The social infrastructure of community food initiatives in Berlin

A case study research

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List of abbreviations:
BENN = Benn entwickelt neue Nachbarschaften = Benn develops new neighbors

Abstract

In the 21ste century, a general rise in citizen initiatives in western Europe is experienced. Citizen initiatives act in a specific geographical context, which can be an urban or rural context. They influence the social fabric of this geographical area. Community food initiatives are a type of citizen initiatives emphasizing food-related topics. Research has shown the motivations of the individual participants in these initiatives, but there is a lack of knowledge about the internal structures of these initiatives. The research will focus on the question: "How do elements of the social infrastructure play a role within the functioning and development of urban community food initiatives?". An answer to the question will be gained through a case study research on four community food initiatives in Berlin. The theoretical framework that is used to understand these initiatives better is the social infrastructure. This consists of the way people with the initiative interact with each other, which resources and skills they need, how they collect these resources and how they are embedded in internal and external networks. Results show that the social infrastructure is a valuable concept to study community food initiatives in an urban context. The social infrastructure provides a possibility to understand urban community food initiatives from a broader perspective and provides insight into their way of functioning and their organizational structure. The analysis provides insight into the internal structure of the initiatives and the external relations to outside parties, which are essential for community development. The results also show barriers that can hamper development, such as a lack of formal organizational structures and cultural diversity. Furthermore, results indicate that due to the diversity of people participating within the initiatives, a diverse set of resources and skills are provided. In addition, the limited external networks in which the initiatives are embedded, can obstruct the exchange of knowledge and resources, and therefore, hamper community development.

Key words: participatory turn, citizen initiatives, community food initiatives, community development, social infrastructure

Inhoud

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Recent news stories about community food initiatives indicate a growing number of them. They are located all over the world. A community fridge plan in Aberdeen has been set up to help those in need (Evening express, 2019). A mobile food pantry with health products has been active in Kansas City and school gardens to supply for school cafeterias have been established in Ireland (Food tank, 2019; KSHB, 2019). This list goes on, which shows a growing number of community food initiatives. With a growing number, there is a recent interest in community food initiatives related to the general rise of citizen initiatives in the 21st century in Western Europe (Hasanov et al., 2019; Soares da Silva et al., 2018). This shows that citizens increasingly are taking action together. Community food initiatives are often considered as citizen-led planning practices. These planning practices are initiatives outside of the formal regulatory procedures, conducted by non-governmental stakeholders (Mukhija & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014). In the last few decades, spatial planning in most Western countries has changed; non-governmental actors want to be more involved in the planning decisions taken by the government. This goes hand in hand with the tendency of the government to retreat and decentralize (Meijer & Ernste, 2019). It is likely that the scope and scale of community-led planning will increase significantly in economically developed countries (Mukhija & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2015). In the current society, it is no longer deniable that citizen initiatives affect the living environment (Briassoulis, 1997). Therefore, it is important to gain a deeper understanding of how these initiatives function, to be able to guide and support these initiatives better, and to get a broader understanding of how this affects spatial planning, now and in the future. Community food initiatives are one type of citizen initiatives. Community food initiatives have a specific focus on expanding alternatives and transforming the conventional approach of producing and consuming food (Connelly, 2011). These initiatives create shorter value chains between consumers and producers (Winter, 2003). Furthermore, the embeddedness in the local environment is based on aspects of reciprocity, trust, transparency and accountability, which are crucial components to the notion of local food being more natural and healthier (Connelly, 2011).

The expansion of public interest in food-related initiatives is multifaceted. Connelly et al., (2011) explain that the reasons behind this interest are the global developments related to peak oil, climate change, re-location of economic activity, or preservation of farmland. They continue that these challenges fail to integrate social and environmental concerns into decision-making at various scales. Local food initiatives can create just and sustainable food systems that can influence global developments. Kneafsey et al. (2016) describe that the recognition for global challenges that can hamper food systems and sustainability is witnessed on a lower scale, such as the community scale.

1.2 Relevance

Since urban community food initiatives are expanding and influence the way spatial planning is performed in western Europe, it is important to look closely at how these initiatives function internally and how they relate to the external environment. The research focuses specifically on food initiatives in an urban setting because they can be a part of the solution to the current and future food challenges due to changing climates in an increasingly urbanized world (Davies, et al., 2017). Berlin is a good example of a city with a lot of community food initiatives. Share City, a database that keeps track of community food initiatives in one hundred cities, registered that there are 127 food initiatives in Berlin (Share City, 2019). Berlin tops the list, compared to other cities such as Frankfurt,

Amsterdam, Vienna and Prague. Compared to all the cities that are registered in this database Berlin is ranked 4th, behind Melbourne, New York and London (Share City, 2019). The coalition government of Berlin has pledged to improve the quality of life of Berliners by investing in social and environmental infrastructure such as housing, green, infrastructure and urban gardens (SPD, Die Linke & Die Grünen, 2016). The coalition of the government is committed to develop a city that works together with the citizens on social, environmental and economic aspects in a sustainable way. This includes taking care of public spaces, where citizen initiatives are often located in. It shows that there is an interest of policymakers in citizen initiatives and a willingness to create a policy regarding these initiatives. However, there is not yet a clear policy in this field. With the study a broader understanding of community food initiatives in an urban context will be gained, that can help create a policy. It is important that policies will be made regarding citizen initiatives because they are often located within the public domain of a city. Besides that, these initiatives are self-organized by citizens. The coalition is committed to develop a city that works together with its citizens. Therefore, governments need to gain a better understanding of these initiatives.

Next to that, there is a gap in the literature which indicates that more research on this topic is relevant. An extensive body of literature on citizen initiatives and community food initiatives already exist. These often include the motives people have to join or set up an initiative and the role the government should play in the initiatives (e.g. Ganglbauer et al., 2014; Schanes & Stagl, 2019). Ganglbauer and Güldenpfennig (2014) conducted a case study research on food communities. They suggest that further research on how social patterns evolve within a community is necessary. Hasanov et al. (2019) elaborate on the role of self-organization in community food initiatives and explains that there is a broad knowledge of collective intentionality and new civic consciousness within local initiatives. However, they state that these researches rarely discuss the social infrastructures the initiatives are built on. Social infrastructure refers to the characteristics of a community's social structure that facilitates or impedes collective action, through which communities can achieve their goals, leading to improvement in the quality of life (Flora & Flora, 1993; Peters et al., 2018). Social infrastructure as a concept has already been examined in communities in a rural context. Research shows that a high level of social infrastructure has a positive effect on how rural communities develop over time. Rural communities are characterised by a low population and are spatial isolated (Rosili, 1999). Rural community members are often interdependent of each other and tend to rely on each other to take care of their problems, rather and placing trust in the hand of outsiders (Stockman, 1990). Understanding the social infrastructure of rural communities contributes to our understanding of purposive community action (Flora & Flora, 1993). Furthermore, the study of Salamon (1993) has indicated a positive association between social infrastructure and the effectiveness of rural community action.

Community action has similarities to citizen initiatives, as both refer to intentional collective action. Citizen initiatives also often consist of a small group of citizens, located in a specific area and they are relying on themselves to take care of a specific problem (Bakker et al, 2012). Because of these similarities between rural communities and urban citizen initiatives, the hypothesis is that the concept of social infrastructure is applicable in both contexts.

The increase in these community food initiatives formed the incentive for writing this study. The focus will specifically be on community food initiatives in Berlin. There has been an extensive body of literature on community food initiatives regarding different elements. Most of this research looked at the motives behind establishing and implementing an initiative and tried to answer the question about the role of the government within initiatives (e.g. Ganglbauer et al., 2014; Schanes & Stagl, 2019). Furthermore, the role of these initiatives into the debate of sustainable food production and

consumption has been studied (e.g Connelly et al., 2011; Cameron, 2014; Cameron & Wright, 2014). This role is acknowledged and will be discussed in the theoretical framework, to understand the background of community food initiatives.

This explorative and qualitative research based on semi-structured interviews with members of food initiatives aims to obtain a deeper understanding of the social structure within community food initiatives in an urban context.

The rise of these initiatives raises questions about how they work and under which conditions. The concept of social infrastructure might provide insight into the organizational aspects as well as the external relations of these initiatives and how diverse they are. Insight in the social infrastructure might be helpful to see what role they can play in the food system and how governments can enable and facilitate such initiatives.

1.3 Questions and objectives
The aim of this research is to create a better understanding of community food initiatives through examining the role social infrastructure plays within community food initiatives in an urban context. The research is done through an analysis of four selected urban community food initiatives in the city of Berlin.

The central question in this research in :

"How do elements of the social infrastructure play a role within the functioning and development of urban community food initiatives?"

This will be examined by addressing the following sub-questions:
1. What is social infrastructure and how can this concept be operationalized to study food citizen initiatives?
2. What are the goals and aspirations of the community food initiatives in Berlin?
3. Which elements of the social infrastructure are relevant in urban community food initiatives?
4. How do these elements influence the functioning and development of these urban community food initiatives?

1.4 Overview of the structure
The remainder of the study will answer the research questions listed above. First, there is an exploration of the existing literature on, citizen-led planning, to describe the background or context in which citizen initiatives and specific community food initiatives have emerged. Furthermore, the concept of social infrastructure will be explained, which will be the basis of the conceptual model that will be used for the research. Thereafter, in chapter three, the research design is discussed in which the reasons for case study research and qualitative methods, including interviews, will be explained. This will include an argumentation of how the conceptual model will be tested in practice. The section will include ethical considerations. Chapter four presents the results of the study, which will discuss how the elements of the social infrastructure will play a role within the citizen initiatives. This will be continued with a discussion and conclusion. Finally, there will a reflection on the research process and recommendations for planning practice and theory are made.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter provides a theoretical background and framework for the study. First, the link between citizens initiatives and spatial planning will be described shortly. Furthermore, a definition of citizens initiatives is given, and the role of food within citizen initiatives will be explained. The theoretical framework will continue with a broad explanation of the concept of social infrastructure and its elements.

2.1 Role of citizens in planning

Aaron Levine showed already in 1960 that citizen participation had been recognized in spatial planning processes has by most of the planning agencies. However, this did not yet included the actual involvement and the genuine participation of the citizens into the planning process (Levine, 1960). This can be seen as the start of the participatory turn in planning, which enables citizens to have some influence on the otherwise top-down and bureaucratic decision-making policy process. The participatory turn is conceived as a tool to make sure elective leaders are accountable for their decisions and citizens to become more empowered through the process (Fung & Wright, 2003). Over the years the demand for participation has grown and can be considered as a counter-reaction to the often formal, technical, procedure-led and government-centred interpretation of planning practice (Altrock, 2012). The change of the spatial planning process in Western European countries goes hand in hand with the tendency towards a retreating and decentralizing government, which has accelerated by the financial crisis of 2008 (Meijer & Ernste, 2019). The participatory turn in spatial planning has led to an increase in community-led planning. These planning practices involve the role of citizen initiatives in planning. They function outside the formal regulatory procedures and are conducted by non-governmental stakeholders (Mukhija & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014). Citizen initiatives, including community food initiatives, are changing the spatial planning practice in most Western countries (Meijer & Ernste, 2019). The increase of involvement of citizens into the planning process is due to the demand of citizens and non-governmental stakeholders to influence decisions made by the government (Mukhija & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014). However, as Meijer & Ernste (2019) state, the current planning theories and methodologies in Western countries are still mainly centred around the governmental side of planning. This means that other forms of spatial planning, including citizen initiatives, are often not legitimized (Davoudi & Pendlebury, 2010). In current society, it should be acknowledged that these initiatives affect the living environment, which is often understudied and misunderstood (Briassoulis, 1997). It is likely that the scope and scale of community-led planning will increase significantly in economically developed countries (Mukhija & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2015). As Boonstra & Boelens (2011) explain, there is a need to look beyond an exclusively government-centred perspective and turn our attention to citizens.

2.2 Citizen initiatives

Citizens organize themselves in collectives or citizen initiatives. Examples of citizens initiatives in the public area are: maintaining the local park, helping refugees to settle down, taking care of the elderly, or fixing parking issues (Hurenkamp et al., 2006). There has been a rise in citizen initiatives in the 21st century in Western Europe (Soares da Silva et al., 2018). Citizen initiatives can be conceptualized and defined in many different ways. Besides citizen initiatives, terms such as: 'civic engagement', 'community initiatives', 'civic initiatives', 'citizen-led-development' and 'participative society' are all referring to the same trend (Soares da Silva et al., 2018). Bakker et al. (2012) give a broad conceptualization of citizen initiatives: "Collective activities by citizens aimed at providing local public goods or services (e.g. regarding the livability and safety) in their street, neighbourhood or town, in which citizens decide themselves both about the aims and means of their project and in

which local authorities have a supporting or facilitating role" (p. 397). This definition shows four vital elements of citizen initiatives, which will be discussed in the next section.

First of all, citizen initiatives perform as a collective action. This means that even though it is possible for just one person to come up with the idea, a collective of people is necessary to realize the initiative. Putman argues in his book 'bowling alone' (2000), that there is a decrease of participation in the collective aspects of civic life over the last thirty years. Sampson et al. (2005) contradict the notion Putman makes. He explains that collective civic engagement appears to have increased rather than declined and that this trend can be witnessed in the growth of citizen initiatives. Furthermore, Sampson et al. (2005) argue that civic engagement needs to be in public and has to involve more than one person to be effective. This is in consensus with the conceptualization of Bakker et al. (2012). Soares da Silva et al. (2018) elaborate on collective action in their definition of a citizen initiative: "Self-organized, citizen-led collective actions in which citizens themselves define the goals and how to achieve them, independent from governmental or external organizations" (p.2). The definition clearly shows that these collectives are initiated by themselves outside the governance realm to formulate joint collective goals.

