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Do contracts have politics?

Contracts, planning consultants, and urban development in the age of participation

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Appendix A: Statements used for the q-sort

| | | | | |
|----|---|----|----|----|
| 1 | It is necessary to write down agreements with citizens or citizen representatives. | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| 2 | Conflicts with citizens in urban development processes can be prevented by making informal agreements (legally non-binding). | 2 | 3 | -3 |
| 3 | Incorporating citizens' interests in urban development is preferably done by making agreements that are legally binding. | 2 | -2 | 0 |
| 4 | There is a need for new legal instruments to organize the involvement of citizens better. | -2 | 3 | -1 |
| 5 | Asking citizens to commit to legally binding agreements in urban development projects discourages citizens from getting involved. | -1 | 1 | 3 |
| 6 | Conflicts in urban development processes emerge because not enough effort is put into finding agreement with citizens. | 4 | 4 | 1 |
| 7 | Enthusiastic citizens should design the decision-making process concerning urban development projects themselves. | 0 | 1 | -1 |
| 8 | Citizens should co-design urban development projects. | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 9 | Citizens should have to ability to decide whether an urban development project is a go or a no-go, when the urban development project is presented to them. | -3 | -3 | 0 |
| 10 | Involving citizens in urban development projects is only useful through consultation. | -3 | -3 | -1 |
| 11 | Citizens need to have the feeling that they are involved; real influence or co-designing responsibilities are unnecessary. | -1 | -2 | -3 |
| 12 | The common interest as articulated by the city government is more important than the will of local citizens. | 1 | 0 | -2 |

| | | | | |
|----|---|----|----|----|
| 13 | Citizens have sufficient legal and political tools to influence urban policies, so special ways of involving citizens are unnecessary. | 0 | -2 | -4 |
| 14 | Involving citizens in urban development leads to much-needed democratic innovation. | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 15 | Involving citizens in urban development makes it easier to solve political problems. | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 16 | The added value of actively involving citizens in urban development is that different population groups meet. | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 17 | Actively involving citizens in urban development in urban development is an adequate instrument to decrease social spatial inequalities. | -1 | 0 | 2 |
| 18 | If there is an opportunity to participate in an urban development project, only outspoken citizens participate. | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| 19 | Citizens do not have enough time to participate actively in every urban development project. | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 20 | Citizens are only being involved in urban development projects to disguise budget cuts. | -4 | -1 | -1 |
| 21 | The economic development of a city is more important than the wishes of citizens. | 0 | -3 | -2 |
| 22 | It is more important that an urban development project adds to economic development than incorporating the interests of citizens. | -2 | -4 | -1 |
| 23 | Involving citizens in urban development projects saves money and time. | -2 | 2 | -1 |
| 24 | Involving citizens in urban development is important in order to deliver bottom-up change in municipalities. | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 25 | Involving citizens in urban development is necessary as a counter power to civil servants and the private sector. | -1 | -2 | 3 |
| 26 | The reason for not giving citizens a role in the urban development process is because they do not have the knowledge and expertise to make a meaningful contribution. | -3 | -4 | -2 |

| | | | | |
|----|---|----|----|----|
| 27 | Citizens in urban development processes are only focused on their own private interests. | 4 | -1 | 1 |
| 28 | Involving citizens in development plans succeeds only through the involvement of NGOs. | -2 | -2 | -2 |
| 29 | NGOs do not represent the interests of local citizens in urban development. | -1 | 1 | 0 |
| 30 | The position of citizens is best articulated by NGOs. | -4 | -1 | -2 |
| 31 | NGOs prevent innovative bottom-up initiatives from taking off. | -1 | 0 | 0 |
| 32 | The private sector sees the involvement of citizens in urban development as part of market research. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 33 | The private sector suppresses the possibility of citizens participating in urban development projects because they fear extra costs or a loss of time. | 2 | -1 | 1 |
| 34 | The government listens more to the private sector than to citizens, which means that attempts to involve citizens often fail. | -2 | 0 | 1 |
| 35 | The private sector listens better to citizens than the government, because they know what the market wants. | 0 | -1 | -4 |
| 36 | Urban development projects where citizens are involved are successful because the governments lead the projects. | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| 37 | Civil servants represent everybody's interests in urban development projects. | 2 | -1 | -3 |
| 38 | Civil servants perceive protesting citizens as obstructers that are only focused on their own interests, and they do not take their concerns seriously. | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| 39 | The bureaucracy of the government prevents the involvement of citizens in urban development. | 1 | 1 | 4 |

Appendix B: Newsarticles

| Nr | Project | Paper | Title | Date | Author | Words |
|----|------------------|-----------------|---|------------|---|-------|
| 1 | Oostenburg-Noord | Het Parool | Het Storkterrein als voorstelling | 29-09-2001 | Peter van Brummelen | 759 |
| 2 | Oostenburg-Noord | Het Parool | Niet veel Amsterdammers..... | 30-07-2004 | Lodewijk Bakker | 716 |
| 3 | Oostenburg-Noord | Het Parool | Brieven | 8-05-2016 | Jeroen Verhulst | 474 |
| 4 | Oostenburg-Noord | NRC Handelsblad | Oostelijke Eilanden Masterplan marineterrein: bekijk de eilanden als geheel, er valt zoveel te winnen | 24-03-2018 | Rob van Dijk, Marius Ernsting and Lex Gründeman | 416 |
| 5 | Oostenburg-Noord | Het Parool | Oostenburg kann best wat steun gebruiken | 14-06-2018 | - | 461 |

| Nr | Project | Paper | Title | Date | Author | Words |
|----|--------------|------------|--|-----------------|-------------------|-------|
| 1 | Zeeburgerpad | Het Parool | In Oost bouwen ze nog wel huizen | 1-03-2013 | Joost Zonneveld | 316 |
| 2 | Zeeburgerpad | Het Parool | Zeeburgerpad vreest komst grote jongens | 28-02-2014 | Joost Zonneveld | 359 |
| 3 | Zeeburgerpad | Het Parool | Buurt op de bres voor Zeeburgerpad | 3-09-2014 | Kirsten Coenradie | 343 |
| 4 | Zeeburgerpad | Het Parool | Verzet tegen hotels gevaar voor de stad | 24-January-2015 | - | 347 |
| 5 | Zeeburgerpad | Het Parool | De laatste rommelplek van de oostelijke havens | 14-08-2015 | Lambiek Berends | 679 |
| 6 | Zeeburgerpad | Het Parool | Komt hier hoogbouw of blijft het groen? | 22-08-2015 | Ton Damen | 657 |

| Nr | Project | Paper | Title | Date | Author | Words |
|----|-------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------|
| 1 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Traumen ist erlaubt: Mitte Altona mit einem Bürgerforum beginnt die Planung für das Gelände nördlich des Bahnhofs Altona. Sozial und ökologisch stellen die Anwohner sich ihre Nachbarschaft vor | 07-June- 2010 | Sven- Michael Veit | 581 |
| 2 | Neue Mitte Altona | Welt am Sonntag | Die neue Mitte Altona nimmt Gestalt an | 21- November- 2010 | Olaf Dittmann | 148 |
| 3 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Beteiligte wollen bremsen; Stadt Entwicklung Anwohner und Initiativen fordern ein Moratorium für die Planung zur Neuen Mitte Altona. | 2- February- 2012 | Lena Kaiser | 430 |
| 4 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Votum für Planung stopp: Neue Mitte Altona das Bürgerforum entscheidet sich mit großer Mehrheit für ein Moratorium | 04- february- 2012 | - | 303 |
| 5 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Vorbild Ottensen: Planung Rot- Grün in Altona verlangt sozialen mix für Neue Mitte | 28-April- 2012 | - | 99 |
| 6 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Lieber nochmal rechnen; Stadt Entwicklung bevor die Planungen zum groß Projekt Neue Mitte Altona endgültig festgezurr werden, prüft die Stadt die Finanzierungsmodalitäten | 6-july-2012 | Lena Kaiser | 482 |
| 7 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Bahn frei für die Mitte Altona; Stadtentwicklung Deutsche Bahn geht die Verlagerung des Bahnhofs Altona an. | 9-July- 2012 | Sven- Michael Veit | 422 |
| 8 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Verschenkte Chance; Kommentar: Lena Kaiser über die Neue Mitte Altona | 16-August- 2012 | Lena Kaiser | 216 |
| 9 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Wem gehört Altona; Neue Mitte was auf dem Gelände nördlich des Altonaer Bahnhofs entstehen soll, ist nicht heraus; Während die Eigentümer | 23-August- 2012 | Lena Kaiser | 438 |

