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List of Articles, Book Chapters, and Conference Presentations

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Ahn B and Mocca E (2021) Unlocking the Door of the City Hall: Vienna's Participatory Shift in Urban Development Policy. In: Kazepov Y and Verwiebe R (eds) *Vienna in Transition: Still a Just City?* Abingdon, Oxon & New York: Routledge, pp. 35-49

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Other Materials Published during the Doctoral Program

Mocca E, Paisan P and Ahn B (2022) Labour and Social Inclusion Paths for Refugees: A Comparison between Bologna and Vienna. *Politiche Sociali* (Forthcoming)

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Ahn B (2017) Lights and Shadows of Social Movements: Constructing a Collective Identity in Post-Socialist Macedonia. *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen* 57 (4-5): 40–53.

Conference Presentations during the Doctoral Program

Ahn B (2022) *Living in a 'Just' City: Citizen Participation and Social Interaction in Vienna's Regenerating Neighborhoods*. Knowledge needs Space – Challenges and Perspectives of Future Living Environments, 29 January, Karlsruhe

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Ahn B (2019) *Together in the Distance: Local Perception of Diversity and the Politics of Place-Making in a Multiethnic Neighborhood*. The 18th Research Committee 21 Conference, 21 September, Delhi.

Ahn B (2019) *Production and Management of Urban Diversity and Sociability in Place-Making of Brunnenviertel, Vienna*. The 49th Urban Affairs Association Conference, 27 April, Los Angeles.

Ahn B (2018) *"In the beginning, there is…": The role of lived-experience in identity-work among second generation of ex-Yugoslavian migrants in Vienna, Austria*. The 1st World Congress on Migration, Ethnicity, Race and Health, 18 May, Edinburgh.

Ahn B (2017) *From Strangers to Strangers: (Non)Migrant Encounters with Difference in Café Spaces*. The 14th IMISCOE Annual Conference, 28 June, Rotterdam.

Ahn B (2016) *City as Diaspora Space: Identity Work and Inter-Ethnic Relationship of Ex-Yugoslavian Migrants in Vienna*. The 7th International Conference on Urban and ExtraUrban Studies, 11 November, Philadelphia.

Ahn B (2016) *Not Just Like Any Foreigners: Re-definition of Diasporic Identity in the Wake of Mounting Islamophobia*. The 2016 Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism, 20 April, London.

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1. Introduction: Justice *in* the City

Once regarded as the physical embodiment of modernizing postwar democracies, the declining urban centers of Western cities since the late 1950s began manifesting a burgeoning gap between the ideal and reality of functionalist urban planning (Wakeman, 2014). On both sides of the Atlantic, the increasing partnership between global property developers and bureaucratic public institutions resulted in the standardization of planning design and practice in postwar transnational urbanism (Klemek, 2011). Taken out of their original contexts, this global circulation of converging planning concepts and underlying socioeconomic objectives reinforced a myriad of new urban problems, such as diffusion of activities and functions to suburban locations, and market-oriented downtown revitalization (Gregg, 2019). In reaction to growth-oriented (sub)urban expansion (Goodman, 1972) on the one hand, and corporatist policy-making of non-representative public institutions (Clavel, 1986), on the other, the beginning of the 1960s, in turn, witnessed an emergence of grassroots mobilization and scientific debates, calling for human-centered urban development against private consumption and social isolation in the modern city (Mitscherlich, 1965). Concerned with the aesthetic and functional uniformity that obscures the internal differences within cities, architects and planners in this period stressed the urgency to create the connective matrix of small-scale built environments. At this turn in urban politics, they advocated stimulating an emotional connection of citizens with the general image of the city (Lynch, 1960), and promoting social cohesion by mixture of interactions and uses among strangers in the city 'that give(s) each other constant mutual support, both economically and socially' (Jacobs, 1961: 14).

While such celebration of close-grained 'difference' and 'smallness' still resonates with contemporary planning practice and urban design (see, for example, UN-Habitat, 2018), the idealization of diversity and its real-life application in this progressive movement simultaneously attracted criticisms for ignoring the contribution of existing social conditions to the city's vitality or dullness (Gans, 1962). Indeed, the latent determinism that conflates multiple domains of urban diversity into a physical abstraction not only fails to reflect upon different social needs and wants in the real world, but also presupposes its 'nostalgic appeal to "community" as a panacea for our social and economic as well as our urban ills' (Harvey, 1997: 2). Marxist and Poststructuralist scholars[1] who criticized this idealistic undertone in communitarianism questioned the intrinsic power relations regarding justice and injustice, in particular uneven distribution of economic resources (see Harvey, 2009), and lacking recognition of intersecting group differences (see Sandercock, 1998). Contrary to the communitarian bias that overestimates certain spatial forms to create a good city life, such (deliberative) democratic theorists, in response, emphasized the procedural inequalities within corporate and state bureaucracies that reproduce

[1] Both strands of debate focused on unequal social relations between group differences as the source of injustice. However, the latter was concerned not only with class-based domination in the context of capitalism, but also with social disrespect for multiple identities in the era of postmodernism.

the domination and oppression of marginalized voices in public decision-making[2]. By focusing on communication and deliberation, scholars in this tradition advocated just processes in achieving the affirmation of group differences, such as ethnicity, gender, and race, calling for the restructuring of public participation that is more open and local (see Young, 1990). Arising from this viewpoint, some have further built on Lefebvre's (1996) notion of the 'right to the city', envisioning full development of human and spatial capabilities against unjust social and economic processes (see *Commons Planning* in Marcuse, 2009; and *Spatial Justice* in Soja, 2010).

Against this call for wider inclusion of difference in the social and political process, however, others have cast doubt on deeper democracy as the normative standards for just politics, giving priority to substantive outcomes – rather than communicative processes – that result from the real-world effects of public institutions and policies. In the planning literature, the primary concern over the communicative shift toward a deliberative approach has been the conceptualization of 'justice as something performed in action rather than something that can be outlined in theory' (Fincher and Iveson, 2012: 234). Those in this stream of work perceived that communicative planning theorists assume injustice to emerge from an inadequate recognition of diverse voices in the planning process itself, rather than a concrete outcome of its actual implementation located in a specific institutional, political, and social reality. Criticisms against effective communication as a parameter of justice confront the fallacy of localism, which may limit deliberation to exclusive social groups and, thus, produce outcomes biased toward certain interests (see Campbell, 2006). In this light, the opponents of the communicative model questioned, as to exactly which public institutions and policies can generate better processes based on distributive norms of justice and, as a result, which distributive effects for which social groups in the redistributive outcome (see Fainstein, 2005).

This conceptual difference of seeing justice (as a matter of *outcome*, rather than *process*) holds great importance for not only identifying the root cause of the injustice in question, but also making explicit normative reflections on existing institutions and policies, 'relat(ing) to actual cases or experiences "on the ground"' (Olson and Sayer, 2009: 189). Such a stance sees justice and injustice as a real-world institutional outcome that emanates from the particular governance norms and practices under scrutiny that not only maldistribute resource or misrecognize difference, but ultimately misframe – thus misrepresent – 'who counts as a bona fide subject of justice' (Fraser, 2009: 5). Accordingly, the kind of planning that truly empowers misrepresented differences is seen to require the kind of policy that ensures equitable representation in the provision of public goods and services, not the one that simply strives for greater openness in democratic decision-making (Fung, 2006). Despite growing inclusion of

[2] Deliberative democratic theory prioritizes the constitutional principles of basic liberty and opportunity *of all* as the foundation of justice in policy-making. This contrasts with the liberal conceptualization of justice as utilitarian morality of decision-makers serving the great majority. For more, see Gutmann and Thompson (1996).

civil society in new modes of governance, in fact, there is considerable empirical evidence that open communication and empowerment in public decision-making are not only insufficient to generate substantive policy effects in the outcome, but also subject to self-selection biases among resource-rich participants, which may further marginalize the disadvantaged in the process (see Warren, 2009). Therefore, this strand of debate has argued that the pursuit of justice in an ever-diversifying urban life relates to providing a tailored attention to those who benefit relatively less from existing policy system of resource distribution and status recognition, rather than an equal treatment of group differences in the process of deliberation (see Fainstein, 2010).

This dissertation builds on this ongoing debate on different conceptions of urban justice, in the context of increasing incorporation of the city's diversifying populations into the local planning process. Reflecting on existing literature on citizen participation, social interaction, and urban governance across different academic disciplines, it aims to provide a systematic reflection on the role of urban institutions, of which cognitive, normative, and regulative effects prescribe social actors with structured contexts, as well as constraints, for their social behavior in everyday life (North, 1990; Scott, 1995). Specifically, it introduces the case of Vienna's participatory urban renewal model (Soft Urban Renewal) to study both the place-specific opportunities and constraints of citizen participation in a complex governance process, of which social and political outcomes mirror the distinctive level of political capacity, financial resources, and structural conditions that surround the institutions and policies in question.

Concerned with practical goals and empirical outcomes of growing citizen-state interaction, it takes inspiration from those in advocacy of equitable outcome over deliberative process. However, it sees that the extent and scope of its outreach rest not on the static arrangements of public institutions and government programs alone, but ultimately on the long-term legacies of political compromises and power struggles among governance actors that influence their unique trajectories of development. This analytical viewpoint confronts urban (in)justice as an institutional outcome that results from the specific political dynamics between competing discourses, ideologies, and practices with unequal implications for resource allocation (see Mahoney and Thelen, 2010).

The approach here is to consider the key issues of urban justice within the concrete historical process of urban development using Vienna as a case in point. In fact, Vienna and its progressive redistributive policies have gained considerable attention not only in the social sciences, but also in media and politics, inspiring activists and politicians across different cities to import its core ideas and practices. In the planning literature, some cite its housing, zoning and development policies as a model example of good planning. Yet, only a few has evoked the distinctive contexts and properties of its institutions and policies, obscuring the historical origins, change processes, and power asymmetries embedded in the organizational structure of the city's overarching planning system.

In these reflections, the thesis discussion and the enclosed publications address the following research question: How have the historical power struggles among governance actors in external crises opened up a space for participatory governance in Vienna over time, and, in doing so, have shaped the specific capacities, constraints, and outcomes of citizen participation in the local planning process? This question concurs with the call to 'develop robust understandings of why city planning systems…developed the way they did, and what impacts of planning have been in difference cities' (Sorensen, 2015: 31). Its primary objective is to unpack the concrete historical change processes of the city's renewal institutions and policies, and identify their change-permitting – or –limiting – properties that mediate the place-specific consequences of structural shifts in their own ways and, as a result, emanate an urban outcome that is truly unique to the case of Vienna.

The overall thesis discussion is structured as follows: First, it highlights the different analytical dimensions that surround the two major themes in this dissertation: a) the democratic values of growing citizen-state interaction in urban planning; and b) the social implications of participatory governance for everyday interaction in the city's diverse places. Indeed, different strands of literature on urban governance have offered several ways to capture the origin, process, and outcome of new governance modes in planning, each of which – despite own shortcomings – has made significant contributions to real-world planning practices. Similarly, the increasing normalization of urban diversity as an everyday reality set off intense discussions across different disciplines of urban studies. Since then, each has located the source of conflict and division in different social and political contexts and, thus, called for different types of public intervention to address inequalities at the everyday and policy level. The aim of this chapter is to streamline the conflicting – and sometimes overlapping – concerns, arguments, and calls for intervention in the current state of debate on both thematic issues.

Second, it addresses the need for research, including remaining gaps and questions, in existing scholarship on participatory governance in general, and the case of Vienna in particular. In short, extant research has largely focused on the negative interaction between the city's top-down policy-making style and the growing push toward bottom-up innovation, concentrating decisional power to state actors, and, thus, inhibiting meaningful inclusion of civil society in the governance process. While this tendency has led to a call for open communication and deliberation that empower non-institutional actors to directly influence policy-making, such a static approach to complex, long-term relationships among urban institutions and governance actors presents several analytical shortcomings. Likewise, the conception of diversity and the resultant everyday sociality as a product of the neo-liberal governance of migration and integration has been less useful in understanding the specific capabilities of state actors and civil society within existing governance arrangements, obscuring more fundamental issues that surround policy-making in the real world. These remaining gaps and questions in existing literature serve as the point of departure in this dissertation, providing the basis for the empirical reflections on the

structural challenges, response capacities and social impacts of Vienna's renewal institutions and policies.

Third, the methodological framework is presented, which outlines the mix of research methods that was deployed to empirically reflect on the long-term process and outcome of the two Soft Urban Renewal cases (*Brunnenviertel*/*Sonnwendviertel*) examined in this dissertation. This is followed by a short overview of the enclosed publications (3 published book chapters and 2 submitted manuscripts), each functioning as a section in Chapter 6. Finally, the concluding chapter returns to the main research question, reviewing the major research findings of each publication, and placing the core argument of the overall dissertation within the current debate on justice in the city.

Taken together, the thesis discussion and the enclosed publications explore the contested issues of making participatory governance more just and diverse. As citizen participation and urban diversity became popular buzzwords in urban politics and social activism, both top-down and bottom-up push toward greater democracy and multiculturalism has made contemporary policy-making indeed more open and diverse than it has ever been before. Contrary to popular expectations of citizen participation and multiculturalism, however, their disconnections from the reality of both policy-making and everyday life are compounded by various types of intervening contextual factors, such as institutional incentives and constraints, existing intra-urban inequalities, and specific historical patterns of economic and urban development, among many others. In fact, new patterns of inequality and division have emerged in cities not only due to exacerbating structural and institutional conditions, but also as a direct result of such governmental actions (Fainstein, 2010: 35). Perceiving these issues as context-bound outcomes born out of the specific local setting in question, the additional purpose of this dissertation is to prompt discussion on the unique properties of the institutions and policies in cities, influencing their differentiated abilities to innovate and cope with the increasing pressure for change. This dynamic approach to the local context and process of institutional development is aimed at informing both research and practice in the wake of globally circulating 'best practices', of which tendency to blur their historical situatedness may render converging policies ineffective – if not negative – at a particular urban scale. Some value-added of this standpoint is discussed in the concluding chapter, contributing to the opportunities for future research directions in comparative urban studies.

2. Theoretical Debates

2.1. Diversity and Participation in Urban Governance

Research on the nature of political participation and civic engagement in the urban context abounds[3]. Following post-Fordist state rescaling, urban scholars employed different theoretical lenses to delineate

[3] There is a rich literature on mass political participation that builds on several theoretical orientations, spanning over the last few decades. These include: *Socioeconomic Status Model* (e.g., Verba et al., 1993); *Rational Choice*

the changing relationship between state and civil society of the Keynesian managerial state. One of the earliest discussions on this structural transformation stemmed from Regulation Theory, which stressed the macro-economic roots and implications behind the converging entrepreneurial governance trend in a zero-sum inter-urban competition (Harvey, 1989). In this light, critical geographers argued that the restructuring of Fordist regulatory forms and the resultant breakdown of state responsibility to lower levels or private actors reterritorialized the institutional space of flexible accumulation below the nation-state (Swyngedouw, 1989). Scholars in this line of argument saw emerging market-like forms of governance to have not only rolled-back existing regulatory frameworks for economic competitiveness, but also rolled-out new state intervention mechanisms, feeding back into new subjects and spaces of supply-side policies at the urban level (Jessop, 2002). They perceived growing state-local partnership models, especially since the 1990s, to embody the simultaneous maturation of neoliberal policy regimes, which began incorporating the progressive critiques on bureaucratic Keynesianism and, thus, transforming community-driven mechanisms into new governing techniques for a competitive edge (Mayer, 2013).

In '(the) shift from "government" to "governance"' (Swyngedouw, 2005: 1993), this tradition of geographical scholarship considered that the roll-out of new instruments and tools for urban competitiveness placed the city scale within the hierarchies of the global economy (Brenner, 2004), and outsourced diverse state functions and responsibilities to citizens and communities in the name of self-management or self-organization (Taylor, 2007). Drawing on Foucault's (1991) notion of governmentality, it interpreted the emergence of new – yet weak – participatory forms and deliberative processes as the tools and instruments of the neoliberal governing rationality, using consensus formation to suppress political dissent and retain social legitimacy (Swyngedouw, 2009). Concerned with such neoliberal strategies that deregulate the market, on the one hand, and reregulate civil society, on the other, the Regulation Theory literature, therefore, viewed democratic deficits in new local partnerships consequently to erode meaningful inclusion of civil society in state decision by limiting participatory channels to exclusive social networks, who lack democratic accountability (Purcell, 2009).

Notwithstanding its scientific and social contributions challenging the dominant power structures (Harvey, 2006; Kesby, 2007), Regulation Theory has since faced a multitude of criticisms. While critical geographers, e.g. Peck and Tickell (2006) and Brenner et al. (2010), recognized context-sensitive local conditions that contribute to variegated outcomes of neoliberalization, its claim on the hegemonic neoliberal order at the global scale met with sustained criticism for universalizing the primary source of (urban) policy change (see Venugopal, 2015). In response, scholars across different disciplines within urban studies raised questions about the theory's overemphasis on economic rationality

Theory (e.g., Aldrich, 1993); *Social Capital Theory* (e.g., Putnam, 1993); and *Institutional Theory* (e.g., Rothstein, 1998). For the purpose of this thesis, the following section deals with the debate regarding citizen-state interaction in contemporary urban governance.

(Moulaert et al., 2007); conceptual stretching of neoliberalism (Storper, 2016); neglecting the resilience of existing institutional and political structures at the local level (Le Galès, 2016) and the role of institutionalized behaviors of state actors in the variegation process (González et al., 2018).

Some planning theorists, inspired by the sociological variant of New Institutionalism[4], stressed the transformative effects of place-based rules, norms and practices, reinforcing specific interactions between key participants in governance activities, 'which shape the interests actors have, their conceptions of their strategies and their repertories of action' (Coaffee and Healey, 2003: 1982). They laid emphasis on the generative power of governance actors and networks *vis-à-vis* its specific spatial and temporal context, being able – or unable – to frame new discourses and practices that challenge mainstream politics (González and Healey, 2005). This strand of debate, therefore, argued that the transformative potential of collective actions that can challenge the established planning culture much depend on the diffusion of innovative concepts and practices to higher governance levels, necessitating legitimization by the society at large and institutionalization into routine governing policies (Healey, 2006, 2012). Against the dominant governance culture, featuring centralist top-down knowledge transfer and resource allocation and – as a result – inhibiting true community empowerment, this process-oriented perspective advocated *collaborative practices* (Healey, 1998); *consensus-building* (Innes and Booher, 1999); and *networked communities* (Booher and Innes, 2002) for building the institutional capacity of grassroots activities. Inspired by Habermas's (1984) theory of rationality based on consensual social coordination generating emancipatory knowledge, this communicative call was 'grounded in a discursive understanding of knowledge…(and) anchored to a much deeper focus on discourse and deliberation' (Fischer, 2009: 57).

In contrast, other planning theorists in different schools of thought[5] contended that the theory's naïve trust in the power of open communication disregards existing socioeconomic problems and on-the-ground institutional constraints, which might work against achieving communicative goals in real-world situations (cf. Innes and Booher, 2015; see also Sager, 2009). In critique of undue assumptions about deliberative processes producing just planning outcomes, those, who were concerned with the practical application of democratic theory in non-ideal contexts, focused on the actual contents, designs, and outputs of the institutions and policies at issue, reflecting their respective context-sensitivity (Campbell and Marshall, 2006). Planning theorists in this line of debate argued that adequate redistribution of

[4] Rational Choice Institutionalism also made important contributions to planning theory, arguing that self-interested rational actors adjust institutional designs in order to reduce transaction costs in a complex interorganizational system – hence, coordinative planning between public and private sectors (see Alexander, 2007). Its main tenets, however, remain susceptible to criticism for abstracting institutions to aggregations of incentives and functions, on the one hand, and reducing historical and sociological sensitivity, on the other (see Hay and Wincott, 1998; Thelen, 1999).

[5] These include: Mouffe's Agonistic Theory (McGuirk, 2001); Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (Fischler, 2000); political economy (Fainstein, 2000); and also Critical Social Theory itself (Huxley, 2000).

power to civil society requires normative judgements on existing decision-making system and its distributional consequences, evaluating the actual outcomes of public participation for the misrepresented and misrecognized in mainstream politics. Contrary to the conception of participatory justice based on the universal conditions of ideal speech or constitutional rights of basic opportunity, they focused on explicit governing principles to define urban justice, e.g. *democracy*; *diversity*; and *equity*[6] (Fainstein, 2010; see also Fincher and Iveson, 2008). By applying such normative criteria, they prioritized measuring the relative extent of representation, recognition, and redistribution in existing public institutions and policies, and, thus, asking 'who benefits and who accesses what outputs each group in the population receives' (59).

Similarly, a growing body of literature on collaborative and participatory governance has also challenged the conception of horizontal and networked communication as a normative *must* on which urban justice is built (see Healey, 2012), or grassroots social movements as the principal force of social change (see Mayer, 2009). In response to proliferating new forms of local citizen-state interaction, there has been an increasing concern over not only tokenism in citizen participation legitimizing the vested interests of powerful policy actors, but also inequitable outcomes of community-based initiatives. Despite having emerged as a response to democratic deficits in electoral representation, self-selecting mechanisms in the bottom-up participatory approach often reinforced existing inequalities in the small-scale planning process (e.g. Chiodelli and Baglione, 2014), and became a vehicle for promoting the 'most intense interests and loudest voices' (Warren, 2008: 56). Without necessarily ruling out the potential of the top-down approach to decision-making, the urban governance literature advocated the mutually reinforcing effects of collaboration between citizen and government capabilities (van Meerkerk, 2019), combining both institutional and social innovation (Eizaguirre et al., 2012), and achieving more affirmative public-community relationships as well as its effectiveness in action (Stout and Love, 2017). Therefore, this area of scholarship has increasingly shed light on the organizational settings and qualities of diverse participatory mechanisms that generate differentiated pathways and outcomes of citizen participation in public decision-making and its actual implementation (see Hendriks, 2014).

This organizational aspect of collaborative governance forms is gaining more relevance for designing equitable citizen participation in today's networked policy-making. While similar participatory instruments and tools travel between neighborhoods and cities in contemporary urban governance (e.g. Ganuza and Baiocchi, 2012), in fact, there is increasing evidence of ambiguities behind their diverging logics, according to which their respective aims, objectives, and target groups significantly differ in the local planning process (Bartocci et al., 2019). Concerned with diverging experiences and

[6] For its empirical application in other thematic areas of urban studies, see Connolly (2019); Dlabac et al. (2020); Steele et al. (2012).

Figure 2.1.1 Three-Dimensional Space of Participatory Design Choices
Source: Own Elaboration after Fung's (2006) Institutional Design Space

outcomes that characterize the local governance contexts, those in this stream of work employed normative frameworks for evaluating the diverse possibilities of participatory institutions and their designs (e.g. Fung, 2006; Hendriks, 2014; Rowe and Frewer, 2004; Stout and Love, 2017). Expanding on – the limitations[7] of – Arnstein's (1969) influential 'ladder of citizen participation', Fung (2006, 2015), for example, framed a three-dimensional institutional design space, measuring the particular potential and limits of participatory mechanisms in relation to 'who' (*participants*), 'how' (*communication*/*decision-making*) and 'what' (*authority*/*power*) (see Figure 2.1.1). Here, *justice*-enhancing reforms, e.g. participatory budgeting, diminish political inequality by expanding the 'who' and 'what' dimensions of the institutional design space, advancing the needs of those who are ill-served by a given institution or public policy from dealing with a particular urban problem (Fung, 2006: 72). Accordingly, they may require a substantive political objective and structural incentives that redistribute power and resource to a specific target group and area, of which 'how' dimension, as a result, diverge from other participatory mechanisms promoting *effectiveness*, e.g. administrative decentralization, or *legitimacy*, e.g. public meetings and hearings. Although advocating checks and balances against malfunctioning institutions, such a justice-oriented approach to citizen participation does not rule out the redistributive potential of

[7] According to Arnstein's typology, the outcomes of participatory formats vary depending on the degree of decisional power delegated to community groups (*community control*). While her theory has since been advanced by many (see Ianniello et al., 2019; Weymouth and Hartz-Karp, 2019), the question still stands among scholars, as to whether empowerment of autonomous citizens necessarily generate better outcomes for 'society's have-nots' than insulated decision-making by professionals (see Fainstein and Lubinsky, 2021). Additionally, it remains yet doubtful, just how much full citizen control in the planning process is achievable or even desirable for public actors or citizens themselves (e.g. Bailey et al., 2011).

local state intervention. Instead, it stresses the importance of sustained mediation and interaction with all those involved in a complex governance process, rooted in the rules and criteria set by institutionalized organs of participation, which not only negate the uneven concentration of decisional power, but also ensure proper redistribution of resources to substantiate participatory outcomes (e.g. Sousa Santos, 1998). In this respect, the incorporation of marginalized voices that truly advances social justice – rather than the interests of self-serving communities – is an institutional outcome. It results from active public engagement that not only recognizes multiple social identities in the process, but also attends to the promotion of equitable economic, political, and social opportunities for the least advantaged in the outcome (see *Conscience of Planning* in Banerjee, 2007; *Capabilities Approach* in Fainstein, 2010; and *Equity Planning* in Krumholz and Hexter, 2018).

2.2. Diversity and Social Interaction in Everyday Life

Following the 'proliferation and mutually conditioning effects of additional variables' (Vertovec, 2007: 1025), the 'diversity-turn' in the social sciences and policy discourse provided scholars with a new analytical lens for understanding urban complexity beyond the ethnicity-based research focus in prior scholarship (Berg and Sigona, 2013). Concerned with the new demographic reality of globalizing cities, geographers and sociologists in this line of work have explored the normalcy of increasing diversification in everyday life and its translation into more ambiguous attitudes toward 'others' than the ordinary celebration of contemporary multiculturalism (see Neal et al., 2017). This 'broadly intersectional approach[8]' (Hall, 2017: 1565) sought to move away from the fixation of imagined group ideals in mainstream politics to the concept of multiculture, where the perceived differences between individuals and communities have an unremarkable presence in their everyday instantiation. Reflecting on the Goffman's (1963) rules of social interaction, according to which individuals appropriate social behaviors in the presence of 'others', these studies shed light on quotidian coexistence of the city's diverse populations in public spaces, where group differences are unworthy of an eye reflection in the mundane reality of urban heterogeneity (see *Civil Inattention* in Jones et al., 2015; Neal et al., 2016; Radice, 2016; and Wise and Velayutham, 2014).

In this argument, everyday practice of living-with-difference characterizes the place-based ethics of public civility, whereby individuals remain indifferent to each other in their (in)voluntary interactions in short-lived encounters, as their temporal membership to semi-public spaces facilitates conviviality and receptivity. Such interactions embody everyday urbanism that requires no particular sense of multicultural communitarianism, but rather habituation of group differences rooted in their banality within 'local micropublics' (Amin, 2002). Here, 'civilities of indifference to difference' emerge from

[8] Contrary to the criticism raised by feminist theorists (see Ahmed, 2008), the proponents of super-diversity see their conceptualization of emerging new social categories to elevate the limitations in the intersectional approach, which exclusively focuses on class, gender, and race (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015).

the ‘free, but fair play, plural but safe flow’ (Amin, 2012: 71) physical subset of the daily urban life, where ‘creative and intuitive…ordinary people’ learn to act civil (Gilroy, 2006). In such ‘parochial realm’, cultural, ethnic, racial, or religious differences are acknowledged, but avoided, and often talked about, but without necessarily being sanctioned (Wessendorf, 2014: 393).

Given that such exchange mostly occurs in the city’s shared spaces, many focused on the prosaic nature of locally-built contact environment, such as café (Laurier and Philo, 2006), leisure space (Jackson, 2018), street (Hall, 2015), and park (Rishbeth and Rogaly, 2018), where thin forms of micro-sociality encourage strangers to step outside their cultural comfort zones. Unlike the criticism on the ‘distinct and deliberate bias toward positive relation’ (Sealy, 2018: 700), this strand of literature does not rule out the negative dialectics of conviviality in tension with commonplace intolerance (see Gilroy, 2004). On the contrary, at the center of its argument, it situates everyday encounters and interactions at the crossroad between pre-existing conditions of aversion and the framing of migration in mainstream politics, ‘redefining social attitudes and feelings toward strangers’ (Amin, 2013: 5). Far from advocating a utopian multicultural society, this argument, instead, confronts multifaceted expressions of living-with-difference, featuring both conviviality and conflict (Karner and Parker, 2011); indifference and racism (Tyler, 2016); and hospitality and hostility (Valluvan, 2016).

Concurrent with its widespread use across different fields of social science, those, who argue against ‘super-diversity as a methodological lens’, cautioned that the abstraction of urban complexity into migration-driven social diversification obscures existing structural inequalities, political powers or policy concerns (see Aptekar, 2019; Hall, 2017; Sealy, 2018; cf. Vertovec, 2019). While the city’s co-dwellers do indeed strike up a friendly conversation waiting in line at a shopping mall (Wise and Velayutham, 2009) or remain indifferent to others’ presence at a communal library (Peterson, 2017), such a narrow conceptualization of everyday life underestimates the gap between micro-scale interpersonal connections and entrenched prejudices toward minority groups. In fact, the ethics of ‘indifferent-to-difference’ in fleeting encounters between strangers might not sustain the same intensity of acceptance to create a meaningful intercultural dialogue between community-based narratives. In contrast to the common meaning in the multiculture literature, civil inattention in its original sense[9] refers to the particular expressive order of emotive self-representation, which makes the ‘performer’ feels good, honored, and proud (Goffman, 1967: 9).

In this light, geographers, who reflect on Allport’s (1954) hypothesis on contact-elicited reduction of intergroup anxiety, criticized the underlying cosmopolitan bias toward intercultural competence

[9] According to Goffman’s (1963, 1967) dramaturgical approach, social interaction revolves around the working consensus of a temporal situation, where one acts ‘civil’ to maintain own self-image (*face*). Thus, one performs the courtesy of civil inattention for the sake of consistency between self-image and action, which otherwise results in embarrassing ‘defacement’ (*out of line*).

in the literature (see Valentine, 2008). Because human interactions rest on already-existing social hierarchies in shared spaces, this strand of debate argued that physical proximity to difference alone is not enough to scale up individual moments of conviviality to mutual respect for social outgroups. While 'indifference-to-difference' might indicate 'ritualized codes of etiquette…sedimented into public modes of being' (Valentine, 2008: 329), this argument sees superficial – whether incidental or purposeful – encounters between individuals as insufficient to reduce social prejudices toward unknown 'others' that are more deeply rooted in the specific histories and geographies of places (Valentine et al., 2015). Instead, they opt for a context-sensitive approach to structural inequalities within everyday encounters and interactions, of which social outcomes are conditioned on other mediating contexts, such as values and attitudes toward 'others' rooted in the lived-experience of migration (Gawlewicz, 2016); spatial configurations of micro-scale contact zones (Mayblin et al., 2015); or socialization experiences with minorities (Piekut and Valentine, 2017).

Additionally, the research within social psychology further contends that fleeting encounters in the daily context are highly contingent on the participants' own interpretation of the rules of interaction, and, as such, 'are only one way of investigating the relationship between contact and social change…and arguably not the most important way' (Dixon et al., 2005: 706). Optimal conditions and strategies for 'good contact' that Contact Hypothesis proposes, such as cooperation toward the achievement of a superordinate goal, are, in fact, very limited in the everyday setting (699). Therefore, various socio-spatial contexts behind the intergroup experiences in question always operate in tandem with individual-level behavioral mechanisms, leading to social outcomes that are largely conditional (Laurence, 2014). Given that unfocused interactions in the daily life might be mere temporal expressions of being-in-public, rather than significant intercultural exchange with meaningful social impacts, this stream of research, furthermore, warns of the descriptive naivety in the literature for misinforming policy-making, which underestimates more fundamental social issues in action (see Matejskova and Leitner, 2011). Instead, it calls for a public policy with a specific focus on addressing existing urban inequalities and, thus, enhancing the 'perceived fairness of resource distribution between majority and minority populations' (Valentine, 2008: 334), which connects social prejudice toward minority groups with the dynamics of urban politics (e.g. Rocha and Espino, 2009.).

Reflecting on the increasing influence of neo-liberal restructuring in cities, some, among them anthropologists, have called upon the research to more directly engage with uneven power relations in the process of social transformation in contemporary urban life (see Glick Schiller and Schmidt, 2016). Their critical reading of the scholarship on social interaction in diverse 'communities' is wary of the messy conceptualization of everyday sociabilities[10] and structural inequalities as naturally existing in

[10] They argue that the sense of fleeting encounters and interactions that is commonly evoked in the super-diversity scholarship, in fact, denotes *sociality*, rather than *sociability* (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2016). Contrary to the

urban localities (e.g. Çağlar and Glick Schiller, 2018). Drawing on the critical geographers who position *place* within interconnected social and political processes of 'being-made' (Massey, 2005), this strand of debate builds on a new ethnographic approach, focusing on the intersecting – and globally expanding – multiscalar networks of power that turn such places into reality (see Mueller, 2016; Tsuda et al., 2014; Xiang, 2013). This methodological approach challenges the empiricism in existing research on globalization and transnationalism that limits the interrelationships between different actors, institutions, and places to a mere connection between otherwise distinct entities in the global world (see *Comparative Relational Approach* in Çağlar and Glick Schiller, 2021; see also Feldman, 2011). By upscaling living-with-difference beyond the static physicality of a place – as it *becomes*, rather than it *is*, this perspective provides a new relational understanding of the cross-scale production and management of shifting urban narratives in the politics of place-making, around which migrants and non-migrants – also native-born minorities – alike form their social world and new relationships with each other (see Miraftab, 2016).

In a similar vein, some geographers and sociologists have reflected on the politicization of diversity in the context of building creative and competitive cities, forming a simplified – and selective – narrative of coexistence and multiculturalism in policy-making and, as a result, creating particular social imaginaries about 'others' at the local level (see Raco and Tasan-Kok, 2019; Ye, 2019). Considering such differential inclusion 'as part of the apparatus of governance and governmentality of diversity and the diverse subject' (Ye, 2017: 1042), this scholarship argues that everyday manifestation of diversity in urban spaces embodies the representational framework behind the governance of migration and integration. They perceived that it selectively incorporates 'others' into governmental spaces for economic and political purposes (see Hoekstra, 2018; Raco and Kesten, 2018; Uitermark et al., 2005; Ye and Yeoh, 2018). Here, the local perception of diversity and changing social surroundings is interpreted as a product of a highly contextual process, reflecting the specific history and geography of its location, where certain behaviours and expectations of 'others' are imposed by public interventions in different social spaces of everyday life, such as employment (Yeoh, 2006), mobility (Ye, 2017), or residence (Collins, 2016). Therefore, this strand of work contends that the ambivalences of living-with-difference in the daily life mirror the lived experiences that surround the politics of creative growth and development, which 'has gone hand-in-hand with growing socio-economic inequalities and division' (Raco and Kesten, 2018: 911). Arguing that negative outgroup attitudes feed off growing inequalities in the built environment of contemporary urban policy, it calls for policy interventions that focus on economic, social, and political conditions, 'promot(ing) more positive modes of encounter…regularized, repeated, and institutionally-mediated social interactions in breaking down barriers to difference' (Raco, 2018: 158).

intergroup exchange between social collectivities, the latter shall imply 'real' human associations around mutual experiences that bring individuals together in everyday life (Amirou, 1989).

