



The publicness of privately managed public green space

A case study research of civic initiatives in participatory governance

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August 2015

This thesis is written as final assignment for the master Forest- and Nature conservation, specialisation Management at Wageningen University.

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Study program: M Forest- and nature conservation, specialization Management

Course: MSc thesis Forest and Nature Conservation Policy, FNP-80436 (36 ECTS)

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Abstract

Currently, “processes of planning and decision making related to environmental issues and land use planning are increasingly characterized by attempts to involve the public” (Turnhout et al., 2010, p.26). This can also be seen in the private management of public green space, where citizens (partially) take on the management of a green space in their neighbourhood. The private management of public green space can change the look and feel of the space and therefore the way the green space is perceived and used. Citizens can become more involved with the green space or feel excluded. This case study research explores the effect of privately managed public green space on the publicness of these spaces. For this purpose, three case studies have been investigated, two in Amsterdam and one in Utrecht. On the basis of the study findings, I argue that the reason why some privately managed public green spaces are perceived as being public within the neighbourhood and others not, can for a large part be explained by the way in which the manager(s) manage(s) the green space. The managers influence all four dimensions of publicness, namely; physical publicness, visual publicness, publicness through information or publicness in the process. A green space is perceived positively when the space feels public to the citizens in the neighbourhood. In the cases where citizens felt a connection with the green space they also perceived the space as being public. On the basis of this research it can be stated that private management indeed influences the publicness of these green spaces

Keywords: *publicness, private management, public green space, participatory governance, place making.*

Summary

Private management of public green space is a form of participatory governance, with which is meant the involvement of the public in planning and decision making. “This engagement is not just about the government informing the public, but it is about the public genuinely being part of policy making, decision making and the implementation processes” (Management Advisory Committee (MAC), 2004 in Edwards, 2008, p1). Nowadays, the government want to involve citizens more and also citizens themselves want to be more involved. This is also the case with privately managed public green space, it can save the municipality money as management tasks are (partially) taken over by citizens and citizens can transform the green space to what they think is nice for the neighbourhood.

The aim of this case study research is to investigate the publicness of privately managed public green space. Publicness is the sense of accessibility, both physically and visually. When citizens start to privately manage public green spaces, the look and feel of the space changes. Citizens who are not involved in the management therefore perceive the green space differently. The private management can be positive as the space can stimulate more interaction but can also be negative when citizens do not feel free to use the space anymore. Public spaces facilitate public lives and are necessary for a city to function, this indicates that it is important that they are public to everyone. Therefore it is important to research whether privately managed public green spaces feel public or private to the citizens who are not involved in the management of the green space.

Throughout this research the following theoretical concepts were used: participatory governance, place making and publicness. Participatory governance addresses the relation between the managers of the public green space and the government, how they both work together (or not) to manage the public green space. The concept of place-making is used to analyse the attachment to the privately managed public green space. Because the private management of the public green space influences how citizens in the neighbourhood perceive the space, either being public or private, the concept of publicness is used in order to approach the state of being public. During this research it is argued that the concepts of participatory governance, place making and publicness all relate with one another. Whether these relations are actually there and how they work is researched throughout this thesis.

The main research question of this study is:

How does privately managed public green space, as a form of participatory governance, influence the publicness of public green space?

To answer this main research question, three sub research questions are guiding:

- *How is the private management of public green space organized in the case studies?*
 - *What level of decision-making freedom do the managers in the case studies experience?*
 - *How is the relation between managers and municipality experienced?*
- *What activities or elements of the privately managed public green space lead to place making and which may lead to appropriation that causes exclusion?*
- *What is the experience of citizens who are not involved in the management of the public green space?*

This study exists of three case studies – two in Amsterdam and one in Utrecht – which are analysed through the lens of the concepts participatory governance, place making and publicness. The decision/making freedom and the collaboration between the municipality and the managers of the public green space, does not influence the publicness of the green space much. The way in which the manager manages the green space, the way they design the space and inform others influences the publicness of the green space for citizens living around the green space influences the publicness most.

Place making is the attachment to a space, when someone attaches meaning to a certain space, this space becomes a place to them. When one attaches meaning to a privately managed public green space, this space also feels public. In every case the managers attached meaning to the space and thought of the green space as a green place. For the citizens living around the privately managed public green space, only in the cases where the respondents thought of the green space as a green place did they also feel like this green space was public.

This research showed a change in the perception of the concept of publicness when it comes to private management of a public green space. Publicness is the range between private and public, and differs from person to person. This research shows space can be public in several ways, which are in this research described as physical publicness, visual publicness, publicness through information and publicness of the process. In all cases publicness through information showed to be important because through information citizens know whether a space is public or private, what is happening and who to contact. The manager of the green space is the one who influences the publicness most. Especially publicness through information, as when the manager(s) provide(s) information to the neighbours, the neighbours know whether they are allowed to enter or not. Especially personal communication between the manager and neighbours increased the publicness of the green space. It is also the manager who manages and designs the green space and therefore influence the physical and visual publicness. On the basis of this research it can be stated that private management indeed influences the publicness of these green spaces, the manager influences the publicness the most.

Preface

This thesis was written as part of my master Forest- and Nature conservation. Throughout my educational career, with my bachelor in landscape architecture and spatial planning, I found an interest for urban areas and especially their green spaces. As the world's population continues to grow and a growing number of people live in cities, innovative solutions need to be found in order to keep cities thriving and provide enough green space for everyone. Participatory governance can be one of these solutions. Participatory governance involves citizens in the decision making. As it is the citizens who use the green spaces a city offers, I believe it should also be them who should (help to) decide what these green spaces should look like and sometimes even manage the green space. This is currently happening in a lot of spaces as citizens start to privately manage these public green spaces. This can change these green spaces. Therefore I want to research how the quality of these green spaces changes when they are privately managed in order to keep the green space public to all citizens.

This thesis could not have been carried out without the help and support of several people, therefore I would like to thank and express my gratitude towards these persons. I would like to thank my supervisors who gave constructive feedback and helped focus my thesis. I would also like to thank my family, friends and colleagues in the thesis room for their support and feedback, especially Boris Kooij. Lastly I would like to thank all the respondents, especially both municipalities and the managers of the initiatives which all welcomed me to conduct interviews, without them this thesis would not have been able to happen.

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The publicness of privately managed public green space

A case study research of initiatives in participatory
governance

1.1 Introduction

This research is interested in the private management of public green spaces. Private management of public green space is a form of participatory governance, which is understood here as the involvement of the public in planning and decision making (Economic and Social Council, 2007; Edwards, 2008). “This engagement is not just about the government informing the public, but it is about the public genuinely being part of policy making, decision making and the implementation processes” (Management Advisory Committee (MAC), 2004 in Edwards, 2008, p1). Currently, “processes of planning and decision making related to environmental issues and land use planning are increasingly characterized by attempts to involve the public” (Turnhout et al., 2010, p.26). Governments often stimulate citizens, because it can save expenses and might lead to better public spaces and social cohesion (Blom et al., 2010). However, not only governments encourage citizens to participate. Also citizens themselves set up initiatives with or without help of governments (Tonkens et al., 2012). Reasons why citizens want to participate or set up these local initiatives, like the private management of public green space, range from wanting to do something about problems in the neighbourhood like: behavioural problems, rubbish or ugly surroundings or a lack of contact with the neighbourhood to personal reasons like wanting to be closer to nature or improving the view from their house (Tonkens et al., 2012).

Public spaces facilitate public lives and are necessary for a city to function well. “If they function in their true civic role, they can be the settings where social and economic exchanges takes place, where friends meet, and where cultures mix” (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.) as is confirmed by authors like Rogers (1998), Young (2000) and Blomley et al (2001). “When cities and neighbourhoods have thriving public spaces, residents have a strong sense of community; conversely, when such spaces are lacking, citizens may feel less connected to each other” (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.). Various authors like Caramona (2010), Madanipour (1996), Sorkin (1992) and Worpole et al. (2008) have emphasized that “great public places contribute to community health – whether socially, economically, culturally or environmentally, they provide a sense of character and a forum for public activities. All of these assets, as well as the opportunity these spaces offer for people to relax and enjoy themselves, add up to greater community liveability” (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.). When a public green space is privately managed, the way the green space looks can change. This can be either positive as the space can stimulate more interaction but can also be negative when citizens do not feel free to use the space anymore. The important question of course is *how* private management of public green space changes this green space in terms of its publicness. Publicness is the sense of accessibility, both physically and visually. The concept of publicness is elaborated upon in chapter 2.1.2.

“The terms green space and open space are often used interchangeably” (Swanwick et al., 2003, p97). “Swanwick et al. (2003) suggested that urban areas are made up of the built environment and the external environment between buildings. The external environment, is composed of two distinct spaces: ‘grey space’ and ‘green space’. Grey space is land that consists of predominantly sealed, impermeable, ‘hard’ surfaces such as concrete or tarmac. Green space, whether publicly or privately owned, consists of predominantly unsealed, permeable, ‘soft’ surfaces such as soil, grass, shrubs, trees and water” (in James et al., 2009). This study will mainly focus on green space, because it is predominantly the green space which changes when citizens start to privately manage the public space. During this research hard surfaces such as terraces and paths will also be included in the green space as they are part of the privately managed public spaces. I choose to use the term green space because the managers have a contract with the municipality about managing only the green space and not the grey space.

Authors from a wide range of disciplines emphasize the importance of participatory governance in public spaces and the positive effects for their users (Boonstra et al., 2011; Denters, 2004; Selman,

2004; Warren, 2001). I was unable to find studies which included the citizens who are not involved with the private management of the public green space. This is important in the scope of this study, because one can imagine that others might feel left out as the space is/does not feel public to everyone. Publicness is the sense of accessibility, both physically and visually. Private management can blur the boundaries between private and public. Nemeth (2009) argued that privately owned public spaces restrict social interaction, constrain individual liberties and exclude certain undesirable populations. However, this study was mainly about public shopping malls and therefore grey space. There has not yet been research about the (possible) change in publicness when privately managed. Once a green space looks like a private garden, people might hesitate whether they are allowed to enter. If a public green space is maintained by residents longer and/or residents have more influence, others are more likely to be excluded. Alternatively, citizens living around the privately managed public green space can also be more attracted to this green space as it offers something different. Therefore this study explores the effect that privately managed public green space has on the publicness of this green space.

1.1.1 Problem definition

As more people live in cities there is more pressure on public space. Public (green) spaces are essential for a city to function as they are, among other, places of interaction, transportation and relaxation (Altman et al., 1989; Carr, 1992). Under influence of a trend towards participatory governance, more and more public green spaces are privately managed. However, private management of public green space can influence the publicness of privately managed public green space. Little is known about this effect. Therefore it is important to research this phenomenon as public green spaces are essential for all citizens and therefore need to be public for everyone.

As a current trend, citizens take on the management of public green spaces (Hassink et al., 2013). The citizen who privately take on the management (completely or partially) of a public green space are in this research referred to as the manager(s). These managers can change the look and use of the public space, which could lead to the exclusion of others as they do not feel welcome anymore or believe the green space is private. Private management of public green space can also improve the quality of the green space and therefore attract even more people. An example of excluding people when a green space is privately managed is when a manager places garden furniture or a hedge. These new boundaries can lead to the exclusion of people living near the green space but who are not involved in the management, as they feel like the green space is private space of the manager(s). One needs to know that there is in fact a public space and know that one is allowed to enter in order to do so. As there are more and more places where citizens take on the management of public green space, it is important to find out whether these privately managed green spaces are not only public to the citizens who manage them but to all citizens as public green space is essential for everyone's wellbeing.

1.1.2 Research objective

The purpose of this case study research is to gain understanding of the publicness of public green space when privately managed in three case studies of privately managed green spaces – two in Amsterdam and one in Utrecht. A tentative definition of publicness the sense of accessibility, both physically and visually

2.1 Theoretical framework

In this chapter the theoretical concepts which are used throughout this thesis will be discussed. At the end of this chapter the relation between the theoretical concepts is explained.

2.1.1 Participatory governance

Both municipal and national governments stimulate participation, this is often referred to as participatory governance (Tonkens et al., 2011; Tonkens, 2009). In the Netherlands participatory governance has started to play an important role in governmental policy in the last decennia as can be seen in, for example, the policy of the municipality of Amsterdam and Utrecht (Amsterdam, 2012; Gemeente Utrecht, 2007). Participatory governance has different manifestations for example voluntary work in the elderly care or helping out at a community centre. In this case study research, I will explore only one form of participatory governance, namely the private management of public green space as this form has the most impact on the public space. The extent to which managers can make their own decisions about how they would like to manage, design and/or use a green space can differ between locations. The decision-making freedom has an impact on the public space. In the following I will present three frameworks in order to help assess the task division between both actors and the freedom of the managers to privately manage the green space, and explain why I choose to use two of these. Later on, the impact of the private management on the public space, in terms of publicness, will be researched.

The ladder of citizen participation of Arnstein (1969) is the most well-known analytical framework to categorize how decision making power is distributed between citizens and the government/municipality. But this ladder, and most ladders that followed are aimed at the participation of citizens. In the case of the private management of public green space this relationship is turned around: the citizens lead the initiative and it is the government or municipality who participates. The 'Raad voor het openbaar bestuur' (ROB, 2012) created the government-participation-ladder (Dutch: overheidsparticipatieladder) (figure 1). In this ladder, the initiative is the guiding factor and the participating role of the government is clarified. Below the 5 steps in the government-participation-ladder are explained (Snoeker, 2014):

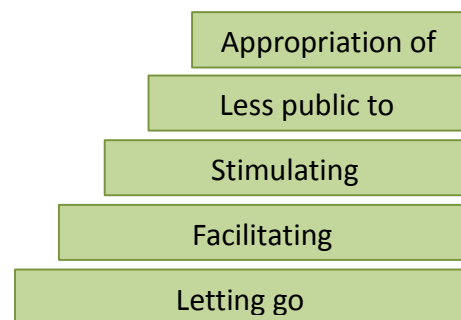


Figure 1 Governmental participation ladder (Rob, 2012)

Regulating: The first step in the ladder is 'regulating'. In this step the government/municipality regulates the initiative by using legislation and regulation. There is a vertical relationship between the citizen and the municipality in which the municipality finds enforcement, order and safety the most important (ROB, 2012). A characteristic of this step is the limited physical and organisational space for the citizens who take the initiative (Huygen, 2012). The initiative is restrained by legislation and regulation-laws and the municipality is not/barely willing to change them for the good of the initiative. The citizens who take the initiative have to submit a fully detailed project plan, probably including a budget and a visual of the design (Floor et al., 2006). The municipality decides what happens and the citizen must obey.

Directing: The second step in the government-participation-ladder is 'directing'. The municipality takes on the role of the director, but the other actors are allowed to keep theirs (Rob, 2012). The procedures and laws of the government are the guidelines for the initiative. There is no room for setbacks or improvisation. Therefore initiators need to indicate in advance what the project plan is (Boutellier, 2011). The initiative must be supported by the residents, but the municipality does not help with getting this support.

Stimulating: In the first two steps of the ladder the municipality calls the shots. This is not the case in the rest of the steps. The third step is ‘stimulating’. The municipality finds initiatives valuable, as long as they fit into their policy. The municipality is trying to find ways to stimulate more citizens to take on initiatives (ROB, 2012). The municipality wants to collaborate, help improve plans and connect initiators with other organisations or persons. If the initiative hasn’t got enough support, meetings are arranged to create more support. It is important that others are able to join the initiative (Huygen et al., 2012).

Facilitating: The fourth step is ‘facilitating’. In this step the municipality sees the importance of civil initiatives and takes on a facilitating role and helps (if necessary) to improve plans (ROB, 2012). A sense of belonging among the initiators and residents is important and their goals are key (Benington, 2011; Huygen et al., 2012). The municipality has created a vision on how to deal with civil initiatives, together with citizens, which consists of guiding principles and values (Boutellier, 2011). An initiative can be slowed down by procedures and rules, but the municipality is willing to bend some rules or procedures for the good of the initiative. The amount of time and money a resident spends on the initiative is their own responsibility.

Letting go: The last step is ‘letting go’. The municipality knows about the initiative but does not interfere with the process (Rob, 2012). Initiatives are not slowed down by rules and procedures because the municipality works with principles and guidelines (Huygen et al., 2012). The initiator is responsible for the initiative, therefore there is more room for improvisation (Boutellier, 2011). If the initiative needs support from the municipality, they can always ask. The municipality will check what the possibilities are for help. The municipality has created a vision on how to deal with civil initiatives, together with citizens, which consists of guiding principles and values (Boutellier, 2011)..

