



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Do contracts have politics?

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

Stapper, E.W.

#### Publication date

2020

#### Document Version

Other version

#### License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

#### Citation for published version (APA):

Stapper, E. W. (2020). *Do contracts have politics? Contracts, planning consultants, and urban development in the age of participation*. [Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

#### General rights

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

#### Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

# Bibliography

Ahmadi, D. (2017a) 'Serving diverse communities: The role of community initiatives in delivering services to poverty neighbourhoods', *Cities*. Elsevier, 69, pp. 86–94.

Albrechts, L. (2012) 'Reframing strategic spatial planning by using a coproduction perspective', *Planning Theory*, 12(1), pp. 46–63.

Amsterdam, G. (2011) *Ambitie Zeeburgerpad*. Amsterdam. Available at: [https://www.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/447431/8\\_20111111\\_ambitie\\_zeeburgezeeb.pdf](https://www.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/447431/8_20111111_ambitie_zeeburgezeeb.pdf) (Accessed 11 August 2020)

Angotti, T. (2008) *New York for sale: Community planning confronts global real estate*. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press.

Angotti, T. (2010) *Land use and the New York city charter*. New York. Available at: <http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/ccpd/repository/files/charterreport-angotti-2.pdf> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)

Argyres, N. and Mayer, K. J. (2007) 'Contract design as firm capability: An integration of learning and transaction cost perspectives', *The Academy of Management Review*, 32(4), pp. 1060–1077.

Armstrong, A., Ellen, I.G., Schwartz, A.E., and Voicu, I. (2007) *The benefits of business improvement districts: Evidence from New York City*. Furman Center for Real Estate & Urban Policy, New York. Available at: <https://furmancenter.org/files/publications/FurmanCenterBIDsBrief.pdf> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)

Arnstein, S. R. (1969) 'A ladder of citizen participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), pp. 216–224.

Baiocchi, G. and Ganuza, E. (2017) *Popular democracy: The paradox of participation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bartl, M. (2015). *Internal market rationality, private law and the direction of the union: Resuscitating the market as the object of the political*. *European Law Journal*, 21(5), 572–598.

Baxamusa, M. H. (2008) 'Empowering communities through deliberation the model of community benefits agreements', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 27(3), pp. 261–276.

Beaumont, J. and Nicholls, W. (2008) 'Plural governance, participation and democracy in cities', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1), pp. 87–94.

Beck online (2019) § 165 Städtebauliche Entwicklungsmaßnahmen. Available at: <https://beck-online.beck.de/> (Accessed: 12 August 2019).

Beck online (2020) §Städtebaulicher Vertrag. Available at: [https://beck-online.beck.de/Dokument?vpath=bibdata%2Fkomm%2FErZiBiKoBauGB\\_81%2FBauGB%2Fcont%2FErZiBiKoBauGB.BauGB.P11.T0.htm](https://beck-online.beck.de/Dokument?vpath=bibdata%2Fkomm%2FErZiBiKoBauGB_81%2FBauGB%2Fcont%2FErZiBiKoBauGB.BauGB.P11.T0.htm) (Accessed: 23 March 2020).

Been, V. (2010) 'Community benefits agreements: A new local government tool or another variation on the exactions theme?', *University of Chicago Law Review*, 77(1), pp. 5–35.

Been, V. and Infranca, J. (2013) 'Transferable development rights programs: Post-zoning?', *Brooklyn Law Review*, 78(2), pp. 435–466.

Birzer, M., Brinkmann, M. and Gessenharter, W. (2011) Anlage B zum Masterplan Mitte Altona Teil1: Bürgerforderungen. Hamburg. Available at: [https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/3304200/0c99cd32c30222b419273d5b5ad26c15/data/auszug-aus-kommentierten-buergerforderungen-mit-bezug-zum-masterplan-anlage-b-teil-2\).pdf](https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/3304200/0c99cd32c30222b419273d5b5ad26c15/data/auszug-aus-kommentierten-buergerforderungen-mit-bezug-zum-masterplan-anlage-b-teil-2).pdf) (Accessed 11 August 2020)

Blakeley, G. (2010) 'Governing ourselves: Citizen participation and governance in Barcelona and Manchester', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(1), pp. 130–145.

Boltanski, C. et al. (2014) 'Sociology of critique or critical theory? Luc Boltanski and Axel Honneth in conversation with Robin Celikates', in *The spirit of Luc Boltanski: Essays on the 'Pragmatic sociology of critique'*. London, UK: Anthem Press.

Boltanski, L. (2011) *On critique: A sociology of emancipation*. English edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boltanski, L. and Chiapello, E. (2005) *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (Ebook). London, UK: Verso.

Boltanski, L., Rennes, J. and Susen, S. (2014) 'The fragility of reality: Luc Boltanski in conversation with Juliette Rennes and Simon Susen', in Susen, S. and Turner, B. S. (eds) *The spirit of Luc Boltanski: Essays on the pragmatic sociology of critique*. London, New York and Delhi: Anthem Press, pp. 591–613.