The definition of Bakker et al. (2012) highlights that citizen initiatives aim to provide local public goods or services. An example is given by Hasanov et al. (2019) who focus on community food initiatives. They state that initiatives can cooperate to work on a common food goal, such as tackling food waste or promoting sustainable food consumption. Hurenkamp et al. (2006) researched the most common goals of initiatives in the Netherlands (rural and urban) through qualitative methods. Her research shows that most of the goals of initiatives were focusing on livability and solidarity. These can be classified as local public goods and services and are therefore, in accordance with the definition of Bakker et al. (2012). Finally, the role of the government can be discussed. The definition of Bakker et al. (2012) and Soares da Silva et al. (2018) are contradictory about the role of the government. The question arises is how independent are citizen initiatives from the government? The rise of citizen initiatives might be due to the decline of the traditional welfare state, however, a crisis of representative democracy and a renewed interest in the topic of community, place and local identity are also elements that trigger citizen participation (Meijer, 2018). This crisis of the representative democracy, regarding Van der Steen et al. (2011), consists of a loss in trust in the capability of politicians, as well as a mistrust in the public domain to tackle the problems. Even though the government is taking steps to narrow the gap between the citizens and itself, citizens tend not to be willing to wait for that as they take matters into their own hands. Van der Steen et al. (2011) state that collective citizen actions are often initiated independently from the state and market. Soares da Silva et al. (2018) elaborate on it by saying that citizen initiatives take the initiative to provide public goods or services and with this taking over responsibilities of the governments or companies. However, regarding Bakker et al. (2012) citizen initiatives are a hybrid between citizens and governments, where the citizens take the lead but are still dependent on collaboration with governments. We agree here with Bakker et al. (2012), although these collectives are mostly initiated by citizens themselves and take the lead, they often collaborate with public authorities. They also need governments for subsidies, permits, or knowledge (Meijer, 2018, see figure 1).
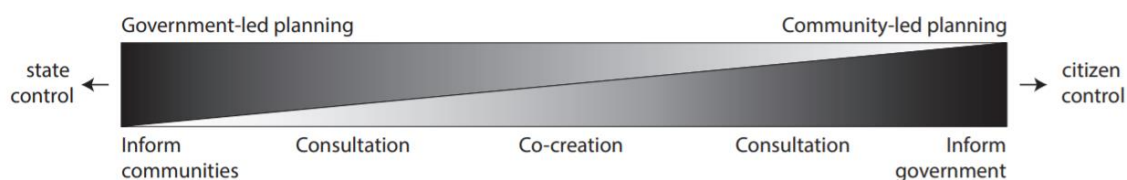
Figure 1: The continuum of government-/community-led planning (Meijer, 2018).

Summarizing, citizen initiatives are self-organized, citizen-led collective actions that provide local public goods or services, where the government or other external partners can play a facilitating or supportive role.

These citizens initiatives have similarities with rural collectives or communities. Rural communities are characterised by a low population and are spatial isolated (Rosili, 1999). Rural community members are often interdependent of each other and tend to rely on each other to take care of their problems, rather and placing trust in the hand of outsiders (Stockman, 1990). Understanding the social infrastructure of rural communities contributes to our understanding of purposive community action (Flora & Flora, 1993). Furthermore, the study of Salamon (1993) has indicated a positive association between social infrastructure and the effectiveness of rural community action. We assume in this research that the concept of social infrastructure can also be applied in the context of collective engagement of citizens in an urban context, and more specifically in the context of collective food initiatives, as a way to understand the structure, organization and external relations of these initiatives. This concept will be further explained in section 2.4.

2.3 Community food initiatives

Citizens initiatives also emerge in the context of food. Food always has a prominent role in people´s life. This makes it obvious that communities around food are formed (Ganglebauer et al., 2014). In current society, there are increasing concerns around food-related topics. The explosion of public interest in food and food systems is multi-faceted (Connelly et al., 2011). The interest can be linked to for example climate change or healthy lifestyles. The local food initiatives are a consequence of the 'turn to the local' (p 313) which explains the emphasis on local and community-based responses. These are responses to the global problems that are being faced. The key strategy of the initiatives is often to make the chains between consumers and producers shorter (Winter, 2003). Local food initiatives have grown as an activity, emphasizing the creation of alternatives and changing the conventional approach to how food is produced and consumed (Connelly et al., 2011). Furthermore, these new food systems are often based on the aspects of reciprocity, trust, transparency and accountability. Local food initiatives have made an important contribution to how food is produced, distributed and consumed in the 21st century (Cameron, 2014).

There are multiple types of community food initiatives. They all promote alternative ways of food production and distribution, emphasizing the sharing of surplus or discarded food (Carolan, 2017). A few examples will be shown in this paragraph. Ganglbauer et al. (2014) focus on food sharing initiatives. They explain that there are clear societal developments that help stir up these movements. This is due to the overproduction of food in industrialized countries resulting in high amounts of food waste (Gustavsson et al., 2011). Furthermore, the development of the internet and means of communication allow people to gather and exchange food (Gaglbauer et al., 2014). Ulug & Trell (2019) write about voluntary-run restaurants and community spaces where food that otherwise would have been thrown away is collected and cooked. Besides that, food banks are also concerned with food waste. These food banks can be defined as places where food is collected, stored and distributed for people who are in need of food (Riches, 1986). This relates to people´s daily access to

food to meet their dietary needs in a way they can pursue active and healthy lifestyles (Riches, 2002). Another example of community food initiatives are urban community gardens. These gardens are not a recent phenomenon but already exist since the late nineteenth century (Schmelzkopf, 1995). It is a way in which residents of a specific area can produce food for themselves. Often the gardens are located on land that is considered to have low market value. Schmelzkopf (1995) continues by explaining that the gardens are often located in low-income areas and that they have been places for residents to gain a sense of nature, community, rootedness and power. Community food initiatives are self-organizing initiatives and supply communities with inspiration and knowledge. Furthermore, they provide the opportunity to work towards transformations in food systems in a responsible and socially acceptable way (Hasanov, et al., 2019). They continue by stating that community food initiatives are creating social spaces, which are related to the forming of social capital, including social bonding. Maretzki and Tuckermany (2007) add to this by explaining that food is a catalyst to bring people together.

2.4 Social infrastructure

Social infrastructure, as discussed below, contains important aspects that have been discussed in previous studies of community initiatives. This concept ties different theoretical elements together: social capital, social cohesion, and social networks These elements will be discussed in the next sections.

As mentioned, citizens initiatives create social spaces and increase social capital. According to Putnam (2000), social capital supports and strengthens the collaboration and mutual trust in communities or groups. Social capital can be defined as: "features of social organization such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit, it enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital" (Putnam et al., 2000, p. 35). This indicates that social capital is a concept centred around the interconnectedness between different groups, where bonding social capital occurs with groups that are similar to themselves and where bridging social capital refers to the cooperation of groups that are not similar (Putnam, 2000). A concept closely linked to social capital is social cohesion. Social cohesion relates to the concept of membership and refers to the force holding members or individuals inside a group (Back, 1951; Festinger et al., 1937; Moreno & Jennings, 1937). Moreover, the importance of social networks which help to bind people together, cannot be ignored in research on citizen initiatives (Latham & Layton, 2019). These social networks, through bringing people together, also provide important resources especially in times of stress. Klinenberg (2018) argues that a whole range of physical, and institutional infrastructures are important in the development of social networks. Latham and Layton (2017) explain that public spaces, including spaces where community food initiatives are located, have a role in creating a livable area and contribute to peoples' social lives within the areas. Community food initiatives are places within cities, where people can feel welcome and inclusive. These public spaces are necessary to strengthen the social life in a city and can prevent negative events, such as social isolation, by negotiating differences and creating a place for all regardless of age, race, gender, or income (Klinenberg, 2018). These community food initiatives, which can be located in rural and urban areas, are faced with increasing responsibilities to provide for their well-being and development (Flora & Flora, 1993). Therefore, community development is necessary to respond to the changes and the challenges that are being faced in current cities´ society. It cannot be ignored that these concepts, discussed above, are important for research on community food initiatives. However, the elements of social capital, social cohesion and social networks separately don't fully grasp how a community or collective initiative functions. The concept of social infrastructure aims to bring these elements together. It aims to provide an overarching approach to how citizens as a collective function, organize and develop networks.

Infrastructure has been a central topic in social and urban studies (Latham & Layton, 2019). Simone (2004) argues that people can function as infrastructure as well because they help the economy and the community to function within places. Klinenberg (2018) explains that community initiatives, for example, community gardens are important spaces to invite people to the public realm and function as a space where people can meet up with one another. However, as Star (1999) argues, infrastructure does not merely exist out of material entities. This means that social infrastructure is embedded in networks and relationships. Research suggests this social infrastructure must be present in community initiatives for the success of a community. Social infrastructure includes elements that enhance the social capacity of communities (Casey, 2005). It involves the capacity to respond to the needs of the community, while at the same time builds the capacity for local people and groups to respond to current and future needs. However, the concept has not retrieved a lot of attention in research, since it exists at the group-level and is constructed through interactions and might, therefore, be difficult to measure (Peters at al., 2018). Furthermore, there has been an increasing emphasis on accountability, which privileges countable quantitative programs, but the concept requires a more qualitative approach (Kimmel, 2011). Flora and Flora (1993) define the social infrastructure as: "the group-level, interactive aspect of organizations or institutions" (p49). This concept combines the different components discussed above. It includes the individual's perspective of social cohesion, including the embeddedness of social networks and the elements of social capital, focusing on both individual and collective mechanisms such as trust, mutual reciprocity and co-creation. Flora and Flora (1993), explain that social infrastructure is essential for communities to be able to develop. To understand how communities are developing the social infrastructure will be investigated. Flora and Flora (1993) have used the concept of social infrastructure to measure the development of communities in rural areas. While other studies use the social infrastructure to examine public life in cities or to understand shrinkage in small towns (Latham & Layton, 2019; Peters et al., 2018). Brown (2012) uses the social infrastructure to examine the relevance of mixed-use to community sustainability. Social infrastructure is often called 'soft infrastructure' or 'community infrastructure' (Casey, 2005). Brown (2012) highlights the division between hard and soft infrastructures, where soft infrastructures are considered as supporters of the social environment and can promote social interaction. Peters et al. (2018) use social infrastructure as a framework to examine smart shrinkage in small towns. They explain that the social infrastructure describes the characteristics of a communities' social structure to create collective actions to achieve goals. Brown (2012) describes that the social infrastructure can be appropriate at different spatial scales, from the city to the neighborhood or street level. This research will use the elements for social infrastructure discussed by Flora and Flora (1993), to research community food initiatives in an urban context. According to Flora and Flora (1993), community development exists of three different parts making the community strong and sustainable. First, there is a need for a robust physical infrastructure, including roads, buildings and plots of land. Furthermore, human capital, such as strong leaders and educational opportunities are essential to create strong communities (Kimmel, 2011). Finally, a strong social infrastructure is needed to facilitate the building and the development of the community. These three components are not independent of each other. The social infrastructure is an important ingredient to link the physical resources of a place to the human capital. Both physical infrastructure and human capital are essential components of community development. The social infrastructure links these two together. Initiatives will be able to have a long-lasting impact when the social infrastructure is present (Flora & Flora, 1993; Kimmel, 2011). Initiatives that have a high level of social infrastructure, will be able to empower people for the long term and will be able to be successful for a longer period (Flora & Flora, 1993). An example clarifies this, explains that one leader, successful in one community might not be successful when working in another seemingly similar community. Therefore, it suggests that differences between the social infrastructure: "the

group-level, interactive aspects of communities or organizations" (p.49) plays a role (Flora & Flora, 1993). Figure (2) shows the interrelatedness of the three components of community development: physical infrastructure, human capital and social infrastructure.
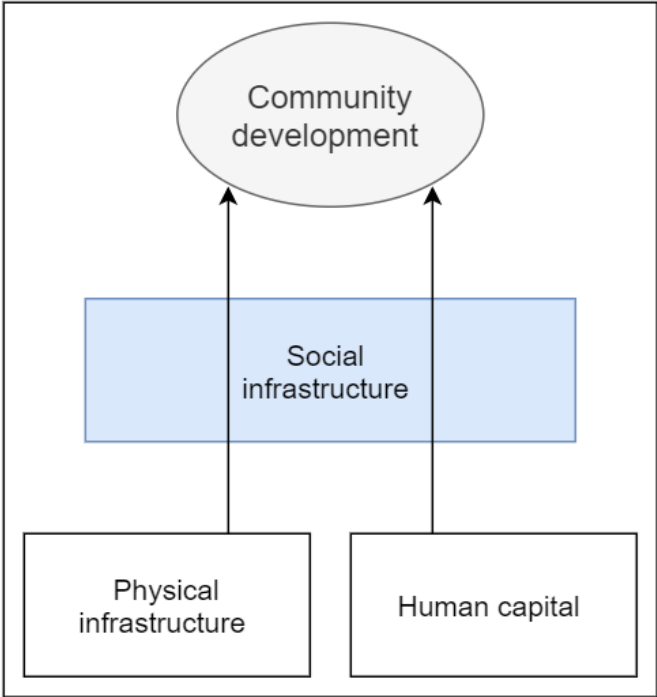
Figure 2: Elements essential for community development.

The social infrastructure can be divided into three components: symbolic diversity, resource allocation and quality of networks, see figure 3 (Flora & Flora, 1993). In the remainder of this chapter, the different components will be explained.
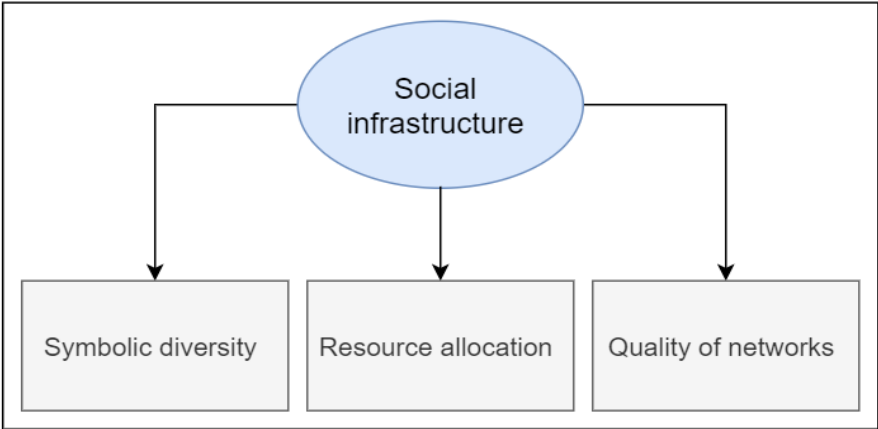
Figure 3: Elements of the social infrastructure

2.4.1 Symbolic diversity
Flora and Flora (1993) explain that symbolic diversity focuses on the inclusion of people instead of exclusion. There is a need to step out of superficial harmony and to work towards a sustainable basis to discuss topics and to tackle issues. This means that when a conflict or debate arises and different viewpoints are expressed, it is important to speak up about your opinion and not to keep quiet in order to keep the peace. This is based on shared symbols and norms creating and promoting

collective action that is reinforced by the social interactions within the community (Peters et al., 2018). This is important for the creation of collective action, which is essential for citizen initiatives (Bakker et al., 2012). Symbolic diversity exists out of four elements: community processes, depersonalization of politics, broadening of community boundaries and the focus on the process (figure 4).
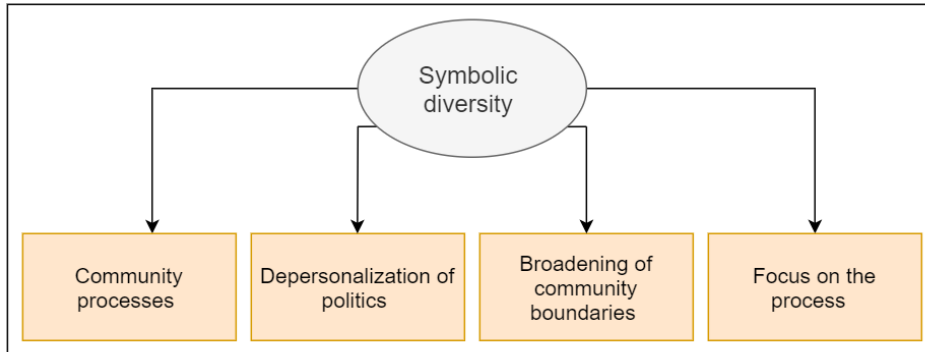
Figure 4: Elements of symbolic diversity

