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„Civic Crowdfunding as Instrument for Urban Development"

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Wien, am 12. Juni 2017   Raphael Sedlitzy

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Acknowledgments

Vienna, in June 2017

Preface

The progress in digital technology has been very fast in the last two decades. Born in 1991, I would consider myself as digital native, but looking back to how things were when I was a kid it is certainly stunning how quickly new technologies have advanced. To check the news or your Facebook profile, while traveling in the metro, is an unwitting habit nowadays for myself and for many other people, I see every day on my way to University. When I received my first mobile phone in 2001, a color display and perhaps even an integrated camera were considered as the latest trends. The idea that your mobile phone would become a handy computer that functions more as a device for permanent internet access than as a phone in its initial sense was, at least for me, unforeseeable. However, it is a fact that we live today in an era of ubiquitous internet access, ongoing digitalization and social networks. The progress in digital technology triggered societal changes and has especially affected communication. Online canals play a significant role in the communication between citizens, but also between authorities and citizens. One emerging trend in this context is Crowdfunding, which has recently raised a lot of attention. Under the name of Civic Crowdfunding, it is also increasingly used for all kinds of urban development. Consequently, all scientific disciplines associated with planning are confronted with this phenomenon. Human Geography is one of these disciplines which have to face that a significant part of social interaction has shifted towards online platforms and canals. As social science, social interaction is a major interest in Human Geographical Research and this shift entails certain challenges. At the same time, it is the task of Applied Geography to evaluate new trends within its research area and to derive recommendations for a favorable use. This applies for Civic Crowdfunding as it is used for urban development. Therefore, the thesis aims to unravel the practice of Civic Crowdfunding in the context of urban development. The work approaches the phenomenon from a social science background and tries to frame it within contemporary theories and discourses. Furthermore, the thesis evaluates the potential of Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument for urban development in European cities and identifies its risks and benefits. In conclusion, recommendations for a favorable use of Civic Crowdfunding from a planning point of view are derived. By combining theoretically grounded empirical research with critical evaluation and the formulation of recommendations, this thesis aims to fulfill the task of Applied Geography and to follow the tradition of the critical an enlightening function of social science.

1. Civic Crowdfunding, a New Trend? - A Brief Introduction into the scope of the Topic.

Recently Crowdfunding has developed into an everyday language term and its popularity seems to keep on rising as it is lately the content of news, reports, business strategies and even scientific research. At the moment there are approximately 1200 online platforms for Crowdfunding which raised at least 16 billion dollars so far in funding volume worldwide (cf. Lee et al. 2016). Numerous projects at different scales have been already realized around the globe and despite the diversity they are characterized by their innovativeness. Just to give a brief insight, examples of recent crowdfunded campaigns range from a new album of the American musician Amanda Palmer[1], a floating swimming pool on the Hudson River in New York[2], a new digital currency called *Mastercoin* – [3], to the revitalization of an urban walkway in Liverpool[4] or a pop up community garden in Brussels[5].

The term Crowdfunding itself was first termed in 2006 by Michael Sulivan, who was with his website *fundavlog* an early pioneer in online Crowdfunding. Taking this into account, the novelty of the phenomenon becomes even clearer. The first professional Crowdfunding platform which went online was without doubt *Indiegogo* in 2008, followed by the launch of the *Kickstarter* in 2009. These two platforms started the popularization of online Crowdfunding and can be still considered as the biggest and most successful ones. The first online platforms for the subtype of civic crowdfunding followed shortly after in 2009, with the launch of *IOBY*, followed by *Spacehive* in 2011 and by *Citizinvestor* in 2012. (cf. Stiver et al. 2015, Davis 2014).

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[1] The US – musician Amanda Palmer raised 1.192.793 US. Dollars in 2012 via the platform Kickstarter to fund her Album "Theatre is Evil".

[2] The Initiative *+ Pool* has already raised more than 250.000 US. Dollars to fund a floating Swimming Pool on the Hudson River in New York, which filters the river water and allows people to swim in the Hudson River.

[3] In 2013 the American J.R. Willet created a new digital currency build on the bitcoin blockchain, to set up a platform called the *Mastercoin Foundation* which raised around 500.000 US. Dollars via crowdfunding.

[4] In 2013 an old urban walkway in Liverpool was scheduled to be demolished. Residents started a crowdfunding campaign were they raised 43.724 British sterling to revitalize the walkway and turn it into an arts and cultural haven for the community.

[5] In 2014 the initiative *Koop een Pop Up Park in de Brusselse kanaalzone* raised 6.650 Euros to build a Pop Up Park in the Brussels Canal-zone.

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, Crowdfunding can be characterized as: "*the practice of getting a large number of people to each give small amounts of money in order to provide the finance for a business project, typically using the internet*" (Cambridge University Press) 2016).

Considering this definition, it might be legitimate to ask ourselves; what is really new about the fact that people raise their money together to finance a project? There are well known historical examples where people raised money together to finance a bigger project. It might have sunk into oblivion, but the New York Statue of Liberty was partly crowdfunded. In the 1880´s the City of New York didn´t have enough money to fund the construction of the pedestal for the famous statue which had been given as a gift from the people of France shortly before. Therefore the New York publisher Joseph Pulitzer started a donation campaign in his newspaper where around 120.000 people participated, most of them with less than one US dollar. Another European example is the reconstruction of the roof of Vienna´s St. Stephan Cathedral, which suffered damage during World War II. In order to finance the reconstruction of the roof, the so called "Dachziegel-Aktion" campaign was started, where people could donate a single brick for the new roof of the cathedral. Thereby, enabling people to participate back then in those difficult days even with a rather small amount of money. These tales are just two examples of historical Crowdfunding campaigns, there are many more which might date back even earlier in history, but it demonstrates that Crowdfunding has certainly had its predecessors.

Coming back to the previously quoted Cambridge definition of Crowdfunding, it seems to be clear that crowd-financed projects are not radically new. The secret for the so to say renaissance of Crowdfunding might be found in the sub-clause "typically using the internet". The back bone of a successful Crowdfunding campaign is the communication with the crowd, so as to find a sufficient number of donators. In the historical example of the Statue of Liberty it was finally Joseph Pulitzer who published the call for donations in his newspaper *New York World,* including the promise to publish the name of every single donor in the paper. Thereby he drew sufficient attention on the campaign to reach a critical mass of donors. These days the internet simplifies communication significantly and extends the range of campaigns to a global scale. With the help of internet platforms and social media it has become possible to reach people in real-time, 24 hours around the world without the necessity of a big budget.

As a result, communication with the crowd has become clearly easier through the internet and also the number of people who are likely to be reached has increased significantly. Moreover, digital technology brings down barriers for possible donors. Services like *Pay Pal, Google Wallet* or just Credit Cards make it possible to donate money quickly and comfortably with a couple of clicks, wherever you are. There are clear indications that the renaissance of Crowdfunding can be explained though the opportunities which these new technologies can provide. The current Crowdfunding platforms are all organized online and communication and participation is usually managed via the internet. It is therefore not surprising that the addition "using the internet" has entered the Cambridge definition. Consequently, it can be assumed that Crowdfunding as a term of everyday language stands for campaigns organized using the internet. Taking this into consideration, the current research on Crowdfunding must be seen in the context of the ongoing digitalization trend as well as all kinds of online networking of civil society members.

The emergence of Crowdfunding comes together with other similar movements and developments enabled by the internet. Shortly before the term Crowdfunding was coined, the term Crowdsourcing became popular and was taken up by public and private participants through different fields. The most famous example is probably *Wikipedia*. This Crowdsourcing-online dictionary, is based on the idea that different people "crowd" their knowledge together via the internet. The rise in popularity of Crowdsourcing was quickly used by companies to generate innovative ideas from a crowd of possible costumers (cf. Ettlinger 2016). However, public authorities also became aware of the potential of Crowdsourcing and started to experiment with possible adaptions for participatory planning. Furthermore, in modern times citizen's expectations and needs concerning their government are changing. Citizens request more transparency and participation in decision making processes. Indications for this are the increasing trend in democratic participation, collaborative governance and participatory planning models in the United States and Europe (cf. Seltzer and Mahmoudi 2012). Together with the gradual abandonment of the welfare-state approach in the US but also in some European countries, this paved the way for stronger monetary and non-monetary contribution and participation of citizens in several fields and on different scales (cf. Stiver et al. 2015). The key terms; participation and democratization, might be even more pertinent when we talk about Crowdfunding. The development from traditional fundraising to modern online Crowdfunding, is not just enabled by technological innovations but also conditioned by

a changing political and civil context in Europe and the US. This view is a fundamental assumption for this thesis and presents at the same time the connecting factor between the essence rather than the technical issue of Crowdfunding and social science research.

2. Thoughts and Concepts Concerning Civic Crowdfunding

In this chapter the focus lies on unraveling the concept and structure of Crowdfunding and it´s subtypes, aiming for a clear and final definition of Civic Crowdfunding. Starting with an overview on the current landscape of Crowdfunding in general and the subtype Civic Crowdfunding in particular, the state of the art concerning the scientific research will be outlined. Furthermore, a characteristic of the main Crowdfunding subtypes will be developed and the position of Civic Crowdfunding will be illustrated. As follows, the chapter looks at urban development as it is somehow framing the analysis of Civic Crowdfunding in this thesis. Therefore, a brief theoretical foundation will be developed and the term will be conceptualized according to the particular interests of the topic. Moreover, the setting in which Civic Crowdfunding takes places will be further investigated. The main actors which drive and shape Civic Crowdfunding will be identified and characterized in this chapter. Lastly, the connection between contemporary discourses in urban studies will be made as well as briefly presenting selected narratives which are particularly relevant in the debate on Civic Crowdfunding. In this chapter the outlined reflections and theoretical concepts will provide the basis for the further scientific examination in the following chapters of the work.

2.1 The Current Landscape of Civic Crowdfunding

Crowdfunding in general and Civic Crowdfunding in particular is a rather new and still expanding phenomenon. As has been already emphasized, the term Crowdfunding has been the first time mentioned in 2006 and from there on it took some time until the term found its way into everyday language. As Figure 1 illustrates, it took until the year 2011 when the research requests of the term Crowdfunding in Google got off the ground. After the launch of the first Crowdfunding platform in 2006, the global interest was relatively low. This didn´t change in the following years and even the launch of the probably most well-known platform *Kickstarter* in 2009 had just a minimal impact. It took until the year 2011, when the interest became noteworthy. This might have been caused by the emerging debate of possible legal regulations of Crowdfunding in the United States, which started back in 2011 (cf. Agrawal et
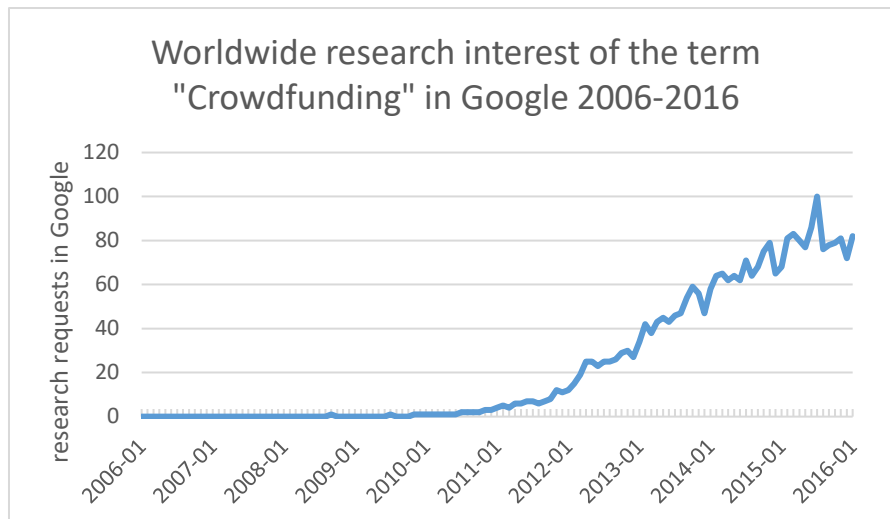
Figure 1: *Worldwide research interest of the term "Crowdfunding" in Google from 2006-2016. Google 2016, own draft.*
The values on the y-axis are relative values to the highest research interest at one point in the period. Meaning that "100" stands for the highest research interest, "50" for half of the research interest and "0" stands for less than 1% of the highest research interest.

al. 2014). From there on, the interest increased significantly and had a first peak in 2015. However, the timeline shows quite well that the term Crowdfunding has drawn major interest in just 4 years. This highlights also the novelty of Crowdfunding as practice and even more as a scientific research object. Given the fact that this work refers to the subtype of Civic Crowdfunding, it can be assumed that the research already carried out In this field is even smaller. The same Google research interest request as it was done for the term Crowdfunding shows that the interest in Civic Crowdfunding starts even later, the earliest being in late 2011. Furthermore, the total amount of research requests of the term Civic Crowdfunding in google is significantly smaller than for the term Crowdfunding (cf. Google 2016). This shows that the term Civic Crowdfunding has been less noticed so far and might be known only in narrow circles and hasn't made it into everyday vox populi so far. This underlines again the novelty of the research on Civic Crowdfunding.

Crowdfunding and the Alternative Finance Industry

The rise of Crowdfunding and its subtypes can also be illustrated by the emergence of an alternative finance industry. This sector of the financial industries consists exclusively of peer – to – peer lending and Crowdfunding. The growth and dynamic of this rather new market can be an indicator for the rise of Crowdfunding as an alternative to more traditional financing as

well as to conservative investment models. In the year 2015 the volume of the EU alternative finance market was 5.431 million Euros. This is compared to the volume of more conservative finance markets still a very small amount of money but the growth rates in recent years have been noteworthy (+151% annually growth in 2014 and 92% in 2015). The outlook for the future development shows that the growth rates in Europe might continue to grow. The comparison between the EU market for alternative finance with the Americas and the Asian-Pacific region, shows that volume and growth are even higher in other parts of the world. However, this must be seen in context where there are a few leading countries which are responsible for a disproportionate amount of the total volume of the dynamic. For Europe this is the United Kingdom which is responsible for 81% of the overall European Volume, while the United States have the same leading role in the Americas and China in the Asian-Pacific region (cf. Zhang et al. 2016: 24-25).

Volume of Online Alternative Finances by World Regions 2013-2015
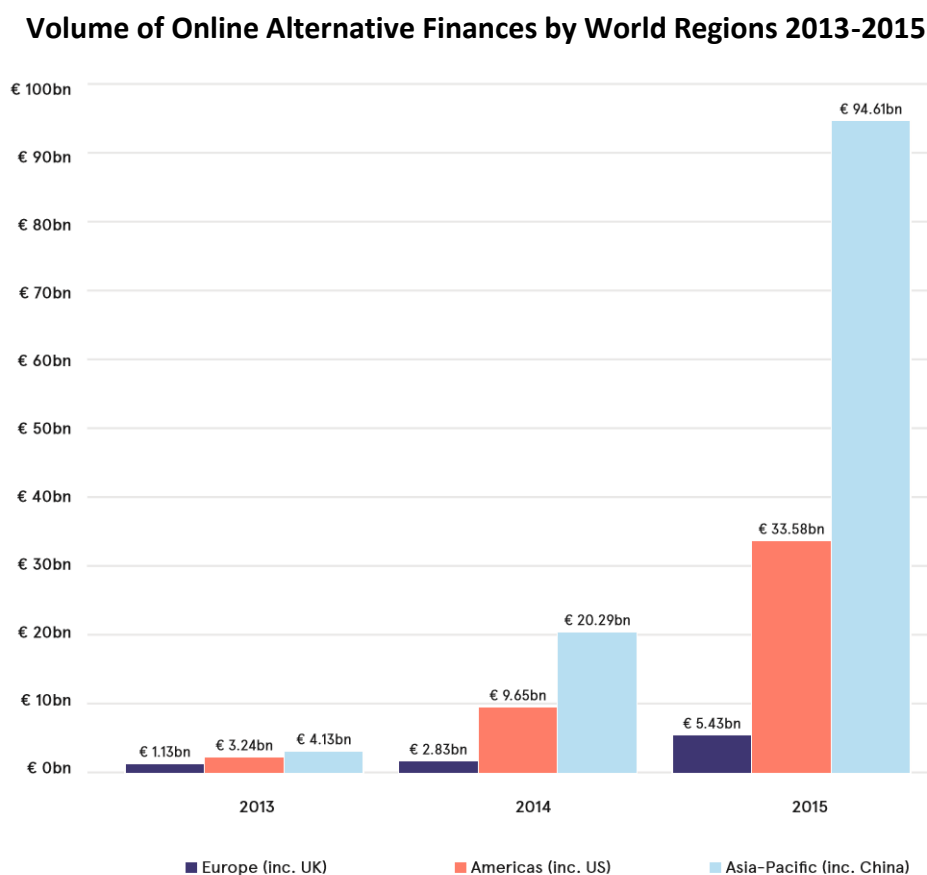
Figure 2: Volume of online Alternative Finances by World Regions in the period from 2013-2015 in billion Euros. Zhang et al. 2016.

The leading position of the United Kingdom is also clearly visible in figure 2, but furthermore it shows also that the presence of the alternative finance sector is very unequally distributed in continental Europe. There are just a few countries in the North-West of Europe were alternative finances have a relevant volume: These are Germany, France, the Netherlands and Sweden (cf. Zhang et al. 2016: 26).

The total volume of the market for alternative finances is certainly an indicator for dynamics among methods and systems of financing. However, the volume of Crowdfunding is just a part of the overall volume. In the year 2015 the volume of all types of Crowdfunding in continental Europe (excl. UK) was 347,81 million Euros, which is equal to 35% of the total volume. The other part of the Volume of the alternative finance sector consists of Peer – to – Peer Consumer Lending[6] (36%), Peer – to – Peer Business Lending[7] (21%) and Invoice Trading[8] (8%). Furthermore it should be pointed out that the volume of Crowdfunding in continental Europe must be further split up into the different subtypes.

Market Volumes of Alternative Finance Transactions in the EU 2015
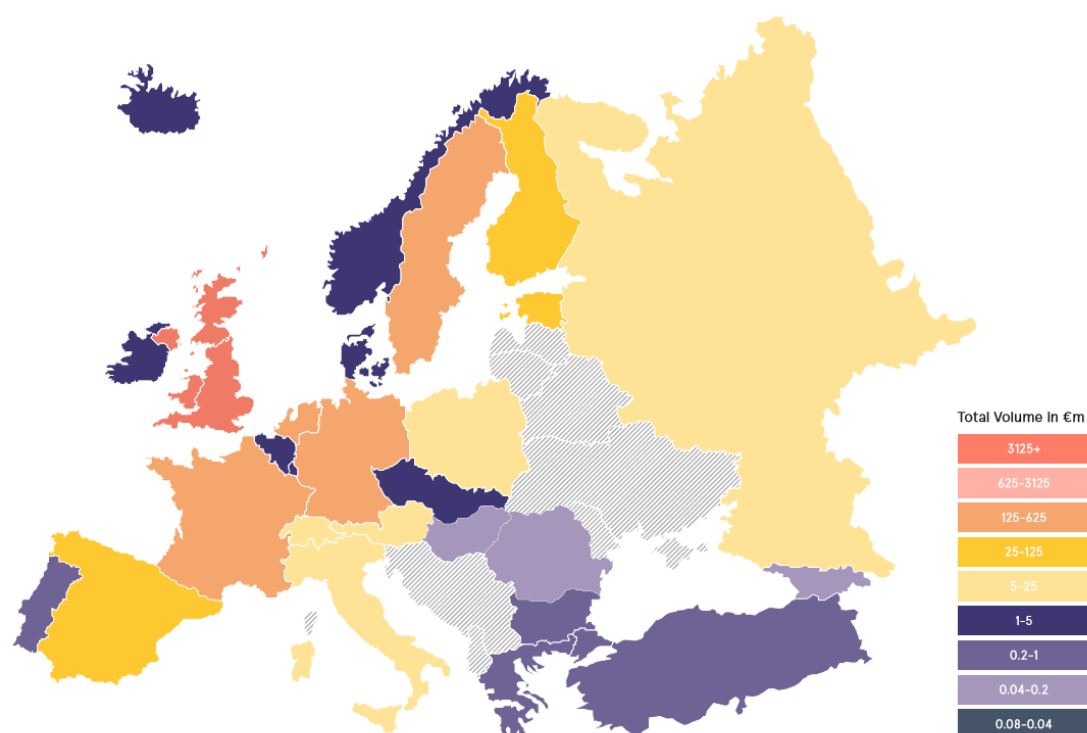
Figure 3: Market volumes of Alternative Finance transactions in the EU 2015 Zhang et al. 2016

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[6]Peer – to – Peer Consumer Lending: Individuals or institutional funders provide a loan to a consumer borrower.
[7]Peer – to – Peer Business Lending: Individuals or institutional funders provide a loan to a business borrower.
[8]Invoice Trading: Individuals or institutional funders purchase invoices or receivable notes from a business at a discount.

Taking this into account the possible volume of Civic Crowdfunding, simplified as summing up all kinds of Crowdfunding types where backers don´t receive monetary rewards, was 160,98 million Euros, or 23% of the total volume of the alternative financial sector in continental Europe in 2015.The countries with the highest absolute volume of Civic Crowdfunding are Germany, France and the Netherlands (cf. Zhang et al. 2016: 28).

Civic Crowdfunding as Scientific Research Object

The novelty of the phenomenon of Crowdfunding becomes not just evident by looking at Google research requests and the rapid growth of the alternative finance industry, it becomes also clear when the existing scientific- research and literature is enlightened. A review of scientific publications shows that there are hardly no publications which date back before the year 2012. A first broader scientific interest can be appreciated starting in 2013 or 2014. From these years onwards, regular publications about Crowdfunding can be found in diverse scientific journals and even some books have been published which are dedicated to the topic. To sum up, there have been at least 120 publications so far, including books, journal articles, working papers and conference texts. Moreover publications on donation-based Crowdfunding, where the projects have a charitable character and different kinds of profit-oriented Crowdfunding can be differentiated. The research on donation-based Crowdfunding, whereof Civic Crowdfunding is a subtype, is responsible for around 1 quarter of the publications (cf. Feller and Gleasure 2016). Bearing in mind that the term itself was coined in 2006 and publications started in 2011 or 2012, it can be assumed that the scientific community became interested about 5 years after the term was invented. This trend goes hand in hand with the increasing reports about Crowdfunding in newspapers and the media which started to rise around the same time.

The academic background of the authors doing research on Crowdfunding can be described as truly diverse. As Crowdfunding is a highly interdisciplinary matter, the academic fields were researchers come from differ enormously. There is a significant number of authors with a background in Media Studies, Communication and related fields (cf. Bennet et al. 2015, Both 2015, Lücke 2015, Smith 2015, Davies 2014). Authors which have a background in Computing Studies and Information Science such as; Lee et al. 2016, Stiver et al. 2015 or Zheng et al. 2014 were also one of the first who started to publish on this topic. The third bigger group of researchers can be summed up as researchers with a background in Economics and

Managerial Studies (cf. Belleflamme et al. 2014, Agrawal et al. 2014, Sixt 2014, Gajda and Mason 2013, Ordanini et al. 2011). However, there are many other authors publishing on Crowdfunding which have a different background, but what these researchers have in common is that they are truly diverse and less easy to categorize. Overall, it has to be highlighted that there is not a specific academic field which leads the research field on Crowdfunding. As a consequence, the approaches and the focuses from the authors differ as much as the academic fields in which they originate.

The research on Civic Crowdfunding in particular must be seen in context of the research in Crowdfunding in general. As Civic Crowdfunding is a subtype of Crowdfunding, specific research on it started a slightly later than on other forms of Crowdfunding. The Publication list which is primarily dealing with Civic Crowdfunding is still rather short. The oldest published work on specific Civic Crowdfunding might be the Master Thesis of Rodrigo Davies (2014) which was written and published at the MIT (MA). Following-up thematically on this work, the article from Stiver et al. (2015) gives a brief outline about the current and future research agenda on Civic Crowdfunding. What these two publications have in common is that the authors are characterized by an academic background in Communication, Computing and Media Studies. Publications from a background in Planning or Geography are still very rare, being Bieri (2015) the only publication which was available at the time this thesis was written. However, the topic of Crowdfunding in general and Civic Crowdfunding in particular, is increasingly picked-up by authors from fields like Planning and Urbanism. These publications address Civic Crowdfunding mainly from the focal point of Citizen Participation, Share Economy and Crowdsourcing (cf. Kleinhands et al. 2015, Gebhart et al. 2014. Brabham 2009). Another topic which overlaps with Civic Crowdfunding is the discourse on do-it-yourself urbanism *(*cf. Talen 2015, Finn 2014, Iversion 2013). Many publications in these fields are coinciding with Civic Crowdfunding, but it seems that the authors may not always be aware of that, which may be caused again through the novelty of the term.

Besides classical academic writing, Civic Crowdfunding gets also more and more attraction from authorities and NGOs. Civic Crowdfunding is increasingly used not just by private initiatives but also by public authorities. In the USA and Great Britain and recently also in some other European cities. Authorities are not just tolerating Civic Crowdfunding, they even starting campaigns by themselves. Therefore the topic gains presence in political discourse

and it is just a matter of time, when it will appear in policy papers (manifestos). Moreover, recently NGOs like the *European Crowdfunding Network (ECN)* have formed and tried to increase the awareness for Crowdfunding through campaigns and publications.

To conclude, scientific research on Crowdfunding started just 4 or 5 years ago but interest from the scientific community and political agencies is accelerating. So far, no scientific discipline leads the research field on this topic, it is much more a truly trans-disciplinary field with authors from very different backgrounds. The research on Civic Crowdfunding in particular is even less pronounced and still nascent. Although Civic Crowdfunding is increasingly used for urban development, scientists from a background in Planning, Urbanism or Geography are underrepresented in the research. At the same time, the research agenda on Civic Crowdfunding is still rather unprocessed. Human Geographers can contribute to investigate this new phenomenon and especially deliver recommendations on how to deal with it from a mainly planning point of view. Furthermore, the connection between Civic Crowdfunding in the USA, where it has its roots and the recent emergence of this phenomenon in Europe has not been really in the focus of research yet. Considering this as a viable work task for modern geographical research, this Master Thesis tries to make a small contribution towards a further unraveling of this promising phenomenon.

