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Transformative spatial governance

New avenues for comprehensive planning in fragmented urban development

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Notes

1. Unless indicated otherwise, figures and tables are produced by the chapter's author/s.
2. The project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 319970. SSH.2012.2.2.2-1; Governance of cohesion and diversity in urban contexts.
3. A full list of interviewees can be found in the Appendix.
4. Developed together with Tuna Tasan-Kok and supported by University of Amsterdam's Centre for Urban Studies.
5. The project has received funding from the Open Research Area for the Social Sciences (ORA) under grant agreement no. 464.18.113.
6. The research in Toronto was conducted within the framework of the DIVERCITIES project, which has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 319970. SSH.2012.2.2.2-1; Governance of cohesion and diversity in urban contexts.
7. The research was conducted within the framework of the project WHIG (*What is Governed in Cities: Landscapes and the Governance and Regulation of Housing Production*), funded by the Open Research Area for the Social Sciences (ORA) under grant agreement no. 464.18.113.
8. The project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 319970. SSH.2012.2.2.2-1; Governance of cohesion and diversity in urban contexts.
9. This quote has been previously published in: Özoğul, S. and T. Tasan-Kok (2016). Fieldwork entrepreneurs in Toronto, Jane-Finch (Canada). *Research report submitted to European Commission*. Amsterdam and Delft: University of Amsterdam and TU Delft.
10. This quote has been previously published in: Özoğul, S. and T. Tasan-Kok (2016). Fieldwork entrepreneurs in Toronto, Jane-Finch (Canada). *Research report submitted to European Commission*. Amsterdam and Delft: University of Amsterdam and TU Delft.
11. The project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 319970. SSH.2012.2.2.2-1; Governance of cohesion and diversity in urban contexts.
12. The institutional map is not intended to be exhaustive, but to provide a general impression.
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Appendix: List of Interviewees

Amsterdam, February 2019

NO.	DATE	POSITION	CATEGORY
1	February 26, 2019	Project Manager at Project Management Office	Public sector actor (local administration)
2	February 21, 2019	Project Manager at Project Management Office	Public sector actor (local administration)
3	February 21, 2019	Junior Project Manager at Project Management Office	Public sector actor (local administration)
4	February 20, 2019	Senior Urban Designer at Space and Sustainability division	Public sector actor (local administration)
5	February 20, 2019	Project Manager at Project Management Office	Public sector actor (local administration)
6	February 15, 2019	Senior Project Manager at Project Management Office	Public sector actor (local administration)
7	February 14, 2019	Senior Project Manager at Project Management Office	Public sector actor (local administration)
8	February 13, 2019	Senior Project Manager at Project Management Office	Public sector actor (local administration)
9	February 12, 2019	Senior Project Manager at Project Management Office	Public sector actor (local administration)

Amsterdam, June – October 2018

NO.	DATE	POSITION	CATEGORY
10	October 19, 2018	Urban Planner at Space and Sustainability division	Public sector actor (local administration)
11	October 12, 2018	Public Space Manager at District South East	Public sector actor (local administration)
12	October 3, 2018	Junior Project Manager at Project Management Office	Public sector actor (local administration)
13	October 2, 2018	Trainee at Space and Sustainability division	Public sector actor (local administration)
14	October 2, 2018	Senior Advisor Research at Amsterdam Federation of Housing Corporations	Public sector actor (housing corporation)

NO.	DATE	POSITION	CATEGORY
15	September 28, 2018	Area Developer at Eigen Haard	Public sector actor (housing corporation)
16	September 25, 2018	Senior Advisor at Sport and Forestry division	Public sector actor (local administration)
17	September 14, 2018	Urban Development Manager at District East	Public sector actor (local administration)
18	September 10, 2018	Senior Chief Strategist at Space and Sustainability division	Public sector actor (local administration)
19	June 6, 2018	Policy Advisor at Ground and Development division	Public sector actor (local administration)