The first component, community processes, can also be divided into three elements: level of acquaintanceship, role homogeneity and acceptance of controversy, see figure 5 (Flora & Flora, 1993). The level of acquaintanceship refers to the relationships people within the initiative have with one another. This means that the concept is inside-bound. A high level of acquaintanceship can be reached when there is a high level of interaction between members of the initiative, on a regular, informal and personal base (Flora & Flora, 1993). This can be done by promoting interactions between members who are not similar to one another (Peters et al., 2018). A high level of acquaintanceship is often associated with different characteristics of the community. It is associated with a small population size within the community, a long length of residence (or membership), anticipated continuing residence (or membership), a low diversity and a high level of segregation between members who are different from each other (Freudenburg, 1986). Small population size is a characteristic of rural communities but is also a characteristic of citizen initiatives that are initiated by small groups of people. It shows that a high level of acquaintanceship can bring positive effects, such as long lengths of residents or anticipated continuing residence. However, it can also bring hazards to the organization in the form of low diversity and high segregation between different members. The second element of community processes is role homogeneity. It means that members of the initiative meet each other in other settings outside of the initiative (Flora & Flora, 1993). Flora and Flora (1993) explain that people act differently outside the initiative then they do inside the initiative. They adopt different roles. Through knowing a person outside of the initiatives multiple roles are exposed and a better understanding of the person can be generated. The concept is beneficial for communities because when people would know others in a different context they would know each other better, including their competencies and skills. These can be used in the initiatives. This means that to know the resources and skills a person possesses, there is a need to see them in different roles (Flora & Flora, 1993). There is a strong relationship between role homogeneity and level of acquaintanceship. With a higher level of acquaintanceship, a higher level of role homogeneity can be expected. A high level of acquaintanceship often goes hand in hand with a small population size. Due to the small population size, there is a higher chance to run into other participants outside of the initiative. This theory is based on a rural community. The question is if this is also the case in an urban context where the population in the initiative might be low, but the world outside the initiative, the city, has a high population. Therefore, the possibility to see other people outside of the initiative unintentionally might be low. Finally, the last element of the community

processes is acceptance of controversy, which relates to the need for debate within the community. To make sure the community functions, there is a need for debate to weight advantages to disadvantages (Flora & Flora, 1993). By debating all options are considered (Peters et al., 2018). Without debates, the options are not weighted and therefore, the chosen option might not be the best one for the initiative. Absence of the debates can lead to major issues, which means disagreement should be encouraged to provide debates and discussions. For an initiative, it is important to foster these debates.
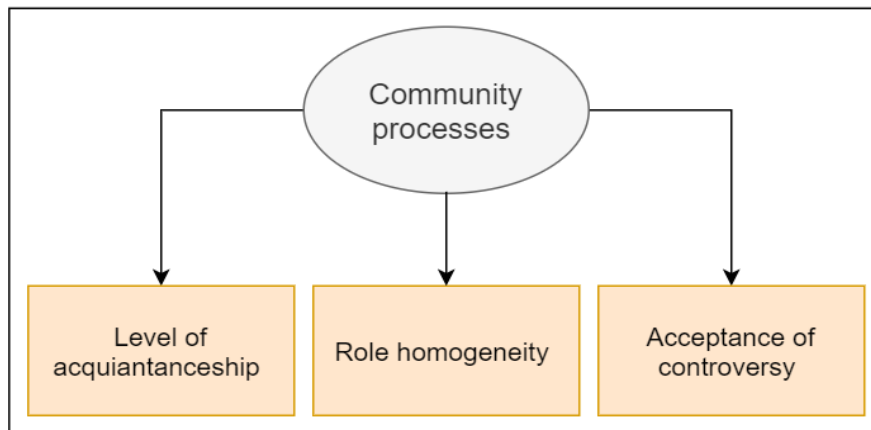

Figure 5: Elements of community processes

The second element of symbolic diversity is depersonalization of politics. The element is in close relation to the previously discussed element of the acceptance of controversy. When somebody disagrees with an idea or a viewpoint, the person, with proper use of the depersonalization of politics, is not considered evil but has this opposite viewpoint out of honest differences. This relates to seeing people as human beings with the possibility of having a different viewpoint (Flora & Flora, 1993). It allows for open discussion of controversial issues (Peters et al., 2018). However, there has been a recent trend where politics has become increasingly personalized. One of the major consequences of the process is that people perceive and evaluate others based on their opinion regarding a topic (Garzia, 2011). This is not merely about the controversy of practice as well as the controversy of ideologies. It is possible to have practical debates on ideological topics of how food production has to change or about the challenges of food poverty. However, it is important that these debates are not brought back to personal differences. Depersonalization of politics focuses on the prevention of ideological divides. There might be ideological differences, but they are not linked to groups of people within initiatives. "Debates provide safe forums for airing differences and to avoid conflicts, forced consensus, and personal attacks" (Sturtevant, 2006, p57). To allow open discussions, it is important that communities accept the presence of discussions. This shows that depersonalization is a follow up on acceptance of controversy. First debates have to be accepted and have to arise, then people can express their opinions without a hard feeling of judgment. The third element of symbolic diversity refers to the importance of the process. When the social infrastructure of a community is good, the various interests are given the same emphasis, which is linked to depersonalization of politics. This has a focus on the process, and not on the final goal or on winning. Successes can be celebrated, but the celebration should be part of the process, instead of an end goal (Flora & Flora, 1993). Thereby, it is not important if the initiative is a success or failure, but it is more concerned with the community issues which are addressed throughout the project (Peters et al., 2018). Therefore, the process refers to the focus on the daily organization and community issues that arise, instead of the focus on the end-goal. The last element of symbolic diversity is the boundaries of the community which relate to the goal of inclusiveness, instead of exclusiveness

(Flora & Flora, 1993). Exclusiveness can happen when the in-ties of an initiative are strong. However, this can also exclude people from the initiative. Therefore, it is important to define the community widely and to draw the boundaries of the initiative loosely to avoid a strong in-out culture.

2.4.2 Resource allocation

The second component of social infrastructure is resource allocation. Due to global changes, citizens are less dependent on the state and are more and more dependent on their own (Meijer & Ernste, 2019). Therefore, they depend more and more on their own resources (Flora & Flora, 1993). Resource allocation exists out of three elements: distribution of resources, willingness to invest collectively and willingness to invest private capital (figure 6).
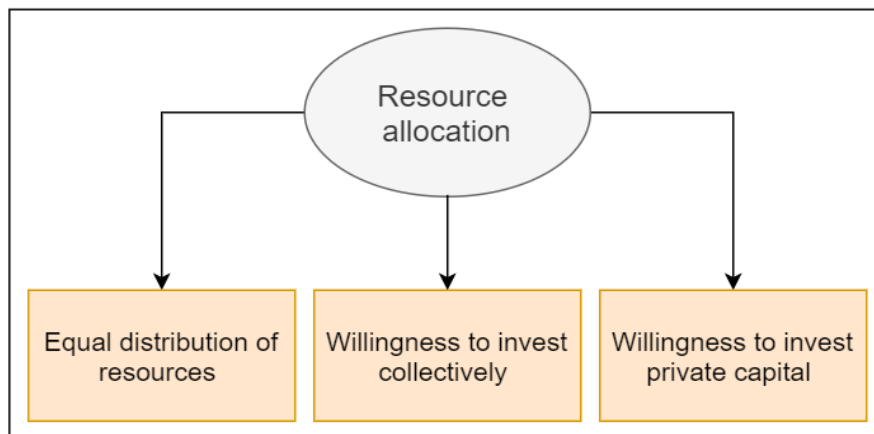
Figure 6: Elements of resource allocation

A community initiative often works with a surplus, especially community food initiatives because they often generate a surplus that is divided over participants or less well-off people. There are different kinds of community food initiatives that promote alternative ways of food production, consumption and distribution emphasizing the sharing of surplus or discarded food (Carolan, 2017). Next to that, an initiative often owns different resources. To be effective, these resources need to be divided between all the people in the initiative, this will create more innovation (Flora & Flora, 1993). Resources and skills relate to value, which often is in connection to different risks. To divide the resources and skills between different people within the community the risks are divided over more people. By dividing the resources over all community members, even the less well-off will see a benefit in participation (Peters et al., 2018). Since community food initiatives are often based on volunteers, things gained from the initiatives are often linked to social competencies. It often relates to the reasons why people participate in the initiative. If a volunteer does not receive more back from the initiative then he invests into the initiative, the role as a volunteer is not valued enough. This will result in the discard of a participant. Therefore, it is important that there is a distribution of resources over the participants. Besides that, an element of resource allocation is the willingness to invest collectively. When people are more willing to invest in the collective, it will create general reciprocity, discussed by Putnam (2000). This means that somebody does something for someone without expecting anything back. Besides that, because these initiatives often work on a voluntary base, the willingness to invest human capital in the initiative is high. There is a high need for social competencies that people can bring to the initiative. Furthermore, people need to be willing to invest their private capital, in the form of social competencies into the initiative to work towards development (Flora & Flora, 1993).

2.4.3 Quality of networks

The last component of the social infrastructure is the quality of networks. These networks regulate the flows of communication and resources. This relates to both inside and outside networks and groups of people. First, the diversity within the initiative will be discussed. Second, the communication with other parties, horizontal and vertical will be addressed. The elements of the quality of networks are shown in figure 7.
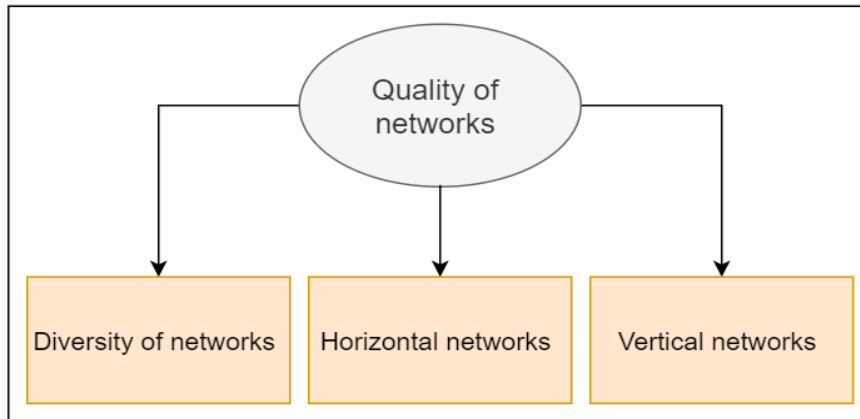
Figure 7: Elements of quality of networks

First, there is a need for a diversity of networks within the initiative. Initiatives are embedded within a wider range of networks, however, within the initiatives, a group of people participates and they also form a network. The first element, diversity of networks, refers to this internal group. When this internal group will exist out of a diverse set of people, with different characteristics, backgrounds, ages and genders, the debates will be more fruitful (Peters et al., 2018). An initiative that has a board or a group of leaders, have to be diverse as well, to be sure all the options are weighted (Flora & Flora, 1993). By having a diverse group of people participating in the initiative, a diverse set of voices are expressed and with them a diverse set of resources and skills are brought into the initiative (Peters et al., 2018). It shows that a diverse group of people is important, regarding the fruitfulness of arguments, as well as the different resources and skills they bring to the initiative. Through this diversity, the initiative will be independent of other parties. The second element of quality of networks is horizontal and vertical communication. This relates to the networks in which the initiatives are embedded, outside of the initiatives. When an initiative is communicating with other initiatives similar to themselves, it will increase the organizational innovation: "People learn more from people like themselves" (Flora & Flora, 1993, p.57). Furthermore, there is also a need for vertical networks. This focuses on the two-way communication between two parties of different systems. Here the continuum of government-led to community-led planning is valuable (Meijer, 2018). Citizens initiatives are largely independent, but can cooperate with other parties too, to gather information, subsidies, material and technical assistance. Appropriately expertise from vertical relations can ameliorate the problems of both inadequate funding and inadequate management (Peters et al., 2018).

The three components: symbolic diversity, resource allocation and quality of networks are explained and with them, twelve elements: focus on the process, depersonalization of politics, boundaries of the community, role homogeneity, level of acquaintanceship, acceptance of controversy, willingness to invest collectively, willingness to invest private capital, distribution of resources, diversity of networks and horizontal and vertical networks. In figure 8 the framework incusing these elements is shown.
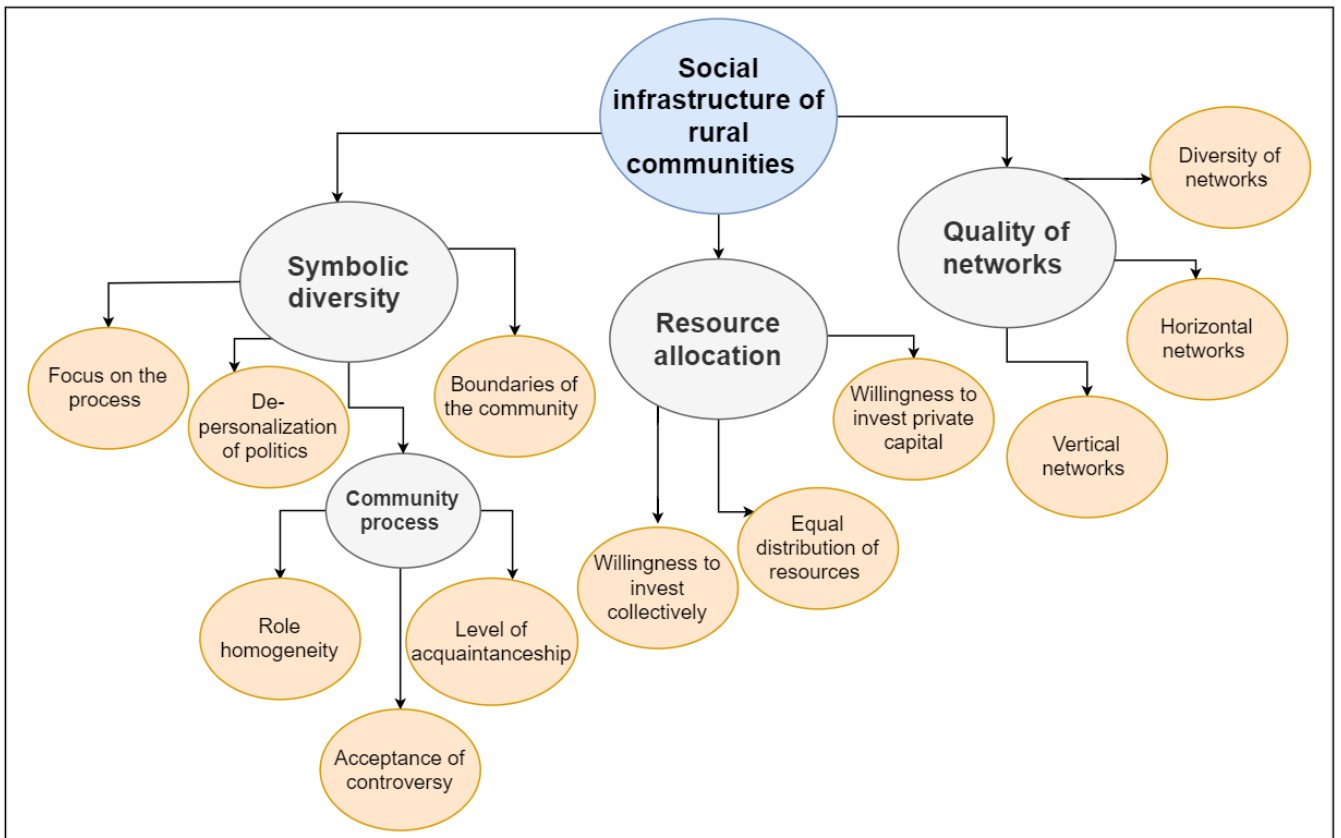
Figure 8: Elements of the social infrastructure based on Flora and Flora (1993)

2.5 Conceptual model

The conceptual framework that will be used for the research can be found in figure 9. The aspects discussed in the theoretical framework are gathered in the model. The model is a derivative from the conceptual model proposed by Flora and Flora (1993), see figure 8. The old model has twelve elements, however, this model only exists out of ten. Therefore, some elements are clustered. An explanation of the clustering, including an explanation of the new, derived model will be discussed.

