

Temporary uses on vacant land: The role of bonding, bridging, and linking aspects of social capital in the surrounding neighbourhood



Masterthesis
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Temporary uses on vacant land:

The role of bonding, bridging, and linking aspects of social capital in the surrounding neighbourhood

A case study at Westplein, Utrecht.

Masterthesis

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SUMMARY

In recent times there has been a rise of the amount of vacant lands in the global North. Rising vacancy has multiple reasons, such as an ageing and shrinking population, or the recent financial crisis which has hit the real estate market. The rising vacancy gave birth to more initiatives from local citizens, in many cases with the rationale to temporarily fill lots instead of leaving them vacant (Miazzo & Kee, 2013). One type of temporary use on vacant land is the development of a community garden on a vacant lot. Such initiatives have positive outcomes, including food security, human health, local ecology and social capital (Glover, 2004). The ability to use vacant lands for a variety of activities empowers residents and communities to ‘assert their *right to the city*, both in physical terms and in terms of access to decision making channels’ (Németh & Langhorst, 2014, p. 149; Lefebvre, 1996), because before they would let the authorities or institutions use that ability.

This research is focussed on social capital, which may be produced by temporary initiatives on vacant lands. Social capital is useful as a theory to research the social effects of temporary uses on vacant lands in the surrounding neighbourhood, because participants of these temporary projects may strengthen ties between them, which may help them to get *further*. ‘Social capital theories either assume that individuals eventually benefit from their investments in ties with others, or that the community is strengthened and that then, by default, benefits individual community members – including those who went out of their way to get something done’ (Blokland & Savage, 2008, p. 159).

Despite the lack of research regarding social capital – coupled with temporary uses – there is a small amount of research on community gardens, concerning social capital. According to Firth et al. community gardens generate social capital in multiple ways. For instance, by bringing people together to participate, collective ownership is created (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011, pp. 564-565).

Social capital is often categorised in bonding, bridging and linking dimensions as appropriate to a strong community (Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Szreter, 2004; Putnam, 1995). The three different dimensions are related to each other, but in various ways. Bonding social capital is formed within networks of similar people, while bridges between networks of dissimilar people are made to create bridging social capital. Lastly, linking social capital is created across vertical gradients of networks, for example a link to an important political party leader.

A case, Westplein in Utrecht, is selected to study these aspects of temporary uses on vacant land in the Netherlands. These aspects include the relationship between the local municipality Utrecht and the project initiators, the terms on which the project is grounded and what social function the project has for its participants and the surrounding neighbourhood. The latter incorporates whether the residents benefit (or not) from the temporary uses on Westplein and ultimately the neighbourhood. Interviews with initiative starters, local residents, municipal workers and volunteers are held, together with desk research and observation to collect data.

The main research question for the present study is:

- * How are actors involved in the temporary use of Westplein and how does this temporary project affect the participants and the surrounding neighbourhood in terms of social capital?

In sum, initiators pioneer in this case by temporary using Westplein in multiple forms, which are forms of development that is new to authorities, such as the municipality of Utrecht. The initiatives deliberately involve the surrounding neighbourhood by letting them know about the temporary activities. As a result a large amount of neighbours got involved in the activities, whether it be as a volunteer with day-to-day tasks or as a visitor, visiting an activity once a year. Altogether more than thousand people are involved, making the temporary uses on vacant land a worthy addition as a neighbourhood facility creating social interaction.

In general, the temporary initiatives on Westplein generate social capital in a similar fashion as was found by Firth et al. (2011), namely:

1. to develop links between institutions and authorities.
2. by creating a meeting place for interaction and community creation;
3. to build bridging social capital as a variety of residents come together;
4. by bringing people together to participate together, which creates collective ownership.

Regarding linking social capital, the established links between initiators and local authorities have ensured to gain access to certain resources and funds. These established links are grounded upon trust and professionalism by being part of *Ontwikkelgroep Lombok*. Without these links it would have been much more difficult to establish the temporary initiatives.

Bonding social capital was evidenced, as the temporary initiatives created a meeting place for neighbours to interact and to discuss neighbourly issues, for instance concerning crime and safety. This resulted in a network of people that live in the same neighbourhood and have common interests.

Bridging social capital was evidenced in certain forms. Initiators were able to gain access to certain resources that were made possible by having contacts with the project developer and with other area-specific people. This collaboration helped the initiators to *get further*, in various forms.

Furthermore, a variety of people come together as the different initiatives organise multiple events.

The study of this case brought up particularities that were not found in the literature yet. These temporary uses not only occupy terrain, it is also a showcase to demonstrate the potentials of an area, to attract people and to feed the discussion of the area's future. For some these kind of initiatives might even be beneficial professionally, as they learned how to deal with all the merits that come from such temporary projects. Furthermore, other initiators and authorities might learn from this case, leading to more temporary uses in the future creating more social capital in the surrounding neighbourhood.

Lastly, this study revealed that temporary uses on vacant land can act as a neighbourhood meeting facility, catalysing social interaction. The increase in social interaction also means an increase in social cohesion, as social capital is domain of social cohesion. Yet, the other domains are at least as important to take into consideration to grasp the whole concept of social cohesion (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Therefore, to conclude whether temporary uses on vacant land may be beneficial in terms of social cohesion, a more profound research – designed to implicate all domains of social cohesion – is recommended.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BPD	Bouwfonds Property Development ³
CU2030	'k zie je in Utrecht 2030, the redeveloping project Central station Utrecht
DIY	Do-It-Yourself
IEMA	Institute of Environmental Management & Assessment
NDSM-warf	Nederlandsche Dok en Scheepsbouw Maatschappij
PCT	Primary Care Trust
POS	Projectontwikkeling Stationsgebied

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent times there has been a rise in the amount of temporary uses on vacant lands in the global North. Rising vacancy has multiple reasons, such as an ageing and shrinking population, or the recent financial crisis which has hit the real estate market in 2008-8. The European causes in general are partly overlapping, where populations have low birth rates and economic stress in the aftermath of 2007-8 are both present (Hollander, Pallagst, Schwarz, & Popper, 2009; Bishop & Williams, 2012, p. 23). Looking at the Netherlands, cities contain many hectares of vacant land, for example the city of Breda contains a vacant lot just north of its train station of more than 20 hectares (DuurSaam, 2011). According to Engelen & Musterd, institutions such as governments, housing corporations and project developers are cutting down their budgets for construction or community projects and the like (Engelen & Musterd, 2010). The decline of investment results in numerous vacant lots where projects are on hold and physical renovation has been delayed (Miazzo & Kee, 2013).

The rising vacancy gave birth to more bottom-up initiatives, in many cases with the rationale to temporarily fill lots instead of leaving them vacant (Miazzo & Kee, 2013). Because this phenomenon of temporary uses has been present in many cities in the global North at around the same period of time, the interest of urban geographers to research it has increased significantly (Bishop & Williams, 2012; Iveson, 2013; Haydn & Temel, 2006; Miazzo & Kee, 2013).

In the past scholars and planners saw vacant land as a problem that needed to be resolved, because the deterioration of an certain area goes hand in hand with increased crime rates (Wilson & Kelling, 2011, p. 264; Bursik, Robert, & Grasmick, 1999, p. 8). Also, vacant lands tend to look dirty and ugly. For the publication *Urban Wastelands Now*, Civic Trust in the United States investigated the use of wastelands in 1988. After questioning people living near such sites about what these sites were and what effect they had on their surroundings, quite surprisingly, the majority revealed that these sites were an asset because the people could informally use these sites and also a majority revealed that these sites were havens for wildlife (Doron, 2000, p. 249). Nevertheless the positive findings which were revealed by the residents, the planners and architects concluded the research by stating that something needed to be done to counter vacancy.

More recently, the increase of vacant lands has given rise to approaches that consider vacant land as a stepping stone, that could provide opportunities in several ways (Németh & Langhorst, 2014, p. 145; Snoeker, 2014). In the above example, the vacant sites provide two opportunities, namely informal use and ecological growth. Temporary uses on vacant land challenge institutionalised processes of urban development, like architects and planners in the above example, and scholars are beginning to notice these opportunities more often (Doron, 2000).

Initiatives on vacant lands may be labelled as *self-organisation*, *citizen' participation*, *Do-It-Yourself urbanism*, or *bottom-up* – to name a few – and are increasingly visible in urban practice and social theory (Stickells, 2011). Bottom-up initiatives are emerging in urban environments, while institutions, government authorities and developers find themselves inadequately organised to enable or support these initiatives. Though, government institutions are seeking for new patterns and processes to set new standards to accommodate this bottom-up trend (Ministerie BZK, 2010; WRR, 2012; Tonkens & Verhoeven, 2011). Examples of the emergence of policy on the municipality level on vacant lands are evident in Utrecht and Amsterdam. Both municipalities offer a website on which available vacant land for temporary use is shown (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015; Gemeente Utrecht, 2015).

Some of these urban vacant lands are close to or even in the inner-city with water views or approximate to major transport nodes. The geographical position of these vacant lands often offer the possibility of being used by a relative high amount people that live close by. Possibly, the place has a certain sense or meaning to people. For instance, wastelands are often used by people to walk their dog, and because of this daily routine, the place has a meaning for that particular person. For him or her, the place is not a *waste*, but has a distinct function (Lynch, 1990).

1.1 Problem statement

There is little known about the social effects of temporary uses on vacant lands, especially in the Netherlands. In this research the focus is on social capital which may be produced by temporary using vacant lands. Social capital among residents might increase because of more interaction among residents in these temporary projects. There are lots of examples of temporary initiatives, which are documented in several recently published books by researchers (Bishop & Williams, 2012; Haydn & Temel, 2006; Miazzo & Kee, 2013). Certainly because of the increasing occurrence of temporary uses on vacant lands, there is a growing agreement among scholars that temporary uses have certain benefits within communities, although this field of interest is only very scarcely researched in the Netherlands (Königs, 2013). The ability to use vacant lands for a variety of activities empowers residents and communities to ‘assert their *right to the city*, both in physical terms and in terms of access to decision making channels (Németh & Langhorst, 2014, p. 149; Mitchell, 1995; Lefebvre, 1996).

Scientific relevance

There are several types of temporary uses on vacant lands. One type of temporary use on vacant land is the development of a community garden on a vacant lot. Such initiatives have positive community building outcomes, including food security, human health, local ecology and social capital (Glover, 2004). In this regard, urban gardening has been used as an intervention in communities for regeneration, social capital and other issues (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011). Besides temporary community gardens there are other examples of temporary uses which are not researched in terms of social capital. Because only a limited amount of research is being conducted in the Netherlands, it is therefore scientifically relevant to study temporary uses on vacant lands in the Netherlands concerning social capital.

Despite the lack of research on the social effects of temporary uses, there is a relatively vast amount of research on community gardens. Because temporary uses on vacant land are oftentimes initiated from the bottom up, a shortlist of social effects are provided here. According to Firth et al. (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011, pp. 564-565), in their qualitative research which included two case studies in Nottingham, U.K., there are four main ways in which community gardens generate social capital, namely:

1. by bringing people together to participate together, which creates collective ownership;
2. by creating a meeting place for interaction and community creation;
3. to build bridging social capital as a variety of residents come together;
4. to develop links between institutions and authorities.

These conclusions are similar with the findings of Boonstra & Boelens (2011), who conducted research in the Netherlands, with a focus on bottom-up initiatives (not temporary per se) in relatively deprived neighbourhoods.

Notwithstanding the positive effects of temporary uses on vacant lands, there are also some negative connotations. Some scholars defined certain limits to such projects in communities, as bridging social capital does not always exist between different groups of users (Firth, Maye, &

Pearson, 2011, p. 563; Glover, 2004, p. 159). In some cases, certain residents are neglected or restricted. Imaginably in the case of a limited amount of rentable mobile gardening containers on a certain lot: if all wooden containers are rented out, potential tenants have to wait for the next available container to rent. This can have negative effects for the surrounding neighbourhood, because some residents can benefit from the gardening project, while others cannot because they have been put on a waiting list, or are neglected or even ignored. This in turn may result in isolation (Glover, 2004; Andres, 2013). The effects, whether positive or negative, are scientifically relevant for this research.

The construct of social capital, which was mentioned in the former, is useful as a theory to research the social effects of temporary uses on vacant lands in the surrounding neighbourhood, because participants of these temporary projects may strengthen ties between them, which may help them to get *further*. 'Social capital theories either assume that individuals eventually benefit from their investments in ties with others, or that the community is strengthened and that then, by default, that benefits individual community members – including those who went out of their way to get something done' (Blokland & Savage, 2008, p. 159). 'Whenever people have the same ideas about life (shared norms and values), the chance of making social contacts is greater and so the feeling of being part of a certain group or a particular neighbourhood or district is reinforced' (Kempen van & Bolt, 2009, p. 458). Hence, the positive aspects of bottom-up initiatives, such as temporary uses on vacant land, could affect social capital among residents of the surrounding neighbourhood and might lead to increased social cohesion. In this model, 'social cohesion is viewed as a bottom-up process founded upon local social capital, rather than as a top-down process' (Forrest & Kearns, 2001, p. 2137).

Societal relevance

Temporary uses on vacant land are increasingly emerging in urban environments, while institutions, governments offices and developers find themselves inadequately organised to enable or support these initiatives. Though, governments are seeking for new patterns and processes to set new standards to accommodate this trend (ROB, 2012; Ministerie BZK, 2013). Also, municipals and other institutions are changing their approach to enable the bottom-up movement to develop such vacant lands (Miazzo & Kee, 2013). The European context of temporary uses is becoming more central in strategic components of policy in urban planning (Lehtovuori & Ruoppila, 2012, p. 31). Some municipals are well equipped to facilitate such initiatives, others are not (Snoeker, 2014).

Unfortunately, temporality has rarely been viewed as a vital characteristic of cities. Temporary uses, such as urban gardening or temporary art exposure, show the 'allusiveness of architecture and planning' (Doron, 2000, p. 252). Yet, is the new wave of temporary activities just a passing fashion due to the real estate crisis, or is it a 'fundamental shift in the use of land and buildings with deeper implications for urban policy and practise'? (Bishop & Williams, 2012, p. 19).

Consequently, on the one hand there are civilians that are reluctant to use vacant plots temporary and on the other hand there are top-down institutions endeavouring to accommodate these initiatives on a regular basis. This is considered the societal relevance of this research. Different actors are involved in the process of developing, maintaining and participating in temporary uses on vacant land, such as municipal officers, developers, project initiators, volunteers and surrounding residents. To ensure that municipal institutions adopt bottom-up initiatives, interactive participation practises need to be embedded into existing institutional frameworks. Boonstra & Boelens, who conducted research in the Netherlands, argue that in order to increase participation the approach of municipal officers should be outside-in, instead of inside-out. Consequently, initiatives should be traced with an open and unbiased mind, to acknowledge diversity (2011, pp. 117-118).

By researching the social effects of temporary uses of vacant lands, the involvement of different actors is revealed. This revelation indicates whether this ‘fundamental shift’ is present, and in what context.

1.2 Research question

- * **How are actors involved in the temporary use of Westplein and how does this temporary project affect the participants and the surrounding neighbourhood in terms of social capital?**

Sub-questions:

1. **How is vacant land at Westplein used temporary?**

1.1 How was Westplein used in the past, how is it used now and what are the plans for the future?

2. **How and why are government institutions and local initiators involved in this process?**

2.1 Why did government institutions facilitate this temporary initiative?

2.2 Why did local initiators start this temporary project?

3. **How is the surrounding neighbourhood influenced and how are participants influenced by the temporary use of Westplein in terms of social capital?**

3.1 Do these temporary projects at Westplein create bonding social capital, and how does this influence surrounding neighbours and participants affectively?

3.2 Do these temporary projects at Westplein create bridging social capital, and how does this influence surrounding neighbours and participants affectively?

3.3 Do these temporary projects at Westplein create linking social capital, and how does this influence surrounding neighbours and participants affectively?

1.3 Methodology

A case, Westplein in Utrecht, is selected to study the aspects of temporary uses on vacant land in the Netherlands. These aspects include the relationship between the local municipality Utrecht and the project initiators, the terms on which the projects is grounded and what social function the project has for the surrounding neighbourhood. The latter incorporates whether the residents benefit from the temporary uses on Westplein and whether the neighbourhood as a community benefits from such projects. Social capital theory, as introduced in the former, is used for this. Also, possible negative aspects of the project affecting the neighbourhood are elaborated on, because some people or groups may be left out.

This location – close to the inner city of Utrecht and at an important transport node – is used temporary by multiple initiators and is in between building phases. Plans to develop the location are being postponed until further notice (CU2030.nl, 2015). Meanwhile, the municipal of Utrecht facilitates the temporary initiatives at Westplein. Due to its location, the multiple temporary initiatives, the corporation of the municipality and the socially mixed surrounding neighbourhood, this case offers the right features to study the phenomenon well.

Interviews with initiative starters, local residents, municipal workers and volunteers are held, together with desk research and observation to collect data. Interviews are being held ‘to collect a diversity of meaning, opinion, and experiences. Interviews provide insights into the differing opinions or debates within a group, but they can also reveal consensus on some issues’ (Hay,

2010, p. 102). In this way relevant information which may be useful to answer the research questions will be received. This information is gathered on a qualitative manner 'to research complex social behaviours or individual experiences and motivations' (Hay, 2010, p. 102). The interviews will mostly be done while visiting Westplein. This method is chosen, because being there 'with interviewees generates more place-specific data than sedentary interviews' (Evans & Jones, 2011, p. 856).

Observation will be performed to complement evidence and to construct an in-depth interpretation of the particular place through direct experience. In this situation, the observer is very much a participant, due to participating in one of the three temporary initiatives (Hay, 2010, p. 243). 'The goal of participant observation is to develop understanding through being part of the spontaneity of everyday interactions' (Hay, 2010, p. 245). By being part of the temporary activities and by the creation of familiarity, it is more likely that the observed response more naturally (p. 246). Note-taking takes place after observation, to accumulate or exemplify certain information which is achieved through interviewing.

This research methodology is selected in view of Baxter and Jack's (2008) logic: employing different data sources facilitates the researcher in the exploration of a case within a specific context (Miazzi & Kee, 2013). The specific context is the hereinbefore mentioned new *era* of increasing bottom-up initiatives such as temporary uses on vacant lands and this context may affect local residents and participants socially.

After searching and visiting several temporary projects in Utrecht, Westplein was chosen because of its primary location in the urban fabric of Utrecht and due to the multiple initiatives that were initiated on the vacant land by different initiators in various ways. Due to the presence of multiple initiators which use the vacant land temporary on one single location, this case is suited to research the different aspects of the subject. These aspects include the potential different goals of the multiple initiatives, the different timeframes in which the vacant lots are being used temporarily, the different used functions of the sites and a variety of users. Therefore, due to the multiplicity of the case, residents have the possibility to participate in more than one initiative. Consequently, these initiatives have the potential to increase social capital among residents in the neighbourhood (Kempen van & Bolt, 2009; Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011; Glover, 2004). In this sense, it is worth studying whether temporary uses offer opportunities to develop social capital for surrounding neighbours.

Westplein is located west of the central train station in Utrecht, closely to the neighbourhood Lombok. Westplein is an infrastructural node, basically it consists of two banks between a two-lane road with traffic lights. On these bank, temporary uses are located.

1.4 Reading Guide

This first chapter introduced the research topic, as well as the research questions and methodology. Hereafter, in chapter two, the theoretical framework is set out. The theoretical framework describes the known scientific knowledge which is related to the research subject temporary uses on vacant land. This topic is explicated by beginning with classical social science on the rights to the city. Also participation and relevant policy is discussed, as well as contemporary theory on temporary uses on vacant lands. Finally, the construct of social capital is discussed by using relevant studies on community gardens or other bottom-up practices.

Subsequently, chapter three contains the methodology. In this chapter the case Westplein is elaborated on firstly to introduce the case study. Second, the chosen methods of in-depth

interviews and participating observation is argued. Thirdly, other important methodological issues are discussed, such as the research questions.

Chapter four then, includes the results of the research. The research questions are answered here as a result of the interviews and observation. A conclusion and discussion on these results follow in chapter five. Besides the linking of these findings with the theoretical framework also recommendations for further research is discussed.

In the appendix, photos of the initiatives are included. Also, the topic list for the interviews is added, as well as details of the interviewees.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“Sous le pave: la plage”

Source: unknown Parisian; used by Henri Lefebvre



Figure 2-1: Paris Plage (Source: nyhabitat.com, accessed 3-3-2015)

In many cities around the world there is a growth of a range of temporary spatial urban practises that are transforming the urban fabric. These practises come in a variety of colours: urban farming, occupying and/or renovating abandoned buildings, housing and retail cooperatives, street art or even custom summer beaches in the inner-city, such as illustrated above. The phrase ‘sous le pave: la plage’ (under the pavement: the beach), in this sense is exemplary for transforming the urban environment temporary. These practises can be labelled as self-organisation, citizen’s participation, bottom-up movements, Do-It-Yourself (DIY) urbanism, participatory and grassroots urbanism (Iveson, 2013, p. 941; Stickells, 2011; Burnham, 2010; Haydn & Temel, 2006; Pogoreutz, 2006; Miazzo & Kee, 2013; Stevens & Ambler, 2010, pp. 532-535). These micro-spatial initiatives challenge institutionalised processes of urban development, such as top-down and large-scale traditional forms of urban planning, and urges the rights of the democratic city (Douglas, 2014; Jamison, 1985).

Recently, the interest to research or write about this subject has increased significantly, as is visible due to the various formulated labels that are stated in the former. There are several reasons why the interest has intensified recently. As reported by Bishop and Williams, the financial crisis frustrated faith in continuous growth, which has decreased investments in the real estate market and urban development, but also affected public spending (Bishop & Williams, 2012, p. 25). In

the meantime, industrial restructuring, technological advancements in logistics and commercial restructuring continues to leave behind large areas of vacant land and real estate, which are more and more becoming the terrain of *temporary urbanism* (p. 35). In this sense, it is becoming apparent that traditional planning strategies hamper these initiatives, and planners and designers should start experimenting as well to retune the cities to productive use (p. 35; Havik, Patteeuw, & Teerds, 2011). This indicates a certain struggle between initiators and institutions like municipals or project developers. In many occasions these initiators have certain objectives with their temporary urbanism, or these temporary uses have certain effects on their surroundings. This *struggle* and these *effects* are elaborated in this theoretical framework.

In the first section of this theoretical framework, the definition of temporary use is given as well as the definition of vacant land, to explain what these definitions actually mean. After framing the definitions, related studies are elaborated that delineate the contours of the right to the city more generally. The right to the city in this sense relates to democracy, more specific to participation in democracy and is of use when discussing temporary uses on urban vacant land. This literature is followed by study-related contemporary theories on urban planning and urban geography, as well as participatory practises and policy. Because the case-study is in Utrecht, mainly policies from Dutch and Utrecht governance are elaborated on more thoroughly. Hereafter, the more recently appeared research of temporary use on vacant land is discussed. Lastly, theory on social capital is clarified, to be able to research the social effect within the surrounding neighbourhood.

2.1 Definition framing

Temporary use

The term temporary use is not a term that is common for a professional urban planner, because historically, planners give places certain functions for a certain purpose or goal. In such, temporality was never the goal, planning is for the long term and not for rapid changes in use. Though, all uses can be considered temporary, with some just lasting longer than others (Németh & Langhorst, 2014, p. 143). According to the Oxford English Dictionary, temporary (as an adjective meaning) means lasting for a limited time, existing or valid for a time, not permanent, and made to supply a passing need. Especially the last phrase *to supply a passing need* is interesting in this sense, as temporary uses on vacant land may supply passing needs. For example when vacant lands are made more sociable by residents, in between building phases, this need is inherently temporary, thus it supplies a passing need.

Bishop and Williams, writers of the book *The Temporary City*, argue that temporary use cannot be 'based on the nature of the use, or whether rent is paid, or whether a use is formal or informal, or even in the scale, longevity or endurance of a temporary use, but rather the intention of the user, developer or planner that the use should be temporary' (Bishop & Williams, 2012, p. 5). Temporary use is a stand-in or substitute for the former and future function, thus the definition of temporary use is explicitly and intentionally time-limited. Haydn and Temel's viewpoint indicate that most temporary uses 'seek to derive unique qualities from the idea of temporality. That is why they differ from lasting uses, not because they have fewer resources available or because they want to prepare their location for something other that will last longer' (Haydn & Temel, 2006, p. 17). In such, a certain unique quality because of temporality arises, 'which can be interesting both for planning and the economy as well as for groups of users who usually have little to do with planning or economy on the large scale' (p. 17).

Related to temporary use is interim use. The semiotics seem the same, though Pogoreutz acknowledged a rather important difference, because interim use implies a beginning and an end while a temporary use does not imply that another use will replace or come after its use

(Pogoreutz, 2006, p. 77). Interim, in this view, is intentionally use between two phases and 'limited from outside, by planning that aims at other goals' (p. 77). Hence, by focussing primarily on interim use, some positive aspects of temporary use remain uncharted. These include 'issues of informal, spontaneous, alternative self-organisation, whose primary characteristic is the use of available urban, programmatic, economic open spaces, but that also have other features that make them perfectly compatible with the neo-liberal economy, from shifting risk to individuals to accelerating the use of space' (p. 79). Interim use is therefore not the appropriate word to use in this research, but temporary is. Because temporary uses represent 'a game that questions the current culture of urban planning,... and also a game in a position to reinterpret urbanity because it is critical of rituals' (p. 77), accordingly, temporary is the righteous word to use. For instance, interim-use is more appropriate to use in terms of planned use, while temporary use is may also be not planned. Temporary might also become permanent, while interim is definitely not to become permanent.

