



HAFENCITY UNIVERSITY HAMBURG

Doctoral Dissertation

**Urban Transformations of Former Industrial Neighborhoods:
Scrutinizing urban networks – a comparison of
Savamala (Belgrade) and NDSM Wharf (Amsterdam)**

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Abstract

The comparative case study examines the transformation of the former industrial neighborhoods Savamala (Belgrade) and NDSM Wharf (Amsterdam), both located on riverfronts. By employing a blend of network theoretical and empirical approaches, the research examines governance in urban regeneration programs. The research focuses on three objectives. The first objective is to explain the differences in governance in the regeneration between the two selected case studies. The research thus explores the urban policy formation in both cases: involvement of different stakeholders, the decision-making process, policy goals, and network dynamics. The network of stakeholders includes actors from the public and private sectors. The policy network theoretical and empirical approach is applied to explore the policy-making process. Likewise, the analytical approach of Emirbayer and Goodwin (1996) explores the social-structural, cultural, and social-psychological contexts in which the actors are embedded, and is applied to explore individual and collective social actions, thus providing an explanation of how those actions have led to the creation of policy outputs. The second objective of the research is to explore policy implementation through the utilization of the network governance approach (Provan and Kenis, 2008). The goal is to identify, distinguish, and explore the modes of governance and thus provide an explanation of the power relations in the implementation of regeneration programs in the selected urban environments. The third objective is to question the effectiveness of the governance modes that have been discovered, on two levels, namely on the network (collective) and community level (Provan and Milward, 2001; Provan and Kenis, 2008). This research thus provides answers to whether and why the network and community level goals have or have not been achieved, and to what extent. In the first case study, the research findings suggest the existence of two contrasting policy networks with the different actors' attributes and structural variables and policy goals behind them. Those policies have also produced two different modes of governance. In the initial phase of the regeneration of Savamala, a fragmented-governed network mode is detected. Whilst, hierarchy is observed in the second phase of the regeneration process. Conversely, in the second case study, a coherency in urban politics can be detected and the modes of network governance developed by Provan and Kenis (2008) are discovered in both phases of the regeneration process. The results of the comparative analysis suggest that network governance modes generate a greater

degree of overall effectiveness. Furthermore, the positive outcomes of the regeneration process can be discerned in the urban contexts that support the development of this type of governance structure. This underscores the significance of network governance theory, particularly in the investigation of the regeneration of former industrial riverfronts. Conversely, a governance mode such as hierarchy exhibits limited overall effectiveness, while a fragmented-governed network mode exhibits overall effectiveness to a great extent, but with robust limitations. The former is not effective, as it is not inclusive and relies heavily on the interests of private actors and a handful of political elites, while the latter may lack the stability necessary to engender positive outcomes over the long term.

Zusammenfassung

Die vergleichende Fallstudie untersucht die Transformation der ehemaligen Industriegebiete Savamala (Belgrad) und NDSM Wharf (Amsterdam), die beide am Flussufer liegen. Durch den Einsatz einer Kombination aus netzwerktheoretischen und empirischen Ansätzen untersucht die Studie die Governance in städtischen Regenerierungsprogrammen. Die Forschung konzentriert sich auf drei Ziele. Das erste Ziel ist es, die Unterschiede in der Governance bei der Regeneration der beiden ausgewählten Fallstudien zu erklären. Die Forschung untersucht somit die Bildung der städtischen Politik in beiden Fällen: die Einbindung verschiedener Akteure, den Entscheidungsprozess, politische Ziele und Netzwerkdynamiken. Das Netzwerk der Stakeholder umfasst Akteure aus öffentlichen und privaten Bereichen. Der politiknetzwerktheoretische und empirische Ansatz wird angewendet, um den Politikbildungsprozess zu untersuchen. Ebenso erforscht der analytische Ansatz von Emirbayer und Goodwin (1996) die sozial-strukturellen, kulturellen und sozial-psychologischen Kontexte, in denen die Akteure eingebettet sind. Dieser Ansatz wird angewandt, um individuelle und kollektive soziale Handlungen zu erforschen und zu erklären, wie diese Handlungen zur Schaffung von politischen Ergebnissen geführt haben. Das zweite Ziel der Forschung ist es, die Politikumsetzung durch den Einsatz des Netzwerk-Governance-Ansatzes (Provan und Kenis, 2008) zu untersuchen. Ziel ist es, die Governance-Modi zu identifizieren, zu unterscheiden, und zu untersuchen und somit eine Erklärung für die Machtbeziehungen bei der Umsetzung von Regenerierungsprogrammen in ausgewählten städtischen Umgebungen zu liefern. Das dritte Ziel ist es, die Wirksamkeit der entdeckten

Governance-Modi auf zwei Ebenen zu hinterfragen, auf der Netzwerk (kollektiven) und der Gemeinschaftsebene (Provan und Milward, 2001; Provan und Kenis, 2008). Diese Forschung liefert somit Antworten darauf, inwieweit die Netzwerk- und Gemeinschaftsebene-Ziele erreicht wurden. Bei der ersten Fallstudie deuten die Forschungsergebnisse auf die Existenz von zwei kontrastierenden Politiknetzwerken mit unterschiedlichen Akteursattributen und strukturellen Variablen sowie Politikzielen hin. Diese Politiken haben auch zwei unterschiedliche Governance-Modi hervorgebracht. In der Anfangsphase der Regeneration von Savamala wird ein fragmentierter Netzwerk-Governance-Modus festgestellt, während in der zweiten Phase des Regenerationsprozesses eine Hierarchie beobachtet wird. Im zweiten Fallstudienbeispiel hingegen lässt sich eine Kohärenz in der urbanen Politik feststellen in dem Netzwerk-Governance-Modi nach Provan und Kenis (2008) in beiden Phasen des Regenerationsprozesses entdeckt wurden. Die Ergebnisse der vergleichenden Analyse legen nahe, dass Netzwerk-Governance-Modi einen höheren Grad an Gesamtwirksamkeit erzeugen. Darüber hinaus können positive Ergebnisse des Regenerationsprozesses in städtischen Kontexten festgestellt werden, die Entwicklung dieser Art von Governance-Struktur unterstützen. Dies unterstreicht die Bedeutung der Netzwerk-Governance-Theorie, insbesondere bei der Untersuchung der Regeneration ehemaliger industrieller Flussufer. Im Gegensatz dazu weist eine Governance-Form wie die Hierarchie eine begrenzte Gesamtwirksamkeit auf, während eine fragmentierte Netzwerk-Governance-Form insgesamt eine hohe Wirksamkeit aufweist, jedoch mit robusten Einschränkungen. Erstere ist nicht wirksam, da sie nicht inklusiv ist und stark auf die Interessen privater Akteure und einer Handvoll politischer Eliten angewiesen ist, während letztere möglicherweise nicht über die notwendige Stabilität verfügt, um langfristig positive Ergebnisse zu erzielen.

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Dedicated to Lj. & N.



Source 1 left: Müller-Wieferig M., & Herzen E. (2013). *Urban incubator Belgrade: Vol. 2 - Resume: findings and perspectives*. Goethe - Institute Belgrade.

Source 2 right: Botman, W., Spits, E., Kok, B., & Hummelen, M. (2018). *NDSM past & present*. Uitgeverij Boekschap. Amsterdam.

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List of Abbreviations

- AFK – Amsterdam Art Fund (Amsterdams Fonds voor de Kunst)
- CEO – Chief Executive Officer
- D66 – Liberal-Democratic Party (Democraten 66)
- DMO – Social Development Department Amsterdam
- DS – Democratic Party (Demokratska Stranka)
- DSS – Democratic Party of Serbia (Demokratska Stranka Srbije)
- EU – European Union
- GL – Green-Left (Groen Links)
- JS – United Serbia Party (Jedinstvena Srbija)
- LDP – Liberal Democratic Party (Liberalno Demokratska Partija)
- MACA – Moving Art Center Amsterdam
- NAO – Network Administrative Organization
- NDS – New Democratic Party (Nova Demokratska Stranka)
- NDM – Nederlandsche Dok Maatschappij
- NDSM – Nederlandsche Dok en Scheepsbouw Maatschappij
- NGO – Non-Government Organization
- NS – New Serbia (Nova Srbija)
- NSM – Nederlandsche Scheepsbouw Maatschappij
- NUP – New Urban Politics
- OGA – Development Company Municipality of Amsterdam (Grond en Ontwikkeling van de Gemeente Amsterdam)
- SDP – Social Democratic Party of Serbia (Socijal Demokratska Partija Srbije)
- SL. GLASNIK – Sluzbeni Glasnik (Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia)
- SNA – Social Network Analysis (SNA)
- SNS – Serbian Progressive Party (Srpska Napredna Stranka)
- SPS – Socialist Party of Serbia (Socijalistička Partija Srbije)
- SRS – Serbian Radical Party (Srpska Radikalna Partija)
- PUPS – Party of the Association of Pensioners of Serbia (Partija Udruženja Penzionera Srbije)
- PvdA – Labor Party (Partij van de Arbeid)
- VROM/IPSV – Spatial Development and Environment Amsterdam (Ruimtelijke Ontwikkeling & Milieu)
- VSA – Vervako Shipyard Amsterdam BV
- VVD – People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie)

PART I

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Cities have always been the physical manifestation of intertwined socio-economic, political, cultural, and environmental forces. In fact, they are an arena of power relations and different aspirations, aims, and influences, creative synergies of different groups of people that create an urban environment¹. Cities are also dynamic. They are ever-changing environments. Over time, they pass through different phases of development, deterioration and redevelopment. Redevelopment is a process often used to address the urban decay that can exist as a consequence of different events. Within the phase of redevelopment, there exists the complex process of urban regeneration, defined as the transformation of places that show the symptoms of physical, social, and economic decline. These can be residential, commercial, or open spaces (Evans, 2005, pp. 959-960). With the aid of different regeneration programs, places can be regenerated in cultural, social, economic, and physical terms. Urban regeneration programs can focus on either the city as a whole, or segments of the city as a district, neighborhood (Evans, 2005), or even a particular building (Vanolo, 2022). Hence, a specific type of urban regeneration is a creativity-led regeneration, and that is the subject of this research. Creativity-led regeneration² can be defined as regeneration that applies creativity in order to revitalize and empower the physical, socio-economic, and cultural qualities of deprived urban neighborhoods (Romein, Nijkamp and Trip, 2013, p. 2).

Urban regeneration should be scrutinized from a comprehensive perspective, due to the fact that it “moves beyond the spatial transformation and includes socio-economic restructuring and a specific form of governance” (Remesar, 2016, p. 7). This process happens through a network of stakeholders, in which they interact and influence one another, with an aim of networking and

¹ Inspired by the documentary *Urbanized*, directed by Gary Hustwit (2011). Retrieved from <https://www.hustwit.com/urbanized>.

² Often called Culture-led regeneration, however creativity-led regeneration as a term is more suitable for this research.

outlining their individual and collective goals. Yet, differences in interests, aims, approaches (see Nagel and Satoh, 2019), and often public (government or non-governmental sector) or private (e.g., corporate) influence tend to create certain tensions, distrust and cause conflicts among interest groups (see Milovanović and Vasilski, 2021) and deadlocks in waterfront regenerations (see Lelong, 2014). The clash of different interests, aims, approaches, and variety in the involvement in urban governance may thus be taken as a vantage point for this empirical research that deals with the complexities of a given urban phenomenon.

To commence the process of neighborhood regeneration, a certain degree of political capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991; Kjaer 2013), social capital (Putnam, 1993, 2000), and human capital (Florida, 2002, 2005) has to be present and mobilized in a given city. Political capital denotes the political power to influence the decision-making process, i.e., the power of a particular political actor (e.g., individual or organization) to influence the decision-making process. Social capital denotes the amount of participatory potential, civic orientation, and trust in a given community (Putnam, 2000). Whilst, human capital refers to professional know-how (see Florida, 2005). Besides these three prerequisites, there has to be a certain built environment i.e., economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), often in the form of historical and industrial heritage that will serve as a resource for the regeneration process (see Ward, 2016, p. 2). Apart from these forms of capital, urban regeneration requires a collective action that often finds motivation in solving a particular problem in a certain urban environment (see e.g. Emerson, Nabatchi, Balogh, 2011) e.g., economic and social deprivation, crime, neglected industrial heritage, pollution, and so forth.

In terms of this work and in order to comprehend urban governance in two different socio-economic and institutional environments (see e.g. Pierre, 2005), the comparative research has been designed in the form of two cross-city case studies – Savamala (Belgrade) and NDSM Wharf (Amsterdam). The research focuses on three objectives. The first objective is to explain the differences in governance in the regeneration between the two selected urban neighborhoods. The research thus explores the urban policy formation in both cases: the involvement of different stakeholders, the decision-making process, policy goals, and network dynamics. The network of stakeholders includes public actors, such as political actors and other governmental bodies, non-

governmental public bodies like civil society, encompassing citizens' and professional associations³, citizens⁴, and private actors, including economic entities.

The second objective of the research is to explore the policy implementation through the utilization of the (network) governance approach. The goal is to identify, distinguish and explore the modes of governance and thus provide an explanation of the power relations in the implementation of the regeneration programs in the selected urban environments. The third objective is to question the effectiveness of the governance modes that have been discovered, on two levels, namely on the network (collective) level and the community level (see Provan and Milward, 2001, p. 415-419; Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 236). This research thus provides answers to whether and why the network and community level goals have or have not been achieved, and to what extent.

1.1. SELECTION OF CASE STUDIES

These two cases were selected for comparison, as both deal with the same phenomenon – creativity-led urban regeneration. Likewise, the selection was also made due to their contextual similarities, in terms of historical turning points, location, usage patterns, and existing urban problems.

Both urban neighborhoods are situated on riverfronts. Until the last two decades of the 20th century, these two neighborhoods belonged to urban industrial zones, where successful public and later private companies were established. During the second half of the 1980s and the early 1990s, the industries collapsed and the built environment became derelict. The once thriving industrial zone left a derelict industrial heritage, which became a valuable unused resource. The value of this resource could be found in the a) unused (i.e., vacant) industrial spaces that were suitable for regeneration (Evans, 2005); b) location (Florida, 2002; Spencer, 2015) i.e., a riverfront and inner-city area in the case of Savamala, with efficient traffic connections to the downtown area and in the case of Amsterdam, north of the city with potentially efficient traffic connections to downtown; c) authenticity (see e.g., Zukin, 1983, 2008).

³ Professional associations include associations of architects and spatial experts, association of artists, and similar.

⁴ Citizens relate to citizens of selected urban areas and cities that are not part of any citizens' or professional associations.

When the thriving industries shriveled, similar urban and social problems appeared in both neighborhoods. These included marginalization of the neighborhood, neglect of the existing industrial heritage, pollution, unemployment, and economic and social deprivation. Local authorities were obligated to solve these problems and this paved the path for redevelopment of both of these riverfront neighborhoods. A key driver for the regeneration of riverfront zones involves the necessity of connecting the city to the river. Urban regeneration drives both the physical and functional transformations that reshape the urban design of the neighborhoods, in turn influencing the visual identity, social life and economy of that neighborhood. In this manner, riverfronts are of great interest to a variety of actors. Some of these actors are involved in the neighborhood regeneration programs and might more or less benefit from their outcomes (see Petrović Balubdžić, 2017, pp. 74-75), which will be discussed in the following Chapters.

In addition to the contextual similarities mentioned above, a comparative research design also requires that there are differences between the cases (see Bryman, 2012, p. 75) these can be found in their:

- a) Political and institutional context
- b) Governance⁵ of regeneration programs

The next section highlights the variety in the key dimensions of the political, institutional context, and structural and relational aspects of the transformation.

a) POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

Historically speaking, the difference in political systems between these two cases suggests that urban governance has not been identical in both cities. This is of importance because urban governance tends to create a certain basis for the process of regeneration and establishes certain consequences in urban neighborhoods and their communities. According to Heller et al. (1984), citizens' participation can be defined as "the process in which members of local communities take part in the decision-making process in the institutions and programs that affect them" (p. 339). Participation appears in different roles such as being advisors on boards or committees,

⁵ Governance can be defined as a process of coordinating and steering a certain social structure toward a specific goal or goals. In this research, the emphasis is on the governance process within the context of a regeneration program. It can be described as a process of mobilizing various social actors with an interest in the development of a specific urban neighborhood and coordinating them toward a specific goal or purpose.

policymakers on neighborhood councils who influence municipal policy, participants in public hearings, residents in local community organizations who develop neighborhood activities and similar (see Florin and Wandersman, 1990).

In order to promote citizen participation and cultivate social capital (Putnam, 2000), urban public authorities often find it necessary to formulate a range of laws, policies, and incentives (Zientara, Zamojska, and Cirella, 2020, pp. 1-5). Additionally, Maloney, Smith, and Stoker (2000) propose that citizens' engagement is shaped not only by the existence of social capital among citizens but also by the initiatives taken by public authorities to establish mechanisms that encourage participation (p. 803). Following this idea, Belgrade and Amsterdam showcase two historically distinct trajectories in urban governance.

BELGRADE. Serbia had strong citizen participation in the governance process during the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia through a self-government system, societal agreements, and integrated planning policies. However, the priority of decision-making was political (see Perić and Miljuš, 2017, p. 52). For instance, if agreement between the citizens and political elites did not fit with the general interest and preservation of the socialist system, the decision would not be executed.

After the breakup of SFR Yugoslavia, integrated planning was hindered due to a recentralization process and decision-making became mostly top-down driven. Urban governance did not function as it had in the previous decades, due to the political and economic crises during the 1990s. This meant that citizen participation and an interdisciplinary approach were obstructed, since the planning process had mostly become driven by coalitions between the private developers and the political elites (see Perić and Miljuš, 2017; Nedović-Budić, Zeković and Vujošević, 2012).

In the year 2000, Serbia turned towards democracy. The new law on local self-government was issued and it aimed at empowering political decentralization, as well as supporting the inclusion of citizens in urban governance. Primarily theoretical, this inclusion reflects the fact that during the first few decades of the 21st century, political leaders forged strong ties with domestic business magnates rather than engaging with citizens. Similarly, the ruling political structure appears to be aligned with foreign investors (see Perić and Miljuš, 2017, p. 53). However, civil society has gone through its renaissance phase in the first decade of the 21st century. They were involved in the empowerment of creative industries, the independent art scene, urban activism, and environmental

issues, but they were also mostly left out of the decision-making process (see Perić, 2019, p. 3), as it can be observed in the case of Savamala.

AMSTERDAM. Conversely, the Netherlands had the opposite political trajectory. Until the 1980s decisions in urban governance were mainly top-down driven. Citizen participation was proposed during the 1960s and 1970s, however political agreement was not achieved at the time. During the 1980s, democratic liberals and left-wing oriented voters managed to secure political support and citizen participation has been gradually increasing ever since (Michels, 2006, p. 329). From that period, numerous experiments with inclusive policy-making have been introduced across the Netherlands. Citizens have had the opportunity to participate in the policy making process and its implementation. This has happened both at the national and local level. Policies have been focused on the development of city centers and the revitalization of neglected neighborhoods (see Michels, 2006, p. 330). Thus, it can be observed that the democratic mechanism was increasing in strength in the Netherlands, several years before it fell apart in Serbia.

At the end of the 1990s and throughout 2000s, the Netherlands succeeded with significantly increasing citizen participation through laws and policies. The aim of the policies was to encourage citizens to become active and take responsibility for the quality of life in their city. Neglected urban neighborhoods were the target of specific policies at the national, city and district levels. In this manner, neighborhood care networks, individuals and artist associations were guided into local government programs in order to assist in the revitalization of economically depressed neighborhoods (see Koster, 2014, p. 54-59, see also Koster, 2015). This can also be observed in the case of NDSM Wharf (see Topalović, Neelen and Džokić, 2003a).

The political system in Amsterdam managed to build a continuity of participation in urban governance starting from the mid-1980s. Meanwhile in Belgrade, the continuity that had existed since the 1960s was hindered after the collapse of SFR Yugoslavia, when decisions became driven from the top. In Serbia, an attempt to recover participation in urban governance took place after the year of 2000.

Creative city policy began to be topical around the year 2000 in Amsterdam. One of the aims was to empower the creative sector, and to revitalize neighborhoods in economic, social, and cultural terms with the assistance of creativity (see e.g., Oudenampsen, 2007). In contrast, Belgrade experienced political and economic crises throughout the 1990s, resulting in the creative sector

becoming empowered almost decade later. This empowerment of the creative sector⁶ consisted of modest financial grants and the allocation of vacant spaces. The first attempt to regenerate a neglected neighborhood through means of creativity took place in 2008 in the urban neighborhood of Savamala. The policy came from the municipal government and was not only related to financial subsidies, but also to the allocation of spaces at subsidized prices. Unlike Amsterdam's city council, which issued the Incubator-*Broedplaats* (Breeding Ground) policy in 1999, whereby former industrial buildings, often occupied by squatters, were purchased or financially subsidized by the districts, city, and other public institutions (Oudenampsen, 2007, p. 118) to provide affordable working spaces for artists and other creative entrepreneurs.