Toronto, May 2016

NO.	DATE	POSITION	CATEGORY
20	May 24, 2016	Vice-President Development at Daniels Corporation CM	Private sector actor
21	May 24, 2016	Associate Development Manager at Toronto Community Housing	Public sector actor (housing corporation)
22	May 24, 2016	Director Resident and Community Services at Toronto Community Housing	Public sector actor (housing corporation)
23	May 24, 2016	Associate Development Manager at Toronto Community Housing	Public sector actor (housing corporation)
24	May 24, 2016	Revitalisation and Renewal Manager at Toronto Community Housing	Public sector actor (housing corporation)
25	May 24, 2016	North York Community Planner at City Planning division	Local administration
26	May 17, 2016	Stakeholder Engagement Lead at City Planning division	Local administration
27	May 17, 2016	Director Strategic Initiatives at City Planning division	Local administration
28	May 16, 2016	Programme Manager Toronto & East York district at City Planning division	Local administration
29	May 16, 2016	Manager Strategic Initiatives at City Planning division	Local administration

NO.	DATE	POSITION	CATEGORY
30	May 16, 2016	Supervisor Community Recreation at Parks, Forestry and Recreation division	Public sector actor (local administration)
31	May 16, 2016	Community Recreation Programmer at Parks, Forestry and Recreation division	Public sector actor (local administration)
32	May 16, 2016	Community Recreation Programmer Parks, Forestry and Recreation division	Public sector actor (local administration)
33	May 16, 2016	Community Recreation Programmer Parks, Forestry and Recreation division	Public sector actor (local administration)
34	May 18, 2016	Representative of Community Development & Recreation Committee	Public sector actor (politician)
35	May 18, 2016	Director Social Policy, Research and Analysis at Social Policy, Research and Analysis division	Public sector actor (local administration)
36	May 19, 2016	Development Director at Toronto Community Housing	Public sector actor (housing corporation)
37	May 19, 2016	Director Resident and Community Services at Toronto Community Housing	Public sector actor (housing corporation)

Toronto, September – November 2015

NO.	DATE	POSITION	CATEGORY
38	November 4, 2015	Group interview with 7 entrepreneurs & researchers at Social Innovation Hub of Brown College	Private & public sector actors
39	November 4, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
40	November 3, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
41	November 3, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
42	October 29, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
43	October 27, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
44	October 26, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor

NO.	DATE	POSITION	CATEGORY
45	October 23, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
46	October 22, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
47	October 21, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
48	October 20, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
49	October 20, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
50	October 20, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
51	October 19, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
52	October 19, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
53	October 19, 2015	Researcher on neighbourhood-based local Economic development at University of Toronto	Public sector actor (research)
54	October 15, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
55	October 13, 2015	Member of Economic Development Committee of Toronto Region Board of Trade	Private sector actor
56	October 9, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
57	October 9, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
58	October 7, 2015	Neighbourhood Manager Jane-Finch at United Way Toronto	Civil society
59	October 6, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
60	October 6, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
61	October 5, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
62	October 5, 2015	Executive Director at Access Community Capital Fund	Civil society
63	October 2, 2015	Community Activist	Civil society
64	October 2, 2015	Community Planner and Project Manager at City Planning Division	Public sector actor (local administration)

NO.	DATE	POSITION	CATEGORY
65	October 2, 2015	Project Manager Tower and Neighbourhood Revitalisation at Social Development division	Public sector actor (local administration)
66	October 1, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
67	October 1, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
68	October 1, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
69	September 30, 2015	Branch Manager	Private sector actor
70	September 30, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
71	September 30, 2015	Branch Manager	Private sector actor
72	September 30, 2015	Mall Manager	Private sector actor
73	September 28, 2015	Community Activist	Civil society actor
74	September 28, 2015	Branch Manager at RBC Bank Jane-Finch	Private sector actor
75	September 28, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
76	September 27, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
77	September 27, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
78	September 26, 2015	Entrepreneur	Private sector actor
79	September 24, 2015	Programme Leader at Toronto YFC/Youth Unlimited	Civil society actor
80	September 22, 2015	Community Minister at Jane-Finch Community Ministry	Civil society actor
81	September 22, 2015	Small Business Developer at Black Creek Micro Credit Programme	Civil society actor