3. Need for Research: Remaining Gaps and Questions in Existing Literature

Vienna's municipal socialism has a long history of promoting social inclusion in urban development through redistributive policy interventions. While other cities, such as Amsterdam, Barcelona, London, Singapore, or New York, have been at the center of debate on emerging forms of social citizenship in urban governance, Vienna has gained considerable scholarly attention in recent years, most notably in the field of housing (see Friesenecker and Cucca, 2021). As for the planning literature, scholars cite Vienna as a model planning example for other cities, suggesting 'any list (of good planning examples) should include late imperial Vienna and the "Red Vienna" of the 1920s and early 1930s' (Ward, 2013: 300). Nevertheless, the distinctive political, social, and structural contexts that characterize the long-run evolution of Vienna's planning institutions and policies remain understudied, obscuring the historical origins, change processes, and power asymmetries embedded in the organizational structure of its planning system. So far, only a few reviews on the historical patterns of institutional development and their path-dependent outcomes exist, necessitating a 'deeper analysis of the city's planning history(,) and systematic confrontation with distinct planning phases' (Suitner, 2021: 886).

This issue is not limited to extant research on Vienna's planning system. Notwithstanding the growing interest on the variegated pathways of regulatory landscapes at the urban level, there is an overall lack of systematic exploration on the concrete historical processes of institutional change and their long-term legacies on the diverging local outcomes in different cities, which reinforce the distinctive distributional effects of urban institutions in their overall developmental trajectories. In this light, scholars, who are inspired by Historical Institutionalism, called for incorporating the theory's core concepts, such as critical juncture, path-dependence, and incrementalism, into urban studies to capture the cause-and-effect relationships between the sequencing of policy events and the institutional outcome of interest (see Sorensen, 2015). Rather than seeing institutions as static sets of formal rules and practices, this perspective sees processes of institutional change – or continuity – to emerge from 'ongoing mobilization of political support…to resolve institutional ambiguities' in favor of the beneficiaries of existing institutions (Mahoney and Thelen, 2010: 10).

While much has been said about the mediating role of urban institutions and government programs behind the local outcomes of external crises (see Brenner et al., 2010), their existence alone fails to describe the very sources of institutional change patterns that characterize the internal dynamics of the specific policy-making system in question. In fact, the opportunities and constraints for change in external crises may depend on the part of the actors themselves, such as their ability to reflect on the errors in the past policy process, respond to feedback, and use these experiences to formulate a new direction in future policy-making (see Hay and Wincott, 1998; Howlett, 2009; Mahoney, 2000). Contrary to the common use of path-dependence in the urban context, no policy decision made in a critical juncture remains entirely static in the long-run (cf. Robertson et al., 2010). While a long-standing policy

path might appear locked-in on the surface, the capacity of policy actors to act on feedback at the instrumental level can induce within-path variations of tools, incentives, techniques, and actions (Daugbjerg and Kay, 2020).

Incorporating these concepts into the historical analysis of urban institutions and policies raises some questions, as to: Why do certain institutions and policies appear locked-in in one city, but continue to evolve in others? What are the intervening mechanisms and conditions behind the changing – or lasting – impact of past policy choices for present and future policy-making? Or how do these contextual factors influence the variegated outcomes of policy convergence in different cities? Such questions entail important implications for not only identifying the root cause of the specific urban issue in question, but also formulating realistic and outcome-oriented policy interventions.

The core concepts and approaches of Historical Institutionalism offer a valuable analytical lens, through which emerging urban problems can be viewed as a result of a concrete historical process of political compromises and power struggles. They shed light on the dialectic relationship between structure and agency, of which 'outcomes can in no sense be derived from the extant institutional context itself' (Hay and Wincott, 1998: 955). Indeed, existing studies on both citizen participation in urban governance and social interaction in everyday life began to pay more attention to the institutional and opportunity structures of cities, shaping the local outcomes of universal convergence within global capitalism. Without referencing the internal dynamics behind the unique developmental trajectories of the institutions and policies under scrutiny, however, this theoretical abstraction faces several key problems in explaining urban policy changes and their real-world instantiation, 'present(ing) barriers to any understanding of the urban as a concrete social phenomenon' (Storper and Scott, 2016: 1115).

This dissertation addresses two major issues at stake. First, the indiscriminate conception of the urban as a mere localized version of global urbanism mistreats the hegemonic neoliberal order as the primary source of urban policy change. It misconceives growing citizen-state interaction in urban governance as a product and popular social imaginaries of urban diversity as a by-product of the city's neoliberal restructuring process in contemporary global capitalism, rather than a distinctive socio-spatial articulation of deliberate institutional attempts to govern conflicts and problems across different historical periods (see Le Galès, 2016; Storper, 2016; Venugopal, 2015). Theorizing systematic and hegemonic power as the source of change leads to the second – and more practical – problem. So far, scholars across different academic disciplines have called for participatory democratic processes to transform the dominant governance relations in the context of neoliberal restructuring (see Brenner, 2017; Healey, 2006; Mayer, 2013). However, the underlying assumption that greater grassroots participation in public decision-making can benefit society at large in the process and achieve justice in the outcome is less concerned about 'the very core of social life where the basic mechanisms of injustice, inequality, political oppression and other major causes of inequality and unrest reside' (Scott and Storper, 2015: 13).

The practical limitations of the current approach to diversity in most discussions on everyday encounters and interactions typify these shortcomings. While building on different theoretical traditions, those in the scholarship on living-with-difference share an overall pessimistic view of public policy-making in the neo-liberal era, perceiving the thin celebration of diversity as a policy object to exacerbate existing inequalities in the city and, as a result, deepen the social divisions of difference in its everyday spaces. Grounded in the conception of diversity and the resultant everyday sociality as a product of the governance of migration and integration, different strands of debate have called upon civil society to mobilize against the dominant governance culture, and state actors to mediate social interactions between strangers by reducing structural inequalities. In this view, however, the question regarding which resource distribution and status recognition is at all possible for whom and by whom within existing governance arrangements remains unanswered, obscuring more fundamental issues that surround policy-making in the real world.

In fact, cities represent only 'one layer in the hierarchy of governance' (Fainstein, 2010: 17), and, their capacity to intervene in structural problems, transform governance processes, and, as a result, overcome inequalities is very much limited within their respective sphere of influence. Some of the following questions may help to highlight the various ways, in which contextual factors shape the place-specific potential and limits of increasing participation for an open and diverse governance process: Why did the city's participatory institutions emerge and how did they evolve over time? Who were the main actors behind, and which interests were invested in their implementation? How were the resources allocated to these institutions? Or how did the (differentiated) motives, goals, and objectives among different governance actors affect the process and outcome of the citizen participation in question?

The call for greater inclusion of civil society in public decision-making is not new in the scholarship on Vienna's participatory governance, concerned with the specific political contexts behind, from which it emerged (see Section 6.2). Since Vienna rode to statehood in 1922, the Social Democratic Party has dominated the political bodies of the city, with the Austrofascist (1934-1938) and the Nazi period (1938-1945) being the only exception. Both as a city (*Gemeinde*) and a regional government in a federal state (*Bundelsland*), furthermore, Vienna has enjoyed considerable administrative freedom, which not only allowed its institutions to develop robustness to withstand external crises, but also limit decision-making power to the governing party and its large social 'partners'.

In the context of the 'paternalist, sometimes even authoritarian, attitude of trusteeship' in the city administration (Novy, 2011: 248), extant research sees that Vienna's corporatist governing system prevents full-fledged participation of non-institutional actors (see, for example, *Local Agenda 21* and *Local Area Management* in Novy and Hammer, 2007; see also Section 6.2). While the decades-long decentralization has incrementally opened up a diverse range of pathways to grassroots participation, it

sees the looming clientelism in the city's Weberian-type bureaucracy as the major challenge for achieving substantive outcomes of participatory policies (Dangschat and Hamedinger, 2009; Feichtinger and Pregernig, 2005; Kornberger et al., 2017). Despite the growing political call for 'codetermination and participation shap(ing) the development of the city' (Municipal Department 18 - Urban Development and Planning, 2015: 15), scholars perceive that the vertical decision-making style of the city administration has compounded bureaucratic obstacles to meaningful inclusion of civil society in policy-making (Brait and Hammer, 2017). According to this view, the current institutional design of citizen participation in Vienna's participatory development falls short of proper tools and mechanisms to ensure equitable political opportunities for the city's growing vulnerable populations. In this light, the literature calls upon grassroots movements to challenge the dominant governance process and, *vice versa*, the city administration to diffuse power to citizens (see Frantz, 2005; Hoekstra and Dahlvik, 2018; Huber, 2011; Novy and Hammer, 2007).

Yet, less has been identified, as to how and why Vienna's policy actors could mediate the growing pressure for change, and – despite strong negative-feedback – sustain its participatory institutions and policies over extended periods of time, resulting in the specific challenges, potential, and outcomes of citizen participation that are truly unique to the case of Vienna. So far, existing literature has only loosely evoked the patterns of path-dependence and institutional evolution, and focused on how the static sets of Vienna's key institutions and policies translate a structural shift into a local outcome at a given point in time (e.g. Lawson, 2010; Radinger-Peer et al., 2018). This tendency toward temporal abstraction of the changing long-term effects, decisions, and consequences of Vienna's policy-making style obscures the real-world motives, reasons, and context-bound natures behind the long-run evolution of its governance structure. While existing literature has indicated the institutional shift toward liberal governance or a post-welfare state in Vienna (e.g. Lévy-Vroelant and Reinprecht, 2014), the persisting core principles of existing institutions and policies, in contrast, suggest that there might be potential mechanisms of perpetuation at work. Despite new structural challenges, Vienna's ability to resist external crises, retain a high-level of political and financial autonomy, and respond to emerging needs and demands, in fact, resulted in slow and incremental changes, rather than the fundamental restructuring or replacement of existing institutional arrangements (see Kazepov and Verwiebe, 2021). This local outcome results from the specific level of institutional capacity among Vienna's state actors in dealing with crises, emerging from the past policy decisions, the sequential order of events, the mechanisms of change/continuity, and the scale of benefits that are all embedded in the distinctive trajectories of institutional development. Currently, the enduring social and political legacy of the power-laden history behind Vienna's policy-making remains black-boxed, understating the concrete compromises and struggles between competing discourses, ideologies, and practices that shaped the distinctive levels of capacity and resources for different governance actors and institutions (cf. Suitner, 2021).

Reflecting on these tendencies in existing literature, this dissertation uses Soft Urban Renewal as a research window, through which to look at the context-bound potential and limits of incorporating civil society into decision-making, which emerge from the unique developmental trajectories of the city's urban institutions and policies. To this end, the main research question it asks is as follows: How have the historical power struggles among governance actors in external crises opened up a space for participatory governance in Vienna over time, and, in doing so, have shaped the specific capacities, constraints, and outcomes of citizen participation in the local planning process?

The enclosed publications in Chapter 6 – *Journal Articles and Book Chapters* ask specific research questions of their own, reflecting the remaining gaps and questions in the respective literature that each builds on, including: What are the key contextual factors of cities behind differentiated outcomes of the shared pressure for change in today's globalized word? How did the pathway to participatory governance develop over time in Vienna, benefiting or marginalizing which social groups and institutions in the process of mainstreaming citizen participation? What is the lasting social and political legacy of the specific way, in which Vienna's renewal institutions and policies were implemented, influencing the process and outcome of its participatory urban renewal model in the long run? How does this context-bound nature behind the evolution of Soft Urban Renewal shape the way, in which affected social groups perceive their changing social surroundings and form new relationships with others? And, lastly, what future implications does the socio-historical conceptualization of institutional change process and outcome have for the possibilities of Vienna's urban institutions to act on emerging vulnerabilities and new challenges ahead?

4. Methodological Framework

4.1. Structural Analysis

The research first began with an analysis on the general structural trend of Vienna's urban change process in comparison to some of other major European cities. Using a diverse range of secondary data sources (EUROSTAT/Public Employment Service Austria/Statistics Austria), its primary objective was to gain a comparative insight into the differentiated outcomes of post-Fordist urban transformation in relation to some key demographic and economic measures. The structural analysis served two major purposes for this dissertation. First, a light comparison between European cities was aimed at measuring the diverging levels of inclusion/exclusion patterns across the key analytical dimensions, such as labor market and housing, alongside with some basic sociodemographic characteristics. Informed by the varying welfare regimes and policy contexts of different European cities, its intent was to provide empirical evidence of the intra-European differentiation unfolding in the major metropolitan areas of the continent, which has intensified following the Great Recession between 2007 and 2009. In fact, the growing diversification among cities with similar welfare policies indicates that there are other social forces of

divergence in action, challenging the prior analytical homogeneity in ideal-typical welfare regime theory (see Section 6.1). Second, the structural data collection was intended to build the background knowledge about the development of Vienna's key planning strategies and policies in the time period considered. Both individual and aggregate indicators of the city's long-term structural transformation were used to analyze the relationship between the macro-trends within deindustrialization, re-urbanization, and retrenchment, and the changing politics of place-making and urban development. Furthermore, the register-based census data for population (1991-2017) and housing (1981-2011) were also analyzed down to the lowest statistical enumeration district level, identifying the specific trends and developments in the two Soft Urban Renewal cases examined in the enclosed publications. Overall, the collected structural data provided an important analytical basis for establishing a general knowledge base of the field for the next research process.

4.2. Process-Tracing

Teasing out developmental pathways of policy processes builds on different types of sequencing temporally ordered policy events. One method derives from the self-reinforcing logic of path-dependence, wherein positive feedback mechanisms reproduce earlier events to persist over an extended period, causing institutional lock-in of decisions made in critical junctures. Building on the economic model of increasing returns to scale (Authur, 1989; David, 1985), those in this strand of Historical Institutionalism perceived that policy decisions made in the right moments of opportunity are difficult to reverse, because 'new institutions and policies are costly to create and often generate learning effects, coordination effects, and adaptive expectations' (Pierson, 2000: 259). A reactive process, on the other hand, refers to a causal chain, in which preceding events in the sequence trigger reactive actions that 'are marked by backlash processes that transform and perhaps reverse earlier events' (Mahoney, 2000: 526). While the former is conditioned on the absence or presence of causal variables at a specific point in time that generate path-dependence, the latter is triggered by case-specific causal mechanisms, which transmit causal forces only once component events are positioned – and all present – in a sequential manner. This difference has important methodological implications for research design that empirically tests the causal hypothesis in question (Beach and Pedersen, 2013). Given that a single event alone is insufficient to create a cause-and-effect relationship behind the institutional outcome of interest, an analysis of a reactive sequence requires tracing all relevant causal links that connect each event in a long-standing policy sequence, which 'more accurately describe the actual nature of policy dynamics present in the field examined' (Howlett, 2009: 254). Whereas a cross-case comparison by small-n causal inference is a preferred method for analyzing a self-reinforcing sequence, the scholarship on reactive sequencing, therefore, suggests process-tracing as a useful tool to make a within-case causal inference about causal mechanisms behind the institutional evolution at work (see Bennett and Elman, 2006; Falleti and Mahoney, 2015; Mahoney, 2015).

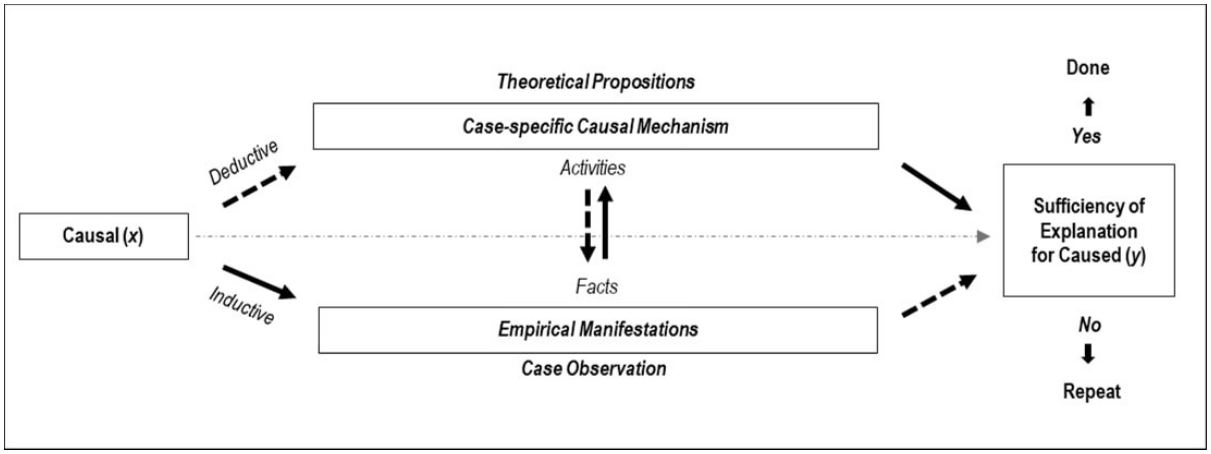

Figure 4.2.1 Illustration of Explaining-Outcome Process-Tracing

Source: Own Elaboration after Different Process-Tracing Models by Beach and Pedersen (2013)

The goal of process-tracing in this dissertation was to establish a causal explanation behind the fragmentation between the renewal institutions in Soft Urban Renewal, of which participatory processes and outcomes diverged in different temporal (*the mid-1990s/the mid-2010s*) and spatial contexts (*Brunnenviertel/Sonnwendviertel*) within a long-standing policy sequence (see *Explaining-Outcome Process-Tracing* in Beach and Pedersen, 2013; see also Figure 4.2.1). Reflecting on existing theorization of Vienna's corporatist policy-making as the cause behind the persistent tokenism in the decentralized planning process, it reverse-traced the concrete historical 'facts' behind the downward rescaling of the city's participatory planning back to the antecedent historical conditions of its first implementation in the early 1970s (see Figure 1 in Section 6.3). The established timeline behind institutional change, however, revealed that the institutional mechanism of a top-down approach to decentralization provides an insufficient explanation, as to how and why the same set of Vienna's decentralized renewal institutions and policies generate a differentiated planning outcome, once situated in a different temporal and spatial location. This led to an alternative explanation that there might have been other key structural factor (*Population Degrowth/Suburbanization*) under a specific scope condition (*Substandard Housing Stock in Historic Inner-City Neighborhoods*) were jointly at work, producing a context-bound outcome of Soft Urban Renewal at a given point in time. Bearing in mind that such an exogenously given set of material conditions can dictate a 'certain range of conceivable strategies of each actor' (Parsons, 2007: 55), the evidence of the potential structural causal mechanism behind the possibilities and constraints of government action was searched in the following phase of document content analysis.

4.3. Document Analysis

The analysis of the city's major planning documents was aimed at capturing the key contextual information about policy choices within the reiterative process of formulating and reformulating participatory goals and means since the early 1970s. This included: a) the institutional context and structural

circumstance, within which the policy focus on citizen participation in each planning document emerged; b) the anticipated political and social gains of expanding citizen participation to broader social groups; and c) the specific empirical content and activities of their design and designing in the actual planning process. Building on the knowledge gained from the literature review, the structural analysis, and the alternative explanation developed from process-tracing, a codebook was developed to conduct a content analysis of the city's major urban development plans - STEP (1984/1995/2005/2014), their preceding planning guidelines (1972/1991/2001/2004/2011), Participation Masterplan (2017), Smart City Framework Strategies (2014/2019), and the relevant planning documents for Soft Urban Renewal of Brunnenviertel (2000/2002/2004) and Sonnwendviertel (2015/2017). The guiding questions for extracting information from these documents and coding for correspondence with the identified categories include: 1) what is the perception of urban situations and existing regulations behind the new participation strategies in relation to specific urban areas and target groups? (*Perception*); 2) what are the underlying behavioral aspects among state actors behind the way, in which such strategies and target groups are selected? (*Expectation*); and 3) what are the specific tools and mechanisms that are aimed for substantive outcomes in the actual planning process? (*Action*). The evidence gathered in this phase served as the empirical basis for making a causal inference about the presence of both institutional and structural mechanisms behind the diverging effects of Soft Urban Renewal, which is detailed in Section 6.3.

4.4. Expert Interviews

The data from the document content analysis was used for organizing the follow-up expert interviews with commissioned professionals, grassroots activists, and planners at different governance levels of Vienna's participatory development (10 in total). At the city level, the sample included three planners from Municipal Department 18 (Urban Development and Planning) and Executive Group for Construction and Technology, and one commissioned public participation expert, all of whom were directly involved in drafting the analyzed documents on the city's overall planning strategies in the past three decades. At the district level, two planners from the local urban renewal office were interviewed, who played a central role in the renewal processes of Brunnenviertel and Sonnwendviertel. Additionally, four interviews with non-institutional experts were conducted, three of whom initiated the first grassroots movement in Brunnenviertel in the early phase of its renewal. Lastly, one commissioned architect who led the block renewal of Sonnwendviertel was interviewed. The key objective of these expert interviews was not only to gather professional knowledge of the planning process *per se*, but also to understand the agency-structure dynamics of their interactions and relationships, reflecting the decision-making rules, collective orientations and interpretations behind Soft Urban Renewal. The focus here was to elicit information about the subjective dimension of their knowledge within the specific institutional-organizational context, highlighting the differentiated interests, motives, and goals of promoting citizen participation in the renewal of both neighborhoods. In fact, expert interviews are useful to gain

access to implicit information about the embeddedness and situatedness of expert knowledge, whose interpretation of the issue will inhere some level of institutional, social, and personal reflexivity (Bogner et al., 2009). Building on the 'facts' gathered in the earlier data collection phase, the general thematic guideline for the expert interviews focused on the circumstances, experiences, and processes surrounding the logic behind the key decision-making moments for Vienna's participatory development in general, and Soft Urban Renewal in particular. Following the interpretative approach to expert interviewing (Meuser and Nagel, 2009), the transcribed and paraphrased interview data were coded, compressed into thematic units, which were then formulated into different categories for theoretical generalization.

4.5. Fieldwork

The empirical material presented in Section 6.4 stems from a fieldwork conducted in various semi-public and public spaces around Brunnenviertel between January and August 2019. The primary objective of this narrative data collection phase was to capture the local perception toward the changing social and physical environment in the neighborhood, which has undergone a series of participatory renewal processes between the mid-1990s and the late 2000s. Building on the information on the concrete planning outcomes of its renewal that was acquired from the preceding document content analysis and expert interviews, the focus here was to understand the social implications of the specific citizen-state collaboration model used in the planning process. Prior to conducting interviews, three semi-public spaces in the neighborhood were routinely visited, where contacts were established, and informal conversations with the occupants were recorded in fieldnotes. Among those whom I acquainted with through multiple visits to the three sites, 10 semi-structured interviews were carried out, which took inspirations from the episodic interview techniques (Flick, 2000), and were designed to elicit their concrete lived-experiences – or 'episodes' – from interacting with other residents and visitors in specific locations in the daily life. The recruitment of 9 other respondents was done through convenience sampling on an open public square (Yppenplatz) and the adjacent street-market (Brunnenmarkt). Here, most of the interviews was conducted in a causal, unstructured fashion with open-ended questions. Same as the interpretative scheme from the previous phase, a step-by-step guide for doing thematic analysis was applied to transcribe and paraphrase each interview, which was coded and then ordered into the core thematic issues that surround the new forms of urban sociability in relation to the specific planning outcomes of Brunnenviertel's transformation.

5. Overview of the Enclosed Publications

The following compilation of publications sheds light on the actual experiences and outcomes of citizen participation in Vienna's regenerating neighborhoods that are embedded in the unique developmental trajectories of its planning institutions and renewal programs, stretching over a half-century. In line with urban scholars in the neo-Weberian debate on modern cities (see Häußermann, 2005; Isin, 2003; Kazepov, 2005), their overall intention is to shed light on the mediating role of Vienna's governance arrangements with specific historic roots and own internal dynamics, characterizing the distinctive way, in which it deals with emerging urban problems. To do so, the key objective is to unpack the concrete historical change processes of the city's renewal institutions and policies, and identify their distinctive contexts and properties that shape the local consequences of structural shifts and, as a result, determine the specific level of social inclusion, democratic process, and planning outcome of citizen participation in Soft Urban Renewal.

Since the municipal socialism of Red Vienna in the 1920s,Vienna has been considered as a model of inclusive cities, promoting social equity through high-quality public services, such as education, housing, and public transportation (see Redak et al., 2003). In this regard, the first section, *European Cities between Continuity and Change*, discusses the distinctive characteristics of such an inclusive city model, challenging the Poststructuralist view of the declining significance of cities as active mediators in today's global network capitalism. In contrast, it argues that the persisting diversity between cities along socioeconomic and sociopolitical indicators shows the largely different local trajectories and outcomes of post-Fordist urban transformation at the urban scale. Their differentiated abilities to govern social change reflect not only different welfare state regimes, but also their respective cultural, historical, institutional, and political contexts, shaping the way, in which cities are facing and responding to major challenges today. As such, Vienna's response to – and the outcome of – the growing pressure for change characterizes the distinctive developmental pathways of its urban institutions and policies in conjunction with other scope conditions, such as geopolitical position, political culture, population trend, and urban design, among many others.

Considering such key contextual factors that influence the institutional reaction to burgeoning social and political problems, the second section, *Vienna's Participatory Shift in Urban Development Policy*, attends to the historical legacy of Vienna's interventionist urban politics, contributing to specific potential and challenges of citizen participation in the city's new planning system. It focuses on the enduring consequences of Vienna's vertical policy-making approach to participatory planning. Specifically, it reflects on the increased participation of organized community actors in the examples of two planning institutions, i.e. Local Agenda 21 and Urban Renewal Offices (*Gebietsbetreuung*), going hand in hand with self-selecting biases in the affluent inner-city districts, and reinforcing an uneven spatial distribution of participation opportunities in small-scale neighborhood planning. Such outcomes do not

only cast light on the apparent trade-offs between process innovation and citizen empowerment. They provide rich information on the unique political dynamics within Vienna's participatory urban governance, featuring the longstanding political dominance of the Social Democratic Party in the city administration. In turn, it shows how their specific mode of accommodating emerging social needs, mediating shifting structural conditions, and designing policy responses has allocated distinctive levels of capacity and resources to different governance actors and institutions for pursuing institutional change.

In these reflections, the third section, *Shifting Causal Effects of Vienna's 'Soft Urban Renewal'*, traces back the motives, reasons, and implications behind the power-laden context of Vienna's urban renewal model, identifying the key institutional and structural mechanisms that set its distinctive developmental trajectory into motion. It situates the local processes and outcomes of Soft Urban Renewal in the specific historical sequence of policy events that are connected through the 'reiterated problem-solving' (Haydu, 1998) of the governing Social Democrats. As shown, a chain of their *ad-hoc* policy responses to growing dissatisfaction with the city's technocratic planning practices drove incremental changes – rather than fundamental restructuring, leading to processes of layering new renewal goals and participatory instruments onto existing institutions and policies. While this mode of change resulted in an institutional output that still characterizes the institutional architecture of Soft Urban Renewal today, this section further reveals that its real-world effects diverged at different points in time, contingent on their respective temporal and spatial contexts in the policy sequence, which influenced the diverging contents of the actual policy outcome. It argues that the legacies of critical junctures are rarely static, but bound by agency, structure, and temporality that surround the institutional complexity in multilevel policy-making, and the multiplicity of accumulating – and differing – interests of policy actors, stretching over lengthy periods of time.

Bearing in mind that specific historical and institutional contexts can either break down social divides or reinforce them in citizen participation (see Silver et al., 2010), the fourth section, *Local Perception of Urban Diversity and the Politics of Place-Making*, adds to the local experiences and social outcomes of participatory planning, and their implications for everyday life. It draws from the regulatory, and value-added, impacts of good urban governance, involving structural incentives to activate participation of the affected residents, and their active, sustained interaction with public institutions. Contrary to the concerns over deepening social divides in state-led gentrification (see Lees, 2012), it argues that the social outcomes of urban renewal are largely conditioned on the specific organizational structure of collaborative governance arrangements, and the specific regulatory capacity of state actors that characterize the case in question. In particular, the case of Soft Urban Renewal presented in this section attests to the facilitative role of 'bottom-linked governance' (Eizaguirre et al., 2012), connecting the respective competences of policy actors and civil society in a new governance space, and, thus, avoiding evident traps in both bottom-up and top-down approaches to citizen participation. In turn, this

synergic link empowered the representative bodies of diverse social groups in both the planning and decision-making process, and produced substantive planning outcomes that reflect their respective interests in regenerating a dilapidated multiethnic neighborhood. As the findings show, this has created a pluralistic local culture, where both old residents and newcomers could preserve their multiple local ownerships in a shared urban infrastructure, and form a new sense of belonging to their changing social environment, without imposing a singular narrative of urban diversity.

Learning from the contingent histories of *how* and *why* urban institutions and policies came to life has important implications for not only their context-bound impacts, responses, and outcomes at present, but also future policy-making in dealing with new vulnerabilities and challenges ahead. Their joint effect may reinforce a new participation gap, intersecting with emerging inequalities in the provision of other key public services. The last section, *Between Urban Justice and Challenges Ahead*, summarizes the major urban trends in housing, labor market, political participation, and environment that are currently shaping the new boundaries of recognition, redistribution, and representation in Vienna. It perceives that the city's existing institutions and policies are increasingly at odds with the core principles of justice in recent years, failing to provide equitable social and political opportunities for the least advantaged. As the new exclusionary tendencies in other policy fields show, this shift emerges from the changing social needs, claims, and demands, featured by the declining working-class and the burgeoning electoral gap among the city's migrant population. Considering such lessons taken from the challenges that cut across the whole urban social fabric, it argues that maintaining equitable participation in today's Vienna requires a tailored attention to emerging vulnerable groups in intersecting issues of urban politics beyond the field of urban planning.

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6. Journal Articles and Book Chapters

6.1. European Cities between Continuity and Change

Kazepov Y, Cucca R, Ahn B, et al. (2021) European Cities between Continuity and Change. In: Orum AM, Ruiz-Tagle J and Vicari-Haddock S (eds) *Companion to Urban and Regional Studies:* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 109–134.

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6

European Cities Between Continuity and Change

Yuri Kazepov, Roberta Cucca, Byeongsun Ahn, and Christophe Verrier

Introduction

European cities have attracted considerable theoretical and empirical attention since Max Weber (1978 [1921]) identified the requisite conditions for the development of capitalism in medieval occidental cities. Scholars from different disciplines have attempted to highlight their distinctive characteristics and trace their development and changing nature. From this perspective, the study of the European city becomes a peculiar way of looking into the broader role of cities in the development of specific social, political, and economic outcomes. In fact, the complex layering of social, economic, political, and cultural history does not allow for identifying one European city model (Pinol et al., 2003), rather it led scholars to identify a common heritage, paralleled by differentiating factors. Much of the distinctiveness of European cities, therefore, depends on how much we need to zoom out from particular historical cities to find some common denominators. In this exercise, the role of nation-states in influencing European cities' models becomes evident. This is especially evident given their ability to define specific jurisdictions – since the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) – and their capacity for allocating resources through the welfare state, particularly since the second half of the nineteenth century.

In order to describe the commonalities and distinctive characteristics of European cities, this chapter is divided into five sections. The first section provides a brief history of European cities, showing the importance of disentangling the complex historical layering of urban Europe and the way it has contributed to the structure of contemporary European cities.

Building on this historical account, the second section highlights the ways in which scholars used specific analytical dimensions as unifying factors to portray a

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more systematic 'European city model'. Specifically, it shows the underlying broader criticism of structuralist accounts of global convergence found in urban studies, the different theoretical approaches developed to define its contours, and the different articulations of the model emerging as soon as we zoom in analytically.

The third section addresses the relationship between cities and the state as a key constituent analytical element of the model and, at the same time, a fundamental empirical factor that structures the degrees of freedom that cities have, both in terms of resources, regulatory capacity, and political power.

The fourth section analyses the challenges that European cities are currently facing, highlighting the ways in which they are addressed by the different European urban governance regimes.

The fifth and final section provides a brief outlook on the future of European cities, identifying common and diverging trends and highlighting possible pathways for research.

The argument put forward assumes that differentiating factors are not only important in producing contexts that influence European cities' resilience, they are also important because they influence their ability to innovate and cope with the challenges of globalisation.

The History of European Cities

The history of European cities, and its accompanying historiographies, are complex and multifaceted. The endeavour of looking into the historical trajectories of European cities is far from novel. Its modern origins trace back to the seminal contributions of Fustel de Coulanges (1877) and Max Weber (1966). Both authors maintained that rather than analysing urban settlements primarily through morphology, cities have to be understood principally as a social and political association. Each, in his own way, understood the perceived particularism of the sociopolitical institutions of occidental cities as the result of historical evolution that originated in the Greek *polis* and the Roman *urbs*. This topic has remained relevant ever since, with scholars having engaged recently in the history of the cities of Europe. The historiography on the subject has evolved a great deal since Weber, however, the general historical periodisation has remained vastly unchanged. In their voluminous contribution on the subject, Pinol et al. (2003) identified four main historical periods bearing their own specific trends and developments. Each subsequent era participated in a layering that would lead to the contemporary European city, namely: (a) the ancient city (tenth century BCE to seventh century CE); (b) the medieval city (seventh to fifteenth centuries); (c) the modern city (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries); (d) the contemporary city (from the nineteenth century to the present day). The last category requires – from a social science perspective – a further differentiation into: (d) the industrial city (from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries); (e) the contemporary city (from the twentieth century to the present day).

(a) *The ancient city*. The European continent saw its first phase of urbanisation during the first millennia BCE, which culminated with the Greco-Roman civilisations (Pinol et al., 2003). As the ancient Greek city-states developed, so did the novel idea of the city as an autonomous political and social entity, as

discussed in Plato's *Republic* (1991) and Aristotle's *Politics* (2013). Ultimately, the sovereignty of the Greek, and later Roman, city was instrumental to these civilisations' advances in philosophy and science, as well as in their expansion around the Mediterranean basin. At their apogee, the Romans had established a vast empire organised around self-governing cities, with Rome as its political and social node. The rise of these ancient cities represents a significant turning point in European urban history, with their expansion representing far more than the continent's first true instance of urbanisation. Indeed, the central role taken by citizenship as a mode of social organisation would become an important distinctive feature of the Greco-Roman period. It is on this basis that scholars – from Fustel de Coulanges (1877), to Weber (1966) or, more recently, Finley (1981) – have characterised the particular trajectory leading to contemporary European cities. Later, the gradual collapse of the Roman Empire brought the slow regression of urbanisation, as settlements faced war and economic decline. By the fifth century, these tight political and economic linkages that previously connected large swathes of southern and western Europe had either disappeared or contracted (Pinol et al., 2003).

