



# NEW TOWNS & COMMUNITY- BASED INITIATIVES:

A STUDY OF THE PERFORMANCE OF COMMUNITY-BASED  
INITIATIVES IN NEW TOWNS IN THE NETHERLANDS

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## Abstract:

New Towns in the Netherlands are cities built rapidly and from scratch in the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Along their development specific issues appeared that participate in the deterioration of socio-spatial structure of these cities. With the decline of the welfare state an increasing number of community initiatives emerge to provide goods and services to the communities around them. In doing so those initiatives can participate in the process of urban revitalization which leads local governments to support these initiatives in their development. The question this thesis raises is how community initiatives are performing in Dutch New Towns as these cities present their own specific context and issues. To answer that question a comparative case-study analysis was adopted as part of an exploratory approach including leadership and social capital as two dimensions affecting performance. The results show that a certain leadership style is apparent (transformational organizer) in all cases despite some variations and that all initiatives developed social capital in order to develop and succeed. Different types of social capital have been observed in all cases in order to gain resources and participated in the achievements of the initiatives. In conclusion, the specific context of New Towns plays a role in the development of initiatives as it affects their *raison d'être*, objectives and activities.

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## List of abbreviations:

| Abbreviations | Meanings                         |
|---------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>CBI(s)</b> | Community-based initiative(s)    |
| <b>EZH</b>    | Experiment Zelfbeheer Hoekwierde |

# 1. Introduction

The decline of the welfare state results in more responsibilities taken over by citizens in Dutch cities. Recently, a majority of the Dutch population have voiced their desire to have more influence on policies (Al Sader, Kleinhans and Van Ham, 2019). As citizens have increasingly demonstrated a critical attitude concerning government performance and an increasing need for bottom-up interventions many community initiatives have developed over the Netherlands (Geurtz and van de Wijdeven, 2010). These initiatives are described as alternatives to the failure of the market state in producing public goods or services which are then taken over by community initiatives (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011).

Citizens adopting more responsibilities in the creation of public services spark interests in the academic field as planners wish to understand the dynamics of these initiatives, their outcomes and the influences they have toward local authorities. The consequent body of literature on this domain teaches its readers that there are multiple advantages to citizen participation and involvement in initiatives. Indeed, this citizen participation leads to better understanding of the problems and their contexts to provide tailor-made solutions which leads to more accepted outcomes, but also allows to build a wider consensus, and a transformation of values and preferences amongst citizens (Falco, 2016). According to Falco (2016) the involvement of inhabitants such initiatives also contributes to a decrease of hostility and a growing trust towards government and local authorities and the development of innovative ideas and solutions that might be out of the box for planning agencies. As these aspects cannot be ignored, Dutch urban policies have considered the roles community initiatives can play in the context of urban revitalization. Indeed, local communities are regarded as necessary for urban revitalization programs for many decades now and Dutch policies are now taking on a facilitative and supporting role towards community initiatives. Neighbourhood revitalization happens when the quality of life of a neighbourhood is decreasing and by focusing on several topics such as health, education, amenities, economic opportunities, transportation, beautification, community, housing, health, and safety the quality of life can be improved. Community-based initiatives are considered as important stakeholders in the process of neighbourhood revitalization as they gather local residents and are in a formal or informal way organized in order to attain a desirable goal for the community (Allen, 1984; Palen and London, 1984; Fraser and Lepofsky, 2004). These initiatives are seen as bolstering social cohesion amongst their members and encouraging social contact with inhabitants (Purdue, 2001).

While community initiatives have the power to gather inhabitants to take action and develop social cohesion, Dutch New Towns present lower levels of social cohesion than the country's average and amongst the lowest reported liveability level (CBS Statline, no date b). New Towns are cities that have grown in a very short time due to a strong suburbanization that appeared in the 1970s and 1980s. With population increasing and converging to the Southern part of the Netherlands, there was a need for the rapid construction of housing. Local authorities decided to concentrate this overflow in a limited number of so-called growth cities and growth centres that were designated during the 1960's and 70's. Although now some of these New Towns are developing into multifunctional cities, they are still affected by their growth and present two major spatial and social issues: a decaying housing stock and low social cohesion (CBS Statline, no date b; Reijndorp, Bijlsma, Nio and van der Wouden, 2012). The report from Engbersen, van der Schaar and Schreuders (2013) on the context of New Towns and self-organization in New Towns indicates that community initiatives in New Towns are growing but that their organization and relation with the municipalities are important factors in their development. Here again, initiatives are seen as stakeholders in the revitalization of the neighbourhood through their provision of services and goods to the inhabitants.

Although an extensive amount of literature can be found concerning self-organization and community initiatives, only few scholars mention the performance of such initiatives (Deakin, 2009; Bruce and Clarson, 2017; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b). This approach allows the understanding of the causality of success or failure of community-based initiatives. The context in which these organizations are set can play a role in that in vice-versa these organizations can impact the context in which they are set (Uitermark, 2014). However, there is currently a lack of research studying multiple factors responsible for the outcomes and performance of community initiatives. Seemingly, New Towns have not been the subject of many studies and only a handful of documents focus on their development and the challenges they are currently facing. From this knowledge gap, this thesis focuses on the performances of community-based initiatives in the context of Dutch New Towns. In order to bridge this gap, this research focuses on the main question:

## ***How are community-based initiatives performing in the context of New Towns in the Netherlands?***

So as to formulate a complete answer to the main research question, the following sub-questions have been formulated:

- I. How do CBIs participate in the revitalization of New Towns' neighbourhood?***
- II. How do leadership and social capital influence the performance of CBIs in New Towns?***
- III. How is the context of New Towns impacting CBIs?***

In researching how these initiatives work towards their objectives and produce services and goods for the community in New Towns' neighbourhoods, it is expected that the results will allow to understand how the context impacts the organization and vice versa. Another aim of this research is that through the use of the concepts of leadership and social capital (further explained in the following pages of this thesis) it will be possible to understand the ways these concepts affect performance and the challenges faced by community initiatives.

This thesis hopes to target issues in New Towns that might be getting in the way of CBIs performances. Conversely, factors of success will be highlighted in order to discover what has helped CBIs to develop. By understanding the causality related to the performance of CBIs in New Towns, it is hoped that this will bring about new knowledge about ways to analyse performance as well as ways for planners and policy-makers to approach and understand CBIs in the context of New Towns. The approach undertaken using multiple concepts and a mixed-method approach to analyse performance of CBIs is expected to provide insight for further research on performance of CBIs. To achieve such results, this thesis uses a comparative case-study approach to understand the elements responsible for CBIs performance in Almere and Lelystad and the relations between these elements and the different context of social capital and leadership style in each case studied. By using a comparative approach a deeper understanding of the situation and a detailed picture of the context of the case studied can be drawn. The theoretical framework present in this thesis provides an analysis of multiple concepts (New Towns, declining neighbourhood, neighbourhood revitalization in the Netherlands, leadership and social capital) and their relations to community-based initiatives. The theoretical framework was used as the basis for designing the data collection methods (detailed in the methodology chapter). Results are analysed and discussed in relation to the theories presented in the theoretical framework and conclusions are drawn from them.

## 2. Theoretical framework

### 2.1. Dutch New towns: development and actual context

This chapter aims to reflect on the context this research by analysing the complexities related to the development of New Towns in the Netherlands and explain how such a context might influence community initiatives performances. First the development of New Towns in the Netherlands and the issues they are now facing are discussed in order to better understand the challenges faced by New Towns and how this could impact initiatives. Then, the phenomenon of declining neighbourhoods is explained along with the increasing importance that community initiatives play in this. Following this, community-based initiatives are explained and the study of their performance is reviewed. Finally, both leadership and social capital are presented as key ingredients of the performance of CBIs. A conceptual model is employed to encapsulate the concepts and the connections that this thesis focuses on.

New Towns in the Netherlands have rarely been the focus of scholars. However they present interesting developments in the field of planning due to their recent history and moreover, for this research as they exhibit issues related to their specific evolution. Dutch New Towns result from post-war planning policy in the Netherlands which was focused on urbanization of new and existing urban areas. This policy aimed at curtailing urban sprawl in the 1950s and 1960s and planned an overspill of population from major cities in the Randstad (Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague) to New Towns (Cammen et al., 2012). These developments are influenced by physical and economic approach as the old and damaged urban accommodation in cities needed to be demolished and replaced by more modern business and residential districts (Cammen et al., 2012). Thus, the low income tenants had to move to affordable housing in New Towns. The overspill of the inhabitants from the Randstad to 19 "regional growth centres" was part of the Randstad Development Scheme and followed by the Regional Growth Centres policy of the 1970s (Reijndorp et al., 2012a). The latter was focused on housing issues and the suburbanization of the population towards these regional growth centres. However, these regional growth centres differ in size and character. Some of them such as Alkmaar, Hoorn and Hellevoetluis are small but are already cities with an historical past (Reijndorp et al., 2012b). Some others (e.g Purmerend, Haarlemmermeer and Zoetermeer) have the size and characteristics of a village and together with the newly-built cities of the polders form the Dutch New Towns (Reijndorp et al., 2012b). The reclamation of land for the creation of the Zuiderzee polders on the IJsselmeer enabled the construction of 2 of these New Towns: Almere and Lelystad.



Figure 1 - Regional growth centres (white dots) and Dutch largest cities (red dots) (source: Geographer, 2008).



Figure 2 – Aerial view Almere (source: municipality of Almere).

The regional growth centres were first designed to be suburban areas apart from big cities to alleviate the housing crisis in these cities. Yet, these centres had to be independent and not competing with the big cities (Nozeman, 1990). The relation between growth centres and big cities was a complex balance. On one hand, these new centres should not impact the development of the major cities core functions. On the other hand, they should not become dormitory suburbs and must incorporate amenities, utilities and create employment so as not to focus solely on providing housing for the overspill population of big cities. Although started in 1972, an important part of the Regional Growth Centres policy construction task was realized in the late 1970s (Reijndorp et al., 2012a) as urban renewal in big cities was also taking place at that time. Between 1972 and 1985, 1.6 million dwellings were built in The Netherlands, of which approximately 11.3% were built in regional growth centres (Spoormans et al., 2019). The municipal authorities were tasked to meet the housing demand while offering suburban lifestyles which was sought for by the middle-class. Attention was paid on the construction of specific suburban housing environments during the development of the growth centres as the choice of location and the number of homes to be built were the main priorities (Reijndorp et al., 2012a). The economic crisis and the crisis in the housing market after 1979 led to the construction of far fewer owner-occupied homes and more social rental housing than originally intended, attracting less affluent residents. The quality of facilities and public space also suffered from the crisis (Reijndorp et al., 2012a).

In the 1990s, the VINEX policy applied in selected towns over the Netherlands, including New Towns, aimed to create more compact cities in order to reduce suburban sprawl. The goals set by this policy were to limit the car mobility between recreational, residential and workplace areas, protecting the open natural areas by increasing density, limiting the threat of emptying medium-size cities and strengthening existing shopping centres and facilities (Reijndorp et al., 2012a, Reijndorp et al., 2012b). This has obviously impacted the urban planning and fabric of New Towns who fell under that policy and the focus of both Regional Growth Centres and VINEX policies was on strengthening the economy and increasing housing stock with planning that, for a long time, considered statistics rather than perceptions and appeal in residential areas (Reijndorp et al., 2012a, Reijndorp et al., 2012b). As the VINEX policy started, the development of residential environments came under the shadow of the inner-city restructuring task and the compact city. As a result, opportunities were missed to achieve a balanced composition of residential environments in metropolitan regions (Reijndorp et al., 2012a).

The development of New Towns was followed, as for all cities, by socio-spatial issues which are detailed in the following lines. The New Towns’ history, although quite recent, has been determined by the spatial, socio-economic and socio-cultural objectives on which the cities were planned on. New Towns were predestined by the political goals, the professional and social ideas about urbanization and the economic situation during the development period (Reijndorp et al., 2012a, Reijndorp et al., 2012b). According to Reijndorp et al. (2012a; 2012b) this has led to a path dependency expressed in the skills available in the city but also in the openness of social and professional networks and in the demographic and economic structure of the cities which determines the character of these cities in social and cultural terms. As the New Towns were conceived to release some pressure from large cities without competing with them, the New Towns are now suffering from previous choice made by policy-makers. As an example, New Towns were not designed for their inhabitants to work within their boundaries but rather to commute to nearby large cities (Reijndorp, Bijlsma, Nio and van der Wouden, 2012). Therefore, a large part of the population New Towns commute to work in other cities as a result from previous policies which did not aim to create economic opportunities. This is an example of path-dependency which still impacts New Towns’ inhabitants decades after their creation. Another effect which is stronger in New Towns when compared to the rest of the country relates to social cohesion. Indeed, Dutch New Towns present a lower social cohesion than other cities and the national average (CBS Statline, no date b). According to the report from the Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving (Reijndorp et al., 2012a), as New Towns grow, the problems they face grow along them and the rapid construction of New Towns could be a reinforcing factor. The quick growth was accompanied by rapid and large production of similar accommodations and residential environments in a short time period. As a result, over time, New Towns experience simultaneous obsolescence especially in residential neighbourhoods, coupled with profound social changes to much of the housing stock (Reijndorp et al., 2012a; Cammen et al., 2012; Portschy, 2016). Important housing and public space decay is not typical only to New Towns but to areas that have faced a major increase in their housing stock in a short period of time and that have now to deal with the maintenance of multiple residential areas deteriorating simultaneously

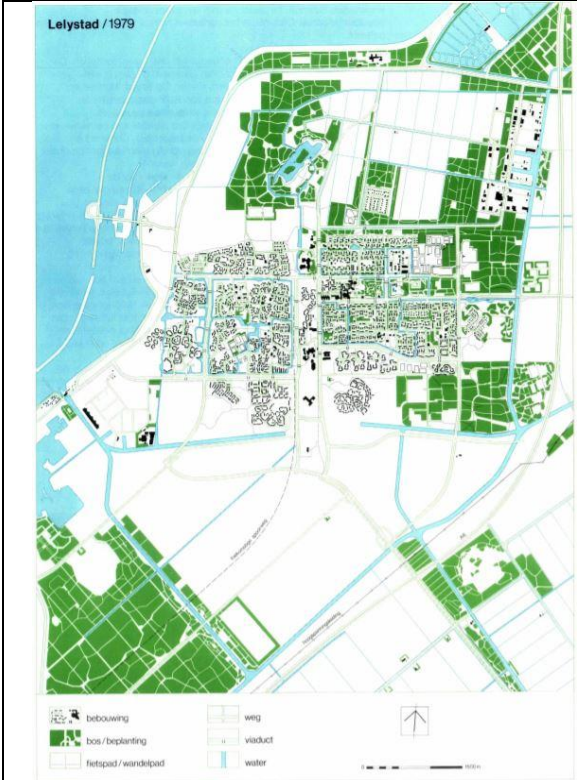


Figure 3 – Plan of Lelystad 1979 (source: Constandse, 1980).



Figure 4 – Entrance of Almere Haven and the temporary offices of the National Office for the IJsselmeerpolders in 1975 (source: Flevoland’s archive).



Figure 5 – Construction of Almere Stad in 1980 (source: Flevoland’s archive).

The social changes in New Towns are thus due to path-dependency and changes in the housing stock. The construction of new residential neighbourhoods in New Towns has changed the position of the existing neighbourhoods on the market and combined with the increasing number of social housing built in the 1980s, changes in the social status of residential areas in New Towns appeared. It is important to highlight that Reijndorp et al. (2012b), Spoormans et al. (2019), Reijndorp et al. (2012a), Lupi and Musterd (2006) and Cammen et al. (2012) describe New Towns as suburban areas which transformed in the 21st century into full-fledged towns as national policies and big cities of the Randstad have accorded independence over the last 30 years. Therefore these New Towns have recently grown apart from their non-competitive role and might now compete with cities from the Randstad. However, New Towns are still considered as major actors in solving the increasing population present in and around the Randstad (Gementee Almere, no date).

3 main perspectives developed by scholars appeared concerning the social situation and social cohesion in the suburban lifestyles aimed for in New Towns (Lupi and Musterd, 2006). The first perspective is the 'lost' view. Researches on New Towns over the world have established the downgrading effects these cities have on social ties between their inhabitants and attachment to place based on spatial and geographical characteristics (urban sprawl, the division of functions, the segregation of social groups and the residential mobility of inhabitants) rather than socio-cultural aspects (Lupi and Musterd, 2006). Community initiatives can act on spatial attributes and therefore affect how the structural characteristics of the 'lost' view impact inhabitants (Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b). The second perspective, the 'saved' view relates to the suburban vision of family life and where 'familism' has an important role and in this view familism is linked to a sense of community as well as a sense of belonging. The 'saved' concept does not rule by the spatial and social characteristics of the area but yet envisions a relatively high level of social trust and contacts (Lupi and Musterd, 2006). In the context of the 'saved' view, community initiative can affect social trust and contact amongst neighbours by different means (Purdue, 2001). Finally, the last view, 'transformed', focuses on control, privatisation as well as social mobility as characteristics of suburban life and the transformation happens over time: in the beginning everything and everyone is new, creating common issues therefore stimulating social contacts, over the years the intense contacts ease leading to strong functional social aspects (Lupi and Musterd, 2006). In the 'transformed' view, community initiatives might emerge from the acknowledgement of common issues to tackle which tend to stimulate social contact while developing.

Empirical research suggests that in practice all three perspectives collectively are needed to understand the development of New Towns. Engbersen, van der Schaar and Schreuders (2013) concluded that the social ties in the neighbourhoods of New Towns are weak, as well as an increasing mistrust in fellow inhabitants, police and the local government. All three views presented by Lupi & Musterd (2006) can be identified in the conclusions of Engbersen, van der Schaar and Schreuders (2013) as these views are emerging from the inhabitants' perceptions.

Thus, New Towns seem to be facing issues related to path-dependency which seem to be at the core of decaying housing stock and low social cohesion. These issues might be a motivation for community initiatives to emerge. However, a lack of social cohesion might result in difficulty mobilizing inhabitants to take actions and therefore become a threat to the very emergence of initiatives or later on in the development phase. This research aims to discover how community initiatives located in Dutch New Towns are impacted by such context

## 2.2. The dynamics of declining neighbourhood

This section defines how neighbourhood are perceived throughout this thesis and explains the complexities of declining neighbourhoods and how neighbourhoods affect communities.

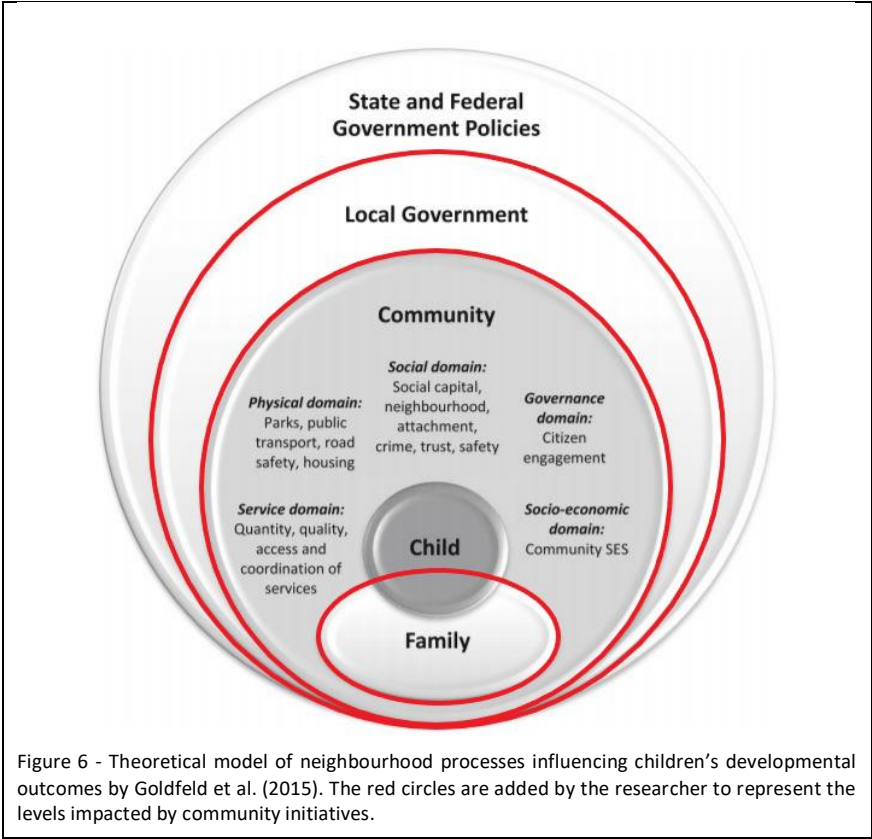
The complexities of neighbourhoods make them particularly interesting for scholars to study as place-based developments at the neighbourhood level are varied and instigated by different parties (e.g. governmental policies, private investors, non-profit organizations). In urban areas, the neighbourhoods are a fertile scale for inhabitants to establish community initiatives. These initiatives are often developed with the aim to act on neighbourhood characteristics and in response to, but not solely, neighbourhood change(s) to shape these characteristics to the current needs of the community. Neighbourhoods and the characteristics that compose them are dynamic complex systems, influencing in several ways the quality of life of residents (Wagenaar, 2007). To comprehend the role of community initiatives in neighbourhood it is essential to first understand the neighbourhood dynamics.

Defining neighbourhood is challenging as scholars have made many attempts and the definitions given usually consider the geographical boundaries of a neighbourhood and, more and more, the socio-spatial interactions between the physical spaces that is a neighbourhood and its inhabitants. According to Galster (2001), the neighbourhood is defined by a variety of “spatially based attributes” that correlate with residential accommodations and sometimes other land uses. This definition considers the interactions between inhabitants and spaces that represent a neighbourhood. The attributes mentioned by Galster (2001) refer to the effects of neighbourhoods on the inhabitants. Musterd (2019) calls neighbourhood effects the impacts created by the composition or structural characteristics of a neighbourhood on the lives of its inhabitants. Musterd (2019) divides the neighbourhood’s characteristics in two broad categories (i.e. population composition and structural characteristics), Galster (2001) considers that several categories exist: structural, infrastructural, demographic, class-status, tax/public service package, environmental, proximity, political, socio-interactive and sentimental. This list of attributes is to be considered as part of large socio-cultural, political and economic systems of which the trends influence the evolution of attributes. The challenges some attributes represent to citizens can be talked by community initiatives. For example, if the environmental aspect of the neighbourhood is preventing people from enjoying their surroundings and might even give a reputation to the neighbourhood such as an important level of pollution and littering, inhabitants might join forces through a community initiative to tackle those issues by cleaning up the streets, asking the municipality for more trash bins, or organizing workshops about recycling and composting. In doing so, the deteriorating environmental attributes triggered a response from the inhabitants which then create a change in this attribute. The trends influencing neighbourhood characteristics are to be found at different scales: global, regional, local. Therefore, these characteristics have to be integrated when changes in the neighbourhood appear as it is through them that these changes will be observed. Neighbourhoods are subject to pressures from socio-economic and environmental systems in which they are embedded, thus when considering characteristics of and changes in a neighbourhood it is essential to acknowledge the dynamics as well as broader influences that might explain the current situation. This logic holds as well for studying performance of community initiatives at neighbourhood level.

Neighbourhoods evolve throughout time and socio-economic, political and environmental pressures which affect residents on short and long term as residents are consumers of the neighbourhood attributes. The characteristics to which Galster (2001) refer to are changing as inhabitants consume them and perceive a certain way by residents of the neighbourhood. Therefore, both the characteristics of neighbourhoods and their perceptions by inhabitants change throughout time and according to different systemic pressures. The spatial structure and social networks in a neighbourhood affect the perception caretakers have of their surroundings thus influencing the way them and their children consume the neighbourhood. Here again, community initiatives can change



those perceptions and therefore the ways inhabitants consume neighbourhoods (Purdue, 2001). To use the example presented earlier, inhabitants that used to live in a littered and polluted neighbourhood might spend more time in the neighbourhood public spaces and connect with neighbours following and/or participating in the actions of the community initiative.



The model presented by Goldfeld et al. (2015) represents the different categories of attributes (service, physical, social, governance, socio-economic) and their embeddedness into multi-scalar systems and the effects on individuals, in this case, children. The individual's life decisions are also influenced by neighbourhood effects as individuals consider their living environment during important decision making processes (e.g. in which environment to raise children). Thus, on the long term, the individual capabilities, life decisions, and caretaker behaviour help define the achieved socio-economic status of an individual. The effects of neighbourhood on individuals are valuable and help understand the contextual issues that led to the emergence of community initiatives working at the neighbourhood scale. As this thesis focuses on New Towns, it is expected that the neighbourhood issues that initiatives are working against are related to the issues of New Towns: path-dependency, low social cohesion and decaying housing stock.

Neighbourhood effects impact residents but are themselves affected by both residents' behaviours and trends from socio-economic, political and environmental systems. As previously mentioned, the neighbourhood effects are embedded in larger societal, political and economic pressures and one's capabilities are influenced by the neighbourhood effects themselves influenced by larger issues. Now that the neighbourhood effects have been defined along with how they impact one's life, it appears important to determine the link between neighbourhood effects and changes. Neighbourhood changes are triggered by external forces usually driven by a variety of processes, often linked to market fluctuations. Changes in socio-economic attributes can result in further changes in physical attributes and vice-versa. Taking this into consideration, it should be emphasized that neighbourhood effects have an influence on neighbourhood changes as they impact inhabitants' lives which themselves

participate in defining the neighbourhood. Inhabitants might, in response to neighbourhood change, organized themselves in bottom-up initiatives with the ambition to tackle neighbourhood change by acting on one or several attributes. This shows that neighbourhood changes influence the neighbourhood effects.

### 2.3. The increasing importance of community initiatives in Dutch neighbourhood revitalization

In this section policies concerning neighbourhood revitalization are defined and the role of community initiatives in such policies is argued.

Dutch policies on neighbourhood changes are varied as different approaches have been put in practice throughout the last 20 years. Urban policies in The Netherlands for the last 20 years have greatly favoured the renewal of the housing stock as a means to solve both physical and social issues. In doing so it led to policy discourses associating marginality, area-based initiatives, liveability, urban renewal, social mixing and integration (Uitermark, 2003). These disjointed discourses have been demonstrated by the implementation of policies with varied goals and strategies, making the current neighbourhood situations fuzzy.

The Big Cities Policy established in the mid-1990's aimed at a holistic approach to neighbourhood by employing a variety of measures in the sectors of housing, education and employment to upgrade neighbourhoods. This policy was supported by attempts to modify the composition of the population of these neighbourhoods. The benefits of these policies on residents have long been disputed by scholars as creating liveable neighbourhoods might not coincide with the goal to fight social deprivation in the neighbourhood. While the physical structure of the neighbourhood might have improved, the residents may not benefit from this enhancement. This does not mean that integrated policies may not be helpful in overcoming social issues faced in cities. It seems legitimate to carry out, simultaneously, social, economic and spatial policies linked to each other. The problem is that focusing on the neighbourhood scale as the only or dominant way out is not a successful solution. On one hand, there is a risk that the physical restructuring results in the involuntary displacement of inhabitants, thus forcing households to move away from their local social networks which might provide them emotional as well as material support. This can be seen as a displacement of the social deprivation (Van Gent, Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009). On the other hand, social interactions are not only limited to neighbourhoods and social opportunities are not necessarily neighbourhood-related. Therefore the importance of considering different scales matters when developing policies aimed at improving liveability, integration and urban renewal (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). Subsequently, this type of urban policies have been losing impetus in the last decade. Since 2012, the Netherlands has dissolved most national programmes relying on area-based actions in deprived neighbourhoods. Integration and urban renewal policies have shown signs of failures and to remedy declining neighbourhoods some local governments have put in place exclusion policies.

In recent years, the majority of the Dutch population have expressed the desire to have more influence on policies (Al Sader, Kleinhans and Van Ham, 2019). Citizens have increasingly shown a critical attitude regarding government performance and the growing need for less top-down governmental interventions (Geurtz and van de Wijdeven, 2010). Considering this situation, multiple levels of government have aimed at facilitating and developing local democracy through the cultivation of citizens' engagement with problems and approaches relating to their living environment (Al Sader, Kleinhans and Van Ham, 2019). Citizen initiatives are of interest for local governments as they aim to offer a cheap alternative to expensive governmental urban development policies and can contribute to the safety as well as liveability of neighbourhood communities. Furthermore, these initiatives are

believed to be a source of empowerment and education for citizens and reduce dependence on state bureaucracies through individuals and social organizations (Bakker et al., 2012). By creating self-organized groups it allows for citizens to raise louder voices than they would individually do.

Bottom-up organizations have triggered the attention of municipalities of many Western countries. The local governments often consider these types of organizations while making urban projects and policies (Michels and de Graaf, 2010). The process of co-production is distinct from self-organization but not mutually exclusive. Indeed, self-organization can be made formal through institutionalization and government-led processes and participatory procedures can evolve into self-organizing efforts (Edelenbos, van Meerkerk and Schenk, 2018). However, citizens are often unsatisfied with the strict rules of engagement in participatory processes especially when the degree to which citizens influence decision making appears to be low, thus they often feel as their issues are not being dealt with. Community initiatives are also regarded as bolstering urban renewal projects and have been investigated by academics in different countries (Thwala, no date; Deakin, 2009; Ahmadi, 2017; Bruce and Clarson, 2017; Al Sader, Kleinhans and Van Ham, 2019). To conclude, in the context of urban renewal, bottom-up organizations are seen by governments as alternatives in the provision of public services or goods but are also often encouraged by institutions for their role in strengthening local communities (de Wilde and Duyvendak, 2016; Ahmadi, 2017; Al Sader, Kleinhans and Van Ham, 2019).

## 2.4. Community-based initiatives

The following paragraphs define the concept of community-based initiatives and argue about the relevance of these initiatives in the context of New Towns.