2.1 Defining Civic Crowdfunding

The novelty of Civic Crowdfunding has been highlighted already in the previous chapter. The brief overview of the publications on Civic Crowdfunding as also on Crowdfunding in general has shown the relatively short period since the first scientific publications appeared. On the other hand, it might be perplexing that examples of quasi Civic Crowdfunding can be found even centuries ago. In those days the term Crowdfunding was not even invented but people already pulled their money privately together to finance urban developments. Two famous examples were already mentioned in the introduction, the Statue of Liberty and Vienna´s St. Stephan Cathedral. Besides these two, many other examples can be found where a community does collective fundraising aimed at a social purpose. They can range from charitable street vending, parties, barbecues etc. where the revenue is used to finance or support public infrastructure, to the old tradition of collecting money at Sunday service in Christian churches to support the social work of the congregation. Without doubt, there are hundreds of similar traditions and practices, from different geographical and cultural backgrounds which can be

identified. The main difference between these partly historical examples and the modern term Civic Crowdfunding is the fact that the campaigns and the funding was organized offline. It might be argued that the renaissance of Crowdfunding in general is just old wine in new bottles but, the fact that the internet facilitated this emergence is hard to deny (cf. Gleasure and Feller 2016).

Taking the crucial role of the internet as a starting point to further describe and define Civic Crowdfunding, it must be again highlighted that the emergence of Crowdfunding started through a few online platforms back in 2006. The emergence of subtype Civic Crowdfunding followed the same patterns, in particular with the launches of platforms *IOBY in* 2009 and shortly after *Spacehive* in 2012 and *Citizinvestor* in 2012 (cf. Stiver et al. 2015, Davis 2014). As it is clearly visible in the general definition of Crowdfunding by the Cambridge dictionary; "*the practice of getting a large number of people to each give small amounts of money in order to provide the finance for a business project, typically using the internet*" (Cambridge University Press 2016), campaigns and funding are "typically" organized online and therefore a significant characteristic of Crowdfunding. This applies in the same form for Civic Crowdfunding. The difference lies in the usage of the crowdfunded money. In the simplest terms, Civic Crowdfunding can be described as "*Crowdfunding projects that provide service to communities*" (Davies 2014: 28). In contrary to Crowdfunding which "*provides the finance for a business project*", Civic Crowdfunding has a charitable character, it finances projects which serve the community. At this point "donation based Crowdfunding" must be distinguished from Civic Crowdfunding. In a strict sense, Donation based-crowdfunding, even though it has a charitable character, doesn´t mean that the result of the Crowdfunding must serve the community. It is commonly used as an Umbrella term for all kinds of non-profit Crowdfunding campaigns. For example, the Crowdfunding campaign from president Obama for his first term in 2008, which raised around 500 million US. Dollar from over 6.5 million online donations, can be classified as donation based- but not as Civic Crowdfunding. In addition to that, the outcome of a Civic Crowdfunding campaign should be a public asset or a public commodity (cf. Davies 2015). Strictly speaking, that would mean that the outcome would be limited to non-excludable and non-competitive goods. In other words, that would mean that nobody can be excluded from using this asset and at the same time that, if one individual uses the service it doesn´t reduce the availability of the good for others at that moment (cf. Cox 2009).This applies not always rigorously to the outcome of Civic Crowdfunding. Some outcomes of Civic

Crowdfunding are more similar to a club good (Davies 2014: 28). Examples can be a car or bike sharing system where people who are just registered on the system can use it and at the same time there is a limited amount of bikes or cars. Other examples can be a community theater group, where some kind of entry barrier exists or an urban gardening site, which has limited space, so not everybody can use it at the same time. However, people can benefit from these goods even if they have limited access to it. For instance, if the air quality improves because of a bike-sharing system, good air can be considered as an "indirect" public asset. This also holds for the example of the community theater or the neighborhood park. Even if not everybody can participate directly, the increased social cohesion through the project and the better harmony in the neighborhood can be perceived as public asset (cf. Davies 2014: 29).

The players who are involved in Civic Crowdfunding might differ as well if compared to other subtypes of Crowdfunding. Obviously, there is no Crowdfunding without a crowd, so a minimum number of backers who pool their money together is a basic requirement. The frequently leading role of an entrepreneur or a start-up in a Crowdfunding project, is less relevant in Civic Crowdfunding. The initiatives are often started and lead by a group of citizens with the aim to provide service to the community and not to raise funding for their company. Governmental authorities, who play a minor role in other types of Crowdfunding, are usually involved in Civic Crowdfunding. This is because most Civic Crowdfunding campaigns address public- or semi-public spaces and frequently deal with public infrastructure. Therefore governmental authorities are automatically confronted with the campaign. However, the role they play might differ a lot. There are examples where authorities try to block and prohibit Civic Crowdfunding campaigns, but the authorities can also just act as a neutral observer who let the crowd do what they want without either blocking or supporting, or the third option is that governmental agencies even initiate and lead Civic Crowdfunding campaigns (Lee et al. 2016). Furthermore, local NGOs, neighborhood associations or action groups are also commonly involved in Civic Crowdfunding.

The task to sum up these brief characteristics of Civic Crowdfunding in one definition can´t be easily achieved. One or even a couple of renowned definitions don´t exist, as is the case for the term Crowdfunding in general. While authors like Rodrigo Davies (2015, 2014: 28) highlight the fact that Civic Crowdfunding produces community assets or quasi-public goods, other authors focus on the role of public institutions and governments as supporters or even

initiators of Civic Crowdfunding (cf. Lee et al. 2016, Chandra et al. 2016, Stiver et al. 2015). For this work Civic Crowdfunding shall be understood as: *"Crowdfunding campaigns, mostly organized via the internet, which take place in public or semi-public spaces, whose outcomes serve the public and which overlap commonly with tasks where traditionally the public authorities are accountable."* This definition stresses the aim to provide service to communities as it also takes up the special relationship between public authorities and Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. Furthermore, it includes a reference to public and semi-public spaces, where Civic Crowdfunding normally takes place. This also partly explains the involvement of governmental authorities in Civic Crowdfunding. Traditionally it is the remit of the public authorities to develop and maintain public spaces. If a Civic Crowdfunding campaign aims to intervene in public space, the governmental authorities are affected on two levels. First, they have to decide how to deal with this on a legal basis, meaning they have to allow, forbid or tolerate it. Secondly, they have to decide how to deal with a group of citizens who take over one of their remits. Examples where Civic Crowdfunding happens on private space where these challenges don´t occur. These are rather rare. Lastly, as this work focusses on Civic Crowdfunding in urban developments, therefore an emphasis on the urban scale is a logical outcome. This focus is a chosen by the author and doesn´t refer to a limitation of Civic Crowdfunding to urban contexts. Further in this chapter a developed definition of Civic Crowdfunding shall be used in the work to analyze the novel phenomenon and will guarantee a sharp and adequately narrowed view of the research object.

2.2 Urban Development in the Context of Civic Crowdfunding

The work is devoted to Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument of urban development. The previous section has already explained why the focus lies on cities rather than on rural areas. Civic Crowdfunding is a rather urban phenomenon and therefore it is a logical consequence to focus on cities that have the "incubating function" in a sense of this new trend. So as the "why" is outlined, attention should be paid to the question to what is referred, when talking about urban development. In simple terms, urban development can be defined after Leser (2011: 882) as "The genesis of a city". This implies also a proactive perspective concerning the future development of a city. That way of reading, concerning the future challenges of urban development and there management is particularly present in the field of spatial- und urban planning (cf. Fassmann 2004: 86-87). However, urban development is studied in several scientific disciplines and various approaches concerning the framing of the research object

can be found. Consequently, the understanding of urban development as well as the theories used to explain the genesis of cities vary significantly. A leading theoretical foundation concerning urban development couldn´t develop before today. The contemporary scientific research is rather characterized by the heterogeneity of parallel applied approaches carried out by several disciplines (cf. Heineberg 2017: 105). For this thesis, urban development shall be considered as ongoing genesis of a city, including all practices which shape the material as also the social environment of its citizenship. This rather open definition doesn´t distinguish between permanent and temporary interventions in the urban fabric but it does consider all kinds of practices which have an impact on life and action of urban citizens. For the concrete case of Civic Crowdfunding, this means that the implementation of a permanent project is in the same way considered as urban development as a temporary project or the organization of any kind of event or activity which has an impact on the life and practices of the citizen. This definition presents a rather neutral approach which is not in particular grounded in any of the disciplines involved in research on urban development.

2.3 Framing Civic Crowdfunding - A Conceptualization of Crowdfunding and its Subtypes

The previous section was focused on urban development, which presents the context for this study of Civic Crowdfunding. This section is addresses the phenomenon itself and aims towards a further conceptualization. It must be therefore examined that the umbrella-term Crowdfunding comprises several subtypes of Crowdfunding which can vary significantly from each other. Civic Crowdfunding is just one of these subtypes or may even be seen just as a subcategory of the subtype of donation-based Crowdfunding. The fact that a universal conceptualization of Crowdfunding and it´s subtypes doesn´t exist, allows the different authors to categorize Civic Crowdfunding differently. Furthermore, there is not even a consistent use of the term Civic Crowdfunding. While the majority of the authors certainly use the term Civic Crowdfunding, some refer to the same phenomenon as Social Crowdfunding, Philanthropic Crowdfunding or simply as donation-based Crowdfunding. In this section a hierarchical conceptualization of Crowdfunding will be presented. This shall help to understand the connections and the differences between the different subtypes of Crowdfunding and also provide a better orientation within the terms which are used to describe the phenomenon of Crowdfunding. Thereby, this conceptualization can facilitate the

understanding of Civic Crowdfunding by framing its place in the bigger system of Crowdfunding and point out the differences to other subtypes.

On a major level Crowdfunding can be distinguished in 4 primary subtypes. These are donation-based, lending-based, equity-based and reward-based Crowdfunding. On a secondary level these 4 subtypes can be further split into different subcategories or subordinated-subtypes. As it is illustrated in figure 4, Civic Crowdfunding is just a part in the bigger system of Crowdfunding. On the primary level, the main distinction of the subtypes is the direct output for the backers. While donation-based Crowdfunding doesn´t include any kind of return for the backers, all other 3 subtypes promise some kind of reward.

Reward-based Crowdfunding

This subtype of Crowdfunding is characterized due the rewards which backers get for their donations. Usually the rewards are non-monetary and have just a symbolic value. The small returns can increase the average amount of the donations of a campaign (cf. de Buysere et al. 2012). Sometimes the rewards are even staggered, starting with no or just very small rewards for small donations and larger rewards for bigger donations. Examples of rewards can be that backers have the possibility to receive public recognition of some sort such as their name appearing on an information board, to be invited to the opening ceremony, that they get symbolic shares of the project via a symbolic certificates or that they get small material rewards like a t-shirt or a postcard. The distinction to donation-based Crowdfunding is not always easy. It is hard to define when rewards are too big or have too much value that the campaign can be still considered as donation-based. In the literature the distinction is not always clear. Some authors aggregate reward-and donation-based crowdfunding, while others distinguish more strictly. The debate gets even more complex when non-material or indirect rewards are also considered. For example what if somebody donates for a Civic Crowdfunded park and plans to use it once it is implemented? The author proposes in order to set up a hierarchical conceptualization of Crowdfunding it is necessary to distinguish between donation- and reward-based crowdfunding by just looking at direct material rewards. These would for example include a t-shirt or the right to assign a name for (parts of) the project but this shouldn´t include for example symbolic certificates to have contributed to the project with the donation.
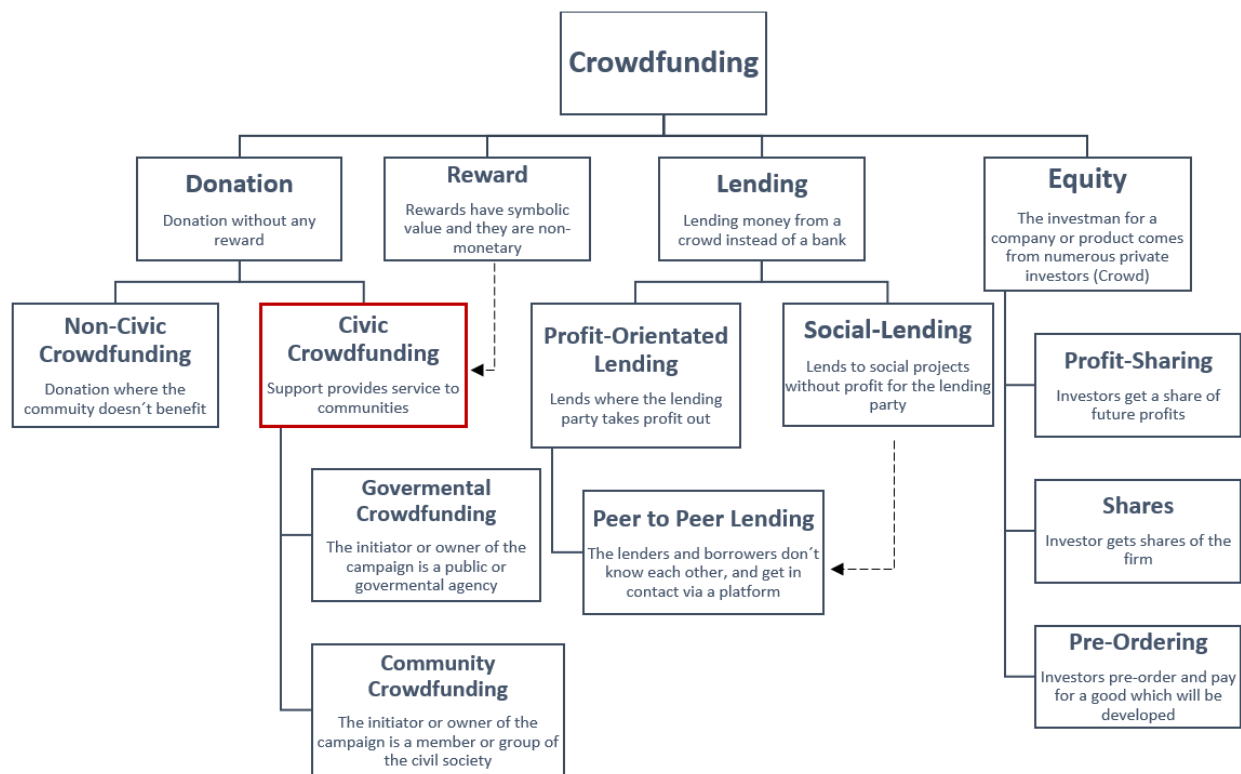
Figure 4: A hierarchical conceptualization of Crowdfunding. Own Source

Lending-based Crowdfunding

This subtype of Crowdfunding has less in common with donation-based crowdfunding and differs also significantly from the subtype of reward-based Crowdfunding. Lending-based Crowdfunding describes a system of investments from the crowd in return for a later repayment. In this sense the online platforms replace banks, who are traditionally the link between people who want to invest their money and borrowers (cf. Gleasure and Feller 2016). The most common form of lending-based Crowdfunding is the interaction of private investors who aim for profitable investments and firms who want to take credits. The reason for bypassing banks in this system can be better rates for investors and borrowers as well as fewer limitations and necessary securities (cf. Sixt 2014: 57-58). Besides profit-oriented lending, some platforms also offer the possibility to give credits with no or just minimal return rates. This form is considered as social-lending and investors give credits without the intention to make profit but to support mostly social projects. An example could be micro-credits to small businesses in developing countries. A special form of Crowd-lending is Peer-to-Peer lending. The difference between the two previous models is that the investment doesn't just come from an individual person but also the borrower are individuals and not firms. The platform

function as intermediary between the individual investor and the individual borrower. Even though Peer-to-Peer lending is more commonly used for profit, it can also be used for social lending (cf. de Buysere et al. 2012). In a nutshell, Crowd-lending is characterized by replacing banks or other traditional financial service provider and process credits more directly between investors and borrowers. Therefore it differs clearly from donation- or reward-based Crowdfunding, where the backer doesn´t receive equivalent monetary returns.

Equity-based Crowdfunding

This subtype of Crowdfunding is partly similar to profit-oriented lending Crowdfunding. Firms offer shares or profit-sharing of their company to get investments via online platforms. The investors can be ordinary private people who want to invest their money without the assistance of a bank or any other traditional financial service provider. Therefore equity-based Crowdfunding is also sometimes called crowd-investment (cf. Stix 2014: 57). Equity-based Crowdfunding is frequently used by smaller firms or start-ups who have difficulties to raise sufficient funding via more conservative ways like bank loans or professional investors. Therefore they try to raise the money directly from a crowd of private people who are willing to invest in the firm or their product. Normally, the individual investments are pretty small but the high number of possible reached investors can compensate this. The investors can get either a share of the firm or more commonly, they get a fixed share of future profits. A third option is that future consumers of a product produced by a firm pre-orders and pays in advance, even though the good is still being developed. This option is very popular for start-ups and smaller firms who have problems to afford the development-costs of a product (cf. Belleflamme et al. 2014). On popular Crowdfunding platforms like *Kickstarter* and *Indiegogo* this kind of Crowdfunding is dominant. To conclude, what equity-based Crowdfunding and lending-based Crowdfunding have in common is that they somehow bypass traditional financial service providers. While Lending-based Crowdfunding enables firms or private people to get loans directly from the crowd, equity-based Crowdfunding enables private people to invest even a small amount of money into a firm or to pre-order a product.

Donation-based Crowdfunding

Donation-based Crowdfunding is the category where the subtype of Civic Crowdfunding can be located. Firstly, this category differs from lending-based and equity-based Crowdfunding as backers don´t receive any monetary returns. Although reward-based Crowdfunding shows

strong similarities to donation-based Crowdfunding, the distinction are also the returns. As already mentioned in the paragraph on reward-based Crowdfunding, it is not always easy to define what is already considered as reward. The author uses a rather strict distinction for this work, which considers everything material which backers get in return for a donation as reward. The category of donation-based Crowdfunding can further be distinguished in Civic Crowdfunding and Non-Civic Crowdfunding. While Civic Crowdfunding will be understood as: "*Crowdfunding campaigns, mostly organized via the internet, which take place in public or semi-public spaces, whose outcomes serve the public and which overlap commonly with tasks where traditionally the public authorities are accountable",* Non-Civic Crowdfunding is simply considered as all donation-based Crowdfunding campaigns which don´t serve the public directly. Examples could be if the raised money is used to support a club where just its members have access or if the money goes to an NGO which doesn´t provide direct service to the community. Civic Crowdfunding on the other hand can be even further differentiated. The distinguishing criterion thereby is the initiator of the Crowdfunding campaign. If the initiator of the campaign is a public or governmental agency the term Governmental- or Governmental initiated - Crowdfunding is frequently used (cf. Lee et al. 2016). This form implies in a sense a contradiction with the bottom-up principle used in Crowdfunding campaigns initiated by citizens. On the other hand, as Civic Crowdfunding usually overlaps with tasks where the public authorities are accountable, governmental initiated campaigns have the advantage that they normally benefit from the support of the authorities from start to finish. Campaigns which are initiated by individuals or groups of the civil society normally have to deal sooner or later with governmental authorities. These Civic Crowdfunding campaigns which are initiated by members of the civil society can be particularly called Community Crowdfunding. In this thesis, if not explicitly mentioned, the term Civic Crowdfunding always refers to both, Community Crowdfunding und Governmental initiated Crowdfunding.

In this short chapter a quick typology of Crowdfunding in general has been developed and Civic Crowdfunding in particular has been framed in relation to other subtypes. This is fruitful as typologies allow to develop terms and to put them into context with each other. Consequently this can be helpful for theoretical understanding, especially if many technical terms are in use at the same time. However, in practice typologies are not always immediately applicable. This is also the case for Crowdfunding. In practice, the here illustrated types of Crowdfunding might not be always easy to distinguish or subtypes might overlap.

Nevertheless, the developed typology functions as a guideline for the presented analysis in this thesis.

2.4 What Civic Crowdfunding Campaigns Look Like – Some Characteristics

Even though the scientific research on Civic Crowdfunding is still at the beginning and further monitoring of campaigns is still necessary, some basic characteristics of it can be outlined. Civic Crowdfunding projects are usually rather small-scale projects, surpassingly with a charitable character or which produce a public or club good. A big number of campaigns are focused on public parks, gardens or other green spaces. Campaigns which are focusing on revitalization, beautification and renovation, mobility, public art, interventions or simple events are also rather common. The results of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns can be both, temporary and permanent. Some outcomes of a campaign, like a neighborhood event, may manifest just one day in the build environment while other campaigns like an urban gardening project manifest for a longer period of time.

If we look at the characteristics of Civic Crowdfunding in terms of size and funding, it can be noted that the size of the projects are usually rather small. Consequently, the average amount of fundraised money is compared to profit-orientated Crowdfunding relatively low. Van Tilburg (2015) estimates the average amount of money raised in European Civic Crowdfunding campaigns to be 4.500 Euros. In addition to that, most campaigns have a funding goal which lies between 300- and 40.000 Euros. This range might seem to be quite big but again, compared to profit-oriented Crowdfunding the funding goals are still rather low. However, there are some Civic Crowdfunding campaigns which are much bigger in terms of funding goal and raised money, but they are a clear minority. Regarding donations that are the basis of Crowdfunding it has to be highlighted that due to the lack of accessible data, an average concerning donations Civic Crowdfunding is pretty difficult to estimate. Rodrigo Davies (2014) estimates the average donation in Civic Crowdfunding campaigns amounts to 58 US. Dollars. Compared to the findings of this work, the estimation seems to be a bit too high. However, in line with Rodrigo Davies (2014), it must be pointed out that many donations in Civic Crowdfunding are significantly lower than 58 US. Dollars. There are many reported examples where backers give just one or two Euros and the funding campaign reaches its funding goal. Two reasons are responsible for that. First, if the crowd is big enough and the funding goal is reasonable the campaign can be successful just with small donations. Second, especially in

Civic Crowdfunding, donations from companies, NGOs, political parties or activist groups are not uncommon. Therefore, comparatively big donations from these kind of backers can push up the average donation. This might be also the reason for the relatively high estimated average donation in the work of Rodrigo Davies (2014). The empirical findings which underlie this thesis, indicate that the modus amount of donations in European Crowdfunding Campaigns might be around 20 Euros. Concerning the monetary characterization of Civic Crowdfunding, it should be kept in mind that donations but also the funding goals differ according to the economic situation of a country. Therefore findings from European or US-Civic Crowdfunding campaigns, won´t be straightforward comparable with findings of other parts of the world.

However, even though the online platforms are basically accessible worldwide, the world of Civic Crowdfunding doesn´t seem to be flat. The majority of campaigns are just operating in national boundaries (Lee et al. 2016). While the bigger Crowdfunding platforms like *Kickstarter* or *Indiegogo* are operating globally, there is no current single Civic Crowdfunding platform so far which works internationally. This doesn´t mean that people can´t donate from other countries but communication and the used language are addressing primarily national or local supporters. This can be caused either by the fact that Civic Crowdfunding platforms are rather new and still small and therefore lack resources for further expansion or by the fact that Civic Crowdfunding is more place-bound than entrepreneurial Crowdfunding.

2.5 The Actors

If urban development is considered as social practice, it is inevitable to take a deeper look at the actors who drive the permanent reshaping and rebuilding of the city (Gottdiener 2000, Lefebvre 1991).The unraveling of relations, resources, power, cooperation and conflicts of the actors who shape the city together require a characterization and analyses of their roles. When we look at Civic Crowdfunding in the context of urban development, four major groups of actors can be detected: the platforms, the crowd, the public authorities and third parties like NGOs, architects, developers, political parties etc. These groups are slightly differently assembled in the US and Europe, mainly due to the different political and civic context. The characterization and assembly of the highlighted actors is based on the one hand on recent scientific publications on Civic Crowdfunding and on the other the research undertaken for

this work. This aggregation allows us to outline some basic characteristics of Civic Crowdfunding and its actors despite the novelty of the phenomenon.

The Crowd

The collectivity of all the individual supporters of a campaign forms the crowd, which is the eponym for Crowdfunding. The concept of the crowd in general, while doing so, is rather vague. This applies also to the size of the crowd or in other words, to the question of how many individuals are needed to form a crowd. The rather small size of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns in terms of funding goals and average donations doesn´t mean that the number of people who support the campaign has to be automatically small. The range of supporters in Civic Crowdfunding campaigns is quite large and represents the heterogeneity of the projects. Consequently it is rather difficult to name an average amount of backers for Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. First, there is no adequate accessible data from all the Civic Crowdfunding platforms to calculate a meaningful average. Second, the campaigns differ so much in their size that even if it would be possible to calculate an average, it would be rather questionable how informative this number could be. However, to roughly give an overview on the number of donators in Civic Crowdfunding, the typical small-middle-size campaigns which have approximate funding goals in between 1.000 and 20.000 Euros need to be considered. In these very typical campaigns, commonly between 50 and 100 people donate money and by doing so form the crowd. Campaigns which have a significant higher amount of donators are rare but some examples can be found. On the other hand, there are also successful campaigns which have a very small number of backers, often not more than 8 or 15 individuals and still reach their funding goal. Naturally, these campaigns have smaller funding goals, but there is a notable number of successful very small-scale Civic Crowdfunding campaigns.

So it is not just the number of participants which defines the crowd. It is more the practice of supporting the same idea in an anonymous form. Thereby, the link between the individuals can be the simple fact that they donate for the same campaign. In case of online-donations this can exclude any kind of social contact in-between the individuals. However, in most cases the supporters might share more than just their interest for the same project. Distance is an important variable for participants in Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. Actually, it would be even more accurate to speak about proximity and its two dimensions in this context. On the one hand, geographical proximity matters when it comes to participation in Civic

Crowdfunding. Donators who live a certain distance from a proposed campaign can have different motives than those who live even further away. That is to say, that the location of the project site limits the access to the good or service financed by the campaign, even though it is a public commodity in the strict sense of the term. If the project is not in the same neighborhood, city or even country the personal rewards in terms of profiting from the implemented campaign are rather small. Taking the example of a civic crowdfunded neighborhood park, a person who lives in the neighborhood will be able to use the park more frequently, somebody from another neighborhood less frequently and somebody who lives not even in the same city is hardly ever going to use the park. Nevertheless, some examples of people that donate money to Civic Crowdfunding campaigns even though they live quite far away can be found. It might be an important motivation for some donators to make use out of and benefit from the funded project. If supporters are predominantly local citizens this might be an indicator for indirect reward-motivated participation. This is in line with research that shows that people who live in the area are overrepresented in Civic Crowdfunding and it is therefore not exclusively driven by philanthropy (cf. Stiever et al. 2015). On the contrary, donations which are coming from backers who live far away could be considered as truly philanthropic.