The participation ladder of ROB (2012) is mainly focussed on the participation of the government themselves. This means that there is no step in the analytical framework in which the municipality initiates the private management of the public green space or where municipality and citizens work together. Therefore another analytical framework is necessary in order to determine the way in which the participatory governance is arranged. I decided to use the participation ‘ladder’ of Salverda (2014) (figure 2). In the original ‘ladder’ the focus lies on the realisation of nature conservation goals, but I believe that this analytical framework can also be applicable to other goals like increasing social interaction between citizens. In this analytical framework the most important part is determining who has set these goals. Is it the municipality who set these goals, is it the municipality and the citizens themselves or is it the citizens only? It is important to find out which goal the private management of public green space strives for. The analytical framework consists of 5 categories: *Governmental control*, *civil participation*, *co-creation*, *government participation* and *government no role*. Below these 5 categories will be explained:

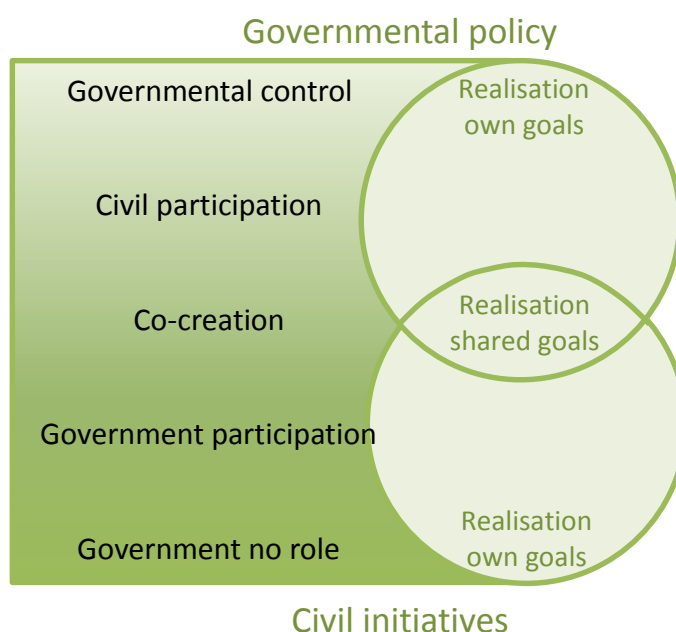


Figure 2: realisation of goals, five roles of civil initiatives and government (Salverda, 2014)

Governmental control: The government influences to reach and/or realise their own goals. They steer law and regulations and financial instruments.

Civil participation: Citizens participate in achieving governmental goals. There is an interactive and participatory policy.

Co-creation: co-creation of goals by government and citizens on the basis of equality and negotiation. It is a two way street.

Government participation: The government provides space for or participates with the goals of the citizens.

Government no role: citizens are autonomous in the formulation and realisation of their goals.

The government-participation ladder of ROB (2012) and the participation ladder of Salverda (2014) are used throughout this thesis in order to help assess the relation between managers of public green space and the municipality. It will help to assess the decision-making freedom of the private managers of public green space in the case studies.

The decision-making freedom can be assessed with both ladders. The government-participation ladder of ROB (2012) assess the participation of the government/municipality. This indicates how much decision-making freedom the managers get. For example, when the managers are let-go by the municipality, they have more freedom in deciding how to manage or design the green space. The freedom in decision-making can also be tested by using the ladder of Salverda (2014). This ladder indicates which actor sets up the goals of the private management. When the goal of the private management is chosen by the managers, the managers have more influence in the decision making process. One can imagine that when a manager of the public green space has more decision-making freedom, the green space can change as the manager is allowed to do more with the green space. This can influence the way the green space is perceived and therefore the publicness of the green space can change.

2.1.2 Place making and appropriation

The analytical frameworks of ROB (2012) and Salverda (2014) help to evaluate the degree of collaboration between the municipality and the manager and the decision-making freedom of the manager. However, they express little about the connection the managers have with the privately managed green spaces itself. Interestingly, when the relation between the manager and the space is stronger, they are more likely to have influence on/change the green space. This in its turn influences the publicness. This relation between people and the green space can be explained by the concept of place making. The concepts of space and place are often used interchangeably although they are different. Everything around you is space, but some spaces can become a place. Place can be referred to as social space where perception is influenced by experiences, giving meaning to the environment (Sentürk et al., 2009). Place making is about the attachment to a space as a sense of belonging and the sense of personal and collective identity that comes from this sense of belonging (Butterworth, 2000; Curtis et al., 1998). When attached to this space by use, distinct look, stories, memories or social interaction, this space has a meaning to the person and therefore becomes a place. In this thesis I focus on place-making for public places, namely public green spaces which are privately managed. When it comes to public spaces, place making strengthens the connection between citizens and the space they share. Public places are dependent on the quality of the space, how inviting the space is and the overall function of the space, that is extended to users of the space to walk, stay, sit, or otherwise enjoy the space (Gehl, 2004). According to Carmona (2010), good public places are characterised in four ways: (1) *accessibility and connectivity*, (2) *comfort and image*, (3) *uses and activities* and (4) *sociability*. Carmona (2010) argues that these characteristics are necessary in order to bond with a public space and make it a place:

(1) *Accessibility and connectivity*: Is about the accessibility of a space, both physically and/or visually; is it easy to access, understand, walk through or stay in the place? It is also about the connection of a place to other spaces or places. If the place is far away or difficult to reach, for example one has to cross a busy road to get to the place, citizens are less likely to use it.

(2) *Comfort and image*: Related to how the public space is physically arranged. Good maintenance, character and charm can be easily recognised and will attract more people. In this thesis I will also add comfort for animals. When the place is arranged in a certain way, this will also attract more wildlife which influences the image of a space.

(3) *Uses and activities*: Is about the reason why people go to or use a public space. When activities, as simple as being able to sit somewhere, are missing a place will be empty and unused.

(4) *Sociability*: When people interact with friends and family or the manager(s) and feel comfortable socializing, they feel a stronger sense of place and sense of belonging.

These four characteristics of what Carmona considers good public (green) space are used in this study in order to assess whether the space has become a place to the managers and later on also to people living around the green space. When using these characteristics one can see whether there is indeed a good connection with the space which will result in the space being perceived as a place. Dominant groups, in this case the private managers of the public green space, (re)create the landscape in order to revitalize a sense of community and belonging (Trudeau, 2006). During this process they define the terms of belonging. These constructions are also spatialized because the boundaries of landscapes, the line between self and other, are at the same time made explicit. As these boundaries are made explicit, this may lead to the exclusion of others. The others therefore cannot connect with the space as they cannot affiliate with (some of the) characteristics of a good public space. Therefore they are unable to connect with the space and therefore the space is not perceived as a place by them. This also influences the publicness of a privately managed public green space because when one feels a connection with a space. The act of (re)defining the boundaries between private and public by the managers can be seen as appropriation if the managers make it seem like the green space is private property. For example when managers place a fence they make it seem like the green space is their private property. This may cause others to feel excluded as the space is perceived as being private property of the manager.

2.1.3 Publicness

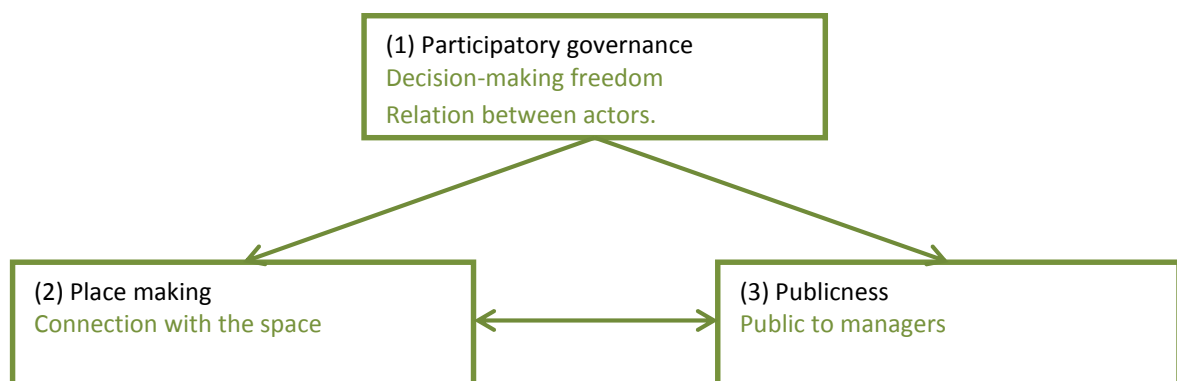
Appropriation of public space is only a bad thing when others feel that the space is no longer public. Therefore the perceived publicness of a green space can tell whether the space is still visually or physically public. According to Lopes et al. (2012) the term publicness was brought up in the discussion about public space in the 1990's and was considered to be a symbolic term. De Magalhães (2010) argues that "publicness can be easily understood by the essential features and qualities that give a public space its specificity, what can make a given space be, in fact, called a public space" (in Lopes et al., 2012, p10)." However, public space is not homogenous and "the dimensions and extent of its publicness are highly differentiated from instance to instance" (Smith & Low, 2006, p.3). This means that every space has a different publicness. People determine whether a place is public or private according to its looks and its feel. One can imagine that certain barriers like a fence can tell a person that they are now entering a private space. Publicness is diverse and, according to Langstraat & van Melik (2013), includes both spatial and institutional factors like ownership, management, accessibility and inclusiveness.

Nemeth and Schmidt (2011) and Nemeth (2009) used a table on which to score certain aspects that influence the publicness of a shopping mall. These included several objects in the following categories: surveillance/policing, design/image, access/territoriality and laws/rules. When scoring low in all categories, the space is very public. However, there is a problem with this way of testing publicness in relation to my research. Although the aspects are adjustable, I believe publicness is more of a feeling than quantitative measurable objects although these objects influence the publicness for a place. Experienced publicness is individual and cannot be grouped (Varna et al., 2010). Talking in depth with people about their experience with the privately managed public green space can reveal their experienced publicness and what elements influence this publicness.

During this research a distinction has been made between the experienced publicness of the people who manage the green space and people who do not manage the green space. For them the feeling of publicness is likely to differ. For example, a fence does not have to be a boundary between public and private for the person who placed it. I therefore adjust the quote of Smith & Low (2006, p.3): “the dimensions and extent of its publicness are highly differentiated from instance to instance” to “the dimensions and extent of the publicness of public green space are highly differentiated from instance to instance and from person to person.” This does not only entail the ownership (Varna et al, 2010). It is essential to talk about how public a person feels a certain place is and why. This can not only be due to objects and the look of the space but also due to factors such as knowledge about the space or interaction with the manager(s).

2.1.4 Relation between theoretical concepts

The theoretical concepts which are introduced in this chapter are all related with one another, which can be seen in the figure below.



The level of participatory governance (1), in this research the amount of decision-making freedom in the private management of public green space, can differ. When a person has more freedom in the decision-making when it comes to the management of the public green space, it is more likely that this person will connect to this space by which it becomes a place to them (2) as they spend more time there and create memories. Also, to the people living around the green space, this space can become a place as the space can have a distinct look or certain activities take place there through which people connect with the space.

The decision-making freedom in private management (1) also influences the publicness (3). A public green space changes when privately managed, therefore the publicness can also change. To the manager the space is public as they are the ones who manage and (re-)create the space and decide what they do there. To the people living around the green space the green space can also be perceived as public as they feel welcome to use the green space. On the other hand, the private management can also be seen as appropriation of the space by people who do not participate in the management. By physically changing the green space or often being there, managers can exclude people living around the green space as they do not feel welcome or do not recognise it as being public anymore. To these people the space seems to be private. For example they feel like the manager is the owner of the green space as he/she spends much time there or a fence is placed due to which one does not know whether they are allowed to enter anymore.

Lastly there is the connection between place making (2) and publicness (3). When one ascribes meaning to a space, one is most likely using the space. Therefore, when one thinks of a green space as being a green place, one is more likely to believe this green place is also public. This relation also works the other way around. When a space is public, one has more opportunities to connect with the space through which it becomes a place to them.

More freedom in participatory governance, in this case the private management of public green space, does not necessarily mean that the quality of the green space increases nor does it mean that it decreases. What is important is the feeling that the space is public to everyone. Therefore the research objective of this thesis is to gain understanding of the publicness of public green space when privately managed. So, to find out how privately managed public green space influences the publicness of this public green space through the lens of the concepts of participatory governance, place making and publicness.

3.1 Research questions

In the previous chapter the theoretical framework has been introduced. These theories are used to formulate the research questions. As already introduced in the introduction, the objective of this case study research is to gain understanding of the publicness of public green space when privately managed in three case studies of privately managed green spaces – two in Amsterdam and one in Utrecht. To find out how privately managed public green space influences the publicness of this public green space the lens of the concepts of participatory governance, place making and publicness are used (chapter 2.1). This objective resulted in the following main- and sub research questions:

3.1.1 Main research question:

How does privately managed public green space, as a form of participatory governance, influence the publicness of public green space?

3.1.2 Sub research questions:

Participatory governance

- *How is the private management of public green space organized in the case studies?*
 - *What level of decision-making freedom do the managers in the case studies experience?*
 - *How is the relation between managers and municipality experienced?*

Place making & publicness

- *What activities or elements of the privately managed public green space lead to place making and which may lead to appropriation that causes exclusion?*
- *What is the experience of citizens who are not involved in the management of the public green space?*

These sub research questions are used to answer the main research question and are answered in the results section (chapter 4). In the end they will be used to answer the main research question in chapter 6.

3.2 Methodology

During this qualitative research, case studies will be used which will be introduced in chapter 3.3. Because every privately managed green space is different from one another, these spaces cannot be investigated at the level of society on a whole. Therefore, individual parts of a society have to be demarcated and studied. This justifies the use of the case study approach as research design (Yin, 2013). This research will focus on exploring and describing the publicness of the case studies from different perspectives. In order to do so the theories which are discussed in the previous chapter (2.1) will be used. By reviewing literature, documents and conducting in-depth interviews the (sub-)research questions will be answered.

3.2.1 Case studies

In this research I will present three case studies, which are introduced in chapter 3.3. The case studies are studied in depth in order to explore if and how publicness of a green space which is privately managed changes. All case studies had to meet certain criteria. First of all they had to be cases in which citizens privately manage public green space. Secondly, the spaces also had to be bigger than 100m². This would ensure that the space was of substantive size. Lastly the cases needed to be located in the Netherlands in order to be able to visit them often and to easily speak with the inhabitants. Three case studies (two in Amsterdam and one in Utrecht) of privately managed public green space were chosen. They all differ from one another, therefore a broad understanding of publicness can be obtained.

3.2.2 Literature & document review

Literature review plays an important role throughout the thesis. Scientific literature about participatory governance, place making and publicness was used to define the theoretical concepts that are used during this thesis. Municipal document about civil initiatives, news articles about the privately managed green spaces were used in order to optimize and operationalize the theoretical concepts and to answer parts of the sub-research questions. Websites of the case studies which are researched also played an important part in understanding the way in which managers inform each other and others.

3.2.3 In-depth interviews and reflexive journal

In-depth interviews will be used to answer the sub-questions. The interviewees will be classified in three categories:

1. The municipality, in particular people who are involved with public (green) space.
2. People who privately manage public green space and others who are involved with the case studies
3. People who do not privately manage public green space but do live nearby. This group is used in order to answer if public green spaces remain public when they become privately managed.

The first interviews were conducted with the people involved in the private management of public green space in the case studies. They were contacted through email or by a phone call in order to make an appointment. I already had e-mail addresses of the people involved in the case studies in Amsterdam, because I was working on these case studies for the course Academic Consultancy Training (ACT), commissioned by “de Wetenschapswinkel van Wageningen UR”. The people who were involved in the management in the case studies in Utrecht were first contacted through their website. After the interview with the managers of the case study in Utrecht, I contacted the municipality of Utrecht as I found out who to contact through the interview with the managers.

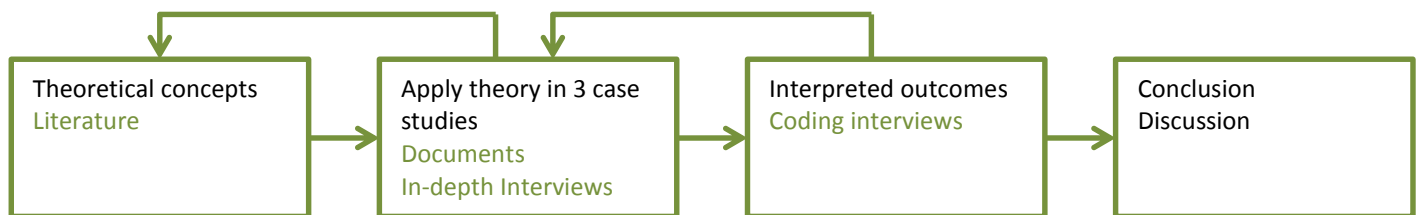
It was not possible to contact the last group, the ones who are not involved with the initiatives but do live nearby, in advance. I went from door to door in order to conduct the interviews. Every group of

interviewees had a different set of questions to answer. They were semi structured to allow for the opportunity for respondents to bring up their own concerns or questions. These semi structured interview questions can be found in appendix I, II and III. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

In one of the case studies, there was a guidance committee which sometimes met with each other to talk about the progress of this case study. I attended some of these meetings and kept a reflexive journal. These notes were also used in order to answer the research questions.