(b) *The medieval city*. Starting in the seventh century, the European continent saw important regional variations in the degrees and forms of urbanisation. Although primary sources are rather scarce until the late Middle Ages, these different pathways are still strikingly visible when looking at contemporary urban morphologies around Europe. Benevolo (1993) demonstrates this point, describing the old towns of southern France and Italy, where Roman infrastructure continued to frame urbanisation for centuries after their downfall. Indeed, for Bologna and Florence, as in many other cities, the Roman remains provided 'a neutral geometric base' (Benevolo, 1993: 44) for the later cities' fortifications and thoroughfares within which medieval urbanity could flourish. Contrary to this trajectory, urbanisation in northern and eastern Europe would take hold much later in the trading ports of the Baltic by the turn of the eleventh century (Clark, 2009). Indeed, one would have to wait for the eleventh century to see the next period of continuous urbanisation, which would ultimately establish the foundation for modern states and market economies, as well as a significant part of the urban networks still visible today. Over four centuries, market cities flourished regionally – in stark contrast to the resource-consuming settlements of the nobility and clergy – and acted as hubs for different merchants wishing to trade goods away from the taxation power of local lords. In these towns, economic relations took a prominent place as the organising force binding inhabitants together (Christensen and Mikkelsen, 2006). As such, these types of trading cities were distinct from the consumer towns of the nobility, which used their hinterland for subsistence. In these trading cities, the mutually beneficial nature of these economic relations ultimately encouraged local inhabitants to cooperate in order to ensure the stability and protection of their city (Eibach, 2007). It is on this basis that Weber (Weber, 1966: 55) argued for the peculiarity of the medieval European city, where the *Bürger*'s membership was based on their individual involvement in the regulation of social matters as a citizen and bearer of rights and duties, subject to a common legislation (Häussermann and Haila, 2005;

Pirenne, 1925). For Weber, this novelty would act as the early foundation of modern society. On the one hand, this led to the development of the market as an exchange system and, on the other hand, citizenship emerged as a mode of social organisation distanced from feudal bonds, which in turn offered fertile ground for economic and social innovation (Davids and De Munck, 2014).[1]

(c) *The modern city and the rise of national states*. By the sixteenth century, the internal divisions within trading cities between powerful factions seeking more wealth created instability, making them easy targets for rising nation-states (Tarrow, 2004). At variegated rates across Europe, the imperial and monarchic powers prompted state apparatus capable of ensuring both coercive power on larger realms of territory and control on their economic systems. Through their mercantilist economic policies, these 'Westphalian' nation-states would prove much more capable of levying the wealth necessary for military projection as atomised free cities (Tilly, 1990). The city then became ancillary to a nationally organised power, though retaining its symbolic charge as rulers was immortalised through the presence of historical monuments (Therborn, 2017).

(d) *The industrial city*. Beginning in the eighteenth century Britain, industrialisation marks a next turning point in the history of European cities. With its rapidly expanding production, the Industrial Revolution hinged, in large part, on the exploitation of a readily available, low-wage, labour force, which needed housing close to their work (Stearns, 2013). As industrialisation spread around Europe, so did the growth of its dense working-class quarters of overcrowded dwellings lacking basic amenities. This dramatic rise of urban poverty in industrial cities is probably best exemplified by critical voices ranging from Chartist reformism to the revolutionary thought of Marx and Engels (Lipset, 1983). These social issues would agitate the European nineteenth century with unrest and conflict, which would ultimately lead to major reform (Crouch, 1994). In this sense, the industrial city was not only remarkable in size, but also played a critical role in the development of ways to conceive and manage new social risks, giving way to nascent welfare systems (Flora and Heidenheimer, 1981). However, the increasing power of the national state during the same period made the city somewhat peripheral in the implementation of key measures in tackling, for instance, unemployment and illness.

[1] As much as the medieval free city may appear as an important turning point in European urban history, associating this development to the rise of an 'occidental city' in the way Weber did, poses some problems. For instance, it is important to understand that the trading cities of northern Europe were a relative exception in Europe, that was still maintaining a low degree of urbanisation. At the same time as urbanisation takes hold around the Baltic, a harsh feudal system of powerful nobility dominated the nearby Polish kingdom, where cities were marginalized (Wyrobisz, 1994). Moreover, it appears difficult to justify the exceptionalism of the occidental city as a community liberated from tribal and religious bonds. As Isin (2003) argues, the merchant cities of medieval Europe were not only communal bodies of free citizen but also associations of powerful trading families not as drastically different from some of its counterparts outside Europe.

In this sense, as much as these issues were urban in their nature, it is the fear of working-class unrest among national rulers that led to nationally organised welfare measures (Alber, 1982). This would set the scene for the later growth of the nation-state during the twentieth century and the development of citizenship on national grounds.

(e) *The contemporary city*. Under Fordism, cities were primary places of both mass production and mass consumption. On the one hand, economic growth was fuelled by a strong demand for consumption, largely concentrated in cities. On the other hand, efficient and economic functions in cities required the organisation of social reproduction through stable industrial relations and generous welfare systems (Amin, 1995). As a result of an entanglement of factors – both exogenous and endogenous – this balance dramatically changed over the last decades of the twentieth century. The industrial crisis during the 1970s paved the way for a long-lasting restructuring process of local production systems. Sudden changes in the political system following the fall of the Berlin Wall and later with the enlargement of the European Union, opened new markets and new geopolitical scenarios characterised by increasing globalisation. These changes undermined the financial basis of national welfare systems, tightening their budgets and limiting their redistributive role also from the territorial point of view. The economic crisis in 2008 reinforced this tendency and many cities in Europe have reoriented their urban agendas to achieve the goal of being competitive actors in the global arena, by attracting talents and foreign investments. Within this framework, flexibility and the search for greater competitiveness become more important than a high level of social integration, as it used to be under Fordism. Despite this tendency, many European cities still show a specific ability to govern social changes, and still represent worldwide a key reference for developing urban policies and strategies oriented towards social and spatial justice (Fainstein, 2010).

The European City Model – Similarities, but Also Differences

Weber's notion of the 'occidental city' has regained momentum in more recent attempts to define the peculiarities of a 'European city model'. In particular, the consideration of a 'European city' as a social and political actor with a higher degree of autonomy, compared to the big metropolises in other parts of the world, has been used in contrast to the overall pessimistic views of the declining significance of cities as actors in a globalising world (Bagnasco and Le Galès, 2000). Since the 1970s, neo-Marxist geographers, such as Harvey (1973), started to envision the production of urban patterns requiring a broader analysis of overall socioeconomic structures of individual actions (Wells, 2014). In particular, his work on 'urban entrepreneurialism' paved the way to the analysis of the processes of 'urban neoliberalisation' as an overall converging trend (e.g. Swyngedouw et al., 2002). Against the ecological tradition in urban studies, this historical-materialistic approach saw cities as spatial units within a world system of which development trajectories were structured by the capitalist mode of production and reproduction (Castells, 1977; Harvey, 1973, 1989). However, critical positions to the continuing tendency to identify inexorable

trends of convergence driven by neoliberalism have emerged (Le Galès, 2016; Storper, 2016). Brenner et al. (2010) have partly rejected a homogeneous convergence thesis. Without denying the existence of trends that entail a convergence towards models influenced by the different facets of neoliberalism, they rather refined their argument identifying the existence of differences and variations characterising urban changes.

In contrast to the neo-Marxist assumption on the neoliberal configuration of cities in global capitalism, the renewed interest in the Weberian perspective on modern cities saw cities as differing in terms of their distinctive national and local institutional arrangements, dependent on their own governance regimes (Isin, 2003). From this institutionalist perspective, these scholars (e.g. Häussermann, 2005; Kazepov, 2005; Le Galès, 2002; Pahl, 1975; Rex and Moore, 1967) prioritised the institutional and opportunity structures of cities in different regions of the world, whose particular modes of regulation were to mediate the repercussions of globalisation differently to varying degrees at the urban level. In a reconsideration of the orientalist Weberian city model (Weber, 1978 [1921]), this institutionalist approach saw governance regimes as the main determinant for the different trajectories of change and the different outcomes of urban transformation in times of globalisation – be they neoliberal and private-market-oriented American cities or welfare-driven and less-market dependent European cities (Fainstein, 2010; Lehto, 2000; Smith, 2002).

It is at this particular point that scholars in the neo-Weberian debate saw European cities once again as 'cultural and political laboratories for participation and government' (Kazepov, 2005: 13) and called for a context-specific intervention into the conceptualisation of neoliberalism in critical urban studies (Clarke, 2008; Le Galès, 2018; Pinson and Journel, 2016; Storper, 2016; Venugopal, 2015). The neo-Weberian lens aims, from this point of view, at shedding light on other structural and contextual factors that filter and challenge neoliberalism, bringing about diversified urban outcomes (Storper and Scott, 2016). This perspective mitigates the overstretched generalisations of cities lost in the global networks of power, calling for a renewed engagement with structural and institutional differences between cities. In particular, attention should be paid to policy instruments – and their multilevel characteristic – that structure the relations between social and economic interests mediating global capitalism at the city level (Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2004).

Specifically, scholars highlight the strong role of public administration in European cities, which together with other characteristics like their small and medium size and the persisting presence of a middle and lower-middle class, have continued to mitigate inequalities and segregation (Bagnasco and Le Galès, 2000; Kazepov, 2005; Le Galès, 2002). Rather than claiming universal convergence within global capitalism, in which neoliberal economic restructuring erodes the regulatory mechanisms of cities and regions, the new European city model underlined the redistributive role of the welfare state and the activism of local authorities (McEwen and Moreno, 2005; Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998). It is their policy frameworks that actively promote socioeconomic and socio-spatial stability within European social market liberalism (Kazepov and Cucca, 2018; Le Galès, 2018). This has been possible due to the morphological, political, economic, and social developments of European cities that played an important role in the nation-state building process itself. This continued to provide innovative mechanisms for participation and governance, as

well as administrative tools and techniques for regulation and planning at the urban level (Kazepov, 2005).

That said, the neo-Weberian lens on the distinctive urban governance forms of – mainly western – European cities praised the public services and infrastructure at the urban level in conjunction with the welfare state intervention at the national level as a driving force behind the revival of the European city model. In fact, during the Fordist period it was the state that successfully balanced between economic competition and social integration, being able to compromise between public and private interests (Cassiers and Kesteloot, 2012; Cucca and Ranci, 2017). The strong presence of state intervention and that of an active civil society are said to continuously define European cities (Le Galès, 2018). However, there is evidence of new challenges that arise from the long-standing economic restructuring in their post-industrial transition and, more recently, the 2008 economic crisis. A growing trend towards flexibilisation in post-industrial European cities meant, for instance, a shift in urban policy priorities and an increased need to mediate between the traditional model of social cohesion and higher economic competitiveness. Together with the recalibration processes of welfare policies at the national level, these contributed to increasing the social inequalities in urban labour and housing markets in some cities and countries (Kazepov and Cucca, 2018).

An emerging body of literature has identified a number of contextual factors that shape different contours and outcomes of these processes of change in European cities. Scholars aimed at understanding intra-European differences based on a more nuanced analysis of the diversity of institutional arrangements. The redistributive outcomes at both the national and local level are the result of different policy responses as to how local and state actors react to both exogenous and endogenous pressures in times of crisis (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Ferrera, 1996; Kazepov, 2005; Le Galès, 2002; Lehto, 2000). Some have emphasised size and income as the defining element of the differentiation process that currently unfolds in European urban regions (Le Galès, 2018; Storper, 2016). As such, high-income metropolises with larger local labour markets, e.g. London and Paris, are able to utilise a large labour pool with a diverse range of skills in corresponding sectors and industries. Conversely, smaller, low-income cities with less-specialised urban economies, e.g. cities in southern Italy or northern England, are prone to lower productivity and lower employment rates (European Union, 2016). Such differentiation, however, does not only derive from the structural differences between European cities at the horizontal level, but also from vertically structured differences across territorial levels. The different degrees of autonomy allocated to local authorities, for instance, are both path dependent and the result of a territorial reorganisation of social policies through ad hoc reforms, which took place in the last thirty years and differed from country to country (Barberis et al., 2010; Kazepov, 2010; Sellers and Lidström, 2007). The evidence from the rescaling processes of social policies in post-war European cities call for a context-specific assessment into the close intertwinement between the state and cities, in which interscalar struggles for regulative power and the management of resources unfold (Béal et al., 2018). This complex relationship between the state and cities is a key analytical element of the new European city model, which deciphers the roles that actors beyond the state and non-state boundaries play, and their respective influences that bring change in the degree of their regulatory capacities.

The coexistence of different policy levels continues to shape the urban landscape of contemporary European cities, on the one hand, while their structural and contextual differences suggest the diverse urban processes and outcomes that differ from city to city, on the other hand.

The European City, the State, and the Relevance of Multilevel Governance in Europe

As it clearly emerges from the previous paragraphs, the European city and its history have been deeply intertwined with the parallel process of state formation. The city and the modern state mutually influenced one another and this relationship deserves some closer attention. For this purpose, three aspects bear specific importance: (i) the historical relationship between the state and the European city as a critical driver of modernity, (ii) the role of nation-states and welfare systems for the contemporary European city, and (iii) the role of recent transformations in changing the relations between the city and the nation-state.

For Tilly, cities of the late Middle Ages would offer 'the coincidence of a dense, uneven urban network with a division into well-defined and more or less independent states [that] eventually set apart Europe from the rest of the world' (1990: 5). For him, the economic efficiencies of the city as a place for exchange and the state as a coercive force seeking power provided the specific conjuncture for the development of the national state. Considered as such, only a close look at the relation between the city, the state, and capital can underline the specificity of the European urban trajectory. Similarly, this relationship becomes an enlightening way to look at contemporary European cities. With industrialisation, the European continent underwent an unprecedented urbanisation, which slowly transformed its cities into production centres employing an important labour force. The low wages and poor living conditions of the time offered fertile ground for subsequent waves of popular unrest, which needed rapid quelling for the sake of political and economic stability (Flora and Heidenheimer, 1981). Simultaneously, consolidating its coercive power, national states quite naturally took a central role in controlling the effects of these popular claims, meanwhile still ensuring the stability of the capitalist accumulation process. It is in this context that one can observe the development of the first social insurance schemes on the European continent, exactly geared towards the quelling of claims from labour movements (Alber, 1982; Flora and Heidenheimer, 1981). For Polanyi (2001: 170), the states' balancing of tensions between the social and economic spheres became a critical factor shaping the different national trajectories in Europe (Andreotti et al., 2018). Using this perspective allows us to better understand contemporary European cities, especially when it comes to the effects of post-war welfare states and how they changed over time.

During the post-war decades, most European countries experienced an unprecedented period of economic growth and an increase in quality of life. Simultaneously, most western European states expanded the scope of social protection measures as to cover numerous risks stemming from old age, unemployment, housing, and illness. Investigating these policies, Esping-Andersen (1990) proposed that the different welfare regimes across western Europe were mainly the result of specific trajectories of working class struggle. For him, the answers of national states and elites

to these claims would ultimately explain the forms of decommodification and social stratification found in different countries.

Although national, this development would have an important impact on European cities. In fact, as Fourastié (1979) would underline in his analysis of the French *trente glorieuses* that urbanisation was central to the post-war period. Similarly, the protection offered by social policies deeply affected the European city, as the improvements in living conditions, employment conditions, education, and health ultimately aggregated at the urban level, allowing the middle classes to grow substantially (Baldwin, 1990). In this sense, much of the previously mentioned characteristics attached to the European city model are closely linked to nationally organised welfare policies and their redistributive role. If it is possible to generalise the importance of the national state on the development of post-war European cities, it is also important to acknowledge variation across different countries and welfare regimes. Indeed, local authorities play different roles in different countries. In the Nordic countries, for instance, they have an important role not only in policy implementation but also in management and regulation. In others, for instance in France, they play a minor – albeit increasing – role (Hooghe and Marks, 2000; Sellers and Lidström, 2007). The primacy of the national state logic for post-war urbanisation also apply to central and eastern Europe (CEE) countries, in particular, cities in the planned and centrally managed economies (see, for instance, Zarecor, 2018). This situation has led numerous scholars to consider national welfare states as an important variable to take into account when investigating European cities.[2]

Focusing on the national state to understand contemporary urban Europe poses a number of issues. Primarily, doing so would forgo the critical importance of the city, its inhabitants, and urbanisation as a driver for change and reform throughout the modern era; something Soja defined as the 'generative power of cities' (2011: 218). In this sense, one should remember that the class struggles that led to the development of the welfare state were intimately linked to an urbanised working class. The same applies to recent protests against austerity, populism, and neoliberalism. Similarly, it would be misleading to depict cities as historically passive actors in the development of welfare states. For this purpose, one must simply look at the blossoming of local social policies in some cities of interwar Europe which rivalled those of their national governments. A good example is Red Vienna (Blau, 1999; Lewis, 1983). This point becomes particularly relevant when considering the rising importance of cities and local dynamics over the last three decades (Kazepov and Barberis, 2017).

The strong post-war national states have experienced significant pressures and change over the last three decades. Nationally, sociodemographic change and deindustrialisation have created important financial and political pressures on states to reduce or recalibrate spending and to reform their welfare systems (Hemerijck, 2013). However, popular preferences for social benefits and the rise of new social risks brought about by the new economy strongly framed the range of possibilities for reform (Pierson, 2001). Simultaneously, globalisation made national economies ever more dependent on the logic of transnational capital flows. Globalisation

[2] For instance, Le Galès (2005), Kazepov (2005), and McEwen and Moreno (2005).

therefore appears as a rescaling of 'socioeconomic and political-institutional spaces', within which state action has to be understood through dynamics occurring at different scales (Brenner, 1999: 431). In this sense, in a globalised world – according to Brenner – the primacy of national dynamics has to be reconsidered to include the influence of forces coming from above and below, resulting in dynamic multilevel governance arrangements (Kazepov, 2010).

The development of the European Union's political and legislative capacities in the last three decades appears critical in this regard. It has not only resulted in a transnational economic space, but it has also affected the policy autonomy of its states in key areas. This can be viewed through the slow building of 'European citizenship', a system of rights and responsibilities that is no longer strictly national but shared across member states (Jenson, 2007). For lower scales, the enshrining of subsidiarity in Article 5 of the 'Treaty on European Union' (1992) introduced an incentive to move policy responsibilities downwards to the lowest level capable of carrying out the task. At the intersection of all these changes it appears more important than ever to reconsider the relation between the European city and the state through territorially more articulated lenses. On the one hand, this should be done at the regional level, and on the other, at the supranational level. Indeed, as much as the post-war European city could be understood through the lens of nationally centred policies, the current situation points towards a multiplicity of levels (vertically) actually involved in policy design, implementation, funding, and management. Subsidiarisation, as a result of the shifting of policy responsibilities away from the national government, has been an important trend for cities across the European Union (Kazepov, 2010; Kazepov and Barberis, 2017). This has meant that local and regional governments have received an ever more important role in policymaking and implementation. Despite these commonalities, these processes have occurred in different ways across the continent, with various formats of devolution of responsibilities and financial resources; often closely linked to regime specificities. Unpacking the issues related to the multilevel governance arrangements today implies, therefore, analysing shifts and reproduction mechanisms that are crucial to understand how the concept of European cities evolved nowadays (Andreotti et al., 2018; Cucca and Ranci, 2017). It is especially crucial to gain insight into how European cities reacted to the current transformations and the related challenges.

The Challenges of European Cities Facing Structural and Contextual Changes

Despite a growing trend towards social and spatial inequalities in most post-industrial European cities, the varying outcomes of urban transformations in each city are the result of distinctive demographic trends, social structures, and institutional arrangements that contribute to largely different trajectories and outcomes of deindustrialisation (Body-Gendrot et al., 2012; Musterd et al., 2016; Storper and Scott, 2016). In contrast to the assumptions on the consequences of globalisation in previous scholarship, such as the polarisation (Sassen, 1991) and professionalisation hypotheses (Hamnett, 2003), European cities are increasingly analysed through a neo-institutional approach in order to grasp the heterogeneity of social and spatial inequalities that manifests itself in different shapes in urban labour and housing

markets. This neo-institutionalist perspective aims to decipher post-Fordist urban transformations as a historical and geographical reflection of a complex interaction between the local economic and residential environment and the management capacities of institutional actors within different scales of power relations. Since the shift towards flexibilisation and specialisation of urban economies, the post-Fordist economic restructuring has exacerbated the repercussions of globalisation and deteriorated the traditional equilibrium between economic competitiveness and social cohesion in European cities (Ache et al., 2008; Buck et al., 2005). In line with the growing depth of austerity measures at the national level, with repercussions at the urban level, a trend towards the neoliberalisation of urban economies meant an acceleration of new forms of social and spatial inequalities that have facilitated a dualism in the occupational hierarchy (Gallie, 2007) and a residential segregation in housing markets (Arbaci, 2019). In this vein, the growing diversification of cities along socioeconomic and sociopolitical indicators challenges the analytical homogeneity that a welfare regime theory might produce (Musterd et al., 2016; Ranci, 2011; Tammaru et al., 2016). A growing number of studies have shown there to be a lack of empirical evidence for a statistical correlation between deindustrialisation and social cohesion (Ranci, 2011). They have instead argued for other social forces in action that bring out different levels of social and spatial inequalities in different national and urban contexts.

For example, Amsterdam and Vienna – both characterised by corporatist welfare policies and unitary housing systems – exhibit different forms of occupational and residential segregation, due to their distinctive urban regimes, spatial organisations, and migration trajectories (Hatz et al., 2016; Musterd and Van Gent, 2016; Musterd et al., 2016). On the same note, Manchester and Milan – despite a similar trend towards financialisation and specialisation – experienced largely variegated labour market outcomes. These are the result of different occupational and industrial relations, which led to a growing polarisation towards the two extreme ends of the occupational structure in Manchester, and an aggravation of income inequalities among workers in the low-paid construction and traditional service sector in Milan (Benassi, 2019; Cucca and Maestripieri, 2017). The differentiation process is also taking place in cities of post-socialist eastern Europe, of which changing patterns of socioeconomic and socio-spatial segregation show variegated outcomes, despite their 'fast-track' transition to neoliberal capitalism (Musterd et al., 2016). This differentiation, owing to largely different demographic, economic, and spatial compositions of post-socialist urban environments, is most visible in the segregation trends in cities in the Baltic countries. Here the pace of neoliberal-inspired reforms of the welfare state was particularly dramatic (Marcińczak et al., 2015). Indeed, the 'paradox of post-socialist segregation' – i.e. the survival of socialist regulatory mechanisms and slower privatisation – have engendered a rather smooth shift towards market-oriented regulation in some cities of central and eastern Europe, e.g. Budapest (Kovács and Szabó, 2016) and Prague (Ouředníček et al., 2016). A different dynamic took place in cities of the Baltic region, e.g. Riga (Krišjāne et al., 2016), Vilnius (Valatka et al., 2016), and Tallinn (Tammaru et al., 2016), where weak welfare regimes and ethnic discrimination characterise the dissimilar patterns of socioeconomic and socio-spatial inequalities that unfolded differently in each context.

The rise of social and spatial inequalities in European cities has been reinforced by recent population changes, led by low-birth rates, changing household types, and international migration. Also, these trends followed different dynamics according to specific historical, geographical, and institutional configurations. Despite a slower urbanisation process across virtually all European cities, we can recognise two lines of differentiation. On the one hand, the urban–rural divide and, on the other hand, the western–eastern European cities divide. Today in most countries, the rural is the territorial context more affected by social exclusions dynamics, and this is particularly evident in eastern Europe. In countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, and Lithuania, households affected by risk of poverty, very low work intensity, and housing deprivation are clearly concentrated in the rural areas (Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2, Figure 6.3)

A similar divide characterises population dynamics (Table 6.1). Capital metropolitan regions grow relatively fast, while other metropolitan areas rise at a slower rate, and rural regions are in standstill or are declining (capital: 7%; non-capital: 4%; rural: 1%). These rates differ substantially between the cities in western European member states and the cities in central and eastern European member states, both in terms of birth and net migration (European Union, 2016). Urban shrinkage, for instance, despite becoming a global phenomenon, followed specific diversified patterns across Europe (Mallach et al., 2017; Martinez-Fernandez et al., 2016). While the slowdown of urban growth occurred much earlier in west European cities that never declined on average, the magnitude of shrinkage in their eastern counterparts is worse, where general demographic decline is far greater (Mykhnenko and Turok, 2008). In eastern European cities, such shrinkage is the joint outcome of the rapid collapse of state socialism in the early 1990s, combined with deindustrialisation and suburbanisation. These trends mutually reinforced one another, exacerbating processes of urban decline (Haase et al., 2017; Steinführer and Haase, 2007).

The intra-European differentiation occurring in capital regions has also intensified in the last decade. More specifically, capital regions in the wealthier countries show an uneven increase in the overall population growth rates almost up to 10% in this period – except Paris. Meanwhile, the pace is rather moderate in southern and eastern European cities and even negative in some cases, e.g. Athens, Bratislava, Riga, and Vilnius (see Table 6.1). However, whether this trend can facilitate positive economic outcomes – also in terms of productivity – largely depends on the social and institutional capacities of cities, as well as the occupational and industrial structures of their respective urban labour market. For example, a de-growth of the overall population of cities in central and eastern European countries is an indicator of the fact that these regions appeal less to both youth and migrants due to a lack of diverse employment opportunities in less-specialised urban economies (Mykhnenko and Turok, 2008; Ranci, 2011; Tammaru et al., 2016). This is especially true for the growing number of non-EU migrants, whose accessibility to and mobility within urban labour and housing markets are markedly more difficult than for natives and EU migrants with 'freedom of movement'. Despite the long history of migration

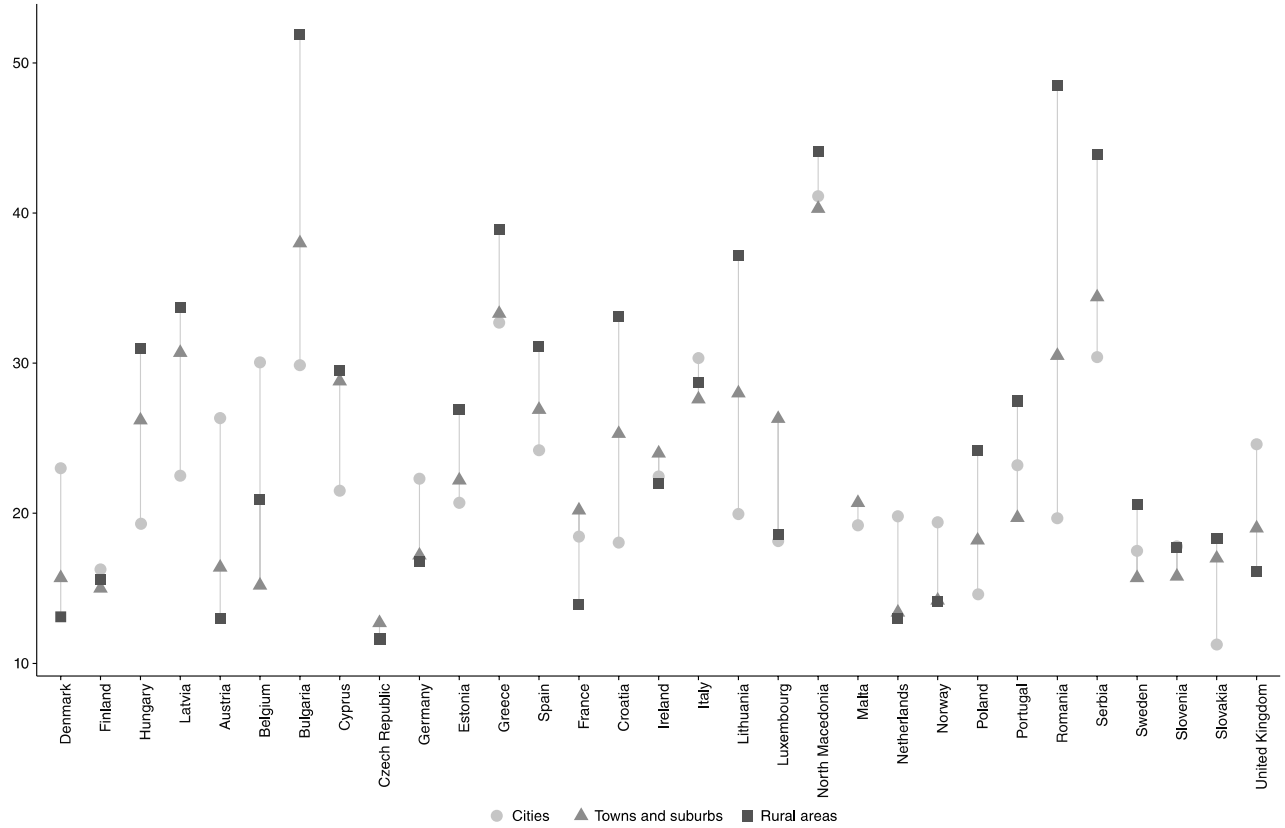

Figure 6.1 Share of population at risk of poverty or social exclusion, by degree of urbanisation.
Source: European Union (2016) and updates.

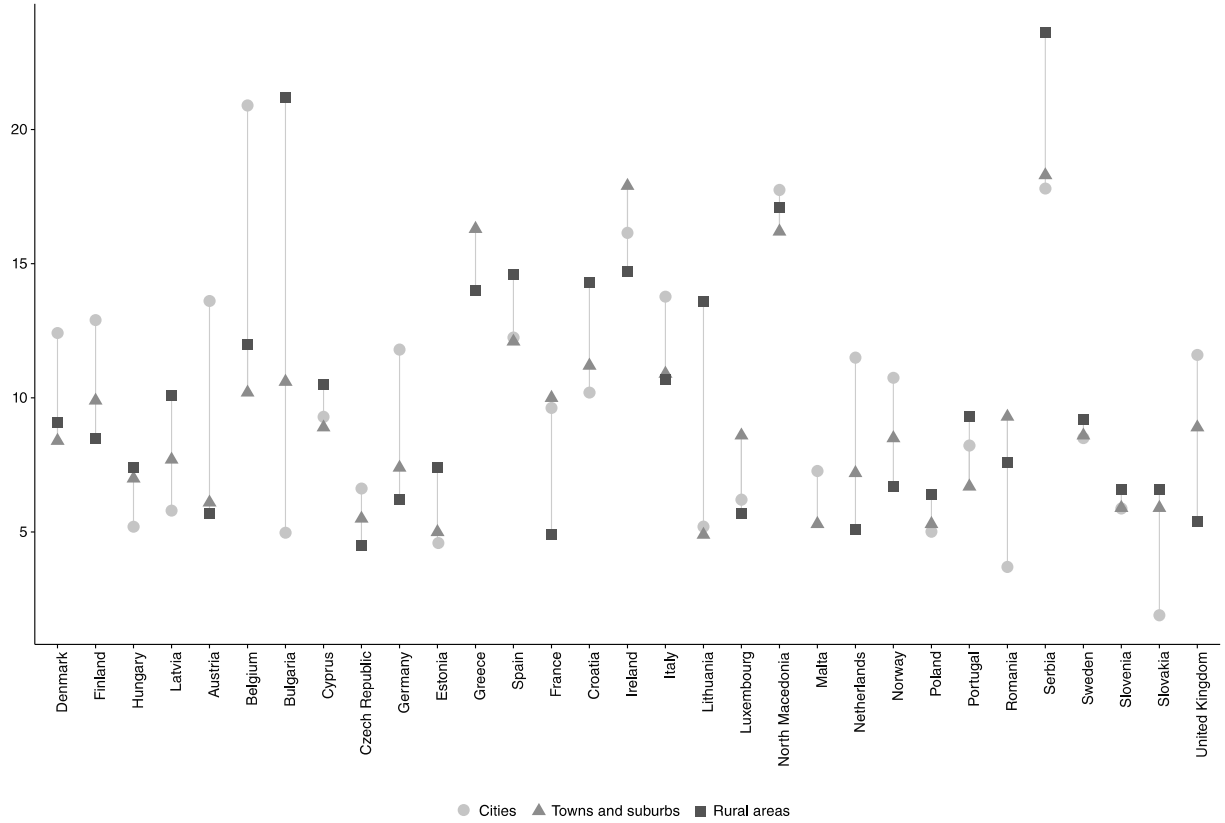

Figure 6.2 Share of population, aged 0–59, living in households with low work intensity, by degree of urbanisation.
Source: European Union (2016) and updates.

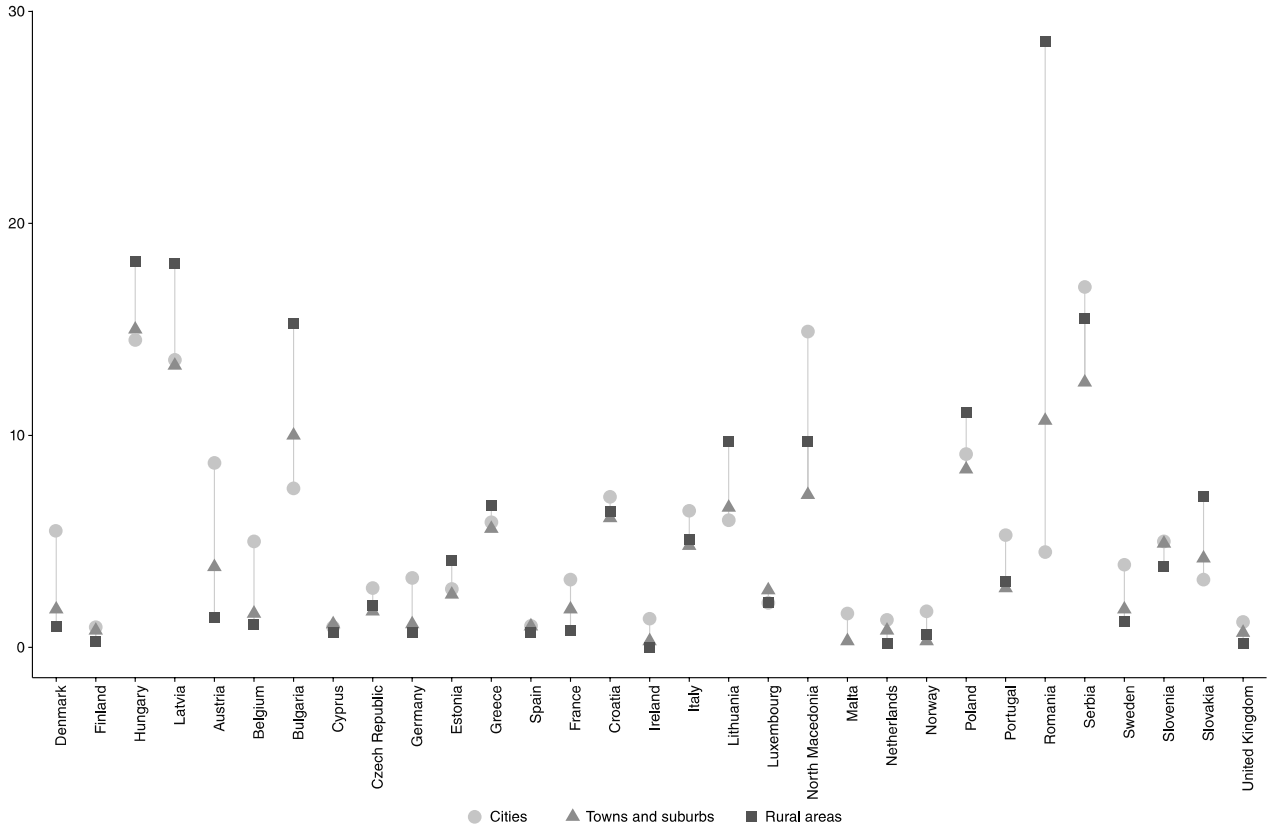

Figure 6.3 Severe housing deprivation rate, by degree of urbanisation.
Source: European Union (2016) and updates.

Table 6.1 Demographic and economic profile of European capital regions, 2016.