First of all, the horizontal and vertical networks are combined in one element called the external relations, because both refer to the external networks in which the initiatives are embedded. Through combining these two in the component, quality of networks, two elements remain instead of three. This clustering shows a clear distinction between internal and external networks. Secondly, some changes are made regarding the component resource allocation. The model of Flora and Flora (1993) is based on a rural context. Therefore, the emphasis on investment and monetary means is substantial. However, this is less the case with citizen initiatives which are often based on voluntary means. Therefore, the two elements: willingness to invest collectively and willingness to invest private capital are clustered. They both refer to the willingness of people to invest in the initiatives. The two elements are combined into the element: resources needed. This element will emphasize the resources needed from the participants to make the initiative a success, focusing on both material and social skills. The clustering of these elements resulted in a total of ten elements divided over three components.

Figure 9 shows the adapted conceptual model based on the ten elements. Next to that, the interactions between the different elements of the social infrastructure are portrayed. As explained,

the elements are not merely isolated but have relationships with one another. When creating the interview questions, the interrelatedness became even more visible. This resulted in an adjusted conceptual model (figure 9).
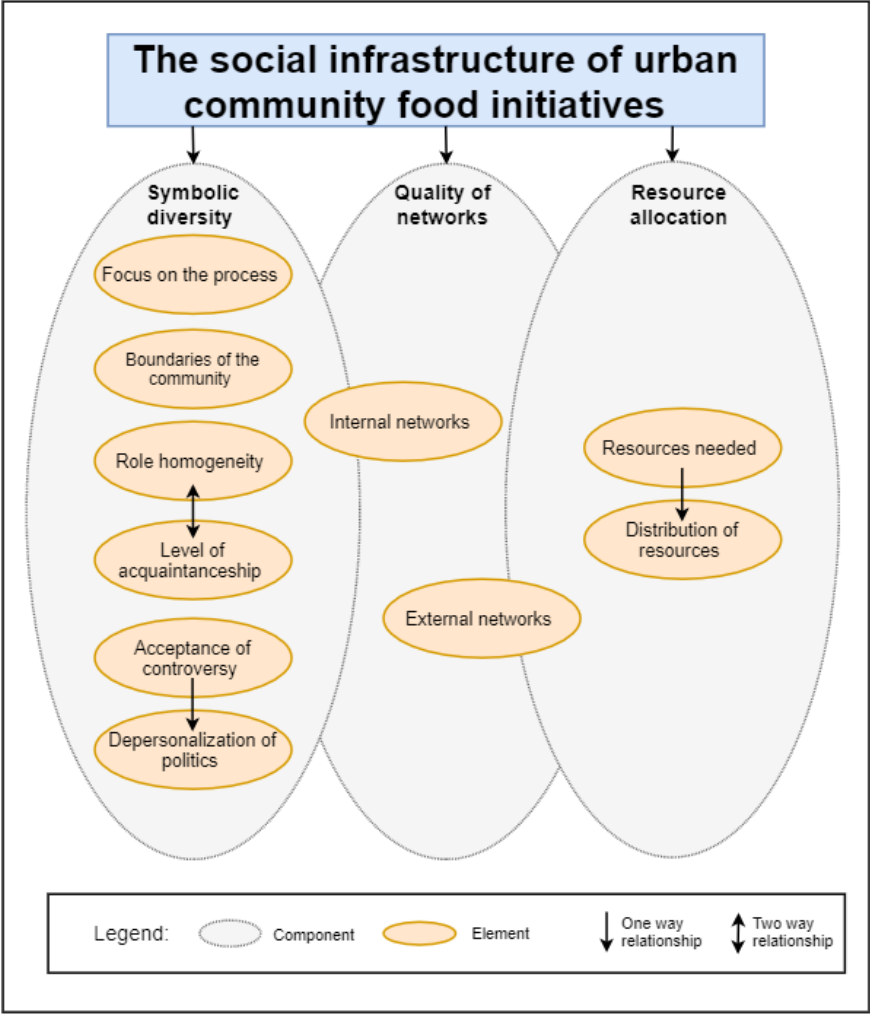
Figure 9: Adjusted conceptual model including relations between elements (based on Flora & Flora, 1993).

In contrast to the conceptual model based on Flora and Flora (1993) shown in figure 8, in this model the three components are portrayed as overlapping eclipses, instead of loose components. Furthermore, the elements of quality of networks both belong in one other component. Internal networks explain the diversity of people who participate in the initiative. It fits in symbolic diversity because the people within the initiative have a strong influence on how the boundaries are drawn, on how friendships develop and how debates and discussions are tackled. External networks have overlap with resource allocation because external networks are important for the exchange of knowledge and resources. Moreover, a special relationship between three groups of elements is shown. First, a two-way relationship between role homogeneity and level of acquaintanceship can be found, where both elements influence each other. A higher role homogeneity suggests a higher level of acquaintanceship and the other way around. Secondly, a one-way relationship between acceptance of controversy and depersonalization of politics is discovered. Acceptance of controversy explains the acceptance of debates and discussion with in the initiatives. Once these debates and discussions are realized, depersonalization of politics focuses on the reaction of participants on

debates and discussions. Therefore, acceptance of controversy is a necessary ingredient for depersonalization of politics. Third, is the one-way relationship between resources that are needed and the distribution of these resources. It is important to first know which resources the initiatives need to see how these are distributed.

3. Methodology

This chapter elaborates on the research methods that have been used for the study. The research is performed by using qualitative research methods, which gives the possibility of exploring both people´s experience and the interactive aspects of citizen initiatives. The method that has been used are interviews. These interviews are semi-structured, in-depth interviews with people within the selected citizen initiatives or the field of citizen initiatives. These interviews are conducted to answer the main question: "How do elements of the social infrastructure play a role within the functioning and development of urban community food initiatives?"

3.1 Qualitative study

When conducting research, choices are made regarding the type of research. "Quantitative research involves the use of physical science concepts and reasoning, mathematical modelling and statistical techniques to understand geographical phenomena" (Clifford et al., 2010, p5). In this approach, actors are considered rational (Cloke et al., 1991). However, human behavior is often subjective, complex and contradictory (Clifford et al., 2010). Therefore, a method exploring the meaning, emotions, intentions and values of people is important when studying human behavior, which can be done using a qualitative approach (Clifford et al., 2010). A qualitative approach is often used to understand individual experiences, social processes and human environments (Winchester & Rofe, 2016). This research focuses on the interactive group-level aspect of community food initiatives in Berlin and therefore, a qualitative approach will be used.

3.2 Research area

The research took place in the city of Berlin, Germany. Berlin is a metropolis, with high population numbers and an interesting history, characterized by the division of the city during the cold war. In addition, Berlin is a green city, since has become a leader in promoting 'green in the city' (Share city, 2019). It is a city where green policy plays an active and important role. This is shown by high numbers of waste recycled in 2015, with 25% of waste being recyclable and 11% compostable. Besides that, Berlin is a city with a lot of community food initiatives. Share City, a database keeps track of community food initiatives in one hundred cities, registered that there are 127 food activities in Berlin. Berlin tops the list, compared to 53 in Frankfurt, 29 in Amsterdam, 42 in Vienna and 20 in Prague. Furthermore, compared with the one hundred cities that have been used for this database, Berlin is ranked 4th (Share City, 2019). Due to the active participation of the citizens in food-related activities and initiatives, Berlin provides an interesting research area.

3.3 Case study

To answer the research question, four community food initiatives have been selected for case study research. A case study is focused on a social phenomenon, such as a city or a specific group (Babbie, 2013). It can be defined as: "an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units" (Seawright & Gerring, 2004, p342). Case study research involves the study of a single instance or a small number of instances of a phenomenon. In this way, it is possible to explore in-depth nuances of a phenomenon, including the contextual influences (Baxter, 2016). Case studies are often used to endorse already existing explanatory concepts, to falsify existing explanatory concepts or to develop new explanatory concepts. It is important to note that case studies and qualitative methods are not interchangeable. Case studies can be conducted through qualitative and quantitative methods.

Case studies know two different aims. First, they can be used to test existing theory, a so-called theory-testing case study. Second, case studies can be used to generate a theory, a so-called theory generating case study. This research focuses on the theory-testing approach, where the emphasis is

on deductive logic. The concept that is applied in this study is the concept of social infrastructure. A well-known concept, which will be applied to a new phenomenon, urban community food initiatives. Borrowing already existing concepts and using them in a different context is often done in case studies (Baxter, 2016). The concept of social infrastructure is borrowed from the field of community development in rural studies. The assumption is that this concept is not just relevant in the context of collective engagement in rural communities but also can be applied in the context of collective urban citizen initiatives. The concept brings together relevant elements of social capital, social cohesion and social networks to understand how a community or collective initiative functions. It aims to provide an overarching approach to how citizens as a collective function, organize and develop networks.

It is important to emphasize that qualitative research is in practice rarely a purely deductive or purely inductive endeavor, it often involves a combination of both (Hay, 2016). It can be considered a cyclical process, meaning that it starts with a theory to explore a real-world phenomenon, by doing so, new information might be found which can be added to the theory which is an inductive approach. This shows that the research will start with a deductive logic but will include an inductive approach as well. Case studies can be examined all at the same time, or over a period. A difference can be made between cross-sectional and longitudinal case studies (Baxter, 2016). The first is the research of several case studies at one point in time. The second is about the research of case studies over time. The latter often includes a follow-up study (Baxter, 2016). This research will make use of the cross-sectional approach and will explore four cases at one point in time. The time for data collection was from December 2019 till February 2020.

3.3.1 Case selection

There are different ways to approach the process of case selection. It is possible to focus on typical, diverse, most similar or most different cases (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). This research focuses on diverse cases due to the diverse nature of urban community food initiatives. Community food initiatives are a group of initiatives working towards changing the way the society is dealing with food. This can be done through different goals and activities. For example, some initiatives work towards growing fresh food in gardens, some initiatives want to contribute to change by distributing knowledge about food, some distribute food or products to other people and there are initiatives that serve food or drinks in a café. This shows the diversity of aspects that community food initiatives cover. The research question of this thesis focusses on the broad concept of urban community food initiatives and does not solely focus on one kind or type of urban community food initiatives. Based on the large diversity of different community food initiatives and because there is an expectation that there is a difference in how social infrastructure plays a role within the initiatives, the case study exists of four diverse cases. Based on the database of Share City, I have made a distinction between four types of initiatives focusing based on their different aims: 1) the distribution of knowledge about food 2) the distribution of food 3) the production of food and 4) the consumption of food. Initiatives from every subgroup were approached, till from every group one initiative agreed to participate in the research. The four initiatives selected are discussed briefly in the next paragraph. Furthermore, after the first few interviews, the role of an intermediary organization became relevant. Therefore, throughout the research the choice was made to include an interview with an intermediary organization to the research, to gain a broader understanding of their role within initiatives. This organization is also discussed briefly in the next paragraph.

3.3.2 Case description

This paragraph will give a short description of the four selected community food initiatives. Furthermore, the intermediate organization for citizen initiatives called BENN, where one interview was conducted, is also described.

Garten-der-Hoffnung: Is an urban garden located on the land of an asylum seeker center in the district Köpenick, where it has been since 2014. Residents of the center can garden together with people from the neighborhood. In the summer and the spring, every Friday afternoon people come together to garden. In the winter, when the garden is closed, they organize a café called the "Begegnungscafé" within the asylum seeker center. The café is open for everybody interested, just as the garden (Garten-der-Hoffnung, n.d). In the café coffee and cake is provided and the café gives people a chance to interact with others. The garden is run completely by volunteers.

Berliner Engel: Is an organization located at three different shops in Berlin. The organization saves food from the senseless trash and sells the products in their stores to people who are less well-off. The products they sell are leftovers from supermarkets and stores. The organization will collect the products and bring them to the stores where it is sorted and sold (Berliner Engel, n.d.). The prices at the Berliner Engel are approximately one-third of the supermarket prices. The organization is established since 2006 and is run by volunteers.

Kantine Zukunft: Is a project focusing on the share of organic food in public canteens in Berlin. The project started with pressure on the government from civil society. Due to this pressure, the government decided to start up Kantine Zukunft to increase the share of organic food in public canteens (Kantine Zukunft, n.d.). The project has been established in October 2019. Currently, the team exists out of three paid employees.

Offener Garten: Is an urban garden project in the north-east district of Berlin. The garden is located on the same land as a culture and education center called Kubiz (Kubiz Wallenberg, 2020). In the garden, there are plots allocated to particular participants, as well as parts allocated for communal possession. The garden was established approximately ten years ago and currently exists of fifteen to eighteen gardeners, all volunteers.

BENN: In 2018 BENN, Berlin develops new neighbors, was established by the senate department for urban development and housing of Berlin. It is an integration management team located in twenty different locations in Berlin. Their focus is on locations where large refugee accommodations are located, but they are open to help all kinds of citizen initiatives. BENN tries to strengthen the networks and cooperation of these local initiatives. An interview was conducted with one of the staff members.