On a similar note, it should be mentioned that urban social movements such as the "White Houses" plan⁷ and squatter movements (see Pruijt, 2011) have been present in Amsterdam since the 1960s. This indicates that there was a need for affordable housing and workspaces among the citizens of Amsterdam and that the local civil society had, over the years, gradually evolved into particular pressure groups who expressed their right to the city (Lefebvre, 1968). Some of those groups managed to influence the creation of the *Broedplaats* policy by advocating their rights in the city council (see de Klerk, 2017, p. 45, 65). This meant that a lack of affordable working spaces during the 1990s was still an issue in Amsterdam, as the city council had still not managed to solve the issue by this time. The novel "creative" paradigm intensified and experienced further impact with the arrival of Richard Florida in Amsterdam in 2003 (Peck, 2012, p. 464). Richard Florida advocated the social and economic benefits of creativity and he made a particular impact on the perceptions of decision-makers who had already, in the late 1990s, decided to take a "cultural" approach to urban politics (see de Klerk, 2017, p. 57). This went hand in hand with the inclusion of civil society in the urban governance process which had commenced a decade earlier. The "cultural" approach was also related to the collapse of manufacturing and the creation of comprehensive plans for the revitalization of waterfronts on the river IJ (see Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a). A shift in the political and economic context led to a change in institutions

⁶ In recent years the Serbian government has provided support to a new platform "Serbia Creates", which financially supports and promotes creative and knowledge-intensive industries in Serbia and this has made substantial progress.

⁷ In Amsterdam's dilapidated Kattenburg neighborhood, a large group of young people started to occupy vacant dwellings and in 1966 the countercultural Provo movement launched their "White Houses plan", calling for white paint to be splashed on the doors of empty properties to notify prospective squatters (Truijten, Boer, and Otero Verzier, 2019, p. 16).

(see Healey, 1999). New perceptions, expectations, and norms on inclusiveness in urban governance, as well as on the impact of a creative (and cultural) economy, gained momentum in that period of time. Additionally, the motto of “No culture without subculture”, became the official line of the city of Amsterdam (Shaw, 2013, p. 333)

Conversely, urban social movements such as the squatter movement had not developed in Belgrade to such an extent. This was mostly due to the fact that in the socialist system of former Yugoslavia, the citizens of Belgrade did not have any great difficulty with finding affordable housing to live in or studios to work in. The institutional change was followed by the political and economic crises in the final decade of the twentieth century, when political actors completely introduced top-down decision-making. These occasions were also followed by the termination of affordable housing. Due to these circumstances, civil society did not evolve into the types of pressure groups that had formed in Amsterdam. Moreover, those associations were not able to empower their citizens’ participation in urban governance, even in the first decade of the twenty first century (see Perić and Miljuš, 2017). It was due to the political and economic crisis in Belgrade that decision-makers did not commence with the regeneration of waterfronts. The “creativity” paradigm (see Florida, 2002, 2005) was not adopted by the political elites in Belgrade, since they had other priorities. Likewise, the political elites were late in understanding the benefits of creativity and innovation, due to the fact that Belgrade remained on the periphery of emerging economic and cultural development, and new trends in urban politics that were coming from the West. Hence policies were not developed, nor were the appropriate funds attributed for the empowerment of creativity and the regeneration of neglected urban quarters. There were not enough public initiatives, funds, nor knowledge in implementing such policies and this become relevant in the following years.

b) GOVERNANCE OF REGENERATION PROGRAMMES

Given the above-mentioned political and institutional differences, it comes as no surprise that discrepancies in the governance of each of the regeneration programs can be observed. The crucial differences can be noted in the policy-making process and in the implementation of the regeneration programs. The strategies by which the regeneration programs were implemented produced different modes of governance – more precisely, different forms of organization of governance.

Governance can take a variety of forms, such as hierarchy, market, or network governance (see Powell, 1990; Torfing and Sorensen, 2012) and unsurprisingly these modes can be found in urban governance in a particular city. However, a wide range of differences can be observed among these three governance modes, such as coordination, the relationship between actors, communication among the actors, actors' choices and preferences, inclusiveness, decision-making, compliance, and the level of commitment among the parties (Torfing and Sorensen, 2012; also Bevir, 2013).

TABLE NO. 1: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FORMS OF GOVERNANCE

	HIERARCHY	MARKET	NETWORK
Coordination	Unicentric	Multicentric	Pluricentric
Relation between actors	Subordination	Independence	Interdependence
Decisions based on	Substantial values	Procedures	Negotiation
Compliance	Legal sanctions	Economic sanctions	Trust and obligation

Source: Torfing J., & Sørensen E. (2012). *Governance networks, metagovernance and democracy* presentation at Center for democratic network governance – Roskilde University.

Theoretically speaking, networks should be more inclusive and democratic in nature, in contrast to other modes (see Iacob, 2021, p. 8). However, it should not be overlooked that hybrid forms of these governance modes can also be found. For instance, network governance may exhibit certain elements of hierarchy (e.g., command and control) depending on the decision-making process. It is not easy to assert that a particular mode of governance will result in effectiveness to a significant degree. This complexity can also be attributed to the fact that the effectiveness of a particular governance mode might depend on the context (e.g., institutional, economic) and the severity of the urban problems that it is addressing, respectively (see, e.g., Howlett and Ramesh, 2014).

To examine the modes of governance in the given urban neighborhoods, the research implies the network governance theory and empirical approach from Provan and Kenis (2008) that theoretically explains three basic network governance modes which were extensively applied in public administration and public policy in different fields from agriculture (see Rudnick et al., 2019) to the health service (see Kenis et al., 2019), and urban governance literature (see Ruffin, 2010; Blanco, Lowndes, and Pratchett, 2011; Aarsæther, Nyseth, and Bjorna, 2011).

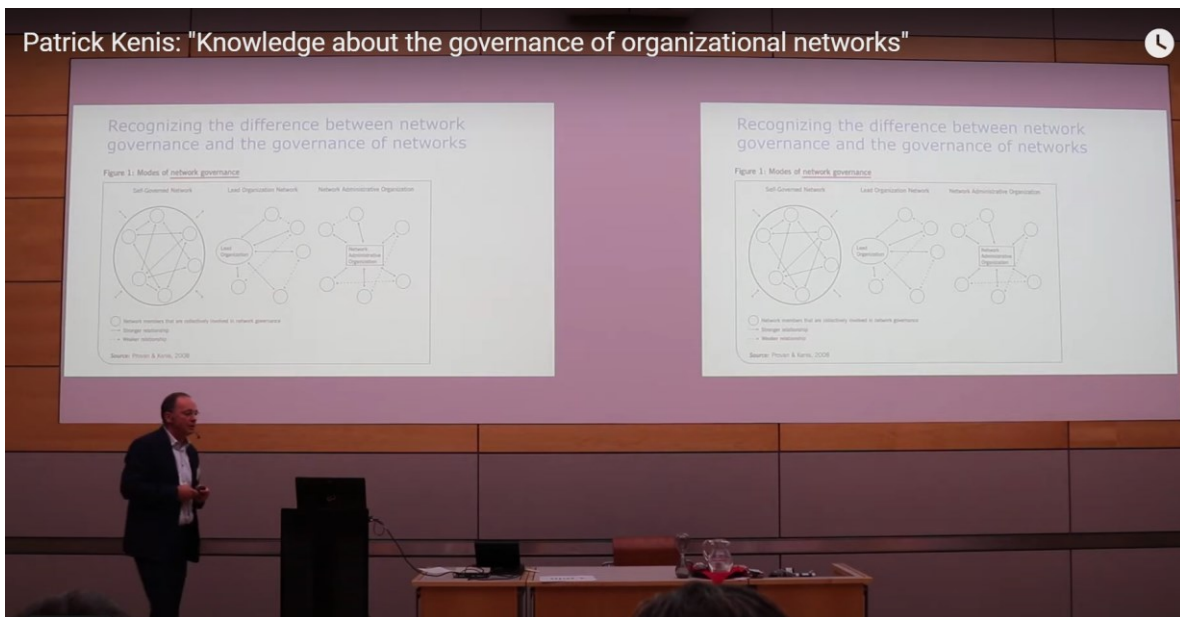
Provan and Kenis (2008) defined network governance “as an important form of multi-organizational governance, which has a certain advantage in contrast to markets and hierarchies (see also Powel, 1990) since networks might reach particular goals that might not be reachable with the mentioned forms. These networks tend to include a variety of public and private actors, enhanced learning, more efficient use of resources, and increased capacity to plan for and deal with complex problems and provide more effective service delivery” (Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 23). To put it simply, the authors explained the use of the network governance approach to examine the implementation of public policies, with a focus on health policies and service delivery. However, this approach can also be applied to examine the implementation of public policies in various public sectors. Furthermore, it can emphasize the examination of the governance process in the production of public value and cross-sectoral problem-solving. This versatility makes the approach suitable for exploring the governance process in regeneration programs.

As defined by Provan and Kenis (2008), network governance consists of “groups of three or more legally autonomous organizations that work together to achieve not only their own goals but also a collective goal. Such networks may be self-initiated, by the network members themselves, or maybe mandated or contracted, as is often the case in the public sector” (p. 231). In simpler terms, for a network to exist, it needs a minimum of three autonomous (independent) actors. Independence implies that each actor can make their own decisions and possesses the right to their agency. If one of the actors is in a subordinate position and controlled by another, the structure is considered hierarchical, not a network (see Nowell and Milward, 2022, p. 11). Moreover, autonomous actors, whether organizations, institutions, or individuals, enter the network with a specific desire to achieve goals at both the collective and individual levels. Actors within the network are interdependent, meaning that none of them possesses enough resources individually to attain goals. Naturally, actors depend on the resources and social actions of others in the network (see Torfing and Sorensen, 2012). Resources are always limited; if there were an unlimited source of resources, there would be no need for any social organization created to achieve strategic goals.

In order to investigate governance modes in the given cases, the research implies typology that was initially formed by Provana and Kenis (2008). The authors have distinguished three basic network governance modes:

- a) **Participant-governed network (or shared-governed network).** This is the simplest network. In this type of network, all participants (actors) are self-determining and there is no separate entity to provide governance or coordination. This means that governance is shared among participants. In this mode the collectivity of actors themselves make decisions and coordinate the network activities. Power in the network regarding network-level decisions is mostly symmetrical. The emphasis is on the non-existence of a formal administrative entity, although particular administrative and coordination activities can be performed by a subset of the full network (see Provan and Kenis, 2008, pp. 243-235).
- b) **Lead organization-governed network (or brokered network).** This type of network features a centralized governance structure designed to mitigate the inefficiencies associated with shared governance, as observed in completely decentralized networks, such as participant-governed networks. Within this network mode, all key activities and decisions are coordinated by a single participating member holding the position of the lead organization. In such cases, network governance becomes highly centralized and brokered, resulting in asymmetrical power relations. The lead organization may facilitate the activities of member organizations, in addition to its own, in their collective efforts to achieve the network's goals. These goals may closely align with those of the lead organization (see Provan and Kenis, 2008, pp. 235-236).
- c) **Network Administrative Organization-governed network (NAO, also brokered network).** This network has a separate administrative entity that can be in the form of an organization or individual actor. The idea behind this type of network is that a separate entity is set up to govern the network and its activities. Although, the network participants still interact with each other, as in the lead organization-governed mode, the NAO - governed mode is centralized. The network broker (NAO), plays a key role in coordinating and sustaining the network. This type of network is externally governed by the NAO, either through mandate or by the network members themselves, for the exclusive purpose of network governance (Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 236).

FIGURE NO.1: BASIC NETWORK GOVERNANCE MODES



Source: Kenis, P. (2017). *15th interdisciplinary Symposium on Knowledge and Space* [lecture]. Department of Geography (Heidelberg University, Germany) at the Studio Villa Bosch in Heidelberg on June 30

Nevertheless, more sophisticated hybrid forms of the basic network governance modes can be found in different contexts (see hybrid modes described in Kenis et al., 2019), depending on the strategy of implementing public policies in various public sectors. Other modes of network governance discovered include:

- 1) **Fragmented-governed network mode.** This mode consists of unconnected organizations without a network broker or a coordinating body. It means that the implementation of a particular public policy is occurring through independent organizations that do not have joint coordination but organically developed structures with informal interactions. Each of these organizations has its own decision-making mechanism (see Rudnick et al., 2019, pp. 119-121). This is an example of the pseudo-network governance mode.
- 2) **Backbone organization-governed mode.** This mode includes a group of organizations that are participating in the governance. In order to make the governance more efficient and effective a new organization is formed from the participating organizations, which serves as a backbone and takes the role of the network leader and coordinator (see Klempin, 2016)

- 3) **Pseudo-network governance mode.** According to Provan and Kenis (2008), an example of a pseudo-network governance mode is a joint venture. This means that two organizations form a third organization. The network comprise at least three autonomous organizations, and thus, are essentially cooperative endeavors in contrast to a joint venture which is a legal entity formed by other two autonomous organizations (Provan and Kenis, p. 231, see also Nowell and Milward, 2022).

Moreover, according to Kenis (2017), network governance is recommended for tackling complex problems, also known as “wicked” problems, but not for addressing simple or complicated ones. The term “wicked problems” first appeared in the 1970s in the planning literature (see Rittel and Webber, 1973). It is defined as highly complex problems that cut across different public sectors (Bevir, 2020) and are challenging to solve. Therefore, network governance emerges as a particularly resource-intensive form of governance, requiring economic resources, human resources, time, knowledge exchange, etc. It may demonstrate the capacity to address cross-sectoral problems (see also Bevir, 2013, p. 140).

Given that the urban neighborhoods selected as case studies have been grappling with a variety of problems spanning different public sectors, and neighborhood regeneration is of interest to a broad range of actors affected by this process, it is logical to consider network governance as one of the possible forms of governance in urban regeneration programs.

A review of possible network governance modes thus provides a theoretical and empirical foundation for distinguishing the governance modes of regeneration programs, which can be explored and examined in the selected cases.

BELGRADE. In the case of Savamala, the initial governance resembled a fragmented-governed network mode. In this governance mode each of the selected organizations had its own form of governance. This means that the absence of an entity responsible for joint coordination could be observed. Behind this particular regeneration program, there was a policy agenda that favored creativity-led regeneration, which the local (municipal) government initiated. The initial urban policy-making process suggested collaborative endeavors between the relevant actors from the municipal government⁸, and civil society.

⁸ Savski Venac municipality is one of the central and most relevant municipalities in Belgrade.

New interest parties appeared in 2015 and formed another urban policy that favored property-led regeneration. The national government formed a strategic alliance with a foreign investor and developer from the United Arab Emirates to implement a mega-project called the “Belgrade Waterfront” project, located in Savamala and the Sava Amphitheater. The second governance mode thus indicated a joint venture – a separate company called “Beograd na Vodi doo”, formed by a strategic alliance between the Serbian government and the foreign investor. A unique company consisting of representatives from both sets of shareholders was set up to coordinate and make decisions on the development. This governance mode can be interpreted as a hierarchy and not a genuine network governance mode. The policy-making process included the political elites and the foreign investors. Stakeholders such as the municipal government, civil society, and the citizens were excluded from the governance process.

AMSTERDAM. In the case of NDSM Wharf, the initial governance corresponded with the NAO-governed mode in NDSM Wharf East. The implementation organization that made the decisions and coordinated the entire network was formed from the managers of the Kinetic Noord Foundation and the working groups from the clusters of tenants of the Art City. In a later period, an external managing director took over the role of the decision-maker. The policy agenda behind this particular regeneration program favored creativity-led regeneration in NDSM East and property-led regeneration in NDSM West. In contrast to the Savamala case, urban policy-making suggested collaborative endeavors between the relevant actors from the local district, the city, civil society, and the other relevant local economic actors.

New interested parties appeared in 2003 at NDSM Wharf, when a commercial agreement was signed between the Noord District and the local developer Biesterbos. Hierarchy as a governance mode is thus also present in the second case-study. However, the network governance mode (NAO) continued to be present and active in NDSM East until 2010, when the new actor – NDSM Wharf Foundation – entered the network and took over part of the governance responsibilities from Kinetic Noord, due to the foundation having financial difficulties. This new actor was formed by the initiative of the district. Likewise, novel actors appeared in NDSM East at the initiative of the City of Amsterdam. The NAO-governed mode had gradually transformed into lead organization-governed mode, wherein the new organization had taken on the role of the network coordinator on behalf of the local government. Moreover, the policy agenda behind the regeneration of NDSM

Wharf remained the same as it was in the beginning, in contrast to Belgrade. However, one of the initial policy goals had been diminished, by allocating land to the developer and gradually introducing professional management in Kinetic Noord Foundation and a new foundation at NDSM Wharf.

1.2. BACKGROUND OF THE CASES SELECTED

The backgrounds of the regeneration processes in both cases are elaborated in this Subchapter. Location, historical turning points, urban problems, regeneration trajectories, and transformation of the neighborhoods are described in detail.

a) BELGRADE

The historical neighborhood of Savamala is focused around Karadjordjeva Street which connects the Old Town and Belgrade Fortress with the main bus station. It exhibits a rich heritage of historical buildings from the 19th and the early 20th centuries. After the Second World War, the neighborhood became an industrial zone, where mostly warehouses and depots were situated. During the 1990s Savamala fell into a state of neglect and disrepair developing a vile reputation, where often marginal groups gathered (Cvetinović, Kucina, and Bolay, 2013, pp. 2-3). Industrial heritage such as warehouses from the 20th century had fallen into oblivion.

The regeneration trajectory commenced in 2008 through collaborative endeavors between the relevant actors from the municipality of Savski Venac and civil society. The municipal government of Savski Venac initiated a policy that was an integral part of the strategy for the development of Savski Venac municipality. The urban policy referred to the activation of the vacant spaces that were under the ownership of the City of Belgrade, but at that time were governed by the municipality of Savski Venac. The activation of vacant spaces meant support for creative entrepreneurs who came from the non-governmental sector. The support coming from the municipality was not so much in the form of financial grants, but focused on providing subsidized rental prices. The policy aimed to regenerate the neglected neighborhood on the riverfront through means of creativity. Likewise, some of the vacant spaces in Savamala were in the ownership of private owners who used the opportunity to rent them out according to market prices, which were low, since at the time Savamala was a devalued neighborhood. In this manner, a number of creative entrepreneurs rented out the spaces from private owners and established their organizations in

Savamala. The urban policy was successfully implemented until 2016 when a political and legislative shift happened. However, this policy was not supported at the city level (Interviewee no. 2a).

In 2014, the Serbian national government announced the development of the mega project Belgrade Waterfront – a 3.5 billion euro project of condominiums, hotels and offices dominated by a glass skyscraper (Shepard, 2016). The megaproject was to be set on the Sava amphitheater, comprising a portion of the industrial heritage of Savamala, which had already been partly demolished during the development of the first phase of the project. Belgrade Waterfront (in Serbian “Beograd na Vodi”) is a public-private partnership between the Abu Dhabi-based company Eagle Hills and the Republic of Serbia (see Grubbauer and Čamprag, 2018, p. 12). In 2015, this project was officially declared as being of special importance for national economic development, followed by legal confirmation of the proposed project falling under public interest (SL. Glasnik RS, br. 34/2015). The project was selected by the national government as being an appropriate option for the regeneration and development of the riverfront without an obligatory tender, which is contrary to the Law on Public-Private-Partnerships and Concessions (SL. Glasnik RS, br. 88/2011, 15/2016, 104/2016) and the Law on Protection of Competition (SL. Glasnik RS, br. 51/2009, 95/2013). The circumvention of laws was possible due to the fact that the Republic of Serbia had signed an Agreement on Cooperation between the government of the Republic of Serbia and the government of the United Arab Emirates in 2013. This international agreement favored the Arab investors and provided an opportunity for them to invest in the Serbian market without taking part in the obligatory tender. Likewise, the main legal precondition for the realization of the Belgrade Waterfront mega-project, was the adoption of a *Lex specialis* (SL. Glasnik RS, br. 34/2015) – a law on establishing public interest, the special procedures of expropriation and the issuance of construction permits for the implementation of Belgrade Waterfront in April 2015 (see Grubbauer and Čamprag, 2018, p. 8). The national government, as a representative of Serbia, signed a commercial agreement on the joint venture with its strategic partner Eagle Hills (Serbian Government, 2015c) in which the two actors agreed on forming the joint venture “Beograd na Vodi doo.” However, at that time the municipal government had not changed its political structure, and was not satisfied with the new ambitious plans for the development of the Sava amphitheater (Interviewee no. 17a).

Simultaneously, the Academy of Architecture of Serbia adopted a Declaration against the Belgrade Waterfront Project, with a number of expert-driven arguments against the project (Zeković, Maričić, and Vujošević, 2016). They were also joined by the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (SANU), and the Belgrade Association of Architects (see Grubbauer and Čamprag, 2018). In addition, the portion of civil society that had already played an active role in the regeneration of Savamala, such as the Mikser Creative Hub and Festival, collectives from the Culture Centre Magacin and the Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd (in Eng. Don't Let Belgrade D(r)own) association of citizens, publicly expressed their disagreement. Both the citizens of Belgrade and civil society were excluded from the governance process (Interviewee no. 7a). The top-down decision-making process fueled even deeper dissatisfaction among civil society.

During 2016, a new statute of the City of Belgrade was issued with the aim of centralizing the procedures of renting out space. This meant that the office spaces that were governed by the municipalities were transferred to the jurisdiction of the central municipality. As a result, the municipality of Savski Venac lost jurisdiction over its office spaces and could no longer continue with its policy of regeneration of spaces in the neighborhood. Likewise, the political structure in municipal government shifted during 2016, and at this point the municipality ceased to be an adversary of the Belgrade Waterfront project, due to the fact that the same political structure which initiated the project had gained power at both the national and local levels (Interviewee no. 17a). Political actors from the municipality vacated their job roles and the initial policy agenda that had focused on creativity-led regeneration, ceased to exist. Several organizations consisting of creative entrepreneurs still continue to be present in Savamala, while others have relocated to other areas of Belgrade (Interviewee no. 2a).

b) AMSTERDAM

The NDSM Wharf is located in the north of Amsterdam at the IJ riverfront. It belongs to the Amsterdam Noord District (Eng. Amsterdam North). The NDSM (Eng. Dutch Dock and Shipbuilding Company) originated in 1946 and in the mid-1950s experienced heavy competition from Japanese companies and finally fell into financial difficulties. In 1968, NDSM was bought by the Verolme United Shipwharfs Company from Rotterdam, which was financially supported by the national government with the aim to improve the situation of NDSM. However, this take-

over was not successful and NDSM fell into bankruptcy in 1984, leaving a derelict industrial heritage (see Zimmermann, 2014, p. 32).