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|----|-------------------|-----------------------|--|-------------------|----------------|-----|
| | | | Gewerbeflächen favorisieren, fordert eine Initiativen sozialen Wohnungsbau | | | |
| 10 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | ECE darf planen und bauen; Stadtplanung Senat und Projektentwickler einig über Konzept für Neue Mitte Altona. | 12-September-2012 | Marco Carini | 400 |
| 11 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Wir brauchen Platz; Stadt Entwicklung das Netzwerk autofreie Mitte Altona will im Planungsprozess mitmischen | 03-June-2013 | - | 390 |
| 12 | Neue Mitte Altona | Die Welt | Harte Kritik an Neuer Mitte Altona: Internes Behördenpapier: Stadt plant ungesunde und minderwertige Wohnbebauung | 20-june-2013 | Axel Tiedemann | 473 |
| 13 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Neue Mitte in der Bandschleife; Stad 13 Entwicklung Die Bahn verschiebt die Entscheidung über den Umzug des Bahnhofs Altona und blockiert damit die plane für die Neue Mitte | 9-September-2013 | Kai Von Appen | 652 |
| 14 | Neue Mitte Altona | Die Welt | Gelände für Neue Mitte Altona kontaminiert; 3500 Wohnungen sollen hier entstehen | 20-September-2013 | Nina Paulsen | 245 |
| 15 | Neue Mitte Altona | Die Welt | Mitte Altona: Weitere Verzögerungen; Die Stadt verhandelt noch mit Investoren. | 8-October-2013 | Iris Hellmuth | 482 |
| 16 | Neue Mitte Altona | Die Welt | Altona verkauft Schulhofe für den Wohnungsbau: mehr als 1000 neue Wohnungen geplant | 9-december-2013 | Axel Tiedemann | 283 |
| 17 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Neue Mitte kann losgehen; Altona der Senat einigt sich mit Grundstückseigentümern auf Grundlagen für das größte bau Projekt nach der Hafencity | 18-december-2013 | Marco Carini | 515 |
| 18 | Neue Mitte Altona | Die tageszeitung | Schöne Neue Mitte Altona: Bauprojekt Senat und Grundstückseigentümer einigen sich, Kritiker vermissen Transparenz | 27-December-2013 | - | 612 |

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|----|-------------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------|------------------|------|
| 19 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Bahn verspätet sich weiter; Altona über dem Umzug des Bahnhofs wird später entscheiden. Bauprojekt Neue Mitte auf der Kippe | 18-february-2014 | - | 321 |
| 20 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Bahn frei für Neue Mitte Altona | 02-July-2014 | Lena Kaiser | 548 |
| 21 | Neue Mitte Altona | Spiegel Online | Hamburgs neuer Hauser | 30-July-2014 | Franziska Bossy | 542 |
| 22 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Neue Mitte Altona | 31-July-2014 | - | 92 |
| 23 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Neue Mitte Altona kriegt Profil: Wettbewerb Oberbau Direktor stellt entwurfe ersten Bauabschnitt vor. | 31-July-2014 | Marco Carini | 464 |
| 24 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Bahn frei für neue Wohnformen; Wohnprojekte I Hamburg fordert Baugemeinschaften, indem es 20 Prozent des städtischen Baulandes reserviert, auf dem Wohnungen entstehen. | 13-September-2014 | Hannes Stepputat | 572 |
| 25 | Neue Mitte Altona | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Noch ein Schulhof auf dem Dach; Enge die Neue Stadtteilschule in Mitte Altona soll Park- und Dachflächen als Schulhof nutzen. | 15-October-2014 | Kaija Kutter | 610 |
| 26 | Neue Mitte Altona | Suddeutsche Zeitung | Mix aus Denkmälern und Neubauten: Hamburg bekommt nach der Hafencity ein weiteres städtebauliches Groß Project – das Stadtviertel Neue Mitte Altona | 24-October-2014 | Sabine Richter | 1081 |
| 27 | Neue Mitte Altona | Die Welt | Start für einen neuen Stadtteil: Spatenstich für die Neue Mitte Altona – mittelfristig Söllen hier 2fast 3500 Wohnungen entstehen | 19-November-2014 | Axel Tiedemann | 535 |

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|----|-------------------------|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------|------|
| 28 | Neue Mitte Altona | Die Welt | Bahn frei für die Große Neue Mitte Altona: Vertrag zur Bahnhof-Verlegung unterzeichnet. | 20- December- 2014 | Axel Tiedemann | 840 |
| 29 | Neue Mitte Altona | Die Welt | Start für das neue Altona: Bauarbeiten für Hamburgs zweitgrößtes Bau Projekt beginnen | 25- February- 2016 | Eva Eusterhus | 932 |
| 30 | Neue Mitte Altona | Zeit Online | Wie viel Grün Bekommt das neue Altona? Die ersten Wohnungen von Mitte Altona werden gebaut – doch wird es in Hamburgs zweitgrößten wohn Projekt auch grün geben? | 25- February- 2016 | Mark Spörrle | 2267 |
| 31 | Neue Mitte Altona | Handelsblatt | Immobilienprojekt Neue Mitte Altona; Vorbildliche Inklusion in Hamburg | 3- November- 2016 | Reiner Reichel | 1006 |
| 32 | Neue Mitte Altona | Bild | Die größten bau Projekte der Stadt von oben: Aussicht auf 4581 Wohnungen | 29-August- 2018 | Michaela Klauer | 386 |
| 33 | Neue Mitte Altona | Welt online | Bezirkschefin Liane Melzer; In dieser Art zu bauen liegt die Zukunft | 13-January- 2019 | Eva Eusterhus | 1352 |
| 34 | Neue Mitte Altona | Die Welt | In dieser Art zu bauen liegt die Zukunft: Altona boomt, kaum ein andere Bezirk schiebt so viele Groß Projekte an. | 14-January- 2019 | Eva Eusterhus | 1293 |
| 35 | Neue Mitte Altona | Hamburger Morgenpost | Neue Mitte Altona: Manhattan lasst Grüßen | 27- December- 2019 | - | 711 |
| 36 | Neue Mitte Altona | Hamburger Morgenpost | Neue Mittel Altona: Autoarmes Quartier7gescheitert? Stadt setzt neue Regeln durch | 21-April- 2020 | Mike Schlink | 494 |

| Nr | Project | Paper | Title | Date | Author | Words |
|----|----------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------|
| 1 | Paloma Viertel | Immobilien Zeitung | City Nord Hamburg; Zum 50. Geburtstag nur noch wenige Plätze frei | 26-February-2009 | - | 1604 |
| 2 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Verjüngskur für das Esso-Haus; Einstige Kozernzentrale in der City Nord wird für 25 Millionen Euro saniert – Hotelneubau geplant | 13-October-2009 | Gisela Schütte | 439 |
| 3 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Kampf um St. Pauli; Gentrifizierung auf dem Areal der "Esso Häuser" am Speilbudenplatz könnte die Politik eine der letzten Chancen nutzen, der Yuppiesierung von St. Pauli etwas entgegenzusetzen | 22-September-2010 | Lena Kaiser | 564 |
| 4 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Büroturm im Sperrgebiet; Wohnungsmangel 6000 Menschen demonstrieren in Hamburg gegen leer stand. | 25-October-2010 | Lena Kaiser and Kai von Appen | 767 |
| 5 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Unter Konsensdruck; Abriss Das Areal der "Esso Häuser" am Spielbudenplatz ist umkämpft. | 22-November-2010 | Lena Kaiser | 506 |
| 6 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Esso-Häuser: Abriss rückt näher; Gentrifizierung Der Investor, der über die Zukunft der "Esso Häuser" am Speilbudenplatz 7entscheidet, hält Abriss der Häuser für sinnvoll | 17-May-2011 | Lena Kaiser | 509 |
| 7 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Verdrängt wird niemand; St. Pauli an den Esso-Häusern am Spielbudenplatz scheiden sich die Geister | 23-May-2011 | Lena Kaiser | 655 |
| 8 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Charme verliert gegen Geld; Reeperbahn Investor beendet die Gespräche mit der Initiative für den Erhalt der "Esso Häuser" und will | 8-February-2012 | Janis Dietz | 529 |

