



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Transformative spatial governance

New avenues for comprehensive planning in fragmented urban development

Özoğul, S.

Publication date

2019

Document Version

Other version

License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Özoğul, S. (2019). *Transformative spatial governance: New avenues for comprehensive planning in fragmented urban development*. [Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, P.O. Box 19185, 1000 GD Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

PART I

Problem definition and research design

1. Introduction

1.1 Complexifying spatial governance and the fragmentation of urban development

Urban development is fragmenting. Entrepreneurial strategies involving a wide range of actors have been replacing managerial public sector-led approaches to the (re)creation of the built environment (Adams and Tiesdell, 2010; Peck et al., 2009; Harvey, 1989). Public planning practices are embracing private sector interests, are increasingly dependent on private finance and hence, limited in scope particularly in relation to welfare-based interventions (Tasan-Kok and Baeten, 2012; Fainstein, 2008; Swyngedouw, Moulaert and Rodriguez, 2002). As a consequence, disconnected opportunity-driven urban development projects are mushrooming in cities. Simultaneously, multifaceted initiatives and movements adjust, or become more vocal about their claims to, the built environment in line with explicit social objectives (McCallum et al., 2009; Moulaert et al., 2007). This dynamic form of urban development characterised by the sheer complexity and multitude of fragmented efforts stands in stark contrast to modernist ideals of comprehensive planning, in which public sector planners imagine themselves in a position of ultimate control. Despite changing conditions, the desire for comprehensiveness in planning remains strong (Madanipour, 2010).

In this dissertation, I argue that the fragmentation of urban development is the consequence of complexifying spatial governance. I embed the discussion in wider changes in relationships between states, markets and civil society under the framework of neoliberalisation. As the “prevailing pattern of market-oriented, market-disciplinary regulatory restructuring” (Peck et al., 2009: 51), neoliberalisation constitutes a major cause of fragmentation. Not only has it elevated the importance of capital accumulation through urban development and entrepreneurial planning practices enhancing opportunity-driven projects, but its wider ideological premises have swept into public policy agendas, for example through notions of active citizenship and self-responsibilisation (Rossi, 2017). As Wilson (2004: 771) argues,

neoliberal governance strives to entrepreneurialise “cities physically and socially” by curtailing redistributive policies and offloading state responsibilities to non-state actors. For planning scholars, the instrumentalization of planning in the neoliberalisation of urban development constitutes a major concern (Eraydin and Tasan-Kok, 2019; Allmendinger, 2016).

Neoliberalisation results in complex and dynamic urban development landscapes, in which a wide range of state, market and civil society actors participate in spatial governance. Often, diverse sets of actors and organisations come together in delineated development formations, and their close-knit interactions and relationships blur the boundaries between public, private and civil society sectors. I refer to these formations as city-building endeavours representing area-specific spatial governance activities. Thus, I consider institutional fragmentation as a fundamental component of spatial fragmentation, while the former is simultaneously amplified by the latter (Figure 1).

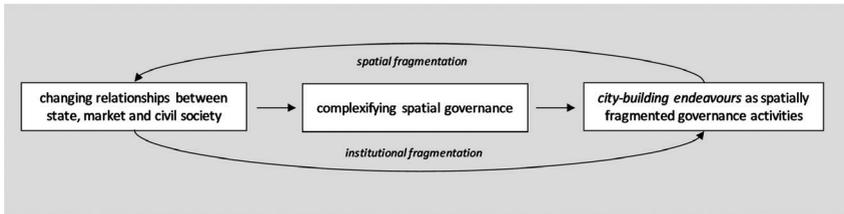


Figure 1. Relationship between institutional and spatial fragmentation.

Institutional fragmentation occurs in the form of complex actor constellations and fragmented spatial decision-making processes concretising in city-building endeavours. It draws attention to the positionality of, and power relationships between, actors. Governance complexities and flexibilising regulatory frameworks create fragmented pockets of micro-regulation (Tasan-Kok et al., 2019). They enhance perceptions of the ‘ungovernable metropolis’ and, when analysed thoroughly, provide valuable explanations for inequalities by specifying “what and who is governed or not” (Le Galès and Vitale, 2013: 15). The consequent spatial fragmentation has been documented in terms of property-driven development resulting in “disconnected patches of elite islands” (Tasan-Kok and Baeten, 2012: 17) as well as micro-scale social efforts creating “a plurality of spatial enclaves” (Palermo and Ponzini, 2014: 10), and has been extensively connected to processes of social injustices, polarisation and exclusion (Harvey, 2009; Vranken, 2008; Bodnar, 2001). Public sector planners and planning organisations both interact with and participate in variegated city-building endeavours, which can have various and

contradictory objectives. I consider this process as a major source of the prevalent sentiment in scholarly literature that planning practice is losing its grip and substance (Eraydin and Tasan-Kok, 2012; Fainstein, 2010), and question whether it is possible to find some form of comprehensiveness within these seemingly chaotic conditions.

My objective is to seek a new approach to create forms of comprehensiveness amidst the complex spatial governance practices underpinning fragmented urban development. I follow Manadipour (2010:351) who underscores planning's distinctive attribute to counter institutional fragmentation by creating connections through "making, formalizing and expanding causal connections between events, functions and institutions." With the adoption of the terminology of 'comprehensiveness', I do not advocate for a reversion to comprehensive planning principles of the past. Instead, I put forward the need of a new conception that is based on the creation of linkages, which, on the one hand, allows context-specific city-building endeavours to flourish, and on the other hand connects them to an overarching spatial governance to uphold norms, values and to counter fragmentation's negative effects and externalities. Nonetheless, I consider the changing meanings and perceptions of 'comprehensiveness' throughout time as a valuable contribution to the evolution of planning thought, and aim to contribute by building on the existing wealth of knowledge by revisiting longstanding discussions from the point of view of present-day conditions of fragmented urban development.

In this respect, I criticise the existing planning literature on several accounts. First, for exhibiting a compartmentalised engagement with different dimensions of fragmentation. Especially property-driven projects and social initiatives are either approached entirely separately, or automatically treated as inherent adversaries. Not only are nuanced analyses scarce, but the strict separation between different types of endeavours does not tie in with the experiences of planning practitioners who are seldom confronted by compartmentalised challenges. Second, much planning literature stereotypes property industry actors, their interest and practices in urban development (Campbell, Tait and Watkins, 2014; Henneberry and Parris, 2013). In the same vein, bottom-up initiatives are often treated in an idealised manner. For example, studies tend to present them as instruments for democratic participation and inclusion, but lack critical scrutiny of whether they can in fact live up to their proclaimed goals (Fincher, Pardy and Shaw, 2016). And third, governance complexity results in the frequent adoption of narrow, micro-scale foci (Özoğul and Tasan-Kok, 2018). While there is value in analysing the context-dependent nature and implications of individual city-building endeavours, many studies disregard the influence of wider institutional contexts in which they are rooted.

Building on this critique, my understanding of comprehensiveness focuses on the creation of linkages between and among different groups of actions in urban development and calls for a thorough and integrative analysis of different dimensions of fragmentation pervading spatial governance. Special consideration is hereby paid to the interaction and interwinement of property-driven and social city-building endeavours, and the avoidance of generalising perceptions. My approach breaks down the abstract ideal of comprehensive planning into more concrete tasks. Acknowledging that all-encompassing connections are impossible to implement and not desirable, I encourage attentiveness to the creation of possibilities for deliberate linkages between fragmented development efforts. Moreover, I underscore the importance of area-specific processes to influence beyond the micro-scale. It requires an understanding of the elements and conditions that turn some, but not all, endeavours into ‘game changers’ by altering existing institutional arrangements. An institutional perspective allows for critical reflections “on the positions and patterns of material norms from which different actors relate to each other” (Salet, 2018: 36). It aims to prevent over-optimism on the role and scope of planners (Flyvbjerg, 1996), yet also avoids pessimism and surrender to the status quo (Campbell et al., 2014).