Boltanski, L. and Thevenot, L. (1999) 'The sociology of critical capacity', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 2(3), pp. 359–377.

Boltanski, L. and Thévenot, L. (2006) *On justification: Economies of worth*. Translated. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002) 'Spaces of neoliberalism: Urban restructuring in North America and Western Europe', *Antipode*, 34(3), pp. 341–347.

Brown, T. L., Potoski, M. and Van Slyke, D. M. (2009) 'Contracting for complex products', *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 20, pp. 41–58.

Buitelaar, E., Galle, M. and Sorel, N. (2011) 'Plan-led planning systems in development-led practices: an empirical analysis into the (lack of) institutionalisation of planning law', *Environment and Planning A*, 43, pp. 928–941.

Buitelaar, E., Galle, M. and Sorel, N. (2014) 'The public planning of private planning: an analysis of control and spontaneity in the Netherlands', in Andersson, D. E. and Moroni, S. (eds) *Cities and Private Planning*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp. 248–268.

Buitelaar, E., Grommen, E. and Van der Krabben, E. (2018) 'The self-organizing city: an analysis of the institutionalization of organic urban development in the Netherlands', in Squires, G., Heurkens, E., and Peiser, R. (eds) *Companion to Real Estate Development*. New York: Routledge, pp. 169–182.

Callon, M. (1998) 'Introduction: The embeddedness of economic markets in economics', in Callon, M. (ed.) *The Laws of the Markets*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 1–58.

Caloffi, A. and Gambarotto, F. (2017) 'Cognitive distance in public procurement and public – private partnerships : An analysis of the construction sector', 35(5), pp. 765–783.

Camacho, A. E. (2005) 'Mustering the missing voices: A collaborative model for fostering equality, community involvement and adaptive planning in land use decisions. Installment Two', *Stanford Environmental Law Journal*, 24, pp. 3–70.

Camacho, A. E. (2013) 'Community benefit agreements: a symptom, not the antidote, of bilateral land use regulation', *Brooklyn Law Review*, 78(2), pp. 355–383.

CBP for KNIC (2013) KNIC Partners and KARA Execution draft Available at: <http://northwestbronx.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Exhibit-A-Community-Benefits-Program-1-1.pdf> (Accessed: 30 July 2018)

Coase, R. H. (1937) 'The nature of the firm', *Economica*, 4(16), pp. 386–405.

Coase, R. H. (1960) 'The problem of social cost', *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 56(4), pp. 837–877.

Coenradie, K. (2014) 'Buurt op de bres voor Zeeburgerpad', *De Telegraaf*, 3 September, p. 9.

Cuppen, E., Bosch-Rekveltdt, M.G.C., Pikaar, E., and Mehos, D.C. (2015) 'Stakeholder engagement in large-scale energy infrastructure projects: Revealing perspectives using Q methodology', *International Journal of Project Management*. Elsevier Ltd and Association for Project Management and the International Project Management Association, 34(7), pp. 1347–1359.

- Damen, T. (2012) 'Wonen op oude VOC-werf, tussen de hippe bedrijfjes', *Het Parool*, 3 April, p. 13.
- Davidoff, P. (1965) 'Advocacy and pluralism in planning', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 31(4), pp. 331–338.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The souls of black folks* (Ebook). The Project Gutenberg Ebook.
- DUWO (2014) Informatieavond voor de omwonenden van Zeeburgerpad 45, 46 en 47. Amsterdam. Available at: [https://www.duwo.nl/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Publicaties/Zeeburgerpad-terugkoppeling-informatieavond-29-januari-2014.pdf](https://www.duwo.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publicaties/Zeeburgerpad-terugkoppeling-informatieavond-29-januari-2014.pdf) (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Ebke, F. W. and Steinhauer, B. M. (1995) 'The doctrine of good faith in German Contract Law', in Beatson, J. and Friedmann, D. (eds) *Good faith and fault in contract law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 171–191.
- Eilandenoverleg (2013) *Reactie op planvorming oostenburg-noord*. Amsterdam. Available at: [https://www.buurtorganisatie1018.nl/s/2015-04-21-Concept-zienwijze-bestemmingsplan\\_-Buurtwerkgroep-Oostenburg-Noord-Eilandenoverleg-v3.pdf](https://www.buurtorganisatie1018.nl/s/2015-04-21-Concept-zienwijze-bestemmingsplan_-Buurtwerkgroep-Oostenburg-Noord-Eilandenoverleg-v3.pdf) (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Eisenberg, M. A. (1995) 'Relational contracts', in Beatson, J. and Friedmann, D. (eds) *Good faith and fault in contract law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 291–305.
- Eisenberg, M. A. (2018) *Foundational principles of contract law*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Emirbayer, M. (1997) 'Manifesto for a relational sociology', *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(2), pp. 281–317.
- Faems, D., Janssens, M., Madhok, A. and Van Looy, B. (2008) 'Toward an integrative perspective on alliance governance: Connecting contract design, trust dynamics, and contract application', *The Academy of Management Journal*, 51(6), pp. 1053–1078.
- Faems, D. (2008) 'Toward an integrative perspective on alliance governance: Connecting contract design, trust dynamics and contract application', *The Academy of Management Journal*, 51(6), pp. 1053–1078.
- Fagotto, E. and Fung, A. (2006) 'Empowered participation in urban governance: The Minneapolis neighborhood revitalization program', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(3), pp. 638–655.
- Fainstein, S. S. (2010) *The just city*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ferré-Sadurní, L., McKinley, J. and Wang, V. (2019) 'Landmark deal reached on rent protections for tenants in N.Y.', *New York Times*.

- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011) 'Case study', in Denzin, K. N. and Lincoln, S. Y. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 4th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 301–316.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2001) *Making social science matter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2002) 'Bringing power to planning research: One researcher's praxis story', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 21(4), pp. 353–366.
- Foglesong, R. E. (1986) *Planning the capitalist city: The colonial era to the 1920s*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Franzén, M. (2005) 'New social movements and gentrification in Hamburg and Stockholm: A comparative study', *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 20, pp. 51–77.
- Freeman, L. (2019) *A haven and a hell: The ghetto in black America*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg (2007) *Räumliches Leitbild Entwurf: Wachsende Stadt - Grüne Metropole am Wasser*. Hamburg. Available at: <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/155068/65b62ad9195e940e29ed0453626aac90/data/raeumliches-leitbild.pdf> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg (2014) *Grüne, gerechte, wachsende Stadt am Wasser: Perspektiven der Stadtentwicklung für Hamburg*. Hamburg. Available at: <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/4309812/72bbf7e42477706605e49ed206a8e7a2/data/broschuere-perspektiven.pdf>.
- Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg (2020a) *Private Initiativen zur Stadtteilentwicklung*. Available at: <https://www.hamburg.de/bid/4350374/business-improvement-districts/> (Accessed: 8 June 2020).
- Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg (2020b) *Was will die Stadtwerkstatt*. Available at: <https://www.hamburg.de/aufgabe/3364706/was-will-stadtwerkstatt/> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg (2010) *Kreative Milieus und offene Räume in Hamburg*. Hamburg. Available at: <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/2052460/980c6596b81fd651f4f18748b7d8d25f/data/gutachten-kreative-milieus.pdf> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg (2013) *Masterplan Mitte Altona: Fundamente für ein neues Stück Stadt*. Hamburg. Available at: <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/3878498/6eb7b579840b36bec10a2b72f525dd01/data/>

broschuere-masterplan-mitte-altona.pdf (Accessed: 11 August 2020)

Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg (2014) Perspektiven der Stadtentwicklung. Hamburg. Available at: <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/4388464/1c6718acb9bc4b27eeffd5ee63cd5cf5/data/d-6-dialog-broschuere.pdf> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)

Frère, B. (2004) 'Genetic structuralism, psychological sociology and pragmatic social actor theory proposals for a convergence of French sociologies', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21(3), pp. 85–99.

Friedmann, J. (1993) 'Toward a non-euclidian mode of planning', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 59(4), pp. 482–485.

Fung, A. (2004) *Empowered participation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ganuza, E. and Francés, F. (2012) 'The deliberative turn in participation: The problem of inclusion and deliberative opportunities in participatory budgeting', *European Political Science Review*, 4(2), pp. 283–302.

García-Lamarca, M., & Kaika, M. (2016). 'Mortgaged lives': the biopolitics of debt and housing financialisation. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 41(3), 313–327.

Gemeente Amsterdam (2011a) Spelregels Zeeburgerpad 11-11-2011. Amsterdam. Available at: [https://www.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/447431/7\\_20111111\\_spelregels\\_zeebuzeeburg.pdf](https://www.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/447431/7_20111111_spelregels_zeebuzeeburg.pdf) (Accessed: 11 August 2020)

Gemeente Amsterdam (2011b) Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040 Economisch sterk en duurzaam. Available at: [www.amsterdam.nl/publish/.../structuurvisie\\_def\\_maart2011\\_web.pdf](http://www.amsterdam.nl/publish/.../structuurvisie_def_maart2011_web.pdf). (Accessed at 21-06-2020)

Gemeente Amsterdam (2016a) Bestemmingsplan Stadswerf Oostenburg Toelichting. Amsterdam. Available at: [https://www.planviewer.nl/imro/files/NL.IMRO.0363.A1404BPSTD-VG01/t\\_NL.IMRO.0363.A1404BPSTD-VG01.html](https://www.planviewer.nl/imro/files/NL.IMRO.0363.A1404BPSTD-VG01/t_NL.IMRO.0363.A1404BPSTD-VG01.html) (Accessed: 11 August 2020)

Gemeente Amsterdam (2016b) Koers 2025: Ruimte voor de stad. Available at: [https://www.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/869895/koers\\_2025\\_-\\_ruimte\\_voor\\_de\\_stad\\_versie\\_april\\_20161.pdf](https://www.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/869895/koers_2025_-_ruimte_voor_de_stad_versie_april_20161.pdf) (Accessed: 11 August 2020)