Summary (English)

Urban development is fragmenting: Entrepreneurial planning strategies involving a wide range of actors have been replacing managerial public sector-led approaches. While scholars lament the dissolution of social and spatial interventions, disconnected opportunity-driven development projects are mushrooming in cities. Moreover, multifaceted initiatives - enhanced by shifts in public policy towards active citizenship and self-responsibilisation - adjust, or become more vocal about their claims to, the built environment in line with explicit social objectives. This dynamic form of contemporary 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 imagined themselves in a position of ultimate control. Nonetheless, the desire for comprehensiveness in planning remains strong.

This dissertation seeks a new approach to create forms of comprehensiveness amidst the complex spatial governance practices underpinning fragmented urban development. Neoliberal transformations are considered as a cause of institutional fragmentation in wider *spatial governance* structures, allowing diverse sets of actors and organisations to come together in delineated development formations. These formations are conceptualised as *city-building endeavours* and shed light on how actors' close-knit interactions and relationships increasingly blur the boundaries between public, private and civil society sectors. Existing literature, however, exhibits a compartmentalised engagement with fragmentation and particularly approaches property-driven projects and social initiatives either as entirely separately, or automatically treats them as inherent adversaries.

It is not advocated for a reversion to modernist comprehensive planning principles. Instead, the dissertation stipulates the need for a new conception of comprehensiveness that is based on the creation of possibilities for linkages between fragmented city-building endeavours, as well as between these endeavours and wider spatial governance. Conceptually, the notion of *transformative spatial governance* is modelled, understanding spatial governance as transformative when its institutional patterns change on the basis of concrete, area-based city-building endeavours. It is argued that this form of transformation is pivotal to uphold a spatial governance structure that allows city-building endeavours to flourish and simultaneously places them into a firm but flexible and adaptive framework to avoid fragmentation's negative effects and externalities.

To this end, the dissertation identifies and engages with a recent body of literature that centres around transformation and structural changes in planning and

governance, stemming from scholars' discontent with contemporary processes of neoliberalisation: The fact that public sector planners and planning organisations both interact with and participate in variegated city-building endeavours, which can have various and contradictory objectives, is considered as a major source of the prevalent sentiment in scholarly literature that planning practice is losing its grip and substance. However, 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. Additionally, a systematic review of these accounts reveals the neglect of private sector actors as important elements in bringing about the scholars' desired transformations.

Therefore, this dissertation distinctly considers property-driven development formations as instigators of structural change and explores their linkages to micro-scale social efforts. Toronto in Canada and Amsterdam in the Netherlands, as well as their respective planning systems, serve as research settings in which the analyses of this cumulative dissertation take place. Utilising hermeneutics as methodological underpinning allowed for a continuous shift between, and a combined analysis of, existing planning practices and normative theorising in the research design, data collection and analysis. Furthermore, hermeneutics emphasises the context-embedded nature of social relations and context-specific interpretation of social phenomena, while allowing for a rigorous scientific analysis. The adopted institutional perspective provides an understanding of the elements and conditions that turn some, but not all, endeavours into 'game changers' by altering existing spatial governance arrangements.

