Greening the City, Displacing the Community: Exploring the Nexus of Green Urbanism, Environmental Gentrification, and Citizenship in Prague

Cultural Anthropology: Sustainable Citizenship – Master Thesis

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CONTENT

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ABSTRACT

This thesis looks at how people engage with and are affected by urban greening projects in Prague, Czech Republic. Greening projects, such as parks and gardens, increase the quality of life by decreasing the environmental risks in urban contexts. The idea behind the implementation of greening projects is called green urbanism (Bhargava et al. 2020). Green urbanism seems like a neutral strategy to reduce environmental risks, however, it also contributes to social inequalities. Environmental gentrification refers to the process where low-income and often non-white residents are excluded from their homes due to the implementation of greening projects, and are displaced by new, higher-income, and often white residents who are attracted by the greening projects (Checker 2011; Dooling 2009). Green urbanism is thus influenced by aspects of intersectionality since race and class determine whether you are included or excluded from greening projects and creates contestations over citizenship. Based on three months of fieldwork in Prague, this thesis describes how processes of green urbanism occur in the boroughs of Letná, Bubeneč, Holešovice, and Libeň. The anthropological methods of participant observation, (semi-) structured interviews, online ethnography, and walking ethnography are followed to answer the main question, which is: *How are residents of the boroughs of Letná, Bubeneč, Holešovice, and Libeň engaging with, and are affected by, processes of green urbanism, and what forms of citizenship are engendered by these?* I argue that six different forms of citizenship emerge from the inclusion and exclusion of greening projects, which are green, educative, self-caring, and inclusive citizenship for the people who engage in greening projects, and marginalized and protective citizenship for the people who are affected by green urbanism.

INTRODUCTION

It is a Wednesday morning and I am sitting in the back of a taxi. The car brings me from the Václav Havel airport in Prague to what is going to be my home for the next three months. The driver is a middle-aged Czech called Petr, who enthusiastically tells me about the city. "Many young international students are coming to our city. The city is becoming more and more popular. Everyone seems to know that we have Starbucks and McDonald's here now as well." He laughs about his joke, continuing by emphasizing the international status of the city. "In the neighbourhood of Letná, there are nowadays people living with more than seventy different nationalities." A bit tired and overwhelmed from all the first impressions, I try to listen carefully to what he is saying. After all, this is the first data I am collecting in the field and his enthusiasm is catching; I am looking forward to the months I will be spending here. Due to our conversation, Petr lost his focus on navigating the route. Stopping in the middle of his sentence, I think Petr is saying a word that becomes the first Czech curse word I learn. It appears that the road tunnel is shut down. Prague's road system is formed by three rings which are cut across by radial roads. Petr starts complaining, telling me this is the second time this month this happens. "They constantly want to make the roads better, more effective. How are they effective if I cannot use them?", he complains. The complex network aims to grow, in both size and efficiency, to make it easier for residents and visitors to move in and out of the city. But Petr only sees the new issues that come with this. "More people come to Prague. For work, holidays, school… And more and more people are owning cars these days. Luckily, I know a lot of ways to go to the airport, but sometimes I have to be creative… It can be a traffic jam or construction work.. you never know what they will plan."

The story of Petr emphasizes the challenges and complications that come with living in the city nowadays. Whereas the new roads and increased number of cars make life more comfortable for some people, others experience them as obstacles that make urban life more challenging. The new roads and cars also emphasize how urban life comes with exposure to environmental risks. Kjellstrom et al. (2007) describe the rise of the sea level, tropical cyclones, floods, water infection, heat waves, and air pollution as examples of urban environmental risks. The complexity of the new infrastructure described by Petr means increased air pollution and demands high energy consumption. The environmental crisis in combination with a growing urban population (UN 2018; Eriksen 2016, 84) creates many

challenges for urban policymakers in providing services, such as energy, infrastructure, waste management, and technology, whilst also maintaining a healthy, comfortable, and sustainable living environment. For example, the creation of new roads may help to reduce traffic jams, however, it also takes up space that can be used for something else, such as parks or gardens, which help to reduce the urban environmental risks. In this thesis, I refer to the notion of greening projects when talking about parks, gardens, or other green spaces in the city that contribute to reducing urban environmental risks by storing water, filtering air, and reducing pollution, for example. Greening projects contribute to the creation of the healthy, comfortable, and sustainable living environment urban policymakers aim for. The idea behind the implementation of these projects is called green urbanism. Whereas green urbanism seems like a neutral way to increase urban environmental protection, the idea also contributes to complex social issues since not everyone has the same access to greening projects. This thesis examines processes of green urbanism to determine who is included and excluded of greening projects in Prague in connection to the notion of environmental gentrification and how this creates contestations over citizenship. Let me continue by describing the notions of green urbanism, environmental gentrification, and citizenship separately. After that, I will describe the research design of this thesis, focusing on the methods, population, location, reflexivity, and outline of this thesis.

GREEN URBANISM

As stated above, urban policymakers face challenges in creating a healthy, comfortable, and sustainable urban environment to live in. For example, accelerated energy usage or shortage of spaces to store water describe the environmental risks that are present in the urban context. As a reaction to these risks, green urbanism aims to reduce them by implementing greening projects. Bhargava et al. (2020, 104) define green urbanism as a way of making urban living possible whilst using as little as possible of the world's resources. The main goals of green urbanism are to lower the city's ecological footprint, strive towards self-sufficient food production, achieve a circular metabolism, and increase the quality of urban life (Bhargava et al. 2020). Urban policymakers can follow the idea of green urbanism by implementing greening projects such as parks and gardens, or revitalizing brownfields to live up to its goals (Rice et al. 2019). Moreover, guerrilla gardening, which refers to the act of creating more greenery in neglected public or private spaces, is another example that shows

how individuals can implement green urbanism in their daily life. In this thesis, I thus approach the notion of green urbanism as a vision that both policymakers and citizen can have with the aim to make the city more green. Green urbanism creates spaces that contribute to reducing pollution, storing water, filtering air, and moderating high temperatures during summer (Wolch, Byrne and Newell 2014). In Prague, it can be around 40 degrees in the summer, and trees and bushes that are part of greening projects help to reduce the risks that come with the extreme heat during the summer season. Green urbanism thus creates many environmental benefits and seems an effective strategy to reduce environmental risks. Authors also highlight the positive effects of green urbanism on the social cohesion and overall well-being of residents living around the green spaces (Kwon et al. 2020; Wolch, Byrne and Newel 2014). However, in this thesis, I question the idea of green urbanism and describe how it is motivated by a profit-minded agenda that contributes to social stratification and racism. Rice et al. (2019, 147) emphasize that the inclusion and exclusion of certain social groups from greening projects are often based on race and class, describing the intersectionality aspect of the process. This aligns with the notion of environmental (in)justice, which emphasizes how access to environmental benefits is unequally divided (Kern and Kovesi 2018). I will further elaborate on the notion of environmental (in)justice in chapter 4 on citizenship, however, I want to highlight here that green urbanism is not a neutral strategy and creates contestations over citizenship since inclusion and exclusion to greening projects is unequally divided based on intersectionality of people. Checker (2011, 212) questions the neutrality of the idea of green urbanism as well. She argues that implementing greening projects is motivated by a profit-minded agenda since green spaces trigger economic growth. Angeulovski et al. (2019) support this, by describing that urban greening increases property values, economic growth, and business investments, all whilst contributing to an overall improved health and social capital. McKendry and Janos (2015) state that cities in the Global North use greening projects to attract global investors.

An example that illustrates this is the organization of Bieno[1]. During the research, I met with one of the employees of the organization for an interview. Bieno is located in Prague and is

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[1] Bieno. N.d. "Homepage." *Bieno,* website. Accessed [June 2, 2023]. https://www.vnitrobloky.cz/korunni

focused on revitalizing inner yards on the grounds of block apartments. Many of these yards are not used and Bieno aims to increase the number of urban green spaces by upgrading them. Their projects create places that live up to the aims of green urbanism, such as increasing biodiversity or establishing places to moderate high temperatures. Besides reducing environmental risks, the value of the properties around the yard will also increase. This example illustrates the paradox of green urbanism by emphasizing that on the one hand it reduces environmental risks and creates a healthy living space, whereas on the other hand, greening projects are implemented to boost urban economic growth and contribute to creating social inequalities. The rise in property value after the implementation of projects of Bieno emphasizes the need for financial stability to gain access to the greening projects. The unequal access to the projects is thus based on income, but also on race. As this thesis will show, especially Romani are affected by the processes of green urbanism and cannot benefit from the environmental benefits it provides. This emphasizes the intersectional aspect and the contestations over citizenship that emerge from processes of green urbanism.

ENVIRONMENTAL GENTRIFICATION

The notion of environmental gentrification becomes relevant when talking about the complex social issues that emerge from green urbanism. Environmental gentrification refers to the process where low-income residents are displaced and excluded from their old neighbourhoods due to the implementation of greening projects (Checker 2011, 212; Dooling 2009, 630). As a result, new residents who are attracted by the greening projects and can afford the increased housing prices come to the revitalized areas, replacing the old residents who are excluded from these areas. In Prague, the borough of Karlín, located under the river on the Southeast side of Prague, is known as the place where processes of gentrification occurred due to its many new buildings, rise in housing prices, new "hipster" bars or restaurants, and new residents. Whereas the notion of gentrification refers to the displacement of old residents due to the regeneration of neighbourhoods, environmental gentrification takes the implementation of greening projects as the starting point by describing how these displace and exclude old residents from their homes. The relation between processes of green urbanism and environmental gentrification is strong. Environmental gentrification follows ideas of green urbanism, and green urbanism triggers processes of environmental gentrification. The notions of green urbanism and

environmental gentrification bring both intended and unintended consequences to them. The intended consequences are focused on reducing environmental risks, however, unintended consequences are much more complex. Rice et al. (2019, 147) state that because of greening projects, lower-income and often non-white residents are displaced by higher-income and white ones. This describes how processes of environmental gentrification contribute to discrimination and stratification. That being said, it also makes it easier for higher-income and often white residents to engage in greening projects and to live in a greener borough. Checker (2011, 2016) visualizes this phenomenon by describing how 'greening' the borough can be seen as a way to 'whitening' them as well. This aligns with the notion of environmental (in)justice again, which I will further describe in chapter 4 on citizenship. In Prague, especially in the borough of Libeň, many Romani were excluded from their boroughs by newcomers due to processes of green urbanism. Development projects created revitalized urban environments with special attention to green spaces and therefore the housing prices increased. This resulted in the exclusion of certain groups who were not able to afford these prices, in this case, the Romani community.

CITIZENSHIP

To further analyse the inclusion and exclusion of these greening projects, this thesis is focused on the forms of citizenship that emerge from processes of green urbanism. By focusing on who engages with and who is affected by greening projects, I translate 'engaging with' or 'being affected by' into forms of citizenship, emphasizing how different forms of citizenship emerge from processes of green urbanism. While analysing the history of the concept of citizenship, its multiplicity becomes visible. In ancient Greek philosophy, citizenship was related to the idea of having political rights, leaving only men the chance of having citizenship since women were excluded from political rights in these times (Lazar 2016). Following this political approach to defining citizenship, social contract theory philosophers approached the concept as the relationship between the state and the individual in which all members of society live for the community to achieve social order (Lazar 2016). This means that individuals have a contract with the state in which they give up some individual rights for the collective and get services from the state in return, such as security. In this sense, every individual has the same rights and the same access to services. Both perspectives see citizenship as a political practice, emphasizing the importance of

duties and rights. Isin (2009, 369) calls this 'citizenship as a status', where the focus is on the legal and formal structures defining citizenship. An example that fits in this approach is linking citizenship with birth right, as Petryna and Follis (2015) describe. However, over time, the definition of citizenship shifted from a top-down and de jure approach towards a bottom-up, de facto, and more holistic approach. Ong (1996, 737) describes this shift clearly by stating that citizenship is a dual process of being made versus self-making, emphasizing that whereas being made is concerned with approaching citizenship as a status, self-making is about making claims to bring citizenship into being. The self-making part of citizenship is what Isin (2009, 369) calls 'citizenship as a practice'. In this way, the concept of citizenship is analysed by looking at behaviour and how acting in a certain way can provide different grounds to claim citizenship. In this approach, Isin divides acts of citizenship into active and activist citizenship, describing the difference as "to active citizens who act out already written scripts such as voting, taxpaying and enlisting, activist citizens engage in writing scripts and creating the scene" (Isin 2009, 381). Thus, whereas active citizenship indicates individuals who act upon their given script as a member of the state, activist citizenship refers to the claim of citizenship that was not given to you, challenging the idea of how we think about citizenship and its scales, acts, and sites.