Vacant land

To refer to places that are empty or not in use is often contradictory. The discourse and practise of planning and geography labelled these places with various terms, such as *wastelands*, *derelict areas*, *dead zones*, *urban voids*, *no man's land* or *vacant land* (Doron, 2000, p. 247).

Kevin Lynch coins the term of derelict land which is inherently related to its economic function. 'Derelict land is often defined as land so damaged by development that it is incapable of beneficial use without further treatment. If it pays, it is not derelict. If it does not pay, due to some human devilmment, and once did pay, than it is derelict'. (Lynch, 1990, p. 8). Derelict is therefore not the right term to use, because in many cases the lots do not pay, but have a certain function other than economical. An empty looking and appearing lot may be used, for instance, by dog owners to walk their dogs. In economic sense, this lot may be useless, but in social sense it is useful for some.

Kevin Lynch also used the term waste, and in his words waste 'is what is worthless or unused for human purpose. It is a lessening of something without useful result; it is loss and abandonment, decline, separation and death. It is the spent and valueless material left after some act of production or consumption, but can also refer to any used thing; garbage, trash, litter, junk, impurity and dirt. There are waste things, waste lands, waste time and wasted lives' (Southworth, 2001). Waste is something unwanted or unneeded, something left over after its primary use, something ruined due to bankruptcy or just unused (Stickells, 2011, p. 5). The term wastelands is not appropriate for this research, because the temporary uses on these lots are not worthless for human purposes and may be wanted and needed instead of unwanted and unneeded.

Vacant land, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, relates to *vacation*, which is being described as a period during which there is a formal suspension of activity. Interestingly, the dictionary uses the term suspension, which again relates to interim. Gil Doron, in her paper about *dead zones* and architecture, also phrases the term suspension related to planning: 'planning from the moment of decision to plan, to the planning itself and the construction, is located in the future. The future planning creates a double future, or what could better be understood as suspension: the present is stretched into an unknown future until the planning begins (Doron, 2000, p. 262). This suspension of planning is thus inherently coupled with vacancy, which is contradictory as suspensions relates to interim or in-between.

According to Oxford Dictionary the term *vacant* as a place means not occupied and empty. Land which is relevant here, is left over after its primary use. Its function is underutilised or functioning below its 'functional or capital-producing capacity' (Németh & Langhorst, 2014, p. 144), which links back to Lynch's economic description. This land is suspended from its former or future use and is not occupied. And because this land is in the urban fabric, this land is almost invariably vacant yet also derelict. But again, this present study does not only take its economic function

into consideration. In this sense, the research topic concerns temporary occupied lands, which were not occupied.

By adding the words *temporary use* in front of the words vacant land, the definition is more complete. A vacant land may concern a suspension or interim use of its function, but by adding the words temporary use to it, this suspension gets an unknown future, which dilapidates the word interim. Hence, the term vacant land will be used in this research to describe the lands which were being coined above by Gil Doron.

2.2 The right to the City literature

To initiate a temporal project on a vacant lot, one might need the right to claim that lot. Doing this without informing the authorities can be seen as a form of counterculture or as a response to the inability of the property market to meet certain standards (Bishop & Williams, 2012, p. 30). People are taking matters into their own hands, and due to this phenomenon, in a more abstract sense, this relates to classical theoretical work which touches upon the contours of the right to the city and new citizenship. The collection of different backgrounds, social differences and political ideals in cities among citizens are a source of new politics and citizenship, as Engin Isin argued (Isin, 2002).

‘These new politics stretch the concept to include a range of actions that create social change, actions that go far beyond the state and voting. The new citizenships mark residents of the city as belonging to the city, as having the right to lay claim to the city, and to proclaim rights that may not have previously been imagined’ (Staeheli, Wastl-Walter, & Dowler, 2004, p. 1).

This new citizenship is apparent by practices such as temporary uses on vacant land. The above quotation touches upon the larger picture which is emerging across these practices and projects. The equality of urban inhabitants concerns the right to the city, because the claim of rights to the city directly touches upon democracy and participation rights, hence to power struggles over space. These struggles over power are constructed by resources of capital, property rights, planning codes, spatial design, law, various policing techniques and technologies, education, socialisation and labour (Iveson, 2013; Lefebvre, 1991; Lefebvre, 1996). Also, these struggles are never finished or a done deal, the city remains a paradoxical political space, because these social struggles include more people, more identities and hence create new exclusions and new marginalization (Isin, 2002). Some struggles to claim citizenship may also constrain other claims. Lately, this new citizenship became visible in the rise of many bottom-up initiatives, as the intensity, range and types of such initiatives are increasing present (Bishop & Williams, 2012; Miazzo & Kee, 2013).

The notion of the rights of the city was picked up by many scholars and they ‘emphasise the need to assert use value over exchange value in shaping the city’ (Iveson, 2013, p. 944). Kurt Iveson (2013) thinks that this lens of the right to the city offers a particularly promising lens which relates to the research subject of temporary uses on vacant land, and which he calls DIY-urbanism.

One way of explaining the rise of grassroots initiatives is through the argument of neo-liberalism. Since the early 1980s ‘steadily and stealthily, through intense lobbying, strategic alliances and political influence rules were changed and laws passed which opened up local government, the railways, health and education to the private market’ (Wainwright, 2004, p. 146). The social democratic welfare state, which provided the public with services to meet ‘social needs

according to democratic principles of organization and resource allocation' (Wainwright, 2004, p. 146), eroded due to privatisation.

Increasingly, both scholars and practitioners have expressed increasing concern that neoliberal globalization threatens democracy (Swyngedouw, 1996; Purcell, 2004; Staeheli, Wastl-Walter, & Dowler, 2004; Purcell, 2002). Urban geographers adopted this argument to the discourse of urban contexts. Accordingly, cities are under increasing pressure due to competition on the global market, which in turn means that democratic governance decreases because it hampers efficiency and competitiveness (Brenner, 1999). Neoliberal urbanism creates a less democratic environment for citizens to make decisions, but instead creates a climate which makes sure that an area is competitive for capital investment. 'In short, this literature finds that cities are being *neo-liberalised*: the decisions that shape the city are increasingly being transferred away from democratic citizens and toward corporations' (Purcell, 2004, p. 13).

Henri Lefebvre provided a basis for resistance against urban neo-liberalism. He argues for a radical restructuring where place should not be approached as consumable product, but as a public democratic process. The phrase 'sous le pave: la plage' (under the pavement: the beach) in this sense is exemplary to better comply with the needs of the public and the notion of cities within cities. For him, the production of space is a *trialectical* process in which conceptions, perceptions and lived experiences of space interact (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). Legitimate use of urban spaces is not parallel to the actual lived experience of space. 'Part of the radical nature of the idea is that it orients democratic participation away from the operations of the state and toward the complex process of the production of urban space' (Purcell, 2004, p. 14). Because the right to the city revolves around the production of urban space, it is those who live in the city – who contribute to the body of lived experience and lived space – who can legitimately claim the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158). For example, inhabitants of the city Utrecht would have a right to participate in decision-making processes of an investment in the urban fabric of Utrecht. The role of inhabitants must be central, though it would be impossible to suppose that government and corporate decisions that produce urban space could entirely be made by inhabitants.

As Purcell (2002, p. 102) argued:

'Whereas conventional enfranchisement empowers national citizens, the right to the city empowers urban inhabitants. Under the right to the city, membership in the community of enfranchised people is not an accident of nationality or ethnicity or birth; rather it is earned by living out the routines of everyday life in the spaces of the city'

In the eyes of Henri Lefebvre and Mark Purcell urban inhabitants have two principal rights: the right to participation, as elaborated above, and the right to appropriation (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158; Iveson, 2013; Purcell, 2004, p. 102). 'Appropriation includes the right of inhabitants to physically access, occupy, and use urban space' (Purcell, 2002, p. 103), or to put it in Lefebvre's tone, to exploit the open gaps in existing urban systems, 'the places of the possible' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 156 & 179). For example, temporary uses such as local art exposures on vacant land by local artists to show the local public their work, is a form of appropriation. Participatory new citizenship, to readdress back to Isin, will produce a range of political identities and a common agenda which is likely to result in 'heterogeneous and hybrid urban geographies, all of which nevertheless share in common a city produces to meet the needs of urban inhabitants' (Purcell, 2004, pp. 20-21). In this way the future of the city is being contested by corporation of its inhabitants, instead of the neoliberal corporations which are competing in a global economy.

2.3 Participation literature

Coming back to Lefebvre, a city is full of different voices, and the challenge is to hear those voices and take action from those voices. Lefebvre (1991) created a markedly useful metaphor of the city as being an *oeuvre*, a *piece of art* in which all citizens participate, ‘then, through this agreement, control over the *means* of production is being shifted’ (Staheli, Mitchell, & Gibson, 2002, p. 203). In this manner the urban environment, with its heterogeneity on the grounds of the diverse attitudes, experience, lifestyles and mental frameworks, is equally for everyone (Bieri, 2004, p. 296). Initiators of temporary uses on vacant land or others forms, for example squatting an empty building, ‘raise the question of how social life is structured and how this translates into the urban environment’ (Bieri, 2004, p. 300). ‘Moreover, they are the producers of a specific social wealth of cities in terms of cultural, social and economic innovations’ - they embody the social capital of an urban space (p. 300).

Space is increasingly produced by resisting discourses aiming or claiming the right to the city, instead of dominant discourses of the state and capital. Grassroots discourses may not stand on firm grounds, ‘but their insistence on spaces that allow for the creation and development of alternative understandings of urban life pave the way for a certain acceptance and inclusiveness within a city that otherwise conceals its urban potential’ (Bieri, 2004, p. 300). Many city authorities in Europe are recognising now that their plans need more flexibility, because they lack the resources, power and control to implement masterplans, and increasingly, residents begin to participate in the debate of urban planning (Bishop & Williams, 2012, p. 3).

Participation in spatial planning jargon can be divided into public and citizen participation. Public participation incorporates individuals, organisations and groups into the process of decision making, while citizen participation underlines the involvement of ‘ordinary people’, for example inhabitants of a certain area who are affected by spatial planning (Van den Brink et al., 2007, p. 39). Some citizens are able to influence planning proposals and policy decisions greatly, others are not, due to knowledge, skills, power and their network (Albrechts, 2006, p. 1156). This has to do with a certain degree of participation. The degree of citizen’s participation has been defined by various authors, for instance Arnstein (1969) and Edelenbos et al. (1998). Accordingly, Van den Brink et al. have bundled these different typologies of participation and added the *kind of participation* (see Table 1.1).

Figure 2-2: Comparison of different typologies of participation

Ladder of citizen participation	Participation ladder	Levels of participation	Degree of involvement	Kind of participation
Arnstein, 1969	Edelenbos et al., 1998	IEMA, 2002	EC, 2002	
Manipulation Therapy				Non-participation
Informing	Inform	Education and information provision	Co-knowing/ information supply	Non-interactive
Consultation Placation	Consult Give advice	Information feedback Involvement and consultation	Co-thinking/ consultation	
Partnership Delegated power Citizen control	Co-produce Co-decide	Extended involvement	Co-operating/ active involvement	Interactive

Source: Van den Brink et al., 2007, p. 39

In Arnstein's view, there are eight different degrees of citizen participation. Non-participation contains manipulation and therapy, while non-interactive participation contains informing, consultation and placation. Interactive participation contains a partnership between two parties (e.g. the municipality and the inhabitant), delegated power and the highest degree of participation is citizen control (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006, p. 429; Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). For example in the city of Porto Alegre, citizens were involved in an interactive bargaining process, which empowered them to a degree that they could bargain for better circumstances on different aspects (Wainwright, 2004). This is an example of partnership and delegated power due to the co-producing actions they may take, when using Arnstein's ladder of participation, almost to a point of citizen control.

Empowerment of citizens has recently become manifested in policy in the Netherlands. Over the last five years, Dutch government authorities and associated councils or agencies have written several reports about facilitating citizen's initiatives or empowering of citizens (PBL, 2011; Ministerie BZK, 2013; Ministerie BZK, 2010; RMO, 2013; ROB, 2012; WRR, 2012). Government authorities – which are State, provincial or municipal in the Netherlands (but also the *waterboard* and regional institutions) – are looking for best practises for transition. The report 'Doe-Democratie' ('Do-Democracy') by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (2013) reasons in terms of government participation instead of citizen's participation. Previously, citizens were invited in rooms led by consultants to think along for policy change. Now it seems, the government has to look for new ways to join citizen's initiatives.

By and large these kind of policies to facilitate grassroots initiatives are more or less common nowadays. According to Van der Steen et al. the participating government is just one out of four forms of governance (Van der Steen et al., 2014, p. 20). These four forms of governance are: the legitimate governance, the practising governance, the networking governance and the participating governance. In their essay they argue that the government has to think differently about the organisation of the relationship between knowledge, policy and practise (p. 61). The *energetic society* can only be facilitated by an *energetic government*. This means a government daring to experiment, inviting society to search for solutions, and to let new insights arise.

The above shows a government which is aware of the changing society in which its citizens have a central place. But how do you facilitate initiatives from the bottom up? The challenge is, according to Tonkens and Verhoeven (2011) in their research on resident initiatives in community development in Amsterdam, what governance support is professionally needed at hand. They call for *democratic professionalism* to create opportunities for citizens – though guarded against conflicting interests – to get in touch with each other. To debate about what is good and what is wrong and to search for which ways their initiatives are complementing for the society or community (Tonkens & Verhoeven, 2011, p. 93). In this respect, Atkinson (2008, p. 120) mentioned six implications regarding increasing community involvement:

1. it can aid the legitimacy of government interventions;
2. social exclusion can be combated;
3. it has an integrated effect on social cohesion;
4. it can also produce resistance to particular forms of development;
5. it can lead to more calls for social expenditure;
6. and more democratic control of projects.

To successfully integrate these implications regarding community involvement, 'this requires the investment of significant resources over a considerable period of time and the willingness of other partners to support this, both financially and in terms of the development of community infrastructure (e.g. knowledge, confidence, self-organising abilities)' (Atkinson R., 2008, pp. 120-121). One of these resources is the municipal effort to facilitate temporary uses. This matter will be discussed in the next.

For future research Tonkens & Verhoeven recommend to research the participants' bottom-up practises and to learn about the impact on the surrounding community. Also, research has to be focussed on the residents in the surrounding area who are mutual interested but not participating. In this way, one can learn about to what extent the initiative has helped the residents or in contrast excluded them (Tonkens & Verhoeven, 2011, p. 103). This field of interest is integrated in this research by focussing partly on the residents in the surrounding neighbourhood and by focussing partly on other actors, such as municipal officers, initiators and other involved actors. This is performed by using the theory of social capital, which is a useful theory to study networks of people, in this case related to the temporary use of vacant land. This theory is elaborated in detail in paragraph 2.7.

2.4 New strategies from authorities and local citizens

Yet, why do policy-makers involve citizens into spatial planning processes? Participation of citizens as means or as an end is herein a valuable distinction. Participation as a mean is an instrument for preventing social resistance and to develop legitimacy. The goal is to raise social acceptance and to make utilisation easier. On the other hand, whereby participation is used as an end, citizens have the moral right to participate in decisions affecting their urban daily life. The latter approach is more aimed at democratisation (Van den Brink et al., 2007; Wainwright, 2004). In the view of Van den Brink et al., interactive policy-making should put citizens' agenda into practise, by empowering them in order to make them part of the plan (p. 40). In many situations an combination of the two approaches is used.

As Wainwright concluded that participation leads to an overall gain in democratic legitimacy and democratic power, and Van den Brink et al. conclude more or less the same – though more focussed on spatial planning policy itself: 'decentralisation of decision-making responsibilities and power, the growing participatory attitude among the public and the various emerging informal participation practices show a clear trend towards bottom-up approaches' (Van den Brink et al., 2007, p. 51). Though, hindrance arises from the planning culture which is in practise and this could affect the level of participation. Increasingly, various authors in western Europe have stressed that the involvement of local inhabitants and the community is important in both traditional planned approaches and targeted urban policies (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011, p. 100). However, the roles assigned to this participatory approach noticeably differ among European countries (Atkinson R. , 2008, p. 120). In many European cities, vacant lots function as breeding grounds for participatory urban planning (Urban Catalyst, 2003, p. 6).

Herein, Berlin is a pioneer example of how traditional urban planning has been transformed into more participatory and experimentally urban planning (Hollander, Pallagst, Schwarz, & Popper, 2009). Berlin could be mentioned as a pioneer city for transgression, 'no city in Europe has been so radically characterised by temporary use projects' (Houten van & Brambilla, 2012, p. 30). After the re-unifying in 1990, a relative small group of individuals saw the potential of East Berlin to begin mostly temporary creative enterprises (Bishop & Williams, 2012, p. 166; Oswalt, Overmeyer, & Misselwitz, 2007, p. 131), because many buildings were vacant as well as many large former military areas and the wall strip. These new initiatives represent experiments in new forms of urban living which in turn changed the mind-set of the Berlin government (Oswalt, Overmeyer, & Misselwitz, 2007, pp. 135-142). The *Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung* (City's Department for Urban Development) realised that these experiments, which were initiated by mainly artists and other creative people, had huge potential for as long as there were no new development schemes (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011, p. 115). Accordingly, the *Senatsverwaltung* facilitated the participatory potential and invented the concept of *Zwischennutzung* (temporary use) on these plots and in these unused buildings. Nowadays, this policy concept has become an

integral element in Berlin's urban planning, also to emerge commercial activity from it. The vital scene of Berlin proves that temporary uses can become a successful and innovative part of contemporary urban culture (Urban Catalyst, 2003, p. 4). In Berlin citizens receive a huge amount of control and empowerment from authorities. Austrian sociologist Peter Arlt (2007) has observed the emergence of temporary urbanism in Berlin since the mid-2000s and argues that in the revitalisation of the urban fabric the initiators of these projects, which he calls *space pioneers*, are 'evidence of a trend to greater social commitment, to more participation, to active networks and the desire to try out something new' (p. 22). Though, the emerging temporary uses in Berlin also stirs capital towards these inventive hotspots creating gentrification. Accordingly, the new problem in Berlin is money. 'The power of capital, the gentrifying flood of new cash drawn to Berlin's cool image, is that threatens to alter the precious, inclusive social fabric of the city' (Nicolson, 2015).

The local authorities in the first place have to be aware of the merits of citizen participation. This merit stems from the willingness to organise informal participation procedures and the experience with this organisation. The tradition of democracy and the central-local government relation has influenced this willingness. In the Netherlands, many attempts have been made referred to interactive participation (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006), also affected by the culture of *poldering*. Decision-making by consensus has been a dominant approach as regards to spatial planning in the Netherlands. However, this does not automatically result in equal partaking, particularly the values of ordinary citizens and minorities are not always supported (Albrechts, 2006). Participation on local scale is being affected negatively by corporatism and political party arrangements (Van den Brink et al., 2007).

To ensure that top-down institutions adopt bottom-up initiatives, interactive participation practises need to be embedded into existing institutional frameworks (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). Internet technologies may speed up the integration of interactive participation in spatial planning, because the world wide web provides people an easy accessible medium (Van den Brink et al., 2007, p. 51). For example, the municipality of Utrecht developed a map to geo-visualise locational opportunities to use plots temporary (Gemeente Utrecht, 2015). The map, introduced because of the emergence of vacancy in the newly built neighbourhood Leidsche Rijn in Utrecht, shows which plots are available for temporary use. It also shows which plots are being used temporary at the moment. In this example the municipality is fully aware of the merits of citizen participation and is willing to organise participation procedures. Also, the municipality seems skilled in using innovative methods and techniques to encourage interactive participatory approaches, which not only empowers citizens, but also gives a great amount of control to the citizens.

As stated earlier, as a result of the financial crisis in the real estate market, national governments in Europe have slashed budgets of institutions that fuelled real estate development, revitalisation, infrastructure and public works (Bishop & Williams, 2012, p. 23). This possibly fuelled the trend for more temporary urbanism or DIY projects in the public domain. Likewise, decentralisation of government power, reduced public expenditure, the strengthening of legitimacy and accountability of democracy to build social capital – also encourage bottom-up activism (p. 32). Especially for young graduates whom the prospect of unemployment is reality, these aspects create a pool of people who may see temporary urbanism as a new way to earn money and get practical experience (p. 32). Herein, the increase of self-employed entrepreneurs is linked. Between 2007 and 2014, the amount of one-man enterprises rose from 613.220 to 1.063.405 in the Netherlands (CBS, 2014), while the amount of vacancy experienced the opposite trend (PBL, 2014). Yet, no hard conclusions can be retained from these findings, it indicates that the increased amount of temporary urbanism might be related to this work force, according to Bishop &

Williams (2012). Besides temporary urbanism on vacant lands, there are lots of examples present in vacant buildings, such as the example (figure 2-3) below in Utrecht West.



Figure 2-3: Vlampijp Ateliers front entrance (source: re-smuk.nl)

Altogether most of these new urban forms have in common that they are founded by local citizens. It is worth mentioning, planning's most significant individuals have not been trained as urban planners (Finn, 2014, p. 394). Though, bottom-up initiatives are 'likewise not a panacea for the problems faced by cities and urban neighbourhoods', yet empowering inhabitants can result in benefits, such as more engagement in citizenry (p. 395). In this context, temporary projects provide 'an outlet for innovation and experimentation', both for increasing empowered citizens and justified authorities (Bishop & Williams, p. 23). Through temporary use, development can gradually advance from an experiment towards implementation and it should be self-evident on municipal level that vacant urban space is possible to use temporary (Smet de, 2013, pp. 9-10). Consequently, by creating *room* for creative appropriation and alternative ways of experiencing the city, a process of negotiation is opened between different stakeholders (Tardiveau & Mallo, 2014, p. 459; Andres, 2013). According to Boonstra & Boelens who conducted research in the Netherlands (2011, pp. 100-103), there are five positive aspects to utilise bottom-up initiatives. First, in several cases, bottom-up initiatives bring neighbourhood residents more together, which increases social cohesion or social capital among residents (Miazzo & Kee, 2013; Tonkens & Verhoeven, 2011, p. 97; Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011). Second, involved individuals develop their spatial opinions, democratic and bureaucratic abilities and social communication skills by participating in such projects. Third, such initiatives are good for the spatial conditions. Above all, residents know best how to improve their neighbourhood, because they live there on a daily basis. Fourth, money can be saved with bottom-up initiatives on the short and long term by overtaking municipal's work. And lastly, the political gap between municipal officers or politicians and residents could be reduced and a certain trusting relationship between these actors can be achieved (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011, pp. 100-103). These five aspects are related to the six aforementioned aspects regarding increasing community involvement by Atkinson (2008) on page 26, which implicates that community involvement and bottom-up initiatives have certain positive aspects in common.

The question for this research is whether bottom-up temporary uses on vacant land can provide an outlet for innovation and experimentation both for citizens and authorities, and whether a process of negotiation is opened between these different stakeholders, such as described above. Are these aforementioned aspects also present in temporary urbanism? One way to look for an

answer is to uncover whether the authorities follow certain policies that are implemented to increase participation and more responsibility for citizens. This follows in the next paragraph.

2.5 Policies on participation in Utrecht

The municipality of Utrecht has created different policies over the years which include the above written terms such as participation, empowerment and temporary uses¹. As noticed in the former, the municipality provides a digital and public map to geo-visualise locational opportunities to use plots temporary (Gemeente Utrecht, 2015). By providing such opportunities for inhabitants, the municipality is willing to organise participation and citizens' involvement and empowerment. Besides the online map there are several other policies aimed at participation and empowerment, which were developed less than 5 years ago.

On a more strategic level, Dutch municipalities develop a *Structuurvisie* (Structure Plan) wherein the qualities and characteristics of the municipality are shown on maps, as well as goals and preconditions for the future. Utrecht's Council has established their *Structuurvisie 2015-2030* on July 2004. The *Structuurvisie* contains many detailed maps and statistics about the city and its components such as housing type, demography and accessibility. Likewise, in the social sphere, aspects such as livability are discussed. In the paragraph on livability and security, the municipality states that it is a huge challenge to effectuate social cohesion among all layers of the population (Gemeente Utrecht, 2004, p. 28). To effectuate social cohesion and livability, the physical environment needs restructuring. In this sense, the social environment is linked to the physical environment, and by developing physical mixed neighbourhoods, everyone is able to find their needs, which in turn creates more encounters between neighbours (p. 79). Thus, the policy to develop social cohesion is grounded on theory of social mixing, which was popular in the years the *Structuurvisie* was developed (Galster, 2007; Kempen van, Bolt, & Bergeijk van, 2008; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000). However, this policy is not grounded on more participation or citizen's empowerment.