In Toronto, the focus lies on the role of space in creating linkages between micro-scale social efforts in the disadvantaged low-income area Jane-Finch, as well as on a comparative analysis of Jane-Finch and the inner-city neighbourhood Regent Park. The former reveals how different spaces carry important community but also commercial functions for local entrepreneurs through which linkages are created and relationships established, and provides an explanation for the lack of systematic spatial interventions despite their potential to amplify the impact of social efforts. The latter unravels conditions for the creation of linkages between property-driven developments and community concerns from a public policy perspective by comparing divergent institutional arrangements and actor constellations in two areas: one commercially viable for and one unattractive to private property development. In Amsterdam, the focus lies on the creation of linkages through intangible learning transfers of public sector project managers, gained through their interaction with property industry actors. The empirical analysis discerns the obstacles faced by project managers operating in a context which on the

one hand is characterised by flexibilization, institutional fragmentation and the accommodation of private sector interests, and on the other hand by a tightening regulatory framework in relation to the production of housing at the municipal level.

Despite their path-dependent and contingent nature, it is found that *spatial governance* in Toronto and Amsterdam accommodates fragmentation through complex and dynamic relationships between various actors, whose roles extended beyond traditional or stereotypical perceptions. The involvement of private sector actors and wider state-market relationships in land and property emerge as crucial pre-conditions for *city-building endeavours* to develop alternative institutional relations that were not marginalised but actively incorporated in overarching arrangements. Hence, the development of new forms of collaboration between private 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.

The dissertation provides new impulses and perspectives on the basis of which planning scholars and practitioners can initiate action. Highlighting spatial governance complexities illustrates that fragmented urban development is neither the fault of the individual planner, nor entirely the result of a neoliberalising spatial governance structure that lies entirely out of the control of social agents. The 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. The substance of planning, it is argued, 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: the transformations which scholars desire in planning practice require concurrent evolution in planning thought.

Samenvatting (Dutch Summary)

Stedelijke ontwikkeling gebeurt op een steeds gefragmenteerdere manier: Kansengestuurde strategieën waarbij een breed scala aan actoren betrokken zijn, hebben de door de overheidssector geleide benaderingen vervangen. Terwijl wetenschappers over de ontbinding van sociale en ruimtelijke interventies klagen, komen losgekoppelde ontwikkelingsprojecten op in steden. Bovendien zijn er veelzijdige initiatieven – versterkt door verschuivingen in het overheidsbeleid die actief burgerschap ondersteunen – die de ruimtelijke omgeving in overeenstemming met hun expliciete sociale doelstellingen (willen) aanpassen. Deze dynamische vorm van hedendaagse stadsontwikkeling, die wordt gekenmerkt door een enorme complexiteit en veelheid van gefragmenteerde inspanningen in de ruimtelijke omgeving, staat in schril contrast met modernistische idealen van een alomvattende stadsontwikkeling, waarin planologen van de publieke sector zich in een positie van complete controle wisten. Desalniettemin blijft het verlangen naar ‘alomvattendheid’ in de planologie groot.

Dit proefschrift zoekt een nieuwe benadering om vormen van ‘alomvattendheid’ te creëren te midden van de complexe praktijken van ruimtelijk bestuur, die in gefragmenteerde stedelijke ontwikkeling resulteren. Neoliberaal transformaties worden beschouwd als een oorzaak van institutionele fragmentatie in bredere ruimtelijke bestuursstructuren, waardoor verschillende groepen actoren en organisaties kunnen samenkomen in afgebakende ontwikkelingsformaties. Deze formaties zijn geconceptualiseerd als city building endeavours (stadsbouwinspanningen) en werpen een licht op hoe de hechte interacties en relaties van actoren de grenzen tussen publieke, private en maatschappelijke sectoren steeds meer doen vervagen. Bestaande literatuur vertoont echter een gecompartmenteerde betrokkenheid bij fragmentatie en benadert in het bijzonder vastgoedgestuurde projecten en sociale initiatieven als geheel afzonderlijk, of behandelt ze automatisch als getengesteld.