When looking at neighbourhood initiatives, the perceptions and changes of (some) attributes are part of the *raison d'être* of those initiatives. Self-organization arises from receding government and/or failure of the market state to produce public goods or services and usually aim at changing social, economic, political and/or environmental conditions within an area (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a). In the Netherlands, multiple attempts have been observed over the last 60 years in the planning field to involve citizens and the involvement of community in urban renewal or urban development has often been the central point of Dutch urban policies (Uitermark, 2014; de Wilde and Duyvendak, 2016). Community-based initiatives are here defined as a particular form of self-organization initiated by citizens and in which they mobilize resources and networks collectively to carry out projects with the aim of providing public goods or services outside of governmental control (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b). However, these self-organised initiatives rely greatly on many stakeholders to achieve their goals. The power struggles that sometimes face volunteers with stakeholders in community initiatives can be discouraging and can lead to a change of course and motivation for the organization (de Wilde, Hurenkamp and Tonkens, 2014). Motivations to bring about change are essential to initiatives as they allow to mobilize volunteers but a lack of motivations and human resources can also be the cause of failures by these initiatives (Purdue, 2001). On one hand institutions can provide different types of support: financial help, organizational help, relational help with different stakeholders. On the other hand, their complexities and management of the initiatives might lead to discontinuation of initiatives. Thus, when encompassing the diverse factors leading to the success or failure of community initiatives, the influence of and connections with the local government cannot, therefore, be left out.

Considering the context of New Towns, these two aspects are interesting in relation to the issues currently faced in these cities. As Dutch New Towns show signs of weakened social interactions and trust while a large part of their housing stocks is decaying, CBIs appear to be a medium to deal with these two issues. However, researches have revealed that there are also downsides and several impacts to take into consideration when implementing such organizations (Bakker et al., 2012; de

Wilde, Hurenkamp and Tonkens, 2014). In providing collectively goods and/or services citizens at a local scale, community organizations act on different domain and impact the spatial domain as well as the social one. Their performance, however, might be an explanatory factor in understanding the changes they aim to make and how these changes will come (Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b). Literature on the performance of CBIs is still scarce and this research aims to bring new insights on that topic by developing and testing a conceptual model based on two factors and data collected from members of CBIs in two Dutch New Towns. By researching how these initiatives located in New Towns perform on their capabilities to organize, mobilize, advocate, contribute and reach out it will then be possible to target success and/or failure factors.

#### 2.4.1. Performance framework

The following lines debates over the different approaches to evaluating performance of community initiatives according to scholars and discuss the dimensions taken into consideration to analyse the performance of these initiatives within this research.

Performance is a complex concept which can be interpreted differently in regards to the context studied. The aim of this research is not to evaluate the success or failure of CBIs according to financial criteria as this is not a study of the private sector but the public voluntary sector (Moxham and Boaden, 2007). As non-profit initiatives depend on several resources distributed across stakeholders the performance in public and non-profit sector is dependent on a multitude of stakeholders and dimensions (Kendall and Knapp, 2000; Andrews, Boyne and Walker, 2006). The performance criteria to select, therefore, vary according to the different interests and expectations of stakeholders. As shown by scholars evaluating performance of voluntary organizations there is no uncontested way of evaluating performances and it is important to make a thoughtful selection of criteria. The latter can be done when considering that the performance of CBIs in voluntary organizations consists of different categories and dimensions (Kendall and Knapp, 2000; Andrews, Boyne and Walker, 2006; Moxham and Boaden, 2007).

The performance of CBIs should be understood as a multidimensional concept as the complexity of these organizations results in a multitude of factors influencing their performances. While the earlier work of Boyne (2002)(Boyne, 2002) focuses on efficiency, effectiveness and outputs in the public sector, his later work highlights the importance of subjective measurement as well (Andrews, Boyne and Walker, 2006). When investigating performances of self-organized initiatives, different dimensions are studied according to the type of self-organized initiatives. Scholars have used different indicators to evaluate CBIs (Kendall and Knapp, 2000; Moxham and Boaden, 2007; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b) and for some time researchers focused on resources and outcomes rather than factors that enable CBIs to progress towards their ambitions. When researching the performances of CBIs it is important to consider that these organizations are composed, not solely, of a network of people which together with stakeholders form a web. Organizational and social characteristics are determinant dimensions in creating a network and develop relations with stakeholders. Thus, scholars have argued that these two dimensions need to be considered when investigating the performance of CBIs (Bagnoli and Megali, 2011; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b). Consequently, performance of CBIs are defined in this research as multidimensional achievement of community leading to the self-organization of specific public services or goods. Two dimensions of the CBI's performance are investigated in this research: leadership and social capital. This thesis, through the study of these two particular dimensions and their roles on performance, aims to explore the networks and complexities related to social capital, leadership and performance of CBIs.

The two dimensions selected (leadership and social capital) allow the understanding of how CBIs perform regarding the use and development of human resources (i.e. members of the initiatives).

However, these two dimensions bring about a more complete picture of performance of CBIs as they also relate to economic resources and the involvement of stakeholders. These aspects are at the core of the performance of CBIs and therefore are at the centre of this research. Leadership is a concept that will be used in the next pages to understand and later evaluate how community-based initiatives are able to organize and mobilize their members to work towards the initiatives' goals (Purdue, 2001; Farquhar, Michael and Wiggins, 2005). The second concept associated with this research is social capital and is commonly used on literature on community initiatives (Kendall and Knapp, 2000; Torjman and Leviten-Reid, 2003; Mansuri and Rao, 2004; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a). Social capital will be used here not only to understand why and how social ties are created in CBIs but also on how these connections enable or hamper CBIs to achieve their goals. The methodology detailed in the next chapter explains how this choice was implemented in the data collection techniques used and afore-mentioned restrictions.

#### 2.4.2. Leadership style

Leadership and leadership style are defined in relation to CBIs in the following lines and arguments are presented concerning the approach chose by the researcher concerning leadership.

Leadership impacts community-based initiatives as it influences the management of resources, the organization of the initiative and overall the outcomes of the CBI (Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a). Project development and partnerships depends on leadership and neighbourhood governance. Within project development and partnerships two main types of leaders are observed: 'transformational leaders' who combine entrepreneurial skills along with a vision for the neighbourhoods and 'transactional leaders' who interact with participants and organizes the structure of the CBI (Purdue, 2001; Hacker and Roberts, 2003). However, the definition of leadership as such is central to debate amongst scholars for many years already. While it first involved the capacity one has to involve participants in an organization and to draw their attention on problems considered significant by the leader (Cyert, 1990) leadership now encompasses the ability one has to not only draw attention but to mobilize participants into taking actions within an organization (Han, 2014) . In creating a presence and inspiring their members it therefore develops the breadth and depth of initiatives. Highly active initiatives are recognizable by the way they engage members to take part into collective actions thereby transforming their members' motivations and capacity into actions.

The framework used here to observe the different types of leadership is the one proposed by Han (2014) and consists of 3 models: lone wolves, mobilizers and organizers. This model has been created by Han (2004) to analyse voluntary organizations and in this concept leadership is the main driver of the organizational structures of organizations, advocacy strategies as well as being the steering force for members to exploit their potentials. This framework portrays a broader picture of leadership than most transformational leadership definitions allow for while underlining that these leadership styles can be observed as such or as a combination. Examining the organizational structures, advocacy strategies and steering power CBIs have allows for a more comprehensive vision of these CBIs and their performance.

Within leadership different styles are identified which are linked to the different processes of organization and mobilization that leaders adopt. Han (2014) refers to two main processes: transformational organizing, which is at the core of theories of transformational leadership, and transactional mobilizers which refers to the inclusion of new members in initiatives. Transactional mobilizers are focused on maximizing the number of members involved in the CBIs without aiming to develop their capacity for collective action (Pastor, Ito and Rosner, 2011). Transformational organizers are invested in developing the abilities of members to engage with others and become leaders by giving them strategic autonomy and revealing how the members' work fits into the whole that is the CBIs. Contrary to mobilizers, transformational work takes place through interpersonal and

interdependent actions leading people to work collectively to achieve their goals. Through forming tight ties with members, leaders are then able to motivate people to see beyond their self-interest and shift beliefs about institutions. In doing so, leaders motivate others to become leaders themselves (Pastor, Ito and Rosner, 2011). Mobilizers are usually associated with bridging social capital as their aim is to reach out and convince potential members to join.

Transactional mobilizing and transformational organizing are not exclusionary. As the research on mobilizing and organizing by Han (2014) shows, they have subsequent effects on each other. It appeared that mobilizers can develop leadership skills while recruiting members, develop greater social capital within the association and create structures facilitating the communication and coordination of work (Han, 2014). Meanwhile, organizers can provide tools and resources to help recruiting and therefore help members to build skills and conduct tasks autonomously. High-engagement initiatives studied by Han (2014) were all combining organizers and mobilizers processes of leadership.

A third, distinctive type of leadership includes 'lone wolves'. According to Han (2014) "lone wolves chose to build power by leveraging information - through legal briefs, public comments, and other forms of research advocacy". The advocacy strategies of lone wolves require very few people (doing research, writing reports, etc.) which allows to centralize power and responsibility in the hands of few members. Lone wolves communicate with communities through the delivery of information (through virtual and/or material platforms) to interested community members and therefore require minimal resources.

Meanwhile, mobilizers build power through acquiring memberships by getting as many people as possible involved in the initiative. The advocacy strategies of mobilizers usually require quick engagement by many people (e.g. setting a page or group on social media) which concentrate the power in few members in charge of recruitment often done by discrete requests to these members in order to act alone and quickly. The communication between members and communities aims at reaching out to as many people as possible in developing compelling pitches or story-telling which require few resources for reflection.

Finally, organizers build power by transforming motivations and capacities into incentive to take actions and be autonomous, the strategy adopted to expand membership is to develop leaders that will engage with others while the advocacy strategy consists in building engagement over time and focus on projects in which people can take actions. The responsibilities and power are distributed amongst the different members as members are asked to participate in some tasks autonomously which are interdependent on other members' tasks, requiring to provide collective end-results. This requires extensive resources for developing the leadership potential of members. Organizers communicate with communities by creating relationships with them (Han, 2014). This research will focus on these 3 types of leadership by enquiring CBIs about the way their strategies for advocacy, for building membership and power and enquiring how the tasks and responsibilities are divided within the initiatives.

#### 2.4.3. Social capital

The following lines discuss the approach taken in this thesis regarding social capital and the theories that have been built by several scholars over the concept of social capital as a way to analyse CBIs performance.

Social capital and its relation to community initiatives has been greatly studied by scholars (Kendall and Knapp, 2000; de Wilde, Hurenkamp and Tonkens, 2014; Ruef and Kwon, 2016; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a, 2019b). Theories on social capital are deeply relevant when explaining the

functioning as well as performances of CBIs. Putnam (2000) defines social capital as “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them”. He also states that social capital allows participants to pursue shared objectives in a collective and more effective way. And as social capital facilitates the process of mobilization of resources and the coordination of action, CBIs strongly depend on social capital as the access to economic capital by volunteer organizations is often limited.

This research will use the common concepts of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. Bonding social capital refers to bolstering reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity amongst members of a network that perceive themselves as similar (Putnam, 2000). Szreter and Woolcock (2004) add that the similarity these members perceived relates to their shared social identity. With regards to CBIs, the driving force of the initiative is found in the shared social identity of their members. Bridging social capital relates to linking external assets, exchanging and mutuality between individuals who are aware of their differences in the social identity sense (Putnam, 2000; Szreter and Woolcock, 2004). Bridging capital refers, in regards to CBIs, to the ties joining target groups or other initiatives acting with the community (Dale and Newman, 2010). Linking social capital is used in references to the relations of exchange between actors that have different powers and access to resources in order to leverage resources, ideas and information (Woolcock, 2001; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a). Linking ties, in relation to CBIs, are often observed in the relations the CBIs develop with government and other institutions (Woolcock, 2001; Dale and Newman, 2010).

Ruef and Kwon (2016) have argued that even though social capital is necessary for forming CBIs, it is just as important to study the impacts those initiatives have on social capital without undermining the potential negative impacts that might result such as exclusion and conflict. According to Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk (2019b), strong bonding ties within CBIs enable to increase revenue sources, enhance communication within the group and mobilize volunteers. As the literature on bridging and linking capital suggests, a great amount of linking ties helps initiatives to showcase that they are able to collaborate with institutions, displaying their legitimacy to government authority (Dale and Newman, 2010). In doing so CBIs might be perceived as more reliable in their actions of providing public services which may lead to an increased commitment from the government to invest resources in the CBIs. Moreover, bridging ties developed with other initiatives or inhabitants allow to facilitate the mobilization of resources from the community.

The types of social capital developed by CBIs are influenced by the leadership style observed within CBIs as some might strive to develop only some types of ties and some might try to develop all 3 types of ties more or less extensively. Leadership impacts the focus of the initiative and therefore some initiative might focus on bridging and linking in order to gain financial support while another makes a priority in bonding in order to first develop a strong core group of volunteers (i.e. human resource) (Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a). Conversely, social capital affects leadership as it enables to gain both financial and human resources which in turn are used and distributed in accordance with the leadership style (to increase the number of participants, to develop participants’ capacities, or to advocate for the CBI’s interests). The different leadership styles presented above make use of the different types of social capital in different manners: mobilizers use the networks created by the CBI to recruit participants, organizers use the knowledge and motivation present within those networks to develop the skills of the participants and transform their motivations into actions and the lone wolves use their network to advocate for their cause (Han, 2014).

In the following pages of this research, the emphasis is on the way CBIs manage to develop (or not) bridging, bonding and linking social capital. The bridging and linking capital will refer to the relations the CBIs build with other actors/potential members while the bonding capital will focus on the internal ties of the initiative by investigating how the CBIs develop and/or maintain human resources and revenue sources.

## 2.5. Conceptual Framework

In the following lines the relations between the concepts mentioned in the previous chapter are explained within the context of this research and represented through a conceptual framework.

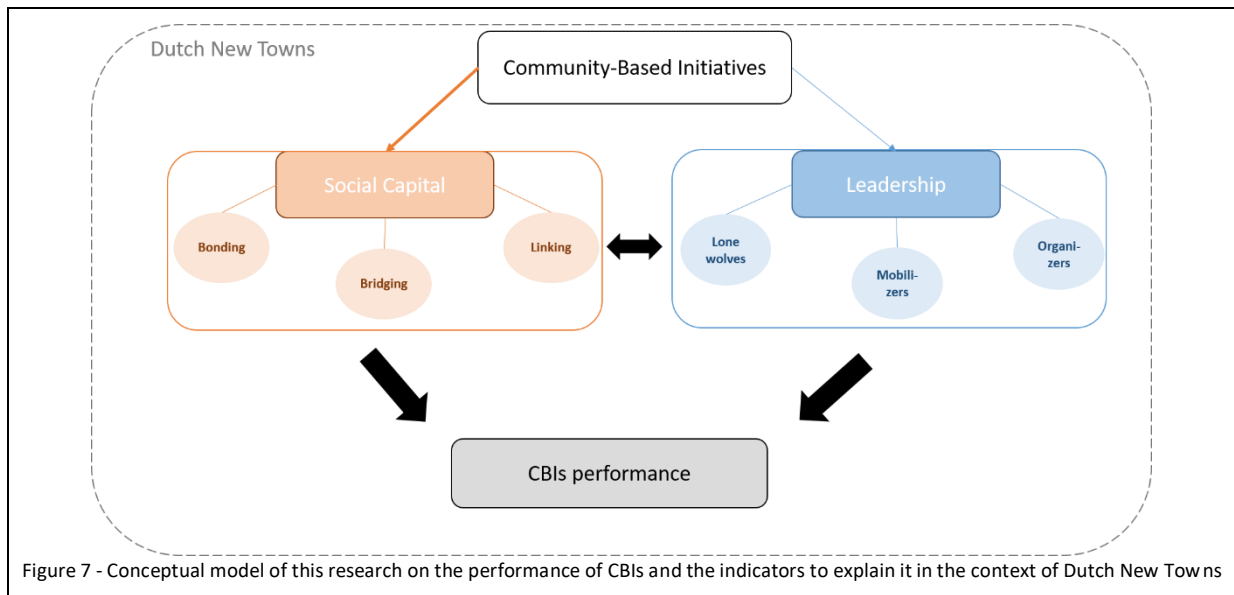


Figure 7 - Conceptual model of this research on the performance of CBIs and the indicators to explain it in the context of Dutch New Towns

Figure 2 represent the conceptual framework designed by the research to schematize the concepts used as throughout this thesis to answer the research questions and the relationships between concepts. Dutch New Towns are represented by a grey dotted line in the background as these cities are the context in which this research is set. Within Dutch New Towns, community-based initiatives have developed. In order to study those initiatives, two lenses are used here: social capital, which is declined in 3 different types (bonding, bridging and linking), and leadership, which is distinguished through 3 different styles (lone wolves, mobilizers and organizers). The black arrows represent the influence of one concept over another. As leadership impacts the relations between members but also with other stakeholders, it influences social capital. Conversely, social capital enables the mobilization of resources which at the core of the leadership concept. Therefore the double-headed arrow represent the mutual influence of both leadership and social capital on each other. Finally, as the main interest of this research is the performance of CBIs the use of the concepts of social capital and leadership are only logical following their influence on the performance of the initiatives which has been determined earlier.



## 3. Methodology:

This thesis is set as an explorative research as empirical data is collected following the design of the theoretical framework with the aim to analyse the empirical relevance and, potentially, advance the conceptual framework to study the performances of CBIs. In order to do so the researcher used a comparative case study to look for differences and similarities between CBIs located in New Towns in the Netherlands. Based on a mixed-method approach combining qualitative and quantitative data, a mixed-method approach was used to collect data on the performance of CBIs in the Dutch New Towns Almere and Lelystad. The interest lies in the role leadership and social capital play in relation to performance and how those two concepts are perceived by volunteers of selected CBIs. This chapter details the research approach, methods and analysis techniques that led to the results by demonstrating the reasoning employed throughout this research project. It also provides an introduction of the case studies and reflection on the ethics of this research.

### 3.1. Research approach

The following paragraphs discuss the approach adopted vis a vis the methodology and data by considering the suitability and the limitations of the approach in relation to the research topic and aim. For the case studies of CBIs in Almere and Lelystad, the researcher applied a mixed-method research methodology combining: online survey, in-depth interviews, observations and informal conversations.

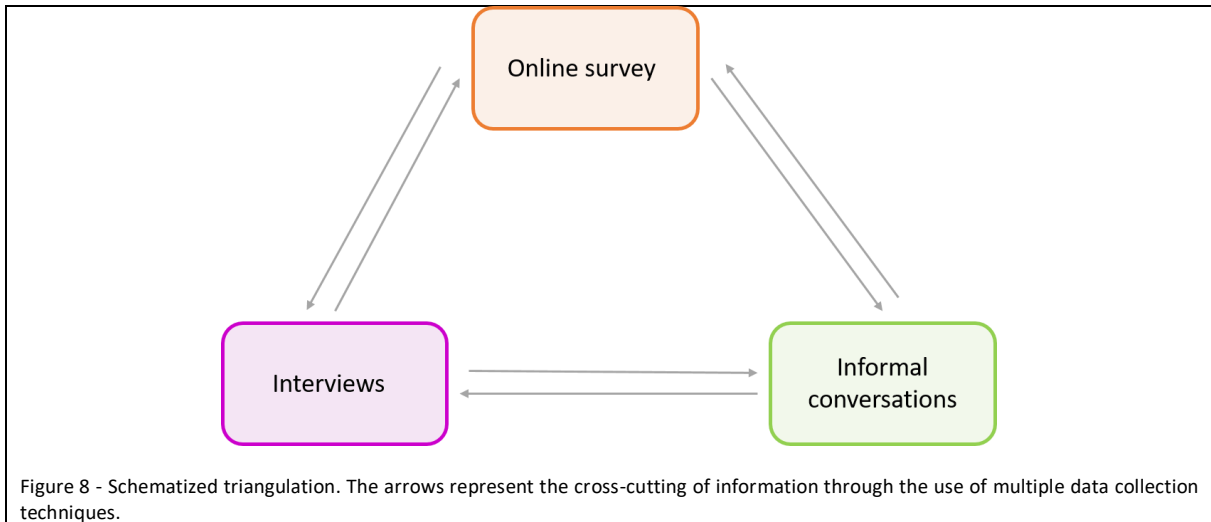
The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods allows to paint a broader picture of the performances of CBIs in the context of New Towns. Although scholars on the topic of CBIs' performance mainly focus on either one of those methods (e.g. Becker, Franke and Gläsel, 2018; Celata and Sanna, 2019; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019), both provide insightful approaches to CBIs as different data is collected using different methods. The intent of the researcher is to grasp the wholeness of the case studies which is according to Clifford et al. (2016), the true reason of case studies. Thus, using in-depth survey with leading members of the case studied coupled with an online survey accessible to all members allows to build a deeper understanding of the cases.

The online survey was conducted with participants of the 3 case studies and aimed at gathering information from different perspectives (i.e. open for all volunteers of the 3 case studies) so as to better understand the initiatives and the roles and forms leadership and social capital play in the performance of these CBIs. From this method descriptive statistics have been extracted as part of the results. However, the response rate varies greatly from initiatives rendering comparisons between case studies and reliability of the responses scarce (Fricker and Schonlau, 2002).

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with leading members of each initiative. This method allowed for deeper understanding of the situations of CBIs regarding their structure, range of activities, leadership style, internal and external relationships and performance as a whole. As each CBI study developed independently from each other, semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to see similarities as well as differences in the answers provided by interviewees. The limitation of this method rests in the lack of generalizability in what concerns perceptions and experiences shared by interviewees. Therefore, the survey is complementary to the interviews as it allows for more generalizability as several volunteers provide information on the same topics.

Lastly, informal conversations were carried out prior to interviews and concerned the future interviewees and their role in the CBIs, the creation of the CBIs and their objectives, several projects achieved or to be achieved as well as difficulties encountered. This established a basis of understanding for the researcher and enabled her to develop further the questions asked during the interview. However, this method is often regarded as biased as questions might be leading and conversations are

often not recorded or without the intent to be shared. The use of two other methods helps complement and consolidate the information resulting from informal conversation.



### 3.2. Methodology and data collection

In this section the choice of the researcher concerning data collection tools and periods as well as analysis techniques are examined.

#### 3.2.1. Operationalization of leadership and social capital

The concepts of leadership and social capital analysed in the theoretical framework are investigated throughout the different data collection methods. Each concept is presented through 3 different forms which can be complementary, i.e. bonding social capital can co-exist along bridging and/or linking social capital. In order to determine the presence of all 3 styles of leadership and 3 types of social capital the researcher first focused on the presence of these leadership styles and types of social capital and then enquired about the importance these represent for the initiatives.

| Example of a survey question operationalizing leadership:   | Relation with the concept   | References                                       |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Over the last year, the initiative: (multiple answers possible)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Has been actively focused on advocating for our values and cause</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Has been actively focused on increasing the number of participants</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Has been actively focused in developing the participants capacities and</li> </ul> | <p>Lone wolves are focused on advocating for their cause while mobilizers are focused on recruiting new participants and organizers on developing their members' skills and motivations. Both organizers and mobilizers might be found within one initiative while lone wolves are, according to theory, not complemented by another leadership style. Therefore, it is possible for respondents to observe two leadership styles simultaneously.</p> | <p>(Pastor, Ito and Rosner, 2011; Han, 2014)</p> |

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>motivations into actions</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other (please describe in few words)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</p>  |   |   |
| <b>Examples of survey questions operationalizing social capital:</b>   | <b>Relation with the concept</b>  | <b>References</b>   |
| <p>I feel that participants of the initiative share common interests and values with me and are united:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Agree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Neutral</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Disagree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</p> | <p>Bonding ties within voluntary organizations are seen as sharing a social identity and the presence of solidarity and reciprocity. The perception of respondents is an indicator of the degree to which these bonding ties are developed within the CBIs.</p>   | <p>(Putnam, 2000; Szreter and Woolcock, 2004)</p>         |
| <b>Example of an interview question operationalizing leadership:</b>   | <b>Relation with the concept</b>  | <b>References</b>   |
| <p>Is motivating volunteers and engaging with them in activities important for the initiative? Why?</p>  | <p>Transforming the motivation of volunteers into actions and developing their skills is the strategy used by organizers to build power. In doing so it impacts the role of volunteers in the initiative and the achievement of the objectives as actions are taken and capacities are developed so as to reach a certain goal.</p> | <p>(Han, 2014; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a)</p> |
| <b>Examples of interview questions operationalizing social capital:</b>  | <b>Relation with concept</b>  | <b>References</b>   |
| <p>Are there benefits for the organization to have interaction between members? What are these?</p>  | <p>Strong bonding ties within CBIs has the potential to increase revenue sources, enhance communication within the group and mobilize volunteers. This question aims at determining if any of these benefits or others are noticed by the interviewee.</p>  | <p>(Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b)</p>            |

### 3.2.2. Online survey

A survey was conducted online with the 3 case studies from June 22, 2020 and July 13, 2020 and counted 6 to 37 respondents per CBI. This method used a voluntary sampling as the online survey was shared by the initiatives to their volunteers through emails, social media pages and posted on their own websites. This non-random sampling suits the research as the researcher tries to gather multiple and various perspectives from the volunteers. However, voluntary sampling might be biased as the respondents are more likely to be those who have strong opinions about the CBIs.

The survey is composed of multiple-choice and Likert scales questions focusing on the activities, objectives, leadership styles and types of social capital of corresponding initiatives (see Appendix B).

The former allowed members to pick throughout a range of answers and also offered the possibility to add their own answers. This open answer option was used to determine the respondent's opinions when regarding statements on achievements and social capital (see Appendix F).

The responses to the surveys were analysed using Excel software from which graphs were derived. Answers entered by the respondents themselves to multiple choice questions were coded inductively using ATLAS.TI. This coding allowed similar responses to fit in categories in order and simplified the analysis of the results as well as the reading of the graphs (see Appendix D).

### 3.2.3. Interviews

Three semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with leading participants in the CBIs selected. The interviews took place from June 30, 2020 to July 06, 2020 and took approximately 60 to 120 minutes each. Prior to the interview, consent to participate in the research and to be recorded was collected. The interviewees were selected following an examination on the website of the initiative to see who the board members, founders or coordinators of the CBIs are. The choice of interviewing only leading members was made in accordance with the desire to gain insight on leadership styles.

The focus of these interviews was on the objectives of the CBIs as well as the impact of leadership styles and social capital on the initiatives. The interviews also addressed the strategies leading members are applying to increase or decrease this impact (see Appendix A). The interviews were coded according to both deductive and inductive codebooks (see Appendix C). ATLAS.TI was used to code and analyse the transcripts of the interviews (see Appendix G).

### 3.2.4. Informal conversations

Conversations between the researcher and leading members of the initiatives happened prior to interviews and one of which took place during a tour around the neighbourhood in which one of the case studies intervened. These informal conversations displayed information about the leading members of CBIs and the organization of the initiative. The roles of different actors (e.g. municipality, contractors, volunteers) in the development of projects as well as future and current objectives and general reactions from inhabitants of Almere and Lelystad regarding the CBIs was also discussed. These conversations resulted in a better understanding of the CBIs by the researcher but were not transcribed or coded as these present information judged sensitive by leading members of CBIs as it was done in confidence. Nevertheless, this information helped the researcher to interpret and contextualize the data gathered via the survey and interviews.

## 3.3. Case studies

The following lines describe the process of selection of the case-studies and provide a brief presentation of each case.

Now that the research approach, data collection and analysis techniques have been clarified, the following lines will briefly introduce the case studies. First, the cities of Almere and Lelystad were selected as both fit the criteria of New Towns: created in the late second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, aimed as regional growth centre, build from scratch on the Flevopolder. Then, cases studies were selected according to 3 criteria which allowed to target community-based initiative: being self-organized, aiming at the provision of services to the community, and being initiated by inhabitants of Almere or Lelystad. The researcher then contacted municipalities, CBIs' networks and CBIs by email asking for voluntary initiatives willing to participate in the research project. 3 CBIs meeting the criteria agreed to

participate in the research. The Covid-19 pandemic rendered the case-study selection challenging as many initiative were bustling to help the community coping with the situation and were thus not able to participate.

### 3.3.1. Experiment Zelfbeheer Hoekwierde (EZH)



Figure 9 - Activity area of EZH (within red boundaries) and projects (in blue) in Almere (source: Google Image).

EZH is a community-based initiative created in 2011 by inhabitants of the Hoekwierde neighborhood in Almere Haven. This initiative has taken over the maintenance of part of the neighbourhood (12 hectares, within the red border on map 1) from the municipality and has since then developed projects of their own in the same area. EZH's volunteers rise up to about 100 and participate in various activities ranging from maintenance and management of the greenery and cleaning up the litter in the street to development of natural playground and social events (e.g. summer and christmas gatherings). The blue points and lines represent the locations of projects carried out by the initiative. EZH is officially organized around 3 coordinators who founded the initiative (EZH, no date).

### 3.3.2. Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen



Figure 10 - Project area of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen (in yellow) in Almere (source: Google Maps).

The second case study is the CBI named Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen created in 2014 by inhabitants of the Southern part of the Stedenwijk neighborhood in Almere-Stad. The volunteers, approximately 20 to 25, work in activity groups and take over part of the maintenance of the area (e.g. cleaning up the litter in the streets, maintenance and development of the Spanningsveld Bos, represented by yellow lines on map 2) and organize social events. Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen is organized around a board made up of 4 volunteers who founded the initiative.

### 3.3.3. Het Lapp



Lastly, the third case study is a community-based initiative founded in 2008 called Het Lapp. It is located in two different locations in Lelystad and counts around 15 to 16 volunteers. Het Lapp is an initiative in which volunteers engage in creative entrepreneurship and socio-cultural activities (e.g. tai-chi, painting, hypno-birthing). The CBI is organized around a board consisting of two of the founders and another volunteer.