Participation was firstly introduced in the municipality's political program in the cohort 2006-2010. Consequently, in 2008 the nota *Bouwen aan participatie* (To build on participation) was established to propose participation improvements in the building sphere (Gemeente Utrecht, 2008). Participation was stimulated in complex building projects, such as the building of *Leidsche Rijn* or other smaller projects. One and a half year later, this policy was evaluated in the nota *Participatie bij bouwprojecten* (Participation in building projects) and concluded that mainly municipality officers knew about increased participation, unlike project developers or local inhabitants, who were not completely familiar with the policy (Gemeente Utrecht, 2010, pp. 3-6). In the policy nota *Uitvoeringsnota Vernieuwend Welzijn* (Implementation-nota Innovative Welfare), which was established in September 2011, participation comes more to the foreground. The nota's literally stimulate people to tackle their own problems, to develop talent and to organise activities. Central is citizen's responsibility and the facilitating role of the government in terms of welfare (Gemeente Utrecht, 2011, p. 3).

In July 2013, the official regulation *Participatie- en inspraakverordening* (Participation regulation) was put into practice to officially legalise participation into developing processes of municipal policy or frameworks. In the document it is stated that when this module of participation is used, a specific degree of participation may be chosen, from informing and counselling, up to advising and coproducing (Gemeente Utrecht, 2013, p. 3). So, in the years between 2004 and 2013, the overall degree of participation in policy, as first stated by Arnstein (1969), rose drastically to the

¹: All policies are retrieved by searching on <http://www.utrecht.nl/zoeken> and <http://www.utrecht.nl/wijken-en-participatie/documenten/participatiebeleid/>

degree of partnership. According to *Benchmark Burgerparticipatie*, an association to measure participation, the degree of participation did even rise to delegated power or complete citizenship in 2014 (Benchmark Burgerparticipatie, 2014, p. 7).

In a bachelor thesis for the University of Utrecht, Oskar van de Vijver researched the level of participation in the development of *Kop van Lombok* (2011). Van de Vijver concluded that two degrees of participation were used among locals and the municipality, namely coproducing participation in the process of developing the public space and advising participation by an advisory board in the process of developing the apartment blocks (Vijver de, 2011, p. 6). In the latter, there were six relevant discussion points. One of these points was the management of traffic during the building process, wherein the advisory board successfully advised professionals to completely change the draft scheme. Accordingly, involved citizens could really influence the building process of *Kop van Lombok* (pp. 47-48). Interestingly, involved citizens were asked by the municipality to participate in the project after they resisted massively (p. 8).

Altogether as already stated in the former, the degree of participation in Utrecht successfully rose between 2004 and 2014. This increase was firstly initiated by the elected political parties and later this was used in the development of official policy measures, such as the *Participatie- en inspraakverordening* (Gemeente Utrecht, 2008, p. 4; Gemeente Utrecht, 2013). Though, resistance by civilians was needed to implement participation methods into the process of developing Kop van Lombok, which was a starting point for the municipality to actively involve citizens into decision-making processes.

Hence, are these policies implemented to increase participation and citizens' responsibility, or did these follow after citizen's initiative? And are the involved municipal officers aware of the digital map to visualise the availability of vacant lots? These questions are answered in by interviewing municipal officers. With the above literature about policies it has become clear that the municipality of Utrecht has several policies, though not all focused on this research topic, to achieve a higher level of participation within its borders. Yet, there are not many policies about this topic, which shows that participation has not yet become common practice in the municipality.

The next paragraph looks deeper into literature on temporary uses on vacant lands, to unravel all aspects of this kind of urban form. As already shown, temporary uses on vacant lands - authorised or unauthorised - 'show us the potential beach beneath the paving stones, and contest the power of authorities to dictate the uses of urban space' (Iveson, 2013, p. 954).

2.6 Literature of temporary uses on vacant lands

"We're not just growing plants, we're growing people" (NY community gardener)
(quote from: Hynes, 1996, p. 18 in: Kurtz, 2001, p. 659).

In this paragraph and in the next, the focus will be on studies on temporary uses on vacant lands. The books - by Haydn & Temel (2006), Bishop & Williams (2012) and Miazzo & Kee (2013) - which were mentioned in the former, give relevant insights in the increasing amount and diversity of temporary initiatives in the urban fabric and also describe trends, yet lack scientific research conclusions. They mention that there is a need for more research in this field. In both books, several effects are mentioned, such as building community or social capital, opportunities for self-expression and self-organisation, or developing sustainable landscapes (Bishop & Williams, 2012, pp. 214-215; Miazzo & Kee, 2013, pp. 284-285).

To give a more funneled description of the current scientific debate on temporary uses, important studies on this issue will follow in the next. Many of these studies include urban farming initiatives or community gardening concepts (Glover, 2004), because these studies have been done much more frequently, opposed to studies on temporary arts or other temporary uses on vacant lands.

According to Guitart, Pickering and Byrne, between 1985 and 2011 at least 46 research papers were published on food producing urban community gardens in the United States alone (Guitart, Pickering, & Byrne, 2012). Urban farming (or urban agriculture) can be carried out in a variety of ways, such as on vacant lots, in backyards and front or side yards, in parkways, on rooftops or on other 'interstitial spaces' (Taylor & Lovell, 2012). When reviewing this literature on community gardens in U.S. journals, it is mostly done on gardens in low income areas in cities in the U.S, showing a primary motivation to produce fresh foods 'in a context of social interaction, community building and welfare' (Guitart, Pickering, & Byrne, 2012, p. 369; Baker, 2004, p. 322). Already several decades ago, these gardens are laud as contributing to neighbourhood organisation, revitalisation (Kurtz, 2001), neighbourhood participation (Blair, Diesecke, & Sherman, 1991, p. 164) and community self-reliance (Baker, 2004). Also, these gardens are valued as sources of supplemental nutrition (Blair, Diesecke, & Sherman, 1991, pp. 164-167), food security and food access (Baker, 2004) and increased leisure activity (Nemore, 1998). In another literature reviewing paper on community gardening in the U.S., Draper & Freedman (2010) argue in general accordance with the above literature, that studies show 'positive individual and community outcomes, such as youth gardening programs and projects, health outcomes, advocates versus land holder conflicts, personal motivations and perspectives and social capital' (p. 478).

The context of social capital is particularly interesting for this research and is elaborated on in the next paragraph. First, studies conducted closer to home (West-Europe or more specific the Netherlands) are elaborated on, because much is to be learned from community gardens and by focusing on solely North-American studies the research scope is too narrow (Guitart, Pickering, & Byrne, 2012, p. 370).

In the U.K., several studies have been conducted regarding community gardens. By studying allotment gardening and community gardening projects in North England during the late '90s, Howe & Wheeler argue that among the benefits 'urban farms and community gardens offer well defined and very broad social benefits' (1999, pp. 22-23). Such projects focus for community activity and attempt to tackle social problems such as crime and all projects 'were identified, by those interviewed, as places to socialise in a safe and supportive environment' (p. 23). A majority of a full-postal survey of all authorities in the U.K. in 1999 revealed that community development is the main benefit of urban food production, and also a main reason why local authorities believe in it (Martin & Marsden, 1999, p. 408). Community gardens help to reduce the gap between local authorities and local civilians, thus 'creating a more communicative participatory democracy' (Stocker & Barnett, 1998, p. 188). In the following figure 2-4 all found benefits are shown.

Figure 2-4: Urban farming or community gardening benefits

Theme:	U.S. Literature	U.K. Literature
Health or food related	Source of supplemental nutrition (Blair, Diesecke, & Sherman, 1991, pp. 164-167)	The main benefit is urban food production, and also a main reason why local authorities believe in it (Martin & Marsden, 1999, p. 408)
	Increased food security and food access (Baker, 2004; Draper & Freedman, 2010)	
Social benefits	To produce fresh foods 'in a context of social interaction, community building and welfare' (Baker, 2004, p. 322).	Benefits offer well defined and very broad social benefits such as (Howe & Wheeler, 1999, pp. 22-23) Focus for community activity and attempt to tackle social problems such as crime (Howe & Wheeler, 1999, pp. 22-23)
	Contributing to neighbourhood organisation and revitalisation (Kurtz, 2001)	
	Contributing to neighbourhood participation (Blair, Diesecke, & Sherman, 1991, p. 164)	
	Contributing to community self-reliance (Baker, 2004)	
Leisure related	Increased leisure activity (Nemore, 1998)	
Authorities and citizens	Advocates versus land holder conflicts (Draper & Freedman, 2010, p. 478)	Community gardens help to reduce the gap between local authorities and local civilians (Stocker & Barnett, 1998, p. 188)
Individual outcomes	Increase personal motivations and perspectives (Draper & Freedman, 2010, p. 478)	

Hence, much of the community gardens literature in the UK. matches the U.S. literature. Very few research has been conducted in the Netherlands regarding community or allotment gardening. Van den Berg et al., studied the implications for health and human well-being quantitatively (2010), and concluded that having an allotment garden contributes to healthy aging and it promotes an active life-style (p. 10). Veen & Mul explored and categorised 54 different examples of urban farming in the Netherlands. Interestingly, they showed that 24% of the initiatives mainly contribute to nutrition and health, followed by 22% which mainly contributes to the social environment (Veen & Mul, 2010, p. 20). This implicates that urban farming has important social effects, but it is not certain yet in what way these social effects take place and whom is affected.

Due to the popularity of temporary uses on vacant lands in recent times, lots of authors paid attention to the positive elements of the concept. Though, several authors argue that the concept carries with it some negative connotations, which were not yet discussed here. In this respect, Lauren Andres, criticised the concept of temporary urbanism, because such spaces inescapably add use and exchange value to the land which may result in 'progressive economic gentrification of the district' (2013, p. 768). This is also noticed by Douglas (2014, pp. 19-20), but counter arguing that it is not clear whether DIY improvements change property values, median monthly rents or create displacement.

In his words:

“... if neoliberal conditions such as uneven development make space for DIY urban design, it may be the case that some DIY urban design enables or encourages the continuation of these very conditions. The creators of these interventions may not only be acting in the context of neoliberal processes, but may be inherently *part of* these processes through both their direct actions and their longer term impact” (Douglas, 2014, p. 19).

Besides the positive attention which may be received from such temporary projects through the process of place-making, resulting in a certain *buzz* of the area (Lehtovuori & Ruoppila, 2012, p. 35), it could also create marginalisation or displacement. Hilda Kurtz studied three community

gardens on vacant lots in the city of Minneapolis (2001). She found that ‘decisions about whether and how to enclose a community garden project are shown to have important implications for the continuing experience of the garden project by gardeners and other urban residents’ (p. 668). Enclosed and fenced community gardens tend to restrict access and lead to exclusion, while open and unenclosed gardens tend to be accessible to a wider public. Hence, temporary uses on vacant lands, such as community gardens, should take into consideration that enclosure might also fosters marginalisation.

Furthermore, the practice of a temporary project is faced with the challenge between ‘the pursuit of truly alternative or non-commercial endeavours and their appropriation by the market for a project of commercial urban (re)development’ (Shaw, 2005 in: Colomb, 2012, p. 144). The former being meant as spontaneous, the latter as a start of real gentrification. David Harvey characterises this as typical capitalist urban development, whereby for the economic benefit of others these popular temporary ideas get exploited (Harvey, 2001). Adhockery uses on vacant lands may be used as a starting points for investment companies, project developers or the like. Temporary approaches run the risk of creating or perpetuating inequity. When allowing temporary interventions in low-income neighbourhoods, it could provide stimulus, but may simultaneously hasten gentrification and displacement (Douglas, 2014, p. 10; Finn, 2014, p. 392; Colomb, 2012, p. 144).

Another challenge is that differences in opinion may also create quarrel about class and ethnic tensions in many neighbourhoods. These differences in opinion could be over aesthetics, perceptions about public safety or cultural values (Finn, 2014, p. 392). From an equity standpoint it may be difficult to approve certain temporary uses over others. Finn argues that such tensions mask an ‘increasingly complex set of dynamics that complicate and may counterbalance potential benefits’ (2014, p. 393).

Also, there is often fear on the part of the site owner, that the initiators of the temporary initiative are difficult to relocate once they have had success with their temporary project (Blumner, 2006, p. 9). The City of New York started programs to encourage community gardens on vacant lots, and by creating Operation Green Thumb, the number of gardens grew to over 700 (La Follette, 2000). But when developers wanted to develop the vacant lots, the City had to go to court to regain control over the land whereon community gardens were built (Miazzo & Kee, 2013). Likewise in the 1991 riots in People’s Park in Berkeley, California, fundamentally opposed visions of public space clashed, because activists see public space as a space for representation, while ‘representative of mainstream institutions argue that public spaces must be orderly and safe in order to function properly’ (Mitchell, 1995, p. 125). In this example, Don Mitchell argues that public spaces are *safe havens* for homeless people, but also political places ‘within which activism on homelessness can arise and expand outward’ (p. 125). When temporary initiatives get political support a developer ‘can change from local hero to public enemy very quickly when it is time to gain repossession of a site to development’ (Bishop & Williams, 2012, p. 39). Hence, of importance is the relation between the site owner and the temporary initiator. In many cases, a lease contract is negotiated to avoid the risk of which is stated above. Most important is general trust between the two parties (Miazzo & Kee, 2013; Blumner, 2006).

As mentioned in the former, several temporal uses on vacant lands such as community gardens may be beneficial for the surrounding community socially. These kind of initiatives contribute to neighbourhood organisation and revitalisation (Kurtz, 2001), neighbourhood participation (Blair, Diesecke, & Sherman, 1991, p. 164) and contribute to community self-reliance (Baker, 2004). As such, these initiatives are beneficial to tackle social problems in neighbourhoods (Howe & Wheeler, 1999, pp. 22-23). On way of researching this social benefit is to use the theory of social capital in relation to temporary urbanism (Draper & Freedman, 2010, p. 478; Glover, 2004; Firth,

Maye, & Pearson, 2011). The concept has been linked more broadly to social cohesion, democracy, economic well-being and sustainability (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011, p. 558), and is thus a useful concept to grasp the social effects of temporary uses on vacant lands. In the next the theory of social capital will be elaborated on thoroughly.

2.7 Social capital literature

In the following, the literature concerning social capital is discussed. First, an introduction is given of the concept to elaborate on its contours more generally. Second, a framework is developed by discussing quantitative research literature, followed by qualitative research literature. With this framework the theory of social capital is delineated to a certain amount of aspects. Hereafter, in the third part, these aspects are linked with the present study, resulting in contemplating on three dimensions of social capital, namely bridging, bonding and linking. Per dimension details are discussed to unravel how to use the dimension in the present qualitative study. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

Introduction

The construct of social capital is often used in studies regarding community gardening or urban farming (Draper & Freedman, 2010, p. 478; Blokland, 2003). It is stated that social capital is part of certain domains of social cohesion in an area, though this statement has also been contested (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Forrest and Kearns provide a table in their article about the domains of social cohesion, which is reproduced here to give a clear view of the different domains. Social capital is described by Forrest and Kearns (2001, p. 2129) as ‘a high degree of social interaction within communities and families, civic engagement and associational activity and easy resolution of collective action problems’, as a domain of social cohesion. This means that in a case that a community has a high level of social interaction, social cohesion may increase as a result. Yet, the other domains are at least as important to take into consideration to grasp the whole concept of social cohesion. Hence, by studying the concept of social capital, a small margin of social cohesion is explored as well.

Figure 2-5: The domains of social cohesion

Domain	Description
Common values and a civic culture	Common aims and objectives; common moral principles and codes of behaviour; support for political institutions and participation in politics
Social order and social control	Absence of general conflict and threats to the existing order; absence of incivility; effective informal social control; tolerance; respect for difference; intergroup co-operation
Social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities	Harmonious economic and social development and common standards; redistribution of public finances and of opportunities; equal access to services and welfare benefits; ready acknowledgement of social obligations and willingness to assist others
Social networks and social capital	High degree of social interaction within communities and families; civic engagement and associational activity; easy resolution of collective action problems
Place attachment and identity	Strong attachment to place; intertwining of personal and place identity

Source: Forrest & Kearns, 2001, p. 2129

According to Kearns and Forrest, social capital is increasingly used in studies on social cohesion due to two reasons. Firstly, it is argued that social cohesion in a society is derived from the ‘forms

and quality of social interaction at the local level' (2001, p. 2137). Continuing this reasoning, social cohesion is a bottom-up process which is based on local social capital, rather than a top-down process. This stems in part with Jane Jacobs' notions about 'civilised self-government', which she related to the familiar social networks and living conditions of poorer, urban neighbourhoods. The second reason the two come up with is due to the interest in ideas of 'local community', self-help and mutuality as an instrument to encounter deprivation and social exclusion. In this view, a neighbourhood in decline has entered a negative spiral process, wherein 'networks are disrupted and weakened, population turnover erodes familiarity and trust, and policies and initiatives aimed at reversing the decline are being implemented in a context of community disengagement and disillusionment' (p. 2139).

Despite the present study does not aim to research whether the surrounding neighbourhood needs to be *fixed* socially or is in need of a better social cohesion, the above notions are fruitful. Especially the first notion provides a good point of departure, namely that social interaction at the local level is important to create a 'civilised self-government'. An example of this is a locally initiated temporary project, such as a community garden or art exposure. This study focusses on the social effects in the surrounding neighbourhood *due* to temporary uses on vacant lands. Therefore, interaction and networks are important aspects to investigate. Hence, social capital is a useful theory to learn more about interaction and social networks that might be fostered through temporary uses on vacant lots.

The term and notion of social capital is increasingly examined as a popular construct 'to describe a unique and important set of resources that can both depend on and enhance our economic and human capital' (Bourdieu, 1985; Curley, 2010, p. 80), which can benefit individuals as well as groups (Putnam, 1995; Coleman, 1988). Pierre Bourdieu defined the concept of social capital as: 'the profits which accrue from membership in a group are the basis of the solidarity which makes them possible' (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 249). Hence, these notions are twofold. Firstly, the social link itself allows individuals to claim entry to certain capital by their network, and second, the amount and quality of this capital, whether economic or social, is affected by the network (Portes, 1998, p. 3). In this way social capital 'refers to features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1995, p. 136). On individual level, this means that people access and use resources nested in social networks to profit from.

Notwithstanding the term's current popularity, social capital does not embody a new notion to sociologists according to Portes (1998, p. 2). In his thoughts it is a staple notion that 'involvement and participation in groups can have positive consequences for the individual and the community' (p. 2). Sociability, which can develop among groups may have a positive effect in terms of social capital as celebrated by Colemans and Putnam, but it may also be negative. For example, youth gangs and prostitution offer the example of how attachment in social structures can turn negatively (pp. 17-18). Kingsley and Townsend (2006) on this matter in Melbourne, Australia, found a lack of diversity in ethnic groups and social classes as to community gardening. Similarly, Glover (2004) found that social groups appeared to have unequal access to the resources embedded in the studied community garden network, as evidenced by their lack of admittance (pp. 156-157). In this sense, through investigating social capital among people both positive and negative outcomes can be found. According to Lin (2001 in: Glover, 2004), the source of this differential access to social capital is a result from *capital deficit*, 'by which differential investment or opportunities result in relative shortage of capital for one groups compared with another' (p. 157).

Looking towards the individual level, Portes argues that social ties can indeed bring greater control over *wayward behaviour* and provides more access to certain resources, but they can also

restrict individuals from gaining access (1998, pp. 21-22). Individuals may experience more structural constraints when they have - for instance - less valued resources and thus a lower standing in the community (Glover, 2004, p. 158). Portes' criticism concentrates on the potential negative effects of social capital, therefore the concept has to be approached carefully to grasp its social complexity.

Theorists have constructed the concept in varied ways. For example, Briggs focused on having two types of network dimensions, supportive social ties that help individuals get by in life and bridging ties that provide individuals with leverage to help them get ahead in life (Briggs, 1998). Putnam (2000) categorises bonding and bridging social capital, where bonding relates to linking similar people and bridging relates to connecting people who are different from one another (Curley, 2010, p. 80). Later, *linking* was added, to refer to 'norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships between people who are interacting across explicit, formal or institutionalised power or authority gradients in society (Woolcock & Szreter, p. 655). Similarly, Granovetter (1974) coined the difference between strong and weak ties. Strong ties represent the close contacts between frequently contacting people and weak ties are the less close contacts but these link people to different circles (p. 80). Granovetter's early research found that people mostly find jobs through weak ties, because these ties develop new and different sources of information.

While some researchers claim that our social worlds are less likely taking place inside the neighbourhood due to the increasingly development in information communication technologies (Wellman, 2001, p. 228), some researchers claim that the neighbourhood is still the place where social ties are developed and maintained. Especially for the poor, elderly and marginalised, the neighbourhood is the place where people negotiate social networks to access resources for survival (Kempen van & Bolt, 2009; Briggs, 1998). Also, social network researchers have concluded that online social interactions not necessarily remove people from the physical world, but may support relationships and keep people in contact (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007, pp. 1164-1165).

Taking these notions in mind, the theory of social capital is a fruitful concept to learn more about the social interactions that are created through participating in temporary uses on vacant lands. For example, by participating in a community garden one gets to meet new people. These newly met people might get new useful information by interacting with each other. Hypothetically, as Granovetter noted, people might find new jobs through these ties. In the next, the framework of social capital is elaborated on by discussing both quantitative and qualitative literature to learn more about the different aspects of social capital.

Framework of social capital

Within different quantitative studies it is been suggested that individual and neighbourhood characteristics or dimensions may correlate with varying degrees of social capital. In common between different researches, measures of social capital include levels of trust, shared values and norms among nearby residents, the presence of social ties in the neighbourhood, civic engagement and feelings of place attachment (Forrest & Kearns, 2001) Place attachment - a sense of belonging to a place - can contribute to social capital, when one's 'community supports their needs and provides them with a sense of identify' (Curley, 2010, p. 82). Though, the direction of the causality has not been determined yet, which means that or social ties in the neighbourhood may support place attachment, or to have a strong place attachment even without strong local ties.

Besides place attachment other factors have potential for helping to understand social capital in neighbourhoods. In the work of William Wilson (1996), local social institutions play a role in

maintaining stability in neighbourhoods. With the removal of different social institutions due to out-migration of the middle-class to American suburbs, neighbourhoods lacked stability and social control, which in turn resulted in an increased concentration of economic deprivation to create socially isolated communities with few economic and political resources (Wilson W. , 2011, p. 124). This work has been picked up by Peterson, Krivo & Harris (2000): ‘When local organisations that link individuals to each other and broader political and economic institutions are less prevalent, commitments to mainstreams values are less likely to be encouraged, socialisation to conformity is undermined, and the resulting indirect social control is weakened’ (p. 34). Due to the opportunities the neighbourhood institutions offer for social interaction and informal social control, the social capital is affected. Similarly, in a research conducted in the Netherlands, Van Bergeijk, Bolt and Van Kempen (2008) found that use of neighbourhood facilities had a positive effect on social networks in deprived neighbourhoods which were undergoing renewal. When there is a lot going on in the neighbourhood, contacts are good among neighbours and when feeling of safety is positive, residents report a positive effect on the creation of community (Völker, Flap, & Lindenberg, 2007). Finally, Curley (2010) in her study to advance further understanding of social capital examined the extent to which ‘neighbourhood institutions, facilities and public spaces may shape residents’ social capital’ (p. 84). She found that indeed neighbourhood resources as the most significant predictor of social capital (pp. 93-94). One explanation is that such places provide opportunities for social interaction among neighbours, resulting in public familiarity. Examples of neighbourhood institutions are public parks, recreations facilities or libraries. Imaginably, temporary uses on vacant land could be that neighbourhood institution. Within these places, residents, even without having social ties to others, may identify with others (or groups) simply by observation of one’s habits and patterns of living (Blokland, 2003).