To this end, I engage with recent literature on transformation in planning and governance. Sharing a common frustration with neoliberalising conditions and market-oriented planning practices, scholars underscore the need of norms and values in planning, and wider structural changes (Albrechts, Barbanente and Monno, 2018; Healey, 2018; Albrechts, 2016; Wolfram, 2016; Eraydin and Tasan-Kok, 2012). At the same time, the literature’s scattered occurrence, use of different terminology and multiple assumptions, not always clearly articulated, diminish its potential to develop into a distinct research area. Therefore, through a more systematic engagement with these accounts, I illustrate that the general ambition to restore ‘substance’ in planning is predominantly linked to processes in the public sector and the enhancement of bottom-up civil-society initiatives. The role of private sector actors, on the other hand, is overlooked or only sporadically touched upon. Once again, I see the risk of studies adopting over-generalising perceptions, and being too detached from the actual situations of public planning practitioners who, to a large extent, interact with private sector actors.

Aiming to overcome these pitfalls, I explore the notion of *transformative spatial governance* in my thesis, which captures my understanding of how wider spatial governance transforms on the basis of area-specific spatial governance activities. Similar issues have been previously approached from different angles, for example, within the framework of social innovation centring around the institutionalisation of

bottom-up initiatives to magnify their impact (Moulaert, 2010). However, I distinctly consider property-driven development formations as instigators of structural change and explore their linkages to micro-scale social efforts. Ultimately, I stress private property actors' crucial role in transforming spatial governance, as their presence provides advantageous conditions to instigate wider institutional transformations in prevailing market-oriented settings. I conclude that the development of new forms of collaboration between property and other actors in area-specific developments, and particularly their connection to micro-scale social efforts, should be at the core of attempts to restore substance in planning.

My thesis provides new impulses and perspectives on the basis of which planning scholars and practitioners can initiate action. The limitations that neoliberalisation has caused for planners' decision-making powers and scope of influence are well documented (Sager, 2011; Purcell, 2009; Kipfer and Keil, 2002). Nonetheless, my analysis suggests that public planners can crucially influence urban development, not in the traditional sense by being in command but by creating possibilities for linkages between fragmented actions in spatial governance. These linkages can range from sharing learning experiences to small-scale interventions in built environments. The substance of planning, in my view, can be found in fragmentation. It requires, however, that practitioners drop outdated ideals of comprehensive planning and shift their approach to the creation of linkages; it is the planning scholars' task to support them in this pursuit.

1.2 Research problem, questions and visualisation

This dissertation is inspired by the broad question of how planning practices reflect changing urban development dynamics under neoliberalising conditions. New actors have emerged or claimed stronger positions in urban development landscapes, and public sector planning has become just one element of complex spatial governance. There is a heightened awareness that neither actor constellations nor the spatial needs of local populations can be generalised and that one-size-fits-all planning solutions have become inadequate (Palermo and Ponzini, 2014; Moulaert et al., 2010). While comprehensive planning in its traditional sense has reached its limits, fragmentation in terms of small-scale, area-based interventions can be advantageous to respond to context-specific circumstances and needs of local communities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014).

At the same time, however, market-based rationalities have spread and questions emerge about whether social and environmental standards can be upheld or enhanced if growing flexibility is left completely unguided (Madanipour, 2010; Tasan-Kok, 2008). Existing research has, for instance, documented how incremental

approaches to planning have contributed to displacement, elite islands and unequal access to services (Wolf-Powers 2005), and how reliance on active citizenship runs the risk of deepening area-based socio-spatial inequalities (Uitermark, 2012). While there is an urgent need for reflections on, and innovations of, public norms guiding action (Salet, 2018), planning institutions are said to transform rather slowly and tend to be unprepared “to cope with market pressures” (Eraydin and Tasan-Kok, 2012: 2; Albrechts, 2016). Thus, institutional fragmentation can be a double-edged sword: It can lead to more context-adapted spatial development practices that are responsive to local socio-spatial needs, but also to a wide range of social ills. It led me to the following research questions:

- How does spatial governance accommodate fragmentation in urban development?
- And to what extent can new forms of comprehensiveness be created amidst complex and fragmented spatial governance activities?

Essential in the operationalisation of these questions is my understanding of fragmentation. As stated before, I consider fragmentation as a result of actors and organisations partaking in *city-building endeavours* (Figure 2). Actors and organisations can belong to public, private and civil society sectors or represent private individuals. I categorise state organisations in the public sector, non-state organisations with a profit orientation in the private sector, and the wide array of formal and informal community projects, non-profit organisations and associations as civil society. Additionally, I include independent actors as private individuals in the civil society category as well. For the sake of abstraction, individuals as constituents of organisations are not indicated separately. Actors and organisations can be involved in a specific area in both material and/or ideological terms. I use the term area to define a delineated piece of physical land. The interactions and relationships between actors and organisations determine the production process of the built environment in this specific area, and can play out within and across multiple spatial scales (Healey, 2010; Massey, 1994; Harvey, 1989; Figure 2). These relationships are shaped by institutions, which are formal, and informal rules, norms and established patterns and procedures which frame human action and fashion behaviour (Jepperson, 1991; North, 1993).

Adopting an institutional perspective highlights that city-building endeavours as fragmented spatial governance activities do not exist in a vacuum. In this respect, several scholars distinguish between broad and narrow understandings of governance (Schmitt and Wiechmann, 2018). The narrow sense refers to specific governance activities, which Healey (2006) describes as governance episodes. They are contrasted by governance in its broad sense, representing the “rhythm

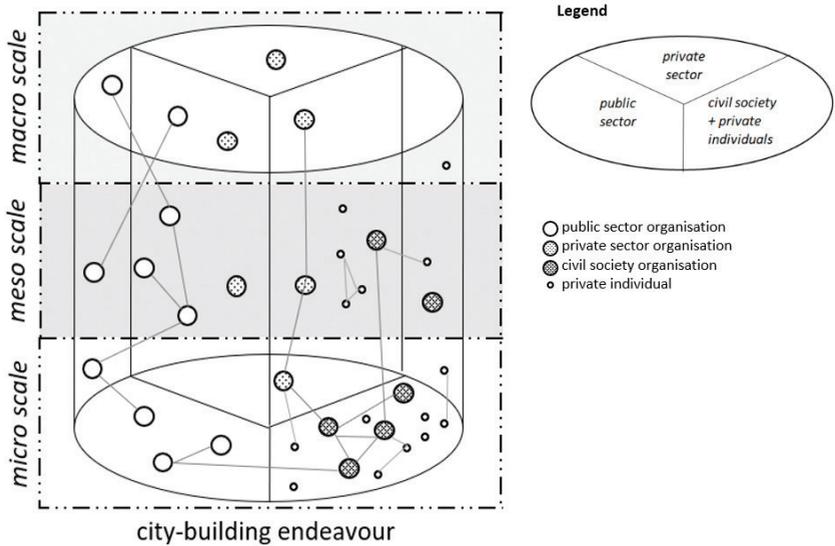


Figure 2. City-building endeavour as area-specific spatial governance activity

of established governance processes” (ibid.: 299), meta-governance (Jessop, 2016) or the overarching ‘rules of the game’ (Swyngedouw, 2009). I refer to governance in its broadest sense as *spatial governance* and assume a dialectic relationship with city-building endeavours (Figure 3). At diverse layers, distinct social relations occur which all determine both the institutional processes and spatial outcomes of a specific city-building endeavour. With the prefix *spatial* I intend to express a focus on the built environment while accentuating the intricate intertwinement of physical structures with social processes.

I understand spatial governance as transformative when its institutional patterns change on the basis of concrete, area-based city-building endeavours through the creation of linkages. Transformative spatial governance requires changes in the process of city-building endeavours and a corresponding change in the wider spatial governance structure. Throughout this dissertation, I explore this relationship, as illustrated in Figure 3, from different theoretical and empirical angles. While I focus on institutional transformation through multi-actor constellations, and especially underscore the importance of private sector actors in these processes, I critically reflect on the role of public sector planners in utilising this knowledge and incorporating it in their work.