In dit proefschrift pleit ik niet voor een omschakeling naar modernistische, alomvattend planningsprincipes. In plaats daarvan stel ik de behoefte aan een nieuw concept van ‘alomvattendheid’ dat gebaseerd is op het creëren van mogelijkheden voor koppelingen tussen gefragmenteerde city-building endeavours evenals tussen deze inspanningen en een ruimer ruimtelijk bestuur. De notie van transformatieve spatial governance (transformatief ruimtelijk bestuur) wordt gemodelleerd, waarbij ruimtelijk bestuur als transformerend wordt begrepen wanneer zijn institutionele patronen veranderen op basis van concrete, gebiedsgerichte stadsbouwinspanningen. Er wordt betoogd dat deze vorm van transformatie cruciaal is om een ruimtelijke bestuursstructuur te handhaven die het mogelijk maakt om

city-building endeavours te laten floreren en ze tegelijkertijd in een stevig maar flexibel en adaptief kader te plaatsen om de negatieve effecten en externe effecten van fragmentatie te voorkomen.

Daartoe identificeer ik een recente literatuur die zich bezighoudt met transformatie en structurele veranderingen in planning en bestuur, voortkomend uit de onvrede van wetenschappers over hedendaagse neoliberalisatieprocessen: het feit dat planners en planningsorganisaties van de publieke sector deelnemen aan gevarieerde stadsbouwinspanningen, die verschillende en soms tegenstrijdige doelstellingen kunnen hebben, wordt beschouwd als een belangrijke bron van het heersende sentiment in de wetenschappelijke literatuur dat de planningspraktijk zijn grip en inhoud verliest. Bovendien onthult een systematische beoordeling van de literatuur de veronachtzaming van de rol van de privésector in de van de wetenschappers overwogen transformatieprocessen.

Daarom beschouwt dit proefschrift ontwikkelingsformaties, die vooral door kansen voor ontwikkelaars op de vastgoedmarkt zijn gedreven, als aanzet tot structurele verandering en onderzoekt het hun verbanden met kleinschalige sociale initiatieven op buurniveau. Toronto in Canada en Amsterdam in Nederland dienen als onderzoeksachtergronden voor de analyses van dit cumulatieve proefschrift. Het gebruik van hermeneutiek als methodologische onderbouwing zorgde voor een voortdurende integratie tussen, en een gecombineerde analyse van, bestaande planningspraktijken en normatieve theorievorming in het onderzoeksontwerp, gegevensverzameling en analyse. Bovendien benadrukt hermeneutiek de context-ingebedde aard van sociale relaties en context-specifieke interpretatie van sociale fenomenen, terwijl een rigoureuze wetenschappelijke analyse mogelijk is. Het toegepaste institutionele perspectief biedt inzicht in de elementen en voorwaarden die sommige, maar niet alle, city-building endeavours omzetten in 'game changers' door bestaande regelingen voor ruimtelijk bestuur te wijzigen.

In Toronto ligt de nadruk op de rol van ruimte bij het creëren van koppelingen tussen kleinschalige sociale initiatieven in het achtergestelde gebied Jane-Finch, evenals op een vergelijkende analyse van Jane-Finch en de binnenstadswijk Regent Park. De eerste casus laat zien hoe verschillende ruimtes niet alleen belangrijke functies voor de lokale gemeenschappen dragen, maar ook commerciële functies voor lokale ondernemers waardoor koppelingen worden gecreëerd en relaties worden gelegd. Verder biedt het een verklaring voor het gebrek aan systematische ruimtelijke interventies ondanks hun potentieel om de impact van sociale projecten te vergroten. De tweede casus ontrafelt voorwaarden voor het creëren van verbanden tussen vastgoedgestuurde ruimtelijke projecten en maatschappelijke belangen vanuit een publiek beleidsperspectief. Uiteenlopende institutionele regelingen en

actoropstellingen worden vergeleken in Regent Park, een commercieel interessant gebied voor vastgoedontwikkelaars, en Jane-Finch, een onaantrekkelijk gebied voor de ontwikkeling van particulier onroerend goed. In Amsterdam ligt de nadruk op het creëren van koppelingen door immateriële leeroverdrachten van projectmanagers in de publieke sector, opgedaan door hun interactie met actoren in de vastgoedsector. De empirische analyse onderscheidt de obstakels voor projectmanagers die opereren in een context die enerzijds wordt gekenmerkt door flexibilisering en de behartiging van belangen van de privésector, en anderzijds door een aangescherpt regelgevingskader met betrekking tot de productie van huisvesting op gemeentelijk niveau.