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|----|----------------|-----------------------|--|------------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| | | | einen Neubau am Spielbudenplatz. | | | |
| 9 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Kein Abriss ohne Kompromiss; Esso Häuser Nach dem Alleingang der Bayerischen Hausbau, den Dialog mit der Anwohner-Initiative aufzukündigen, stellen sich Bezirkspolitiker von GAL und SPD quer | 10-February-2012 | Lena Kaiser | 518 |
| 10 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Esso-Initiative Außen vor; Stadtentwicklung der Investor Bayerische Hausbau will exklusiv mit seinen MieterInnen sprechen | 19-March-2012 | KNÖ | 292 |
| 11 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Tauziehen um Erhalt der Esso-Häuser geht weiter; Gentrifizierung Stadt will Gutachten bezahlen. | 13-October-2012 | LKA | 325 |
| 12 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Umstrittenes Gutachten auf Staatskosten zu Esso-Häusern; Stadt 13zahlt für weitere Expertise zum Zustand der Gebäude am Spielbudenplatz | 11-January-2013 | Ulrich Gassdorf | 882 |
| 13 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Esso-Häuser; Gutachten auf Staatskosten sorgt für Streit | 11-January-2013 | Ulrich Gassdorf | 904 |
| 14 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Prominente Abrissgegner; Persönlichkeiten aus Wirtschaft und Kultur machen sich in einem gemeinsamen Manifest für den Erhalt der maroden Esso-Häuser an der Reeperbahn stark | 11-June-2013 | Ulrich Gassdorf; Marlies Fischer | 665 |
| 15 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Umstrittene Esso-Häuser offenbar stark baufällig; Gutachten wird Donnerstag veröffentlicht | 12-June-2013 | Ulrich Gassdorf | 203 |
| 16 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Mieter der Esso-Häuser erhalten Recht auf Rückkehr; Bayerische Hausbau will | 20-July-2013 | Anne Fuchs; Charlotte Gerling; | 733 |

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|----|----------------|-----------------------|--|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------|
| | | | Ersatzwohnungen auf St. Pauli stellen. | | Friederike Ulrich | |
| 17 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Esso-Häuser kommen weg; Gentrifizierung die Bayerische Hausbau hat die Abriss des Komplexes an der Reeperbahn beantragt, der Bezirksamtsleiter sieht dagegen kein Mittel | 16-August-2013 | Carsten Bisping | 486 |
| 18 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Abriss der Esso-Häuser wird wohl genehmigt; Hitziges Informationstreffen mit Anwohnern | 25-August-2013 | - | 297 |
| 19 | Paloma Viertel | Welt am Sonntag | Karriere in der Mitte der Stadt; Bezirksamtsleiter Andy Grote ist seit 15 Monaten Herr über den Kiez und die Innenstadt. | 25-August-2013 | Ulrich Gassdorf | 1200 |
| 20 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Es ist ein totaler Schlamassel; Ein Streitgespräch über die Zukunft der Esso-Häuser an der Reeperbahn. | 30-August-2013 | Ulrich Gassdorf and Daniel Szewczyk | 1962 |
| 21 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Zukunft für Clubs ungewiss; Esso-Häuser Clubs sollten zu gleichen Konditionen zurückkehren, aber davon ist jetzt keine Rede mehr | 27-September-2013 | Dominik Brück | 299 |
| 22 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Esso-Häuser: Steg soll Umzug leiten; Noch wohnen 90 Parteien im Abbruchhaus | 30-August-2013 | Ulrich Gassdorf | 173 |
| 23 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Hamburg Kompakt; Reeperbahn: Mieterinitiative zeigt Besitzer der Esso-Häuser an | 9-October-2013 | - | 606 |
| 24 | Paloma Viertel | Spiegel Online | Polizei evakuiert Esso-Häuser wegen Einsturzgefahr | 15-December-2013 | - | 379 |
| 25 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Hamburg; Einsturzgefahr – Häuser auf Reeperbahn evakuiert | 15-December-2013 | - | 335 |

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|----|----------------|-----------------------|---|------------------|---|-----|
| 26 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Hamburg; Solidaritäts-Demo für Mieter der "Esso-Häuser" | 16-December-2013 | Daniel Schäfer, Axel Tiedemann, André Zand-Vakili and Michaela Klauer | 843 |
| 27 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Einsturzgefahr: Esso-Häuser über Nacht evakuiert; Weil Gebäude plötzlich schwankt, müssen Bewohner ihre Wohnungen überstürzt verlassen | 16-December-2013 | Daniel Schäfer, André Zand-Vakili and Axel Tiedemann | 629 |
| 28 | Paloma Viertel | Spiegel Online | Hamburger Esso-Häuser sind unbewohnbar | 17-December-2013 | - | 365 |
| 29 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Weihnachten im Hostel; Alle raus! Die maroden Esso-Häuser an der Hamburger Reeperbahn sind am Wochenende evakuiert worden | 18-December-2013 | Marta Popowska | 692 |
| 30 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Esso-Häuser: Ehemalige Bewohner erheben schwere Vorwürfe; Viele der 91 Betroffenen werden die Weihnachtstage in Hotels verbringen | 19-December-2013 | Denis Fengler | 780 |
| 31 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Nach Evakuierung; Mieter der "Esso-Häuser" erheben schwere Vorwürfe | 19-December-2013 | Denis Fengler | 796 |
| 32 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Wer ist schuld?; Esso-Häuser nach der Evakuierung der maroden Gebäude müsse die Eigentümerin Bayerische Hausbau belangt und nicht belohnt werden, findet die Initiative Esso-Häuser | 19-December-2013 | Lena Kaiser | 501 |
| 33 | Paloma Viertel | Die Zeit | Rettet den Schmutz!; In Hamburg eskaliert ein Streit um Wohnhäuser auf St. Pauli. | 19-December-2013 | Maximilian Probst | 462 |

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|----|----------------|-----------------------|---|------------------|-------------------|------|
| 34 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Touri36st in der eigenen Stadt; Umzug Andreas Sidiropoulos ist einer der Bewohner der Esso-Häuser, die ihre Wohnung wegen akuter Einsturzgefahr verlassen mussten. | 24-December-2013 | Ilka Kreuzträger | 775 |
| 35 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Esso-Häuser: Montag beginnt Räumung; Bewohner dürfen nicht selbst Kisten packen | 26-August-2014 | Friederike Ulrich | 246 |
| 36 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Angriff auf die Polizei: St. Pauli stellt sich gegen die Gewalttäter; Initiative überreicht gemeinsame Erklärung. | 3-January-2014 | Denis Fengler | 819 |
| 37 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Geheimpapier: Staatsschutz warnt vor weiteren linksradikalen Anschlägen; Szene ist nacht Polizei-Einschätzung durch Auseinandersetzung um Rote Flora, Esso-Häuser und Flüchtlinge gewaltbereiter geworden | 6-January-2014 | André Zand-Vakili | 669 |
| 38 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Umzug ins Zwischelager; Evakuierung Die Bewohner der Hamburger Esso-Häuser packen ihre Sachen. | 6-January-2014 | Janto Rössner | 510 |
| 39 | Paloma Viertel | Zeit Online | Ach wie schön lebt es sich in der Gefahrenzone; Polizisten im Ganzkörperpanzer, 40Polizeisporter auf Spähfahrt und mittendrin im Hamburger Gefahrengbiet: 50.000 Bewohner. | 8-January-2014 | Jan Freitag | 1105 |
| 40 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Stadt im Fokus; Esso-Häuser; Abbruch der Esso-Häuser unter Auflagen | 17-January-2014 | - | 265 |
| 41 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Reeperbahn; Geisterbau-Esso-Häuser sind fast komplett geräumt | 17-January-2014 | - | 335 |