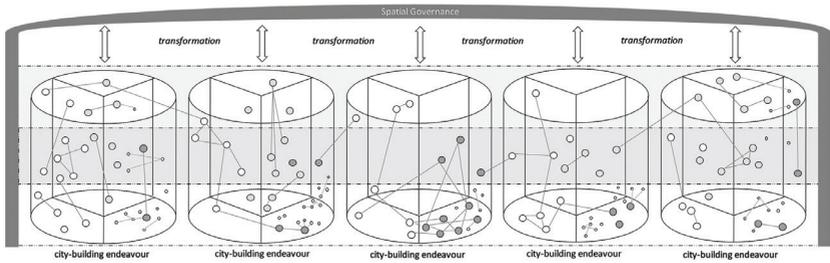


Figure 3. City-building endeavours embedded in spatial governance

1.3 Hermeneutics as a methodological underpinning

According to Fainstein and DeFilippis (2016: 2), planning theory is divided into those “who understand planning through analysing existing practices and those who theorize in an effort to transform planning practices.” I consider this division too simplistic and see the construction of explanations and the development of normative directions as a mutually dependent process. According to Flyvbjerg (1996: 384), planning theorists often have very clear targets but do not know “how to get there.” I believe that it is the planning researchers’ task to understand how planning works in order to develop mechanisms specifying how to achieve normative objectives. I ground my research in hermeneutics, which provided me with tools to shift between and combine analysing existing planning practices and normative theorising in my research design, data collection and analysis.

Hermeneutics can be understood as the philosophy of understanding and the interpretation of meaning, providing a distinct set of ontological and epistemological principles for social research (Patterson and Williams, 2002). Hermeneutic ontology considers social phenomena as the combination of a person’s individual perceptions and experiences, and an external world (ibid.). This view provides an intermediate position regarding longstanding discussions on structure vs. agency in the social sciences, by viewing the human experience as neither entirely determined by outside forces nor by complete agency (Ricoeur, 1981). Hermeneutic epistemology comprehends the study of human experience as an act of interpretation, in which it is the researcher’s task to elucidate the meaning of action which may be external to the consciousness of actors involved in a social phenomenon (Patterson and Williams, 2002). Simultaneously, however, this interpretation is considered as inherently tied to the researcher’s own perceptions, knowledge, values and position (ibid.).

A researcher’s pre-understanding of the social phenomena under investigation is not considered as a bias or hindrance, but instead embraced as a constructive and essential element of the research process (Moules, 2002). Conducting inductive research provided me with the confirmation that my pre-conceived ideas were an advantage and not an obstacle. Furthermore, a hermeneutic approach entails the

use of existing literature as a continuous partner in the ‘journey of thinking’ (Smythe and Spence, 2012). Implemented in a cyclical fashion, empirical observations direct the researcher to new sets of literature, and ideas sparked from reading the literature in turn redirect the data collection. It is the dialogical encounter between the researcher’s own observations and existing thought that triggers the creation of new ideas (ibid.).

To highlight the constant evolution of ideas, I refer to planning thought instead of planning theory throughout this dissertation. Not only do plannings’ multiple forms and context-dependent practices prevent the definition of singular and verifiable theories, but planning thought represents the constantly developing instead of a fixed diverse collection of paradigms, ideas and methodologies with transdisciplinary linkages to other social sciences (Fainstein and DeFilippis, 2016). Haselsberger (2017: 317) has pointed out that young planning scholars “face a continual dilemma of trying to step into the shoes of established planners while also finding exciting new ideas to help spatial planning evolve in different time and context.” However, following the manner in which I engaged with existing scholarship to enhance my own ideas, I see the existing wealth of knowledge as an opportunity rather than a dilemma.

At a more practical level, the so-called hermeneutic cycle guides the research analysis by allowing the researcher to move back and forth between different parts of a phenomena to understand it as a whole. Furthermore, “the closer determination of the meaning of the separate parts may come to change the originally anticipated meaning of the totality, and again this influences the meaning of the separate parts” (Kvale, 1983: 185). Thus, I set out to analyse different dimensions of fragmentation in urban development and specific city-building endeavours in order to understand *transformative spatial governance* as a whole. As understanding is perceived as highly context-dependent, hermeneutic research favours in-depth explorations while systematic comparisons are of minor importance.

The flexibility provided by hermeneutics does not diminish a rigorous scientific analysis. Instead, if properly conducted, hermeneutic research should result in persuasive scientific reasoning (Patterson and Williams, 2002). The circular analysis means that there is no definite end-point and the researcher has to decide when sufficient information is generated to enhance the understanding of the phenomena (ibid.). Through the interpretive character of hermeneutic work and the inability to provide accurate representations of the world, validity has to be established on the basis of traceable conclusions drawn by reason of the “episodes that led up to it” (Ricoeur, 1981: 277). The researcher has to present acceptable, not predictable conclusions which are “analogous to the narrative conclusion of a story” (Patterson

and Williams, 2002: 19) and readers have to assess whether the researcher's way of thinking follows a logical manner, regardless of whether they personally agree with it or not.

1.4 Research settings and strategies

Two cities, Toronto in Canada and Amsterdam in the Netherlands (Figure 4), serve as research settings: They provide the backdrop to different forms of analysis of complex and often multi-level spatial governance processes which extend beyond the city scale. Neoliberalisation and market pressures in urban development are subjects of discussion in both Toronto (Boudreau, Keil and Young, 2009; Kipfer and Keil, 2002) and Amsterdam (Heurkens and Hobma, 2014; van Gent, 2013). Nonetheless, it is widely acknowledged that these processes are highly path-dependent, colliding “with inherited regulatory landscapes” (Brenner and Theodore, 2005: 102). The cities' planning systems, for example, play an integral part in their spatial governance complexities and differ considerably. The existing complexities, as the analysis in this dissertation shows, exhibit both similarities and differences and make it impossible to fit the two settings into rigid categorisations based on observed similarities or differences as starting points, which tend to underlie traditional comparative research.

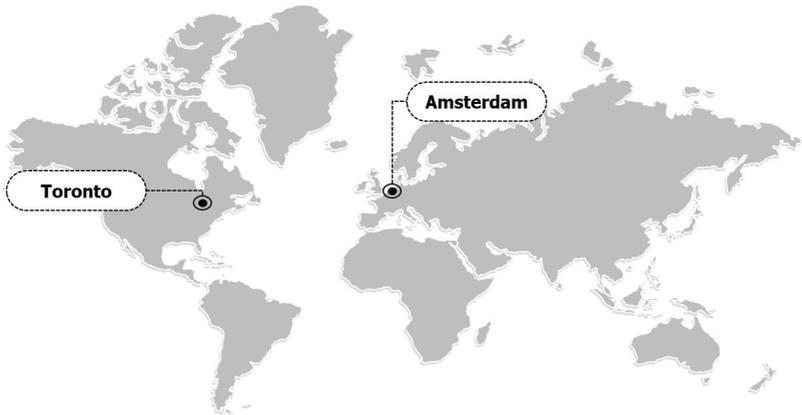


Figure 4. Toronto and Amsterdam on the world map

Due to its emphasis and attentiveness to the context-embedded nature of social relations and context-specific interpretation of social phenomena, hermeneutic research generally favours individual in-depth analyses (Patterson and Williams, 2002). Thus, instead of engaging in a systematic comparison and forcing my

empirical observation into a rigid comparative scheme, I follow Robinson (2016: 21) who argues that there is “potential to start conceptualisation from any city and to draw insights from a wide array of contexts acknowledging the locatedness of all theoretical endeavour.” Throughout the research process, the Toronto and Amsterdam settings served different purposes and the backdrop to the analysis of different dimensions of fragmentation. Nonetheless, through thinking in terms of Robinson’s (2016) notions of ‘singularities’ and ‘repeated instances’, I used the Toronto setting to reflect on my empirical findings in Amsterdam and vice versa. Therefore, it is important to present some setting-specific characteristics influencing the cities’ respective spatial governance, and to outline my divergent research strategies in Toronto and Amsterdam.

1.4.1 Toronto

The City of Toronto is located in the Province of Ontario, spans over an area of 630 km² and is home to a population of 2,930, 886 (City of Toronto, 2017). Within the Canadian context, it serves a major economic function and generates approximately one-fifth of the country’s GDP (Yalnizyan, 2017). Administratively, Toronto is divided into districts, wards and neighbourhoods (Figure 5). As local administration within the Canadian federal system, Toronto does not possess the same revenue instruments as provinces despite outnumbering several of them in terms of population size (*ibid.*), and is strongly reliant on its property tax base (Horak and Moore, 2015). Cities which are strongly embedded in the global economic system and are competing to attract international capital, particularly through their built environments, are often attuned to higher levels of socio-spatial inequalities (Sassen, 2005). Furthermore, administrative arrangements and budget constraints accentuate multi-scalar dynamics and relationships, and make Toronto an interesting case to analyse in terms of institutional and spatial fragmentation.