The second dimension of proximity is the social distance between donators and the campaign or its initiators. It can be expected that social proximity matters at least in the same way as geographical distance does. As a big proportion of the donators live close to the campaign, frequent social relations to either the campaign initiators or the project can be assumed. Consequently, if people have strong social relations to the initiators they might be driven by solidarity or feel even obligated to participate. On the contrary, if the donator doesn´t have any kind of social relationship, it can be an indicator for more philanthropic reasons of their support. However, further research will be necessary to make concrete conclusions between the motivation and the geographical and social distance of backers in Civic Crowdfunding. So far it can be noted that personal rewards and social relations play a role in the motivation of backers.

Distance and Motivation of Backers in Civic Crowdfunding
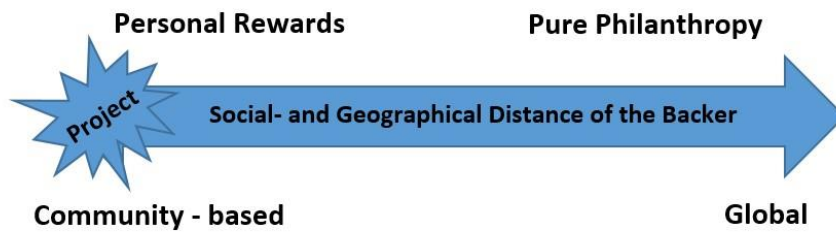
Figure 5: Motivation in Civic Crowdfunding and the matter of geographical and social distance. Own source.

Moreover, Geography matters not just in terms of the motivation of supporters of Civic Crowdfunding but the occurrence of campaigns shows also a certain spatial pattern. Most campaigns take place in large urban areas and particularly in the same areas where the operating online platform is based. Furthermore, there are indications for a spatial correlation between the concentration of young well educated people, such as university students, and Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. In other words, Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are frequently based in cities with a high amount of students (cf. Davis 2015). The surpassing occurrence of Civic Crowdfunding might be also related to the better telecommunication infrastructure in urban areas. It is not just that people with higher education are more concentrated in cities, it is also a fact that high-speed internet access is still often restricted to urban areas. Additionally, the density of free – Wi-Fi spots and other public internet access points is normally also higher in urban areas.

The relationship between Civic Crowdfunding and certain socio-demographic pattern is controversially discussed in the scientific community. For the United States, a correlation between average income and the occurrence of Civic Crowdfunding can be observed. In particular, Civic Crowdfunding happens more often in regions with a median income above average (cf. Davies 2014: 64). On the other hand, this might be simply caused by the high concentration of Civic Crowdfunding in large urban areas. Most metropolitan regions have higher average incomes compared to the national average. Therefore it remains uncertain to which extent these two variables, urban areas and income, are influencing the probability for Civic Crowdfunding or if one variable is just a dummy variable for the other. On the contrary, if the attention is drawn on a smaller scale within the urban area, a clear correlation between

socio-economical pattern and the occurrence of Civic Crowdfunding is missing. It seems that there is no clear correlation between income and the occurrence of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns within a city. Analysis show that Civic Crowdfunding projects are more or less equally distributed over urban areas, without peaks in lower- or higher income neighborhoods. The same applies for participation in Civic Crowdfunding. There are no indications for a correlation between the success to reach the fundraising goal and the income of the neighborhood where it takes place (cf. Citizenvestor 2014). However, for the United States, there is evidence that many Civic Crowdfunding campaigns have a philanthropic character and take place explicitly in under deserved neighborhoods. Davies (2015) estimates that one out of five Civic Crowdfunding campaigns refers to support under deserved populations. There are many successful campaigns which support social institutions like community centers or to help marginalized groups. For these campaigns, there is a reason to believe that the funding goals wouldn´t have been reached without charity driven donations from outside the neighborhood. In general, it seems to be still too early to conclude universal propositions about the relationship between Civic Crowdfunding and socio-demographic pattern. As also Stiver et al. (2015) notices, the research on people and communities which are participating and which are indirectly involved must be set on the agenda for further analysis.

The Platforms

The emergence of Crowdfunding is deeply related with the shift of communication and participation towards online channels and platforms. Consequently, online platforms play a crucial role for all kinds of Crowdfunding and function as a nexus between the initiator and the crowd. To understand the logics of Civic Crowdfunding, it is necessary to take a deeper look at the online platforms on which the campaigns are managed and the money which is collected.

The first widely known online Crowdfunding platform was *Indiegogo* which was launched already in 2008. Shortly after, in 2009, the online platform *Kickstarter* followed. These platforms were at the beginning principally not designed for Civic Crowdfunding, the original idea was to offer entrepreneurs or start-ups a platform to get in to contact with possible supporters of their products. The novelty of this idea was, that via these platforms ordinary people could act directly as investors. At the same time, entrepreneurs had an alternative

possibility to raise investments instead of more traditional ways. The idea to use an online Crowdfunding platform for a charitable, donation-based campaign might not have been the main motivation for the launch of the first Platforms like *Indiegogo* or *Kickstarter*. However, Crowdfunding was from the very beginning already used for charitable purposes. One example is the online donation campaign from President Obama to finance his run for presidency, which raised already in 2008, 137 million US Dollars. This campaign showed already significant similarities to recent Civic Crowdfunding campaigns (cf. de Buysere et al. 2012: 9). Soon after the launch of the first entrepreneurial Crowdfunding platforms the first exclusive Civic Crowdfunding platform were developed. Milestones were the launch of *IOBY* in 2009, followed by *Spacehive* in 2011 and *Citizenvestor* in 2012 (cf. Stiver et al. 2015, Davis 2014: 47).

The current landscape of Civic Crowdfunding platforms is quite diverse. On the one hand, the exclusive and quite professional Civic Crowdfunding platforms like *IOBY*, *Spacehive, Citizenvestor* etc. are very present in the countries where they are based but usually don´t operate internationally. On the other hand, many of the primary profit-oriented platforms like *Kickstarter* or *Indiegogo* have implemented sub-categories for Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. The major platforms of this category operate also increasingly international. Besides the bigger and highly professional platforms, more local platforms have recently launched. These platforms are often initiated by activist groups or even by public authorities. Apart from that, new private Civic Crowdfunding platforms are also still getting launched. Even though these newcomers are normally locally focused and their size is not comparable to the already established platforms, they increase the total number of platforms and demonstrate that the market is still growing and dynamic. This shows that the demand for Civic Crowdfunding platforms is still increasing. While in the United States and North-Western Europe several Civic Crowdfunding platforms are already established and the number of campaigns and the amount of raised money has reached significant sums, in other parts of Europe Civic Crowdfunding is still rather absent (cf. Zhang et al. 2016:28). In the following section a brief characterization of the different operating platform-types will be provided.

<u>Profit-oriented Crowdfunding Platforms</u>

These category of platforms includes the oldest Crowdfunding platforms such as *Indiegogo* and *Kickstarter*. Even though these platforms were primary launched for entrepreneurs and start-ups and these platforms are increasingly used for Civic Crowdfunding projects. Some

platforms allow to tag a campaigns as "Civic" or even provide an own category for "Civic" projects. On these platforms everybody can start a Crowdfunding project, but normally it is used by individual initiators. As these platforms are profit-oriented, a fee which is a percentage of the successfully funded sum of a campaign is charged. The percentage can differ, but the two biggest platforms *IOBY* and *Kickstarter* take 5%. This means also that for the platform the profit depends on the successful funding of a campaign. Normally, campaigns must have a defined funding goal and if the total amount is not reached in the previously defined time, the total money is transferred back to the backers. Recently, flexible campaigns where no funding goal is set are also allowed on some platforms. Although these platforms are not primary designed for Civic Crowdfunding, they do permit such campaigns. The ongoing usage of entrepreneurial platforms for Civic Crowdfunding campaigns might be caused by their high publicity and also by the fact that they operate rather internationally and are available in several languages.

Exclusive Civic Crowdfunding Platforms

The first platforms which have been exclusively designed for Civic Crowdfunding campaigns were launched a bit later but their number has increased over recent years. Some of these platforms like for example the Great Britain-based *Spacehive,* operate with similar principles as the profit-oriented platforms but have an optimized design for Civic Crowdfunding projects. However, these platforms are profit-oriented and charge 5% of the total raised money of successful campaigns. The difference between the abovementioned presented platforms is that only Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are permitted. In contrast, other platforms like US-based *IOBY* are officially considered as non-profit entities. These platforms may also charge fees for successful projects to compensate their costs but don´t aim for profit (In the case of *IOBY:* 3% of the successfully raised money). Normally, on these platforms individuals can initiate a campaign once the platform permits the project. On the other hand, there are also platforms which are not open to individuals. These platforms allow exclusively governmental agencies as initiators of campaigns. In other words, they are specialized in Governmental Crowdfunding. The aim of these platforms is to allow governmental authorities to raise money for civic projects directly from citizens. Some platforms like *US-based Citizenvestor* allow strictly governmental initiated Civic Crowdfunding campaigns without any rewards. This means that authorities can propose their ideas via the platform and citizens decide with their

donations if the project will be realized. The platform operates for profit and charges 5% of the successful raised money. Other platforms like also US-based *Neighborly* go even one step further and function as public loan broker. Platforms like this enable private people to invest in municipal bonds. With this money public infrastructure will be financed but include a monetary reward for the backer.

<u>Local and Campaign Initiated Civic Crowdfunding Platforms</u>

In addition to the abovementioned presented types of platforms which are operating on a bigger scale in terms of the raised money but also in terms of their covered territories, locally-focused Civic Crowdfunding platforms have also increased recently. These platforms differ from the bigger ones so far, as they are especially designed to cover just a city, a region or a smaller (for example European) country at the most. Frequently, these platforms are also supported, co-founded or even totally founded by governmental authorities. The Brussel based platform *Crowdfunding vzw* is a good example of this. The operational area of the platform is limited to Brussels and the surrounding area. Furthermore, the launch of the platform was initiated by a university research group and financially supported by the Flemish Government of Brussels. The platform operates as a non-profit entity and has the aim to provide a Civic Crowdfunding platform for Brussels and its citizens. The campaigns of the platform are rather small-scale with an average funding goal of 6,400 Euros, but have an extraordinary successes rate of 74%. Moreover, there are also platforms which cover not just a metropolitan area but a (middle) European size country. These platforms are not directly comparable to US-based platforms in terms of the number of projects or the territory they cover due to the different market sizes they operate in. One example of these platforms is the Amsterdam-based platform *Voor je Buurt.* This Civic Crowdfunding platform operates just in the Netherlands and has therefore a market of 17 million people (in comparison with more than 300 million people in the USA). The concept of the platform differs from the bigger US or UK platforms in the sense that *Voor je Buurt* cooperates intensively with governmental authorities on all scales and gets also support from them. Their campaigns are rather small-scale and as a consequence their average funding goal for a campaign is around 4.500 Euros. That is significantly less than the average of the bigger US- and UK-based platforms. Consequently, these platforms are reliant on cooperation with municipalities as alternative source of income. Furthermore, the fact that Civic Crowdfunding campaigns interfere

commonly in the area of responsibility of governmental authorities facilitate cooperation. For many Civic Crowdfunding platforms governmental projects or subsidies function as necessary ancillary revenues. Therefore, campaigns which are organized and managed on behalf of municipalities are normally especially focused on participation and community building (cf. van Tilburg 2015).

The so far presented forms of Civic Crowdfunding platforms function as a connection between project initiator and possible supporters and present therefore an independent entity in the system of Crowdfunding. The vast majority of campaigns are processed on these types of platforms. However, some initiators of a Civic Crowdfunding campaign launch own platforms exclusively for their campaign. In this case the platform is not a neutral entity anymore, it is part of the campaign. Initiators who have the resources to develop their own platform are a small minority but as the example of the Antwerp based campaign *Ringland*[9] shows, they can be successful. The reason for this group of activists to launch a special platform for their Crowdfunding campaign was that they were not satisfied by any of the existing Crowdfunding platforms. Due the serendipity that one of the activist had (the knowledge and the resources to set up an online platform for the campaign which included an online payment system) the initiative could run their campaign on a specially designed platform. The advantages of defining the conditions (open or fixed fundraising goal, fees, chat, etc.) have to been seen in context to the challenges that have to be faced. The initiator doesn´t just have to finance and program their own platform but also carry out all the communication and promotion without support from the experienced experts from an external platform. However, the Antwerp case shows that if the initiators have sufficient resources this is a feasible way to organize a successful campaign.

This brief overview about the current landscape of Civic Crowdfunding platforms shows that it is a very diverse field in many senses. On the one hand the platforms differ significantly in their size, in territorial coverage, by the already raised funding and also by their policies and terms of use. One the other hand, it can be concluded that at least some US-based platforms are operating on a bigger scale than the European ones and have the highest level of

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[9]*Ringland* is a Citizen initiative in Antwerp, which raised in just 6 weeks 100.000 Euros via Crowdfunding to finance a feasibility study to cape the city highway in Antwerp to win new green spaces and improve living quality.

Selection of US- and European Crowdfunding Platforms which are used for Civic Crowdfunding 2016							
Platform	Country	Type of Crowdfunding	Profit/ non-profit	Fee[1]	Initiator	raised money[2]	launched
Kickstarter	USA & global	General CF	Profit	5%	Individuals	2,71 B $	2009
Indiegogo	USA & global	General CF	Profit	5%	Individuals	1 B $	2008
Spacehive	UK	Civic CF	Profit	5%	Individuals	5,59 M $	2012
IOBY	USA	Civic CF	Non-profit	3%	Individuals	2,76 M $	2009
Citizenvestor	USA	Civic CF	Profit	5%	Authorities	No data	2012
Neighborly	USA	Civic CF	Profit	non	Communes	No data	2012
Voor je Buurt	Netherlands	Civic CF	Non-profit	5%	Individuals	700.000€	2013
CF BXL	Belgium	Civic CF	Non-profit	10%	Individuals	442.000€	2013

Figure 6: Selection of US- and European Crowdfunding Platforms which are used for Civic Crowdfunding in 2016. Source: own draft.

[1]*Percentage from the total raised money of a campaign.*
[2] *Total amount of raised money since platform was launched by December 2016.*

professionalism. This is accompanied with an observable differentiation of the US-based platforms. While some platforms focus on non-profit Civic Crowdfunding for citizen initiatives, others specialize in the Crowdfunding of governmental initiated projects. Another trend is the usage of the term Civic Crowdfunding to offer investments in municipal bonds, as some platforms do. To what extend this has anything to do with the initial meaning of Civic Crowdfunding has to be questioned. The European platforms in general, seem to be smaller and don´t have the same level of professionalism. No single platform exists which covers a comparable market like that of the US. However, in some countries like Great Britain, Civic Crowdfunding platforms seem to orientate more on the US-platforms. On the other hand, the smaller Continental European platforms seem to focus more on the initial meaning of Civic Crowdfunding, to provide service to the community. The platforms operate more frequently non-profit and cooperate often intensively with the governmental authorities. Admittedly, these conclusions must be seen in the context of the novelty and the unequal expansion of Civic Crowdfunding in Europe. Given the fact that none of the Civic Crowdfunding platforms are older than five years and in many European countries Civic Crowdfunding platforms have not yet developed, the further development, especially in Europe, is hard to predict.

Governmental Authorities

As it has been already highlighted in the definition of Civic Crowdfunding, governmental authorities can´t be left out when we are talking about the main actors. The aim of many campaigns seems to interfere with the function of public authorities. Expressed in exaggerated terms, this means that Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are intruding in the area of responsibility of public authorities. This must be seen in the context, that public authorities in Europe and the US traditionally have the duty, but also to a certain point the sole right, to provide services to communities. Consequently, in most cases they can´t be bypassed at all stages of the campaign. When a campaign addresses whatever form of public or semi-public space, public authorities have to deal with the issue and their cooperation for a successful implementation is needed. The cooperation between campaign initiators and the responsible public authorities can differ from case to case and from city to city. Examples where cooperation is favorable can be also found in examples where public authorities tend to suppress or simply ignore campaigns.

Alternatively to Civic Crowdfunding which is initiated by citizens, there are increasingly Civic Crowdfunding campaigns which are even started by governmental agencies. Consequently, public authorities are not just a crucial stakeholder but even become the driver force behind the campaign. In these cases the agency proposes an initiative and collects via an online platform, for example *Citizenvestor,* the money from citizens for the project to materialize. Therefore it is up to the citizens to decide with their donations which public projects are going to be implemented. Frequently, governmental lead Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are also used to finance the lack of budget for a public project. An example could be that the city has just 30% of the necessary budget to revitalize a public park and starts therefore a Crowdfunding campaign to raise money for the missing funding. Lately, it becomes also a more common practice to combine public private partnership (PPP) – projects with Civic Crowdfunding. Considering the same example of the park, these would mean that the city funds 30%, another 30% of the funding comes from a private investor or sponsor and the remaining 40% is raised via a Crowdfunding campaign. This kind of governmental initiated Crowdfunding campaigns could be as Lee et al. (2016) suggests also termed *Governmental Crowdfunding* and might be considered as a further sub-category of Civic Crowdfunding. However, the trend of governmental initiated Crowdfunding is even newer than Civic Crowdfunding and more bound to the USA, Great Britain and very recently to the Netherlands.

In most European countries Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are still rather initiated by citizens or citizen groups.

Third Parties

The first three presented actors are normally directly involved in Civic Crowdfunding. Apart from these stakeholders, another group of actors is often involved in the background. Even though this group may have not any legal instruments to manipulate the discourses, by pursuing their interests, they can have noticeable influence on a campaign. Examples of this rather diverse group of actors are NGOs or political parties who might support a Civic Crowdfunding campaign because the project meets their beliefs or is in line with their political strategies. Other examples are architects and developers who are possibly assigned to carry out the implementation of a successful campaign for urban development. Consequently, they have self-interests in the process of a campaign and might try to lead the discourse in a way which is favorable for them. Additionally, already existing citizen groups can play an important role in the background. Sometimes Civic Crowdfunding campaigns develop out of a community group or the initiators take up an issue which has already been put forth by a community group. Another possible scenario could be that a local citizen group starts to support an upcoming Civic Crowdfunding campaign. Their presence and network can on the one hand boost the campaign but the group can also try to gain popularity through that influence on the campaign. Lastly, recently emerging Crowdfunding consultancies can also be sorted into this group. These offices collaborate with governmental authorities and mediate between the crowd and local politicians. The size and composition of this in the background acting group may differ with the campaigns and depends also on the protagonists' precision of analysis. However their heterogeneity would be a common outcome.

2.6 Narratives and Discourses Interwoven with Civic Crowdfunding

This section addresses a theoretical foundation of Civic Crowdfunding in the context of contemporary social-science theories. The following pages shall provide the basis for the further empirical analysis in the later chapters. Furthermore, the presented theories and discourses will be also the frame for the final discussion of the findings of the work. Looking at Civic Crowdfunding from the background of Urban Studies, Urban Geography or other disciplines of social science, different discourses and narratives which affect the topic can be identified. As Civic Crowdfunding is a pretty recent and highly interdisciplinary issue, "the one"

universal theoretical frame to tackle the subject doesn´t exist. On the contrary, there are several contemporary discourses which can contribute for a deeper understanding and provide an interface for further theoretical considerations. In this sub-chapter four current argumentation lines will be briefly presented and their interfaces with Civic Crowdfunding outlined. These narratives are also frequently taken up by experts in the discourse concerning Civic Crowdfunding. Furthermore, the presented reflections were also influential for the formulation of the research-questions of the interviews and the content analyses. Lastly, in the later discussion the attempt to link the results introduced here and the narratives will be carried out.

2.6.1 Civic Crowdfunding, a New Way of Participatory Urbanism?

Participation has evolved to one of the most discussed issues in urban- and spatial planning over the last 40 years. This is reasoned by the assumption that public participation is a corner-stone of democracy (cf. Roberts 2004: 315). The shift in the planning paradigm in Europe and the US began in the 1960s when the idea of technocratic – top down planning became slowly outdated and new forms of citizen involvement like advocacy planning, public hearings, public surveys, town hall meetings, public advisory committees or focus groups were developed (cf. Kleinhans et al. 2015, Rowe and Frewer 2000). An important role in the theoretical debate about participatory planning had been worked on by Jürgen Habermas in the 1980s, particularly his theory of communicative action and discourse ethics. His ideas stimulated the discussion about public interest and his theories were an important point of reference for the legitimacy of planning (cf. Mattila 2016, Sheffield 2009). Using Habermas theories as a starting point, Patsey Healy developed the concept of collaborative planning. Her theory addresses the relevance of public interest for planning in post-modern societies characterized by increasing cultural diversity. Her work has even today a major impact on the scientific discourse regarding participatory urban planning. For her, collaborative planning is about strategic approaches to the governance of place, it pays attention to the good of the city and it´s good governance (cf. Healey 2003). The UN-Habitat campaign from the year 1999 on good urban governance reflects the call for inclusive cities on a political level. The main aim of the campaign is the eradication of urban poverty, which might be especially an issue in developing countries, but the proposed instrument to reach this goal is increased participation of all citizens in the decision making process (cf. United Nations 2002). The global initiative and the

continuing UN-Habitat follow-up-campaigns increased the awareness of inclusive and participatory urban governance with citizens and politicians. This example just illustrates that collaborative planning has entered not just scientific but also political discourses around the globe. In Europe and the United States, where we can look back to a longer history of participatory planning, the use of collaborative instruments in urban planning have become already the norm over recent decades. Most European and US-Cities are committed in policy manifesto and legislation to the ideal of the inclusive city and to the usage of collaborative planning.

When in the 1960´s the first instruments of public participation were developed, the usage of modern digital technology was not an issue. With the rise of personal computers and the internet in the late 1990´s, the first attempts to use the benefits of this new technology for participatory planning were undertaken (cf. Hollander 2011). The recent innovations in communication and information technology draw the attention of planners towards new tools like social media and mobile online applications that may open up new possibilities for digitally supported engagement. The era of ubiquitous internet accessibility paves the way for the adaption of current digital trends for the purpose of citizen participation (cf. Kleinhans et al. 2015). One trend is the usage of Crowdsourcing, which allows the usage of crowd-wisdom for planning. It is based on the assumption that under the right circumstances groups show remarkable intelligence (cf. Brabham 2009, Surowiecki 2004:11). This principle is for example the basis for the online lexicon *Wikipedia*. The collective effort of many individuals to gather, review and improve. The content creates a compilation of knowledge which would be impossible to reach for a single person. This idea can and is already successfully adopted for urban planning. The governmental authorities deliver the online platform and outline the challenges of the project. It is essential that all available data is also provided on the online platform, so that citizens can inform themselves about the economical, legal, environmental etc. background of the project. In the next step, citizens can post their solutions or recommendations for the project and the other users can comment on them. Finally voting on the received solutions can be organized and the winning idea can be either directly implemented or taken as a starting point for further discussion with experts. This approach can lower the barrier of participation and invite citizens who have difficulties to be involved in more traditional methods. The only requirement for participation is internet access and it empowers people to make their voices heard who have difficulties to attend meetings,

rhetoric deficiencies or just shyness. Furthermore, strong interested groups cannot influence the meeting with emotional appeals or rhetoric domination (cf. Brabham 2009). Furthermore, the usage of online channels could enhance the participation of teenagers and young adults. This group is traditionally underrepresented in participatory process but has the highest affinity for online tools. Therefore, this could be an opportunity to involve the youngest citizens into the decision-making processes (cf. Ertelt 2012). Lastly, the usage of online instruments can improve transparency. Citizens have access to all kinds of information and governmental authorities can provide nearly reel-time updates on the process. Thereby decision making processes and budget allocation can be made more transparent for citizens (cf. Lee et al. 2016). On the other hand, several points of criticism have to be taken into consideration. However, even in times of apparent ubiquitous internet accessibility, the digital divide is still a fact in US- and European urban societies, especially the elderly and citizens with a lower socio-economical capital have still restricted access to online applications. This is caused by two limitations. First, the lack of knowledge and familiarity to use online applications and second limited internet access. It is not so much an issue that people don´t have access to the internet at all but that some groups have restricted access due to older or non-mobile online devices and slower or limited internet connections at home.

The idea of Crowdsourcing is also present in the practice of participatory budgeting. It was first applied in 1989 in Porto Alegre in Brazil to strengthen local democracy but is recently also practiced in European and US Cities like Paris or New York. The idea is that a certain percentage of the annual budget is reserved for ideas proposed by the citizens. The process of proposing ideas and the final election of winning proposals by the citizens is normally supported by an online platform. Even though most cities still allow proposals and votes via post, participatory budgeting in Europe and the US is strongly based on the support online platforms and communication channels (cf. Nez 2013).

If Crowdfunding is seen as a subtype of Crowdsourcing, it would just be a logical consequence to also contemplate it as an instrument for participatory planning. The difference between Crowdsourcing or participatory budgeting is that the engagement of citizens is taken one step further. They provide not just ideas and can vote for them, they even support projects with their donations. Civic Crowdfunding as participatory online instrument shares therefore not just the advantages and concerns with Crowdsourcing, it brings also new ones up. The most

common issued critique is the necessity to donate at least a minimum amount of money to be able to participate in Civic Crowdfunding. Even though in most campaigns small donations from 1 or 2 Euros are welcome, it can be a barrier for people. Moreover, for some people online payment might be an additional obstacle. People who don´t have a credit card or other kinds of online payment methods like *Pay Pall* or *Google Wallet* might be excluded from Civic Crowdfunding. Then again, the financial aspect can be also seen as a strength of the new online tools. Traditional participatory instruments can have costs up to several hundred-thousand Euros. An online Crowdsourcing or Civic Crowdfunding campaign can be an inexpensive complement, especially if already existing online platforms are used. Coming back to the ideal of the inclusive city, it becomes clear that Civic Crowdfunding has certainly potentials to foster participation in urban planning. Admittedly, there are also justified concerns about how inclusive Civic Crowdfunding can be and how it can eventually contribute to the good of the city and good urban governance.