NDSM Wharf was split into NDSM Wharf East and NDSM Wharf West. On the eastern part of the wharf, a large shipbuilding hall and other industrial heritage was located (see Roobeek and Mangersloot, 1999a). Subsequent to the bankruptcy, NDSM gradually developed an undesirable reputation. It became an area with different social and urban problems (Interviewee no. 1b). During the 1990s local art collectives and other subcultures settled in the buildings of the former shipyard, often without legal rights to do so. In the early 1990s, the city tried to improve its competitiveness by developing a mega-project on the south banks of the river IJ. This project did not come to fruition, however, the city council continued with a similar development and cleaned up a good portion of the existing buildings, some of which were being squatted in by artists and other subcultures. Jointly with the alderman for housing and spatial planning and local housing associations, the local art collectives managed to pursue a new policy – The Breeding Ground Policy – which has benefited from the support of the city council since 1999 (see de Klerk, 2017).

The development of the Breeding Ground Policy and the commencement of the research project “Noord Lonkt” (see Roobeek and Mangersloot, 1999a) triggered the regeneration of NDSM Wharf. New urban policy has been formed through collaborative endeavors between civil society, independent experts, local housing associations, the district, the city, and the Chamber of Commerce who together cooperated on the “Noord Lonkt” project (Interviewee no. 3b). The policy was focused on the mixed-use development of the former wharf. The west part of the former wharf was selected for student, commercial and social housing, and commercial businesses. Whilst the eastern part was selected to be regenerated by means of creativity (see Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a). The district launched a competition seeking a creative entrepreneur who would revitalize the shipbuilding hall over a period of five years (Interviewee no. 3b). The Kinetic Noord won the competition with its “Art City” project. In order to receive funds from the Breeding Ground fund, and other public institutions, it renamed itself as the Foundation of Kinetic Noord. At this time the owner of the shipbuilding hall was District Noord, while a few other buildings on the site were under the ownership of the City of Amsterdam (Interviewee no. 9b).

Around 2006, the first creative entrepreneurs moved into the shipbuilding hall. The Kinetic Noord Foundation was responsible for the governance of the shipbuilding hall as well as the outdoor

terrain which was in the jurisdiction of the district. At first, the organization of the implementation was formed from working groups of clusters of tenants, who were coordinated by several managers from the foundation. However, the working groups and the number of hired managers grew in size over time, which resulted in differing priorities. The managers and the board of external directors, who were in charge of consulting and monitoring the network, decided to hire an external managing director who would be responsible for the execution of the plans (see de Klerk, 2017, p. 119). Another plan included the “BV Durf” a partnership and governance alliance made up of different stakeholders such as Kinetic Noord, District Noord, investors and the local housing associations which initially took part in the policy-making process (Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a, pp. 88-91). However, around 2003, to the surprise of everyone involved, District Noord gave up on this plan (see de Klerk, 2017, p. 115) and signed a commercial contract with the Dutch developer Biesterbos for the development of good portion of the NDSM Wharf for the next 30 years (Interviewee no. 6b). This meant that one of the initial goals, that is, bottom-up development according to the *De Stad als Casco*⁹ framework, was abandoned and new relevant stakeholders emerged at NDSM. This fueled mistrust between the stakeholders at the former wharf, in particular among civil society and the political actors (Interviewee no. 4b).

Around 2007, the Kinetic Noord Foundation faced financial difficulties and gradually fell into debt (Interviewee no. 9b). These events created speculation and further mistrust among the stakeholders. The foundation of Kinetic Noord had gone through a phase of restructuring and reduced its number of employees, and introduced professional management (Interviewee no. 10b). At the initiative of the district, a new foundation was formed in order to exploit and manage the outdoor terrain on behalf of the district, a role which had previously been appointed to the Kinetic Noord Foundation (Interviewee no. 12b). Nevertheless, the tenants of Art City, concerned about the future of their own studios, managed to obtain the highest level of protected status with several buildings in NDSM East becoming “Rijksmonument”. This required the issuance of a special permit for any modifications to the existing structures (Zimmermann, 2014, p. 36), and meant that

⁹ *De Stad als Casco* (Eng. the City as a shell) was a strategy for urban development mainly produced by civil society in Amsterdam with the idea of advocating sustainable development and an open construction process, rather than a predominated purpose and a fixed final image. The concept was that management should be in the hands of the users who produce the space and the activities in the space (de Klerk, 2017, p. 45).

it would be more difficult for owners to potentially sell and transform the east part of the wharf into a residential zone.

In 2014 the Kinetic Noord Foundation finally recovered from its debts. By taking a different approach the foundation became the owner of the building and continued with the “Art City” project. In meantime, local governance had become more centralized. The central municipality had become the most relevant stakeholder in the governance of NDSM Wharf (de Klerk, 2017, pp. 155-157). The city council continued with the initial urban policy toward NDSM Wharf and supported the opening of new cultural organizations at NDSM Wharf East, thus supporting further diversification of the culture program.

PART II

2.0. BUILDING THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To provide the theoretical underpinnings for exploring and understanding the creativity-led urban regeneration process, the theoretical framework encompasses theories on urban transformations (Subchapter 2.1), urban governance (Subchapters 2.2 and 2.3), and a network theory approach (2.4). To develop an even more detailed theoretical background and empirical approaches for scrutinizing the urban networks in Savamala (Belgrade) and NDSM Wharf (Amsterdam), the framework incorporates a combination of network theory (Subchapter 2.5), such as (a) Social Network Analysis (SNA); (b) Network Governance, and (c) the Policy Network. The framework is designed to guide the research, providing opportunities to answer the research questions and address the objectives of the study.

2.1. URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS

Theories on urban transformations, by definition, include the theoretical concepts that deal with a variety of changes i.e., transformations in urban environments, most often in terms of socio-political, cultural, economic, environmental aspects, and urban design. They thus include elaborations on four relevant theoretical concepts that the research deals with such as a) urban entrepreneurialism; b) New Urban Politics (NUP); c) the creative city and d) creativity-led regeneration.

a) URBAN ENTREPRENEURIALISM

Since the commencement of the 1990s in Europe, urban governance has undergone many changes. It has become more focused on global inter-urban competition (see Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez, 2002; MacLeod, 2011; Pereyra, 2019). As argued by Harvey (1989) and MacLeod (2002), urban governance has emphasized entrepreneurialism rather than managerialism. The former was mostly focused on “expanding the provision of public service and the decommodified components of welfare and collective consumption to local city populations” (MacLeod, 2002, p. 604). Whilst, the latter places an emphasis on reviving the competitive position of urban economies, especially through the more liberal involvement of private enterprises in urban development and governance, and the recommodification of social and cultural life (p. 604-605). The reason for such a shift is to position itself in the global market where cities are competing with each other to attract mobile capital investments, tourists, media coverage, highly-skilled workers, and consumers. The general idea behind urban entrepreneurialism is to create job positions, collect taxes and create revenue. In other words, to generate economic growth. Likewise, urban entrepreneurialism aims at making cities stand out in regional and global inter-urban competition, which often drives change in the perception about the usage of urban environments.

Urban entrepreneurialism frequently utilizes a variety of tangible and intangible assets, such as human and social capital, by mobilizing different actors, as well as urban physical, economic, and institutional infrastructure to maximize entrepreneurship (see Pereyra, 2019). According to Jack (2005), the entrepreneurial process usually consists of opportunity identification, resource mobilization, and the formation of a particular organization that governs entrepreneurial programs (p. 1237). Yet, not all cities have the same type of assets and resources that can be mobilized in order to generate growth, nor the same type of physical, financial, and institutional infrastructure. The differences in urban entrepreneurialism can be seen in the mobilization of different actors from the public (e.g., governmental and non-governmental) and private sectors and the very goals of the entrepreneurial strategy (see e.g., Healey, 2006). Another difference can be seen in the organization of the governance, as well as in the involvement of a variety of stakeholders in the entrepreneurial endeavors. As Pereyra suggests (2019) “entrepreneurial strategies that include collaborations between a variety of public and private actors are often born and seek to profit from

urban inefficiencies or problems, such as housing, traffic, pollution, derelict infrastructure, or public service in general” (p. 5).

In both of the capital cities, the problems of neglected urban neighborhoods on riverfronts are also addressed through entrepreneurial strategies that fall under one concept – New Urban Politics (NUP) – which has been discussed at length in the planning literature. The next Chapter also elaborates on this concept and explains its relationship with the selected case studies.

b) NEW URBAN POLITICS

The concept of New Urban Politics (NUP) encompasses certain entrepreneurial strategies that can take various forms such as urban regeneration programs, place marketing, city branding, the creative city, flagship, and mega-projects, which have assumed considerable influence in academic debates over the past decades (see Harvey, 1989; Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Florida, 2002; Evans, 2003; Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez, 2002; MacLeod, 2011; McCann, 2017). These strategies aim at encouraging urban transformations, which naturally lead to redefining the city’s economies and the social and cultural environment. Likewise, they aim at redefinition of the city's built environment (see e.g., McCann, 2017).

Change in the urban environment can be seen in the notable trend of the “urban renaissance of unneeded docklands and former industrial zones into mixed-use creative and cultural quarters, buzzing economic districts, heritage, and tourism villages and gentrified apartments” (MacLeod, 2011, p. 2630), which is frequently manifested in new urban politics. Interestingly enough, the city’s localities which had once been occupied by manufacturing, such as downtown areas or waterfronts, have become valuable assets due to their position in the overall urban fabric and also due to the potentially high “rent gap”¹⁰ (see Smith, 1996) that can be captured with additional investments. For instance, investments in infrastructure and traffic connections should enhance the “authentic” quality and monetary value of a particular location, and later be traded by commodity and service provided by their use (see Harvey, 2002, p. 94). Yet, it can be observed that the strategies of new urban politics have not been implemented simultaneously to an identical level in

¹⁰ According to Smith (1996) the rent-gap concept denotes the disparity between the current rental income of a property and the potentially achievable rental income. Only from this difference arises the interest of investors, to renovate a particular object (to entire neighborhoods), resulting in an increase in rents and also the value of the property.

cities worldwide, as MacLeod highlighted by mentioning the “rapid urbanization with the radically uneven landscape” (MacLeod, 2011, p. 2630) in the global south and the global north. The differences can be seen much closer in geographical terms. For instance, European post-socialist cities have not blindly followed these trends in urban development. And when they did follow, the transformations took place many years later than they had in Western European capitalist cities, particularly in the urban renaissance of former industrial zones on riverfronts.

This can be illustrated by the case of the City of Belgrade, particularly when compared with the case in Amsterdam. The absence of entrepreneurial strategy can be observed in the legacy of the socialistic system. The manufacturing industry in Belgrade did not disappear completely during the 1990s, and privatization gained momentum subsequent to the year 2000, with the arrival of a democratic system. A large percentage of the real estate once owned by successful public enterprises was stuck in the process of bankruptcy and it took many years for the courts to decide to whom they belonged. Some of the properties went into the hands of private owners who did not find all of them to be useable. A large number of these properties became vacant and derelict. The city government did not act according to the new entrepreneurial strategies, nor did it empower culture and creativity in order to regenerate the neglected parts of the city. For these reasons, the former industrial areas on the waterfront in Belgrade did not go through a regeneration process until the first decade of the 21st century.

Conversely, Amsterdam has implied new urban politics since the 1990s. This is illustrated by the example of the unrealized mega-project, which was known as “Manhattan on the IJ River”. This project was commenced at the beginning of the 1990s as a public-private partnership between the City of Amsterdam and ING Real Estate, with the aim of redeveloping the south of the IJ riverfront into an upscale housing and business neighborhood. Superstar architect Rem Koolhaas designed the master-plan for this project. This indicated that the city council had a desire to regenerate the former industrial area on the riverfront and chose a private enterprise as a strategic partner (Topalović, Neelen, Džokić, 2003a, p. 17). However, the financial basis of this ambitious project proved to be too weak to maintain the partnership, since the private actors showed no real interest (Healey, 2007, p. 55). ING bank withdrew from the agreement and this cast a shadow on plans for future public-private partnerships (see Topalović, Neelen, Džokić, 2003a, p. 17).

A few years later another policy became topical in Amsterdam among the decision-makers - *the Creative City*. This trend went hand-in-hand with other cities in Western and Northern Europe, North America, and in particular Asian cities (see Peck, 2005; Evans, 2009).

c) THE CREATIVE CITY

The concept of the creative city was put forward by Landry and Bianchini in the mid-1990s. The authors argued that the “industries of the 21st century will depend on the generation of knowledge through creativity and innovation” (1995, p. 12). According to these authors, “inter-urban competition will depend less on natural resources, location, or past reputation, but more on the ability to develop attractive images and symbols and promote them effectively” (1995, p.12). This meant that the focus of inter-urban competition would be on the development of the city brand and place marketing (see Vanolo, 2017). Governments worldwide have embraced the creative city concept and developed different kinds of programs in order to support creativity in their cities. The creative city policy is one of the key strategies of new urban politics and it serves to empower economic development, as well as to position a particular city in a highly competitive global market. Creative city programs often leave marks on the urban design of cities; ranging from opera houses and museum quarters designed by superstar architectural bureaus, to the redevelopment of waterfronts and former industrial downtowns into creative quarters, cities worldwide have started to nurture their “authenticity” (see Graham, 2002; Evans, 2003, 2005).

Furthermore, at the beginning of the third millennium, Richard Florida (2002, 2005) coined another term – *the creative class*. According to Florida, a new class had emerged and it consisted of creative and knowledge-based workers, such as architects, designers, artists, IT professionals, publishers, advertisers and other creative entrepreneurs. These professionals constitute a human resource for the economic and cultural development of cities. According to Florida, cities should develop the capacity to attract, retain and foster a mobile class of creatives, whose collective efforts are the primary drivers of economic development which will benefit the entire community (see Florida, 2002, 2005). Peck (2012) pointed out that decision-makers in Amsterdam had adopted the idea of creative policy since the arrival of Richard Florida in 2003. However, the fact is that this city started supporting creativity to leverage the urban economy a few years earlier, since the “creative class” had already been living in the city. Moreover, the “creative turn” in the urban politics of Amsterdam and the city’s active involvement in utilizing and empowering creative

knowledge can be observed in the Breeding Ground Policy which aimed at providing affordable space for creative entrepreneurs (see Bontje and Musterd, 2008; and Oudenampsen, 2007). The Breeding Ground Policy was later added to the pool of different strategies for the empowerment of creative industries (Bontje and Pathe, 2010; Peck, 2012). This meant that creativity had been formally absorbed into Amsterdam's governmental apparatus and integrated into the economy. The definition of urban politics was described by Zef Hemel a former director of Amsterdam's Planning Office as: "While the economy is becoming cultural, culture is becoming commercial" (Oudenampsen, 2007, p. 118).

It should not be overlooked that the concepts of the creative city and creative class have been widely criticized among academics, including Harvey (2002), Evans (2003, 2005), Peck (2005), Pratt (2008). Most of the criticism is focused on the fact that both concepts encourage the commodification of creativity and put an emphasis on consumption (see Pratt, 2008, p. 107) , revenues, and the development of the real-estate market (see Porter and Shaw, 2009; Grodach, 2017) rather than production, quality and social inclusion. Florida was mostly criticized for his "extravagant" elaboration of the creative class and its "exaggerated" influence on the city's economy (see e.g., Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008), stressing that the economic rise of cities has hardly been achieved solely by the development of creative industries, but more with the agglomerations of different kinds of industries including creative ones (Musterd and Gritsai, 2013). Likewise, Florida's (2002) "soft location factors" such as an attractive residential environment, tolerance for alternative lifestyles and diversity, a lively (sub) cultural scene, and the availability of meeting places for business and leisure purposes, has proven not to be the main drivers of creative and knowledge-based workers into particular cities. To the contrary, comparative research among several European cities¹¹ has suggested that workers are usually attracted to certain environments due to more classic or "hard location factors" such as the availability of affordable office spaces and rents, the availability of jobs, tax regimes, proximity to global financial centers and service suppliers and clients, and the availability of an international "talent pool" (see Bontje and Musterd,

¹¹ACRE is an acronym for the international research project "Accommodating Creative Knowledge – Competitiveness of European Metropolitan Regions within the Enlarged Union". The project is funded under Priority 7 "Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-based Society" within the Sixth Framework Programme of the European Union.

Selected case studies were: Amsterdam, Barcelona, Budapest, Birmingham, Helsinki, Leipzig, Munich, Poznan, Riga, Sofia, Toulouse, Dublin and Milan.

2008; Bontje and Pethe, 2010). Additionally, personal networks have been proven to play an important role in choosing the location (city) for living and working in (e.g., former students continue to live in the same location where their university is based; friendships and family ties sometimes play a role as well) as stressed by Grabher (2004) and Musterd and Gritsai (2013, pp. 347-349). Nevertheless, Bontje and Musterd (2008) claimed that “the chances of a city or region specializing in creative and innovative activities and attracting the talent needed for that are larger for cities and regions with a long tradition as centers of creativity and innovation” (p. 249, see also Thiel, 2017). This means that path dependency¹² matters. Namely the cities that already possess an agglomeration of economies, creative and knowledge-based workers, certain institutional and economic underpinnings, are more likely to succeed in implementing creative city policies and attracting highly-skilled professionals, in contrast to those cities that are starting from scratch and do not own the institutional and economic underpinnings and previous knowledge and understandings of adequate inputs for empowering those types of industries. Nevertheless, Peck (2012) described the concept of the creative city as “fast traveling” ideas in global terms, but in order to be realized it must also be “domesticated” within particular urban settings. He provided an example: “this is clearly illustrated in the experience of Amsterdam, where a relatively diverse bundle of cultural/creative policies existed prior to the “Florida moment”, but have since been reorganized and re-tasked in the sway of the globalizing model of the creative city. Such models are indeed typically adapted, not simply adopted” (p. 464).

According to Peck (2012) the creative sector tends to have “entrenched public-sector dependency”. This means that the creative sector depends on public subsidies, thus representing a vulnerable sector that might not be so resistant to economic crises (e.g., the global economic crisis in 2009, Coronavirus pandemic in 2020¹³), or fiscal austerity. For example, Ward (2016) pointed out that under the United Kingdom’s labor government (1997-2010) the cultural industries which had been branded as creative industries had also played a pivotal role in the range of policy fields, including economic development, social inclusion and urban regeneration. However, since 2012 the focus

¹² Pierson purposes the concept of path dependency as an idea of increasing returns, meaning “the probability of further steps along the same path increases with each move down that path” (2000, p. 252). Likewise, Mahoney explains that “path dependence characterizes specifically those historical sequences in which contingent events set into motion institutional patterns or event chains that have deterministic properties” (2000, p. 507).

¹³ See the OECD (2020), Culture Shock: Covid-19 and the cultural and creative sectors.

of subsequent administrations, especially the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, had shifted to digital infrastructure and the delivery of the 2012 London Olympics, and away from deprived cities and neighborhoods (pp. 2-3). Then again, other authors such as Indergaard, Pratt and Hutton (2013), by evaluating different case studies which focused on creative economies during and after the crisis in 2009, argue that this sector might be much more resilient than was previously suggested, also that it depends on the local context and the particular segment of the industry. The authors acknowledge that the research done by the UN Commission on Trade and Development in 2008 and 2010, which again argues that the “creative economy is noted to have grown at a faster rate than all other sectors of the global economy, and continued to grow through the early part of the recession...that contradicts the traditional view of culture and creativity as mere ‘candy floss’ that rides on the ‘good times’ economy” (Indergaard, Pratt and Hutton, 2013, pp. 5-6). Moreover, the Coronavirus pandemic has negatively impacted specific sectors of the creative and culture industries which have a direct interaction with audiences, such as museums, musical and film festivals, and theatre (see Travkina and Sacco, 2020). On the other hand, IT companies with a focus on the production of video games (e.g., Nordeus), streaming services such as Netflix, video meeting software (e.g., Zoom), and also some architecture and design bureaus have benefited from the overall situation caused by Coronavirus.