Toronto’s spatial fragmentation can be illustrated by income developments over the course of the last four decades: Toronto is characterised by rising income polarisation with income in the central city and along the subway lines increasing in particular, and when compared to the average, and those in the north-eastern and north-western parts decreasing substantially in relative terms (Hulchanski, 2010). My research journey in Toronto began within the framework of the DIVERCITIES project (*Governing Urban Diversity - Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today’s Hyper-diversified Cities*)², which explored socio-economic benefits for people living in diverse but socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods. Moving beyond the traditional focus on ethnic and cultural differences as a point of departure, the research in Toronto explored social conditions in the Jane-Finch area embedded in wider public policy and governance

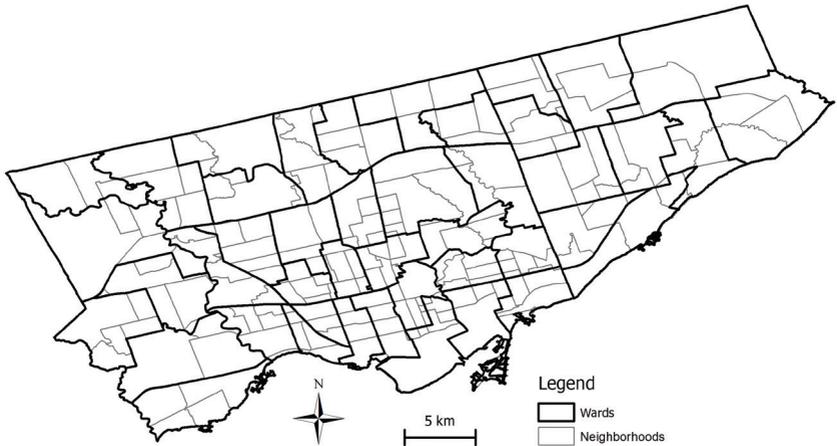


Figure 5. City of Toronto administrative boundaries

arrangements, as well as spatial conditions, which are crucial elements shaping the opportunities and life chances of individuals (Tasan-Kok and Özoğul, 2017). The Jane-Finch area, which also serves as a case study in this dissertation, is one of the areas in which average individual income compared to the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area Average has decreased dramatically since 1970s. It developed from a middle-income area in the 1970s to one of the most deprived areas with incomes ranging between 37 to 80% compared to the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area Average (Figure 6).

Within the framework of the DIVERCITIES project, I explored the connection between policy and governance arrangements, community activities and community-based entrepreneurship dynamics. Thereby, the importance of the urban built environment and Toronto's planning system emerged inductively. Planning in Toronto is defined at the provincial level, and all municipal and area-based policy and plans must conform to provincial legislation. The three documents most relevant for defining planning in Toronto are the *Ontario Planning Act*, the *Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe*, and the *Provincial Policy Statements* (Figure 7). The *Ontario Planning Act* determines the fundamental principles for land use planning in the province and sets out the powers held by, and the relationships between, the province and municipalities under its jurisdiction. The Greater Golden Horseshoe is a sub-provincial region in Southern Ontario encompassing the Greater Toronto Area and the plan provides a vision on regional growth management with land use specifications and environment but also social policy objectives. Granted by the *Planning Act*, the provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing can issue *Provincial Policy Statements* representing provincial interests which any land use planning in Ontario legally has to comply to.

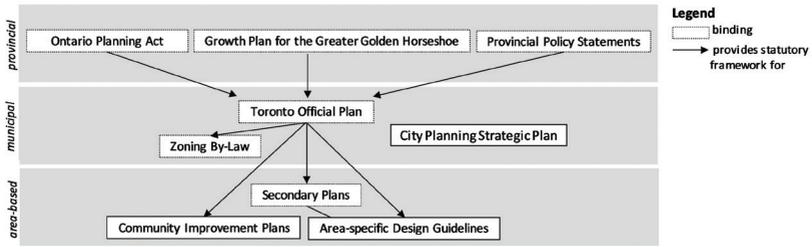


Figure 7. Toronto's planning policy framework

At the municipal level, local administrations are legally obliged to develop an Official Plan, which sets out planning goals and policies (Boudreau, Keil and Young, 2009). The policies of Toronto's current *Official Plan* came into effect in June 2015 and present a vision for the city looking 30 years ahead. The *Zoning By-Law* determines land use and building regulations such as heights and floor space ratios. Furthermore, created on the basis of the visions set forth in the *Official Plan*, the department of planning's own *City Planning Strategic Plan 2013-2018* emphasises the importance of "effective collaboration with other Divisions within City Hall and with the various public and private interests that make up our external stakeholders" (City of Toronto, 2013: 29). Additionally, there are several policy instruments available at the sub-municipal scale to respond to area-specific conditions and develop area-based plans. Combined, this setup provides the first insights into governance complexities and pockets of micro-regulation in Toronto.

Within the local administration, planning is situated in the *City Planning* division and subsumed under the Infrastructure and Development Services branch (Figure 8). Even though planning in Toronto takes on a strong focus concerning land use regulations, interviews³ in the divisions of *City Planning*, *Social Development*, *Finance & Administration*, as well as *Parks, Forestry & Recreation* conveyed strong intertwinement between social and spatial policy objectives, discursively and through mechanisms of inter-divisional collaboration and inter-divisional, inter-agency programmes. One of the most prominent agencies in this respect is Toronto Community Housing (TCH), constituting an important player in Toronto's spatial governance. TCH provides housing to about 60,000 households, and around 89% of its portfolio are rent-g geared-to-income units (Toronto Community Housing, 2019). Social housing provision in Canada was deeply affected by neoliberal reforms in the 1990s with the federal government removing public housing as a state responsibility, and the Province of Ontario under the Conservative leadership of Mike Harris withdrawing funding as well (Hackworth and Moriah, 2006). Interviews with planners and other employees of TCH displayed the resulting challenges and efforts to attract private sector actors to redevelopment projects due to financial constraints.

In fact, similar issues are faced by municipal city planners. In 1998, the same provincial government that withdrew from social housing amalgamated the old city of Toronto with five surrounding municipalities as a cost-cutting measure and to

enhance economic competitiveness (Horak and Young, 2012). Working through the challenge of combining planning policies and practices of six formerly independent local administrations and fiscal pressures on the new City of Toronto, resulted in the first Official Plan in 2002. This plan has been criticised for its entrepreneurial direction and focus on competitive city planning, as well as a symbol of neoliberal restructuring (Boudreau, Keil and Young, 2009; Kipfer and Keil, 2002). Simultaneously, many social programmes were affected by budget cuts (Horak and Moore, 2015). My interest and observations on private sector dependence in urban development led me to my second case study, the Regent Park revitalisation project in downtown Toronto.

The Regent Park project transforms a social housing development into a mixed-use, mixed-income neighbourhood through a public private partnership with TCH and a private developer, supported by an area-specific policy framework set up by the City of Toronto. While being property-driven, interviews with municipal planners and TCH staff responsible for the area, the private developer as well as community recreation workers who directly work with both old and new residents, provided insights into the connection between property market interests and micro-scale social community efforts. Combined, my research methods in the Toronto setting ranged from in-depth interviews, institutional mapping, policy and discourse analysis and more ethnographic methods such as participant observation in the Jane-Finch area. They allowed me to grasp spatial governance dynamics and the consequences of institutional fragmentation. Even though market dependency severely limits the scope and influence of city planning in Toronto (Kipfer and Keil, 2002), my analysis demonstrates that it matters substantially what planners do and I explore what it takes to create linkages within such context.

1.4.2 Amsterdam

With my observations and impressions from Toronto, I became interested in urban development dynamics and the nature of fragmentation in Amsterdam (Figure 9). The city is located in the Province of North Holland in the Netherlands, spans over an area of 219,3 km² and has a population of 862,987 (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2019a). While being much smaller in size than Toronto, Amsterdam is the country's largest city and a crucial driver for the national economy: Between 2010 and 2016, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area generated 32% of the national GDP growth (OECD, 2019). What aroused my curiosity in particular were discussions on Amsterdam's "peculiar mixture of neoliberal and state-led institutions and regulation regimes" (Engelen and Musterd, 2010: 702). The importance of municipal planning practices and the built environment in the Toronto setting made me curious of how Amsterdam's local administration accommodates fragmentation, especially since

Dutch planning became internationally known for its ‘comprehensive integrated approach’ (Commission for Environmental Cooperation, 1997).