3.2.4 Methodological framework

Below one can see the methodological framework used during this research. Important is that all methods will be used side by side while conducting the 3 case studies. Possible outcomes give rise to new questions which therefore will become new input to research the case studies



3.3 Case studies

As was presented before (Chapter 3.2), three case studies were chosen for the exploration of the publicness of privately managed public green space, which is a form of participatory governance.

The first case study is the one of the Nieuwe Vaart in Amsterdam (see 3.3.1). Before I started with this thesis I was working on this case study for the course Academic Consultancy Training (ACT). Commissioned by “de Wetenschapswinkel van Wageningen UR” I, together with a group, wrote an advise about “the optimal cooperation in private management of public green space in the “Oostelijke eilandenbuurt” in Amsterdam. After the project was finished I contacted the commissioner in order to ask whether there was the possibility to continue with this or a similar topic for my thesis. Therefore I continued working on this case study.

While working on the case of the ‘Nieuwe Vaart’ during the Academic Consultancy training, we came across the case of The ‘Nieuwe Hoofdhof’ (see 3.3.2). A lot of inhabitants which we interviewed during the ACT course told us that this was a successful example of privately managed public green space. Therefore I think it is interesting to research this case as this way one can see whether a case which is named successful also is perceived as being public.

Because cases in a similar city are more likely to have similar management agreements and be in the same steps of the governmental participation ladders, the third case study that I chose was located in a different city. Therefor I looked online for other privately managed public green spaces which could be used in this research. I then came across ‘de Kersentuin’ in Utrecht (see 3.3.3).

3.3.1 De Nieuwe Vaart - de eilandenboulevard, Amsterdam

The 'Nieuwe Vaart' is a canal in Amsterdam and is part of the 'Oostelijke Eilandenbuurt' (neighbourhood) in the centre of the city. Inhabitants of houseboats along the Nieuwe Vaart share a slope. For the past 20 years some of the inhabitants have managed this slope although it is not officially theirs, nor is there any agreement with the municipality. The slope is in the public domain, but some parts of the slope have been appropriated by inhabitants where they planted trees and plants, placed fences or terraces. Other parts of the slope have been left alone for the past years. Visually the slope looks private although it is officially public.

In 2010 the municipality presented a new plan for the Eilandenboulevard (herinrichting eilandenboulevard, 2010). According to this plan 19 out of the 31 houseboats would disappear. This resulted in resistance from the houseboat owners. Therefore, they united in an association called 'Vereniging de Nieuwe Vaart' (VNV). Meetings between the municipality and the VNV resulted in 'The master plan for the Eilandenboulevard' in 2014. The municipality took in account the wishes of the inhabitants. No boats needed to be moved or removed anymore. Also, in this masterplan there was a part formulated about the private management of the public green space: "Many (houseboat-) inhabitants want to privately manage a part of the slope. This private management will be stimulated and supported by the city district. The plan for the new design of the green space will be done in collaboration with the (houseboat-) inhabitants and entrepreneurs"

A committee called 'Groener en Blauwer' was founded as part of VNV. The members together with the municipality strive for a new design for the entire slope which is attractive to people (which can see it from the sidewalk) and animals. At the moment a pilot study is done where the design is being implemented in front of two houseboats. Once implemented a new meeting will take place in which inhabitants can discuss positive and negative aspects of the plan. The plan may be changed and, after the approval of everyone, implemented along the entire slope.

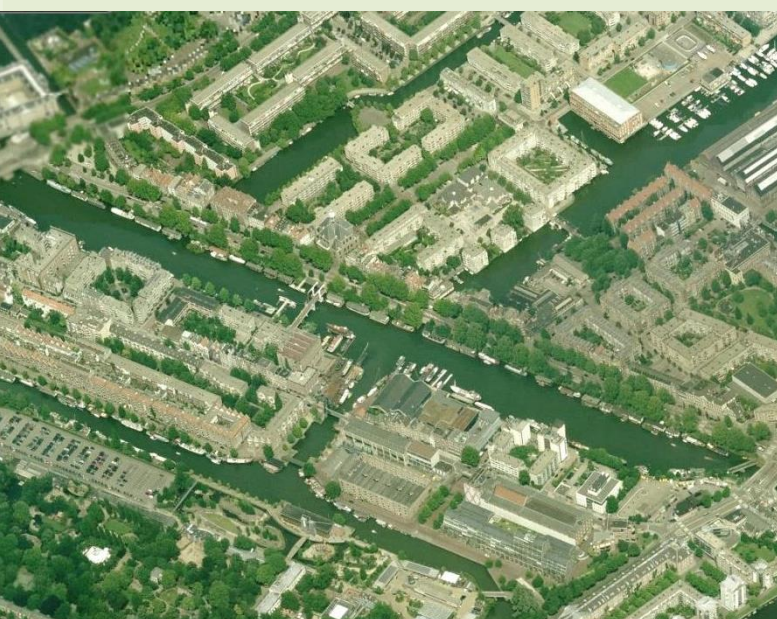


Figure 3: Aerial photograph of the 'Nieuwe Vaart' (bing maps)

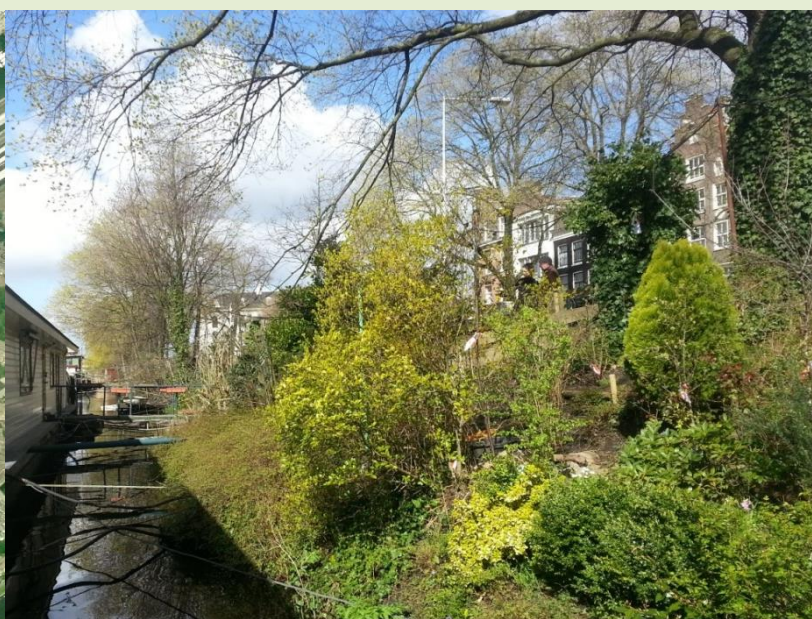


Figure 4: View on the 'Nieuwe Vaart' (denieuwevaar.org)

3.3.2 De nieuwe hoofdhof – Kattenburg, Amsterdam

The 'nieuwe hoofdhof' is a garden or courtyard in Amsterdam which is managed by only one person. This green space is surrounded by buildings. Both iconic canal houses and student buildings enclose this green space. One can enter the space through a gate underneath one of the iconic houses from the kattenburgerplein or a gate underneath a student building.

How the private management of the 'nieuwe hoofdhof' started, is written on one of the arches when entering Kattenburg (wiseguys-urban-art-projects.com). In the 70's/early 80's the municipality managed the courtyard, but neighbours living next to and around the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' started to discuss the possibility of managing the courtyard with the municipality. Mid-eighties they started with 10 people. Mario van Assendoch and Olga Meijer made the design for the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof.' Everything was done in collaboration with the inhabitants and the municipality. The idea was that everyone would manage a part of the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof.' However, many citizens moved and for a long time there were only 6 people who were active in the private management garden. Now there is only one manager left which takes care of the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof.' She has a contract with the municipality but says never looked into the contract. She has never heard complaints from the municipality and can call someone when pruning is needed. Sometimes other citizens help her, but she says it is hard to have other people helping her regularly because from previous experience she learned that this causes more tension as there are different preferences. But when citizens have the same goal or idea it is possible to work together. Because her life, pastimes and age, she would love to see that the management of the garden will be continued by others which will put as much love into it as she does.

In the beginning the garden was designed to contain different island. The design of the garden is now aimed toward a Feng Shui garden. The variation is big and there is great focus not only on different plant species, but also birds, butterflies, insects etc.



Figure 5: aerial photograph of the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' (bing maps)



Figure 6: Photo of the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' (dekey.nl)

3.3.3 De Kersentuin - Leidsche Rijn, Utrecht

'De Kersentuin' (literally translated: cherry garden) is a civil initiative which is located in a vinex area. 'De Kersentuin' was built from a vision of sharing. For example some cars, a laundry room and public green space are shared within the neighbourhood. Inhabitants themselves (co-) created the plans and design for this neighborhood. The houses are sustainable, flexible and compact. The neighborhood is low in traffic due to the parking garage, child-friendly and with smooth transitions between public, semi-public and private.

The association of 'de Kersentuin' is the binding factor of the neighbourhood. They coordinate and facilitate numerous activities. There are different groups which are responsible for different tasks. The inhabitants of 'de Kersentuin' wanted to create strong social cohesion between inhabitants and create places for them to meet. There is also a project house, which is like a clubhouse, where they have meetings in which they discuss what has been done, new/upcoming activities and the budget.

The public space was created in collaboration with a landscape architect. The citizens, together with an ecological gardener, privately manage the public green space. They organize special days, the so called "garden work days" (Dutch: tuinwerkdagen), on which they manage the garden all together. 'De Kersentuin' has a rolling landscape, with different parts like an orchard and a forest. There is a kitchen garden for children, indigenous garden, rooftop garden and herb spiral. The public green space is privately managed with special attention for nature and animals. By using different trees, shrubs and plants, different kinds of birds, butterflies and insects are attracted and can find a place for nesting and/or hibernation. Activities are organised of which some take place at the amphitheatre, which can fit 130 people.

Because the Neighbourhood was built with the idea of sharing, the public green space has never been fully managed by the government. The most interesting about this case is whether this strong community feeling, doing and planning things together with the entire neighbourhood, has an effect on the publicness of the public green space.

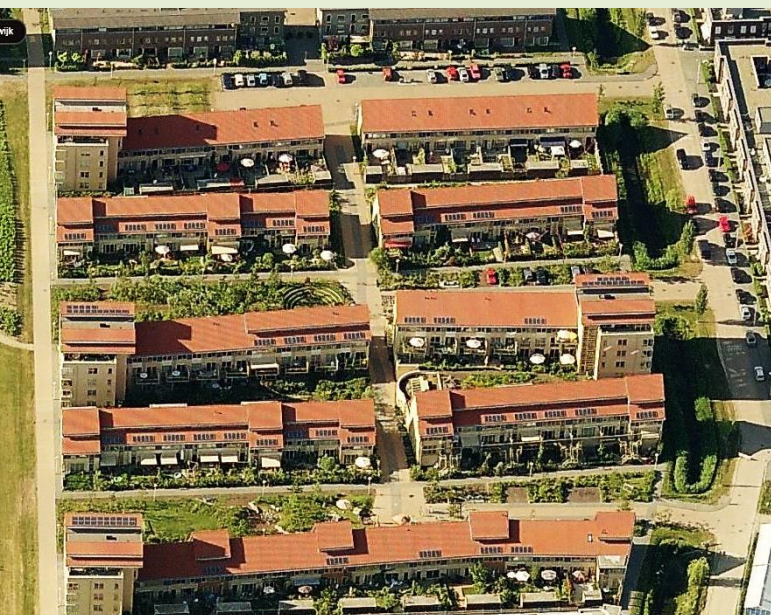


Figure 7: Aerial photograph of 'de Kersentuin' (Bing maps)



Figure 8: Photo of 'de Kersentuin' (groendichterbij.nl)

4.1 The organisation of privately managed public green space

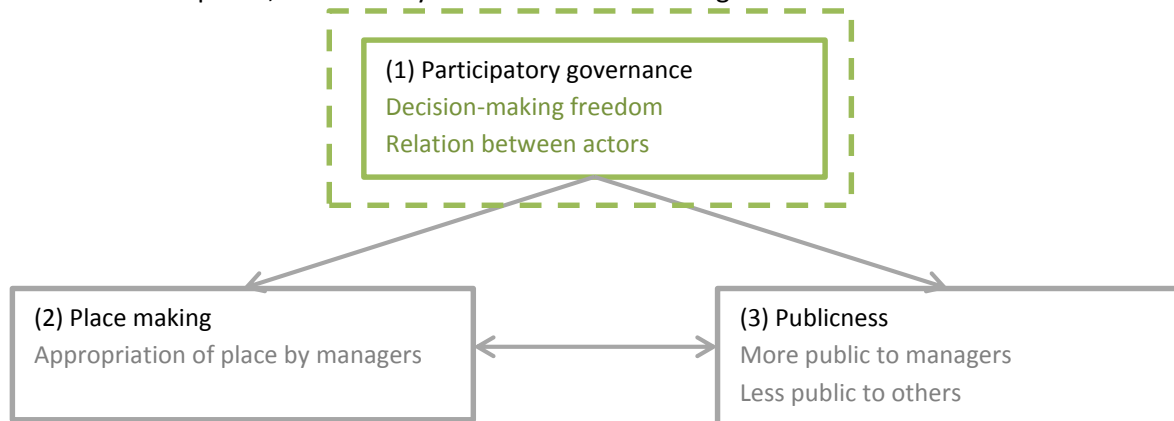
Dutch municipalities are in a transition. The new local government is working in collaboration with (local) organisations, (local) businesses and citizens. Self-reliance and participation of the local community is key. This transition from government to governance results in an increased amount of privately managed public green space (Luttik et al., 2014). There is more to be done, but with less money. The assumption is that handing over the responsibility for public space from the government to the citizens saves the government money and might lead to better public spaces and public involvement (De Magalhães, 2010; Langstraat et al., 2013). However, how the private management of the public green space is organized can differ. Both the decision-making freedom and the relation between the government and the managers can influence the publicness of the green space. This chapter will present the results of my empirical investigation and provide an answer to the following sub research questions:

How is the private management of public green space organized in the case studies?

What level of decision-making freedom do the managers in the case studies experience?

How is the relation between managers and municipality experienced?

This sub research question covers the first part (1) of the conceptual framework that I already introduced in chapter 2, indicated by the dashed line in the figure below.



In order to answer the mentioned sub-research questions, I will first provide a small recap of the theoretical concept and the way this is used. After that the organisation of the management in all case studies will be elaborated and the chapter is ended with a conclusion.

4.1.1 Participatory governance

As mentioned in the chapter 2.1.1 there are differences in the amount of input, decision-making freedom or participation of citizens who privately manage these public green spaces. The government-participation-ladder of ROB (2012) and the participation 'ladder' of Salverda (2014) are used in order to help assess the level of participation (or power) that the citizens have who take part in the private management. In the analytical framework of ROB (2012) the initiative is the guiding factor and the participating role of the government is clarified. This framework consists of 5 steps, namely; *Regulating, directing, stimulating, facilitating* and *letting go*. The analytical tool of Salverda (2014) is based on who has set the goals of/for the privately managed public green space. This analytical framework consists of 5 categories: *Governmental control, civil participation, co-creation, government participation* and *government no role*.

In order to classify the three case studies in terms of the ladders of ROB (2012) and Salverda (2014), interviews were conducted with both the municipality and the managers of the public green space

(appendices I and II). The coding of the interviews rendered four topics that emerged in every case study and interview: the initiative, the design of the specific green space, material and financial support and contact and control. These topics are described below. The following paragraphs are structured according to these four topics. This will help me highlight the differences and similarities between the cases. All topics show the participation of the government and how both parties work together. Therefore the questions about how both parties work together, how their relation is experienced and the decision making freedom of the managers can be answered. At the end of this chapter (4 paragraph 4.1.5) I will discuss in which step of government-participation-ladder of ROB (2012) and the participation 'ladder' of Salverda (2014) the case studies are.

Initiative: How was the initiative set up and was this easy/difficult? Did it take long/short, and how/where was information about setting up an initiative found? This shows how managers experienced setting up an initiative, and how the municipality cooperated when setting up an initiative.