3.3 Data-collection

The research uses semi-structured in-depth interviews with the five initiatives and organizations listed above. An interview is a data-gathering method in which there is a spoken exchange of information (Dunn, 2016). There are different types of interviews. Semi-structured interviews are chosen for the research because this allows to discuss themes that the researchers have prepared on the forehand, but it also allows participants to explore issues they feel are important (Longhurst, 2010). This form of interviewing has some degree of predetermined order but it still ensures flexibility in the way issues are addressed by the participant (Dunn, 2005). This research focusses on the internal structure (organization, way of working, relations) of community food initiatives. The concept of social infrastructure has been used as a way to determine how the initiatives function and develop. However, since it is explorative research, room is needed to explore if new elements can be found, that are not part of the framework, but arising inductively from the empirical research.

The selection of participants for semi-structured interviews is important. Most participants are chosen based on their experience related to the research topic (Cameron, 2005). For this research, all participants were part of one of the initiatives and had an active role within it. This active role would enable the participant to also answer the questions related to the external networks and resource allocation, which are more about the structure of the initiatives. To gain a broader understand two persons from each initiative have been invited for an interview. Due to time constraints during my educational stay abroad, in the context of a European program (Erasmus), the total number of interviews is constrained to eight. Below, a table with the information of the interviews and respondents is included (see table 1). At the Kantine Zukunft, which exists of only three people, it was not possible due to time considerations of the participants to do a second interview. However, because the initiative is small, one interview will suffice. Furthermore, one interview is conducted with the BENN organization, to better understand the practices of the initiatives from the viewpoint of an intermediate organization, as intermediate organizations were mentioned as relevant for the functioning of food initiatives by respondents during the other interviews. All interviews are done face-to-face on the location of choice of the interviewee. This resulted in six interviews on the location of the initiative of the organization and two interviews at a café close to the initiative. The locations and the language of the interviews are chosen by the interviewees to make them feel comfortable. The possible languages in which the interviews can be conducted are Dutch, English and German. This resulted in seven interviews in German and one in English. Only the interview with Kantine Zukunft is conducted in English. The interview guide is therefore, translated in German. The English interview guide can be found in the appendix (1). The transcripts of the interviews are not included but can be requested. Information of the interviews can be found in table 1. Pseudonyms are indicated with an asterisk.

Table 1: Information interviewees

Organizations	Participant	Role	Date	Location	Length
Berliner Engel	Simone*	Participant	11-12-2019	On site	44 min
Berliner Engel	Jens	Foreman (board)	19-12-2019	On site	45 min
Garten-der-Hoffnung	Sander*	Participant	12-02-2020	On site	50 min
Garten-der-Hoffnung	Petra	Initiator (board)	7-01-2020	Café	90 min
Offener Garten	Maaike & Heleen*	Participant	11-02-2020	On site	65 min
Offener Garten	Johan*	Participant	11-02-2020	On site	42 min
Kantine Zukunft	Margo*	Employee	17-12-2019	Café	51 min
BENN	Lena Zeller	Employee	18-12-2019	On site	48 min

3.3.1 Justification of the interview guide

The questions in the interview guide are based upon the literature which has been discussed in the chapter of the theoretical framework. The interview questions are created to answer the research question and secondary questions. In the table in appendix 3, the interview questions are briefly discussed and justified.

3.4 Analysis

The interviews are analyzed with the help of ATLAS.TI. Using coding makes it is possible to systematically analyze each interview in a similar manner, as coding helps to identify categories and patterns in qualitative data (Kempster & Cope, 2010). This will be done by using a code tree (appendix 4). Coding is done deductive and inductive. Deductive coding uses prior assumptions, theories identified by the researcher, while inductive coding allows the theory to emerge from the data (Corbin & Strauss, 1998).

3.5 Ethical considerations

Research can be classified as a social process, which can have several implications (Dowling, 2016). It is important as a researcher to be aware of these implications when conducting research. It is not possible to fully separate research, researchers and society. Therefore, it is important to keep this interchangeability between the three elements in mind. There are a few elements important to note when conducting research. One is informed consent (Dowling, 2016). The goal of and the reasons for the interview are explained to the participants, by email or phone. Next to that, at the start of the interview, the participant filled in a consent form (appendix 2). This form will be signed by the researcher and the interviewee before the interview starts. This form can be used to make the participants aware of their rights regarding the interview. It contains the topic and goals of the research. Furthermore, it is explained that participating in the study is voluntary and that the participants have the right to withdraw from the study without any explanation. In addition, it states that the study is confidential, and permission is asked to use the data for the study. Next to that, permission is asked to use the name of the participants. When no permission was given, the participants were indicated with pseudonyms, and an effort was made to make sure the identity of the participants could not be derived from the information in the results.

Permission for the audio recording is asked. This relates to the second topic discussed by Dowling (2016), privacy and confidentiality. Permission is verbally asked at the introduction of the interview

and later on written in the consent form. The information gathered will be stored in a safe place on the computer, which means all the transcripts and analysis of the transcripts are put in a password-protected map on a password-protected computer. Only the researcher will have access to the computer. Furthermore, it is important that the research does not expose the researcher or any of the participants to harm. In this research, it is unlikely that any of the persons or initiatives will be subjected to physical harm, however social harm might be possible. Since the interview will include questions about feelings and possible disagreements or debates. Therefore, attention is given to the physical signs of uneasy during the interview.

Conducting cross-cultural research will provide some challenges (Howitt & Stevens, 2016). First of all, the national language of Germany is German, which is not the first or second language of the researcher. This is taken into account when preparing for the study. An one-month intensive German language course was followed to improve the language skills of the researcher. After this month the language skills of the researcher were improved to B2 level. Due to the language course, it was possible to offer the participants the choice between three languages, Dutch, German and English. To each participant it was asked what their preference was, which was done to make sure the interview was conducted in the language the participant felt most comfortable in. This resulted in seven interviews in German and one in English. The interviews were transcribed in the language the interview was conducted in and the analysis in ATLAS.TI was done in the language of the interview. Only, at the end after coding and analyzing the results, a translation into English (when necessary) was made to create quotes.

4. Results

The chapter discusses the data which is collected as described in chapter three. The discussion is based on eight interviews collected during the data collection phase. Following these interviews, the research question can be answered, which is: "How do elements of the social infrastructure play a role within the functioning and development of urban community food initiatives?". The research question is divided into several secondary questions. These questions brought up different themes. In the first part of this chapter, the results relating to the second question will be discussed, focusing on the goals and aspirations of the initiatives. Following, the elements of the social infrastructure, including the boundaries and the in-out relations between the members, the resources needed to make initiatives work, and the embeddedness in networks will be discussed. On the next page, a table can be found stating in catchwords how the different elements of the social infrastructure manifest themselves in the four initiatives. In the remainder of this chapter, all the elements of the social infrastructure will be discussed more extensively.

Table 2: Overview of results per element per initiative

Component	Element	Initiative			
		Garten-der-Hoffnung	**Kantine Zukunft**	**Berliner Engel**	**Offener Garten**
Symbolic diversity					
	Boundaries of the community	- Low barrier to enter - Loose boundaries - Key persons - High fluctuations	- Core group - Formal basis (employment)	- Stable group - Loose boundaries - Key persons	- Loose boundaries - Help from cultural neighbourhood centre with mobilization
	Role Homogeneity	- External contact (spontaneous)	- No external contact - No intension	- No external contact - No intension	- No external contact - No intension
	Level of acquaintanceship	- High level of contact - Acquaintances and friendships	- Short time established - No friendships	- High level of familiarity between members - No friendships	- Interaction in a friendly manner - No friendships
	Acceptance of controversy	- Discussion are hampered by cultural differences and informal structure - It is acknowledged by initiator	- Formal structure - Everybody can speak up - Realization that discussion is needed to grow	- Discussions take place - Board have final decision	- Discussions are hampered due to informal structure
	Depersonalisation of politics	- Not present	- Everybody is able to speak up and is not judge by it	- Acceptance of individual opinions and feelings	- Not present
	Focus on the process	- "Das Weg ist das Ziel" - Learn from mistakes	- Process is important - Empower people along the way	- Focus on process and the end goal	- "Das Weg is das Ziel" - Learn from mistakes
Resource allocation					
	Resources needed	- People - Small amount of money - Land	- Money - Other initiatives	- People - Small amount of money - Stores	- People - Small amount of money - Land
	Distribution of resources	- Time and knowledge - Courage to live - vitality	- Time and knowledge - Doing something back to the city	-Time, enthusiasm, knowledge - Feeling of accomplishment - Good feeling	- Time - Place to garden - Connection to nature
Quality of networks					
	Internal networks	- No formal structure - Flat hierarchy - Informal structure present - Diverse in cultural, age and gender	- Clear organizational structure - One person final say - Diverse in age and gender - Similar in educational background	- Formal structure - Three-headed board - Diverse in gender, background, educational - Similar in age	- No formal structure - Diverse in age, family composition, background, interests in gardening

	External networks	- BENN, - Knowledge about contacts only present at the initiator - Government barely - More contact wished	- A lot of government involvement due to subsidy - More contact with similar initiatives wished	- Mostly with supermarket and suppliers of food - Not with horizontal parties - Not with government - Knowledge at the board about external contacts	- Anstiftung - Lack of trust in politicians - Overall satisfied with the current contact

4.1 Goals and aspirations

The different urban community food initiatives investigated in this study have different goals and aspirations. To answer the sub-questions and research question it is necessary to first gain a better understanding of what the initiatives entail. What are their goals and what aspirations do they have regarding the future?

4.1.1 Goals and aspirations

The goals of the community food initiatives in Berlin are both ideological and practical. The ideological goals are transcending the practical goals and are focused among others on improving organic food (Kantine Zukunft) or preventing poverty and reducing food waste (Berliner Engel). These goals are exceeding the geographic boundaries of the initiatives, and focus on society as a whole. Where the social infrastructure is a necessary ingredient for local community development (Flora & Flora, 1993), the goals and aspirations of some of the initiatives are exceeding this community level, targeting changes on the societal level. Berliner Engel is an example, their goal is to:

"Offer a desired living standard for the people who are in need" (Simone, Berliner Engel).

However, in the light of the ideological goals, the initiatives also acknowledge that they are just a small part of reaching this ideological goal and they will not be able to solve the whole problem, for example preventing poverty, on their own. The goals are exceeding the community level and will have a small share in achieving the overarching societal ideological goal. This is also acknowledged by the initiatives, which recognize that their initiative is not going to solve the whole societal ideological problem, and will therefore, always be needed:

"But there will always be poor people in the city, and this initiative will always have to exist" (Jens, Berliner Engel).

This also links to the aspirations of the initiatives, which are also exceeding the borders of the initiatives and are focussed on a broader scale, as Petra of Garten-der-Hoffnung expresses her wish for the future:

"I wish that there is an accessible neighbourhood garden in every residential area, in every big city in the EU (..), or simply a place under the open sky where people can meet and garden together".

Or Kantine Zukunft:

"We want to create a space that everybody in Berlin and across the border knows and that we created a project that is a pilot for Germany that people want to copy as well" (Simone).

They show they are not only concerned with the wellbeing of their initiatives, as well as hope to see improvements on a higher level, exceeding their project. They see themselves as role models and want to set an example for others to follow. This shows that most of the aspirations of these initiatives are focussed on ideological goals.

Furthermore, next to these ideological goals, there are practical goals that are feasible within the limits of the initiatives and focus explicitly on the organizational development of the local initiatives. For example, Kantine Zukunft has a more ideological goal, improving organic food in public kitchens, but also wants to change the personal food perceptions of people that participate in their project. These smaller, more practical goals are focused on the internal development and functioning of the initiatives. These goals are often also more personal, which can be witnessed at the garden initiative:

"Here the garden is open, people try to use new ways to deal with gardens, for people to be close to nature, people are also looking for each other in the common garden for contact" (Johan, Offener Garten).

In addition, a wish or aspiration for the future of the initiative is not focused on the expansions of their project or initiative, but is focused on improvements, such as thankfulness and better quality of products:

"We cannot get bigger because then we will be too big, no longer well-arranged, and then it really costs money, that's the way it is, the three stores, that is all we can handle. Therefore, a wish for the future is that people will be more grateful (..) and that the quality of food will be better." (Jens, Berliner Engel).

An aspiration for the future is that participants will be more grateful or that the quality of the food they receive will be better so that they do not have to throw away food anymore. These are examples of small process-related achievements they would like to witness in the future.

This shows that there are both ideological and practical goals. The ideological goals are exceeding their boundaries and are focussed on improving society and the practical goals are of a smaller scale focusing on internal improvements. The aspirations are not to grow but the make improvements in the current process and to be an example for others.

4.2 Symbolic diversity

The symbolic diversity entails the in-out culture of an initiative. This relates to how the people within the organization are dealing with each other as well as how people can enter or exit the organization and the informal ties between participants. First of all, the community process will be addressed in this section, which focuses on the boundaries of the community, the level of acquaintanceship, and the role homogeneity within the community. Thereafter, the acceptance of controversy and depersonalization of politics are discussed. To conclude, the importance of focussing on the process will be addressed.

4.2.1 Boundaries of the community

Boundaries of the community relate to how easy or difficult it is to participate in the initiatives. Most of the initiatives do exist out of a core group of people, who are stable over time. Results show that this is strongest with the initiative that works with an employment base. Nevertheless, initiatives without this official payment also exist out of a core group. Overall, the boundaries of the communities are drawn loose. Participating is possible through informal contacts with members, which is two-sided. Key persons of the organization can actively ask outsiders to participate, but outsiders can also contact the key persons:

"From experience, we have also noticed that when we have certain key persons who are very connected, then they also bring other people along, and are very important. But also stable faces that are (at the initiative) often help people to approach us" (Petra, Garden-der-Hoffnung).

This also comes back in the way the Berliner Engel mobilizes participants. The two interviewees explained they joined the organization because the initiator of the organization was a familiar face to both. They already knew him from other situations and therefore, when he asked if they would like to join, it was easy for them to participate.

Furthermore, having contact with other organizations, in the case of the Offener Garten, is also important to promote the initiative to outsiders. Because of the connection between the initiative

and other cultural groups, it is possible to mobilize people through this connection, as one of the interviewees explains:

"I have actually known about the garden through sport (at the Kubiz building) (..), and in part, I was also interested in gardening, which made me sing up for this initiative too " (Johan, Offener Garten).

Besides these informal ways, the initiatives also mobilize participants through social media and the distribution of flyers. Results show there is often no formal membership and the initiatives have low expectations of their participants in terms of time spend and efforts put in the initiative:

"With us, it does not play a role how much somebody brings into the initiative, you can be always there or just once a month (..). Every contribution is valuable and every contact is valuable" (Petra, Garten-der-Hoffnung).

Due to the combination of easy access for newcomers, no formal membership structures and low expectations, participating is easy. However, the consequence of this is that leaving the initiative is also easy, which can cause high fluctuations of members.

The assumption, made by the intermediate organization, states that depending on the phase of the initiative, the youngest initiatives would be more open for new members than older ones:

"It depends on the phase when the initiative is very young and still beginning, it is important that it is open to all and new people including new ideas. Furthermore, when the initiative exists for a longer time, it is important that everyone knows and understands each other" (Lena, BENN).

However, results did not show that young initiatives are more open for new members than older ones. This is due to the fact that the boundaries of the initiatives are open during all phases. No difference is found based on the time the initiative exists.