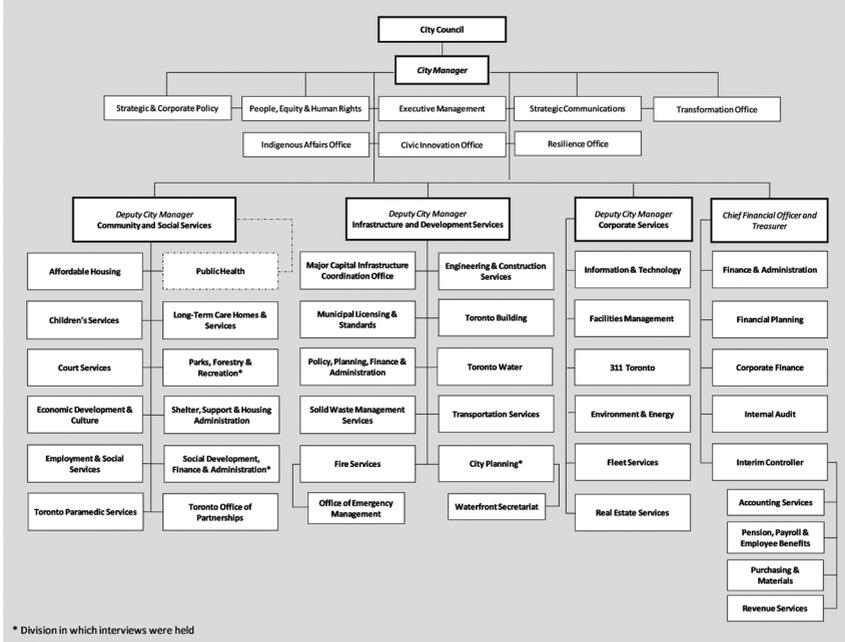


Figure 8. Administrative structure of local administration in Toronto, adopted from City of Toronto (2019a)

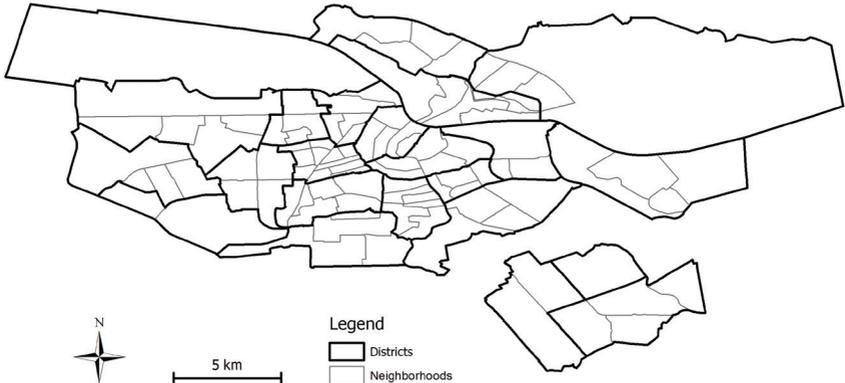


Figure 9. City of Amsterdam administrative boundaries

My research in Amsterdam was self-determined though shaped through my involvement in different research projects and teaching activities focusing on the Dutch planning context. I came to better understand socio-spatial dynamics in the city, which particularly differ between the core and periphery (Savini et al., 2016). The distribution of average disposable incomes, for example, illustrates considerable area-based differences (Figure 10). Existing research also showed that the 2008 economic crisis played a crucial role in enhancing project-oriented development, increasingly small-scale and piecemeal approaches, and moving away from traditionally large-scale spatial interventions (Savini et al., 2016). Therefore, despite area-based differences indicating a degree of spatial fragmentation, I decided not to focus on an area-specific city-building endeavour as a case study. Instead, I ventured to understand how the city's local administration, the Municipality of Amsterdam, accommodates and responds to institutional fragmentation.

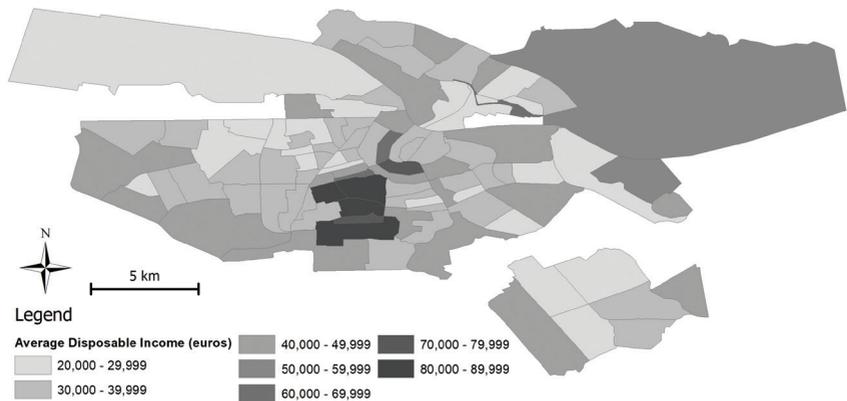


Figure 10. Average disposable income in the City of Amsterdam in 2018, based on data retrieved from Municipality of Amsterdam (2019a)

Thinking in terms of institutional fragmentation in Amsterdam cannot be done without taking a multi-scalar perspective into account, as much of it is related to the changing role of the state in Dutch urban development (Tasan-Kok et al., 2019). Even though private sector actors have for a long time been involved in development practices, the nature of relationships and power dynamics changed from the traditional Dutch top-down planning approach in which public sector actors enjoyed far-reaching influence, towards generally more flexible and opportunity-driven practices (ibid.). In 2008, the national government adopted a new Spatial

Planning Act, constituting first major revisions to Dutch planning law – which is separated from planning policy and determines the structure of the country’s planning system – since 1965 (Gerrits, Rauws and de Roo, 2012). The hierarchy of plans was replaced by structural visions at all levels of government which are only binding for the government which developed it (Figure 11).

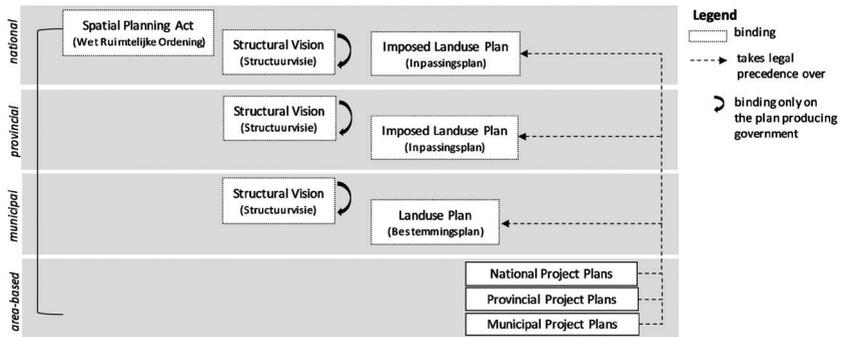


Figure 11. Amsterdam's planning policy framework

At the municipal level, the ‘Amsterdam Structural Vision - Economically strong and sustainable’ (*Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040 - Economisch sterk en duurzaam*) currently represents the municipal ambitions, objectives for urban development and main goals of the municipality’s spatial policy (van Buuren, Nijmeijer and Robbe, 2017). Moreover, active land policy plays an important role in local planning practices. In the Netherlands, active land policy refers to a well-established planning strategy in which municipalities prepare land for development and then hand it over to private sector actors in line with their policy objectives. While uncertainty after the economic crisis reduced the importance of this approach and private sectors increasingly take the lead (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016), it remains a crucial factor of influence in the Amsterdam’s spatial governance. Approximately 80% of the land in Amsterdam is publicly owned, and the Municipality leases much of it to private parties through approximately 200.000 contracts. Yet, the leasehold system which has been in place since 1896, underwent changes in recent years as well. While leases were traditionally renewed every 50 years to capture changing land values, the introduction of a perpetual system allows for a fixed land rent, and not being able to capture land value gains in the public interest (Korthals Altes, 2019).