In this thesis, the inclusion and exclusion to greening projects describes the contestations over citizenship that emerge from processes of green urbanism. Being affected by processes of green urbanism means having no or limited access to greening projects. This describes how green urbanism contributes to excluding certain social groups from the environmental benefits greening projects provide. Being excluded from these projects will increase the need for an activist form of citizenship, since citizens need to undertake intently actions to gain access when they want to. In this thesis, I take environmental risks as the main focus that creates different grounds and contestations over citizenship. Petryna and Follis (2015) introduce the notion of 'fault lines of survival', emphasizing that we live in an age of risk and that this affects the way citizenships are shaped and contested. Problems such as diseases, migration, human insecurity, and environmental pollution are phenomena that shape these fault lines of survival (Petryna and Follis 2015), illustrating how the need to act upon one's citizenship increases to survive in the contemporary world. By following the citizenship as practice approach, I argue that environmental risks create uncertainties in living in the city.

For example in Prague, the chance of floods can damage livelihoods or extremely high temperatures and pollution in the air can cause illness, but also food shortages can be consequences of the current environmental urban risks. Because of this, individuals have to consciously act upon their citizenship, whether these actions are related to an active or activist form of citizenship. Interviewees in this thesis share their concerns about the environmental crisis and living in a city, emphasizing that they want to engage in greening projects to act upon their concerns and aim to create a healthier and more sustainable living environment for themselves and their families. The risks that emerge from the current environmental crisis emphasize that the need to claim certain rights increases, for example, the right to have environmental benefits in your borough such as greening projects. Engaging with greening projects can be seen as a conscious act of citizenship, contributing to creating a healthier livelihood for yourself and others. Being excluded from processes of green urbanism makes it challenging to claim the rights for environmental benefits.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Built on the concepts of green urbanism, environmental gentrification, and citizenship, the following main question is formulated in this thesis:

> How are residents of the boroughs of Letná, Bubeneč, Holešovice, and Libeň engaging with, and are affected by, processes of green urbanism, and what forms of citizenship are engendered by these?

Let me further elaborate on the design of this research by describing the used methodology, the location and population, but also take a moment to reflect on my own position as a researcher in the process.

METHODS, LOCATION, AND POPULATION

As mentioned before, this thesis is based on data gathered during a three-month period of fieldwork in Prague, Czech Republic. Prague is divided into 10 municipal districts, all responsible for their own policies. By focusing on the boroughs of Letná, Bubeneč, Holešovice, and Libeň, this thesis concerns mainly the district of Prague 7, but also areas of Prague 6 and 8. In this thesis, I describe the boroughs of Letná and Bubeneč together in one chapter. I bring these two areas together since they have a similar demography, housing

situation, and overlap in greening projects. Moreover, both boroughs have a comparable history since many former royal buildings were situated here, of which some are still present such as the Prague Castle.

Purple	BUBENEČ
Blue	LETNÁ
Yellow	HOLEŠOVICE
Red	LIBEŇ
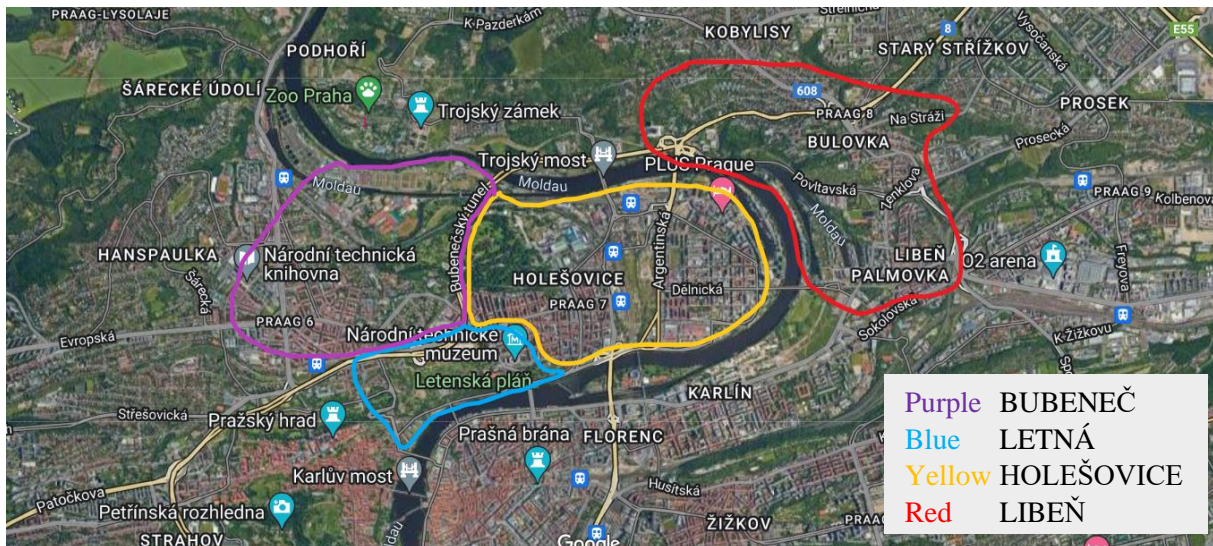
The map gives an overview of the boroughs of this research[2].

All data was gathered by following the anthropological methods of participant observation (DeWalt, Musante and DeWalt 2010, 12), (semi-) structured interviews (Leavy 2020, 437), walking ethnography (Yi'En 2014), and online ethnography (Wang and Liu 2021). I followed the method of participant observation at four different community gardens across three different districts. Due to the civic participation and intergenerational encounters in the gardens, I consider them as useful ethnographic fields to get in contact with different residents of the boroughs. By engaging in voluntary work in the gardens, I tried to grasp the emic perspective by understanding the daily activities, interactions, and events of the community and its participants. I made fieldnotes whilst participating and used them to analyse the characteristics of each borough and reflect on my research process. In reflecting on my research process, I focused on my positionality and my emotional status. In the gardens, I met with people who were willing to be interviewed by me or forwarded me to other interesting people for my research. I conducted eight interviews with residents from the boroughs, participants from the gardens, a politician, and an employee of the organization of Bieno. In addition to this, I conducted many informal interviews during

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[2] Google maps, screenshot. https://www.google.com/maps/@50.1068433,14.4028202,13z?entry=ttu

participant observation, of which I made fieldnotes. Moreover, by implementing the method of walking ethnography, I witnessed the 'dailyness' of urban life by looking at routines, habits, behaviours, and objects that seem to allow much of city life to cohere (Yi'En 2014, 212). Walking through the boroughs asked all sensorial aspects of my body to provide me with a deeper level of urban experiences. I made photographs to capture remarkable phenomena around me that were relevant to my research. In addition to this, I did online ethnography to find relevant literature or interesting events or organizations to include in my research. I especially made use of Facebook to get in contact with these people. Whilst doing online ethnography, I conducted a housing analysis[3] by comparing prices of both rental and buying properties for the four focus boroughs of this study. For this, I used the websites of real estate organisations Engel and Völkers[4] and Philip and Frank[5]. The first one is an international organisation, and the second one is a Czech organisation.

The socialist history of the city provides interesting insights while researching processes of environmental gentrification. To fully understand how this history influences the current processes, it is relevant to analyse the notions of privatization and gentrification in a post-socialist urban environment. Sýkora and Špačková (2022, 698) introduce the notion of post-socialist gentrification, by which they describe how the transformation from a centralised command economy to a market and profit-oriented economy resulted in the deregulation of rents and liberalization of the real estate market. This notion emphasizes the rise of private ownership and how processes of gentrification emerged from this. In this research, the focus will not be on the notion of privatization, but on the notion of gentrification. Therefore, I focus on the last ten to fifteen years, since that is when the rise of housing prices in Prague and the social consequences of this became noticeable for residents.

REFLEXIVITY

My positionality, being a white, middle-class, and English-speaking woman, certainly had its effects on my research. Getting in contact with people who engage in the greening projects went relatively smoothly since most of them spoke English and were willing to share their thoughts on the topics related to this research. However, I experienced issues in reaching

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[3] This analysis of housing prices took place in the week from April 10 to 16, so the offer of properties or their prices can differ from the moment this thesis is published. This overview is shown in Appendix 1.

[4] Engel and Völkers. N.d. "Company." Accessed April 12, 2023. https://www.engelvoelkers.com/en-de/company/

[5] Philip and Frank: Premium Real Estates Services. 2016. "Homepage." Accessed April 12, 2023. https://www.philip-frank.com/en/

the people who do not engage in the projects and are affected by processes of green urbanism and environmental gentrification. I am aware of the fact that I did not speak with people who do not participate in greening projects. The reason behind this was that it was hard to find these people since my main focus was on the community gardens, which they did not visit. The result of this is that this thesis is more focused on people who engage with processes of green urbanism rather than people who are affected by them.

THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis starts with particular descriptions of each borough based on ethnographic data. Chapter 1 is focused on the boroughs of Letná and Bubeneč, chapter 2 describes Holešovice, and the borough of Libeň in chapter 3. The outline of the first three ethnographic chapters is as follows. I first give a description of the character of the area. Following up on that, I give an analysis of the housing prices in this area. After that, I describe what greening projects there are located here, analyse who the old and new residents are in this area, and describe how they perceive the greening projects. Chapter 4 is focused on the notion of citizenship. By connecting the ethnographic data to this notion, I analyse what forms of citizenship emerge from processes of green urbanism. Based on these four chapters, I end this thesis by answering the main question of my research in the conclusion. Also, a reflection on the relevance of this research will be given in the conclusion.

LETNÁ AND BUBENEČ

As I am sitting on the tram on my way home, I notice that the sun makes its appearance today. It is mid-April and everyone is still waiting on the first spring day. Maybe today will be the day? I decide to get out at the next stop and walk through the city. It is a bit cold when I get out of the tram, but the sun is trying its best to warm me up. I walk past a café, displaying traditional Czech pastries in their window. Next to the café is a record store shop with big neon lights portraying its name. I walk a bit further and start to understand where the international status of this area of the city comes from. Only at the first fifty metres of the street, I spotted a creperie, dim-sum restaurant, pizzeria, kebab place, and a shop that sells French cheeses. And this goes on while walking further down the street. Amazed by this international variety, I start to notice the number of people walking their dogs. I have noticed this before in Prague but in this particular area, it seems to be more than in other places. The streets do not seem like the best environment to walk the dog, so I start to look for green spaces around me. Where are these people walking their dogs? It turns out that Letná Park is only a few minutes away on foot, providing a large area for the dogs to run and play. During the five-minute walk, the variety of international shops, restaurants, and cafés continues. The walk ends by passing by a large museum, the National Technology Museum, and then I arrive at Letná Park. The crowdedness of the city is immediately left behind and feels far away. There are not many people in the park, some joggers and people walking their dogs. I guess it is not the first spring day after all. I start walking through the park on the asphalted pathways and think about how accessible the park is for all, functioning as a place where everyone can come together. I stroll past tennis courts, sports areas, and playgrounds. There is a beer garden, which is now quiet since it is too cold to sit outside. There is a strong breeze because the park lies high next to the river, providing a beautiful view of the city. This is a place where you can clear your head and calm yourself down from the fast pace of urban life.