4.2.2 Level of acquaintanceship and role homogeneity

An important element of the symbolic diversity is the level of acquaintanceship, which is how well people within the organization know one another, including if friendships are developed between members of the initiative. This is connected to the concept of role homogeneity, which relates to how frequent people meet each other outside the initiative in other roles than the voluntary role they have when they are active within the initiative. These two aspects have a lot in common and are therefore, discussed here together.

Results show that the level of acquaintanceship is mostly limited to friendly interactions between community members. This is limited because the interviewees explain that they did not develop friendships at the initiative.

The theory has suggested that friendships might be developed due to informal contact outside of the initiative, the so-called role homogeneity. However, this contact outside is not perceived in most of the case studies. This external contact is also not actively encouraged or arranged by the initiatives. Furthermore, participants themselves are also not actively arranging to meet up outside the initiative. Due to the high number of contact hours they already spend at the initiative, they do not value active contact outside. On the question if they are interested in meeting community members outside of the initiative, one interviewee says:

"Rarely, rarely, if you are here for eight to six hours, it is ok, then it is enough. It's then actually like a normal job" (Jens, Berliner Engel).

Although the external contact is limited at most initiative, there is some external contact happening at one initiative, as people meet each other outside of the initiative:

"I have met people whom I know from the garden, accidentally, and then we went for a tea, spontaneous" (Petra, Garten-der-Hoffnung).

Due to this external informal contact, new roles are discovered such as being a commuter or being a mother. This is also the case in the other interview with a member of Garten-der-Hoffnung, where Sander explains that they do see one another outside of the initiative and consider each other as friends or even family:

"We see each other sometimes in the garden, sometimes in the language cafe here in the centre, sometimes in the S-Bahn or sometimes I see the people in their homes, or at lunch. Like Petra also says: I am her son, and she is my mom".

This shows that friendships are occasionally developed and people sometimes do meet outside of the initiative. Nevertheless, this is something that seems to be unique in one initiative and is not experienced at all in the other case studies. However, the results of all the case studies don't evidence that there is a clear relationship between the level of acquaintanceship and the role homogeneity.

Furthermore, the missing link between the level of acquaintanceship and role homogeneity within the initiative is not perceived by the participants as troublesome. This might question the importance of the role homogeneity in this context.

4.2.3 Acceptance of controversy and depersonalization of politics

The next aspects discussed will be the acceptance of controversy and the depersonalization of politics. Both relate to how the process is managed, how decisions are made, and how debates, conflicts and discussions are tackled. The depersonalization of politics follows acceptance of controversy. The acceptance of controversy can be witnessed by the presence of debates and discussions in the initiative. Depersonalization of politics means that everybody is able to say what is on their mind during these discussions. Important is that when opinions are expressed, these opinions are respected. This concept refers to a disconnection of debates and politics. Debates should thus not be brought back to personal differences, while ideological divides should be divided. However, to understand how people react to debates and discussions, it is first important to examine if there is room for debates and discussion within the initiatives and if not, why not.

The results show that in most initiatives discussions and debates are not avoided. These debates are practical of origin and relate to the practical goals set by the initiatives, which often emphasize short-term aspects such as the kind of seeds to buy for the garden or how to sort and process all the incoming food at the Berliner Engel stores.

However, cultural differences based on origin can stand in the way of the openness to discussions and debates. It can cause that the voices of the most verbally expressed people, unintentionally, most heard and followed. This is something witnessed at the Garten-der-Hoffnung, which comprises of a culturally diverse group of people:

"The Afghanistan men are not used to the German discussion culture, they are talking about the idea for a short period and then they start working on it, which is different from the German way we are dealing with discussions" (Petra).

This is something that is also acknowledged by a participant of the garden with a non-German background, who explains that debates within the whole group do not occur. However, between residents of the asylum seeker centre, they do speak about different topics, but these discussions are not expressed during the meetings with all the participants of the garden project. Due to the cultural differences, the non-German participants follow the decisions made by the German people, which hampers open discussions and debates.

The participants of the initiative are aware of this lack of discussion. One of the members explains:

"And there it comes to the principle of permaculture, we take care of each other, and we try to hear what the other person is saying, as well as what he is not saying" (Petra, Garten-der-Hoffnung).

Furthermore, the results indicate that discussions are more difficult to reach when there is no formal organizational structure since it is harder to create consensus when there is no board to collect opinions and make a decision.

When there is no room for discussion potential differences in goals and ideology remain below the surface, which can hamper organizational development. This shows that cultural diversity and the organizational structure can hamper the acceptance of controversy, and thereby obstruct development.

When debates and discussions do occur in the initiatives, participants feel free enough to express their personal opinion, without having the fear of being personal addressed:

"Yes of course (I can say everything I want to say), for that, we have too good of a relationship" (Jens, Berliner Engel).

And:

"We can all pitch ideas, and everyone has ideas (..). There is a lot of freedom, but when formal decisions need to be made, we do look at the project leader and ask questions like: 'ok, so tell us what you want'" (Margo, Kantine Zukunft).

Politics is divided from personal opinions. This is something that has been actively mentioned by Jens, one of the board members of the Berliner Engel:

"We discuss the aspects that are on the table, and they will look at what is best for the initiative and not what is best for the individual. That can also be painful for the person involved".

Overall, the results show that within most initiatives there is room to express opinions and discussions do occur. Participants feel free enough to express their ideas and concerns. However, this is not experienced by all the case studies since cultural differences and the organizational structure can hamper the creation of debates. In the long term, this can hamper the development of the initiatives.

4.2.4 Focus on the process
The last element of the symbolic diversity discussed in the results is the focus on the daily process instead of the end-goal. The participants were asked what is more important for the initiative; reaching the end-goal or the process of getting to the end-goal. The results indicate that the process is more important for the initiatives than achieving their end-goal. A certain saying is important in the German context which is repeated by multiple participants:

"Das Weg ist das Ziel"
(Petra, Garten-der-Hoffnung; Johan, Offener Garten; Heleen, Offener Garten).

This saying means that the initiatives do not want to achieve a certain goal no matter what. Part of this focus on the process is the possibility to make mistakes along the way and to learn from these mistakes. This is also explained by Flora and Flora (1993) who state that a process has ups and downs and throughout the process, you can learn from these.

Furthermore, by focussing on the process they do not only want to achieve something in the future, but they are oriented towards the here and now, as Heleen from the Offener Garten explains:

"It is not just reaching the goal, but what happens in the meantime in the garden, that is important".

In addition, the results show that the process might empower people along the road to change behaviour:

"I think for us the process is very important because if we do the process right, we might empower the people right to get to the end-goal, even without our help" (Margo, Kantine Zukunft).

This relates to the ideological goals of the initiatives, which require often a paradigm shift in food production and consumption which has to be developed over time.

4.3 Resource allocation
Resources exist inside and outside of the initiatives. Certain resources are essential to make initiatives successful. In this part, the question of which resources the initiative needs is raised. Next to that, what the participants personally contribute to the initiative and what they receive from it, is discussed.

4.3.1 Resources needed
The results indicate that there is a need for a combination of money, people, knowledge, land, tools, and social competencies among initiatives to make initiatives a success. The resources named most by the participants are the importance of people. Three out of the four initiatives completely run on volunteers. Besides that, one thing standing out was the need for a small amount of money to invest in the initiative. Jens from the Berliner Engel explains:

"We have to sell it (the products in the store) because we have to pay for the rent, and the energy, autos, and gas (..). We have to pay that, and therefore we ask for a bit of money".

The same applies for the Offener Garten, Maaike said:

"We do not need a lot of money but we collect five euro a month for water cost".

This shows that even though the initiative runs on volunteers, a small amount of money is demanded by the members at all the initiatives.

At the Garten-der-Hoffnung money is also an important element. However, Petra explains that more money is not the most important, but a 'basic financing' is needed for basic products such as plants or seeds. She continues to explain that this basic financing is provided by BENN, the intermediate organization, and that contact with such an organization is, therefore, vital for the initiative.

Furthermore, enthusiastic and knowledgeable people are essential as well as material entities, such as tools. These can be gained by the initiative without any external partners needed since participants can bring these resources to the initiative. But to make sure that the initiatives function well, participants have explained that social competencies need to be present such as good communication skills, leadership skills, and key contact persons.

Where for social competencies the initiatives can rely on participants, for other resources the initiatives are dependent on external parties. Especially for the plot of land or buildings, on which the initiatives are located, other parties need to be involved. Johan from the Offener Garten explains:

"The space for the garden and gardens overall is becoming scares because companies are in need of space too (..). Politics and political parties are very important in the future presence of the gardens".

The same applies to the other garden, where the biggest fear of the participants is that the garden might be transformed into parking places.

For remaining on a certain location initiatives are dependent on external parties. It is important to keep the relationship with these parties solid and stable to maintain the initiative. In this case, good communication skills and leadership competencies within the initiative are relevant.

The last element that is expressed as an important resource is the empowerment of other similar initiatives. This was most present at the initiatives that receive a large amount of government funding, such as Kantine Zukunft. The distribution of government money have to be transparent, otherwise there is a possibility to create misunderstanding among other similar initiatives. As Margo from Kantine Zukunft explains:

"The support of other food initiatives and the positive vibe is important so that we all empower each other. Because in the end, we all work towards the same goal, we all want to change the food system in our city".

This empowerment and contact with other initiatives seem to be important for reaching the ideological goals of the initiatives in the long term. Since these goals are of a substantial extent that one initiative would not be able to reach it alone.

4.3.2 Distribution of resources

Initiatives need some resources to pursue their goals. The distribution of resources is important too. This relates to what people contribute to the initiative and what they gain from it. Therefore, the ratio regarding what they contribute to the initiative and what they receive back is discussed here.

Most participants of the initiatives contribute in terms of time, knowledge, and social competencies. The time they are spending at the location of the initiatives and actively working for the initiative has shown to be of utterly importance for maintaining the initiative. Furthermore, the knowledge about how to run an initiative or how to garden, are social competencies that can contribute to the initiative. In addition, what they receive from working at the initiative is a feeling of accomplishment. This is a very personal feeling that has been expressed by different participants multiple times during the interviews:

"I bring knowledge, enthusiasm and my time to the initiative (..), and I get back satisfaction (..). A good feeling to help, that I can help people with my time" (Jens, Berliner Engel).

"I learn about the garden (..) but I get back, the courage to live and vitality and resilience, how to deal with crises and to solve problems. What I get back: Kindness, respect and hospitality" (Petra, Garten-der-Hoffnung).

"I am original from Berlin and this project provides me the great opportunity to really give back to the city that raised me, I know that is very corny (..) To really give back to the community because we are trying to provide a service" (Margo, Kantine Zukunft).

For all the participants this feeling of accomplishment has been sufficient to keep participating in the initiative and therefore, this feeling of accomplishment weights higher than the elements invested, such as time and knowledge. However, it is important to note that the interviewees are active members of the initiatives, and therefore, this might show a distorted image as the ratio might be perceived differently by other members.

4.4 Quality of networks

The last element of social infrastructure is the quality of networks. This relates to the internal and external relations. Two subgroups can be distinguished. Firstly, the internal diversity of the people who are active inside of the initiative and secondly, the communication and contact which exists with parties outside of the initiative.

4.4.1 Internal networks

Internal networks relate to the organizational structure of the initiative and focus on the internal composition of the initiative. The theory says it is important to have a diverse mix of people participating in the initiative to make sure all diverse opinions are heard and all skills are used. In that case, the initiative can be more self-organized, without help from outsiders.

The internal diversity within the literature refers to the diversity of leadership. Results show that there is a diversity of leadership structures and organizational structure within the four community food initiatives. It ranges from no structure at all, to a three-headed board (See table 3).

Table 3: Organizational structures of the initiatives

Organization	Organizational structure
Berliner Engel	Official board of three persons
Garten-der-Hoffnung	No official board, but informal hierarchical structure
Offener Garten	No official board
Kantine Zukunft	One leader, but flat hierarchical structure

When an initiative has clear leaders, the diversity among these leaders is perceived high, with an emphasis on diversity in gender and educational background.

Initiatives without a formal structure, have a limited organizational diversity in terms of leaders and followers. However, there is a high level of diversity based on a diverse set of characteristics, such as age, family composition, gender, and educational background. Even though the initiatives have diverse internal structures, they all perceive that internal diversity is large enough to provide a diverse set of skills and competencies within the initiative. Due to this diverse set of participants, steps can be made regarding community development, because of the different resources and skills these participants bring into the initiative, such as organizational knowledge or physical strength. Furthermore, the diversity in the initiatives is often a reflection of the people who are living in the area surrounding the initiative, as explained by Lena from BENN:

"The kind of people participating depends on the kind of people who resides in a particular area. In this area, a lot of older people reside, this is represented in the kind of people participating in for example the garden initiative".

This is also represented in the garden initiative of Garten-der-Hoffnung. Sander explains that the people from the neighbourhood are mostly older, but that the people in the asylum seeker centre are mostly younger men. These people bring different resources, such as organization strength and physical power, and are therefore, complementary.

4.4.2 External networks

The last part elaborates on the relationships the initiatives have with the outside world. These include horizontal and vertical communication. Horizontal communication refers to the contact initiatives have with other, similar initiatives. Vertical communication is two-way contact between two parties of different systems, such as contact with governments or lobby groups.

Overall, it appears that the question about external networks was difficult for participants to answer. Especially for the people who were not part of the board of an initiative. This was not seen as troublesome since board members would have this knowledge and this knowledge is not transferred to the members of the initiatives. However, for the initiatives without a formal hierarchy, this question was also difficult to answer, which indicates an overall lack of external contact or at least a lack of knowledge about it. Overall, three out of the nine interviewees were able to answer the question, these included; one board member, one initiator, and one employee.

The results show that little knowledge is available among participants of the initiative about external relations of the initiative. However, board members have this information.

This can cause a problem with initiatives without an official board. These initiatives do function without a board, but external contacts are minimal, and therefore, benefits gain through external contacts are not gained. This shows that an official formal organizational structure seems to be important to maintain a level of embeddedness in external networks, and to gain benefits of these contacts.

Besides that, a low amount of contacts are present with horizontal parties, even though this horizontal contact is appreciated by participants. Initiatives acknowledge that contact with horizontal parties such as other urban gardens or foodbanks, can be a way to learn from each other and for example exchange seeds or knowledge:

"We do not have contact with other gardens, but I have thought about it (..) It would be nice, if we meet so now and then, exchange their seed or somehow celebrates together or something, that would be valuable" (Heleen, Offener Garten).

The participant of Kantine Zukunft explains that the lack of horizontal contact with other similar initiatives can be even problematic:

"With other initiatives, there is a bit of misunderstanding of what we do (..), and why we get funding (from the government), there have been discussions about the nature of our work. (..). It feels like a competition, and that can be really hard. In the end, it is still a small scene, and we all know each other, but conflict can arise when we do not talk with each other. I hope in the future we can get rid of these conflicts" (Margo, Kantine Zukunft).