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|----|----------------|-----------------------|---|------------------|-----------------|-----|
| 42 | Paloma Viertel | Spiegel Online | Eine Stadt schreit sich an | 20-January-2014 | Fabian Reinbold | 997 |
| 43 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Hamburg Kompakt; St. Pauli: Viele Ex-Esso hausbewohner noch ohne Ersatzwohnung | 8-February-2014 | - | 500 |
| 44 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Hamburger Reeperbahn; Abriss der berühmten Kiez-Tankstelle hat begonnen | 13-February-2014 | - | 400 |
| 45 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Mut zur Lücke; Verhärtete Fronten die Bayerische Hausbau erhöht den Druck; Sie will die "Esso-Häuser" am Spielbudenplatz auf St. Pauli zwar in Kürze abreißen, aber nur neu bauen, wen die SPD von ihrer Forderung abrückt, dass dort zur Hälfte Sozialwohnungen gebaut werden sollen | 21-February-2014 | Lena Kaiser | 645 |
| 46 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Hamburg; Investor droht mit riesiger Baulücke auf Esso-Areal | 21-February-2014 | - | 357 |
| 47 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Esso-Häuser: Investor setzt Bezirk Mitte unter Druck; Bayerische Hausbau will das Ensemble abreißen, aber nicht die geforderte Menge Sozialwohnungen bauen | 22-February-2014 | Axel Tiedemann | 798 |
| 48 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Esso-Häuser: Neubau ungewiss; Investor und Bezirk streiten um Quote | 14-March-2014 | - | 144 |
| 49 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Eine gewisse Blockade; Esso Häuser Die Bayerische Hausbau hat angedroht, am Spielbudenplatz nicht neu zu bauen. | 18-March-2014 | Lena Kaiser | 680 |
| 50 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Grüne: Stadt soll Esso-Häuser kaufen; Eigentümer Bayerisch Hausbau lehnt ab. | 8-April-2014 | Ulrich Gassdorf | 397 |

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|----|----------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----|
| 51 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Bürgerbeteiligung; Esso-Häuser-Initiative pocht auf Mitspracherecht | 24-April-2014 | - | 606 |
| 52 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Ein Container für Ideen; Stadtentwicklung Bürgerinitiativen fordern ein Mitspracherecht bei der Planung der Esso Häuser | 25-April-2014 | Stef | 306 |
| 53 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Anwohner wollen selbst Ideen für Neubau auf Esso-Areal entwickeln; Initiative fordert verbindliches Mitspracherecht bei der Planung | 25-April-2014 | Daniel Schäfer | 754 |
| 54 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Abriss – und dann?; Gentrifizierung I Das Ende der Esso-Häuser rückt näher, die Diskussion, was aus dem Gelände wird, ist noch nicht vorbei | 10-May-2014 | Meret Michel | 714 |
| 55 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Gewalt ohne Folgen; Gentrifizierung II Die Esso-Häuser-Security ging einen Bezirkspolitiker der Piraten körperlich an – doch die Staatsanwaltschaft winkt ab | 10-May-2014 | KVA | 428 |
| 56 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Die Esso-Häuser | 10-May-2014 | - | 115 |
| 57 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Reeperbahn; Esso-Häuser-Investor bietet Kompromiss an | 30-May-2014 | Ulrich Gassdorf | 902 |
| 58 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Stadt im Fokus; Esso-Häuser: Pauli-Initiative will Investor-Angebot prüfen | 31-May-2014 | - | 153 |
| 59 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Teure Bürgerbeteiligung bei Neubau auf Esso-Gelände; Mitte stellt Beteiligungsverfahren für fast 100.000 euro vor. | 23-July-2014 | Insa Gall and Ulrich Gassdorf | 761 |
| 60 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Vorschläge in Lego; Planbude die Anwohner können jetzt mitbestimmen, was auf dem Areal der | 30-October-2014 | Katharina Schipkowski | 534 |

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|----|----------------|-----------------------|--|-------------------|--------------------|-----|
| | | | ehemaligen Esso-Häuser gebaut wird. | | | |
| 61 | Paloma Viertel | Immobilien Zeitung | Hamburg: 60% geförderte Wohnungen für Esso-Häuser Areal | 20-May-2015 | Friedhelm Feldhaus | 609 |
| 62 | Paloma Viertel | Immobilien Zeitung | Bayerische Hausbau knackt den St.-Pauli-Code | 28-May-2015 | - | 657 |
| 63 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Esso-Häuser: Alle voll des Lobes; Stadentwicklung Städtebaulicher Wettbewerb für Grundstück am Spielbudenplatz endet mit einstimmiger Jury-Entscheidung. | 24-September-2015 | Gernot Knodler | 466 |
| 64 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Niederländer planen Dachgärten auf Esso-Areal; Siegerentwurf des städtebaulichen Wettbewerbs zur Gestaltung des Geländes auf St. Pauli gekürt | 24-September-2015 | Jannik Schappert | 802 |
| 65 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Hamburg; Niederländer planen Dachgärten auf Esso-Areal | 24-September-2015 | Jannik Schappert | 803 |
| 66 | Paloma Viertel | Immobilien Zeitung | NL und BeL setzen den St.-Pauli-Code um | 1-October-2015 | - | 279 |
| 67 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Esso-Areal wird beplant; Bürgerwerkstatt Neubebauung des Esso-Areals am Spielbudenplatz nimmt konkrete Formen an | 20-July-2016 | - | 216 |
| 68 | Paloma Viertel | Die Welt | Der St. Pauli-Code steht; Stadt und Investor präsentieren die Architektur der neuen Esso-Häuser | 24-September-2016 | Maritn Emermacher | 843 |
| 69 | Paloma Viertel | Hamburger Morgenpost | So cool werden die neuen Esso-Häuser; St. Pauli Live-Clubs, XXL-Balkon, Basketball-Platz auf dem Dach – und rund 200 Wohnungen. | 24-September-2016 | Ankea Janssen | 434 |

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|----|----------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------|-----------------------------|------|
| 70 | Paloma Viertel | Zeit Online | 170.000 Euro im Müll; Was jedes Jahr so in den Hamburger Mülleimern landet. | 26-September-2016 | Mark Spörrle | 3044 |
| 71 | Paloma Viertel | Zeit Online | Wie sollen die neuen Esso-Häuser heißen?; Der Neubau bracht einen Namen – "Esso" darf nicht darin vorkommen | 19-April-2017 | Mark Spörrle | 2801 |
| 72 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Reeperbahn; Aus dem Ex-Esso-Areal wird das Paloma Viertel | 30-May-2017 | - | 171 |
| 73 | Paloma Viertel | BILD | Wo die Esso-Häuser standen, entsteht jetzt das Paloma Viertel; So wird der Kiez zusammengewürfelt | 31-May-2017 | Jörg Köhnmann | 333 |
| 74 | Paloma Viertel | Hamburger Morgenpost | Neubau heißt Paloma-Viertel | 31-May-2017 | Mike Schlink | 82 |
| 75 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Irgendwann loslassen können; Abgang nach 18 Jahren im Amt ist für Hamburgs Oberbaudirektor Jörn Walter nächste Woche Schluss. | 3-July-2017 | Lena Kaiser, Gernot Knödler | 1661 |
| 76 | Paloma Viertel | Bild | Quartier auf Esso-Häuser-Gelände fertig zusammengewürfelt; La Paloma, Oje | 8-October-2017 | Jörg Köhnemann | 249 |
| 77 | Paloma Viertel | Welt Online | Esso-Häuser; So geht es im Paloma-Viertel auf dem Kiez weiter | 8-May-2018 | - | 617 |
| 78 | Paloma Viertel | Taz, die Tageszeitung | Es wird sozial; Die Nachfolge der Esso-Häuser am Spielbudenplatz nimmt Form an: Viel geförderter Wohnraum soll ab 2019 gebaut werden. | 9-May-2018 | Philipp Steffens | 514 |
| 79 | Paloma Viertel | Immobilien Zeitung | Prozess zum Paloma-Viertel ist als Schablone ungeeignet | 17-May-2018 | - | 375 |

| Nr | Project | Paper | Title | Date | Author | Words |
|----|--------------------|--------------------|--|-------------------|------------------|-------|
| 1 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Duty calls at armory. City calls for plans on building overdue for revamp | 27-September-2006 | Bill Egbert | 432 |
| 2 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | An armory, long furlough, soon to get its orders | 5-November-2006 | Jennifer Bleyer | 718 |
| 3 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Task force sounds off: City drops gag order on armory plans, and local leaders say it's all good | 15-May-2007 | Bill Egbert | 406 |
| 4 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | A neighborhood in waiting – Correcting appended | 12-August-2007 | Jake Mooney | 1564 |
| 5 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Yet again, a majestic armory contemplates its future | 28-October-2007 | Gregory Beyer | 289 |
| 6 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Ups and downs in Bronx: Boro dug in as major changes got underway | 30-December-2007 | Bob Kappstatter | 1076 |
| 7 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Related wins armory rehab project | 21-March-2008 | Bill Egbert | 408 |
| 8 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | Mall of duty- Armory's \$310m retail rehab | 21-April-2008 | Tom Topousis | 376 |
| 9 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | City says the Kingsbridge Armory will become a shopping center | 22-April-2008 | Timothy Williams | 912 |
| 10 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Coalition waging battle with armory developer for Kingsbridge benefits | 25-April-2008 | Bill Egbert | 329 |
| 11 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Bronx groups demand a voice in a landmark's revival | 25-June-2008 | Terry Pristin | 1233 |
| 12 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Shopping for approval. Public hearing on | 2-October-2008 | Bill Egbert | 458 |