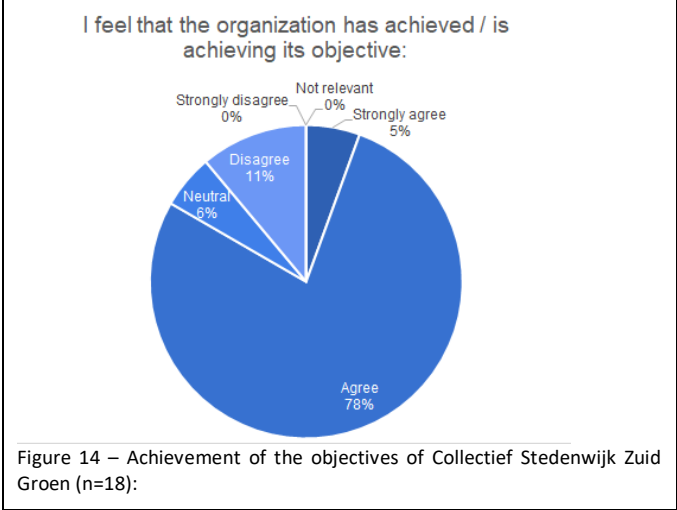
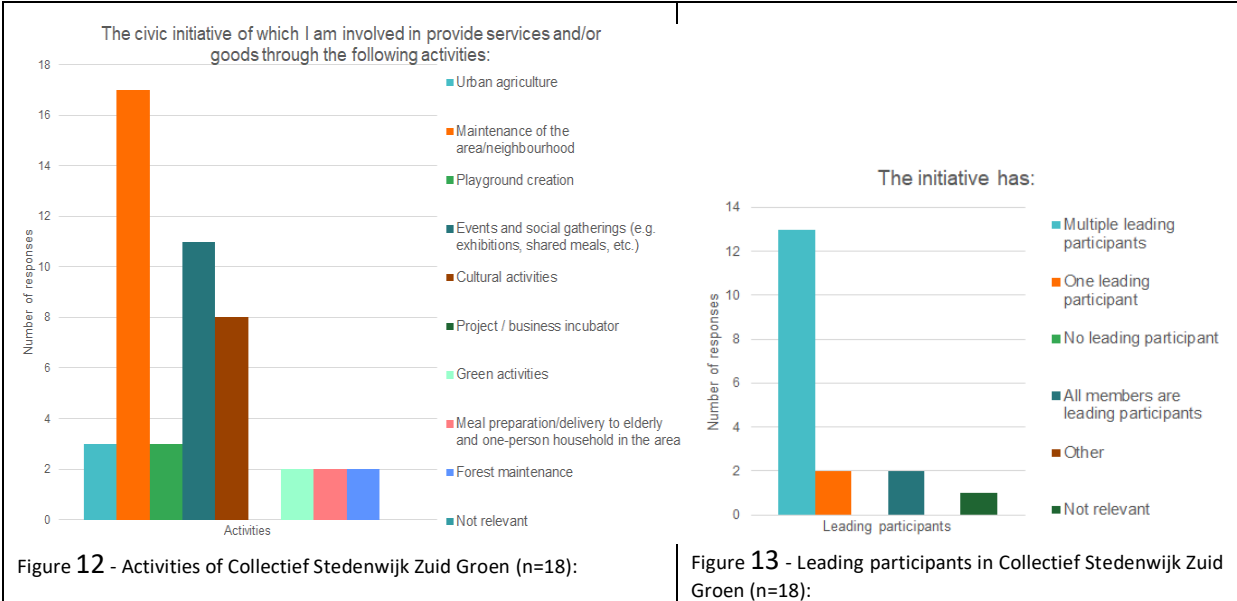
## 3.4. Ethical considerations

This section presents the researcher's reflection on the principles of ethics used throughout the thesis research process. The Dutch code of conduct for research integrity has been used throughout the research process which principles include transparency, honesty, independence, scrupulousness and responsibility (NWO, 2018). The results of this research aim to raise CBIs' awareness concerning their performances. Therefore, the information treated in this paper only represents part of the initiative. The CBIs studied should be aware that this thesis does not aim to affect the functioning of the CBIs and that other potential factors influencing performance might not be considered in this document. The researcher considered each step of the process with equal importance and care and followed a research plan previously approved by her supervisor. An informed consent was obtained from each participant before informal conversations and interviews. The informed consent made sure that the participant consent to participate in this research as well as the recording and use of the interviews. Furthermore, the questionnaire designed for the online survey was designed to ensure respondent anonymity and the data collected during the interviews was anonymized. All information gathered by survey and interviews were stored on password-secured software and laptop.

# 4. Results

This chapter present the results of the data collection for the three initiatives. Each initiative is presented in a separate section in which the initiative’s activities, success and organization are first introduced then results regarding leadership and social capital are analysed in corresponding sub-sections. A comparison between the case-studies concludes this chapter. The graphs derived from the survey results are presented and enlarged for the readers’ comfort in Appendix E.

## 4.1. Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen

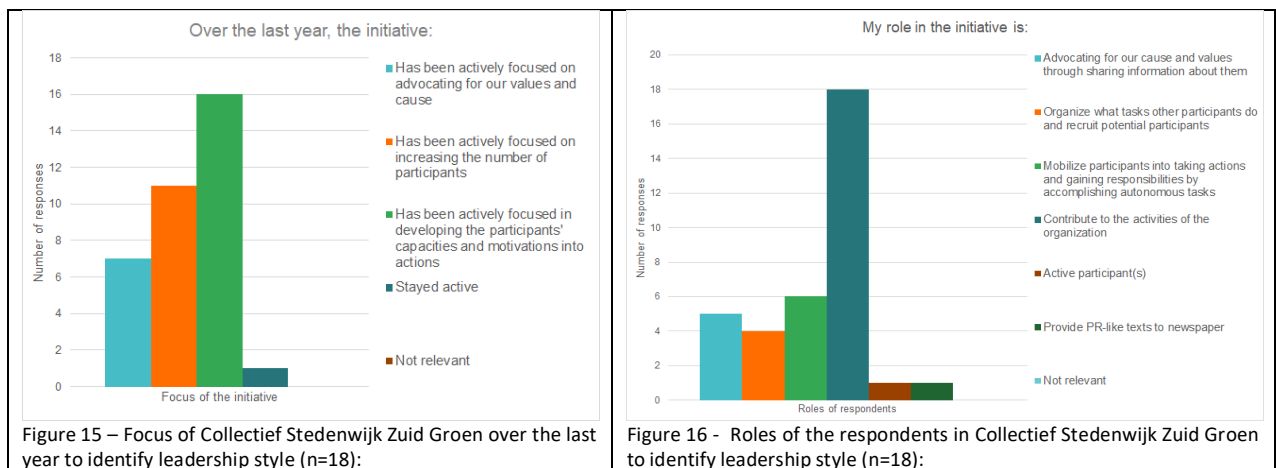


Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen counts about 20-25 volunteers working in different activity groups. As shown in Figure 12, Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen is involved in several activities, the main ones being the maintenance of the area, events and social gatherings and cultural activities. A smaller number of respondents have also reported that the CBI was involved in urban agriculture, playground creation, green activities, forest maintenance and meal preparation/delivery to elderly and one-person households in the neighbourhood. These activities are set in the hope to achieve the broader objective of the CBI: to build a community, maintain the area and develop urban agriculture. The results show that 83% of the surveyed volunteers of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen believe that the initiative is

successful in achieving its objective while 33% does not think it is achieving its objective (see Figure 14). According to the interviewee, the initiative is successful in its endeavours however it has not completed all of their projects yet. The interviewee states that the achievements are temporary and that both the continuation of the activities and achievements are depending on the presence of volunteers. Temporality can be used as a way to measure success but also as a threat. Indeed, CBIs can perceive their lasting initiative has a success in itself while also being confronted to the possibility that, if volunteers do not participate any longer, the initiative and its achievements (e.g. maintenance of the wood) would disappear.

According to the survey, 13 respondents consider that Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen possess multiple leading participants, while 2 perceive one participant of the initiative as being the leading participant and another 2 believes that all participants are leading participants (see Figure 13). The diversity of answers concerning achievements of the objectives may be explained by the diversity of opinions but also the objective of developing urban agriculture which the initiative is still working on.

#### 4.1.1. Leadership



As visible on Figure 15, Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen was primarily focused over the last year on the development of its volunteers' capacities and on the implementation of the participants' motivations into actions, a strategy taken by organizers to build power (Han, 2014). Increasing the numbers of volunteers within the CBI and advocating for the values and cause of the CBI were reported as the second and third focus points of the initiative which corresponds to the strategies used respectively by mobilizers and lone wolves to build power. Similarly, Interviewee 1 mentions that participants contribute voluntarily to the organization and are encouraged to take initiative. According to him, making decisions for the CBI and taking initiatives can have a negative impact when these tasks are carried on by the same individuals as these individuals might grow tired from this role. This is why Interviewee 1 tries to have more volunteers taking over these tasks by inviting more volunteers to join the board but also by supporting volunteers carrying on their own projects, reinforcing the concept of organizer as leadership style.

*“People can be frustrated when they decide everything so you have to watch I think as Collectief. To watch is it equal [...]” - Interviewee 1*

Moreover, Interviewee 1 also confirms that the CBI has developed strategies to gain participants (flyers distributed, use of social media, neighbourhood watch group, website, and face-to-face offer to join). Petitions carried on by the CBI against Almere new zoning plans were also mentioned by the interviewee. These in turn act as advocating strategies directed towards the municipality as well as individuals concerned by the petition. Although an important number of respondents indicates that

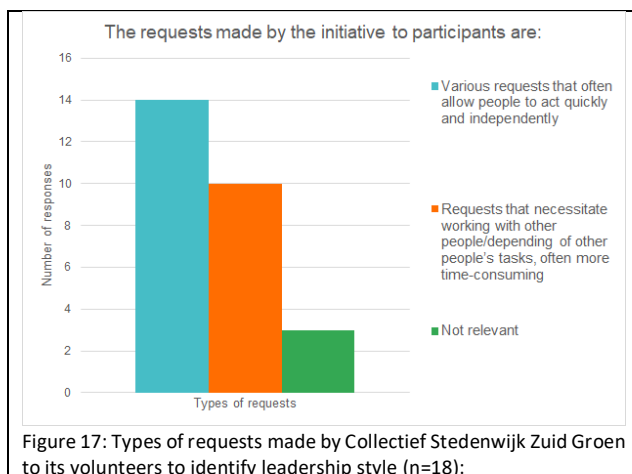


the initiative main focus is to transform motivations into actions and develop volunteers' skills, Figure 16 illustrates that respondents perceive their roles as mostly contributing to the activities. The low number of respondents describing their role as mobilizing volunteers to take actions, advocating for the CBI or organizing tasks and recruiting participants might indicate that these roles are taken by only few volunteers yet influencing greatly the CBI (as visible in Figure 15). Another explanation possible is that respondents take (some of) these roles (organizing tasks, mobilizing volunteers, advocating for the initiative) but do not perceive it as such. Interviewee 1 notes that even though he encourages participants to take actions and to develop their own project within the initiative, the development of volunteers' skills is a future step for them to take. The interviewee believes that they do not have yet the capacity yet to develop skills but that future potential partnership will bring knowledge that could be instilled across the CBI. This indicates that although the organizer and mobilizer are coupled, some aspects of the lone wolf leadership style also appears (advocating for the CBI).

Moreover, the interviewee seems to point that part of the organizer's strategy to build power are not yet possible (developing volunteers' skills) however, bridging with other organizations would enable the CBI to gain knowledge and develop the participants' skills.

*"We're not developing them [volunteers' skills] so I don't think that's something we are now allowed or can do that. [...] we have a plan for the green area between the Floriade and the Stedenwijk, there we want to have the Hogeschool. Maybe the university can help us with things to think about, to help develop, and then we can have students to help develop themselves." – Interviewee 1*

This result demonstrates the link between leadership and social capital and the influence of one over the other (here bridging on leadership).



So far the results of both the survey and interview concerning leadership styles leans towards a mix of organizer and mobilizer as main leadership style. Figure 17 illustrates that the main requests made by the CBI to its members are requests allowing people to act independently. This request is mainly asked by mobilizers while requests necessitating to work with other people or depending of other people's tasks are asked by organizer. Here again a mix of organizer and mobilizer is visible with a tendency towards mobilizer. Such results might be influenced by the organization of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen into different activity groups and the possibility for members to develop their own projects autonomously. Tasks undertaken in some activity groups such as cleaning the litter on the street or organizing cultural activity in the communal space might be taken independently. Furthermore, as Interviewee 1 points out that some volunteers take matters in their own hands to develop their own projects they might be less depending on other volunteers' tasks.

*“She [a volunteer with a project idea] talked to me and said: ‘I want to do that, how can I manage that?’ so I help her to get the people she has to get in contact with and she writes from Collectief, that’s what she wants. She makes a concept letter from the Collectief then we can let her send the letter from the Collectief and take the initiative for that. Then she can help in the Veldhoek [communal space], she can prepare it with children and then if the municipality wants that...” – Interviewee 1*

To conclude this section on the leadership of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen, it appears as the leadership style is a mix of organizer and mobilizer. While the lone wolf is also represented in both the survey and interview results, it is not the most apparent style. Leadership seems to influence the development of project, the motivations of volunteers and also the future plans of the CBI to connect with other organizations.

#### 4.1.1. Social capital

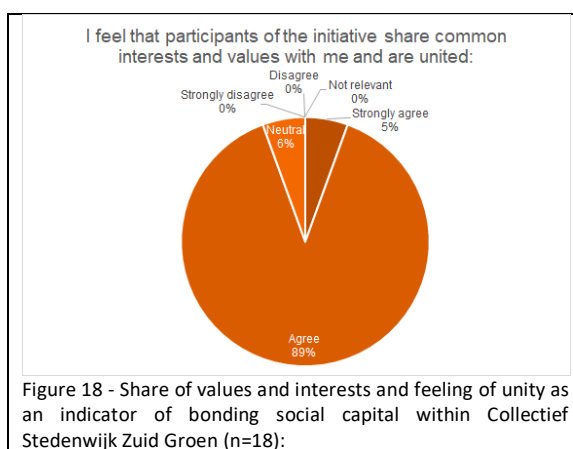


Figure 18 - Share of values and interests and feeling of unity as an indicator of bonding social capital within Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen (n=18):

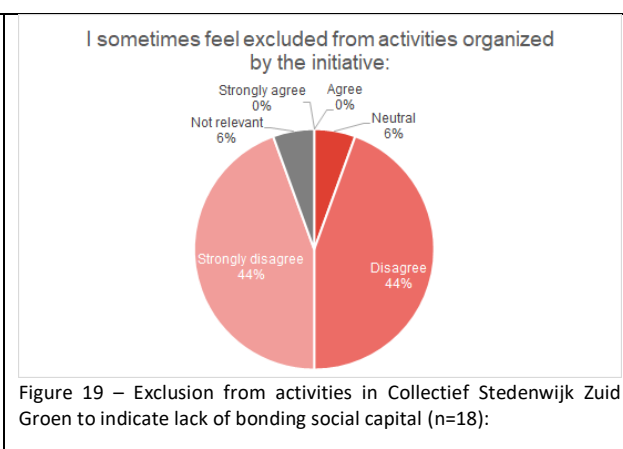
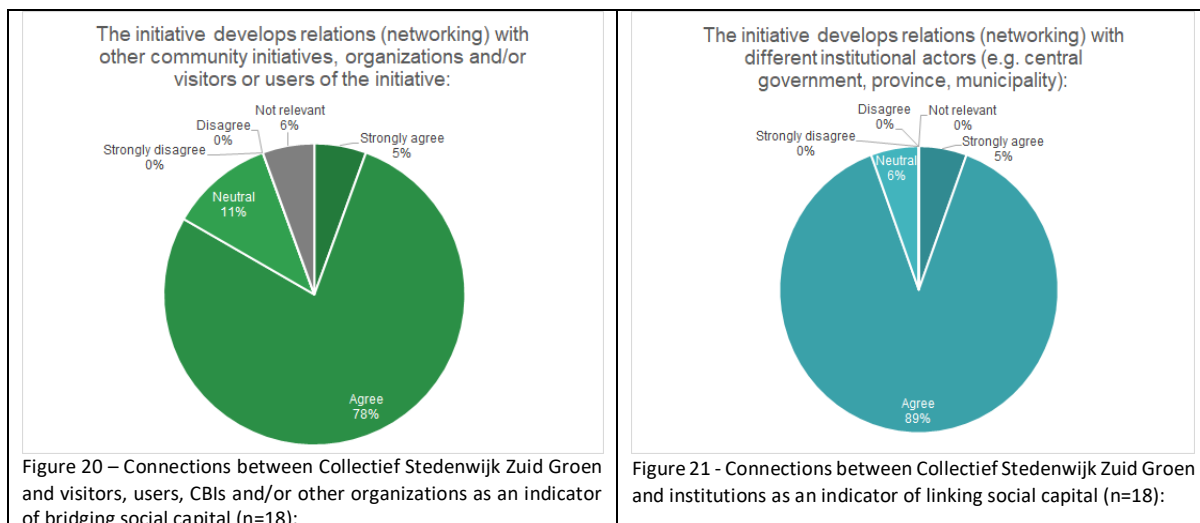


Figure 19 – Exclusion from activities in Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen to indicate lack of bonding social capital (n=18):

The results presented through Figure 18 and 19 indicate that there is a strong presence of bonding social capital as respondents believe that they share values and interests with the CBI’s volunteers and do not feel excluded from the activities of the initiative. Likewise, Interviewee 1 believes that volunteers share similar values and ambitions. However, the interviewee also indicates that the strength of the bonds between volunteers vary. This echoes to the first concept of bridging social capital described by Putnam (2000) as outward looking networks which “encompass people across diverse social cleavages”. Therefore, from the information gathered during the interview it seems that CBIs can present both internal and external bridging. Internal bridging is here used to talk about the loose ties between volunteers within the initiative while external bridging capital refers to the links the initiative develops with users, visitors and organizations. According to the interview, the glue that seems to hold all volunteers together is their motivations and the objective of the organization (to build a community, maintain the area and develop urban agriculture).

*“And the main value with the Collectief I think is we want, it’s not a value but, we want to share with each other that the world can be better. That’s very abstract but a lot of people in the group of the, some people, are sharing that.” - Interviewee 1*

Conflict between participants arose following the implementation of bird and bat boxes in the neighbourhood and was solved by a decision reached by volunteers of the wood maintenance group. Here again Interviewee 1 showed concerns regarding the risk of frustrating participants and the need for more volunteers within the board in order to make similar decisions. Although the survey results does not provide any indication of social exclusion, the interviewee mentioned the exclusion of potential participants. According to him, this might be related to a lack of ethnic diversity amongst volunteers. Ethnic minorities living in the area might not feel represented and therefore not participate in the initiative.



Results illustrated in Figure 20 and 21 illustrate respectively the strong presence of bridging and linking capital. This reflects the results from the interview in which the interviewee mentioned connecting with other organizations (e.g. supermarket, contractor, school, social care organization) to complete their projects but also to navigate bureaucratic and administrative procedures. The interviewee noted the importance of knowing the opportunities and limitations of bargaining and requesting in order to obtain what is wished for and achieve objectives. Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen has also established connections with the municipality of Almere and especially its cleaning department and the Floriade sounding board which echoes to the survey results (see Figure 16). The relationship between the initiative and the municipality of Almere was referred to several times by the interviewee. Firstly, the interviewee suggests that a stronger bond between the municipality and the initiative would help the initiative in achieving some project (e.g. creating a green corridor between Floriadewijk and Stedenwijk developed and maintained by (future) inhabitants of both neighbourhoods). Secondly, he also points out that several stakeholders are at play concerning the development of Stedenwijk. Although the municipality is supporting the initiative, it is not often clear what the visions of the municipality are for this area. Therefore maintaining the nearby wood is a way for the CBI to display ownership over it.

*“So the connection to the municipality is essential but that doesn't work when this organization will be frustrated and won't work but sometimes the municipality doesn't want it, it doesn't fit in their point of view, in their horizon.” - Interviewee 1*

*“[...] We think then when we are developing this to make it more our wood instead of the municipality wood so they can't ignore us when they're doing that thing.” - Interviewee 1*

Thirdly, the difficulty of bureaucracy and getting in contact with municipal employees could be solved if a contact person in the neighbourhood would mediate between the CBI and the municipality. The aspects highlighted previously might affect the future of the CBI, its objective, funds and part of its raison d'être if zoning plans affect the wood maintained by the volunteers. Thus, it can be inferred that all types of social capital play a role in the development of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen. However, the most influential types appear to be bonding and linking as it touches upon many aspects of the initiative.

## 4.1. Het Lapp

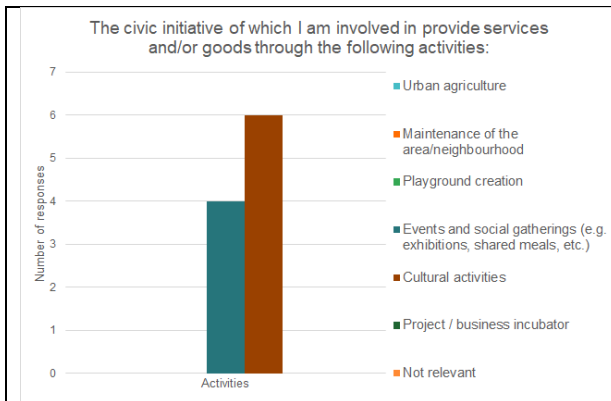


Figure 22 - Activities of Het Lapp (n=6):

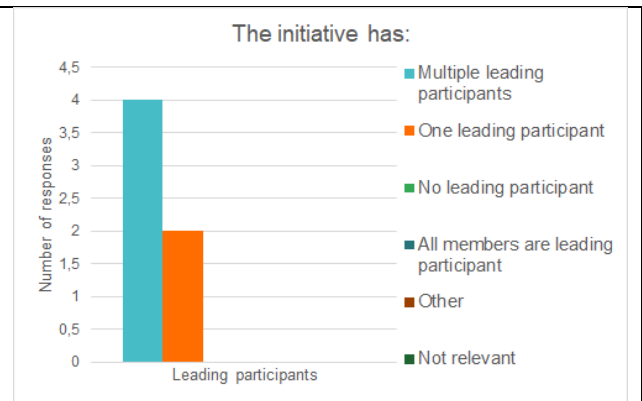


Figure 23 - Leading participants in Het Lapp (n=6):

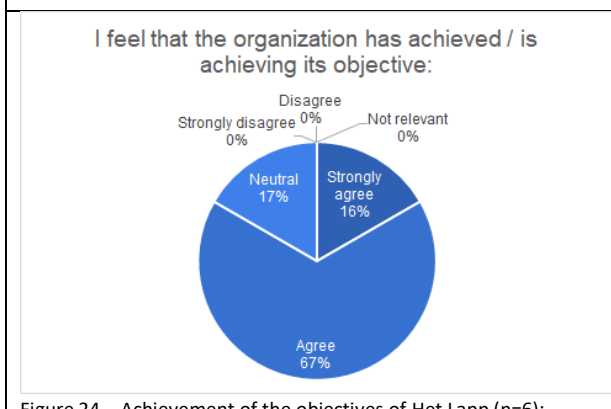


Figure 24 – Achievement of the objectives of Het Lapp (n=6):

Het Lapp counts around 16 members and is located in two different buildings across Lelystad. The initiative takes part in two main activities: cultural activities and events and social gatherings (see Figure 22). The initiative, once laid as a flat organization, is now spearheaded by a board constituted of 3 volunteers (2 co-founder + another volunteer). Results shown in Figure 23 indicates that most of the respondents believe that the initiative possess multiple leading participants while half of them believes that one participant is leading. A plausible explanation to these results is that one member is perhaps more involved in the initiative or that some respondents have been in contact with only one leading member. Interviewee 2 admits to be the only participants involved in the coaching of the volunteers, echoing to first explanation. Both the interview and the survey demonstrates that the initiative is achieving its objective (to build a community and connect people with opportunities to realize their projects) as visible in Figure 24. Interviewee 2 mentions the success of volunteers in finding a job, developing their own businesses or courses with the help of the initiative as achievements and proof of success of the CBI.

### 4.1.1. Leadership

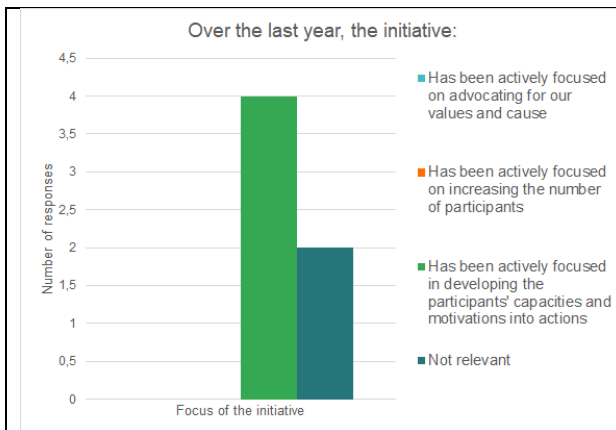


Figure 25 - Focus of Het Lapp over the last year to identify leadership style (n=6):

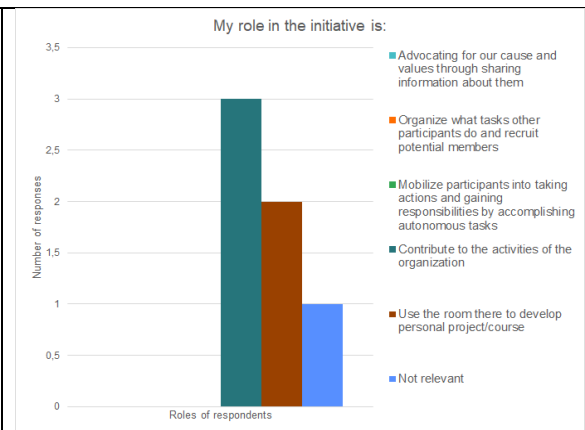


Figure 26 - Roles of the respondents in Het Lapp to identify leadership style (n=6):

While Figure 25 shows that the main focus of the initiative is to develop the volunteers' skills and transform their motivations into actions, Figure 26 indicates that the respondents only contribute to the activities of the initiative or propose classes inside Het Lapp's building. This could be explained by the fact that volunteers involved in the mobilization of participants (as is expected from Figure 25) might not have filled in the survey or that the respondents do not perceive their role as mobilizing participants, advocating for the CBI or organizing tasks. The interview has led to the same result: the initiative focuses on developing the skills of its participants and transforming their motivations into action. As the objective of the initiative is to provide a helping hand to volunteers with projects and ideas, most of the tasks are voluntary except the tidying and cleaning of the buildings of the CBI. Participants are encouraged to develop their projects autonomously and the interviewee provides some coaching and supports the volunteers in developing artistic and professional skills.

*"That's why I think it's very important to not tell someone to do something, I think someone should tell you what he would like to do. And there is no limit if someone wants to work 4 days and do something for 4 days they can do 4 days but I have to know it is genuine." - Interviewee 23*

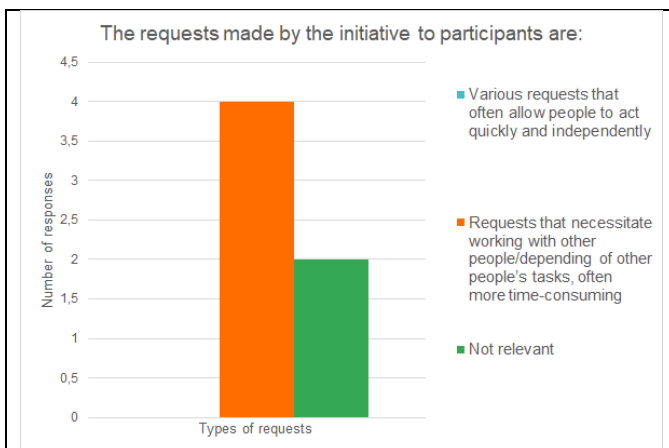


Figure 27 - Types of requests made by Het Lapp to its volunteers to identify leadership style (n=6):

Figure 27 displays results concerning the types of requests of Het Lapp to its participants. The main type of request (necessitating to work with others or depending on others) is typical of organizer leadership style (Han, 2014). Furthermore the initiative is no longer looking to gain participants even

though the initiative once employed various strategies to advertise themselves: using social media, placing an ad on the website of the municipal social care organization and face-to-face offer to join. The interviewee also believes that an increase in the number of volunteers is not equal to success of the CBI. On the contrary, she believes that too many volunteers might impact the motivation of the initiative and its objective as it will have to accommodate everyone and she questions whether this is feasible and desirable. Mobilizers build power through increasing the numbers of volunteers and organizing tasks for volunteers to participate in and lone wolves advocate by sharing information to increase awareness regarding the cause of the CBI. Moreover, mobilizers' requests (allowing people to work independently) have not been reported in the survey (see Figure 27) or the interviews. The situation in Het Lapp seems to be very different from lone wolves and mobilizers leadership styles. However, the results lean towards organizer as both the survey and the interview demonstrate which conclude this section on the leadership of Het Lapp.