Vertical contact also tends to be important for initiatives. Especially contact with governments is maintained when the initiative receives government funding or when permits have to be requested. Repeated two-sided contact with governments is only present when money is received and the initiative has to report back to the government about how they have spent the money. For the initiatives that have contact with the government, it is a valuable tool to use to make them aware of the challenges they are facing in the current food system and to highlight the importance of their existence as Margo explains:

"We want to make the government understand what is needed (to improve the current system) and what we really need, to really make an everlasting impact"(Kantine Zukunft).

The role of intermediate organizations is perceived as very valuable for the initiatives that make use of them. Petra of Garten-der-Hoffnung, explains that the contact the gardens has with BENN (the intermediate organization) is very valuable:

"BENN is a very important factor for us, they support us and take a lot of work away from us, they help us with finance possibilities and are lobbyists for our idea".

This is also perceived by the Offener Garten, which works together with a lobby group of urban gardens, named 'Anstiftung', these organizations help urban gardens in their development.

Overall, when there is no formal organizational structure or absence of leaders, this might hamper external contact, which obstructs knowledge and resource exchange. Horizontal contact with other initiatives is wished for but not achieved. Besides that, organizations such as BENN are a tool to organize external contact and to hand over responsibilities. Furthermore, a lack of knowledge from participants about external relations is due to the missing relationship or communication with the board members, since board members due have this information.

5. Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, the discussion and conclusions of the research will be presented and linked to the theories used in the theoretical framework. Furthermore, the contribution of the study for planning practice and theory will be discussed. The chapter will end with a critical reflection on the outcomes and the research process.

5.1 Discussion

The aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of how individual community food initiatives in an urban context function and which elements of social infrastructure are important for the development of these initiatives. The concept of social infrastructure has been used and been proven valuable in rural communities (Flora & Flora, 1993). Based on some similarities between the rural and urban setting, such as the similar size of the food community initiatives and the rural communities, and the fact that these both refer to collective actions (e.g. Rosili, 1999; Stockman, 1990), my assumption at the start of the research was that the social infrastructure is a relevant and valuable concept to use in urban communities. This study has explored to what extent the elements of social infrastructure are indeed relevant in the context of urban food initiatives, and how it helps to provide insight into the functioning and development of these initiatives.

The first sub-question focuses on the theoretical conceptualization of the concept used in this thesis, social infrastructure. The conceptualization of both the citizen initiatives and the social infrastructure has been discussed in chapter 2. In short, social infrastructure of citizen initiatives is related to both the inside dynamics of the organization and the external relations. The social infrastructure is divided into three components: symbolic diversity, resource allocation, and quality of networks (Flora & Flora, 1993). Where Flora and Flora (1993) describe the elements of the social infrastructure as separated from each other, the visualization of the conceptual model shows the connectedness between the elements. There are also limitations of the concept. First of all, the original concept of Flora and Flora originates from 1993. Nevertheless, the concept has been used in recent studies in different disciplines since then (e.g. Peters et al., 2018; Brown et al., 2012; Casey, 2005). Furthermore, the concept is developed in the context of rural development studies. In this research, it has been applied in an urban context. It is not a limitation of the study but is important to keep in mind while reading since the geographical location and the population density and diversity is larger in an urban setting.

The remaining part of this discussion focuses on the three sub-questions (question 2,3,4). The relevance and the influence of the elements of social infrastructure on urban community food initiatives will be explained, based on the results described in chapter four and the theory discussed in chapter two.

Internal dynamics
The social infrastructure model places a large emphasis on the internal structure, which has been examined in this study by analysing the in-outside relations within the initiative, the presence of friendships, and the way discussions are tackled. There is a need to create an open atmosphere to discuss and foster debates (Flora & Flora, 1993) Most of the elements of the internal structure have proven in this thesis to be relevant for the functioning and development of community food initiatives in an urban context. These elements are loose boundaries, diversity of participants, creation of resources, acceptance of controversy, level of acquaintanceship and depersonalisation of politics. The element that is less relevant for urban community food initiatives is role homogeneity.

The boundaries of the communities are commonly drawn in a loose way, which seems to enable other elements to prosper. This confirms the theory that communities have loose boundaries, are open to new members and avoid a strong in-out-culture (Flora & Flora, 1993). Due to these loose boundaries, there is a higher possibility that people are not excluded from the initiative. Initiatives actively try to welcome newcomers. The threshold for new members is low because in advance there is a low expectation of the participants. Furthermore, due to the lack of formal membership and the presence of key contact persons, it is easy to participate. These three components were not explicitly stated in the literature of social infrastructure in rural communities, however, they seem to be valuable for attracting and mobilizing new members in an urban area. This might be because rural communities do not have formal membership and therefore, the location where the citizens live is often sufficient to be part of the community. This is not the case in an urban environment since people actively have to engage with an initiative to become part of it.

This openness also allows a diverse group of people to be able to participate. This diversity within the initiatives is based on background, age and gender, which is following the diversity elements named in the literature (Peters et al. 2018). However, this diversity should bring fruitfulness of arguments in debates, but whether this is the case in urban food communities was not explicitly mentioned by the respondents in this study. However, the resources and skills that this diverse group of people brings are valuable and are needed for the initiatives, such as organizational skills and physical power. This is also in connection to the literature which indicates that a diverse set of resources and skills are brought into the initiative when a diverse group of people is present (Peters et al., 2018), relevant for its development. Due to the resources and skills that participants have, the initiatives are less dependent on outside resources.

Furthermore, another important element of the internal dynamic is the level of acquaintanceship in combination with the role homogeneity. The results show that a certain level of acquaintanceship is visible in most of the case studies since participants do interact with each other in a friendly manner within the boundaries of the initiatives. Nevertheless, the level of acquaintanceship cannot be perceived as high, since friendships do not often occur. Within rural communities the development of this high level of acquaintanceship has been valued as important for their development. This is not witnessed as problematic by the initiatives themselves, there is no need or willingness to be closer to each other. Literature suggests that these friendships are necessary to achieve a full understanding of a person, including the resources and skills they can bring (Peters et al., 2018), however, these resources and skills are already witnessed without the presence of close friendships and therefore, this concept seems to be of less importance in this urban context. The same applies to role homogeneity, which has been barely witnessed in the case studies. However, this is not seen as troublesome, and more involvement outside of the initiatives is not something that the respondents wished for. Therefore, in this study role homogeneity seemed to not play a role. A possible reason for this will be explained in the conclusion.

To foster development and follow aspirations literature suggests that the presence of debates is of crucial importance for the development of communities (Flora & Flora, 1993). These debates are present in most of the food initiatives and are acknowledged of importance by participants to make progress. This is following the literature which states that these debates are needed for weight advantages to disadvantages and to make sure all opinions are considered (Flora & Flora, 1993; Peters et al., 2018). This study has revealed some barriers that can hamper debates within the initiatives and which can, therefore, hamper its development. These barriers, that became apparent through the interviews, are cultural diversity and the lack of a formal organizational structure.

However, when debates due occur participants feel free enough to express their opinion. This enables open discussion of controversial issues (Peter et al., 2018). Furthermore: "initiatives that provide safe forms for airing differences are able to avoid rancorous conflict, forced consensus and personal attacks" (Sturtevant, 2006, p57). Therefore, the benefits of having these open discussions promote deliberation of all possible options, which is important to foster community development. These results are underpinning the focus on the internal process of the daily organization within the food initiative, which is preferred over achieving an end-goal. During this thesis, it has become clear that the initiatives have ideological goals and practical goals that they want to pursue. These goals do not just focus on changing elements in the food system but have a social nature as well. The initiatives also aim to create social spaces where people can meet each other or can be close to nature within the city. This has also been acknowledged by previous literature, which highlights the role initiatives have in the creation of social spaces (Hasanov et al., 2019) and that food can be a catalyst to bring people together (Maretzki & Tuckermany, 2007). During the daily process of maintaining the initiative the initiatives can learn from the mistakes that are made, and anticipate on it. This is important for the development of the initiatives. Furthermore, the process can also empower people and the initiatives can be a role model and example for other initiatives. It is in accordance with the literature since it is less important if the initiative is a success or failure, but it is more concerned with the community issues which are addressed throughout the process (Peters et al., 2018).

Overall, based on the internal dynamics, the openness of the initiatives for newcomers seems to be a catalyst for other elements such as diversity in internal networks and the provision of resources. Furthermore, a close relationship between members in the initiatives is mainly absent, nevertheless, this has not seemed to cause any problems so far.

External contacts including access to resources
As discussed in the theoretical chapter, citizen initiatives can be placed on a continuum from government-led to citizen-led development (Meijer, 2018). This is a balance based on the degree of involvement of governments in community or citizen-led planning. It seems that the initiatives are mainly community-led, without the active involvement of the government into the process. Overall, contact with governments is limited for initiatives. Most contact with governments is due to the distribution of subsidies or rules and regulations such as permits. This has been acknowledged by other studies (e.g. Ghose & Pettygrove, 2014). For community food initiatives in an urban context, intermediate organizations, such as Anstiftung and BENN, play an important role in both, maintaining contact with governments and with lobbying for its existence. The role of these organizations has been acknowledged in previous research such as Wagner (2012) and Tandon & Brown (2013). This research has shown findings that can complement these studies as it acknowledges the relevance of intermediate organizations for community food initiatives.

Furthermore, besides these organizations, there is limited communication or contact with other parties, both horizontal and vertical. Most resources are gained through participants that are joining the initiatives, as discussed above. This means that participants bring personal resources to the initiative such as time, organization strength or physical power. An important element of the social infrastructure is how these resources are distributed over the participants. When the burden for participating becomes too big, participants will lose interest (Flora & Flora, 1993). Overall, this is not the case in the communities discussed, since the feeling of accomplishment exceeds the provision of resources. This links back to the loose boundaries of the community. Due to this fact participants do receive enough in return for their dedication and time invested in the initiative and do not have the desire to stop participating. However, in this research, active members are interviewed, which all do

not have an intension to leave the initiative any time soon. This might be different when interviewing less active members.

Contact with horizontal parties, such as other food banks or community gardens, is also limited. Literature has indicated that these contacts are very valuable to learn from one another and therefore, more organizational innovation can be created (Flora & Flora, 1993). These benefits are not reached since there is barely contact with other similar initiatives. Initiatives themselves are interested in improving such contacts, however, they have not yet accomplished this.

Overall, most elements of the social infrastructure of the initiatives based on the model of Flora and Flora (1993), appear to be relevant in the context of urban communities. However, the development of friendships, including meetings outside of the initiative seems to be less relevant in this urban context. Furthermore, there is less involvement in horizontal and vertical networks, even though the literature indicates that such contacts are valuable. However, this is also acknowledged by initiatives themselves, and there is a willingness to improve these contacts.

5.2 Conclusion

The aim of the study was to explore if and how a better understanding of community food initiatives can be gained through examining the role of social infrastructure. The guiding research question of this thesis was: how the elements of social infrastructure play a role within the functioning and the development of urban community food initiatives.

As the empirical insights discussed in the empirical chapter and the discussion show, most elements of the social infrastructure play a role in the functioning and development of urban community food initiatives. However, two major elements are less not relevant for urban food communities, which include the role homogeneity and the high level of acquaintanceship. The main reasons for this might be the geographical location in which the initiatives are embedded. In the rural community, role homogeneity is not needed to be actively encouraged. Within a rural area, people tend to make use of the same road and facilities. People have more possibilities to run into each other. Even though urban community food initiatives can also be characterised by low population size in terms of the number of members, they are still embedded into a wider, in this case, metropolitan area. Therefore, spontaneously meeting each other outside the initiative rarely happens.

The other elements of the social infrastructure do play a role within the functioning and development of urban community food initiatives. The openness of the initiatives to newcomers influences other elements, such as the internal diversity of members, acceptance of controversy, and collection of resources. Furthermore, the concept has unrevealed some elements that are not explicitly described in the literature on the social infrastructure, such as potential barriers for open discussions and debates caused by cultural diversity and the lack of a formal organizational structure. Other relevant elements of social infrastructure of urban food initiatives are the low expectations towards new members, the lack of formal membership and the relevance of key contact persons in attracting and mobilizing participants.

By applying this concept from rural studies in an urban context, this has provided new insights how the initiatives are organizationally and socially structured The framework of social infrastructure has proven to be valuable to create a broad overview of social aspects of the initiatives, by combining different concepts such as social capital, social cohesion, or social networks.

About the generalisability of the research. This thesis has questioned a sub-group of citizens initiatives, namely urban community food initiatives. However, initiatives based on the improving the liveability in a street or increasing traffic safety in a neighbourhood might be analysed through the

social infrastructure since these initiatives are based on a specific location, in which the participant most commonly also reside. This is not always the case at food initiatives since e.g food banks, like the Berliner Engel, provides a service for the entire city, which also attracts participants from the entire city, outside of the specific street or neighborhood the initiative is in. Social infrastructure has thus potential to be used in studies of other community initiatives that focus for example on energy transition or liveability, because they are often more focussed on a specific location. Therefore, further research might validate if the framework is also applicable to these initiatives.

5.3 Recommendations for planning practice

Currently, the spatial planning practice is shifting to a retreat of the state and decentralization of tasks and roles to lower governments (Mukhija & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2015). These developments go hand in hand with the growth of bottom-up initiatives and community-led planning. The government of Berlin wants to establish a policy that is focused on the involvement of citizens in the decision-making process of spatial policy. However, this research has shown that external relations of community food initiatives with governments are low. The results indicate that only initiatives in the process of getting permits or funding from the government have contact with the government. However, this contact with governments is barely arranged within the initiatives and not actively encouraged. The contact is superficial and not valuable for the initiatives. Therefore, sincere and transparent interest of governmental parties in these community-led planning practices is recommended. Especially, since the government has the interest to expand the involvement and engagement of citizens in cities. However, this is hard to accomplish due to time limits and the amount of community food initiatives that exist. Therefore, a recommendation is to increase communication and collaboration with intermediate organizations. These organizations do have contact with both the government and citizen initiatives and therefore, the benefits will be two-sided. For the governments, the benefits are to be more involved in this food domain, and for initiatives to increase the exchange of knowledge and resources.

The presence of horizontal contacts does not play a major role within the initiatives, even though there is a wish to increase such contacts, especially contact with similar initiatives. Since intermediate organizations seem to play an important role in advocating contact with governments, they might also play a role in mediating contacts between horizontal parties. They are in a position to have contact with multiple initiatives, they might be the catalyzer between similar initiatives. More research might be needed to investigate how contacts with horizontal parties can be arranged through intermediate organizations.

In the growing participatory society, where the government aims to have more and more contact with its citizens, it is of major importance to not only understand the goals and activities of these initiatives but to gain a deeper understanding of how to work together with these initiatives. This thesis provides some tools for governments to work towards a better understanding of these initiatives, to increase community development in the long term.