Gemeente Amsterdam (2017) Plaberum 2017. Amsterdam. Available at: [https://storage.googleapis.com/capstone01/blvc/2019/01/2c6135b9-plaberum\\_2017\\_bestuurlijk\\_vastgestelde\\_beschrijvingen.pdf](https://storage.googleapis.com/capstone01/blvc/2019/01/2c6135b9-plaberum_2017_bestuurlijk_vastgestelde_beschrijvingen.pdf) (Accessed: 11 August 2020)

Gemeente Amsterdam (2020) Kerncijfers gebieden. Available at: <https://data.amsterdam.nl/specials/dashboard/kerncijfers-gebieden/2b48132b-d877-40df->

9c31-0bfc74f3ff54/ (Accessed: 24 January 2020).

Van Gent, W. P. C. (2013) 'Neoliberalization, housing institutions and variegated gentrification: How the "third wave" broke in Amsterdam', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(2), pp. 503–522.

Gintoff, V. (2015) Why NL Architects + BeL's winning proposal for Hamburg's St. Pauli won't win you over with glossy renders, *Archdaily*. Available at: <https://www.archdaily.com/776710/why-nl-architects-plus-bels-winning-proposal-for-hamburgs-st-pauli-wont-win-you-over-with-glossy-renders> (Accessed: 22 April 2020).

Granovetter, M. (1985) 'Economic action and social structure: the problem of embeddedness', *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3), pp. 481–510.

Grijzen, J. (2010) *Outsourcing planning: What do consultants do in regional spatial planning in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam University Press.

Gruner, S. (2010) "'The others don't want ...": Small-scale segregation: Hegemonic public discourses and racial boundaries in German neighbourhoods', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2), pp. 275–292.

Guinand, S. (2020) 'Re-arranging public-private partnerships: The case of South Street Seaport New York', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, forthcoming, pp. 1–17.

Harvey, D. (1989) 'From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism and geography', *Geografiska Annaler*, 71(1), pp. 3–17.

Harvey, D. (2006) *The limits to capital*. London and New York: Verso.

Hesselink, M. W. (2004) *Contractenrecht in perspectief*. Den Haag: Boom Juridische uitgevers.

Hochstenbach, C. (2017) 'State-led gentrification and the changing geography of market-oriented housing policies', *Housing, Theory and Society*. Routledge, 34(4), pp. 399–419.

Hodge, G. and Bowman, D. (2006) 'The "consultocracy": the business of reforming government', in *Privatization and Market Development: global movements in public policy ideas*, pp. 97–127.

van den Hurk, M. and Hueskes, M. (2017) 'Beyond the financial logic: Realizing valuable outcomes in public-private partnerships in Flanders and Ontario', *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 35(5), pp. 784–808.

Van den Hurk, M. and Taşan-Kok, T. (2020) 'Contractual arrangements and entrepreneurial governance: Flexibility and leeway in urban regeneration projects', *Urban Studies*, forthcoming, pp. 1–19.



- Innes, J. E. and Booher, D. E. (2004) 'Reframing public participation: strategies for the 21st century', *Planning Theory & Practice*, 5(4), pp. 419–436.
- Jacobs, J. (1958) 'Downtown is for people', in Birch, E. L. (ed.) *The urban and regional planning reader*. New York: Routledge, pp. 126–131.
- Janssen-Jansen, & Van der Veen, M. (2017) 'Contracting communities: conceptualizing community benefits agreements to improve citizen involvement in urban development projects', *Environment and Planning A*, 49(1), pp. 205–225.
- Jessop, B. (1997) 'The entrepreneurial city: Re-imagining localities, re-designing economic governance, or re-structuring capital?', in Jewson, N. and MacGregor, S. (eds) *Realsing cities: New spatial division and social transformation*. London: Routledge, pp. 28–41.
- Kaika, M., & Thielen, K. (2006). Form follows power: A genealogy of urban shrines. *City*, 10(1), 59–69.
- Kaika, M. (2017). Between compassion and racism: How the biopolitics of neoliberal welfare turns citizens into affective "idiots." *European Planning Studies*, 25(8), 1275–1291.
- Kampen, J. K. and Tamás, P. (2013) 'Overly ambitious: contributions and current status of Q methodology', *Quality and Quantity*, pp. 1–18.
- Van Kernenbeek, L. and Janssen-Jansen, L. B. (2018) 'Playing by the rules? Analysing incremental urban developments', *Land Use Policy*, 72, pp. 402–409.
- Kimmelman, M. (2019) *Essex Crossing is the anti-Hudson Yards*, *New York Times*.
- Knijn, T., & Selten, P. (2005). The rise of contractualism in public services. In J. W. Duyvendak, T. Knijn, & M. Kremer (Eds.), *Policy, people, and the new professional* (pp. 19–33). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Koordinierungsgremium Mitte Altona (2012) *Ein Moratorium für Mitte Altona*. Available at: <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/3304236/44992acf6b67ee15e9360a1927171d16/data/dokumentation-des-koordinierungsgremiums-vom-2-2-2012.pdf> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Koordinierungsgremium Mitte Altona (2015) *Moratorium Altona*. Available at: [http://wiki.rechtaufstadt.net/index.php/Moratorium\\_Altona](http://wiki.rechtaufstadt.net/index.php/Moratorium_Altona) (Accessed: 17 March 2020).
- Kötz, H. (2017) *European Contract Law*. Second Edi. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kremer, M., & Tonkens, E. (2005). Authority, trust, knowledge and the public good in disarray. In J. W. Duyvendak, T. Knijn, & M. Kremer (Eds.), *Policy, people, and the new professional* (pp. 122–136). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Langen, M. de (2016) 'Gegoochel', *Het Parool*, 6 April, p. 25.