The contribution of the “creative city” or “creative class” concepts thus cannot be diminished in the sense that authors such as Florida (2002, 2005) and Landry and Bianchini (1995) manage to explain, that creativity and knowledge are enormous human resources (see e.g. Adler et al., 2019; Pratt, 2018) that contribute to the urban economy. Creative enterprises, especially micro and small sized ones tend to cluster together due to their need for specialized labor, knowledge, and sometimes even physical and technical infrastructure (see e.g., Grodach, 2011, p. 75; Chapain and Sagot-Duvaurox, 2018). This is of importance because clustering tends to build social capital among individuals and organizations that may reinforce the social ties which empower citizen participation and economic development within a particular neighborhood. It provides opportunities for bonding¹⁴ and eventually bridging social capital, by creating access to new resources and opportunities (see Putnam, 2000) and increasing the potential for interaction and

¹⁴ Bonding social capital refers to connections to people from the same social circle. Bridging social capital refers to connections to people who are from another social circle for example. Linking social capital pertains to connections with people in power, whether they are in politically or financially influential positions (see Woolcock and Sweetser, 2002).

collaboration within various public and private sectors. The positive impact of creative city policy can be observed in cases of the socio-economic (OECD, 2021) and cultural regeneration of neglected neighborhoods. Examples can be found in the United Kingdom where the “Social Exclusion Unit” made use of creativity to foster social cohesion in marginalized neighborhoods, or in Germany where the program “Soziale Stadt” used creativity to upgrade deprived neighborhoods (see Bontje and Pethe, 2010, p. 2).

d) CREATIVITY-LED REGENERATION

The creative city discourse revolves around the same ideas and aims as creativity-led regeneration – culture and creativity in the service of urban renaissance – however they are not the same concepts. Creativity-led regeneration can be one of the programs from creative city policy, but it should be highlighted that urban regeneration is a much older concept. In fact, regeneration through creativity and culture has been recorded earlier than when Laundry and Florida advocated their respective concepts. A good example can be found in Zukin’s early works on regeneration and gentrification in New York City during the 1970s and 1980s. Zukin highlighted the importance of a shift towards culture (mostly the arts) from the upper to the middle class in the decades following the Second World War, which occurred through formal education and state support (1982, pp. 96-110). Throughout the years the middle class has developed a need for cultural values (e.g., art, creativity) and therefore a need for cultural consumption, and this has led to the point where culture gains more social value and importance (see e.g., Zukin, 1982; Lloyd, 2004; de Klerk, 2017) and also becomes more accessible to all strata of society.

Yet, utilizing culture and creativity in the service of urban transformations appeared as an imperative in urban governance starting from the 1990s, with the implementation of different strategies (e.g. providing subsidies and grants, investing in flagship projects and signature architecture, establishing public-private partnerships, etc.) that targeted such diverse aims as job diversification (e.g. Amsterdam), attracting tourists and city branding (e.g. Bilbao, London, Turin), civic boosterism and positioning in regional/global inter-urban competition (e.g. Hamburg). When it comes to creativity, the strategies of NUP are focused at length on developing a certain urban brand that will sooner or later be utilized for generating income (see Harvey, 2002; Savini and Dembski, 2016). Another difference between the concept of creativity-led regeneration and the creative city is the fact that the strategies of creative cities are not focused solely on the

regeneration of urban decay, since its strategies might include developing completely new infrastructure that will be utilized by the creative class.

As has been previously highlighted, creativity-led regeneration moves beyond spatial transformation and requires a specific form of governance. Thus, the concept of governance will be discussed in the next Subchapter.

2.2. URBAN GOVERNANCE

The term governance can be traced back to the Latin verb *Gubernare* which means to rule or to govern. In its simplest definition governance refers to the process of regulation, coordination, and comprehensive centralistic planning (see Haindlmaier, 2016, p. 92; see also Pierre, 1999). However, the concept of governance should be distinguished from the concept of government and further explained in a more detailed fashion. The governance perspective thus does not only include state control activities and hierarchical control by public authorities. A more contemporary definition of governance is concerned with the coordination of collective action and the decision-making process (Benz et al., 2007, p. 9). This means that a “hierarchy in the sense of government” is just one form of control or coordination amongst others (Benz et al., 2007, p. 13). Governance does not make any promises regarding the type of actors considered and integrates public institutions (e.g., state, city council, municipal council, urban planning institute etc.), private sector, civil society and citizens and includes all areas of society such as politics, health, planning, etc. Therefore the “shift from government to governance” (see Rhodes, 1996, pp. 652-3) highlights a “change in the meaning of government” and theoretically refers to governance that does not imply a hierarchical structure, but more horizontal relations between private and public actors (see also Bjorna and Aarsæther, 2010).

Development of the governance perspective began in sociology in the 1970s and spread to economic and political science in the following decade (Schneider, 2004, p. 1). During the 1970s, the old definition of government faced criticism from academics and policy-makers, and the idea of such top-down control was questioned (see Lelong, 2015, p. 23; Bevir, 2013). It was argued that problems that contemporary societies are facing are too complex to be solved with hierarchical governance (see Bevir, 2013). Similarly, the objects of control are too complex to be easily formed and consist of many different actors who not only react to forms of control but also act (Benz et

al., 2007, p. 12). The term became topical since that time and has since been used in a similar way in different disciplines (see Lelong, 2015, p. 23).

When it comes to the field of urban planning, governance unlike government, follows a different perception of space. It perceives spatial structures as socially constructed and formed by social actors, which is opposite to the belief that planning is done on “tabula rasa” and that cities can be easily built (Haindlmaier, 2016, p. 94) without involving different interest groups in the planning. Moreover, the governance approach to urban planning underlines the wide range of constraints on the authorities’ abilities to bring about certain changes and solve complex problems in cities and local communities (see Pierre, 1999, p. 376). Yet, governance as an alternative to government is “not about the complete withdrawal of public institutions, but about the inclusion of other social actors and new modes of socio-economic regulations, in order to ensure effective performance and to mediate between conflicting interests” (see Haindlmaier, 2016, p. 94). The shift in focus from government to urban governance, thus, had several important consequences. It brought together a paradigm of urban political economy – theories like Urban Growth Machines (Molotoch, 1976; Logan and Molotoch, 1987) and the Regime Theory (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001) and the following paradigm shift on network research into a broader analytical framework (see Pierre, 1999), which will be discussed in the next Subchapter in a more detailed fashion. However, prior to more detailed elaboration, different perspectives of urban governance theories and their implications will be discussed.

DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES OF GOVERNANCE

In the governance discourse, different perspectives can be distinguished. Thus, the following review elaborates on three relevant perspectives of governance in accordance with the existing literature on governance. A short review (see Lelong, 2015, pp. 22-23) explains why governance from an analytical perspective is implied in the research.

- 1) **NOVEL FORMS.** The term governance is used descriptively, that is, to describe historically novel forms of decision-making (see, e.g., Kenis and Schneider, 1991; Benz et al., 2007) that have appeared with dissatisfaction of hierarchy (see Bevir, 2020). From this perspective, governance describes a decrease in the hierarchy between the state and society (Benz et al., 2007, p. 14) and the emergence of hybrid forms of organization between the

public and private sectors (see Schuppert, 2000, p. 277). For instance, new governance forms can continue to create power asymmetries in favor of the state, but also structures in which a superordinate control subject can no longer be identified (see Lelong, 2015, p. 22).

- 2) **GOOD GOVERNANCE.** A second perspective sees governance as a normative process. The term then includes examples of "good" or "deliberative" governance, in terms of how the decision-making process should function (see Sorensen and Torfing, 2007). For instance, in the field of urban planning good governance includes contemporary forms of local democracy, transparency, appropriate opportunities for participation or the political legitimacy of planning (see Lelong, 2015, p. 22).
- 3) **ANALYTICAL APPROACH.** Yet, a third perspective perceives governance as an analytical approach. This is the perspective that has been applied in the context of this research. Governance, thus, can be seen as "different forms of dealing with interdependence" by actors for the collective regulation of particular social issues. To understand how the forms of governance work, the institutional conditions and social action are examined in equal fashion (Benz et al., 2007, cited in Lelong, 2015, p. 23). Governance mechanisms can thus denote a variety of governance forms, such as hierarchy, market, and network, as well as hybrid modes (see Provan and Kenis, 2008; Torfing and Sorensen, 2012), as mentioned in the introductory Chapter. To sum up, the institutional conditions that structure the actions of the actors have been considered, as well as the relational perspective, problem perception, goals, and implementation strategies. In this manner the governance research has an *actor-theoretically based perspective* (see Schneider 2004, p. 5, and again Lelong, 2015, p. 23; Lelong, Nagel, and Grabher, 2018).

2.3. THE URBAN GROWTH MACHINE AND URBAN REGIME THEORY

The theoretical approaches of (a) the Urban Regime and (b) the Urban Growth Machine have both been developed in the USA and can be regarded as established procedures for examining urban politics from a governance perspective. This section will include a brief review of both theoretical approaches and will compare them with the network theoretical approach, which will be elaborated on in more detail in Subchapter 2.4.

(a) THE URBAN GROWTH MACHINE

The urban growth machine approach (see Molotch, 1976; Logan and Molotch, 1987) explores local political processes from the perspective of the private sector actors and their coalitions. According to Molotch (1976), the city is a spatial result of elite interests. The urban growth machine is defined as a coalition of private actors, which can be composed of, for example, large property owners (corporations), banks, and the media. This coalition of interest parties tends to mobilize resources and make use of a variety of public actors and institutions to pursue their own financial goals (see Molotch, 1976). Actors from different political levels are seen as agents that contribute to the goals of the private elites and their financial maximization of land and properties. Growth machine theory suggests permanent competition between the local states and cities (see Rogers, 2009). Referring to the US context, Molotch has focused his analysis of the urban growth machine on micro- to macro-analytical levels. The urban growth machine encompasses an urban structure that is embedded in a series of social institutions. These are maintained according to cultural interpretation patterns and the psychological orientations of the actors through their decisions and actions (Molotch 1993, p. 47, Lelong, 2015, p. 23-24). In addition to the local level of observation, Molotch also includes the state level and the role of urban development experts. For instance, consultants primarily recommend construction projects and do not question the growth paradigm. This results in a “self-reinforcing system that regularly underestimates costs and overestimates benefits” (Molotch, 1993, p. 36). According to Molotch, the phenomenon of the urban growth machine can be observed throughout the USA in the 1990s (1993, p. 40). Although the growth machine concept provides an assumption that might appear in a number of cases of urban decision-making in different national contexts in more present times (see Lelong, 2015, p. 25), the transferability of the concept to other states and cities is limited (see Rogers, 2009) due to their institutional and political contexts and thus differences in the decision-making process.

(b) THE URBAN REGIME THEORY

Similar to the previous theory on urban politics and governance, urban regime theory also first appeared in the US. In contrast to the above-mentioned theory, this one is not solely focused on the maximization of profit from land and property. Urban regime theory focuses on governance in urban districts, the city and regional levels and on different policies (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). In the course of the 1990s, urban regimes developed into the dominant theoretical concept

for studies of local power relations in the USA (see McGovern, 2009, p. 663; Smith, 2019). Regimes are long-term alliances between states and private sector actors who can only achieve joint action by leveraging their resources (see Mossberger and Stoker, 2001, p. 812). In this theory, the concept of power suggests the power to act (Stone, 1989). It is not the power over others that is questioned, but the possibility of being able to act (see Mossberger and Stoker 2001, p. 812; Smith, 2019). The criteria for defining a regime are a coalition of state and non-state actors where the allocation of extensive resources belongs to private sector actors (see Stone, 1989, p. 7). However, in later publications, the coalition behind the regime can be extended to include intermediary or civil society actors (Mossberger and Stoker 2001, p. 829). According to the authors, a coalition pursues a specific political agenda with the intention to act (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). It aims to bring the coalition partners resources that together generate agency. Stone (1989) defines four types of regimes: (1) *the caretaker regime*, which focuses on routine public service tasks and low taxes; (2) *the development regime* aims for economic growth and therefore promotes land conversions in order to achieve intensification of use and increase in value; (3) *the progressive regime* pursues regulatory policy strategies in favor of topics such as environmental protection, monument protection, and social housing and promotes groups of actors "beyond the downtown core" (McGovern 2009, p. 667); and (4) *the lower class opportunity expansion regime* supports disadvantaged population groups with better access to jobs and property (Mossberger and Stoker 2001, p. 813; Lelong 2015, p. 26). Similar to the growth machine theory, the problem of transferability of the concept to other states and cities outside of the US context is limited by the constraint of the analysis, wherein certain types of actors are restricted from the coalitions (Mossberger and Stoker 2001, p. 822; Stone, 2005, p. 313). Likewise, the decision-making process in European cities occurs in different political and economic contexts in comparison with cities in the US (Lelong 2015, p. 26). However, Stone highlighted (2005) that urban regimes do not consist of a fixed set of actors, but that the analysis asks the question of who is responsible for a specific policy and thus who is mobilized (p. 313). Dealing with issues in the urban arena requires specific resources and thus entails the corresponding coalition partners who are able to provide resources. Mossberger and Stoker thus problematize the fundamental problem of overstretching of the concept of the urban regime due to the large number of empirical studies that use this theoretical concept (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001; see also Smith, 2019). The authors ask for clear criteria for drawing boundaries in order to preserve the knowledge gained from the regime approach. The

participation of public and private sector actors seems to them a “basic condition, since otherwise precise differences between urban regimes and networks cannot be clearly identified” (Mossberger and Stoker 2001, p. 817).

To conclude, urban growth machines and urban regime theory center on alliances and coalitions among social actors from the public and private sectors. These are primarily structural approaches lacking a description of the relationships between participants engaged in collective action. However, the theoretical and empirical approach that creates room for exploring the relational perspective is the network approach, which will be the focus of the next Subchapter.

2.4. THE NETWORK THEORY APPROACH

This Subchapter includes (a) an introduction to the network theory approach and (b) its application in the research.

(a) INTRODUCTION

Network theory can be considered a particular point of view for examining social structures, as suggested by Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) and Nowell and Milward (2022). The social network tradition implies a formalistic exploration of network structure and the position of the actors inside the structure (see Grabher, 2006, p. 4). For instance, it examines how network structure restricts or enables social action. The origin of network theory refers back to Simmel’s (1890) fundamental distinction between “groups” (defined by some membership criterion) and “webs of affiliation” (linked through specific types of connections). By highlighting the critical role of the position of actors in the “webs of affiliation” he laid the foundations for social network analysis (see Grabher, 2006, p. 2). The central perspective of social network analysis is informed by the “anticategorical imperative” (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994, p. 1414) which rejects explanations of “social behavior as the result of individuals’ common possession of attributes and norms rather than as the result of their involvement in structural social relations” (see Grabher, 2006, p. 2; and also Wasserman and Faust, 1994). Its formalistic approach allows application in a wide range of empirical fields and theoretical starting points when examining social structure (see Lelong, 2015, p. 28-29). In that manner, network as a theoretical and empirical approach is used in various scientific fields starting from sociology, and anthropology to urban planning and urban politics (see Dempwolf and Lyles, 2012).

(b) APPLICATION

This research applies network theory as a central theoretical and empirical approach for scrutinizing the social structures that appear in the regeneration process in the selected cities. According to network theory, the network consists of different composition variables – the actor’s attributes and structural variables – the specific pattern of ties between actors (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 29). In this manner, actors in the urban networks consist of stakeholders – interest parties that are affected by the process of urban regeneration. Actors in the urban regeneration process are represented as nodes. Those nodes can be individual actors or organizations from the public (e.g., governmental or non-governmental sector) and private sectors. On the other hand, structural variables are presented through different types of relations i.e., ties that denote certain types of resources. These networks are analyzed and interpreted through analytical notions from the toolbox of social network analysis (SNA). SNA together with a combination of different network approaches will be discussed in the next section that deals with network theory and methodology in a more detailed manner. The application of network theory aims to explore individual and collective social actions – different actors’ capacities to act in a given social structure that forms in a particular political, institutional and economic context. From this starting point, the variety of possible actors’ networks, decision-making mechanisms, and patterns of interpretation that become relevant in urban governance “seem to be grasped more completely than with the concepts of growth machines and urban regimes” (Lelong, 2015, pp. 28- 29).

Similarly, urban entrepreneurialism, with its strategies such as regeneration program, tends to include a greater diversity of actors in its realization. This often happens as the municipal, city, or even the national governments do not have all the resources required for the realization of particular urban transformation trends. Actors often involved in such programs range from national or supranational private enterprises to various public institutions and civil society, including citizens’ associations and professional associations with the general idea that they will create the conditions for individual and community prosperity (see e.g., MacCann, 2017). The potential for the involvement of a variety of actors in regeneration programs provides a basis for the application of network research, due to the fact that those programs are not restricted only to political and private actors and the resources they mobilize, but also other actors from the public arena.

One can argue that while network research adds to the urban regime and growth machine approaches, it doesn't serve as a complete replacement. All three approaches contribute valuable concepts to comprehend urban governance. They can be seen as complementary, each scrutinizing and elucidating urban political processes from distinct analytical perspectives, involving various actors and policies (see Blanco, 2013). To avoid stretching the concept, the exploration shifts to higher levels of abstraction, introducing a research concept with fewer specific characteristics and greater adaptability, in contrast to the previously mentioned theoretical concepts (see Lelong, 2015, p. 29).

2.5. SOCIAL NETWORK THEORY: A FRAMEWORK FOR INVESTIGATING URBAN REGENERATION PROGRAMS

The network approach of research includes the combination of different network theory theoretical and empirical perspectives such as (1) Social Network Analysis (SNA), (2) Network Governance and (3) Policy Networks. The definitions of these approaches, as well as their application in scrutinizing the urban networks in Savamala and at NDSM Wharf, are elaborated on and discussed in this Subchapter. Before proceeding to a more detailed elaboration, this section also includes a short review of the relevant conceptual developments in social network research and highlights the perspectives that are relevant to the research. It briefly explains the shift toward relational sociology and the notion of culture, and their application in network research.

RELEVANT CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL NETWORK RESEARCH

Back in 1973, sociologist Mark Granovetter developed the notion of *weak ties* throughout his empirical research. The notion of weak ties denotes the opposite of *strong ties*. Further innovations followed in the coming years, when sociologist Ronald Burt (1992, 2004), developed another notion – *structural holes*. By doing so, both researchers drew attention away from coherent networks with strong ties and focused it on the absence of ties, or non-redundant ties (see Grabher, 2006, p. 13; see also Barabasi, 2006). All three concepts will be explained in more detail in the next section, which deals with social network analysis (SNA).

Another theoretical underpinning for the development of social network theory in the 1980s was presented by Granovetter in 1985, when he introduced the concept of *embeddedness*. By emphasizing the “role of concrete personal relations and the structures of such relations in generating trust and malfeasance” (1985, p. 490), the author enriched the analytical perspective on networks. The notion of embeddedness provided a robust framework to study the institutional mechanisms by which networks are initiated, coordinated, monitored, recombined, and terminated. The view on network governance had shifted the focus from examinations of network structure and position, to being concerned with the particular institutional contexts in which the actors were embedded. This shift from the structure of networks to their specific contents implied a move from the pure quantitative methodology of sociometrics towards the qualitative explorations of case-study research (see Grabher, 2006, p. 2). This is of importance for this research and for the application of the *network governance perspective*, which will be elaborated upon in more detail in one of the next sections.

Additionally, the 1980s also marked the beginning of what is known as the “cultural turn” in network research. The work of Pierre Bourdieu on the role of culture in social structures and focusing on institutions in economics and sociology (see e.g. DiMaggio, 1997) had an impact on a group of network scholars such as Harrison C. White, Charles Tilly, Mustafa Emirbayer, and Jeff Goodwin who were based in New York. Consequently, the “New York School” began to focus on the cultural context in which actors were embedded and advocated for studying networks in relation to culture (see Hackmack, 2022, p. 19).

Furthermore, network scholars Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994), distinguished three ontological and empirical perspectives in network research. All three perspectives have varying perceptions and understanding of the relationship between social structure and culture. The first one is titled *structuralist determinism* which focuses exclusively on the actors’ relations and positions in the network and neglects potential actors’ beliefs, norms, perceptions, and generally their role in political and cultural discourse (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994, p. 1425). The second perspective titled *structuralist instrumentalism*, also focuses on the actors' relations and positions in the network, but with an added attempt to tackle the problem of agency by assuming that social action is influenced only by the material interests of the actors and their desire for power. The third is titled *structuralist constructivism* and according to the authors, this is the most fruitful approach

to researching social networks, since it combines the research of social structure, culture, and agency. According to this perspective, meanings are “socially constructed” (see Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994, p. 1425) and equally important. This perspective adequately provides underpinnings for a deeper understanding of the “formation, reproduction, and transformation of networks” (p. 1411). Actors thus construct meanings in a given environment; in a particular context and within a particular social structure, wherein actors are embedded and these aspects can enable or constrain the meaningful social action. The meaningful social action is not only driven by structure and the desire for power and personal gains but also intertwined with social structure and cultural aspects and certain frames of reference such as individual norms, values, identities, and expectations on the basis of which the actors form meanings (see Fuhse and Mutzel, 2011; Fuhse and Gondal, 2015). Likewise, the environment in which the actors form meanings is often influenced by a certain political and historical discourse (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994, p. 1426).

By adopting the third perspective, this research departs from structuralist determinism and structuralist instrumentalism and places an emphasis on structuralist constructivism. This perspective is thus selected in order to address and understand the full complexities of the relations between the social structure, culture, and human agency (see Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994). Guided by a structuralist constructivism perspective, this research adopts Emirbayer and Goodwin’s theoretical approach (1996) that encompasses the cultural, social-structural, and social-psychological contexts that determine “the ways in which actors act”. Their analytical strategy is established on the presumption that “social action is embedded within, and shaped by a plurality of relational contexts (or structural environments)” which the authors highlight as being the (a) *social-structural*, (b) *cultural* and (c) *social-psychological context of action* (1996, p. 364). The characteristics of each context and its application in this research are explained as follows:

- a) **SOCIAL-STRUCTURAL CONTEXT** of action includes “the interpersonal and inter-organizational relations that shape social actions” (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 367). This context “comprises enabling and constraining properties emerging from the social relations between collective and individual actors, and the specific positions of actors in the network” (see Lelong, Nagel, and Grabher, 2018, p. 134). Meaning that this context brings the structure of the network, the relations among the actors and the locational properties of the actors into the focus of the empirical research. In this research the social-

structural context refers to the examination of the social actions of the actors involved in the policy-making process. The networks selected include organizations and individuals from both the public (e.g., government, other public institutions, civil servants/politicians, and civil society including citizens' and professional associations, and citizens themselves) and private sector (e.g., developers, investors, private companies) as the network participants. Actors with common aspirations and goals usually form partnerships, or alliances with different capacities to act (see Lelong, 2014, p. 206). Likewise, actors involved in governance depend on the resources they own, and the way in which they leverage them within the given social structure in which they are embedded, in order to achieve both individual and collective goals. By acknowledging this context of social action and applying the selected methods from the analytical toolbox of social network analysis for the examination of social structure, this research provides answers about the social structures that have formed around regeneration programs in two different cities.