This story is a small introduction to the boroughs of Letná and Bubeneč, emphasizing the international character and spacious greenery in the area. The website of municipal district Prague 7 describes how in the previous century, Letná belonged to Czech princes, locating fortifications and royal vineyards. Nowadays, we know these places as Letná Park (Praha 7 n.d.) Moreover, the same website states that the large green area in Bubeneč, which is now

known as Stromovka Park, used to function as a park where royalties hunted exotic animals (Praha 7 n.d.). This historical information emphasizes the attractive and important status of the boroughs. Nowadays both boroughs still hold this status, on which I will further elaborate later in this chapter. I spoke to Laura, a 38-year-old resident of Bubeneč who works as a social worker. She tells me there is some tension between the residents of Letná and Bubeneč. "Bubeneč is seen as a more conservative area, proud of its heritage and history. And Letná is considered hip and modern, where many international shops, cinemas, bars, and cafés are situated. I think is a bit old-fashioned. Over the years, both areas became the same." Laura considers both boroughs as wealthy and cosmopolitan places due to their international status and rich history.

THE CHARACTER OF THE BOROUGHS

The first thing that almost all residents of both boroughs told me during my research was that they think both Letná and Bubeneč are attractive places to live in. The socially mixed population that lives in this area is one of the reasons residents point out to me that makes the boroughs attractive to live in. Laura, the resident mentioned before who lives in Bubeneč, emphasizes that there are a lot of students in the area who come from abroad or elsewhere from the Czech Republic. Also, many people look for jobs in the city. She thinks the reason internationals come to study or work in Prague is that it is not too crowded and a nice place to live. "I think Prague is becoming more and more attractive for everyone", Laura says. "All types of people are coming to the city: families, couples, singles, students, and so on." As an international student who visits this area, I observe this variety of people, especially in the borough of Letná, too and I sense the feeling of being welcome here. Moreover, Boris, a French man who lives in Letná with his Czech wife and two daughters and works as a French teacher at a secondary school, explains to me that he was attracted by the international character of the borough. The introduction of this chapter supports this, emphasizing the number of international shops and coffee shops. Thus, the variety of people living in the area and shops make it an attractive place for both international and Czech people to live in. Moreover, Boris likes the fact that green spaces are nearby, but that the area is at the same time close to the city centre by tram. Laura supports this, stating that Letná and Bubeneč are both attractive places due to the greenery and good infrastructure. Especially the greenery is important to her. She tells me that fifteen years ago she moved

from the a small village in the Czech Republic to the city of Prague because she and her husband decided to move in together. "Because of his [her husband's] work, we needed to move to the centre of Prague. At first, I did not like this since I was used to living close to nature and wanted to keep it this way. When we found a place in Bubeneč, I felt relieved since it is still close to green spaces", Laura tells me. A few years later, the couple got their first kid and now they think the green spaces provide a healthy living environment for their kid and good places to play. As the stories of Laura and Boris show, the socially mixed status of the boroughs in relation to the good infrastructure and green spaces are considered as things that make Letná and Bubeneč attractive boroughs to live in.

Comparing these boroughs to other boroughs in Prague, it might seem that there have not been any major changes due to green urbanism or environmental gentrification. I spoke to Jirka, a resident of Bubeneč, about this. Jirka studies agriculture and works as one of the main farmers at MetroFarm, which is a community garden located in the borough of Bubeneč. Jirka mentions to me that both Letná and Bubeneč always have been nice and pretty areas to live in and states that "gentrification did not really happen here." However, when asking residents if there were any physical or social changes in the last 10 to 15 years, they do notice some. Boris emphasizes the physical revitalization of the borough of Letná. "I think that the neighbourhood improved a lot. Many old houses are renovated and I think it is for the better because they were not used before this." Based on what residents share with me, I conclude that processes of gentrification are less visible since there are no large development projects visible on the street, but existing buildings or parks get an upgrade. Looking at the social consequences of this, residents notice changes in the population of the boroughs. As said before, the rise in internationals is clearly noticeable. Looking at this trend in connection to the notion of environmental gentrification, Laura tells me that housing prices increased, and because of this many families have to move out of Letná and Bubeneč. Nowadays, apartments are mainly focused on couples or singles due to the small amount of space and rooms.

FINDING A HOME

The processes of gentrification that occur in the boroughs due to the renovation of old buildings and revitalization of parks have resulted in rising housing prices, as residents tell me. Kim lives with her husband and two children in Letná and tells me that she is "lucky to

have bought (her) place five years ago". Laura supports this by saying that in the last 3 to 4 years housing prices increased. Boris even thinks that living in Letná or Bubeneč, next to Vinohrady and Staré Město (Old Town in English), is considered as most expensive in Prague. The situation regarding housing prices plays a large role in this. Boris shares with me that the value of his house almost tripled in the last 12 years, emphasizing he was lucky to buy it at the time he did. Looking at the rental properties as mentioned in Appendix 1, the prices in Letná and Bubeneč are the highest, however, some rental property prices are comparable with those of Holešovice. Nevertheless, in comparison with Libeň, Letná and Bubeneč are way more expensive. Looking at buying properties in the analysis of Appendix 1, it shows that the prices are the highest in Letná and Bubeneč, but that there is also a wide variety in housing prices. Buying properties can cost the same as they do in Libeň, however, it can also cost twice as much. Laura explains to me that in the last years, large development companies gained more ground since the municipality or private owners were bought out by them. This aligns with the statement of Jirka in which she says that in the building she lives in the prices differ a lot. According to her, this depends on the owner of the house. This illustrates the mix between buying and rental properties, but also between properties owned by private owners, the municipality, or development companies. The variation in housing prices illustrates the shift from private ownership and social housing to development companies. This illustrates the rise of gentrification in these boroughs. An example that illustrates this, is the development of the modern neighbourhood called Bubny. This project aims to host 25.000 new residents in 11.000 apartments, creating a connection between the boroughs of Letná and Holešovice (IPR n.d.). I will further elaborate on this project in chapter 2.

GREENING PROJECTS AND PARTICIPATION

As mentioned before, the green spaces in Letná and Bubeneč are important aspects of making it an attractive area of Prague. Both the parks of Stromovka and Letná are sufficient in decreasing the city's ecological footprint whilst increasing the quality of life of its residents. Thus, the use of upgrading and renovating the parks can be linked to the notion of green urbanism and its goal to increase the quality of urban life. Both parks are multifunctional zones, having a skatepark, tennis club, playgrounds, benches, viewpoints, and so on. An example that visualizes how the policy of green urbanism functions in this area

of the city, is the renovation of the Prague Exhibition Grounds. This historical area is located at one of the entrances of Stromovka Park and was in bad shape due to neglect after a fire in 2008. In 2015, plans were made to make this area more attractive by focusing on culture, entertainment, sport, leisure, and space for events (IPR Praha n.d.). The overall goal is to improve the usability of this area and connect the park with the city. The hosting of events and entertainment describes how the renovations of the Prague Exhibition Grounds are beneficial for urban economics and triggers processes of gentrification by increasing housing prices even more.

Besides the two big parks located in this area, another important greening project is the community garden MetroFarm. During my stay in Prague, I liked to walk the 20-minute route through Stromovka Park to go to the garden. MetroFarm is located above the park on the island called Troja Basin. The water around the green spaces on the island gives you a feeling to be in nature and far away from the city centre. Because of this, there are not many people in this area and there is almost no traffic. The water basin that is located next to the garden gives a deserted but peculiar ambience to the area.

Photo of beds of the community field at MetroFarm[6].

MetroFarm is a community garden, having twelve large beds of which the produced food is shared with people who pay a monthly fee for what they call 'veggie boxes'. The boxes

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[6] MetroFarm. N.d. "MetroFarm." Accessed June 29, 2023. https://www.metrofarm.cz/metrofarm/

contain the produced food from the community beds. In the season, from March to September, there are open events every Sunday where people can help in the garden. The culture on MetroFarm is open-minded and accessible to all. The events are attended by different people every Sunday since you can come and go as you like, providing an opportunity to meet new people at every party. Next to the community part, the garden provides private plots that someone can rent for the entire year. MetroFarm is a wide and flat piece of land where you can find, besides the community beds and individual plots, a sauna, a playground for children, a compost and wood pile, a field where more than forty chickens live, and next to that a field where goats are housed. In the middle of the garden, there is a small house with a kitchen and storage for all the garden tools.

The participants of the garden, whether in the individual or community part, are mostly international. During my participant observation, I had no trouble finding English-speaking people at MetroFarm due to the large number of internationals participating in the garden. Nick, a Belgium mathematician PhD student and participant in the garden, tells me that he wants to meet new people by engaging in the garden. Many of the international participants of the garden share this feeling and therefore join the working parties. At the MetroFarm, I did not meet many Czech people. Boris shares these observations with me. "I think many Czech people have a cottage somewhere where they can do their gardening", he explains to me. During the communist period, it was not unusual to have an extra outside space somewhere. Gibas and Boumonvá (2019) describe how during the socialist period, allotment gardens became a part of socialist urbanism, providing residents with natural and productive spaces for relaxation and self-fulfilment. This trend is still visible in the Czech Republic, since many people have a cottage, allotment garden, or participate in a community garden. Besides attracting internationals, MetroFarm is a place that is popular with young and well-educated people. Take for example Owen, a 25-year-old man from France who moved to Prague because of his Czech girlfriend. He studied European Environmental Law and now has an office job at a law firm. "I joined the garden because I missed being outside and working with my hands", he tells me. This story is rather typical at MetroFarm, emphasizing that there are many participants who are at the end of their studies or at the start of their careers and seeking a hobby next to their work or studies. Laura joined the garden for the same reasons, stating that the new hobby turned out to be beneficial for her mental and

physical health. The benefits gardening has on health and self-fulfilment can be seen as something which participants consider as important in life and base their acts of citizenship. For example, Stefanie, a recently graduated engineer student, wants to participate in MetroFarm since she is concerned about the future of the planet due to the environmental crisis and she wants to act upon these uncertainties by educating herself and contributing to the creation of a more sustainable city. Moreover, Boris tells me that there are overall middle or high-income residents who engage with MetroFarm, stating that "the people who need it" do not visit the garden. When I asked what he meant by this, he explained to me that he refers to the lower-income residents whom he assumes need the products of the garden more than the people who engage in MetroFarm. This observation connects to the processes of environmental gentrification that are happening in the boroughs. Since 2021, MetroFarm is situated at its current location. Before that, it was located at a brownfield site in Holešovice where they had to move because of the development project Bubny. This shows how development projects and processes of gentrification affect people and the places they visit. It is interesting that MetroFarm had to move because of a development project. This situation illustrates how processes of green urbanism, such as MetroFarm, can be affected by the rise of new development projects. However, after taking the green places down, the project Bubny plans on implementing new green spaces.

This describes the strong connection between the notions of environmental gentrification and green urbanism. Since Letná and Bubeneč always have been attractive boroughs, there are not, in comparison to Holešovice for example, many new development projects visible. The urban policy tends to focus on upgrading old buildings and making the boroughs more attractive. Note here that the process of "upgrading" and "making it attractive" does not mean the same for everyone, since people who are not included in these processes green urbanism cannot benefit from the upgraded and more attractive boroughs since they are displaced and excluded from them. The movement of MetroFarm illustrates how the placement of a new greening project can be seen as a part of the process of environmental gentrification. MetroFarm probably has to move again in the coming two years since there are plans to expand Stromovka Park to the land of MetroFarm. The urban policy is focused on finding new ways to increase the quality of living in the boroughs of Letná and Bubeneč whilst keeping the goals of green urbanism in mind. Besides that, it supports the processes

of (environmental) gentrification. The group of people who engage at MetroFarm give a clear image of the people who are included in greening projects, but also who are excluded from them.