Lee, C. W. (2015) *Do-it-yourself democracy: The rise of the public engagement industry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Levine, J. R. (2016) 'The Privatization of political representation: Community-based organizations as nonelected neighborhood representatives', *American Sociological Review*, 81(6), pp. 1251–1275.

Levine, J. R. (2017) 'The paradox of community power: cultural processes and elite authority in participatory governance', 95(3), pp. 1155–1179.

Lloyd, G. (2015) *Provenance, planning and new parameters*. Amsterdam

Logan, R. J. and Molotch, H. L. (1987) *Urban futures: The political economy of place*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Macaulay, S. (1963) 'Non-contractual relations in business: A preliminary study', *American Sociological Review*, 28(1), pp. 55–67.

Macaulay, S. (2003) 'The real and the paper deal: Empirical pictures of relationships, complexity and the urge for transparent simple rules', *The Modern Law Review Limited*, 311(1), pp. 44–79.

Macneil, I. R. (1980) *The new social contract: An inquiry into modern contractual relations*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Macneil, I. R. (2000) 'Relational contract theory: Challenges and queries', *Northwestern University Law Review*, 94(3), pp. 877–907.

Marcus, N. (1984) 'TDR, zoning lot merger and the well-considered plan', *Brooklyn Law Review*, 50(4), pp. 967–912.

McAuliffe, C. and Rogers, D. (2018) 'Tracing resident antagonisms in urban development: Agonistic pluralism and participatory planning', *Geographical Research*, 56(2), pp. 219–229.

McCann, E. J. (2001) 'Collaborative visioning or urban planning as therapy? The politics of public-private policy making', *Professional Geographer*, 53(2), pp. 207–218.

Mccrudden, C. (2004) 'Using public procurement to achieve social outcomes', *Natural Resources Forum*, 28(28), pp. 257–267.

Merriam-Webster (2020a) Agreement. Available at: <https://www.merriam->

webster.com/dictionary/agreement (Accessed: 21 July 2020).

Merriam-Webster (2020b) Contract. Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/contract> (Accessed: 21 July 2020).

Metzger, J., Allmendinger, P. and Oosterlyncck, Stijn (2015) 'The contested terrain of European territorial governance', in Metzger, J., Allmendinger, P., and Oosterlyncck, S. (eds) *Planning against the political: Democratic deficits in European territorial governance*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 1–29.

Michels, A. and de Graaf, L. (2010) 'Examining citizen participation: Local participatory policy making and democracy', *Local Government Studies*, 36(4), pp. 477–491.

Needham, B. (2007) *Dutch land use planning: Planning and managing land use in the Netherlands, the principles and the practice*. The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers.

Novy, J. and Colomb, C. (2013) 'Struggling for the right to the (creative) city in Berlin and Hamburg: New urban social movements, new "spaces of hope"?' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(5), pp. 1816–1838.

Osborne, D. (1993) 'Reinventing government', *Public Productivity & Management Review*, 16(4), pp. 349–356.

Pen, H. (2018) 'Na de schietpartij zet Wittenburg een stap vooruit', *Het Parool*.

Pickvance, C. G. (2001) 'Four varieties of comparative analysis', *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 16(1), pp. 7–28.

Planbude (2015) St. Pauli Code. Available at: <https://planbude.de/st-pauli-code/> (Accessed: 11 June 2020).

Poppo, L. and Zenger, T. (2002) 'Do formal contracts and relational governance function as substitutes or complements?', *Strategic Management Journal*, 23(8), pp. 707–725.

Poppo, L., Zhou, K. Z. and Li, J. J. (2016) 'When can you trust "trust"? Calculative trust, relational trust, and supplier performance', *Strategic Management Journal*, 741(April 2015), pp. 724–741.

Prince, R. (2012) 'Policy transfer, consultants and the geographies of governance', *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(2), pp. 188–203.

Prince, R. (2014) 'Calculative cultural expertise? Consultants and politics in the UK cultural sector', *Sociology*, 48(4), pp. 747–762.