	GaWC Ranking, 2018	Unemployment (%)	Population (in 000s)	Population change in last 10 years		EU Foreign (%)	Non-EU Foreign (%)
				absolute (in 000s)	%		
Greater London	Alpha ++	5.6	8,731	+1,184	+15.7%	11.2[a]	10.4[a]
Greater Paris	Alpha +	13.3[c]	6,754[c]	+246	+3.8%[a]	4.1[c]	11.7[c]
Madrid	Alpha	14.9	3,166	+36	+1.2%	3.4	8.8
Brussels	Alpha	18.6	1,184	+182	+17.9%	22.8	12.6
Warsaw	Alpha	1.9[f]	1,735[c]	+43	+2.5%	0.2[a]	0.4[a]
Greater Amsterdam	Alpha –	7.3[d]	811	+71	+9.7%	6.0[c]	6.8[c]
Stockholm	Alpha –	6.5[a]	936[e]	+140	+16.7%	4.4[a]	5.9[e]
Greater Dublin	Alpha –	14.9[a]	1,326	+142	+12%	9.9[a]	9.0[a]
Vienna	Alpha –	12.3[c]	1,767[c]	+168	+10.5%	10.2[c]	14.0[c]
Greater Lisbon	Alpha –	12.8[a]	1,836	+34	+1.9%	1.8	6.1
Prague	Alpha –	6.8[a]	1,259[c]	+55	+4.7%[a]	3.6[a]	9.6[a]
Rome	Alpha –	9.5[a]	2,865	+317	+12.4%	4.3	8.4
Budapest	Alpha –	2.2	1,759	+61	+3.6%	1.6[a]	1.7[a]
Greater Athens	Beta +	17.6[a]	2,642[a]	–262	–9.1%[b]	2.1[a]	9.0[a]
Copenhagen	Beta +	5.1[b]	540	+58	+11.6%	5.6[b]	8.8[b]
Bucharest	Beta +	1.1[e]	2,112[e]	+169	+8.7%	—	—

Oslo	Beta	2.7[e]	613[b]	+101	+19.4%[a]	8.2[b]	6.1[a]
Berlin	Beta	7.9	3,520	+125	+3.7%	6.2	9.3
Sofia	Beta	4.9	1,232	+78	+6.8%	0.3	1.5
Zagreb	Beta	9.5[a]	801	+28	+3.6%	0.2	0.5
Greater Helsinki	Beta –	11.4	1,122	+124	+12.5%	3.9	5.5
Bratislava	Beta –	8.5[a]	423	–3	–0.7%	—	—
Riga	Gamma +	7.6	639	–88	–12.1%	0.5	22.5
Vilnius	Gamma	3.7	543	–10	–1.8%	0.2[a]	1.2[a]
Ljubljana	Gamma	12.7	288	+21	+8%	1.2	7.8
Tallinn	Gamma	6.1	423	+25	+6.2%	2.0	19.5

[a] From 2011, last eight years; [b] from 2012, last seven years; [c] from 2014; [d] from 2015; [e] from 2017; [f] from 2018.
Source: Own calculations on Eurostat (Urban Audit), EURES, and GaWC (2018)

from all regions of the world (Häussermann, 2005), the rapid growth of international migration in urban labour and housing markets has become one of the major issues that concerns the social cohesion of European cities. In most countries, severe housing deprivation is predominant in cities (Figure 6.3), and especially in the urban contexts mostly affected by international migration. Although earlier scholars in world cities literature had envisaged an emergence of a new migrant underclass in the low-paid service sector in maintenance of a strategic infrastructure of global cities (Sassen, 1991), the issue is far more complex. There is growing evidence that institutional configurations at both local and national level, as well as different migration histories, occupational structures, and spatial organisations facilitate largely different labour and housing markets outcomes across European cities (Fraisse and Escobedo, 2014; Hamnett, 2003; Kakpo and Cucca, 2017). The rise of hyper-diversity[3] in terms of ethnicity, culture, lifestyle, and attitudes is relevant for urban transformations in European cities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). However, the degree to which the growth of migrants can have a positive or negative impact on the urban environment largely depends on the interplay between socioeconomic characteristics and social inclusion policies that incorporate – or do not – the migrant newcomers into urban labour and housing markets (Costa and Ewert, 2014; Cucca and Ranci, 2017; Kazepov, 2005; Ranci, 2011; Ranci et al., 2014; Turok and Mykhnenko, 2007). New forms of fragmentation and segregation also become evident in multicultural European cities and threaten the ethos of social inclusion that characterised them up to the post-war period. This has increasingly problematised the notion of political citizenship based on national contracts and has urged the need for a broader sense of social citizenship based on universally valid human rights (Dukes and Musterd, 2012; Eizaguirre et al., 2012; Miciukiewicz et al., 2012; Novy et al., 2012).

The new challenges that European cities face are also a consequence of the recalibration or retrenchment of welfare policies that worsened since the financial crisis in the late 2000s. In line with financialisation and flexibilisation in global capitalism, the introduction of neoliberal policy instruments under a growing pressure for economic competitiveness both at the national and local level has continued to deteriorate the regulative and retributive dimension of the welfare state. This has exacerbated new patterns of inequality in urban labour and housing markets in European cities (Cucca and Ranci, 2017; Emmenegger et al., 2013; Kazepov and Cucca, 2018; Musterd et al., 2016; Wills et al., 2010). Indeed, in times of austerity, a cost-minimising reorganisation of the policy dimension has driven national and local actors to prioritise economic flexibility and competitiveness over the traditional regulative and retributive role of the state. However, this did not take place to the same magnitude everywhere. At the same time, the growing financial pressure from national governments brought about the need for innovative strategies by local actors to facilitate both the financial competitiveness *and* social integration of the disadvantaged social groups. Such a trend made European cities once again 'labora-

[3] Tasan-Kok et al. (2013) have argued that the concept of diversity is too simplistic. They define *hyper-diversity* as a way of scrutinising how cities are not only diverse in ethnic, demographic and socio-economic terms, but in terms of *attitudes*, *lifestyles*, *behaviours*, and *materialities*.

tories for innovative social policies' (Kazepov and Cucca, 2018). Although the state and national economy still provide the framework within which local governments can manage social innovation in their labour and housing markets, local public actors cooperate increasingly with new actors in the private sector to design, manage, finance, and implement innovative measures. These are aimed at fostering new solutions to upcoming social risks, unmet needs, and more attractive and sustainable jobs and residential environments for their growing population (Oosterlynck et al., 2018). The emergence of new actors in a multiscale reorganisation of the policy dimension poses a number of new challenges, such as the multilevel coordination, the accountability of decision-making processes, and the civic and political engagements of grassroots organisations. However, such economic and political transformations also provide European cities with new opportunities and capacities for local actors to compensate the weakening role of the welfare state and to minimise the growing gap between economic competitiveness and social cohesion (Béal et al., 2018; Bisong, 2019; Careja, 2019; Eizaguirre et al., 2012; Kazepov and Barberis, 2017; Miciukiewicz et al., 2012; Novy et al., 2012).

Outlook

The way in which European cities developed over the long term influences the way in which they are facing major challenges today. This influence, through welfare policies and urban planning, has led to local contexts characterised by lower levels of social inequalities in comparison to other counterparts in the world. The ability to govern social changes showed by many European local institutions have largely been recognised internationally, and still nowadays represents a key reference for planners and scholars keen in developing urban policies and strategies oriented towards social and spatial justice (Fainstein, 2010). However, European cities are today under strong pressure due to long-term transformations and their fate is increasingly uncertain. According to *The State of European Cities 2016*, 'European cities harbour a number of paradoxes: they are relatively safe but many people feel insecure. Housing in cities is smaller but more expensive. Cities have many job opportunities but unemployment and low work intensity rates are high in many cities. Cities are more productive but poverty rates are higher in cities in some of the most productive countries' (European Union and UN-Habitat, 2016: 110). The report provides evidence of an increasing complex urban landscape in Europe. The trade-off between the generally strong economic performance of a large number of European cities, on the one hand, and the very high level of labour market exclusion, overcrowding, and housing affordability problems in those same cities, on the other hand (European Union, 2016), gets more nuanced once we zoom in and investigate the interplay of the many dimensions influencing the outcome. The paradoxes testify that under current circumstances there are no direct and simple links between economic globalisation and local outcomes in Europe. Differences are remarkable between cities within different welfare regimes and different political-institutional and cultural contexts, despite the fact that most cities are embedded in the capitalist system and influenced by the dynamics of changing capitalism (Andreotti et al., 2018).

The new risks emerging in Europe especially affect young people who face increasing difficulties in entering the labour market and are among the most exposed to

precariousness, but are also dealing with care responsibilities in their early stages of family creation. These problems are even stronger among minorities, who can rely less on support from the family and the state (Taylor-Gooby, 2004: 8). To this we must add that social risks are unevenly distributed across Europe and specific social risk configurations characterise each regional and urban context (Ranci et al., 2014). The differentiating factors – ranging from socioeconomic, socio-demographic, and political factors – highlight the emergence of different and fragmented developments of the European city model(s) that require multilevel governance settings, on the one side, and the ability of the local institutions to deal with new social needs and problems, on the other.

Squeezed between changing state financial support and increasing social needs, some cities are learning to innovate their policies in order to reduce the gap between emerging problems and financial constraints, eventually involving civil society actors, such as the case of Barcelona or Berlin recently (Blanco and León, 2017). In these cities, spontaneous initiatives that emerged to counteract the effects of the crisis at the community level are simultaneously serving as platforms for reciprocity and political contestation, especially on issues related to housing affordability. Other cities, instead, face huge problems in mitigating the social impacts of the economic crisis that started in 2008 and the austerity policies that have followed. According to the report on *The State of European Cities*, between 2009 and 2014 the average share of local public investments by EU-25 local authorities dropped by 19%, from 1.6% to 1.3% of the total GDP, 'with the subsequent austerity measures, large cities have been particularly hit' (European Union and UN-Habitat, 2016: 192). Despite this scenario, most European cities are still showing a great ability to govern social change. It is the capacity to close/reduce these gaps that may be interpreted as a measure of the resilience and orientation towards social justice historically characterizing the European city (Fainstein, 2015).

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6.2. Vienna's Participatory Shift in Urban Development Policy

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3 Unlocking the door of the city hall

Vienna's participatory shift in urban development policy

Byeongsun Ahn and Elisabetta Mocca

Introduction

Participation is the holy grail of recent policy-making and has drawn significant academic attention. Indeed, progressive policy-makers, as well as political scholars, seem to agree upon the need to involve citizens in public affairs to expand democracy. However, as Arnstein (1969) already noted in the late 1960s, there may be different degrees of participation, from tokenism to citizen power. In practice, the top-down form of participation commonly allowed by public actors may or may not consist of emancipatory mechanisms that enable a mutual partnership between citizens and powerholders in decision-making and policy design.

In recent years, urban researchers have thrown light on participatory mechanisms rolled out in various cities across the world, ranging from Latin America (Goldfrank, 2007) to the United States and the United Kingdom (Elwood, 2004), and from continental Europe (Garcia, 2006) to China (Zhang et al., 2020). Among them, citizen participation in Vienna has been studied vis-à-vis communitarian urban development policies (for its historical evolution, see Suitner, 2020). Extant research has noted how participatory policies have been implemented in a context dominated by the long-lasting legacy of a vertical policy-making style harking back to Red Vienna and consolidated in the post-war period (Novy and Hammer, 2007). Notwithstanding some changes in the political landscape in recent years (for the erosion of the Social-Democrats' electoral base, see Chapter 2 by Mocca and Friesenecker in this volume), the City of Vienna has often been described as a 'Weberian-style administration' (Kornberger, et al., 2017, p. 180), characterised by a 'corporatist' (Novy et al., 2001, p. 131), 'top-down' (Novy and Hammer, 2007, p. 213) governing system. Moreover, it has been observed that endeavours to make Viennese policy-making

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more inclusive have been hindered by looming clientelism (Dangeschat and Hamedinger, 2009).

Consequently, non-tokenistic involvement of citizens in decision-making appears to find little room in the Viennese policy-making and deliberative process. In effect, much of the decision-making in urban development has often been centrally designed and implemented, with little delegated power to non-public actors for community control. Nevertheless, following international trends towards greater involvement of citizens in public affairs, some inroads into Vienna's interventionist and vertical policy approach have been made. Since the 1970s, the city government gradually introduced mechanisms to draw citizens into policy design and deliberation, especially in small-scale planning. Whilst such citizen involvement has been expanded through the development of the *Vienna Model* over the decades that followed, some obstacles to full representation of local interests in non-electoral participation still persist, as discussed in the ensuing sections.

This chapter highlights the political dimension of urban justice in Vienna, which cannot be reduced to resource maldistribution or misrecognition of residents' status – examined elsewhere in this volume. Therefore, the analysis presented here builds on Fraser's three-dimensional theory of justice, 'incorporating the political dimension of representation, alongside the economic dimension of distribution and the cultural dimension of recognition' (Fraser, 2010, p. 15). The extent of representation, as a precondition for the other two dimensions of distribution and recognition (for access to labour welfare, see Chapter 6 by Ahn and Kazepov; for access to housing, see Chapter 4 by Litschauer and Friesenecker), entails strong power implications. In this regard, the degree to which public actors open the policy-making process up to civil society, including less privileged residents, determines the policy outcomes. Therefore, the historical trajectory of Vienna's participatory mechanisms begs the question as to how this particular path has developed over time, which social groups benefit from this path, and which policy instruments have been deployed to foster or prevent the mainstreaming of citizen participation in the City's policy-making process.

The historical pathway towards the Vienna Model

Prompted by the suburbanisation of the inner-city districts, a new planning paradigm emerged in Vienna in the 1970s. The City moved away from the functionalist planning model of the previous decade, which had focused on car-centric urban expansion (Feuerstein and

Fitz, 2009). In this new era, the city government set the renewal of the dilapidated inner-city districts (between the outer ring-road and the 1st district) as a key task, where poor quality residential buildings required refurbishment interventions. A shift also emerged in response to growing public opposition to some of the large-scale development projects that were initiated throughout this period. The latter led to the demolition of the city's historical landmarks, such as Florianikirche (1965) and the Otto-Wagner Pavilion in the 12th district (1969), to make room for high-rise- and highway constructions in the central areas of the city. Between the late 1960s and the early 1970s, bottom-up initiatives against the functionalist urban projects, such as a new residential construction in a former red-light quarter (*Spittelberg*) in the seventh district, sparked debates on the restructuring of the City's planning system. The lack of citizen participation prior to that point in the planning process and the absence of an effective management structure in urban development were problematised within such discussions (Feuerstein and Fitz, 2009). In response, the city government began to deploy new participatory instruments to broaden resident involvement in urban renewal projects, where tenants and property owners became incorporated into the planning process. Subsequently, the institutionalisation of participatory planning then came about, building upon the legal amendments that followed this participatory turn, for example, the Vienna Building Code, the Old City Protection Act in 1972, and the Urban Renewal Act in 1974. This aimed not only to make locally specific problems more accessible to the planning authorities but also to reverse the declining public trust in the City's urban development strategies (Berger, 1984). Such changes laid the foundations for the City's new planning system where, on the one hand, active participation and engagement curbed potential conflicts between different residential groups. On the other hand, it provided a strong regulatory framework – complementing its housing policy – and mitigated negative spillovers of housing and urban development (for the recent development of Vienna's housing and tenancy regulatory system, see Chapter 4 by Litschauer and Friesenecker).

At the same time, a momentum for greater citizen participation initiated a process of innovation in the City's planning management approach, which introduced a new collaborative arrangement in large-scale development projects. Contrary to the expert-led technocratic approaches in the previous planning model, the new mode of governance enabled deliberation and the participation of a diverse range of both institutional and non-institutional actors, mediated by a decentralised control office. This method, referred to as the 'Vienna Model'

(Freisitzer and Maurer, 1985), formalised an institutional space for public-private-citizen partnership, based on horizontal cooperation between planning groups and public administration. Whilst citizens' participation mainly still occurred in the form of information dissemination in the planning process, reforms in the late 1980s began to adopt an entrepreneurial approach to urban development. Market elements, such as competitive tendering, were incorporated into the City's new planning paradigm. In contrast to the 1980s' New Public Management reforms in the Anglo-American sphere, however, the rescaling process in Vienna retained a corporative network with a strong level of interdependency, beyond strictly contractual relations between institutional and non-institutional actors. This differed greatly from, for example, the urban policies adopted during the same period in Labour-led British cities, such as Barnsley, Rotherham and Liverpool, whose leaders began to embrace market-led regeneration in response to the defeat of the miners' strike in the mid-1980s, economic decline in working-class areas, and growing support for Thatcher's central government in their constituencies (Davies, 2004). Similarly, in light of shrinking federal public expenditure, from the late 1970s onwards (especially during Reagan's administration), American cities relied on the taxation of private businesses located in their areas to subsidise urban regeneration (Teaford, 2000). Unlike these examples, a strong presence of zoning and land-use regulations in Vienna mitigated the dominance of private market actors, whose participation in urban development was – and still is – controlled by a socially oriented selection procedure, involving all relevant municipal departments (see Chapter 4 by Litschauer and Friesenecker).

The restructuring of the planning system was simultaneously accompanied by the decentralisation of the city administration and the expansion of direct democracy. After a redevelopment plan of a large green space (*Sternwartepark*) was rejected in the first-ever city-level opinion poll in 1973, a number of reforms enhancing direct democracy were introduced under the newly nominated Social-Democratic (SPÖ) mayor, Leopold Gratz. Further, the SPÖ-led city council institutionalised different instruments of direct democracy, although the extent of citizens' influence in municipal policy-making was limited by its non-binding nature, as well as restrictive quorum and turnout rules (Pleschberger and Mertens, 2012). As a result, direct democracy in Vienna mainly occurred as an outcome of inter-party competition within the city council, employed to either approve or object to urban development proposals by the Social-Democrats in power or their opposition, the Christian-Democrats (ÖVP). Direct democracy equated to

the use of opinion poll (*Volksbefragung*), mostly employed as a means of seeking popular support for policy implementation. However, its non-binding nature allowed political parties to pursue their urban development plans regardless of the outcome. This was true especially in the 1980s, as in the case of the *Austria Centre Vienna*[1] (1981), which were subject to criticism by opposition parties and citizens' initiatives (Pleschberger and Mertens, 2012). With the decentralisation process in the late 1980s, a new mode of direct citizen participation was introduced at the district level, which expanded the right of codetermination of the local population within the districts' sphere of competence. Notwithstanding the expansion of participatory platforms, especially for non-institutional experts, the extent of direct citizen participation in this period was still dominated by tokenistic involvement in large-scale urban development, mostly occurring in the form of information dissemination. Emerging participatory opportunities tended to be delegated to decentralised institutions, such as the Urban Renewal Offices (since 1974), often as an ad hoc reaction to grassroots discontent (e.g. *Planquadrate*, 1974–1979). Such bodies were not endowed with sufficient institutional competence and financial autonomy (Förster, 1988). In the years that followed, a more communitarian approach to direct citizen participation began to be incrementally incorporated. As we will see, however, the field and reach of its application remained constrained.

New approaches to participation starting from the 1990s

A new phase of participatory urban governance began in the early 1990s, as emerging urban challenges necessitated a reorientation of the planning strategies set in the previous decade. In light of the growing demand for economic competitiveness, place-branding strategies came to the fore in the City's urban policy priorities (Mayerhofer and Wolfmayr-Schnitzer, 1996). This shift occurred whilst maintaining the core concept of the Vienna Model: a mix of urban renewal and expansion strategies incorporated economic growth as one of the major policy objectives to enhance its cultural, technological, and economic attractiveness in the growing competition between cities (Mattl, 2000). One such example was the EXPO-Project, which was planned to expand the United Nations complex into an international congress quarter and develop a new urban centre near the Danube after a twin-city World's Fair with Budapest in 1995. As public worries grew concerning real estate speculation, tax burden and other issues, the right-wing Freedom Party (FPÖ) started a referendum petition in opposition to

the twin-city World's Fair (Schimak, 1993). In response, an opinion poll was launched in 1991 by the SPÖ and the ÖVP, who were looking for popular support for the project, though it was ultimately rejected by the voters. This political failure of the two major parties marked the beginning of a phase of reorganisation in the participatory tools in urban planning. In contrast to outcome-oriented, one-way consultations, there arose a need to sustain public engagement in small-scale urban development, by which the local population could be incorporated into the entire planning process through a diverse range of participatory opportunities (Antalovsky and König, 1994). Accordingly, smaller working groups, consisting of public institutions, experts and residents, were formed through localised planning projects, where strategic planning concepts could be co-produced following multiple rounds of extensive information gathering and public discussions. This was accompanied by the further restructuring of the city

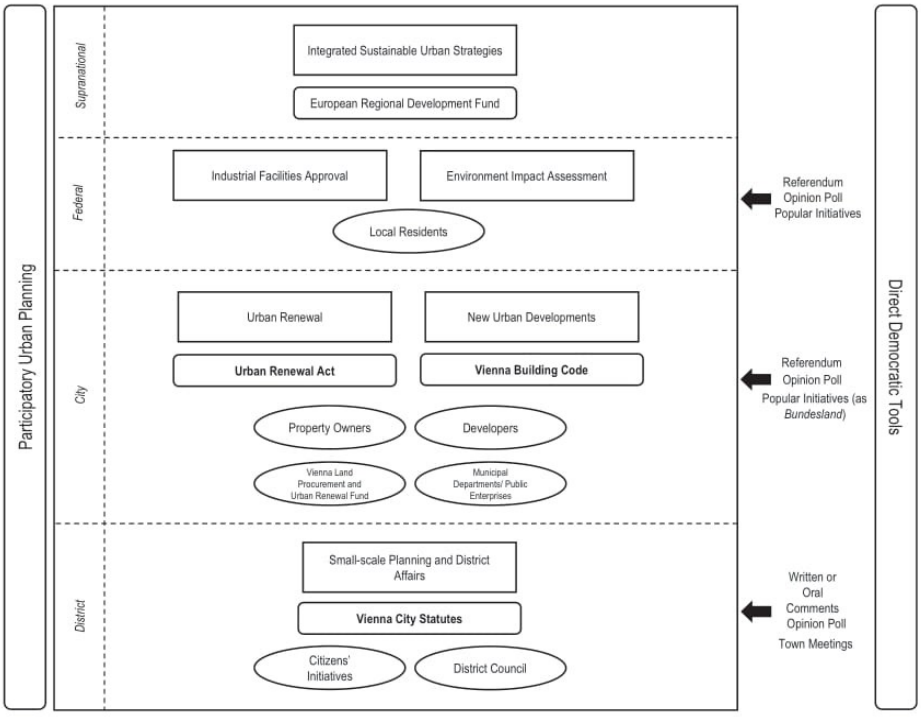

Figure 3.1 Institutional pathways to formal participation in urban development in Vienna.

Source: European Commission (2014); Hammer (2014); Municipal Department 21 (2017), Author's own elaboration.

administration, which divided the existing planning department into districts, and shifted from partial to full decision-making power in land procurement and planning management to public enterprises, such as the Vienna Land Procurement and Urban Renewal Fund (see Figure 3.1).

Process innovation involving non-institutional actors coincided with growing global awareness of sustainable urban development, especially after the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 in 1992, which urged local governments to expand public participation in the local decision-making process. Despite strategic plans for implementing a Local Agenda 21 in the late 1990s, the institutional effort to create a city-wide framework for localised grassroots participation never materialised under the Social-Democratic/Conservative coalition government. Unlike other European cities, for example in Sweden (Feichtinger and Pregernig, 2005) and the United Kingdom (Mittler, 2001), where the adoption of local agendas were organised in a top-down manner by local authorities, new opportunities for bottom-up mobilisation emerged in Vienna in 1998 through a further shift towards localised decision-making at the district level. Despite being rejected at the City level, the concrete interest in inclusion through bottom-up initiatives at the district level, in addition to assigning greater budget responsibility at the district level, initiated a pilot agenda process in the district of *Alsergrund* in 1998. The collaboration between this bottom-up initiative, *Local Agenda 21 Alsergrund*, and the district authorities, not only facilitated the active participation of local residents in neighbourhood planning, but also set new methodological standards for localised urban projects at the district level based on horizontal organisation of the planning process. Growing institutional recognition of the importance of community participation enabled citizens' initiatives to formulate planning concepts, as well as means to control and manage the process, together with the relevant municipal departments and private stakeholders. Such measures ultimately enabled citizens to influence the decision-making in the neighbourhood planning process (Novy and Hammer, 2007). This collaborative arrangement between citizens' initiatives, local residents and authorities became the City's organisational model for the Local Agenda 21 in 2002.

Another step towards localised collaborative arrangements emerged with the reorientation of the City's urban renewal strategies in the light of further decentralisation of public management under the same coalition government. Following the New Public Management precepts for output-oriented public services, the Urban Renewal Offices adopted a more active position in conflict management between

different key stakeholders in urban redevelopment. Accordingly, two pilot renewal projects were carried out in the districts of *Brigittenau* and *Leopoldstadt* between 2000 and 2006, partially subsidised by the European Social Fund and the Regional Development Fund. In contrast to the City's local agenda process, the new collaboration between institutional and non-institutional actors in these renewal works was vertically managed, whereby co-management between different municipal bodies and public enterprises was prioritised over bottom-up residential participation. This mechanism was partly set up to meet the EU's funding criteria based on economic performance, rather than grassroots involvement. As such, the participation of community-based initiatives in the planning process was limited. As a result, the role of local residents and the Urban Renewal Office remained consultative, whereas the decision-making authority in two urban renewal zones was expanded to the City's Economic Development Fund and the Municipal Department for European Affairs (Novy et al., 2010). As the renewal objectives largely focused on the economic development of neighbourhoods in decline, process innovation in these pilot projects drew on the flexibilisation of the City's renewal management structure, whereby the collaboration between key stakeholders at different territorial levels could occur beyond their institutional boundaries.

Despite limited innovation in bottom-up participation in urban renewal, the Urban Renewal Offices still remain the main coordinator of public dialogue between relevant institutional actors and residents in neighbourhood redevelopment, whereas the Local Agenda 21 Offices offer a bottom-up pathway for active participation in localised small-scale urban projects. Therefore, a mix of bottom-up and top-down participatory pathways in urban planning continue to characterise the collaborative arrangement between institutional and non-institutional actors in the overall institutional landscape of Vienna. However, the degree of recognition of local stakeholders and representation of their interests in the planning process is largely limited to the particular territorial level at which direct citizen participation in broader urban issues is continually constrained by its institutional design and the existing socioeconomic structure.

The collaborative arrangement for active citizenship and its context

Currently, coordination of bottom-up participatory processes at the neighbourhood level continues through the Local Agenda 21 and the Urban Renewal Offices. The former coordinates bottom-up pathways

of active participation in neighbourhood planning, whereby citizens' initiatives formulate and manage planning concepts and methods that concern the sustainable development of their own district. More recently, a few efforts to overcome bureaucratic hurdles led to the implementation of new pathways for citizens' initiatives to directly participate in neighbourhood planning. In 2015, a new participatory program (*Grätzeloase*), initiated by the Local Agenda 21 Office and the city administration, was launched to activate citizen participation in co-production of non-market public spaces and communal activities at the district level. This involved two rounds of revision by the municipal departments, the district authorities, the police and the Chamber of Commerce. The emphasis on self-organisation in urban development at the local level is also visible in the growing number of *Do-It-Yourself* activities, such as urban gardening, food networks and repair activities, set forward by the Urban Renewal Offices (Jonas and Segert, 2019). Whilst continuing its primary function as the local coordination office for on-site conflict management in target planning areas, the Urban Renewal Offices have adopted a non-market-based 'commoning' approach to citizen participation, where extensive sharing and learning processes can be fostered within the public-citizens partnership in a non-hierarchical fashion. Accordingly, the trend towards self-organisation, based on a combination of bottom-up mobilisation and a top-down institutional framework, expanded across the city. Since January 2020, the Local Agenda process takes place in 11 out of 23 districts in Vienna.

The availability of bottom-up pathways to direct participation at the district level is determined by the respective district council, which is not only responsible for small-scale neighbourhood planning, but also decides whether to implement and finance (50%) the Local Agenda process. Given this local anchor, incorporation of bottom-up initiatives in neighbourhood planning largely depends on the local political dynamics. The competition-based project selection method, especially in *Grätzeloase*, therefore, aimed at reshaping the political boundaries of self-organisation in urban development. Unlike the regular selection criteria of the Local Agenda 21 Office, any individual can submit community-oriented projects with a focus on public space revitalisation, which are then evaluated by a jury of relevant municipal departments. This 'commoning' approach to neighbourhood planning has expanded the alternative pathways for non-institutional actors to engage at the district level from 33 in 2015 to 83 in 2019.

The extent of local co-production in *Grätzeloase*, however, has been largely limited by its organisational model, which falls short of

addressing the existing inequalities among neighbourhoods (Brait and Hammer, 2017). In addition to the competition-based selection method that diminishes the deliberative potential of the 'commoning' approach, a lack of appropriate public interventions to address the existing inequalities has led to the spatial concentration of self-organisation in neighbourhood planning (see Figure 3.2). In other words, participatory practices tend to be clustered in urban areas, where average earnings and educational attainment are relatively high compared to other districts, and participatory opportunities are already available. For example, an uneven spatial distribution of bottom-up urban initiatives is particularly visible in the district of *Neubau* (7th), with the second highest share of the population with tertiary education (47.2% in 2017), and where most *Grätzeloase* projects have been initiated by the local businesses on large commercial streets. Whilst the local engagement of cultural and social associations is more frequent in the districts of *Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus* (15th) and *Hernals* (17th), the local agenda groups take an active role in securing *Grätzeloase* projects in the districts of *Josefstadt* (8th), *Favoriten* (10th), and *Währing* (18th), where bottom-up channels for participation are already available to citizens' initiatives by the districts' Agenda offices. A lack of both top-down and bottom-up pathways to participation is particularly visible in the district of *Simmering* (11th), governed by the FPÖ between 2015 and 2020, where (as of 2017) the share of the population with tertiary education (12.7%) and the median income (20,568 EUR) are one of the lowest in the city (Statistics Vienna, 2020). The lack of an appropriate framework that could guide bottom-up practices in addressing the existing local inequalities has also engendered a low degree of thematic diversity. Whilst expanding opportunities for grassroots mobilisation enable citizens' initiatives to actively formulate and realise small-scale urban projects at the neighbourhood level, this contracting-out practice undermines horizontal networks of decision-making, in which the interests of different stakeholders are recognised and represented. As the city government retreats to a steering role in bottom-up participation of community-based initiatives, missing interactive mechanisms in direct participatory platforms has exacerbated event-based public-citizen collaboration, dominated by low-cost 'pop-up' urban projects, led by a limited number of civil society actors, which pay little attention to the place-specific contexts.

Whilst the capacity for bottom-up practices of co-production in neighbourhood planning lies at the district level, the localised planning system at the City level supplements the lack of participation opportunities in the districts, where the Local Agenda 21 is absent. Some

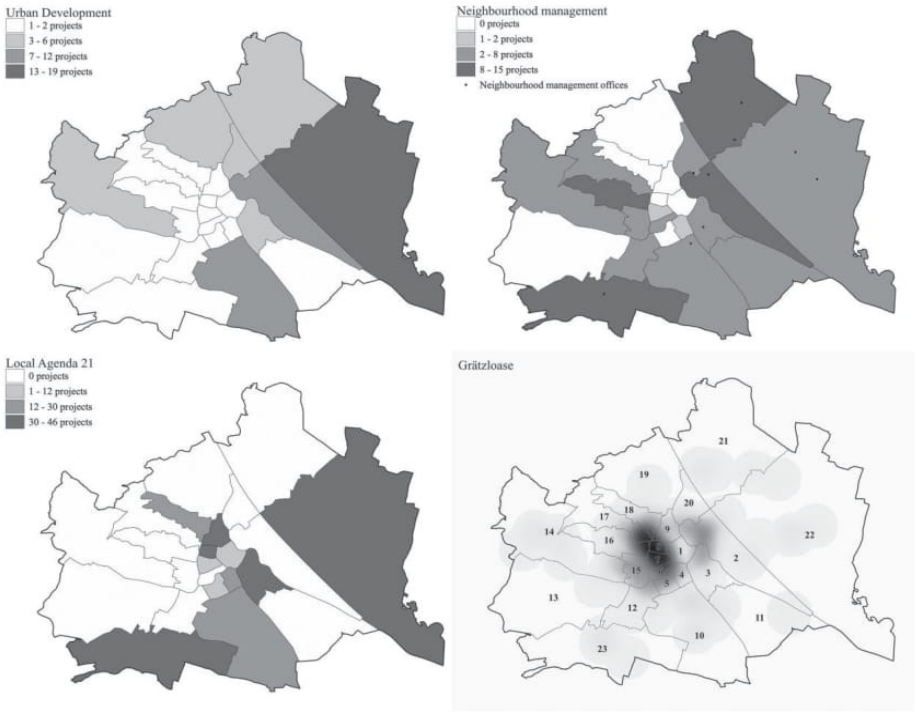

Figure 3.2 Geographical distribution of participatory channels in urban development in Vienna, 2020.
Source: Urban Renewal Office; Local Agenda 21, Author's own elaboration.

districts have particularly benefited from this institutional complementarity: namely, the underprivileged outer-city districts, such as *Leopoldstadt* (2nd), *Ottakring* (16th) and *Floridsdorf* (21st), where existing participatory channels are mostly organised by the local Urban Renewal Offices. Since 2012, the Urban Renewal Office expanded its role in new development areas, where the newly established Neighbourhood Management Offices coordinate participatory processes to accommodate the respective interests of old and new residents. Despite growing – and diversified – indirect participatory channels in localised urban projects, the extent of public-citizens partnership in new development areas is limited by the Vienna Building Code, which only grants direct control over the formal planning processes to property owners (see Figure 3.1). This is a distinct weakness in the City's participatory framework: its strong top-down orientation and its nearly exclusive role in urban planning results in limited citizen empowerment within the formal decision-making processes. Such a

top-down and interventionist policy approach is an enduring legacy of the long Social-Democratic municipal government, which has provided limited support to civic involvement in public affairs. Whilst the Urban Renewal Offices and the Neighbourhood Management Offices provide local residents with opportunities for inclusion, engagement and deliberation in the planning processes, these participatory channels lack a policy framework to ensure that participation has a meaningful impact in policy implementation. Currently, there is no adequate policy framework to empower localised bottom-up practices in a diverse range of policy fields, other than urban planning, where local residents can make a substantial contribution to the outcome of the decision-making process beyond tokenistic participation.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have shed light on the evolution of Vienna's urban development policy, and how the role of citizens in the localised planning system has changed throughout the period considered. From the early 1970s onwards, the City of Vienna has experimented with a diverse range of participatory tools, emerging from the decentralisation process, to encourage bottom-up mobilisation of community-based initiatives and the inclusion of non-institutional actors at different territorial levels of urban development. Whilst urban policies promoting citizen participation exist across cities and regions, the Vienna Model was particularly successful at linking non-institutional actors to the formal policy-making structure and limiting the potential interference of market actors. The longstanding decentralisation process downscaled substantial power and resources to public enterprises and district authorities, opening up top-down participatory pathways from 'informing' and 'consultation' to – limited degrees of – citizen power. Simultaneously, this rescaling process allowed both the city administration and its districts to enhance grassroots engagement at the neighbourhood level, allowing local residents to actively participate in designing and evaluating community planning projects. Whilst the opportunities grew, however, such standardisation and formalisation have compounded the bureaucratic obstacles to activate the participation of broader social groups. Some attempts have been made to circumvent this bureaucratic tendency. However, our analysis points out that the increased participation of organised community actors went hand in hand with negative side-effects of self-organisation in small-scale neighbourhood planning, resulting in the uneven distribution of participatory channels.