2.6.2 Civic Crowdfunding in the Context of Neoliberalism, Crises and Austerity

The second major theoretical discourse which has to be considered in the context of Civic Crowdfunding is the neo-marxist critique of capitalism in post-modern society and its impacts on cities. The debate is based on the observation of the chronical and permanent crises of capitalism, especially since the 1970s and its economic and political consequences for cities in the post-fordist era (cf. Belina 2011). The political response to the constant crises was a shift towards a new urban governance of entrepreneurialism instead of managerialism like in the fordist-era and has led to an increased inter urban competition for resources, jobs and capital (cf. Harvey 1989). Over the last decades, these neoliberal politics have not just become the mainstream argumentation in policy papers of the OECD and other major consultative institutions but also common practice in the urban governance of most US and European cities (cf. Theodore and Peck 2011). The political program of neoliberalism can have local features but certain characteristics are typical on a global scale. Namely, the loss of importance for the national level and the change from a welfare to a workfare approach in social policy. As also, a shift from the sole reasonability of the state to compensate market failures, towards networked, partnership-based economic, political and social governance mechanisms (cf. Jessop 2006). Furthermore, privatization and liberalization have been adopted even in traditionally social-democratic countries. Public-private Partnerships are symptomatic for

these new mechanisms and has become a preferential way to out-source responsibilities which have been previously directly carried out by public authorities (cf. Brenner 2004). This roll-back of the state had also a significant impact on the relationship between urban institutions and civil society. The rescaling of national states, which originally had the aim of increasing competitiveness, brought more power to the subnational level. Urban regions frequently gained more autonomy as a consequence of these globalization-strategies (cf. Brenner 2004). The increased urban autonomy led to an opening up of the institutions to civil society but also for private actors. While on the one hand civil society could influence the political agenda more actively, local actors from the business community benefited as well and could enforce their interests more effectively. (cf. Jouve 2005). These dynamics paved the way for new forms of governance where citizens can be more involved in the decision making processes but are also asked for more responsibility, especially in terms of finance and welfare. The roll-back of the centralistic welfare-state which has been built up since the end of the Second World War in most Western-European countries presents citizens today with the challenge of reinforced self-organization and autonomy. The shift in responsibility towards the local scale and at the same time even towards individuals can provoke new forms of civil self-organization. To what extent Civic Crowdfunding is triggered by these dynamics and whether it can be seen as a direct consequence of neoliberal urban governance will be a topic of much discussion. However, this brief outline of the popular neo-Marxist discourse on contemporary urban governance examines the phenomenon of Civic Crowdfunding as a form of non-intrinsic citizen engagement.

The current discourse on the 2007/08 financial crises and the aftermath are deeply linked to the previously mentioned neo-marxist criticism of capitalism. The global financial crises which started in 2007, had a noticeable impact on US and European urban governance. The political response to the crises, derived from the entrenched paradigm of neoliberalism, was austerity. The chosen measures to deal with the crises were deficit reduction, public-sector downsizing and growth restoration at any price (cf. Peck at al. 2013). Cities were especially affected by the crises due to their reliance on public services, the surpassing impact of the housing crises and the fact that they are home to the people most vulnerable to austerity measures like minorities, the underserved poor or other marginalized groups. This was intensified through the re-scaling of national states, because of increased autonomy for the urban scale enabled in a sense the cascading of problems from the national scale to local governments (cf.

Fainstein 2016, Peck 2012). Or in other words, the financial crises entailed an urban crises (cf. Harvey 2012). For many European cities it was the first time since the Second World War that they experienced budget shortages and massive financial cut backs. Some US-Cities like Detroit were also hit very hard and had to cope with threatening bankruptcy but many US-cities experienced austerity already in the urban crises of the 1970´s. The City of New York for example had seen a massive wave of cut-backs and privatization already around 1975, when the city went nearly bankrupt. These days, central park – a major landmark of the city, maintained by citizen donations (approximately 75%). This is just one especially illustrative example but it shows that some measures, which might be new for European cities, are already the norm on the other side of the Atlantic. However, for citizens most affected by austerity policies it won´t really matter if as Krugman (2012: 27) sums it up: "*The austerity drive ...isn't really about debt and deficits at all, it's about using deficit panic as an excuse to dismantle social programs*", or if economic recovery was really the initial goal of this type of politics. Many citizens, especially in European cities had to deal for the first time with a crisis which had a massive and long term impact on them as well as their families and friends. The fact that the state or the city couldn´t provide the full-range of services anymore, as it was the case before the crises, led to new political activism and changed the political landscape in many European countries and most recently also in the US. The "occupy movement" for example and their slogan "we are the 99%", spread from the US-East Cost to around the world. In Europe and especially in the southern countries this had especially strong impacts, with the rise of new political parties and civil society movements. On the other hand it also created new forms of citizen initiatives and solidarity. Many people responded to the austerity with increased charity and volunteering to soften the impact for their fellow citizens. This often bottom-up organized initiatives, ranged from soup-kitchens, to small scale circular economy projects. But not just citizens, also local governments who were hit very hard through the combination of decentralization and the crises, developed innovative strategies of resistance to the imposed budget-shortages. This included a new way of collaboration with the citizens and a more active integration of volunteers and NGOs in public services. (cf. Williams et al. 2014). The dismantling of services provided by the authorities had big local differences but it had in many cities an impact on the relationship between citizens and the public institutions. The fields of responsibility are in flux and they are currently renegotiated. The emergence of

Civic Crowdfunding coincides with the post-crises years and its dynamics. However, the question about possible causalities will be addressed in a later chapter of this work.

2.6.3 Do-It-Yourself Urbanism, Democratization and the Right to the City

While the preceding paragraphs were more centered around dynamics like crisis, neoliberalism or austerity, which can be seen as a trigger for new forms of urban governance and cause specific responses of civil society, this paragraph deals with action initiated by citizens, driven more by intrinsic motivation for a change of their urban environment. Recently, a growth of rather small-scale practices of reshaping urban spaces can be observed. Practices like guerilla urbanism, tactical urbanism, community gardening, food-cooperation or flash-mobbing gain the attention of the media but are also increasingly part of scientific discussions. Even though the approaches of the just listed practices differ significantly, some are temporary others are long-term, some are mediated with the authorities some are strictly speaking illegal. What they all have in common is that they strive to reshape and improve the urban fabric. This common characteristic allows the attempt to group them together under the banner of Do-It-Yourself Urbanism (DIY-Urbanism) (cf. Iverson 2013). These practices summed up as DIY-Urbanism can be read as a "*trend to greater social commitment, to more participation, to active networks and the desire to try something new*" (Finn 2014). DIY-Urbanism implies to some extend innovation and unconventional approaches. Although most of the previously mentioned practices might be rather seen as contemporary approaches to reshape urban spaces, DIY-Urbanism has especially in the US also a historical dimension. Small-scale incremental improvements of the urban environment first became prominent in the late 19th century in the US. The massive wave of urbanization overstrained the cities and urban decay and slum dwellings were a consequence. In those days, first beautification groups were formed which were aimed at improving neighborhoods by organizing clean ups, plantings and even street art (cf. Talen 2015). The tradition of this "hands-on" approach continued also in the 20th century. First, in the form of resistance against modernist city planning, with activists like Jane Jacobs as leading figures. The challenge changed from pure beautification to the conservation of evolved city structures against the mainstream of demolition and reconstruction according to modernist principles in this era (cf. Talen 2015). In Western European cities similar movements in this era took place against the brutal transformation of the cities but in Eastern Europe the political situation didn´t allow civil

resistance in the same way. Another phenomenon which must be seen especially in the US-context is the reaction of civil groups to the urban crises in the 1970´s. The repeated urban decay in many cities in this epoch was not caused by massive urbanization but rather by massive sub-urbanization. This triggered the formation of conservancies and neighborhood initiatives that started to take care of the maintenance of public spaces because they felt that public authorities were no longer able to do it. The decline of rather central urban neighborhoods led also to different dynamics like squatting and autonomous housing collectives. Today in the era of widespread re-urbanization and with the return of social and economic capital to the city centers, the idea of DIY-Urbanism has taken new forms but it is still present. Recent practices are more centered around livability, sustainability but also about new forms of participation and democratization. However, if one takes a closer look, the historical roots of DIY-Urbanism are still visible.

The debate about *the right to the city,* started by the taking up of the work of Henry Lefebvre, has attracted over the last years at least the same attention than DIY-Urbanism in the scientific community and in political discourses. However, the two concepts can complement each other and it is viable to look for the links between the two ideas. The program of *the right to the city* as Lefebvre himself formulated it, was based on a moral rather than a legal claim. The initial formulation of *the right to the city* is based on the principals of justice, ethics, morality and virtue. Therefore access to the city in the strict sense of the word is a part of the claim but by far not everything. Furthermore, for Lefebvre it was a political claim with revolutionary features (cf. Marcuse 2009). David Harvey (2003) interprets, in line with (neo)-Marxist argumentation*, the right to the city* as right to create a qualitatively different kind of urban sociality. In contrast, this narrative can be read in various other ways, not necessarily in accordance with the initially intended semantic. *The right to the city* can be also understood in a spatial sense, as a call to design and run the city in a better way, to aim for a more sustainable, healthier and more beautiful city. Even though this might be a narrow reading of Lefebvre's work, especially professionals including architects, geographers, planners etc. … tend to choose this understanding. Recently, the slogan is even taken up by city representatives and used in a collaborationist manner for mild urban reforms (cf. Marcuse 2014). Notwithstanding that this interpretation is pretty contradictory with the initial claim, it cannot be denied that the taking up of *the right to the city* by politicians, planners and scientists has fostered the presence of the slogan. In the context of the practices of reshaping

urban spaces summed up under the banner of DIY-Urbanism, *the right to the city* is an interesting and (it can be argued) influential slogan. Some initiators of these practices might really aim their actions at a qualitative change of urban sociality. Particularly, the more interventionist approaches like tactical- or guerilla urbanism cannot be seen disassociated from urban society. These practices normally try to change the behavior of fellow citizens and as they have no legal basis they require the acceptance of at least a part of society. However, also practices which aim simply for beautification and won´t look at the first sight very revolutionary, have an impact on the everyday lives of people. Through decoration and beautification the function and the meaning of urban space can be changed (cf. Iverson 2013). It can be at least put up to discussion if this transformation of urban space cannot be considered as tentative attend to shape the city after a heart's desire (cf. Harvey 2003). Lastly, even if some initiators of DIY-Urbanism are "mislead" by the ideas of the *right to the city* caused by a wrong reading of the initial claim, it is a fact that the discourse itself plays an important role, as it is influencing the practices of people. So also in this sense, the discourse should be considered if we talk about DIY-Urbanism.

At this point, the question why the discussion about DIY-Urbanism and the right to the city is relevant for Civic Crowdfunding might come up. Civic Crowdfunding is commonly used as an instrument to support and finance practices of DIY-Urbanism. Moreover, the majority of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns, especially in the US, aims for small-scale beautification or improvement projects. These campaigns indicate a relationship between the "hands-on" traditions which have existed since the 19th century in US-urban society. At the same time, more activist practices show in their aims similarities to the initial or at least to one of the possible readings of Lefebvre's *right to the city*. Civic Crowdfunding presents for some people a possible or even revolutionary change for a democratization of finance. It can be seen as a community based micro-finance system that could be an alternative to traditional capitalistic finance (cf. Bieri 2015). Furthermore it could have redistributive effects and opens up the possibility for a bottom-up reshaping of the city without particular involvement of the authorities. Therefore, the discourse about *the right to the city*, is not just indirectly related to Civic Crowdfunding via the debate about DIY-Urbanism. Moreover, it is reasonable to try to show the linkages and the interconnections of these two discourses with the practice of Civic Crowdfunding, especially as they penetrate the political, civic and scientific discourse concerning Civic Crowdfunding.

2.6.4 Civic Crowdfunding as Cataclysmic Money

The fourth and last argumentation line of theoretical reflections on Civic Crowdfunding highlights the use of the term for commercial real estate developments. It is a rather new trend that the financial industry has also discovered the field of Civic Crowdfunding. The characterization of the actors, has already pointed out the tiptoe appearance of professional investment providers in the field of Civic Crowdfunding. However, they use the slogan of "Civic Crowdfunding" rather than actually practicing it according to its initial meaning. It recently became practice, that under the name of, "Real-estate Crowdfunding", "Crowdinvesting" or "Civic Crowdfunding", players from the real-estate industry are offering investment opportunities via online platforms. In this way individuals or institutions can provide equity or subordinated-debt financing for real estate (cf. Zhang et al. 2016: 31). Even though the legal basis is still not developed in every country, this form of Crowdfunding has significant growth rates. In the US the current amount of real-estate Crowdfunding can be estimated at 1,5 Billion US-Dollars. Even though this is just 0,5% of the annual lending of the entire US commercial real estate market, it shows that this is an emerging trend (cf. Bieri 2015). Furthermore, these kind of investments can provide lucrative profits for people who can invest just a couple of 1000 Euros in Real Estate. This might also be possible via more traditional investment models, nevertheless on the one hand this investment form is facilitated by the online operation and on the other, the Crowdfunding approach enables direct crowd-lending in-between individuals or institutions with just the platform as a mediator (cf. Zhang et al. 2016). Another trend which is emerging in the wake of Civic Crowdfunding is the mediation of municipal bonds. Platforms like Californian based *Neighborly* are using slogans like "*Putting the Public back to finance*" or "*The democratization of the municipal securities market*" to sell municipal bonds (cf. Neighborly 2017). Individual investors can profit from that practice through tax-free returns. Even though it is true that citizens can actively shape their urban environment by deciding for which project they buy community bonds, the usage of the term "Civic Crowdfunding" for these practices don't correspond with the initial meaning of the term or with the definition used in this work. This practice doesn´t respond to "Crowdfunding that provides service to communities", it is rather a sort of re-branding of old-fashion investment. However, it is fact and can´t be denied that public and private investment play an important role in the shaping and re-shaping of cities. Generally, this will seem for most people legitimate, but there is a difference in what Jane Jacobs calls cataclysmic money and gradual

money when it comes to investments in the urban fabric. It is about the volume and especially about the return- times and rates of the investments. In other words, massive - profit oriented - short term investments in the urban fabric can have cataclysmic effects (cf. Tonkiss 2013). This is certainly an issue when we look at the previously presented forms of "Crowdinvestment", commonly branded by the term (Civic) Crowdfunding. The large-scale effort to "crowd-invest" in the urban fabric has little in common with a democratization of finance and planning but can rather lead to disruptive restructuring of the city. This practice doesn´t lead to incremental improvements of the quality of life of urban residents. It can´t be neither considered as gradual money, nor is it in line with the aim of truly Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. These practices, where the term Crowdfunding is simply (ab)used as a slogan, are a funding mechanism that enables a surge of cataclysmic money instead of supplying cities with gradual money for incremental urban development(cf. Bieri 2015). In the context of this thesis, this brings up the question of what role this trend already plays in Europe and the US and if it is a serious deviation to the initial aim. The narrative also presents several linkages to other theoretical concepts and will be taken up in the discussion later on.

2.6 Interim Resume

The first chapter started with a brief Introduction on the topic of the thesis and offered already a brief outline of the research in this thesis. In the second chapter thoughts and theoretical concepts concerning Civic Crowdfunding have been presented. Starting with pointing out historical references and recent trends, the current landscape of Crowdfunding has been outlined. Furthermore, the context of urban development in Civic Crowdfunding was emphasized and the term was briefly discussed and according to the needs of the thesis defined. Following, the concept of modern online-based Civic Crowdfunding has been framed in more detailed. Building on this, a final working definition of Civic Crowdfunding has been developed. This work refers to Civic Crowdfunding as: "*Crowdfunding campaigns, mostly organized via the internet, which takes place in public or semi-public spaces, whose outcomes serve the public and which overlap commonly with tasks where traditionally the public authorities are accountable.*" This definition is centered on 3 main characteristics, the usage of online platforms, the concentration on public or semi-public spaces and the overlapping with the area of responsibility of the public authorities.

Moreover, a resume of the existing findings concerning the characteristic of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns has been presented. Based on recent studies from the US and Europe, Civic Crowdfunding has been described in terms of numbers and size. It has been shown that Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are (compared to entrepreneurial campaigns) rather small in terms of funding goals, participants and average donation. Nevertheless, certain successful campaigns with higher funding goals and more participants can be found. Additionally, current discourses about possible dynamics of Civic Crowdfunding like distributional effects, spatial inequalities or fostering community building have been addressed. Furthermore, considering urban spaces as social production and urban development as social practice, taking a deeper look at the actors who drive the permanent reshaping and rebuilding of the city seems necessary. The unraveling of the relationships, the resources, the power, the cooperation and the conflicts of the actors who shape together the city require a characterization and an analysis of their roles (cf. Gottdiener 2000, Lefebvre 1991). Taking this into account, the main actors involved in Civic Crowdfunding have been identified and presented. Furthermore, their intentions have been sketched and possible conflicts of interests have been pointed out.

Ultimately, thoughts and reflections concerning the theoretical concept were emphasized. In the context of Civic Crowdfunding, scientific discourses or narratives which impinge with the topic have been discussed. First, the link to the current discourse regarding participation in planning has been made. This major discourse touches on the topic of Civic Crowdfunding in several points. Second, the especially human geography very present in the neo-Marxist approach emphasizing neoliberalisation, globalization and especially in the urban context a shifts towards entrepreneurialism in urban governance has been brought up (cf. Harvey 1989). Additionally, a connection to the very recent debate about austerity and crises in the challenges for cities has been made. Following this, a third discourse which is relevant in the context of Civic Crowdfunding, namely the debate concerning Do-it-yourself Urbanism has been discussed. This enables not just the understanding of recent phenomenon of civic engagement but also opens up a historic perspective. Furthermore, it emphasizes in particular the civil and political context in which Civic Crowdfunding is embedded in the US and Europe respectively. Lastly, the issue of a potential "commercialization" of Civic Crowdfunding has been highlighted. It has been shown that by using the positive connotation of Civic Crowdfunding, some platforms started to offer "Crowd-investment" in real-estate projects.

The danger of this new trend is that it could undermine the benefits of true Civic Crowdfunding and might have rather cataclysmic consequences for cities rather than strengthening citizen participation and local democracy. This has also been highlighted.

In a nutshell, this first part of the work has laid the conceptual and theoretical groundwork for the further analysis of this thesis. The increasing emergence of Civic Crowdfunding and its relevance as a research object has been highlighted. Moreover, the link to current scientific discourses has been made, so the work can build on the existing findings and knowledge concerning the topic.

3. Civic Crowdfunding as an Instrument for Urban Development – An Outline of the Work

In this chapter the program of the thesis will be outlined and the research design which underlies the empirical study is going to be presented. As it became already clear in the first two chapters, the work is devoted to the still relatively new phenomenon of Civic Crowdfunding. It started to emerge not even 10 years ago in the United States with the first internet platforms and it has lately also gained popularity in Europe. The focus of this Master Thesis is clearly on Civic Crowdfunding which takes place in urban areas and functions there as an instrument for urban development. This doesn´t mean that Civic Crowdfunding is just constrained to urban areas, as platforms and campaigns can also be found in more rural areas but it is a fact that most Civic Crowdfunding platforms are based in cities and also that the majority of campaigns are located in urban areas (cf. Davies 2014: 46) Taking this into account, it leads together from the necessary narrowing of a Master Thesis research, to the focus on urban areas in the context of Civic Crowdfunding. This shouldn´t be perceived as a limitation, it rather ensures the feasibility and stringency of the research. The reason why the research is placed in urban areas must be also seen in the context of the rise of online activity and related innovation. It is very likely not just a coincidence that Civic Crowdfunding takes place where people with high familiarity for online activity and the necessary infrastructure are concentrated. Together with an easier reachable critical mass for a campaign and the anonymity which makes offline mobilization more complicated, cities seem to be somehow an incubator for Civic Crowdfunding. This once again emphasizes the justification and the need to start research on Civic Crowdfunding in an urban context.

As the title implies, the work explores the potential of Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument for urban development. Potential shall stand for the benefits and the advantages, as also for the risks and problems of Civic Crowdfunded developments. An overview of the current scientific research in this field has been already presented and a theoretical framework for the further analysis has been developed. Consequently, it is the aim of the author to put Civic Crowdfunding in the context of current discourses concerning urban development. This also includes specific narratives that are used by the actors involved in Civic Crowdfunding and who particularly shape the debates. Furthermore, as Civic Crowdfunding has its roots clearly in the United States, a main aspect of interest in the research is the adoption of this concept in European Cities. Therefore a comparative case study between selected European and US cities is the back-bone of the empirical research of the thesis. By doing this, the work aims for a better understanding of the phenomenon but also for the identification of strengths and weaknesses in the selected examples. The work concludes finally with recommendations for the possible and favorable use of Civic Crowdfunding in urban development from a planning point of view.

To ensure a stringent structure of the thesis, the research process was guided by an initially formulated research question, which reads as follows;

"What are the benefits and risks of Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument for urban development?"

This main research question functions as a cumulative guideline of the previously illustrated research interests. It contains linkages to the question how Civic Crowdfunding has developed and is used in the United States and how this concept is being adopted in European cities. Furthermore, by stressing benefits and risks of Civic Crowdfunding it is inescapable to make the link to the societal, political and economic context in which Civic Crowdfunding takes place. Consequently, this brings up the questions how participatory, how inclusive it is, if it is rather distributive than fragmenting and over all, if it can be in line with the characteristic European welfare-state approach. Finally, the work tries to evaluate the risks and benefits of Civic Crowdfunding to conduct in a further step recommendations for action. In doing so, the answering of the articulated research question will take place in the last two chapters of the work. Even though the answer will require more than the single sentences which formulated

it, it is a declared aim to keep both, the answer and the whole work, highly stringent and precise by ensuring at the same time that the conclusions and recommendations are illustrated as detailed as necessary.

3.1 Methodology

If we look at Human Geography as applied science, we must consider the impacts that its scientific research has on society. In other words, the recommendations for action which research in Human Geography can deliver, may directly affect the peoples' lives if implemented (cf. Yeager and Steiger 2013). Therefore, a good research design should use all existing methodological instruments which can help to unravel the research object and guarantee that all voices are heard. Using this as a starting point, the research design of the thesis is primarily based on expert interviews and subsequently conducted content analyses. To extend the coverage of the primary method, additional secondary instruments such as field visits, analysis of online Crowdfunding platforms and a critical review of academic literature were also applied. The findings which were obtained with each of the instruments were finally compared and juxtaposed to consolidate the key results of the research. Subsequently, the discussion and the conclusion of the work are based on the previous steps of analysis. The same applies for the recommendations for action which are formulated in the last chapter of the work.

Hypothesis

At the beginning of a research process, the already available knowledge drives together with curiosity and certain presuppositions of the researcher, the genesis of the research design. For this thesis, the review of existing literature dealing with Civic Crowdfunding and first thoughts concerning the concept of Civic Crowdfunding triggered the formulation of the research hypothesis. Together with the main research question, the hypothesis serves as guidance for the research process and as a basis for the selection and adjustment of the instruments. The hypothesis reads as follows:

HP1: "Participants in Civic Crowdfunding are driven by the motive to improve directly or indirectly their social and/or material environment."

HP2: "Civic Crowdfunding is triggered and shaped by the different political and civic contexts in Europe and the US."

HP3: "Civic Crowdfunding can increase citizen participation"

HP4: "Civic Crowdfunding can increase social- and special inequalities."

HP5: "Civic Crowdfunding is perceived as a neoliberal practice and hardly in line with the European Welfare-State approach."

HP6: "Public Authorities are crucial stakeholders in Civic Crowdfunding".

Expert Interviews and Content Analyses

The interviews and the subsequently conducted content analyses serve as the primary instrument for the comparative case study analysis of Civic Crowdfunding in the European- and US-context. As a consequence of the necessary narrowing of possible case studies, the focus for the interviews was on selected four North-Western European Cities and one US-American city. As European examples the cities of Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam and Rotterdam were chosen. This follows from the fact that Civic Crowdfunding as phenomenon occurs especially in the North-Western countries in Europe and therefore a sufficient number of campaigns and interview partners could be expected. Furthermore, the geographical proximity and the good connections between the selected cities facilitated the research and enabled the researcher to include more heterogeneous cases. In comparison, as the US-American case, the City of New York was selected. On the one hand, this is reasoned by the leading role which New York plays in Civic Crowdfunding. The City is not just home to the headquarters of several platforms but also numerous successful campaigns have been already implemented throughout the city. On the other hand, several interview partners could be already identified and contacted before the study visit, which assured the feasibility of the project. Moreover, even though the number of selected European- and US-American cities might seem to be unbalanced at the first sight, it has to be highlighted that the size of New York City in terms of inhabitants is still bigger than all four European cities combined. Consequently, although a possible imbalance may appear at first a glance, a further look into the details suggests and guarantees a good comparability of case studies. In total 14 interviews could be conducted, thereof 6 in New York City and 8 in the European Case study sites. This shows again the good balance between the two cases, Europe and the US.

The basis of a research design should be the initially formulated research question and the developed hypothesis has been already emphasized. They lead to the development of the

program, influence the selection of the instruments and the shape of their drafts. In order to elaborate an adequate framework for the analysis of the Expert Interviews, several sub-research questions were derived from the previous formulated Hypothesis. This facilitated their implementation in the analysis grid for the content analyses.

SQ1: "What is the motivation of citizens participating in Civic Crowdfunding?"

SQ2: "What is the political and civic context of the emergence of Civic Crowdfunding?"

SQ3: "What is the potential of Civic Crowdfunding concerning citizen participation?"

SQ4: "Does Civic Crowdfunding increases social- and spatial inequalities?"

SQ5: "Is Civic Crowdfunding perceived as neoliberal practice and can it be in line with the European Welfare-State approach?"

SQ6: "What role do public authorities play in Civic Crowdfunding?"

In a next step, led by the sub-research questions, 6 categories for the content analyses were formed. The independent categories were each complemented by two, three or four sub-categories. Additionally, descriptors for each sub-category were integrated in the coding system, as reference for confirmations or negations of certain hypothesis. To facilitate the coding procedure, demonstrative samples were identified in the transcripts and provided in the coding system for each category. The final coding system was pre-tested with a selection of original transcripts and served after some small adaptions as a guideline for the main coding procedure.

The identification and selection of the phrases from the transcripts was carried out manually. In a second step the results were transferred into a specifically designed code-sheet (see figure 7). Therefore the identified phrases where according to their category and sub-category paraphrased, the descriptors were determined and their position in the original transcript was noted. Additionally, every paraphrase got a singular ID and was assigned to the interview-transcript where it has been identified. These basic steps have been carried out for all 14 interview transcripts but the further process of analysis was split into two different approaches. This is caused by the application of a two-dimensional content analysis. The design of the analysis grid enables the application of a structured content analyses as also at the same time the application of a scaled content analyses. Both of them are using the same coding sheet and the same identified phrases.