Design: Were the citizens free or restricted in what the design would look like? What kind of support/help did they get for making the design? Were there discussions about design options with the municipality and/or did the managers have to compromise? This shows how free citizens are in designing the green space.

Material & financial support: How is the initiative supported by the municipality, for example with materials like shovels and reeks or by manpower from the municipality? Is and how is the design supported financially by the municipality or the citizens themselves? This shows how things are arranged between the managers and the municipality.

Contact & control: Does the municipality control/check (the quality of) the initiative and how is the contact between citizen and municipality experienced? Is there transparency in the way things work? This shows how the relation between the municipality and the manager(s).

4.1.2 De Kersentuin

Initiative

The municipality of Utrecht has clear websites, Groenmoetjeden.nl and jijmaaktutrecht.nl, on which initiators or running projects can find information about setting up projects or projects in general. It is easy to find which documents one needs to fill in, in order to start up an initiative. Initiators can also visit or contact the district office in their district for advice. When a plan is submitted, the municipality will collaborate together with the initiator(s) if the project is feasible. Sometimes an area needs extra arrangements, for example when it contains some protected (plant) species. Important is that the neighbourhood supports the initiative. Therefore initiators need to collect autographs to show that there is support for their initiative. After that, meetings with the municipality will take place, the municipality states the following about this:

When all parties agree on the terms, a contract is made. A contract is valid for 5 years, when things go well the contract is extended (...) Most of the time the contract will be extended. I can't think of a case in which this didn't happen" (Municipality of Utrecht, personal communication, February 9, 2015).

The fact that thus far in all cases the contract has been extended shows that these projects are seen as being successful by the municipality. However, it is up to the citizens to come up with plans as the municipality doesn't actively suggest places where new projects can start anymore. According to the municipality it is up to the citizens to take the initiative. From own experience they found out that projects which were initiated by citizens themselves are more successful. In the case of 'de Kersentuin' the manager told me that it was the municipality who suggested to start an initiative in the area:

"The municipality wanted citizens to be active in the new neighbourhood (...) A small group of people subscribed to start talking with the municipality about starting up this new project. So,

in 1996 a group started. (...) And in, I believe, 1998, association 'de Kersentuin' was founded. A couple of people, mainly from Utrecht, got together to think about what such a new neighbourhood should look like (...). A location was selected by the municipality, although I believe we also had a choice between locations" (Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

This shows that in the case of 'de Kersentuin' the municipality created space for citizens to start their own initiative. The idea was that citizens would, in collaboration with the municipality, form the ideas of what kind of initiative it should become and how they should work together. However as the next paragraph will illustrate, there were also negotiations involved in what exactly was going to be realised in the area with the help of a landscape architect.

Design

The association of 'de Kersentuin' discussed the design with the municipality:

"We discussed with the municipality what the houses would look like and what we were going to do with the garden. (...) When talking about the garden only, the municipality had an idea about what this should look like. But the people who were designing the place had other ideas. This made the municipality rather nervous because it is a garden which is difficult to maintain by the municipality. They just can't. (...) So the municipality was working a little against the plan, they didn't want the same as we wanted. (...) A landscape architect was consulted and the municipality also had a landscape architect. In the beginning their landscape architect had different ideas than ours. But we were quite persistent and in the end we got the layout like we have now. (...) So the landscape architect made a design for the garden and this was executed with approval of the municipality" (personal communication, January 17, 2015).

The municipality had some questions at first on whether the design of the green space would be suitable for maintenance by them. However, in the end the design which was made by the inhabitants, with help from a landscape architect, was implemented. This shows that the municipality was open to what citizens preferred. 'De Kersentuin' was one of the first examples of participatory projects in which citizens built the project from the ground up, which included not only the green space but also the houses, road- and path structure. Therefore there was a lot of collaboration between both parties. The municipality had to be sure that the inhabitants would continue to maintain the green space and also the rest of the project. At the moment 'de Kersentuin' serves as an example of a successful participatory project in Utrecht. Both the municipality and the manager of 'de Kersentuin' speak proudly of the project.

Material and financial support

The municipality maintains certain parts of 'de Kersentuin' and can provide plant material, soil, (non-electrical) tools and collect garden waste (groenmoetjedo.nl). One of the managers of 'de Kersentuin' explained how tasks are divided between the municipality and the inhabitants of 'de Kersentuin':

"We (the citizens, added by author) are the ones who designed it this way. It is hard for the municipality to maintain. Therefore it is the agreement that we maintain the green space. This means that we also maintain the public green space and also the private gardens. (...) What the municipality does is mainly the paving, lightning, drains and playsets. (...) For safety reasons etc. these tasks are for the municipality. (...) They also provide us with materials, like shovels (...) but also sand for the sandbox and woodchips. That is arranged by the municipality in kind. Up until recently we also had a gardener which helped us with the 'tuinwerkdagen' (Garden-work-days), but he left. It is important that the gardener was an ecological gardener. (...) The municipality does not have someone to replace him, someone that was interested in ecological

gardening. So therefore we got money (..) which is for the gardeners we hired. We have gardeners which help us with the maintenance in the garden. They are two ecological gardeners (..) they also advice what fits and does not fit in the garden” (manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

The municipality supports this initiative in many ways. Even if there is a problem, like the ecological gardener quitting and no other ecological gardener being available, they provide some funds in order to allow the initiative to continue with another ecological gardener. Also materials are provided by the municipality. Besides the division of tasks, there is also financial support from the municipality but also the inhabitants of ‘de Kersentuin’ financially support the initiative:

“For a large part the finances come from the municipality. They give us financial support for the management of the public green space, (..). The whole costs about 6000 euros and that is mainly for the gardeners. We pay something around 4000 for the gardeners and the advice. Then there is 2000 euro for other things like new plants, garden equipment and manure. 2/3 of the budget comes from the municipality. Besides that we have about 1250 euros from the residents’ association which is 13 euros per year from 96 households. That is how this is financed” (Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

So, the municipality financially and materially supports private management of public green space. However, some part is also financed by the people themselves. When one lives in one of the 96 houses one is obligated to pay 13 euro’s per month to financially support ‘de Kersentuin’ with the idea that all inhabitants do things together.

Contact & control

The municipality states that they keep an eye on every participatory project to see whether the quality, of for example the green space, stays good:

“if the quality of the green space gets low the mangers of the green space are made aware of that and if necessary help is provided to improve the quality” (Municipality of Utrecht , personal communication, February 9, 2015).

This shows that the municipality want to help these projects. There is not a ‘one strike you are out’ policy. When there are problems or the quality of the green space is low the municipality helps citizens to get the project back on track. The municipality will first contact the people involved before taking further actions. This shows trust in the project(s) as there is good communication. The manager of ‘de Kersentuin’ believes the contact with the municipality is good and well arranged:

“The contact with the municipality is good, they are always willing to think along. They are there when something needs to be done. I think the municipality have a positive attitude. One time a year we have an evaluation, then we talk about the project; is everything going well? When the municipality thinks it goes well, we think it goes well. We have pleasant contact with the municipality. My colleague (one of the neighbours, added by author) (..) calls them when there is something that needs to be arranged. Most of the time this is without any problem” (Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

This shows that there is satisfaction about the collaboration between the municipality and the managers of ‘de Kersentuin.’ The manager of ‘de Kersentuin’ which I interviewed also stated that she believed the municipality has great knowledge about and understands what is best for privately managed public green spaces.

4.1.3 De nieuwe hoofdhof

Initiative

Also the municipality of Amsterdam supports local initiatives and private management of public green space. When I asked if most initiatives come from citizens or the municipality themselves they answered:

“Both, I think it is 50/50. But most initiatives are initiated by us because we see opportunities. But sometimes that is in relation with signs we pick up that there are ideas which don’t lead to a concrete initiative towards the municipality” (Municipality of Amsterdam, personal communication, January 16, 2015).

This shows that the municipality helps to create space for new initiatives and guides people to realise their ideas. When people have a plan for an initiative they have to make sure there is support in their surroundings. Citizens themselves have to create the commitment and come to an agreement with each other. The municipality tries to leave that up to the citizens, but sometimes it is necessary that they guide the process as there sometimes are some struggles. When this all has gone well the plan can be submitted to the municipality. A respondent from the municipality explains the process that follows after handing in the plan:

“When a plan is handed in we critically look at it, but what we can do fast, we do fast. (...) generally, if we like something and there is still room in the annual budget then things can be realized pretty fast. (...) But most of the time there are other stakeholders with which you need to discuss. (...) and after that you get the process of procurement, purchasing and things like that. So, it depends on the situation if things go quick and it depends on the financial possibilities within that year if things go quickly or take six months or sometimes longer” (Municipality of Amsterdam, personal communication, January 16, 2015).

The municipality shows that they support initiatives and want to implement them as fast as possible. The initiative of the ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’ started in the mid-eighties with ten people. At that time the private management of public green space was rather new. Because the initiative was set up by ten persons, they all had to agree on how to manage the space and who would do what. Because the green space is now managed by only one person, it is more important to see how the municipality handles such projects now. On the whole the municipality is very happy with this type of initiatives.

Design

When it comes to the design, there aren’t many restrictions from the municipality on what a privately managed space should look like:

“It depends on the situation. Most of the time we have some restrictions when it comes to planting trees because trees get big. In the beginning it may seem nice to plant a little tree, but eventually it is less desirable as it gives a lot of shade etc. and it is no longer possible to be privately managed. But do we have that many requirements? (...) Look, when there is a big risk that the private management is going to fail and we need to take over the management again, then we make sure that the things which are planted are manageable by us. But generally we believe: you are the one who is managing it, it is for the neighbourhood so you should design it in the way you think is desirable. But in the process of getting to a design we always join in the process as not all stakeholders are present. (...) So we monitor the process with which the final design is created and that the design takes into account the interests of other stakeholders” (Municipality of Amsterdam, personal communication, January 16, 2015).

Thus, the design of the initiative should come from citizens themselves but the process towards the final design is guided by the municipality to make sure all stakeholders are involved. The municipality also makes sure the design follows certain rules like; no(t to many) trees. However, most of the time the private managers of the public green space are left with a lot of freedom as the municipality shows trust in them:

“There where we suspect and expect that the public green space will be privately managed for a long time, I believe there should be great freedom in the design because they manage it, it is their neighbourhood, so why would you still interfere as municipality?” (Municipality Amsterdam, personal communication, January 16, 2015).

This is also the case with the ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’. This courtyard has been privately managed for over several years, therefore the manager is free to plant whatever she likes as there is big trust in her that she will do a good job. The municipality checks whether the green space is well maintained. If the green space is neglected the municipality will take back the management of the green space. Interestingly, so far, the private management of public green spaces has never lead to an intervention by the municipality.

Material and financial support

The municipality of Amsterdam states that they have enough financial means to support the private management of public green spaces:

“In general we have enough money to finance most request and/or initiatives thanks to the ‘groenfonds’ (a fund for green initiatives). (..) It is about 400 thousand a year. That is for the entire city district. (..) about 250 thousand a year is spend on investments in or maintenance of privately managed public green space. The people are not able to pay for it themselves, also when something needs to be renewed or changed, we pay for that” (personal communication, January 16, 2015).

Thus, the municipality invests in the private management of public green space by financing the implementation of new designs and financing things which the managers need to do maintain the green space like plants and shovels. In the case of the ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’, the manager gets an amount of money annually which she is allowed to spend on the public green space. She states the following about the finance she gets from the municipality:

“If there is a bill I can send it to the municipality. However, before it was a bit of a mess, due to that some things got lost. I also pay for things in advance. At a certain point I thought that is problematic as I only have a small retirement fund. (..) there is no gain in it for me. But they told me they didn’t have much money. (..) But I was at the municipality for an interview, and they say: ‘more private management of public green space, we have enough budget!’ But that is double standards. That is a pity and especially with old projects it is the case, because they know you have put your heart and soul in to it” (Manager Nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

The manager of the ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’ feels like she isn’t supported that well by the municipality. She would like to get the budget for the management on forehand and not invest her own money into the project which she will get back later. On the other hand the municipality is unable to give money to an individual person on forehand because the municipality has to guarantee that the money is spend on the green space. It is possible if a fund or association was set up. That way the municipality can make sure that the money is surely spent on the private management of public green space. This is not a matter of lack of trust between parties, but the municipality must be able to justify themselves on how the money is spent. The municipality did arrange for the manager of the ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’ to place

her stuff in a closet in the student building which is located next to the green space. So, space is made available to her to store materials so she does not have to keep them in her own house or garden.

Contact & control

There are many new connections between citizens and citizens and the municipality that are realised due to the private management of public green space. The municipality sees many benefits of privately managed public green space connecting citizens:

“Improving social cohesion in the neighbourhood. When people are working outside in the public space it leads to more contact between, at least the, people who manage the private green space” (Municipality of Amsterdam, personal communication, January 16, 2015).

So, the municipality acknowledges social benefits of privately managed public green space. Also the connection between citizens and municipality is strengthened due to the private management. In the case of de ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’ there is only one person managing the public green space, although she sometimes gets help from others. The manager does state that she can’t continue managing it forever. A successor has not yet been found. The municipality is aware of this, but no solution to that has yet been found. The municipality visits the ‘Nieuwe Hoofdhof’ twice a year to chat with how things are going. However the manager wants there to be better communication with the municipality:

There is continuous unrest at the municipality (...) we have had, I think about 4 different people. So where do you need to go, who is the contact person? I believe in march we get a new person, I understood that he will officially be the contact person. (...) there are constant shifts in the civil workers. (...) So it is not very well organised. (...) it is annoying, that the municipality becomes more lazy when you’ve been doing this for 32 years. They are used to me doing everything, like the pruning of the beech on the corner, but I can’t do that anymore” (Manager Nieuwe Hoofdhof, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

The manager of the ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’ believes because she has been working in the green space for a long time, she is taken for granted. However, this also shows that the municipality trust her to do a good job. Most important is that it will become more clear where to go to when the manager has questions or something needs to be done. The manager gives several examples of times when there was a lack of good communication:

“They placed a new tree and I took the tips off and now it has rooted. But it can also be the case that some guy of the municipality stops by (...) we had that at the amber tree over there. The tree was going to root, I also took the top off and the branches that were dying. Then the tree was going great, it was all excited. But a couple of days later he took the tree out and planted a new one. But that was during the summer. So I could start again with making sure the new tree rooted.

“The municipality did that with a truck when they had to remove a couple of branches. But that doesn’t make much progress because they didn’t do anything about the other branches. They should do it all at once” (Manager Nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

Although in the end things work out fine, the manager feels like things could go quicker and could be communicated better. Especially the efficiency of the municipality should be improved. The municipality believes that having more than one person in the garden can help to improve communication about the private management of public green space:

“One of the requirements we have in respect to the private management of public green space is that multiple citizens participate. In principle, sometimes this doesn’t work as people drop

out. There are projects which are maintained by only one person. But with new projects we do set this requirement” (Municipality of Amsterdam, personal communication, January 16, 2015).

This new measure is implemented as there have been some issues in the past. Although the municipality learned from experience that there are cases where people can't work together, they still believe that as a start there should be at least two persons managing the green space.

4.1.4 De Nieuwe Vaart

Initiative

The initiative of the slope along the 'Nieuwe Vaart' was set up by the inhabitants of the houseboats. They together set up an association when there were plans of the government to move and/or remove some of the houseboats. Because the houseboat inhabitants formed a collective they managed to stop these plans. After those plans were off the table and the agreement was made that all houseboats could stay, one of the inhabitants of the houseboats came up with the idea to start managing the slope in front of the houseboats collectively:

“(..) we, as inhabitants of the houseboats, founded an association called ‘Vereniging de Nieuwe Vaart’. And then I figured, when the boats didn’t have to move anymore, the next big project will be the design of the slope. I proposed, within the association, to create a team. There are 5 people in that team I believe. (..) Then I made a memorandum with this team called “Groener en Blauwer” (literally translated: more green and more blue, added by author)”. (Committee member Groener & Blauwer, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

This shows that the idea of privately managing the slope was initiated by one of the houseboat inhabitants. He brought together other houseboat inhabitants in order to try to make this private management of the slope happening. A meeting was arranged with the houseboat inhabitants and the municipality to talk about the private management. To describe the events that happened during and after that meeting I choose to quote one of the committee members of Groener & Blauwer:

“Then in the joint decision making everything went wrong. It was a mess. The civil servant, during this meeting, presented their provisional idea. (..) They had discussed and it would be flowers and no private management of the public green space. People walked out in anger. The next morning I thought, now I know everything, I can create the master plan myself. (..) I made an inventory within the association of what we wanted and what not. (..) I went to the community centre. (..) So I said: We have a draft of the master plan and I would like to discuss this with the neighbourhood if the inhabitants also want to support the plan. We did a couple of sessions and that lead to the building blocks of the master plan. (..) which we sent to the municipality. (..) Then I was called by (civil servant of the municipality) about the budget and if we could talk about it. This was in August. (..) I went there. They said they could find themselves in the master plan (..) and that maybe we should do a pilot. And that is how it started. I still don’t know what the turning point for them was” (Committee member Groener & Blauwer, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

The realisation of private management of the public green space took a while. There were some bumps in the road. When talking to the municipality I found out that at first there was a bit of hesitation when it came to realising this private management as the houseboat inhabitants have been unofficially managing the slope for a while now. The municipality wanted to change things fast as some spaces were appropriated by the houseboat inhabitants throughout the years. Therefore they wanted to quickly implement a new design. Now the municipality acknowledges that this was not the best way to do it and helps the inhabitants create a new design for the slope.