Though their encounters may appear to be mundane or routinised, and their relationships may have remained primarily informal (i.e., no visiting or socializing), the public stage through which they observe each other builds familiarity. Consequently, such *cursor*y everyday interactions must be considered part of the social capital building process in a neighborhood context.
(Curley, 2010, p. 94)

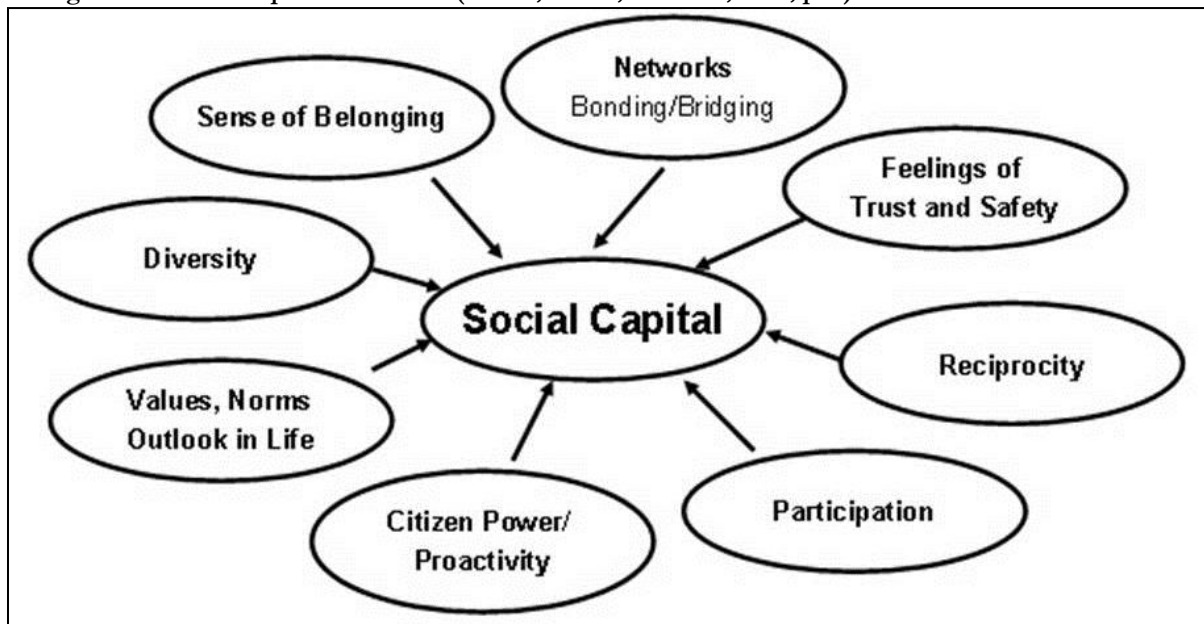
In Curley’s study place attachment and feeling safe were also significant predictors of social capital, consistent with Kleinhans et al. (2007), Livingston et al. (2008) and Sampson et al. (1997). To assess which neighbourhood resources may be most important for social capital further research is needed, as well as qualitative research is needed to ‘examine how trust is generated in urban communities, how arrangements of local institutions and public space may promote trust, shared norms and values, and how feelings of place attachment might promote social capital or vice versa’ (Curley, 2010, p. 96).

Altogether, social capital is formed by several predictors which are shown as a summary in the following figure 2-6. For the present study, the above notions about certain neighbourhood facilities or institutions that might foster interactions among participants are conducive. The formation of social capital might induce by neighbourhood institutions or facilities, such as a community garden or art exposure. The present study focuses predominantly on networks of interaction and participation, due to the fact that participating in temporary uses creates new interactions between people from the same neighbourhood. Yet, the other domains have an important effect as well.

In qualitative studies the focus is less pointed on finding predictors of social capital, but instead, more focused on the networks between individuals and groups, which is of interest for the present study. Furthermore, a match is identifiable in contemporary qualitative studies between

social capital and urban gardening, and is therefore elaborated on. This match is concerns networks between people that were affected by the place, in this case community gardens.

Figure 2-6: Social capital framework (Boeck, Hazel, & Hazel, 2006, p. 9)



Talja Blokland (2008) studied the concept of bridging social capital in a mixed neighbourhood community garden project in New Haven, Connecticut. Bridging, not bonding, because it arouses the highest expectations. ‘Bridging are the forms of social capital that look outward and encompass people over the borders of social cleavages’ (2008, p. 148). ‘Social capital theories either assume that individuals eventually benefit from their investments in ties with others, or that *the community* is strengthened and that then, by default, that benefits individual community members – including those who went out of their way to get something done. In this case, the ties between white middle class residents compared to the disadvantaged position of the other residents were unequal and power-loaded. In turn, bridging social capital available on a group or community level does not automatically accumulate for the involved individuals (p. 167). Hence, ‘gardening clubs (and maybe even bowling leagues) might just as well be sites where categorical borders and inequalities are reinforced as they can be sites where they are challenged’ (p. 168-169). This conclusion equals Glover’s (2004) aforementioned conclusion in his study on a community garden in Toronto, Canada. The garden was both a cause and effect of social capital, because it was the end product as network of gardeners and it established social ties in the neighbourhood. Yet, non-insiders were arguably disadvantaged and had ‘unequal access to the resources embedded in the garden network’ (Glover, 2004, pp. 156-157).

In the next a more precise link is made between social capital theory and the present study subject. This is done by elaborating further on the studies of social capital that take social interaction and networks into consideration.

Link with present study

Not all urban gardening projects are valuable or a benefit for communities, and social capital offers relevant insights for investigating community gardens or other types of community projects such as the temporary activities on vacant lands in this regard. More precisely, the concept of social capital may be used as a means of explaining ways in which groups or individuals connect through participating (or not) in certain temporary projects. In this regard, it is not only interesting to ‘investigate elements and processes in the production and maintenance of social capital...’, but [also] to examine the distribution of social capital among members of

temporary activities' (Glover, 2004, p. 145). To examine the distribution of social capital, the focus of research should be based on the interaction of networks. This is often done by using the dimensions bonding, bridging and linking.

Social capital which is often categorised in bonding, bridging and linking dimensions as appropriate to a strong community (Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Szreter, 2004; Putnam, 1995):

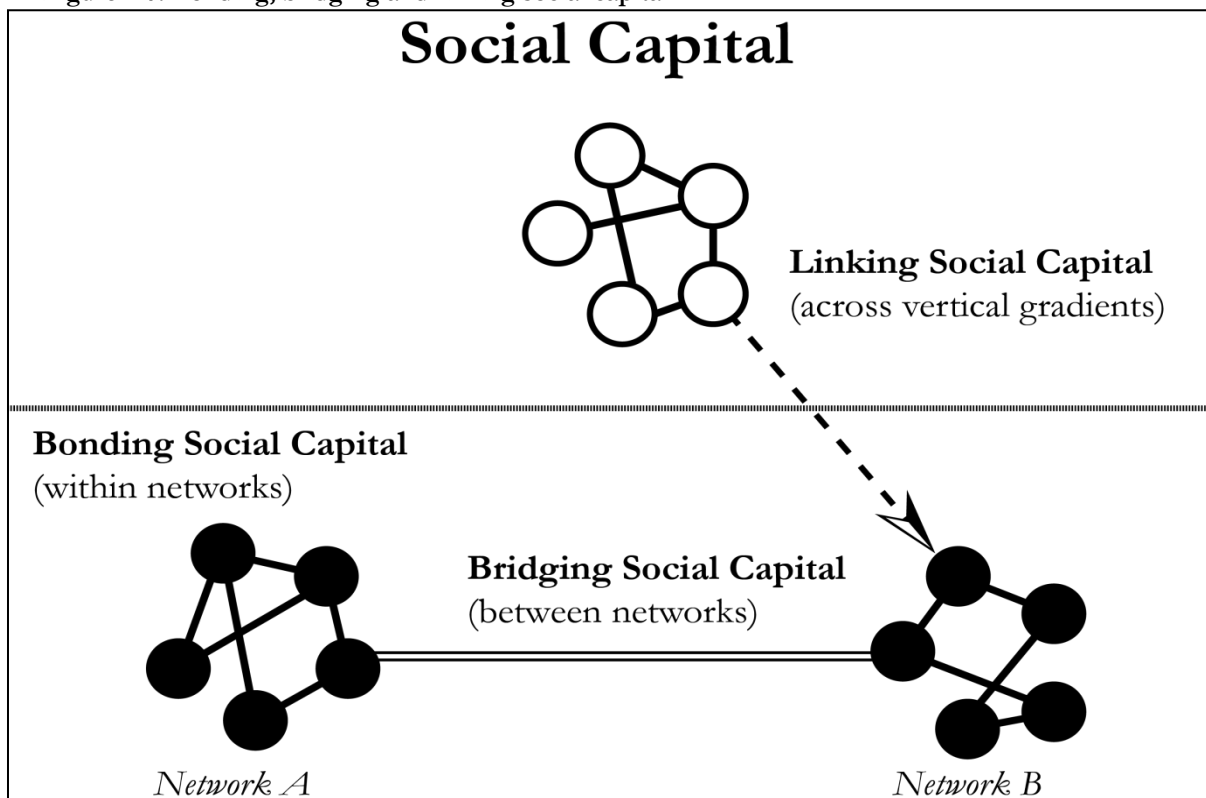
- “Bonding social capital is defined as strong ties between individuals in similar socio-demographic situations, such as immediate family, close friends or neighbours;
- bridging social capital is used to describe more distant [or weak] ties of persons, such as loose friendships or workmates. Bridging social capital tends to be outward looking and brings together people from across diverse socio-demographic situations;
- linking social capital concerns connectivity between unlike people in dissimilar situations. It refers to connections with people in power, such as those in politically or financially influential positions” (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011, p. 558).

On Figure 2-7, the three dimensions are clearly displayed. The three different dimensions are related to each other, but in various ways. Bonding social capital is formed within networks, while bridges between networks are made to create bridging social capital. Lastly, linking social capital is created across vertical gradients.

According to Firth et al. (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011, pp. 564-565), in their qualitative research (using the three dimensions) which included two case studies in Nottingham, U.K., there are four main ways in which community gardens generate social capital, namely:

1. by bringing people together to participate together, which creates collective ownership;
2. by creating a meeting place for interaction and community creation;
3. to build bridging social capital as a variety of residents come together;
4. to develop links between institutions and authorities.

Figure 2-7: Bonding, bridging and linking social capital



Also, the case studies suggested that when community gardens are driven by initiators from within the neighbourhood, the community is *place-based*, while when the project is driven from outside the neighbourhood, the community more likely to be *interest-based*. Social capital generated from an interest-based community garden only benefits participants and could therefore generate marginalisation within the neighbourhood (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011, p. 565). Hence, for policy implications, they continue, if the goal is to promote the social capital in the local neighbourhood, initiators should be residents from the same neighbourhood. Thereby a diverse range of individuals from within the local community should be encouraged to participate to build bridging links (p. 566).

In this matter, social capital with its dimensions bonding, bridging and linking may provide a useful framework to gain insight how initiatives such as temporal uses on vacant lands function in relation to the surrounding neighbourhood. Networks created and fostered through the temporary uses lead in to bonding capital, while bridging capital refers to links between groups and individuals who have different socio-demographic characteristics. Linking social capital refers to the links between authorities and bottom-up initiators, which may be enhanced by these temporary initiatives. In the next these three different domains of social capital are construed further coupled with the present study.

Bonding social capital

Figure 2-7 offers a clear overview of the different aspects of social capital, regarding the networks. And as already mentioned in the former, Putnam (2000) categorises bonding as relating to linking similar people in networks (Curley, 2010, p. 80). One could also speak of strong ties, because these contacts are between people who are familiar to each other, such as family, friends or neighbours. In the above figure it is clearly shown that the bonding ties are made within the network. In some examples strong ties are essential, especially in the context of poverty. Strong or bonding ties are used to get by and to survive the ghetto by obtaining certain resources from within that neighbourhood. Though, these types of ties may also work as obstacle in the way when attempting to move up (Blokland & Noordhoff, 2008, p. 108).

Now, the present study is not researching social capital in poverty, it is designed to research certain connectedness between people because of the presence of temporary uses on a vacant lot. Though, this former argument is important, as some people might not be able to participate in these temporary projects, because their strong ties hurdle them. For example if they are not allowed to participate due by cultural reasons or by their concerned parents.

Firth et al., in researching two community gardens, argued that bonding ties were found in many occasions. For instance, one garden offered the opportunity for locals to participate in several community activities, and in turn this participation led to meet other people from the local area (2011, pp. 561-562). A second example of this garden was that the garden provided opportunities to volunteer. Volunteering ranged from attending events or helping to manage the garden. In total, they counted a total of 58 volunteers and 131 members, 'which further strengthens local community commitment and ownership in the garden' (p. 562). Furthermore, the garden hosted seven events with an average of 180 people per event, and over 500 different people (in a neighbourhood of 1700) attended the annual harvest festival. By contrast, it took the other garden, a garden initiated by the National Health Service's PCT (Primary Care Trust), five years to form a committee of volunteers. The key motivations to participate in the garden were in terms of improving physical and mental health, hence not to meet other people. The garden had similar amounts visitors when hosting an event, and the local school visits the garden occasionally. Also, the garden was only open two days a week. Evidently, bonding social capital was less present there. Hence, participation fosters bonding social capital and this in turn might foster local community commitment and belonging.

In the case of initiating a temporary project on a vacant lot, initiators and volunteers form a certain network to get the temporary projects started. This network has established over the years, for example because these people live in the same neighbourhoods and know each other by the occasional encounters they might have had through their presence in different amenities of the neighbourhood. Hence, these neighbours saw an opportunity to initiate a temporary project, which in turn improved their social interaction, creating bonding social capital. Especially between neighbours and friends within the nearby neighbourhood bonding social capital can be established. The more visitors, volunteers and members the temporary projects get, the more interaction. On a neighbourhood scale, this vast increase of social interaction among neighbours might induce social cohesion, as made clear by Forrest & Kearns (2001) in the introduction of this paragraph. Yet again, as social capital is only one domain of social cohesion, this statement is incomplete.

The creation of a network does not only consists of bonding social capital, as people who are unknown to each other interact to access new resources and new information. Glover's research showed that both bonding and bridging social capital are needed for preserving social capital, because 'the more individuals interact, the more likely they will share and engage in activities' (Glover, 2004, p. 159). In that study the community garden initiators were a core group that has been together for years, hence, this made it difficult for outsiders to penetrate in. In his words:

I do not wish to imply the core group held deviant aims, but rather that it might have simply worked to achieve its own goals without considering seriously the implications for the other members of the garden network. In my view, the core group members genuinely believed their efforts and decisions were in the best interests of the neighborhood, if not appreciated completely by everyone. Clearly, social capital can result in a great deal of power for those in leadership positions in the group, as Portes and Landolt (1996) argued. (Glover, 2004, p. 159)

The above quotation also makes clear that trust is important in creating bonding social capital. To create a core group the members of this groups have to trust each other in multiple ways. Without trust no such core group is made possible.

In conclusion, there are multiple aspects that have impact on bonding social capital. First, by participating new people meet each other which fosters bonding social capital. Second, by participating local community commitment might increase, which in turn results in more belonging to a community. Thirdly, more social interaction between neighbours fosters social cohesion partially. Lastly, trust is needed to create a network of people with common goals and interests.

Bridging social capital

Bridging social capital is categorised by Putnam (2000) as connecting people who are different from one another (Curley, 2010, p. 80). This form of social capital is also referred as weak ties, because these ties between people are less familiar, but may help them get ahead or further. This getting ahead is reached by accessing other information, education and employment not available in one's own circle, 'information that they can use to access resources' (Blokland & Noordhoff, 2008, p. 108), thus ties that empower them.

Referring back to Firth et al. (2011), bridging social capital was present in both community gardens, yet again in varying levels between them. One garden highly developed bridging ties which had benefited the groups and the local community. On example of this is that the community garden groups had formed bridging links between them and the local school, library and church. Also, the garden brought different ethnic groups together, which turned out to be

fruitful for new cooking skills and knowledge about unknown vegetables. As one committee member commented: 'a few years ago there were barriers between the Asian and Black communities, but these have been broken down as people joined in our food-related activities' (p. 563). In this way the community garden proved to be an institution that fostered mutual respect between different cultural groups.

In the context of Glover's research (2004, pp. 157-158), African Americans who wanted to participate in the community garden and wanted to reduce crime in the neighbourhood were viewed by criminal African Americans as 'turning their back on their own race', and were threatened with retaliation. Thus in this example, the weak ties with *undesirables* in the neighbourhood constraint their standings in the community. The mutual respect between these people decreased because of participating in the community garden. In this sense, mutual respect plays a role in bridging social capital.

Besides mutual respect between groups, inequality or dissimilarity between groups is another important factor here. Two different cultural groups might think differently about certain neighbourhood facilities, such as community gardens. A respondent, as member of a community garden mentioned the following about the *other* cultural group in Glover's research (p. 154, 2004) in the U.S.:

'We have the support of at least a portion of the black community here... I wish there were more people involved'.

This lack of participation was mostly due the fact that the garden was still perceived by African American residents to be a project for white people. The members of the community garden discussed this struggle and were convinced to overcome it, but in the process they criticised the African Americans for not taking part with them. Hence, dissimilarity is an important aspect in bridging social capital, as on the one hand, African Americans were not taking part because they thought the garden was mainly for white folks. And on the other hand, the white folks criticised the African Americans for not taking part or at least trying to be interesting.

Again referring back to Frith et al. (2011), the networks of people is an important factor to establish bridging social capital. Volunteers benefited from links with other community gardens, as the well-networked chairperson of one community garden brought in new ideas of other gardens in the region. In this way they could benefit from the information of other, mostly unknown people, by using one's network (p. 563). In Kingley and Townsend's research (2006) respondents revealed that community gardens were the place to connect with the community, 'whereas before they had felt isolated, or lived in their *own little world of family and close friends*' (p. 531). This indicates that the gardens are used to meet new people, to get outside their *own little world*, to find new networks of people that might get you *further*. As a respondent said (p. 531):

'the connection was the garden and I tend to try to find out about people, who they are and where they are from'.

In the case of temporary uses on vacant land, bridging ties are made because new people or socio-demographically different people from the nearby neighbourhood join the initiative to participate. By joining, the new participants discover a new network of people which might be useful for him or her. This new network might contain people that have differential socio-demographic backgrounds, and this may result in new knowledge, for example to improve one's gardening skills and knowledge. Looking towards the future, these bridging ties may result in improved social interaction among neighbours (or residents in a neighbourhood), as a result from the community garden. This notion is the present study's core.

In conclusion, three aspects are important in bridging social capital. First, the newly created networks between people of socio-demographic different backgrounds. Second, mutual respect

between people is needed to foster these networks. And third, dissimilarity plays a role in looking to bridge social cleavages.

Linking social capital

Linking social capital, which is excluded from some studies regarding social capital (e.g. Glover, 2004 and Kingsley & Townsend, 2006), refers to the connections that have been made between people in dissimilar situations and does also enables to 'leverage a far wider range of resources that may be locally available' (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011, p. 558). Hence, these linking ties may be derived from outside the neighbourhood, or with people that have certain political and/or economic power, for example institutions.

Again referring back to Firth et al. (2011), linking social capital was evident in both their case studies, as the main difference between them was the level of funding that the community gardens had received. One garden received funds from several institutions such as National Lottery. The garden influences the local council and their policy, as 'the garden is viewed as a hub of food growing activities in these city-wide plans (p. 564). In this sense, the local authorities trust the garden organisation, and the garden is able to have effect on political decisions.

The other garden, which was initiated by health professionals, gained even more access to resources and funding from health and local institutions, which helped to improve its infrastructure and to pay for a sessional worker. Yet, as interviewees said, the garden group has become dependent on that input, and hinders them to develop the garden further (p. 564). The local authorities also value these links, and they see these as a way to develop their connection with the local residents. Some respondents raised concerns about the role of external agencies, as in some occasions, the garden has become too dependent on these links. This latter garden was initiated by health professionals, which had long-standing contacts within the local politics (Stapleford Town Council) and other authorities. This political activism was rooted to promote health and environmental benefits that come through the garden and its activities in a deprived.

Referring back to the present study, through the creation of temporary uses on vacant lands linking social capital may be developed between initiators (and volunteers) and local authorities. As the two parties come together to set up these temporary projects, the two parties come to a certain agreement. In this case, the level of participation, which is introduced in the former of this theoretical framework, has similarities with linking social capital. The level of control the citizens get regarding vacant land, stems in part with the trust of local authorities in the initiators.

Hence, linking social capital is formed mostly through political connections and contacts. These political contacts are of importance, due to the fact that authorities can influence what happens in the neighbourhood. As seen in the above, aside contacts, trust is needed from both sides of the table to be able to develop and maintain a community garden. The community garden in the study by Firth et al. (2011), even gained access to resources and funding from institutions and therefore affected political decision-making (p. 561 & 564).

Conclusion

Accordingly, the respondents in both Glover's (2004), Firth et al. (2011) and Kingsley & Townsend's (2006) study, used social capital – the resources imbedded in social connections – to achieve individual goals more successfully if pursued collectively (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995). Respondents in Glover's study associated the positive benefits with the community garden worth the social investment they've made, hence the association between the community garden and the production of social capital is an obvious one to make at first glance. (2004, p. 156). An increase in social bridging between the two racial groups in the neighbourhood was a sign that the neighbourhood was improving. Yet, as already mentioned above, non-participants could be left-

out and thereby discriminated (Kingsley & Townsend, 2006; Glover, 2004; Portes, 1998). In the present study, these points are the main focus of research, given that the improved social connectedness might improve the neighbourhood through bonding, bridging or linking ties, but also might hinder others to participate which might leave them out.

In the following figure 2-8 aspects relating to the dimensions bridging, bonding and linking social capital are repeated together with an indicating question for the interviews in the case study. These indicating questions are asked to interviewees. This table then, works as a conceptual framework to relate the different aspects of social capital with indicating questions in the present qualitative study. Together, the answers may tell a great deal about the presence or absence of social capital in the dimensions of bonding, bridging and linking among residents, volunteers, initiators and municipal officers in the selected case. The methods of the present study will be elaborated on in detail in the next chapter.

Figure 2-8: Aspects and indicators of social capital (Poortinga, 2012, p. 288)

Dimensions	Aspect	Indicating questions
Bonding	Participation	- Have you been involved in the temporary projects? - Do these projects increase local social interactions?
	Trust	- Do you trust your participating neighbours better?
	Belonging	- Have you created a sense of belonging through participating?
	Networks	- Can you maintain or intensify your current network through participating?
	Social cohesion	- Do you participate to improve neighbourhood contacts? - Does the participation of neighbours improve the social interaction amongst them?
Bridging	Networks	- Have you met new (dissimilar) people by participating? - Where do these new people live? - Does this new network help you to get ahead in life?
	Dissimilarity	- Do these temporary projects foster interactions among dissimilar people in the local neighbourhood?
	Mutual respect	- Do you respect these dissimilar people better through participating?
Linking	Political participation	- Have you contacted political or municipal officers?
	Political activism	- Have you attended a meeting related to Westplein?
	Political efficacy	- Can you influence decision affecting your temporary project?
	Political trust	- Trust in municipality has increased due to temporary uses?

3. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the methodology is covered. The chapter begins with the introduction of the chosen case Westplein in Utrecht. In this paragraph, the case will be introduced through touching on different aspects, such as the location, the history and the temporary activities which are present. After introducing the case as a whole, the next paragraph *Operationalising* will touch upon the links between the extant theory and the formulated research questions. Also, the chosen qualitative methods of research, in this case the oral interview and observation are operationalised here. In the third paragraph different research decisions will be argued, such as research ethics, selecting interviewees and transferability.

3.1. Introduction Case Westplein Utrecht

Westplein in Utrecht is located near the central public transport station *Utrecht Centraal*. On figure 3.1 Westplein is marked with the red circle. Because the city Utrecht is located in the centre of the Netherlands, the trains departing from this important station connect to all sides of the country. On the other side of the tracks – east of Westplein – the old inner-city of Utrecht is located with its tourist attractions and leisure activities. On the west side of the tracks several conference, exhibition and theatre halls are located, alongside the headquarters of *Rabobank* and hotels.

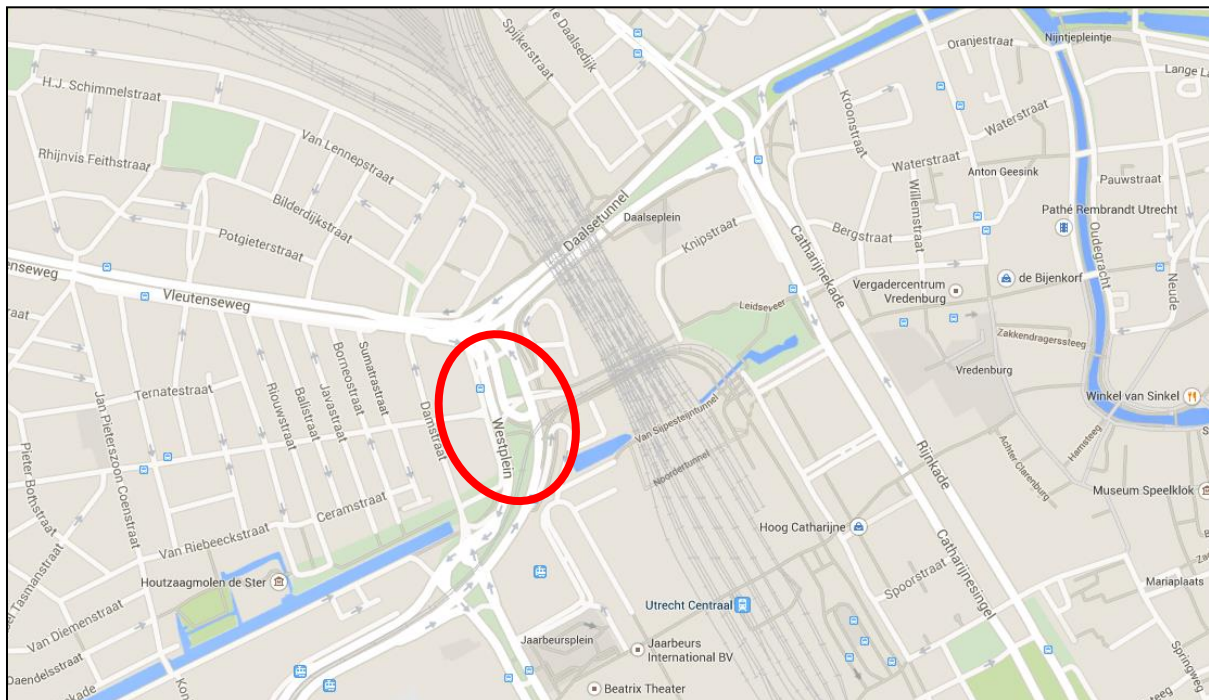


Figure 3-1: Location of Westplein in Utrecht (source: maps.google.nl, accessed on 4-3-2015)

Westplein, is part of the neighbourhood *Lombok*, which is located to the west of Westplein. Between Westplein and Damstraat *Kop van Lombok* is located. The popular high street of this neighbourhood, called *Kanaalstraat*, contains lots of retail shops selling Mediterranean and Middle-Eastern foods, similarly in the *Damstraat*. The owners of these shops have mostly North-African backgrounds. The adjacent streets to *Kanaalstraat* contain characteristic old-Dutch houses with mostly native Dutch residents. Next to Westplein, on *Moskeeplein* (as part of *Kop van*

Lombok), a new multifunctional mosque *Ulu Camii* is build, where besides Muslims also Christians and Judes have a place to pray. This attribute makes the biggest mosque in the Netherlands unique (Huisman, 2013).