Code	Category		Sub-Category	Descriptors	Demo-Samples
A	Campaign Characteristics	A1	Average donation of campaign	US, number	"…average campaigns, they last 1 month, maybe 1 ½ months or 3 months at the most. And the targets they differ from let´s say, a couple of hundred euros, to 40.000 or 45.000 euros.". "Usually it has between 75 and 100 donators. The average donations is between 30 or 35 US-Dollars."
				EU, number	
		A2	Average funding goal of campaign	US, number	
				EU, number	
		A3	Average participants in camapign	US, number	
				EU, number	
		A4	Average duration of a CCF campaign	EU, number	
				US, number	
B	Motives of the Backers in CCF	B1	Participants have a relation to the initiators or the place the campaign adresses	Yes	"But I think the most people who gave money were from Bergen and Borgenhaupt, two districts which are next to the ringroad and have direct connection with the issue." "So most people who give money in IOBY campaigns are very, very close to them."
				No	
		B2	People support campaigns due philantropy or to support a demo projekt	Yes	
				No	
		B3	There is a socio-demographic pattern along the backers	Yes	
				No	
C	CCF and neoliberalism	C1	Civic Crowdfunding is a neoliberal practice	Yes	"I mean crowdfunding can be very liberal, very right wing, very left wing… you can use it for many different things." "You could argue it that way too, the glass is half empty".
				No	
		C2	Civic Crowdfunding is enabled by austerity	Yes	
				No	
		C3	Civic Crowdfunding can entail the withdrawal of public funding	Yes	
				No	
D	Political and Civic Background	D1	DIY-Urbanism is an enabler of Civic Crowdfunding	Yes	"People believe in this concept of pulling yourself up, helping yourself. Don´t ask for any one, do it yourself." "And then the other 3000 Euros, which is not a lot, we used to do public interventions in public space. "
				No	
		D2	Civic Crowdfunding is driven by activism	Yes	
				No	
		D3	European citizens have different expectations in the State than US citizens	Yes	
				No	
E	CCF as inclusive Urban Developement	E1	Civic Crowdfunding is inclusive in terms of low participation barriers	Yes	"But you could argue that the fact that there are private donations going to central park, reliefs the pressure on the city´s budget and you can spend money on others…" "Yes of course…it was always open to everybody."
				No	
		E2	Civic Crowdfunding can foster participation and community attachement	Yes	
				No	
		E3	Civic Crowdfunding can be redistributive	Yes	
				No	
F	CCF and Public Authorities	F1	Public Authorities are predominantly sceptical with Civic Crowdfunding	Yes	"You need to get them on the table and that was a very important moment for us." "I think the parks department, they are always skeptical at first, I would presume, and what are you trying to do?"
				No	
		F2	Public authorities are crucial stakeholders in Civic Crowdfunding	Yes	
				No	

Figure 7: Coding System for the content analysis. Own draft.

Structured Content Analyses

The process is inspired by the principles of structuring content analyses. As a consequence it uses a deductive approach, taking the categories as regulative structure. (cf. Mayring 2015: 97). In a second step of abstraction, the paraphrases were more generalized. In the last step, the generalizations were reduced to main assertions which include the most relevant information of the different generalizations. Throughout the whole process, especially demonstrative quotes from the transcripts were noted in a separate column for illustrative purposes in the final thesis. This procedure has been carried out for the transcripts of the European- and the US-Interviews separately. Lastly, the results of both cases were composed in a final table where the assertions of each category of the two cases can be compared.

Case	Sub-Case	Descriptor	nr.	page_number	Interview_code	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction	Quotes
A									
A									
A									
A									
A									
A									
B									
B									
B									
B									

Figure 8: Coding-Sheet for the content Analysis. Own draft

Scaled Content Analysis

The scaled content analysis presents the second dimension of the analyses. While the objective of the structuring content analysis is the assignment of the phrases and the ongoing abstraction and reduction of the material. The scaled content analysis is based on the principle that for each identified phrase the value of the descriptors is assessed and then the frequency of the identified values for each sub-category is counted (cf. Mayring 2015 :106). This doesn´t lead to an identification of the main assertions but it presents a good opportunity to directly query the expert's opinion on certain points. For the analysis a further reduction of the identified paraphrases is not necessary. The emphasis lies on the analysis of the descriptors and their values. For Category A, the values can have rational data measures while for categories B-F the values have nominal measures. However, the two cases are again analyzed separately from each other. Therefore all paraphrases of each subcategory are counted according to the value of their descriptor. For category A the result presents an overview concerning the size and duration of the campaigns. The results for the B-F categories present how often the experts brought up an argument for or against the sub-category contained question. The final results are presented in a table where the two cases are juxtaposed. It must be clearly pointed out that this process is still a qualitative approach. The counting is not based on samples or populations which allow the application of traditional quantitative techniques. Therefore it is not possible to make assertions about the statistical significance of the findings. This doesn´t necessarily present a limitation but definitely opens up the risk for misinterpretation of the results. When working with the findings it must be always clear that they are not derived from traditional descriptive statistics. The counting presents an indication for the expert's opinion on certain questions concerning Civic Crowdfunding. Therefore, the

results are useful additional findings and compliment the structured content analysis. Similarities with the scaled content analysis can be interpreted as additional proof and dissimilarities can function vice versa as a starting point for further questioning of the results of the structured content analyses. To sum it up, the qualitative nature of the analysis has to be always beard in mind when looking at the results but nevertheless, the findings allow direct insights on the expert´s opinion on certain sub-research questions and compliment the assertions of the structured content analyses.

Analyses of Online Crowdfunding Platforms

In addition to the expert interviews an analysis of current online platforms which are involved in Civic Crowdfunding was conducted. On the one hand, the aim of the investigation was to get an overview about the number and size of websites which function as platforms for Civic Crowdfunding in Europe and the US. On the other hand, the analysis had the goal of unraveling the logic and business concepts of the platforms. Furthermore, it was of particular interest to gather information about the age of the platform, the number of campaigns which have been launched, the volume of collected money and the business concept of the platforms. The research doesn´t present a quantitative investigation based on a selected sample, it rather fulfills the function as additional and also preparatory information for the content analyses. Furthermore, it facilitates a deeper understanding of the logic of the platforms, which is a key stakeholder in Civic Crowdfunding. This step in the research process can be also interpreted as a useful and necessary way to obtain an overview about the current landscape in Civic Crowdfunding.

Field Visits

Field visits have a long tradition and are still part in most Geography curriculums because they convey impressions and certain points of views which can´t be generated from a distance, or as Philipps and Johns (2012:5) sum it up: "*They provide a first-hand experience*". Site visits complement the gathered knowledge and enable the researcher to get an individual impression and understanding of how Civic Crowdfunding is implemented in the urban fabric. Most of the campaigns which have been mentioned in the interviews could be visited on site by the researcher. Additionally, other illustrative examples of implemented Civic

Crowdfunding campaigns were also visited and helped to understand the heterogeneity and also the potential of Civic Crowdfunding in cities.

Literature Review

The review of academic literature concerning Crowdfunding in general and Civic Crowdfunding in particular is a necessary step in the research process to obtain an overview of the current research on Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument for Urban Development. The compilation of current knowledge and scientific discourse on Civic Crowdfunding has not just heuristic value, it enables also the identification of relevant research interests. In this sense, the step had a direct impact on the fine-tuning of the research question. Furthermore, the review of academic literature served as a starting point for the development of the hypothesis of the work. Additionally, the review of popular media provided insights on the current non-academic discourse of Civic Crowdfunding and delivered a useful contribution for a better and more holistic understanding of the phenomenon.

3.2 Delimitations, Limitations and Assumptions

Research in social science has to cope with the fact that social reality is never fully detectable. However, social research is aiming to explain details of social reality while assuring the quality of the findings by the compliance of certain principles like intersubjectivity (cf. Atteslander 2010:14). These epistemological limitations are beyond the control of the researcher. In contrast, other limitations concerning the research design can be more influenced by the scientist and require pragmatic compromises. These limitations can be either caused by a lack of resources like time, money and workforce or for example by the inaccessibility of data. As a consequence, the researchers have to asses these limitations beforehand and formulate a research design which is feasible and at the same time still meet all standards of good scientific research.

In the context of this Master Thesis, certain limitations have to be mentioned and shortly explained. The thesis is based on the idea to compare the situation of Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument for urban development in the European- and US-context. This first level of narrowing is caused by two factors, first that Civic Crowdfunding is mainly present in the US and Europe and second the personal embodiment of the author in the European context. As a result, concrete recommendations for action concerning Civic Crowdfunding can be

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primarily derived for (western) European Cities. On a second level, the empirical research program has to be narrow enough to ensure its feasibility. Therefore, the comparison between European- and US- Cities has been carried out on the basis of a comparative case study. These cities are just representing samples of a bigger statistical population but they are qualified due to the high occurrence of Civic Crowdfunding in the selected places. More general critique concerning the comparison of cities embedded in different national settings can be replied by highlighting the recent work of Geographers like Jennifer Robinson (2006) or Michael Dear (2005).They have attested that comparative urbanism is a viable approach in Human Geography and Planning, or as Jennifer Robinson (2016) formulates it: "*one feature of the urban is that across cities, urban outcomes are repetitive*". Following, the number of conducted interviews in the selected cities was also limited by the resources of the author. On the other hand, the identification of appropriate interview-partners, as also the selection of the case study sites was controlled by the author. For the analysis of the interviews a content analysis was chosen. This instrument can identify the expert's assertions and helps to understand the logic of action of the involved actors. Additionally, it must be pointed out that not even the scaled content analysis presents a quantitative approach which allows the statistical proof of significances. Furthermore, based on the review of current academic literature certain assumptions concerning the hypotheses and research question were made. Consequently, these well-founded assumptions influenced the thesis especially in the early stages of the work.

4. Case Studies

In this chapter the comparative case study on which the research is centered is going to be presented. For the analysis, two cases have been selected. The Western-European case consists of 4 cities in which research has been conducted. These are namely Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In contrast, the US case is based on research in New York City. In the following paragraphs the selected cities are going to be briefly introduced and their political and civic background is going to be presented. As the results of the expert interviews will be discussed in a comparative approach in the following chapter, the presentation of the case studies is used to show some impressions of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns which have been taking place in the selected cities. This gives an insight into the practice of Civic Crowdfunding, illustrates the diversity as also the innovative potential and shows how

differently the cooperation between the actors can appear. For each European city, one characteristic campaign has been chosen for presentation. The US-Case refers to a similar number of implemented projects. These examples illustrate how different Civic Crowdfunding can look like in terms of motives, cooperation with the public authorities, scale and temporal frame.

4.1 The Western European Case – Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Rotterdam

Western Europe or more concrete, some bigger cities in Western Europe are in a sense incubators for Civic Crowdfunding. In these places a notable number of successful campaigns have been launched and also some of the oldest and biggest European Civic Crowdfunding platforms are based here. In this way it is not just a coincidence that the European Case studies of this work are located here. The selection was made in favor of two Belgium and two Dutch cities. On the one hand Brussels, where already several small-scale campaigns have taken place over the last years and Antwerp, where the innovative big-scale campaign *Ringland* is based and on the other hand Amsterdam, which is home of several Civic Crowdfunding platforms and Rotterdam, which has gained attention with the famous *Luchtsingel* project. Although these cities have hosted quite diverse Civic Crowdfunding campaigns, there is a series of common grounds. Belgium as well as the Netherlands can be associated to the European countries which followed the paradigm of the social market economy after the Second World War. This path which was consequently followed in the second half of the 20th century led to the development of a comparatively big middle class and a big, traditionally top-down organized, administrative machinery. This causes the traditionally high expectations of citizens in the state when it comes to the provision of services. Another reason are the high income taxes compared to the US. Especially citizens with high incomes contribute up to 50% of their gross-income to public services. In return, these cities are characterized by relatively low spatial and social inequalities in the global context. At the same time, both countries have a partly federal structure with multi-layered governance on national, regional and local level. In Belgium the special case of a divide along linguistic borders has to be taken into account. This state structure gives the cities to a certain extended autonomy in their planning. Citizen Participation has been incorporated in the policies of all four cities already some time ago. In terms of size, all four cities can be considered as major cities but located in the middle range compared to the rest of Europe. Brussels is the only city which has slightly more than 1 million

inhabitants, Amsterdam is in second place with a little more than 800.000 inhabitants and Rotterdam with a population of 630.000 people and Antwerp with 517.000 people are pretty close behind in third and fourth places respectively. All four cities experienced in the last years a population growth, after most of them had to deal with intermediate population decline as a consequence of sub-urbanization in previous decades. This doesn´t mean that the trend of sub-urbanization has stopped, as also the metropolitan regions of the cities are still growing, but that simultaneous a trend of re-urbanization is recognizable. This also caused recently dynamics of gentrification in more central neighborhoods. Furthermore, all four cities are not just historically important nodes in the European city network but today play also important roles due to hosting representations and head offices as it is especially the case for Brussels and Amsterdam or as transport and industry hubs which is more the case for Antwerp and Rotterdam.

The City of Brussels – A Crowdfunded Pop-up Park

Brussels didn´t host one of the flagships campaigns concerning Civic Crowdfunding in the recent years but a large number of rather small-scale projects which have been successfully carried out and implemented can be found within the city. Many of the campaigns in Brussels are related to the topics of beautification, improvement of public spaces, improvement of co-inhabitance and social cohesion and greenings. A special characteristic is the temporary campaigns which often imply some kind of claim addressed to the city authorities. These projects don´t aim for permanent improvements financed and carried out by the citizens, they use Civic Crowdfunding to support temporary interventions which build up pressure on public authorities. This strategy implies to get heard at first and secondly to potentially persuade the public authorities and local politicians to implement and finance the proposed project with public money. An illustrative example is the campaign "*Koop een Pop Up Park in de Brusselse kanaalzone" (*Flemish for*: Buy a Pop-up Park in the Brussels Canal Zone),* which was successfully carried out in 2014. The history behind this campaign was that the City of Brussels had assured for years to build a park at a slightly-abounded space in on the poorest and most dense residential neighborhoods of Brussels. For a number of reasons the implementation of the park didn´t start till the year 2014 and so a handful of Brussel-based activists decided to launch a Civic Crowdfunding campaign to build a pop-up park at the place where the city had assured to finance and build the proper park. The initial funding goal of 5.000 Euros was

Figure 10: Pop-up Park in the Brussels Canal zone 2014. Source: Growfunding vzw 2017.

Figure 9:Pop-up Park in the Brussels Canal zone 2016. Own source.

achieved and even exceeded because 149 backers donated in total 6.650 Euros to finance the Pop-up Park.

In the following month the pop-up-park was built with the crowdfunded money and the simple usage of the new park was a sign of protest and put pressure on the city´s authorities to react. Additionally, some supporters of the Civic Crowdfunding campaign also initiated little events in the park and got engaged with the project besides their online donations. Finally, the city had to take up the claim and the campaign succeeded in the sense that the implementation of the park was included in a bigger plan to redevelop the whole square. The supporters of the campaign were even included in the planning and design process of the park. At this moment, the redevelopment of the whole area has already started and the initially promised park should be implemented soon. The Civic Crowdfunding campaign which raised the funding for the Pop-Up Park was launched on the local Civic Crowdfunding Platform "*Growdfunding*". This Brussels-based non-profit platform is specialized in Civic Crowdfunding and has a local focus just on the city. This might be one reason for the numerous small-scale campaigns which have been already successfully taking place in the city. Looking at the more activist lead campaign of the Pop-up Park it might seem that the public authorities are more doubtful concerning Civic Crowdfunding. It must be also mentioned, that the local platform "*Growdfunding*" was financially supported by the city. This shows that in a sense activist-lead Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are not necessarily contradictory with local authorities, who show the basic will to support Civic Crowdfunding.

The City of Antwerp – Large Scale Citizen Science

In Belgium's second largest city, in Antwerp, one of the biggest Civic Crowdfunding projects in terms of funding volume has been taking place. Due to the urban growth of recent decades, the city´s highway system is intersecting today residential neighborhoods. This situation has already for some time been a point of criticism from affected residents. The idea to roof the highway system, was already around for some time but it was a handful of residents who started a campaign to finally tackle this issue. As the city government could not be convinced of the feasibility to roof the city-highway and to introduce a new traffic guidance system, the group of citizens decided to organize their own study to prove the feasibility of the idea.

Figure 12: Roofing of the city-highway and implementation of new traffic guidance system. Source: Ringland 2017

Figure 11: Green space and housing development of the roofed city-highway. Source: Ringland 2017

The so evolved project *Ringland* combined Civic Crowdfunding with the concept of citizen science. The campaign raised not just 100.000 euros with a Civic Crowdfunding campaign where 4.500 people participated but also another 100.000 euros by organizing a music festival. Furthermore, the initiators also founded the *Ringland Science Academy*. In this Academy, more than 50 local scientists worked together on the feasibility study for the goals of *Ringland*. Thereby aspects of mobility, environment, finance and technical feasibility have been considered. The 200.000 Euros were used to finance the investigation and to publish the final results (cf. Ringland 2017). In the case of *Ringland* the public authorities have been rather skeptical with the idea proposed by the citizens at the beginning. There was neither cooperation during the Crowdfunding – phase, nor with the feasibility study. It was the media attention and the big local support who forced the city council to seriously consider the proposed plan. As a result, the city council agreed to a further investigation on the project and budgeted as a first step some money for that. At this moment the city appointed a mediator

who is working on a technical and financial solution, in consultation with all involved parties. It seems likely that the Ringland campaign will be able to reach its goals in the near future and the proposed roofing of the highway will be realized. This would not just improve the livability of Antwerp's citizens but also strike new paths of citizen participation and engagement. The Ringland project quite illustratively points out two things. First, that when it comes to infrastructure projects a gridlock between citizens and authorities can occur. Frequently, this is based on a lack of communication between the parties and on missed participation of local citizens in the early stages of the planning. Second, skepticism from the public authorities against bottom-up citizen initiatives in general and concerning Civic Crowdfunding in particular are not uncommon, even in cities which have experience with participatory planning. The latter might be mixed with caution and unpreparedness for new online supported instruments. The example also shows that the tactic to use Civic Crowdfunding to simply get heard and to get the necessary attention and support to start a public discussion about an issue can be successful.

The City of Rotterdam –Civic Crowdfunding as Collaborative Practice

While the two previous examples from Brussels and Antwerp have demonstrated how Civic Crowdfunding can be used as an instrument to create pressure from the civil society towards public authorities and politicians, the project *Luchtsingel* in Rotterdam illustrates that Civic Crowdfunding can be also used in a more collaborative way. The idea of *Luchtsingel* was to redevelop a slightly abandoned area, in the northern city center of Rotterdam. Therefore two local architects proposed a concept which included building a new park in the zone, to start a roof-top farm on an old office building and to create a public space on the roof of a former train station. Based on this, the idea came up to connect these 3 locations with a pedestrian bridge and to create a link from the redeveloped zone to the city center. At the same time when the idea of *Luchtsingel* was born, the city of Rotterdam had launched a new participatory instrument which was called "Stadsinitiatief" (Dutch for: City Initiative). This initiative was based on the idea that every year, citizens can propose ideas which lead to a revitalization of the city. The city set 4 million euros aside to implement the most voted project every year. The *Luchtsingel* plan won in 2012 the city initiative and received the 4 million euros to implement the project. Additionally, the initiators of *Luchtsingel* launched a Civic Crowdfunding campaign to raise the money for the planned pedestrian bridge. People could

Figure 13: Staircase of the crowdfunded pedestrian bridge. Source: Luchtsingel 2017.
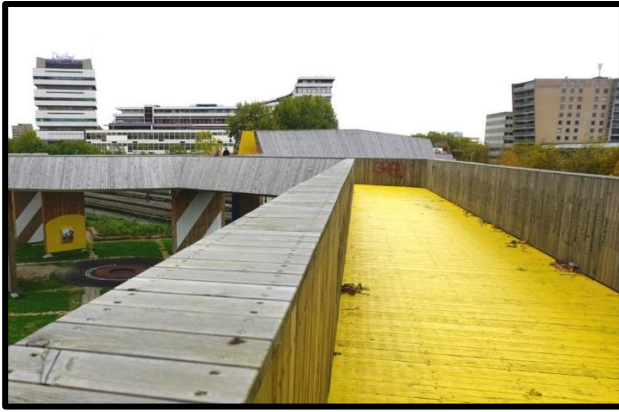
Figure 14: Walkway of the crowdfunded pedestrian bridge. Source: Luchtsingel 2017.

"buy" via the internet planks for the bridge for a donation of 25 euros. Finally, 4500 planks were sold, which translates to a total of 112 500 Euros raised. The majority of the donations came from individuals but also local companies participated in the campaign.The idea to use Civic Crowdfunding to partly implement the project, even though the city provided the significant funding of 4 million Euros was causing the belief of the initiators that the Civic Crowdfunding campaign would not primary raise additional funding but that it would promote and create awareness for the plan and also could engage citizens more actively in the project. The cooperation with the city authorities was pretty close during the whole time and not just based on the funding via the city initiative. The management of the project which took about 3 years in the end was carried out by an executive board consisting of the campaign initiators but then again this was complemented by a trust board representing the city. The whole idea of Luchtsingel is characterized by a deep cooperation with the city, starting with the application for the city funding and continuing with including city representatives in the management of the project. The problem of maintenance of the bridge, which is frequently a big challenge for Civic Crowdfunding projects, could be also solved by reaching an agreement with the city´s maintenance department. The deal includes a part of the funding from Crowdfunded money going to the maintenance department and in return the city looking after the bridge for the next 15 years. This shows again the collaborative approach of Luchtsingel, especially compared to the previous examples from Brussels and Antwerp. The project combines Civic Crowdfunding with existing participatory instruments and shows how the city can engage citizens to bring up innovative ideas and to support their implementation.

Furthermore, it takes up on the one hand the concept of participatory budgeting as it is already practiced in other cities around the globe and on the other hand the idea of match funding, the practice where the city provides a part of the funding and the missing money is raised via Civic Crowdfunding campaign.

The city of Amsterdam –Crowdfunding Agencies and Consultancies

Amsterdam is home to especially interesting actors concerning Civic Crowdfunding and a different public and political setting can be observed. The previous examples have shown the different forms of collaboration between citizen initiatives and city authorities in the context of Civic Crowdfunding. Taking the example of Brussels as model for bottom-up activism, the field of Civic Crowdfunding in Amsterdam seems to look pretty different. The cooperation between Civic Crowdfunding platforms and the public authorities have already some kind of tradition here. Consequently, it must be more than just a consistence that the first Crowdfunding Agency; *Douw & Koren* is based in Amsterdam. This agency does not just manage and organize Civic Crowdfunding campaigns, it has its focus also on coaching, raising awareness and research. This is possible due a strong cooperation with the city of Amsterdam but also other, even rural municipalities. The agency frequently organizes coaching and awareness campaigns for Civic Crowdfunding. Furthermore, another working field is the conduction of research-studies concerning Civic Crowdfunding. These tasks are normally public orders given by municipalities. This fact illustrates that some public authorities consider Civic Crowdfunding as a desirable innovative trend which can support local entrepreneurism. This is especially the case in cultural and social projects. In the case of Amsterdam, Civic Crowdfunding is more considered as a welcome alternative to give actors in this field the opportunity to raise their funding easier by themselves and depend less on traditional public funding. Recently, also more sub-urban or rural communities cooperate with Civic Crowdfunding platforms or agencies, aiming to support local social entrepreneurs and innovative ideas. Especially for smaller communities, who would not be able to support this with traditional forms of funding, Civic Crowdfunding can be a viable option. Another example for the strong cooperation between platforms and authorities is *Voor je Burt*. It is not just the fourth largest Civic Crowdfunding platform worldwide and has launched numerous campaigns since the start in 2012, but they also cooperate very actively with local governments. As the returns from typically more small-scale Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are rather low for the

platforms who launch them, cooperation projects like match funding can function as additional income for the platforms. In the case of *Voor je Burt*, the platforms run several match-funding campaign per year for and in collaboration with municipalities. Match-funding can be used as an alternative way to distribute subsidies for social projects and to foster the use of Civic Crowdfunding. Alternatively, the management of governmental initiated Civic Crowdfunding campaigns can also be an income opportunity for platforms. On the other hand, the closeness and to some extent the dependency from Civic Crowdfunding platforms to the municipalities might hold them back to launch and support more activist or controversial campaigns. However, it can be noted that in the case of Amsterdam Civic Crowdfunding platforms and public authorities are working closer together than in many other cities.

4.2 The US Case – New York City

New York City is not just home to the headquarters of the entrepreneurial Crowdfunding pioneer *Kickstarter* but the city hosts also some of the most spectacular Civic Crowdfunding campaigns and the biggest US Civic Crowdfunding platform *IOBY* is based in the city. The variety of campaigns which can be found within the biggest US-American city stresses the qualities of New York as case study for this work. The question of why just one US city has been selected as a case study compared to four cities in Western Europe might be legitimate. Looking at the population of the city with its 8,5 million inhabitants might open up another perspective on this issue. Adding-up the population of all 4 Western European case studies, the City of New York still has around twice as many citizens. Together with the numerous Civic Crowdfunding campaigns and experts in this field, the reduction two one city for the US case can be considered as viable.

New York City is not just different in terms of size, Civic Crowdfunding is here also embedded in another political, civic and economical setting. While the selected Western European cities are located in countries which rank among those with the most developed welfare-states, this is not the case for New York as a US-American city. The number and extent of social services provided by the state and the city is significantly smaller. On the other hand, social security contributions from citizens and income tax are clearly lower than in Europe. This entails different expectations and conceptions which citizens have about their public authorities and the urban governance of their city. The traditionally strong economic liberalism and weaker secondary redistribution leads to bigger social and in particularly spatial inequalities. This city

is much more fragmented in socio-economical terms than the European counterparts. The continuing growth of New York City after a period of stagnation and even shrinking in the 1970´s and 1980´s, is leading to ongoing expansion of the urban area, as also simultaneous to dynamics of re-urbanization in older neighborhoods. The later trend brings up problems of gentrification and displacement, especially in conjunction with liberal tenancy laws and massive national and international investments in real estate. Furthermore, the force and the speed of these dynamics are not comparable to the European case studies. Liberalism or even neo-liberalism have a longer tradition in the urban governance of the city of New York. It is not just that a welfare system comparable to Western European was never fully developed but also that the city has experienced austerity politics already in the 1970´s. Budget shortages and cut-backs are nothing new and first occurred during the city's near bankruptcy in the mid 1970´s. A shift in responsibilities away from public authorities towards citizens already took place decades ago. An Illustrative example is the introduction of Business improvement districts (BID). As a consequence of the reduction of cleaning, maintenance and security services provided by the city in the aftermath of the crises in the 1970´s, certain areas started to found BIDs. In the beginning BIDs were particularly formed in business areas, where a majority of residents and businesses were willing to pay an additional levy, so that extra service and security could be provided for the zone. Today, BIDs can be found all over the city and not just necessarily in strictly business areas. This tradition provides another basis for new forms of citizen self-organization as is the case in the European examples.