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| | | | Kingsbridge Armory mall plan | | | |
| 13 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Battle brewing over tax break for armory developer | 10-March-2009 | Bill Egbert | 404 |
| 14 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Small biz owners fight bx. Big-box store plan | 16-July-2009 | Albor Ruiz | 569 |
| 15 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Armory goes to people: Public hearing on controversial plan to be held tonight | 27-July-2009 | Mike Jaccarino | 290 |
| 16 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | An armory food fight: Public hearings focus on market plan | 10-September-2009 | Bill Egbert | 425 |
| 17 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Proposed supermarket divides Bronx community | 30-September-2009 | Terry Pristin | 1293 |
| 18 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Planners accept proposal for mall at Bronx Armory | 20-October-2009 | Sam Dolnick | 634 |
| 19 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Coalition vows wage fight over Kingsbridge Armory mall proposal | 17-November-2009 | Sam Dolnick | 1082 |
| 20 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Wages stall mall: Bloominixes armory projects pay mandate | 18-November-2009 | Frank Lombardi | 513 |
| 21 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Build bridge to good Bronx jobs | 19-November-2009 | Errol Louis | 630 |
| 22 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Armory plan standoff, council panel set to kill deal if builder won't pay living wage | 23-November-2009 | Bill Egbert | 365 |
| 23 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Voting 45-1, council rejects \$310 million plan for mall at Bronx armory | 15-December-2009 | Sam Dolnick | 882 |

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| 24 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | A Bronx bummer – Mike's armory plan shot down | 15-December-2009 | Sally Goldenberg | 374 |
| 25 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Council armory assault nixes bx. Shopping mall | 15-December-2009 | Frank Lombardi | 373 |
| 26 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Kissing jobs goodbye | 15-December-2009 | Editorial | 504 |
| 27 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | Mike's call to armory – will veto council's vote to kill 1200 jobs | 16-December-2009 | David Seifman | 453 |
| 28 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | A stimulus that's short of stimulating | 16-December-2009 | Jim Dwyer | 733 |
| 29 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | Lunatics in charge – council's mad Kingsbridge vote | 17-December-2009 | Steve Cuozzo | 774 |
| 30 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | Mike rips blunder in the Bronx | 17-December-2009 | David Seifman | 150 |
| 31 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | Kingsbridge Commissar | 18-December-2009 | - | 413 |
| 32 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Council overrides veto, blocking plan for armory mall | 22-December-2009 | Sam Dolnick | 538 |
| 33 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Council gives 'Bah! Humbug!' to Mike vetoes | 22-December-2009 | Erin Einhorn and Frank Lombardi | 494 |
| 34 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | 'No jobs': A promise he'll keep | 23-December-2009 | - | 203 |

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| 35 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Bad job on jobs | 24-December-2009 | Editorial | 434 |
| 36 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Diaz maps plan for Bronx of the future | 26-February-2010 | Bob Kappstatter | 599 |
| 37 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Ruben's second thoughts | 11-March-2010 | Editorial | 161 |
| 38 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Armory task force | 24-March-2010 | Bill Egbert | 388 |
| 39 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | Empty Armory Haunting Ambitious Bronx Beep | 28-March-2010 | David Seifman | 271 |
| 40 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | This domino must not fall | 3-April-2010 | Editorial | 464 |
| 41 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | An armory tug of war: Plan to move new schools in and boot military units stalls | 7-April-2010 | Brendan Brosh and Daniel Beekman | 423 |
| 42 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Domino Effect | 10-April-2010 | Editorial | 379 |
| 43 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York times | Community pacts questioned in the zoning process | 28-April-2010 | Terry Pristing | 1336 |
| 44 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Wage proposal for workers at subsidized projects may prompt a fight at city hall | 24-May-2010 | Sam Dolnick | 631 |
| 45 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Living wage kills projects, Bloomy says | 25-May-2010 | Erin Einhorn | 246 |
| 46 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Churches fighting for living wages | 10-October-2010 | Albor Ruiz | 543 |
| 48 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | In the Bronx, an empty sore instead of jobs | 12-December-2010 | Candice M. Glove | 471 |
| 49 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Diaz jobs the Bronx | 14-December-2010 | Editorial | 399 |

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| 50 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Don't gimme shelter. Beep rips Mike's Wakefield bid | 17-December-2010 | Mike Jaccarino and Kate Lucadamo | 358 |
| 51 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | I'll be savior of armory – Rolls-Royce Rev.'s Bx. Conversion BID | 21-June-2011 | David Seifman | 468 |
| 52 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | BEEP's taking heat on armory report | 30-June-2011 | Bob Kappstatter | 743 |
| 53 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | Deal near after armory debacle | 12-January 2012 | David Seifman | 558 |
| 54 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | As wage concerns ebb, Bronx armory push is revived | 12-January-2012 | Kate Taylor and David W. Chen | 753 |
| 55 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Setting the state Diaz's state of borough will boast development | 23-February-2012 | Daniel Beekman | 567 |
| 56 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Rodeo is a-coming! Cowboys will gallup into vacant armory | 6-March-2012 | Daniel Beekman | 491 |
| 57 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | What a n-ice idea! Kingsbridge Armory rink on the mark | 21-March-2012 | Daniel Beekman | 423 |
| 58 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Beep's power play. Diaz push to turn armory into ice center | 24-August-2012 | Tanyanika Samuels | 442 |
| 59 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Ice center with 9 rinks is proposed for Bronx armory | 24-August-2012 | Winnie Hu | 575 |
| 60 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | Diaz in the penalty box | 29-August-2012 | Editorial | 361 |
| 61 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Cooler than ice: Legends urge hip-hop museum in place of sports center | 18-September-2012 | Daniel Beekman | 453 |
| 62 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Risky propositions | 24-September-2012 | Editorial | 519 |