4.1.1. Social capital

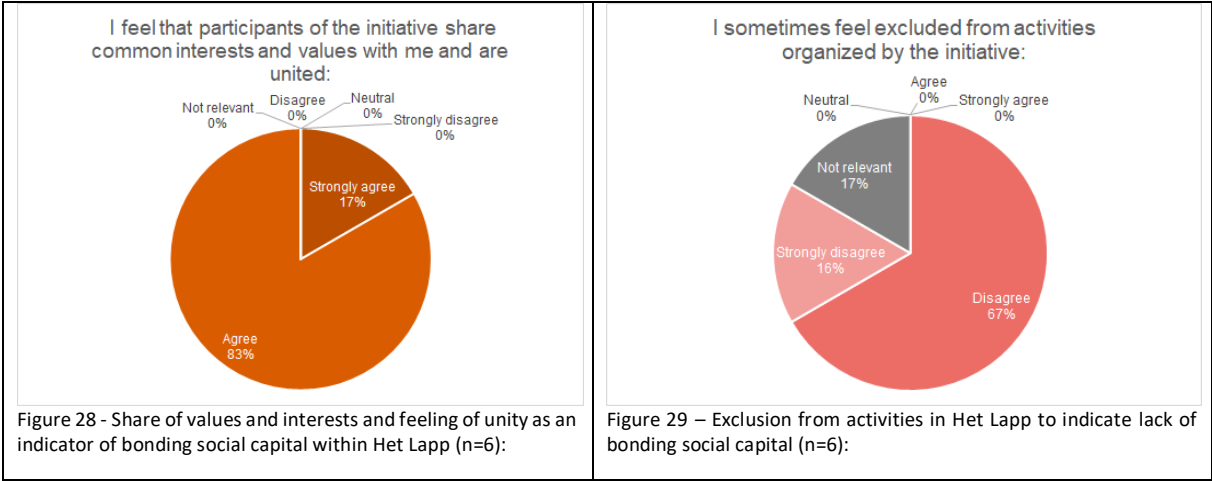
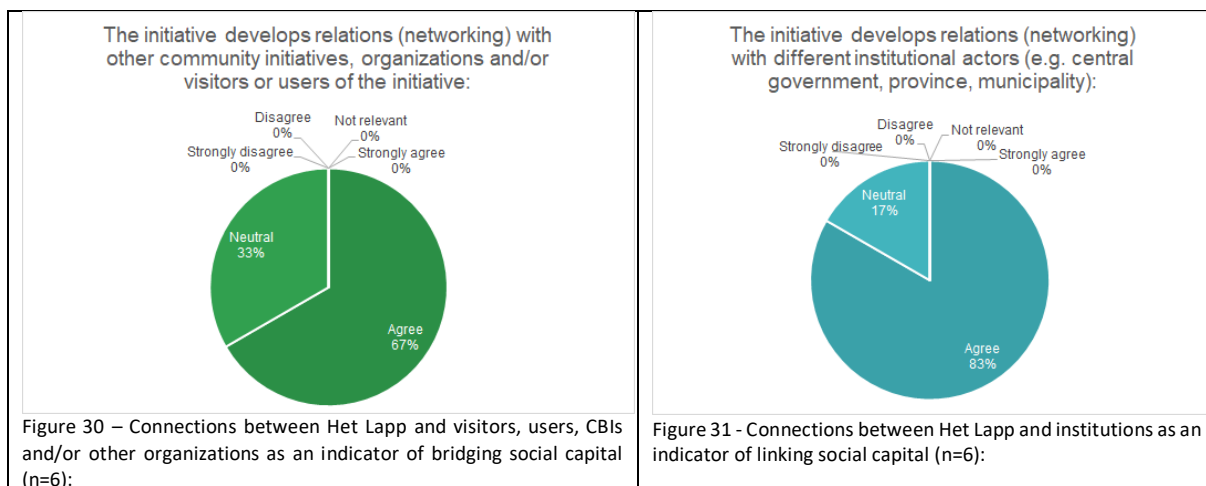


Figure 28 and 29 present results concerning bonding social capital. As visible there is bonding social capital as the respondents reported sharing values and interests with each other and did not feel excluded from the activities of the initiative. Interviewee 2 also indicated a rather strong bonding social capital as she insured that they share similar values (e.g. freedom and inclusivity). However, like Interviewee 1, she also stated that the strength of the connections between participants varies between volunteers. This seems to prove that bridging social capital is also visible internally in CBIs as volunteers get together to develop their shared ambition but might have a few values in common. Interestingly, Interviewee 2 recounted former conflicts with volunteers related to the period during which the CBI was organized as a flat organization. As every volunteer could make decisions regarding the initiative and ambitions for the initiative differed, this led to power struggles (a new location for the CBI was picked by few volunteers but did not suit the rest of the participants, some volunteers wanted to transform the CBI into a private organization) and money theft (a volunteer was using the money of the CBI for personal matters). These impacted the CBI as volunteers had different opinions regarding the initiative and, coupled with the several relocations of the CBI, led to fluctuations in the amount of volunteers and also affected the cohesion within the initiative.

*“But it teaches us that you can only have a flat organization if you have people that are all thinking all the same.” - Interviewee 2*



Het Lapp has also developed relations with several organizations (e.g. networks of initiative, private funding agency, social care organizations) and is currently trying to connect with multiple local CBIs. Similarly, Figure 30 shows that respondents believe that the initiative is reaching out to other organizations. 33% of respondents answered neutral which might be due to their lack of knowledge or involvement regarding connections with other organizations. This can be explained by the nature of the initiative as it provides support for the development of personal and professional projects of volunteers thus the awareness or interest of participants in the connections Het Lapp entertains with other organizations might be low. Interviewee 2 explains that bonds with local CBIs have helped the initiative in the past when it was relocating to pursue their activities inside other CBIs' buildings. Nowadays, Het Lapp wishes to welcome CBIs within their building as facilities for initiatives are lacking in the city of Lelystad according to the interviewee. This would help Het Lapp get known but would also give them more bargaining power to stay in the current location. It was pointed out that connecting with CBIs can be difficult as their developments vary and for young initiatives reaching out to other initiatives is not yet in their agenda. Similarly to Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen, connecting with organizations helped Het Lapp navigating through bureaucratic departments and procedures amongst different institutions. From these relations they also gained financial and human resources as well as knowledge from past experiences. Thus, bridging influences the resources and the bargaining power of Het Lapp as well as a facilitated access to institutions.

*"[...] sometimes also with finding your way into the hell of the government. Yeah, because this is really something that is really very very very slow. They're all small institutions next to each other." - Interviewee 2*

Visible on Figure 31 is the perceptions of respondents concerning linking social capital. Here again respondents consider that Het Lapp is connecting with institutions. The institution that appeared frequently during the interview is the municipality of Lelystad. The interviewee shared that the municipality supports the CBI by helping them with the provision of shelter through anti-squatting policies (allowing empty buildings to be used temporarily by the organization until new plans for the location are made). The initiative was relocated three times since its creation. Nonetheless, the municipality has also been responsible for the relocation of the CBI which impacted the initiative's motivation and level of participation of volunteers. Interviewee 2, co-founder of the initiative, expressed the exhaustion related to multiple relocations and the possibility of putting an end to the initiative if moving out was to happen again. She also notes that CBIs can be difficult to deal with for the municipality as they are demanding but she also acknowledges that CBIs are needed by institutions as these have face cutbacks and can no longer provide the goods or services that CBIs supply. To conclude, linking is present within the initiative and impacts the location, resources and motivation of Het Lapp which all affect the performance.

*“Well she [the “idea broker” of the municipality of Lelystad] talked to me yesterday and she told me that she might know a way we could save our place but that is really something that we’re trying to work through because if we lose it again I think we will quit.” - Interviewee 2*

Finally, social capital impacts the motivations of Het Lapp, its human and financial resources and has enabled the initiative to gain knowledge concerning institution and the administrative procedures to ask for financial support. Results from both the survey and the interview present evidences that Het Lapp has developed the 3 types of social capital investigated. Bonding, bridging and linking impacts the resources of the initiative, the motivations as well as the ambition of the initiative. Nonetheless, social capital has been impacted by the issues related to the former organizational structure. In conclusion, social capital does play a crucial role on the performance of Het Lapp and has been influenced by the organization of the initiative.

#### 4.1. Experiment Zelfbeheer Hoekwierde (EZH)

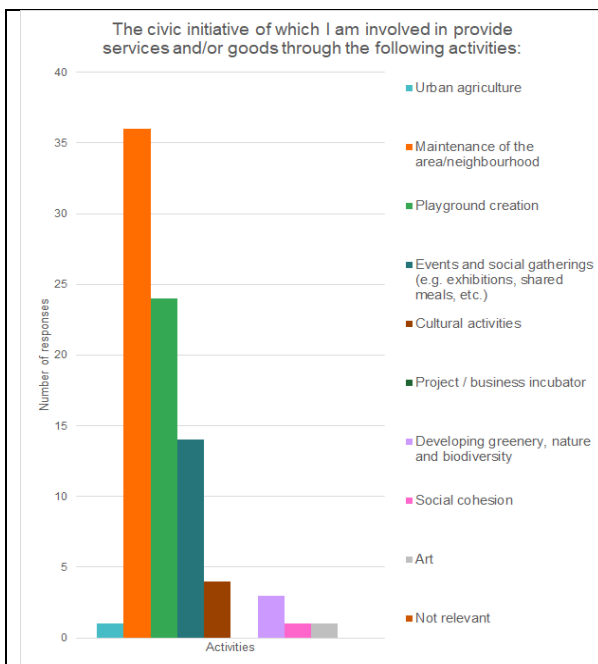


Figure 32 - Activities of EZH (n=38):

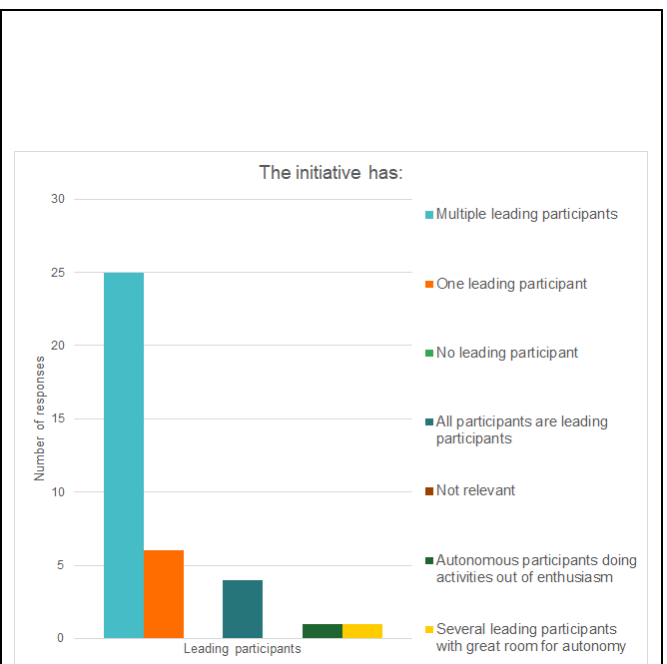


Figure 33 - Leading participants in EZH (n=38):

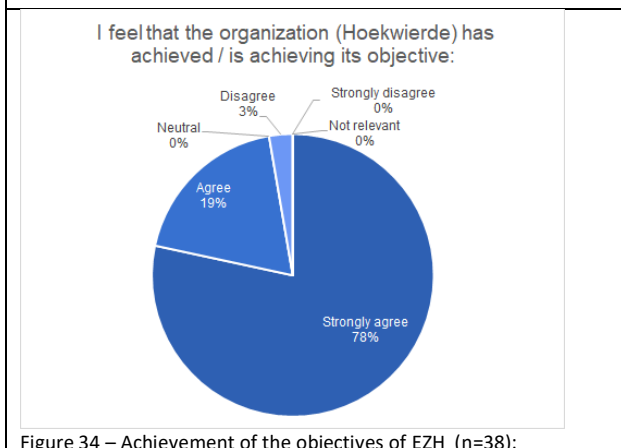


Figure 34 - Achievement of the objectives of EZH (n=38):

EZH is a flat organization organized in activity groups dedicated to the maintenance of the neighbourhood (i.e. streets, greenery, forest), the development (and maintenance) of playground and organizes events and social gatherings (see Figure 32). As EZH is a flat organization in which participants’ ideas and initiative are welcomed, the high number of respondents designating that the



CBI has multiple leading participants appears as consistent (see Figure 33). The interview with volunteers of EZH demonstrated the importance of being organized horizontally in achieving their objectives. The CBI has developed several projects related to biodiversity and embellishment of the green areas within the neighbourhood of Hoekwierde which have greatly changed the physical aspect of the neighbourhood (e.g. increase in biodiversity, creation of leisure areas, and development of wet areas). Interviewee 3 believes that the initiative is successful as many projects have enabled them to advance towards their objective but the success, according to him, also resides in the horizontal structure of the CBI and the involvement of around 100 volunteers. Equally, Figure 34 shows that a large number of respondents consider that EZH is achieving its objective (i.e.: to develop and maintain high-quality green spaces with as much biodiversity as possible and to support as much as possible solidarity in the neighbourhood). According to Interviewee 3 it seems that the organization and number of volunteers are both indicators of success. The flat organizational structure of EZH and its vast ambition in the maintenance of a large area (approximately 12ha) can both be threats to the initiative if both fail to be met. Thus, if volunteers do not follow the principles of a horizontal organization where each has a say and can make decisions, it can have repercussion on the resources (whether human or financial). Similarly, in order to achieve the objective and maintain and develop such a large area, the involvement of many volunteers with a large array of skills is a valuable resource and if the numbers of participants came to drop it could endanger the performance of the initiative. Furthermore, interviewees mentioned a distinction in care and cohesion between volunteers and non-volunteers as well as a collective ownership of public places by all inhabitants (volunteers or not) as the surroundings are maintained and developed by volunteers of EZH. This effect suggests that the CBI, by its actions and projects, has affected the perceptions of inhabitants over public spaces. Likewise, similar information was highlighted in the case of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen which, by means of maintenance and development of the nearby forest, claims ownership over the forest as a way to increase Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen’s bargaining power against the municipality of Almere.

*“But it is a change of culture. I show you in the neighbourhood there is no, for lot of participants, there is no difference between private and public. There is a collective ownership ontstaan (emerged).” - Interviewee 3*

#### 4.1.1. Leadership

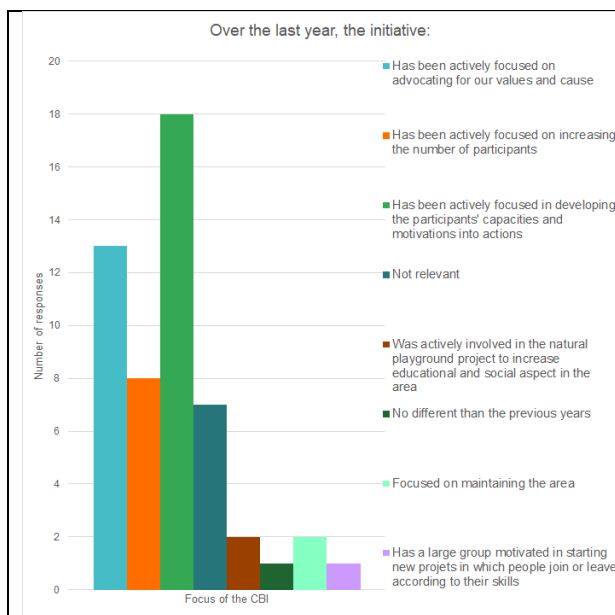


Figure 35 - Focus of EZH over the last year to identify leadership style (n=38):

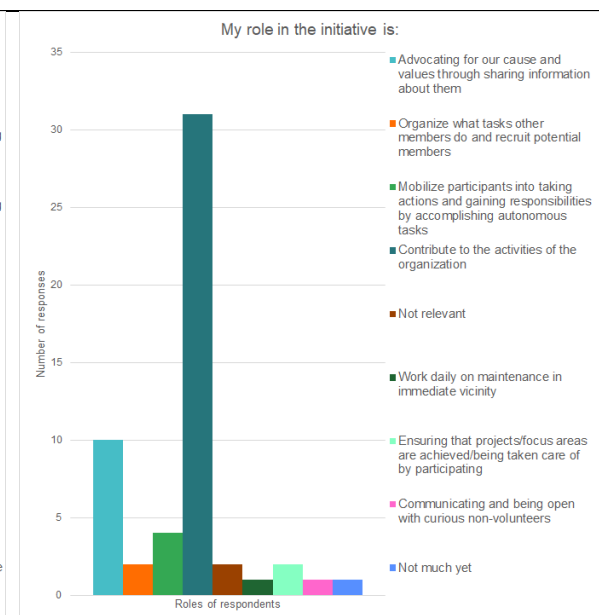


Figure 36 - Roles of the respondents in EZH to identify leadership style (n=38):

While figure 35 indicates that the initiative is primarily focused on developing the volunteers’ skills and motivations into actions, Figure 36 indicates that most of the respondents perceive their main role as contributing to the CBI’s activities and only 4 respondent consider themselves as mobilizing participants to take actions. Also, a large number of respondents admitted that the CBI focuses on advocating for the values and cause of the initiative (see Figure 35). Again, results shown in Figure 30 shows that only 10 respondents take over this advocating role. As Interviewee 4 admitted to learning by doing and that volunteers were encouraged to share their ideas and develop their projects, it seems that volunteers learn by participating in various activities and projects. Moreover, more than 100 volunteers are involved with EZH and Interviewee 5 mentioned that the initiative benefits from a wide variety of skills as many people with different experience take part in the activities. Thus, it seems that the focus of the CBI on the development of skills is actually present but that the learning phase is done throughout activities by sharing with others and learning by doing. This focus is attributed to organizers’ strategy to build power, therefore it can be inferred that EZH presents organizer’s traits.

*“Those are not youngsters getting together, etc. But one is technical, another one is electrician, another one has this, him \*pointing to I3\* he has agricultural studies. We come with a certain baggage here, it helps to make decisions with capable people!” - Interviewee 5*

Nevertheless, the advocating focus and roles displayed in the two figures above indicates that the initiative displays lone wolves’ traits as well (mainly in terms of advocating, principal strategy of the lone wolves to build power). Accordingly, Interviewee 3 also shared that him and some volunteers visited the municipality to protest against new zoning plans and advocate for the CBI’s role and interest in the neighbourhood. Mobilizer leadership style, although present in Figure 35 through the focus of EZH in increasing the number of participants, is almost absent in Figure 36 as only 2 respondents admitted to taking over that role. This is could be explained by the involvement of few volunteers in gathering new volunteers or in the role description involving both the organization of tasks and the recruitment of participants which, as EZH does not have tasks attribution (according to the interview), would not fit to the respondents. The interviewees also highlighted past attempts in gaining participants through flyers and face-to-face requests. Which here again shows potential mobilizer leadership style.

*“So that’s a new knowledge created. It’s how to manage together. There is no leader that say this or that and in the beginning we have created problems because we don’t discuss enough [...]” - Interviewee 3*

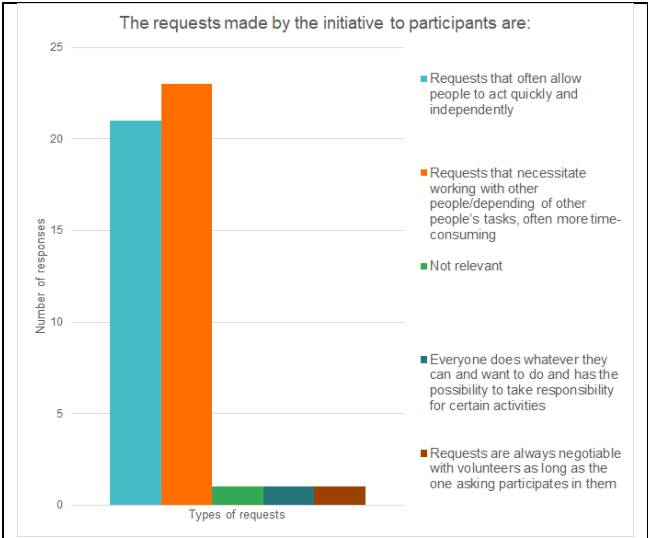
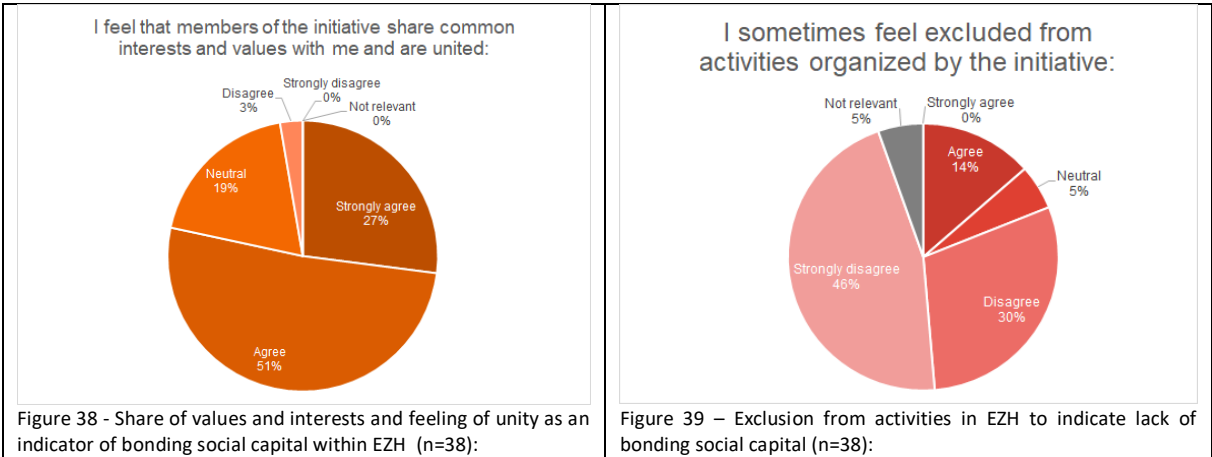


Figure 37 - Types of requests made by EZH to its volunteers to identify leadership style (n=38):

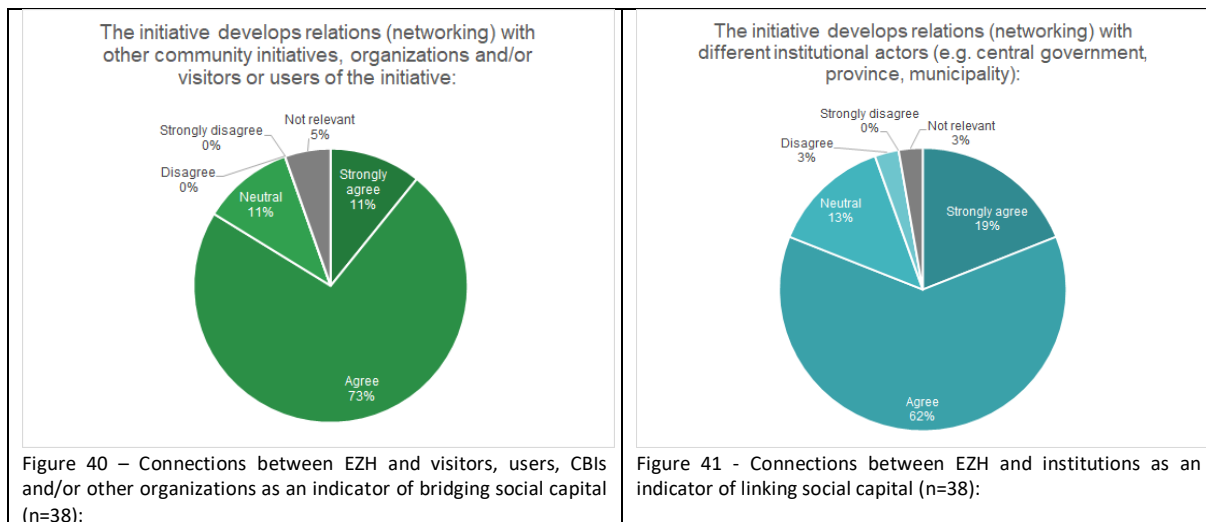
Here, Figure 37 shows that EZH’s requests corresponds to the traits of both mobilizer (independent, quick requests) and the organizer (requiring to work with or depend on other, often time-consuming). Interviewee 3 mentions that tasks within the initiative allow for participants to work, at their convenience, either independently or together with other volunteers, supporting the survey results. Seemingly, it appears that EZH’s leadership is similar to what Han (2014) describes as a mix of organizer and mobilizer with lone wolf’s traits with the mix of organizer/mobilizer more distinguishable.

4.1.2. Social capital



While Figure 38 seems to indicate that there is bonding social capital within EZH, Figure 39 also present that 14% of the respondents feel excluded from the initiative’s activities. Moreover, Interviewee 3 points out that opinions vary a lot between participants on many topics leading to tighter and looser connections between volunteers. This effect is regarded here again as internal bridging and might explain the result shown in Figure 39. Indeed, volunteers might feel excluded if they do not share interests or values or even argue with other volunteers. Furthermore, Interviewee 3 also reported that exclusion, even though unintentional, might happen when the differences between volunteers surpasses the similarities. Nevertheless, the interview revealed that volunteers care for each other deeply as they regularly provide a helping hand to each other. This might results from the bonds between volunteers as well as the lack of social care to the elderly in the neighbourhood as reported by Interviewee 3.

*"We work together because we like to have a nice living environment. But if I go to talk to Henk about politics, I have to get out quickly." - Interviewee 3*



As both Figure 40 and 41 present, EZH seems to have developed its bridging and linking capital. The initiative has connected with organizations, local CBIs and visitors of their projects. The interview revealed that EZH helped other CBIs in Almere to start, but they do have no longer connections with these CBIs. Presently, connecting with other CBIs is not an interest of the EZH. Interviewees do not see the benefits and shared that the uniqueness of the initiative would make it difficult for EZH to connect with other CBIs. During the interview, other organizations were mentioned and relations were established to benefit from financial support. EZH is also in relation with local inhabitant visiting project sites done by the initiative. As users of the playgrounds were enthusiastic about funding its maintenance but do not volunteer to maintain it, this resulted in frustration from the interviewees. Interviewee 3 revealed that it does not wish that these donors feel some kind of ownership towards the playground created by EZH as its destruction by donors might be justified by the financial support they brought. Thus, bridging happens but it does not seem to interest EZH although it provides financial support.

*“There was one moment this year, no past year, when the gemeente (**municipality**) invited all vrijwilligers (**volunteers**)... participants of similar projects and that gave us the knowledge that nothing else... Initiative is like ours.” - Interviewee 3*

Most of the respondents admitted that EZH has developed its connections with institutions, testifying of the presence of linking social capital. According to the information gathered in the interview, the main institutional actor EZH is involved with is the municipality of Almere. Interviewees declare that the municipality was the “common enemy” and was the reason why the initiative started. Frustrations amongst inhabitants of Hoekwierde grew following important maintenance work by the municipality and left public places changed. Cutbacks in the maintenance budget of the municipality triggered some inhabitants into taking matters in their own hands and maintaining themselves the area. Later on, frustration rose when the municipality shared their vision for the area which involved the construction of an apartment building near the area managed by EZH. However, interviewees also mentioned that the municipality of Almere supported them and displayed their support and pride for them publicly. Currently, EZH seems to have sporadic relations with the municipality and does not want to develop the relations further as they do not see benefit from it.

To conclude, this section on the social capital of EZH, bonding, bridging and linking are visible throughout the survey and interview results. While bonding affects the human resources, especially in case of social exclusion, bridging seems to affect mainly financial resources. Bonding and bridging have therefore an impact on the achievements of the CBI as they can both play a decisive part. However,

linking appears to have a different impact on the performance of the CBI as it seems to be influencing the motivations and the notoriety of the initiative, not its resources.

#### 4.1. Case-studies comparison

In this section results concerning the 3 case-studies are compared and analysed. Connections with the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 are made and enables the researcher to provide conclusions in the next chapter.

Although Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen and Het Lapp are both organized around a board, Het Lapp was formerly a horizontal organization similarly to EZH. The reasons why Het Lapp adjusted its organizational structure are, according to the interview, linked to power struggles and disagreements over the ambition of the initiative. Contrary, EZH attributes its success as a flat organization to a good communication between volunteers and the possibility for all to make decisions. Based on this study no distinction can be made about the impact of the organizational structure on the performance. Furthermore, all initiatives are perceived as successful by their participants. However, different indicators of this success are brought forward, including personal or common achievements, involvement of multiple volunteers and lasting initiatives have been named during the interviews as indicators of success. This shows that success and achievements are measured differently from an initiative to another and this could be explained by the differences in objectives of the CBI and differences in perceptions of the participants. Thus, the conceptual framework presented in chapter 2 still applies and confirms the need to gather multiple perceptions within the CBIs and consider the broader context and activities of the CBIs when studying CBIs performance. This, in turns, seems to demonstrate that qualitative approach is the most fitted approach to study CBIs performance and that mixed-methods can provide with a certain understanding of the context of CBIs.

While Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen and EZH have a very similar leadership style (mix of organizer and mobilizer with traits of lone wolf), Het Lapp's leadership style corresponds with organizer. However, all these initiative present multiple organizer's aspects which seems to be necessary in order to achieve their objectives. In transforming motivations into actions initiatives are able to mobilize their human resources leading to the development of several activities and projects. As CBIs rely on volunteering and depend on the will and availabilities of their volunteers to participate, initiatives support and encourage volunteers do so by providing support and resources when volunteers wish to develop a project (Mansuri and Rao, 2004). Transformational organizers are recognized throughout these actions in all three cases as they are invested in developing the volunteers' abilities to become leaders by providing necessary support for the volunteers to lead their own projects (Han, 2014). The mobilizer's style is more represented in Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen than in EZH and this might be due to the desire of the first CBI to gain volunteers which, with already 100 volunteers, EZH seems to be less actively involved with. Interestingly, advocating seem to be done differently by Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen and EZH. Although both advocate concerning their initiative in order to gain power against the municipality of Almere, Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen seems to be using petitions and collaborating with the sounding board of the Floriade project to advocate for its cause while EZH protests at the city hall in order for their cause to be acknowledged. While both EZH and Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen gain ownership over the areas they maintain by maintaining and developing it, Het Lapp desires to use its bridging capital to welcome initiative in their buildings so as to gain ownership over it and, just like the two aforementioned CBIs, gain bargaining power over the municipality. The three cases show that leadership styles impact several aspects of a CBI, including its resources, bargaining power, motivations, achievements and objectives. This resonates with the theory (Purdue, 2001; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b) and even adds to the knowledge concerning the impact of leadership on performance of community initiatives as the appearance of

the bargaining power and feeling of ownership as aspects influenced by leadership have not been presented in the theoretical framework.

All 3 initiative demonstrate bonding, bridging and linking social capital. However, only EZH's respondents pointed out feeling sometimes excluded from the activities. This might be due to the large numbers of volunteers participating in the initiative, therefore groups might form within the initiative and some volunteers might feel excluded. While connecting with other organizations was necessary for both Het Lapp and Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen in order to gain support regarding financial and human resources, EZH only connects with organizations for financial support. EZH does not require support to go through administrative procedure and does not require more participants to achieve its projects therefore they do not see benefits in connecting with organizations. Therefore, for some CBIs bridging capital can only bring financial support as they do not need or expect human resources from these connections or useful knowledge for them to apply. This resonates with the theoretical framework as bonding capital is necessary to human resources and bridging capital enables to mobilize resources (e.g. volunteers, funds, knowledge) (Dale and Newman, 2010; Ruef and Kwon, 2016). Linking capital seems to be more important for Het Lapp and Collectief Stedewijk Zuid Groen in order to achieve their objectives, have a shelter for their CBI and have certain financial support. However, in the case of EZH linking capital is present and seems to have played its role in the development of the initiative. However, EZH recognizes that the municipality of Almere has brought its support to the initiative and has enabled the initiative to gain notoriety, EZH is satisfied with the sporadic state of the relation between the CBI and the municipality. Therefore, the relations CBIs entertain with local governments seem to be dependent on their need for their support but also on their struggles and frustrations regarding changes on the location or zone of activity of the CBIs brought by municipal visions. Here the results resonates with the supporting role of local governments mentioned in chapter 2 but also nuances the legitimacy that local government might attributes to CBIs as they link with the municipality as, said earlier, the CBIs are not always considered in planning for the areas in which the initiatives act (Woolcock, 2001; Szreter and Woolcock, 2004; de Wilde, Hurenkamp and Tonkens, 2014)

All 3 initiative have noted issues neighbourhood issues and sometimes even city-wide issues. For Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen and EZH zoning plans including extension of the highway throughout the neighbourhood or construction of apartment block was an issue in their neighbourhoods of Almere (Stedenwijk & Hoekwierde). Moreover, both initiative also noted cutbacks in maintenance of the areas as a neighbourhood issue. Het Lapp is faced with another issue attributed to the city of Lelystad and affecting multiple CBIs: the lack of community buildings for initiatives to develop. Furthermore, all 3 initiatives aim at developing social cohesion and solidarity as they believe is lacking.