Looking at New York City in the context of planning and citizen participation, the differences to Europe seem to be fewer. Citizen participation is a standard procedure in contemporary urban development and several instruments are available. This includes also innovative approaches like for example participatory budgeting which is practiced in the city. The City Council has also initiated an own *Kickstarter* channel to feature and support Crowdfunding campaigns. In this sense, the City of New York might be even more advanced than its European counterparts. Reasoned by the comparatively extraordinary size of the city, several levels of administration do exist in New York. The 5 boroughs of the city have certain autonomy and the community boards cover even a more local scale. Major players in the context of planning and particularly Civic Crowdfunding are the New York department of transport, the department for parks and recreation and logically the department for city planning. Apart

from the size of the governed city, the administrative structure is not radically different to that of the smaller European cases.

The 181st Street Beautification Project

Beautification movements have a long tradition in the US and especially in the older and former industrial cities. Citizen initiatives who aimed for small scale neighborhood improvements date back to the late 19th century (cf. Talen 2015). This tradition is still present and alive in many US Cities and today is often referred to using the term DIY-Urbanism. One illustrative example for the continuing existence of beautification movements is the 181st street Beautification Project from the neighborhood Washington Heights, in the very north of Manhattan. The start of the initiative dates back to 1985, when a group of local citizens formed a beautification movement to improve their neighborhood because they had the feeling that the city couldn´t spend sufficient resources in the area due to the tight budget constraints. At the same time these people saw their neighborhood as run down. So it was the feeling that if they wanted an improvement it would be up to themselves and driven by this belief, they started with small measures to improve their neighborhood. One of the first projects was the clean-up and greening of the green area on both sites of public steps. As they were just next to a subway entrance they belonged to the department of transportation but were completely neglected. The 181st Street Beautification Project started to not just organize regularly clean ups and greenings but also raise the funding from local people living in the neighborhood.
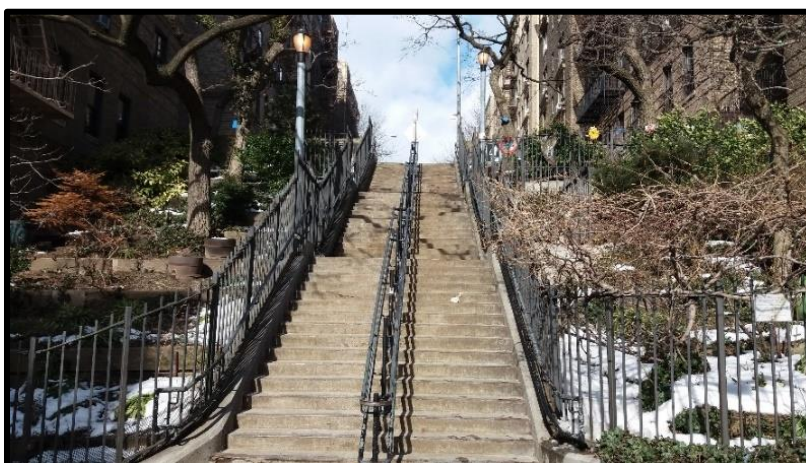
Figure 15: Plantings alongside public steps in the Washington Heights neighborhood, Manhattan – New York City. Own Source.

This was organized as some kind of offline-Crowdfunding by simply collecting donations from the local citizens. At the same time, the beautification group also started other projects in the neighborhood and built up a network with other local initiatives. Furthermore, they started to cooperate more active with public authorities and politicians. Even though the department of transportation or the parks department couldn´t spend the resources in the neighborhood to take care of all the open spaces themselves, they were quite open and helpful in terms of cooperation with the group. Nevertheless, the group had to raise the necessary funding for their improvements over all the years by themselves. Later, as the group became more experienced, they were also able to apply for funding from other authorities and institutions. However, Donations of local citizens were always a basis for the group and even though the fundraising is still done offline today, the 181st Street Beautification Project can be considered as an early Civic Crowdfunding campaign.

The Father Fagan Flower Fund

Another project which has a very similar background is the *Father Fagan Flower Fund*. The project is about a little piazza style square in SOHO – Manhattan, which was perceived as in need of renovation by local citizens. As the city´s attempts to redecorate the square have been very slow, a group of engaged citizens started a campaign in 2016 to improve the square with plantings as well as a cleanup. Therefore, the group started a Civic Crowdfunding campaign on the local platforms *IOBY* and raised more than 3.000 US-Dollars.

Figure 16: Father Fagan Park in SOHO, Manhattan – New York City. Own Source.

With the money and the help of volunteers the initiative managed to plant flowers during spring and summer 2016, to make small renovations and clean-ups and by doing so improved the quality of the square. Due to the success of the campaign in 2016, the initiative started another campaign to repeat the efforts from the year before. The 2017 campaign could again raise over 2.000 US-Dollars and therefore ensure plantings for another session. The *Father Fagan Flower Fund* can be seen as a connecting point to more traditional beautification and DIY-Urbanism initiatives. It is driven by the same beliefs the same context and is using the same instruments. The difference to longer existing citizen groups like the 181st Street Beautification Group is that the Father Fagan Flower Fund was using online Civic Crowdfunding since the beginning to raise the funding. This illustrates the cultural anchoring of citizen led bottom-up improvements in US Cities and the fact that Civic Crowdfunding is used to continue this tradition.

The Lowline – an Underground Park

New York City is not just home to numerous small scale Civic Crowdfunding campaigns, but also some of the biggest and most out-standing projects can be found in the city. One example for that is *The Lowline,* which is going to be the first underground park worldwide. The idea of the project is to use an old abandoned trolley terminal which hasn´t been used since 1948 at Manhattans Lower East Side, to implement an underground public park which is lighted by solar collectors without the usage of additional energy.

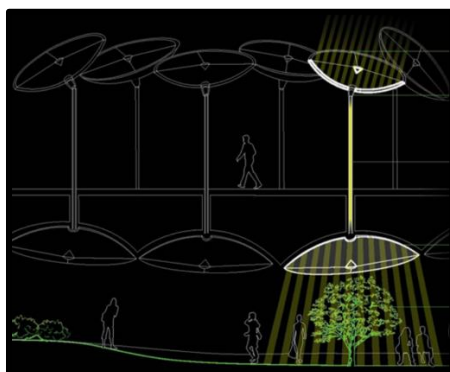

Figure 17: Solar collectors used to light the underground park of the lowline. Source: The lowline 2017.

Figure 18: Image of the underground park the lowline once it will be implemented. Source: The lowline 2017.

The project promises a new public space which can be used all year long and which is at the same time a lab for new and innovative technologies. Furthermore, the lighting-system will enable to grow horticulture in the underground-park. The idea of the project was born in 2009 by two local urban designers from the Lower East Side, who came up with the idea of the redevelopment of the abandoned terminal which was used to provide a trolley service via the Williamsburg Bridge to Brooklyn. They launched a Civic Crowdfunding campaign to execute their idea on the platform *Kickstarter* and were able to raise 155.000 US Dollars from more than 3.300 international donators. As a first step, a close and also abandoned warehouse was used to implement a test site where the concept could be tried out and presented to the public. The lab showed that the concept was feasible and the solar technology even surpassed expectations. During the test phase more than 100.000 local and international visitors have proven that the project attracts attention beyond the city. The campaign could also convince several local politicians to voice their support. As a consequence the City of New York started negotiations with the project leaders concerning the final implementation. Currently, *The Lowline* team is working on a financial plan to implement the park in the former trolley terminal and aims for an opening to the public in 2021. *The Lowline* shows that Civic Crowdfunding can be used to support innovative projects from citizens also on bigger scales. The donations of 3.300 people show that projects aiming for the improvement of the lives of citizens can have significant support also in monetary terms without the involvement of politicians of public authorities. Admittedly, at a certain point especially big scale projects like *The Lowline* cannot bypass public authorities. As it is the case for this project, the authorization of the city is needed to finally construct the project and frequently financial support from public authorities is not just desirable but even crucial for successful implementation.

The different examples of Civic Crowdfunded projects from Europe and the US have demonstrated the diversity of the campaigns but also characteristics concerning the European or rather the US case. The selected examples are clearly just extracts of the numerous Civic Crowdfunding campaigns which can be found on both sides of the Atlantic but they imply specific settings. The European examples show two recurring observations, that Civic Crowdfunding is commonly used as an instrument to create political pressure and assert claims from a group of citizens. On the other hand, it is also increasingly taken up by public authorities in certain places and the attempt to tentatively institutionalize it and to include it in the box of instruments for citizen communication and participation can be seen. The US

examples show the tendency of using Civic Crowdfunding in the tradition of beautification groups and DIY-Urbanism. In this sense it is used as a beneficiary tool that facilitates the collection of donations and may partly replace offline fundraising used by many of these citizen initiatives. Then again, quite different and more large-scale campaigns can be found in the US-case which has fewer links to DIY-Urbanism. As it is the case for *The Lowline* these campaigns are driven by social and technical entrepreneurs who choose alternative ways of funding to traditional public support. This shows once again the diversity of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns, but also the fact that they are always embedded in the local political and civic context.

4.3 The Content Analysis

In this section the findings of the content analysis of the expert interviews will be presented. First, a description of the campaign characteristics will be presented. This includes the categories A1-A4 from the analyses grid and contains findings concerning the size, duration, number of participants and average donation of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns in the US and the European case. The second step will show the results of the analysis of the categories B(1)-F(2). The design of the analysis grid allows two ways of interpreting the data for these categories. One the one hand, the included descriptors for each paraphrase enable a scaled structuring. This way the sub-research questions can be directly tested by means of the answers of the experts. It is crucial that every argument is just counted once per interviewed expert and that the previously defined coding module and context module are strictly applied. Subsequently, the results can be analyzed and presented in a quantitative way. Admittedly, it must be highlighted that the results cannot be compared to quantitative analysis in the proper meaning, based on populations or samples. However, in this way the formulated sub-research questions can be directly tested with the expert knowledge and trends concerning their validity or invalidity can be made.

The second way of analyzing the interviews is using structuring content analyses. This approach is probably the most common in qualitative content analysis. The categories B-F are again the starting point but instead of using the descriptors, the identified paraphrases are more reduced in two steps of continuing generalization and aggregation. As a result, the main arguments and narratives mentioned in the interviews can be identified and presented. Additionally, exemplary quotas have been noted during the process and can be used to

illustrate the results. Regardless of the usage of the two different approaches, the focus lies always on a comparative analyses of the European and the US case. Therefore the two dimensions of the content analyses were carried out separately for the two cases and just the results have been finally contrasted. In the following sections the outcomes of these steps will be presented.

4.3.1 The Campaign Characteristics in the European and US Case

The characterization of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns is challenging as the already existing data is small and the projects are very diverse. Nevertheless, the categories A1-A4 in the analysis grid are committed to identifying characteristics of campaigns in the context of the two case studies. The presentation of the case studies in the previous chapter has already shown how different campaigns can be in terms of form and size. Focusing on the size, for the European case campaigns with funding goals which exceed several thousand Euros are the exception but some successful campaigns in this range can be found. The majority of the campaigns has a funding goal somewhere around 5.000 Euros, maybe going up to 10.000 Euros but everything above is pretty rare. However, campaigns with funding goals below or around 1.000 Euros also exist and can be successful. In the US case the situation looks quite similar. The funding goals vary as the size of the campaigns is very diverse. Generally, campaigns seem to have a funding goal more around 3.000 US Dollars. Compared to the European case this is a bit lower. One reason can be the frequent usage of Civic Crowdfunding on a very local scale for neighborhood improvements. These campaigns seek commonly for just a couple of thousand Dollars or even less and they are more widespread in the US than in Europe. On the other hand, campaigns with quite high funding goals of more than 100.000 Dollars do also exist and can be successful. However, as it also applies to the European case, these campaigns present a minority in the entire field of Civic Crowdfunding.

When looking at the donations which support the campaigns, the pattern between Europe and the US shows more differences. In Europe the average donation for a campaign is around 10-20 Euros. Most campaigns that have just pre-defined donations possibilities start with 10 or even 5 Euros. Certainly higher donations are not uncommon and examples from single donations of about 500 or 2.000 Euros can be found but not on a regular basis. In contrast, the average donations in the US case seem to be a bit higher and is around 30-50 US-Dollars. The US platforms operate mostly with the same minimum donations, so it is not the need of

higher donations that stands behind that tendency. Furthermore, relatively high donations which can get up to several thousand US-Dollars are also reported in the US. Such high donations from individuals are not known from the European case. One example where these extraordinary high donations take place is for instance within the fundraising for the Central Park Conservancy. In these cases the surpassing financial capital of the local community has to be taken into account. Similar contexts concerning the local financial capital of the residents may be also a plausible explanation for other examples.

The third relevant characteristic of campaigns is the number of donators who support the project. In the case of Civic Crowdfunding it is not uncommon that people also participate as volunteers or somehow help to make the campaign a success. This is an important extra for campaigns that can force engagement and gain attraction for a project. However, a sufficient number of donators is the precondition for a successful Civic Crowdfunding campaign. For the European case, somehow around 100 donators are quite common for campaigns. It must be considered that there exists a relationship between the total funding goals and the number of donators for a campaign. Therefore, the number of a little less than 100 donators is common for campaigns aiming for a couple of thousand Euros. This leads also to the frequent donations of amounts around 20 or 30 Euros. On the contrary, campaigns which exceed or fall below are also observable. In the US case, the main criteria for the number of donators is again the funding goal of the campaign. This relationship can be observed in both case studies. However, the number of donators in the observed US campaigns was slightly higher than in the European ones. Admittedly, the differences are too small. It would be reasonable to talk about a major difference and a bigger sample to prove this assumption would be necessary. Campaigns which diverge significantly from the observed average are also the case in the US. Campaigns can be successful with just 10 donators but as the examples in the previous chapter have already illustrated, there are also successful campaigns which had up to 3.000 donators and more. It may be simply noted that the number of donators is rather conditioned by the funding goal than by the local context.

The last point of the A-categories is dealing with the duration of the campaigns. This is commonly dictated by the need of the platforms to put an end-date to the campaign. Most platforms in Europe and the US, work after the principle that the donation goes back to the backer if the campaigns don´t reach the pre-defined goal in a certain period. In any case,

results show that most campaigns are either successful in the first one or two months or will never reach their initial funding goal. This must be seen in the context of the online and even offline promotion. They are most effective in the first weeks of the campaign and normally lose the ability to attract new donators after some weeks of featuring. Consequently, most campaigns in Europe and the US last for one or two months. Certain campaigns may last slightly longer but very rarely last more than 3 months.

In a nutshell, the differences between the European and the US case concerning size and duration of the campaigns are rather small. It has been shown that in terms of funding goal and average donation minor differences can be found. In the case of the number of participants and the duration of the campaigns, noticeable differences couldn´t be identified. This shows that the mechanisms of Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are primary conditioned by endogenous factors like the funding goal and the capability to uphold the online presence to feature the campaign. The local setting seems to play a minor role in this context.

4.3.2 The Narratives – The Structured Content Analyses

The structured content analysis was applied to the material categorized as the categories B-F. The European and US case have been analyzed separately and hence are going to be presented in subsections apart from each other. Nevertheless, the procedure of the analysis has been strictly the same. The comparison between the two cases will be made after the presentation of the narratives.

The European Case

For the European case 8 Interviews have been conducted and analyzed. The background of the experts differs from Civic Crowdfunding initiators, Platforms, to public authorities. However, all experts are stakeholders in the context of Civic Crowdfunding and have been recently involved in Civic Crowdfunding campaigns in one way or another.

Code	Interview Partner	Background	Actor	Date
EU-01	Douw&Koren	Crowdfunding Agency	Platform	19.01.2017
EU-02	Ringland	CCF Campaign	Crowd	18.11.2016
EU-03	Rotterdam Urban Planning	City Administer	Public Authority	03.01.2017
EU-04	Voor je Buurt	CCF Platform	Platform	20.01.2017
EU-05	Pop-up-Park	CCF Campaign	Crowd	14.10.2016
EU-06	Crowdfunding BXL	CCF Platform	Platform	13.12.2016
EU-07	ECN	Crowdfunding Lobby	Third Party	28.09.2016
EU-08	Luchtsingel	CCF Campaign	Crowd	07.11.2016

Figure 19: Overview of the interview-partner for the European Case. Own draft.

For the application of the structured content analysis 5 major categories (B-F) have been used. These are as follows: Motives of the Backers in (B), Civic Crowdfunding and Neoliberalism (C), Political and Civic Background (D), Civic Crowdfunding as inclusive urban development (E) and Civic Crowdfunding and public authorities (F).

<u>Motives of the Backers</u>

This category aims for a better understanding why people support Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. It highlights the driving forces and also the background of the donators and volunteers in campaigns. When looking at the identified motives 3 main assertions can be made.

1. Most Supporters are driven by some kind of personal interest.

2. Social and Spatial proximity to the campaign matters.

3. The supporters of a campaign are commonly a rather homogeneous group.

Personal Interest

The findings show clearly that the vast majority of people who get involved in Civic Crowdfunding have some kind of personal interest in the project. This is valid for people who support a campaign with their donations and clearly also applies to people who volunteer in a project. This is not perceived as something negative by the experts rather than a logical motivation for people who get engaged in a local project.

> *"There are always personal reasons, but if this is in balance with the general idea it´s ok." (Crowd – European Case)*

Social and Spatial Proximity

Furthermore, participants in Civic Crowdfunding have commonly a relationship with the campaign initiators. The first supporters of a campaign are in most cases the family and close friends of the initiators. This shows the matter of social proximity, especially in the early stages of a Civic Crowdfunding. Moreover, distance matters also in terms of geographical proximity. The majority of the donators normally live in the same neighborhood. Donations and volunteers from further located neighborhoods within the city happen but they are underrepresented.

> *"So most of the money came from two districts which are directly affected,*
> *but then we had people who were believing in the idea and just willing to*
> *give money." (Crowd – European Case)*

However, there are people who don´t live close and still get engaged. This is especially valid for people who have been involved in some kind of activism before. These people are not less driven by personal interests but they see the aim of the campaign more as a demo-project, which can have a wider impact. Consequently, they feature the campaign, even successful implementation won´t have a direct impact on their everyday life or their neighborhood. Lastly, there are also donations from other parts of the country or from even further away. This group of donators is either driven by the same motivation of supporting a demo-project or by veritable philanthropic reasons. However, generally this group of supporters is rather small in Civic Crowdfunding campaigns.

> *"I mean it´s just a local park, but the impact will be much bigger than that."*
> *(Crowd- European Case)*

Homogeneity of the Supporters

Additionally to the motivations of the backers, some campaigns show a kind of socio-economic pattern with the participants. The groups of supporters tend to be in some cases more homogenous than the city´s average. There are no indications about general characteristics in socio-demographic terms but some campaigns might especially recruit supporters with a particular social-economic, socio-demographic or ethnic background.

Civic Crowdfunding and Neoliberalism

The discourse about neoliberalism and the shift in urban governance towards entrepreneurialism has been already emphasized in the theoretical part of this work. The second chapter already attempted to highlight that this topic cannot be left aside in the context of Civic Crowdfunding. The category deals with the question if Civic Crowdfunding must be seen in the tradition of ongoing neoliberalisation or if it is just an innovative way to provide additional services to communities. Again, three main argumentation lines can be identified.

1. Civic Crowdfunding per se is not a neoliberal practice.

2. People see a relationship between Austerity, the crises and Civic Crowdfunding.

3. Civic Crowdfunding can be an answer for contemporary challenges.

A Neoliberal Practice?!

The question If Civic Crowdfunding is a neoliberal practice is highly and sometimes even emotionally debated. This is also true for the interviewed experts. It can be immediately noted, that the findings of the European case show that Civic Crowdfunding per se is not perceived as a neoliberal practice. People in Europe do still believe that it is the duty of the state and its authorities to provide the basic infrastructure and there are no indications that this paradigm will be weakened in the nearer future. Furthermore, Civic Crowdfunding is not seen as an alternative for public funding and conduction of large scale projects. People believe that due to the financial and organizational limitations of Civic Crowdfunding this will always have to be done by public authorities. Overall, there is still a strong belief in the state and the basic services which are provided by its agencies.

Austerity and Financial Crises

Following up, it also has to be mentioned that there are serious concerns that some services provided by the authorities could be affected from budget cut-downs and neoliberal reforms. People are aware that the development of the welfare-state has passed its zenith. The question what role Civic Crowdfunding is playing in this and could play in the future is answered by the experts in different ways. For some people Civic Crowdfunding stands

indirectly in relation with the last financial crises and the resulting retrenchments. For them the last crises and the rise in austerity policies triggered the emergence of Civic Crowdfunding. Furthermore, there are also certain worries that successfully implemented Civic Crowdfunded projects may be used as an excuse by the public authorities to withdraw existing financial support. Consequently, it is perceived as double-edged opportunity which might be easily abused by neoliberal politics.

"I think that is one of the dangers of Civic Crowdfunding, that the state puts the money elsewhere and you cannot fund a little park." (Crowd – European Case)

However, the general sentiment concerning Civic Crowdfunding is rather positive than influenced by the fear of a hidden neoliberalisation agenda. Even though experts don´t deny the link to the aftermaths of the last crisis, several stakeholders see it rather as a possible solution for current challenges of budget shortfalls than as a pass on of responsibility towards citizens. It is especially seen as an instrument that can improve participation and a way to distribute public subsidies in a more democratic way.

"We have seen a lot of cut-backs in the last years, so crowdfunding can also be perhaps not a full alternative, but an instrument that you can use instead of the old subsidies system or as add-ons in this ongoing transformation towards citizen participation."(Platform - European Case)

A an Answer to Contemporary Challenges

Lastly, Civic Crowdfunding is also considered as an instrument to support liberalism in a positive sense. It gives enthusiastic citizens the possibility to raise funding and to carry out projects without additional help from the state. Consequently, citizens can improve their environment by themselves and it provides some kind of autonomy. Therefore, the instrument can simplify the implementation of citizen issues in times of austerity measures and tight public budgets. Furthermore, Civic Crowdfunding is not considered as substitute or alternative source for people who are hardly affected by possible public cut-backs but as an instrument to implement additional services organized by citizens.

<u>Political and Civic Background</u>

It is assumed that the specific civil and political background leads to certain ideas how Civic Crowdfunding can and should be used. This category investigates the expectations that citizens have concerning the usage of Civic Crowdfunding for projects in public space. A special attention is paid to how citizens see the role of public authorities and what they expect from them. In total, two findings can be presented.

1. Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument to raise awareness for citizen issues.

2. Citizens expect public authorities to pay for basic infrastructure.

An Instrument to Raise Awareness

One of the biggest potentials of Civic Crowdfunding is that it can raise a lot of attention through online campaigning. Together with offline activities the support from a critical number of citizens for a campaign can effectively raise awareness for an issue. This puts frequent pressure on public authorities to react to the concern. Especially if the campaign reaches a certain size and media attention, it is very difficult to bypass the issue. This can be addressed by implementing initiatives to get their voice heard and to create pressure on politicians and authorities. In this sense, Civic Crowdfunding can successfully support activism and campaigning.

"It was to build awareness and to push the government to do, what they have promised to do 20 years ago" (Crowd – European Case)

Civic Crowdfunding Won´t Finance Basic Infrastructure

Citizens have, as already mentioned, still strong beliefs in the state and the public authorities when it comes to the provision of basic infrastructure and services. This combines on the one hand the trust that this will be also in the future organized and paid for by the public and on the other, presents also the perception that it is the government's duty to guarantee that these responsibilities will be taken care of. The relatively high social welfare contributions are seen as assurance that basic infrastructure will be provided and doesn´t have to be financed directly by citizens. Consequently, there is no understanding or big willingness in Europe to donate for Civic Crowdfunding which would provide basic infrastructure.

*"People in the Netherlands are not going to donate for new lamps on the
street or for whatever, because that is the basic infrastructure where the
state and the government have to take care for and have to pay for it"*
(Platform – European Case)

<u>Civic Crowdfunding as Inclusive Urban Development</u>

The question of how inclusive Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument for urban development arises is from the topic of the work. The category sums up argumentations concerning this issue. The possibilities of the instrument are pointed out but at the same time possible barriers of inclusivity are also highlighted. The following points can therefore be identified.

1. Civic Crowdfunding fosters participation and enables community building.

2. The donation itself is a minor barrier to participate in a campaign.

3. To ensure inclusivity offline instruments have to complement a campaign.

4. Civic Crowdfunding presents a new way of collaborative urban development.

Participation and Community Building

Civic Crowdfunding is seen as an instrument that encourages people to participate in their neighborhood. It can get people involved which have not been engaged before. Furthermore, the fact that people also support the project with their money permits people to feel more attached to the project. They become interested in the project and care more about the further developments longer. Besides that, it can foster community building as people get in contact through the activities and become more concerned about their own neighborhood.

*"People really get more involved because of crowdfunding, but they also
stay involved, even after the campaign has ended"*
(Platform – European Case)

The Sum Doesn´t Matter

The fact that Civic Crowdfunding requires the donation of some private money is seen as a minor barrier for people to participate. Little sums are very welcome and shouldn´t hold back most people. Regardless of the amount of the donated money, people are visible parts of the

campaign and normally the concrete sums of the individual donations are not published. On the contrary, the names of all donators are often published if general consensus is reached.

Offline Still Matters

The biggest barrier for people to join Civic Crowdfunding is the exclusive online presence. Especially elderly are often not familiar enough with information technology to inform themselves about a campaign or to donate with help. Furthermore, they hold some kind of online banking feasible payment method like a credit card or playball is needed for online Crowdfunding. To guarantee the inclusivity of a campaign, complementary offline events and information is required. If this is recognized, the barriers of participation can be kept low for all age groups.