Westplein itself is an infrastructural node where besides a double lane car street, also two bicycle lanes alongside pavement are located. The infrastructure makes the location a busy place. Between the streets a bank is situated. This bank is cut-off with a crossing for cycling traffic which divides the bank in a northern and southern side. On both banks temporary uses are located.

The development Kop van Lombok consists the building of *Buenos Aires*, an apartment building, the previously mentioned Ulu Cammi mosque, another apartment building on the south side , retail shops and new infrastructure. Kop van Lombok is part of a bigger building project, namely *CU2030*. This long-term development consists the whole station area east of Westplein and the whole area has to become ‘a spot where everybody meets: while travelling, living, shopping, working or relaxing in the dynamic hearth of ‘The Netherlands’ (CU2030, 2015). For instance, the train station will be upgraded to house more travelers, and the Catharijnesingel canal will be restored, which means the return of the water that was removed in the 70’s to make space for automobile infrastructure. Also, the eastern part of the train station will be connected better with the west side. Part of this connection is the clearing of the traffic barrier between Lombok and the inner-city. Because this redevelopment takes years, the municipality welcomes and facilitates temporary activities in the area. According to the website CU2030.nl (2015), the practicability of new temporary projects depend on, whether:

- the initiative fits in Westplein’s vision;
- there is space available;
- legal permits can be obtained;
- it is financially viable and;
- traffic safety is guaranteed.

Over the years, the area has changed a lot, see figure 3.2 below. Before 1969 the area was mainly residential. Since 1969 the old houses were demolished to make way for an important traffic node meant for cars, buses and later for trams. Since then, Lombok and its hinterland was cut off of the inner-city by the traffic node, and now, the idea is to reconnect the two districts again (Ontwikkelgroep Lombok Centraal, 2015).



Figure 3-2: Aerial photo Westplein 1969 and april 2014 (source: lombokcentraal.nl)

At the moment, three temporary projects take place. Firstly, *Paviljoen pOp* is initiated on the southern bank besides the busy roads (see red number 1 on figure 3.2). Paviljoen pOp is initiated by members of foundation Maandzaad and has been established with guidance of different

organisations, such as the municipality, but mainly the many volunteers that live close by. It is possible to arrange the Paviljoen for meetings, but it is also a cafeteria, an art exhibition room, a repair shop and workshop in terms of living, spirituality and discovery (Paviljoen pOp, 2015).

Second, *Halte Westplein*, also a foundation, is an initiative for urban farming. Small mobile wooden containers can be rented to grow your own plants in. Halte Westplein, situated on the northern and southern banks between the roads, started in the end of 2013, right after Paviljoen pOp. After a successful first year with 15 mobile containers, the plans for 2015 continue in the same fashion, extended to 18 containers (Halte Westplein, 2015). Certain materials and also rainwater for watering the plants are shared with the Paviljoen pOp.

The third initiative, *Westkust Utrecht*, is located where Kop van Lombok's second phase will be build. This project, which has the smallest timeframe, due to the development of apartment buildings later in 2015, consists of an inhabited construction trailer and some caravans. Association *Makelaars van de Tussentijd* organises several activities during the year. In this sense, they are looking to invite other initiatives to do something on the Westkust area. With it they try to make something out of nothing (Makelaars van de Tussentijd, 2015; Janmaat, 2015). These activities include a community barbecue, a local market, the exhibition of arts and the showcase of painted caravans.

Together, these three initiatives serve as 'the temporary uses on Westplein'. Because the wide variety of activities which are organised by these three initiatives, many people are involved. This makes the case a valuable and worthy case for studying the phenomenon of temporary uses, especially regarding social capital which aims at exploring the social interactions between users, initiators, visitors and non-participants. It might be arguable to decrease the amount of temporary projects to two, namely the two projects that are located on the banks between the roads. Yet, it is the temporality that assembles the three projects to one case, mainly due to the focus on social capital. Furthermore, the three initiatives are related to each other, because resources and volunteers are shared, but also due to the proximity towards each other in an area that is vacant for years.

3.2. Operationalising

Introduction

Qualitative research is concerned about social structures or individual experiences (Hay, 2010, p. 5). In this research the social structure is social capital which may be formed due to the temporary uses on Westplein. The focus is on 'the processes and relations that sustain, modify, or oppose these practices' (p. 6). Actors involved in these temporary activities experience these activities and the related intentions of these activities differently.

In this research the focus is on social capital which may be produced by temporary using vacant lands. Social capital among residents might increase because of more interaction among residents due to these temporary projects, but there might also be a certain form of discrimination, where people are neglected or not welcome to participate. Ultimately, social capital is an element of social cohesion which consists multiple elements. Thus by stating that the community's social capital improves, the social cohesion might partly be improved.

By conducting qualitative research the emphasize is on multiple meanings and interpretations instead of a dominant or significant interpretation, which is emphasized by conducting quantitative research. This qualitative case study approach 'ensures that the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood' (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 544). Also, in line with Yin (2003, quoted in Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 545), this study focusses on social behaviour of those involved (or not involved) in the temporary projects and cannot be manipulated.

The type of this case-study research is firstly oral by performing interviews with involved actors and surrounding residents. These actors are

- initiators;
- municipality officers;
- volunteers, such as urban gardeners, workers in the Paviljoen pOp and the like;
- visitors (of activities), and;
- surrounding residents (who might participate or not).

These interviews are in a semi-structured fashion. In this way, some questions are prepared in relation to the research question and the theoretical framework. These will be elaborated on in the next section of this paragraph. Depending on the answers which are given by the interviewees, some following unstructured questions are asked to unravel deeper meanings and interpretations which vary per actor. Secondly, participatory observation is used to complement results from the interviews. The observation takes place inside Paviljoen pOp, and around the urban farming boxes of Halte Westplein. Incidentally, Westkust is visited as well. Clearly, there are issues surrounding the position of the researcher in participant observation (p. 12), and these are elaborated on in paragraph 3.3. Together, semi-structured and participatory observation tells a great deal about the experiences, attitudes and underlying social capital related to temporary activities on vacant land. In this sense, the research is idiographic, 'to focus on the particular to understand the phenomenon in more detail' (p. 86).

Research questions

To link the theoretical framework - which is described in detail in the former chapter - to the research questions is critical in developing a worthy research design. The main research question is twofold:

- * How are actors involved in the temporary use of Westplein and how does this temporary project affect the participants and the surrounding neighbourhood in terms of social capital?

The first part of the research question concerns the actors which are involved in the temporary use of Westplein. As already made clear, the municipality of Utrecht involves citizens more and more into processes of building, developing, welfare or other fields of interest (Gemeente Utrecht, 2008; 2010; 2011). Thus, it is certainly interesting to search for the degree of involvement per actor in this case, whether this is a *top-down* actor, such as a municipal officer, or a *bottom-up* actor, such as an initiator or other involved actors, such as volunteers from the local neighbourhood.

This last group is especially interesting due to the implications of these temporary uses on vacant lands, and this concerns the second part of the main question. In the literature it is apparent that in many occasions, temporary uses of vacant land, such as urban gardening, provide opportunities for surrounding inhabitants on different aspects (Bishop & Williams, 2012; Haydn & Temel, 2006; Miazzo & Kee, 2013) and prove to be a breeding ground for participatory citizenship (Urban Catalyst, 2003, p. 6). More precisely in regard to social effects, community gardens, which are a form of temporary use, generate social capital among users as stated in the former chapter.

Hence, the positive aspects of temporary uses on vacant land could affect the social capital among residents of the surrounding neighbourhood through the increasing social interaction. Yet, as stated in the former within research into community gardens using social capital (Glover, 2004; Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011), some groups may be left out which possibly results in isolation.

Thus, on the one hand the present study focuses on the level of citizens' participation and on the other hand, the theory of social capital with its dimensions bonding, bridging and linking is researched at the temporary uses on Westplein.

To be able to answer the main research question, sub-questions are asked to unravel smaller bits out of the main question. The first sub-questions concern the area of research, namely Westplein. Hereby, the whole case will be clear for framing the research study.

1. How is vacant land at Westplein used temporary?
 - 1.1 How was Westplein used in the past, how is it used now and what are the plans for the future?

For the research context it is important to have thorough and relevant information about Westplein. In part, this information is found on internet and presented in paragraph 3.1. Though, by performing observation and doing interviews with involved actors, such as neighbours, project developers and municipal officers, all relevant aspects of Westplein may be found that concern the past, the future and the present situation of Westplein.

The second sub-questions concern the actors which are involved actively or passively.

2. How and why are government institutions and local initiators involved in this process?
 - 2.1 Why did government institutions facilitate this temporary initiative?
 - 2.2 Why did local initiators start this temporary project?

In its entirety according to their policy, the municipality of Utrecht actively initiates civilians to participate in several projects, concerning different spheres. As stated in the former, it is not known whether temporary use initiators are actively involved in participation processes, and whether the municipality actively involves such initiators into temporary uses. What is clear however, is that in the development of *Kop van Lombok* a great level of participation is used. One of these participants to advise the development was Marij Nielen, the initiator of Paviljoen pOp (Vijver de, 2011). In order to account for a high degree of participation, civilians who are willing to start temporary uses on vacant land should be facilitated to participate by the municipality.

Furthermore, it is particularly interesting what purpose the initiators have with these projects. As Firth et al. (2011), mentioned, community gardens that are initiated by residents in the neighbourhood ('internally driven') result in more social interaction in the neighbourhood (community), while interest-based community gardens produce social capital which stays in the participating group (p. 566).

Regarding policy-makers this might be important, because 'if the core aim of the community garden is to promote community development, it is essential that the community garden is initiated and managed by individuals from within the local community' (p. 566). It is also interesting to research the participants' bottom-up practises and to learn about the impact on the surrounding community. This latter aspect follows in the next research question.

Interview questions about the involvement of actors are twofold, because of the binary between initiators and institutional facilitators. The interview questions for municipal offers are related to temporary uses on vacant lands more generally, to the increasing involvement of citizens in processes such as urban development, yet also focused on the specific case Westplein.

The initiators of the three temporary projects at Westplein are asked what their goals are, why they wanted to do something with the vacant land and whether they want the surrounding community to benefit from the project or not, and in what way.

The third sub-questions concern social capital. If many neighbours participate in the temporary projects at Westplein – such as urban gardening – it may affect the social capital of the neighbourhood. In this matter, social capital with its dimensions bonding, bridging and linking may provide a useful framework to gain insight how initiatives such as temporal uses on vacant lands function in relation to the surrounding neighbourhood. Networks created and fostered through the temporary uses lead in to bonding capital, while bridging capital refers to links between groups and individuals who have different socio-demographic characteristics.

3. How is the surrounding neighbourhood influenced and how are participants influenced by the temporary use of Westplein in terms of social capital?
 - 3.1 Do these temporary projects at Westplein create bonding social capital, and how does this influence surrounding neighbours and participants affectively?
 - 3.2 Do these temporary projects at Westplein create bridging social capital, and how does this influence surrounding neighbours and participants affectively?
 - 3.3 Do these temporary projects at Westplein create linking social capital, and how does this influence surrounding neighbours and participants affectively?

By conducting interviews, deeper meanings may be uncovered concerning the different dimensions of social capital. Regarding bonding social capital, questions are asked to unravel whether participants (volunteers) have created new social networks and interactions with others, or possibly fostered their existing social network. And in the case the participants are residents of the neighbourhood, in creating new social circles and fostering these, the social interaction in the community of the neighbourhood is improved socially. Yet, this social interaction could also result in a contrariety, for example if there is a certain degree of discrimination or neglecting attitude among volunteers and non-volunteers.

Questions regarding bridging social capital concern new social interactions between people of different socio-demographic backgrounds. This might occur between people of different ethnic backgrounds or interactions between the urban gardeners and the local school. Questions are focused on the specific locale to see whether there is a social connection between the temporary projects and the surrounding neighbourhood. Figure 2-8, in the former chapter, gives more detailed insight about the three dimensions of social capital in relation to the indicating questions for the interview.

It follows that questioning non-participating neighbours at Westplein is equally important, to unravel all details about the temporary projects. Do they feel neglected, why aren't they participating, what is their opinion about these initiatives, are these initiatives making the vacant land better or not, are valuable questions on this matter. Hypothetically, some neighbours feel neglected by the initiators of the temporary uses, or the initiatives have certain biases of some neighbours. These opinions of nearby living neighbours, if present, need to be sorted out thoroughly to fully understand the social extent of the temporary uses on Westplein. In paragraph 3.3 under section *Selecting interviewees*, more details of the above research choices are discussed.

Altogether, meanings of both participants (initiators or volunteers) and non-participants are important to get to know whether the temporary uses on Westplein have a certain effect socially.

Collect data

As stated in the former, interviews are held to gain information about the temporary activities at Westplein in Utrecht. This information flows from different actors, ranging from top-down institutions such as municipalities, to bottom-up actors, such as civilians and volunteers. Interviewing as a research method is used for two (out of four) main argumentations (Hay, 2010, p. 102):

1. to collect a range of meaning, opinion and experiences, which could be differing opinions, yet also consentient;
2. interviewees may feel empowered to provide data and in-depth interviewing gives them the chance to reflect on their experiences which could not be obtained by filling out a questionnaire.

Added to this, interviewing ‘allows ... to discover what is relevant to the informant’ (p. 103), and in this way, opinions of different groups are heard. The opinions, meanings and experiences are of vital importance for the research results. Therefore, this information is gathered qualitatively, to get deeper meanings, stories and underlying background information that is not possible to gather in a quantitative manner. Thus, by performing interviews respondents (interviewees) may tell a great deal about their experiences with the research subject. And in this way, these different experiences accumulate towards rich qualitative data. Data containing more depth and detail.

In order to collect data which covers the research questions, some interview questions are prepared, as stated in the above, followed with questions that come up at hand. The goal is to let the interviewee talk as much as possible concerning a certain subject, such as their established network due to the temporary initiatives. In this semi-structured fashion some not to be ignored questions may be covered first, but also some form of flexibility is maintained to be aware of unpredictability during face-to-face contact. In the added Appendix II three interview schedules are attached. The difference is determined by the group, because questions differ whether an actor is a municipal officer, a initiator/volunteer or neighbour. What these schedules have in common are the questions which relate to the actor’s background. These questions include persons’ characteristics, such as age, occupation and project involvement.

Studying social capital with its dimensions bonding, bridging and linking related to the temporary initiatives brings up certain limits. When the temporary use is finished or gone the social cannot be effected anymore by the temporary project. The questions and the focus of the interview is specific on the temporary aspects of the initiatives, not on specific neighbourhood contexts.

Data from observation is received by participating in the urban gardening project, initiated by *Halte Westplein*, called *Mobiele tuinen* (Mobile gardens). At the north side of Westplein, between the roads in the northern bank, one can obtain a small container (1 m²) for gardening purposes. As a participant of this project, it is possible to observe the situation and others. On the first place, a certain familiarity may be achieved from this, and second, interpretation from initiators or volunteers when interviewing them may be enhanced. Though, ethically, the researcher is careful when participating actively in the research subject. This is elaborated on in the next paragraph. ‘The goal of participant observation is to develop understanding through being part of the spontaneity of everyday interactions’ (Hay, 2010, p. 245). By being part of the temporary activities and by the creation of familiarity, it is more likely that the observed response more naturally (p. 246). Note-taking takes place after observation, to accumulate or exemplify certain information which is achieved through interviewing. This note-taking does not take place in a scheme, but does take place after every important observation and the results are added externally to this report on a CD-ROM. Some visits to Halte Westplein are not important for the present study, due to the short observation or the lack of other people around.

Analyse data

Interviews are recorded by a recording device. Subsequently, these recordings are analysed on the computer, by first transcribing all recordings into text and then importing these text files into *Nvivo*. *Nvivo* is a computer programme that has the ability to mark certain parts of texts with a node (subject). The interviews for the present study have been marked with the following nodes and sub-nodes (in parentheses):

- * Function initiative (to get energy, negative, organic development, pearl instead of hollow tooth, positive, social cohesion, safety and control);
- * Function person (Bouwfonds, municipal officer, initiator, Makelaars van de Tussentijd, neighbour, volunteer);
- * Initiatives (Halte Westplein, Ontwikkelgroep Lombok, Paviljoen pOp, Westkust, competition);
- * Societal development (citizen participation, decentralisation, economic crisis, empowerment, new generation, new media);
- * Politics;
- * Role municipality of Utrecht (citizens' initiatives, experimenting, facilitating, subsidising, linking, budget 'quality of life');
- * Social interaction (bonding, bridging, linking, diversity of people, amount of people, networking, exclusion);
- * Type of person;
- * Westplein (past, present, future).

The marked nodes and sub-nodes are analysed separately related to the present research questions. For example, the sub-node linking (social capital) consists of 14 references out of 9 different sources. Hence, 9 different interviewees have revealed something concerning linking social capital. Not all data was relevant to the present study, yet only the relevant data is analysed further by using quotes in the chapter Results. In this way all data is analysed systematically.

The observation notes, obtained by observing as a participant are not formally used as data in the present study. The information helped getting to know the persons at the initiatives at Westplein better. In this way, during interviews the questions were answered more thoroughly because the interviewees felt more familiar with the researcher. All transcripts, the full Nvivo data file (including the complete node tree) and observation notes are put on a CD-ROM.

3.3. Research ethics

Conducting qualitative research involves ethical considerations, such as 'how researchers *ought* to behave, the role of research in the pursuit of social change, and whether and how research methods are *just*' (Hay, 2010, pp. 27-28). In relation to qualitative research this means that certain responsibilities have to be taken with regard to matters of privacy, informed consent and harm. By conducting interviews with different actors and stakeholders, such as municipality officers, initiators of temporary activities and surrounding neighbours, a variety of meanings is produced. The results might not be kept private within the Utrecht University, and this means that before an interview takes place, there must be conformity about the publication of their (real) names. No conformity in this sense means that interviewees' real names are not shown. Instead, a fictional name is used.

With regard to informed consent, potential interviewees are noticed prior to the interview to give their permission to be interviewed. Municipal officers, initiators and volunteers are asked by e-mail to give their permission to be interviewed. Surrounding neighbours are informed by letter, prior to a visit at their house. In this e-mail and letter potential interviewees got to know what they are consenting to, by providing a broad outline of the research goal and subject, as well as what is expected from them, where the interview is for and who is conducting this interview. Also, before an interview gets started, the interviewees are asked to agree on recording the conversation. Accordingly, these recordings will be saved privately by the researcher to prevent harm and privacy issues. These recordings are solely used to transcribe the interviews and subsequently analyse the content.

The interview questions itself are standardised (Appendix II) and follow up the theoretical framework. Figure 2-8 that includes all aspects of bonding, bridging and linking social capital is used directly in the interview questions. Added to the standardised questions, other relevant questions were asked related to the present study, and in this way the interviews were semi-structured.

Another important factor is power relations, because 'knowledge is both directly and indirectly powerful' (p. 32). A power related factor is the relation between the researcher and the researched. In this research these relations are comparable in terms of social position, or in other words *reciprocal*. Though, by interviewing minorities or marginalised, the relation between the researcher and the researched may be *asymmetrical*. This could be true if certain interviewees feel less powerful. By participating this is tackled partly, due to the creation of a more natural atmosphere. Also, by informing neighbours in advance when going door-to-door in search for an interview, an appropriate sweater of University Utrecht is worn by the researcher to avoid suspicion. In this way, neighbours were aware of the visit and could think about the future meeting. Unfortunately in some situations the relation was slightly asymmetrical when interviewees were incapable of speaking the Dutch language sufficient. Subsequently, the results were meager.

Lastly, subjectivity is an important aspect in this research. Ultimately, it is not possible to be fully objective when conducting qualitative (or quantitative) research, because of 'we all bring personal histories and perspectives to research' (p. 35). These personal histories and perspectives are the very aspects this present study wants to capture, hence subjectivity is of vital importance here. By participating observation the researcher is involved with the people who are directly involved in the research subject, in other words the researcher may be specified as an *insider*. An insider may possibly collect better information and the interpretation of it may be more valid than those of an outsider (p. 36). Yet, it is important to stay aware of the nature of this involvement, due to the invariably affect of the situation on the researcher. The researcher is involved as in insider, due to the involvement as an *urban gardener* in *Halte Westplein*.

Selecting interviewees

The selection of people to perform an in-depth interview on is based upon the theoretical framework. Temporary uses on vacant lands relate to various actors, such as policymakers, municipal officers initiators, volunteers and neighbours. These actors vary in terms of involvement, meaning and commitment. First, involved policymakers and municipality officers are interviewed. An array of officers with different responsibilities have been obtained. These actors follow certain policies, which are stated in the former chapter. This policy is made, due to certain beliefs and reasoning. By unveiling these beliefs and reasons, one part of the research question is answered, namely how government actors are involved in the process of temporary uses on vacant land. The amount of interviewees with municipality officers is determined by the subject's saturation.

Second, initiators of the present temporary projects will be interviewed, starting with Paviljoen pOp's initiator Marij Nielen. Hitherto, she was involved in this project from the start and has dealt with the municipality frequently over the years (Vijver de, 2011, p. 50). Chain sampling will be used to interview cases of interest reported by interviewees, as argued by Stratford (2008, p. 165). With this method actors - which include initiators and volunteers - with key involvement in the temporary projects at Westplein are found. By interviewing these actors, the founders and volunteers of the temporary uses are interviewed, resulting in questioning all involved actors. The questions touch upon both the level of participation which the initiators have been able to use and social capital. By interviewing these actors a certain level of social capital may be uncovered between them, whether it may be *linking*, for example between established networks of trust between municipal officers and initiators, or *bonding/bridging*, for example between volunteers and initiators who have been introduced into new networks by participating in the temporary projects.

Third, surrounding neighbours are interviewed about the temporary projects. These interviews mainly concern the second part of the main research question, whether the temporary activities affect them in terms of social capital or not. Surrounding neighbours live next to Westplein on a daily basis, making them a valuable source of interest. Some people might participate in the temporary projects, while other might not. Both groups of people, though, are important. First, participating residents may have found new contacts or intensified their existing contacts through participating, possibly resulting in bonding or bridging social capital. Second, certain residents might not be participating in the temporary projects. This group of people is of interest to uncover whether there might be any discrimination or lack of admittance in the studied temporary projects. By interviewing nearby living residents, their influence in these projects may be unveiled, as to what effect the projects have on them. Also, the opinions of these residents are important to get all details about the Westplein. These interviewees are found by going door-to-door after a prior notice. By notice the residents prior to the visit, the residents know what to expect and whether or not they want to participate.

By focussing exclusively on the temporary projects on Westplein, the effect of the temporary project is unveiled. It is important to notice this to all interviewees, as some interviewees might include other – unrelated – details. Also, by questioning participants and non-participants, two groups of people are interviewed. Yet, the present study is not directly focussed on comparing these two groups as two separate objects, it concerns explicating the different opinions of participants and non-participants. In this way, different people have different opinions, and these opinions are analysed in the present study. Therefore, all facets – also non-participating neighbours – relating to social capital are obtained to get a complete image.