Within Amsterdam’s local administration, planning is less clearly defined than in Toronto. It is situated in the Space and Economy (*Ruimte en Economie*) cluster (Figure

12), with the divisions of Space and Sustainability (*Ruimte en Duurzaamheid*) and Land and Development (*Grond en Ontwikkeling*) as being particularly relevant. A mobile urban lab experiment on the creation of meaningful encounters between people on a neighbourhood scale⁴ provided me with insights into the dual nature between the built environment and community dynamics in the Indische Buurt neighbourhood in Amsterdam East. It triggered my curiosity of how the Municipality approaches linking social and spatial interventions at a more strategic level, which, as it turned out in my interviews, was perceived as rather difficult. Furthermore, my interviews in the local administration brought internal struggles of public sector employees to light in terms of acknowledging the influence of private sector actors in the city's urban development, which had traditionally been under strong control of the public sector.

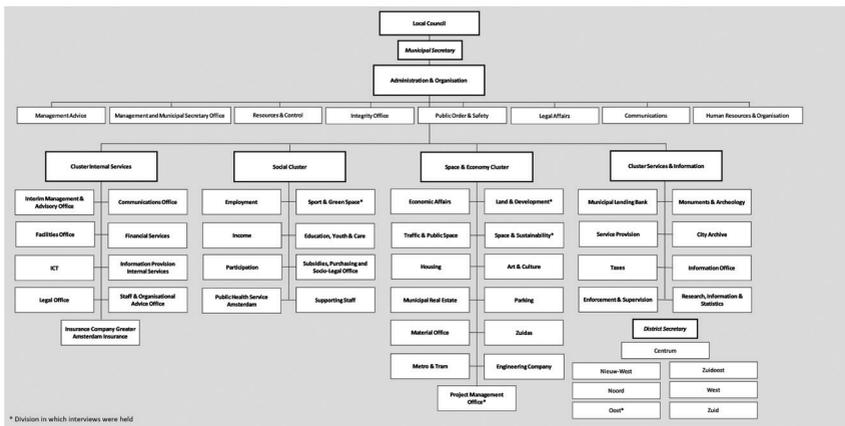


Figure 12. Administrative structure of local administration in Amsterdam, adopted from the Municipality of Amsterdam (2019b)

Moreover, national regulatory changes influenced the relationship between the Municipality and housing corporations, which traditionally played a crucial role in Dutch urban development (Andersen and van Kempen, 2003). In 1995, housing associations were privatised and became financially independent from the government. Acting independently “in an environment of guaranteed capital market loans and rent-price regulation” (Housing Europe, 2010), they broadened their activities and started land speculations (Aalbers, 2017). Triggered by several scandals and complaints filed at the European level on state aid to housing corporations leading to unfair competition in the Dutch housing market by several parties, amongst others by the Dutch Association of Institutional Investors, led

to amendments to the Dutch housing law (*Woningwet*) in 2015. It limits the scope of housing corporations and restricts their activities to the supply of affordable housing for disadvantaged groups. Interviews with housing corporations' area developers and a representative of the Amsterdam Federation of Housing Corporations (*Amsterdamse federatie van woningcorporaties*) centred around the consequences of these changes on their position in the city's spatial governance. The nine housing corporations which are forming the Amsterdam Federation of Housing Corporations own approximately 42% of dwellings in the Amsterdam area (AFWC, 2019).

In response to more integrated forms of urban development, interviewees working in several divisions of the local administration repeatedly referred to the project management office (*Projectmanagementbureau*) fulfilling this task. With the emphasis on project-oriented development, I became interested in how project managers were dealing with private sector influence and how they would learn from and link their experiences from scattered developments throughout the city. This final part of research for this dissertation took place within the framework of the WHIG project (*What is Governed in Cities: Landscapes and the Governance and Regulation of Housing Production*)⁵, which examines the inter-relationships between contemporary investment flows into the housing markets and the governance arrangements and public policy instruments that are designed to regulate them. This new project provided me with an exceptional opportunity to further develop my research interests spanning social policy and property-driven urban development. My analysis in the Amsterdam setting exemplifies the intricacies of public sector operations in contexts characterised by complexifying regulatory frameworks and fast-changing conditions, as well as the necessity of new approaches to respond to planning as a fragmented spatial governance activity.

1.5 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is presented in seven chapters which are divided into four main parts (Figure 13). The chapters do not follow the chronological order of the research process, but are in line with the hermeneutic underpinnings organised in order to construct a coherent storyline. As a cumulative dissertation, Chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6 have been published in, or submitted to, international peer-reviewed academic journals as standalone articles. Looking back, Part I serves as general introduction to the study. In this Chapter, I presented my main arguments, addressed the research problems and elaborated on my research design. Furthermore, I visualised my understanding of fragmentation of urban development, both in a spatial and institutional sense, as well as the interplay between city-building endeavours and overarching spatial governance. Lastly, my discussion of the hermeneutic

principles that guided the research process, as well as information on Toronto and Amsterdam as research settings and my research strategies in both cities, support contextualising the chapters to come.

Part II of the dissertation consists of my analytical and conceptual framework. In Chapter 2, I reinvigorate longstanding discussions on comprehensive planning from a contemporary point of view, track how notions of comprehensiveness have changed over time and stipulate the need for a new conception of comprehensiveness that is based on the creation of linkages between fragmented city-building endeavours. Following my critique of compartmentalised engagement of existing literature with different dimensions of fragmentation characterising contemporary urban development, and based on an extensive literature review, I construct an analytical framework that turns four major dimensions of fragmentation discussed in the literature into building blocks. I utilise planning systems in Toronto and Amsterdam as examples to illustrate the application of the framework and to reveal how it can provide insights into the context-dependent nature of fragmentations and consequent responses through tailor-made mechanisms. The framework plays a crucial role in the remainder of the thesis, with each chapter taking one dimension of fragmentation as an underlying vantage point (Figure 13), despite differences in purpose and approach of the chapters.

Chapter 3 adds a conceptual layer to the dissertation. It takes dimension *i*) of fragmentation of the framework as point of departure, which draws attention to the dissolution between social (policy) objectives and spatial interventions in urban development, which is deeply intertwined with processes of neoliberalisation. Dissatisfaction with neoliberal conditions led to growing demands of planning scholars for structural change and heightened discussion on ‘transformation’ in recent years. However, there has not been systematic engagement with this emerging body of literature and notions of structural change often remain vague. Therefore, I delineate my own notion of *transformative spatial governance* which differentiates between three levels in processes of structural change, while reviewing the existing literature on transformation and related terminology. Additionally, I point out a major gap that I see in the existing literature’s consideration of private sector actors’ involvement in envisaged processes of transformation.

Part III moves on to provide in-depth case studies of the remaining dimensions of fragmentation in real life settings. Chapter 4 takes dimension *ii*) of fragmentation as a point of departure, which highlights the co-existence of project-oriented and opportunity-driven urban development dynamics. I focus on the Amsterdam setting and public sector project managers’ experiences of engaging with private sector actors in delineated development formations. Analysing how their learning

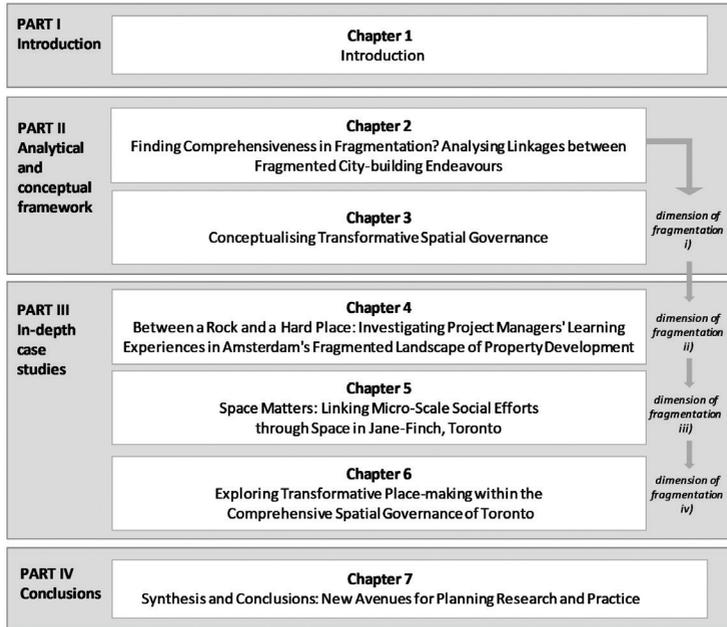


Figure 13. Structure of the dissertation

practices travel beyond the project-scale, I tie together literature on property development, complexifying spatial governance and a triple loop learning concept. The chapter approaches the creation of linkages in an abstract manner based on cognitive processes and connections between property-driven city-building endeavours and overarching institutional structures. Empirically, I reveal the intricacy and challenging role of public sector project managers in contemporary urban development. Needing to deliver ambitious policy objectives especially in terms of housing production through negotiation and compromises with private sector actors, project managers in Amsterdam operate in a tightening regulatory and policy framework which can be conflicting at times. I conclude the chapter by highlighting the value of institutional perspectives on property development, planning policy's entanglement with property markets as well as shedding light on the personal struggles and conflicting position of public sector actors.