Those issues might be related to the developments of Almere and Lelystad as New Towns. Community buildings have not been considered in the urban development of Lelystad as most of the neighbourhoods in the centre of Lelystad were built around the 1970's and 1980's and did not include community centres (Spoormans et al., 2019). This is a problem related to New Towns and their rapid development as New Towns were built rapidly and with the aim to provide residential housing for the population overspill. Another issue which is stronger in New Towns than in the rest of the Netherlands is the low social cohesion which has also been reported by all 3 CBIs. Therefore, CBIs try to overcome this issue through the activities done by their initiatives. Finally, the decrease in maintenance by the municipality is also related to the context of New Towns. Almere, once a regional growth centre, is now a medium-size city in the Netherlands and welcomes an increasing number of inhabitants (almost 30 000 new inhabitants in the last decade) (CBS Statline, no date a). To house its increasing population the municipality of Almere plans to develop (new) neighbourhoods and create new housing opportunities. Thus, the municipality might be currently allocating its budget to the development of new residential areas (e.g. Floriadewijk) and the realisation of its ambition as a multifunctional city (Gementee Almere, no date) thereby increasing the need for maintenance of the neighbourhoods which, in some cases, is filled by the development of community-based initiatives.

## 5. Conclusion & discussion

This last chapter delivers conclusions regarding this research with the aim to answer the research question and sub-questions. Each paragraph develops conclusions and discussions on a specific topic approached in this thesis. Finally, a paragraph concerning further research on the topics approached in this paper concludes this thesis.

The following lines establish conclusions drawn from this research on the participation of CBIs in neighbourhood revitalization in New Towns in the Netherlands and within its final lines discuss points to develop for future research. Community-based initiatives are, through different activities, trying to overcome socio-spatial issues and by doing so, these initiative participate in changing the neighbourhood as they act on several neighbourhood attributes. Following the results, the initiatives impact social cohesion and interactions in the neighbourhood as volunteers bond and bridge with each other. Attachment to the place is also significant for CBIs as they act to improve it and display ownership and pride in developing the areas. The maintenance and improvements done by the initiatives affects the pollution and the biodiversity in the neighbourhoods. Initiatives active in supporting volunteers in their professional endeavours participate in changing the class status by helping them to access certain professional occupations. The CBIs studied have also impacted the infrastructure of the neighbourhood with the creation of pedestrian paths and playground. When considering Galster's list of attributes (2001), the case-studies have shown to influence: social-interactive characteristics, sentimental characteristics, environmental characteristics, class status characteristics and infrastructural characteristics. CBIs participate in changing those characteristics with the aim to reach their ambitions which often relate to providing more and/or better services and goods for the community than the local government used to provide. This echoes to the conclusions of scholars on the roles of CBIs in revitalization stating that community initiatives participate in making developments more inclusive, empowering citizen, building social capital and democratic participation (Dongier et al., 2004; Mansuri and Rao, 2004). CBIs, by affecting so many aspects of the neighbourhood, participate in the 'lost', 'saved' and 'transformed' views of New Towns (Lupi and Musterd, 2006). The actions of the initiative allows to connect the urban structure to its inhabitants, which relates to the 'lost' view, and provide sense of ownership and pride. In doing so the initiatives engage with inhabitants and the community and the presence of different form of social capital participate in the sense of community that the 'saved' view is concerned with. Finally, the organization of the CBIs in which each volunteers participate to tackle common issues and the creation of social cohesion and contact is representative of the 'transformed' view. Thus, CBIs participate in neighbourhood revitalization by affecting neighbourhood characteristics and allow for inhabitants to take on different perspectives regarding New Towns. Although neighbourhood revitalization was not the main focus of this research, its correlation with CBIs has been examined throughout chapter 2 and information gathered concerning the objectives and achievements of the case-studies enabled the previous conclusions. Questions concerning neighbourhood effects could have been added to the survey and interviews in order to deepen the conclusions on that matter. However, to prevent from shifting the focus from CBIs' performance and New Towns, the researcher made the deliberate choice not to lengthen the surveys and interviews questions with questions regarding this topic.

The results have confirmed that the performance of CBIs is influenced by leadership and social capital in order to mobilize resources and achieve their objectives. This paragraph brings conclusions concerning the role of leadership in CBIs performance. This thesis focused on the way CBIs are faced with choices to make regarding the management and organization of resources (what, when and where) but also the mobilization of resources (how) in order for the initiatives to achieve their objectives. Leadership and social capital have proven to have mutual influence as the bonding capital of CBIs allows facilitates the mobilization of human resources, the bridging capital regularly allows CBIs

to access financial but also sometimes human resources and linking capital mostly impacted the financial resources (Purdue, 2001). Conversely, leadership influences the roles and tasks volunteers (human resources) undertake within the initiatives (Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a). Results concerning leadership style show that mobilizing volunteers into taking actions and developing their competences allows CBIs to achieve their goals which indicates that transformational organizer participates in the success of the CBIs (Han, 2014). Transformational organizers and success were both observed in the case-studies, therefore there seems to be a causal link explaining the success of the initiative by the presence of transformational organizers (among other factors). Moreover, CBIs depend on volunteering and therefore are dedicating time and energy in reaching out to inhabitants in order to gain new members when there is a need for increasing the human resources of the CBI whether it is to gain bargaining power when facing the municipality or to develop projects. However, this does not mean that all CBIs are interested in gaining members as welcoming more people might impact the initiatives ambitions and create technical difficulties. This shows that transactional organizers (Han, 2014) are often part of CBIs' leadership, along with transformational organizer, and affect the performance of the initiative when additional resources are needed to achieve a goal or oppose to the local government. As lone wolves act alone to raise awareness for the cause they defend, this last leadership style is more difficult to observe in community-based initiatives. Advocating for the cause of the initiatives has been reported as a role undertaken by some volunteers however it is often not the main focus of the initiative. However, it appears as initiatives can present all 3 styles of leadership and that lone wolves can be found amongst participants. Therefore the concept of lone wolf developed by Han (2014) is criticized here as, contrary to Han's claims, lone wolf leadership style does not exclude the two other styles previously discussed (transformational organizer and transactional mobilizer). Following these conclusions, it can be inferred that although multiple leadership styles can be observed in CBIs not all have influence over the success of the initiative at all times. Rather, except for transformational organizer which seems to be constantly present and influencing the performance, lone wolf and transactional mobilizer are more punctual and their influence on performance depends on the need of the initiatives (for more recognition or resources). While the researcher decided to interview CBIs' leading members, a larger number of interviews with volunteers could bring about different perspectives and therefore potentially provide different or more nuanced conclusions. Another dimension impacting the performance of CBIs and impacting both social capital and leadership is the organizational structure of the initiatives. As mentioned in the previous chapter different types of organizations have been observed in the CBIs. Although it appeared that the organizational structure of the CBI took part into the development of leadership styles and social capital as these dimensions are intertwined, it was not considered in the conceptual framework of this research.

This paragraph details the conclusions drawn from the role of social capital on the performance of CBIs. The conclusions of Putnam (2000) regarding social capital the facilitating the mobilization of resources and the coordination of action have been observed in this research. The presence of bonding capital enables initiative to involve the volunteers into taking actions and participating in the activities of the initiative, thereby mobilizing the human resources necessary to achieve their goals. Furthermore, all initiatives aim at creating bonds and social cohesion within the communities, a goal that seems to be achievable only through the creation of bonding and bridging social capital. Bridging capital enables initiatives to gain both human and financial resources which echoes with the conclusions of Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk (2019) on the matter. However, bridging capital can also bring knowledge to the initiatives concerning the potential sources of financial and human support but also to the different organizational structure and leadership styles possible for initiatives to mobilize their resources. The knowledge that offers bridging capital influences the performance of the initiatives as it impacts the resource but also leadership styles is not considered so much with regards to CBIs performances (Kendall and Knapp, 2000; Ruef and Kwon, 2016; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b). Similarly to Dale and Newman (2010), the cases-studies shown that bridging ties in order to gain support is not sufficient and require the presence of linking ties in order to provide sufficient



resources. Initiatives form bonds with local institutions primarily as provincial or national governments might be too complicated to reach or not interesting for the initiatives. Local institutions bring financial support to the initiatives which influences their performance and achievements. Moreover, linking also influences the motivations of the initiatives as the visions and actions of local authorities are sometimes responsible of undesired changes in the neighbourhoods or concerning the location of the CBIs. From this often stems a frustration and mistrust in the local government that can motivate CBIs to protest and reach out to a wider community in order to influence the plans local authorities have regarding the area. However, repetitive issues with the municipality can become tiresome for initiatives and lead them to failure in achieving their objectives and sometimes to end their activities. These difficulties related to the relations between initiatives and local authorities have been reported by de Wilde, Hurenkamp and Tonkens (2014) and are not typical of the case-studied here but rather explained by the lack of stimulation and encouragement of some municipalities. Sometimes, through advocating and protests from the CBIs to municipalities, local governments perceive the community initiatives as stakeholders in the neighbourhoods and adapt their plans in consideration. Nonetheless, complaints and protests does not always yield results and can, as previously mentioned, lead to the discontinuation of some CBIs as they feel powerless. Finally, difficulties are seen amongst CBIs regarding the organizations of institution and their administrative procedures. Here again this can hinder the CBIs to access resources and affect negatively their performances. Lastly, all 3 types of social capital are required for CBIs to achieve their objectives and social capital influences the resources but also the motivations, knowledge and legitimacy of community-based initiatives. Although the researcher decided to interview only leading members of CBIs as they are more knowledgeable about the connections inside and outside the CBIs, interviews with volunteers (not only leading members) might bring more knowledge concerning bonding capital. However, the lesser-involved volunteers might not be aware of ties between the initiatives and local governments or other organizations. Here again, interviewing more volunteers might potentially provide different perceptions and information which might refined the conclusions written above.

The next lines conclude on the context of Dutch New Towns on community-based initiatives. The issues that are facing New Towns are visible, in the development of the initiatives. Indeed, the path-dependency and design of Dutch New Towns has led to multiple residential areas simultaneously requiring important maintenance work. New towns are designed on the principle low density residential areas with much public greenery (Reijndorp, Bijlsma, Nio, Baart, *et al.*, 2012) and the maintenance of those areas is expensive. The need for maintenance coupled with monetary cutbacks has led to the emergence of CBIs which aim to take over the maintenance and development of the public areas in their neighbourhoods. Therefore, the issue faced by New Towns became the foundation for the development of some initiatives and thus enable them to participate in the revitalization of the neighbourhood. The second issue about New Towns that has been argued in the theoretical framework and observed in the results is the low social cohesion. Community-based initiatives often aim at developing social contacts, sense of community and solidarity within the community they serve. Although not all CBIs see the production of social contact and cohesion as a goal, they participate in developing those types of bonds as they develop multiple types of social capital. Here again, the issue arising from the quick development of New Towns becomes the *raison d'être* of the initiatives and through their activities, CBIs are taking part in the neighbourhood revitalization. Further research on the impact of the CBIs on the neighbourhoods considering the perspectives of multiple inhabitants of New Towns (participating or not in a CBI) would enable scholars to deepen the knowledge concerning the issues perceived in these New Towns but also to study if the CBIs are contributing to solve those issues and how. Within this thesis two New Towns and three case-studies have been selected as a limited amount of case-studies allowed for both survey and interviews to be done within the limitations of a master thesis in order to gain deeper understanding of the context of the CBIs. In hindsight, selecting more New Towns and CBIs might lead to the discovery of slight differences in the context of New Towns and it might therefore have a different impact on the initiatives.

At last, this thesis uncovered that the context of New Towns, and particularly their specific issues, participates in the development of CBIs. Subsequently, community-based initiatives take part in the process of revitalization of the neighbourhood through their influence on multiple attributes within the neighbourhood. The performance of CBIs is affected by both leadership styles and social capital not only concerning the management of resources, as both the theoretical framework and results account for, but also regarding the community-based initiatives' motivations, objectives and legitimacy. Thus confirming that CBIs' performance requires to be studied with regards to the initiatives' complexities of networks and causality relations which therefore require scholars to adopt a multidimensional perspective.

### 5.1. Recommendations for future research:

This thesis supplement the academic field of socio-spatial planning, specifically regarding community-based initiatives' performance and New Towns. Indubitably, the knowledge gap between those two subject matters is not yet reached. Due to the limitations in time and resources of this research, it was not possible for the researcher to study the performance of CBIs over years. However, doing so could help identifying how much the neighbourhood attributes have impacted the initiatives but also how the attributes have been transformed by the actions and achievements of the initiatives. Furthermore, including more CBIs and more New Towns in the research would cast a light on potential specific aspects of New Towns influencing CBIs that might not have been uncover in the last pages of this research. I

Regarding research on leadership and social capital as dimensions explaining the performance of CBIs, further study involving the organizational structure of the CBIs as a third dimension involved in the performance of CBIs would bring about more knowledge about how this dimension affects performance. Moreover, future studies on the causal link between transformational organizer and the perceived success of CBIs would allow to explore if the causal link is mutual and therefore if the success of the CBIs participates in the development of transformational organizers. Accounting for a bigger number of CBIs and a larger number of volunteers interviewed would also provide more insight on social capital and leadership and might provide deeper and nuanced understanding of those two dimensions support or hamper CBIs' performance.

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# Appendix A: Interview guide

Table 1 - Interview guide and links to theoretical framework.

| Questions  | Link to theoretical framework   | References   |
|--|---|--|
| <b>Introduction questions:</b>   |   |  |
| 1. Could you briefly describe your role within the organization?   | This question aims to learn more about the interviewee and to understand what role he or she plays in order to better understand his/her involvement.   |  |
| 2. How many members are part of the organization?  | The amount of participants participates in informing the researcher in the human resources that can be mobilized within the CBIs.   |  |
| 3. Is there an/multiple issue(s) in this neighbourhood that the organization is trying to solve?<br>a. Is the initiative successful in resolving it? Why so?   | This question enables the interviewees to talk more about the specific context in which the initiatives are set in and allow the research to understand which neighbourhood characteristics are influencing the CBIs and uncover potential issues specific to New Towns. Furthermore, the secondary question enables the researcher to use the perception of success of failure as a proxy for success.   | (G Galster, 2001; Boonstra and Boelens, 2011)      |
| 4. What are the main objectives of initiative?<br>a. Do you feel that these objectives are being achieved? If not, why is that so?   | Here again in defining the initiatives' objectives the interviewees mention their achievements, future achievements and issues that they would like to tackle. This information helps the researcher in understanding the context of the CBIS.  | (Mansuri and Rao, 2004)                            |
| 5. Does the initiative earn sufficient income to cover expenses?   | The answer to this question will help the researcher in identifying if financial resources or financial management can potentially cause issues or even discontinuation of the CBIs.  | (Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b)            |
| <b>Questions on leadership:</b>  |   |  |
| 6. How is the initiative organized (e.g. board, committee, every member has the same role/responsibility)?<br>a. Who makes decisions?<br>b. What do you think about this system of organization?<br>c. How are the tasks appointed? Do members | With these questions, the researcher is able to have a brief understanding of the structure of the CBIs and the decision-making process. In doing so it gives a deeper understanding of the leadership as it helps understanding how many leading members there are. It also gives information about mobilizer and organizers leadership styles as organizing the volunteers and their tasks is a role taken by mobilizers. The tasks or activities undertaken by volunteers also gives an indication on leadership style as mobilizers and lone wolves usually work individually while organizers usually work with other members. | (Han, 2014; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a) |



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| <p>choose what they want to do?</p> <p><b>d.</b> Do the tasks require members to work individually or with other members?</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>7.</b> Is gaining members an important goal for the initiative?</p> <p><b>a.</b> Does the organization use a/multiple strategy(ies) to gain membership?</p> <p><b>b.</b> Do you think this/these strategy(ies) is/are effective?</p>   | <p>These questions helps to gain a deeper insight on the focus of the initiatives. CBIs aiming at gaining members and which are actively involved in this present characteristics of the mobilizer leadership style. In learning more about the strategies used to gain volunteers the researcher also learn about ways the CBIs reach out to inhabitants (i.e. bridging).</p>   | <p>(Purdue, 2001; Han, 2014)</p>                           |
| <p><b>8.</b> Is/are there a/multiple strategy(ies) applied to motivate and engage members?</p> <p><b>a.</b> Do you think this/these strategy(ies) is/are effective?</p> <p><b>b.</b> Is motivating members and engaging with them in activities important for the initiative? Why?</p> | <p>The aim of this question is to identify if the interviewees recognize members of the initiatives or themselves as participating in organizer leadership style. Furthermore it also indicates how mobilizing volunteers happens and if it's a focus for the CBIs. The answers of the respondents might also give an indication of the importance of bonding social capital in order to mobilize volunteers to act. The last question helps understanding the impact mobilizing or not volunteers has on the initiatives.</p> | <p>(Han, 2014)</p>   |
| <b>Questions on social capital:</b>  |  |  |
| <p><b>9.</b> How are your relationships with members of the organization?</p> <p><b>a.</b> Do you share common interests and values with them?</p> <p><b>b.</b> What are the main interests and values of this organization according to you?</p>                                      | <p>These questions aim to investigate the presence of bonding social capital by enquiring about potential shared interests and values within the initiatives. The perception of shared values might differ from a volunteer to another but here leading members' perceptions are used as proxy as they are highly involved with the initiatives. The last question helps in understanding how the presence or absence of bonding capital influence the initiatives.</p>  | <p>(Putnam, 2000; Purdue, 2001; Dale and Newman, 2010)</p> |

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| <p><b>c.</b> Are there benefits for the organization to have interaction between members? What are these?</p>   |  |  |
| <p><b>10.</b> Have you noticed members feeling excluded sometimes? If so, why is that so according to you?</p>  | <p>Here social exclusion is looked for in order to determinate if bonding only happens between some volunteers while other might be excluded. In that case exclusion might hamper the performance of the CBIs.</p>   | <p>(Billings, 2000; Dale and Newman, 2010)</p>   |
| <p><b>11.</b> Does the initiative develop connections with other organizations?<br/> <b>a.</b> Why is that so?<br/> <b>b.</b> How do connections with other organizations impact the initiative?</p>            | <p>This question relates to bridging social capital and aim at: first, researching its presence or absence; and second researching the motivations and implications for the initiatives to develop connection with other organizations as this impact performance.</p> | <p>(Ruef and Kwon, 2016; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b)</p>                      |
| <p><b>12.</b> Does the initiative develop connections with institutions such as the municipality?<br/> <b>a.</b> Why is that so?<br/> <b>b.</b> How do connections with institutions impact the initiative?</p> | <p>Similarly to the previous question, here the research focus on linking capital as connections might be created with institutions and the secondary questions aim at investigating the motivations and implications of the CBIs in connecting with institutions.</p> | <p>(Purdue, 2001; Bakker <i>et al.</i>, 2012; de Wilde, Hurenkamp and Tonkens, 2014)</p> |
| <b>Closing questions:</b>   |  |  |
| <p><b>13.</b> Is there anything that I have not mentioned in my questions but that is still relevant for my research that you would like to share with me?</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>14.</b> Are there any potential other members that should be consulted according to you or other initiatives maybe?</p>   |  |  |

## Appendix B: Survey questionnaire

Table 2 - Survey questionnaire and links to the theoretical framework.

| Questions  | Link to theoretical framework  | References   |
|--|--|--|
| <p>1. How old are you?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Under 18 years old</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 18-24</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 25-34</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 35-44</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 45-54</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 55-64</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 65 years old or older</li> </ul> | <p>These are control variables which might influence how volunteers perceive the performance, leadership and social capital within the CBI they are part of.</p> |  |
| <p>2. Are you currently?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Studying</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Employed</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Retired</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Other ....</li> </ul>  |  |  |
| <p>3. What is your gender?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Female</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Male</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Other ....</li> </ul>   |  |  |
| <p>4. Of which organization are you a member?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Experiment Zelfbeheer Hoekwierde - Almere</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid - Almere</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Het Lapp - Lelystad</li> </ul>   |  |  |
| <p>5. How long have you been a member of this organization?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Less than a year</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 years</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 3-5 years</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 6-8 years</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 9 or more years</li> </ul>  |  |  |
| <b>Profile and general perception on performance</b>   |  |  |
| <p>6. The civic initiative of which I am involved in provide services and/or</p>   | <p>Knowing the main activity of the initiative helps to identify the sector in which they evolve and</p>   | <p>(Lafferty and Mahoney, 2003; de Wilde, Hurenkamp and Tonkens, 2014; Igalla,</p> |

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| <p>goods through the following activities (multiple answers possible):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Urban agriculture</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Maintenance of the area/neighbourhood</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Playground creation</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Events and social gatherings (e.g. exhibitions, shared meals, etc.)</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Cultural activities</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Employment platform</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Project / business incubator</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Other (please describe in few words)</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</li> </ul> | <p>who might be the stakeholders involved. It also enables to define the diversity of activities of CBIs investigated in this research.</p>  | <p>Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a)</p>      |
| <p>7. I contribute to this initiative because I want to: (multiple answers possible)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> I want to meet people</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> I want to learn new skills</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> I want to contribute to solving issues in my neighbourhood</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> I want to develop a personal project of mine</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> I want to share my knowledge with others</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Other (please describe in few words)</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</li> </ul>  | <p>Members of initiatives might perceive their actions as problem-solving or as innovative or it might be that they see it as a hobby. By answering this question it gives information on the perceived goal of the CBIs by their members. The aim is not to define what the issues in their neighbourhood are but seek to know if the members perceive their initiatives as taking part in this. Throughout interviews the issues at stake will be developed by respondents so as to have a better understanding of the initiatives and a global understanding of the situation it is set in.</p> | <p>(Klijn, Edelenbos and Steijn, 2010)</p> |

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| <p><b>8. Experiment Zelfbeheer Hoekwierde :</b><br/> The goals of the partnership are to develop and maintain high-quality green spaces with as much biodiversity as possible and to support as much as possible solidarity in the neighbourhood.</p> <p>I feel that the organization (EZH) has achieved / is achieving its objective:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Agree</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Neutral</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Disagree</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</li> </ul> <p><b>Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen:</b><br/> The objectives of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid are to build a community, maintain the area and develop urban agriculture.</p> <p>I feel that the organization (Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen) has achieved / is achieving its objective:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Agree</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Neutral</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Disagree</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</li> </ul> <p><b>Het Lapp:</b><br/> The objectives of Het Lapp are to build a community and to connect people with opportunities to realize their projects.</p> <p>I feel that the organization (Het Lapp) has achieved / is achieving its objective:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree</li> </ul> | <p>Self-perceived effectiveness is used as a proxy here to evaluate the overall performance of CBIs. The members of one CBI might perceive their achievements differently. The interviews will help supplement that question in investigating the “why” and “how” these goals are (not) achieved.</p> | <p>(Klijn, Edelenbos and Steijn, 2010; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b)</p> |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> Agree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Neutral<br><input type="checkbox"/> Disagree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant  |  |  |
| <p>9. The civic initiative of which I am involved in has delivered/is delivering high-quality services/goods:</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Agree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Neutral<br><input type="checkbox"/> Disagree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant   | <p>Self-perceived quality might be used to understand how respondents perceive the outputs of the initiatives and therefore can be used later on in interviews to understand the different dimensions leading to such performances, especially regarding the ones not investigated.</p>  | <p>(Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b)</p>   |
| <b>Leadership</b>   |  |  |
| <p>10. The initiative has:</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Multiple leading members<br><input type="checkbox"/> One leading member<br><input type="checkbox"/> No leading member<br><input type="checkbox"/> All members are leading members<br><input type="checkbox"/> Other (please describe in few words)<br><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant           | <p>By identifying the number of leading members we can identify if the leadership style of CBIs fall into the 'lone wolf' category or 'organizers' and 'mobilizers'.</p>   | <p>(Han, 2014)</p>                               |
| <p>11. Over the last year, the initiative: (multiple answers possible)</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Has been actively focused on advocating for our values and cause<br><input type="checkbox"/> Has been actively focused on increasing the number of members<br><input type="checkbox"/> Has been actively focused in developing the members capacities and | <p>Lone wolves are focused on advocating for their cause while mobilizers are focused on recruiting new members and organizers on developing their members' skills and motivations. Both organizers and mobilizers might be found within one initiative while lone wolves are, according to theory, not complemented by another leadership style. Therefore, it is possible for respondents to observe two leadership styles simultaneously. More information concerning the strategy employed by the leading members will be asked during the interviews.</p> | <p>(Pastor, Ito and Rosner, 2011; Han, 2014)</p> |

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| <p>motivations into actions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Other (please describe in few words)</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</li> </ul>  |  |  |
| <p><b>12.</b> My role in the initiative is: (multiple answers possible)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Advocating for our cause and values through sharing information about them</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Organize what tasks other members do and recruit potential members</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mobilize members into taking actions and gaining responsibilities by accomplishing autonomous tasks</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Contribute to the activities of the organization</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Other (please describe in few words)</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</li> </ul> | <p>Respondents might have varying roles in one initiative. By indicating the main roles they take this gives further information on the leadership style employed in this initiative and who is attributed or attributes him or herself which role. Again, the interviews should help explaining with depth the roles of the respondents and the possible reasons for it.</p>  | <p>(Pastor, Ito and Rosner, 2011; Han, 2014)</p> |
| <p><b>13.</b> The requests made by the initiative to members are: (multiple answers possible)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discrete requests that often allow people to act quickly and independently</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Requests that necessitate working with other people/depending of other people's</li> </ul>   | <p>As 'Lone wolves' usually do not work in organizations, this question helps to determine if initiatives present 'organizers' or 'mobilizers' leadership styles. As both are also possible this question will help define if CBIs are one or the other or both. Mixed results might happen as perception of respondents is used as proxy and further information gathered during interviews should help to understand what causes this performance in leadership.</p> | <p>(Pastor, Ito and Rosner, 2011; Han, 2014)</p> |

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <p>tasks, often more time-consuming</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other (please describe in few words)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</p>   |  |   |
| <b>Social capital</b>   |  |   |
| <p><b>14.</b> I feel that members of the initiative share common interests and values with me and are united:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Agree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Neutral</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Disagree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</p>  | <p>Bonding ties within voluntary organizations are seen as sharing a social identity and the presence of solidarity and reciprocity. The perception of respondents is an indicator of the degree to which these bonding ties are developed within the CBIs. Further information concerning the potential reasons for such performance on that point will be derived from interviews.</p> | <p>(Putnam, 2000; Szreter and Woolcock, 2004)</p>                                     |
| <p><b>15.</b> I sometimes feel excluded from activities organized by the initiative:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Agree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Neutral</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Disagree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</p>   | <p>Social capital might be created but in self-organization exclusion of members from some activities might also be occurring. Often based on capacities of the members, these exclusion might have different causes. The causes of such exclusion will be approached in interviews.</p>   | <p>(Ostrom, 1995)</p>   |
| <p><b>16.</b> The initiative develops relations (networking) with other community initiatives, organizations and/or visitors or users of the initiative:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Agree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Neutral</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Disagree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant</p> | <p>Bridging ties concern the connection of CBIs with other stakeholders which are not governmental institutions. Respondents inform here about the degree to which the CBIs developed such connections. Interviews will help to provide information concerning the possible reasons leading to such performance.</p>   | <p>(Woolcock, 2001; Dale and Newman, 2010; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019a)</p> |
| <p><b>17.</b> The initiative develops relations (networking) with different institutional actors (central government, province, municipality):</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree</p>   | <p>As linking relations is related to CBIs and governmental institutions, the perceived degree to which CBIs collaborate with these institutions is used as a proxy for evaluating how CBIS perform on that specific indicator. More information concerning the</p>  | <p>(Woolcock, 2001; Dale and Newman, 2010; Igalla, Edelenbos and Meerkerk, 2019b)</p> |



|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Agree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Neutral<br><input type="checkbox"/> Disagree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree<br><input type="checkbox"/> Not relevant  | probable causes driving to such performance will be asked during the interviews. |  |
| <p><b>18.</b> Do you know another initiative which is self-organized, aims at providing services to the community (such as community gardens, events, art workshops and exhibitions, etc.) and is initiated by inhabitants of Almere or Lelystad ?</p> <p>.....</p> |  |  |

# Appendix C: Interview code trees

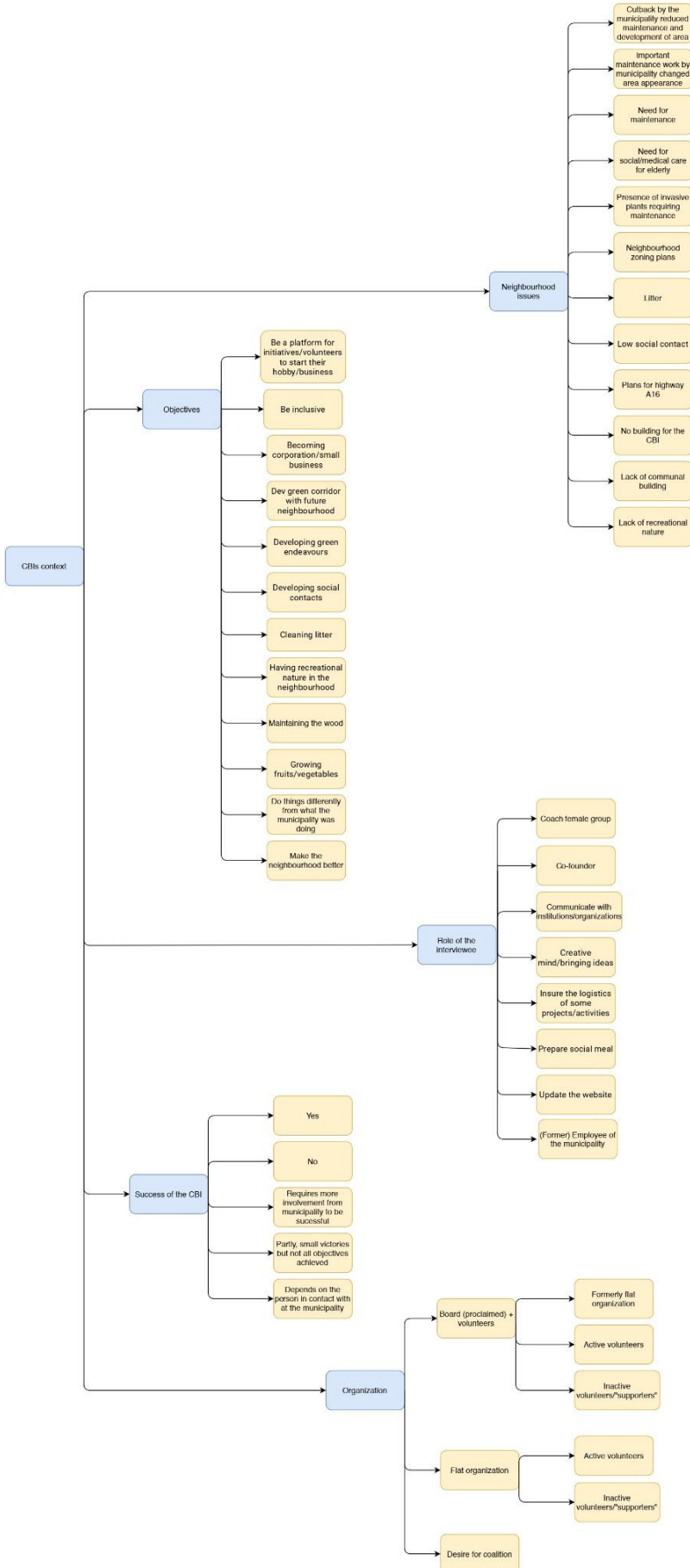


Figure 42 - Code tree related to the context of the CBIs (in blue are the deductive codes and in yellow are the inductive codes).