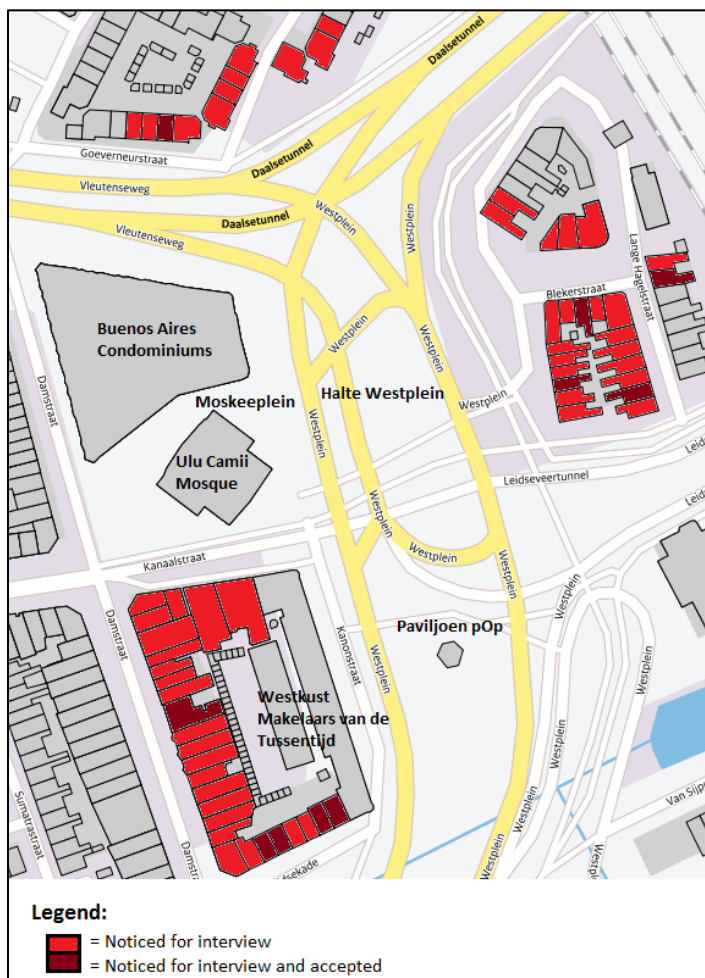


Figure 3-3: Response and non-response neighbours

Respons

In total 19 interviews were conducted for the present study. Appendix III contains all the information of the interviewees, such as name, age, occupancy and involvement. All interviewees responded positively about whether they insisted that their real name may be used in this rapport. Two out of nineteen interviewees did not reveal their age.

As mentioned in the former the neighbours got noticed prior to the interview. Neighbours were considered the residents that directly live next to Westplein. In total 40 letters were posted at residents address. Ten neighbours that received the letter responded positively, as they were interviewed and recorded for the present study. 25% percent responded positively, and the rest did not open the door or did open the door and rejected the interview. In figure 3-3, the neighbours in relations to the interview response is displayed. Four neighbours did not participate in any activity of the initiatives at all.

In total three municipal officers were interviewed. These were found by participating in Paviljoen pOp and Halte Westplein. By asking the initiators what municipal officers were of influence on the whole temporary process, a selection was made of three municipal officers.

Three initiators were interviewed: Marij Nielen (Paviljoen pOp), Remco Jutstra (Halte Westplein & Westkust) and Pieter Akkermans (Westkust). Furthermore, four volunteers were interviewed. These volunteers were involved in one or more temporary initiatives. Again, these people were found by participating in Paviljoen pOp (to drink coffee, or talk to people) and Halte Westplein (gardening or helping with practical work).

In sum, of every type actor at least three people were found and interviewed. These include non-participants, participants, volunteers, initiators, municipal officers and neighbours. Many of the participants were found by participating as an insider.

Transferability

‘Transferability is accomplished by carefully selecting cases and creating useful theory that is neither too abstract nor too case-specific’ (Yin, 2003; Hay, 2010, p. 94). The three temporary uses on Westplein vary in terms of activity and function. One initiative concerns urban farming, while another initiative is concerned with organising activities, such as a community barbecue. The third initiative has built a temporary cafeteria on the vacant land. Hence, because the three initiatives are next to one another these projects are looked at as a whole – as the temporary uses on Westplein. The activities on Westplein resonate with one another as the three projects work together and because they organise activities for the same target audience, namely the surrounding neighbourhood. Also, the timeframe for these initiatives is relatively long, because the infrastructural developments are being postponed until further notice. This gives the projects enough *breathing* to develop as a worthy facility to be used by the neighbourhood.

Altogether the three initiatives are considered to be one temporary use on vacant land. By conducting interviews with participants and non-participants a diverse audience is found to unravel the research topic. The interviews are semi-structured and based upon the theoretical framework. As regard to transferability for future research these decisions are important to follow.

4. RESULTS

In this chapter the results of this research are shown and are presented per research question. The first paragraph is concerned with the case, showing how the location was used, is used now and will be used in the future. The second paragraph discusses the relation between involved actors, especially to learn more about the relation between the municipality and the initiators. The last paragraph concerns whether the case consisted of evidence regarding social capital, by looking at bonding, bridging and linking aspects of social capital. Details about the interviewees are added in Appendix II.

4.1 Case Westplein

From desk research, which is briefly introduced in the former chapter, it is clear that the initiatives Paviljoen pOp, Westkust and Halte Westplein have in common that they are located at the same location, namely Westplein. In this paragraph results achieved from interviewing municipal officers, project initiators, volunteers and nearby living residents, as well as observational work and further desk research will be shown regarding the three initiatives.

It is important to say something about the location's past, present and future state. This paragraph starts with how Westplein is used in the past and how Westplein may be used in the future. Hereafter the present state is discussed by revealing the details of the temporary uses on Westplein one by one. Also, a map is included.

Westplein in the past

Results from interviews show that nearby living local residents know in detail how Westplein is used over the years. One local, *C.R.W. Cooten*, revealed she was born and had lived in the same house for more than 76 years, meaning she knows everything about the area. Westplein is used as an infrastructural node for years. According to her, approximately 35 years ago, there was a roundabout on the spot just south of where now the Paviljoen pOp is located. The below picture was taken from the Graadt van Roggenweg in 1960 (Het Utrechts Archief, 2015).



Figure 4-1: Roundabout on the corner of Leidsekade and Croeselaan

Around that time, Leidsekade still paralleled the canal Leidsche Rijn. Also, a stone bridge crossed the canal in front of her house, linking Lombok to the military barracks that were located alongside the Croeselaan. At that time, the Daalse Tunnel was not built yet, so the Vleutenseweg made a turn to the roundabout. Due to the increasing usage of the automobile, the roundabout

was removed as well as a section of Leidsche Rijn and replaced by Westplein, to manage more automobile traffic. Figure 4-2 shows the construction of Westplein (Het Utrechts Archief, 2015). The buildings on the right are Leidsekade and the entry of Damstraat. The bank between the roads is the bank where Paviljoen pOp is located on, and it continues up north.



Figure 4-2: Construction of Westplein in 1969

Another local, *Hans*, drew a scheme on a piece of paper to be able to explain the more recent history of the area in great detail. Westplein itself as an infrastructural node, did not change a lot over the last decade. The biggest changes were made during the last 5 years. Just three years ago, the tramline has been removed from the square, and is moved to Jaarbeursplein. According to another local resident, *Jan*, the tramline will come back in the future, though, nobody else confirmed this.

In 2006 the buildings on Kanonstraat were demolished to make way for the Ulu Camii mosque and the Buenos Aires condominiums on Moskeeplein, but also for new residential housing on the location of Westkust (see also figure 3-3). There used to be a school on the vacant land of Westkust and small row houses alongside Kanonstraat. The 76-year old Madame *Cooten* revealed she has been on that school when she was a child. Kanonstraat was removed and a part of it is used as a bicycle lane now.

On figure 4-3 the tramline is still visible, though Kanonstraat is already demolished to make way for the construction of the mosque amongst others. Also, the picture shows around 30 linden trees on the square, which were chopped a couple years ago due to the developments in the future. Apparently some of the trees were ill, and so it was decided to cut them all.

Figure 4-3: Westplein from above 2010 (Source: CU2030.nl)



It took 6 years after demolishing the buildings to complete the Buenos Aires condominiums and the mosque. In the meantime, an urban garden was initiated on the vacant land, according to *Hans*. The other vacant land, where now Westkust is deployed, was used to park the cars of the constructors, and it was also used to house a construction trailer. This construction trailer is still there and the top floor is used as an apartment while the ground floor is used by Westkust as a space to organise events in.

Westplein in the future

Some locals believe that a tunnel will be constructed under Westplein to remove automobiles from the square. More informed locals claim that recently these plans have changed due to the lack of finance. As *Jan* explained, these changes of plans are everything but clear:

...It is also known that it will take another 5 to 10 years prior to...fully completion, so. There is still a lot of time in it. And it still is not yet one second 100% clear...how it is going to look like. Just now, I think, they have decided that there will be no tunnel. But it would not surprise me that this decision will be reversed as well at some point. According to me we are still in that phase that everything can happen. So..., I just wait for it.

Another important change for Westplein is the Leidsche Rijn. According to all locals, the Leidsche Rijn will be reconnected with the Catharijnesingel. Residents that live in Leidsekade are hopeful that the canal will be connected again, because this means that a canal will replace the busy automobile traffic in front of their house, which would enhance their surroundings.

According to *Fred*, an active involved resident of Lombok and volunteer in Paviljoen pOp, Westplein will transform from an infrastructural node into a square which is more focussed on pedestrian traffic instead of automobile traffic. But this development will not be completed in the next 5 years or so. *Hans* is even less optimistic and estimated a rough 10 years until completion.

In the meantime the vacant land, the land on where Westkust is located, will be developed. *Hans* has spoken with the project developer *Bouwfonds* and concluded that the plans now are to develop apartments in one or two rows and 4 to 6 levels high, parallel to the streets on Westplein. The ground level of these buildings will contain retail and business shops, just like the other buildings in the Lombok neighbourhood. Also, the plan is to start building in August or September 2015. Most residents of Leidsekade are reluctant that the development finally starts. The land behind

their back gardens was vacant for almost a decade. This caused some problems, as *Hans* explained:

...Because it means that dwellings will be built. So that means habitation. And it also means...that the buildings will connect to the corner [of Leidsekade], and it will. This makes it less unsafe here. There was some burglary here, especially on the corner. A little while ago, on a Sunday evening, some Romanians were caught in the act. Because here, through the back side, it is rather vulnerable. You can get over the fence easily, and if you are unnoticed, you can look to see whether you can get the property open. But also and surely on the corner there along the drainpipe, you can climb up in, let's say, five seconds!

With the former in mind the present state of Westplein and its surroundings is discussed, again with help of the interviewees, desk research and observations.

Westplein now

In this paragraph the three initiatives are explored in more detail. Per initiative the most important details are shown, taken from interviews, desk research and observation. First, a map is shown of the area with all important features on it to explore Westplein and its surroundings in more detail. Hereafter, the initiatives are elaborated on, beginning with the first initiative Paviljoen pOp.

The three initiatives are marked with the red line. Westkust is situated in the backyard of houses located on Damstraat and Leidsekade. East of paviljoen pOp a hotel is located.



Figure 4-4: Westplein and its surroundings (source: pdokviewer.pdok.nl)

The three initiatives work together and know each other well. Remco Jutstra, initiator of Halte Westplein and Westkust (the latter together with Pieter Akkermans), may be considered as the linking factor between these initiatives, as *Pieter* explained while talking about the purpose of the initiative:

... Remco works along with them [Paviljoen pOp]. Because Remco is also from Halte Westplein and those mobile gardens there, so we know them well. It is also as a part of the involvement in the development of this area... Halte Westplein and also Paviljoen pOp were... the basis to start this [Westkust]. It is not only that you occupy a terrain, but also that you show, or contribute to the development of the whole area. Look, and eventually is not a lasting contribution in the sense that it changes all the plans over here, but it attracts people to the area to show its potential and to feed the discussion of what this area has to become in the future.

Paviljoen pOp

The pavilion, which is located on the southern bank of Westplein, has been constructed and installed two years ago (figure 4-5). The whole process of discussing the possibility of using the vacant land to install a little public cafeteria took quite a bit time and arguing. This process stems from the involvement of foundation *Ontwikkelgroep Lombok*. This foundation is involved in the development process around Westplein and comprises local residents such as *Marij Nielen* (initiator Paviljoen pOp), *Remco Jutstra* (initiator Halte Westplein and co-initiator Westkust) and *Fred Dekkers* (involved in a local political affairs).

The first initiative came from Marij Nielen, as member of foundation *Maanzaad*. She was concerned that the long period of vacancy on Westplein would lead to negative situations, such as vandalism, wilderness and overall unattractiveness. And when she was discussing the development of Westplein with a municipality officer, she saw the opportunity to build a pavilion right on the southern bank. This stems from the goals of foundation *Maanzaad*, explained by *Fred* as a comparison of maw seed with poppy:

...it is a pioneer. In wilderness the first plant that arises is a poppy, and when perennials start to grow the poppy disappears again. Actually, that is the same idea with the pavilion.



Figure 4-5: Paviljoen pOp (on the left wooden containers belonging to Halte Westplein)

The idea and comparison of the pavilion as a poppy in the wilderness, or in this case vacant land, is spot on, because the initiators of Paviljoen pOp want the pavilion to be a well-designed structure to increase the beauty of the square that is undergoing construction for at least a decade. Many pedestrians and cyclists use the square as a crossing road to enter or leave the inner city. *Marij* wanted to make a more sociable crossing, and has succeeded in that. The pavilion is run by 17 volunteers in total who work in day shifts, and around 12 to 20 people visit the pavilion during the day. In many occasions, these visitors want to know more about the developments in the area, but there also are a lot of visitors that seek a substantive discussion, or just want to drink a coffee or tea. In evenings workshops are given, or there might be some small parties or gatherings. The neighbourhood is involved with the pavilion regularly, for instance they have helped to build the roof tiles. Each tile on the roof is the same design but have unique prints on it, representing the help of many neighbours.

The foundation of Paviljoen pOp has agreed a 5-year contract with the municipality (landowner) in 2013 to stay put on Westplein until 2018. This time frame may be extended with another 5 years, but this is unclear for both the volunteers as well as the municipality due to how fast the location will be developed and due to the business model of the pavilion. Before the construction of the building some people did not like the idea of a cafeteria in the middle of two busy roads. According to *Ida Thoenes*, the municipal officer who was managing the situation with the initiators, many people were concerned that the situation would not be safe regarding traffic and it was unclear whether how long and where there would be space to build such an initiative. Yet, because traffic lights were already there for crossing traffic, the situation was considered safe.

Halte Westplein

Remco Jutstra had similar ideas compared to *Marij Nielsen's* initiative. He also intended to make the square more sociable and beautiful. He did not want to wait until developments would start, he wanted immediate action. His idea was to make moveable wooden boxes filled with soil and to move them on the square to grow plants in. In this way people would be using the middle of the square, surrounded by traffic, for gardening purposes. *Bouwfonds* allowed him in 2013 to construct the wooden boxes at their vacant land (where Westkust is located now). A local contractor, who was asked to pave Moskeplein, helped to move the boxes from the vacant land to the banks between the roads on Westplein. They allowed his requests because they knew him from meetings with Ontwikkelgroep Lombok, and trusted him.

To gather volunteers he placed an advert on his website, where people could register to get a box for gardening purposes. In late 2013 the group planted tulip bulbs around the edge of the banks. In the first year, 2014, the group consisted of 15 volunteers in total (owners of the wooden boxes) to garden. In 2015 another 5 wooden boxes were added and this made place for a couple of new volunteers. The amount of time each volunteer puts in is variable. In summertime box owners must water the plants on a daily basis. Yet, in winter, the boxes are stored so there is nothing to do. During spring and autumn volunteers revealed that they visit Halte Westplein one, two or three times a week. Most of the volunteers live nearby.

Halte Westplein has agreed a 5-year contract with the municipality (landowner). This contract is a so called *self-control* (in Dutch: *zelfbeheer*) contract, which may be ended by both parties at all times. For instance, if the municipality decides to develop the location this year, the initiative is asked to leave the property prior to that development. The name *Halte* reverses back to the stopping halt of the tram that used to cross Westplein. The area is fenced with willow branches, and wooden self-made furniture is placed alongside the wooden gardening boxes.



Figure 4-6: Halte Westplein (source: haltewestplein.files.wordpress.com)



Figure 4-7: Entrance Halte Westplein

Later this spring, an entrance was added to the terrain with two purposes. Due to the Grand Départ of the Tour de France in July 2015 an artist (*Jan*) wanted to add a thematic feature to the terrain. He made a small detour (halve a circle) for cyclists, arched with willow trances and wooden containers. Also, he added a water basin containing a water collecting function in the middle of this detour (see figure 4-7). The second purpose was to accentuate the terrain. *Anne*, a neighbour living east of Westplein, said the following about this beautified entrance:

...Sometimes I jog, so I jog past it regularly... One man has painted the cycling path nicely, and it looks awesome, but he did it all by himself. So I think, if you want to involve the neighbourhood, you should do such thing together, make it together. Then, the neighbourhood is jointly responsible for what is there... Yes than it can work...

Indeed, if one wants to involve the neighbourhood they should have asked them to join with the development of the detour entrance. Yet, in 2014, in the first year of Halte Westplein, neighbours

were asked and did help to make the willow tree fence around the terrain. In this instance, the entrance detour, made by an artist, is seen as a side project of Halte Westplein with the purpose to make a thematic Tour de France feature as well as an accentuating feature. Hence, the artist's intention was not to involve anyone at all, mainly because it was his artistic project.

Westkust

Makelaars van de Tussentijd initiated this temporary project last October 2014, supervised by *Pieter Akkermans* and *Remco Jutstra*. Besides to enrich the area in the meantime, the initiators wanted to organise neighbourhood gatherings and events, and wanted to surprise people that come by. The aforementioned construction trailer is part of Westkust. Two people live on the top floor, while events may be organised on ground level in the trailer and on the lot.

After starting Halte Westplein, *Remco Jutstra* found the organisation Makelaars van de Tussentijd (literally *Meantime Brokers*), an organisation that deliberately wants to initiate temporary projects. Because of his involvement in the Ontwikkelgroep Lombok he knew the local residents, but also the project developer Bouwfonds fmt. These contacts led eventually to initiate yet another temporary project, namely Westkust. *Remco* recalled his contact with Bouwfonds:

Yes, than you have a good relationship, or trust [with Bouwfonds]. And when you make a proposition on paper, and you make the appointment, yes you are not strangers to each other.

And also, you want to listen to each other because you already have proper contact.

And with the local neighbours:

For instance. That he said [*Hans*, neighbour] eh, it is quite unsafe...the burglar danger in the backyard. And that I thought, that is nice if we can do something about it to arrange for an extra piece of surveillance, but also to make it look better.

For Makelaars van de Tussentijd the contacts with these two parties was crucial, because they want to please them both, as Pieter explained Makelaars van de Tussentijd's manner of acting:

There might come complaints from the neighbourhood. For them [Bouwfonds] it is also important to keep the neighbourhood as a friend... So, for us it was very important and good that we could use this terrain temporary. Because otherwise Bouwfonds might had thought differently about it. If it was the other way around, when the neighbours were seriously in doubt, if they had said 'we rather prefer not', then it was a different story for Bouwfonds. But that is also the way we work. We want the direct neighbours to benefit and we want to involve them. And that is your first base. You should not claim a location and subsequently do nice things for the whole city, while causing nuisance to the neighbours, that is not good.

The neighbourhood really wanted to get a more safe backyard. The locals were happy that two people were living in the construction trailer to guarantee surveillance, but they also wanted the fence to be closed for public when there was nothing to do on the lot. Hence, this fence had two purposes, one to create an extra layer of security for the neighbour's backyard, but also to make clear that that Westkust is a semi-public area. As made clear in the theoretical framework, fences could create marginalisation as restricted access could lead to inclusion. Neighbour *Anne* and *Hanna* both made clear that the fenced terrain Westkust does not look very cosy and it does not look like some place that people walk-in easily. In this sense, the fence creates inclusion, yet this inclusion has the purpose of creating an extra layer of security. There were no signs that the fence created marginalisation, especially because a whole arrange of different people made use of the Westkust terrain.



Figure 4-8: Westkust (source: facebook.com/projectwestkust)

The initiators organised several events, such as a neighbourhood dinner, a market and a little festival. Also, they made the location available for other initiatives to use. One example of this is *Daktuin*, an organisation that turns the roof of the University parking garage into a public space where you can sit, eat, and have a drink. They had been given the possibility to use Westkust to build and store their wooden furniture.

The events on Westkust were intentionally organised for the neighbourhood. By going door-to-door and by leaving flyers, the neighbours were the first to know whether there would be an event. Yet, also other residents who live further away were and are eager to join the activities. In this way, Westkust managed to establish an ability for people to arrange activities. People visiting these activities mostly come from the neighbourhood Lombok, or at least Utrecht West. Westkust got a time-limited contract until spring 2015, but this contract was extended until late August 2015, spanning the total temporary phase to one year.

In the next paragraph the involved actors are elaborated on in more detail to discuss societal developments and place-specific aspects, not per se related to the above mentioned initiatives.

4.2 Involved actors in the temporary uses on Westplein

Both government institutional actors and local initiators have been interviewed about societal developments and other place-specific aspects. Firstly the results from the interviews with initiators are shown, followed by interviews with people from the municipality of Utrecht.

Initiators

All initiators of the temporary projects on Westplein have in common that they want to make the area more sociable, to make the place look better. As mentioned before, *Marij Nielen* was the first initiator on Westplein. By being part of foundation Ontwikkelgroep Lombok *Marij* got in contact with municipality officers. Ontwikkelgroep Lombok, the municipality and Bouwfonds created a vision plan, in where Moskeplein would be a pedestrian friendly square. But because developments would not start in the near future, *Marij* wanted to do something now:

Because the place looked soulless and pointless, and now it is a nice place. And that has to do with...to make something of this place. Because actually it is a thoroughfare to the inner city. And now this is a little more sociable and better.

According to *Marij* it is a trend to do these kind of projects yourself instead of the other institutions. Bottom-up initiatives are rising because of the recent financial crisis and give rise to new chances and opportunities. People want to take matters into their own hands and want to have more responsibility, while the municipality is eager to decrease their involvement. By taking responsibility, these residents learn to develop their spatial opinions about an area. A local

resident, *Marleen*, who helped in the process to develop Paviljoen pOp said the aforementioned in her words:

... I think it is important that you...are responsible for the space around you. Instead of always pointing to others, to the municipality, or to the government, or to the police to resolve things. I think yes, I am responsible, not only for my house and behind my doors, but also for the street, and for what happens outside. That is...also my responsibility... I believe in a world...that is changeable. And that means that I have to take action, whether it be the garden over there [Westplein] or to sweep the football cage here [Lange Hazelstraat] twice a year because nobody does. It does not matter for me...

Pieter Akkermans (co-initiator Westkust) believes that these kind of initiatives, such as Paviljoen pOp and Westkust, are part of a trend of increasing participation and government decentralization. As he said:

You can show how you can influence your direct immediate surroundings by taking good initiative. In our case, we manage it, but we also said towards the neighbours: '...if you want something, just come by'... That guy...is an artist from the neighbourhood...and is making art and plants over there. Yes, by doing this, he is making his neighbourhood a better place.

The initiators started these projects in the first place to make the area look better. Yet, other unexpected outcomes are apparent. Before they started, they did not know what to expect or what it would become. This process is organic in the sense that nobody actually knows how it is going to look like. Yet the initiators can manage and steer the situation to their likings. As *Remco* mentioned:

And yes again, I do not care what they want to do, as long as it be sociable things, something for the neighbourhood, to increase the whole area, the quality. Maybe again a market, or a terrace, or yes... what people from the neighbourhood want.

However the initiators not explicitly want to improve the local neighbourhood with their projects, yet, the neighbourhood is an essential part. After asking volunteers and initiators where they live, quite surprisingly all interviewees answered that they live in the neighbourhood. Some people live very close by, other a little bit further away. This means that these people have in common that they live in the same area, and that they are doing things in their own area, and mostly to improve it. The type of persons that participate in these initiatives are more or less the same. As most interviewees indicated, the participants are mostly people that care about the environment, take responsibility, are not too young (not under 25 years) and not too old to do the required labour. The participating people are interest-based. They do it because they like it. Also, they live close-by, which means that the temporary initiatives here are also internally driven. The initiatives are not managed or controlled by people that are from outside the neighbourhood.

In sum, the actors involved in the temporary projects:

- desire Westplein to look better and to make it a more sociable place;
- exemplify that citizens take more responsibility for their surroundings, and develop their spatial opinions;
- are internally driven as they live in the neighbourhood close to the initiative;
- participate due to their matching interests (interest-based).

Municipality

No municipal officers knew – after asking them - about the municipality's digital and public map to geo-visualise locational opportunities to use plots temporary. This shows on the one hand that the municipality of Utrecht is quite a big organisation where not all aspects are clear for every

employer, and on the other hand it shows that the participation policy is not implemented in every segment of the organisation. This might be unfortunate for future citizens who want to know more about starting an initiative temporarily.

According to *Ida Thoenes*, a municipality officer, Paviljoen pOp is a pioneer with regard to citizen initiatives in a changing world. *Marij Nielen* pioneered and the municipality followed. The municipality of Utrecht followed, but it was not easy for *Thoenes* to persuade her colleagues. Some voices within the municipality of Utrecht thought that building such a facility like Paviljoen pOp between two busy roads would lead to unsafe situations with automobile traffic and crossing pedestrians or bicycles. Yet, *Thoenes* and others managed to argue in favour of the proponents and that eventually led to get a green light to start the pavilion. According to her, Westplein always was a busy corridor to traverse, and due to the instalment of traffic lights, unsafe situations were ruled out. This line of thought eventually led to approving the initiative. But besides traffic safety, there were other discussion points, such as time management and locational preferences.