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| 64 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Forgotten armory Diaz nearly omits mega-project from boro address | 20-February-2013 | Denis Slattery | 441 |
| 65 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Armory plans to be unveiled | 22-April-2013 | Tanyanika Samuels | 356 |
| 66 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Plan for ice center in Bronx armory moves forward | 24-April-2013 | Winnie Hu | 780 |
| 67 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Worth the skate armory set to become Kingsbridge national ice center | 25-April-2013 | Jennifer H. Cunningham | 379 |
| 68 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Cut from same blade green-friendly both inside & out at Kingsbridge ice center | 2-June-2013 | Jennifer H. Cunningham | 448 |
| 69 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Ice, Ice, Baby! CB7 backs massive skating palace planned for Kingsbridge Armory | 19-September-2013 | Jennifer H. Cunningham | 502 |
| 70 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Scrutiny over Bronx councilman's demands for ice center plan | 22-November-2013 | Winnie Hu | 1014 |
| 71 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | City council approves an ice center for the Bronx | 11-December-2013 | Winnie Hu | 672 |
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| 75 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Ice cold move: Rink developer pulls out of festival promise | 19-June-2014 | Jennifer H. Cunningham | 442 |
| 76 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Real cold news armory neighbors hit with big rent hikes | 21-July-2014 | Pete Barrett | 414 |
| 77 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Bid to thaw armory cold war | 7-October-2014 | Ben Kochman | 269 |
| 79 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Rant and rave pol rips dance party planned for Armory | 15-October-2014 | Denis Slattery | 486 |
| 80 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Thinking rink developer, city ink Kingsbridge Armory deal | 17-October-2014 | Ben Kochman | 324 |
| 81 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Let Bill build | 27-September-2015 | Editorial | 475 |
| 82 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | DeB puts messier dream on ice | 4-April-2016 | Rich Clader | 445 |
| 83 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | A Kingsbridge too far | 10-April-2016 | Editorial | 448 |
| 84 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | Bronx ice center plan hangs in the balance | 11-April-2016 | Charles V. Bagli | 1171 |
| 85 | Kingsbridge Armory | Daily News | Messier's slapshot over rink | 13-April-2016 | Denis Slattery | 205 |
| 86 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Post | Messier fires \$lap (slap) shot at de Blasio | 13-April-2016 | Rich Clader | 108 |
| 87 | Kingsbridge Armory | The New York Times | A lawsuit, then a compromise offer on a stalled Bronx ice center plan | 14-April-2016 | Charles v. Bagli | 719 |
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| 1 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | Essex Crossing, a renewal project 60 years in the making; Works in progress | 15-June-2017 | Helene Stapinski | 961 |
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| 4 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | I.C.P. to reopen at Essex Crossing | 14-January-2020 | James Estrin | 494 |
| 5 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | Photography at Essex Crossing | 15-January-2020 | James Estrin | 491 |
| 6 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | New York marketplace embraces its immigrant past; square feet | 2-April-2019 | Jon Hurlde | 1377 |
| 7 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | New Essex Street market opens in an enormous new space | 15-May-2019 | Florence Fabricant | 1324 |
| 8 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | Brand-new melting pot on the Lower East Side | 3-April-2019 | Jon Hurlde | 1265 |
| 9 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | Urban renewal 60 years in the making | 18-June-2017 | Helene Stapinski | 880 |
| 10 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | New food halls sprout up in the New York City; Front burner | 3-September-2019 | Florence Fabricant | 731 |
| 11 | Essex Crossing | Daily News | A plague for your woes: Developers vs. LES locals on new housing mega-complex | 2-October-2019 | Michael Gartland | 437 |
| 12 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | Forgotten but not gone | 15-March-2015 | Ginia Bellafante | 932 |
| 13 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | New food halls sprout up in New York City | 4-September-2019 | Florcen Fabricant | 670 |

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| 14 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | They kept a lower east side lot vacant for decades | 23-March-2014 | Russ Buettner | 2705 |
| 15 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | Fight to save a cherished urban garden moves to court | 8-March-2019 | Luis Ferré-Sadurní | 1419 |
| 16 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | Where gritty meets trendy | 3-April-2016 | Julie Besonen | 1383 |
| 17 | Essex Crossing | Daily News | Grower East Side Bloomy's \$1B super project even includes a farm | 19-September-2013 | Mara Gay | 411 |
| 18 | Essex Crossing | Daily News | The height of farming: Roof harvest to make Lower East side a garden spot | 31-July-2019 | Carla Roman | 431 |
| 19 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | Housing plan brings tumult to an urban oasis | 24-September-2015 | David W. Dunlap | 797 |
| 20 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | Tumult in a Manhattan Oasis over an affordable housing plan: Building blocks | 23-September-2015 | David W. Dunlap | 855 |
| 21 | Essex Crossing | The New York Times | A newer Lower East Side | 26-July-2015 | Ronda Kaysen | 679 |
| 22 | Essex Crossing | Daily News | No cheap housing, no sleep: Protest | 17-July-2015 | Carter Coudriet and Denis Slattery | 110 |

Summary

Contracts are increasingly harnessed as governance tools to achieve public goals. In urban development, government agencies and commercial parties sign contracts to stipulate the goals of those projects. Participatory processes are often organized after government agencies and commercial parties have come to an agreement. This limits the influence of residents over development projects. This thesis explores how contracts manifest and form on the ground during participatory processes in development projects. How are the outcomes of participatory processes translated in contracts and agreements? In this study, I focus on negotiation processes where residents had a meaningful role. Since participatory processes are often organized by planning consultants, I pay attention to their role as intermediaries. In order to answer my research question, I study development projects in Amsterdam, Hamburg and New York.

Prior research on contractual governance and urban politics shows that contracts are used to circumvent public processes and advance the goals of urban elites. However, research also shows that contracts can be designed to enhance democratic accountability. The field of urban studies lacks detailed, comparative, descriptions about how residents navigate participatory processes in order to incorporate their goals in agreements and contracts.

In **chapter 2** I outline three approaches to studying contracts; a legal, economic and sociological approach. The legal approach focuses on the legality of agreements and presumes actors act in a reasonable way. The economic approach studies the transaction costs associated with contracts and understands actors as maximizing their interests. The sociological approach scrutinizes the relations that are governed by contracts and assumes that actors act through bonds of trust and embeddedness. Since I study contracts as a governance tool, I follow a sociological approach in this thesis.

In **chapter 3** I describe the main concepts of the thesis. Actors are reflexive beings with critical capacity to criticize and shape political order. For the purpose of my research, I analyze urban politics through two contradictions: the capitalist-democracy contradiction and the planning-property contradiction. The capitalist-democracy contradiction is the tension between the need for public legitimacy and market forces. The planning-property contradiction is the tension between the need for government intervention and aversion to constraints on the private sector. Planning consultants and participatory processes are used to administer tensions between public legitimacy and market forces, while contracts are used to regulate tensions between planning and property. The actions of actors in urban development are guided through moral standards. These moral standards bridge particular situations to generalities, and are used to coordinate the actions of parties in public disputes. The moral standards affect how contracts, planning consultants, and public participation are shaped. The goals of contracts and agreements materialize in specific neighborhoods; they both shape and are shaped by the neighborhood, while the composition of the neighborhood determines whether the political order imposed through the plans is justified or criticized.

In **chapter 4** I describe the research strategy of this dissertation. I have chosen to study cities that are (a) experimenting with contracts to achieve public goals, (b) have robust participatory structures and (c) have well-organized groups that act as representatives for residents. Within the cities I have selected to study critical cases that (a) had an agreement between residents and developers, (b) residents or neighborhood organizations acted independently, (c) the agreements were finalized and accepted by all parties, and (d) were accessible for research.

Planning consultants are increasingly hired to organize citizen participatory processes for urban development projects. In **chapter 5** I explore, the ways in which planning consultants engage in and perceive the involvement of citizens in urban development projects remains relatively understudied. This chapter explores planning consultants' perceptions toward citizens in urban development processes. Employees from two consultancy firms in the Netherlands were interviewed, and several focus groups were organized. This research shows that consultants have wide-ranging views concerning the ways of incorporating citizens' interests in urban development projects. With the use of Q-methodology, a typology of how consultants engage with citizens is proposed. Furthermore, we show that the different perceptions of consultants lead to a different approach in identifying the needs and problems of citizens. This finding gives insight into the environment in which decisions about urban development are made.

While participatory processes in urban development are meant to increase citizen influence, decades of experimentation have led to mixed results. In **chapter 6** I answer two inter-related questions: (1) How are "citizens' interests" defined in agreements that manage urban redevelopment projects? (2) When—under what conditions—are citizens able to alter the trajectory of urban development? By analyzing cases through the concept of "pragmatic registers", we show how residents, developers and civil servants can bend citizen participation—and its material arrangements from workshops and public meetings to contracts and policy documents—to serve their own purposes. The organizational and legal tools used in urban planning, we argue, privilege entrepreneurial citizens who are active, flexible and possess negotiating know-how. Participatory processes (re)produce moral categories, with entrepreneurial residents seen as the "good" residents who henceforth become the focus of urban policy. These categories, however, can be challenged by other residents who mobilize support from politicians, the media and courts.

This in turn sparks new debates about who truly represents the neighborhood, creating new boundaries between residents.