> *"They can donate online with a little help, but you have to connect and involve them, with offline events." (Platform – European Case)*

Collaborative City Development

The quality of Civic Crowdfunding to raise awareness for a project and to foster the involvement of citizens can ensure local support and facilitate the final implementation of a campaign. Developments where Civic Crowdfunding was applied are often characterized by unproblematic implementations of the project. In this sense it fulfills the aims of traditional participatory instruments in planning. Furthermore, Civic Crowdfunding can be seen as a voice for local needs. If public authorities read it in this way, it can help them to learn from locals to react towards their expectations. This could open up the possibility to develop a more collaborative practice of urban development.

> *"Before the 2008 crises it was largely big investors and big building companies deciding, they were planning forward sometimes 5-15 years in let´s say just one afternoon. That model came under pressure because of the crises and so now more what you call organic forms of urban development is going on and Civic Crowdfunding can strengthen that."*
> *(Platform – European Case)*

<u>Civic Crowdfunding and Public Authorities</u>

Public authorities are one of the key actors in Civic Crowdfunding. This category aims to unravel the attitude from governmental agencies towards Civic Crowdfunding and to demonstrate their relationship between campaign initiators and platforms. Concerning this aim, two assertions could be derived from the analysis.

1. The attitude from public authorities towards Civic Crowdfunding is inconsistent.

2. Public authorities are crucial stakeholders in Civic Crowdfunding.

An Inconsistent Attitude…

The attitude from public authorities towards Civic Crowdfunding can be described as inconsistent. In some cities it is practiced successfully in cooperation with the local authorities, while in other places mistrust is predominant. This depends also largely on the context of the campaign. The activist driven campaigns seem to have a more conflictive approach with authorities than campaigns who are partly city initiated or match-funded. In general, local differences are dominant and a more general trend cannot be observed.

Crucial Stakeholders

However, the relationship between agencies and campaigns might not be always free of conflict, public authorities are nearly always crucial stakeholders. One the one hand, it is essential for most campaigns to reach an agreement with the city to be able to finally implement the project, especially if it is in a public space or if the city has to maintain it. Secondly, also the platforms depend to some extend on public agencies. For many of them the revenues of collaboration with public authorities or match-funding campaigns are essential parts of their finance.

The US Case

The structured content analysis for the US-case is based on 6 interviews. All local experts are working in a field related Civic Crowdfunding. Their background includes campaign initiators, platforms, NGOs and public authorities. Thereby the composition of the interviewed experts is similar to the European case.

Code	Interview Partner	Background	Actor	Date
US-01	IOBY	CCF Platform	Platform	07.02.2017
US-02	Community Board 12	District Representative	Public Authority	03.02.2017
US-03	181st Street Beautification Project	Civil Activist	Crowd	13.02.2017
US-04	Rockaway Beach	CCF Initiator	Crowd	08.02.2017
US-05	Brooklyn Urban Planning	Borough Administer	Public Authority	08.02.2017
US-06	Central Park Conservancy	NGO	Third Party	22.03.2017

Figure 20: Overview of the interview-partners for the US case. Own draft.

In the analysis applied categorizes are the same as for the European case. These are again as follows: Motives of Backers in (B), Civic Crowdfunding and Neoliberalism (C), Political and Civic Background (D), Civic Crowdfunding as inclusive urban development (E) and Civic Crowdfunding and public authorities (F).

Motives of the Backers

The category sums up the findings concerning the motivation and the background of citizens supporting Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. For the US-Case 3 assertions could be identified in the analysis.

1. Social and Geographical distance matters in Civic Crowdfunding.

2. The desire for People to give back or invest in their neighborhood through Civic Crowdfunding.

3. Backers in Civic Crowdfunding exhibit certain typical characteristics.

Distance Still Matters

Variable distance matters a lot in Civic Crowdfunding. One dimension is social closeness, meaning the relationship that backers have with campaign initiators. This is one of the crucial denominators of motivation, most people who are donating money for a campaign somehow have a personal connection with the initiator. The second dimension is geographical proximity. This goes partly hand in hand with the social dimension. The majority of supporters in Civic Crowdfunding live in the neighborhood where the campaign tackles an issue. Consequently people know the campaign or its initiators because they are neighbors or anyway feel duty bound to donate because the campaign addresses an issue in their neighborhood. This

correlates also with the density of the area. In more dense neighborhoods the radius of campaign supporters is smaller than in more sub-urban areas with lower density.

"Here in Queens, most donators are with less than half of a mile, but in less dense neighborhoods like in Memphis, the donators spread is a little bigger" (Platform – US Case)

Investing in Social Capital

The preference to support campaigns in their own neighborhood is also caused by the motive to improve the own living environment. People are on the one hand driven by the idea to give something back to their neighborhood. This is especially valid for people who might have lived there already for some time and who are emotionally attached to the place. On the other hand, people see the support of a Civic Crowdfunding campaign as some kind of investment in their neighborhood. They are driven by the idea to improve their living environment and to increase social capital in the area they are living in. Hence, their property values are also profiting from this strategy. This logic might be especially valid for people who plan to live for a longer time in the neighborhood and own or plan to own property there.

"That seems to be the driving force, they are building some sort of social capital for their future there" (Platform – US Case)

The Homogeneity of the Backers

When looking at the people who support Civic Crowdfunding with their donations, some kind of socio-demographic or socio-economic pattern can be observed. The two resources time and money are necessary conditions to participate. While it can be argued that money is just a minor barrier as very small donations are also common, it is obvious that you need time to get informed about ongoing campaigns and to finally support them. Furthermore, participants in Civic Crowdfunding are surprisingly young and have high formal education. All this points to the fact that participants don´t just have a basic economic capital which allows them to participate but they also have the technical knowledge and the time to support campaigns.

Civic Crowdfunding and Neoliberalism

The discourse of the relationship between neoliberal urbanism and the emergence of Civic Crowdfunding has been already mentioned in a previous chapter. The findings for the US-case show tree main arguments.

1. Austerity and the financial crises triggered Civic Crowdfunding.

2. Civic Crowdfunding has certainly spatial effects.

3. Civic Crowdfunding has limits in terms of size.

A Boost Through Austerity and the Financial Crises

Financial short cuts and strict budget discipline is seen as a triggering effect for Civic Crowdfunding. The last financial crises played an important role in this development. The decrease in public funding boosted the emergence of Civic Crowdfunding. On the other hand, charity donations traditionally have a peak during crises. The same applies to volunteering. Due the increase in unemployment the number of people who get engaged in volunteering projects peaks normally in the US. These trends shaped and boosted the emergence of Civic Crowdfunding.

The Spatiality of Civic Crowdfunding

Civic Crowdfunding shapes the neighborhoods if applied. In other words, it has certain spatial effects. It can be argued that successful campaigns can reduce the necessity for public funded services in a neighborhood and consequently this frees up budget for other neighborhoods in more need. Following this line of argumentation, Civic Crowdfunding could have distributive effects. At the same time, it could be also argued that the same practice would rather increase spatial inequalities. More wealthy neighborhoods could use Civic Crowdfunding to improve their environment by themselves and raise the property values in their neighborhoods, while even assuming that the freed up funding would be used in poorer neighborhoods, the result would be rather an increase of inequalities than welfare-distribution.

> *"It is in people's interest, I mean it is in the economical best interest of people who live around the park that it stays in good shape. Because their property value is going up then." (Third Party – US Case)*

Limitations of Civic Crowdfunding

Civic Crowdfunding is not seen as a full alternative for public funded infrastructure projects in the US. Therefore people are concerned too much about limitations in terms of size. The belief that certain projects will always be managed and at least partly funded by state agencies is still strong. Civic Crowdfunding is seen as an innovative tool for small and maybe middle scale projects but not as a substitution for major government lead infrastructure developments.

Political and Civic Background

This category asks for the political and civil setting behind the actions. It tries to characterize the beliefs which citizens have concerning civil society and the state. This helps to frame the motives and actions of citizens participating in Civic Crowdfunding. A total of 2 argumentations can be identified.

1. Civic Crowdfunding as do-it-yourself urbanism.
2. Bottom-Up Democratization via Civic Crowdfunding.

Do-it-yourself Urbanism

The citizen's expectations in the state and its authorities are traditionally complicated in the US. The idea of independence and autonomy in everyday life is very present. People's own environment should be improved rather by oneself than asking for help. People believe in the idea of helping themselves and this leads to some kind of mistrust and skepticism concerning public authorities. At the same time people have the feeling that the state also can´t provide sufficient service. Civic Crowdfunding is a way for people to improve their neighborhoods by themselves without the unwanted help of the state. Do-it-yourself has an honorable connotation. It stands for the ability to solve problems within the community.

> *"We didn´t want to have to do anything with politicians, we didn´t want to have anything to do with agencies. We just wanted to clean the neighborhood for the people." (Crowd – US Case)*

Bottom-up Democratization

The skepticism about the state and its agencies doesn´t mean a reservation concerning democracy, especially on a more local scale. It is rather the other way round. The bottom-up

approach of Civic Crowdfunding is seen as instruments to promote citizen's issues. From this point of view of fostering democracy. It can help to get people's voices heard and strengthen local debate culture.

Civic Crowdfunding as Inclusive Urban Development

The category investigates arguments concerning the inclusivity of Civic Crowdfunding and its potential for citizen participation and engagement. For the US case the following assertions could be identified.

1. Civic Crowdfunding has the ability to strengthen community attachment.

2. Campaigns can foster participation and can put forward citizen issues.

3. The digital divide is an issue concerning the inclusivity of Civic Crowdfunding.

Strengthened Community Attachment

Civic Crowdfunding can help to strengthen the community attachment of citizens. People who participate in a campaign have a stronger binding to their neighborhood and its community. These effects also last for quite long and don´t seem to be a short term phenomenon. In this way it can help to build and improve the local communities and improve the coexistence in a neighborhood. On a bigger scale, it can also improve the attachment to the whole city where people live as well as raising local awareness.

> *"We have heard from people who participated in a campaign, that before they did it, they didn´t feel as much responsibility for their community and after they feel way more attached to their own city." (Platform – US Case)*

Participation and Citizen Issues

The participation in a campaign can´t just increase the local binding of people but also involve them more in decision making processes for their neighborhood. Civic Crowdfunding is a tool that allows citizens to articulate their needs and to present solutions created by them. It provides a kind of autonomy to local communities and gives people the opportunity to get engaged in actively shaping their neighborhood, while the barriers to join are rather low for most people.

The Digital Divide and the Question of Inclusivity

One of the biggest barriers for people to participate in Civic Crowdfunding is the still ongoing digital divide in society. Access to modern communication technologies has been radically extended over the last years but some social groups still suffer restrictions. On the one hand, this affects especially elderly people who simply don´t have the knowledge to use online applications like Crowdfunding. On the other hand, also people from lower socio-economic backgrounds still don't have the same familiarity with online services and frequently restricted access to the internet. This doesn´t mean that they don´t have internet access at all, but they might have it not at home or with restrictions in data volume and speed. To guarantee inclusivity for these groups, additional offline activities are essential.

Civic Crowdfunding and Public Authorities

This category highlights the role of public authorities concerning Civic Crowdfunding and tries to detect their attitude about it. Furthermore, it aims to unravel the relationship between the different actors involved in Civic Crowdfunding and public authorities. As a result two statements can be derived.

1. Public Authorities are frequently skeptical or overstrained with Civic Crowdfunding.

2. Public Authorities play a crucial role in Civic Crowdfunding.

Skepticism and Overstraining

Civic Crowdfunding is a rather new trend and many public authorities are initially skeptical about it. This is not caused by a general rejection of new bottom-up initiatives but there are frequent concerns about the feasibility of campaigns. This must be also seen in the context that many public authorities have already large workloads and responsibilities, which leads to some kind of overstraining concerning new issues like Civic Crowdfunding.

Public Authorities as Key Actors

However, a good working relationship with the public authorities is essential for successful campaigns. The involvement of the responsible agency is normally unavoidable if a campaign should be finally implemented. Consequently, platforms but also initiators usually try to build a good working relationship with the key agencies for their campaigns.

Similarities and Differences Between the Cases

The structured content analysis has been used to identify the main assertions of the interviewed experts concerning the categories B-F. While doing this, the similarities and differences between the European and the US case have been manifested. The heuristic idea of the work is based on the comparison of the form and usage of Civic Crowdfunding in the two case studies. Therefore, a confrontation of the identified assertions is an important step towards the ambition of the work.

Starting with the motives of the backers in Civic Crowdfunding, the findings show that social and spatial distance are key variables in both cases. Moreover, the supporters are in both cases driven by personal interests concerning the campaign but while in the European case people see projects also as demo-examples which are in line with their interests, in the US case, participants are more driven by the idea to give something back or to invest in their neighborhood. Concerning the groups of backers in the campaigns, it becomes clear that in the European as in the US case certain homogeneity prevails. There are indices that this homogeneity is particularly apparent in the US based on social-economic characteristics.

Moving to category C, it can be noted that austerity and the last financial crises are in both cases perceived as triggering factors for Civic Crowdfunding. However, while in Europe Civic Crowdfunding is generally not considered as neoliberal practice and it is even seen as a viable answer for contemporary challenges in urban development, in the US the awareness that it has certain spatial effects is dominant. If these effects are rather distributive or fragmented then this is a debated issue. Either way, the assumption that Civic Crowdfunding has its limits in terms of size is dominant on both sides of the Atlantic. It is not seen as regular substitution of government-lead large scale developments.

With regards to the political and civic background, rather different assertions for the two cases could be identified. In Europe, one major strength of Civic Crowdfunding is seen in its ability

to raise awareness for citizen issues. The same applies for the US case but it is even taken a bit further. In the context of occurring extreme skepticism concerning state agencies, Civic Crowdfunding is to some extent a hope for bottom-up democratization and increased local autonomy. This can be linked to the idea of DIY-Urbanism, which is not just historically conditioned but also today very present in US-American cities. Reasoned by the different expectations in the state and its agencies, in Europe this phenomena is not very present. Here, the generally strong belief prevails that it is the state's duty to manage and finance basic infrastructure.

The potential to foster participation is seen as one of the biggest benefits in the European and the US case. This ability of Civic Crowdfunding therefore is rather unquestioned. Furthermore, the fact that it increases people's attachment to their neighborhood and lets them become interested in participatory project for longer time is undeniable. What´s more, Civic Crowdfunding can enable community building and puts forward citizen's issues. In all these previously presented points, the experts in Europe and US agree on. Concerns about the inclusivity are also shared by experts in both cases. The ongoing digital divide is considered as a barrier for participation in Civic Crowdfunding. Consequently, strictly online conducted campaigns raise concerns from experts about the inclusivity in both cases. Therefore, complementary offline events are suggested and perceived as necessary to guarantee inclusivity. While in the US case, concerns about other barriers like financial capital, time and education are also raised, in Europe donations are just seen as a minor barrier. Moreover, Civic Crowdfunding presents for the European experts a new and feasible way of collaborative city development more clearly.

The last category deals with public authorities and their attitude towards Civic Crowdfunding. On the one hand, it is unquestioned in both case studies that public authorities are crucial stakeholders. It is for hardly any campaign possible to just bypass them if the campaign wants to be successfully implemented. On the other hand, it seems that in the US case public authorities are frequently skeptical or overstrained with Civic Crowdfunding. For the European case such an assertion cannot be derived. The attitude differs in between the different campaigns and can be generally described as inconsistent.

Main Narratives of the Structured Content Analysis			
Code	Categories	European Case	US Case
B	**Motives of the Backers in CCF**	1.Social and spatial proximity to the campaign matters. 2. Most supporters are driven by some kind of personal interest. 3. The supporters of a campaign are commonly a rather homogeneous group.	1. Social and Geographical distance matters in Civic Crowdfunding. 2. People want to give back or invest in their neighborhood. 3. Backers in Civic Crowdfunding exhibit certain typical characteristics.
C	**CCF and Neoliberalism**	1. People see a relation between Austerity, the crises and Civic Crowdfunding. 2. Civic Crowdfunding per se is not a neoliberal practice. 3. Civic Crowdfunding can be an answer for contemporary challenges.	1. Austerity and the financial crises triggered Civic Crowdfunding. 2. Civic Crowdfunding has certainly spatial effects. 3. Civic Crowdfunding has limits in terms of size.
D	**Political and Civic Background**	1. Civic Crowdfunding as instrument to raise awareness for citizen issues. 2. Citizens expect public authorities to pay for basic infrastructure.	1.Bottom-Up Democratization via Civic Crowdfunding. 2. Civic Crowdfunding as do-it-yourself urbanism.
E	**CCF as inclusive Urban Developement**	1. Civic Crowdfunding fosters participation and enables community building. 2. The donation itself is a minor barrier to participate in campaign. 3. To ensure inclusivity offline instruments have to complement a campaign. 4. Civic Crowdfunding presents a new way of collaborative city development.	1. Civic Crowdfunding has the ability to strengthen the community attachment. 2. Campaigns can foster participation and can put forward citizen issues. 3. The digital fracture is an issue concerning the inclusivity of Civic Crowdfunding.
F	**CCF and Public Authorities**	1.Public authorities are crucial stakeholders in Civic Crowdfunding. 2. The attitude from public authorities towards Civic Crowdfunding is inconsistent.	1. Public Authorities play are crucial role in Civic Crowdfunding. 2. Public Authorities are frequently skeptical or overstrained with Civic Crowdfunding.

Figure 21: Comparison of the main findings of the structured content analysis between the US and the European case. Own draft.

4.3.3 The Scaled Content Analyses

In this section the results of the scaled content analysis will be presented and directly juxtaposed with the narratives derived from the structured content analysis. Therefore, the scaled content analysis functions as an additional instrument to test the research questions and hypotheses. While the structured content analyses have unraveled the main narratives and assertions of the interviewed experts concerning Civic Crowdfunding, the scaled content analyses can be used to directly verify the formulated sub-questions. The design of the analyses grid allows conducting both steps from the same data. This is reasoned by the included notes for the sub-category and the descriptors. Consequently, the European case is based on the same 8 interviews as already presented in the previous sub-chapter and the US

case is based on 6 interviews. Taking the assigned paraphrases as starting point for each category (B-F), the scaled content analysis doesn´t aim for further reduction of the material but for a classification of the selected material in sub-categories. After the assignment to the subcategories b1-F2 the pro or against arguments for the sub-questions are counted. However, each argument is just counted once per expert, so that repeated usage of one argument by the same expert doesn´t have any impact. The analysis of the counting leads to the creation of a table where the pro and con arguments concerning a sub-question are illustrated. The results are outlined in absolute as also in relative values. This facilities the interpretation and ensures the highlighting that the table doesn´t present an ordinary quantitative analysis based on a sample or population.

The column Experts (P) is an additional measure to guarantee transparency concerning the significance of each sub-category. Results which show high correspondence and include arguments from several experts indicate powerful statements. Additionally, colors are used to mark the expression of each sub-category. Green stands for predominantly "Yes", Red for predominantly "No" and Yellow for no tendency is identifiable. The table already includes a comparison between the European and the US case. Therefore, differences and similarities can be easily read out.

One aim of the in the presented results is to deliver for the findings of the previously outlined structured content analyses additional significance. Furthermore, the findings of the scaled content analysis give direct answers to the formulated sub-research questions of the work. Looking at the category B, or more precisely sub-category B1, it becomes clear that the general importance of social and geographical distance is not just highlighted by the structured content analysis but also by the results of the scaled content analysis. The other sub-categories, B2 and B3, also confirm the previous findings. While in the European case, supporters of Civic Crowdfunding are more driven by indirect interests or even philanthropic reasons, the US case shows pretty much the opposite. Concerning the characteristic of the backers in Civic Crowdfunding, the assertions in both cases are generally speaking confirming the homogeneity of this group.

The sub-categories C1-C3 show the presence of the discourse about neoliberalism in urban studies. This is highlighted by the especially high number of arguments which could be identified. Concerning the question if Civic Crowdfunding is a neoliberal practice, the

Category	Sub-Category	Category	Case Study	P (Experts)	Absolut	Relative
		Comparative-Scaled-Analyses between US-Amercian and European Case Study				
B	B1	*Particiapnts have direct relation to the neighborhood where the campaign takes place*	EU	4	6 YES vs 1 NO	85,7%--> YES 14,3% --> NO
			US	3	11 YES VS 1 NO	91% --> YES 8,3% --> NO
	B2	*People support campaigns due philantropy or to support a demo projekt*	EU	3	5 YES vs 0 NO	100% --> YES 0% --> NO
			US	2	0 YES VS 2 NO	0% --> YES 100% --> No
	B3	*There is a socio-demographic pattern along the backers*	EU	5	3 YES vs 2 NO	60% --> YES 40% --> NO
			US	5	6 YES VS 1 NO	85,7% --> YES 14,3% --> NO
C	C1	*Civic Crowdfunding is a neoliberal pratice*	EU	4	2 YES vs 2 NO	50% --> YES 50% --> NO
			US	2	2 YES VS 1 NO	66,7% --> YES 33,3% --> NO
	C2	*Civic Crowdfunding is enabled by austerity*	EU	4	6 YES vs 2 NO	75% --> YES 25% --> NO
			US	5	10 YES VS 0 NO	100% --> YES 0% --> NO
	C3	*Civic Crowdfunding can entail the withdrawal of public funding*	EU	6	5 YES vs 6 NO	45,5% --> YES 54,5% --> NO
			US	4	3 YES VS 2 NO	60% --> YES 40% --> NO
D	D1	*DIY-Urbanism is an enabler of Civic Crowdfunding*	EU	0	---------	---------
			US	5	9 YES VS 1 NO	90% --> YES 10% --> NO
	D2	*Civic Crowdfunding is driven by activism*	EU	3	6 YES vs 0 NO	100% --> YES 0% --> NO
			US	1	0 YES VS 1 NO	100% --> NO
	D3	*European citizens have different expectations in the State than US citizens*	EU	4	4 YES vs 1 NO	80% --> YES 20% --> NO
			US	4	5 YES VS 1 NO	83,3% --> YES 16,6% --> NO
E	E1	*Civic Crowdfunding is inclusive in terms of low participation barriers*	EU	5	9 YES vs 0 NO	100% --> YES 0% --> NO
			US	3	1 YES VS 4 NO	20% --> YES 80% --> NO
	E2	*Civic Crowdfunding can foster participation and community attachement*	EU	7	15 YES	100% --> YES 0% --> NO
			US	4	10 YES VS 1 NO	90,9% --> YES 9,1% --> NO
	E3	*Civic Crowdfunding can be redistributive*	EU	2	2 YES vs 0 NO	100% --> YES 0% --> NO
			US	4	4 YES VS 1 NO	80% --> YES 20% --> NO
F	F1	*Public Authorities are predominantly sceptical with Civic Crowdfunding*	EU	5	4 YES vs 4 NO	50% --> YES 50% --> NO
			US	5	5 YES VS 4 NO	55,5% --> YES 44,4% --> NO
	F2	*Public authorities are crucial stakeholders in Civic Crowdfunding*	EU	4	5 YES vs 0 NO	100% --> YES 0% --> NO
			US	4	6 YES VS 0 NO	100% --> YES 0% --> NO

Figure 22: Results of the scaled – content analyses outlined in a comparative way. Own draft.

European and the US experts are divided. No clear statement can be derived from the results of the scaled content analysis. This is interesting, as the narratives show that Civic Crowdfunding in general is not perceived as a neoliberal practice. One reason for this minor difference could be the fact that experts are more concerned about neoliberal tendencies in Civic Crowdfunding if talking about specific cases. This could lead to the assumption that in the general narrative Civic Crowdfunding is not seen as a neoliberal practice but when experts are evaluating more specific examples, as it is the case for the scaled content analysis, they have a less consistent opinion. Having said this, the sub-category C2 shows the major role that austerity plays in the discourse on Civic Crowdfunding. For the US the results are even clearer than for the European case. This might be caused by the longer history of austerity in urban development in the US Case, while in Europe the term as well as the policies are still rather new. Following, in the sub-category C3 neither the US nor the European experts can agree whether Civic Crowdfunding can entail the withdrawal of public funding. This is pretty much in line with the findings from the structured content analysis. Some experts have raised concerns about this issue but there is no consistency in the arguments.

The results of the category D are characterized by case study specific questions. On the one hand, it becomes clear that DIY-Urbanism doesn´t play a major role in Europe but it is important for the understanding of Civic Crowdfunding in the US, where it is also historically embedded. Consequently, the US experts show a strong agreement on the importance of DIY-Urbanism whereas no single argument from the European experts could be counted. On the other hand, a similar tendency can be observed for sub-category C2. While European experts confirm with numerous arguments the importance of activism as a driving force for Civic Crowdfunding campaigns, the US experts just formulated one counter argument. These findings deliver additional information for the narratives and are further indicators for the different civic contexts. This assertion is fortified by the results for sub-category C3. In this sub-category general agreement prevails, meaning that all experts consent that US and European citizens have different expectations in the states and its agencies.

Category E contains a rather interesting result concerning the inclusivity of Civic Crowdfunding. While for the European case a strong tendency for the inclusivity is indicated, for the US case it is rather the opposite. Experts see serious barriers of participation in Civic Crowdfunding. Looking at the narratives, it is noticeable that in the European case the digital

divide is considered as the only major barrier for participation. For the US case, the experts share the concern about the digital divide but identify also a lack of money and time as barriers. This might cause the opposite evaluation concerning the inclusivity of Civic Crowdfunding in the US and Europe. Nevertheless, the potential of Civic Crowdfunding to foster participation and community attachment are unquestionable for both cases. Sub-category E2 shows a major agreement on this ability. This can be seen as a strong confirmation of the findings of the structured content analysis. The last sub-category, E3, points out again a general agreement on the fact that Civic Crowdfunding can be redistributive. However, it has to be mentioned that this is presented through a smaller number of arguments. The narratives identified in the structured content analysis don´t show such a clear result in this point. The fact that Civic Crowdfunding has certainly spatial impact is rather highlighted than its potential for redistributive effects.

Coming to the last category, the findings show that the question, whether public authorities are predominantly skeptical with Civic Crowdfunding, is neither for the US nor for the European case easy to answer. Both cases concur that experts cannot agree if it applies or not. This confirms the result of the structured content analysis that this rather differs from case to case or from city to city than a general identifiable trend for the European or US case. Lastly, the second sub-category is characterized by a strong agreement from all experts. Recognition that public authorities are crucial stakeholders in Civic Crowdfunding prevails in the scaled content analysis in the same way as it is the case for the structured content analysis.