Chapter 5 follows dimension of fragmentation *iii*) by placing micro-scale social efforts centrally. It draws on planning studies' conflicted engagement with space in terms of the built environment and physical space, and zooms into the role of space in creating linkages between social efforts, as well as to the wider communities in which they are embedded in the disadvantaged low-income area Jane-Finch in Toronto. I reveal how different spaces carry important community but also commercial functions for local entrepreneurs through which these linkages are created and relationships established. Furthermore, I unravel the agents that are

involved in the production of the built environment in Jane-Finch, providing an explanation for the lack of systematic spatial interventions despite their potential to amplify the impact of social efforts. Based on my empirical findings, I call for foregrounding considerations pertaining to physical space more central in planning studies, and conclude that more attention should be paid to the conditions and mechanisms through which micro-scale efforts influence beyond the micro-scale.

Chapter 6 fulfils this task by placing institutional arrangements in the Jane-Finch area into comparative perspective with Regent Park, based on divergent attractiveness to commercial property developers to partake in the areas' redevelopment. It utilises dimension of fragmentation iv) as point of departure, to make the link between property-development projects, social initiatives and their relation to wider spatial governance. Theoretically, the chapter criticises the increasingly popular literature on place-making that centres around adjusting spaces to community needs for the commonly adopted narrow, micro-scale focus. Showcasing efforts combining social and spatial elements in both case study areas in their wider institutional context uncovers the crucial influence of private sector property developers in the process. It is argued that place-making efforts benefit from being approached as transformative practices embedded in a comprehensive spatial governance structure, while the creation of linkages is addressed particularly from a public policy angle. Pointing out the limits of market-orientation in spatial governance, the chapter ends by underscoring the need for new approaches and planning instruments to overcome this dependency and respond to socio-spatial needs in disadvantaged areas.

Part IV presents my conclusions. It consists of Chapter 7, in which I provide a general synthesis of the dissertation and answer my research questions. I utilise the three different levels of structural change in my conceptualisation of *transformative spatial governance* from Chapter 3 to review my empirical findings from Toronto and Amsterdam, as well as reflect on the usefulness of thinking in terms of fragmentation and linkages. Furthermore, I discuss my choice of using the terminology of 'comprehensiveness' and highlight my contributions to the emerging body of literature on transformation in planning studies. I end by critically reflecting on my dissertation's caveats and providing suggestions for future research.

References

- Aalbers, M. B. (2017). The Variegated Financialisation of Housing. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 41(4), 542-554.
- Adams, D. and S. Tiesdell (2010). Planners as Market Actors: Rethinking State–Market Relations in Land and Property. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 11(2), 187-207.
- AFWC (2019). *Information in English, Amsterdamse federatie voor woningcorporaties [Amsterdam Federation of Housing Corporations]*. Available online <http://www.afwc.nl/information-in-english/> (last accessed 16 April 2019).
- Allmendinger, P. (2016). *Neoliberal Spatial Governance*. London: Routledge.
- Albrechts, L. (2016). Strategic Planning as Governance of Long-Lasting Transformative Practices. In Concilio, G. and F. Rizzo (eds.) *Human Smart Cities: Rethinking the Interplay between Design and Planning* (3-20). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Albrechts, L., Barbanente A., and V. Monno (2018). From Stage-managed Planning towards a more Imaginative and Inclusive Strategic Spatial Planning. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, available online: DOI10.1177/2399654419825655.
- Andersen, H. T. and R. van Kempen (2003). New Trends in Urban Policies in Europe: Evidence from the Netherlands and Denmark. *Cities*, 20(2), 77-86.
- Bodnar, J. (2001). On Fragmentation, Urban and Social. In Gotham KF (ed) *Critical perspectives on urban redevelopment* (173-93). Oxford: JAI Press.
- Boudreau J.-A., Keil, R. and D. Young (2009). *Changing Toronto: Governing Urban Neoliberalism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Brenner, N. and N. Theodore (2005). Neoliberalism and the Urban Condition. *City*, 9(1), 101-107.
- Buitelaar, E. and A. Bregman (2016). Dutch Land Development Institutions in the Face of Crisis: Trembling Pillars in the Planners' Paradise. *European Planning Studies*, 24(7), 1281-1294.
- van Buuren, P. J. J., Nijmeijer, A. G. A. and J. Robbe (2017). *Hoofdlijnen Ruimtelijk Bestuursrecht [Principals in Administrative Spatial Law]*. Deventer: Wolters Kluwer.
- Campbell, H., Tait, M. and C. Watkins (2014). Is there Space for Better Planning in a Neoliberal World? Implications for Planning Practice and Theory. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 34(1), 45-59.
- City of Toronto (2013). *City Planning's Strategic Plan 2013-2018*. Available online: <https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/960a-strategicplan-AODA.pdf> (last accessed 16 April 2019).
- City of Toronto (2017). *Toronto at a Glance*. Available online: <https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/data-research-maps/toronto-at-a-glance/> (last accessed 16 April 2019).
- City of Toronto (2019a). *Organisational Chart*. Available online: <https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/91e9-city-toronto-organizational-chart.pdf> (last accessed 16 April 2019).

- Commission for Environmental Cooperation (1997). *The EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies Commission of the European Communities*. Luxembourg: EU Publications Office.
- Engelen, E. and S. Musterd (2010). Amsterdam in Crisis: How the (Local) State Buffers and Suffers: Debates and Developments *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(3), 701-8.
- Eraydin, A. and Tasan-Kok, T. (2019). Crisis in planning theory: Is the political a way out of the impasse of planning? In: A. Eraydin and K. Frey (eds.), *Politics and Conflict in Governance and Planning: Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Eraydin A. and T. Tasan-Kok (2012). *Resilience Thinking in Urban Planning*. Dordrecht: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Fainstein, S. (2010). *The Just City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Fainstein, S. (2008). Mega-Projects in New York, London and Amsterdam. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(4), 768-85.
- Fainstein, S. and J. DeFilippis (2016). *Readings in Planning Theory*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.
- Fincher, R., Parry, M., and K. Shaw (2016). Place-making or Place-masking? The Everyday Political Economy of “Making Place.” *Planning Theory & Practice*, 17(4), 516-536.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (1996). The Dark Side of Planning: Rationality and “Realrationalität”. In Mandelbaum S. J., Mazza, L., and R. W. Burchell (eds.), *Explorations in Planning Theory* (383-394). New Brunswick: Centre for Urban Policy Research Press.
- van Gent, (2013). Neoliberalization, Housing Institutions and Variegated Gentrification: how the ‘Third Wave’ Broke in Amsterdam. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(2), 503-522.
- Gerrits, L., Rauws, W. and G. de Roo (2012). Dutch Spatial Planning Policies in Transition. Policy & Planning Brief. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 13(2), 336-341.
- Hackworth, J. and A. Moriah (2006). Neoliberalism, Contingency and Urban Policy: The Case of Social Housing in Ontario. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(3), 510-527.
- Harvey, D. (2009). *Social Justice and the City*. Revised Edition. Athens & London: The University of Georgia Press.
- Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 71(1), 3-17.
- Haselsberger, B. (2017). *Encounters in Planning Thought. 16 Autobiographical Essays from Key Thinkers in Spatial Planning*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Healey, P. (2018). Developing a ‘Sociological Institutional’ Approach to Analysing Institutional Change in Place Governance. In W. Salet (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Institutions and Planning in Action* (24-42). New York: Routledge.
- Healey, P. (2010). *Making Better Places – The Planning Project in the Twenty-first Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Healey, P. (2006). Transforming Governance: Challenges of Institutional Adaptation and a New Politics of Space. *European Planning Studies*, 14(3), 299-320.
- Henneberry, J., and S. Parris (2013). The Embedded Developer: Using Project Ecologies to Analyse Local Property Development Networks. *Town Planning Review*, 84(2), 227-49.
- Heurkens, E., and F. Hobma (2014). Private Sector-led Urban Development Projects: Comparative Insights from Planning Practices in the Netherlands and the UK. *Planning Practice & Research*, 29(4), 350-369.
- Horak, M. and A. A. Moore (2015). Policy Shift without Institutional Change: The Precarious Place of Neighbourhood Revitalization in Toronto. In Stone, C. N., and R. P. Stoker (eds.), *Urban Neighborhoods in a New Era: Revitalization Politics in the Post-industrial City* (182-208). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Housing Europe (2010). *Social Housing in Europe: the Netherlands*. Available online: <http://www.housingeurope.eu/resource-117/social-housing-in-europe> (last accessed 16 April 2019).
- Hulchanski, J. D. (2010). *The Three Cities within Toronto: Income Polarization among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2005*. Toronto: Cities Centre, University of Toronto.
- Jepperson, R. (1991). Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism. In W. Powell and P. DiMaggio (eds.), *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jessop, B. (2016). Territory, Politics, Governance and Multispatial Metagovernance. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 4(1), 8-32.
- Kipfer, S. and R. Keil (2002). Planning the Competitive City in the New Toronto. *Antipode*, 34(2), 227-264.
- Korthals Altes, W. (2019). Land Pricing upon the Extension of Leases in Public Leasehold Systems. *Journal of European Real Estate Research*, available online: DOI10.1108/JERER-05-2018-0021.
- Kvale, S. (1983). The Qualitative Research Interview: A Phenomenological and a Hermeneutical Mode of Understanding. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 14(1-2), 171-196.
- Le Galès, P. and T. Vitale (2013). Governing the Large Metropolis – A Research Agenda. *Working paper of programme 'cities are back in town'*, 2013-8. Paris: Sciences Po.
- Madanipour, A. (2010). Connectivity and Contingency in Planning. *Planning Theory*, 9(4), 351-68.
- Massey, D. B. (1994). *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MacCallum, D., Moulaert, F., Hillier, J. and S. Vicari Haddock (2009). *Social Innovation and Territorial Development*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Moulaert, F. (2010). Social Innovation and Community Development. Concepts, Theories and Challenges. In F. Moulaert, F. Martinelli, E. Swyngedouw and S. Gonzalez (eds.), *Can Neighbourhoods Save the City? Community development and social innovation* (4-16). London: Routledge.