- b) **CULTURAL-CONTEXT OF ACTION** applies to the actors' shared normative commitments and their understanding of the world and their possibilities within this world (see Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 365). Normative commitments and understandings can enable and constrain social action (DiMaggio, 1997, p. 268), to a similar extent as the structure. The cultural-context of social action aims to provide the underpinnings for framing the shared perceptions of the actors and their construction of reality, in order to explain their behavior. In urban planning, cultural context applies to the "shared mental models of the actors involved in shaping the built environment of cities" (Lelong, 2014, p. 207). In the two selected cases, the cultural context thus provides explanations of the "normative commitments and common understandings" of the actors in the network. These commitments and common understandings should provide explanations of their motivations and goals in the regeneration programs in the selected cases. The analysis takes into account the fact that there is not a single perception or goal that drives a certain social action, but a multitude (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 364), and these relate to the various aspects of the urban development such as economic, social, cultural, and environmental. The cultural context of action is thus examined with the help of the discourse (Kamalu and Osisanwo, 2015; Goffman, 1979) and frame analysis (see Goffman, 1974; Tversky and Kahneman, 1981; Matthes, 2009), which will be further discussed in

the methodology section. Likewise, cultural context is not a solitary context that determines social action, since the action also depends on the personal meanings of the actors that are embedded in the structure and in the institutional environment. The meanings refer more to the individual category, in contrast to the cultural aspect, which is shared. Meanings are also embedded in the social ties between people. For instance, meanings might relate to actions that include intent, feeling, symbols, signs/signification, perceptions, or value (see Ferguson et al., 2017, pp. 7-9). Meanings therefore do not relate only to shared mental models. Additionally, they can also affect the actors in the network differently (see e.g., Fuhse and Mutzel, 2011, p. 1069; Fuhse and Gondal, 2015; Ferguson et al., 2017). Personal meanings are examined with the help of the discourse analysis and are relevant in the exploration of the social-psychological context of social action.

- c) **SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF ACTION** “comprises the enabling and constraining conditions which emerge from “mental structures”, which channel the flows and investments of emotional energy. It includes the long-lasting, durable inter-personal structures of attachment and emotional solidarity.” (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 368). According to these authors these interpersonal structures might describe the features of collective action, as an example, the relation between a political leader, e.g., the “father of a nation”, and his aficionados. However, the analysis departs from a purely interpersonal elaboration of social-psychological context and places a focus on the strategic orientations of the individuals who might be responsible for the creation and meaning of the ties, or the choice of certain strategies and tactics (see Burt, 1992; Obstfeld, 2005; Lelong, 2014). The strategic orientations thus aim to describe the actor’s preference in a certain situation while in a particular social setting (see Lelong, 2014, p. 210). Strategic orientations can be drawn from the analytical concept of *tertius* – the *third* – which was initially developed by Simmel (1992). *Tertius* denotes a position within a social structure wherein a particular actor is connected to two actors who are not connected to each other. For instance, actor A is connected with actor B and actor C, and actor B and C are not directly connected to each other. In accordance to this position actor A can opt for different strategies, since they are in the position of the third i.e., in the position of the middleman. For example, actor A can have the role of *tertius gaudens* – “the third who laughs”, and choose a strategy to play off actor B against actor C (see Simmel, 1992; Grabher, 2006, p. 13; Lelong, 2014, p. 210).

On the other hand, actor A can use their structural advantage and support B and C, and choose the role of *tertius iungens* – “the third who joins” (Obstfeld, 2005, p. 100; Lelong, 2014, p. 210). According to Obstfeld (2005), the *tertius iungens* connects people “by either introducing disconnected individuals or facilitating new coordination between connected individuals” (p. 100) and rather constitutes a strategic and behavioral orientation towards action. The actor that holds the position of *tertius* can be “brief”, which means that he is in that position one time only, or “sustained”, which means that he holds the position for a longer time (see Obstfeld, 2005, p. 104), and accordingly he can repeat the social action. The explanation of the notion of the middleman-social broker is also explained in the next section on social network analysis.

(1) SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS (SNA)

Social Network Analysis (SNA) is the process of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of a social network (see Lelong, Nagel, and Grabher, 2018). Social network analysis thus perceives networks as “a specific set of linkages among a defined set of actors, with the additional property that the characteristics of those linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the actors involved” (Mitchell, 1969, p. 2). In simple terms, SNA provides the opportunity to translate general sociological concepts (e.g., social cohesion, position, role, importance, etc.) into network terms, and to examine them through the analytical notions of network theory. It includes two dimensions of analysis – *relational and positional analysis* – in order to explore and understand the particular social structure and the behaviors of the actors involved in that structure. The relational approach thus relates to the examination of the relations among the actors within a particular network. Whilst, the positional approach relates to the position of an individual actor, or actors, within a particular network by examining to which actors they are related and whether there are other actors in the same or similar positions. The positional approach thus examines whether a given social structure has actors with the same pattern of ties (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, pp. 348-354).

To examine and understand the social-structural and the social-psychological context of action, selected notions from both the relational and positional perspectives of social network analysis (SNA) will be applied.

(a) RELATIONAL APPROACH

DIRECT OR INDIRECT TIE. A direct tie denotes a direct relation between two actors who are represented as nodes. An indirect tie denotes an indirect relation between actors. This means that the actors can be in a relationship, but through another actor. For instance, actor A sends information to actor B, who sends information to actor C. Meaning that actors A and B, and B and C, are in direct relation, but on the other hand actors A and C are in indirect relation (see Morić Milovanović, 2014, p. 149). This is of importance in order to understand how particular actors are connected inside a given social structure. It provides answers to whether an actor is directly connected with another actor, or through a third actor. This notion provides an explanation for how particular actors reach a certain resource in a given network.

STRUCTURAL HOLE. The structural hole denotes the absence of a relationship between two actors in the network, which is a crucial element of the network structure (see Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994, p. 1449) since bridging a structural hole can transfer new information to a particular actor, or even the entire network.

DIRECTED OR UNDIRECTED TIE. A direct tie denotes that the tie has a certain direction. For example, actor A gives money to actor B. It denotes origin – actor A and destination– actor B. In this research, a directed tie can be used to analyze the behavior of the actors within a network. For instance, actor A uses political capital to pressure actor B. This relationship is measured in a binary fashion, e.g., actor A in relation to actor B. On the other hand, an undirected tie denotes a relationship that is non-directional (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 44). For example, an undirected tie denotes membership to a certain party. Actor A is in the same political organization as actor B. An undirected tie, as an analytical concept, is used to explain the belonging of certain actors, for example, to a particular political coalition, while directed ties are usable in order to explain the transfer of resources such as information or knowledge from one actor to another in a network.

RECIPROCITY OR ASYMMETRY. These analytical notions denote ties that have a certain value. A reciprocal tie denotes that actor A has the same number of particular resources, for example knowledge, as actor B. An asymmetric tie denotes that A has a larger number of resources than actor B (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 44). For instance, one actor can have a larger

amount of political capital than another actor. In a nutshell, this is a useful analytical notion that should explain the amount of political capital that a particular actor possesses in contrast to another actor in a social structure.

ACTOR'S DEGREE CENTRALITY. This denotes the relevance of particular actors inside a network. For an individual actor, centrality is measured with the assistance of a degree of a node - $d(n_i)$ ¹⁵. This means that the most active actors are the ones that have the biggest number of ties to other actors within a particular social structure (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 178). These notions are of particular importance since they are used to explain the activity and often the relevance of particular actors inside the network.

STRENGTH OF TIES. A weak tie denotes a relational tie among actors that has less duration and intimacy, and sometimes reciprocity, than within a relation of strong ties (see Granovetter, 1973) which denotes the opposite relation. Moreover, a weak tie can be discovered between actors from a different *social circle*¹⁶. For example, weak ties can be observed between people who have different professions, e.g., a politician from a municipal government and person from a citizens' association, who he occasionally meets to establish some type of "partnership", but their relationship and the exchange of certain capital is not so frequent nor intimate as it would be with other fellow politicians. Likewise, it has been empirically confirmed that weak ties might deliver new information, knowledge, and innovations (see Granovetter, 1973; Grabher, 2006, pp. 13-14). In contrast to weak ties, there are strong ties among actors that denote a more frequent exchange of resources and the sharing of similar beliefs (Wasserman and Faust 1994, pp. 254-255). When at least three actors are linked with strong ties, it means that they are in a *clique*. A clique denotes that those actors are most likely in social cohesion, which means that they are in close relations (see again Wasserman and Faust, 1994). These actors tend to have more frequent relations. For example, actors that form a clique might be political actors that share similar beliefs towards the

¹⁵ The degree of a node, signified by $d(n_i)$ denotes the number of ties that are connected to particular node. The degree of a node is a count that ranges from a minimum of 0, to the maximum number of ties. A node with a degree equal to 0 is called an *isolate*, i.e. the actor is not connected with any other actors in the network (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 100).

¹⁶ A social circle is a group of socially interconnected people. A social circle may be viewed from the perspective of an individual who is the locus of a particular group of socially interconnected people and from the perspective of the group as a cohesive unit (see e.g. Putnam, 2000). For example, colleagues working in one institution or politicians in one party.

development option and they work together in pushing forward that option to become official policy.

(b) POSITIONAL APPROACH

ISOLATE. An actor who does not have any ties with other actors within the network is called an isolate. This means that an isolate can be one of the stakeholders inside a particular network, but they do not participate in network activity (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 25). For instance, an isolate can be an actor who has a certain interest in regeneration, however they do not participate in the governance process.

SOCIAL BROKER (middleman). An actor that connects disconnected actors is called a social broker or middleman. For instance, actor A is connected with actors B and C, who are not connected between themselves, which makes Actor A a social broker. A social broker often gains a certain relevance that comes from the position they occupy inside the network since they are able to maneuver resources such as information according to their personal meanings and goals. Nevertheless, an actor that holds the middleman position can act as a gatekeeper.

GATEKEEPER (see Babović, 2006, p. 361). This means that this actor can control the flow of certain resources, e.g., the flow of information that comes from actor B, and not let information flow through to another actor, actor C.

INDIVIDUAL ROLE. This analytical notion denotes the social role of a particular actor in the social structure. The goal of individual role analysis is to describe the ties that link a particular actor (*ego*) to other actors (*alters*). Analyses at this level thus examine the patterns and regularities in the ties from the perspective of individual actors (see Wasserman and Faust 1994, p. 462-465). This means that an individual role can be measured by exploring the type of ties (e.g., directed, reciprocal, asymmetrical, or undirected) in combination with the type of resources being exchanged, or shared in a particular network. In addition, this concept can be used to compare the activities of a particular actor with other actors within a network with whom the actor is connected or disconnected.

Social network analysis can be used in quantitative, qualitative, or mixed method research. This research opts for a mixed method in terms of data collection and analysis, since a mix of selected data collection techniques and analytical approaches may provide the opportunity for description

and exploration of the social structure and relations between the actors (see Fuhse and Mutzel, 2011, p. 1079) as well as understanding the cultural context – the shared meanings (see DiMaggio, 1997), and individual meanings (see Fuhse and Mutzel, 2011, p. 1069; Fuhse and Gondal, 2015) of the stakeholders involved in the governance process. A mixed method approach has thus been applied to examine the collective and individual social actions in the regeneration process in both cases and explain what kind of outcomes they leave behind. The social structures wherein the actors are embedded, the shared perceptions that trigger collective action, and the personal meanings that trigger strategic orientations within the social structure will be questioned and examined.

However, providing a basic rationale for network theory application and for the application of the analytical toolbox of social network analysis is not enough for the scope of this research. The research's theoretical framing thus introduces the theoretical concepts and empirical perspectives of network governance and policy networks, which will be elaborated upon in detail in the following sections.

(2) NETWORK GOVERNANCE PERSPECTIVE

Network governance¹⁷ has been the topic of a vast body of scientific literature, starting from the works of Powel (1990), Rhodes (1996, 1997), Provan and Milward (2001), Provan and Kenis (2008), Blanco, Lowndes and Pratchett (2011) to Raab, Mannak and Cambre (2013), Rudnick et al., (2019) and Kenis et al., (2019) and others. In contrast to the network analytical approach “where the main objective can be either to describe, explain, or compare the relations and positions of the actors in a particular network or to use networks to explain certain outcomes, the network governance approach perceives networks – multiorganizational arrangements – as a unit of analysis” (see Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 232). The network governance approach thus focuses on the institutional mechanisms by which networks are initiated, coordinated, monitored, recombined, and terminated. In contrast to “the social network tradition, with its formalistic exploration of network structure and the position of the actors within the social structure, the governance approach concentrates on the particular institutional and social contexts in which the actors are embedded. The governance approach sees a shift from concerns with the formal structure

¹⁷ Other authors use the term *governance networks*, such as Klijn (2008).

of networks to an engagement with the specific contents of networks” (see again Grabher, 2006, p. 4). Furthermore, Granovetter’s concept of embeddedness becomes relevant in the network governance framework because it emphasizes the social relationships and connections among actors involved in the network. These relationships are not merely transactional or based on formal authority but are influenced by regulations, norms, trust, and shared values. In network governance, embeddedness highlights the interdependencies and social ties that exist among actors, influencing how decisions are made, resources are exchanged, and power is distributed.

In a more recent taxonomy created by Nowell and Milward (2022), the concept of a network can be traced to two distinct root metaphors: (a) networks as nodes and edges, and (b) networks as a governance form (p. 48). According to them, structural-oriented networks are firmly anchored in the nodes and edges tradition. On the other hand, networks, as a form of governance, have their roots in different traditions within public management and public policy. Thus, the network as a governance form can be interpreted in two distinct classes: (a) System-oriented networks and (b) Purpose-oriented networks (Nowell and Milward, 2022, pp. 11-13).



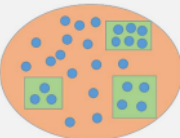
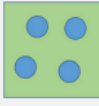
- (a) System-oriented networks are theoretically anchored in systems, policy domains and policy subsystems perspectives. System-oriented networks pertain to networks that mirror the pertinent population of actors associated with a specific system. These systems typically revolve around the management of issues related to public concern or public policy. Examples of such systems encompass a variety of domains, ranging from domestic violence response and urban revitalization to healthcare delivery for a specific population. Studies on system-oriented networks have been conducted for these systems of interest. These networks are defined and brought into existence by a network analyst—the individual conceptualizing the network. These networks lack a universally agreed-upon identity beyond the conceptualization of the analyst. The network analyst, who may be a scholar or policymaker, or even practitioner, consciously imposes a conceptual framework of the network to serve their analytical objectives (see Nowell and Milward, 2022, pp. 13-14). This class aligns with both the governance network and policy network perspective, which will be the subject of the following section after the theoretical foundation of network governance is elaborated, and the application in this research is explained. Moreover, research on governance networks is associated with three distinct traditions in

public management and policy. Networks as structures do not appear in this tradition, and while authors use the term *governance network*, the emphasis is more on the process of governance than the structure of networks (Nowell and Milward, 2022, pp. 77). This focus on process creates the basis for a set of decision rules that define the network within this tradition. Sørensen and Torfing (2007), rooted in Nordic corporatism and postmodernist discourse theories, define governance networks as stable, horizontally articulated structures where actors engage in negotiations within an institutionalized framework. The "Dutch School" linked to Erasmus University, emphasizes steering networks with roots in Giddens' structuration theory, viewing networks as frameworks for public policy involving government, business, and civil society actors (see Klijn, 2008). The third tradition, rooted in the U.S., defines governance networks as stable patterns of coordinated action involving policy actors from different sectors and geographic levels, interacting through various arrangements for purposes anchored in policy streams (see Koliba, Zia, and Mills, 2011), as indicated in more detailed fashion in Nowell and Milward (2022, pp. 77-78).

- (b) Purpose-oriented networks are “theoretically anchored in the social psychological literature on the formation of groups and collective action within organized collectives” (see Nowell and Milward, 2022, p. 12). Those networks are entities that have autonomously formed by fulfilling specific criteria. These criteria involve being well-defined, self-referential collectives consisting of actors who consciously associate themselves with the collective based on a shared purpose. The network achieves a state of being well-defined when members intentionally affiliate with it as a distinct entity and can consistently recognize other members, distinguishing them from non-members. While each actor within a purpose-oriented network maintains a unique set of interests, aspirations, and reasons for aligning with the collective, there exists a collective understanding or acknowledgment of a shared purpose that justifies the collective's existence (see Nowell and Milward, 2022, pp. 14-15; see also Berthod and Segato, 2019). More precisely, Carboni, Saz-Carranza, Raab, and Isett (2019) defined a purpose-oriented network as “a network comprised of three or more autonomous actors who participate in a joint effort based on a common purpose” (p. 210). Those networks might consist of four elements: purpose, membership, joint effort, and governance (see Nowell and Milward, 2022, p. 93; cf. Provan and Kenis, 2008; Provan, Fish, and Sydow, 2007). A purpose-oriented network might thus include

private and public actors such as public organizations, institutions, governments, and private companies, or individual actors who participate in resource allocation, the decision-making process, and coordination, which should make the structure function towards certain goals (see Berthod and Segato, 2019).

TABLE NO.2: SUMMARY OF TAXONOMIC CLASSES

Taxonomic Class	Description	Diagram	Legend
Structural-oriented network(s): Ego-centric	A focal actor's (or set of actors') relations with other actors as it relates to a focal actor		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Focal Actor ● Actor — Edge
Structural-oriented network(s): Dyadic	Patterns of tie creation and deletion among a sample of actors within an arbitrarily bounded population		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Actor — Edge
System-oriented network(s)	The collection of actors associated with a system of interest and the nature of their actions and interactions		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Actors ■ Embedded Purpose-oriented networks ○ Theoretical boundary of the system of interest
Purpose-oriented network(s)	A bounded, self-referencing network comprised of actors who consciously affiliate with the network around a shared purpose or concern		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Actors ■ Purpose-oriented network

Source: Nowell B., & Milward H.B. (2022). Apples to apples: A taxonomy of networks in public management and policy. *Elements in Public and Nonprofit Administration*. Cambridge University Press, p. 117.

Furthermore, in this study, the focus is on the network governance perspective (Provan and Kenis, 2008), which is aligned with purpose-oriented networks. Network governance approach (see Figure no.1) raise questions about the governance structure, the nature of authority (Nowell and Milward, 2022, p. 100), and the performance of the network governance modes - effectiveness. It's essential to note that there is a lack of conceptual clarity in scholarly articles regarding the distinction and application of the policy and governance network perspective compared to the network governance perspective (see Blanco, Lowndes, Pratchett, 2011). This current taxonomy,

as presented by Nowell and Milward (2022), offers an avenue for comprehending the conceptual differences and empirical applications between these perspectives.

This research thus applies the *network governance* perspective as an underpinning for the exploration of the implementation of the regeneration programs in different cities. Application of the network governance perspective aims to identify, distinguish, and explore the modes of governance and question whether they belong to the hierarchy, market, or one of the basic network governance modes that have been developed by Provan and Kenis (2008), or to other network governance modes discovered by the other authors who were mentioned in the introductory Chapter. Likewise, the application of this perspective should provide an explanation of the power relations, and their differences, in the implementation of the regeneration programs between the selected urban environments. In addition to examining the degree of involvement of various actors in the network and the network structure, a qualitative approach¹⁸ to the network governance perspective offers opportunities for explaining the initiation of the network, resource allocation, decision-making, monitoring, and accountability.

CONTINGENCIES

Provan and Kenis (2008) developed their approach to network governance based on the principles of organization theory, in which they were students. In organizational theory, contingencies refer to external factors or circumstances that can influence the functioning and outcomes of an organization. The contingency theory posits that there is no one-size-fits-all approach to organizing or managing an organization. Instead, the effectiveness of organizational structures and processes depends on various contingent factors in the external environment. These contingent factors can include elements such as the organization's size, technology, environment, and the nature of tasks it performs. The idea is that different situations may require different organizational structures or management approaches to achieve performance. Moreover, contingency theory suggests that organizations should adapt their structures and strategies to fit the specific demands of their external environment. It emphasizes flexibility and responsiveness to changes in the environment to enhance organizational effectiveness. The goal is to align organizational

¹⁸ In contrast to the quantitative approach that is widely used by network researchers such as Provan and Kenis (2008) or Park and Park (2009). See also Wegner, Teixeira and Verschoore (2019).

characteristics with the contingent factors that are most relevant to the organization's success in its specific context¹⁹.

To better comprehend network governance, Provan and Kenis (2008) selected contingencies upon which network governance modes are based, along with resources. These factors can be utilized to understand the functioning of networks, their potential transformation (see also Provan, Fish, and Sydow, 2007), and performance.