At the time, it was not clear how long Westplein would be left vacant, due to the complexity of the whole CU2030 project. Also, it was not completely sure whether the automobile traffic would be moved away. Yet, also the municipality came to the conclusion that leaving such a large area, close to the central station and the inner city of Utrecht, vacant and abandoned was not ideal. As *Wim Horst*, a municipality officer concerned with 'special use of public space', said:

"The municipality hates hollow teeth a lot... You don't want to have or want those. Because it is good now. You can imagine..., people will throw trash on these lands, or there will be high weeds, or you feel less comfortable or less safe... Then, you just have to avert these hollow teeth in the city... This is of course a very clear example, if they weren't here – these volunteers – than these lands would be vacant, and that is not good for the city. Now, it is cosy and attractive. People are drinking coffee. They create things. Now, it is not a hollow tooth, but a little pearl".

Yet, it is not the only aspect that is relevant here. The municipality does not only want to resolve its hollow teeth. They also want to utilize the interim time, the time between buildings phases. In *Ida Thoenes'* words:

Whilst we see now, if you give the terrain, and you try to make that terrain as big as possible for people to make their plans on, beautiful plans arise...and perhaps you could have thought of. But, the variety and the playfulness in it, that is worth a whole lot and you end up with something that would not be possible for the same money if it was the municipality that had to do it.

According to her, financial reasons and the creativity of civilians play a role in permitting these kind of initiatives, as long as their plans fit into their frameworks of time and place. The kind of participation is interactive, in the sense that the civilians are actively involved and may co-decide and co-produce. In terms of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizens participation, citizens are in control of the situation on Westplein, within certain requirements of the municipality. This stems from the word *organic*. Developing organic means that there is little planned, and more is unplanned without an end vision.

Before any temporary projects on Westplein took place, *GroenLinks* filed a motion in the council of the municipality to legislate organic area development (in Dutch: organische gebiedsontwikkeling) on this specific location. This idea came from the local neighbourhood and the foundation that is concerned with the process of building Kop van Lombok, foundation *Ontwikkelgroep Lombok*. Ultimately, the council approved the idea of developing the area organic as an experiment. POS, a division within the municipality concerned with completing the whole CU2030 project, was handed over this idea to unroll the organic process with *Pieter van Sluijs* as project manager. The process is completely new for the municipality, because in the past the intention was to make plans and visions in where they formulate certain goals and how to achieve

these goal within a certain frame of time. Now, the municipality has only little control, as *Pieter van Shuijs* explained:

And actually, we have to turn the whole process inside out, of what are the minimal frameworks to ensure that this will not end up in chaos, to ensure that everything will keep safe and that they will not go bankrupt. But also to ensure that there is as much as possible space for others to invest and initiate.

Project managers like *Pieter* are used to think in ways to assure that a project will complete according to a specific plan. Organic developing is much more a process without an end view. And this crux is difficult for initiators to deal with, because they do not want an end view, they want immediate action. By organizing an event to attract people to the vacant land, it gets meaning to people, so that people remember the locale to be positive. This could have influence in future plan making, as people acknowledge that Westplein is a much better place with these kinds of facilities. According to *Fred*, *Pieter's* hands and feet are tied. According to him *Pieter* is not the right person to perform and lead this organic process, as he described the ideal type of person:

Actually, as initiators for such an area, you need a kind of interlocutor working for the municipality who is capable of - even apart from his formal position - to facilitate you. So, someone who...is enthusiastic for such a thing, because otherwise it is impossible...Like a spider in the web... Look, the municipality talks about we have to work from the outside to the inside, we have to facilitate and all that kind of stuff in their policy. On the contrary all those things... that is not quite common practice yet in the whole organisation. So it is like, that person that you need for these kind of projects is able to handle and dares to... to be like a change agent in that kind of process where...initiators are in and where he is in, where the municipality is in.

On the one hand, he proceeds, if your hands and feet are tied regarding finance and time it is very hard to facilitate these needs. Yet, *Fred* argues, *Pieter* is not the right person on the right spot, because in *Fred's* believe he is not doing all he can to facilitate, whilst the coalition fancies to facilitate such bottom-up initiatives according to their agreement of coalition. Furthermore, *Pieter* knows he is limited, and he was able to say this very clear:

And that is one of the weaker things of organic developing, because no matter what book or article you read about it, usually the financial part is limited to crowdfunding or the creation of funds while nothing is actually written about how to fill those funds. That is just too easy, because you cannot just, things cost money... On one end it was like: in organic developing initiators decide and the authorities pay. Well, that seems wrong. The other end is also nothing: initiators propose and take care for it themselves.

The above quotations show the complexity of such an organic process. Both ends here, want a temporary solution on the vacant lands of Westplein, as hollow teeth are not desirable for both parties. Yet, how to manage such process is something both parties are learning of. Especially the financial part is complex, due to the fact that an experiment such as this is not fully embedded into the organisation. The projects on Westplein are funded with several different grants, for example € ###.###,- from the *livability grant* (in Dutch: leefbaarheidsbudget) was granted to the Makelaars van de Tussentijd for the initiative Westkust. The municipal officer responsible for the request was expecting that the initiative would take longer than just a half year, because in her experience, development plans get postponed quite often. In this case, Westkust started in October 2014 and initially was given the permission to stay there until March 2015, so only 6 months. To grant such an amount of money for just 6 months is problematic, but the end date was postponed in February until the start of the summer. Unlucky for all parties involved in

facilitating or organising the initiative, the project developer Bouwfonds decided that the construction would start after the summer, in August or September. In total the initiative has lasted for 10 months, a much shorter period than was expected by both the municipal officer responsible for the grant and the initiators. The latter would like to have the chance to use the terrain the whole summer, because in summertime it is more feasible to organise events, such as food markets or dinners. Another smaller grant was given - to an initiative that the Makelaars van de Tussentijd had accepted on their terrain - due to the fact that Westkust organised an event at *Culturele Zondag*, a day on which many cultural events take place. Hence, the initiators are depended on several smaller funds or grants that derive from several municipal divisions or private parties. As already mentioned in the above, the initiatives have in common that they want to be an asset for the area as facilities are added and the place looks more sociable. The municipality is not able to do this at the same price.

Besides the financial part also the practical and operational part is important. The municipality and initiators communicate on a regular basis. Yet, sometimes other divisions of the municipality change things in the public space in or around Westplein without noticing the initiators. One example of this is that the municipality has cut off the bicycle lane by which you could ride directly alongside Paviljoen pOp. This lane is now directly connected with the bicycle parking area that is located in a huge cage southeast of Paviljoen pOp. The municipality decided this due to the construction at the Van Sijpesteijntunnel. For the pavilion this meant a lot less daily visitors, because a lot less people would directly pass the pavilion on their way. Another example is that due to construction work at the bicycle parking and on the south side of Westplein some adjustments were planned. Without noticing they had planned that a construction trailer would be placed directly on the pavilion's garden, along with steel driveway plates and cables that would cut through the willow branch fence. But luckily *Remco Jutstra* noticed these plans and was able to call them off and the garden, that was made possible by dozens volunteers, was 'saved'.

There is also a positive example where Ontwikkelgroep Lombok and the municipality are pulling off yet another initiative by writing a competition for a terrain. Between the northern bank (Halte Westplein) and the southern bank (Paviljoen pOp and Halte Westplein) there is a small unoccupied bank alongside an asphalted unoccupied lane, on where a new initiative may come and try to make Westplein even more enjoyable.

This latter example shows the fertile cooperation between authorities and citizens. The produced fertility between parties because of temporary uses on otherwise vacant lands is discussed in the next paragraph.

In sum:

- participation policy is not implemented into every segment of the municipal's organisation;
- temporary uses are *something new* for the municipality, which means constant adapting, learning and pioneering;
- civilians are actively involved and may co-decide and co-produce Westplein temporarily, as part of an organic developing process;
- the municipality saves money by letting citizens take matter into their own hands.

4.3 Social capital

In this paragraph, results are shown from interviewing local residents, volunteers, initiators and municipal officers concerning social capital with its aspects bonding, bridging and linking.

Firstly, evidence of linking social capital is discussed, because the collaboration of the municipality and initiators is already discussed in the latter subparagraphs. That discussion already brought up some aspects of linking social capital. After linking social capital, evidence of bonding social capital is discussed, followed with bridging social capital. Every subparagraph is ended with a short numeration of the results.

Evidence of linking social capital

Results from interviews show that there was evidence of linking social capital between people that are involved in the temporary uses on Westplein. Relatively well-developed linking social capital through participating in conferences and meetings with Ontwikkelgroep Lombok, the project developer Bouwfonds and the municipality of Utrecht has enabled *Marij Nielen* to state that she wanted to take immediate action on Westplein.

As she told in the interview concerning how these ideas have come about:

I was talking to *Siberius Rudger*, he works for the POS, and he said yes - while we were bending over to looking at the map - ... look, the traffic might be rerouted to one side in a while. Also in the interim time. And then I immediately saw 'oh then this part [banks between roads on Westplein] comes much closer to Lombok. Then I looked to that map and I said: 'oh then we are going to build the pavilion already. And that was the first move back then.

She stated these words rather bluntly, meaning that she could say everything she wanted, because she knew the municipality would listen. This trust was earned over the years by participating in these conferences and meetings between the former stated parties. Hence, by being political active over the years, she earned trust by some municipal officers and parties which in the end led to allowing a pavilion to be built right between the roads on Westplein.

In 2011, these parties created a policy-like nota in where they stated that something had to be done in the meantime, before major construction would start. And when she came with the idea, the municipality eventually gave a green light by stating that this project would be experimental. *Marij* recalled:

Well, the power is ours and supported by the municipality...I was inspired by *Peter Janssen*, who has stopped working there [municipality] long ago. But he saw me and helped me. And..., then I was guided by *Ida Thoenes*, that is in two ways a pleasant cooperation. I help *Ida Thoenes*, and *Ida Thoenes* helps me. And then there is *Pieter van Sluijs* from POS. He is doing the best he can but he is...tied to his hands and feet. That has to do with the budget...But unfortunately peanut butter he hasn't got any budget so...he is tied to his hands and feet regularly.

In this sense, by being part of Ontwikkelgroep Lombok or to say it differently, by being an active neighbour, one is able to create influence on decision-making processes, such as the development of the Westplein area. Ontwikkelgroep Lombok was founded to let nearby living residents have a voice in the development process around and on Kop van Lombok.

The same is true regarding the funds that were granted by the municipality. Through the established contacts between the initiators on the one hand and the facilitating and helping municipal officers on the other hand, it was possible to gain access to these funds. Local resident *Marleen*, who was involved early in the development of Paviljoen pOp, said about this:

Yes, I think the municipality is very benevolent, and very positive-natured... This is also because Maanzaad [foundation] in particular is experienced to deal with the municipality. It makes it easier for you to find your way with the municipality, and I think that this is a huge advantage that has launched many things here in Lombok. If you look at [to Westplein]... where many things happen, this is a result of that. If I was to do the same things as an individual, it would have been much harder, yes.

The above makes it clear again that the established links between municipality and authority on the one hand and initiators and locals on the other is crucial in developing such projects. One not only needs political trust, political activism, and political efficacy, but also has to know how to get things done bureaucratically and politically. In this case, Marij Nielen and others learned to deal with the authorities over the years by being an active citizen. Without such experience, Paviljoen pOp was unlikely to get such funds and thus the success it has got.

In this case, the initiators are creating and developing temporary uses on Westplein, independently from the municipality. The municipality accepted the plans and facilitate the initiatives were possible. In this sense, the initiators lead the way, while the municipality is following its demands.

Besides links between municipal officers and initiators there was also some evidence of linking social capital between Bouwfonds and the neighbours. This is linking social capital, due to the fact that Bouwfonds is an external party and in this sense it crosses vertical gradients. At first, when Bouwfonds wanted to build apartments at Kop van Lombok they did not collaborate with the nearby living residents. As result a cleavage emerged between them which eventually led to the cancellation of the first construction plans. Yet, after the first plans were averted, Bouwfonds deliberately sought collaboration with Ontwikkelgroep Lombok in where lots of local residents were active. As *Ida Thoenes* mentioned clearly:

There is no cleavage between them [Bouwfonds and the neighbours]. There was one when the first project was averted. But actually, those Bouwfonds guys really like it. It is possible to just like things... And that is one of the beauties with these kinds of projects, not many people are against them, many people are for it... But, bottom-line, a huge bunch of the people just like to do it.

The citizens, but also the project developers and municipal officer that are willing to be involved in the development process of Westplein simply do this because they like it. The energy and positivity eventually resulted in a much better relationship between the neighbours and the developer. The restored relationship between the neighbours and the developer had impact on the development of Westkust, initiated by Makelaars van de Tussentijd. The neighbours that directly reside around that specific piece of vacant land stressed that is was important for them that someone was going to use the land temporary, due to the aforementioned safety issues.

As *Pieter Akkermans*, co-initiator Westkust and part of Makelaars van de Tussentijd, clarified:

Also the concern to be a good neighbour. From the start it was very important for us that the neighbours said that it would be good to use the land temporary. Because otherwise Bouwfonds might had thought differently about it. If it was the other way around, when they would have said that we rather not want you to come, than Bouwfonds would have not accepted us. But that is also the way how we work. We want to benefit and involve the close residing neighbours. And that is your starting point.

In the end, linking social capital reaches further than only the political aspect, because links between, in this case, neighbours and project developers are equally important. Without a good

relationship with the local neighbours, a project development is much harder to complete, as seen when the first plans got pinned down by the locals. Trust, activism, and participation between these parties were important to effectuate efficacy. Both parties did not want the vacant lands to be vacant any longer, so both parties were eager to develop to get a win-win situation in the end.

Hence, in this case study evidence was found that both participants as neighbours were benefiting from linking social capital that was found between different actors, such as political authorities and project developers, due to temporary uses on Westplein. Participants, in this case initiators and volunteers, were successful in arranging the location and have gained access to funds for their initiatives through the established links with municipal officers. Yet, as stated in the former paragraph, the organic development organization, led by Pieter van Sluijs, has a tight budget which makes operations more difficult. Neighbours were benefitting from the increased collaboration between them and the developer Bouwfonds as result of the ongoing talks that Ontwikkelgroep Lombok had set-up. For Bouwfonds to succeed they needed the collaboration of the local neighbours, thus the developer got actively engaged with them and Westkust.

In sum, linking social capital was evidenced in certain forms:

- to set-up the temporary initiatives the initiators used their established links with the authorities, and thus were politically active;
- certain funds, among other aspects, were made possible due to these links, creating political efficacy;
- these established links are grounded upon trust and professionalism, also by being part of Ontwikkelgroep Lombok;
- the local neighbours, in the assembled Ontwikkelgroep Lombok, fought successfully against the first construction plans;
- the project developer improved their contact with the neighbourhood, earning their trust, to legitimate their construction plans, because in the end both parties wanted a win-win solution.

Evidence of bonding social capital

Bonding social capital was generated in this case study as well. The temporary initiatives try to involve as much nearby living residents (or nearby working people) as possible, in order to ‘work towards a dream’, as *Fred Dekkers* explained triumphantly. By organising different meetings and events at Westkust the local neighbours of Leidsekade got in touch with each other more frequently.

For instance, *Hans*, a resident of Leidsekade, said he did not get to know his neighbours better due to the events that took place at Westkust, as he already knew most of his neighbours well enough. Yet, he thought that meeting them more frequently was convenient to discuss safety problems in the neighbourhood, as well as other issues. *Miss Cooten*, a 76-year old resident of Leidsekade, shared this opinion:

Because there are two guys here, Hans of the stairs [you need to step on some stairs to reach his front door]. He has worked for the municipality... And he is more informed, you know. But he has contact with that Chinese guy [Chong, his direct neighbour]. If something comes up, I can complain to them and they can deliver my complaint to the municipality.

In this case Miss Cooten trusts her neighbours to do something for her. By meeting more frequently they can further establish this trust and maintain or even intensify their network, which is useful in discussing problems in the neighbourhood, such as safety issues. Furthermore, *Hans* is frequently in contact with *Remco Jutstra* because they take care of a little piece of land on the corner of Leidsekade and Westplein. They got to know each other through the initiatives on

Westplein, and this in turn resulted in taking care of the weeds on the little piece of vacant land. The collaboration between the two has in turn resulted in more trust on the part of the neighbours at Leidsekade. When *Hans* gets new information via *Remco* he subsequently informs his neighbours. Events at Westkust are a suitable place for this process to carry into effect. Also, both *Hans* and *Remco* are working in the same line of profession. The contact between them might lead to work in the future, as *Hans* clarified his business network opportunities.

By participating in Ontwikkelgroep Lombok, Remco established a good relationship with the project developer Bouwfonds, as mentioned in the paragraph linking social capital. Yet, this relationship was the base to establish Westkust, as he mentioned:

Yes, than you have a good relationship, or trust [with Bouwfonds]. And when you make a proposition on paper, and you make the appointment, yes you are not strangers to each other. And also, you want to listen to each other because you already have proper contact.

Again, trust is an important aspect in creating social capital, in this case bonding social capital, as two parties that know each other were eager to work together, creating Westkust.

A more profound evidence of bonding social capital is found at the banks between the roads on Westplein, where Halte Westplein and Paviljoen pOp are located. The many volunteers (around 30) that are involved in the initiatives mainly come from the same neighbourhood. These initiatives literally strengthen the relationship between these neighbours, as *Ilse* explained:

Yes! It is really a connective factor, this here [Paviljoen pOp]... Halte Westplein as well of course... those boxes are maintained by people from the neighbourhood... And there are so many people involved!

The increase of social interaction, due to Paviljoen pOp and Halte Westplein, worked as a connecting factor between them. In the end, this increase in bonding social capital, as more people intensify their network, might be a source of increasing social cohesion.

The amount of volunteers rose quickly since they initiated the temporary projects. In this sense, the already established network – created, for example by participating in meetings with Ontwikkelgroep Lombok – of people such as *Marij Nielen*, *Remco Jutstra*, *Fred Dekkers* or *Marleen* expanded because more and more people from the same neighbourhood joined forces. All spoken volunteers live in the neighbourhood and explained that they do this because it is fun, to beautify the neighbourhood, to learn about gardening or because of other reasons such as networking. Hence, these local residents benefit from participating in these initiatives, as they get enrolled into a network of people that have shared meanings and opinions. Many of them strive for a more sustainable society, for example, or refuse to eat meat.

Furthermore, this network of people is not only limited to the volunteers, the network is much bigger. This network of people is expounded by *Ilse*:

...We are working on a piece of art for Westplein, when it is ready...in 2020 or so... The piece of art will be placed on Westplein and it is produced by people from the neighbourhood. All those people that come by [are asked to] produce a little statue. And...those statues will all be included in the bigger piece of art. In total it needs about 2500 statues... It's a piece of art made by the neighbours, for the neighbours, hopefully for eternity.

The above quotation exemplifies that many people work along with Paviljoen pOp's idea to make a piece of public art. The amount of people that are involved in one way or another, whether it may be just for one visit or for a long-term commitment, is huge. *Marij* estimated that around 750 to 1000 people incidentally visit Westplein because of the temporary projects. And up to around

150 people are actually involved frequently. *Remco* recalled that he has added more than 100 people's mobile phone number or email address into his telephone. Most of these people are from Lombok or its close surrounding environments.

Paviljoen pOp, Westkust and Halte Westplein offer the opportunity for people to interact. In a relatively big city, these kind of facilities are needed, as Hans clarified clearly:

So, you sit here in a big city. Sure, it is close to the center, but then it gets more impersonal. Of course that is the risk of the new developments here [on the terrain of Westkust]. That it lives alongside each other. But... it is, these kind of projects help to break through this. And I think that is necessary.

Hence, these temporary projects may develop certain cohesion between its participants, as people get to know each other, instead of living alongside each other. In this sense, the temporary uses on Westplein act as a neighbourhood interaction facility, wherein participating people can intensify their network by interacting with other neighbours. Or how *Remco* summed it up: 'you only have to come, it is not mandatory'. The low threshold to interact serves as a catalyst to increase interaction, even creating friendships. These friendships are between the same type of persons, *Marleen* explained, thus not creating bridges between different socio-demographic people.

Yet, local neighbours who are not participating are not benefitting from anything, simply because they do not want to participate, as *Marleen* explained clearly:

...As I look towards this neighbourhood [Hagelbuurt], they are old school Utrechters, and a lot of foreign-born people. And they've got nothing with that pOp. Likewise with those gardens. ...There is a lot of suspicion. A lot of reserves. A lot of: 'what does it bring for me?' Those people are not going to drink a coffee, you can invite them 10 times, and then will say 'I've got my own coffee at home'... You know?

And as *Pieter Akkermans* explained, people from the particular neighbourhood *Hagelbuurt* [east of Westplein] are not enthusiastic or willingly enough to participate in one way or another. Some *Hagelbuurt* residents even defined their neighbourhood as an island where they live on, while *Ida Thoenes* clarified that most people call that neighbourhood *the godforsaken corner* (in Dutch: het verdomhoekje).

The type of persons that participate are different from the type of persons that do not participate. The initiators tried to encompass all neighbours, and they offered the opportunity, but yet, some people refuse while others drop by.

In sum, bonding social capital was evidenced in certain forms:

- the temporary initiatives created a low-threshold meeting places for neighbours to interact and to discuss neighbourly issues;
- the temporary initiatives created a network of people that live in the same neighbourhood and have common interests;
- it even creates friendships between participants.

Evidence of bridging social capital

Bridging social capital was present in this case study as well. For instance, bridging social capital was found to be important regarding access to resources. *Remco Jutstra*, also a member of Ontwikkelgroep Lombok followed *Marij Nielsen's* example of initiating a temporary project swiftly and initiated Halte Westplein on both banks between the roads. As mentioned in paragraph 4.1, *Jutstra* constructed the wooden boxes on Bouwfonds' vacant lot and a local contractor helped to forklift these assembled boxes to the banks. They were reluctant to help (free of charge) due to they already knew each other by collaborating in meetings regarding the Kop van Lombok. These

contacts are thus considered bridging social capital, due to the fact that without these links *Jutstra* had to pull other strings to set-up his initiative and because these links are formed between people with different socio-demographic situations a certain amount of bridging social capital is formed. *Jutstra* also mentioned other practical resources that have helped to set up his idea:

So yes, at a given moment... I asked the Wilgenhof, like how do you do that...with those willow branches and fences. I have borrowed some tools for example... And last year with urban farming day... I had some contact with them... I have visited meetings of that particular network of...*Eetbaar Utrecht*... I asked how do you do this, how do you do that... And in Amsterdam I've asked different clubs of people that have experience with making these mobile wooden containers, like how did you do that relating to agreements and appointments... O yes, and even with the mosque, they gave me and lent me some pallets when they were constructing.

Furthermore, *Marij* told that she had not expected the Paviljoen pOp to become a place where so many rich conversations take place between visitors and volunteers. As she talked about the positive effects of the pavilion:

Many conversations are about societal innovation. I never saw that coming!... I did not expect it.

It's really remarkable, as I repeated 10 times now. I'm really surprised. I thought, at best Westplein would look a little better, as I didn't have much expectations... That is special I think.

The rich conversations between visitors and volunteers might lead to bridging social capital, because in this example people with different socio-geographic backgrounds cross each other's path which eventually might lead to new information. *Fred* told that every Thursday when he is working his shift at Paviljoen pOp, he meets around 4 to 5 new people. In this sense, the pavilion is a valuable intermediate between different people that pay a visit. This kind of reasoning has been observed multiple times during interviews and observation, and it is not only the initiators or volunteers who say this. Though she was not (yet) actively involved in the temporary projects at Westplein, local resident *Hanna* was positive about the effects that such initiatives may have, as she summed up:

Again, you can be there for each other, you can see each other, you can learn from each other. I think it is very...fun, and if something is left vacant or unused, to... do something fun with it, to use each other's creativity... and I have learnt a great deal from all these people. To network... To meet new friends... it just enriches your life.

Furthermore, the different events that took place at Westkust have caused a diverse audience to pay a visit. Westkust has organised two neighbour dinners, which was visited by a diverse audience of around 20 to 30 people. These dinners were organised in such way that every course had a different cultural origin, with the purpose to learn more about foods from all over the world. Also, the mosque's people paid a visit to Westkust, something that surprised *Remco* positively. The mosque even organises a yearly market in June, which took place at Westkust this year.

On the contrary, participants at Paviljoen pOp and Halte Westplein are less diverse, as they are predominantly white. Yet, foreign-born local residents have indicated the initiatives to be beautiful and are just fine with the plans. Thus, the non-participating residents with different cultural backgrounds are positive about the initiatives, although they are not choosing to participate. No signals were given by the non-participants and participants that related to any kind of marginalisation or discrimination regarding the temporary initiatives. However, as explained in the former, some neighbours just choose not to participate. This may have some reasons, for example because of the character of Lombok, of which *Pieter Akkermans* named a few:

Lombok is a story on its own. Lombok is of course a very peculiar neighbourhood with lots of different cultures... they say a bit about it that everyone is living very good past one another, there is not that much mutual contact. Between Turkish, Moroccans, Somalian, I don't know what else. We aren't different in that. We don't have, we didn't interrupt, or made a change in that. No... In that respect,... here in Lombok. There are very little substantial frictions, because everyone leaves each other alone and as they are, but there is not much contact.