CONCLUSION

This chapter emphasized the international and wealthy status of the boroughs of Letná and Bubeneč. Housing prices are the highest in these boroughs and this has always been the case due to the historical background of both areas. The rise in housing prices and development projects illustrates the presence of gentrification in the boroughs. The most important greening projects in both areas are Stromovka Park, Letná Park, and MetroFarm. Projects to upgrade these greening projects emphasize how green urbanism occurs in these boroughs, aiming to create a large amount of greenery to attract new residents. Mostly young, well-educated, and international people engage in MetroFarm, all finding it important to participate for health and self-fulfilment reasons, which can shape the basis for forms of citizenship.

HOLEŠOVICE

The strong breeze on the rooftop terrace blows my hair into my face, blocking the impressive view I have over the borough of Holešovice. I am standing here with Jacob, my interlocutor and employee of the office located in the building we are standing on. When we entered the building before, it felt like we were not allowed to be here. It is a Saturday morning and the office is officially closed today. There was no one sitting behind the front desk, the lights were out, and all the offices were empty. Jacob affirms that it is okay, stating that he visits the terrace often on the weekends since he likes to take a look at the wide view it provides. Standing on the terrace, I understand him: the view is indeed magnificent. The terrace has an East and West side, providing both a view in the direction of the boroughs of Libeň and Letná. The diversity of Holešovice becomes visible, showing both modern and old-style buildings. Whereas the old-style buildings look much alike, often shaped in a block and of the same height, the modern-style buildings vary more. I notice the difference in colour, but also in height. The majority of the modern buildings seem to be black or grey, often with many windows. Following my gaze towards the direction of Libeň, Jacob points out to me what he calls the 'pencil building'. He explains to me that when he was younger, about twenty to thirty years ago, the pencil building was one of the first modern-style buildings at the border of the city centre and the suburbs. Jacob points out all the modern buildings located on the left side of the pencil building - I count approximately twenty of them – and explains that these all started to appear after the building of the pencil building. The clear visualization of how the city centre expanded over time amazes me. Whilst taking the elevator back down, Jacob tells me he wants to show me something else. Walking on the streets, Jacob, who is also a member of the community garden called Prazelenina, tells me the garden had to move many times in the last fifteen years due to the rise of development projects in Holešovice. We stroll through a busy street and on the corner, where a winery is situated, Jacob explains the garden used to be located here. The winery looks chic and contemporary, having a minimalistic design with plants hanging from the ceilings and bright lights. "We used to have garden plots in large plastic bags here. It used to be a parking lot. We had to move due to new development projects and this is what came instead of us." Jacob nods his head while laughing. The contrast between the two places is huge and it is

hard to imagine a place full of greenery and a feeling of community at the place of the winery, which feels cold and impersonal to me.

As this story captures, there have been many changes in the last fifteen years in the borough of Holešovice. Holešovice is part of the municipal district of Prague 7. This borough has developed a lot in the past decades through the revitalization of brownfields and old houses (Sýkora and Špačková 2022). It transformed from a borough housing mainly working-class groups with lower socioeconomic status to a place where middle and high-class residents came to live (Sýkora and Špačková 2022). Since the floods in 2002, there have been made many physical changes in the borough. Being mostly surrounded by the river, Holešovice was heavily affected by the flood (Prague Morning 2022). The damage contributed to the start of the renovation of old buildings and an overall physical upgrade of Holešovice (Sýkora and Špačková 2022). This moment emphasizes how the area opened up for revitalization and the start of accelerated development. The area used to locate many factories, according to the website of district seven in Prague there were 32 of them (Praha 7, n.d.). I spoke with Frank, a middle-aged Czech who works as an accountant and lives in Holešovice with his family. "What attracted me to move to Holešovice was the project where they were rebuilding the old beer brewery. And I love beer. So, I saw it and I knew: this is it! The cool buildings that are turned into apartments are really cool and typical characteristics of the neighbourhood, I think. I like it all. The marketplace used to be an old slaughterhouse and there is the brewery and some other factories. So it is interesting, there is a lot of history here." Frank emphasizes how many of the old factories are rebuilt for other purposes, such as apartments, to upgrade the borough.

THE CHARACTER OF THE BOROUGH

One of the things residents tell me about the borough is that residents tend to stay in the area for practical reasons, but also because of its geographical position. "I have the feeling it is a bit of a small town here. It is just… there is a river from three sides. It is almost an island. So it makes it more a small town here. People have a slightly bigger tendency to stay because of the river. You have to take a tram or metro to go out.. of course you do this. But I think it has some slight effect on people's actions to stay here", Frank states. He explains that some people experience the river as something like a mental barrier to leave the

borough, increasing the habit to stay in the area. Julia, a single 37-year old resident who works as a recruiter, supports Franks statement. "I like the fact that everything is lively and there are many shops. Also, everything is very close, such as the cinema and library. To me, it is important to have everything close by and to live in a lively neighbourhood since I am alone and I want to be surrounded by things to do, such as theatre. [..] I have no car thus I need everything to be close by and accessible." This shows that Julia stays in the borough for most of her daily activities and that she knows the people who live around her better, which has a positive effect on the social cohesion of the borough. Thus, residents emphasize that due to its geographical location in combination with having everything close by, people tend to proceed with their daily activities in the borough. On the weekends, it can be quiet on the streets of Holešovice since the many offices that are located in the borough are closed. People tend to leave the city for day trips, visit family, or go to cottages outside of Prague. The urban policy is focused on projects to create more attractive places to visit on both the weekends and weekdays. The revitalization of the old slaughterhouse into a new marketplace is an example of one of these projects. Nowadays, there is a large food hall and are some shops on the grounds of the marketplace but they are not well visited yet. "The marketplace will be more and more important," tells Frank. "I think it will drive quality of life around here. There is a big vegetable market. It is slowly transforming into a place where you really want to go on a Saturday morning."

Moreover, Julia tells me about the development of the footbridge between Holešovice and Karlín, the borough situated under the river on the Southeast side of Prague. This bridge aims to create a direct and barrier-free connection between the boroughs of Karlín and Holešovice, whilst making the island of Stvanice, which lies between the two boroughs, also better accessible (IPR n.d.). "I look forward to this because I like to visit the island to walk my dog and I like to be better connected to Karlín. I hope it will bring more people to Holešovice as well, for example, to visit the market on Saturday." The Market Hall in Holešovice is located next to where the bridge will be built. The development projects upgrade the borough and attract new people from other boroughs, which will trigger processes of gentrification and affect the inclusion and exclusion of certain people in these processes.

Another important characteristic of the borough is the large development project called Bubny. IPR (n.d.) advertises it as "one of Prague's largest and most important brownfields"

revitalization projects. The aim is to create a better connection between the boroughs of Letná and Holešovice by building houses and offices on the brownfield of Bubny, transforming the abandoned area into a new and modern district. The website of IPR states that 25,000 people can be housed, 11,000 apartments will be built, 29,000 jobs will be created, and 5,000 school places for kids will be realized. This will help to decrease the shortage in housing, which is seen as a problem by the IPR (Brabec 2021). In the report of IPR of 2021 the conclusion is that despite the efforts that were made, there is still a decrease in municipal housing stock due to the ongoing privatization and slow pace of the city's residential development (Brabec 2021). I spoke to Tereza, a local politician from the Green Party in Prague, about this topic. Tereza argues there is not a shortage of housing, but that available houses are too expensive or empty. "There are enough houses, but the problem is the way we use them. People buy them and use them as investments. They do not live there, and/or they rent them for a very high price." She shares her concerns about the Bubny project, stating that the project is focused on short-term and corporate residents, which will negatively affect the social cohesion of the borough. In addition to this, Tereza emphasizes that the project is implemented by a private company, which gives them the power to build in the style they want, not aligning with the rest of the borough. "They [the development companies] pretend to involve the local residents and ask their opinions and input on the project. But in the end, they just do what they want. There is a lot of greenwashing involved and the city should be more strict on this, I think", she says. Daniel, a retired resident who lives across the Bubny area in Holešovice with his wife, also has his concerns about the project. He tells me many historical buildings and trees have been removed. "The plan is to create a small park in the new district, but this is not the same quality in biodiversity as the former brownfield. We have pheasants now, and other species. They will be gone when the new district is here", Daniel says.

Besides these physical changes, residents emphasize other changes they witnessed over time in the borough. A dominant physical change they emphasize to me is how the pubs and bars have changed. "It [the borough] is completely different. It used to be more like a workers' quarter. There used to be more like worker quarter places. There used to be cheap and ugly pubs. And it was all just very grey", Frank says. Jacob supports him. "First pubs were very old-style and had typical bar food, now there are more hipster pubs." This describes

how physical changes have an immediate effect on social changes, showing how making physical changes, such as adapting the style of pubs and bars, attracts new groups of people. The new shops emphasize this as well, illustrating how gentrification occurs because of a combination of both physical and social changes. I spoke with Marie about this. "There used to live many Romani and homeless people here. Also less-educated people. They must have moved outside of Prague because I never see them anymore", she says. Frank explains the displacement of Romani, less-educated, and homeless people clearly. "The construction of new buildings and revitalization of old ones was an upgrade for the neighbourhood and this attracted new people to the area. Since the new houses are expensive, there are only new people coming who can afford this." This aligns with the process of gentrification where old residents are displaced by new and wealthy residents, emphasizing that new residents do not want to socialize with the old residents. "New neighbours do not introduce themselves anymore, whereas they would do this ten years ago", Jacob tells me. "I hear from older neighbours that they do not like this. They also have trouble keeping up with all the changes in the neighbourhood", he continues. The new residents are all described as middle-aged, wealthy, and young people hoping to start a family here. This emphasizes how the rise of new development projects in the borough triggers processes of gentrification by displacing and excluding certain social groups and attracting new ones.

FINDING A HOME

As shown in Appendix 1, the rental prices of properties in Holešovice can differ a lot. They can be comparable to the prices of rental properties in Letná and Bubeneč, which are considered more expensive areas, but prices can also be the same as in Libeň, which is considered a more affordable borough. When looking at buying properties, the prices do not vary that much but tend to be more towards the higher end. In addition to this, the offer for family properties to buy is rather small in the borough. This aligns with what Tereza said, stating that the urban policy is focused on short-term and corporate newcomers, which are often singles or couples. Many residents share with me that they felt lucky for buying their houses ten to fifteen years ago because the value of the houses has increased a lot since then. Sýkora and Špačková (2022) emphasize that most rental buildings became private housing in 2011, describing how the process of privatization led to the deregulation of the rents and reduced tenant protection. As a result, rental prices increased, and it became

harder for low-income groups to get access to housing. Marie supports this statement by saying that since ten years ago, Romani people no longer live in Holešovice, emphasizing how lower-income groups are excluded from access to housing. Daniel tells me that there used to be many collectively owned houses but that this changed due to the rise of privatization.

GREENING PROJECTS AND PARTICIPATION

During my walking ethnography sessions, I observed that there are many offices located in the eastern side of Holešovice. In this area, the green spaces are mainly grass fields next to buildings where people go for walks during lunch break or where they walk their dog. In the centre and the western side of Holešovice, there is a larger variation of parks. This is also the side that is near Letná and thus the large green areas of Stromovka and Letná Park. In this part of Holešovice are especially the parks in the centre attractive, having coffee shops or art sculptures to make it an attractive place to visit. Both Frank and Jacob share with me their thoughts on the green spaces in the borough, arguing that there should be more and better greenery but there is politically a lack of attention for it and space is scarce. They describe the green spaces around the river which are abandoned and do not have the same attractive character as those in the centre of Holešovice. There are plans to revitalize green spaces around the river, such as the Park U Vody. This project aims to create an attractive green space whilst keeping the unique history of the old train tracks in the urban environment (Praha 7 n.d.). Due to this project, the community garden Prazelenina had to move to a different location. This garden was the first community garden in Prague and the most important greening project in the borough. Prazelenina is a place where people can rent individual garden plots and have a drink at the bar in the garden.