Design

Some of the inhabitants of the houseboats have managed the slope in front of their boat for several years. They created their own space, planted new plants and trees or created terraces and sheds. Others have done nothing with the slope, so it has been left alone and not maintained for several years. The houseboats inhabitants do not (yet) officially manage the slope. However, also the municipality has rarely managed it. Therefore this appropriation of the slope by some of the houseboat inhabitants has been tolerated by the municipality. The municipality states they don't know how it got to the point where the houseboat inhabitants started to privately manage the slope. However they want to reverse things now:

"But now things have changed. But I do understand it, if there is a piece of land in front of your house which the municipality doesn't manage anymore, I would also design it as a garden and put my own stuff in it. (..) In case of the 'Eilandenboulevard,' where there has been privatisation for a long time, we need a legal reason, so a redesign, in order to reverse the privatisation. (..) Because we tolerated it for so long, it is not easy to reverse. How it came to the point that the slope was left alone by the municipality, I don't know. I guess it didn't have priority" (Municipality Amsterdam, personal communication, January 16, 2015).

Now the municipality want to help the houseboat inhabitants with the design of a new slope and is investing in the slope along the 'Nieuwe Vaart.' There has not yet been a decision on the final design. The design is made in collaboration with some of the inhabitants and the help of a landscape architect. The municipality is willing to test whether the design is approved by all houseboat inhabitants by starting a pilot. The pilot will cause the inhabitants to see what the slope will look like after the design is implemented. According to the municipality this will help the decision making:

"There is an agreement about the process that two houseboat inhabitants will participate in a pilot project and are able to have their own input. (..) we told the association that these two examples are used to make decisions for the final design. If the association thinks these pilots are not sufficient to make a decision, then we are willing to start one or more extra pilots. Then we will have a wide range of examples to choose from. (..) It is not the case that the houseboats get gardens but that they are positioned along the slope which they will maintain themselves. In the past there were fences, sheds and parking spots, but after the realisation of the complete plan we will make sure that everyone honours the agreements and rules. (..) So there will be no privatisation. (..) In this case there is a green slope which will be privately managed but is not for private use" (Municipality Amsterdam, personal communication, January 16, 2015).

This shows that municipality wants the slope to be public again. Therefore a new design is made. The houseboat inhabitants have great say in what the slope will look like in the end. However, keeping the slope like it is now is not an option. The municipality is even willing to do more pilots if other houseboat inhabitants do not agree with the design of the pilot. These new designs do not have to be privately managed. The municipality would like to see different levels of private management of the public green space. Therefore inhabitants who do not want to privately manage the public green space do not have to:

"there will be a new design. (..) Within the new design there is the possibility for private management. According to the pilots decisions will be made. You will get different degrees in private management, from no private management to a lot of private management. There is a view that there should be as much variation as possible because that is fun. On the other hand there is a view that there should be a standard set up in which one can place accents which can be linked to private management. I don't know what it will be in the end" (Municipality of Amsterdam, personal communication, January 16, 2015).

The inhabitants are not forced to manage the slope, but terraces, fences and sheds have to be removed in the new design, although not all houseboat inhabitants like this. This will help to increase the cohesion in the slope and decrease the privatisation as there are no private objects anymore. The municipality and the inhabitants of the houseboats keep communicating about the design.

Material and financial support

The implementation of the design will be financed completely by the municipality. This includes not only the vegetation but also new stairs, utilities and a pier to every houseboat. It still needs to be discussed how the inhabitants who will privately manage the slope will be supported after the implementation. However, both parties stated that the municipality needs to manage the hedge (on the side of the road) and trees. There is not yet a clear view on how financial support needs to be arranged. One needs to be an association in order to receive money from the municipality for the management on forehand. When the managers are not collected in an association receipts need to be handed in in order to receive money afterwards. This still needs to be discussed with the municipality and the inhabitants.

Contact & control

Neighbours are informed and information about the ideas and plans for the slope are accessible and shared through the website which was launched by 'association de Nieuwe Vaart.' Also meetings are arranged through which people who are involved or are interested are informed about the plans and are able to discuss possible next steps. This shows there is contact between the houseboat inhabitants but also with the rest of the neighbourhood. Although the private management of the slope is not arranged yet, because the design still has to be implemented, one of the inhabitants has an idea of how things should be organized also in order to continue the private management of the slope for the coming years:

"Well, the municipality wants two contact persons, because if one dies there is still another one. That, again is something so manageable. When it comes to the houseboat inhabitants, I think the privately managing-groups should organize themselves better. It must be clear that every inhabitant is involved, and it is possible that one does more than the other. But that is commitment and that commitment is transferable, so if a boat is sold and someone else is going to live there, it should be transferable. They are not allowed to suddenly start planting trees (...) Because else there is no point in doing this" (Committee member groener & blauwer, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

This measure of making sure the commitment of managing the slope is transferable when someone moves can be seen as a control measure to make sure that the quality of the slope stays the same even when people move. In the case of de 'Nieuwe Vaart', it is not clear yet who will be the contact person of the municipality when they will start privately managing the green space. But this will probably become clear once the final design will be implemented.

4.1.5 Conclusion of the organisation of privately managed public green space

In all case studies the municipality showed their support towards citizen initiatives. Both municipalities thought of private management of public green space as being important for a thriving city. In the cases where the design is already implemented, namely 'de Kersentuin' and the 'nieuwe hoofdhof', one can see that the managers get have had a say in the design and get freedom in the management. The municipality also shows great trust in them. On the other hand, the managers do not want complete independence from the municipality as they need them for financial and also some material support. Not only when implementing a design, but also afterwards. What is important is that the managers are free to decide what the money is spent on as they know first-hand what is necessary. So, despite of the amount of funding the managers of the public green space get, what is more important is the freedom of the managers in deciding on what to spend it on.

Communication between the municipality and the managers of the privately managed public green space is also important. In the case of 'de Kersentuin' communication is well arranged and experienced as being positive by both parties. The municipality of Utrecht has created a vision on how to deal with these kind of initiatives which has been working fine (Gemeente Utrecht, 2007). The case of 'de Kersentuin' can be found in the 'facilitating' step of the participation ladder of ROB (2012). The municipality supports the initiative and helps (if necessary) to improve plans. When looking at the participation ladder of Salverda (2014) the case of 'de Kersentuin' can be found in the step 'co-creation' because government and citizens work together on the basis of equality and negotiation. It is a two way street. Both parties value each other's opinion and work well together.

In the case of the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' there is also great freedom in the design. The manager can plant whatever she likes and thinks is best. However, according to the manager there could be an improvement in the communication and the efficiency of help from the municipality. This shows that although the municipality created a vision on how to deal with these kind of initiatives (Amsterdam, 2012), there it is still an ongoing process to optimize the communication between municipality and citizens. This shows that when looking at the government participation ladder of ROB (2012) this case is in the 'letting go' step of the ladder. Interestingly, there is the wish from the manager to be in the 'facilitating' or 'stimulating' step of the ladder because she wants better communication. I believe communication can improve when it becomes clear who the contact person is. What is clear in this case is that the municipality trusts the manager and her ability because she has been managing the green space for a long time and her project is seen as one of the best examples where private management of the public green space has led to a special and beautiful green space. The manager also gets full freedom to do what she thinks is best for the green space. The question however is; would this case study be in the 'letting go' step of the government participation ladder from ROB (2012) if someone else would take over? Because now it feels like she has been 'let go' as she proved throughout the years that she is capable of doing the management. When looking at the participation ladder of Salverda (2014) this case can be placed in the step 'government participation' as the government provides space for the realisation of the goals the manager has set.

The case of the 'Nieuwe Vaart' is a difficult one as there is a long history of the municipality 'letting go' of the management of the slope. Therefore the slope has transformed throughout the years as people started to unofficially manage it themselves. Now the houseboat inhabitants and the municipality are working towards a new design and the municipality wants to take back some of the control. A new design, which (some of) the houseboat inhabitants will start to privately manage in the future, has not yet been implemented. Therefore, not much can be said on how the municipality and the managers of the private green space will work together in the future. I believe that now both parties are willing to cooperate and communicate. However, because they started off on the wrong foot it will take time for mutual trust to build up. In this case the municipality will probably have to take on a facilitating role as there is only a small group of the houseboat inhabitants alongside the 'Nieuwe Vaart' that are active in the realization of privately managed public green space, but the entire slope will be redesigned. The municipality is already facilitating the pilot project and is willing to have several pilot projects until there is an agreement between the inhabitants about the final design. Therefore this case is currently in the 'facilitating' step of the ladder of ROB (2012). The goal which is set for the new design, namely; creating an ecological zone with a big diversity of plants and animals, came from the inhabitants. Therefore, when looking at the analytical tool of Salverda (2014), this case can be placed in the step 'government participation' as the government provides space for and participates with the goals of the citizens.

When it comes to the organisation of private management of public green space, once there is mutual trust and good communication, the private management of public green space is most likely to be considered successful. Citizens themselves are able to manage green spaces without a lot of help from

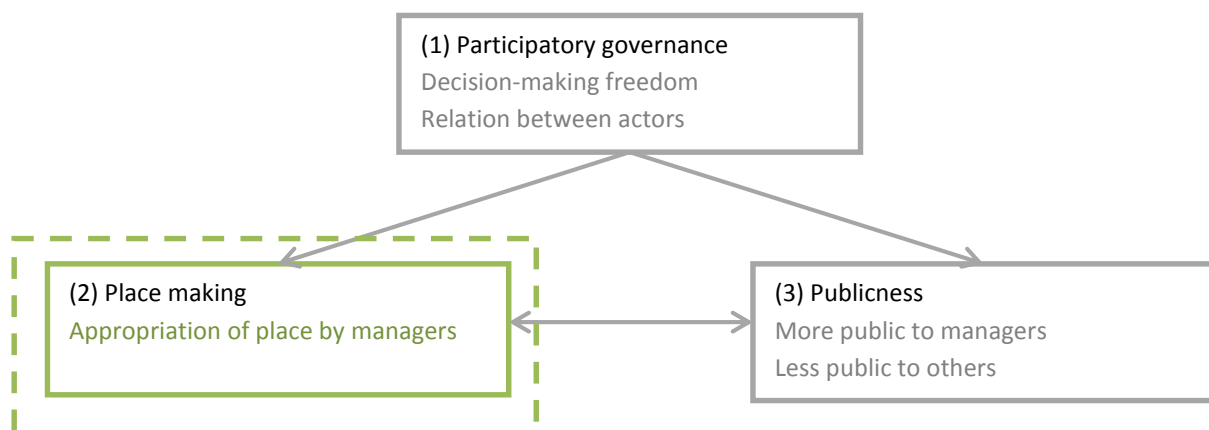
the government. What is asked from the government is financial support and help with maintenance which cannot be done by the managers themselves, like the pruning of tall trees. Besides that it should be clear who to go to with questions or when something needs to be done. Both the municipality and the managers feel a need to communicate clearly to each other who the contact person is. Lastly, there is the wish from managers for regular monitoring, preferably by someone from the municipality visiting the manager and the privately managed green space. When there is personal contact one gets to know what is necessary and how things work.

4.2 Activities which may lead to place making and exclusion

People in western cities have an increased appreciation and demand for green space (Hassink et al., 2013). It is therefore no wonder that people use and adjust their green surroundings. With the current trend of privately managed public green space, people are more involved with the design and look of the green spaces. They are the ones who decide what the space will look like, which plants go in, if there should be a hedge, a fence or some garden furniture. This is done by the manager(s) to make the space more comfortable. They connect to the space and make it a place. However, this place making can have a downfall when the space is appropriated. This can, but does not necessarily have to, cause others to feel excluded or left out. There are simple examples of exclusion. In Utrecht there was a manager of a public green space who put up a fence around the green space and started to use it as his own garden (Municipality of Utrecht, personal communication, February 9, 2015). To him the space became a place as he worked there and made it part of his life, but this was done by appropriating the space which excluded others. This translates to the following sub research question:

What activities or elements of the privately managed public green space lead to place making and which may lead to appropriation that causes exclusion?

This sub research question covers the second part (2) of the figure which shows the relation between the theoretical concepts which are used in this thesis. This figure can be seen below.



First there is a small recap of the theoretical concept and the way this is used in order to answer the mentioned sub-research question. After that the case studies will be reviewed on their activities which lead to place making and potentially to appropriation. In the end of the chapter a conclusion is formulated.

4.2.1 Place making

As discussed in chapter 2.1.2 place making is about the attachment to a space. When attached to this space by use, distinct look, stories, memories or social interaction this space has a meaning to the person and therefore becomes a place. When it comes to public spaces, place making strengthens the connection between people and the space they share. According to Carmona (2010), good public places are characterised by four characteristics: (1) accessibility and connectivity, (2) comfort and image, (3) uses and activities and (4) sociability. These characteristics are necessary in order to bond with a public space and make it a place. In this chapter I will show whether and how the privately managed public green spaces become a 'place' for the managers in terms of these four characteristics. Later it will be discussed whether this place making lead to appropriation in the sense that others are being excluded.

4.2.2 De Kersentuin

Accessibility and connectivity

'De Kersentuin' is located in Leidsche Rijn, a vinex-location in the west of Utrecht. Although the inhabitants helped design both the buildings and green space, some of the green spaces are public and accessible to all. The green spaces are right in front of the doorstep for the people who live in 'de Kersentuin.' An underground garage was created to create a larger green space. Other measures were also taken to increase the amount of green in the neighbourhood:

"There is an agreement that no one can place fences (..) Also with enclosing the private gardens, hedges are used. These hedges should not be higher than 1 or 1,2 m, but often they are a little higher. But I believe 2 metres away from the house it is allowed to place a hedge that is higher to create some privacy. This makes the gardens look bigger and visually it looks like the private gardens are also part of the big one" (Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

On the one hand making the private gardens visually connected with the public green space can make it look bigger and more inviting as there is a lot of green. On the other hand, people might not be sure whether the public green space is public as it is connected with the private green space. This can cause boundaries between private and public space to fade. However, the entire green space is not enclosed by hedges, it is freely accessible from all sides and is located next to and near another public green spaces like the 'Vlinderpark' (literally translated: butterflypark) and 'princes Amaliapark.' There is only local traffic around 'de Kersentuin,' which makes it easily accessible for people living in neighbourhood.

Comfort and image

'De Kersentuin' has different parts like an orchard and a forest. There is a kitchen garden for children, indigenous garden, rooftop garden, herb spiral, multisensory-garden, a place to make fire and an amphitheatre. All these elements create a diverse landscape. As the houses are built in parallel rows, these green spaces can be found between each row of houses. These rows of houses were even placed a little to the front, by which the inhabitants sacrificed a little of their front garden, in order to create a communal garden in the back. The fact that they even sacrificed a part of their private garden to create a communal garden shows how the people who started the project believed that these communal gardens increased the comfort of living together and social cohesion. One of the managers of 'De Kersentuin' explained to me that the garden is not only designed for humans:

"It is important that the green space is fun for people, but also for a broad range of animals. We stimulate biodiversity as much as possible. We achieve that with the vegetation we choose, but we also leave overblown flowers as hibernation places for insects. That causes this place to look a bit messy. But when you let people know why we do this then there is understanding. (..) The facade of the houses contain nesting places and we have different hedges with nesting opportunities for birds etc." (Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

This extra focus on biodiversity makes 'de Kersentuin' look different than its surrounding green spaces as they are (mostly) focussed on humans only. Also one of the managers of 'de Kersentuin' confirms that what they have created is different than the surroundings:

"That is what 'de Kersentuin' would look like if we didn't do anything; Just some grass, parking spots and trees" ('Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

This shows that the space has become a place to the managers as this shows that 'de Kersentuin' stands out compared to the other green spaces and they feel proud of what they have created.