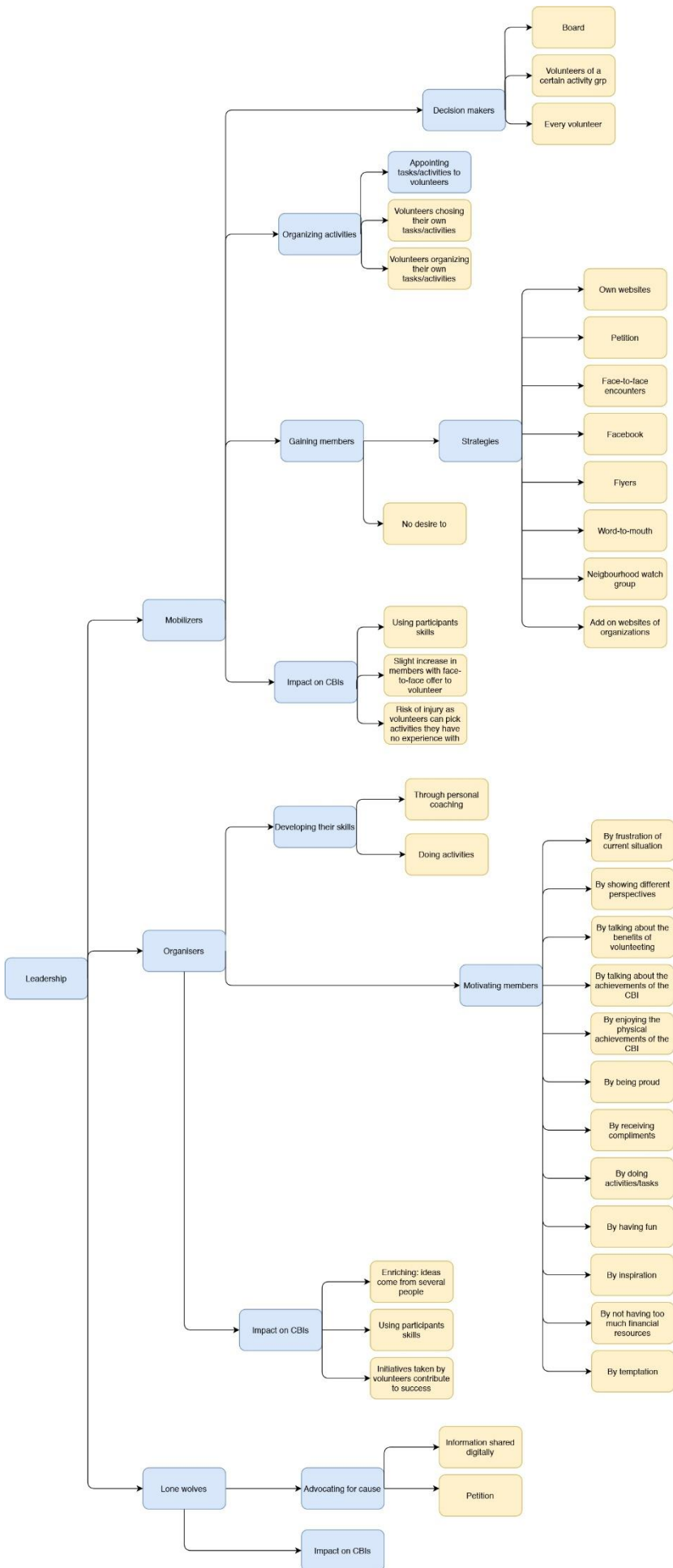


Figure 43 - Code tree related to leadership (in blue are the deductive codes and in yellow are the inductive codes).

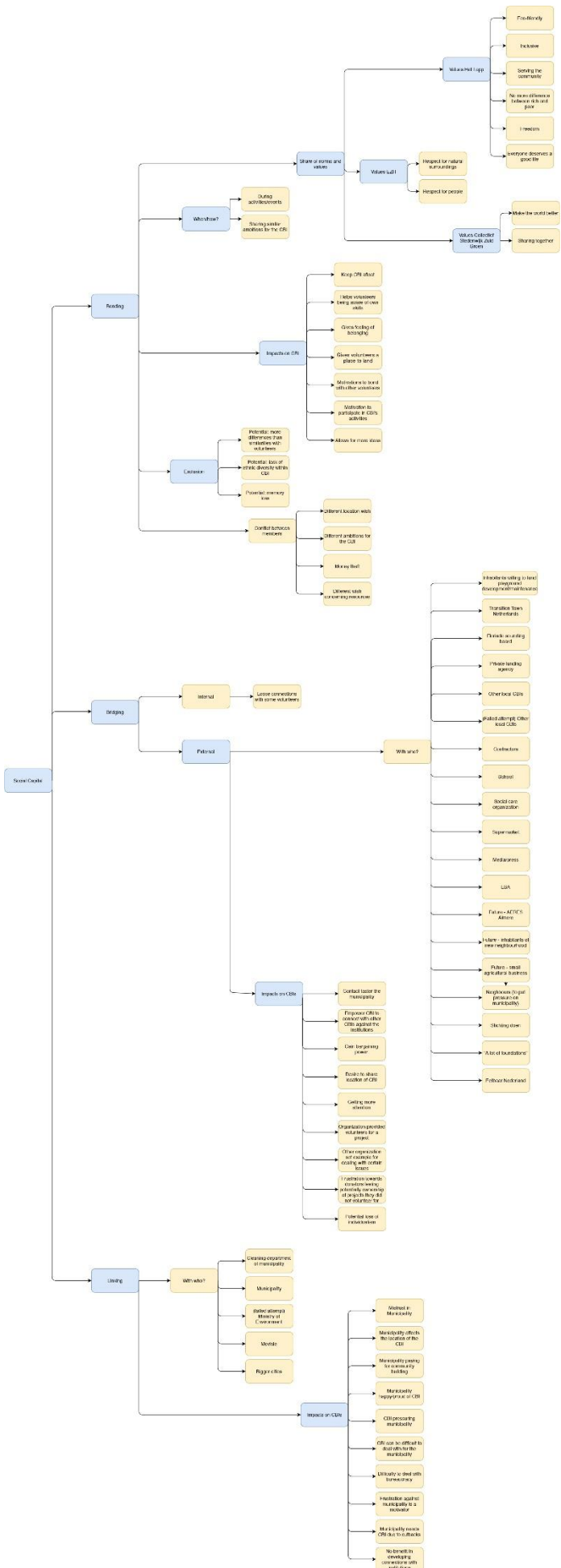


Figure 44 - Code tree related to social capital (in blue are the deductive codes and in yellow are the inductive codes).

## Appendix D: Coding of the answers from the survey

| Questions  | Answers   | Code   |
|--|---|--|
| 6. The civic initiative of which I am involved in provide services and/or goods through the following activities | "Green activities to grow into a cooperative for urban agriculture"   | Green activities   |
|  | "Green initiatives in the district including School / neighbourhood garden"   |  |
|  | "Deliver meals for the elderly in the neighbourhood"  | Meal preparation/delivery to elderly and one-person household in the neighbourhood       |
|  | "Hand out free meals to the elderly and single-person household once a week"  |  |
|  | "forest maintenance"  | Forest maintenance   |
|  | "Maintenance of the forest and control of the hogweed"  |  |
|  | "Cook soup sometimes"   | Cook soup for social gatherings sometimes  |
|  | "Developing public greenery"  | Developing greenery, nature and biodiversity   |
|  | "Nature development. nature and environmental education"  |  |
|  | "Increasing biodiversity"   |  |
|  | "Social cohesion"   | Social cohesion  |
| "Art"  | Art   |  |
| 7. I contribute to this civic initiative because:  | "Share and develop my talents"  | I want to learn new skills; I want to share my knowledge with others                     |
|  | "Keep the neighborhood clean"   | I want to keep the neighborhood clean  |
|  | "I saw the public greenery polluting and impoverishing"   |  |
|  | "Maintenance of public green areas"   | I want to contribute to the maintenance and development of public greenery/natural areas |
|  | "Contribution to living in a natural environment"   |  |
|  | "Maintenance and beautification of the neighborhood and surrounding forest"   |  |
|  | "Contribution to society"   | I want to contribute to society  |
|  | "I like to be busy with nature"   | I enjoy doing activities related to nature   |
|  | "A good neighbor(ood) starts with yourself"   | Be the starting point to a good neighbourhood  |
|  | "Participate in a small piece of "better" world with normal manners and equality as a starting point"   | I want to participate in making a better world (starting with manners and equality)      |
|  | "I want to stay fit and involved"   | I want to stay active  |
| "To keep moving"   |   |  |
| 10. The initiative has:  | "Our initiative has autonomous participants who determine what they do out of enthusiasm. the common denominator is involvement with each other and the living environment. Working | Autonomous participants doing activities out of enthusiasm                               |

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
|   | together on the most beautiful part of Almere”  |  |
|   | “Several leading participants with a lot of room for autonomy”  | Several leading participants with great room for autonomy  |
| 11. Over the last year, the initiative:                 | “Actively engaged in increasing the educational and social side of our green neighborhood by creating the speelpelk ons”  | Was actively involved in the natural playground project to increase educational and social aspect in the area        |
|   | “In addition to the continuation / maintenance of the existing projects, actively focused on the development / construction of the daycare center for nature play paradise” |  |
|   | “Maintenance of greenery provision in the broad sense of the word”  | Focused on maintaining the area  |
|   | “Maintaining the management and maintenance level”  |  |
|   | “A large group is and remains motivated, by starting new projects people come in or out again according to their skills and interest”                                       | Has a large group motivated in starting new projects in which people join or leave according to their skills         |
|   | “No different than the years before. steady state!”   | No different than the previous years   |
|   | “I do not know”   | Not relevant   |
|   | “Stay active”   | The initiative stayed active   |
| 12. My role in the initiative is:                       | “I use the space there to develop my personal project”  | Use the room there to develop personal project/course  |
|   | “I use the space of the lapp to give my course”   |  |
|   | “Co-ordinate of a few areas of interest and work in the implementation”   | Ensuring that projects/focus areas are achieved/being taken care of by participating                                 |
|   | “Especially ensure that the projects are done in my living environment”   |  |
|   | “Stay active”   | Active members   |
|   | “I provide texts for PR to newspapers and in the neighborhood”  | Provide PR-like texts to newspaper   |
|   | “Work on average 30 hours a week on maintenance but only in my immediate vicinity”  | Work daily on maintenance in immediate vicinity  |
|   | “Keeping communication open to non-participating local residents and radiating enthusiasm”  | Communicating and being open with curious non-volunteers   |
| “Not so much yet”                                       | Not much yet  |  |
| 13. The requests made by the initiative to members are: | “Do what is in everyone's ability. No obligations. Happy with every bet. Many people take responsibility themselves and are intrinsically motivated to do certain jobs”     | Everyone does whatever they can and want to do and has the possibility to take responsibility for certain activities |

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|  | “Everything is negotiable with a good story, as long as you participate yourself” | Requests are always negotiable with volunteers as long as the one asking participate in them |
|--|---|--|

# Appendix E: Graphs derived from the survey results

Table 3 - Graphs derived from the results of the survey with Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen:

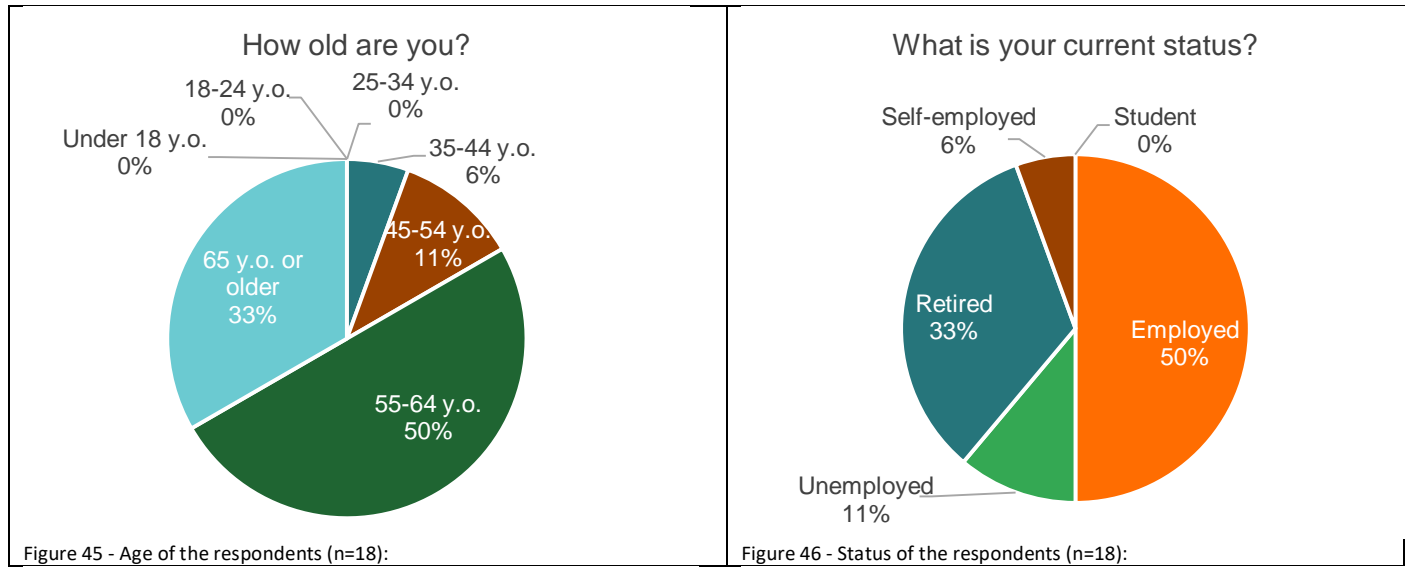


Figure 45 - Age of the respondents (n=18):

Figure 46 - Status of the respondents (n=18):

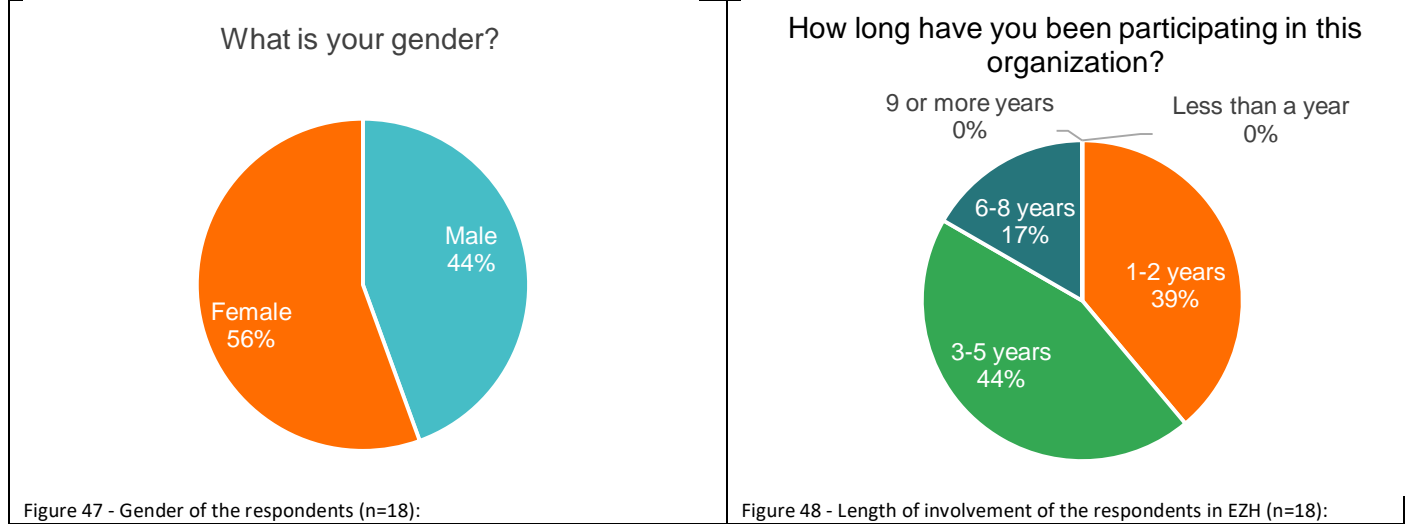


Figure 47 - Gender of the respondents (n=18):

Figure 48 - Length of involvement of the respondents in EZH (n=18):



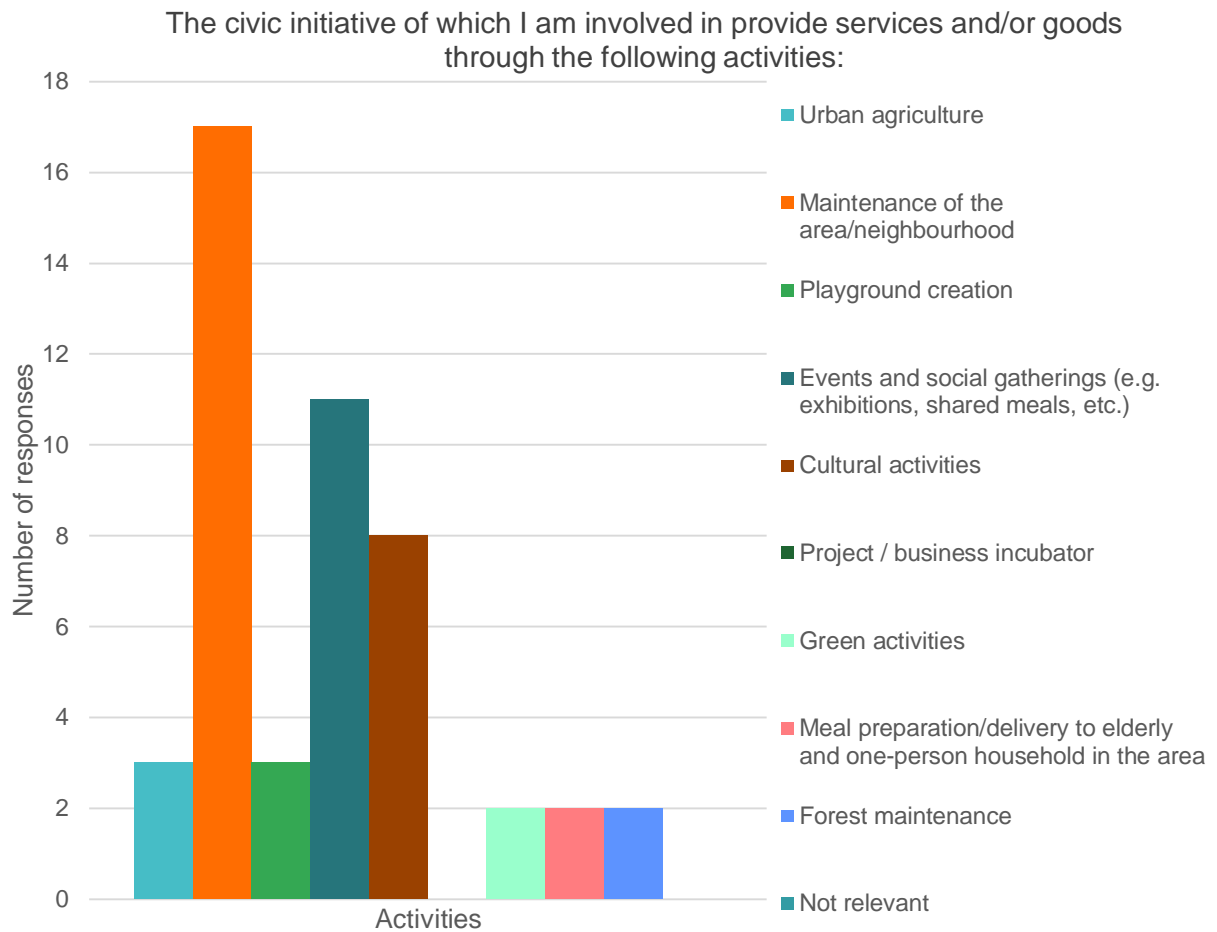


Figure 49 - Activities of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen (n=18):

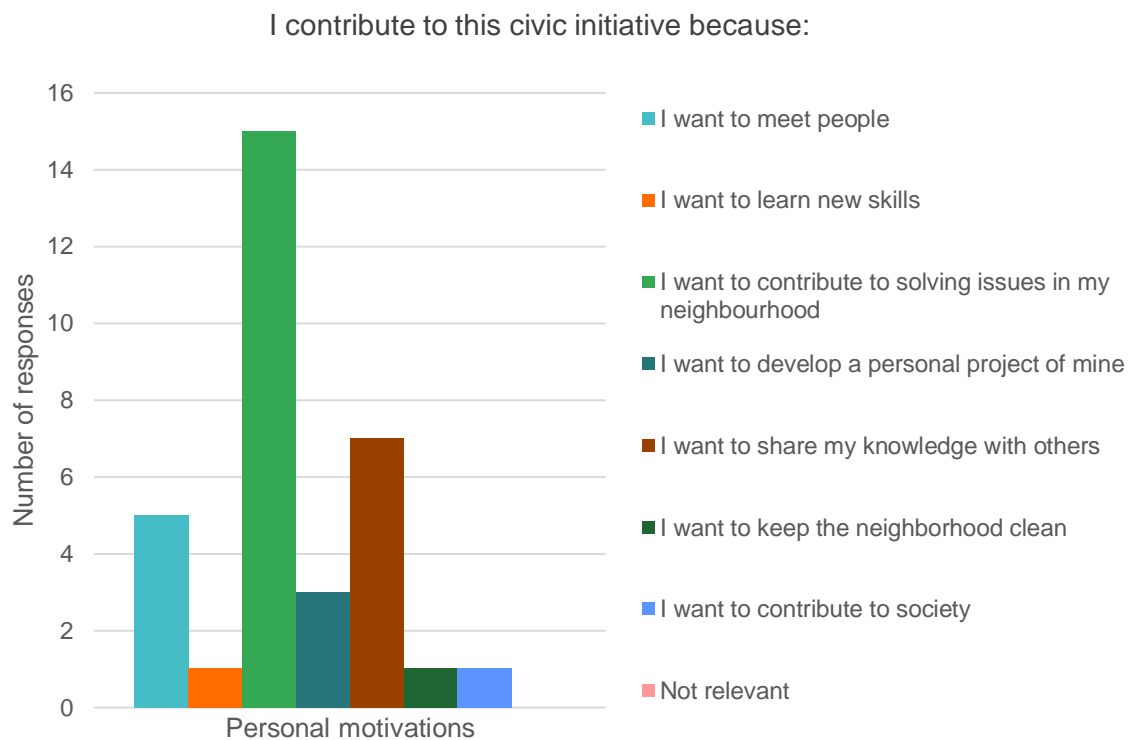


Figure 50 - Motivations for participants to contribute (n=18):

I feel that the organization has achieved / is achieving its objective:

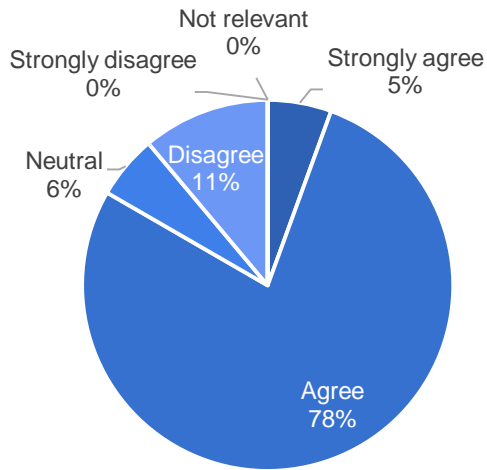


Figure 51 - Achievement of the objectives of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen (n=18):

The civic initiative of which I am involved in has delivered/is delivering high-quality services/goods:

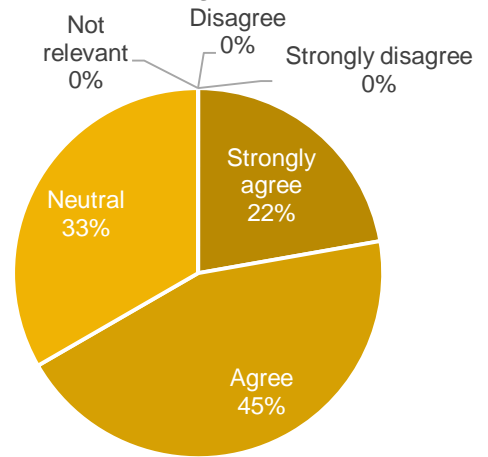


Figure 52 - Quality of the goods and services delivered by Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen as indicator of performance (n=38):

The initiative has:

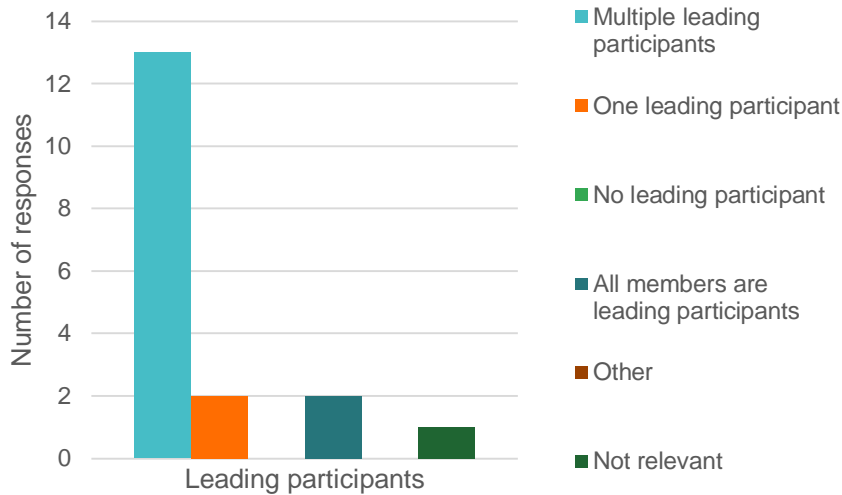


Figure 53 - Leading participants in Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen (n=18):

Over the last year, the initiative:

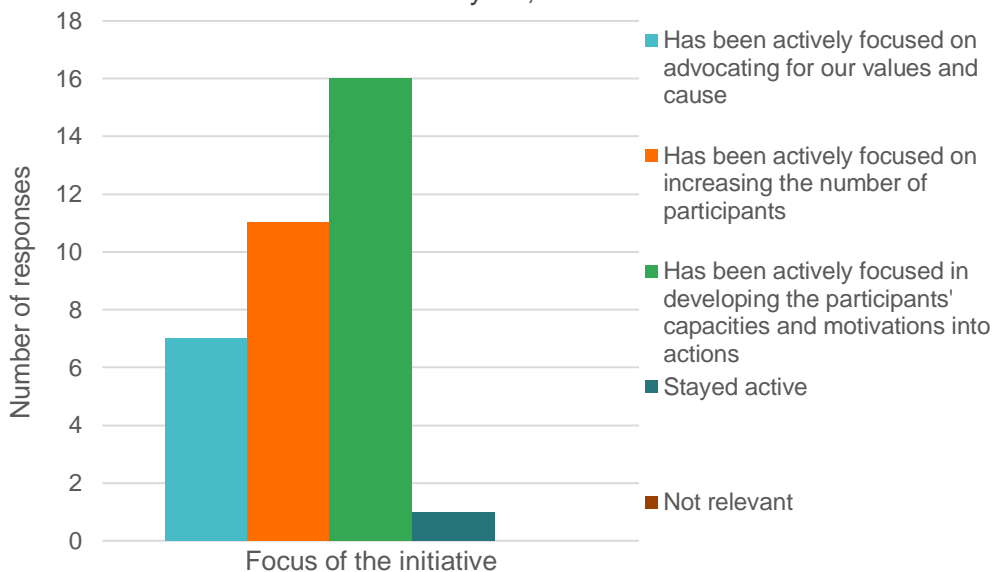


Figure 54 - Focus of Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen over the last year to identify leadership style (n=18):