The latter are mainly concentrated around the city's inner-city districts, where educational attainment and median earnings are relatively high. Our findings, therefore, echo some concerns raised by participation scholars: the literature in the field has warned about the potential self-selection of individuals with higher cultural, social and economic resources taking part in participatory initiatives (Fung, 2015). The uneven distribution of bottom-up initiatives across the city casts light on exclusionary processes engendered by participation policies in Vienna. This issue is mainly due to two factors, which may appear to be at odds with one another at face value. First, an over-regulation and bureaucratisation of participatory policy, which stifles citizens' engagement in planning. Second, the lack of a proper policy framework – if not political willingness – enshrining fully fledge participation. This policy deficit hinders meaningful involvement of citizens, falling short of empowering them. Therefore, the regulatory excess, coupled with the absence of a truly empowering participatory policy approach, seems to confirm the description of the Viennese municipal governance in the literature as a bureaucratic and top-down system. In turn, such a top-down approach fails to design interventions that reflect each neighbourhood's specific context. Ultimately, our analysis hints at increasing citizen participation in the planning process at different scales. The expansion of public participation, however, has been less successful in reducing unequal access to adequate representation for all and curbing the still strong intervention of the city administration. It appears that Vienna acts as a controlling enabler, reluctantly letting go of their exclusive oversight in the planning process. So far, we are yet to witness mechanisms that overcome participatory injustices emanating from Vienna's existing intraurban inequalities

Note

1 The construction of the conference complex around the United Nations was highly controversial in the 1980s, pushed by the SPÖ in the federal government, despite a failed legislative referral in 1981 and a popular initiative in 1982.

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6.3. Shifting Causal Effects of Vienna's 'Soft Urban Renewal'

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Path Dependent Neighbourhoods: Tracing the Shifting Causal Effects of Vienna's 'Soft Urban Renewal'

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Path Dependent Neighbourhoods: Tracing the Shifting Causal Effects of Vienna's 'Soft Urban Renewal'

The core concepts and approaches in historical institutionalism offer a valuable analytical lens through which emerging urban problems can be viewed as a result of a concrete historical process in the long-run institutional evolution. Despite growing popularity, their application in urban studies has been limited to inferring descriptive accounts of *what* and *when* institutional changes take place, presenting barriers to understand the internal dynamics of change processes rooted in their unique developmental trajectories. This generic use in existing literature runs the risk of mistreating formal institutions and policies as the ultimate source of path dependence in cities and regions, black-boxing the power-laden context of real-world policy-making. In these reflections, this article introduces Vienna's current urban renewal paradigm, 'soft urban renewal', to highlight the role of context-sensitive mechanisms that enable policy actors react to changing internal needs and external demands in a long-stretching policy sequence. It identifies *how* and *why* Vienna's policy actors and institutions could mediate structural constraints at different points in time and, thus, generate policy outcomes that are contingent on their respective temporal and spatial context in the policy sequence.

Keywords: institutional change; path dependence; policy sequence; urban governance; urban renewal

Introduction

Previously, the notion of path dependence typically referred to as developmental pathways of institutions and policies that are shaped by past decisions from critical moments of contingency. Building on the economic model of increasing returns to scale[1], scholars evoked the idea of institutional lock-in ensuing from self-reinforcing mechanisms, which is said to make the policy path chosen in a critical juncture difficult to change[2]. Much discussion on path dependence, therefore, focused on contingent breakpoints in external crises giving rise to new opportunities for policy entrepreneurs to change the future course of development patterns. However, it has been also argued that the fundamental restructuring of institutional arrangements – even in a

[1] David, "Clio and the Economics of QWERTY"; Arthur, "Competing Technologies, Increasing Returns, and Lock-In by Historical Events".
[2] Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics".

critical juncture – will be largely constrained by existing power relations in politics and the endogenous features of institutions[3]. External crises in critical junctures are typically conditioned on the capacity of policy actors to rehabilitate old parts of the policy path emanating from the lasting legacy of existing institutions[4]. Thus, this strand of literature, rooted in historical institutionalism[5], stressed the dialectic relationship between structure and agency[6] and saw the moment of path shaping opportunity in a critical juncture to take place simultaneously with path preserving strategies of political forces. The role of agency is of particular importance to path dependence, as the reproductive or transformative decision of policy actors over alternative choices is shaped by powerful incentives of institutions to retain their political authority in a structural shift[7]. Therefore, the notion of path dependence, once understood in a particular political and social context, provides a useful analytical framework to unpack the uneven power relations among actors and institutions at different levels of governance, and the inherent mechanisms within, which serve to retain the institutional status quo. Consequently, an analysis of such interactions and processes unfolding over time aims to identify not only the timeline of the historical events under investigation, but the beneficiaries of existing institutional arrangements in favour of a given institutional outcome of interest. Whilst the chronological order of institutional evolution helps to understand the history of *what* and *when* changes take place, this alone fails to answer *how* and *why* some institutions and policies persist over others, of which mechanisms behind resilience are central to the historical institutionalist view of path dependence. In what follows, this article introduces Vienna's urban renewal paradigm, 'soft urban renewal' (*sanfte Stadterneuerung*), as a research window, through which to study the role of context-sensitive mechanisms behind the causal force that

[3] Mahoney and Thelen, *Explaining institutional change*.
[4] Torfing, "Path-Dependent Danish Welfare Reforms".
[5] For the underlying differences between various strands of institutionalism, see Thelen, "Historical Insitutionalism in Comparative Politics".
[6] Hay and Wincott, "Structure, Agency and Historical Institutionalism".
[7] Sorensen, "Taking path dependence seriously".

sets the developmental trajectory of institutions and policies into motion, generating a path dependent outcome truly unique to the unit of observation. Building on the reiterative principles of reactive sequencing, it discusses the particular distributional inequalities within Vienna's urban renewal paradigm, of which change patterns and outcomes are conditioned on the institutional capacity of key policy actors to act on changing internal needs and external demands at different points in time. In turn, this focus on structure, agency, and temporality teases out the institutional complexity in urban policy-making and the multiplicity of accumulating – and also differing – interests of policy actors in a long-stretching policy sequence, leading to differentiated policy outcomes of existing institutional arrangements in particular temporal and spatial contexts.

Tracing the Path of Institutional Evolution

Despite the growing interest in the theory of path dependence among urban scholars since the 1990s[8], its core concepts were typically employed to highlight enduring policy paths of state institutions[9]. Whilst some reflections on the path dependent aspect of urban process exist since the 'variegated neoliberalization thesis'[10], there has been a lack of systematic efforts to tease out the particular mechanisms sustaining urban institutions and their distributional consequences on the city's overall developmental pathway[11]. As a result, the source of institutional resilience in a structural shift and the resultant urban outcomes are relegated to the differentiated regulatory environments without referencing the internal dynamics behind policy choices in the past and their translation into lasting impacts in the present[12]. Whilst much has been said about the strategic role of formal political institutions mediating external crises[13], their existence alone does not fully describe the cause-and-effect relationship behind

[8] Woodlief, "The Path-Dependent City".
[9] Torfing, "Path-Dependent Danish Welfare Reforms".
[10] Brenner, Peck, and Theodore, "Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways".
[11] Sorensen, "Institutions and Urban Space".
[12] González et al., "Locating the global financial crisis: variegated neoliberalization in four European cities".
[13] Brenner, Peck, and Theodore, "After Neoliberalization?".

institutional continuity and incremental changes within. When institutions themselves are taken as the source, gradual shifts emanating from their endogenous properties and the causal mechanisms behind are easily overlooked by big and abrupt changes in the formal status quo[14]. Whilst such a perspective attributes institutional change to the punctuated equilibrium by external shocks[15], the persisting core principles of existing – for example, welfare[16] – institutions allude to potential mechanisms of perpetuation at work enabling them to preserve the path and endure exogenous shifts. This shares the view that the fundamental restructuring of existing institutions in critical junctures are rare events in that the capacity of policy actors to act on the shifting environment will most likely result in incremental and endogenous changes[17]. Despite the frequent treatment of critical junctures as stand-alone moments of crises opening up major path altering opportunities, these are also largely influenced by the antecedent preconditions, which may limit or expand the range of alternative choices that are available to policy actors[18]. Given this adaptive nature of a policy path, the idea that 'path shaping always takes place in a path dependent context'[19] usefully conceptualizes path dependence as embodying power struggles of policy actors for political authority over prevailing alternative paths in times of crisis.

A historical institutionalist approach to path dependence views institutional continuity or change to emerge from the 'ongoing mobilization of political support, as well as…active efforts to resolve institutional ambiguities'[20] in favour of the beneficiaries of existing institutions. Given that path dependence is conditioned on context-sensitive mechanisms of resilience modifying existing practices and rules[21], this adaptive process then begs the question

[14] Mahoney and Thelen, *Explaining institutional change*.
[15] Hay, "Crisis and the Structural Transformation of the State: Interrogating the Process of Change".
[16] Blum, Kuhlmann, and Schubert, *Routledge handbook of European welfare systems*.
[17] Capoccia and Kelemen, "The Study of Critical Junctures".
[18] Capoccia, "Critical Junctures and Institutional Change".
[19] Torfing, "Rethinking path dependence in public policy research," 79.
[20] Mahoney and Thelen, "A Theory of Gradual Institutional Change," in *Explaining Institutional Change*, 9.
[21] Torfing, "Path-Dependent Danish Welfare Reforms".

of the particular causal forces behind given institutional and structural circumstances sustaining the vested interests of policy actors. Depending on their respective theoretical origin, the methods to tease out path dependent flows build on different types of sequencing, where temporarily ordered events follow a particular developmental pathway. One of the major sequential arguments derives from the self-reinforcing logic of path dependence, wherein positive feedback mechanisms reproduce earlier events to persist over an extended period of time, resulting in an institutional outcome that doesn't differ much from the critical juncture[22]. A reactive process, on the other hand, refers to a causal chain, in which preceding events in the sequential process trigger reactive actions that 'are marked by backlash processes that transform and perhaps reverse earlier events'[23]. Given that the former is premised on a lock-in effect of a self-reinforcing policy path, the latter has been argued to be better suited for portraying gradual within-path policy evolution and, therefore, 'more accurately describ(ing) the actual nature of policy dynamics present in the field examined'[24]. This difference is important in a way that it provides contrasting criteria for locating the temporal breakpoint in the sequence, and for applying methods to empirically test the causal hypothesis in question. The self-reinforcing sequential argument, for example, is conditioned on the absence or presence of causal variables under particular circumstances generating path dependence for the final outcome. This makes cross-case comparison by small-n causal inference viable for eliminating non-causal factors[25]. In contrast, a reactive sequence is triggered by case-specific causal mechanisms, which transmit causal forces only once component events are positioned – and all present – in a sequential order. Given that individual events alone do not generate a causal relationship between the breakpoint and the outcome, this type of analysis involves tracing all relevant causal links connecting each component in the sequence. This ontological assumption on the nature of

[22] Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics".
[23] Mahoney, "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology," 526.
[24] Howlett, "Process Sequencing Policy Dynamics," 254.
[25] Falleti and Mahoney, "The comparative sequential method".

causality makes process-tracing methods a useful tool to make within-case causal inference about context-sensitive mechanisms at work[26].

Drawing on these analytical and methodological issues, the following analysis employed an 'explaining-outcome' [27] process-tracing method to infer the path dependent patterns behind Vienna's urban renewal paradigm. So far, existing literature on Vienna's urban governance has only loosely evoked the notion of path dependence based on how key institutional factors generate local outcomes in structural crises[28]. Whilst having successfully identified the past junctures of change in Vienna's planning institutions and policies, it has been unclear on how and why a set of institutional factors could resist different structural constraints stretching over decades, and persist over alternative policy paths in critical moments. The goal of process tracing here was to establish a causal explanation behind the specific institutional architecture of Soft Urban Renewal, of which participatory processes and outcomes diverged in different temporal (*the mid-1990s/the mid-2010s*) and spatial contexts (*Brunnenviertel/Sonnwendviertel*) within a long-standing policy sequence. Given that there are relatively little existing causal explanations, this case-centric approach was particularly useful for reverse tracing the component events in a sequential order from the synergistic interactions between the city's renewal institutions in the mid-1990s back to the key breakpoint in the early 1970s, including its antecedent historical conditions. As a result, this tracing practice helped to identify the chain of causally linked events and the reiterative logic behind its path dependent patterns, rather than repeating events sustained by a self-reinforcing mechanism. Drawing on the evidences from the literature review, the structural analysis, and the policy analysis, it theorized that a combination of two types of causal mechanisms (*decentralization* and

[26] Bennett and Elman, "Complex Causal Relations and Case Study Methods".
[27] Beach and Pedersen, *Process-tracing methods*.
[28] For its use in housing research, see Lawson, "Path Dependency and Emergent Relations"; for enterpreneurial ecosystem, see Radinger-Peer, Sedlacek, and Goldstein, "The path-dependent evolution of the entrepreneurial ecosystem (EE) – dynamics and region-specific assets of the case of Vienna (Austria)"; for political participation, see Novy and Hammer, "Radical Innovation in the Era of Liberal Governance".

suburbanization) under specific scope conditions (*one-party dominance* and *dilapidated historical housing stock*) might have been jointly at work for the performance outcome of 'soft urban renewal' in a particular temporal setting. As follows, smoking gun evidences of both mechanisms and conditions in each component event confirmed the minimal sufficiency of these context-sensitive mechanisms producing complementarity between decentralized renewal institutions in the 1990s (see Figure 1). Building on the empirical manifestations of both mechanisms in the causal chain, the ensuing sections demonstrate: a) how the policy actors in Vienna could effectively react to growing public discontent with the city's top-down planning approach at different temporal points; b) how this 'reiterated problem solving'[29] engendered a particular developmental pathway towards the 'soft urban renewal' paradigm; and c) how the changes of these timebound mechanisms in the long run affect the process and outcome of 'soft urban renewal' in the current neighbourhood regeneration.

'Causes of Causes': Antecedent Conditions of Vienna's Post-war Urban Planning

Given that the key breakpoint putting the reactive sequence into motion is in itself the 'intersection point of two or more prior sequences'[30], the antecedent historical conditions that precede the path shaping moment provide a good starting point of analysis, sequentially combining all relevant causal factors that produce a long-term outcome[31]. Much discussion on 'soft urban renewal' traces its beginning back to the implementation of key legislations between the late 1960s and early 1970s[32]. In contrast, less has been said about how and why the policy actors in the City Administration were able to choose a certain policy path at this particular temporal moment, in response to which prevailing alternative options. So far, the causal force linking the preceding institutional and structural conditions of post-war Vienna, the path

[29] Haydu, "Making Use of the Past: Time Periods as Cases to Compare and as Sequences of Problem Solving".
[30] Mahoney, "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology," 527.
[31] Slater and Simmons, "Informative Regress".
[32] See, for example, Franz, *Gentrification in neighbourhood development*.

shaping moment of 'soft urban renewal', and the succeeding path dependent sequence have been in the dark.

After the end of the Second World War, the immediate task for the City Administration was to recover from the heavy industrial- and residential housing damage, with some 87,000 of total dwellings fully or partly destroyed[33]. Regarding this housing shortage, the early post-war reconstruction plans under the chief urban planner, Karl Heinrich Brunner (1948-1952), focused on re-establishing a connection to the progressive planning and housing programmes of 'Red Vienna' in the 1920s[34]. However, Brunner's 'from social housing to social urban planning' approach, envisaging a car-centric planning model based on separated industrial- and bedroom suburbs, found little support in the City Council[35] in favour of urban industrial agglomeration[36]. Following the post-war economic growth in the late 1950s, the City Council regained interest in large-scale urban development projects, and chose a functionalist urban model by the new chief urban planner, Roland Rainer (1958-1963). Rainer's architectural concept focused on regulating housing density in the city's inner districts and expanding residential areas to the fringe districts that were linked by an extensive public transport network[37]. Whilst the construction of large-scale public housing projects in the city's expanding suburbs ensued thereafter, much of Rainer's plans was met with disapproval of the City Administration, which saw his planning ideals to contradict the traditional values and norms of the governing Social-Democrats[38]. Subsequently, the City Administration shifted the authority over urban development from commissioned architects to the Municipal Department for Urban Development and Planning in 1963, and, following the Vienna state election in 1969, to the

[33] Pirhofer and Stimmer, *Pläne für Wien*.
[34] Diefendorf, "Planning postwar Vienna".
[35] The City Council refers to the elected legislative body of the City of Vienna, as opposed to the City Administration that serves as the city government. The latter is composed of 57 Municipal Departments and 3 public enterprises within 7 Administrative Groups. Each of these groups is led by a nominated politician from the governing parties.
[36] Meißl, "Ökonomie und Urbanität.".
[37] Bihl, Meißl, and Musner, "Vom Kriegsende 1945 bis zur Gegenwart".
[38] Suitner, "Vienna's planning history".

Administrative Group for Planning. This ultimately transferred the planning responsibility from third-party professionals to a politician from the governing party.

Prior to this administrative reorganization, the city's modernist urban policy had already begun facing public discontent with its top-down approach to urban development in the mid-1960s. In the wake of mounting criticism[39] over functionalist urban planning in North America and Western Europe, grassroots initiatives and protests responded to growth-oriented infrastructure modernization, and mobilized against some of the city's large-scale infrastructure projects. Some revitalization works in the city centre notwithstanding, such as *Blutgassenviertel* (1965), the transport infrastructure development for the growing outer districts led to the demolition of historical landmarks, such as *Florianikirche* (1965) and *Lobkowitzbrücke Station* (1969). Increasing public attention regarding urban expansion began shaping a new planning discourse on participation and sustainability in urban development. This was most salient in the discussion on revitalization of the dilapidated inner districts, which rapidly declined following the suburbanization process[40]. At the same time, the rescaling of housing promotion down to the regional level in 1968 took place, which institutionalized subsidized housing renovation in 1969, and historic preservation in 1972. However, the city's continuous top-down approach to infrastructure modernization further met with local protests across Vienna in 1973. Furthermore, a series of corruption scandals and mismanagement of public funds in this period led to intense media criticism of the governing Social-Democrats, eventually leading to the resignation of the mayor, Felix Slavik (1970-1973), after the plan to repurpose a large green space (*Sternwartepark*) fell through in the city's first-ever referendum. In light of growing unpopularity of the governing Social-Democrats, opening up participatory channels for community-oriented urban development became a pressing issue for the City Administration under the newly elected Leopold Gratz (1973-1984). This led to one of the city's first

[39] See, for example, Lynch, *The Image of the City*.
[40] Pirhofer and Stimmer, *Pläne für Wien*.

participatory renewal processes, namely in a former red-light district (*Spittelberg*) in 1973 and an inner-city public housing complex (*Planquadrat*) in 1974[41].

These contingent events that engendered community-oriented neighbourhood regeneration in the following decades were rooted in a deeper cause. This critical moment emerged at the intersection between two antecedent conditions, which caused the City Administration to gradually modify its policy strategy, setting a new developmental pathway towards 'soft urban renewal' in motion. First, the power struggle of the governing Social-Democrats attempting to maintain political control over urban development led to a chain of ad-hoc responses to the rising backlash against its modernist planning policy. Their dominance in the City Council enabled the Social-Democrats to implement administrative reforms in times of political crisis concentrating the planning authority in an elected government official within the City Administration, on the one hand, and decentralizing renewal activities and resident participation at the neighbourhood level, on the other. Second, growing public awareness towards social and environmental issues of urban development since the mid-1960s led to mobilization of grassroots activism, which began to wield substantial influence on the decision-making of the City Administration. Whilst the past protests against modernist urban design were limited in scope, a new generation of civic activists in the early 1970s drove an era of socio-political change, calling for more citizen participation in co-creation of liveable communities[42]. The timing of the intersection between these two preceding sequences had an enduring consequence for the city's urban renewal paradigm. In addition to growing awareness towards sustainable urban development in both the City Administration and civil society, the institutionalization of citizen engagement that laid the foundation of Vienna's urban renewal paradigm came after the Federal Urban Renewal Act in 1974 amid speculation over mass

[41] Vienna's urban renewal in the 1950s prioritised demolition of the existing buildings and infrastructures (e.g. *Alt-Erdberg* and *Lichtental*), and the revitalisation of *Blutgassenviertel* in the 1960s lacked participatory elements.
[42] Feuerstein and Fitz, *Wann begann temprär?*

demolition of substandard housing stock in Austrian cities[43]. This rescaling process shifted the responsibility of urban renewal to the regional authorities, providing the legal basis for public intervention in subsidized housing renovation and resident participation in community planning through the decentralized Urban Renewal Offices (*Gebietsbetreuungen*). As a result, the City Administration was able to launch a community-oriented renewal model across Vienna's deteriorating *Gründerzeit* residential areas [44] without losing planning power to growing grassroots initiatives and worsening the declining public trust in the city's urban development strategies[45]. The birth of new urban institutions and policies in 1974 marked the key breakpoint for the institutionalization of 'soft urban renewal' that triggered the expansion of public participation in the localized planning process.

Enduring Consequences: The Reactive Developmental Pathway of 'Soft Urban Renewal'

In a reactive sequential pathway, the decision made in the conjunctural breakpoint endures over time, not due to irreversible lock-in effects of increasing returns, but 'causal mechanisms…through which agents with causal capacities operate in specific contexts to transfer energy, information, or matter to other entities'[46]. Scholars in this line of debate, therefore, evoked the notion of 'thermostatic policy process'[47], wherein policy actors' capacity to stabilize rising policy problems – despite incremental changes – enables the retention of the established institutional order. Whilst existing literature has frequently made descriptive inference summarizing the institutional evolution of Vienna's urban planning paradigm[48], the

[43] Eigner, Matis, and Resch, "Sozialer Wohnbau in Wien".
[44] High-density monofunctional housing blocks in working-class neighbourhoods built before 1918.
[45] Berger, "Gebietserneuerung 1974-1984".
[46] Bennett, "The mother of all "isms"," in *Revitalizing Causality: Realism About Causality in Philosophy and Social Science*, 207.
[47] Cashore and Howlett, "Punctuating Which Equilibrium?".
[48] For an event-driven narrative reconstruction of path dependence, see Novy, "Unequal diversity – on the political economy of social cohesion in Vienna".

causal mechanisms, through which policy actors have mediated negative feedback and recalibrated policy tools within existing system, remain yet black-boxed.

Following the implementation of the Federal Urban Renewal Act, the City of Vienna launched its first-ever 'soft urban renewal' project in the district of *Ottakring* in 1978, and gradually expanded public participation in neighbourhood regeneration to 7 other designated renewal zones until 1984 [49]. Whilst implementing a step-by-step consultation process, composed of two stages of public hearings prior to the formal planning process, the organization of public participation in the earlier model of 'soft urban renewal' retained a strict top-down decision-making style, maintaining full authority of the City Administration, on the one hand, and limiting an active role of residents and the newly established Urban Renewal Offices, on the other[50]. A new momentum for 'soft urban renewal' came after Vienna's first comprehensive urban development plan (*Stadtentwicklungsplan für Wien – STEP 84*) in 1984. In light of urban decline in full swing towards the end of the 1970s, the City Administration's new planning concept prioritized reconnecting existing infrastructures to integrate dispersed urban functions into a sustainable urban system. Given that the hitherto radial-concentric city plan began exacerbating traffic congestion and residential segregation in the inner districts, the task of urban renewal was given priority over urban expansion for the first time in Vienna's planning history[51]. The policy efforts to bring social life back into urban centres aimed at realizing the potential of Vienna's historic urban landscape as the city's unique urban identity through community-oriented neighbourhood regeneration. Contrary to the earlier renewal projects that focused on urban infrastructure rehabilitation, the new renewal model prioritized subsidized partial renovation (*Sockelsanierung*) of dilapidated historic housing stock, preventing resident displacement in case of full renovation (*Totalsanierung*). This paradigm shift also ensued from

[49] Berger, "Gebietserneuerung 1974-1984".
[50] Förster et al., *Unermüdlich, Unbequem.*
[51] Municipal Department 18 – Urban Development and Planning, "Stadtentwicklungsplan für Wien 1984".

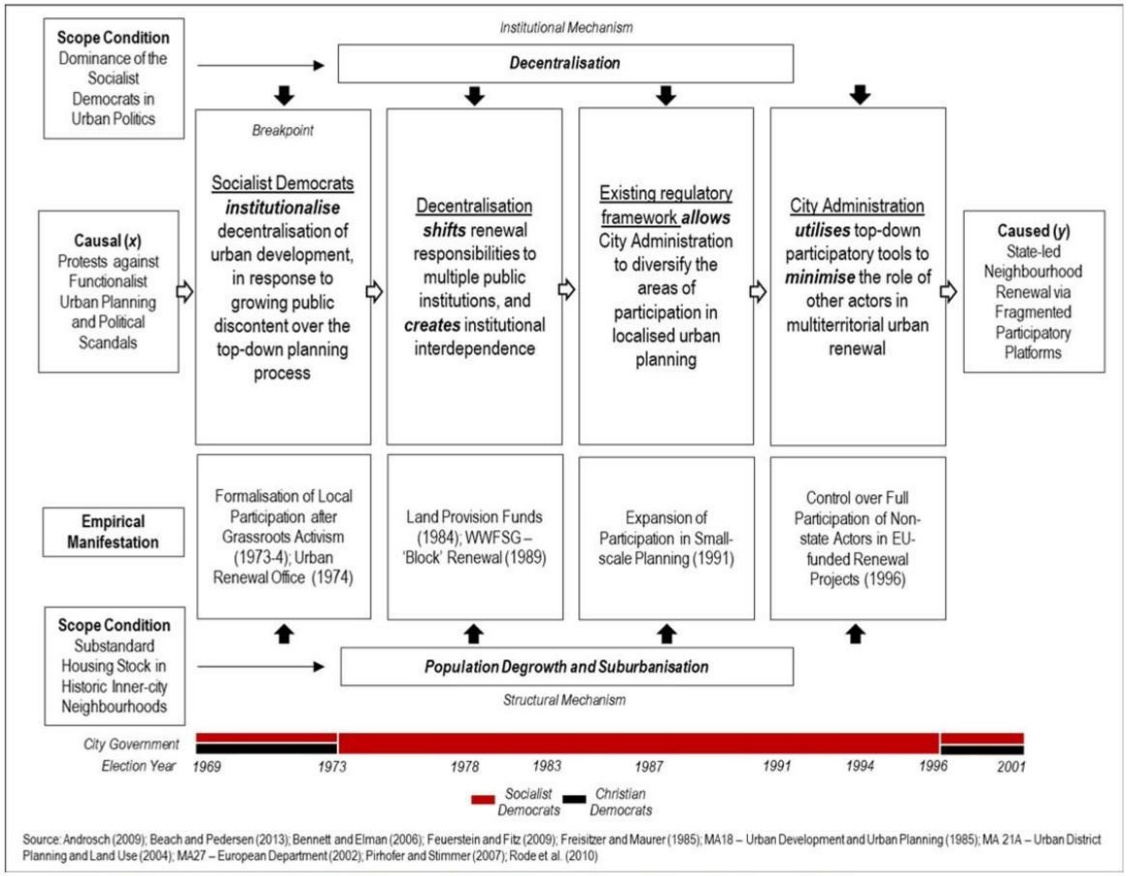

Figure 1 Institutional Evolution of 'Soft Urban Renewal' in Vienna between 1974 and 1996

the decentralization process that continued into the 1980s, granting the regional institutional actors access to the Federal Urban Renewal Fund in 1982 and providing more generous subsidies for pre-1965 housing stock renovation in 1984. At the same time, this enabled the City Administration to establish its own housing fund, *wohnfonds_wien*[52], responsible for land procurement and subsidy provision, which has since been one of the central actors in 'soft urban renewal', stymieing land speculation by private developers and supervising housing renewal activities. Following the initial success of *wohnfonds_wien* in financing *Sockelsanierung* for almost one-tenth of the city's entire housing units[53], the complete rescaling of housing and renewal subsidy provision to the regional level in 1989 introduced the concept of 'block renovation' (*Blocksanierung*), targeting modernization of entire building blocks in *Gründerzeit* neighbourhoods. In light of slow population re-growth in this period, the block renovation model played a significant role in securing and diversifying subsidized – therefore, rent controlled – apartments in urban renewal zones for increasing housing demand. Due to the category-based rent regulation[54], however, subsidizing housing upgrades in effect resulted in increasing private investment in underequipped apartments, leading to spatial clustering of low-income tenants in 'affordable' housing along Vienna's outer ring road (*Gürtel*)[55]. These pockets of poverty reinforced a tendency towards residential segregation, in particular among poor migrant families without access to public housing, which necessitated a strategic reorientation of 'soft urban renewal', promoting manifold urban functions through diversified pathways to participation[56].

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[52] Founded as the Vienna Land Procurement and Urban Renewal Fund (*der Wiener Bodenbereitstellungs- und Stadterneuerungsfonds – WBSF*).
[53] Fröhlich, "Ansätze für ein gesamtstädtisches Erneuerungsprogramm".
[54] Since 1982, the Federal Tenancy Law (*Mietrechtsgeset*) regulates the rental market based on the equipment standards of the dwellings, meaning category upgrades by private renovation were subject to higher rents.
[55] Eigner, Matis, and Resch, "Sozialer Wohnbau in Wien".
[56] Municipal Department 18 – Urban Development and Planning, "Stadtentwicklungsplan für Wien 1994".

Since 'soft urban renewal' and the Urban Renewal Offices were first introduced in 1974, the layering process of new urban renewal goals and instruments onto existing institutional arrangements created a diverse range of participatory platforms for different institutional and private actors, however of no real consequence in empowering non-institutional actors in the renewal process. The implementation of landlord- and tenant participation in subsidized neighbourhood regeneration in the 1980s notwithstanding, the key institutions behind 'soft urban renewal' (i.e. Urban Renewal Offices and *wohnfonds_wien*) had still limited financial and regulatory capacities to produce meaningful outcomes of resident participation. Despite the continuous layering process of new participatory tools since the 1970s, Vienna's paternalistic planning culture, dominated by main political figures from the governing parties, continued to undermine the local capacity for grassroots practices in the planning process concentrating decision-making powers to the Municipal Departments[57]. Furthermore, the longstanding process of administrative restructuring shifted the responsibility of public engagement in urban renewal down to the district level in 1989, putting further financial pressure on the Urban Renewal Offices and the district authorities. Without an overarching strategic framework from the City Administration, adding new participatory pathways at different stages of 'soft urban renewal' made coordination between the key institutional actors difficult[58]. This reinforced a widening gap between intentions and outcomes of 'soft urban renewal', having negative consequences for both renewal institutions and affected residents. First, decentralizing responsibility without authority limited the role of the Urban Renewal Offices to a quasi-subsidiary representing the interests of the City Administration in property development via *wohnfonds_wien*, to whom the role of citizens' participation in urban renewal remained trivial[59].

[57] Suitner, Krisch, and Pühringer, "TRANS[form]DANUBIEN".
[58] Svoboda, Weber, and Knoth, *Instrumentarium Stadterneuerung*.
[59] Previously, two of the three directors of *wohnfonds_wien* (Walter Hofstetter and Fritz Hofmann) were mainly involved in real estate activities of limited-profit housing development companies (*Bauring* and *Sozialbau*). Both were Social-Democrats with no prior experience in urban renewal nor participation. See Karinrath, "Organisation der Stadterneuerung".

The lack of institutional capacity among the Urban Renewal Offices, as a result, relegated their function to one-way top-down communication, barring residents from meaningful participation in the decision-making process and reinforcing bureaucratic obstacles for the local planners to effectively and timely respond to emerging needs at the neighbourhood level. Second, the institutional fragmentation between the Urban Renewal Offices and *wohnfonds_wien*, as well as the Municipal Departments, widened social divides allowing resource-rich landlords to dominate public participation in renewal zones[60]. Although the opportunities for participation grew with diversified subsidy schemes, the regulatory framework for 'soft urban renewal' had no particular specification concerning tenants' involvement, whose rights and options in the renewal process were often only introduced once the renovation concept was already in the works [61] . Despite these incremental changes attaching new actors and rules, the City Administration's rigid top-down approach to 'soft urban renewal' and the lack of coordination mechanisms between relevant institutions continued into the mid-1990s, exacerbating the participation gap among tenants, small landlords, and the Urban Renewal Offices.

Changing Effects: Temporal and Spatial Dimensions of Institutional Evolution

Building on the notion that uneven distribution of power within existing institutional arrangements emanate incremental changes serving the interests of policy actors, scholars inspired by historical institutionalism have focused on the political contexts and institutional forms endogenously driving institutional evolution[62]. One of the important contributions of historical institutionalism in rethinking the developmental pathways of institutions lies on conceptualizing their distributional outcomes beyond the binary of 'winners' *versus* 'losers', or retention *versus* replacement[63]. This line of reasoning, instead, offers a typology of institutional change delineating variegated trajectories and outcomes of gradual institutional transformation

[60] Fröhlich, "Mietermitbestimmung bei der Althaussanierung in Wien".
[61] Förster, "Modellversuch zur Hauseigentümer- und Mieterberatung".
[62] Studies on the political nature of institutional change abound. For its application in the urban context, see van Gent, "Neoliberalization, Housing Institutions and Variegated Gentrification".
[63] Mahoney and Thelen, "A Theory of Gradual Institutional Change".

– whether new actors and rules (*Displacement* and *Layering*) or changes in function (*Drift*, *Conversion*, and *Exhaustion*)[64]. Some have, however, argued that these analytical categories are less useful in highlighting the complexity of institutional systems and the multiplicity of interests of policy actors that accumulate – and also differ – at different temporal points[65]. Relatedly, this static abstraction of institutional reality is less effective in explaining how different modes of change occur in the same path dependent sequence over a period of time. This mistreats a mode of change as a final outcome of institutional transformation, which might be a mere transitional stage leading to further development in a much larger sequence[66]. As a result, the conceptual ambiguity in the typology of institutional change obscures the difference between the resultant institutional arrangements of the change process and the effect of the real-world policy outcome[67]. Reflecting these concerns, the two cases of 'soft urban renewal' presented in the following sections show the porosity of the boundaries between different modes of change within the same institutional arrangements, answering how the changing temporal and spatial contexts of the path dependent sequence influence the actual content of the policy outcome.