Ondanks hun padafhankelijke en contingente aard, blijkt dat ruimtelijk bestuur in Toronto en Amsterdam fragmentatie mogelijk maakt door complexe en dynamische relaties tussen verschillende actoren, wier rol verder reikte dan traditionele of stereotiepe percepties. De betrokkenheid van actoren uit de particuliere sector en bredere staats-marktrelaties in grond en onroerend goed blijken cruciale voorwaarden te zijn voor city-building endeavours om alternatieve institutionele relaties te ontwikkelen, die niet zijn gemarginaliseerd maar actief zijn opgenomen in het breder ruimtelijke bestuur. Daarom moet de ontwikkeling van nieuwe vormen van samenwerking tussen vastgoed – en andere actoren in gebiedspecifieke ontwikkelingen, en met name hun verband met kleinschalige sociale initiatieven, de kern vormen van pogingen om de ‘inhoud’ van de planningspraktijk te herstellen.

Dit proefschrift biedt nieuwe impulsen en perspectieven op basis waarvan planologen actie kunnen ondernemen. Het benadrukken van complexiteit van ruimtelijk bestuur illustreert dat gefragmenteerde stedelijke ontwikkeling noch de schuld is van de individuele planner of stedenbouwkundige, noch volledig het resultaat van een neoliberaliserende ruimtelijke bestuursstructuur die volledig buiten de controle van sociale agenten ligt. De analyse suggereert dat planners van het publieke sector van cruciaal belang kunnen zijn voor stadsontwikkeling, niet in de traditionele zin door de leiding te hebben, maar door mogelijkheden te creëren voor koppelingen tussen gefragmenteerde acties in de ruimtelijke ontwikkeling. De inhoud van planning, zo wordt betoogd, kan worden gevonden in fragmentatie. Het vereist echter dat beoefenaars verouderde idealen van een ‘alomvattende planning’ laten vallen en hun benadering verleggen naar het creëren van koppelingen; het is de taak van wetenschappers om hen bij dit streven te ondersteunen: de transformaties die wetenschappers in de planningspraktijk wensen, vereisen een gelijktijdige evolutie in het planningsdenken.

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Every PhD is a complex journey, but mine required a particularly high degree of flexibility from all parties involved; I would like to express my sincere gratitude to everyone who made my rather unconventional journey possible.

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My work would not have been possible without the many individuals that I met in Toronto and Amsterdam, who accompanied me on different parts of my journey, took the time to share their experiences and insights with me, introduced me to new places and shaped my thinking.

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About the author

Sara Özoğul is Postdoctoral Researcher and Project Manager of the WHIG project (*“What is Governed in Cities: Residential Investment Landscapes and the Governance and Regulation of Housing Production”*) in Amsterdam, based at the University of Amsterdam. Her background is in Planning, Urban Studies and Interdisciplinary Social Sciences with a focus on Human Geography. She completed her PhD in Planning at the University of Amsterdam, received her MSc in Urban Studies with distinction from University College London, and holds a BA in Social Sciences with distinction from University College Roosevelt. Her research centres around spatial planning and governance complexities, which she approaches from several angles including social policy and property-driven urban development. Previously, she worked as a researcher for the EU-funded project DIVERCITIES (*“Governing Urban Diversity: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today’s Hyperdiversified Cities”*) and held several teaching positions in the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development at the University of Amsterdam.