Photos of the garden of Prazelenina. Left is two weeks after moving, right is two months after moving[7].

I did volunteer work at this garden during my fieldwork. The new place of Prazelenina is located close to the metro station, next to a busy road, and between high apartment blocks. This gives the location a very central and urban feeling. On the first day after moving, the garden has no electricity or water yet. Participants share mixed feelings of sorrow for leaving the old place behind and optimism and hope to revive and make something nice of the new place. As an outsider to the community, I notice how participants cheer each other up in these difficult times and begin the revival of the garden with a positive attitude by shovelling new garden beds. Compared to MetroFarm, the community at Prazelenina is smaller and feels stronger. The bar is an important factor in the garden, where members volunteer and throw parties. The social contact plays a significant role in this community and gardening seems to come second to that. Jacob explains to me how important the garden is to him, emphasizing that the gain of social contacts through the garden is particularly important. "I am a very introverted person, but I wanted to meet new people in my new neighbourhood. Now I consider the garden as very important, it is my social club where I have many contacts", Jacob tells me. Julia supports this, stating that participating in the garden feels special because she meets new people whom she would normally not be in contact with. This emphasizes the important social role the garden has in Holešovice. The social benefits that emerge from participating in the garden again emphasize the importance of inclusion and exclusion of certain social groups in these greening projects. Engaging in the garden can be seen as a conscious act of citizenship to feel more connected with the community in the garden and the fellow residents of the borough. I notice there are fewer international people

[7] Prazelenina. 2023. "Jsou krásné naše záhonky, což?" Facebook, May 25, 2023. https://www.facebook.com/Prazelenina

here than at MetroFarm, but more Czech people with families wanting to get in contact with their neighbours. Jacob, who is a father of two sons, explains to me that besides the social contacts, he wants to raise awareness about the consequences of the environmental crisis to his kids. Increasing knowledge about gardening is according to him necessary for future generations since the world has to deal with more environmental risks in the future. Moreover, the group of participants is mixed when looking at age, economics, and education. Frank tells me the age of people who engage in the garden goes from 25 to 65. He continues by illustrating the mixed character of the group of participants. "We have carpenters, plumbers, nurses, doctors, IT guys, social workers, real estate agents, psychiatrists.. two filmmakers.. it is heavily mixed." Since the fifteen years that they exist, Prazelenina already had to move five times. This was because of the rise of new development projects. Processes of (environmental) gentrification thus affect green urbanism here by prioritizing new development projects over greening projects. However, the new development projects often have a special focus to implement greenery, which emphasizes how green urbanism can be a by-product of gentrification. For example, the development project of Park U Vody includes the implementation of a community garden, and Prazelenina hopes that the policymakers will invite them back to their old place by the river. The rise of development projects in Holešovice brings concerns to residents about green spaces and their urban environment. The organisation of Holešovičky illustrates this. Holešovičky is a cooperation of residents of the borough and their goal is to protest things such as traffic constructions, air pollution, and removal of greenery in Holešovice, aiming to maintain a quiet, healthy, and sustainable livelihood (Holešovičky n.d.). This example describes how environmental risks in urban contexts can illicit acts of citizenship. In this case, the organisation acts upon processes of gentrification which they consider as harmful to their living environment. When I ask Frank if he feels uncertain about the future of the garden, he says: "Whenever we were moving it was difficult to find a spot. It is not forever. We are not even sure about the place by the river.. politics will change and they might say it is not in favour of the municipality there. So, yes, absolutely. We do not feel secure." This illustrates how processes of green urbanism diminish because of gentrification, but also that the new development projects often have a special focus on implementing greenery. Following up on what Tereza and Daniel said about this, I argue that the new green spaces do not achieve as much as the goals of green urbanism as the former green spaces did. The

special focus on greenery makes it look like the project developers listened to the wishes of the residents and makes it more attractive to advertise the new houses as healthy and sustainable places to live in. This emphasizes the paradox of green urbanism again, where it seems like a neutral idea to reduce environmental risks but at the same time, it has a profit-minded agenda that contributes to the creation of social inequalities.

CONCLUSION

This chapter emphasized the social and physical changes that occurred in the last fifteen to ten years in Holešovice. Many new development projects made the borough more modern and hip, which also had an effect on who could live in the area. Less educated, homeless, and Romani people left the borough and were displaced by wealthier and middle-aged people, emphasizing how engaging with and being affected by, is based on the inclusion and exclusion of social groups to processes of green urbanism. Mostly middle-aged residents with families engage in the garden of Prazelenina, which is also the most important greening project in the borough.

LIBEŇ

From the suburb in the Northern part of the city where I live, it is a short bus ride to the house of Vendula. We met at the community garden KZ Kuchyňka and today I am interviewing her. Leaving the big Eastern bloc style buildings behind, I arrive in a borough with colourful and high buildings. The bus stops at a street where a small park is located and around the corner trams are passing by, giving me the feeling that I am closer to the city centre. In the suburb where I live, you only have the metro or bus as options for public transport. I ring the doorbell at one of the high buildings located next to the park. Vendula's apartment is situated on the sixth floor and there is no elevator, so I am trying to catch my breath while waiting for her to open the door. She lives in the apartment with her two sons and boyfriend. During the interview, we talk about the borough and the changes that occurred over the last decade. "There is a saying in Prague: avoid two quarters. One of them is Žižkov and the other one is Libeň, where we are now. This was because of the Romani and poor people. There were a lot of people at the end of the tram station at Palmvoka doing drugs. There are still some Romani. I do not know how they can afford it. The poor people are disappearing and the homeless and drug users are still here. But you cannot see them easily. […] It is a sad story." Moreover, we discuss the green spaces in the borough. Vendula asks me if I have some time for a walk outside since she wants to show me something. We dress up in our winter jackets and take a walk. Walking past many allotment gardens towards a small park located on a hill, Vendula states: "You still see some drug users here. Or you see the needles. I do not know where they live, but it seems they are still here." The contrast between the allotment gardens and public greenery is large. Whereas the greenery on the allotment garden grounds looks well taken care of, the decayed atmosphere in the public greenery gives it a neglected and unattractive feeling. This difference between public and private greenery amazes me and says a lot about the policy of green urbanism in this part of the city.

The opening of this chapter describes the transformation of the borough of Libeň in the last decade. Whereas it used to be an unattractive area to live in, the revitalization of public spaces and rise of development projects made the borough more appealing for wealthier residents to move here. In the first month of my fieldwork, I lived in an apartment in Libeň. Petr, the taxi driver from the story in the introduction, supports the statement of Vendula by

emphasizing that the borough used to have different reputation and atmosphere. "Nowadays, it is possible and safe for you, a young female travelling alone, to live in Libeň. But it used to be very different. If you came here fifteen years ago, it would not be safe for you to live her by yourself." The physical and social changes in the borough of Libeň are thus clearly visible. Libeň is located in the municipal district of Prague 8 and of all boroughs described in this thesis, Libeň is located furthest away from the city centre.

THE CHARACTER OF THE BOROUGH

The borough of Libeň is partly surrounded by the river and has a more spacious feeling than the other boroughs described before. In the interview I conducted with Julia, she tells me she moved from Libeň to Holešovice. "I miss the green spaces of Libeň. I liked to have many green spaces around me and to have a choice where to go with my dog." Tereza, the politician from the Green party, also emphasizes the large number of green spaces in Libeň. She explains that there are many allotment gardens in this part of the city. Samec and Gibas (2021) describe allotment gardens as "plots of land divided into small productive gardens cultivated by individual gardeners and their families." They describe the rise of allotment gardens in the socialist period since the socialist state encouraged the gardens as healthy recreation and (self) provision in times when food shortages were common. Often, the gardens are located on land owned by the government and rented out to gardeners. Since Libeň is located further away from the city and is more spacious, there are many allotment gardens located in this borough. An example is the Budyho garden which is located on a brownfield in the river between Libeň and Holešovice. In the interview with Katja, a resident of Libeň and owner of a plot land in the garden of Budyho, she tells me that the future of the garden is uncertain. "Some allotments are already closed and sold to development projects. We have a contract for a year, so we will at least know we have the garden for another year. But every year we are unsure if we can stay here." Tereza acknowledges these concerns, stating that since the gardens are property of the city it is most likely that they will be sold to big companies to build apartments and offices. She blames gentrification for this, stating that "places like the allotment gardens are about to disappear because of gentrification. The urban policy shows little interest in green. They are too conservative and probably will sell green for other plans, such as offices or apartments." Samec and Gibas (2021) state that between 1989 and 2009, about half of the area covered by allotment gardens has been

given away to private development projects to build new houses. During my walking ethnography, I observed a large amount of construction and building of new buildings. As previous chapters described, the expansion of the city centre is moving further away and it seems the area of Libeň is now the main focus. Whereas the area of Karlín, located under the river on the Southeast side of Prague, is already revitalized, it seems the urban policymakers now have moved on to the next borough. For example, from the metro station Invalidovna towards Palmovka, the rise of many new apartments and offices was visible in the last decade.

The project called DOCK is one of the new residential and administrative complexes in the borough and visualizes how these projects differ from the old buildings. DOCK is a new district which is located on a former brownfield, providing a completely new complex with both offices and apartments. DOCK is situated on the same brownfield as Budyho. In the district, you can find many restaurants and cafes, but also a gym, beauty salon, winery, and private yacht (DOCK 2021). Also, there is a park, which they describe as a place for relaxation amid greenery, serving as a venue for sports activities (DOCK 2021). The photo on their website shows a wide green field with a view of trees. This illustrates that processes of green urbanism are affected by gentrification, such as the disappearance of allotment gardens due to new development projects. However, the new projects seem to implement ideas of green urbanism as well. Despite this, as a critical reader of these websites, it seems the park does not increase biodiversity or provide enough trees for heat regulation during the summer. My conclusion thus will be that the park does not live up to all the goals of green urbanism, however, the website makes it look like it does. Walking past DOCK, the district feels distant and elusive. Contrary to the other buildings in the borough, all houses are white in DOCK which gives it a predominant character. Julia shares her concerns about DOCK, stating that she thinks it is a "dirty business". She explains that she thinks the houses are too expensive for what she calls "normal people like you and me" and emphasizes that she does not trust the people who are able to afford to live in DOCK. The rise of new development projects has thus an effect on how residents experience the borough and what they think of their neighbours. Vendula tells me that she used to know who her neighbours were and that this changed a lot over time. Many newcomers do not want to have anything to do with their surroundings and/or only stay for a short period. She also suspects that people rent their

apartments through Airbnb, which she finds unpleasant since she likes to know her neighbours. As the opening of this chapter shows, Libeň used to be a place Czechs would avoid due to the unattractive atmosphere. A couple living in Libeň with their two children, called Anna and Andrej, tell me that the rise of new apartments displaced Romani outside of the borough. The couple moved to Libeň about seven years ago, when the area was considered "dodgy", as they call it. Because of the arrival of new residents, the displacement and exclusion of Romani and poor people is a result. "I think the Romani and poor people moved outside of Prague, towards the direction of Letnany, which is the North of Prague", tells Andrej. "I do not think gentrification is happening here yet and that they are able to afford living there", he continues. Vendula agrees with this statement, saying that Romani went to ghettos outside of Prague. Looking at the people who are affected by processes of green urbanism, it appears in almost every borough that the largest group of these people are Romani who are displaced by middle or higher-class white residents. The group that is most affected by processes of environmental gentrification is therefore Romani. This highlights the racial dimension of green urbanism, just as Krings and Schusler (2020) describe. They emphasize the importance of race and class when it comes to green urbanism and processes of environmental gentrification that occur because of this. The article describes that lower-income residents and people of colour are often excluded from environmental benefits, stating that this contributes to health disparities and lack of influence in environmental decision making. The fact that mostly Romani people in Prague are affected by processes of green urbanism describes that access to environmental benefits is unequally divided, based on race and class. Being affected from these processes creates grounds on which people can shape their citizenship. In the last chapter on citizenship I further elaborate on this. However, I want to illustrate here how green urbanism seems like a neutral way to reduce environmental risks but it feeds complex social issues of racism and social stratification too, as the displacement and exclusion of Romani clarifies.