Principles of European Contract Law art. 2:101: (1) (2002). Available at: <https://www.jus.uio.no/lm/eu.contract.principles.parts.1.to.3.2002/> (Accessed: 10 August 2020)

- Q8 (2015) Konkretisierung inklusiver strukturen in Mitte Altona: Empfehlungen des Forums eine Mitte für alle. Available at: <https://www.q-acht.net/altona/archiv/2015/2015-03-16-konkretisierung-inklusive-strukturen-mitte-altona.pdf> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Raco, M. (2013) 'The new contractualism, the privatization of the welfare state, and the barriers to open source planning', *Planning Practice and Research*, 28(1), pp. 45–64.
- Raco, M. (2015) 'Conflict management, democratic demands, and the post-politics of privatisation', in Metzger, J., Allmendinger, P., and Oosterlynck, S. (eds) *Planning Against the Political: Democratic Deficits in European Territorial Governance*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 153–171.
- Raco, M., Street, E. and Freire-Trigo, S. (2016) 'The new localism, anti-political development machines, and the role of planning consultants: lessons from London's South Bank', *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 4(2), pp. 216–240.
- Raje, F. (2007) 'Using Q methodology to develop more perceptive insights on transport and social inclusion', *Transport Policy*, 14, pp. 467–477.
- Ramlo, S. (2016) 'Centroid and theoretical rotation: Justification for their use in Q methodology research', *Mid-Western Educational Researcher*, 28(1), pp. 73–92.
- Restatement (Second) of Contracts §1 (1981) Washington, D.C.: American Law Institute.
- Restatement (Second) of Contracts §2 (1981) Washington, D.C.: American Law Institute.
- Reuten, T. (2014) *Stand van zaken Zeeburgerpad*. Amsterdam.
- Robbins, P. and Krueger, R. (2000) 'Beyond bias? The promise and limits of Q method in human geography', *Professional Geographer*, 52(4), pp. 636–648.
- Rose, N. (2000) 'Governing cities, governing citizens', in Isin, E. F. (ed.) *Democracy, citizenship and the global city* (Ebook). London and New York: Routledge, pp. 251–289.
- Rothstein, R. (2017) *The color of law: A forgotten history of how our government segregated America* (Ebook). New York and London: Liveright Publishing Corporation.
- Russel, J. S. (2019) *Why Essex Crossing is a model mega-development*, Citylab. Available at: <https://www.citylab.com/design/2019/09/essex-crossing-development-nyc-real-estate-lower-east-side/596818/> (Accessed: 22 April 2020).
- Saint-Martin, D. (1998) 'The new managerialism and the policy influence of consultants in government: An historical-institutionalist analysis of Britain, Canada and France', *Governance*, 11(3), pp. 319–356.

- Savini, F. et al. (2016) 'Amsterdam in the 21st century: Geography, housing, spatial development and politics', *Cities*. Elsevier Ltd, 52, pp. 103–113.
- Savini, F. (2016) 'Don't blame public law: The legal articulation of certainty in Amsterdam land-use planning', *Town Planning Review*, 87(4), pp. 459–479.
- Schalcken, P., Omwonenden and Buurtgroep (2015) Memorandum. Amsterdam.
- Schapper, P., Veiga Malta, J. N. and Gilbert, D. L. (2006) 'An analytical framework for the management and reform of public procurement', *Management*, 6, pp. 1–26.
- Scheller, D. and Thörn, H. (2018) 'Governing "sustainable urban development" through self-build groups and co-housing: The cases of Hamburg and Gothenburg', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 42(5), pp. 914–933.
- Schepker, D. J. et al. (2014) 'The many futures of contracts: Moving beyond structure and safeguarding to coordination and adaptation', *Journal of Management*, 40(1), pp. 193–225.
- Schmidt, S. (2009) 'Land use planning tools and institutional change in Germany: Recent developments in local and regional planning', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 17(12). d
- Selznick, P. (1949) *TVA and the grass roots: A study in the sociology of formal organization*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Smith, D. E. (2001) 'Texts and the ontology of organizations and institutions', *Studies in Cultures, Organizations and Societies* 7(2) pp. 159–198.
- Smits, J. M. (2014) *Contract law: A comparative introduction*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Stabrowski, F. (2015) 'Inclusionary zoning and exclusionary development: The politics of affordable housing in North Brooklyn', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39(6).
- Stadgenoot (2015) *Exploitatie behoud werkspoorhal(len) Oostenburg*. Amsterdam Available at: [https://www.buurtorganisatie1018.nl/s/Werkspoorhallen\\_-\\_11\\_Memo\\_Grondexploitatie\\_dd\\_23\\_augustus\\_2015\\_-1.pdf](https://www.buurtorganisatie1018.nl/s/Werkspoorhallen_-_11_Memo_Grondexploitatie_dd_23_augustus_2015_-1.pdf) (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Städtebaulicher Vertrag "Mitte Altona" (2014) Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Aurelis and PANTA. 9 May 2014 WS 012 MM 14 – V Available at: <https://www.hamburg.de/staedtebaulicher-vertrag/> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Städtebaulicher Vertrag "Paloma-Viertel" (2018) Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg and Bayerische Hausbau 29 October 2018 Available at: <https://planbude.de/wp->

content/uploads/2019/03/Akte\_000.00-04.pdf (Accessed: 11 August 2020).