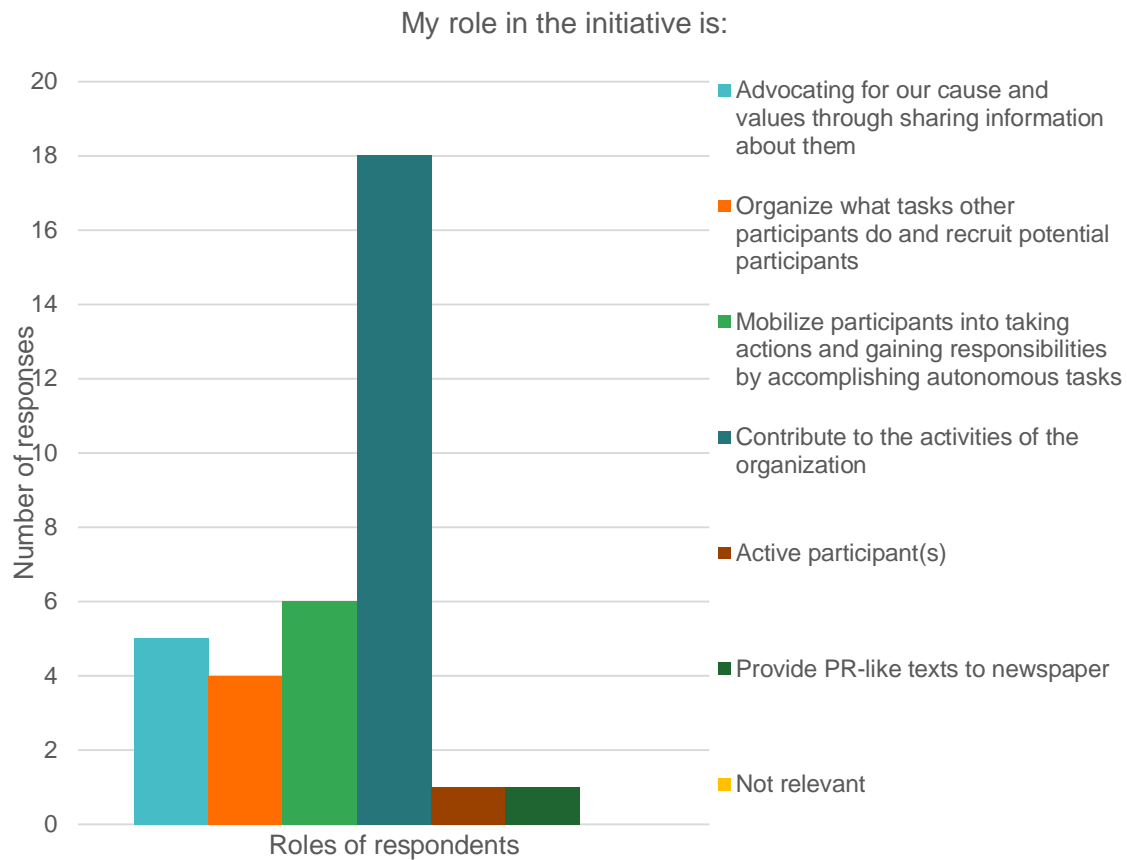


Figure 55 - Roles of the respondents in Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen to identify leadership style (n=18):

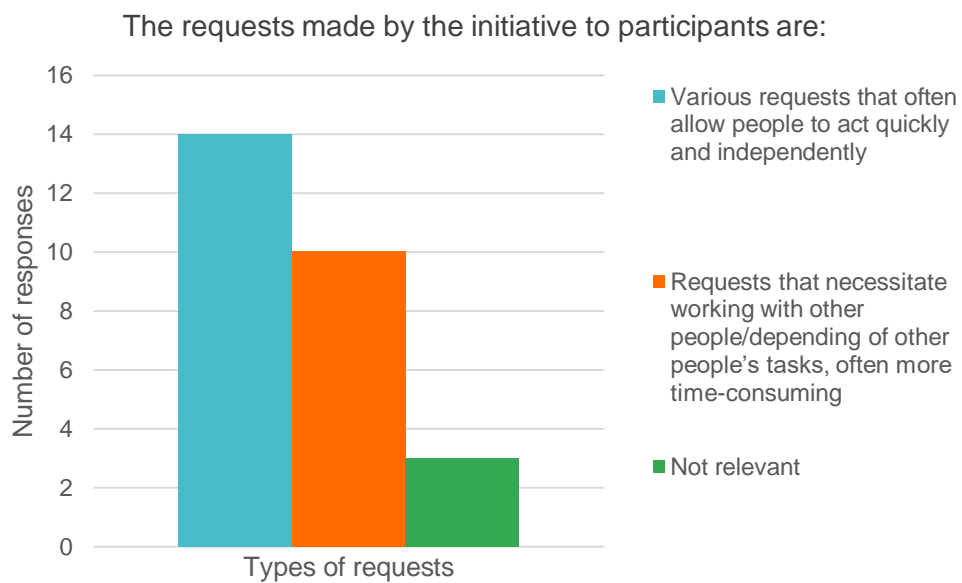


Figure 56 - Types of requests made by Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen to its volunteers to identify leadership style (n=18):

I feel that participants of the initiative share common interests and values with me and are united:

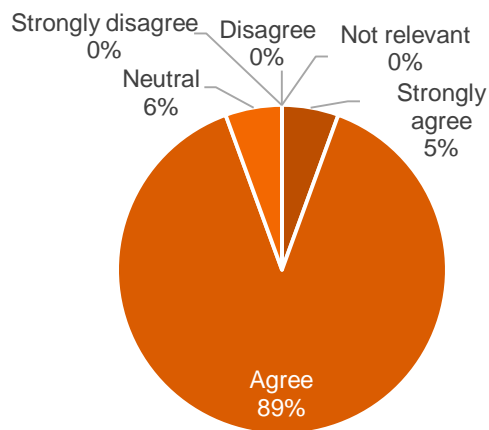


Figure 57 - Share of values and interests and feeling of unity as an indicator of bonding social capital within Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen (n=18):

I sometimes feel excluded from activities organized by the initiative:

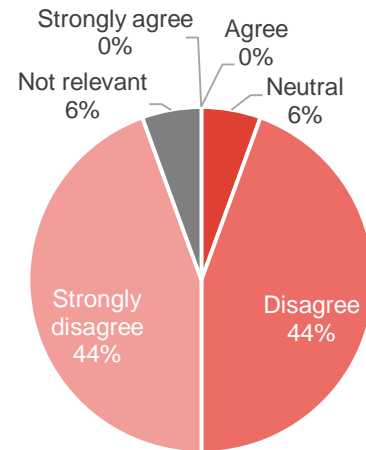


Figure 58 - Exclusion from activities in Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen to indicate lack of bonding social capital (n=18):

The initiative develops relations (networking) with other community initiatives, organizations and/or visitors or users of the initiative:

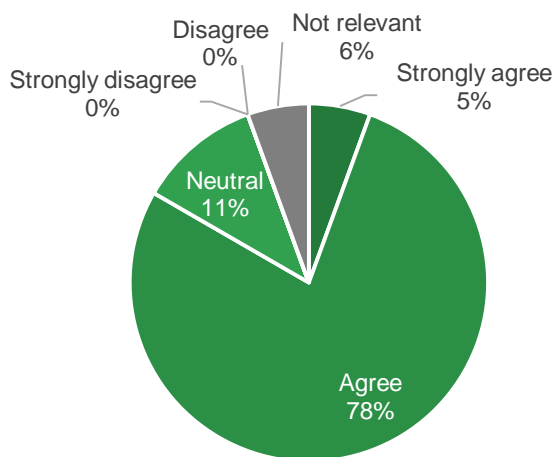


Figure 59 - Connections between Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen and visitors, users, CBIs and/or other organizations as an indicator of bridging social capital (n=18):

The initiative develops relations (networking) with different institutional actors (e.g. central government, province, municipality):

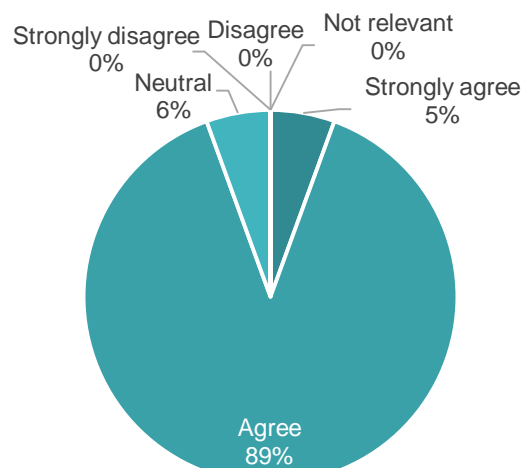
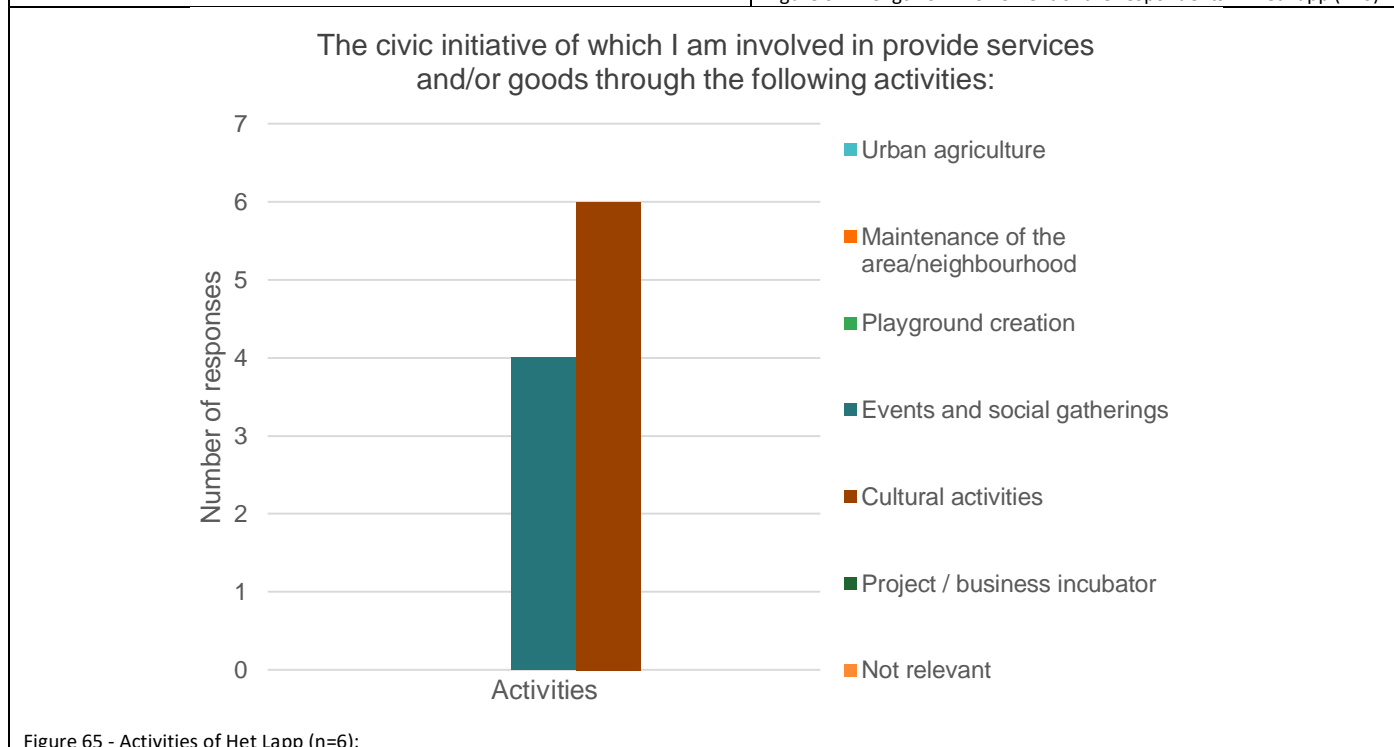
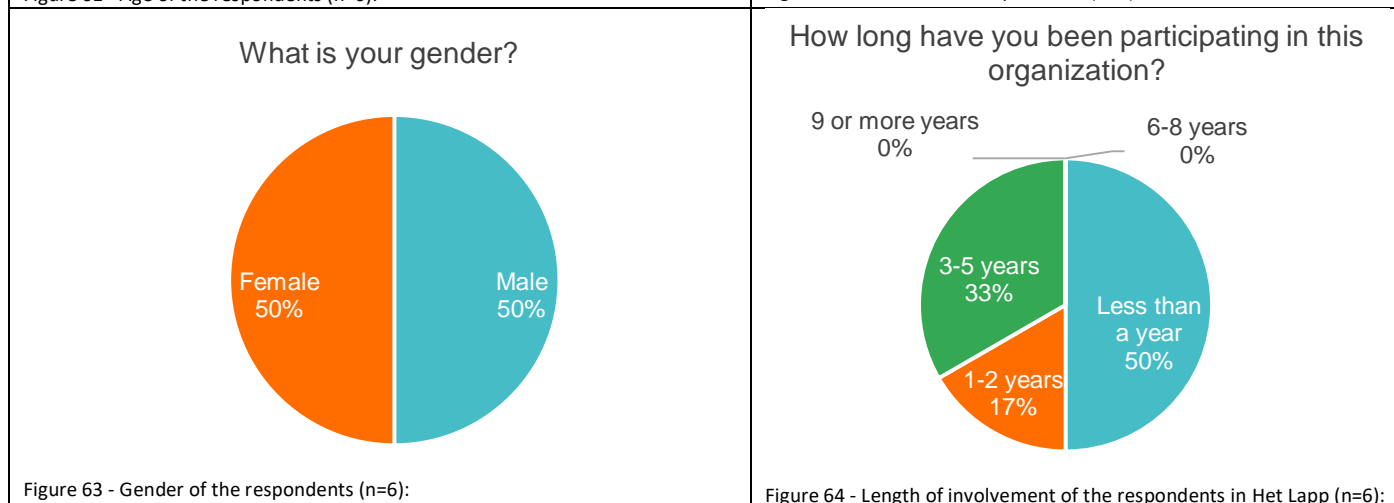
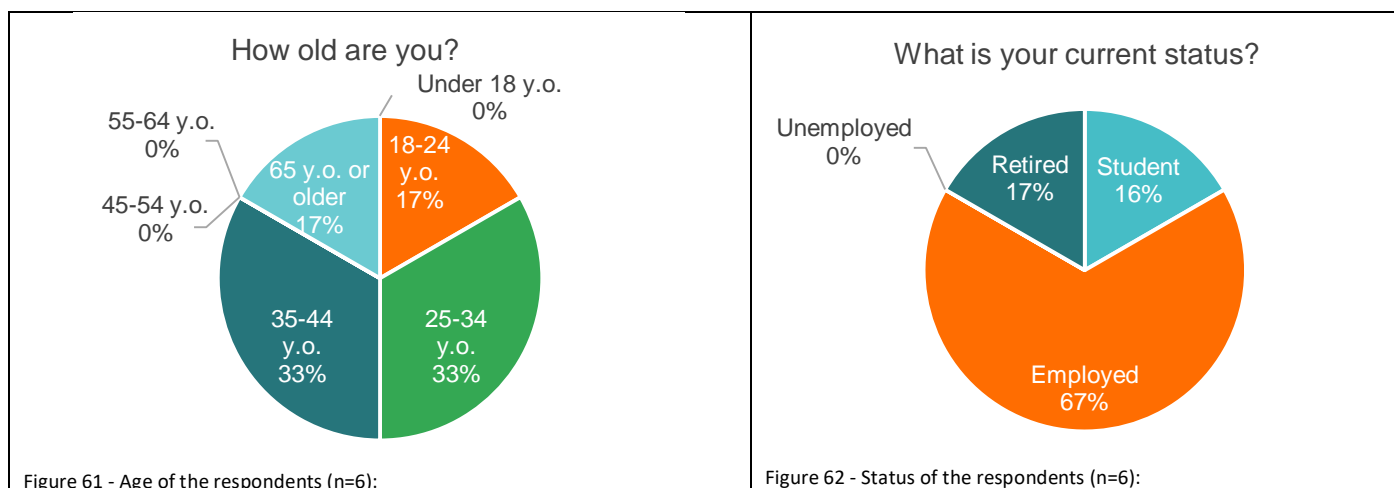


Figure 60 - Connections between Collectief Stedenwijk Zuid Groen and institutions as an indicator of linking social capital (n=18):

Table 4 - Graphs derived from the results of the survey with Het Lapp.



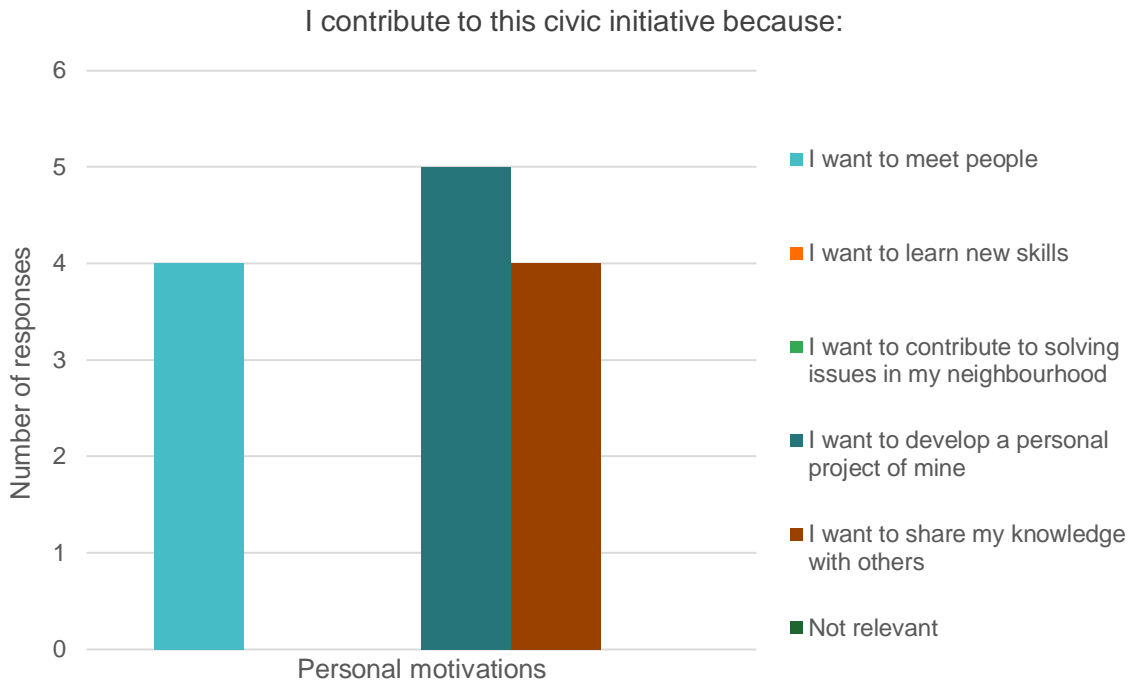


Figure 66 - Motivations for participants to contribute (n=6):

I feel that the organization has achieved / is achieving its objective:

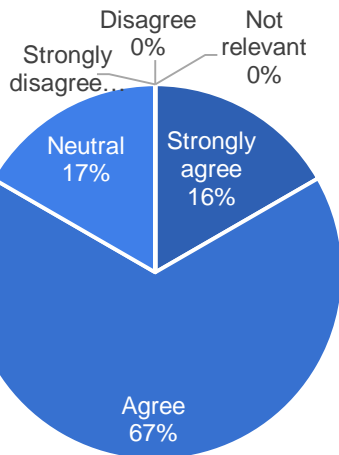


Figure 67 - Achievement of the objectives of Het Lapp (n=6):

The civic initiative of which I am involved in has delivered/is delivering high-quality services/goods:

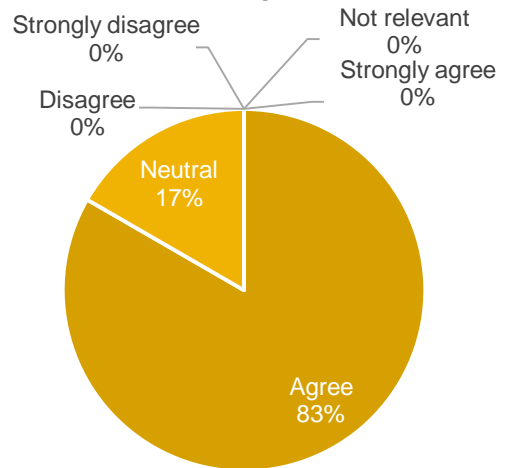


Figure 68 - Quality of the goods and services delivered by Het Lapp as indicator of performance (n=6):



Figure 69 - Leading participants in Het Lapp (n=6):

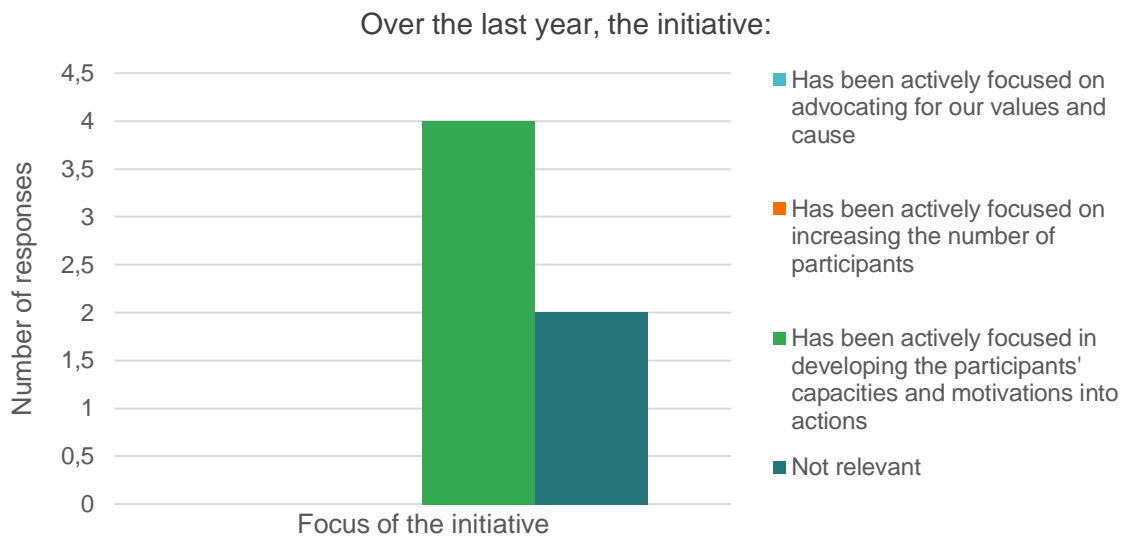


Figure 70 - Focus of Het Lapp over the last year to identify leadership style (n=6):

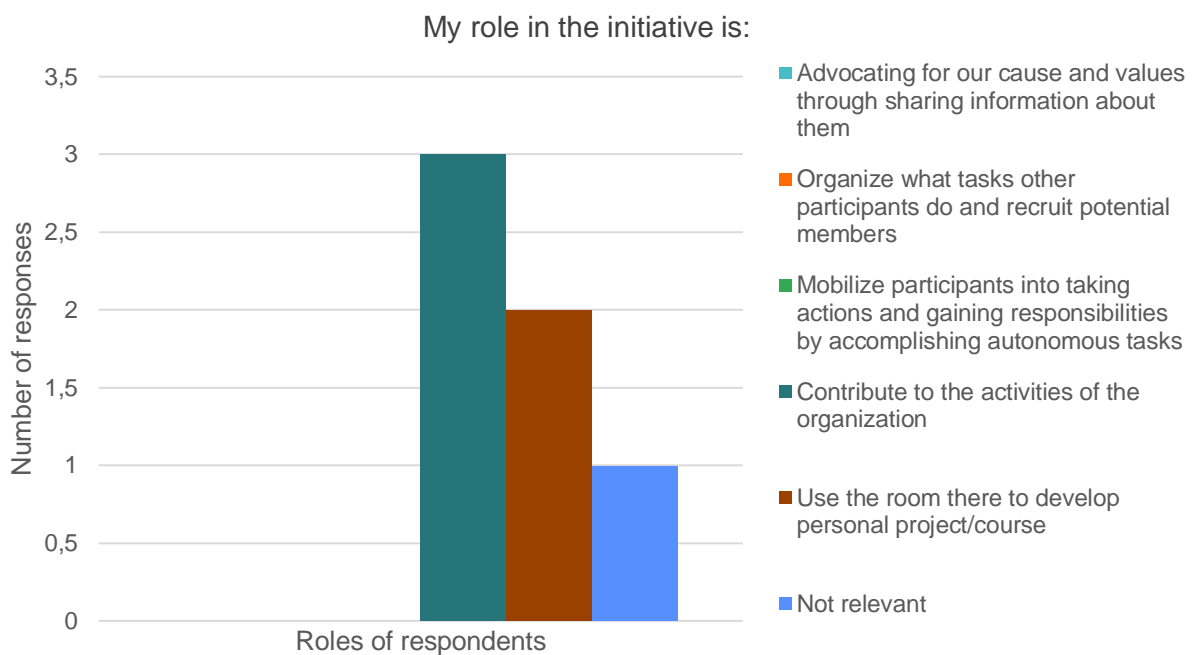


Figure 71 - Roles of the respondents in Het Lapp to identify leadership style (n=6):

The requests made by the initiative to participants are:

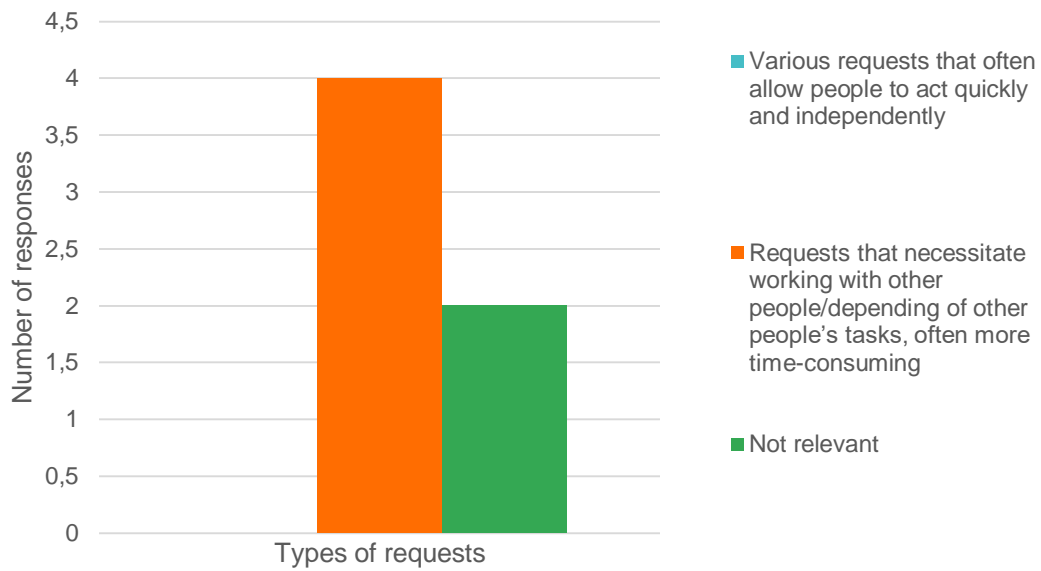


Figure 72 - Types of requests made by Het Lapp to its volunteers to identify leadership style (n=6):

I feel that participants of the initiative share common interests and values with me and are united:

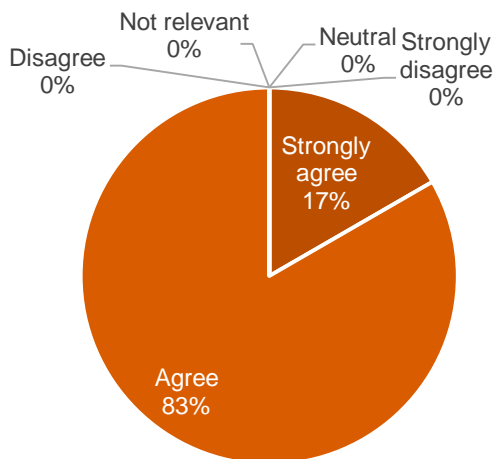


Figure 73 - Share of values and interests and feeling of unity as an indicator of bonding social capital within Het Lapp (n=6):

I sometimes feel excluded from activities organized by the initiative:

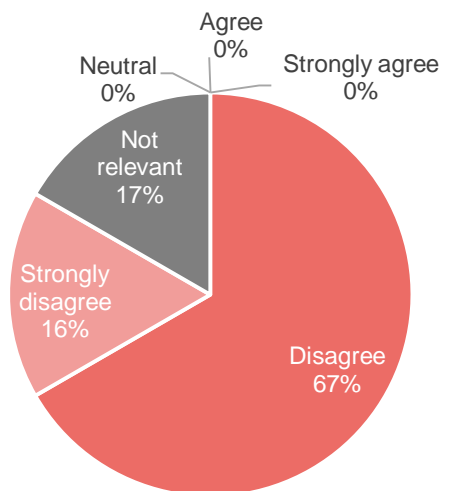


Figure 74 - Exclusion from activities in Het Lapp to indicate lack of bonding social capital (n=6):



The initiative develops relations (networking) with other community initiatives, organizations and/or visitors or users of the initiative:

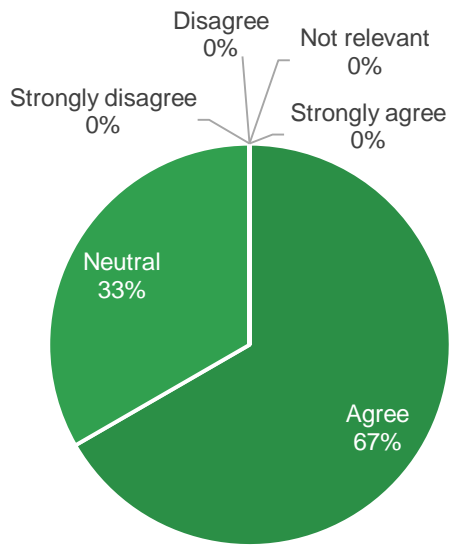


Figure 75 - Connections between Het Lapp and visitors, users, CBIs and/or other organizations as an indicator of bridging social capital (n=6):

The initiative develops relations (networking) with different institutional actors (e.g. central government, province, municipality):