The rise of new development projects thus caused many changes in the social demography of the borough. Another point that illustrates this well is the statement of Vendula on the school system in relation to the newcomers to the borough. She argues that due to the newcomers, there are not enough schools here. "It is just the stupidity of the state: they build new blocks of flats but they are not building enough schools." This is an interesting

observation that describes the social changes in Libeň strongly, emphasizing that most families with children are newcomers to the borough. Vendula states that also the proposition of classrooms becomes more diverse. Whereas before the class would be filled with poorer and middle-class children, nowadays there are richer and middle-class children in the classes. Linking these social changes with the rise of development projects on former brownfields or green spaces, I want to emphasize that the urban policy of Libeň is more focused on the creation of new houses and offices than they are on maintaining former or creating new green spaces.

FINDING A HOME

As the overview in Appendix 1 shows, the prices of rental properties are the lowest in Libeň. The offer in rental properties is also the lowest in Libeň and most of the offers are focused on housing families. This aligns with the fact that most newcomers in this area are families. As for buying properties, the prices are also the lowest in Libeň. Nevertheless, residents tell me that the value of their properties increased a lot in the last decade. Anna and Andrej bought their apartment seven years ago and nowadays the price has doubled. Vendula says her apartment even tripled in price since she bought it sixteen years ago. The rise in housing prices aligns with the other boroughs, but the prices in Libeň still are the lowest. The fact that it used to be an unattractive place to live makes this understandable. For example, in Letná the prices are now way higher than they are in Libeň since the prices used to be higher from the start.

GREENING PROJECTS AND PARTICIPATION

As mentioned before, in the borough of Libeň the atmosphere feels more spacious and greener due to the large amount of yards, parks, and gardens. You can find Thomayerovy Park here, which is an older park, but also a new large park next to the Prague City Golf grounds. The golf club and the DOCKS, both located next to the river, visualize the development of the Libeň clearly. The fact that Romani and poor people are displaced from their living environments and the rise of fancy and expensive new projects such as the DOCKS and the golf club illustrates the process of (environmental) gentrification clearly. The contrast between both situations emphasizes the inclusion and exclusion of certain social groups in the processes of environmental gentrification. Moreover, moving out of the borough towards Prosek, you find the Prosecké rocks, another spacious green park wherein

you can leave the city behind and be surrounded by nature. These parks live up to the goals of green urbanism by decreasing the city's ecological footprint whilst increasing the quality of life of its residents. And, as mentioned before, there are many allotment gardens. Moreover, there are community gardens in Libeň. Let me describe the two community gardens where I conducted participant observation. One of them is called KZ Kuchyňka and is located on a hill next to one of the main roads of Prague. This provides a feeling of being far away from the city due to the magnificent view it provides over the centre, but at the same time, you can feel the rush and crowdedness of the city due to the heavy traffic next to the garden.

View from the garden of KZ Kuchyňka[8].

The five minute walk from the bus stop to the garden goes across modern university buildings, an abandoned grass field where graffiti is sprayed on walls and there is a lot of loose trash, towards a small street with modern houses and something that looks like a small forest. Walking through the forest across something that looks like a trailer camp to me, the dogs behind the fence start to bark loudly because of my presence. Almost arriving in the garden, I have to pass by a dovecote, where most of the times the owner was smoking a cigarette next to his animals. The walk always amazed me, since it emphasizes that the area is still deserted but also transforming to becoming more lively and attractive, like the

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[8] Photos made by myself during participant observation.

modern houses and new university buildings show. To me, it looks like this borough is currently in the process of transition transforming from an unappealing to an inviting borough. In the garden, there is one head gardener who keeps track of the overall state of the garden and hands out tasks to the members. There are a lot of mothers working in the gardens with their children. Despite the fact that the majority of the members are mothers with children, Vendula, who is also a member of the garden, tells me that she likes that the community is mixed. "I like the mixed group, there are not only families with children. Really different people, also singles. So, that is what I like about it, that we are able to form a real community." To me, an outsider to the community, the group feels smaller and closer than the ones I visited before. Despite this, people are welcoming me and willing to speak. I feel like they appreciate my help in the garden and want to give something back to me. Anna and Andrej tell me that they feel connected to the borough because they participate in the garden. They feel a sense of belonging to the borough by meeting people in the garden and feeling connected to them. This emphasizes how participating in a greening project can yield as ground to base acts of citizenship.

Jana, a 37-year old resident of Libeň and my interlocuter of this garden, states that the garden is located on the ground of a private owner, with whom the members pay rent. "A piece of the ground has been sold to a private owner. He started to build apartments, however, there has not been a lot of progress lately", she says. This again emphasizes how the future of community gardens is uncertain due to the rise of development projects. The organisation of Rokytka žije, an initiative founded by residents of a neighbourhood in the Northeast part of Libeň, is an example of citizens that protest against the rise of these projects. Their goal is to protect green spaces in the area against the rise of new development projects (Park Zahradky 2023). The activists wish to keep the green spaces because of the social and environmental benefits they provide. During my fieldwork, I tried to get in contact with the members of this organisation but this did not work out. This organisation illustrates how residents of the borough actively protest against processes of gentrification. In addition to that, it emphasizes the diversity of the group of people who are affected by gentrification. Not only Romani are affected, but also residents who do engage in greening projects.

The second garden I visited is called Kotlaska and a unique characteristic of this garden is that they work with ex-prisoners. They are offered a job in the garden to help them reintegrate into society. This provides interesting insights into analysing who engages with or who is affected by processes of green urbanism. The garden creates access to greening projects for people who assumably would not have this access normally due to their history of imprisonment. It shows alternative ways in which people can create a feeling of belonging to a community and shape their citizenship. Besides that this interesting aspect, Kotlaska is a typical community garden where people can rent a plot in the garden. The garden is located behind a large construction site, which makes it hard for me to find it the first time I visit. Again, the contrast between new development projects and former areas of the borough is clearly visible. In the garden, there is a large house with a kitchen and an area where people can sit to drink coffee and have meetings with each other. Walking past the house and upward the hill, you can find many blossom trees and a play area for kids. On the left side, there are individual plots, a compost pile, and a small tool house. Walking past this, there is a yurt where members can throw parties for their children or host yoga classes. The hill continues upward and it amazes me how big the garden is. There are little nooks everywhere due to the many trees, providing the perfect play area for kids and a peaceful and calm place for adults. Marie tells me that most members of the garden are families with kids and that there are a few seniors who participate in the garden. The garden has fences surrounding the area and specific opening hours, however, they are open to everyone, and often families with children who are not a member visit the garden to play and unwind here.

CONCLUSION

This chapter described the rise of development projects in the borough of Libeň and how the displacement of poor people and Romani is a consequence of this. The newcomers to the borough are often middle-class or wealthy families with children. Moreover, the precarious future of allotment gardens because of the rise of the many development projects is described. Next to the many allotment gardens and parks in the borough, the two community gardens Kotlaska and KZ Kuchyňka emphasize again the difference between private and public areas and how the priorities of urban developers tend to be focused on the creation of houses and apartments instead of maintaining or creating new green spaces in the area.

CITIZENSHIP IN A GENTRIFIED BOROUGH

"For me, participating in MetroFarm is super. Everything that I consider as important comes together here: it is a sustainable and local project where you create social contacts and produce ecological food. This hobby is healthy for me, I do this instead of going to the gym." I am sitting with Boris in a café in Letná and I see his eyes lighten up when we speak about MetroFarm. The café is crowded and the bad acoustics in combination with the lively conversations around us require me to draw my full attention to what Boris is saying. "It is a political thing for me. We create our own rules without the state being involved. It is anarchy and freedom, since we do as we want. Which is producing ecological food." Boris starts to speak louder, using his hands to emphasize the importance of his point. I hear a loud thunder coming from outside and look through the window where the rain is starting to fall down. More people come inside the café to take shelter from the bad weather. Focussing back on our conversation, I ask Boris what his main motivation is to engage in MetroFarm. "Being outside and staying active is very important to me. I have more responsibilities now at the farm, such as taking care of some of the community beds. So I have something to say about what vegetables we will produce. It is important to me to buy local food and MetroFarm provides a way to do so. I think the aspect of sustainability is everything together: having a healthy hobby while at the same time eating locally and ecologically." Many people whom I interviewed during my fieldwork explained to me that creating new social contacts by participating in a greening project is one of their main reasons to engage. When I ask Boris about it, he states that he likes the fact that you meet new people, especially young people. "I think engaging in community gardening is a generational thing: it is becoming more like a trend. Young people seem to engage more in the topic of sustainability than older generations." Boris looks outside at the rain and smiles. "This is perfect for the garden. I just planted carrots last weekend." We chat a bit more about what he will plant next week and if I can assist him with that. Then he mentions that he has another meeting, says goodbye, and rushes out of the café. While staring at the rain outside, I think of the enthusiasm and genuineness in Boris his voice when he talks about MetroFarm. It is clear to me that the garden plays an important role in his life.

This story describes that engaging in greening projects is considered a significant factor in people's lives. It shapes participants' lives by framing their daily activities and can function as

a ground to claim rights and thus citizenship. Whereas the first three chapters of this thesis gave detailed descriptions of how processes of green urbanism and (environmental) gentrification occurred in the boroughs of Letná, Bubeneč, Holešovice, and Libeň, this last chapter takes a more analytical approach by describing what forms of citizenship emerge from these processes. As described in the introduction, in this thesis I approach the notion of citizenship as a practice by looking at how forms of citizenship emerge from different acts of citizenship. In doing so, the focus is on what Ong (1996, 737) describes as a self-making process, prioritizing alternative ways in which individuals can claim rights to citizenship over the formal and legal structures that distinguish citizenship. Following this approach, Isin (2009, 381) describes that different acts of citizenship provide grounds to claim citizenship. In doing so, she makes the division between activist and active citizenship, emphasizing the different ways to claim rights and on what grounds. Based on the gathered data during my research, this chapter describes different forms of citizenship that were described by residents and participants of the four boroughs and the greening projects. In doing so, I describe the different acts of citizenship and what this means for citizenship and the contestations over it. Inclusion and exclusion of greening projects are what stand central in this chapter and form the basis on which I introduce the forms of citizenship that I came across during my research. This chapter looks at two perspectives. The first part is focused on the people who engage in processes of green urbanism and describes what forms of citizenship emerge from this. The second part is focused on the people who are affected by processes of green urbanism and emphasizes the forms of citizenship of people who are excluded from greening projects. In this chapter, the forms of citizenship can be seen as responses to being affected by or engaging in processes of environmental gentrification in relation to the notion of environmental injustice.

I: ENGAGING IN

The result of (environmental) gentrification is the rise of newcomers to an upgraded borough who are able to afford the raised housing prices. Looking at all the ethnographic data of the previous chapters, the newcomers are often middle and high-income white people. This group is comparable with the group of residents who engage in greening projects: middle or higher-income groups, often being higher educated and international.