Brunnenviertel: Layering and (Transition into) Institutional Complementary

Whilst the layering process of Vienna's urban renewal paradigm in the 1980s engendered institutional fragmentation resulting in a disconnect between policy actors and residents, the reform trend towards new modes of collaborative governance and the ensuing addition of new organizational tools, especially since Austria's accession to the European Union in 1995, began altering the effect of existing participatory pathways in 'soft urban renewal'. The mobilization of grassroots interests in *Brunnenviertel*, an immigrant neighbourhood with a high

[64] Streeck and Thelen, "Introduction".
[65] For a systematic review on the change typology, see van der Heijden and Kuhlmann, "Studying Incremental Institutional Change".
[66] Barnes, "Courts and the Puzzle of Institutional Stability and Change".
[67] Capano, "Reconceptualizing layering—From mode of institutional change to mode of institutional design".

concentration of substandard apartments in the *Gürtel* area, first emerged from a protest against the City Administration's redevelopment plan for its dilapidated market square[68]. Soon after, a citizens' initiative was organized by local artists and business owners, whose idea to repurpose the existing infrastructure into a cultural space provided important groundwork for the neighbourhood's renewal activities in succeeding years. Following the election of a new district chairperson in 1996, these grassroots activities gained more political support at the district level and, as a result, saw growing collaboration between citizens and the local Urban Renewal Office in community-oriented cultural programmes[69]. Whilst successfully stopping the initial redevelopment plan, increasing resident participation in communal activities did not produce substantive planning outcomes until the City Administration implemented a wide range of development projects within the framework of the URBAN Community Initiative by the European Regional Development Fund and European Social Fund. In accordance with the funding guidelines giving residents incentives to actively contribute in neighbourhood regeneration and community-building, the Urban Committee, composed of the members of all co-financing institutional partners, granted 33 million Euros to over 60 projects covering around 15,000 participants in total, 8 of which were directly involved in regenerating *Brunnenviertel*[70]. This expansive participatory process spanning over 4 years set forward a new framework for coordination between urban institutions cohering diverse pathways to participation on issues ranging from grassroots housing help for migrants to women's participation in planning, community-building, and infrastructure renewal[71]. Contrary to the fragmented participation arenas in previous years, the organizational structure of *Brunnenviertel*'s renewal facilitated collaborative partnerships between public actors, grassroots initiatives, and local businesses

[68] The original renewal design drafted by commissioned architects in 1993 envisioned replacing the market square with a high-rise building for apartments and offices.
[69] Rode, Wanschura, and Kubesch, *Kunst macht Stadt.*
[70] Municipal Department 27 - European Affairs, "Schlussbericht über das Programm URBAN WIEN Gürtel plus Im Zeitraum 1995-1999".
[71] Ibid.

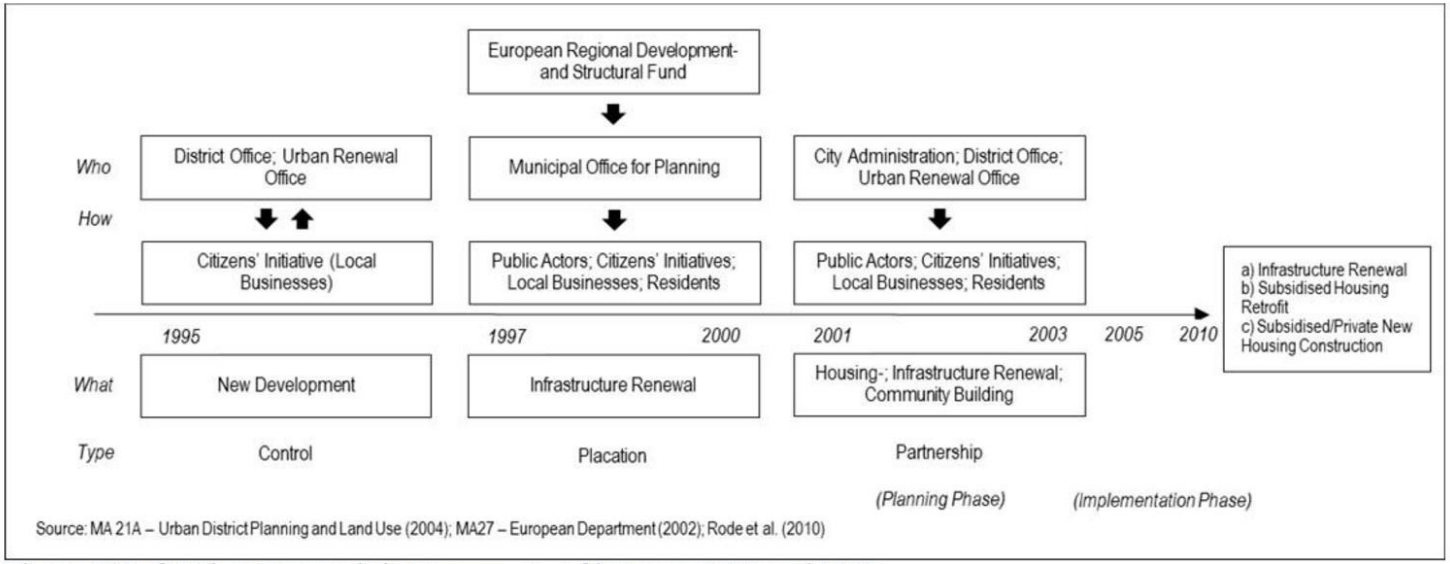

Figure 2 'Soft Urban Renewal' in *Brunnenviertel* between 1995 and 2010

operating throughout the overall policy cycle. The new planning tools fostering co-design and co-management of neighbourhood regeneration and community-building aimed to minimize the weaknesses of both top-down and bottom-up approaches to participation, linking existing local knowledge with a formal decision-making structure and formulating a strategic plan that reflects local needs[72]. This preliminary framework was turned into concrete action plans by the City Administration in 2001, of which multi-layered participatory processes resulted in the formulation of small-scale needs-oriented urban projects on three major planning themes: open space creation; market regeneration; and housing renovation[73]. The diversified funding structure of the renewal process, involving different Municipal Departments, the district authorities, interest groups, and local businesses, enabled substantial involvement of diverse stakeholders from both the public and private sectors, facilitating a multilevel governance network across institutional domains[74].

Contrary to the capacity deficits within 'soft urban renewal' troubling strategic coordination of its fragmented participation arenas, this new public-private-partnership model was able to reinforce complementarity between renewal institutions, and also to create civil-public synergy in the planning process. First, the overarching structure of stakeholder engagement enabled the local Urban Renewal Office to supervise diverse thematic renewal programmes and coordinate interactions between grassroots- and institutional actors, which were previously beyond their institutional capacity. The active role of the district authorities in financing the renewal plan allowed the local Urban Renewal Office to formulate a comprehensive renewal plan that exceeded their formal responsibility (e.g. housing renovation and traffic regulation). Second, this organizational realignment assigned the local Urban Renewal Office to a steering role, connecting informal grassroots activities with various

[72] Municipal Department 18 – Urban Development and Planning, "Rahmenplanung Yppenplatz".
[73] Municipal Department 18 – Urban Development and Planning, "Aufwertung Brunnenviertel - Bürger planen mit".
[74] Ibid.

institutional actors (e.g. the Municipal Departments, political representatives, and economic promotion agencies) in both the planning and decision-making process. Whilst earlier grassroots activities in the neighbourhood were limited to pop-up communal events, this new mode of collaboration afforded different non-institutional actors a strategic leverage wielding influence in the outcome of 'soft urban renewal', reaching the highest rate of subsidized housing renovation in Vienna, a fifteenfold increase in commercial activities, and a diverse mix of creative industries and migrant businesses on the market square[75]. Whilst the immediate cause of the institutional complementarity in *Brunnenviertel*'s renewal lies in the organizational realignment of existing institutions and policies, the synergic effect of their coordination was more deeply rooted in the longstanding decentralization process, on the one hand, and the specific (sub)urbanization pattern of Vienna's *Gründerzeit* neighbourhoods, on the other. The layering of the European Union's cohesion policy tools allowed the City Administration to mobilize financial resources at the supranational level, formulating an overarching framework for coordination that resulted in a new mode of collaborative governance, and distributing – albeit, limited – power to non-institutional actors in the planning process. Contrary to some other cities[76], whose integration into the European policy process engendered downward restructuring of local institutions[77], the City Administration was able to preserve existing power relations within the same institutional arrangements, and retain full oversight of the public-private partnership, owing to a high degree of political autonomy and financial capacity.

Sonnwendviertel Alt: Drifting and (Back to) Institutional Fragmentation

Whilst this institutional configuration still constitutes the very foundation of 'soft urban renewal' today, its effect in the current neighbourhood regeneration has however drifted back

[75] Rode, Wanschura, and Kubesch, *Kunst macht Stadt*.
[76] For an overview on the variegated local trajectories and outcomes of the URBAN Community Initiative, see Carpenter, "Addressing Europe's Urban Challenges".
[77] In English cities, for example, the central government under the pro-European New Labour was able to displace existing planning instruments, due to the lack of institutional capacity among regional authorities. For its comparison with Italian cities, see Lingua, "Institutionalizing EU strategic spatial planning into domestic planning systems".

to institutional fragmentation, disintegrating affected stakeholders and residents from the formal decision-making structure. This changing outcome reflects the currently unfolding structural shift in Vienna's urban fabric and the resultant reorientation of the City Administration's urban development strategies. From 2000 onwards, Vienna has experienced rapid population regrowth necessitating new solutions for affordable housing construction. Given the limited spatial availability in existing high-density neighbourhoods, the City Administration set forward plans for large-scale housing construction adjacent to new economic development areas and transport infrastructure, especially in former industrial sites and railway brownfields[78]. *Sonnwendviertel Alt* is a neighbourhood, mostly of post-war housing stock, located in the immediate vicinity of Vienna's largest inner-urban housing development of the same name, where more than 5,500 new apartments for 13,000 residents were built since 2009 on a former train yard of now-demolished *Wien Südbahnhof*. Alongside with the construction of private-, subsidized housing, and self-organized cohousing projects, the City Administration launched a renewal plan in *Sonnwendviertel Alt* in 2013 for block renovation of 16 buildings and 107 housing units by *wohnfonds_wien* and community-building activities by the local Urban Renewal Office, integrating existing infrastructure and residents into the new housing development[79]. Requalifying this dilapidated pocket of land between a large shopping street with high public transport accessibility and the newly-built public facilities focused on the overall rehabilitation of its ground-floor zones to enhance neighbourhood walkability stimulating social mix among different resident groups from both areas[80]. Contrary to the extensive participatory programmes in the nearby housing development, promoting community self-organization among new residents, a missing framework for institutional- and public-private coordination in the renewal zone reinforced information asymmetries between relevant

[78] Municipal Department 18 – Urban Development and Planning, "Stadtentwicklungsplan für Wien 2005".
[79] wohnfonds_wien, "Sonnwendviertel".
[80] Interview with commissioned architect, October 9, 2020.

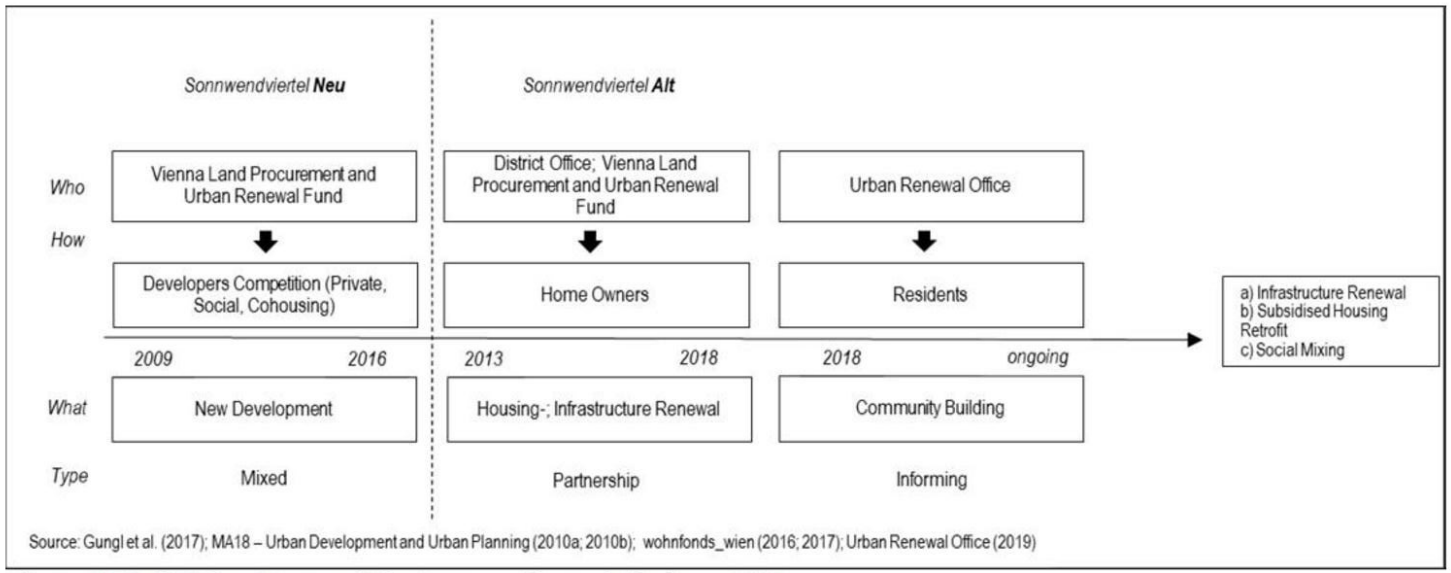

Figure 3 'Soft Urban Renewal' in *Sonnwendviertel Alt* since 2013

institutions and affected residents, failing to mobilize hard-to-reach communities[81]. Similarly, a disconnect between the formal decision-making structure and grassroots-level participation made inclusion of local businesses in the surrounding commercial areas difficult, whose access to information and resources regarding urban renewal has been limited[82]. Relatedly, the decentralization of urban renewal at the district level in the late 1980s had a lasting consequence for realizing the infrastructure rehabilitation in *Sonnwendviertel Alt*, for which the district authorities are financially and politically responsible. Despite offloading political responsibility, a lack of financial resources among the district authorities impeded the implementation of diverse thematic renewal programmes in *Sonnwendviertel Alt*, failing to realize the renewal activities within the framework of the proposed block renovation concept[83]. This left an institutional gap between subsidized housing renovation by *wohnfonds_wien* and community-building activities by the local Urban Renewal Office in the target renewal zone, resulting in fragmented pathways to participation with uneven decision-making capacities and disabling inclusion of diverse social groups in the overall neighbourhood regeneration.

The changing outcome of 'soft urban renewal' in *Sonnwendviertel Alt* is situated at a particular temporal location of its developmental pathway, wherein the combination of intervening mechanisms in the preceding sequence no more produces the same effect, weakening the complementarity between existing institutions in the long-run. Previously, decentralized urban governance and declining *Gründerzeit* neighbourhoods enabled the Social-Democrat-led City Administration to react to Vienna's growing urban problems by layering new renewal institutions and policies diversifying – thus, fragmenting – participatory pathways in its dilapidated inner districts. This institutional configuration, however, had a positive effect amid the reform trend inspired by the New Public Management in the 2000s, bringing existing institutions together in a new public-private network of governing urban renewal and thereby

[81] Interview with local planner, November 25, 2020.
[82] Interview with business owners, *Gudrunstrasse*, February 8, 2021.
[83] Interview with commissioned architect, October 9, 2020.

connecting non-institutional actors with the formal decision-making structure. Whereas more tools and resources for collaborative governance are currently applied to public-private-partnerships in new large-scale development projects[84], this changing policy priority began disintegrating the established nodes and links between renewal institutions and actors at both the horizontal (e.g. *wohnfonds_wien* and the local Urban Renewal Office) and vertical level (e.g. the City and the District). The drifting effect on institutional function can be observed in the community-building activities carried out by the local Urban Renewal Office. Currently, most of the participatory programmes are oriented towards connecting the new residents in the nearby housing development, which has a strong emphasis on social mix fostered by a wide range of tenure options[85]. Whilst the competitive tendering process here has intensified diverse bottom-up approaches to social housing construction, growing support for self-organizing communities in collaborative housing has in turn concentrated participatory pathways to community-building in the new housing development, running the risk of self-segregation from surrounding *Sonnwendviertel Alt*. Unequal access to resident participation also reflects the particular spatial context of 'soft urban renewal' in *Sonnwendviertel Alt* and its negative interaction with existing institutional framework, failing to create cohesive relationships between residents in both areas. First, a large influx of well-educated and higher-income residents[86] who are drawn into the nearby housing development, due to rent affordability and subsidies for cohousing communities, has compounded place-making practices around their respective dwelling, where existing social dynamics and physical infrastructure in the neighbouring renewal zone bears little relevance to their everyday life[87]. Contrary to *Brunnenviertel*, where existing urban diversity has been central to its newfound identity and the

[84] Municipal Department 18 – Urban Development and Planning, "Masterplan Partizipative Stadtentwicklung".
[85] Interview with local planner, November 25, 2020.
[86] Despite means-tested loans, the cost of down payment remains an access barrier for low-income households to subsidized social housing. For Vienna's shifting eligibility criteria for social housing provision, see Litschauer and Friesenecker, "Affordable housing for all?".
[87] Interview with social housing resident, June 30, 2021.

resultant social interactions in everyday spaces[88], the stark social and physical differences in *Sonnwendviertel* remain an obstacle for encouraging participation of 'old' – and mostly migrant – residents, and facilitating community-building between the two neighbourhoods. Second, 'soft urban renewal', which has had a strong focus on activating participation of small landlords in densely-built *Gründerzeit* neighbourhoods, has met with homeowners' disinterest in government subsidies opting for private home renovation, who saw their property value soared up simultaneously with the nearby housing development[89]. Given the particular ownership structure of rental housing *Sonnwendviertel Alt*, the citywide subsidy scheme alone lacked capacity to design a needs-oriented activation model encouraging participation of property developers and homeowners with relative financial capability, whose decision not to receive renewal subsidies ultimately determined the localized result of 'soft urban renewal'[90]. In light of shifting contextual conditions, the specific institutional and structural mechanisms that had once reinforced the complementary between Vienna's urban institutions has generated rather a different policy outcome in *Sonnwendviertel Alt*. Whilst existing institutional arrangements resulting from the layering process in the earlier sequence have remained the same, their shifting effects at different points in time highlight the temporal and spatial boundaries of causal mechanisms exerting differentiated – yet, within-path – change patterns and outcomes stretching over decades.

Conclusion

Growing popularity notwithstanding, the notion of path dependence in urban studies has been often employed to describe the comparative statics of institutions and policies without referencing the internal dynamics of change processes rooted in their unique developmental trajectories. In this light, existing literature has only loosely evoked the core concepts of historical institutionalism, such as critical juncture, path dependence, and incrementalism,

[88] Interview with community activist, October 8, 2020.
[89] Interview with commissioned architect, October 9, 2020.
[90] Ibid.

without explaining the functioning of context-sensitive mechanisms that enable policy actors to reproduce or transform urban institutions and policies in a given context. This conceptual stretching runs the risk of mistreating formal political institutions and policy programs as the ultimate source of variegated change patterns and outcomes at the urban level, obscuring the real-world motives, reasons, and implications behind the power-laden context of policy-making. Consequently, a lack of causal explanation for *how* and *why* policy actors sustain or readjust the institutional status quo in an exogenous shift results in black-boxing the case-specific causal interactions between component events and the resultant path dependent outcome in the overall policy sequence[91]. So far, much discussion on path dependence in the urban context has focused on descriptively inferring the chronological order of institutional evolution, which only partially answers *what* and *when* different modes of institutional change take place, translating external shocks into structural outcomes in key policy fields. Whilst providing important historical insights into the policy timeline under scrutiny, such an approach neglects the power asymmetries in a policy-making system, of which change patterns depend on the ability of key policy actors to preserve their vested interests by retaining or altering existing institutional arrangements. Additionally, their institutional capacity to implement different policy tools and thus redesign existing practices and rules stretching over a lengthy policy sequence begs the question of the particular temporal and spatial dimensions of the reasons behind institutional choices and changes, exerting – whether intended or unintended – differentiated policy effects at different points in time.

Concurring with the call for a systematic reflection on the long-run evolution of urban institutions and policies, this article traced the developmental pathway of Vienna's urban renewal paradigm, conditioned on the longstanding decentralization process of the City Administration and the socio-spatial condition of its decaying *Gründerzeit* housing stock that emerged from the particular social and political factors behind Vienna's post-war urban

[91] Beach and Pedersen, *Process-tracing methods*.

planning. Building on the concept of reactive sequencing, it explained how these two institutional and structural contexts enabled policy actors to translate growing public discontent against corporatist urban policy-making into community-oriented neighbourhood regeneration. Despite growing public participation in urban renewal thereafter, this particular development, featured by a chain of ad-hoc policy responses to public discontent, had an enduring consequence for the scope and outcome of 'soft urban renewal', producing a division of labour between renewal institutions and, therefore, exacerbating the participation gap among tenants, small landlords, and local planners. Indeed, Vienna's political autonomy and financial capacity as a federal province has enabled policy actors to experiment with different modes of institutional change, readjusting existing institutional arrangements and policy instruments to the changing internal needs and external demands. Whilst producing a positive policy effect in a particular temporal and spatial context, such an unstructured mode of layering process in Vienna's urban policy-making has ultimately destabilized the coordination between renewal institutions, fragmenting participatory pathways in 'soft urban renewal' and excluding disadvantaged residents from the local renewal process.

Despite their generic use in the urban context, the core concepts of historical institutionalism provide a useful toolkit for uncovering the power dynamics behind the sequential development of different institutions and policies becoming an integrated system, each of which is marked by its specific political and social underpinnings. Whilst primarily focused on state institutions and national policy-making, the power-distributional approach in historical institutionalism entails important implications for both theories and practices of urban planning, unpacking the local processes and logics behind variegated planning systems in cities and regions[92]. Given the remaining capacity of regional political actors shaping urban spatial development, as opposed to other policy fields, existing distributional inequalities in urban policy-making can inform research on the political nature of institutional evolution, producing

[92] Sorensen, "Taking path dependence seriously".

an urban outcome that is truly unique to the unit of observation. Regarding its pragmatic aspects, learning from the situated and contingent histories of how and why urban institutions and policies came to life provides policy actors and practitioners an important gateway to understand the locally-specific potentials and limitations of new policy ideas in future policy-making[93]. Reflecting on its own past developmental trajectory that shaped the institutional capacities and challenges at present, is a helpful starting point for grasping what kind of future policy ideas and approaches could – or not – work in which local socioeconomic and -political context available in a particular temporal and spatial location.

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[93] Healey, "The universal and the contingent".

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6.4. Local Perception of Urban Diversity and the Politics of Place-Making

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Together in the Distance: Local Perception of Urban Diversity and the Politics of Place-Making in a Multiethnic Neighbourhood

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Together in the Distance: Local Perception of Urban Diversity and the Politics of Place-Making in a Multiethnic Neighbourhood in Vienna

Abstract

Drawing on the limitations in existing literature on urban diversity, this article delves into the contextual embeddedness of everyday encounters and experiences with 'others' in a regenerating multiethnic neighbourhood. Specifically, it highlights the synergy between top-down and bottom-up approaches in urban renewal, linking residents with the formal decision-making process that generate a particular kind of social interaction in the everyday scene. While much has been said about the structural and spatial dimensions of urban diversity, existing research neglects its situatedness within a specific institutional context of urban policy-making, obfuscating the particular political dynamics behind its place-based definition and meaning. Building on the empirical evidence obtained through field observation and interviewing, it explores the localised process and outcome of Vienna's urban renewal policy in a multiethnic neighbourhood, Brunnenviertel, where the longstanding participatory process has shaped the particular mode of living with difference between 'new' and 'old' residents. In these reflections, it argues that public intervention in neighbourhood regeneration should build on socially inclusive principles and practices of the public-private-citizens partnership sustaining habitual coexistence between multiple social identities without imposing a singular narrative of urban diversity.

Keywords: everyday life; neighbourhood planning; social interaction; urban diversity; urban renewal

Introduction

Emerging from the backlash against multiculturalism in public policy discourse, scholars have criticised the essentialist description of diversity in governance and management, and called for a new analytical lens for understanding the multifaceted dimensions of everyday encounters and experiences (Vertovec, 2012). Since this 'diversity turn' in the social sciences (Berg and Sigona, 2013), much has been discussed about the ever-growing demographic complexity of contemporary urban life and its resultant impact on the everyday scene in diverse urban areas. However, existing literature, focusing exclusively on 'difference' in shared public space (see, for example, Neal et al., 2018), often neglects the political implications of diversity situated within the broader institutional arrangements for the city's urban

policy-making system, and, thus, its ability to script and regulate everyday experiences and encounters with urban diversity at the local level. While ethnic plurality and spatial materiality constitute an important backdrop of everyday social life in diverse places, there is less information on its contextual embeddedness forming and reproducing the particular political narrative of diversity – whether positive or negative, according to which people perceive and experience their changing social and physical surroundings.

While some recent works addressed the exclusionary aspect of governing diversity in urban spaces, they have so far predominantly focused on the globalising urban policy-making, reducing multifaceted social interactions and diverging institutional practices at different territorial levels into a converging neoliberal phenomenon (see, for example, Raco, 2018). Reflecting on these limitations in existing literature, this article demonstrates the situatedness of everyday encounters and experiences within the particular institutional context of the city's urban policy-making. It draws from the placed-based process and outcome of Vienna's urban renewal policy in a regenerating multiethnic neighbourhood, Brunnenviertel, where the participatory place-making process stretching over the past 20 years shaped the specific local experiences with neighbourhood change in its everyday scene. It pays particular attention to the local ability to forge new boundaries of neighbourhood belonging within the city's regulatory framework for urban renewal, going beyond the 'destructive and creative moments of the neoliberali(s)ation process' (Peck et al., 2009: 54). Contrary to the notion of the 'rapid and visceral emergence of state-led gentrification' (Lees, 2012: 156), it argues that the contour and outcome of public intervention in neighbourhood regeneration largely depends on the context-specific interaction between the city's regulatory framework and strong community engagement. This synergy linking the top-down policy-making with bottom-up mobilisation of grassroots' interests holds particular significance for the localised outcome of Brunnenviertel's transformation, mitigating the repercussions of market-relations at the local level on the one hand, and preserving existing places of multiple social identities in a renewed urban environment on the other. In light of deepening social divides in regenerating neighbourhoods in cities around the world (Lees et al., 2015), the regulatory, and value-added, impacts of 'good urban governance' on everyday life can offer urban researchers and planners a new way to evaluate existing

rules and tools breeding a particular kind of social interaction, and to negotiate future ideas and approaches to managing diversity in a particular local context.

Setting the Scene

Brunnenviertel encompasses an urban area of 0.2 km^2 with a population of 7,420, as of 2018, of which 46.71% residents are foreign nationals. It is located in the second most diverse district in the city, Ottakring, with a large number of substandard apartments built in the late-19th century that are concentrated around a public open space, Yppenplatz, and a 600-metre-long street market, Brunnenmarkt. Since the mid-1970s, the relocation of urban manufacturing sites from Vienna's densely built urban centres, and the subsequent suburbanisation process, accelerated the physical decay of Brunnenviertel. The dilapidated urban infrastructure, worsened by the city's overall decline, initiated a revitalisation plan at the political level, which, however, was never materialised, due to the lack of local interest. Before the first redevelopment program began in the mid-1990s, Brunnenviertel and its surroundings remained one of the most disadvantaged urban quarters in Vienna, where only a marginal proportion of the residents were tertiary-educated (see *Educational Attainment* in Table 1) and almost the half of the residential buildings were considered substandard (see *Building Condition – Category D* in Table 2)[1]. The everyday scene of today's Brunnenviertel is now a world apart from its previous image of a deteriorating urban 'problem zone' (Municipal Department 18 - Urban Development and Planning, 1994). However, an analysis of its shifting structural condition – if at all – needs a contextual fix within the simultaneously changing institutional arrangements for Vienna's urban development. This causal relation between the city's regulatory environment and the localised outcome of post-industrial urban transformation is central to the methodological standpoint of this article.

Table 1. Sociodemographic Changes in Brunnenviertel and its Surrounding Statistical Enumeration Districts, 1991-2017

	Residents	***Nationality***	***Educational Attainment***[2]	***Nationality***	***Educational Attainment***
	Total	*Austrian*	*Tertiary*	*Foreign*	*Tertiary*
	Abs.	*% o. Ttl.*	*% of Austrians*	*% o. Ttl.*	*% of Foreigners*
1991	8,651	73.32	6.69	26.68	5.43

[1] By 1991, 7.04% of all Austrians (94,573), and 6.75% of all foreigners (12,372) in Vienna completed tertiary education, and 20.31% of all dwellings (173,231) had no direct access to water. The difference is bigger, when compared to the adjacent political district of Josefstadt, where the share increases to 16.06% for all Austrians, and 12.59% for all foreigners, and only one-fourth of all dwellings was reported substandard.

[2] Age group ≥25

2001	8,083	66.05	11.52	33.95	6.10
2011	8,730	63.79	24.28	36.21	14.39
2012	8,780	62.94	26.10	37.06	15.12
2013	8,908	62.14	28.19	37.86	15.69
2014	8,938	60.92	30.33	39.08	17.35
2015	9,231	59.38	31.94	40.62	17.21
2016	9,490	57.77	33.75	42.23	17.12
2017	9,750	56.17	34.92	43.83	17.89

Source: Author's own calculation based on Register-based Census Data

Table 2. Changes in Living and Housing Conditions in Brunnenviertel and its Surrounding Statistical Enumeration Districts, 1981-2011

	Occupancy Type		***Condition***[3]				***Size (m^2)***				
	Owner-occupied	*Tenant-occupied*	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*<45*	*45-60*	*60-90*	*90-130*	*130>*
	% o. Ttl.	*% o. Ttl.*	*% o. Ttl.*				*% o. Ttl.*				
1981	20.10	71.36	*n.a*	*n.a*	*n.a*	*n.a*	48.87	19.04	24.60	6.21	1.28
1991	19.70	68.16	44.13	9.89	5.10	40.88	39.74	22.59	28.40	8.07	1.21
2001	20.87	69.34	67.63	9.15	1.80	21.41	33.77	23.13	32.72	9.20	1.19
2011	20.94	70.28	75.55	3.76	1.50	19.19	29.15	27.75	33.31	8.59	1.21

Source: Author's own calculation based on Register-based Census Data

An historical institutionalist approach employed in this article attends to the place-based process and outcome of the developmental pathway of the city's urban renewal paradigm, in which local actors and institutions were able to experiment new ideas and tools for 'good urban governance' reconfiguring existing mode of decision-making. To tease out the path-dependent trajectory ensuing from the critical moment of change, the process-tracing method applied here focuses on the shifting principles and practices within the city's urban renewal paradigm resulting in a distinctive pathway for institutional evolution (Sorensen, 2015). Following an extensive institutional analysis on the city's post-industrial planning strategy and its regulatory framework, five experts from the municipal planning department, the local urban renewal office, and three citizens' initiatives were interviewed. Their first-hand accounts on the public-private-citizens partnership in the renewal process of Brunnenviertel show the particular policy narrative behind regenerating a multiethnic neighbourhood in decline, around which both 'new' and 'old' residents have newly shaped their sociabilities. Additionally, this article is delivered through a fieldwork that spanned more than two years between the spring of 2017 and the summer of 2019. During this time, I visited Brunnenviertel almost every week – sometimes as a researcher, but also as a visitor. This fluid boundary of my positionality gave me a better access to the field, which became a

[3] A: fully equipped with a floor space of at least $30m^2$; B: partially equipped without a stationary heating system; C: only with indoor water supply and toilet; D: without either indoor water supply or toilet, or both

useful tool for informal conversations with the occupants in the neighbourhood's semi-public spaces, as interactions here often unfold on place-based terms, and through a ritual of acceptance. Some informal conversations led to formal interviews. Among those whom I acquainted with through repeated encounters in these 'social clubs' (Hall, 2012), ten 'native' respondents participated in semi-structured interviews, who all lived in the neighbourhood – except two, who moved to a different district after retirement. The recruitment of nine other respondents was done through grab sampling in the neighbourhood, among which five were residents, and four only worked on its street market. Except one from this sample, all were migrants with limited knowledge of German, who found the semi-structured interview guideline a little hard to follow. While most of these interviews were, therefore, causal, except in one case, where a teenager son of the respondent helped to translate, and also participated in the interview.

Researching Everyday Encounters and Experiences with Difference in Diverse Places

In an era of 'proliferation and mutually conditioning effects of additional variables' (Vertovec, 2007), the normalisation of diversity evoked intense discussions across disciplines about the effects of complex demographic shifts on everyday encounters and experiences with difference (Foner et al., 2019). As diversity became a trivial feature of everyday life in super-diverse cities, researchers explored the temporality of prosaic interactions between differences that occur in the city's diverse locations. This stream of work attributes new realities of intercultural mixture to the normalcy of diversity that shapes our social interactions within a super-diverse context. While this lens underpins the capacity of fleeting encounters for habitual coexistence in everyday settings, it has often relegated social interactions to the corollary of mere co-presence between parochial communities. This normative insight limits numerous other structural, institutional, and social contexts that guide multifaceted forms of encounters to two-way interactions between different social groups – whether open, but closed (Wessendorf, 2014); racist, but convivial (Tyler, 2017); or happy, but hard (Wise and Velayutham, 2014). Of course, criticisms against 'super-diversity as a methodological lens' (Aptekar, 2019) are well documented. Those in this stream of work have since argued against the static depiction of living-together based on a demographic abstraction, but for the role of ordinary social spaces, where situated aspects of urban multiculture shape different forms of social interactions in a diversifying environment (Neal et al., 2018). Despite the efforts,

however, the ethos of 'return to place' resorts to multiplication of extra socio-geographical variables that obfuscates the particular scalar context, in which living with diversity in everyday settings plays out.

This normative approach to demographic diversification has since faced criticisms for neglecting the structural hierarchies within living-together in the social world. Researchers in this line of debate, who hail from the contact hypothesis, explored the structural inequalities that are already present in everyday spaces of encounters (Valentine, 2008). This standpoint, emerging from Allport's hypothesis on contact-elicited reduction of intergroup anxiety, has criticised the overly cosmopolitan assessment of urban realities and cast doubt on the durability of interpersonal acceptance beyond intergroup prejudice (Matejskova and Leitner, 2011; Nayak, 2017; Piekut and Valentine, 2017; Selim, 2015). This 'quality-over-quantity' take is unfavourable to the juxtaposition between superficial contacts with strangers and mutual respect for difference, because our prejudice towards difference feeds off already existing hierarchies within everyday spaces of social interaction. The adherents of the contact hypothesis argue that repetitive contacts with diversity alone are insufficient to overcome the specific histories and geographies of place (Valentine et al., 2015). Quality contacts emerge from quality spaces, where different social groups engage in meaningful encounters and forge sociabilities around shared interests and identities (Mayblin et al., 2016). Here, however, less has been said about the integrative effects of institutional principles and mechanisms that shape the degree of such inequalities and organise quotidian encounters between strangers in everyday urban life. While spatial materiality of urban venues can reveal the extent to which micro-encounters engender intercultural tolerance, the relational capacity of coexistence between different social groups is situated within the broader institutional realm of living-together, of which political vernacular breeds particular encounters and experiences with difference in diverse places.

Against these analytical shortcomings, a growing body of literature shed light on the policy implications for everyday life, of which principles and practices are able to shape the differentiated contours of social interactions between strangers in particular local contexts. Concerned with situated contexts of urban politics, organising and enacting a particular narrative of living-together, these studies focused on the politics of governing diversity, which selectively incorporates different social groups in

designated urban spaces (Hoekstra, 2018; Parkinson, 2013; Raco, 2018; Raco and Kesten, 2018; Warren and Jones, 2018; Ye, 2019; Ye and Yeoh, 2018). While the aforementioned streams of work predominantly focused on the ordinaries of habitual coexistence, an institutionalist lens on diversity reifies the political process of urban governance that manages scripted encounters and interactions in places, where certain behaviours and expectations towards difference are imposed by public intervention. Therefore, studies in this line of debate regard local imaginaries of diversity and their changing surroundings as a product of a highly contextualised and politicised process that is prompted by power-laden policy discourses and practices.