In **chapter 7**, I investigate the implications of the increased use of private law instruments for participatory democracy. Through a detailed description of two case studies in Amsterdam and Hamburg, I show the consequences of contractual governance for participatory democracy in urban development. The interests of commercial parties and government agencies are incorporated in contracts, whereas the interests of residents are incorporated in (tacit) agreements. Most empirical evidence suggests that tacit agreements are complementary to (contractual) agreements. However in participatory processes tacit agreements are substitutes for contracts. Moreover, the case studies show that there is a tension between the mobilization strength of residents and potential profits for developers. Adjustments to public space and design are easier made than adjustments concerning (social) housing.

This has four implications for our understanding of participatory democracy and urban politics. First, the arena of public decision making has shifted from public meetings to contractual negotiations. Second, agreements and contracts can be tools to achieve the goals of urban elites, but also politicized in order to advance the interests of residents. Moreover, agreements and contracts are not set in stone and can be adjusted. Third, mobilization by residents can influence, adjust and politicize agreements. However, residents need to be able to mobilize and negotiate. This creates new boundaries between residents that are able to make deals and those that are excluded. Four, investigating how contracts transform urban politics should take a broad view on how contractual relations are formed and focus on both tacit and (contractual) agreements.

Contracts are used to govern largescale urban development projects. Residents are often excluded from contractual negotiations, which limits their influence over development projects. In **chapter 8**, I compare four 'black swan'

cases in which residents succeeded in negotiating agreements over developments in their neighborhoods. I examine the cases of Neue Mitte Altona and Paloma Viertel in Hamburg and those of Essex Crossing and the Kingsbridge Armory in New York.

In each case, the residents were influential, but the outcomes are different. The benefits of the project to the neighborhood were first assessed by an organization that represents residents or involves individual residents. Next, the project is monitored through oversight committees or by providing reports to representatives of the neighborhood. The agreements in three of the four cases were relatively rigid. Lastly, the contracts were designed by involved parties to include penalties or mitigation processes when parties failed to perform their obligations. This research project contributes to the body of literature on contractual governance and participatory democracy by showing how agreements are designed when residents are involved in negotiation processes. This study shows that contracts can be used as accountability mechanisms and enhance residents' influence over development projects in their neighborhoods.

In **chapter 9**, I analyze how the use of contracts, planning consultants, and participation shifted in Amsterdam, Hamburg, and New York in the past decades. Citywide municipal policies stimulate participation by invoking market and entrepreneurial logics. Residents are seen as end-users of development projects or encouraged to take over responsibilities from government agencies and commercial parties. Although citywide municipal policies encourage the market and entrepreneurial logic, these logics are not omnipotent. Residents can mobilize support from media, courts and politicians by claiming the mantle of being the true representatives of the neighborhood. In this way they can bend participatory processes and agreements towards their goals. This creates new political and moral boundaries between residents

how have the ability to navigate contractual negotiations and those that lack that ability.

In **chapter 10**, I discuss the consequences of contractual governance on participatory democracy. I argue that residents that are able to negotiate deals with developers are attributed the worth of being “good” citizens. Social inequalities – related, but not determined by race, class, and other social privileges – are reproduced. Those that are already privileged within society have a better capacity to navigate development processes. Contracts are not simply a reflection of social and political system. The contract is the embodiment of the worthiness of being a good citizen. Residents that can navigate contractual negotiations can direct municipal resources towards their goals. In this way contractual governance transforms the social and political systems in which they are embedded.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Contracten worden in toenemende mate gebruikt om publieke doelen te bereiken. Daarmee is er een verschuiving van het publiekrecht naar het privaatrecht als sturingsmechanisme voor de overheid. Deze verschuiving is ingezet omdat er een maatschappelijke vraag lijkt te zijn naar maatwerk in plaats van collectieve regelingen. Privaatrecht lijkt beter maatwerk te kunnen leveren dan publiekrecht.

Dit is ook het geval op het terrein van ruimtelijke ordening. Overheden en marktpartijen tekenen overeenkomsten om de doelen van vastgoedprojecten vast te leggen. Dit gebeurt vaak zonder goedkeuring van de gemeenteraad. Participatieprojecten worden vaak georganiseerd nadat overheden en marktpartijen hun afspraken al hebben vastgelegd. Hierdoor is er dus pas publieke inmenging nadat er al belangrijke afspraken zijn vastgelegd. Dit beperkt de invloed van bewoners op ruimtelijke ordening. Mijn proefschrift onderzoekt hoe contracten zich manifesteren tijdens participatieprocessen. Hoe worden de uitkomsten van participatieprocessen vertaald in contracten en overeenkomsten? Daarnaast onderzoek ik of contracten een optelsom zijn van alle betrokken belangen of dat besturen door middel van contracten ook leidt tot veranderingen in politieke besluitvormingsprocessen.

In mijn onderzoek richt ik mij op gebiedsontwikkelingsprocessen waarbij buurtbewoners een betekenisvolle rol speelden. Omdat participatie vaak wordt georganiseerd door planningsadviseurs besteed ik ook aandacht aan hun rol als tussenpersoon. Om mijn onderzoeksvraag te beantwoorden vergelijk ik projecten in Amsterdam, Hamburg en New York.

Eerder onderzoek naar de rol van contracten in stedelijke politiek schetst het beeld dat contracten worden gebruikt om publieke processen te omzeilen. Door middel van achterkamertjespolitiek en niet-publieke overeenkomsten besluiten overheden en ontwikkelaars over stedelijke politiek. Onderzoek toont echter ook aan dat – mits goed ontworpen – contracten ontworpen kunnen worden om de democratische controle over vastgoedprojecten te versterken.

In de literatuur is er een gebrek aan onderzoek dat de condities blootlegt wanneer contracten gebruikt worden om democratische praktijken te versterken en wanneer contracten democratische processen ondermijnen. Daarom presenteert dit onderzoek een gedetailleerde vergelijkende studie over hoe buurtbewoners participatieprocessen navigeren en hun doelen vertalen naar contractuele afspraken.

In hoofdstuk 2 schets ik drie benaderingen voor het bestuderen van contracten; een juridische, een economische en een sociologische. De juridische benadering richt zich op de afdwingbaarheid van overeenkomsten en veronderstelt dat actoren op een redelijke manier handelen. De economische benadering bestudeert het contract door middel van de transactiekosten. De sociologische benadering onderzoekt de relaties die worden beheerst door contracten en gaat ervan uit dat actoren handelen via banden van vertrouwen en hun relaties met de omgeving. Aangezien ik contracten onderzoek als bestuursinstrument die relaties tussen verschillende groepen actoren reguleert, volg ik in dit proefschrift een sociologische benadering.

In hoofdstuk 3 beschrijf ik de belangrijkste concepten van het proefschrift. Een belangrijk uitgangspunt van mijn onderzoek is dat actoren handelen vanuit morele standaarden. Deze morele standaarden helpen actoren om onbekende situaties te beoordelen en coherent te maken. Morele standaarden zijn gidsen die aangeven welke personen en objecten betrouwbaar zijn. Voor sommige mensen zullen dit gekozen politici zijn voor andere mensen kunstenaars. Deze personen zijn gelinkt aan objecten; je herkent een gekozen politici omdat hij of zij werkt vanuit het gemeentehuis. Samen vormen principes, personen en objecten morele standaarden. Morele standaarden creëren een link tussen het specifieke en het algemene, waardoor actoren weten hoe ze in onbekende situaties moeten handelen. Alhoewel actoren geneigd zijn om vanuit specifieke morele standaarden te werken zijn actoren ook reflexief. Zodra blijkt dat een morele standaard niet geschikt is voor in een bepaalde situatie, kunnen zij andere morele standaarden toepassen. De logica die voortvloeit uit deze morele standaarden kan leiden tot conflicten; als er verschillende logica worden toegepast worden objecten en subjecten op verschillende manieren geconstrueerd.

Voor mijn onderzoek analyseer ik de stadspolitiek aan de hand van twee spanningen: de spanning tussen marktwerking en democratie en de spanning tussen planning en eigendom. De spanning tussen marktwerking en democratie wordt veroorzaakt door de aversie van marktpartijen tegen overheidsingrijpen en de noodzaak van publieke legitimiteit. De spanning tussen planning en eigendom is de spanning tussen collectieve actie en het beschermen van eigendomsbelangen. Planningsadviseurs en participatieprocessen worden ingezet om de spanningen tussen publieke legitimiteit en marktwerking te beheersen. Planningadviseurs en participatieprocessen kunnen lokale oplossingen opleveren waarbij de belangen van marktpartijen worden afgestemd op de belangen van buurtbewoners. Contracten worden gebruikt om de spanning tussen planning en eigendom te reguleren. Ze worden gebruikt om een compromis te vinden tussen de eigendomsbelangen en publieke behoeftes.