Uses and activities

The green space of 'de Kersentuin' has many purposes; relaxation, inspiration, playing, eating etc. There are spaces for kids to play and fruit bearing trees and bushes are planted for consumption. Especially the amphitheatre is the centre where activities take place in the green space:

"We are very happy with the amphitheatre, it is used quite often. Sometimes there are concerts and during summer there is a summer festival. Then there is a lot of stuff to do. Sometimes there is also a circus workshop." (Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

These activities create opportunities for people to connect with the place. All these activities which are (mostly) open for everyone attract not only the people living in 'de Kersentuin' but also others who are interested. Especially kids will come and play. Due to all the groups which are active in 'de Kersentuin', it is easy for inhabitants to find a group which they like or at least participate in one of their activities which increases the social cohesion:

"We have a garden group which arranges days on which we work in the garden. There is a culture group which arrangers cultural activities, at the amphitheatre for example. And we have a passion group which is for people with a passion for something, an artist or their work, who want to share that with the neighbourhood. We have a technical committee, a tenant committee and a committee for the common space" (Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

In case of the green space, especially working together in the garden makes people connect with the garden as they spend time there and contribute to the image of the garden.

Sociability

'De Kersentuin' was created with a vision on how people can live together, with a focus on nature and each other. Emphasis is put on the initiative of the inhabitants. There are facilities in 'de Kersentuin' which are for common use which also brings people together:

"Below the rooftop garden there is a project house. This is a communal space, so we can organize parties, get-togethers, meetings etc. Next to that we have an office and a laundry room. The laundry room is for people who do not have a laundry machine, they can do their laundry here (..)It is not only the garden but also the facilities which make the project work. Here we have a group of people who started living here with the idea that we will do it all together" (Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

Because the inhabitants of 'de Kersentuin' moved there with the idea to do a lot together, including the private management of the public green space, this creates social control between all inhabitants and a sense of belonging. The management of the garden is arranged as follows:

"We have a planning and we make invitations for every garden-work-mornings (Dutch: tuinwerkochtenden). In the beginning it were garden days (Dutch: tuinwerkdagen). We worked in the garden the whole day. But that is difficult for a lot of people as they also have to do groceries and such. Per year we have about 14 garden-work-mornings. A lot of people join to help us. It is a bit of a fixed group, although it changes sometimes. We try to actively get people to join. But most of the time the same people participate. We also have a forum on which it is posted, intranet actually. But we make notes with what we are going to do and we put that in the mailbox. That way we try to stimulate it. The notes are only distributed within 'de Kersentuin'. But sometimes also other people join to help. We participate with 'burendag' and 'NL doet' (national days on which people or neighbours do stuff together for the

neighbourhood, added by author). *There you can apply as a volunteering project and people from outside 'de Kersentuin' can join. Sometimes people from a guided living project in the neighbourhood also join. During the garden mornings, social cohesion is important. We drink coffee together and have a lunch in the end*" (Manager Kersentuin, personal communication, January 17, 2015).

From this description we learn that the management is mainly done by the inhabitants of 'de Kersentuin.' This can unconsciously lead to exclusion as the group can form a collective. Therefore people can feel excluded. However, others are welcome to join which might make the space feel less appropriated.

4.2.3 De nieuwe hoofdhof

Accessibility and connectivity

De 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' is a courtyard garden. It is enclosed by buildings. The typical canal houses of Amsterdam on the one hand and a big student building on the other. It can be entered through a gate underneath one of the houses from the 'kattenburgerplein' and through a gate under the student building from the 'bijltjespad'. This makes the green space enclosed. There is no traffic, only cyclist and pedestrians. You need to know the green space, else there is little chance one will come across it by accident. Therefore most people who use the green space live in the neighbourhood. However, the manager states that there are also people from outside the neighbourhood who visit de 'Nieuwe hoofdhof.' Because the place is enclosed it creates an interesting space as it is protected from the busy Amsterdam on the outside.

Uses and activities

The green space is used like a park. People sit there, relax, play with their children or walk their dog. Even though barbecuing is officially forbidden, the manager of the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' does not mind people doing so. The manager is also active in creating things which makes the green space even more attractive for the people living around this green space:

"With the new promotion campaign of the 'Albertheijn' with which you can get seeds for fruits and vegetables, I want to create something. Make two trays, in which dogs can't pee, where children can plant their vegetables when they have sprouted (personal communication, February 27, 2015).

This shows that the manager creates space for small activities to take place. This makes people attach meaning to this green space and feel welcome. Children in the neighbourhood which made a birdhouse were also allowed to hang it in the green space. However, sometimes people feel that they can do what they want with the green space:

"There was a boy, his mother cut away the bamboo and boxwood in that corner. He was allowed to build a hut there. But there is already a hut created. (..) There were also people nailing planks onto a tree" (Manager Nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

Some have the opinion that others might feel a bit too free in the green space as they start to adjust it themselves. Cutting away plants or building huts is not allowed, also not in other green spaces. But still people do so. This shows that people feel like there is more possible in this green space because it is privately managed.

Comfort and image

The 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' is a mature garden, trees are rather old and have reached their maximum length. The garden is well appreciated as she gets compliment from both the municipality and other inhabitants:

"People say it is a French garden, but I don't know, I'm used to it. (...) I brought a lot of plants from France, Wild Arum for example. My parents had a presbytery in France, a wild area. Terraces with chestnuts. I'm the kind of person who takes the bike and a shovel and picks wild flowers. (...) Then I have a big bunch of wild flowers and I put them in the garden. It goes pretty quick with wild flower seeds, then suddenly there will be all kinds of chicory and other plants. (...) I always had a love for wild plants and irises. I think those are great and I like to combine them. (...) When the 'Hortus' has leftover plants, like hyacinth, they let me know they have stuff for me. So slowly the green space has become very special. So with a different perspective, also planted for animals to benefit from it. We have a woodpecker couple and other rare birds. Last week we had a yellowhammer, which is quite rare for a city" (Manager Nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

Because the plants which can be found in the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' are different from the plants which can be found in public green spaces which are managed by the municipality, the space has a different atmosphere. When one enters the space, one can feel that it is something special. It is therefore easy to connect to the place as it stands out. The manager loves the fact that people enjoy the green space but this also has a disadvantage:

"You see people enjoy the green space with babies and children. They sometimes run through a flower bed. But there is not much I can do about that. (...) People do not intentionally make a mess but there is always litter. Plastic bags, bus tickets, cigarettes, pizza boxes, they do not think about it. That is why it would be great if people understood that one needs to be careful with this kind of green space. When you understand the amount of work that goes into it. If I would stop, it would be a dump and it will overgrow" (Manager Nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

This shows the manager has a great feeling of responsibility for the green space. To her it is a place for which she has to care and make sure that the green space stays nice and comfortable.

Sociability

As there is only one manager of the green space of the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof,' she is the one to contact about the green space at the moment. The gardening activity, which the manager has been doing for 15 years, makes her bond with the place. As most of the time she works in the garden alone, there is not much bonding with others through the gardening experience. However, there is bonding with neighbours because she spends much time in the garden, which she really likes. More and more people know her and value her, also children:

"In the course of the years it got better. Now I can also address kids. Before they didn't listen to me. But now they know me. It just a matter of giving them a little attention, like providing a blanket to play on" (Manager Nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

This shows that although she does most work on her own, the private management of the public green space does make her bond with neighbours as they get to know each other. They use the green space and run into each other. Therefore there is more social bonding between neighbours. Now, there is someone who sometimes helps her in the garden. This may result in wanting to organise days on which people can work together in the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof':

“At a certain point you put your heart and soul into the garden. You know where to find which plant. I really like that I get help now. (...) Sometimes people suggest to help me with getting the green space ready for spring or autumn. But then there were so many people that I was not able to manage them all. People started digging, but destroyed other flower bulbs while doing that and children were running everywhere. So that was too much for me. But now I might want to try it again since I got help from someone” (Manager Nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

If this will work out there will probably be even more bonding with the place as neighbours come together to work on the green space. They therefore will also connect (more) with this green space in Amsterdam.

4.2.4 De Nieuwe Vaart

Accessibility and connectivity

The slope next to the ‘Nieuwe Vaart’ is located along de Oostenburgergracht, Wittenburgergracht, Kattenburgergracht and Kattenburgerplein. It connects the entire ‘Eilandenboulevard.’ Because the slope is slanting and the highest point is the same height as the road, the slope is not that visible from the road. Only when walking next to the slope one can see the vegetation on it. Other people, besides the houseboat inhabitants, are not allowed to enter the slope. Because the design differs in front of every houseboat, the space feels like it belongs to the houseboat inhabitants.

Uses and activities

Some houseboat inhabitants have left the slope alone for several years, for them it is the space they pass through to get to their boat. Others have put in time and effort to create something on the slope in front of their boat. In those cases the slope is used by the houseboat inhabitants themselves, which have planted trees, shrubs or flowers or build sheds and terraces. As the space is only used by the houseboat inhabitants, to them the space has become a place. However, the houseboat inhabitants do not yet officially manage the green space. Some believe that when they will be officially managing it, they will do more and therefore keep the slope clean and tidy:

“I clean the slope. There is a bench in front of the slope, people who sit on it tend to leave their garbage behind on the slope. There is also garbage which blows into the slope as vermin open trash bags. I am the one who cleans this up. When the slope is officially ours I believe we will do more.” (houseboat inhabitant, personal communication, April 11, 2014)

Other Houseboat inhabitants confirm that officially managing the slope would increase the time they spend maintaining the slope which will increase the connection with the slope.

Comfort and image

Since most houseboat inhabitants have treated the slope in front of their boat as their garden, the slope looks different in front of every boat. On the parts where nothing was done to the slope, snowberry, which was originally planted there, dominates. Others have created thriving gardens or took away the view on the slope by placing a fence. On other parts trees were planted, creating a dense green structure. For the houseboat inhabitants this created extra comfort as they could expand their terrain by also making use of the slope. Especially the ones who created terraces or put a fence around the slope created a place as it feels like it is part of their property. At the moment there are ideas for a new design, these ideas are realised in a pilot project which is located in front of two of the houseboats. What it will look like in the end is not yet decided upon. But there is a shared goal to design the space to be beneficial for plants and animals:

“We want to create an urban nature enclave: an ecological zone with a big diversity of plants and animals. (...) We want to keep valuable trees and shrubs and there where possible create a

view on the water.” (Committee member groener & blauwer, personal communication, February 27, 2015)

This shared goal will create the image that the new design is for the benefit of animals and plants. Due to this image, the space will be easier perceived as place as it differs from other green spaces and the fact that animals will benefit from the green space adds value according to many inhabitants.

Sociability

Of course there is contact between neighbours. As an association was founded for all the inhabitants of houseboats along the ‘Nieuwe Vaart,’ they all keep each other up to date about what is happening along the ‘Nieuwe Vaart’ and what the plans are. Also other inhabitants of the ‘Eilandenboulevard’ are kept up to date, by contact with the inhabitants or also by mail or meetings which are organised in neighbourhood centre ‘de Witte boei.’ The new plans for the design of the slope were made in collaboration with all houseboat inhabitants. When the design is implemented along the entire slope some inhabitants will spend more time on the slope (together) managing it. Some of the houseboat inhabitants state they would even help others to manage the slope. Therefore the private management would increase the contact between houseboat inhabitants.

4.2.5 Conclusion of activities which may lead to place making and exclusion

In the case of ‘de Kersentuin’, people living in ‘de Kersentuin’ have created the place together. For them this place is used often and people work together to keep the space nice and comfortable for everyone. Activities are organised and the space has a distinct look. This might lead to appropriation of the space as the people of ‘de Kersentuin’ share the same interests and formed a collective with which they do a lot of things together.

Also de ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’ is a place in the city of Amsterdam. A distinct look, wild flowers and plants and a quiet place away from the traffic, makes this a place to the manager. Also, here the fact that the manager is free to do and plant what she likes makes the green space a place. The thing which might lead to appropriation in this case is the fact that the manager manages it alone. Therefore decisions are made by one person. Due to this others might feel excluded. However, everyone is welcome to help. Therefore I do not foresee problems with exclusion.

In the case of de ‘Nieuwe Vaart’ some of the houseboat inhabitants have created a place. They put terraces and different plants on the slope. This gives the slope a distinct look. However, the slope being a place only applies to the slope in front of their own boat because that is the part they have been managing. There are also parts of the slope which have been neglected. These are considered to be a space as there is no meaning attached to it. This shows that leaving green spaces alone, without a contract in which the private management of the public green space is recorded, leads to a broad range of different designs. Some people do not want to manage a green space or do not see it as being theirs and neglect it, while others create a beautiful garden or place fences and sheds. In the future, when the entire slope will be redesigned, one place might be created as there is cohesion across the entire slope. Also a contract will be made with those who want to privately manage the green space. If a person does not want to manage the slope in front of his/her houseboat it is important that this space will still be maintained (by other houseboat inhabitants or the municipality) as this creates cohesion. Because the slope is not yet officially managed by the houseboat inhabitants, the changes some made to the slope can be seen as appropriation.

According to Camorra et. Al (2010) good public places are characterised in four ways: (1) *accessibility and connectivity*, (2) *comfort and image*, (3) *uses and activities* and (4) *sociability*. In the case of the Kersentuin sociability is the main factor that causes place making as the projects main goal is doing things together. In the case of the ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’ it is especially about the comfort and image of the place, as a lush garden is created it is easy to attach meaning to the place. In the case of the ‘Nieuwe

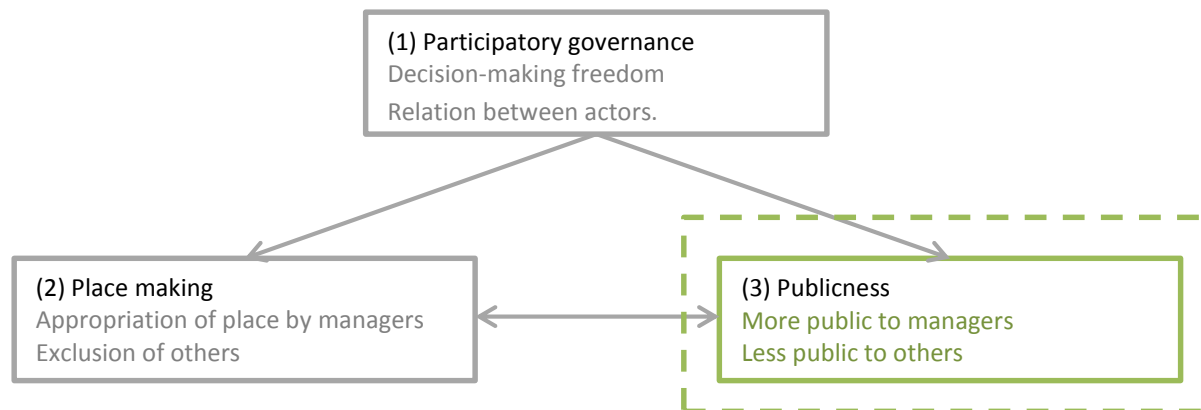
Vaart' the main reason for place making is the fact that there were plans to move the houseboats which lead to the inhabitants of the houseboats forming an association. This can be part of the sociability as this created a common goal to which the houseboat inhabitants worked towards together. In the future the new design along the entire slope might lead to the creation of a place to all houseboat inhabitants.

4.3 The experienced publicness of citizens who are not involved in the private management

In the previous chapter it was shown that the managers of a green space can appropriate the space. However, this is only a bad thing when others do not feel welcome anymore. In the example where a person put up a fence around the privately managed green space, this does not have to lead to exclusion. When there is, for example, a sign that welcomes people to use the space or people know that they are welcome they are not necessarily excluded. It is already established that the manager(s) do certain activities, or manage the space in a certain way that can lead to appropriation. The next step is to establish whether the way managers manage a public green space leads to other people feeling like the green space has become private, maybe they even feel excluded. Therefore, it is important to ask people in the surrounding how they experience the privately managed public green space. In this chapter the following sub research question will be answered:

What is the experience of citizens who are not involved in the management the public green space?

This sub research question covers the third part (3) of the figure which shows the relation between the theoretical concepts which are used in this thesis. This figure can be seen below



First there is a small recap of the theoretical concept and the way this is used in order to answer the mentioned sub-research question. Afterwards the opinions of citizens living in/around the case studies will be discussed.

4.3.1 Publicness

As can be found in paragraph 2.2.3, people experience the publicness of a green space differently. Citizens determine whether a place is public or private according to its looks and its feel. However, the dimensions and extent of the publicness of public green space are highly differentiated from instance to instance and from person to person. It is important to talk about how public a person feels a certain place is and why. This can not only be due to objects but also due to knowledge about the space or interaction with the managers. Therefore the answer to this research question is purely based on the feeling or opinion of residents who live around the privately managed public green space. The publicness will be discussed according to the following subjects, which emerged during the coding of the interviews; Information, contact, appearance and use:

Information: Is there information available about what happens in the green space, who manages it, which activities take place etc.