To concur the call for a context-specific lens on everyday encounters and experiences between strangers in the city's diverse places, this article delves into the socio-spatial dynamics of living with difference in a multiethnic neighbourhood, where the local perception of diversity and its physical transformation reflect the situated context of urban policies. It answers how the place-based definition and meaning of diversity are produced and managed by context-specific institutional arrangements, and how these, in turn, are encountered and practiced by diverse social groups in everyday settings. It argues that the city's diverse places are not neutral containers of fleeting encounters, but rather curated spaces of scripted contacts, where the relevant stakeholders construct and impose everyday norms of diversity, and rules of civility, around which people build their social relationships. Researchers in this line of work underline the role of welfare- and policy systems as the source of differentiated local imaginations of diversifying social surroundings. To extend this argument further, it focuses on the localised process and outcome of Vienna's urban renewal paradigm in the making of a multicultural urban quarter, where a set of regulatory principles and mechanisms, and its capacity to connect the local community with the formal decision-making structure, attenuated tensions and conflicts between different social groups in a regenerating neighbourhood. Particular attention is given to the process of participatory place-making, where culture-led and locally-based redevelopment emanated a sense of togetherness around the local grammar of urban diversity without having a particular social group feeling excluded from its 'creative' transformation. This bears significance, not only for migrants, but also for other 'natives', as the ability and availability to sustain their own locations of identity become conducive to positive perception of urban diversity and -transformation (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018).

Brunnenviertel: From a Problem Zone to the City's 'Multicultural Heart'

Socio-spatial manifestation of Vienna's transition into post-Fordism offers an interesting case, particularly due to its long history of socially inclusive urban management emerging from the corporatist welfare regime. Since the end of Austro-Keynesianism in the mid-1980s, a market-oriented approach towards growing challenges of deindustrialisation set off a trend towards welfare retrenchment, flexibilisation and privatisation at the federal level, while international migration and structural unemployment began to aggravate growing inequalities at the city level. The shift from government to governance in Vienna, however, took a different course, where a series of rescaling processes of social housing- and land-use policies shifted the decision-making authority to the city government, and preserved the strong local welfare system. Despite increasing competitiveness policies towards economic growth in recent years, the legacy of redistributive policy interventions still resonates with the current state of Vienna's urban renewal paradigm hindering direct resident displacement in reinvested neighbourhoods (Franz, 2015). This is most visible in its regulated housing market, where – albeit the retrenching federal welfare state – the city's own active housing-, land-use, and zoning policies avert privatisation of public housing, deregulation of subsidised rental market, and large-scale housing demolition in dilapidated residential quarters (Hatz et al., 2015). With the Urban Renewal Act in 1974, the city government institutionalised citizen participation in the planning process through local renewal offices to ease conflicts of interest and foster social inclusion. Since the series of housing subsidy and improvement acts in the mid-1980s, the city, at the same time, has actively participated in real estate acquisition for affordable housing and subsidised renovation of old residential units through its own housing fund. This planning paradigm, called 'soft urban renewal', facilitated renovation processes in densely populated urban areas by preserving its unique architectural selling point, while preserving existing cultural diversity and utilising local knowledge (Suitner, 2015). Besides, a decentralised management structure for urban development, referred to as the 'Vienna model', formalised a new institutional space for public-private-citizen collaboration, of which innovative delivery method enabled deliberation and participation of diverse local interests throughout the overall planning cycle. This marked the beginning of a new phase in Vienna's urban development, where non-state actors play an active role in neighbourhood transformation and, therefore, directly influence the decision-making

process and its outcome. The trend towards decentralisation in Vienna emerged from the policy learning process in reaction to shifting internal needs and external demands, as the failures to deliver inclusive planning policies for urban regrowth, and the resulting public discontent, necessitated a new governance model with a long-term orientation. This restructuring process based on quality assurance and -improvement differed from the concurrent liberalisation of federal public services, which was largely concerned with fiscal priorities. In contrast, Vienna's resident-oriented renewal strategies prevented direct displacement of low-income migrant households from regenerating neighbourhoods, as the consistency of sociodemographic trends, such as resident characteristics and tenancy types, in the refurbished neighbourhoods evidences (Fassmann and Hatz, 2006).

Following the decentralisation process in the late 1980s, a set of urban renewal acts paved a way for the city government to act as a major player in the planning process, who assumed the full responsibility for public expenditure management in urban development from 1989 onwards (Verwiebe et al., 2015). Regeneration of Brunnenviertel, a home to mostly low-skilled migrant families from Eastern and Southern Europe, who filled substandard apartments left by the Austrian working-class in the 1980s, emerged from this historically developed pathway of Vienna's 'soft urban renewal' balancing between competitiveness and social inclusion in its declining inner-city residential areas. The city's institutional capacity to constrain the pace and extent of gentrification process is particularly visible in Brunnenviertel, where long-term residential participation is motivated and sustained by public intervention. At the institutional level, the synergy between the regulated housing market, active renewal policies, and participatory planning provided an institutional condition mitigating a radical demographic shift. This institutional background differs from other well-cited urban examples with more flexible and liberal housing markets, such as North American- (August and Walks, 2018; Chaskin, 2013) and some European cities (Hedin et al., 2012; Hochstenbach, 2017). At the local level, a longstanding 'bottom-linked' renewal process, empowering various non-institutional actors in decision-making, engendered a pluralistic local culture, where both existing and new social groups were able to preserve multiple local ownerships within a shared urban infrastructure. This has enabled both 'new' and 'old' residents to actively construct their own identities and practice new forms of social interactions based on the presence of 'others' (Jackson and Butler, 2015), which contrasts the experiences and encounters with

'state-led gentrification' and the resulting social conflicts in 'gentrifying' neighbourhoods elsewhere (Lees, 2008). The original plan to redevelop Brunnenviertel in the early 1990s anticipated the construction of market halls, a multi-storey residential and office building, a car park, and a multicultural centre, which caused a chorus of discontent from the residents and business owners. A dialogue between a local initiative, *Forum Yppenplatz*, and the planning authorities facilitated a cooperative planning method within the EU-funded programme, which shifted its planning focus onto the functionality of the existing urban structure corresponding to the different needs of diverse interest groups (Dlabaja, 2016). Within this framework, the redevelopment of Brunnenviertel's public square, Yppenplatz, began in 1997. Conflict resolution and consensus building within a working group between the city government, planners, public enterprises, residents, and local businesses successfully carried out the sanitisation of the only public open space in Brunnenviertel for easier accessibility and usability. For cultural rebranding of its image, a grass-roots initiative, *Soho in Ottakring*, first launched in 1998, which organised an annual art festival on Yppenplatz until its relocation in 2013. Coordination between artists, residents, social partners, the municipal departments, and the local planning authorities paved the way for a new urban economy around the narrative of 'art as an engine of urban renewal'. Hans, a consultant at the local urban renewal office, describes the organised participation of different interest groups as pivotal to conflict mitigation in urban codetermination:

> (the urban renewal office) functioned as a knot that connected the city and the district, the planners and the residents, and the business owners and the homeowners. Our goal was to create a space for participation of all these different groups, so that people equally share the responsibility. Steering and planning committees were set up, information was distributed, public meetings were held, and all these would feed back into additional rounds of discussion. They were a lot of different interest groups involved, who were interested in different things...But, after a years-long effort, we came to an agreement on a '10-point' program for top priorities of Brunnenviertel's redevelopment.

Building on a series of participatory platforms, Brunnenviertel's transformation focused on the creation of attractive open spaces, subsidised housing renovation, and refurbishment of its street market, Brunnenmarkt, where art and culture became the main driver behind its local economy (Municipal Department 18 - Urban Development and Planning, 2004). Between 2005 and 2010, Brunnenmarkt and

Yppenplatz underwent additional stages of renewal focusing on new pedestrian zones, local businesses, and quality management of the market products, partial and full housing redevelopments, and more outdoor sitting areas for residents and visitors. Based on a three-year cooperative planning process, this urban upgrading aimed not only at the sanitisation of its physical structure, but transformation of its place-image from a dilapidated migrant neighbourhood into the city's vibrant multicultural space. Hans regards this image shift as the main driver behind the promotion of urban diversity as Brunnenviertel's own uniqueness to a broader audience:

> (Brunnenviertel) lacked a technical infrastructure and didn't meet any hygienic standards neither as a market nor as a living space. The residents here were mostly old, poor, and refugees…Back then, Brunnenviertel was considered as the worst place in the city. At least, that was its image…Our main objective was to invite a new audience to the neighbourhood. But, not the audience that was too poor. We wanted better social mix in the neighbourhood…with a multicultural touch for a new image…And the local shop owners are happy that very mixed visitors now come to the market. Brunnenmarkt is now the most profitable market in the entire city.

Today, Brunnenviertel is the epitome of Vienna's multicultural coexistence that weekly welcomes around 59,000 visitors to the thriving gastronomic scene and migrant businesses on Yppenplatz and Brunnenmarkt. This cosmopolitan image of Brunnenviertel initiates the co-occupants to encounter and experience urban diversity and to form sociability in a particular manner. It reflects the city's institutional capacity to emplace both 'new' and 'old' that guide them to a cohesive socially mix, around which people establish their new social relationships. 'Soft' transformation of Brunnenviertel turned a once seedy migrant 'problem zone' into the city's 'multicultural heart', where market-related spillover effects are mitigated by its regulatory framework, and existing neighbourhood diversity is regenerated by active participation of local community. The major structural change that has in fact took place is the qualitative upgrading of dwelling units, where the number of substandard- and small apartments halved between 1991 and 2011 (see *Condition* and *Size* in Table 2). That said, no necessary correlation between physical regeneration and social displacement[4] is visible in the structural changes

[4] Although the share of tertiary-educated Austrians and foreigners grew in 2000s (see *Educational Attainment* in Table 1), this was and is an overall trend in Vienna, especially in inner city districts, where it's risen by 10 percentage points. The same is true for the declining share of Austrians, which has fallen in all districts between 2002 and 2017 by 12 percentage points on average.

of Brunnenviertel, as shown in the stability of the tenure structure and resident characteristics (see *Occupancy Type* in Table 2 and *Nationality* in Table 1). This partly also owes to the fact that most of the apartments were built before 1945, which means nearly 70% of the housing units are rent-regulated in one way or another. The empirical findings below show local perception and imagination of diversity that are organised within the particular institutional context of Brunnenviertel's transformation. These explain how socially inclusive principles and mechanisms of urban renewal policy can facilitate a communal culture that nurtures multiple social identities in a diverse urban environment without sanctioning a particular social group from the local language of habitual coexistence.

Local Perception of Urban Diversity around the Politics of Place-Making

Scripted Encounters in a Curated Space of Living-Together

Fleeting encounters and interactions in Brunnenviertel's everyday scenes entail a sense of togetherness that the residents and visitors have formed around its physical transformation into an inclusive multicultural space. This brought a new local identity that engendered a sense of belonging to a neighbourhood, where the co-occupants appreciate its openness and celebrate its diversity. Otto, a planner from the municipal department of urban development and planning, attributes this to a feeling of pride among the residents, who now perceives their neighbourhood in a different light:

> (Before the 1990s) Not only did Brunnenviertel have a bad image, but also a bad identity…After cultural initiatives began…people started to take an interest in the neighbourhood. A specific clientele took an interest, and (artists) began to change its image that, not only they, but also the residents identified themselves with. The residents realised that they no more lived in a bad neighbourhood in a fringe district of the city. The entire city was interested in Brunnenviertel. They realised this interest…They didn't have to hide that they lived in this neighbourhood anymore, and they could be proud of it.

Public intervention to alter Brunnenviertel's image played a significant role in the way the residents perceived existing diversity in the neighbourhood, as well as its gradual physical transformation. Brunnenviertel was no more a dilapidated 'problem zone', but a shared leisure space, where people from different districts travel to experience the city's multicultural competence. This shifting image became its new selling point, which utilised and bettered existing urban condition to promote its new

neighbourhood identity as the epitome of lively, urban, and cosmopolitan Vienna. Karl, an old 'native', who has witnessed this transformation from its beginning, commented on this shift:

> (The City of Vienna) did a good job. All the shops you see down the market were bad. Really bad. It was always empty, and people never came here before. But now people even travel from different districts to come here... When the weather is nice, I go and sit on (Yppenplatz) to enjoy the sun. I don't really care, who comes here. Anyone can come. I mean, I don't own this place, do I?

This feeling of togetherness in a place for everyone constitutes an important aspect of everyday life in Brunnenviertel, which provides a diverse range of social groups a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. For many young visitors and residents, this sense of belonging to Brunnenviertel emerges from the excitement of being part of the city's most fashionable urban area, where they celebrate their physical proximity to diversity. The presence of difference in shared urban spaces is central to their own sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. On the day of Brunnenviertel's annual multicultural festival, Lukas, a young 'native' said:

> Of course, I contributed to 'gentrification' in Brunnenviertel…I'm a 'gentrifier' in that sense. But do you remember, how it used to be? A couple years ago, no one ever talked about this place. But, now look (at Yppenplatz). This place is so full! There is always something going on here. Migrants, hipsters, kids, old people…They do all different stuff, and with their own people. But they do it all on this square!
>
> […]
>
> I love this neighbourhood, because this is the most exciting place in the city. I love, how I can just sit down (on Yppenplatz) with friends and have a beer, right after I go shop on the market. I live nearby, but, more importantly, there are bars and shops, where I go regularly with friends. That's why I come here almost every day.

The extent to which the locals identify themselves with the changing surroundings of Brunnenviertel emerges not only from its demographic composition nor its physical environment itself alone. From the policy perspective, 'good urban governance' for sustainable cohabitation in a diverse place requires democratic measures based on openness that nurture existing social identities in an upgraded urban infrastructure, where no particular social group is, however, privileged or disadvantaged, as Otto explained:

> Not everything in Brunnenviertel is made completely new. Public spaces were already there, and so was ethnic diversity. Before diversity became a catchword, the residents of Brunnenviertel were always ethnically diverse. And it remains so. Of course, it was then perceived differently…but for (public actors) it was always clear that this was an ethnically diverse neighbourhood…We do not serve a specific social group, nor do we create a specific space for them. Our job is always to create spaces for everyone, while paying attention to minorities who might require a special attention.

Locally-based participatory platforms are instrumental in creating a curated space of encounters in a multiethnic environment that guides different social groups to come together as a community, who otherwise rarely come into meaningful contacts. While the regulatory environment mediates the socio-spatial condition for positive encounters and interactions, strong community engagement engenders the mutual responsiveness and -responsibility at the local level, which create a synergic link between bottom-up and top-down approaches to 'overcome the participation trap of loosely coupled participatory processes' (van Meerkerk, 2020). Resistance by the locals, organised around a grassroots movement of the early 'gentrifiers', reflects an important social context of Brunnenviertel's transformation, whereby the newcomers themselves incorporated existing diversity into their new sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. As a long-term 'native' resident, Wolfgang, who led the neighbourhoods' first citizens' initiative in the mid-1990s, recalled:

> Shortly after (I moved here), a development plan surfaced and the district talked about getting rid of the street market for a multi-storey apartment building with a market hall…But (Brunnenviertel) wasn't going to get better, if only Austrians were to move into the new apartments. A lot of people (in Brunnenviertel) were migrants, who then didn't have an access to these subsidised apartments…Brunnenviertel was a rough area before. But I moved because of the migrants here, and they were our target group.
>
> […]
>
> Blocking the (original) redevelopment plan was only possible, because we could get signatures from the market vendors and customers. The vendors participated, because, with high-rises on the market, they would have lost their customers. Most of them wanted to stay and continue to work here. They only had a chance (to keep their businesses), if they acted together…We became sort of a representative office for the vendors that participated and observed the earlier planning process.

While much has been said about the emergence of new actors at different stages in the overall gentrification process, the difference that the newcomers make not only lies on the 'gentrification types' (Lees, 2012), but also on their socio-cultural profile, whose motivation and expectation lead to a differentiated reaction to existing diversity at the local level. Like the early pioneers in the mid-1990s, citizens' initiatives in Brunnenviertel, which have emerged at later stages of its transformation, continue to provide opportunities for such encounters to bridge the gap in-between. Emma, an organiser of a cultural initiative, explained what she believes to be the essential role of participatory events that bring people together to build a sense of community:

> Outside, we have an exhibition of the art works that the shop owners in the market created themselves. We also regularly organise programmes, where we encourage migrants and also Austrians to do activities together...A lot of people who work here otherwise don't have opportunities to do things together with Austrians…

Despite some practical limitations, such as a lack of interest among some 'native' business owners, these curated contact-zones offer possibilities of focused interactions between the co-occupants, which provide them a space to express their sense of belonging to the community and a feeling of togetherness in the neighbourhood. Vasilios, a migrant vendor on the market, described the way he utilises these institutionalised spaces:

> I've been here already for many years, so I know (activists from cultural initiatives) well. We know what they do, and we also participated in some of their programmes. When there are special events, we make food for them too, and after they're done with work, we sometimes get together…I think it's good there are programmes that try to bring Austrians and migrants together.

While the public-private-citizens partnership shapes prosaic encounters and experiences with difference within a shared urban infrastructure, the sense of togetherness in these contact-zones is accompanied by the capacity of different social groups to sustain their own locations of identity. A Turkish youth, Tolga, who was born in the neighbourhood, said:

> Before Yppenplatz was pretty dangerous for (children)…It was really different a couple years ago. There was this one time, when a drunk man tried to do weird stuff to me. Not just him, but there used to be drunk people everywhere here…Now it's good. There are these new places on Yppenplatz, where you see all sorts

> of different people. I don't go to those places over there, but people there are still better than these drunk men who were here before…It doesn't matter who you are, as long as you don't make problems with us.

Although the utilisation of diversity in 'progressive' politics is often blamed for their entrepreneurial strategies that exacerbate inequalities (Peck, 2005), its localised outcome largely depends on the particular institutional capacity and its social context, which are able to preserve existing boundaries of multiple social identities in an integrative governance process. In fact, what appears to be a converging urban trend among cities may not be identical to the place-specific conditions of living-together that are found at a 'micro-scale of the neighbourhood' (Warren and Jones, 2018). In Brunnenviertel, the collaboration between the government, citizens' initiatives, and residents garnered local knowledge and experience for a cohesive local multiculture, in which the needs of existing diversity are accommodated, and the problems of existing inequalities are addressed. At the micro-level, this was sustained by the local capacity to host multiple social identities of different social groups without imposing a singular narrative of diversity. The spatial availability of multiple social identities is instrumental in place-making of a diverse neighbourhood, because the preservation of places and spaces, where these identities can be projected, averts assimilation of the local grammar of pluralism into the elitist celebration of 'creative' difference (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018).

Places for Multiple Social Identities

Institutional and communal efforts to bring a new image in Brunnenviertel created a feeling of pride among the locals, whose sense of togetherness in, and belonging to, a multiethnic neighbourhood tessellates habitual coexistence in a shared urban infrastructure. While institutional moderation fosters guided encounters and experiences through new norms of diversity in a communal local culture, these do not naturally bring out meaningful interactions between different social groups, but can elevate existing sociabilities in places of closed networks within. Although Brunnenmarkt and Yppenplatz offer strangers a space to causally mingle without being attentive to one another, the neighbourhood's semi-public spaces host tighter networks of intimacy, where people evaluate and negotiate the political implications of its transformation in their own ways.

At the centre of Brunnenviertel's multicultural scene, stands a café, where public meetings were held during the formative years of the renewal process. This famous social club that embodies the neighbourhood's multicultural image offers a small-scale meeting ground for young 'natives', services for newly arrived migrants and refugees, and platforms for grassroots local initiatives. While the adjacent public square features fleeting encounters between strangers, social interactions in this semi-public space are limited to a specific social group, who project their own perception of diversity in Brunnenviertel. For Ervin, a regular and a local activist of Iranian descent, having meaningful contacts with others is not what Brunnenviertel's local culture is all about.

> Why you assume that I would have contact with (other) migrants? I meet different people in Brunnenviertel all the time, but I don't try to build a relationship with them. I don't think they want that either. We just simply live in the same area together. Why would we suddenly try to become friends, when we have nothing in common? Here, I'm with friends. But out on the market, for example, I buy what I want, and that's it!

Nina, a young professional from the same friendship circle, added and marked some areas in the neighbourhood she would purposefully avoid walking into, because these areas represent spaces that belong to a particular group of the residents and visitors.

> I don't think multiculturalism is about people going around making friends with different people. For example, I only come to this café, because I meet friends and other like-minded people. I think what's more important is that we all live here, and we share the neighbourhood together.
>
> […]
>
> I'm personally happy that I don't interact with different people in Brunnenviertel. I'm fine with them, but they're just some people who I would just not…Like some of the places you mentioned down the market. Only old boring 'natives' go there. Who knows? Maybe they are racist (or) right-wing.

Social distance between different social groups here emerge from divided geographies of emotion, and exclusiveness of small-scale local places, although this lies in tandem with a broader feeling of togetherness that they occupy a shared urban infrastructure. While they recognise diversity as an intrinsic element to the urban fabric that constitutes the unique local culture, the occupants of semi-public spaces actively negotiate the institutional vision of multicultural Brunnenviertel. Sociability that the young regulars perform in this particular place emerges from their active negotiation with the local

grammar of diversity, which enables them to territorialise their own space of intimacy in close proximity to others.

At the mid-section of Brunnenmarkt, old 'natives' stand around a small kiosk from early morning to the market closing time in the late evening. Most customers at one of the last two remaining 'native' drinking holes on the market seldom venture into other parts of the neighbourhood, as they perceive this location to be the only place, where they can afford to have drinks and spend time with their friends. One evening I encountered Frank, an old regular, who invited me for a drink and 'welcomed' me to what he considered as 'his' place, where he can 'meet old friends'. Shortly after, a street sweeper rolled by us, and the owner pulled down the roller shutter, who asked us to hurry down our drinks, because it's nearing market closing time. I offered him another drink at one of the bars on Yppenplatz, but he shook his head and told me that 'there are no places for (him) at this hour' in the neighbourhood.

> I'm too old for those – how do you say, hip?... – places up there. I could get some beers, then go sit on the square, but it's too late now…Otherwise, (bars on Yppenplatz) are too expensive for me. Also, it's more your kind of place, isn't it? I don't mind it. It's nice to have young people like you here. But, look at me! I'm too old for that.

As Frank's perception of certain locations in Brunnenviertel points out, his recognition of togetherness follows that of plurality that he cohabits in a shared urban environment. He, who 'welcomed' and 'invited' me back to 'his' place in a neighbourhood that he recognises as much plural as communal, built his social life around the site of his local attachment in negotiation with the political language of diversity that accompanies the image of an artsy, cultural, and consumption urban space. For Anna, a waitress at another 'native' café, young 'natives', whom she describes as 'artists', are nothing more than fellow 'neighbours', although she has no personal contact with them, nor she ever visits places that she deems too artsy for her. When I told her I just came from Yppenplatz and asked her whether she ever visited any of other cafés and bars in the area, she replied:

> Have I ever been to the places on Yppenplatz? No. Aren't they supposed to be only for artists? They never come here, but I wouldn't mind them…We're like neighbours, who don't talk to each other…Although

> during the day a lot of (migrants) who work on the market come. They come in, have a cup of tea, then go to work again.

While different groups understand the pluralistic composition of a shared urban space that they co-occupy with others, their capacity to build their separated, yet interconnected, social worlds around the politics of place-making has engendered a 'dispersed sense of the plural communal' (Amin, 2012), whose difference is recognised and its boundaries are respected. For Hakan and Cengiz, two employees at a Turkish butcher shop, who I met on their break on Yppenplatz, living together in the distance is a practical decision that resonates with the image of a vibrant multicultural street market – the 'Orient around the corner'. Hassan, who spoke better German, said:

> We only work here. After work, we go back to where we live. So, no. We usually don't spend so much time here. Only during the break. I can't say a lot about Yppenplatz, but Brunnenviertel is good, because business is good…(Our customers) are mostly Arabs and Turks, but we also have a few Austrian customers. (Arabic customers) sometimes make problems. But it's okay. We make a lot of money…

Social distance between the co-occupants of Brunnenviertel is an indispensable feature of the daily life that sustains the mundane nature of everyday encounter. The ambiguity between togetherness and distance, differs from 'selective belonging' (Watt, 2009) or 'social tectonics' (Butler and Robson, 2001) in gentrifying neighbourhoods studied elsewhere, where different social groups disassociate themselves from one another to construct their social identities. In contrast, the presence of 'others' – whether 'new' or 'old', or 'native' or 'foreign', constitutes the central node between the different spatial orders in Brunnenviertel that allow people to maintain their elective social circles, of which difference they are aware of, and of which boundaries they respect enough not to trespass.

Conclusion

The ordinariness of living-together, yet in the distance, characterises the everyday scene of the Vienna's 'multicultural heart', where institutional and non-institutional actors together built a communal local culture within the city's regulatory capacity and urban renewal paradigm. Locally-based participatory platforms offer different social groups a shared urban infrastructure, where their diverse interests are accommodated on equal terms without breaching their respective boundaries. In turn, the local ability to form intimate social lives around the politics of place-making sustains its habitual – not, imposed –

coexistence, whose difference is a trivial feature of its urban fabric. Organisation of a contact space in a multiethnic neighbourhood that had long been regarded as a segregated problem zone provides a site of casual encounters, around which diverse groups and individuals forge a new sense of togetherness and belonging. From a policy perspective, this is a matter of practical importance, as it hinders exclusive claims of ownership by privileged stakeholders that could further already existing inequalities. From a local perspective, this is a matter of individual and collective well-being, as it gives them a sense of pride in the space of everyday life that undermines contentious dividedness in their changing social surroundings.

Before the 'diversity turn' in the literature, the dynamics of everyday life in cities have long captivated scholars in different academic disciplines. A review of different streams of work is therefore necessary, as a vast amount of literature has so far brought to intense discussions with conflicting, yet sometimes overlapping, arguments on how strangers in the city negotiate diversity in everyday spaces of urban life. While these key streams of debate emerge from different academic traditions and suggest different hypotheses on why, where, and how we socially interact with difference, these equally stress the need for a place-based lens on the situated contexts of diversity in everyday settings. However, there is a limit in the current state of the literature, as to which institutional principles and mechanisms contribute to variegated contours and outcomes of urban governance, and how these might affect the way strangers forge their social lives around the political language of the city's urban policy-making. While demographic and spatial compositions of everyday spaces constitute an important element of the operation of multiculture, these remain insufficient to explain the structural and institutional specifics of power-laden urban politics, around which we perceive diversity and perform sociability.

Furthermore, the institutional context of 'good urban governance' bears significance for the durability and sustainability of living-together, as a lack of regulatory mechanisms can exacerbate antagonism among different social groups. Without, they may find themselves in competing positions within the social hierarchy of a divided urban space, as mere co-presence in 'neglected public spaces with rudimentary or exclusionary rules of regulation breed(s) social pathologies of anxiety and avoidance' (Amin, 2012). This was, and still is, especially true for cities that lack a regulatory framework to downplay market-related factors, of which negative spillover effects have grave consequences for the

degree of social cohesion in regenerating neighbourhoods. Relatedly, the synergy between an institutional framework encouraging active participation and bottom-up mobilisation of strong community engagement holds particular significance for mitigation of plutocratic market-relations and mediation of social interactions. This article, therefore, stresses the key role played by public intervention in renewing a multiethnic neighbourhood for sustainable living-together, where groups and individuals are guided to perceive difference in a prosaic fashion, yet able to respect their boundaries in a broader realm of public life. Here, a sense of belonging and sharedness operate in tandem with social distance, which grants different social groups multiple local ownerships within a shared urban infrastructure, where habitual coexistence between differences do not breach the respective territories of multiple identities.

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6.5. Between Urban Justice and the Challenges Ahead

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10 Vienna's resilience

Between urban justice and the challenges ahead

Roland Verwiebe, Yuri Kazepov, Michael Friesenecker and Byeongsun Ahn

Introduction

In the past, Vienna and other metropolises (such as Amsterdam, Berlin, Barcelona, Copenhagen and Stockholm) have been regarded as prime examples of the *European city* model (Le Galès, 2002; Häussermann, 2005). However, trajectories of European cities have increasingly diversified over the last 30 years as a result of varied reactions to a broad set of transformations. These transformations include the following: de-industrialisation and the consequent changing occupational structure (Hamnett, 2021); welfare rescaling (Kazepov and Barberis, 2017); growing inequality (Cucca and Ranci, 2017); housing shortages (Scanlon et al., 2014); broader demographic changes (Kreichauf, 2018; Wolff and Wiechmann, 2018); a fragmentation of the political (party) system (Ford and Jennings, 2020); efforts to govern climate change and environmental risks (Kern, 2019; Bulkeley, 2021); and, more recently, the economic and social consequences of the financial crises of 2008 and the COVID-19 pandemic (Hadjimichalis, 2011; Guida and Carpentieri, 2021). Yet, many scholars agree that the starting point for the process of differentiation among European cities is located in the post-Fordist transformation (Amin, 1995). This does not mean that differences did not exist before (see Diefendorf, 1989). On the contrary, it means that differences have been superseded by economic growth (unequally distributed, but existing, nonetheless) and Keynesian state intervention that attempted to iron them out (Brenner, 2004). The crisis of Fordism, despite the accompanying spread of an all-encompassing neoliberal narrative, brought about differentiated patterns of demographic change (with rising migration) and economic development (often with jobless growth) that began reshaping the social fabric of European cities. These changes challenged the balance between economic competitiveness and social cohesion that had once characterised the system of governance, exposing urban economies to rising inequalities

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and emerging social polarisation (Cucca and Ranci, 2017). As a result, growth-oriented policy agendas reinforced the unequal distribution of the costs of transition to the new patterns, and these were paralleled by a retrenchment of welfare state provision. While some scholars attribute this development to the overall process of neoliberalisation drawing cities into its orbit (Harvey, 2005; Mayer, 2007), in this volume we have a more nuanced perspective. Neoliberalism does indeed affect European cities, but we see urban change as a more complex and localised outcome of a (partly) path-dependent process in which the distinctive institutional and structural contexts play a significant role – not only in filtering global processes but also in shaping the ways in which they play out (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998; Fainstein, 2010; Andreotti et al., 2018).

Embracing this approach, each chapter of this volume analyses how Vienna's institutions have been challenged by the changes taking place, and how they have reacted. More specifically, they do so across four major policy fields – political participation, housing, labour market and environmental sustainability – attempting to better understand how the transformations have changed the degree of inclusiveness of the city, as well as resulting patterns of social justice. They identify potential trade-offs, negative synergic effects and dualisation trends that have emerged since the early 1990s. Indeed, notwithstanding the mediating role of Vienna's existing redistributive system (both cash and in-kind), evidence from the chapters of this volume point to growing vulnerabilities among different social groups and widening urban inequalities, on the one hand; and putting the City of Vienna under pressure to innovate their policy-making system, on the other. By investigating multiple policy dimensions, the authors have carried out an analysis of policy changes embedded in the interplay between institutional actors across different territorial jurisdictions. These changes have had variegated effects, sometimes simultaneously reinforcing the inclusion of certain groups and the exclusion of others. The following section highlights the major findings of the volume, addressing structural constraints and social innovation cross-cutting the various policy domains characterising Vienna's institutional landscape, highlighting how they are reshaping the boundaries of social justice.

Between resilience and change: key findings of the volume

The analyses of the four policy areas provide important insights and details about the process through which inclusion and exclusion occur and are consolidated. Not all social groups are affected, or are

affected in the same way, but for some, these processes lead to culminating disadvantage.

Mocca and Friesenecker (Chapter 2), and Ahn and Mocca (Chapter 3) discuss the changing practices of *political participation* and governance structures in Vienna. Mocca and Friesenecker start out with an analysis of how the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ) were able to hold on to the mayoral office from 1919 to the present day (with a short exception during the Nazi regime), through widespread consensus, thanks to its generous redistributive policies and the provision of key public services. Thus, they have effectively maintained unparalleled, long-standing political control over the city. However, the rise of smaller parties in recent elections (such as the Greens; the liberal party, NEOS; and the right-wing Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)) indicates an emerging differentiation of the party spectrum. Similar to other European cities (Rontos et al., 2016; Eizaguirre et al., 2017; Russell, 2019), new political cleavages have emerged in Vienna. These social or spatial cleavages in voting might be the result of the vulnerabilities that globalisation and economic restructuring have kicked off. This has led to the *Green-Alternative-Liberal vs. Traditional-Authoritarian-Nationalist divide*, associated with transborder mobility and the economic integration of the European Union (Ford and Jennings, 2020). As Ahn and Mocca show in their analysis, despite innovation in the party system and the emergence of new political cleavages, political participation in the city is situated in the context of a *top-down* governing system and a strong legacy of vertical policy-making (Brandtner et al., 2017). However, from the early 1970s onwards, the City of Vienna has established a diverse range of participatory tools to encourage bottom-up mobilisation of community-based initiatives. A parallel process of decentralisation in the city has shifted power and resources to public enterprises and district authorities, opening up additional participatory pathways – albeit limited to small-scale urban planning. While opportunities for citizen participation have improved, bureaucratic obstacles have simultaneously increased (Brait and Hammer, 2017), resulting in an uneven distribution of participatory channels across the city which favours inner-city districts, where educational attainment and median earnings are higher. This policy deficit hinders a meaningful involvement of citizens from the lower social classes (e.g. in American and British cities, see Taylor, 2007; van Holm, 2019).

In the section on *housing* (Chapters 4 and 5), Litschauer and Friesenecker discuss key aspects of the transformation of Vienna's housing model and how it has come under pressure over the last three decades. However, contrary to other European cities, such as Amsterdam,

Berlin or Dublin (Adelhof et al., 2008; Tsenkova and Polanska, 2014; Byrne and Norris, 2019; Granath Hansson and Lundgren, 2019), the authors acknowledge that social housing still remains the largest housing segment in Vienna, providing affordable housing to roughly 40% of the city's population with the aim of avoiding segregation. This has been accomplished through: (1) massive investment in the maintenance of the existing public housing stock; (2) increased construction of subsidised social housing, mainly built by limited-profit housing associations to ensure below-market rent vis-à-vis high construction quality for its tenants; (3) targeting social housing, not only at the poor, but also offering options for the middle classes through high-income thresholds; (4) an active land banking and zoning policy that guarantees plots for the construction of new affordable housing; (5) quality management that ensures social orientation (e.g. affordability) and housing quality for new, large-scale, constructions. Nevertheless, the past decades have also seen liberalising tendencies of the Austrian federal government reduce the distributive effects of rent regulation in the private rental segment, leading to steep price increases and the rise of time-limited rental contracts (Kadi, 2015). These developments have also affected the redistributive capacity of social housing. Municipal housing has become more socially targeted, while escalating land prices, changing housing needs due to ageing, immigration and climate change pose further challenges in the provision of new social housing to low-income groups (Scanlon et al., 2014). In a nutshell, Vienna's housing system has witnessed an evolving insider-outsider divide between the social and private rental segments, and within the private rental segment, corresponding to the duration of one's residency in Vienna. In both segments, sitting tenants enjoy affordable and secure housing, while conversely, housing becomes less affordable to newcomers (especially low-income groups, low-skilled immigrants and refugees), who also face increasing housing insecurity.