Seward Park Mixed-Use Development RFP (2013) NYCEDC and HPD 9 January 2013 Available at: <https://docs.google.com/open?id=0B4elzUF5UOI9YTE3YVRIR2hIMUK> (Accessed: 10 May 2019)

Stapper, E. W., Van der Veen, M. and Janssen-Jansen, L. B. (2020) 'Consultants as intermediaries: Their perceptions on citizen involvement in urban development', *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 38(1), pp. 60–78.

Stein, S. (2019) *Capital city: gentrification and the real estate state*. London and New York: Verso.

Swyngedouw, E. (2005) 'Governance innovation and the citizen: the Janus face of governance-beyond-the-State', *Urban Studies*, 42(11), pp. 1991–2006.

Swyngedouw, E. (2007) 'The post-political city: Re-imagining democracy in the neoliberal city', in BAVO (ed.) *Urban Politics Now*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. Available at: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281318055\\_The\\_post-political\\_city](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281318055_The_post-political_city) (Accessed: 30 July 2020), pp. 1-27.

Swyngedouw, E., Moulaert, F. and Rodriguez, A. (2002) 'New geographies of power, exclusion and injustice neoliberal urbanization in Europe : Large-scale urban development projects and the new urban policy', *Antipode*, 34, pp. 542–577.

Taşan-Kok, T. (2010) 'Entrepreneurial governance: Challenges of large-scale property-led urban regeneration projects', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 101(2), pp. 126–149.

Taşan-Kok, T. et al. (2019) 'Changing public accountability mechanisms in the governance of Dutch urban regeneration', *European Planning Studies*, 27(6), pp. 1107–1128.

Tavory, I. and Timmermans, S. (2014) *Abductive analysis: Theorizing qualitative research* (Ebook). Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

The City of New York (2010) *New housing marketplace plan: Creating a more affordable, viable, and sustainable city for all New Yorkers*. New York. Available at: [http://americas.uli.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/125/ULI-Documents/NHMP\\_NYC\\_in-layout\\_FINAL.pdf](http://americas.uli.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/125/ULI-Documents/NHMP_NYC_in-layout_FINAL.pdf). (Accessed: 21 July 2020)

The City of New York (2014) *Housing New York, A five borough, ten-year plan*. Available at: <https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/hpd/downloads/pdfs/about/housing-new-york.pdf> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)

The City of New York (2020) *NYC neighborhood planning playbook*. Available at: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/hpd/services-and-information/nyc-neighborhood-planning-playbook.page> (Accessed: 8 June 2020).

- The City of New York (no date) Office of neighborhood strategies. Available at: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/hpd/about/office-descriptions.page> (Accessed: 19 May 2020).
- Thévenot, L. (2002) 'Which road to follow? The moral complexity of an "equipped" humanity', in Law, J. and Mol, A. (eds) *Complexities: Social Studies of Knowledge Practices*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 53–87.
- Thévenot, L., Moody, M. and Lafaye, C. (2000) 'Forms of valuing nature: arguments and modes of justification in French and American environmental disputes', in Thévenot, L. and Lamont, M. (eds) *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology: Repertoires of Evaluation in France and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 229–273.
- Treitel, G. (2003) *An outline of the law of contract*. Eleventh e. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Twickel, C. (2020) *Kaufen, wo andere nicht mehr können*, Zeit Online. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/hamburg/2020-02/hamburg-reeperbahn-paloma-viertel-immobilien-grundstueck-neubau> (Accessed: 22 April 2020).
- Uitermark, J. (2009) 'An in memoriam for the just city of Amsterdam', *City*, 13(2–3), pp. 347–361.
- Uitermark, J. and Bosker, T. (2014) 'Wither the "undivided city"? An assessment of state-sponsored gentrification in Amsterdam', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 105(2), pp. 221–230.
- Uitermark, J. and Duyvendak, J. W. (2008) 'Citizen participation in a mediated age: Neighbourhood governance in the Netherlands', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1), pp. 114–134.
- Uittenbroek, C. J. (2014) 'Organizational values and the implications for mainstreaming climate adaptation in Dutch municipalities: Using Q-methodology', in *How mainstream is mainstreaming?: the integration of climate adaptation into urban policy*, pp. 45–65.
- United Nations (2016) *Good practices of accessible urban development: Making urban environments inclusive and fully accessible to all*. New York: United Nations.
- Urhahn (2012) *Werkboek Stadswerf Oostenburg, de ontwikkeling op weg*. Amsterdam
- van der Veen, M. (2009) *Contracting for better places. A relational analysis of development agreements in urban development projects*. Delft: Delft University Press.
- van der Veen, M. and Korthals Altes, W. K. (2011) 'Urban development agreements: do they meet guiding principles for a better deal?', *Cities*. Elsevier Ltd, 28(4), pp. 310–319.
- van der Veen, M. and Korthals Altes, W. K. (2012) 'Contracts and learning in complex urban