These contingencies have been selected as follows:

- **NETWORK SIZE.** Governing a network of multiple organizations can be challenging as their needs and activities need to be coordinated. As the number of organizations in the network increases, governance becomes more complex due to the exponential growth in potential relationships. While a shared-governed mode is desirable for network participants to retain control, it's only suitable for small networks where face-to-face participation is feasible. In larger networks, shared governance becomes inefficient, and transitioning to a brokered network model is recommended (Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 238-239).
- **GOAL CONSENSUS.** Goal consensus in the network is based on goal similarity (see Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 240). It is suggested that participants inside a particular network have their own individual goals. In a purpose-oriented²⁰ network individual goals drive social actions, but also collective goals on the network level.
- **TRUST.** Trust in network governance is defined as “the willingness to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations about another’s intentions or behaviors” (McEvily, Perrone, and Zaheer, 2003, p. 92). Trust is relevant to maintaining collaboration and coordination between participants in the network. In the situation that trust is not densely distributed in the network, it is more likely that the network will be in lead organization-governed mode, or NAO-governed mode. An absence of trust will lead to the reduction of collaboration among the actors in the network, and this will make coordination more difficult. For example, if there is a lack of trust inside a participant-governed network, it is more likely

¹⁹ MeanThat Youtube Channel (2015), “What Is Organizational Theory, Introduction to Organisations” (series of lectures).

²⁰ Provan and Kenis (2008) use the term goal-directed networks.

that it will transform into a brokered network governance mode. Trust is usually based upon reputation, or past experience according to Provan and Kenis (2008, pp. 237-238). The reason for a lack of trust might also be competition between the network participants, or a lack of goal consensus (see Iacob, 2021).

Moreover, Provan and Kenis (2008) have suggested that the absence of trust or goal consensus might lead to the network transforming from a participant-governed network to one of the brokered network modes. The absence of trust and goal consensus is likely to lead to reduced collaboration among network participants and it is likely that it will create tensions inside the network. Tensions inside the network are likely to create a negative influence on the effectiveness. And, to the contrary, if a network functions without tension, and the trust and goal consensus is evenly distributed inside a particular network, it is likely that network level effectiveness will be achieved to a greater extent, and there will be no transformation of the network governance mode, nor will the network disintegrate (pp. 239-240).

Furthermore, resources have been selected as follows:

- **POWER.** Power denotes legitimacy to influence the decision-making process and coordination (Provan and Kenis, 2008). The legitimacy often comes from the ownership of different forms of capital, such as economic, knowledge, and political, or it could be a matter of delegated power.
- Other resources selected are **knowledge**²¹ (professional know-how, ideas, information) and economic capital. Knowledge (and information) exchange can be symmetrical or asymmetrical. **Economic capital** denotes ownership over land, property, and financial funds.

Besides contingencies and resources, the authors (Provan and Kenis, 2008) highlight the relevance of network tensions²² for functioning and ensuring overall effectiveness. The selected tensions are as follows.

²¹ Knowledge denotes a resource that is more developed and more valuable than mere information.

²² In organizational theory, "tensions" refer to conflicts, contradictions, or opposing forces within an organization. These tensions can arise from competing goals, priorities, or interests among members of the organization. Managing these tensions is crucial for effectiveness and adaptation to changing environments.

- **INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL LEGITIMACY.** According to Provan and Kenis (2008), a crucial concern for any governance mode is to develop internal legitimacy among the participants. Legitimacy denotes a right to govern. For instance, “if participants do not see interactions and coordinated efforts as being a legitimate way of conducting business, with potential benefits from these interactions, then the network is likely to exist in name only with little real commitment by participants to network-level goals and outcomes” (p. 243). Likewise, modes of governance are more often than not sensitive to external expectations. By conducting activities such as attracting customers, dealing with government funding, or creating public value, network governance should provide the external legitimacy of the network. Stakeholders can “understand that the network is an entity in its own right, and not simply a group of organizations that occasionally get together to discuss common concerns” (*ibid.*).
- **FLEXIBILITY AND STABILITY.** Networked organizations can react swiftly to opportunities or dangers from the market or other external factors thanks to their flexibility. This means that the network can transform from one mode to another if the situation requires it. On the other hand, stability means that network participants can develop a long-term relationship and maximize network-level goals. Consistency in responses to stakeholders’ demands and effective network management over time depend on stability (Provan and Kenis, 2008, pp. 244-245).

While examining (network) governance modes, another contingency that should not be overlooked is the "outside context," as explored by Lucidarme, Cardon, and Willem (2015). Networks are embedded in the real world, and consequently, political, social, cultural, economic, demographic, juridical, and technological factors are likely to impact the functioning of the network and, consequently, its overall effectiveness (p. 8). Therefore, the external context will not be neglected in the scrutiny of governance modes and effectiveness.

EFFECTIVENESS (EFFECTIVE PERFORMANCE)

A relevant question that the network governance approach seeks to answer is the extent to which a specific governance mode influences the effectiveness of the implemented urban regeneration program in the selected cities. In the literature on network governance (see e.g., Provan and

Milward 2001, p. 416; Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 230; Berthod and Segato, 2019), the notion of effectiveness is examined on two levels²³. These levels are as follows:

- (1) **NETWORK LEVEL.** Network level effectiveness relates to the fulfillment of the mutual goals of the entire organization behind the governance of the regeneration program.
- (2) **COMMUNITY LEVEL.** The term “community” considers the stakeholders in a local municipality or district where the selected urban areas are located, or can even consider stakeholders beyond the municipality or the district perspective, if the particular regeneration program's goals transcend mere local relevance. The community should thus directly, or indirectly, benefit from the public value provided by the organization behind the regeneration program. The indicators of community-level effectiveness have been adopted from Provan and Milward (2001, p. 416) and have been further developed to go along with the subject matter of this study.
 - a) The cost to the community. This indicator denotes the extent of the public funds invested in the program.
 - b) Stakeholder perception that the regeneration program has solved certain urban problems, which existed prior to the regeneration.
 - c) Inclusiveness. This indicator denotes the extent of inclusiveness of a variety of stakeholders in the regeneration program.
 - d) Cultural impact on the selected urban neighborhoods. This indicator denotes the extent of cultural institutions, creative incubators, and events that have emerged in the selected neighborhoods, as well as the extent of media coverage that promotes the neighborhoods on the riverfronts as creative areas of the city.
 - e) Economic impact on the selected urban neighborhoods. This indicator denotes the extent of the positive impact on employment and job diversification.

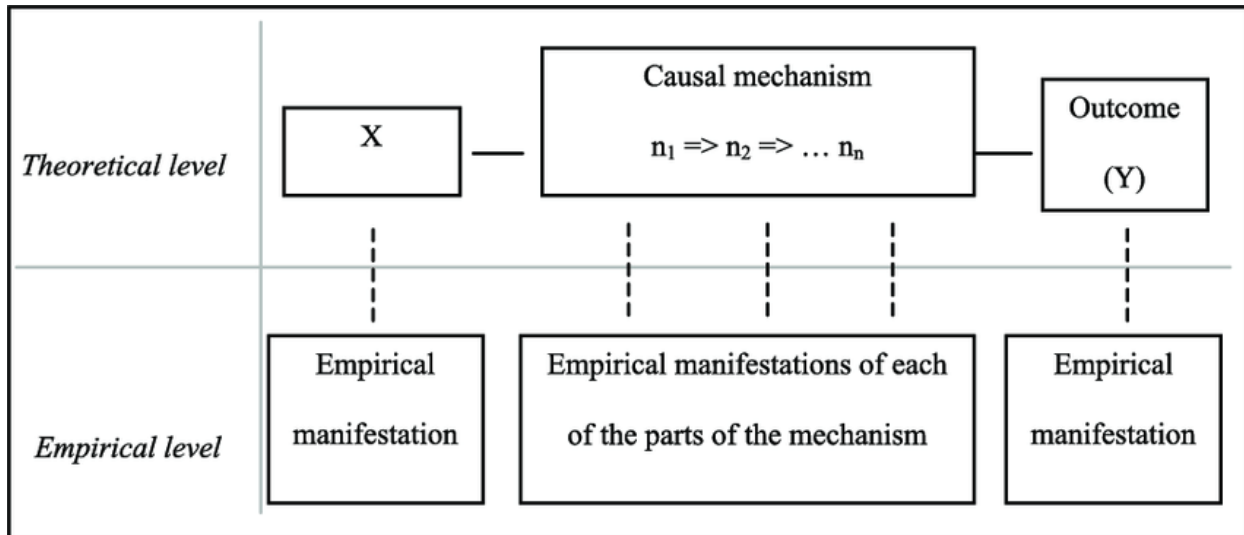
The crucial question is whether two distinct (network) governance modes can attain comparable community effectiveness or if identical (network) governance modes can yield varying community effectiveness in two different urban environments.

²³ The literature on network governance talks about three levels of effectiveness (see Provan and Milward, 2001). Those levels are the network level, individual and community level. However, this study includes two levels.

MEASUREMENT

Network level effectiveness is measured in regard to the extent of achieving, or not achieving the goals indicated by the stakeholders in the urban policy that is being examined through the discourse and frame analysis. Conversely, community-level effectiveness requires another method. To establish the causal relationship between an independent variable, which is a (network) governance mode, and a dependent variable, which is community effectiveness, the researcher will trace the unfolding causal mechanism and relate it to the indicators of community effectiveness (see Beach and Pedersen, 2013)

Table No. 3: PROCESS-TRACING METHOD



Source: Beach, D., & Pedersen, R. (2013). *Process-tracing methods: Foundations and guidelines*. University of Michigan, USA.

Empirical level (X) Governance mode – Causal mechanism (N1: initiation of the governance mode, degree of involvement of actors in governance, availability of resources – N2: structure formed – N3: nature of authority and decision-making – N4: network functioning, contingencies and tensions) – (Y) Effectiveness

Moreover, the “measurement” of the above-mentioned community indicators relates to the extent of the fulfillment, or non-fulfillment, of the specified indicators, and is based on the qualitative analysis of the data collected.

(3) POLICY NETWORK PERSPECTIVE

Policy networks have been discussed in scientific literature since the beginning of the 1970s, and onwards, by authors such as Kenis and Schneider (1991), Klijn, Koppenjan and Termeer (1995), Peterson (2003), Adam and Kriesi (2007), Blanco, Lowndes and Pratchett (2011), Lelong, Nagel, and Grabher (2018) and others. A policy network as a concept, in broader terms, denotes a “cluster of actors, each of which has an interest, or a stake in a given policy sector” (Peterson, 2003, p. 1). Moreover, to interpret the concept of a policy network in more narrow terms, the definition by Klijn, Koppenjan, and Termeer (1995) can be used: “a policy network is more or less stable patterns of social relations between mutually dependent actors which form themselves around policy problems or clusters of resources and which are formed, maintained and changed by a series of games.” (p. 439). In the context of this research, the policy network thus includes a diverse group of public and private actors who form a network around urban policies that should specifically address the cross-sectoral problems which are encountered in the selected riverfront neighborhoods, and offer solutions in terms of different regeneration programs. The actors involved in the network have their own interests and a certain number of resources that they leverage to influence the decision-making process. However, not all actors with an interest in a particular urban policy have the opportunity to be “active participants” in the network’s activities or to offer solutions, as each actor has a varying degree of involvement in the policy-making process. Active participants in the network are known as “players”, who have power and opportunities to take different social actions – strategies with the aim to push forward particular options on the regeneration of the selected urban areas on the riverfronts. Different strategies can be regarded as “games”. These “games” are played within formal and informal rules, which relate to each network differently (see again Klijn, Koppenjan, and Termeer, 1995). Formal rules can come from the political system itself, such as the laws and regulations that are represented in the urban governance in a given city. On the other hand, informal rules often come from institutional and cultural contexts wherein the networks are embedded. Both formal and informal rules can

affect the social actions and thus the policy-making process, and both are taken into account while examining and interpreting the policy networks.

The policy network approach – as well as the network governance approach – is based on the notion of mutual dependence on resources and reciprocity. However, in contrast to the network governance theory, which “places an emphasis on potential collaboration among public and private actors and in that way contributes to the empowerment of democracy in decision-making, the policy network theory does not call into question the hierarchical mode of governance, but argues that the institutional monopoly of decision-making is ‘undermined’ by the inclusion of non-governmental actors” (see Blanco, Lowndes, and Pratchett, 2011, p. 304). This further suggests that the policy network theory is based upon a power-dependence framework, and it tends to conceive networks as restrictive arrangements which are limited to particular actors that have crucial resources for a particular policy area (see again Blanco, Lowndes, and Pratchett, 2011, p. 304; Kenis and Schneider, 1991, p. 41) e.g., urban planning. The relevant resources for the policy-making process (see Adam and Kriesi, 2007) are selected as follows:

- **POLITICAL CAPITAL.** Political capital denotes the political power of an individual or organization to influence the decision-making process (see Bourdieu, 1981; Kjaer, 2013; Schugurensky, 2000, pp. 419-422). Likewise, a particular actor can leverage his political capital to press other actors to act according to his interests. This kind of relationship is measured in a binary fashion, e.g., actor A has enough political capital to press actor B to act according to his interests. However, it needs to be pointed out that pressure, often in the form of lobbying, is not only reserved for politicians. Lobbying can, for example, be directed by different pressure and advocacy groups coming from the public and private sectors.
- **ECONOMIC CAPITAL.** Economic capital denotes economic capital in the form of money and properties (Bourdieu, 1986).
- **KNOWLEDGE.** It includes ideas, information, professional know-how, and procedural know-how (e.g., Lelong, 2015) and relates to policy in a given context.

In the context of this research, the policy network approach is thus used to explore the similarities and differences in the governance process between the selected cases. This approach provides the

underpinnings for exploration of the urban policy formation, involvement of the different stakeholders in the policy-making process, the decision-making process itself, the formulation of policy goals, and exploration of the network dynamics. By implication of Emirbayer and Goodwin's analytical strategy that focuses on the social-structural, cultural, and social-psychological context of action (1996, p. 364-358) and selected notions from the social network analysis toolbox, the policy networks will be examined in terms of:

- a) **INVOLVEMENT IN THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS.** Examining which stakeholders (actors) are involved in the policy-making process as active participants, and which are excluded from the policy-making process.
- b) **SOCIAL STRUCTURE.** The social structure in which the stakeholders are embedded is examined. Both the relational and positional analysis of social network analysis have been applied to explain the behaviors of the actors and to examine the ways in which the actors leverage their resources and different strategies to reach their goals.
- c) **SHARED PERCEPTIONS.** Shared perceptions and normative commitments that guide actors' behavior are examined. The actors' preferred options for the development of the selected urban neighborhoods will be examined and defined through discourse and frame analysis.
- d) **STRATEGIC ORIENTATIONS.** The individual meanings and strategic orientations of the actors in the relevant positions within the social structure are examined with the help of discourse analysis and the notions of strategic orientation from social network analysis.

2.6. IN A NUTSHELL: WHY ADOPT THE NETWORK PERSPECTIVE?

From an empirical point of view, the network theory approach seems appropriate because it provides the analytical notions from social network analysis to examine and explain the actors' behavior within the policy network perspective, as well as examining the network as a mode of governance within the network governance perspective. The most logical way to conduct the research is to combine the network analytical approach with the policy network and network governance perspectives, since the research is focused on the exploration of governance in the regeneration programs, which often involves a variety of stakeholders. As Blanco, Lowndes, and Pratchett (2011) put it "the analysis of governance variation within the network paradigm should provide an understanding of the driving forces that produce a shift towards local governance, recognizing how local context and agency can filter the effects of global urban transformations" (p. 279). The network theory perspective thus should provide an understanding of local governance and its own peculiarities in the globalized world, where former industrial neighborhoods located on riverfronts are facing similar urban problems, and leveraging strategies within the wider urban entrepreneurialism paradigm that are offered as solutions.

Employing Emirbayer and Goodwin's theoretical approach (1996), which encompasses the cultural, social-structural, and social-psychological contexts of social action, provides an opportunity for the network approach to "institute a relational mode of analysis that breaks away from tired debates about the primacy of structure or agency in determining social action" (Krippner, 2001, p. 769). In this manner, with the examination of the cultural- context and social-psychological context of social action, the research should provide an insight into the agency within the social structure.

The network approach provides a basis for scrutinizing urban networks over a certain period of time. Likewise, it provides an opportunity to understand to what extent urban networks transform over time and elaborates on the network dynamics. This might be crucial for understanding the process of urban regeneration as a long-term process, as well as understanding the variety of its outcomes.

To sum up, the network theory as a combination of the three approaches, is applied to examine the urban networks and their dynamics in the selected cases, which should provide valuable results for a deeper understanding of the urban regeneration process and how it manifests in two different contexts (a) post-socialist Belgrade, and (b) western European (capitalist) Amsterdam.

2.7. THE LOGIC OF THE COMPARISON

Comparative studies are dedicated to examining, understanding, and evaluating various social, cultural, and economic phenomena that exist within social units like cities, urban communities, and neighborhoods. This entails describing, analyzing, developing, or testing theories related to these phenomena (see Ward, 2010; Krehl and Weck, 2019). Comparative analysis can thus be “cross-national” (see e.g., Lelong, 2014; Hackmack, 2022) as in the context of the study, or it can also be “between two or several cities in the same country or even in one city studied throughout an extended period with changes in independent factors such as institutional arrangements or central-government policies vis-à-vis the cities” (see Pierre 2005, p. 459, see also Van Bortel, Mullins and Rhodes, 2009; Blanco, 2013).

As Pierre (2005) suggested “comparative research on urban governance is a good example of how one needs to balance the contextual richness of each individual case against the need for parsimony and simplicity of the other. One realizes at some level that much of the explanation for how the governance of a particular city has evolved lies in the political, social, cultural, and historical context of that city. In its extreme version, this argument suggests that all cities are more or less unique and therefore do not lend themselves to any meaningful comparison with other cities; indeed, a comparison should be a pointless exercise altogether. The opposite position suggests that – although acknowledging that cities do differ in some or even several respects – cities display significant institutional similarities and similar embeddedness in the regional and local economy, and are, on the whole, equally exposed to the thrust of globalization, and therefore, a comparison is both possible and indeed critical to any scientific explanation of their patterns of behavior or trajectory of change” (pp. 458-459).

Following the logic of the second argument, it is possible to apply empirical research by comparing the same phenomena in two diverse urban environments, and in this manner develop scientific explanations and make a contribution to urban regeneration scholarship. The study provides

opportunities to understand the consequences on urban neighborhoods and their communities that have been left behind during and after regeneration programs. Likewise, it provides opportunities to understand how local stakeholders (actors) are adapting and reacting to the pressures of globalization, the market, circular ideas, and urban transformations.

In this manner the comparison is focused on:

a) **POLICY NETWORK AND THE CONTEXTS OF SOCIAL ACTION**

The analysis should explain the actors, structure and relational dynamics of the network and answer the question of policy formation. Which are the most relevant actors in the policy-making process e.g. what is the role of the government and other public institutions, political elites, developers, civil society and citizens? What strategies do the actors leverage to reach their goals? What positions do the relevant actors occupy in the network? What explanation of their social actions and personal meanings can be provided? What are the shared perceptions which guide the social actions of the actors? Who is excluded from the policy-making process? Who is against the policy and why? Were there alternatives? What are the policy agenda and goals? Did the policy agenda and goals change over time and why? [e.g., *Is policy choice a sufficient explanation of the economic development trajectory, or can a stronger explanation be derived from an analysis of how those choices reflect the policy preferences of actors on higher institutional levels or the preferences of the business community?* (See again Pierre, 2005, p. 459)]

b) **GOVERNANCE MODE**

The analysis should explain the involvement of the actors and the social structure behind the implementation of the regeneration programs. Who are the participants in the network? Who participates in the decision-making process and coordinates the network i.e., who holds the power in the network? What governance modes can be discovered in both cases? Do organizations collaborate and to what extent? Who funds the network? Who monitors the network activities? Who is accountable for the network activities? Can different modes of governance be observed in the same urban neighborhood as a consequence of two different strategies? How do they influence one another? Did the governance modes transform from one to another, or completely

change, or maybe stay in the same form over the years? Why does the transformation happen?

c) **EFFECTIVENESS**

The analysis should explain the overall effectiveness. Have the policy goals been achieved and to what extent? Which actors have met their goals and which have not? Which indicators from the community level can be marked as fulfilled and to what extent? Are there particular external influences on the network and its effectiveness? Can these external influences be interpreted as positive or negative? Can the drivers of overall effectiveness be identified?

2.8. FILLING IN THE BLANKS

Regeneration programs without the culture component included do not really work since the communities have to be energized, they have to be given some hope, and they have to have the creative spirit released (Hughes, 1998, cited in Evans, 2005, p. 959).

This point of view is relevant since the research contributes to a deeper understanding of the governance process in creativity-led regeneration programs. This started with the initial idea that the empowerment of the creative sector will assist in neighborhood regeneration and has set the stage for wider social, cultural and economic development and eventually resulting in well-being for the citizens of Belgrade and Amsterdam and even their visitors. Research on creativity-led urban regeneration and the application of network theory may not be particularly innovative; however, the uniqueness and contributions of this study are found in its comparative case-study design, as well as in the integration of various network theoretical approaches and methods for data collection and analysis. Together, these elements aim to enhance understanding of governance modes and their manifestation in two distinct socio-economic and political contexts. The research presents several contributions. These are as follows.

(1) Contribution to the debate on urban governance in waterfront regeneration (cf. Swyngedouw, Moulaert and Rodriguez, 2002; Lelong, 2014; Lelong, Nagel and Grabher, 2017; Machala and Koelemaij, 2019) in the globalized world where urban entrepreneurship is widespread. The recent works by scholars like Blanco (2013), Lelong (2015), and Machala and Koelemaij (2019), suggest that there is much to be gained by employing a “comparative framework that blends the analysis

of the individual cases with a comparative analysis which reveals drivers of change and causal relationships between key variables in the analysis” (see Pierre, 2005, p. 459).