The section on *labour transformations* (Chapters 6 and 7) delves into changes in the labour market and the role of Vienna's regulatory autonomy in mediating local outcomes of structural transformations (Österle and Heitzmann, 2020). In Chapter 6, Ahn and Kazepov point out that the long-standing institutional capacity development has enabled the city administration to mobilise effectively against the restrictive reform strategies of the federal government, providing more generous benefits and innovative employment programs for increasingly vulnerable social groups. For example, Vienna's regional minimum income scheme – despite federal reform attempts – continues to provide asylum seekers with access to employment services, which is not the case in other parts

of Austria (Rathgeb, 2021). This local welfare system has been crucial in mediating tertiarisation, professionalisation and polarisation tendencies that currently unfold in Vienna. These are leading to new forms of social inequalities that Riederer, Verwiebe and Ahn describe, in Chapter 7, as *asymmetrical polarisation* (for international comparisons, see Crankshaw, 2017; Hamnett, 2021). While substantial growth in the class of professionals and managers has been a dominating trend, growing inequalities and a parallel polarisation of the occupational class structure cannot be neglected. For example, an increasing share of younger workers and educated women holding professional and managerial positions tend to be employed on a part-time and/or temporary basis, thus showing more vulnerability (Riederer and Berghammer, 2020). There is also a parallel and increasing polarisation within the migrant population. Labour migrants from the 1960s and 1970s and other long-term migrants suffer from higher shares of unemployment and social decline, whereas more recent immigrants – especially those from EU-15 countries – tend, on average, to be even more successful on the Viennese labour market than Austrian citizens.

In the section on *the environment*, Brenner, Mocca, and Friesenecker (Chapter 8) and Friesenecker, Riederer, and Cucca (Chapter 9) analyse environmental justice and sustainability. Brenner et al. argue that, compared to other cities (Anguelovski et al., 2018), Vienna has maintained a high share of Urban Green Space (UGS) (encompassing around 50% of the city) because of its strong state-based approach. This has made it possible for the City to react to structural challenges, including population growth, increasing inequalities, heatwaves and changing weather conditions. Support also came from higher levels, such as the EU, which introduced new opportunities for stronger environmental protection, while public sector maintenance of green spaces is outstanding and stands in contrast to an international trend towards more market-oriented UGS management (Rutt and Gulsrud, 2016; Kronenberg et al., 2020). According to Friesenecker et al., the (semi) public provision of key environmental services for healthy and liveable environments also include public transportation, water supply, waste management and energy, to name only the most important. While this continuous provision of services has contributed to Vienna's reputation as one of the most liveable and green cities in Europe (Verwiebe et al., 2020), the authors reveal that some citizens, especially unskilled workers and migrants, increasingly perceive the environment to be of a lower quality, especially in densely populated, lower income neighbourhoods with a higher share of immigrants. This corresponds to small pockets of undersupply in UGS, while access to an adequate amount of green space is ensured for the vast majority

of the population. Furthermore, disparities between central and peripheral city areas exist, particularly concerning prevalent problems with green space, air quality and the provision of public transport. While environmental policies in Vienna are less related to gentrification and displacement compared to other cities (Anguelovski et al., 2018), the authors of both chapters argue that (perceived) inequalities in accessing environmentally friendly services and healthy, liveable environments at the neighbourhood level should be taken seriously. Particular attention should be paid to climate change associated heat waves and its health impacts for the elderly and socially deprived population, which will be key future challenges for environmental justice and sustainability in Vienna.

Vienna's emerging vulnerabilities

In light of the growing tendency towards market-led urban development models across cities and regions, scholars in the field of planning have invoked the notion of urban justice, proposing a conceptual framework for evaluating the social effects of neoliberal urban policies and practices (Marcuse et al., 2009; Fainstein, 2010; Knijn and Lepianka, 2020; Moroni, 2020). Accordingly, Fainstein (2014) proposes that the three governing principles for urban justice include *democracy*, *diversity* and *equity*, which form the rhetoric around urban policy, shaping the quality of urban life. These governing principles aim at promoting urban justice within the broader governance system, advocating greater political representation of non-elite interests regarding cultural recognition and economic redistribution (Fraser, 2009). Consequently, achieving meaningful, democratic outcomes in urban policy-making requires a transversal approach to planning, connecting different policy dimensions of institutional justice, on the one hand; and fostering the inclusion of diverse social groups and their interests by redrawing the boundaries of social justice, on the other hand.

The authors of this volume have addressed how post-Fordist transformation in Vienna has affected the three criteria of justice, cross-cutting the city's four major policy fields – political participation, housing, the labour market and the environment. While observing some trade-offs between economic competitiveness and social cohesion in recent years, their conclusions point out that existing regulatory frameworks for Vienna's urban institutions continue to play a strategic role in mitigating the repercussions of external crises. Strong governmental intervention in the key policy arenas characterises the particular political dimension of Vienna's urban justice, rooted in its top-down policy-making style, mediating the contradictory effect of the deliberative approach

to planning that may reinforce the exclusion of disadvantaged social groups. Strong governmental intervention has been particularly successful in urban development and affordable housing provision, linking its formal policy-making structure to the needs of the broader society (i.e. not just the needy), on the one hand; and limiting the potential interference of market actors, on the other. Regarding the redistributive dimension of urban justice, Vienna's local welfare system remains strong and crucial for the protection of emerging vulnerable populations. Drawing on the autonomy acquired as a consequence of the long-standing decentralisation and institutional capacity it developed, the City of Vienna was able to implement need-oriented policies that addressed urban problems, as well as complementing federal policies with the provision of its own active labour market policies and social housing. This institutional innovation has created *just* access to public services and benefits, and has promoted social inclusion and diversity in community-oriented urban development.

Notwithstanding these institutional capabilities, however, the authors have also identified some exclusionary tendencies in the four policy areas, fuelling socio-economic vulnerability. This is particularly true for non-EU migrants, young people and low-income households. In fact, despite the generous local welfare system, Vienna's transition into an innovation-driven urban economy has engendered a new division of labour, segmenting a large proportion of the city's migrant population into low-wage and low-skill occupations. Currently, this trend towards polarisation among non-EU migrants coincides with the professionalisation of highly skilled EU-15 migrants and the decline of migrant middle classes. Although less pronounced, a series of recent housing reforms have also changed the eligibility criteria for affordable social housing, widening the gap between newcomers and sitting tenants. While continuing the *housing for all* approach, the impact of demographic change has placed new challenges on the right to housing, aggravating housing inequality among low-income households. Paradoxically, these challenges are emerging amid growing opportunities for grassroots participation in urban policy-making, especially in small-scale urban planning and subsidised social housing. In line with Fainstein's (2010, 2014) criticism of the popular demand for deliberative democracy, the current trend in Vienna's urban politics nuances equitable urban development, which is increasingly at odds with democratic principles of political participation, failing to ensure adequate representation of diverse local interests. This changing policy context may have emerged (in part) from the transformation of needs, claims and demands of Vienna's growing population, featured by the declining working-class dominance and the

widening barriers of electoral participation for migrants in urban politics. These changes produce new vulnerabilities, necessitating a new innovative turn in urban policy-making.

Vienna, a *just city* of the 21st century? Challenges for future urban development

If Vienna wants to remain a *just city*, with a high degree of inclusiveness, it must address several challenges, ranging from persistent (low but rising) structural inequalities to demographic transitions, from climate change to digitalisation and multi-level governance. These challenges do not pertain to a single dimension, but cut across the whole urban social fabric.

Social inequalities as a challenge

As the chapters in this book have documented, inequalities are on the rise and remain one of the key challenges for urban futures. Economic and labour market restructuring processes produce new socio-economic divides and vulnerabilities that bring about an increase of people at-risk of poverty and living in precarious financial situations (Verwiebe et al., 2020). In this regard, trends of digitalisation will further impact Vienna's service-oriented labour market in the coming years. Here, much depends on Vienna's ability to create local jobs and invest in future technologies, ecology and digitalisation, addressing the gap between low and high qualified labour force. Vienna's current urban development strategies (e.g. Smart City Strategy) is a promising way into the future, going beyond a mere technological approach and embracing social inclusion targets. Yet, the great challenge relates to how social policies can be innovated beyond active labour market approaches, focusing on educational training and investments. Raising low incomes in specific branches (e.g. through minimum income schemes and the reduction of precarious jobs) will be the basis upon which to build more empowering and capacity-building policies. The feasibility of such policies depends on the future availability of financial resources which, in view of the city's growing budget deficit, points to an additional challenge that Vienna needs to address.

The challenge of dualisation

The future redistributive capacity of Vienna's housing model will also depend, to a large extent, on how labour market and social policies

might interrupt the trends of dualisation and socio-spatial inequalities over the coming years. This is true despite the fact that eligibility criteria for a large proportion of municipal housing stock and parts of the new subsidised stock have become targeted at the inclusion of vulnerable groups, as well as including parts of the (increasingly precarious) middle classes (Friesenecker and Kazepov, 2021). Continuous investment in maintaining old (and building new) social housing each year, as well as recent reforms countering neoliberal tendencies, will potentially strengthen the redistributive capacity of the City's housing model (Kadi et al., 2021). However, this capacity will diminish, especially in combination with population growth (+350,000 inhabitants over the last 20 years: https://bit.ly/2TjOlS7), and diversifying housing needs. Moreover, policies geared at liberalisation and financialisation of the private housing segment need to be countered, especially at the federal and European level, highlighting the multi-level governance strategies that the city should expand.

The climate change challenge

Another key challenge, cutting across all policy themes, relates to the climate crisis. Countering social and spatial inequalities is a key issue for an environmentally *just city*. The city is in a strong position when it comes to providing public infrastructure that combines social and ecological aspects (Bärnthaler et al., 2020). The ability to control key services (such as water and energy production, the public transportation system, the housing sector and city planning) through public ownership in times of austerity and increasing public debt play a crucial role in countering socio-spatial inequalities. In view of this, measures to increase the participation (but also responsibility) of citizens in co-creating their local environments also represent promising ways towards a more inclusive and *just city*. This also implies addressing inequalities in accessing environmentally friendly infrastructure, including green space. This became crucial during the COVID-19 pandemic but is also a key challenge in countering the exposure to environmental harms, such as the effects of heatwaves on elderly and the socially deprived population.

The challenge of participation in multi-level governance

These emerging challenges resonate with another key challenge for the future, which is maintaining political participation in complex multi-level governance arrangements. One example of how this challenge

plays out at the *horizontal* level is in regard to integrating the growing numbers of the population who are excluded from voting. Indeed, the internationalisation of the city has increased the *electoral gap*: 30% of the Viennese population are ineligible to vote because they do not have citizenship. Moreover, among eligible voters, turnout rates decreased and protest votes increased (especially among the working class). While Vienna has developed its repertoire of participatory processes, at least at the neighbourhood level, spatial inequalities and uneven social patterns in participatory processes limit the ability to address shortcomings in representative democracy. In order to close the electoral and participatory gap, there is a need for an improvement in the inclusion of the foreign-born and immigrant populations in civil society associations and political and administrative offices. An example of how the challenge plays out along the *vertical* dimension of multi-level governance relates to the City's capacity to politically counteract ongoing welfare retrenchments and neoliberal oriented policies. Increased efforts to build broader political alliances between Austrian and European cities, and rebuilding solidarity among federal states beyond party interests, NGOs and civil society associations, will be crucial in transforming the upper-tier levels towards complementary multi-level arrangements that focus on improving the living conditions of residents, and reducing inequalities.

Such challenges are common to most European cities; the existing institutional infrastructure in Vienna and its resilience provide a good starting point from which to address them. Will the city be willing to take on the challenge?

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7. In Conclusion: Justice *of* the City

Between the late-1960s and the mid-1970s, the growing demand among progressive scholars and grassroots movements for greater democracy in public decision-making made government programs more open and participatory in North American and Western European cities, encouraging the political leadership to enter into direct collaboration with non-institutional actors in the planning process. With the early signs of economic stagnation on both sides of the Atlantic at the time, the political desirability of growth-oriented urban development simultaneously declined, giving rise to progressive municipal politics that began to employ new governance mechanisms to accommodate – or manage – emerging social needs and wants. As participatory forms and deliberative processes matured in the following decades, such an entrepreneurial approach to urban governance, however, sparked a heated debate on the prevailing governmental rationality behind 'glocalization strategies' (Brenner, 2004), 'governance-beyond-the-state' (Swyngedouw, 2005) or 'government at a distance' (Rose and Miller, 1992), indicating a particular spatiality of post-Fordist urban politics.

In this light, those in critical urban scholarship perceived that growing public-private partnerships in regenerating urban centers of globalizing cities went in hand and hand with the incorporation of the bottom-up strategies of grassroots movements to suppress dissent, and the transformation of place-specific cultures and infrastructures into economic assets (see Mayer, 2006). This line of debate saw the new forms of urban entrepreneurialism to stand fundamentally at odds with the principles of democratic governing, 'replac(ing) debate, disagreement and dissent with a series of technologies of governing that fuse around consensus, agreement, accountancy metrics and technological environmental management' (Swyngedouw, 2009: 604). Notwithstanding the increasing celebration of diversity, openness, and participation in state-led place-making practices, they argued that the neoliberal governmentality behind the new governance modes selectively incorporates non-institutional actors into governmental spaces for economic and political purposes in the context of building competitive cities.

This early structural perspective on the rescaling process inspired urban scholars across different disciplines to situate the growing inclusion of civil society in planning activities within the wider governance context, whose reactions and calls for intervention, however, varied according to the respective theoretical tradition each built on. For one, communicative planning theorists focused on the transformative potential of concrete planning episodes and called upon planners to take a more interactive role in shifting the dominant governance culture into a more dynamic one with substantial value diversity. Drawing on the Habermas's theory of communicative rationality, they contended that the transformative effects of a participatory process could be achieved through collaborative planning or pragmatic joint inquiry, creating a shared intersubjective understanding between competing stakeholders in a specific partnership (see Coaffee and Healey, 2003; Healey, 2006; Innes and Booher, 1999). In turn, this argument saw that building such a participatory polity would encourage people to work

through governance challenges collectively based on a shared sense of identity, which 'is likely to lead to an outcome…perceived as more fair than merely imposing a general rule or technical solution' (Healey, 2012: 32).

Criticisms of this naïve trust in the emancipatory and transformative potential of communication in the planning process are well documented in the literature (see Introduction and Section 2.1). According to Foucauldian interpretations, the utopian philosophy of communicative action disregards the political costs of deliberative democracy in real-world policy-making and the exclusionary nature of state practices, which can render consensus-based interaction and joint decision-making not only ineffective, but more vulnerable to 'inequalities that result from globalization, intensified competition, and increased territorial segregation' (Fischler, 2000: 365; see also Matthews, 2012). From an agonistic point of view, the politics of consensus-building fails to acknowledge the uneven power relationships between different subjects, who are 'variously located in relations of domination which structure and are structured by overlapping…power-grids' (McGuirk, 2001: 213). Here, the aim of democratic planning lies on the recognition of diverse – and marginalized – voices and the institutionalization of inclusive participation with multiple opportunities in the decision-making process (214).

These varying theoretical reflections on the planning process were concerned with social injustice that stems from the lack of democratic procedures within formal government organizations. In contrast, those, who place justice in the substantive outcomes of participation, have made normative reflections on existing institutions and policies based on explicit norms of justice (see Fincher and Iveson, 2012). In the real world, the actual outcomes of the deliberative process can widely vary, depending on the respective urban context, in which they are situated. While some cities, such as Singapore and Vienna, have traditionally provided less participatory opportunities to their citizens, their insulated, technocratic policy-making have continued to mitigate market mechanisms in the provision of high-quality public services, and to provide one of the highest living standards in the world (Fainstein, 2021; Friesenecker and Cucca, 2021). In comparison to others, where citizen participation proliferates in public decision-making, and yet the private-sector dominates profit-driven urban development (see, for example, Scally and Tighe, 2015), such cities offer a good example of how increasing new participatory forms in the process may not be a prerequisite for promoting urban justice in the outcome.

Contrary to popular belief both in research and practice, decentralized forms of participation without a substantive political objective and a proper organizational structure may suffer from a few biases, such as self-selection of participants driven by self-interest, which can exacerbate existing inequalities and reinforce social divides among the city's diverse populations. Of course, that is not to say that participation does not matter for achieving justice goals, but that its democratic potential should always be placed in its specific content and context, in which it unfolds.

Writing about the issues of justice and injustice in the city, scholars made different and competing judgments on specific conceptions about the just city. They developed various ways, in which the virtue of public institutions and government policies can be evaluated, and the general idea of goodness and fairness in spatial processes can be advanced in the respective urban context examined (Moroni, 2020). While some make empirical reflections on injustice in the city as a system and others make normative judgements on justice in the city within an urban institutional framework, both strands of discussion regard democratic participation – whether as a process (equal deliberation) or an outcome (fair representation) – as a possible social and institutional means to promote the interests of the disadvantaged in mainstream politics.

Indeed, public decision-making in urban planning is a complex process, wherein multifaceted interests of diverse stakeholders at different governance levels collide, distributing not only benefits, but also losses to both policymakers and policy-takers. Given the vested financial, territorial interests of those with substantial influence and resources in the planning process, restructuring neighborhoods, cities, or regions through redevelopment of existing urban infrastructure inevitably involves enhancing the visibility of some, but not others. If existing rules and practices cannot advocate the interest of the disadvantaged in this redevelopment process, and, as a result, further marginalize them from access to basic public services in the outcome, targeted recruitment can be a potential solution for providing equitable opportunities on the condition that it follows a substantive redistributive objective and a proper participation mechanism (Fung, 2006).

While different streams of argument propose different ways, in which this gap can be closed, the call on planners to take an active role in intervening in the governance process – thus providing justice for the marginalized – is ubiquitous. Despite their limited power, scholars stressed that planners can achieve justice-oriented planning goals by political backing from grassroots movements and progressive politicians (Fainstein, 2010), or building closer relationships with other (powerful) governance actors in different institutional arenas (Healey, 2007). The extent, to which this is attainable, shall depend on existing institutional arrangements that are available at the given urban scale.

Such a way of looking at the governance processes and interactions, however, inhere some fundamental issues relating to the temporal and behavioral aspects of long-run policy formulation, through which the specific interest-driven policy contents and their designs evolve over time. While existing urban institutions and government programs might provide normative grounds, on which justice in the city could be evaluated in specific situations, such knowledge about static sets of formal rules and practices is insufficient to explain some of the following issues: How and why do certain structures, institutions, and policies – despite reinforcing injustices – persist over time? Whose interests are invested and which policy instruments are deployed in sustaining existing power relations? And which realistic policy solutions and programs can state actors formulate within not only their jurisdiction, but

also the distinctive pathways of their institutions? Such questions are increasingly relevant for understanding the place-specific mechanisms behind the diverging local outcomes of converging planning policies, especially between cities in a similar institutional environment or welfare state regime. In fact, the real capacity among those who are involved in the governance process to pursue justice may not lie simply on existing – or potential – institutions and government programs *in* the city, but rather the long-run institutional change patterns and the overall developmental trajectory *of* the city.

At the start, this doctoral project began with the general question about what makes cities unique in the ways, in which they react to the converging urban challenges in today's globalized world. Currently, there is extensive literature on not only the converging patterns and processes of change, but also the increasing global circulation of converging policy ideas. The point of departure in this research, in contrast, was the remaining questions regarding how such global structural and policy trends are manifested at the local level, what types of change mechanisms might be behind their localization process, and how ordinary people, as a result, experience this global-local nexus in the daily life.

Of course, such an inquiry into the place-specific characteristics behind the local outcomes of global trends is not novel in urban studies. Geographers and sociologists, who took inspiration from Weberian historical sociology of the city, explored the distinctive institutional and opportunity structures of cities at length, and saw differing governance regimes as the major reason behind the local trajectories of change and their differentiated outcomes (see Section 6.1). While this stream of debate made important contributions highlighting the key contextual factors that differentiate cities and regions (see Le Galès, 2018), the neo-Weberian typology of city alone falls short of explaining the specific causal mechanisms behind the increasing divergence even within the same city model, and the actualization of such mechanisms in the real-world governance process. The neo-Weberian viewpoint on institutions and structures as the sole source of change understates the role of strategic actors in the governance process who (need to) interpret problems in their own ways, compete with prevailing alternatives, and make important choices in times of crisis.

Reflecting on citizen participation in Vienna's Soft Urban Renewal as a research window, this dissertation explored the dialectic relationship between agency and structure, which, in the right moment of opportunity, can 'play a decisive causal role in setting an institution on a certain path of development, a path that then persists over a long period of time' (Capoccia, 2015: 148). In answering the main research question (see Chapter 3), the enclosed publications explain the distinctive developmental trajectories of the city's renewal institutions, which have shaped the specific capacities, constraints, and outcomes of activating affected residents in the renewal of its dilapidated neighborhoods. Despite the growing academic and political interest in Vienna's progressive redistributive policies, historical analyses on the long-run patterned processes of institutional development and their path-dependent out-

comes with policy implications have been rare in international literature. Without referencing the internal dynamics behind the unique developmental trajectories of its institutions and policies, extant research has often misconceived emerging forms of citizen involvement in public decision-making as a product of the city's neo-liberal restructuring, and, as a result, called upon state actors and civil society for ideological, less-pragmatic responses based on unrealistic assumptions about the real-world policy process. In contrast, this dissertation demonstrates that the process and outcome of growing citizen-state interaction, in fact, depend more on the specific ways, in which the city's participatory institutions and policies have developed over time, the specific institutional modes of changing existing rules and designing policy instruments, and other micro-level components within the overall policy process. As the fieldwork results reveal, such sets of context-bound properties of institutions can permit – or constrain – specific scope for governance actors to achieve desirable outcomes, which, in turn, ultimately matters for how ordinary people live and shape their social worlds around the actual consequence of the participatory planning process.

As the findings in the enclosed publications show, there are a few contextual factors that characterize the patterned processes of Vienna's participatory governance in general, and citizen participation in Soft Urban Renewal in particular. Contrary to the common belief in existing literature, the city's vertical policy-making has continuously expanded the role of non-institutional actors, empowering them with considerable decision-making power in various areas of urban development. Currently, Vienna's residents enjoy the opportunity to organize community initiatives, secure financial resources, and realize small-scale planning projects at the neighborhood level. As Section 6.2 reveals, the problem lies not so much on the fact that ordinary people lack power to influence the planning process, but rather that the city's specific mode of designing citizen participation began reinforcing existing intra-urban inequalities and, as a result, uneven spatial distribution of participatory opportunities across the city.

Since the early-1970s, the city government has added multiple layers of new participatory forms onto the existing institutional framework without changing the core planning system, as *ad hoc* responses to growing dissatisfaction with its planning policy. The city's quick reactions always made new institutional outputs, but their quick solutions made fewer social outcomes. Section 6.3 and 6.4 show the specific outcomes of this reiterated problem-solving by the city government in the example of Soft Urban Renewal, emerging from the rescaling of renewal and housing policies down to the city level, on the one hand, and the specific socio-spatial condition of its decaying housing stock in the inner-city districts, on the other. At the time of the ongoing political scandals in the 1970s, these institutional and structural contexts enabled the city government to translate growing public discontent with its technocratic planning strategies into a participatory renewal model, creating decentralized renewal institutions in dilapidated urban areas with substandard apartments. Their exclusive oversight of urban development allowed the city government to deploy new participatory instruments in times of political crises in the

proceeding policy sequence, but also to retain the limited role and function of existing renewal institutions, which, in reality, represented the city's interests in property development. This specific development pattern, featured by a chain of less-systematic policy interventions, had an enduring consequence for the process and outcome of Soft Urban Renewal, producing a division of labor between the renewal institutions. At the institutional level, such an unstructured mode of layering process ultimately destabilized the coordination between the renewal institutions, which fragmented diversifying pathways to participation and excluded affected residents from the local renewal process.

However, the findings from careful process-tracing show that the temporal and spatial components of the policy process can make a significant difference in the outcome, in terms of how state actors adjust existing institutional arrangements, choose policy instruments and targets, and anticipate specific outcomes, according to their accumulating – or changing – interests in the long-stretching policy sequence. In the 1990s, the reform trend toward collaborative governance and the ensuing addition of new project management tools began altering the effect of existing participatory pathways in Soft Urban Renewal. This occurred at the same time as Austria's accession to the EU, giving the city government considerable financial resources within the framework of the EU's territorial cohesion policy to implement a wide range of redevelopment projects in decaying urban areas, including Brunnenviertel. In accordance with its funding guideline, the city launched a new organizational structure of Soft Urban Renewal, facilitating collaborative partnerships for co-creation and co-management of small-scale renewal and community-building projects. This empowered the representatives of affected social groups with a strategic leverage in the process, wielding substantial influence on renewing existing urban infrastructure in the outcome. This bottom-link approach, connecting government's capabilities with the locals' capabilities, has had important social implications for ordinary people who must live and form new social relationships around the actual outcome of the planning process.

The synergy between top-down and bottom-up approaches in a long collaborative renewal process produced a newfound neighborhood identity around not only the new urban infrastructure, but existing urban diversity – once regarded as 'bad', 'dangerous', 'rough', which both old and new residents now feel proud to be part of. At the micro-level, this was sustained by the neighbourhood's physical capacity to host multiple social identities without imposing a singular narrative of diversity. The respondents valued the fact that they now live in a neighbourhood that is widely regarded as the city's 'multicultural hub', but, most importantly, that they still have their own social places to interact with their own social groups in the daily life. As the case of Brunnenviertel shows, such spatial availability plays an instrumental role in sustaining a cohesive multiculture in a regenerating neighbourhood, because the preservation of places and spaces, where multiple social identities can be projected, can avert assimilation of actually existing diversity into the elitist celebration of 'creative' difference.

Since its beginning in the early-1970s, inclusion of civil society in Vienna's urban governance has come a long way. Given the specific political context, from which it has emerged, existing literature points to the lack of meaningful inclusion of civil society in the governance process, rooted in 'centralist top-down models of technocratic planning' (Novy, 2011: 246). Indeed, the vertical policy-making style of the city administration, dominated by the Social Democratic Party, has only reluctantly opened up participatory pathways to non-institutional actors, and limited their role predominantly to the field of urban planning. This political context provides valuable background information on the development and implementation of Vienna's participatory policies, but not a sufficient one to explain the political compromises and power struggles between the key governance actors and the properties of existing institutions themselves, driving patterned processes of change. At worst, the proposition that the bottom-up, grassroots mobilization of ordinary people should gain control over urban development not only disregards existing inequalities that might deepen injustice, but also neglects the specific social and political capacity of the city to formulate realistic policy solutions to address real-world problems.

In fact, Vienna's political autonomy and financial capacity as a federal province has enabled state actors to experiment with different modes of institutional change, readjusting existing institutional arrangements, and introducing new policy instruments against emerging structural challenges and social needs. As Section 6.5 argues, strong public intervention in the key policy areas characterizes the particular political dimension of Vienna's urban justice, mediating the contradictory effect of citizen participation that may reinforce further marginalization of the disadvantaged. In the context of the rapid demographic transition in recent years, however, the situation is changing (see Riederer et al., 2019). Despite growing opportunities for citizen participation in different areas of urban development, the growing socioeconomic vulnerability among disadvantaged populations has put the city under increasing pressure to not only provide adequate opportunities for representation in the planning process, but equal access to labor and housing market, which have become increasingly polarized. While 'innovative' participatory solutions to address such problems grow, the deepening inequalities between the city's diversifying populations limit their potential to close the deficits of representative democracy. Consequently, a new meaningful, democratic turn in Vienna's urban politics may require a transversal approach to planning, which address urban issues intersecting different policy domains.

An analysis of the long-run patterned processes of institutional development and change provide a valuable comparative insight into the core contextual differences between cities and their institutions surrounding 'the result of particular compromises, made in particular places, at specific times, and… a balance of power in place at the time they were established' (Sorensen, 2015: 26). Needless to say, citizen participation in state-led renewal programs exist not only in Vienna, but practically everywhere and anywhere with a supply of deprived urban areas and – whether profit or purpose-driven – a demand for better land resources (see Clark and Wise, 2018). The same goes for technocratic policy-

making or one-party dominance in urban politics, which characterize different – although fewer – cities across the world. Singapore, in some regard, has been considered to meet the criteria for a just city, where provision of a high standard of living need not follow open and deliberative decision-making (Fainstein, 2021). Like Vienna, Singapore's strong public intervention into urban development mitigated the potential influence of profit-driven market actors, and, as a city-state – although Vienna being a non-sovereign one, it enjoys considerable administrative freedom and financial resources to self-govern. At the policy level, the apparent similarities between cities are more obvious. For years, Vienna's housing, zoning and development policies have been widely regarded as a 'best practice', inspiring activists and politicians across different cities to import its core ideas and practices. Can Vienna's institutions and policies be simply emulated and have the same effect in different cities? Although we observe an increasing transnational flow of converging policy ideas across the world, and as a result, similar institutions and policies being implemented in different cities, their actual outcomes may vary significantly depending on existing institutional and opportunity structures with specific roots and dynamics, shaping the distinctive trajectories of their future development. Indeed, recognizing formal institutions and structural conditions in cities do provide information about their ostensible similarities and differences on the surface. However, the histories behind the different moments of critical juncture, the timing and sequencing of ensuing change processes within developmental pathways may provide more depth information about the differentiating impacts of, reactions and solutions to converging urban challenges that truly characterize the city under examination. In this sense, future research in comparative urban studies would benefit from explanations of change patterns within the wider historical context of policy process, instead of treating self-standing institutions and polices as units of analysis.

8. References in the Discussion

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10. Annex

10.1 Abstracts

English

This dissertation builds on the ongoing debate on the concept and conceptions of urban justice, in the context of increasing incorporation of the city's diversifying populations into the local planning process. It uses Vienna's participatory urban renewal model (Soft Urban Renewal) as a research window, through which to examine the place-specific opportunities and constraints of citizen participation, and their resultant social outcomes in the daily life. It argues that the local capacity to make citizen participation equitable for the city's vulnerable populations rests on not only formal rules and practices, but also the distinctive developmental trajectories of the institutions and policies in question, and their patterned processes of change, opening up a specific opportunity structure for governance actors to produce an anticipated outcome. Specifically, it answers how participatory governance in Vienna has developed over time, which key contextual factors set its long-run evolution in motion, and how the compromises and struggles between governance actors in that process have shaped the specific capacities, constraints, and outcomes of citizen participation in its regenerating neighborhoods.

Building on the results from a mix of multiple research methods, the enclosed publications reveal that Vienna's specific pattern of deploying participatory instruments, featured by a chain of *ad hoc* policy responses in times of crisis, had an enduring consequence for the process and outcome of citizen participation in Soft Urban Renewal. Such an unstructured mode of institutional design ultimately destabilized the coordination between the renewal institutions, which fragmented the diversifying pathways to participation and excluded affected residents from the local renewal process. While this institutional output still characterizes the institutional architecture of Soft Urban Renewal to this day, this dissertation further shows how the effects of the same institutional arrangement diverged at different points in time, contingent on their respective temporal and spatial context in the overall policy sequence. As the empirical findings attest, this temporal and spatial dimension of the policy process made a significant difference in terms of how policy actors adjust existing institutional arrangements, choose policy instruments and targets, anticipate specific outcomes, and, as a result, how ordinary people live and form new social relationships around the actual consequence of the participatory planning process.

Deutsch

Die vorliegende Dissertation beschäftigt sich mit der laufenden Debatte über das Konzept und die Vorstellungen von urbaner Gerechtigkeit im Kontext von zunehmender Einbindung der diversen Bevölkerungsgruppen in den partizipativen Planungsprozess. Das Forschungsinteresse liegt auf Wiens „sanfte

Stadterneuerung“ und konzentriert sich auf die ortsspezifischen Möglichkeiten und Grenzen von Bürgerbeteiligung und die sich daraus ergebenden sozialen Auswirkungen auf das Alltagseben. Es argumentiert, dass die lokale Fähigkeit, die Bürgerbeteiligung für die benachteiligten Bevölkerungsgruppen gerecht zu gestalten, nicht nur auf institutionellen und strukturellen Faktoren beruht, sondern auch auf den besonderen Entwicklungsverläufen der betreffenden Institutionen und Politiken und ihren strukturierten Veränderungsprozessen, die den Governance-Akteuren eine spezifische Gelegenheitsstruktur eröffnen, um die gewünschten Ergebnisse zu erzielen. Konkret geht es um die Frage, wie sich partizipative Governance in Wien im Laufe der Zeit entwickelt hat, welche kontextuellen Schlüsselfaktoren ihre langfristige Entwicklung in Gang gesetzt haben und wie die Machtkämpfe und Kompromisse zwischen den Governance-Akteuren in diesem Prozess die spezifischen Kapazitäten, Zwänge und Ergebnisse der Bürgerbeteiligung in den sich erneuernden Grätzeln Wiens geprägt haben.

Aufbauend auf den Ergebnissen eines Mixes verschiedener Forschungsmethoden zeigen die beiliegenden Publikationen, dass der spezifische institutionelle Entwicklungspfad der Stadt beim Einsatz partizipativer Instrumente, die durch eine Kette von Ad-hoc-Reaktionen in Krisenzeiten gekennzeichnet waren, dauerhafte Auswirkungen auf den Prozess und die Ergebnisse der Bürgerbeteiligung in der sanften Stadterneuerung hatten. Eine solche unstrukturierte Art des institutionellen Designs destabilisierte schließlich die Koordination zwischen den zentralen Erneuerungsinstitutionen, was zu einer Fragmentierung der verschiedenen Beteiligungsmöglichkeiten führte und die betroffenen BewohnerInnen vom lokalen Erneuerungsprozess ausschloss. Während dieser institutionelle Output die institutionelle Architektur von Soft Urban Renewal bis heute prägt, zeigt diese Dissertation darüber hinaus, wie die Auswirkungen desselben institutionellen Arrangements zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten divergierten, abhängig von den jeweiligen zeitlichen und räumlichen Kontexten im Gesamtablauf der Politiksequenz. Wie die empirischen Ergebnisse zeigen, machte diese zeitliche und räumliche Komponente des Politikprozesses einen bedeutenden Unterschied in der Art und Weise, wie die politischen Akteure bestehende institutionelle Arrangements anpassen, politische Instrumente und Ziele auswählen und bestimmte Ergebnisse antizipieren, und infolgedessen, wie normale BürgerInnen ihr Alltagsleben und neue soziale Beziehungen um die tatsächlichen Folgen des partizipativen Planungsprozesses herum bilden.

10.2 Co-authorship based on Modified Vancouver Convention

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Appendix: Modified Vancouver Convention

This statement specifies the doctoral candidate's contribution to papers, chapters or sections written in collaboration with co-authors. This form should be completed for every individual paper, chapter or section separately.

Title of the paper, chapter or section written in collaboration with co-authors
European Cities between Continuity and Change

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Title of the paper, chapter or section written in collaboration with co-authors
Vienna's Resilience: Between Urban Justice and the Challenges Ahead

Doctoral candidate's contribution to the paper, chapter or section	A / B / C / D *A= primary contribution (100 %–70 %)* *B= main contribution (70 %–30 %)* *C= minor contribution (30 %–1 %)* *D= no contribution (0 %)*
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