The results of the scaled content analysis have on the one hand given further proof for the majority of the previous findings, derived from the structured content analysis. On the other hand, they function as impulse for a critical re-thinking, particularly for the narratives which have been questioned by the results of the scaled content analysis. Furthermore, they have helped to directly show the experts opinion on the formulated sub-research questions and hypotheses. Therefore, the two dimensional approach of the interview analysis has enabled a multi-perspective view on the research topic. The findings will be further discussed in the following section and serve also as basis for the formulation of recommendations for action.

4.4 Discussion

The chapter shall function as the link between the findings of the empirical research and the previously presented theoretical foundation of Civic Crowdfunding. In this way, an in-depth

discussion and a critical evaluation of the findings will be facilitated. Furthermore, the section will make reference to the initial formulated research question and sub-questions. Therefore, the structure of the discussion is oriented on the sub-research questions which have been derived from the hypotheses and served as a guideline for the design of the content analyses.

Why do people donate their money for Civic Crowdfunding campaigns? The motivation of citizens to support campaigns is one of the keys to understand this relatively new phenomenon. The content analysis has shown, that social and geographical distance is a major factor concerning the motivation of the supporters. The majority of the donators has either a social relation to the initiators of the campaign or lives close to the place where the project would be implemented. It can therefore be concluded that Civic Crowdfunding is not simply a new form of charity. People are driven by personal interests in the campaign or feel some kind of social pressure caused by their relation to other donators or the campaign initiators. When we look further at the interests, they can be also read as the aim to improve the own neighborhood by investing in the build environment or in social capital. This also includes the interest to support a campaign that it is seen as a demo-project and therefore might not have a direct impact on the campaigners own neighborhood but could facilitate the implementation of a similar project. However, in both cases the motivation is rather driven by personal interests and rewards than by pure philanthropy.

This assertion shouldn´t be understood as judgement or critic concerning the major motivations in Civic Crowdfunding. Quite the contrary is the case, it should rather point out that we must understand Civic Crowdfunding as a form of communication which puts forward citizens' issues. This can have different appearances, depending on the local setting. The results of the two case studies show that Civic Crowdfunding is influenced by historically determined civic and political conditions. For the US-Case this is the still present history of beautification movements and the more contemporary DIY-Urbanism. The idea of citizen led improvements has a clearly positive connotation and is somehow deeply embedded in the urban society in US-American cities (cf. Talen 2015). In Europe, this historical path does not really exist. However, the usage of Civic Crowdfunding for more traditional activism is not uncommon. The difference to the US tradition lies more in the aim of the intervention. While beautification and DIY-Urbanism aim more for organized improvements carried out by the citizens, traditional activism follows the idea of creating political pressure, so that politicians

or authorities are required to take up the issue and manage its implementation. However, both forms are in opposition to top-down planning and frequently characterized by their bottom-up structure. The different setting and the political and civic conditions are also expressed in the expectation of the citizens in their city and its agencies. This directly affects the form and the discourse of Civic Crowdfunding. It has been shown that European citizens have stronger beliefs in public services but also higher demands. Besides the general fact, that Civic Crowdfunding is nowhere seen as a replacement for public-led large scale developments, European citizens are clearly not willing to manage or finance basic urban infrastructure. This is perceived as the duty of the states and its agencies, regardless to tight public budgets or austerity. These differences demonstrate the need of an evaluation of Civic Crowdfunding concerning the political and civil setting in European cities. The attempt of a simple adaption of US examples is not a promising option. Nevertheless, the US case can function as an object of study and valuable insights can be generated from it.

This becomes especially clear when the potential of Civic Crowdfunding to foster participation is emphasized. As it has been already stated, Civic Crowdfunding must be understood as form of communication which puts forward citizen issues. It became clear in the content analysis that Civic Crowdfunding campaigns have the potential to raise awareness and gain a critical amount of attention for an issue, so that public agencies and local politicians cannot just ignore them. If the initiators are members of the civil society, a campaign can be a powerful voice to rally against certain issues. In this way, citizens can influence discourses concerning the reshaping of their neighborhoods and cities. Civic Crowdfunding can be considered as instrument which involves citizens in the process of decision making in urban development. Therefore, it can contribute to foster collaborative planning in cities. Authors like Hollander (2011) or Kleinhans (et al. 2015) emphasize in particular the potential of new communication technologies for collaborative planning. Civic Crowdfunding fulfils certainly all criteria to be considered as new way of citizen participation in the era of ubiquitous internet accessibility. The findings of the content analysis contain several arguments why it is worth considering Civic Crowdfunding for the usage in collaborative planning. The strength to foster participation is attested by several examples and experts. Civic Crowdfunding can reach and engage people who were not detected by other participatory instruments before. Furthermore, the fact that people donate a symbolic amount of money leads to long term interests and attachment to a project. It has been demonstrated that for the European case, that donations are not

perceived as a major barrier. It is rather the case that participants in a Civic Crowdfunding campaign feel more attached to their neighborhood and that community building is fostered by this practice. Taking this into account, it can be argued that Civic Crowdfunding presents a viable adaption for participatory planning instruments in the age of social media, mobile applications and digital crowd-wisdom. Notwithstanding that Civic Crowdfunding fits in the contemporary debate concerning the adaption of digital trends for the purpose of collaborative planning, the findings of the work have pointed out that certain barriers concerning the inclusivity have to be considered. Even though the digitalization of all parts of our life is rapidly continuing, a digital divide in western societies does still exist. A certain part of our society suffers restriction in the usage of online services. On the one hand, elderly people frequently have a lack of knowledge to use online applications and are therefore excluded from Civic Crowdfunding. The second group, are citizens with a lower socio-economical background. These people are frequently less familiar with the usage of online services and have commonly restricted internet access in terms of speed and data volume. This is a big concern for the usage of Civic Crowdfunding in collaborative urban development. If the inclusivity of the instrument is to be secured, measures to include these groups have to be undertaken. A direct measure to address this issue can be the simultaneous organization of offline events, campaigns and donations. In the longer term, the reduction of barriers for online services can be expedited by the organization of events and campaigns which raise awareness for the issue and which are particularly addressed to citizens which are affected by the digital divide. This should go hand in hand with an expansion of free and high quality internet access provided by the cities. However, for the moment it must be clear that these barriers have to be considered. Nevertheless, Civic Crowdfunding shows that the use of digital technology for collaborative planning can reach and engage groups of citizens which have not been addressed by traditional instruments and also foster participation of already addressed citizens. Admittedly, as the partial homogeneity of donators in Civic Crowdfunding indicates, online instrument are facing the same problems concerning the proportional participation of citizens from all social, economic, ethic and demographic backgrounds as more traditional instruments. Civic Crowdfunding as a possible tool for collaborative planning risks, beside the previously mentioned strengths, excluding certain groups of citizens. This shouldn´t be seen as a disqualification of Civic Crowdfunding for collaborative planning but it must be in mind if applied. If Civic Crowdfunding is seen as additional tool than rather as replacement of already

existing participatory instruments and certain countermeasures are taken to minimize barriers, there is no reason why the outlined strengths shouldn´t be used.

The argument that Civic Crowdfunding puts forward citizen issues is very present in the identified narratives and certainly relevant when it comes to its usage for collaborative planning, as the inclusion of public interest in planning is namely a declared aim (cf. Healey 2003). The bottom-up structure of citizen initiated Civic Crowdfunding can be understood as way to claim issues which come directly from the crowd, or in other words, from the mass of ordinary citizens. This statement indicates a problematic topic in the context of collaborative urban planning. Namely, to what extent presents Civic Crowdfunding a grass-root movement which fosters democratization and how public authorities deal with that. The majority of citizen initiated Civic Crowdfunding campaigns see themselves as somehow autonomous civil group and don´t aim for close collaboration with public authorities. Some campaigns even take up the currently very present slogan of *the right to the city* and read it as a call for a citizen led, bottom-up reshaping of the city. The program is commonly also enhanced with claims for a more sustainable and democratic urban development. Even though this reading might be by and large in line with the initial formulation of Lefebvre, it brings up certain points of conflict with the existing division of roles and responsibilities in cities (cf. Marcuse 2014). Basically every reshaping of public or semi-public spaces in cities is the area of responsibility of public authorities and elected politicians. This is in line with the unquestioned finding of the content analysis that public authorities are crucial stakeholders in Civic Crowdfunding. For the successful implementation of a project, it is normally a condition that the campaign collaborates with the responsible public authority. The results show that this collaboration is commonly conflictive. This might be caused by the conflict entailing claim of both parties to present the democratic legitimized will of the citizens. While public authorities can claim their legal position to make the final decisions on reshaping the city, the Crowd can refer to their moral standing following in their argumentation theoretical discourses as *the right to the city*. The valuation regarding which party has the stronger democratic legitimacy is difficult. However, many campaigns show that cooperation and successful implementation of Civic Crowdfunding is regardless to that issue. In practice, many citizen initiated campaigns have been finally implemented with the acceptance and help of public authorities, even though the process was followed by some conflicts. Having said this, it must be clear that all kinds of attempts to combine the initial claims from Lefebvre, concerning his slogan *the right to the*

city, with authority managed collaborative planning is a distortion of the initial meaning. (cf. Marcuse 2014). This shows that the usage of rather revolutionary discourses, strictly interpreted, might be a stimulus to use Civic Crowdfunding to enforce claims, but is and it can´t be hardly ever consistently executed.

The conflictive relationship between public authorities and citizen initiated Civic Crowdfunding campaigns have another aspect which is not new in the context of participatory planning. Even though a Civic Crowdfunding campaign might have the support from a big crowd and a certain democratic legitimacy of their claim cannot be denied, this doesn´t say anything about how the claim is to evaluate from an expert point of view. Without questioning the value of crowd-wisdom or citizen participation, it must be clear that a claim supported by Civic Crowdfunding is not necessarily grounded by professional expertise and embedded in a strategic concept for urban development. A simple acceptance and implementation of a Civic Crowdfunding campaign by the public authorities, without involvement and consulting from experts, shouldn't be a desirable aim in urban development. The risk to neglect long-term strategies in favor of popular immediate actions would be too big. To sum it up, the understanding of Civic Crowdfunding as a way to foster revolutionary grass-root democratization or even to pursue the *right to the city* according to Lefebvre is a rather utopian view. In the current legally founded balance of power in western cities, public authorities and elected politicians are actors which can´t be bypassed in urban development. Therefore, Civic Crowdfunding can rather function as a mouthpiece for citizen issues than as a redistribution of power. On the other hand, these actors can profit from taking up citizen issues and even use Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument to engage citizens in decision making processes. However, all actors would be well advised to avoid terms and theoretical concepts which may be read as false promise and are in fact unattainable if consequently enforced.

As has been mentioned on more than one occasion, Civic Crowdfunding is a form of putting forward citizen issues. While the role of participation and democratization in this context has just been discussed in detail, the fact that that Civic Crowdfunding has in most cases also socio-spatial impacts has been left out so far. The findings of the content analysis show that these effects can be both, either distributive or fragmenting. This indicates that Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument is not causing one or the other dynamic per se but that it is rather the political and civil setting which determines that. This shouldn´t be read as an argument against the

politicizing of Civic Crowdfunding but as a finding which puts the attention more towards the system in which Civic Crowdfunding campaigns are embedded. When we look at the findings of the content analysis regarding a neoliberalisation through Civic Crowdfunding, it becomes clear that the opinion between European and US experts differs significantly in this point. In Europe, Civic Crowdfunding is generally speaking not perceived as neoliberal practice. This statement takes at the first look the wind out of the sails of the in chapter two presented neo-Marxist argumentation concerning the neoliberal character of Civic Crowdfunding. At least for the European case, it prevails the impression that people are not really concerned about increasing inequalities through Civic Crowdfunding and belief in the state or the city as a service provider is still relatively strong. The same applies to the trend of a commercialization of Civic Crowdfunding by using the term as re-labeling for online performed "old-school" investments. The cataclysmic effects as Bieri (2015) prophesies are not (yet) detectable in Europe. In the US case they might be becoming an issue, but so far it is not a major concern of the interviewed experts. These observations raise the question if the theoretical discourse on neoliberal urban development might just not apply to the realities concerning Civic Crowdfunding. A quick overview on the topic might strengthen that statement but if we look at the narratives more in detail, it becomes clear that this discourse plays a significant role in the background. Asked about the direct effects of Civic Crowdfunding for the enforcement of neoliberal practices, most experts don´t see a relationship. If asked about austerity or the last crisis, this commonly changes. These two developments are broadly perceived as triggering factors for Civic Crowdfunding. In the US, the relationship is more obvious than in Europe. Civil groups who take over tasks previously carried out by the city were already formed during the US urban crisis in the 1970´s. This is not the case in Europe. On the old continent, Civic Crowdfunding didn´t arise to stand in for major public cut backs in the aftermath of the last crises. In North-Western Europe a major retraction of public services was never the case. At least, as far as basic infrastructure is concerned. However, the rhetoric and the streamlining of public budgets raised awareness that it might be the time to think about additional financial instruments to finance certain projects. This applies to citizens as also the public authorities and politicians. The very present discourse of austerity and cut backs might have triggered the awareness to look for alternative ways of financing grass root activities. Civic Crowdfunding presents consequently a viable solution for that and contains at the same time several other strengths. For state agencies, the command for budget discipline has given rise to concepts

which aim for participation but also for more responsibility of citizens or as Jessop (2006) calls it: *"a more partnership-based economic, political and social governance"*. The increasing usage of governmental initiated Civic Crowdfunding and match funding can be interpreted as an indication for that. Civic Crowdfunding seems to fit quite well in the slowly occurring transformation from a welfarist towards a workfarist approach in social policy in Europe (cf. Brenner 2004). Following this point of view concerning the impact of austerity and the crises, it can be argued that neo-Marxist critic on Civic Crowdfunding is not totally inapplicable. However, it must be clear that the situation in the US can´t be compared to North-Western Europe. The findings and the theory illustrate that on the one hand austerity and neoliberalism have a much longer tradition in urban governance in US-cities and reached dimensions which are not yet imaginable in North-Western European cities. On the other hand, the discourse on austerity is also very present in the European context and manifests itself in the contemporary governance of many European cities. However, the intensity and the form is different. If this is perceived as a necessary and logical adaption of the European welfare-state approach to contemporary challenges or if it is a slow turning away from this ideology, can´t be ultimately answered in this work. For the context of Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument for urban development it can be attested that the tool per se is not conflicting with the European idea of a welfare state. On the other hand, it must be admitted that Civic Crowdfunding can be easily adapted for the neoliberal agenda. In the end it is the political and civil context and the local power structure that determines which socio-spatial impacts Civic Crowdfunding has within a city.

To conclude, it can be noted that the in chapter two presented discourses and narratives play a role in the usage of Civic Crowdfunding and influence the action of the involved actors. The qualitative approach of the work could identify the main narratives concerning the usage of Civic Crowdfunding for urban development. The initially formulated research question and sub questions have been based on the empirical findings critically discussed and tried to answer. This aim could be largely archived but further investigation for a better understanding of the potential of Civic Crowdfunding is needed. This regards mainly the monitoring of campaigns and the gathering of more data. This would allow making more quantitative based assertions concerning the characteristics and the spatial effects of Civic Crowdfunding within a city. However, the more qualitative based findings of this work present an attempt to

approach Civic Crowdfunding from a social science or in particular geographical background and can function as a point of departure for further investigation.

5. What next? Outlook and Recommendations for the Usage of Civic Crowdfunding in Urban Development

The case study has illustrated the strengths and risks of Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument for urban development. In the discussion the findings have been evaluated and the link to contemporary discourses in social science has been made. At this point the question arises which conclusion can be drawn for the usage of Civic Crowdfunding in urban development. As it has been already highlighted in the discussion, Civic Crowdfunding entails several strengths which could be used favorably in urban development. Admittedly, the discussion has also identified certain concerns which have to be taken into account. However, it can be concluded that the usage of Civic Crowdfunding for urban development is a trend that is worth looking at from a planning point of view. I would argue that the strengths of this new approach are outweighing and the risks can be controlled. Consequently, the general recommendation can be derived that Civic Crowdfunding should be considered as a (new) instrument in urban development. Therefore, public authorities and planners should try to find, in adaption to the local setting, strategies how to integrate the instrument of Civic Crowdfunding in the existing toolkit of participatory instruments. Furthermore, collaboration should be the way to deal with citizen initiated campaigns rather than to oppose this new phenomenon. Cities should make the bold step to encounter Civic Crowdfunding with an open attitude. However, to guarantee the favorable use of Civic Crowdfunding, certain concerns must be respected and countermeasures should be taken. The following paragraphs address this issue and present recommendations for the application of Civic Crowdfunding in urban development for European cities from a planning point of view.

Civic Crowdfunding shouldn't function as replacement of public funding

The empirical findings have shown and the discussion has already highlighted the fact that the practice of Civic Crowdfunding can have socio-spatial effects within the city. This entails great caution if Civic Crowdfunding is used to finance infrastructure, beautification projects or even social activities. Traditionally, the organization and management of these developments is the responsibility of state agencies. This implicates certain redistribution effects. The public

money is ideally spent equally over all parts of the city or even particularly in neighborhoods with certain needs. Civic Crowdfunding implies the danger of bypassing these effects. The findings have shown that the radius of donators for campaigns in cities is rather small and the motives are not primary philanthropic. Consequently, if Civic Crowdfunding is used as a replacement for public funding, this might leave out the redistribution from richer to poorer neighborhoods. Therefore, Civic Crowdfunding campaigns, regardless if citizen initiated or governmental initiated, should not be used as replacement for public funding. That applies particularly for already poorer neighborhoods. In consequence, this means that Civic Crowdfunding should be primarily seen as form of participation and way to put forward citizen issues which doesn´t discharge the public agencies from their responsibility to finance and maintain urban development. If certain citizen initiatives use it to finance additional service or improvements for their neighborhood anyway, this should happen in consultation with the authorities, so that it is not perceived as a delegation of responsibility towards potent neighborhoods. Otherwise there would be the danger that richer neighborhoods may feel they have to pay in a sense double for services and start to question the current redistribution system within the city.

Minimize possible barriers of participation in Civic Crowdfunding

Donations are an essential part of Civic Crowdfunding. Therefore a minimum of time and money are required to participate. However, the findings have shown that in the European context this is perceived as minor barrier. Nevertheless, in order to minimize this barriers the irrelevance of the donated sum in Civic Crowdfunding campaigns should be highlighted and no minimum donation should be determined. Moreover, the initial aim of Civic Crowdfunding, namely to foster participation, should be emphasized and if possible the option to volunteer for a campaign regardless of donation should be provided. Whereas, the ongoing digital divide presents bigger challenges to integrate online tools into participatory planning. On the one hand, digital technology can integrate certain groups which have been hard to reach with the existing instruments and facilitates engagement for citizens already familiar with using the internet. Furthermore, it presents a cost-effective alternative to partially quite expensive traditional participatory instruments. On the other hand, online tools like Civic Crowdfunding create the risk of excluding certain groups of citizens with restricted internet access. To make use of the benefits of Civic Crowdfunding without excluding these citizens, specific

countermeasures have to be taken. In addition to the online campaigning, the organization of offline events can help to address citizens who are not reachable via online channels. This should also include the possibility of donations via traditional ways like fundraising at the mentioned offline events or even door-to-door collections. Moreover, the usage of Civic Crowdfunding could be taken as a starting point to raise awareness for online participation. Workshops and information events could build up-on a Civic Crowdfunding campaign and spread awareness and knowledge concerning the potential of online instruments. This could include a call for cross-generational learning, meaning that the generation of the digital natives could teach their parents or grand-parents how to find and donate for Civic Crowdfunding campaigns.

Increase the awareness of public authorities and politicians concerning Civic Crowdfunding and foster collaboration

The relationship between citizen initiated Civic Crowdfunding campaigns is commonly difficult. This is at least to some extent caused by dominant skepticism from public authorities toward Civic Crowdfunding. It can be argued that this is rather reasoned by unawareness than by principal reservations. Therefore, initiatives to raise the awareness concerning Civic Crowdfunding should be undertaken. Furthermore, stronger collaboration between citizen initiated campaigns and the responsible public authorities should be encouraged. For this purpose, public authorities could approach emerging citizen initiated campaigns in an early stage, to provide assistance and lay the foundation for cooperation. Additionally, a specific channel or contact for citizen initiated campaigns could be established. These measures could help to reduce the ongoing skepticism from both parties. Moreover, it could be beneficial to establish an own web-portal for local citizen initiated Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. The city should in this case just provide the web-space and act as a mediator. This would enable citizens to launch their campaigns in consultation with the responsible authority. Consequently, possible conflicts could be solved before the campaign is even launched. On the other hand, this web-portal could function as a mouth-piece for citizen issues and public authorities and officials could use it as a pool of citizen ideas to improve the city. Furthermore, cities could also increasingly initiate Civic Crowdfunding campaigns. This could be either done with the launch of governmental initiated campaigns or via match-funding. By doing this, the city and its authorities could gain experience in using Civic Crowdfunding for urban

development and raise further awareness within the citizens. In the beginning, the campaigns should be rather limited to small- and middle-scale projects as the primary intention is to experiment with the instrument and to gain experience. To guarantee a process of learning, a strict monitoring of the campaigns and a subsequent evaluation should be conducted. The emerging Crowdfunding consultancies and agencies could be consulted and integrated as project partners in this process.

Ongoing monitoring, research and evaluation of Civic Crowdfunding

It has been already repeatedly pointed out, that the novelty of Civic Crowdfunding calls for further research concerning its use as instrument for urban development. The monitoring and evaluation of ongoing and implemented campaigns is necessary to especially asses the long-term impacts of the instrument on cities. Furthermore, Civic Crowdfunding has to be further tried and tested before it might be included as a regular instrument in the access for participatory tools for urban development. The work could demonstrate several promising strengths but every planning authority has to adopt them to the local requirements and specificities. This can just be based on the continuing attempt to test them in the singular setting of every city.

5.1 Resume

The thesis addressed the emerging trend of Civic Crowdfunding in the context of urban development. To unravel this phenomenon an extensive analysis of existing literature concerning Crowdfunding in general and Civic Crowdfunding in particular has been conducted. Based on existing knowledge, a detailed typology of Civic Crowdfunding has been developed. In a next step, a characterization of the main actors involved in Civic Crowdfunding has been provided. This steps are important to understand the logics that drive the phenomenon and functioned as starting point for the research design of the empirical part of the thesis. Furthermore, the most present discourses and narratives in the recent debate concerning Civic Crowdfunding have been identified and briefly presented. By doing this, an adequate theoretical foundation of the phenomenon could be assured. This functioned as a basis for the empirical part of the thesis. Regarding the comparative case study analysis between Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam and Rotterdam as European examples and New York as US-American example, the potential of Civic Crowdfunding in the context of urban development could be demonstrated. Furthermore, the 14 expert interviews and a subsequently conducted

two-dimensional content analysis could work out the benefits and risks of this instrument for urban development.

The findings of the empirical work have shown that Civic Crowdfunding should be seriously considered as an instrument for urban development. This would be in line with the general attempt in planning to asses opportunities enabled by the progress in digital technology and the spread of cheap and fast internet. The biggest strengths of Civic Crowdfunding are its ability to foster participation and community building. Citizens who are engaged in a campaign are traceably interested longer in the project and feel more attached to their neighborhood. Consequently, Civic Crowdfunding must be understood as a form of communication and participation platform which puts forward citizen issues. Reading the phenomenon in this way, illustrates the relevance of the topic for planning and all other scientific disciplines involved in urban studies. It also takes a bit the wind out of the sails of critics who see Civic Crowdfunding as neoliberal practice or as a step towards the gradual neoliberalisation of urban governances. The findings of this work attest that at least for the European cities, this is not the case for Civic Crowdfunding at the moment. However, the work has also highlighted the relevance of the political and civil setting. In addition, it must be mentioned that it is the actors, who are constantly reshaping the cities and not the instruments they are using. Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument can have certainly socio-spatial impacts within the city but if they are in the end rather redistributive or fragmenting, depends on the actors who use it. However, the discussion of the findings has also put forward certain risks which must be considered for the usage of Civic Crowdfunding. In that regard, four major recommendations for the handling of Civic Crowdfunding have been formulated to ensure a favorable use. In spite of this, this thesis has demonstrated that the advantages are outweighing and Civic Crowdfunding is a logical consequence of the adaption of new technologies and trends for planning. Having said this, the thesis has hopefully contributed to point out a new and promising approach for urban development but as it has been already mentioned, further research will be necessary. In conclusion, I believe that planning has to be always open for technical and social progress and it is the task of applied science such as Geography to identify and evaluate new potentials and to deliver recommendations on how to use them beneficially.

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Appendix

Acronyms

BID   Business Improvement Districts

CCF   Civic Crowdfunding

DIY-Urbanism   Do it yourself – Urbanism

EU   European Union

US   United States

Abstract

The thesis deals with the new trend of Civic Crowdfunding and evaluates it as an instrument for urban development. First, the work seeks to develop a theoretical foundation and to embed Civic Crowdfunding in contemporary discourses in Urban Studies. The empirical research of the work is based on a comparative case study analysis between selected Western-European Cities and one US-American city. The methods include semi-structured interviews with experts and a content analysis, as also a critical literature review, an analysis of several online Crowdfunding Platforms and site visits of ongoing and implemented Civic Crowdfunding projects. With the help of case studies, the potential of Civic Crowdfunding as an instrument for urban development is demonstrated and benefits and risks are identified. Lastly, the results are discussed in-depth and the usage in the context of urban development is evaluated. The thesis concludes with recommendations for the favorable utilization of Civic Crowdfunding.

Abstract in German

Im Mittelpunkt der Masterarbeit steht das Potenzial von Civic Crowdfunding als Instrument der Stadtentwicklung. Zu Beginn werden konzeptionelle Überlegen bezüglich Civic Crowdfunding angestellt und die Verbindung zu aktuellen theoretischen Diskursen in der Stadtforschung hergestellt. Anschließend werden anhand einer vergleichenden Fallstudienanalyse zwischen mehreren Europäischen und einer US-Amerikanischen Stadt, die Stärken und Schwächen von Civic Crowdfunding in der Stadtentwicklung aufgezeigt und diskutiert. Der empirischen Forschung liegen leitfaden-gestürzte Experteninterviews und eine anschließende zweidimensionale Inhaltsanalyse zu Grunde, sowie außerdem eine kritische Literaturanalyse, eine Analyse ausgewählter online Crowdfunding Plattformen und Besichtigungen von aktuellen Civic Crowdfunding Projekten. Abschließend werden aus den empirischen Forschungsergebnissen Handlungsempfehlungen für den planerischen- und politischen Umgang mit Civic Crowdfunding abgeleitet

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