Hanna a local resident, participates in all kinds of initiatives in Lombok. By participating, she met a lot of new people and ended up at Westkust, were an initiative asked her to cook for the neighbour dinner. According to her, the network of initiators and volunteers at Westplein is quite closely knit and may act a little bit more outward looking. But after asking whether it is hard to join that network, she explained that one has to seek for it deliberately.

Ilse, the aforementioned volunteer, became volunteer after walking by and later saw a vacancy advertisement for volunteers to perform day shifts in Paviljoen pOp. She explained that she has an economic and commercial background and schooling, while the volunteers in Paviljoen pOp are much more artistic and anything but commercial. She explained that she met a lot of new people with very different backgrounds, compared the hers, evidentially creating bridging social capital. Because Paviljoen pOp is a small place, people get in touch more easily which creates, as she called *kruisbestuivingen* (literally cross-pollination).

Furthermore, she did not expect Paviljoen pOp to become such a place. She even has plans to make the pavilion more economically feasible, when Marij Nielen decides to lay down her work and when someone else has to take over. In this sense, she sees a bright future for her, professionally, as for Paviljoen pOp socially.

Marij said about the same, as she explained that many dissimilar people pay a visit to Paviljoen pOp. Westkust had similar experiences, as the people from the mosque paid them a visit, and even used their terrain for a market. These instances exemplify that the temporary uses on Westplein bridge certain dissimilarities.

For Remco, the foundation and organisation of Westkust and Halte Westplein had also professional reasons. The experience he gets from it is helpful, and he even puts these on his Curriculum Vitae, creating bridging social capital. As he explained further:

But I would like to do these kind of things for my paid work in Amsterdam [he is works for the municipality of Amsterdam]. I would like to do more with it. But, of course this is pioneering and it is not, something were you can earn a lot of money with, to say it that way... It is a trend... You have to, where I started with, to have that network, have trust, maybe joining a larger collective [Makelaars van de Tussentijd], so you can bundle your forces. I think that has worked.

By participating, in for example Halte Westplein, volunteers create a certain connectedness or collective ownership. Some volunteers try to incorporate other neighbours into the initiatives, due to they like it, and maybe the neighbours are also eager to participate. *Colette* said:

...You run into other people...who live in the neighbourhood, and...you commit yourself for something. You hope that you are building up something. So you keep track with all influencing developments...

Also, the owners of the wooden containers help each other out. For example, when someone is on vacation, the other owners water the plants. They even proposed to compose a planning for the vacation. However, making a planning for watering was a little too complicated and eventually got turned down. When one visits his or her urban farming container it is simple and easy to water the other containers as well. This happens all the time, and in many cases, this helpful

gesture gets replied, when others water your container as well. In this sense, the participants of Halte Westplein established a collective ownership in where they help each other out by watering the each other's plants. They even come with new ideas and initiatives, for instance, they want to arrange a course to build a bees hotel.

This creation of collective ownership was tested by the municipality with the Halte Westplein group in 2014, when the municipality decided to chop all the trees on Westplein. According to them, some trees were sick. Multiple interviewees agreed with this argument, though, these trees got mold because the municipality stopped spraying them to save money. Eventually, not only the sick ones were chopped, but all trees were because the argument was that the trees had to be chopped anyways regarding the construction developments at Westplein. *Colette* recalled:

I can remember that all of a sudden a very big tree was chopped here in the field [banks Westplein]. Everyone was thrown into commotion. Yes, they hadn't warned us in advance about the chopping, that tree gave a lot of shade. And, we thought that we sort of had the control over the terrain, and then, it's crazy... You don't feel that the municipality treats u as... an equal...

Mutual respect has also increased due to the involvement as participants in these temporary uses. Fred, a day-shift volunteer in Paviljoen pOp, explained it this way:

The connection, so to speak, is more than purely functional. It is more... a friend relation here... In a sense, it is a very open network here. You can fly in and out. But if you really want to hitch on, it is not superficial. So in that sense, it is a close-knit network here...

He then called upon the Law of Michels (Iron law of oligarchy):

It is like the Law of Michels a little bit... Volunteer organisations always have a tendency to elite forming... Knowledge, contacts, activities, power so to say, that is a kind of self-affirming thing. And the people with the most knowledge, they have the most to say [power], and they take the most initiative. And so, you always have the tendency to elite forming, to be small... On the one hand this is good to create constituency and leadership, but on the other hand, if you let it go, then this small elite might exclude itself from the rest. So you always have to keep in mind: how open are you, how refreshing... to counteract and to minimise elite forming.

The relatively close-knit network Fred talks about, including the initiators and the more involved volunteers of Paviljoen pOp, thus knows they are aware of the Law of Michels, meaning that they should not make it too hard for others to enter it. In this way the whole network of participants around Westplein keeps a low threshold, making it more easy for newcomers to enter. This is important for the creation of social capital, due to the fact that networks have to remain open and mutual respect has to be granted.

In sum, bridging social capital was evidenced in certain forms:

- access to certain practical resources was made possible by established collaboration;
- a variety of people come together as the different initiatives organise multiple events;
- people got *further* professionally by finding new networks of people with different socio-demographic backgrounds through these temporary projects;
- as collective ownership was created by bringing people together to participate together;
- as the established networks remain reachable for others to enter.

5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this final chapter, the research question are answered, the research findings are coupled with the theoretical framework, and lastly reflections on the present study are made.

To recall, the first sub-question is:

1. How is vacant land at Westplein used temporary?

Westplein is currently used by three temporary initiatives, namely Paviljoen pOp, Halte Westplein and Westkust. All initiatives have in common that they want to make the vacant land look more sociable. It is not only occupying a terrain, but it is also a showcase to demonstrate the potentials of an area, to attract people and to feed the discussion of the area's future.

Paviljoen pOp is a small pavilion that is built on the southern bank between the roads wherein people can meet and interact. Volunteers run day-shifts and meet four to five new people a day, which means that the pavilion is an asset concerning social interaction in the neighbourhood. Halte Westplein is an urban farming initiative, containing 18 wooden mobile boxes filled with compost and rented out local residents. The boxes are located on the southern and northern bank between the roads and make the whole place look more green and sociable. Thanks to a local artist the entrance of the northern bank now contains halve a circle extra cycling path, arched with willow tranches. Westkust, an initiative that only had a contract that lasted one year, is located between the backyards of the houses on Leidsekade and Damstraat. The construction site, beginning its operations later this year, was vacant and the organisation Makelaars van de Tussentijd brought life in it by letting two people live in the construction trailer. Also, they organise events and activities, and create the possibility for others to organise activities. In this way the activities attracted hundreds of people to the terrain over the last year, making it a place for interaction amongst all layers of the neighbourhood.

2. How and why are government institutions and local initiators involved in this process?

From the municipal's perspective, these temporary initiatives are *something new* and not quite common practice in the whole organisation. In this case Westplein was appointed an experiment that was deliberately implemented as a learning project. The municipal's organisation has to adapt to the pioneering ideas of the initiators causing some frictions, which indicates that the municipal's participation policy – as mentioned in the theoretical framework – is not fully implemented into every segment of its organisation.

Citizens are actively involved and may co-decide and co-produce Westplein temporarily, as part of an organic developing process. In this case the used level of participation is high, because citizens are in control of the whole process, with a more facilitating role by the municipality (Van den Brink et al., 2007, p. 39; Arnstein, 1969). In accordance with the theoretical framework, temporary projects provide 'an outlet for innovation and experimentation', both for increasing empowered citizens and justified authorities (Bishop & Williams, p. 23). Especially in this case, because the citizens were pioneer in initiating these temporary projects.

Furthermore, Boonstra & Boelens' (2011, p.p. 100-103) findings are in accordance with the present study. Firstly, involved individuals develop their spatial opinions, democratic and bureaucratic abilities and social communication skills by participating in such projects. Secondly, money can be saved by overtaking municipals' work. And lastly, the political gap between

municipal officers and residents is reduced and a certain trusting relationship between these actors is achieved.

The findings of the present study are in conformity with Firth et al. (2011), who mentioned that internally driven initiatives result in more social interaction in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the findings also show that participants (vast majority lives nearby) have common interests (e.g. more sustainability), resulting in an interest-based initiative, producing social capital which stays in the participating group. Yet, this group of people is open for others to enter, making it an open yet closely-knit network. Hence, these findings support the notion that all actors are involved in the temporary projects to make the place to look better and to make it a more sociable place to be or to cross, yet also because they like to do it.

3. How is the surrounding neighbourhood influenced and how are participants influenced by the temporary use of Westplein in terms of social capital?

Regarding social capital, the findings in this study lend support to the notion that the dimensions linking, bonding and bridging enhance the participants and the surrounding neighbourhood positively.

Evidence of linking social capital was found due to the fact that initiators used their established links with the authorities. These links were established by participating in foundation *Ontwikkelgroep Lombok*, as part of discussions and meetings with the municipality and a project developer concerning the development of the area around Westplein. Furthermore, by having these close contacts with authorities, certain funds and other resources were made possible. These established links are grounded upon trust and professionalism by both parties, and the temporary initiatives help to reduce the gap between local authorities and local civilians.

The project developer improved their contact with the neighbourhood, earning their trust, to legitimate their construction plans, because in the end both parties wanted a win-win solution as the ongoing vacancy was creating unsafe situations.

The latter is in accordance with Stocker and Barnett, who stated that such contacts create a more communicative participatory democracy (1998, p. 188). In accordance with the theoretical framework linking social capital was found regarding all four aspects, namely political activism, political efficacy, political trust and political participation. Participants, in this case the volunteers and initiators of the temporary uses, established linking social capital due to their contacts with the municipality, not the other way around. In this sense, the pioneering stems from the initiators and volunteers, with the authorities that follow their lead.

Bonding social capital was evidenced as the temporary initiatives created a meeting place for neighbour to interact and to discuss neighbourly issues. Also, these initiatives created a network of people that live in the same neighbourhood and have common interests. In this sense, the temporary initiatives are similar to neighbourhood institutions like a public park, due to that such places provide opportunities for social interaction among neighbours, resulting in public familiarity. The latter is in accordance with Blokland (2003), as residents within these places, even without having social ties to others, may identify with others (or groups) simply by observation of one's habits and patterns of living.

Hence, these temporary projects may develop certain cohesion between its participants, as people get to know each other, instead of living alongside each other. In this sense, the temporary uses on Westplein act as a neighbourhood interaction facility, wherein participating people can intensify their network by interacting with other neighbours. Or how Remco Jutstra summed it

up: 'you only have to come, it is not mandatory'. The low threshold to interact serves as a catalyst to increase interaction, even creating friendships.

Bridging social capital was evidenced in multiple forms. Initiators were able to gain access to certain resources that were made possible by having contacts with the project developer and with other area-specific people, such as the local municipality. This collaboration helped the initiators to *get further*, in various forms.

Furthermore, a variety of people come together as the different initiatives organise multiple events. These people differ socio-demographically, thus creating weak ties because these ties between people are less familiar, but may help them get ahead or further. In accordance with the theory, these ties may link people to different circles (Granovetter, 1974) by accessing other information, education, and employment not available in one's own circle, 'information that they can use to access resources' (Blokland & Noordhoof, 2008, p. 108). The former was evidenced in the sense that participants – in this case initiators and volunteers – have met new people with different socio-demographic background (e.g. commercial minded versus artistic minded). This led to other insights in general for them, but it also led to ideas for new business and economic opportunities.

The temporary initiatives created a close-knit network of participating people which in turn resulted in collective ownership, which is in accordance with Firth et al. (2011). In addition to this theory, this close-knit network is aware of creating a close network, so they keep paving the way for newcomers to join by keeping the threshold low. In this way the established network remains reachable for others to enter.

The main research question:

- * How are actors involved in the temporary use of Westplein and how does this temporary project affect the participants and the surrounding neighbourhood in terms of social capital?

The above mentioned conclusions formulate an answer to the main research question of the present study. In sum, initiators pioneer in this case by temporary using Westplein in multiple forms, which are forms of development that is new to authorities, such as the municipality of Utrecht. The initiatives deliberately involve the surrounding neighbourhood by letting them know about the temporary activities. As a result a large amount of neighbours got involved in the activities, whether it be as a volunteer with day-to-day tasks or as a visitor, visiting an activity once a year. Altogether more than thousand people are involved, making the temporary uses on vacant land a worthy addition as a neighbourhood facility creating social interaction.

In general, the temporary initiatives on Westplein generate social capital in a similar fashion as was found by Firth et al. (2011), namely:

5. to develop links between institutions and authorities.
6. by creating a meeting place for interaction and community creation;
7. to build bridging social capital as a variety of residents come together;
8. by bringing people together to participate together, which creates collective ownership.

The study of this case brought up particularities that were not found in the literature yet. These temporary uses not only occupy terrain, it is also a showcase to demonstrate the potentials of an area, to attract people and to feed the discussion of the area's future. For some these kind of initiatives might even be beneficial professionally, as they learned how to deal with all the merits that come from such temporary projects. Furthermore, other initiators and authorities might

learn from this case, leading to more temporary uses in the future creating more social capital in the surrounding neighbourhood.

Lastly, no signs of marginalisation or discrimination were found regarding participating the temporary initiatives. As a certain type of people participates in these initiatives, other types of people are not attracted to it. The reason for this is not fully uncovered, but some interviewees indicated that participating in these kind of initiatives is being done by people that have common thoughts about sustainability for instance. Yet, also the non-participants were positive about the physical changes of the vacant land making the area more sociable, meaning that in physical sense there are no negativities.

For policy recommendations, temporary uses on vacant land offer positive opportunities for the surrounding neighbourhood. Temporary initiatives, such as these, create a meeting place for neighbours to interact and to discuss neighbourly issues. Also, it created a network of people that live in the same neighbourhood and have common interests. It is crucial however, to delegate power to civilians, as they know best how to co-decide and co-produce the area where they live on a daily base. The municipality saves money by letting citizens take matter into their own hands.

The present study has its limitations. Firstly, the case study was only limited to one case. By researching one case the research achieved great detail, but to get a more broader outlook as a research more case studies must follow. In this way, and also as recommendation for further research, by studying more cases new insights may be found about certain benefits and drawbacks of the different types of temporary initiatives.

Lastly, this study revealed that temporary uses on vacant land can act as a neighbourhood meeting facility, catalysing social interaction. The increase in social interaction also means an increase in social cohesion, as social capital is domain of social cohesion. Yet, the other domains are at least as important to take into consideration to grasp the whole concept of social cohesion (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Therefore, to conclude whether temporary uses on vacant land may be beneficial in terms of social cohesion, a more profound research – designed to implicate all domains of social cohesion – is recommended.

The future of the city is being contested by the corporation of its inhabitants, and in this case, the beach under the pavement was found beneficial to the surrounding neighbourhood in terms of social capital.

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APPENDIX I: PHOTOS OF THE INITIATIVES ON WESTPLEIN



Photo 1: Paviljoen pOp



Photo 2: Westkust



Photo 3: Halte Westplein

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

With municipal officers:

mezelf en het onderzoek voorstellen

geluidsopname mogelijk? Naam openbaar maken mogelijk?

hoeveel vragen ongeveer gesteld gaan worden

vragen zo uitgebreid mogelijk te zijn in de beantwoording

1. Voorstellen geïnterviewde:
 - Naam, leeftijd, beroep(en)
 - Verantwoordelijk voor?
 - Betrokken bij Westplein als?

2. De gemeente staat positief tegenover tijdelijke invullingen op braakliggende terreinen. Er is bijvoorbeeld een kaart waarop braakliggende gemeentelijke gronden beschikbaar gesteld zijn voor tijdelijk gebruik.
 - Is er hierover beleid opgesteld voor de gehele gemeente?
 - Waarom worden tijdelijk invullingen toegestaan?
 - Wat zijn de achterliggende gedachten (economisch, sociaal, cultureel etc)?
 - Zijn er doelen opgesteld (lange termijn / korte termijn)?
 - Is het toestaan van tijdelijke invullingen onderdeel van meer decentralisatie en meer burgerparticipatie?
 - Is er m.b.t. burgerparticipatie beleid opgesteld, om burgers meer regie te geven?
 - Werden burgers betrokken bij de ontwikkeling van Lombok door toedoen van de burgers zelf (weerstand), of had de gemeente een delegerende hand hierin?
 - doorvragen

3. De gemeente biedt al enkele jaren hulp aan de tijdelijk invullingen op het Westplein. De wijkambities voor West zijn op papier gezet voor de periode tot 2018. Hierin staat dat initiatieven voor Westplein ondersteund moeten worden voor nieuwe vormen van participatie.
 - Hoe heeft deze participatie vorm gekregen?
 - Weet u wie het project initieerde, van wie kwam het idee?
 - Waarom boden jullie hulp?
 - Was meteen duidelijk dat de gemeente hier achter stond?
 - Wat was de geplande duur van het tijdelijk toelaten van dergelijke initiatieven?
 - Hoe lang mag Westplein ingevuld worden met tijdelijke initiatieven?
 - Hebben de initiatieven gebracht wat ervan verwacht werd?
 - Wat is de kracht van de tijdelijke invullingen op Westplein?
 - Wat zijn negatieve aspecten van dergelijke projecten?
 - Hoeveel uur bent u wekelijks kwijt met het faciliteren van dergelijke (tijdelijke) projecten?
 - Hebben jullie veel contact? (tussen de initiatieven Westplein en gemeente)
 - Hoe beschouw je het contact tussen jullie en de gemeente?
 - Vertrouw je deze mensen beter nu?

With Initiators /Volunteers:

mezelf en het onderzoek voorstellen

geluidsopname mogelijk? Naam openbaar maken mogelijk?

hoeveel vragen ongeveer gesteld gaan worden

vragen zo uitgebreid mogelijk te zijn in de beantwoording

1. Voorstellen geïnterviewde:

- Naam, leeftijd, beroep(en)
- Waar woon je?
- Verantwoordelijk voor of betrokken bij Westplein als?
- Wat is jouw initiatief?

2. Op het Westplein zijn meerdere tijdelijke projecten actief. In een tijd met veel braakliggende terreinen in Nederlandse steden zijn dergelijke projecten een relatief populair fenomeen.

- Hoe kwam je op het idee om hier een initiatief te starten / deel te nemen?
- Heb je daarbij gekeken naar voorbeelden?
- Wat is de meerwaarde voor jouw?
- Hoeveel tijd investeer je in dit initiatief op week / seizoen basis?
- Met welke doel (of met welke doelen)?
- Hoe lang mag je dit doen?
- Was dit vooraf bekend, of werd dit steeds aangepast?
- Hoe is de samenwerking met de gemeente gegaan (vanuit jullie / vanuit gemeente)?
 - Heb je veel contact? Ga je naar besprekingen of bijeenkomsten? Hoe werkt dit?
 - Hoe beschouw je het contact tussen jullie en de gemeente?
 - Vertrouw je deze mensen beter nu? Heb je invloed op het proces met de gemeente?
- Hoe is de samenwerking met de grondbezitter? Contracten afgesloten?
- Waarom worden tijdelijk invullingen toegestaan?
- Denk je dat het toestaan van tijdelijke invullingen onderdeel is van meer decentralisatie en meer burgerparticipatie?

3. Bewoners

- Worden omwonenden betrokken, en hoe?
- Hoeveel buurtgenoten doen er met jouw initiatief mee ongeveer (en in welke mate)?
- Waar komen de meeste vrijwilligers vandaan (welke buurt)? Welke cultuur?
- Werken jullie samen met lokale organisaties? Hoe zijn die betrokken?
- Is het gevoel van verbondenheid in deze buurt vergroot hierdoor?
- Denk je dat dit kan helpen?
- Denk je dat de verstandhouding tussen verschillende culturen in de buurt verbeterd?
- Begrijp je andere culturen beter door deel te nemen? (respecteren)

4. Sociale interactie

- Heb je door deel te nemen aan dit project nieuwe mensen ontmoet? Komen deze uit de buurt?
- Zijn dit mensen die je normaal gesproken ook zou aanspreken/wilt leren kennen? Welk type mensen, ook mensen van andere culturen?
- Zie je deze nieuwe mensen veel?
- Vertrouw je deze groep mensen?
- Hebben deze mensen effect op je leven? In welke zin positief/negatief?
- Zie je deze mensen ook buiten Westplein om? Ook voor het project?
- Heb je er een nieuwe vriend bij?
- Doe je het om de verstandhouding tussen jouw en buurtgenoten te vergroten?
- Denk je dat dit kan helpen?

With Neighbours:

mezelf en het onderzoek voorstellen
geluidsopname mogelijk? Naam openbaar maken mogelijk?
hoeveel vragen ongeveer gesteld gaan worden
vragen zo uitgebreid mogelijk te zijn in de beantwoording

1. Voorstellen geïnterviewde:
 - Naam, leeftijd, beroep(en)
 - Hoe lang woon je al in de wijk?
 - Betrokken bij Westplein? Als?
2. Het plein had voorheen andere functies en bestemmingen.
 - Hoe zag het plein er voorheen uit, en door wie of wat werd het in gebruik genomen?
 - Wat vindt je van de bouwplannen?
 - Passen deze bouwplannen bij de wijk Lombok, of de stad Utrecht in zijn algemeen?
 - Vindt je dat Lombok als wijk is afgesloten van de binnenstad?
 - Denk je dat met de bouwplannen deze verbinding wordt verbeterd?
3. Op het Westplein zijn meerdere tijdelijke projecten actief, zoals het Paviljoen pOp en Westkust Utrecht. Zij zien braakliggende terreinen als verloren, en willen door tijdelijke invulling de plek meer waarde te geven.
 - Wat weet je van deze tijdelijke projecten?
 - Hoe lang zijn deze projecten al bezig?
 - Ben je als vrijwilliger betrokken bij één of meerdere van deze projecten?*

*Bij ja:

- Bij welk(e) project(en)? In welke hoedanigheid? Waarom doe je mee?
- Heb je er bepaalde doelen mee?
- Heb je hierdoor buurtgenoten beter leren kennen? Vertrouw je ze beter hierdoor?
- Heb je door deel te nemen aan dit project nieuwe mensen ontmoet? Zijn dit mensen die je normaal gesproken ook zou aanspreken/wilt leren kennen? Welk type mensen, ook mensen van andere culturen?
- Wonen deze mensen in de buurt?
- Zie je deze nieuwe mensen veel? Hebben deze mensen effect op je leven? In welke zin?
- Vertrouw je deze groep mensen? Waarom?
- Zie je deze mensen ook buiten Westplein om? Ook voor het project?
- Heb je er een nieuwe vriend bij?
- Doe je het om de verstandhouding tussen jouw en buurtgenoten te vergroten?
- Is je gevoel van verbondenheid in deze buurt vergroot?
- Denk je dat dit kan helpen?
- Denk je dat de verstandhouding tussen verschillende culturen in de buurt verbeterd?
- Begrijp je andere culturen beter door deel te nemen? (respecteren)
- Heb je door deel te nemen meer of beter contact met de gemeente en/of grondbezitter? Leg uit.

*Bij nee:

- Waarom niet? (doorvragen)
- Denk je dat de initiatiefnemers deze projecten uitvoeren om de verstandhouding tussen buurtgenoten te vergroten?
- Denk je dat dit kan helpen?
- Wat vindt je ervan dat de gemeente dit soort tijdelijke projecten goedkeurt en faciliteert?
- Ken je andere vrijwilligers die meehelpten?
- Waar wonen deze vrijwilligers?
- Wil je nog iets toevoegen?

APPENDIX III: DETAILS INTERVIEWEES

Number:	Name:	Age:	Occupancy:	Involved as:
1	Ida Thoenes	-	Municipal officer Utrecht West	Responsible officer**
2	Wim Horst	57	Municipal officer Public Use	Facilitator and advice**
3	Pieter van Sluijs	47	Projectmanager POS Municipality	Area manager**
4	Marij Nielen	59	Visual artist	Initiator Paviljoen pOp
5	Ilse Wessels	36	Entrepreneur	Volunteer**
6	Pieter Akkermans	51	Entrepreneur	Initiator Westkust**
7	Adhar Ahammed	-	Unemployed	Local resident*
8	Anne Pojer	33	Music composer	Local resident*
9	Hans Roelofsen	52	Independent advisor	Local resident
10	Chong Hu	41	Entrepreneur	Local resident
11	Coen Mulder	23	Software developer	Local resident*
12	C.R.W. Cooten	76	Retired	Local resident
13	Abdul Hadi Bekash	37	Software engineer (unemployed)	Local resident*
14	Marleen Gerlagh	48	Entrepreneur	Local resident / volunteer
15	Jan de Mars	63	Unemployed	Local resident
16	Hanna Klop	24	Psychologist and ICT	Local resident
17	Colette van Essen	57	Jewelry making	Local resident / volunteer
18	Fred Dekkers	61	Advisor	Volunteer
19	Remco Jutstra	36	Urban planner	Initiator Halte Westplein / Westkust

* = not participating at all

** = does not live in neighbourhood

- = did not reveal age