrecht.nl/fileadmin/uploads/documenten/wonen-en-leven/parken-en-groen/groenbeleid/West/Wijkgroenplan-West.pdf
	https://www.stimuleringsfondsxl.nl/winnaars-2017/	
	http://oosterspoorbaan.nl/oosterspoorbaan-wint-tweede-prijs-rabobank-stimuleringsfondsxl-2017/	

Annex II. Questions according to the governance framework

Dimensions	Descriptors	Question
I. Actors and coalitions	*Role actor*	To what extent are you involved in the project/what is your role?
	Goals and targets	What are the goals of your organisation (i.e. actor)? What are the goals of the other involved actors?
	Other actors	Which other actors have been important in the project? Who initiated the project?
	Collaborations	What collaborations with other actors have you been involved with? For what purpose?
II. Institutional framework	*Policies*	What policies were of influence?
	Planning and regulations	What regulations or agreements were applicable to the project?
	Ownership	Who did/does the area belong to?
	Access and use rights	Who has access to the area? Are there restrictions for the use of the area?
III. Resources	*Funding*	How important was money in the project? What types of funding have been available to you?
	Knowledge and information	How important was knowledge in the project? What knowledge/information have you contributed to the project?
	Delivery mechanisms	How important was governmental policy in the project? Was this limiting or facilitating?
IV. Processes	*Discourses*	Did your goals and those of other actors match or where these contrary? Was the organization form of the initiative of influence in the collaboration with other actors? Is your perspective (of actor) local or wider applicable?
	Power relations	Do you feel that other actors have influenced your decisions? How? Do you feel that you have influenced decisions of other actors? How?
	Participation, engagement and conflict management	How were actors engaged? What conflict took place? How were these treated?
	Monitoring and evaluation	How have the processes in the project been evaluated?
V. Activities	*Physical activities*	In what physical activities are you involved?
	Political activities	In what political activities are you involved?
	Awareness and knowledge	In what research/educational activities are you involved?