Contact: Do citizens know the manager(s) of the public green space, is it easy for them to contact them. But also, is there contact between the citizens living around the green space

Appearance: Is the public green space appealing and is it more attractive than other green spaces

Use: What do people use the green space for and do they feel welcome to use the green space freely

4.3.2 De Kersentuin

Information

Although information about de 'Kersentuin' is freely available like on their website or on the boards next to the project house, most citizens living in the surroundings state that they do not actively look up information about 'de Kersentuin'. However, most do know where to find the information:

"There are signs on which information is pinned. Those are the glass sign at the project house. There you can see which activities there are. So, the people who would like to can join activities. I sometimes looked at the website of 'de Kersentuin'. But I haven't looked at it in the past few years" (Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

Besides these places where one can always find information, most citizens living around 'de Kersentuin' receive notes which the people of 'de Kersentuin' put through the mailbox of people living around this green space:

"Sometimes we get a note that there is something to do for children or that they are going to sing or put on music on Sunday" (Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

Everyone except two of the respondents stated they never attended one of the activities after receiving an invitation. Some even stated they would not mind if they were not informed. Others clearly stated that they didn't want to be involved, but did appreciate the information:

"I don't want to be involved. They are a different kind of people. Most of the time they put a note through the mailbox if there is something going on so we know when to keep our windows and doors shut" (Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

This shows that the information the inhabitants of 'de Kersentuin' provide is received as being nice. However, this (almost) never puts neighbours into action to actually join an activity. 'De Kersentuin' seems to be perceived as something for the citizens living in the project of 'de Kersentuin' and not for the citizens living in the surroundings.

Contact

While contact between citizens living in 'de Kersentuin' is obviously present, there is not that much contact with people living outside 'de Kersentuin'. I believe that is normal, as it is rare for an entire neighbourhoods to all know each other and do things together. Some of the citizens living around 'de Kersentuin' do use the green space, but although welcome to participate in the garden work mornings, people state they rarely do so:

"I'm not going to clean their garden. But you never hear anything from them, they do everything on their own. During the summer they sometimes do performances at the little theatre. You get a note that you are allowed to come and watch, it is really nice. They do try to involve you, but I never participate in anything" (Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

So although welcome to participate, citizens feel like 'de Kersentuin' is for the inhabitants of 'de Kersentuin.' This is confirmed by one of the respondents living one street away from the kersentuin:

"It is a project that stands on its own. People who live there have more contact with each other than with the people who live on this side" (Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

The citizens living around the Kersentuin do know some people living in 'de Kersentuin,' but they rarely have contact with them. It therefore seems like 'de Kersentuin' only provides more contact with the people who live there and not with people outside the project.

Appearance

'De Kersentuin' is open to everyone. There is no fence or hedge around the public space. Although there is no physical border, 'de Kersentuin' has a different look compared to surrounding neighbourhoods. This can result in people being hesitant to enter and use the space. About the project itself the respondents are mostly positive:

"It is a nice project over there, people do everything together. They have a common garden and laundry room and those kind of things."

"Oh yes, it is nice. Now you see them once or twice a month cleaning the garden together"

"I prefer to have this across the street than a standard path with rental houses. I prefer to look out on this. Of course it attracts a certain type of people, but I like that"

(Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

Even though the most respondents are positive about the project itself, the space does not attract many citizens who live adjacent to 'de Kersentuin.' Although they are positive about the idea behind the project, they are neither bother nor enthusiastic about the appearance of 'de Kersentuin. They don't really have an opinion about it as they believe the people living there should be the ones to decide what it looks like. However there are some exceptions, some of the respondents have another opinion about the green space:

"I don't think it is a nice project. If you would make a pretty garden with nice stuff, but that is not the case."

"I prefer to go to the 'Vlindertuin'. That is a normal green space with playsets."

(Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

Even though there are respondents who are clearly positive or negative about 'de Kersentuin, most respondents state they think the appearance of 'de Kersentuin' is fine. They are neither positive nor negative about the green space. This shows that it is not that much the appearance that keeps people from using the green space, but more the feeling like the space belongs to the people living in 'de Kersentuin.'

Use

There are several activities organised in 'de Kersentuin'. Some are open only to the people living in the project, other also to neighbours and some to everyone. The meetings which are held in the project house are only open to the people which live in the project of 'de Kersentuin'. None of the respondents living around 'de Kersentuin' wanted to participate in those meetings. They therefore didn't feel excluded from the meetings. However, one of the respondents wished they would have been involved with the initiation of 'de Kersentuin':

"We are always welcome, but we have had little say in the project. We are also part of 'de Kersentuin', but they are foundation 'de Kersentuin'. It makes me feel like I'm not officially part of 'de Kersentuin'" (Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

This was the wish of only one of the respondents. Others did not have the desire to be more involved with helping foundation 'de Kersentuin. Most respondents state they feel welcome to join the activities which are held in 'de Kersentuin'. Interestingly, they rarely do. Most of them state they did participate in the beginning, but not anymore:

"There are some music performances which I sometimes attend. That is in the little amphitheatre. And there are dinners where neighbours all cook food. But that was a long time ago. The last time we went there was 3 or 4 years ago. That was always very nice" (Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

Besides the activities, the green space in general is not used that much by the people living around 'de Kersentuin'. Respondents say they either never go there or only walk through the green space when going somewhere else like the 'Vlinderpark':

"I am welcome to use it, but I'm not interested to do so."

"I sometimes walk through it with my grandchildren. But besides that I rarely use it"

"I do walk through it sometimes, but nothing more than that."

(Residents around de Kersentuin, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

So, even though welcome in 'de Kersentuin' the green space is not used more or valued more than other green spaces in the neighbourhood. People feel like the green space is more a green space for the people of 'de Kersentuin.'

4.3.3 De nieuwe hoofdhof

Information

There is no website or common place where to find information about de 'Nieuwe hoofdhof.' However, as the manager of de 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' spends a lot of time working in the green space and practically lives in the green space, most people know her. Therefore they know where to find her if they ever needed information:

"The manager is always working in the garden. Sometimes we talk when I'm sitting there. That is how I learned what she is doing there and how much work it is" (Residents around de nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

Only one of the respondents did not know about the green space, probably because it is enclosed by buildings. All other respondent all know where the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' is located and almost all respondents know the manager which is connected to this green space. People state they do not need to get more information about the green space:

"There is no place where to get information, there was an article about the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' in one of the papers we get a long time ago. But I don't know if there is much information to share. People love de 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' and what she does with the place. That is the most important" (Residents around de nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

Only some learned about the project through 'de Witte Boei' (community centre). So although the place where people can find information about the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' is not well known, the respondents do not mind as this is not necessary according to them as they can always contact the manager.

Contact

The contact with the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' all goes through the manager of the green space. Almost all people know the manager personally or know who she is. Others even state the manager brings people together:

"Because of this beautiful green space, people use it and therefore get in touch h each other. I believe I would not have known that many people in my neighbourhood if it wasn't for the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof'" (Residents around de nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

This shows that the private management of the public green space can bring people together, even though they are not involved in the management itself as the green space attracts people and they therefore get in contact with each other or at least become familiar with one another.

Appearance

If there is one thing that all respondents agree upon it is that the green space looks beautiful:

"It is an oasis!"

"I love the green space. Especially the fact that it is tucked away. Therefore there are no annoying tourists"

"When you walk through the gate you enter a whole other world"

"It is an unspoiled gem in the middle of Amsterdam"

(Residents around de nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, March 3, 2015)

This shows that the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' is well appreciated by all respondents. This also shows that they feel like the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' is public as they feel attracted by its appearance and feel welcome to enjoy the space.

Use

There are only a few households in the surroundings of the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' which have a private garden. This is probably also part of the success of de 'Nieuwe hoofdhof'. When the weather is nice outside a lot of people visit public green spaces:

"I use the green space all the time. I relax there or hang with friends" (Residents around de nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

People go there with their children, walk their dog and enjoy the surroundings. No one feels like they are not welcome:

"it is open to everyone, but it is extra special, therefore one might be more careful compared to when someone is in a regular park. With that I mean that you make sure you don't leave a mess or damage the plants" (Residents around de nieuwe hoofdhof, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

People feel welcome but some also use it with extra care as they believe that the space is special.

4.3.4 De Nieuwe Vaart

Information

The respondents who also live in a houseboat along the 'Nieuwe Vaart' all get information about the slope through 'Vereniging de Nieuwe Vaart.' Also some of the people living near the slope get their

information through the association by viewing their website or contacting one of the houseboat inhabitants. Information is important in order to know if a space is private or public. What I found out during the interviews was that people who did not know about the new plans also thought the slope belonged to the houseboat inhabitants:

“You mean that the slope is actually public? It does not seem that way. (..) I never received or saw information about new plans. But maybe that is just me as I’m not interested in being up to date about what happens in the neighbourhood” (Residents around de Nieuwe Vaart, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

This shows that information indeed is important in knowing whether a space is public or not. People who do know about the pilot project mostly also know a committee member of ‘Groener & Blauwer’. They state they (had) talk(ed) with the committee member and therefore know what is going on.

Contact

Most of the houseboat inhabitants know each other. People living around the ‘Nieuwe Vaart’ sometimes know a person who lives in one of the houseboats but most of them do not know anyone personally. As the slope is not yet officially privately managed by the houseboat inhabitants, the fact that there is personal contact between inhabitants is not (yet) due to the private management. Maybe contact between people living around the slope will increase when the slope is officially privately managed. Some stated it would be nice to work together with the other inhabitants:

“Maybe I will join. I am already working on my facade garden (Dutch: geveltuin), but that is just a few tiles wide. I love gardening, but I don’t have a garden myself. Therefore it might be great to join” (Residents around de Nieuwe Vaart, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

However, most respondents like it just the way it is, they say it is fine and don’t think the change of the slope will improve contact between residents as one is not allowed to enter or use the green space.

Appearance

Almost all respondent agree that the current look of the slope alongside de ‘Nieuwe Vaart’ doesn’t make it look like a public space. On the other hand, most respondents also do not mind the private feel of the slope as the slope is narrow and there would not be a place to sit anyhow as they are not allowed to go there. People who know about the new plans believe that it would be a great improvement, it would make the slope look more as a whole. It will therefore become more visually pleasing. Another respondent living across the slope states:

“Of course I would like to be able to sit alongside the water, but I understand that that would give some nuisance to the people living there. Maybe on the places where there are no houseboats people should be allowed to enter the slope (..). Is that already one of the plans? Then I think that is a good idea” (Residents around de Nieuwe Vaart, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

This shows that people understand the choice to not make spaces for people to sit or recreate on the slope. The goal of the new design is to create an ecological zone. Some respondents state that they do not (yet) have the feeling that the slope is important for animals besides for water birds who can build nests over there. However, the idea of creating a green space for animals is well perceived among the respondents:

“As there is no intention in opening the slope to the people, it is great that there are plans to design the slope for animals. As the bee population is having troubles, things like this can really

make a difference” (Residents around de Nieuwe Vaart, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

It shows that it is hard to create a green space that is not open to people but does feel public. The intention of creating a space for animals makes it easier for people to accept that.

Use

At the moment the slope is not open for use. This will also not be the case in the future. People understand when it comes to this:

“It is not meant to be used by others, but I think that is fair. I wouldn’t like it either if people were walking through my front garden. Because the slope is quite steep, one can’t see what happens over there. Especially if the entrance of the houseboat is low, there is no social control” (Residents around de Nieuwe Vaart, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

Others think that a new design would give chances for also opening the slope to other inhabitants besides the houseboat inhabitants:

“I would love there to be a small path on the parts where the slope is wide enough. It would be a great strip to walk my dog” (Residents around de Nieuwe Vaart, personal communication, March 3, 2015).

None of the respondents named an ecological zone as use for the slope by themselves. This shows that public space is mostly perceived as being public to humans.

4.3.5 Conclusion of the experienced publicness of people who are not involved in the private management

In the case of ‘de Kersentuin’, the green space is public to the people who live in the project of ‘de Kersentuin.’ They pay for it, are more informed about what happens and which activities there are and some activities are only open to them. Most of the people who live adjacent to ‘de Kersentuin’ do think it is fine, they are informed when there are activities and stated they feel welcome to make use of the green space, but rarely do so. They sometimes walk through it to go to another green space where they play with their kids. In this case the green space is more public to the people that manage the green space. However, the real question is, is that a bad thing? I believe that it is not necessarily bad in this case. There are many green spaces in the surroundings which are considered to be public. Also the pressure on public green space in the surroundings of ‘de Kersentuin’ is low. There are other green spaces in the surroundings and people have their own garden. The people living around ‘de Kersentuin’ state they don’t mind that the people of ‘de Kersentuin’ manage the green space. The feeling of exclusion mostly comes from the fact that the people of project ‘de Kersentuin’ do everything together and therefore have formed a collective. This is no surprise as the intention of the project is to do a lot of things together.

In the case of the ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’, people love the green space and often make use of it. Especially the students living around the ‘Nieuwe hoofdhof’ loved the look of the garden and the fact that it was tucked away from traffic. I believe that the reason that all respondents perceive the garden as being public has, for a large part, to do with the look of the green space but also with the way it is managed. The fact there is only one manager makes sure that there is no collective which can call the shots. People value the green space as most of them do not have a garden. Therefore more people use the public green space. As there is more pressure on the green space, people are also likely to claim space. This might mean that in a densely populated space, public green spaces are more often used even

though they might look a bit private as people need to be able to use green space. If this is the case, publicness is therefore not only a feeling people have but also depends on their living environment.

In the case of the 'Nieuwe Vaart' the space does not feel public to the people living around the 'Nieuwe Vaart.' This can be explained by the fact that people do not feel like they are allowed to enter the slope. It feels like standing in a front garden when entering the slope. The mailboxes of the inhabitants stand next to the sidewalk, so one is less likely to cross the invisible line that this mailbox creates. Also the fact that the paths run from the sidewalk to the houseboats adds to the atmosphere that it is private. Maybe a path alongside the slope would create the image that it is in fact public. However, the slope is not meant to be physically public to people, only visually and to wild animals. Informing might be the best way to make people feel like the green space is public as it provides space for wild animals and insects. Some advice for the final design might be placing signs which provide information about what wild animals can be seen and which insects are attracted by which plants. Therefore people see the function of the slope which makes the function of the green space clear. People are therefore less likely to mind that they are not allowed to enter.

5.1 Discussion

The objective of this case study research was to gain a better understanding of the publicness of public green space when privately managed. I tentatively defined publicness as the sense of accessibility, both physically and visually, from which can be derived that it is experienced differently by different people. Using three case studies to answer the sub-research questions (chapter 4) this study has contributed to this objective. In this chapter I will use the insights gained from the case studies to reflect upon the findings and theoretical concepts used during this research. Afterwards suggestions are proposed for further research.

5.1.1 Reflection on results

I initially understood publicness as the sense of accessibility, both physically and visually. Both the 'de Kersentuin' and the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' were public in at least one of these dimensions. However, the 'Nieuwe Vaart' was neither physically nor visually public. People could not actually enter the slope. In addition, the Nieuwe Vaart is a slanting, narrow but long strip. Therefore, pedestrians walking alongside the slope cannot always entirely see the slope. Still, there is a dimension of publicness to this area. Some respondents knew the slope was officially public and therefore also perceived it as being public. This resulted in the dimension of publicness through information besides just physical and visual publicness. Physical publicness is about how welcome citizens feel to enter and use the green space. Visual publicness is about the openness to look into the green space as opposed to feeling like one is looking at private property. Publicness through information is about knowing whether a privately managed public green space is public or not. This newly introduced way of publicness (through information) was also found in the other case studies. In the case of the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' citizens knew the space was public through knowing the manager and in the case of 'de Kersentuin' citizens were informed through notes in their mailbox.

Besides the distinction between physical publicness, visual publicness and publicness through information, there is also the question whether the process of the private management itself is public. All citizens living in 'de Kersentuin' perceived the garden as being public while not all citizens living adjacent to 'de Kersentuin' did. Visually and physically the garden was public to both the people living in and adjacent to 'de Kersentuin'. There was also publicness through information. However, citizens living in 'de Kersentuin' were involved in the process. They knew how the management was arranged, paid contribution and were involved or welcome to be involved with the management. The people living adjacent to 'de Kersentuin' did not perceive the greenspace as being public as they felt like the green space belonged to the people living in 'de Kersentuin.' In the case of the 'Nieuwe vaart' publicness in the process was not yet found as the houseboat inhabitants are not yet officially managing the green space. In the 'Nieuwe hoofdhof' the process was open as there is only one manager which was open to people joining. Citizens therefore were aware of what was happening and felt welcome to join. This shows that publicness has four dimensions; visual, physical, through information and in the process.