Based on this information, I give four different types of citizenship that arise when analysing this group of people.

GREEN CITIZENSHIP

Coming back to the notion of 'fault lines of survival' described in the introduction, I argue that the sustainability aspect to engage in greening projects is connected to the environmental risks that come along with living in cities nowadays. Petryna and Follis (2015) describe the connection between risk and citizenship by describing how risks can function as the basis for different structures to define citizenship. Alternative frameworks, habits, accountabilities, and life prospects yield to the ground on which individuals can distinguish claims to citizenship (Petryna and Follis 2015). Just as any other metropolis, the environmental crisis creates many challenges for urban policymakers to provide a healthy, comfortable, and sustainable living environment. As the beginning of this thesis illustrated, the rise of roads creates new and increases and urban environmental risks. Formulating it candidly: the urban context increases the need to claim rights and acts of citizenship to survive. Examples of this can be the claim for greening projects in your borough to create a healthy livelihood for yourself and others, or moving to an upgraded borough where there are greening projects present. As the opening of this chapter shows, the idea of engaging in a greening project for a sustainable cause is present among participants. Boris tells me that his overall motivation to engage in MetroFarm is that it is a sustainable project in which he likes to be involved. For him, it brings many benefits together, such as the fact that he gets local and ecological food out of the garden. Another participant of the MetroFarm I spoke with is Stefanie, a 25-year-old engineering student who is interested in the topic of sustainability and alternative ways of food production. She emphasized her concerns to me about the future of the planet and human life, stating that she wants to contribute to making the environmental contamination as least as possible and creating a better future for the following generations. "I think everyone needs to change their lifestyle. If we continue to keep living this way, the world will be fucked up very soon. It already is, actually. I want to do something to help, even though it might have very little impact." Therefore, she visits the garden, hoping to meet people with the same interest, actively educates herself on the topic of sustainability, and changes her actions and lifestyle. Vendula also mentions in her interview that for her the main reason to participate in the garden was because of the

sustainability aspect, however, this changed for her over time. "I used to have what they call environmental anxiety. It was a big issue for me. Now I think that it [the world] is so fucked up.. that nothing can be done about it. So I do not think.. I went there [the garden] to make a change but now I do not think that it is possible to make a change anymore. So it started as a sustainable thing for me, but now I know better. The community garden is not going to make up for all the unsustainable things I do in my life." This describes how Vendula lost her motivation to shape her life in such a way that it is considered sustainable since she thinks the environmental risks are too big and her actions will not make a difference. The stories of Boris, Stefanie, Jacob, and Vendula show that the environmental risks happening in the urban context of Prague provide grounds to claim active citizenship. Their actions are based on the environmental risks that come along with living in the contemporary world and how this creates issues and challenges to live in an urban environment. This guides them in the choice of actions they make in their daily life to decrease these risks. I argue that these actions align with the definition of active citizenship since the participants engage as individuals in a community which tries to do something for the greater good and future generations. Based on the actions of Boris, Stefanie, and Vendula, I define this as *green citizenship*, emphasizing that environmental risks influence the actions and therefore acts of citizenship of individuals and their belonging to a community. In what comes next, I want to emphasize the presence of environmental risks that form the basis of the other forms of citizenship too.

EDUCATIVE CITIZENSHIP

Based on the previous chapters, I conclude that many families with children engage in the gardens. This section is therefore focused on the educative role of the garden for parents and their kids. Sterndorff-Cisterna (2015) introduces the notion of scientific citizenship, describing how citizens actively acquired knowledge about food radiation to educate themselves and others in the aftermath of the nuclear disaster of Fukushima. This describes that fault lines of survival emerge from contexts characterised by risk. Linking this to this thesis, I see a connection in the process of gaining and passing on knowledge, which can be a way to shape citizenship. This section describes that parents who engage in greening projects emphasize the wish to teach their children about nature, gardening, and alternative food production. For example, Jacob wants to teach his kids how to grow things in the

garden since he believes this is going to be a necessary skill in the future. This describes the issues that parents have with the uncertainty about the future and how life will look in the forthcoming years. The environmental risks play again an important role here and it turns out that parents find it necessary to raise awareness and knowledge about nature and gardening for their kids. Anna and Andrej tell me that they think the garden is an ideal playground for their children where they can learn how to grow food and get in contact with nature. One of the best anecdotes that describe the wishes of the parents best, comes from Vendula. After she lost the motivation to engage in the garden because of the sustainability aspect, she focused on educating her children about gardening. "I decided to become a member when my daughter was three years old. We were somewhere in our friend's garden. And she asked me what the brown thing was. And I said that it was the soil. And she did not know what it was.. and I asked her: well, where do you think we get our fruits and vegetables from? And she said from the supermarket. And this is when I thought: this is not good for the children not knowing how to grow things." The need to raise awareness about food production, and broader environmental issues is also emphasized by Sovova (2016, 153) by describing the notion of teaching gardens. Teaching gardens connect schools and other educational facilities to greening projects such as community gardens with the aim to teach children about food production and nature. Most gardens that I visited during my research had a special place for children to play or plant things and they often had events for children in the garden. Besides being a playground for children, gardens also function as a useful place to raise awareness of environmental risks and how we can shape our actions based on these risks. This emphasizes how fault lines of survival emerge from context characterised by risk and aligns with the notion of green citizenship that focuses on long-term sustainability by passing on knowledge about these topics to younger generations. Based on this, I introduce the notion of *educative citizenship* in which I emphasize that teaching your children about gardening and nature is a conscious act of citizenship in which you actively try to prepare your children to live with the environmental risks in the current world.

SELF-CARING CITIZENSHIP

In this section, I will describe the type of citizenship that engenders these environmental benefits. Petryna (2013) describes how health problems during the aftermath of Chernobyl

function as a ground to claim citizenship. Whereas this situation differs from the one I am describing in this thesis, the grounds on which citizenship is claimed are the same: people claim the right to create a healthy livelihood for themselves by gaining access to benefits, whether these are medicines, therapy, or in this case: greening projects. Focussing on the benefits of participating in greening projects, participants tell me that it feels healthy and good to engage in them. Nick, who participates at the MetroFarm, tells me he wants to visit the garden due to health reasons. "I have an office job where I sit behind a computer five days a week. That much sitting is not good for me, I miss working with my hands and being outside." Laura agrees with this statement. A few years ago, she actively started thinking about what made her happy and felt good since she "felt kind of down", as she puts it. Her office job also makes her less physically active on a day and working in the garden changed this. Her new hobby turned out to be beneficial for both her physical and mental health, which describes that these conscious acts based on her health shape her daily acts in life and thus her citizenship. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Boris thinks working in the garden feels like going to the gym. He wants to be outside and stay active since he thinks it is good for his health. This again shows that these conscious acts of citizenship are alternative ways in which individuals create their grounds to shape citizenship. Moreover, Boris likes the fact that the produced food is ecological and biological, something he considers as important for his health and that of his family. This aligns with what Renting et al. (2012) describe as food citizenship, defining it as a practice of engaging in food systems that support a democratic, socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable food system. This shows how the health benefits that come along with greening projects can be focused on the individual, but also as something that can be beneficial for the community. Based on the statements of Nick, Laura, and Boris, I introduce the notion of *self-caring citizenship* here, referring to the idea to take actions that shape your citizenship that will improve your health and well-being.

INCLUSIVE CITIZENSHIP

Sovova (2016, 10) states that community gardens are "praised for enhancing social cohesion, intergenerational encounters, the informal integration of minorities and civic participation." This emphasizes the importance of the social aspect of greening projects. Whilst analysing my notes from participant observation and interviews, it turned out this was considered one

of the most important motivations of residents to engage in greening projects. In one of my many fieldnotes, I wrote: "Interestingly enough, for almost all participants of the gardens the social part is the most important part. Gardening comes usually second and seems a tool that people use to socialise." For example, Jacob tells me that he is an introverted person and finds it difficult to meet new people. However, when he moved to Holešovice he did want to meet his neighbours and new people. "I see the garden as a social club now, where I have many relations and social contacts", he says. Julia agrees with him, stating that gardening was not her biggest motivation to join Prazelenina but the social aspect was. She feels less anonymous in the borough since she knows lots of neighbours. To her, participating in the garden feels special because she meets people whom she would normally not be in contact with. Vendula emphasizes to me that she has the feeling to be part of a tight community at the garden of KZ Kuchyňka and that this is the most important to her. At the garden of Kotlaska, I speak with Andrej and Anna, who tell me that the sense of belonging to the borough increased since they started to participate in the garden. "We just moved here [Libeň] and did not know anyone. Thus, we wanted to find a way to feel connected to the neighbourhood. We are both kind of introverts so we find it difficult to find new friends. The garden provided a good way to do so." Moreover, they emphasize to me that they think participating in the garden is an individual thing, but you do it together. This can be connected to what Ong (1996) writes about the feeling of belonging to a community. She states that hegemonic ideas in society distinguish who belongs and who does not to a certain community, in the case of her article this is based on racial and cultural terms. The garden of Kotlaska where ex-prisoners participate provides interesting in this context. The idea to include people who, according to the data of this thesis, do not fit in the characteristics of people who engage in greening projects, illustrates how greening projects also can function as ways to get different people in contact with each other. This is an example of how the inclusion to greening projects is an alternative way in which the feeling to be part of a community emerges and contributes to the process of reintegration in society. This all shapes the ground on which people can build citizenship. Linking this and the stories of Jacob, Vendula, Andrej, and Anna to the topics of this thesis, shows that the process of self-making depends on the wish to be part of a community, such as the gardens, to create a safe and amicable place for newcomers to feel a sense of belonging to the borough and their neighbours. Therefore, I argue that participating in greening projects is an

active form of citizenship. Based on that, I introduce the notion of *inclusive citizenship* wherein the wish to connect with neighbours and built relationships with the people that live around you describes that residents want to be part of the community and actively take actions to be.

II: BEING AFFECTED BY

As all previous chapters already mentioned, the people who are affected by the processes of green urbanism in combination with (environmental) gentrification are mostly Romani and lower-income residents since they are not able to afford the raised housing prices. In this last part of this chapter, I will describe one form of citizenship that emerges from being affected by processes of environmental gentrification. Due to the issues of getting into contact with these people, I can give fewer forms of citizenship due to the fact that my data is mostly focused on the people who engage with greening projects. Therefore, the second part of this chapter is shorter than the first one. An important factor for being affected by processes of green urbanism is social economic status, but also race plays an essential role. Authors describe that the displacement of people of colour by white newcomers is a consequence of processes of (environmental) gentrification (Rice et al. 2019; Kern and Kovesi 2018; Krings and Schusler 2020; Angeulovski 2016). The notion of environmental (in)justice plays an important role here, emphasizing how it can be the base of forming citizenship. Let me further elaborate on this in the next section.