5.4 Recommendations for planning theory

Shifting to a planning theory-angle, this thesis has shown that understanding community food initiatives in an urban context needs a broader view including the internal dynamics of the initiative, to fully understand how these initiatives function and develop. The social infrastructure is a valuable concept that goes beyond notions such as social capital, social cohesion and social networks, by providing an overview of the internal structure of the initiative. These internal relations would not be become apparent by solely investigating the social cohesion, social capital or social networks of the initiatives. Many planning theory related publications regarding community food initiatives tend to

mainly focus on the aspirations it has in improving the current food system, by focusing on the goals (e.g. Connelly et al., 2011; Cameron, 2014; Cameron & Wright, 2014). However, to understand how an initiative functions, develops and works together, it is essential to understand them from a process perspective. A shift away from solely goal-oriented research can be valuable, to establish a more complete body of knowledge and to give guidance for planning practice.

5.5 Reflection on the outcomes

Speaking from a hindsight-perspective, more links and a broader conceptualization of the social capital, social cohesion and social networks would have been valuable to create a broader and deeper understanding of the relationship between these elements and the social infrastructure. By a better operationalization of these concepts, it would have been clearer to exactly see what the social infrastructure has added to the already existing studies. In that way, it would have been possible to gain more understanding of the effectiveness and value of this concept in this new context.

Furthermore, during the development of the research design, it was decided that the interviews would involve a normal participant and a board member. The basis for this was the assumption that every initiative would have a board. However, this assumption turned out the be wrong. Several initiatives that took part in this study did not have a board. Due to the lack of information about the initiatives that is available online, the organizational structure of the initiatives was not known beforehand. Therefore, the board members are not represented sufficiently in this study. Besides that, one initiative was so small that it was not possible to speak to a second member within the time frame of the research. Due to the small number of board members that are represented in the study, questions, especially related to the external relations of the initiatives were hard to answer by the respondents. This might have influenced the results.

Thirdly, the majority of the interviews were conducted in German, which is the third language of the researcher. The language skills have proven to be sufficient to conduct the interviews. However, sometimes clarification was needed on certain topics. This caused that during the interview different aspects had to be explained better, to make sure that the information was transferred precisely. This resulted in an increased length of some interviews.

5.6 Reflection on own process

Reflecting upon my own research process, some things went well and others didn't. I experienced issues with the data collection. It was difficult to find organizations that were open for interviews. Frequently, the only contact data available was an email address. However, often the emails were ignored by members of the initiatives. When there was another contact possibility available, such as a phone number or a social media address, this was used to approach the initiatives, but often also without any result. Visiting the initiatives worked best. This was possible for two initiatives, which resulted in appointments for interviews. When approaching the other initiatives I did not immediately ask for an interview, but first proposed if I could get to know them better. If I got invited, I was able to show my face, and explain my purpose in person. Thereafter, it was possible to first make an appointment for one interview, and after this interview, I would ask if it would be possible to make an appointment for a second interview. Besides that, two interviews that were planned were cancelled due to illness and unforeseen time problems of the interviewees. These were setbacks, which was not beneficial for my enthusiasm and motivation. Due to these difficulties, it was not possible to finish the thesis in time. Furthermore, because it was difficult to find interviewees when interviews were arranged, I placed a big pressure on myself to succeed. I felt guilty for taking up time of the interviewees. Furthermore, conducting the interview in a language which is not my native, created some personal insecurities. But throughout the process of doing more and more interviews, my level of confidence grew. This was also due to pleasant conversations.

Furthermore, my interest in the initiatives was also valued by the interviewees. This caused that the insecurities gained during the beginning of the data collection phase were dissolved later in the process.

6. Literature

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Introduction:

First of all I would like to thank you for participating in this interview. I will briefly introduce myself and my field of research. My name is Lynn Möhlmann and I study Socio-spatial planning at the University of Groningen. For my thesis I am conducting research on community food initiatives. By interviewing you, I hope to gain insight in these kind of citizen initiatives. I would like to make an audio recording this conversation. In this way I am able to listen again to the conversation and report precisely you said. This auto recording will be kept on a safe place on my computer and will only be accessible by me. After four months, when I have finalized the thesis, the recording will be deleted. Do you agree with the audio-recording?

Next to this, if you do not want me to mention your name in this thesis that is possible, to ensure your privacy. I have prepared a consent form in which you can indicate the choices that we have discussed. Shall we go through this form?

Besides that the choices you made on the form I would like to let you know that you can decide if you want to answer the question or not, and that you can stop the interview at any time if you want. In addition, if you do not want to participate in the research, you can choose to do so up, without having to provide an explanation for this, this is possible So far, do you have any question at this moment? Then we can start with the interview.

General questions

- Can you introduce yourself?
        - (age, occupation, hobbies)?

- Can you give a description of the initiative?
        - Why did the initiative start?
        - What is the goal?
        - Which activities
- Why did you choose to participate/initiate in the initiative?
        - Since when?
        - How did you get involved?
        - What was the reason for you to join/start it?

        Where would you see the initiative in 5/10 year?
        What is the biggest dream you have for the initiative?
        What would be your biggest nightmare for the initiative?

Who is involved?

- How many people are active in the initiative?
- What kind of people participate in the initiative? Can you characterize them?
- How do you mobilize the people for the initiative? How do you find people to participate?

- Is the group in your opinion diverse or not?
        - In what sense?
- Which kind/type of people are you missing or should be included?
        - genders, ages, occupations, beliefs?
        - Why do you think they are not participating?
        - Are you/ the initiative actively trying to mobilize this of people or not?
        - And yes, how? Or no, why not?

- How well do you know the people within the initiative?
- Can you tell a little bit more about when and how often you see these people? Or how you maintain contact with them?
        - Do you know all the people within the initiative by name?
        - Do you greet them or not when you run into them on the street/ supermarket?
        - Do you meet up with people of the initiative outside the activities of the initiative or not?
        - Do you consider them friends or not?

- Do you interact with a fixed (stable) group of people in the initiative or not?
        Why do you, or why not?

- Do you often meet new faces or not?
        How do you meet new people?
        or, why do you think you do (not) meet new people?

- Was it hard to become part of the initiative or not? How did you do that? What did you need to do to become part of it?

- Did you feel welcome right away or not? Why do you think so or not?

How is the process managed?
- How would you describe the organizational structure of the initiative?
        - Is there are board, membership, committees?
- How many people are in the board (or are in the lead)? Can you describe them for my? Who are they?
- How does the organization communicate with each other?
        - Meetings, papers, email, WhatsApp?

- Do you feel like you feel at home in the initiative?
- Do you feel like you can say anything you want to say?
        - Do you feel like people listen to you and your suggestions?

- How does decision-making take place? Who takes the decisions?
- Do debates take place within the organization or not?
        - Is there room for discussion or not?

- How does the initiative act when there are people with different standpoints regarding topics?
- Are there ever disagreements or differences in opinion within the initiative or not?
- How do the initiatives deal, in your opinion, with disagreements?
- What happened if a part of the group disagrees on a topic?

- I have two statements:
Which one do you think would apply more to the initiative?

Reaching the end-goal is more important than the process of getting there
        OR
The process of getting there is more important than reaching the end-goal.

- Can you explain why you choose for this statement?

- Can you tell a bit more about what the end-goal of the initiative is? When is the initiative not needed anymore?
- When the end-goal is reached are you going to be working on a new goal? Or will you try to change and extent the initiative?

Network:

- Can you show in the figure below with which groups[IH2] /individuals there is contact?
(show an example of a figure)

- Why is there a lot of contact with … ?

- Why is there not a lot of contact with … ?
    - Are there other parties, that you miss in the table, that you have contact with?
    - Are you happy with the current amount of [IH5] contact with the different parties?
    - Are you happy with the current quality of contact with the different parties?

Private companies	Non-members (citizens)
Governments	Other (similar) initiatives

Which resources are used and relevant

- Which resources do you think are important for the initiative? And why?
- I have made a list of resources that are often needed by initiatives:
Can you cross on this list the top 3 resources that are important for the initiative?
Why are these three important?

Time	
Effort	
Knowledge	
Money	
Land	
Buildings	
Tools / materials	
Leadership	
Enthusiasm	
Communication	

- Which resources do you miss in the list?
- Which one(s) on the list do you think is not important? And why?
- Which resources do you personally bring to the initiative? and why?
- Which resources do you take back/ get from the initiative? and why?

Closure:

So, we have talked about the goals and activities of the initiative, about the people that participate in it and about the resources that are needed for the project. For me it is now much clearer what the initiative entails.

- Do you want to add anything that is not said before?

- Do you have any suggestions or comments? Or questions?

Then I have asked everything that I wanted to ask. I will use this conversation, as told at the beginning, for my research. I would like to thank you again for your time to talk to me. I really appreciate it, and I have learned a lot. So thank you!

Research: community food initiatives

Goal: For my graduation project I do research on the goals, activities and the organization of community food initiatives.

· I have read the goal and understand what the research is about.

· I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research and I am satisfied with the answers given.

· I understand that participating in the study is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the study without any explanation.

· I understand that my participation in this study is confidential. Without my prior permission, no material that could identify me will be used in the research.

· I understand that the data can be used in the research and that the results of the research will be presented.

· I understand that all information I provide is kept securely. The information will be stored on a password-protected computer.

Circle YES or No for each of the following sentences:

I agree that the interview will recording with an audio-recording   YES / NO

 My name can be used in the research   YES / NO

"I agree to participate in this individual interview and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form."
Signature of the participant _____ Date: _____

 "I agree with the conditions set out in this form and ensure that no damage is done to the participant during and after this research"

 Researcher's signature: _____ Date: _____

Question	Concept	Answer which question	Why?
Introduction questions:			
- Can you introduce yourself (age, occupation, hobbies)	-		Background information, to understand more of the person and to start easily.
Can you give a description of the initiative? Which activities? What is the goal? What are the aspirations?		2, 3	To understand what the goals and aspirations of the initiative are. And to gain more knowledge about what is initiative entails.
Why did you chose to participate in the initiative? Who did you got involved? What was the reasons for you to join?		2	To understand more about what the initiative entails.
What is your biggest dream for the initiative in the future? (where would you see the initiative in 5/10 years?)		2	To understand more about what the initiative entails and what the goals are.
What would be the biggest nightmare for the initiative?		2	To understand more about what the initiative entails and what would threaten it.
Who is involved?			
How many people are active within the initiative? Can you describe the typical person?	Diversity of networks	4	To get a better insight in how big the initiative is and if it is a diverse group or not.
How good do you know these people? Do you know all by name? Do you consider them friends?	Level of acquaintanceship	4	To understand how much contact there is between the people of the initiative and to understand if they meet

			each other in other settings.
Do you greet the when you run into them on the street?	Role Homogeneity		
Are the people that are participating in the initiative also a reasons why you joined? Or why you keep coming?	Level of acquaintanceship	4	To understand how important the persons are that are participating in the initiative for others.
- Do you interact with a vast group of people, or do you often meet new faces?	Boundaries of the organization	4	To see if there is a big in-group mentality or not.
Was it hard to enter the initiative?	Boundaries of the organization	4	To see if there is a big in-group mentality.
Did you feel welcome right away? Why do you think so or not?	Boundaries of the organization	4	To see if there is a big in-group mentality and how hard the boundaries of the initiative are
How is the process managed?			
How would you describe the structure of the initiative? Is there are board, membership, committees?	Acceptance of controversy Depersonalization of politics	4	To understand more about what the initiative entails and what the structure of the initiative is.
How many people are in the broad? Can you describe them for my? Who are they?	Diversity of networks	6	To see if the board exist out of a diverse set of people
How does the organization communicate with each other? Meetings, papers, internet?			To understand how much other people that are participating in the initiative are involved
Do you feel like you feel at home in the initiative?	Acceptance of controversy Depersonalization of politics	4	To see if people feel comfortable in the initiative to be open about their thoughts and ideas

Do you feel like you can say anything you want to say? Do you feel like people listen to you and your suggestions?	Acceptance of controversy Depersonalization of politics	4	To see if people feel comfortable in the initiative to be open about their thoughts and ideas
- If decisions have to be made, who is making the decisions?	Acceptance of controversy Depersonalization of politics	4	To see if the responsibility is shared with all the people in the initiative or are just in hands of a few.
- Are there every debates or disagreements within the organization? - How do they deal, in your opinion, with disagreements?	Acceptance of controversy Depersonalization of politics	4	To understand if people are happy with the way negative aspects are handled in the organization.
I have two statements: Which one do you think would apply more to the initiative? Reaching the end-goal is more important than the process of getting there OR The process of getting there is more important than reaching the end-goal. Can you explain why you choose for this statement?	The process	4	To understand if the initiative is working towards a goal, which is the most important part or that the road to it is also important.
Can you tell a bit more about what the end-goal of the initiative is? Why is the initiative not needed anymore? Will there ever be a time?	The process	4	To understand if there is an clear end-goal and to understand it this will ever be reached.
Is there contact with the outside world? Which other parties is there contact with?	Quality of networks	6	To see if the initiative is totally independent from others or if there is a need to have contact

			with other parties. Open question to see what the participant would say, without steering.
Which one of the following parties is there most contact? Other similar initiatives? Private companies non-members (citizens) Governmental layers Why? How is this contact? Why is it needed? Why is there a lot of contact?	Quality of networks	6	To ask if there is contact with any of these organizations, and if it is why or why not.
Do you think this is a good division of contact? If you could fill it is as you wished, how would it look like? Are there parties that you would think it would be wise to have more contact with, or less? And why?	Quality of networks	6	To see if the participant would be, in an ideal situation, would want to change anything.
Which resources are involved?			
Which resources do you think are important for the initiative? And why?	Resource allocation	5	First questions about resources, open question. So that the participant can say, without being steered into a directions.
Can you cross on this list the top 3 resources that are important for the initiative? Why are these three important?	Resource allocation	5	First, if necessary, add the resources that are named by the participant into the list and then show the list. To know with resources are most important.
Which resources do you miss in the list?	Resource allocation	5	To make sure the list is complete.
Which one on the list do you think is not important? And why?	Resource allocation	5	To understand which resources are not that important.

Which resources you bring to the initiative? And why?	Resources	5	To understand what the participant can bring to the initiative and to compare this with what they take from the initiative
Which resources you to take back/ get form you initiatives? And Why?	Distribution of resources	5	To understand what they take form the initiative and to compare this to what they bring to the initiative

Appendix 4: Code book

Code group	Code (deductive)	Code (inductive)	Amount used
Sub question 2-3			
	Activities		38
	Aspirations		36
	Goals		35
		Daytime activities	2
Symbolic diversity			
	Acceptance of controversy		59
	Boundaries of the community		52
	Depersonalization of politics		47
	Focus on the process		8
	Level of acquaintanceship		42
	Role homogeneity		19
		Without obligation	16
		Key persons	10
		High fluctuation rate	8
		Mobilizations possibilities	42
Resource allocation			
	Resources needed		57
	Distribution of resources		38
Quality of networks			
	Internal networks		75
	External networks		55