Through my research I found a relation between place making and publicness. It was shown that this relationship was present for the managers of the green space. In all case studies the managers attached significant, positive meaning to the green space as they spent a lot of time there and felt responsible for the space. The distinction explained in my conceptual chapter 2.1, between space and place, is relevant here. All managers perceived the green space they managed as being (their own) green place. As they were the ones who were managing the green space, to them the green space also felt public, in the sense of all the four dimensions visual, physical, through information and in the process. However, citizens who lived nearby the privately managed green space did not in all cases attach meaning to the space and therefore the space did not feel like a place to them. In the case of the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' almost all respondents stated they liked the green space and used it often. In

this case the respondents which perceived the space as being a place also perceived it as being public. The opposite was observed in the cases of 'de Kersentuin' and the 'Nieuwe Vaart'. In those cases most respondents did not attach meaning to the space and also did not perceive the space as being fully public, because the respondents felt the green space belonged to the managers. This shows that when a person perceives a green space as being a place, they also perceive the green space as being public. Perceiving a space as being a place and publicness are interconnected. One of the four dimensions in which a space can be public must be present as one can only connect with a space when one has seen it, been there, heard about the space or is involved in/aware of the process. This also shows that a space does not have to be public in all four ways to experience place.

The reason citizens were able to attach meaning to the space in the case of the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' is most likely due to what the manager does with the space. To put it in to words like one of the respondents: "she created an oasis in the city." To the people living near the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' this space stands out compared to other green spaces which helps with creating attachment with the space. It is interesting that the 'Nieuwe Hoofdhof' was chiefly managed by one person only, but its green space was perceived as public. This shows that the manager was able to manage the space alone without excluding others. In the case of 'de Kersentuin' people living 'de Kersentuin' had their own garden and therefore did not feel the need to use 'de Kersentuin'. They also felt 'de kersentuin' belonged to the people living in 'de Kersentuin.' It is unclear to which dimension of publicness it seems to be related the most.

When looking at the four ways in which a privately managed public green space can be public; physically, visually, through information and in the process, these all relate to the way in which the managers manage the green space. The way in which the green space is managed and designed has influence on both the physical and visual publicness. If there are fences or personal garden furniture placed by the manager, one is less likely to see that one is allowed to enter and one feels like they are looking at private property. When looking at publicness through information it is also up to the manager whether they create for example a website, put notes in peoples mailbox, organise meetings or talk to a lot of people in the neighbourhood. The more people know about the privately managed green space, the more likely they are to feel like the space is public. Lastly, there is the publicness in the process. When the process of the management is open to everyone and people are free to join, the green space is more likely to feel public as people understand what is happening in this space. This all shows that the biggest influence on the publicness of public green spaces are the managers and the way in which they design the space and how they inform others.

As it is the manager(s) who influence the publicness (or success) of a privately managed public green space the most, governments must value the manager and make sure that they are happy about the collaboration between both parties. Throughout the interviews it became clear that the managers value good communication with the municipality. When there is good communication one knows where to go with remarks, propositions or for assistance. This improves the collaboration between both parties which increases the legitimacy of the process, the power to resolve things quickly and also the joy of working on/with privately managed public green spaces. This can improve the quality of the privately managed public green space as the manager feels like he/she can make a difference. This will affect the publicness of the green space in a positive way as it is the manager who has the most effect on the publicness.

Throughout my research I emphasized that the dimensions and extent of the publicness of public green spaces are highly differentiated from instance to instance and from person to person. Publicness can be described as a feeling which is different from person to person, this indicates that everyone experiences publicness differently. However, one can imagine that there is an overall opinion about the publicness of a space. I believe that because the same opinion about the publicness of the case studies emerged from the interviews, one can state that this is the overall opinion about the publicness

of the privately managed public green space. The most frequent answer from the respondents living near the case studies to the question what they thought of the green space, was that they thought it was fine. Also the look of the green space was fine, the way they were informed was fine and the way it was managed was fine. This could be due to multiple reasons such as the respondents just stated they thought it was fine in order to keep the interview short or they believed that their response might be traced back to them. However, I believe they actually thought it was fine. I do not think 'it is fine' was a socially accepted answer as I believe all respondents trusted me right away as some of them even spoke to me about their personal health or grandchildren. Most citizens just appeared to not have a strong opinion about privately managed public green spaces. What is interesting about the fact that most respondents stated it was fine, is the question: under what conditions would people feel it was not 'fine' anymore? When the public green space is not public anymore, in the sense of its physical or visual accessibility. Or does the publicness change when people are not informed anymore? Will they then still state it is 'fine' as they do not use the space and therefore do not mind? Or, does it not matter to them what happens to the green space?

Lastly, there is the question to whom a public green space should actually be public? In the case of Amsterdam I heard multiple people say that they like green spaces where there are no tourists. . When I asked respondents to point them out on a map, they showed many hidden (privately managed) public green spaces. This indicates that in the case of Amsterdam some public green spaces are only public to people living in Amsterdam and they want to keep it this way. When a city is very crowded (with tourists) I understand that people want there to be green spaces which are not known to everyone as this gives them quiet spaces. However, even though hidden, these spaces were public, in the sense of open and accessible, to everyone. However, when one separates the different ways in which a green space can be public; physically, visually, through information and in the process, these green spaces most of the time lack publicness through information. Therefore it is harder to find them although they are still public. This shows the importance of publicness through information to know whether a space is private or public.

5.1.2 Reflection on results and the theoretical framework

I looked at the three cases through three lenses: the lens of the concept participatory governance, of place making and of publicness. Below I discuss these theoretical concepts in relation to the findings of the case studies.

Participatory governance

To assess how the private management of public green space was organised, I used two analytical frameworks. Namely, the participation 'ladder' of ROB (2012) and that of Salverda (2014) (paragraph 2.1.1). The analytical framework of ROB consisted of 5 categories: *Regulating, directing, stimulating, facilitating* and *letting go*. The participation 'ladder' of Salverda (2014) also consisted of 5 categories: *Governmental control, civil participation, co-creation, government participation* and *no role for the government*. These analytical frameworks facilitated the analysis of the task division between the municipality and the managers. They also assisted in gaining a better understanding of the extent to which managers can make their own decisions about how they would like to manage, design and/or use the public green space. The term participation ladder indicates that the step at the top of the ladder is the desired situation. However, in all cases the managers stated they preferred to be in the middle step of each ladder as this indicated good collaboration between all parties. Participation ladder is therefore not be the right name as this indicates that one step is favoured over the other. Participation framework would be a better name as this does not favour one step over the other.

The results show that the level of decision-making freedom and the relation between the manager and the municipality does not influence the publicness of the greenspace. The publicness is most influenced by the way the manager manages the green space.

The theoretical framework suggested that there is a relation between the level of decision-making freedom of the manager and publicness. The reasoning behind this was that the manager would make more changes to the green space and changed it according to their own taste if the manager had more decision making freedom. In contrast with this proposition, the publicness of a privately managed public green space appeared not to be influenced by the extent to which managers could make their own decisions about how they would like to manage, design and/or use the green space. Rather it was the role of the manager which influenced the publicness the most. When the manager created a space in which everyone felt welcome and the manager became a key person in the community, citizens living around the green space were more likely to consider the space as public. So, it was not about how the private management was organised between the manager and the municipality, but about how the manager designed the greenspace and his/her/their connection with the people living around the green space. The managers which kept other citizens up to date about what was happening, being easy to contact when other inhabitants had questions and the one who created a space which is inviting and where citizens feel welcome. Direct contact between citizens and the manager is shown to be the most important.

Place making

As I introduced in paragraph 2.1.2, good public places are characterised by four elements: (1) accessibility and connectivity, (2) comfort and image, (3) uses and activities and (4) sociability. During this thesis I stated that when a public green space contains these four characteristics, people are likely to attach meaning to this space through which it will feel like a place to them. However, I found that place making was not as black and white, and not as easily separable into these four elements. Even when a green space contains these four characteristics, one can still feel like it is not a place. During this research I asked respondents about these four characteristics, but the respondents were not looking at the green spaces in these four terms, but more in a holistic way. Although the characteristics have given me insight in to the ways in which people can perceive a space, they didn't address conclusively whether a space was perceived as being a place. I was able to make up whether respondents perceived a green space as being a place when they thought of the space as being special to them or when they had memories attached to the space.

Publicness

I initially understood publicness as the sense of accessibility, both physically and visually. Through my research more dimensions of publicness were found. Besides physical and visual publicness there is also publicness through information and publicness in the process. Knowledge plays a big part in knowing whether a space is private or public. When one knows a space is public, by receiving information from the manager, a newspaper, website or community centre, one is also more likely to perceive the space as being public. Publicness in the process is created when people know how the private management is arranged and are free to join, help or give feedback. Through this involvement, the green space feels public as one can experience the process. When researching the publicness of a (privately managed) space one does not only need to research the physical or visual publicness, also the other dimensions of publicness which influence the perceived publicness. Therefore I would like to emphasize that publicness does not only entail physical publicness and visual as often is done.

5.1.3 Further research

To better understand the many dimensions of the publicness of privately managed public green space I recommend research of green spaces which are currently managed by the municipality, but that will soon be privately managed. In such a way one can see how the opinions and involvement of people living nearby the green space changes with the transition from managed by the municipality to (partially) managed by citizens. This way the *change* in publicness can more easily be assessed, as one can compare the publicness of a green space which is privately managed by the municipality, with the publicness of a green space managed and by citizens.

As mentioned before, most respondents stated they thought everything about the privately managed public green space was 'fine.' More research should be done on when respondents do not think it is 'fine' anymore. This way one can find out how far private management of public green space can go until the point is reached when people think it is not 'fine' anymore. It is interesting to research what it is that makes people feel like it is not 'fine' anymore. Maybe this can be due to the public green space feeling private? Most importantly this can help the municipality and managers of the public green space to understand what elements/thing need to be prevented in order to keep an overall accepted privately managed public green space.

People who were questioned about the publicness lived nearby the space. This means they have more experience with the space and sometimes know the person who manages it. This influences the way publicness is experienced, as I found that knowing whether one is allowed to use the space is highly relevant for this experience. However, there is also the physical and visual appearance which influences the feeling whether a space is private or public. Therefore it is important to research the feeling of publicness of people who are not familiar with a specific privately managed public green space. To achieve this, participants in the research could be interviewed about their first encounter with the space or people could be shown pictures of the green space. This can result in more information about how the appearance of a privately managed public green space influences the publicness of this green space. This can even be in the physical form of how high or wide a hedge can be before a public green space does not feel public anymore. Another student already took on this task and is also working with one of the case studies I used. Namely, the 'Nieuwe Vaart.'

The research about the publicness of privately managed public green spaces would benefit from more case studies in different parts of the city and also different cities. The case studies in this research already showed differences in publicness and how the publicness was influenced. Increasing the number of case studies would result in a broader understanding of the way in which privately managed public green space influences the publicness of public green space. Not only the amount of cases would increase the validity of the results. Also the fact that a different location is more likely to have a different way in which the participatory governance is organised could increase the understanding of the complexity of the different ways in which privately managed public green space influences the publicness of these green spaces.

6.1 Conclusion

The purpose of this case study research was to gain understanding of the publicness of public green space when privately managed. I used the concepts of participatory governance, place making and publicness as theoretical lenses. In particular, I wanted to know how the private management of public green spaces influenced the publicness of public green spaces. The following main research question was constructed and will be answered in this chapter:

How does privately managed public green space, as a form of participatory governance, influence the publicness of public green space?

When a green space is privately managed the manager takes over (some of) the management task of the government. Despite of the decision-making freedom of the manager, the manager influences the way the greenspace looks. Due to this the physical and visual publicness can change. It depends on whether the manager creates a space which is inviting, both physically and visually, whether the change in physical and visual publicness is positive.

Because the manager takes over the managing role of the government, it is also the manager who is able to inform people about the green space. When people know that the green space is public, know the manager or know what is going on in the green space they are more likely to perceive the space as being public. Therefore, even though the space might not be as physically or visually public, the green space is still perceived as being public.

Lastly, the manager also influences publicness through process by creating openness in the process of the management, in the form that people know how the management is arranged and are free to join the process. When there is publicness in the process, the green space is also perceived as being public.

If a green space is public in one of the four dimensions, whether physically, visually, through information or in the process, one is more likely to perceive the green space as a place. This also works the other way around, if a sense of place is created one also perceives the space as being public. This all indicates that privately managed public green space influences the publicness of public green spaces, all four dimension in which a space can be public are mainly influenced by the manager.

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Interviewees

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(Dutch: Omwonenden van de Kersentuin, Utecht)

Residents around the Nieuwe hoofdhof, Amsterdam (2015), on 06-03-2015
(Dutch: Omwonenden van de nieuwe hoofdhof, Amsterdam)

Residents around the Nieuwe Vaart, Amsterdam (2015), on 06-03-2015
(Dutch: Omwonenden van de Nieuwe Vaart, Amsterdam)

Housebout inhabitants Nieuwe Vaart, Amsterdam (2014), on 11-04-2014
(Dutch: Woonbootbewoners langs de Nieuwe Vaart, Amsterdam)

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Images

Figure 1	Title	: Governmental participation ladder
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Figure 3	Title	: Aerial photograph of the 'Nieuwe Vaart'
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Figure 4	Title	: View on the 'Nieuwe Vaart'
	At	: http://www.denieuwevaart.org/documentatie.html
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	At	: http://www.bing.com/maps/
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Figure 8	Title	: Photo of 'de Kersentuin'
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Appendix I: Guiding interview questions for the municipality

Op welke manier bent u betrokken bij zelfbeheer van groen in de openbare ruimte?

- Functie
- Taken
- Waarom juist dit

Hoe verloopt het opzetten van een (nieuw) project ?

- Wie initiatief
- Aanvragen
- Regels

Welke regels en afspraken zijn er verbonden aan een groen zelfbeheerproject?

- Controle/Kwaliteitseisen
- Formeel/informeel
- Wat gebeurt er wanneer er niet aan gehouden wordt
- Wie is er verantwoordelijk voor wat

Zijn er nog dingen veranderd in de gang van zaken nu er steeds meer zelfbeheerprojecten komen?

Hoe gaat de gemeente daarmee om?

Wat kan er verbeterd worden aan de gang van zaken?

- Verdeling taken
- Makkelijker maken

Zijn er ooit conflicten/klachten tussen bewoners en gemeente of bewoners en bewoners?

- Waar ging dit over
- Hoe worden deze opgelost

Waaraan voldoet een geslaagd zelfbeheerproject, is dit project geslaagd?

- Toegankelijkheid
- Inrichting
- Locatie
- Bewoners
- Contact

Appendix II: Guiding interview questions for the managers of public green space

Hoe is dit project opgestart?

- Door wie
- Hoe lang heeft dat geduurd
- Makkelijk proces
- Wie was/is er betrokken

Was men het snel eens over de inrichting?

- Waarom is er voor zelfbeheer gekozen?

Welke afspraken zijn er met de gemeente?

- Contract, wat staat daarin?
- Contact, met wie?
- Regels
- (Kwaliteits) eisen

Wat maakt dit project speciaal?

- Uiterlijk
- Organisatie
- Verschil met andere projecten

Hoe wordt er gebruik gemaakt van “zelfbeheerproject”?

- Activiteiten
- Wie (betrokkenen of ook anderen?)
- Waarom
- Hoe faciliteert de tuin dat
- Zijn er regels?

Hoe worden anderen op de hoogte gehouden of betrokken bij “zelfbeheerproject”?

- Is dat succesvol

Bent u tevreden met de gang van zaken?

- Gewenst contact gemeente
- Gewenste regels
- Gewenste eisen
- Discussie die gevoerd worden
- Conflicten?
- Uitsluiting

Als u iets zou mogen verbeteren aan het project, wat zou dat dan zijn?

Appendix III: Guiding interview questions for citizens living around the privately managed public green spaces

Kunt u groen zelfbeheer projecten noemen bij u in de buurt?

Wat vindt u van “zelfbeheerproject”?

- Leuke/minder leuke aspecten
- Meerwaarde voor buurt
- Waardoor kent u het

Hoe maakt u gebruik van “het zelfbeheerproject”?

- Wat doet u daar
- Meehelpen
- Waarom
- Hoe vaak

Voelt u zich vrij “het zelfbeheerproject” te gebruiken?

- Waarom
- Waar komt dat door
- Wie nog meer
- Dezelfde mensen die er wel gebruik van maken?

Hoe wordt u op de hoogte gehouden van ontwikkelingen omtrent “het zelfbeheerproject”?

- Door wie
- Hoe

Als u iets zou mogen veranderen aan “het zelfbeheerproject”, wat zou dat dan zijn?