MARGINALIZED CITIZENSHIP

This section focuses on the people who are affected by the processes of green urbanism. In doing so, I focus on the notion of environmental injustice. Kern and Kovesi (2018, 960) describe how processes of environmental gentrification align with the notion of environmental injustice. They state that greening projects attract new, wealthy, and often white residents. This new group is thus included in the greening projects and is able to enjoy the benefits of them. On the other hand, old residents are displaced because of the newcomers. The old residents are often lower-income residents and the exclusion of this group of people creates unequal access to the benefits of greening projects based on skin colour and class. Krings and Schusler (2020) argue the importance of race and class when it comes to processes of green urbanism, emphasizing the intersectional aspect of it all. They

state that environmental injustice contributes to health disparities since lower-income residents and people of colour often lack access to environmental amenities, do not have influence in environmental decision-making, and live in contexts with higher concentrated environmental contamination. Checker (2011, 212) describes how the implementation of greening projects seems like a sincere strategy, but that it also increases social stratification and inequalities. Angeulovski (2016, 31) supports this statement, arguing that "bringing nature back into the city is still too much romanticized", by which she accentuates the downsides of implementing greening projects in the city, referring to the exclusion and displacement of vulnerable residents due to processes of gentrification. The displacement and exclusion of residents show that not everyone has the same access to engage in greening projects. When you are included in participating in greening projects, your citizenship is shaped differently than when you are excluded from the projects. DeSena and Shortell (2012, 115) state that race is a predictor of where environmentally hazardous facilities will be located in an area. By describing environmental 'bads' and 'goods', they illustrate how white and middle or high-income people often live in areas with environmental benefits, whereas non white and lower-income people live in places with higher environmental risks. In Prague, processes of green urbanism and (environmental) gentrification caused the displacement and exclusion of Romani, low-income, non-white, addicts, and homeless people, reinforcing processes of environmental injustice that drive discrimination, social stratification, and racism. As Boris from MetroFarm told me, mostly middle or high-income residents engage in the garden. He thinks that the people who need it do not visit the garden. He refers to the group of lower-income residents whom he assumes need the products of the garden more than the people who engage in MetroFarm. This illustrates how exclusion from greening projects leads to unequal access to environmental benefits, describing contestation over citizenship. Not having access to greening projects such as gardens excludes you from the forms of green, educative, self-caring, and inclusive citizenship. This means not having the right to the health benefits greening projects provide, not being able to educative your children in this way, not having access to all the social relations in the community, and so on. Thus, the racial and financial aspects on which environmental injustice is based in the context of Prague results in many socially complex issues and the exclusion of types of citizenship and the rights that come with them. Based on this, I introduce the notion of *marginalized citizenship*. This form of

citizenship illustrates that displacement and exclusion due to environmental gentrification and green urbanism are based on race and income and drive social stratification and racism. This forms the basis for environmental injustice, emphasizing the unequal access to greening projects in Prague.

PROTECTIVE CITIZENSHIP

This thesis describes that urban policies use green spaces such as allotment gardens or brownfields to build new apartments or offices. In theory, the new development projects seem to have a special focus on implementing new greenery, however, it turns out that often the new green spaces are not of the same quality as the former green spaces. Chapter 3 describes this clearly by emphasizing the uncertain future of allotment gardens due to the rise of new development projects in the borough. Projects such as DOCK advertise with parks and green fields but this new greenery do not live up to all the goals of green urbanism like the allotment gardens or brownfields did. Citizens express their concerns over this and the organisations of Rokytka žije and Holešovicky both provide interesting insights into analysing what forms of citizenship emerge from processes of green urbanism and (environmental) gentrification. The actions of the members of the organisations align with the principles of green citizenship since both groups aim to reduce environmental risks in the urban environment and wish to stay in touch with nature. Nevertheless, where green citizenship is seen as active citizenship, the members of both organisations undertake an activist type of citizenship. The conscious actions to live up to their principles and what they believe is good for the world shapes their lives. Looking at what Isin says about citizenship, this is thus an activist form of citizenship since people actively shape their actions on grounds they consider as important. They act in an alternative form to frame a new form of citizenship based on personal morals and principles, and do this together with a group they are a part of. Based on these actions, I introduce the notion of *protective citizenship.* With this notion, I refer to the type of citizenship that is based on activist acts of citizenship to protect personal beliefs and principles, in this case the protection of green spaces in the borough.

CONCLUSION

This chapter described that from inclusion and exclusion to greening projects contestations over citizenship emerge. Being included in processes of green urbanism means being able to

engage in greening projects and grant access to the environmental benefits the projects provide. The group of citizens who engage in greening projects is characterised by middle or higher-income residents, often white, higher educated, and international. The people who are excluded from greening projects are mostly Romani, lower-income, and non-white residents. This describes how processes of environmental (in)justice are based on race and class, emphasizing the intersectional aspect of processes of green urbanism and (environmental) gentrification. Environmental (in)justice describes that someone takes an active form citizenship when they have access to greening projects, as types of green, educative, self-caring, and inclusive citizenship described. If someone is excluded from greening projects, activist citizenship is needed to gain access to the environmental benefits, as the types of marginalized and protective citizenship showed.

CONCLUSION

The increasing environmental risks in urban contexts require urban policymakers to focus on processes of green urbanism such as the implementation of greening projects. Nevertheless, this thesis critically questioned the neutrality of green urbanism since it contributes to the creation of social inequalities. By focusing on the boroughs of Letná, Bubeneč, Holešovice, and Libeň, this thesis described what processes of green urbanism and environmental gentrification occur here and who engages in and is affected by these processes. The inclusion and exclusion from greening projects are what formed the basis for the main question of this thesis, which is: *How are residents of the boroughs of Letná, Bubeneč, Holešovice, and Libeň engaging with, and are affected by, processes of green urbanism, and what forms of citizenship are engendered by these?*

As the first three ethnographic chapters showed, the greening projects and their participants that stood central in this thesis were the community gardens MetroFarm, Prazelenina, KZ Kuchyňka, and Kotlaska. Participant observation in these gardens and (semi-) structured interviews with participants emphasized that mostly young, well-educated, international, middle or higher-income residents engage in greening projects. The people who do not participate in greening projects are lower-income residents and often non-white people. People who are affected by processes of green urbanism in combination with (environmental) gentrification due to the rise of development projects and revitalization of old buildings are Romani, lower-income, and working-class people. In Letná and Bubeneč, boroughs that were already considered as wealthy gained an even more upscale character due to the revitalization of the area and the rise in housing prices. In Holešovice and Libeň, processes of green urbanism are afflicted by processes of (environmental) gentrification. The rise of new development projects often takes up green spaces, such as allotment gardens. Nevertheless, these development projects often have a special focus to implement new greenery. In this thesis, I argued that the new green spaces do not achieve as much as the goals of green urbanism as the former green spaces did. The project Bubny emphasized this by illustrating that the former brownfield had a wide variety in biodiversity, whereas the new neighbourhood will only have a few grass fields. Thus, development projects use ideas of green urbanism to make new neighbourhoods more attractive, which emphasizes the paradox of green urbanism: it seems like a way to reduce environmental risks but also holds

a profit-minded agenda. At the same time, it contributes to the creation of social inequalities. The rise of the development projects and the social changes in the boroughs of Holešovice and Libeň clearly emphasize the presence of processes of green urbanism and (environmental) gentrification where old residents are excluded from their homes and displaced by newcomers.

As the last chapter of this thesis showed, engaging in and being affected by processes of green urbanism in relation to the notion of environmental gentrification shape different grounds and contestations over citizenship. Being included in processes of green urbanism gives the access to engage in greening projects and their environmental benefits. Being included and engaging in processes of green urbanism asks for an active form of citizenship where people address topics such as sustainability, education, self-care, and inclusiveness. When someone is excluded from and affected by processes of green urbanism, activist citizenship is needed to gain access to greening projects. The intersectional aspect of gaining access to greening projects in connection to the process of environmental (in)justice emphasizes the social inequalities that emerge from green urbanism and how it contributes to contestations over citizenship.

DISCUSSION

In this thesis, I tried to capture the forms of citizenship that emerge from processes of green urbanism. In doing so, I focussed on people who engage in and are affected by these processes. The main intention of this research was to specifically focus on processes of environmental gentrification and the different forms of citizenship that emerge from these processes. However, I stumbled upon various issues to reach the people who are affected by processes of environmental gentrification. My positionality in this research, as a female, white, and international student, created difficulties in finding access to this group. During my fieldwork, I tried to reach the people who are affected by environmental gentrification by attending a church meeting. I hoped to meet people here but experienced difficulties in encountering this group of people here as well. The short period of fieldwork therefore made me choose to focus on the group of people whom I was in contact with. As a result, I focused specifically on the processes of green urbanism and the people who engage in greening projects. In doing so, I tried to analyse processes of environmental gentrification by taking a broader perspective on the idea of green urbanism and how these two concepts are connected to each other.

In future research, I advise to focus during the preparatory phase of the research on organisations or events that are attended by people who are affected by processes of environmental gentrification. This will lead to different ethnographic fields to research the topics of environmental gentrification, green urbanism, and citizenship. Especially in terms of citizenship, I think it is necessary to change this perspective to give more insights into forms of citizenship that emerge from being affected, displaced, and excluded from processes of environmental gentrification. Despite this, this thesis provided well-analysed and in-depth insights into processes of green urbanism in the context of Prague. The connection to forms of citizenship that emerge from these processes creates a deeper understanding of what it means to be included in greening projects and what the role of the intersectional aspect is in this situation. This thesis emphasized the contradictions of the idea of green urbanism and how it drives processes of environmental gentrification and (in)justice.

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APPENDIX 1

Rental properties (rent is price per month)

	LETNÁ/BUBENEČ	HOLEŠOVICE	LIBEŇ
FAMILY	6 bedrooms and 4 bathrooms: 280.000 CZK / 11.959 EUR	3 bedrooms and 2 bathrooms: 80.000 CZK / 3.409 EUR	3 bedrooms and 3 bathrooms: 40.000 CZK / 1.705 EUR
	5 bedrooms and 4 bathrooms: 162.000 CZK / 6.919 EUR	3 bedrooms and 1 bathroom: 35.000 CZK / 1.491 EUR	3 rooms and 2 bathrooms: 27.500 CZK / 1.172 EUR
	4 bedrooms and 1 bathroom: 68.000 CZK / 2.897 EUR	3 rooms and 1 bathroom: 82.000 CZK / 3.502 EUR	
	4 bedrooms and 1 bathroom: 80.000 CZK / 3.408 EUR		
SINGLES/ COUPLES	2 bedrooms and 2 bathrooms: 77.000 / 3.281 EUR	1 bedroom and 1 bathroom: 27.000 CZK / 1.150 EUR	1 bedroom and 1 bathroom: 16.500 CZK / 703 EUR
	2 bedrooms and 2 bathrooms: 60.000 CZK/ 2.557 EUR	2 bedroom and 1 bathroom: 30.500 CZK / 1.299 EUR	
	2 bedroom and 2 bathrooms: 33.000 CZK / 1.405 EUR		
	2 bedroom and 1 bathroom: 45.000 CZK / 1.917 EUR		

Buying properties

	LETNÁ/BUBENEČ	HOLEŠOVICE	LIBEŇ
FAMILY	3 bedrooms and 2 bathrooms: 29.000.000 CZK / 1.238.644 EUR	4 rooms and 1 bathroom: 16.500.000 CZK / 704.746 EUR	3 rooms and 2 bathrooms: 13.300.000 CZK / 568.068 EUR
	3 rooms and 2 bathrooms: 24.000.000 / 1.025.085 EUR		3 bedrooms and 1 bathroom: 11.650.000 CZK / 497.593 EUR
	3 rooms and 1 bathrooms: 9.500.000 / 405.763 EUR		
	4 bedroom and 2 bathrooms: 26.500.000 CZK / 1.129.715 EUR		
SINGLES/ COUPLES	2 bedrooms and 1 bathroom: 21.053.000 / 899.213 EUR	2 bedrooms and 1 bathroom: 15.650.000 / 666.936 EUR	1 bedroom and 1 bathroom: 6.890.000 CZK / 294. 285 EUR
	2 bedrooms and 1 bathroom: 7.950.000 CZK/ 339.559 EUR	2 bedrooms and 1 bathroom: 14.900.000 CZK / 634.999 EUR	
	1 bedroom and 1 bathroom: 11.000.000 CZK / 468.925 EUR	2 bedroom and 1 bathroom: 19.800.000 CZK / 844.046 EUR	

	2 bedroom and 1 bathroom: 24.000.000 CZK / 1.023.139 EUR	2 bedrooms and 1 bathroom: 16.400.000 CZK / 699.112 EUR