(2) Contribution in the examination of the nexus of the structure and the agency behind riverfront developments and the regeneration of former industrial sites in two different urban environments. It explains how collective and individual social actions have affected the formation and implementation of particular urban policies, addresses the power relations in governance, and how these influenced the neighborhoods in question. In addition, the research underlines and provides explanations of the similarities and differences that can be observed in comparative research in a given context.

(3) Contribution to moving beyond the tired debate that emphasizes the dichotomies of the regeneration process as bottom-up or top-down driven (see Blanco, 2013), or community-driven in contrast to market-driven regeneration (see Iovino, 2018). It explains urban regeneration as a hybrid of these two processes that might change over time, e.g., starts as one mode of regeneration and ends up as another. Urban regeneration thus implies a variety of stakeholders that produce a network, or networks, whose structures, relations and actors vary over time in accordance with the different interests and goals of the parties involved.

(4) Contribution to discovering what governance mode can prove as being effective (and to what extent effective) in terms of providing public value to the community. In a public lecture in 2017²⁴, Kenis mentioned that his network governance modes are extensively used in different public policy fields, however, he highlighted his disappointment in discovering new modes of network governance, since most of the researchers were replicating the findings of the basic three modes. The contribution thus lies in the discovery of network (governance) modes in urban governance and discovering to what extent their overall effectiveness is in the selected cases. Furthermore, Provan and Milward (2001) explained the relevance of evaluating effectiveness as “critical for understanding whether networks – and the network form of organizing – are effective in delivering the needed services or public value to community members” in comparison to other governance modes. “Evaluation of effectiveness is especially important for those who formulate public policy

²⁴ The talk was held at the 15th interdisciplinary Symposium on "Knowledge and Space" on June 30, 2017. The Symposium was organized by the Department of Geography (Heidelberg University, Germany) at the Studio Villa Bosch in Heidelberg.

at local, state, and national levels, so that scarce public funding can be allocated to service-delivery mechanisms that are utilizing resources efficiently while adequately serving public needs” (pp. 414-415).

(5) Contribution in adding empirical findings, which speak in favor that the regeneration process is more often than not steered by the government since the government e.g., national, city and district is a relevant stakeholder that holds the crucial resources, namely – political and economic capital, and therefore the power to influence the decision-making process and establish partnerships behind the regeneration of waterfronts.

It has been taken into account that the networks of stakeholders do not take individual or collective actions in a "vacuum" since the differences in urban politics and governance are not solely caused by the relevant role of structure and agency. Institutional legacies also play a significant role, in which the embedded stakeholders’ perceptions play a pivotal role in terms of how they acknowledge urban issues, solve problems, offer solutions, find interests in urban politics, and interact with each other.

In conclusion, this research explains urban regeneration through the examination of urban networks and their transformation but keeps in mind the perspective of the local-historical, and institutional context in which these urban networks are taking place. Those contexts can also enable and constrain collective action (see Emerson, Nabatachi, Balogh, 2011; as well as Moulaert, Jessop, and Mehmood, 2016). The researcher is aware of the depth of the research topic and thus acknowledges the relevance of differences in the institutional context while exploring urban networks. Moreover, further contributions will be discussed in the concluding remarks of the research.

3.0 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

The following research questions and hypotheses can be drawn from the selected theoretical framework:

RQ1: Which type of political actors have opportunities to leverage their resources and influence the policy-making process?

H1a: In the case of Savamala, it is expected that the political actors from the national and city government levels have more opportunities to leverage their knowledge and political capital, and thus influence the policy-making process.

H1b: In the case of NDSM Wharf, it is expected that the political actors from the local government levels such as the district and city have more opportunities to leverage their knowledge and political capital, and thus influence the policy-making process.

RQ2: To what extent do policy agendas and policy goals change in the course of the transformation?

H2a: In the case of Savamala, it is assumed that the initial policy agenda and policy goals change to a greater extent in the course of the transformation due to the arrival of stakeholders with new perceptions of the development.

H2b: In the case of NDSM Wharf, it is assumed that the initial policy agenda and policy goals remain to a greater extent in the course of the transformation due to the arrival of stakeholders with the same perceptions of the development.

RQ3: To what extent are actors from civil society involved in the regeneration programs?

H3a: In the case of Savamala, it is expected that actors from civil society are involved in the governance of the regeneration programs to a lesser extent, which negatively influences community effectiveness.

H3b: In the case of NDSM Wharf, it is expected that actors from civil society are involved in the governance of the regeneration programs to a greater extent which positively influences community effectiveness.

4.0. METHODOLOGY

This Chapter encompasses an explanation and justification of the research design and strategy and provides an elaboration of data collection and analysis in a more detailed manner. Likewise, the Chapter includes the epistemological and ontological standpoints of the research and explains the link between the selected theoretical framework, research questions, hypothesis, and the selected methodology.

4.1. ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

The deductive approach involves establishing a relationship between theory and empirical research. It incorporates existing theoretical concepts and tests hypotheses subject to empirical scrutiny through methods of data collection and analysis, which are aligned with the selected theoretical concepts (refer to Bryman, 2012, p. 24-26), as is the case in this particular study.

Regarding the epistemological perspective, the researcher relies on the tradition of interpretivism. This implies that access to knowledge, and the definition of acceptable knowledge, hinges on an effort to understand human behavior. The understanding is derived both from the researcher's external perspective and the perspectives of those being studied within a specific context, serving as a research sample (see Bryman, 2012, pp. 27-30). In this study, the focus is on social actors participating in the revitalization of former industrial neighborhoods. The researcher's role is to gain insight into their thinking and, subsequently, interpret their actions.

As highlighted in Subchapter 2.4., this research adopts a constructivist point of view from an ontological perspective. According to constructivism, meanings are social constructs grounded in the experiences of social actors embedded in a particular social context. These meanings are continuously shaped by social actors within the social reality. This perspective also suggests that social phenomena and categories are not solely products of social interaction but are in a perpetual state of revision (see, for example, Healey, 1999, 2003).

4.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

The investigation of the urban regeneration process benefits from a comparative research design in order to better comprehend the power relations in urban governance and measure the effectiveness that governance (network) modes have produced in different urban environments. Theoretically speaking, comparative design requires cases to be representative. This means that the selection of cases occurred not because they are “extreme or unusual in some way, but because they provide a suitable context for the research questions to be answered” (see Bryman, 2012, p. 70). As previously explained in the introduction Chapter (Subchapter 1.1.), both cases deal with the same type of regeneration process, that is, creativity-led regeneration in the course of transformation. Both cases have similar usage patterns, relevant locations within the cities' urban fabric, and the built environment. Furthermore, in both cases, the communities have been

confronted with particular urban challenges, such as economic and social deprivation, an absence of cultural programs, sound, air, and soil pollution, and abandoned industrial heritage. These issues have galvanized stakeholders, resulting in the mobilization of resources and collective action through entrepreneurial initiatives aimed at resolving cross-sectoral problems.

However, comparative design implies that the researchers can gain better insights into a certain phenomenon when it's compared in relation to two contrasting cases. In addition to the similarities, comparative design requires discrepancies in the organization of governance (see again Subchapter 1.1.), as in the context of the study. The comparative design, thus, aims to address the systematic differences in the governance of regeneration programs and therefore encompasses cases that can provide the answers to these ambiguities and generate knowledge to understand how the same urban phenomenon has a different manifestation in the selected cities – in contrasting urban and social realities (see Bryman, 2012, p. 70-74; Mahoney, 2007).

4.3. RESEARCH STRATEGY

A mixed-method research approach has been chosen as the most suitable strategy for this study. It incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis (see Hollstein, 2006, 2010). The qualitative aspect of the research aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the context of the regeneration process, elucidate actors' behaviors (see Fuhse and Mutzel, 2011; Fuhse and Gondal, 2015), explore shared and individual meanings among actors (see Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996; DiMaggio, 1997), and delve into network dynamics. This involves reconstructing the network structure (connectedness) and examining relations, such as undirected ties, symmetrical, or asymmetrical ties, among the actors in the networks.

Concurrently, the quantitative research component is employed to reconstruct policy networks. This entails defining the direction of ties and determining the positions of actors within the network fields based on their influence to shape the decision-making process.

Moreover, Hollstein (2010) argues that research that combines qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis might provide the most fruitful results. On the topic of a theoretical and empirical social network approach, a mixed-method design can help in the selection and localization of individual cases, since it reveals the distribution, the conditions, and the consequences of the patterns of social actions. On a similar note, Dominguez and Hollstein (2014),

stress that “qualitative data is better attuned to capturing individual actors and their systems of relevance compared to relational data on the structure of relationships and networks, incorporating qualitative and quantitative network data provides a way of linking theoretical perspectives that focus either on structure or agency” (p.18).

The mixed-method design, therefore, supports result validation and contributes to a more comprehensive and multi-layered explanation of social phenomena (see Dominguez and Hollstein, 2014, p. 16; Bryman, 2012, pp. 627-628). This makes it particularly relevant for processes such as urban regeneration and their implications.

4.4. DATA COLLECTION

To answer the research questions and test the hypothesis, the researcher has selected the strategies for data collection as follows: a) analysis of the scientific literature, media coverage, and documents; b) semi-structured and short structured interviews; c) observation; and d) field notes.

The initial phase of the research has included analysis of the existing scientific literature, media coverage, and documents to extract data and selection of the first phase of respondents for conducting interviews (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994; also Dominguez and Hollstein, 2014).

- (1) Published articles, master’s thesis, and books
- (2) Media coverage such as online media – websites, online magazines, YouTube channels, documentaries, and offline media – TV shows, print newspapers
- (3) Documents such as planning documents, laws, expert reports, and policies

TABLE NO. 4: A COMPLETE LIST OF THE DOCUMENTS AND MEDIA COVERAGE THAT HAVE BEEN EXAMINED IN THE COURSE OF THE RESEARCH

BELGRADE		AMSTERDAM	
DOCUMENTS	MEDIA	DOCUMENTS	MEDIA
The Law on Local Self-government. [<i>Zakon o lokalnoj samoupravi</i>]. Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia [<i>SL. Glasnik RS, br. 9/2002, 129/2007, 83/2014</i>]	Ekapija (2012) Online magazine “Od srpskog Menhetna nas deli 25 godina-sudbina Beograda na vodi, Varos na vodi, Europolisa”	North Attracts 2.0 and Noord Lonkt 3.0. Democratic dialogue starting document (1999) [<i>Noord Lonkt</i>	Nul 20, NR 14 online magazine Duco Stadig, tien jaar wethouder ruimtelijke ordening en volkshuisvesting: “Zelfs de aanpak van de stroperigheid verloopt stroperig” (2004)

		2.0 and Noord Lonkt 3.0. Startdocument democratische dialog]	
Belgrade Masterplan 2021 (2003)	The New York Times (2013) newspaper online edition, “On the Verge Belgrade, Europe’s Latest Urban Success Story”	Green cultuur zonder subcultuur plan van aanpak Broedplaats (2000) [No culture without subculture plan Broedplaats]	Artfactories Amsterdam Artfactories.net (2004)
The Law on Government [Zakon o vladi] Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia [Sl. glasnik RS], br. 55/2005, 71/2005	Politika (2013) newspaper online edition, “Dinkic Vucicev zamenik u komitetu za saradnju sa UAE”	Urban Catalyst at Amsterdam Noord (2003a)	Het Parool, (2007) online edition, “Discovery Networks naar Kraanspoor”
The Law on the Capital City [Zakon o glavnom gradu], Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia [Sluzbeni glasnik RS] ; br. 129/2007, 83/2014	Novosti (2013) newspaper online edition, “Jat ceka odgovor Etihada”	Urban Catalyst at Amsterdam Noord (2003b)	Het Parool (2008) online edition, “Gemeente Amsterdam blaast NDSM-werf nieuw leven in”
Informant on the work of the city municipality Savski Venac No. 18 [Informatior o radu gradske opštine Savski venac] (2008)	Vreme (2014) newspaper online edition, “Izbori 2014”	Politics in the Netherlands (2013) ProDemos – House for Democracy and the Rule of Law	“Creativity and the Capitalist City” documentary directed by Tino Buchholz (2012)
The Law on Protection of Competition [Zakon o zastiti konkurencije] Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia [Sluzbeni glasnik RS] Br. 51/2009, 95/2013	Bloomberg (2014) online magazine, “Serbia’s Vucic promises U.A.E’s billions in election bid”	The Governance Code for a Cultural Sector Cultuur+Ond Ernemen (2014)	The New York Times (2012) newspaper online edition “From Blue Collar to Red Hot in Amsterdam”
Strategic Plan of Development of Savski Venac municipality [Strateski plan razvoja opstine Savski Venac] (2010)	The Guardian (2015) newspaper online edition, “Belgrade’s Savamala district:	Revised Studio and Creative Incubator	Het Parool print newspaper (2014) “Stadworstelt met ontwikkelaar : Niemand onttroont de koning van de NDSM”

	Serbia's new creative hub"	Policy for Amsterdam new creative hub 2015 – 2018 The City of Amsterdam	print newspaper
The Study of Conceptual, Programmatic, and Urban and Architectural Solutions for the right shore of the Sava Riverfront, from Branko's Bridge to the delta of the Topčider River with a special elaboration of the first phase being from Branko's Bridge to the Old Tram Bridge. Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade (2010)	Vreme (2015) newspaper online edition, "O Beogradu na vodi, snovima i o tajnama, o javnom i privatnom interesu, uz galamu" Narodna Skupstina Republike Srbije, stenografske beleške, April 2, 2015 [Serbian national assembly, shorthand notes, April 2, 2015]	Course 2025, Space for the city, The City of Amsterdam (2016) [Koers 2025, Ruimte voor de stad, Geemete Amsterdam]	NDSM Open print magazine (2017), de Toekomst association, NDSM Wharf, Amsterdam.
The Law on Public-Private-Partnerships and Concessions [<i>Zakon o privatno-javnom partnerstvu i koncesijama</i>] Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia [<i>Sl. glasnik RS</i>] 88/2011, 15/2016, 104/2016.	Radio Slobodna Evropa (2015) magazine online edition, "Skupstina Srbije usvojila Lex specialis o Beogradu na vodi"	Art Plan 2017-2020, The City of Amsterdam [Kunstenplan 2017-2020, Geemete Amsterdam]	Archmap. It (2019) online magazine, "Once Something is Finished it Becomes Dull!" Interview with Anne-Marie Hoogland, Director of NDSM Wharf Foundation
Agreement on cooperation between the government of the Republic of Serbia and the government of the United Arab Emirates [<i>Ugovor o saradnji izmedju Republike Srbije i Ujedinjenih Arapskih Emirata</i>] (2013)	Radio Slobodna Evropa (2015) magazine online edition, "Ugovor o Beogradu na vodi otkriva veliku prevaru"	The Governance Code for a Cultural Sector Cultuur+Ond Ernemen (2019)	Urban Development policy documents [<i>Documenten beleid Stedelijke Ontwikkelin</i>], Gemeente Amsterdam, www.amsterdam.nl (2020)
Primedbe tokom javnog uvida na prostorni plan	The Guardian online edition (2015) "Belgrade Waterfront: An	Amsterdam studio and breeding ground policy 2019-2022, Breeding Ground Bureau	Gens.nl BMB developer (2022)

podrucija posebne namene uredjenja dela priobalja grada Beograda-podrucije priobalja reke Save za grad Beograd [Complaints about the Spatial Plan for Belgrade Waterfront] (2014)	unlikely place for Gulf petrodollars to settle”.	[Bureau Broedplaatsen Amsterdams atelier- en broedplaatsenbeleid 2019-2022 Bureau Broedplaatsen]	
Primedbe i sugestije na nacrt Prostornog Plana za projekat “Beograd na vodi” [Complaints and Suggestions on the Spatial Plan for Belgrade Waterfront] (2014)	Forbes (2016) online magazine, “A Look At Abu Dhabi’s ‘Bad Joke’: The Belgrade Waterfront Project”	The power of art and culture: Main lines of art and culture 2021-2024. City of Amsterdam, Netherlands. [De kracht van kunst en cultuur: Hoofdpijnen kunst en cultuur 2021-2024. Geemete Amsterdam, Netherlands]	BMB ontwikkeling B.V. https://www.ndsm.nl/en/practical-information/wegwijzer/bmb/ (2022)
Ugovor o zajednickom ulaganju u Beograd na vodi (2015) Joint venture agreement Belgrade Waterfront English version (2015)	Ne da (vi)mo Beograd website (2015/2016). Glasilo inicijative Neda(vi)mo Beograd, 1(1). Glasilo inicijative Neda(vi)mo Beograd, 2(2).		Breeding sites in Amsterdam https://whatsupwithamsterdam.com/broedplaats-amsterdam/ (2022)
Commission for Protection of Competition (2015) Decision br.6/0–02–368/2015–7, 27 May, 2015.	Insajder (2016) TV show, “Beograd na vodi I i II” Interview with Sinisa Mali by Brankica Stankovic		NDSM.nl. (2022). Roc Top NDSM.
Deklaracija o “Beogradu na vodi” [Declaration on Belgrade Waterfront project] (2015)	Radio Televizija Srbije 1 (2016), TV show “Razgoliceni grad: Savski amfiteatar u raljama Beograda na vodi”		Amsterdams Fonds Voor de Kunst https://www.amsterdamsfondsvoordekunst.nl/en/ (2022)

<p><i>Lex specialis</i> - The Law on the determination of the public interest and the special procedures of expropriation and issuance of a building permit for the implementation of the "Belgrade Waterfront" Project [<i>Zakon o utvrđivanju javnog interesa i posebnim postupcima eksproprijacije i izdavanja građevinske dozvole radi realizacije projekta Belgrad na vodi</i>] (2015), Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia [<i>Sl. glasnik RS</i>], br. 34/2015, 103/2015, 153/2020</p>	<p>Seecap financial advisor (2020), website "Property prices in Serbia in 2020"</p>		<p>Geemete Amsterdam Project Management Bureau https://www.amsterdam.nl/pmb/ (2022)</p>
<p>Regulation on establishing the Spatial Plan of the area of special purpose for the development of part of the waterfront of the city of Belgrade - the area along the Sava River for the project "Belgrade on the water". [<i>Uredba o utvrđivanju Prostornog plana područja posebne namena uređenja dela priobalja grada Beograda – područje priobalja reke Save za projekat „Beograd na vodi”</i>] Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia [<i>SL. Glasnik RS</i>], br. 7/2015-3, 48/2022-5</p>	<p>Belgrade Waterfront website (2021)</p>		<p>Geemete Amsterdam Northward Project Office https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/details/30885 (2022)</p>
<p>General Urban Plan 2016</p>	<p>Politika (2021) magazine online edition, "Zgrada Železničke stanice čeka obnovu i prelazak u muzej"</p>		
	<p>Danas (2021) newspaper online edition, "Vučić razvija privatno poslovni odnos sa partnerima iz UAE"</p>		

	NIInfo (2022) newspaper online edition, “Vlade od 2012. do 2022: Vučić premijer i kad to zvanično nije”		
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INTERVIEWS: In the first phase, the respondents were chosen through means of purposive sampling. According to Bryman (2012), purposive sampling aims to sample the interview participants in a strategic way, so that the sampled individuals are relevant to the defined topic of the research, goals, and research questions as stated in the previous Chapters (p. 418). This means that such a sample encompasses a variety of stakeholders in the regeneration process, and the participants in the urban networks in both cases. Independent experts²⁵ who had already generated certain knowledge on the research topic were also included in the interviews. In the second phase of the research, respondents were chosen through means of the snowballing method (see again Bryman, 2012, p. 203, 424). This means that the respondents from the first phase selected other relevant respondents who provided further data on the subject of the research. The researcher had a list of questions on specific topics, that is, interview guidelines, which needed to be covered. The first part of the interview was semi-structured, meaning that the respondents had a great deal of leeway in how to reply. The oral interview included open-ended questions. The initial idea was to conduct all interviews face-to-face, but since that was not possible, a portion of the interviews were done online via the Zoom platform and a single interview by telephone, and another one by email utilizing a semi-structured questionnaire. The questions in the oral interviews were not asked in exactly the same order as has been outlined in the guidelines. Questions that had not been included in the guide were asked as the interviewer picked up on particular things said by the respondents. However, all the questions were asked and similar wording was used for all the respondents, in relation to the research questions, and the goals of the research. Likewise, one part of oral interviews included structured questions where the respondents were able to reply with only two answers e.g., yes or no. This was done in order to extract straightforward and precise

²⁵ Independent experts were also a relevant part of the research. Those were academics who have published research papers on the regeneration of the selected urban quarters.

answers in accordance with the reconstruction of the networks and relations among the actors within a network, after the respondents had provided in-depth information. The duration of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to two hours. Interviews that lasted over one hour were done in two phases, at different periods of time. Interviews were recorded, and then transcribed²⁶ and added to MAXQDA software. The number of participants included 36 people in total, for both cases. In the case of Savamala, the initial phase of the research included relevant actors from civil society, independent experts, private actors, and relevant political actors from the local municipality which were discovered through the analysis of existing literature and media coverage on the regeneration of Savamala. In the second phase, the criterion of mutual relevance was applied (see Hackmack, 2022, p. 61). The respondents nominated other actors that they perceived as being relevant in the regeneration process. In the case of NDSM Wharf, in the first phase of the research respondents were selected from the expert reports published in 2003, Zimmermann's master thesis (2014) and the documentary "Creativity and Capitalist City" from 2011. Also, two professors from the University of Amsterdam were interviewed. In the second phase, respondents nominated other actors that they perceived as being relevant. In general, the participants in both cases were selected according to the relevance of their participation in governance, and their knowledge of the urban regeneration process in both cities. The respondents provided information on topics such as urban policy towards the selected parts of the city and the course of policy transformation; the role of the governments in the regeneration process; the goals of the regeneration process; financial support; the decision-making process and coordination; relations among stakeholders; collaboration among stakeholders; the amount of trust among stakeholders; frequency in exchange of knowledge, etc.