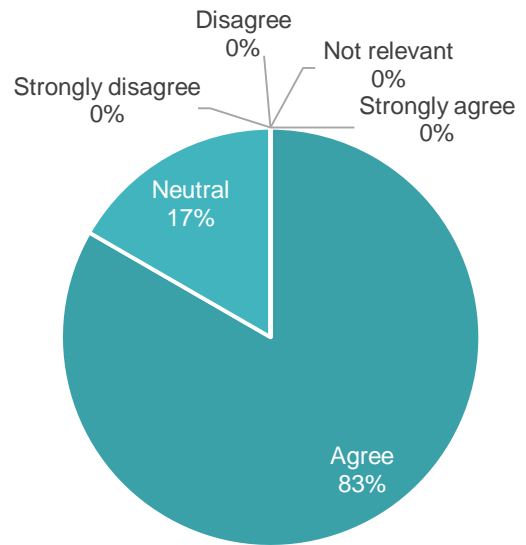
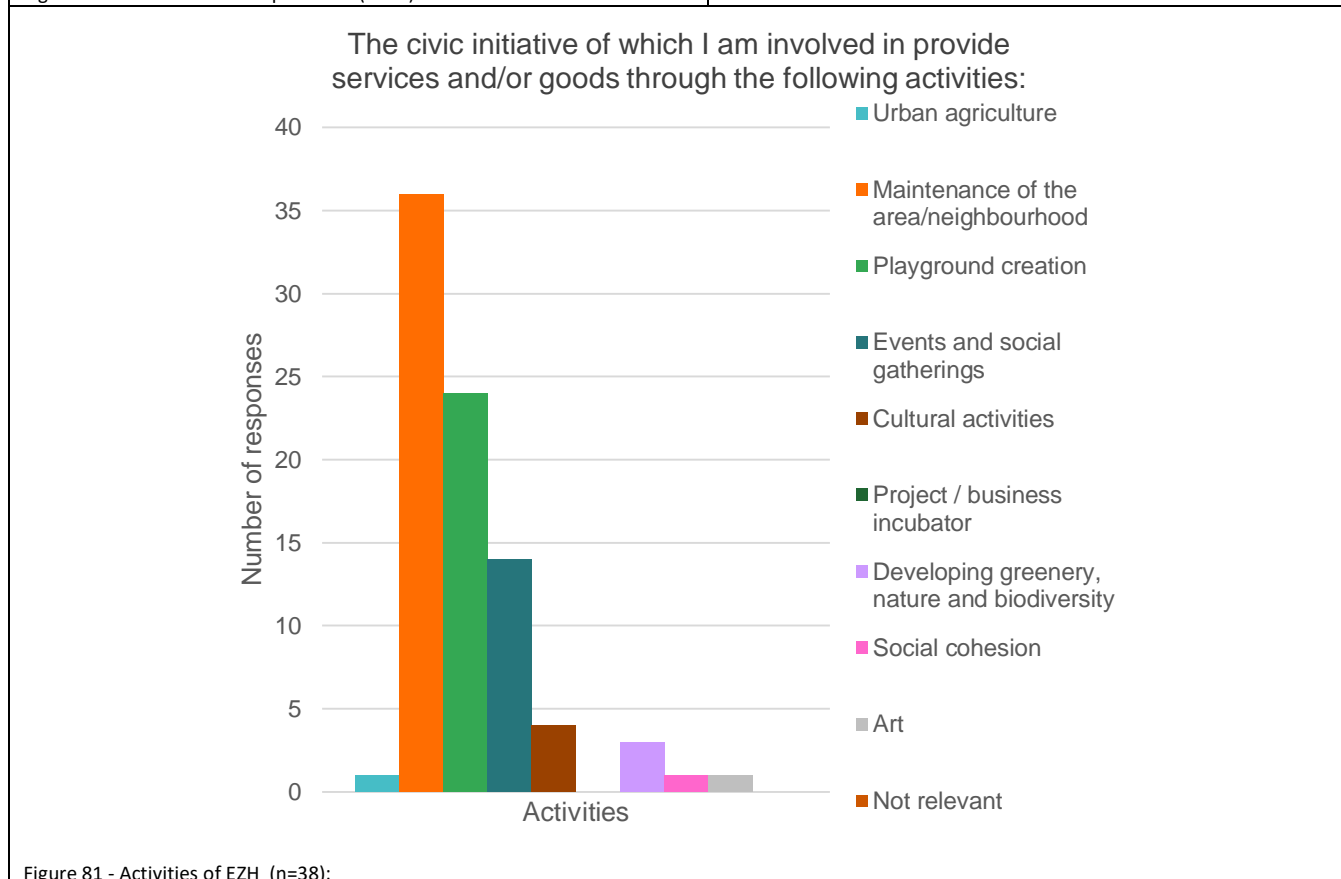
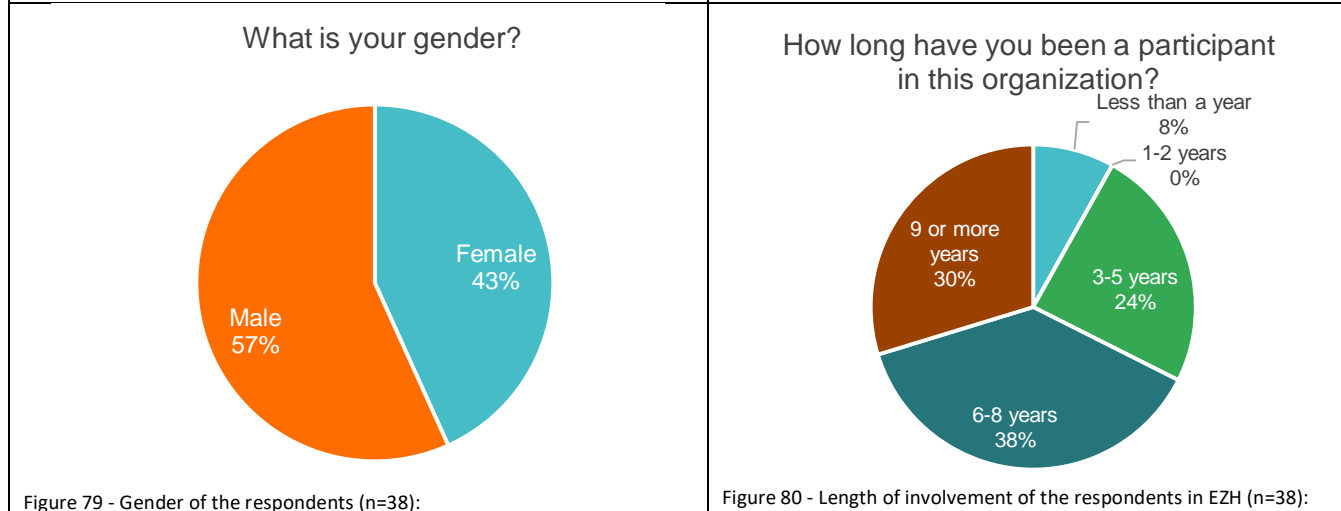
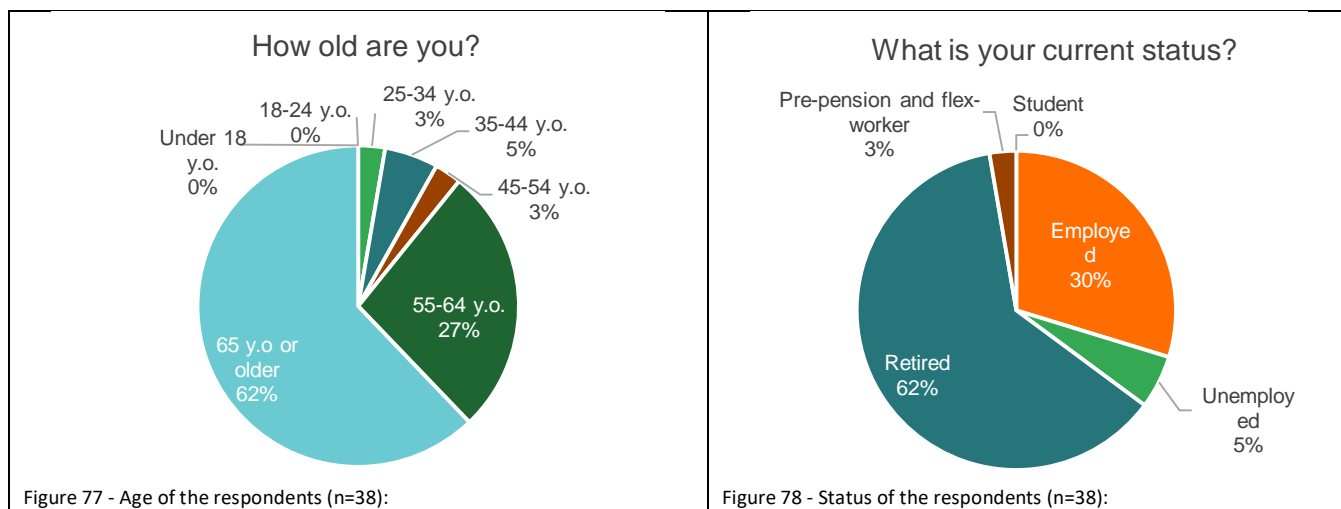


Figure 76 - Connections between Het Lapp and institutions as an indicator of linking social capital (n=6):

Table 5 - Graphs derived from the results of the survey with EZH.



I contribute to this civic initiative because:

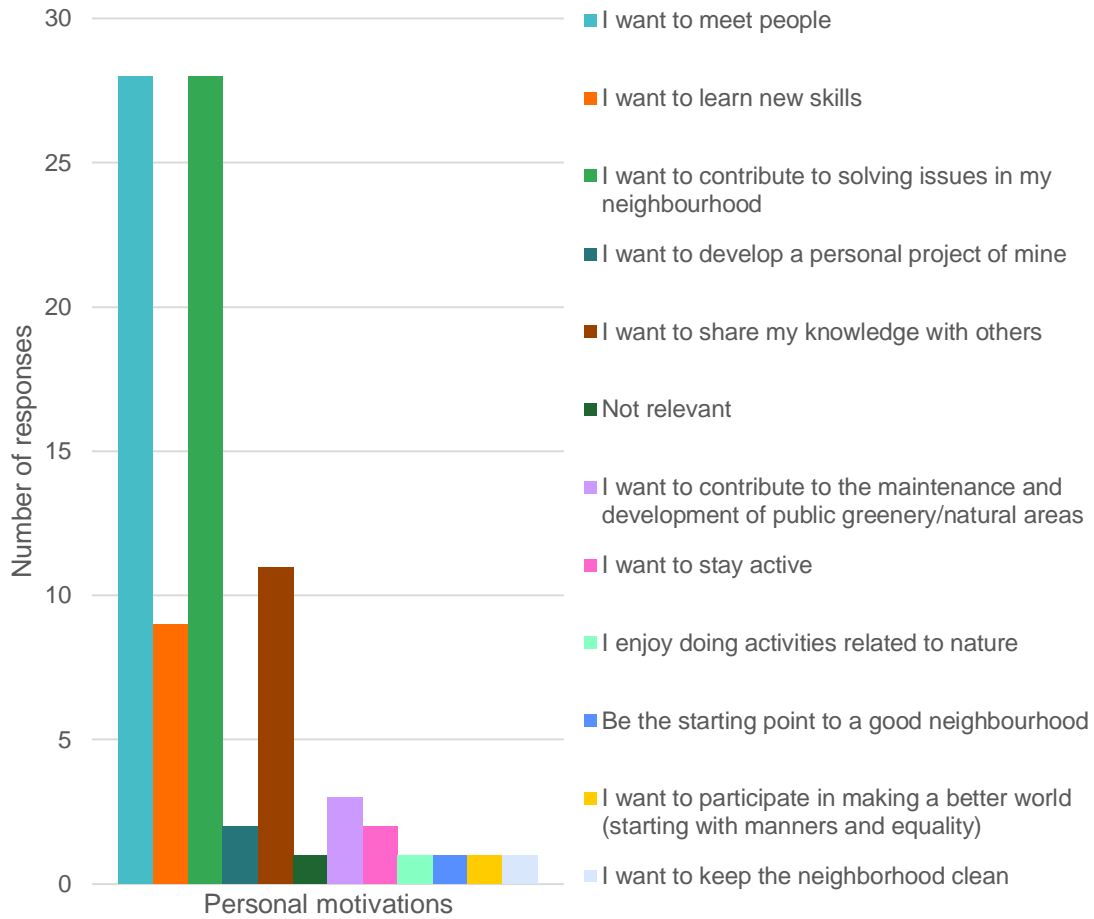


Figure 82 - Motivations for participants to contribute (n=38):

I feel that the organization has achieved / is achieving its objective:

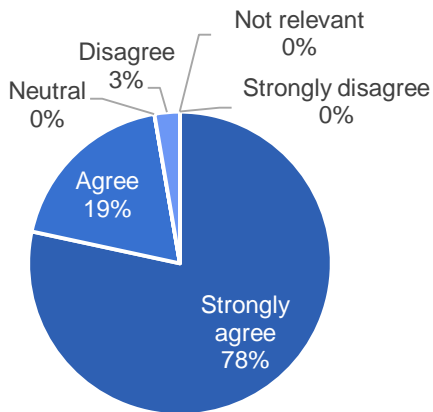


Figure 83 - Achievement of the objectives of EZH (n=38):

The civic initiative of which i am involved in has delivered/delivering high quality services/goods:

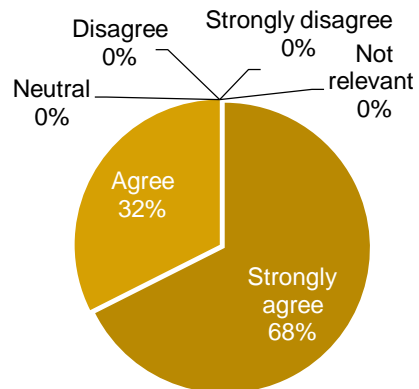


Figure 84 - Quality of the goods and services delivered by EZH as indicator of performance (n=38):

The initiative has:

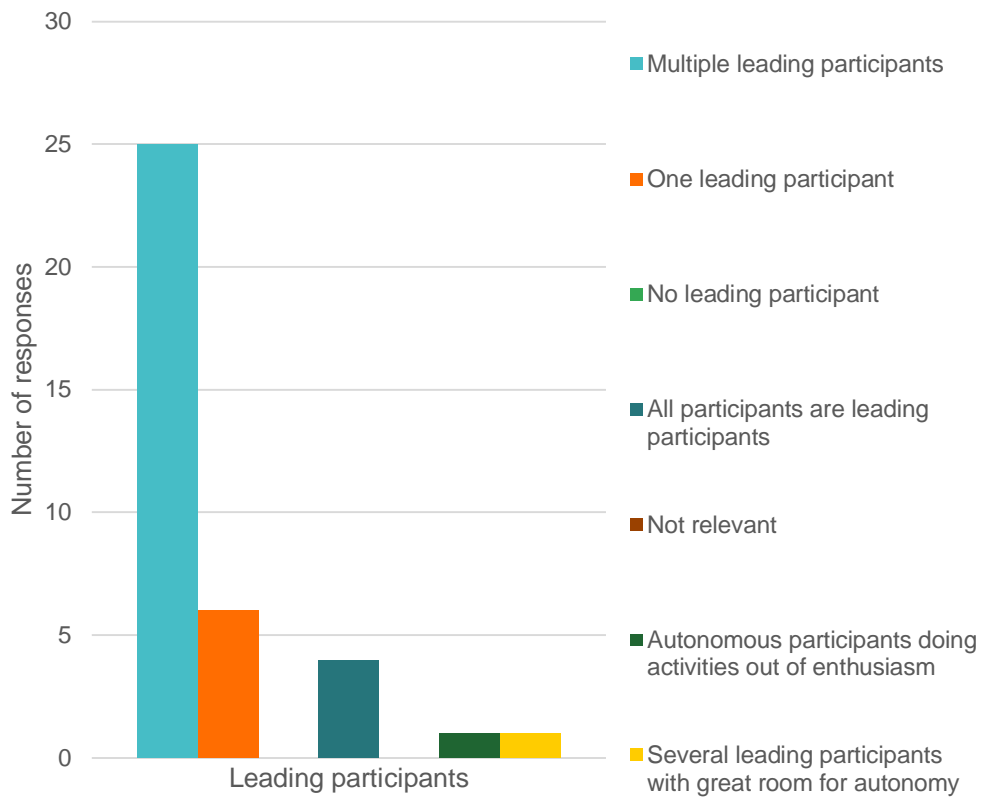


Figure 85 - Leading participants in EZH (n=38):

Over the last year, the initiative:

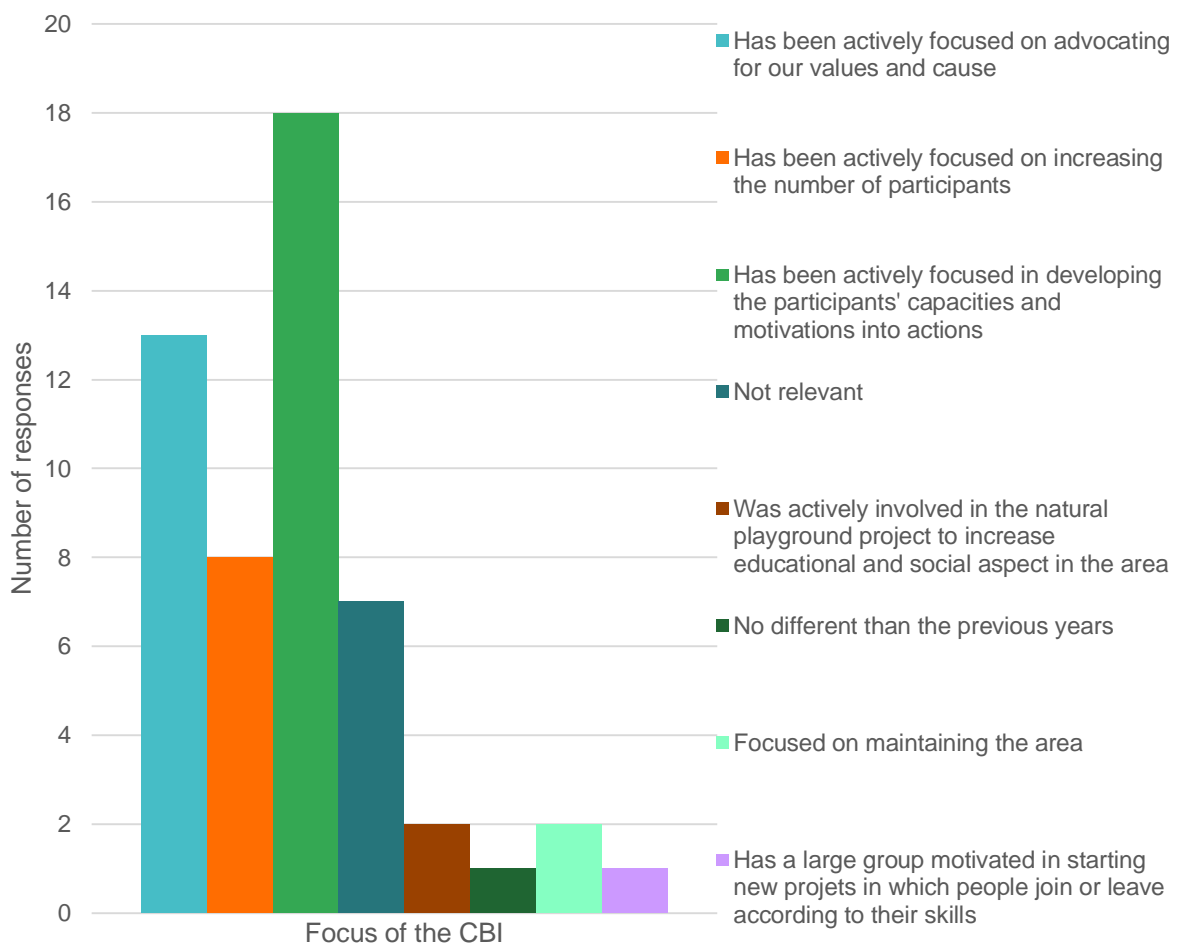


Figure 86 - Focus of EZH over the last year to identify leadership style (n=38):

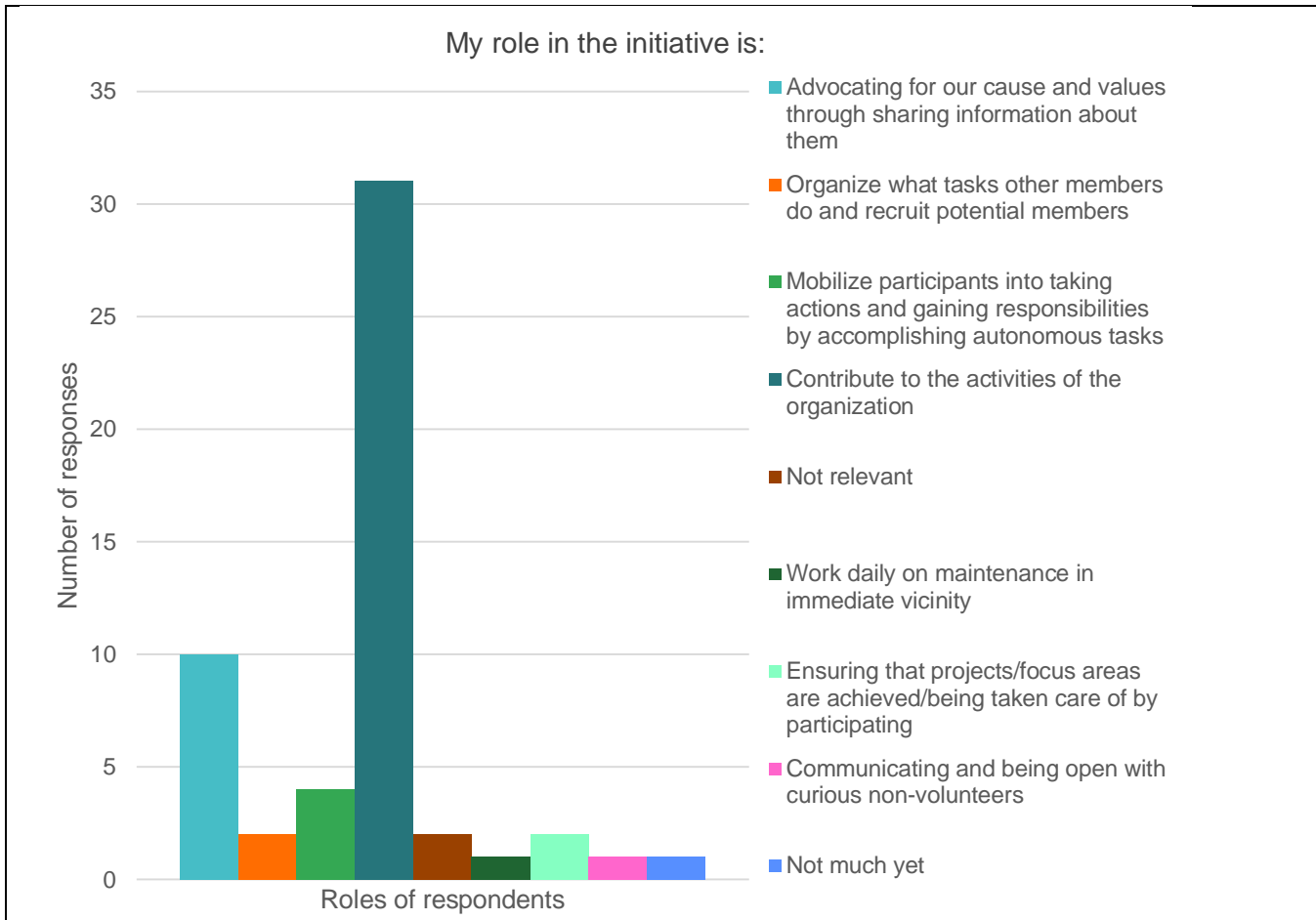


Figure 87 - Roles of the respondents in EZH to identify leadership style (n=38):

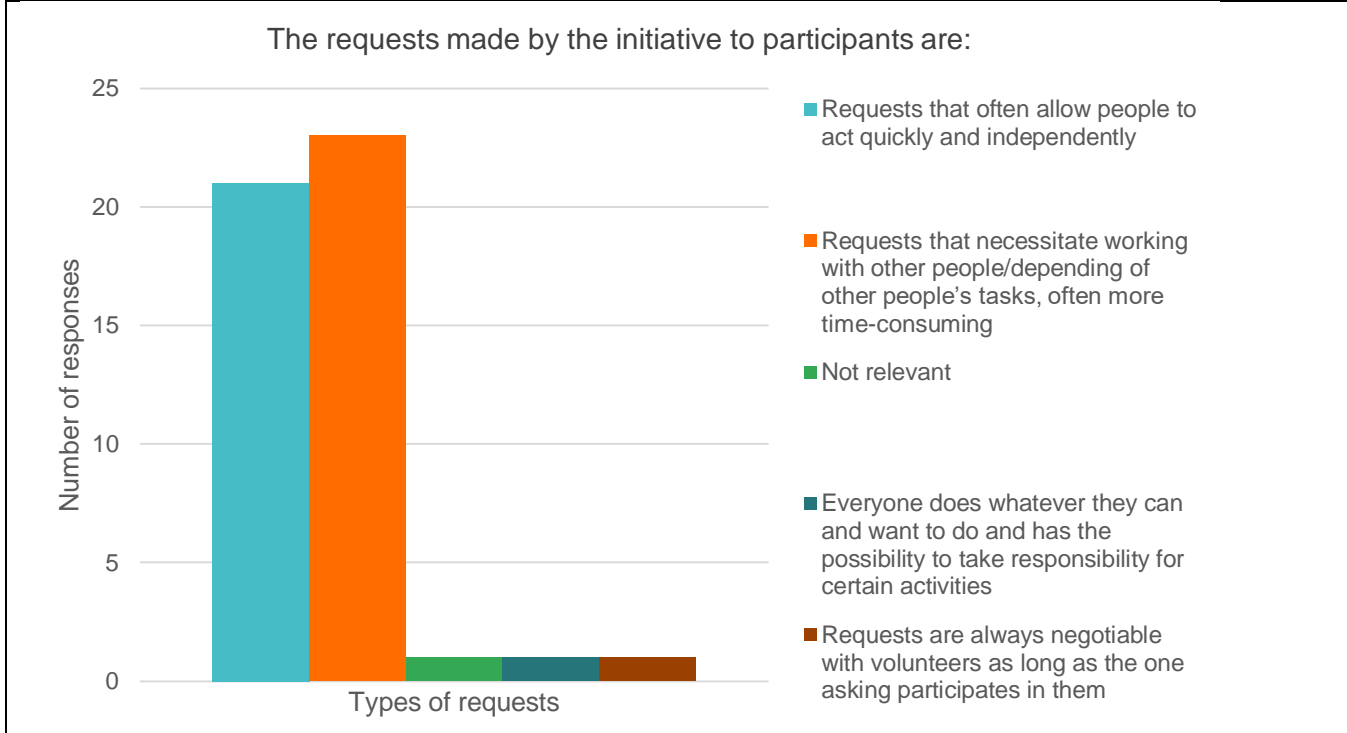


Figure 88 - Types of requests made by EZH to its volunteers to identify leadership style (n=38):

I feel that members of the initiative share common interests and values with me and are united:

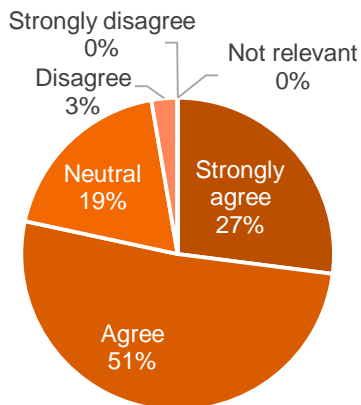


Figure 89 - Share of values and interests and feeling of unity as an indicator of bonding social capital within EZH (n=38):

I sometimes feel excluded from activities organized by the initiative:

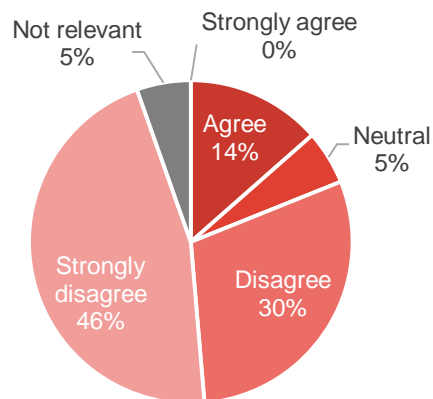


Figure 90 - Exclusion from activities in EZH to indicate lack of bonding social capital (n=38):

The initiative develops relations (networking) with other community initiatives, organizations and/or visitors or users of the initiative:

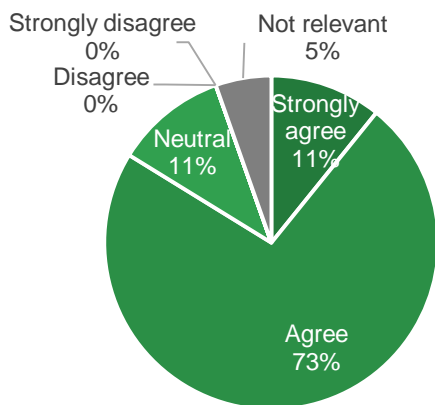


Figure 91 - Connections between EZH and visitors, users, CBIs and/or other organizations as an indicator of bridging social capital (n=38):

The initiative develops relations (networking) with different institutional actors (e.g. central government, province, municipality):

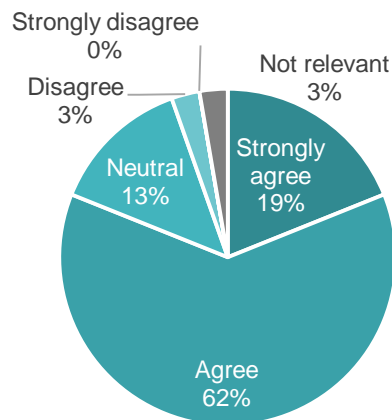


Figure 92 - Connections between EZH and institutions as an indicator of linking social capital (n=38):

## Appendix F & G:

Submitted through additional files.