In hoofdstuk 4 beschrijf ik de onderzoeksstrategie van mijn onderzoek. Ik heb ervoor gekozen om steden te bestuderen die (a) experimenteren met contracten om publieke doelen te bereiken, (b) robuuste participatiestructuren hebben en (c) een breed ontwikkeld veld van organisaties hebben die optreden als vertegenwoordigers van bewoners. De casussen die ik heb geselecteerd om te onderzoeken voldoen aan de volgende criteria: (a) er is een overeenkomst tussen bewoners en ontwikkelaars, (b) bewoners of buurtorganisaties hebben onafhankelijk gehandeld, (c) de overeenkomsten werden afgerond en aanvaard door alle partijen, en (d) waren toegankelijk voor onderzoek.

Er worden steeds vaker planningsadviseurs ingehuurd om participatieprocessen te organiseren. In hoofdstuk 5 verken ik hoe adviseurs denken over de wijze waarop buurtbewoners betrokken moeten worden en hoe zij afspraken zouden moeten maken met burgers. Met behulp van de Q-methode heb ik planningsadviseurs van twee bureaus geïnterviewd. Op basis hiervan heb ik drie ideaaltypen opgesteld van hoe adviseurs omgaan met burgers. Adviseurs werken aan de hand van de opdracht die zij hebben gekregen en kunnen hun eigen opvattingen tot een zekere hoogte aan de kant schuiven. Echter zorgen de verschillende denkbeelden die adviseurs hebben leiden tot een andere benadering bij het identificeren van de behoeften en

problemen van burgers. Hierdoor kunnen ze de context veranderen waarin beslissingen worden genomen.

Participatie wordt georganiseerd om de invloed van buurtbewoners te vergroten, maar decennia van experimenten hebben geleid tot gemengde resultaten. In hoofdstuk 6 beantwoord ik twee vragen: (1) hoe worden de belangen van burgers gedefinieerd in overeenkomsten over stedelijke ontwikkelingsprojecten? (2) Wanneer (onder welke voorwaarden) zijn burgers in staat het ontwikkelingsprocessen te veranderen? Door casussen te analyseren aan de hand van morele standaarden wordt zichtbaar hoe bewoners, ontwikkelaars en ambtenaren burgerparticipatie kunnen ombuigen naar hun eigen doeleinden. Met name “ondernemende burgers” blijken baat te hebben bij de hedendaagse organisatorische en juridische instrumenten die bij stadsplanning gebruikt worden. Deze “ondernemende burgers” hebben beschikken over kennis over onderhandelen en het opzetten van projecten. Hierdoor (re)produceren participatieprocessen morele standaarden, waarbij de “ondernemende burgers” worden gezien als goede burgers. Dit proces is niet deterministisch en morele standaarden kunnen worden aangevochten. In plaats van ondernemendheid kunnen andere standaarden – bijvoorbeeld representatie – belangrijk worden in het participatiedebat. Het aanvechten van deze morele categorieën gebeurt via het mobiliseren van steun van politici, media en rechtbanken. Dit leidt weer tot nieuwe discussies over wie de buurt echt vertegenwoordigt, waardoor nieuwe grenzen tussen bewoners ontstaan.

In hoofdstuk 7 onderzoek ik de implicaties van het toegenomen gebruik van contracten als bestuursinstrument voor participatie. Aan de hand van een gedetailleerde beschrijving van twee casussen in Amsterdam en Hamburg laat ik zien hoe contracten zich manifesteren tijdens participatieprocessen. De belangen van commerciële partijen en overheidsinstanties worden vastgelegd in contracten, alvorens buurtbewoners kunnen participeren. Bovendien laten de casestudies zien dat bewoners meer invloed hebben over de openbare ruimte en het ontwerp dan over (sociale) woningbouw. De afspraken in contracten zijn niet in beton gegoten; burgers kunnen door middel van niet-bindende afspraken hun doelen verwezenlijken.

Het gebruik van contracten als sturingsmechanisme heeft vier implicaties voor ons begrip van participatie en stedelijke politiek. Ten eerste verschuift de arena van openbare besluitvorming naar contractuele onderhandelingen. Ten tweede zijn wijzigingen in contractuele afspraken mogelijk, o.a. door het sluiten van niet-bindende afspraken. Ten derde als burgers afspraken willen wijzigen moeten ze voldoende steun mobiliseren. Hierdoor ontstaan er nieuwe grenzen tussen bewoners die beschikken over het vermogen om te onderhandelen over overeenkomsten en bewoners die dat niet kunnen. Ten vierde, voor onderzoek over hoe contracten stedelijke politiek beïnvloeden is het belangrijk om een brede kijk op afspraken te hebben. Zowel bindende als niet-bindende afspraken moeten worden onderzocht.

Alhoewel bewoners vaak worden uitgesloten van contractuele afspraken zijn er voorbeelden van projecten waarin bewoners wel invloed hebben op contracten. In hoofdstuk 8 vergelijk ik vier casussen waarin bewoners erin slaagden om overeenkomsten te sluiten over ontwikkelingen in hun wijk. De casussen zijn Neue Mitte Altona en Paloma Viertel in Hamburg en Essex Crossing en Kingsbridge Amrory in New York.

De casussen zijn geselecteerd omdat de bewoners invloedrijk waren, maar de uitkomsten van participatieprocessen op verschillende manieren verwerkt werden in de contracten. De variatie in de contracten blijkt met name op de volgende vier fronten. Ten eerste worden de baten van het project beoordeeld door een organisatie die bewoners organiseert of door individuele bewoners. Ten tweede wordt een project gemonitord door toezichtcomités of door rapporten die verstrekt worden aan vertegenwoordigers van de buurt. Ten derde kunnen de afspraken die gemaakt worden rigide zijn of meer responsief. Tot slot kunnen in de contracten afspraken worden gemaakt over boetes als afspraken niet worden nageleefd.

Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat contracten kunnen worden gebruikt als verantwoordingsmechanisme en de invloed van bewoners op ontwikkelingsprojecten in hun wijk vergroten.

In hoofdstuk 9 analyseer ik hoe het gebruik van contracten, planningsadviseurs en participatie de afgelopen decennia in Amsterdam, Hamburg en New York is verschoven. Stadsbreed gemeentelijk beleid in alle drie de steden stimuleert

participatie waarbij burgers medeverantwoordelijk worden gemaakt voor hun buurt. Bewoners worden gezien als eindgebruikers of aangemoedigd om verantwoordelijkheden van overheden over te nemen. Het gaat dus niet om het recht op inspraak, maar om het delen van verantwoordelijkheid. Hoewel stadsbreed gemeentelijk beleid deze logica aanmoedigt, is deze logica niet alomtegenwoordig. Bewoners kunnen steun van media, rechtbanken en politici mobiliseren en de rol van de ware vertegenwoordigers van de buurt op zich nemen. Op deze manier kunnen ontwikkelingsprocessen worden omgebogen richting de doelen van buurtbewoners.

In hoofdstuk 10 bespreek ik de gevolgen van het gebruik van contracten voor de participatiedemocratie. Ik beargumenteer dat buurtbewoners die in staat zijn om deals te sluiten met ontwikkelaars worden gezien als “goede” burgers. Sociale ongelijkheden, gerelateerd aan ras, klasse en andere sociale privileges, worden hierdoor gereproduceerd. Degene die al bevoorrecht zijn in de samenleving, hebben een beter vermogen om ontwikkelingsprojecten en contracten te beïnvloeden dan andere buurtbewoners. Hierin blijken contracten niet simpelweg een optelsom van de belangen van betrokkenen. Het contract is de belichaming van het ideaal van een burger die in staat is om te onderhandelen met overheden en marktpartijen. Buurtbewoners die succesvol zijn in contractuele onderhandelingen kunnen sterk beïnvloeden hoe publieke middelen worden ingezet. Op deze manier transformeren contracten de sociale en politieke omgeving waarin ze ingebed zijn.