- projects', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 36(5), pp. 1053–1075.
- Verhoeven, I. and Tonkens, E. (2013) 'Talking active citizenship: Framing welfare state reform in England and the Netherlands', *Social Policy and Society*, 12(3), pp. 415–426.
- Verhulst, J. (2016) 'Geen woningen voor gezinnen', *Het Parool*, 4 April, p. 1.
- Vincent-Jones, P. (2007) 'The new public contracting: Public versus private ordering?', *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 14(2), pp. 259–278.
- Vogelpohl, A. (2017) 'Consulting completed: Temporal aspects of expertise in urban development during times of fast policies', *Geographica Helvetica*, 72(1), pp. 65–76.
- Vogelpohl, A. (2018a) 'Consulting as a threat to local democracy? Flexible management consultants, pacified citizens, and political tactics of strategic development in German cities', *Urban Geography*, pp. 1–21.
- Vogelpohl, A. (2018b) 'Global expertise, local convincing power: Management consultants and preserving the entrepreneurial city', *Urban Studies*, 56(1), pp. 97–114.
- Vogelpohl, A. and Buchholz, T. (2017) 'Breaking with neoliberalization by restricting the housing market: Novel urban policies and the case of Hamburg', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 41(2), pp. 266–281.
- Volkshuisvestingsoverleg, A. (2010) 'Leidraad participatie', Amsterdam Available at: <https://assets.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/411329/leidraadparticipatiea4digitaledigita.pdf> (Accessed: 11 August 2020)
- Walker, E. T., McQuarrie, M. and Lee, C. W. (2015) 'Rising participation and declining democracy', in Lee, C. W., McQuarrie, M., and Walker, E. T. (eds) *Democratizing inequalities: Dilemmas of the New Public Participation*. New York: NYU Press, pp. 3–23.
- Waterhout, B., Othengrafen, F. and Sykes, O. (2013) 'Neo-liberalization processes and spatial planning in France, Germany, and the Netherlands: An exploration', *Planning Practice and Research*, 28(1), pp. 141–159.
- Williamson, O. E. (1979) 'Transaction-cost economics: The governance of contractual relations', *The Journal of Law and Economics*. 22(2) pp. 233-262.
- Williamson, O. E. (1981) 'The Economics of organization: The transaction cost approach', *American Journal of Sociology*, 87(3), pp. 548–577.
- Williamson, O. E. (1993) 'Opportunism and its Critics', *Managerial and decision economics*, 14(2), pp. 97–107.



Young, I. M. (1990) *Justice and the politics of difference*. New York: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. (2000) *Inclusion and democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zeeburgerpad, B. (2014) *Visie Buurtgroep Zeeburgerpad*.

Zengerling, C. (2019). Governing the city of flows: How urban metabolism approaches may strengthen accountability in strategic planning. *Urban Planning*, 4(1), 187–199.

Zonneveld, J. (2013) 'In Oost bouwen ze nog wel huizen', *Het Parool*, p. 17.

Zonneveld, J. (2014) 'Zeeburgerpad vreest komst grote jongens', *Het Parool*, p. 12.

Zukin, S. et al. (2009) 'New retail capital and neighborhood change: Boutiques and gentrification in New York City', *City and Community*, 8(1), pp. 47–64.

## 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

			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 13Entwicklung 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

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 Stadteilschule 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 Sollen hier 2fast 3500 Wohnungen entstehen	19-November-2014	Axel Tiedemann	535



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

			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

			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

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

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

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

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



			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

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

			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

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 Lambardi	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

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

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

63	Kingsbridge Armory	Daily News	Cheers and jeers at forum: One would-be armory developer attended 2 <sup>nd</sup> meet, another didn't	19-October-2012	Daniel Beekman	443
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
72	Kingsbridge Armory	The New York Times	Plans for huge ice center in Bronx stall	7-June-2014	Winnie Hu	543
73	Kingsbridge Armory	The New York Times	Plan to build ice center in the Bronx stalls amid a feud	9-June-2014	Winnie Hu	541



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
88	Kingsbridge Armory	The New York Times	After suit, city offers developer a compromise on a stalled Bronx ice center plan	15-April-2016	Charles v. Bagli	719
89	Kingsbridge Armory	The New	Prayers for pucks Messier in Bronx rink plea	6-May-2016	Rich Calder	296

		York Post				
--	--	--------------	--	--	--	--

Nr	Project	Paper	Title	Date	Author	Words
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
2	Essex Crossing	The New York Times	Essex Crossing is the Anti-Hudson Yards; Critic's Notebook	7-November-2019	Michael Kimmelman	1925
3	Essex Crossing	The New York Times	It's vast, varied, even virtuous	11-November-2019	Michael Kimmelman	1834
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

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.