- Moulaert, F., Martinelli, F., González, S. and E. Swyngedouw (2007). Introduction: Social Innovation and Governance in European Cities: Urban Development Between Path Dependency and Radical Innovation. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 14(3), 195-209.
- Moules, N. J. (2002). Hermeneutic Inquiry: Paying Heed to History and Hermes. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1(3), 2-40.
- Municipality of Amsterdam (2019a). *Feiten en Cijfers [facts and numbers]*. Available online: <https://www.ois.amsterdam.nl/feiten-en-cijfers/amsterdam/?20050> (last accessed 16 April 2019).
- Municipality of Amsterdam (2019b). *Bestuur en Organisatie [administration and organisation]*. Available online: <https://www.amsterdam.nl/bestuur-organisatie/> (last accessed 16 April 2019).
- North, D. C. (1993). Institutions and Credible Commitment. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*, 149(1), 11-23.
- OECD (2019). *Regions and Cities at a Glance 2018 – Netherlands*. Available online: <https://bit.ly/2V1iGVC> (last accessed 16 April 2019).
- Özoğul S. and T. Tasan-Kok (2018). Exploring Transformative Place-Making within the Comprehensive Spatial Governance of Toronto. *disP - The Planning Review*, 54(4), 59-73.
- Palermo, P.C. and D. Ponzini (2014). *Place-Making and Urban Development: New Challenges for Contemporary Planning and Design*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Patterson, M. E., and D. R. Williams (2002). *Collecting and Analyzing Qualitative Data: Hermeneutic Principles, Methods, and Case Examples*. Champaign, Illinois: Sagamore Publishing.
- Peck, J., N. Theodore and N. Brenner (2009). Neoliberal Urbanism: Models, Moments, Mutations. *Sais Review*, 29(1), 49-66.
- Purcell, M. (2009). Resisting Neoliberalisation: Communicative Planning or Counter-Hegemonic Movements? *Planning Theory*, 8(2), 140-165.
- Ricoeur, P. (1981). *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, J. (2016). Thinking Cities through Elsewhere: Comparative Tactics for a more Global Urban Study. *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(1), 3-29.
- Rossi, U. (2017). *Cities in Global Capitalism. Polity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Sager, T. (2011). Neo-liberal Urban Planning Policies: A Literature Survey 1990–2010. *Progress in Planning*, 76(4), 147-199.
- Salet, W. (2018). *The Routledge Handbook of Institutions and Planning in Action*. New York: Routledge.
- Sassen, S. (2005). The Global City: Introducing a Concept. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 11(2), 27-43.
- Savini, F., Boterman, W.R., van Gent, W.P.C. and S. Majoor (2016). Amsterdam in the 21st Century: Geography, Housing, Spatial Development and Politics. *Cities*, 52, 103-13.

- Schmitt, P. and T. Wiechmann (2018). Unpacking Spatial Planning as the Governance of Place: Extracting Potentials for Future Advancements in Planning Research. *disP – The Planning Review*, 54(4), 21-33.
- Smythe, E. and D. Spence (2012). Re-viewing Literature in Hermeneutic Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 11(1), 12-25.
- Swyngedouw, E., Moulaert, F., and A. Rodriguez (2002). Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy. *Antipode*, 34(3), 542-577.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2009). Civil Society, Governmentality and the Contradictions of Governance beyond the-State: The Janus-face of Social Innovation. In MacCallum, D., Moulaert, F., Hillier, J., and S. Vicari Haddock (eds.), *Social Innovation and Territorial Development* (63-78). Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Tasan-Kok, T. (2008). Changing Interpretations of “Flexibility” in the Planning Literature: From Opportunism to Creativity? *International Planning Studies*, 13(3), 183-195
- Tasan-Kok, T., van den Hurk, M., Özoğul, S. and S. Bittencourt (2019). Changing Public Accountability Mechanisms in the Governance of Dutch Urban Regeneration. *European Planning Studies*, available online: DOI 10.1080/09654313.2019.1598017.
- Tasan-Kok, T. and G. Baeten (2012). *Contradictions of Neoliberal Planning – Cities, Policies, and Politics*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Tasan-Kok, T. and S. Özoğul (2017). *DIVERCITIES, Living with Urban Diversity: The Case of Toronto*. Utrecht: Utrecht University.
- Tasan-Kok, T., R. van Kempen, M. Raco and G. Bolt (2014). *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities. A critical Literature Review*. Utrecht: Utrecht University.
- Toronto Community Housing (2019). *Our Housing*. Available online: <https://www.torontohousing.ca/our-housing> (last accessed 16 April 2019).
- Uitermark, J. (2012). De Zelforganiserende Stad [The Self-Organising City], In Raad voor de Leefomgeving en Infrastructuur (ed.), *Toekomst van de stad. [The future of the city]* (5-10). Den Haag: Raad voor de Leefomgeving en Infrastructuur.
- Vranken, J. (2008). Competitiveness and Cohesion: A Janus Head? Some Conceptual Clarifications. In Ache, P., Andersen, H. T., Maloutas, T., Raco, M. and T. Tasan-Kok (eds.), *Cities between Competitiveness and Cohesion: Discourses, Realities and Implementation* (19-40). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Wilson, D. (2004). Toward a Contingent Urban Neoliberalism. *Urban Geography*, 25(8), 771-783.
- Wolf-Powers, L. (2005). Up-zoning New York City’s Mixed-Use Neighbourhoods. Property-led Economic Development and the Anatomy of a Planning Dilemma. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 24, 379-393.
- Wolfram, M. (2016). Conceptualizing Urban Transformative Capacity: A Framework for Research and Policy. *Cities*, 51(1), 121-130.
- Yalnizyan, A. (2017). Toronto’s Economy doesn’t get the Respect it Deserves. *Macleans*, available online <https://bit.ly/2Uly3CM> (last accessed 16 April 2019).