OBSERVATION: The researcher was also a non-participant observer (see Bryman, 2012, p. 444). This means that the researcher observed, but it did not participate in group activities (such as meetings, round tables, etc.). Interaction with respondents occurred, but often through interviews and informal talks often at coffee meetings and lunches. Belgrade Waterfront Company's stand in the Belgrade Cooperative building was visited several times over the last seven years, and informal discussions were held with project presenters and the sales manager. Additionally, a variety of models of the Belgrade Waterfront project have been presented to the public in the last seven years, and all these models have been observed and taken into consideration. In addition, the researcher

²⁶ *Non-verbatim* transcriptions excludes all unnecessary speech to make a transcript more readable without editing or changing the meaning or structure.

has visited the selected neighborhoods several times, in order to observe and take field notes (see Bryman, 2012, p. 450-451).

FIELD NOTES: The field notes included observations of the selected urban neighborhoods. Observations were focused on the reuse of industrial heritage; the types of industries which are represented; the type of cultural events happening there; the demographic structure in terms of what kind of social classes are living in that area and who the people that are attending the events; what kind of industries except for creative ones can also be found there; the types of housing; traffic connections with downtown; temporary initiatives and the overall atmosphere. Notes were recorded on a dictaphone and later transcribed into a Word document, which was uploaded into MAXQDA 2021 software, analyzed and the main concepts were highlighted in memos. Field notes and observations were of relevance for the measurement of community effectiveness in both cases.

TABLE NO. 5: A COMPLETE LIST OF THE INTERVIEWEES IN BOTH CASE STUDIES

BELGRADE			AMSTERDAM		
Number & date	Organization & position	Interview type	Number & date	Organization & position	Interview type
1a 23/07/2019	Culture Centre Grad, co-founder & CEO	Face-to-face interview in one session	1b 25/04/2021	Professor at the University of Amsterdam, independent expert	Online interview in one session
2a 25/07/2019 22/01/2020	Savski Venac Municipality, former municipal manager	Face-to-face interview in two sessions	2b 29/04/2021	Filmmaker and author	Online interview in one session
3a 30/07/2019	Participant in Urban Incubator Project, artist	Face-to-face interview in one session	3b 06/05/2021 10/06/2021	Noord Lonkt project manager, researcher, and independent expert	Online interview and face-to-face interview
4a 09/08/2019	Savski Venac Municipality, former head of construction	Face-to-face interview in one session	4b 17/05/2021	NDSM-Herleeft Foundation, board secretary and a former worker at the shipyard	Semi-structured questionnaire
5a 23/08/2019	Nova Iskra Design Incubator, co-founder & CEO	Face-to-face interview in one session	5b 18/05/2021 16/06/2021	Artist and activist at NDSM Wharf	Online interview and face-to-face interview
6a 27/08/2019	Culture Centre Magacin, artist	Face-to-face interview in one session	6b 06/06/2021	BMB (ex Biesterbos) Developing company - project manager	Online interview in one session

7a 05/09/2019	Mikser House and Mikser Festival, co-founder & CEO	Face-to-face interview in one session	7b 21/06/2021	Kinetic Noord Foundation - manager	Face-to-face interview in one session
8a 21/09/2019	Stab art project founder and art director of Belgrade Waterfront	Face-to-face interview in one session	8b 21/06/2021	NDSM Wharf Foundation - office manager and former secretary of the Project Bureau Noordwaarts	Face-to-face interview in one session
9a 07/10/2019	Goethe Institute, project manager behind the Urban Incubator Savamala project	Face-to-face interview in one session	9b 23/06/2021	Kinetic Noord Foundation - former manager and co-founder, artist	Face-to-face interview in one session
10a 8/10/2019	Citizen Association Savamala, board member and citizen of Savamala	Face-to-face interview in one session	10b 25/06/2021 11/02/2022	NDSM Wharf Foundation, public relations	Online interview in two sessions
11a 10/10/2019	Streets for Cyclists, founder and activist	Face-to-face interview in one session	11b 26/11/2021	Professor at the University of Amsterdam, independent expert	Online interview in one session
12a 16/10/2019 18/01/2020	Savski Venac Municipality, former municipal president (2008-2012)	Telephone interview in two sessions	12b 06/12/2021	Association of tenants NDSM Wharf, board member and artist	Online interview in one session
13a 26/10/2019	Former professor at the Faculty of Architecture and independent expert	Online interview in one session	13b 07/02/2022	Beautiful Distress, gallery owner	Online interview in one session
14a 28/10/2019	Mladost and Ludost Club cluster co-owner, CEO and DJ	Face-to-face interview in one session	14b 14/02/2022	NDSM Treehouse - co-founder and ex board member of Kinetic Noord Foundation	Online interview in one session
15a 28/10/2019	G12 New Media Hub Gallery - curator and a board member in the Independent Cultural Scene of Serbia Association	Face-to-face interview in one session	15b 21/03/2022	The City of Amsterdam, former alderman of housing and spatial planning	Online interview in one session
16a 06/12/2019	Kolektiv association of architects and radio broadcaster, owner and architect	Face-to-face interview in one session			
17a 24/01/2020	Savski Venac Municipality, former president (2012-2016)	Face-to-face interview in one session			
18a 09/02/2020	Culture Centre Magacin, founder of art collective and artist	Online interview in one session			
19a 10/02/2020	Startit association of IT professionals, co-founder and board member	Online interview in one session			
20a	Former head of	Face-to-face interview in			

18/03/2020	construction (2012-2016) in Savski Venac municipality and architect in the Urban Planing Institute	one session			
21a 06/10/2020	Ne da(vi)mo Beograd citizens association member and politician	Online interview in one session			

4.5. DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis was presented side-by-side with the data collection, repeatedly referring back to one another (see Charmaz, 2000). MAXQDA 2021 software was used for qualitative data analysis. The majority of the data collected, such as interview transcripts, documents, and literature, was uploaded into the software. The data went through qualitative content analysis and codes were created (e.g., code: political capital, or knowledge exchange) together with different categories (e.g., category: actors' relations). In addition, data from online and offline media coverage and from the field notes and observations were added through memos and also qualitatively analyzed. In addition to qualitative data analysis, quantitative data analysis was also conducted on the data collected from the interviews. Moreover, analyzing data side-by-side with the data collection enabled further data collection, with the knowledge of where and what kind of missing data could be obtained, in order to develop comprehensive research and cover the entire narrative. Data analysis included "making comparisons", with the purpose of finding respondents that would maximize opportunities to fill the empirical gaps and discover variations among the concepts (see again Bryman, 2012, p. 568-570).

The steps in the data analysis went as follows:

a) Coding

Codes were used to organize and label the data (see Charmaz, 2000). The process of coding the data included breaking it down into components that were given particular names. This process occurred when the data were collected and analyzed in the software. Open and focused coding was used (see Bryman, 2012, p. 568), which means that only selected parts of the transcripts, for example, were marked and coded and this followed the logic driven from the theoretical framing. Moreover, data were examined and compared, and categorized into concepts (codes), which were later grouped and turned into particular categories. For instance, power in governance, or actors' relations in the policy-making process.

b) Theoretical saturation, constant comparison and interpretation

Sampling continued until a category had been saturated with data, which again was driven by the logic of the concepts used in theoretical framing. This means that sampling continued until no relevant data seemed to be emerging regarding a category. Plus, the category needed to be well developed in relation to other categories. A close connection between collecting data and conceptualization was maintained. The researcher compared and interpreted phenomena being coded under a certain category, so that a theoretical elaboration of that category began to emerge (see Bryman, 2012, pp. 421-426, 568).

ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY NETWORKS AND (NETWORK) GOVERNANCE MODES

Analysis of the policy networks includes examination of the contexts of social actions (see again Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, pp. 365-368) comprising an examination of social-structural context, social-psychological context, and the cultural context of action as pointed out in Subchapter 2.4. Besides the network structure, which is examined through the analytical notions of social network analysis (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994), the cultural-discursive dimension of networks is examined by discourse (see Goffman, 1979; Bryman, 2012, p. 528; Kamalu and Osisanwo, 2015) and frame analysis (see Goffman, 1974; Matthes, 2009).

POLICY NETWORKS

a) RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL-STRUCTURAL CONTEXT OF ACTION

To reconstruct the social-structural context of action (see Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 367), the network of actors was examined to identify those who had the power to influence the decision-making process. In accordance with local and national government legislation, the positions of the political actors within the policy networks have been determined. Subsequently, political capital was defined as the number of seats held by parties in parliament or council (or executive board) during a particular policy creation period, and was determined through analysis of documents and media coverage. This information was then taken into consideration when positioning actors

within the policy network. In addition, qualitative content analysis²⁷ (Bryman, 2012, p. 291) was conducted on data obtained from (a) the law on local (or national) government, (b) documents and media coverage, and (c) semi-structured interviews to identify actors with substantial influence in decision-making and those with modest or no influence. Based on their decision-making power, actors were assigned a position in the network, designated by a position number from 1 to x in the diagram. This means that results were triangulated quantitatively. The position of actors in the network fields refers to their degree of influence in the decision-making process as a whole, with center denoting *substantial influence* and periphery indicating *modest influence* or *no influence*. This implies that the position of actors in the diagram, specifically their distance or proximity to the center, also signifies their potential to influence the decision-making process

Relations among network participants were measured from the data collected from interviews, documents, literature and media (e.g. from statements of the stakeholders) in accordance with the analytical notions of SNA (see Subchapter 2.5. part 1). The data has gone through qualitative content analysis. Text passages that reveal the actors' behavior in relation to other actors were coded together with the results of structured interviews, and then the type of ties was assigned through a qualitative, or quantitative, approach. In that manner, a directed tie denotes that a particular actor has shared knowledge or has pressured another actor (+1). The relation with actors from the same social circle, characterized by a longer duration and data greater intimacy of exchange, denotes a strong relation²⁸, and a relationship with an actor from a different social circle, characterized by a shorter duration and less intimacy of exchange, denotes a weak relation. Other ties were also measured qualitatively, thus the asymmetrical tie denotes that one actor had a larger amount of political capital in contrast to another ($a > b$), or reciprocal when it comes to mutual exchange of knowledge ($a = b$). An undirected tie was also measured qualitatively, e.g., political party A and political party B were in coalition. Actors who did not exchange any resources and who did not participate in the network activities, but were stakeholders, have been assigned with 0, which means that they are isolates according to social network analysis (see again Wasserman

²⁷ Qualitative content analysis denotes “an approach to text that emphasizes the role of the investigator in the construction of the meaning in texts. The focus is on allowing categories to emerge out of data and on recognizing the relevance of understanding meaning in the context in which an item being analyzed appeared” (see Bryman, 2012, p. 291). This approach was used for the analysis of all data, and not just documents and media coverage.

²⁸ The strength of ties was measured qualitatively. For instance, if two actors have met more frequently to exchange knowledge (and information) and they were in closer relation in the policy-making process and collaboration, the tie is denoted as strong. A weak tie denotes the opposite of a strong tie.

and Faust, 1994, p. 25) and they did not have any ties with the other network participants. The notion of actor's degree centrality (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 178) was also measured in quantitative terms.

b) RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF ACTION

To reconstruct the social-psychological context of social action (see again Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 368) data were analyzed through the means of social network analysis. The focus was on the actor's position within the network and their relation with the other actors within the network. But, also on the actor's personal meanings (see Fuhse and Mutzel, 2011; Fuhse and Gondal, 2015), which denote their understanding of a given context in which they have a position to maneuver the resources in accordance with their interests and goals. An actor's personal meanings are qualitatively examined by the means of discourse analysis. A discourse analysis thus consists of analyzing a certain way of thinking and speaking (see Bryman, 2012, p. 528; Kamalu and Osisanwo, 2015). The statements of the stakeholders given in the interviews, reports and through media, were examined and interpreted with the aim of understanding the possible reasons behind their social action. In the social-psychological context of social action particularly, the focus was on understanding the behavior of the actors in the position of third (see Grabher, 2006, p. 3).

c) RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF SOCIAL ACTION

The cultural context of social action (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 365) denotes shared perceptions, values, and attitudes that certain stakeholders have in common within a social structure. In the context of this research, those shared perceptions are equal to the possibilities and options in an urban development within the particular system of rules in which their possibilities move. Discourse analysis combined with frame analysis is used for examining the cultural context of social action. The qualitative frame analysis (see Goffman 1974; Matthes, 2009) is added in order to frame the actors' shared perceptions²⁹ that have shaped the built environment of the selected neighborhoods (see Lelong, 2014, p. 207). Inductive frame analysis has been applied. This

²⁹ Goals of the stakeholders have been examined, regardless of whether they were participants or isolates in the policy network.

means that the transcript of the semi-structured interviews, and other statements and interviews given in reports and media, have been analyzed in MAXQDA software and the researcher has identified the frames that were not predefined. Frames are identified with the assistance of coding of the text passages regarding the actors' shared perceptions and interpretation of the spatial development possibilities and policy goals. The codes were compared and placed into categories that relate to a particular frame, with an indication of the type of frame e.g., economic, social, political, environmental and cultural. Frames are generic³⁰ (see Matthes, 2009, p. 350), formed according to the urban transformation paradigm e.g., inter-urban competition, cultural regeneration.

RECONSTRUCTION OF (NETWORK) GOVERNANCE MODES

Qualitative content analysis (see Bryman, 2012, p. 291) was applied to reveal, explore and reconstruct the (network) governance modes. The examination was guided by the theory of network governance (see Provan and Kenis, 2008), with a focus on the involvement of actors in governance, structure, and the nature of authority. In the next step, the governance modes that had been discovered were compared with the (network) governance modes from the existing literature, to examine which of the existing modes were compatible with the governance modes in the selected cases. Qualitative analysis of the documents, media reports, literature, and interview data from participants was used to reconstruct each mode of governance. The sources used to reconstruct the modes of governance are indicated below each figure.

The notion of effectiveness at a network level was examined through the comparison of goals, selected in the policy-making process. In this manner, the policy goals that were selected through discourse and frame analysis were compared with the outcomes of the regeneration process. The analysis showed whether the policy goals which were indicated by the stakeholders in the policy-making process had been achieved or not, or achieved to a limited extent. The notion of community effectiveness was analyzed by tracing and observing the causal mechanism (see e.g., Beach and Pedersen, 2013) that created a causality between the independent variable - a mode of governance, and the dependent variable - community effectiveness. Indicators of community effectiveness were distinguished in the theoretical framing (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2), such as the cost to the

³⁰ Generic frames represent typical layers of contextualization in stories and are broadly applicable to a range of different texts (see Matthes, 2009).

community, inclusiveness, stakeholder perception that the regeneration program had solved certain urban issues that existed prior to the regeneration, and the cultural and economic impact on the neighborhood. The fulfillment of the selected indicators was qualitatively measured according to the collected data through selected sources and their analysis.

4.6. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

In terms of the methodology, attention should also be drawn to the limitations and criteria of the research. Limitations can be observed when it comes to data collection. More precisely in respect of boundary issues, considering the samples for the interviews and the application of social network theory (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, pp. 30-33). For instance, it was not possible to interview all the actors who were participating in the policy-making, or in the governance of the regeneration program. Several relevant actors did not show an interest in taking part in the research as respondents. These included political elites from Belgrade (i.e., a former Belgrade city manager and deputy mayor and a former city architect) that are involved in the Belgrade Waterfront project and a politician and a civil servant (i.e., a former district president and project manager from a Project Bureau Noordwaarts) from Amsterdam. Likewise, a broader sample would be too ambitious due to time consumption. The sampling process has thus included a number of relevant stakeholders that provide enough information for the reconstruction of the policy networks and (network) governance modes.

Another issue is the criteria of the research, that is, the internal and external validity (see Bryman, 2012, p. 47). Internal validity relates to the issue of causality. For instance, there are certain limitations when considering the qualitative measuring of community effectiveness. Given that it starts from the premise that the mode of (network) governance affects community effectiveness. However, other unexpected factors besides the governance mode can affect effectiveness at the community level, such as economic crises, market fluctuations, Coronavirus outbreaks, or similar.

Moreover, external validity in terms of whether the results of a study can be generalized beyond the specific research context, that is, the cases of Amsterdam and Belgrade, is somewhat limited. It cannot be said that such results will appear in other contexts, even if the same governance modes emerge with similar policy goals behind them. However, the results of the research will contribute to a further understanding of governance processes in the regeneration of waterfronts in the given

socio-economic and institutional contexts. In fact, the study could be applicable to a number of cases of the regeneration of former industrial districts in the contexts of (a) capital cities on the periphery of economic development in post-socialist countries, and (b) capital cities in western capitalist democracies at the center of economic development. Moreover, the research limitations will be elaborated on to a greater extent in the last Chapter of the study.

PART III

5.0. RESEARCH FINDINGS

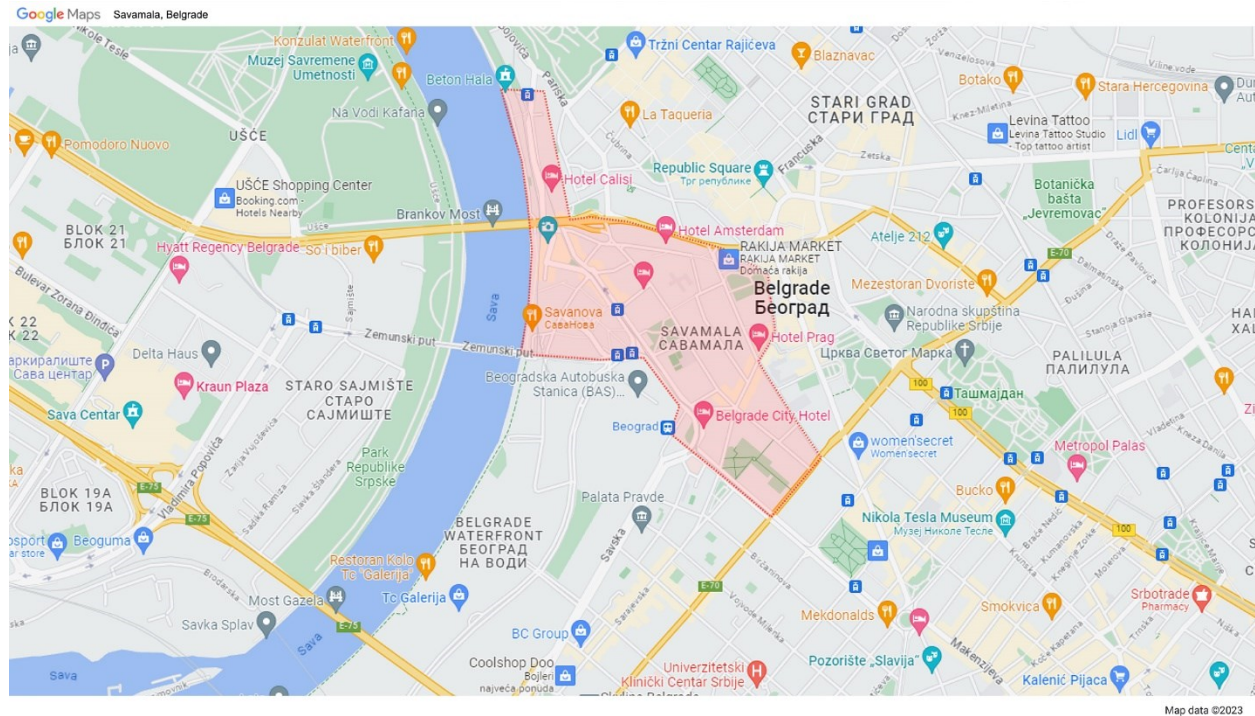
5.1. REGENERATION OF SAVAMALA – SCRUTINIZING URBAN NETWORKS

This Chapter provides a historical overview of the developments of Savamala and the Sava Amphitheater, and explains the significance of their location. It also delves into the unimplemented development projects and phases that both Savamala and the Sava Amphitheater have undergone over the past few decades. Furthermore, the Chapter covers the reconstructions of the policy networks and governance modes, including network governance, and presents research findings in accordance with the selected theoretical framework, research questions, objectives, and methodology.

LOCATION, ORIGIN AND HISTORY

Savamala, a historical neighborhood of Belgrade, dates back to the 18th century. It is situated on the right bank of the Sava River and spatially belongs to the zone of the Sava Amphitheatre, as well as to Savski Venac, which is one of the central municipalities of Belgrade. The origin of the name Savamala comes from the times of Ottoman rule over the city, and is derived from the old Turkish word “mahala”, which defines a neighborhood, and the name of the river Sava.

FIGURE NO.2: A MAP WITH THE LOCATIONS OF SAVAMALA AND THE BELGRADE WATERFRONT PROJECT



SOURCE: GOOGLE MAPS

The broader urbanization of this urban neighborhood started in the early 19th century, and for a century Savamala was the site of urban development projects which aimed at promoting the cultural and economic importance of the riverfront (Cvetinović, Kucina, and Bolay, 2013, pp. 2-3). During the Second World War intense deterioration of Savamala occurred. In the following years, this quarter was labeled as “bourgeoisie” by the ruling communist party and it was disregarded as the legacy of the Kingdom of Serbia. Savamala was then transformed into an industrial zone, due to it being in the perfect location, situated on the riverfront in the city core and with traffic routes connected to the various zones of the city. Karadjordjeva Street, which was during the era of the Kingdom³¹ one of the most beautiful city avenues, became a busy, loud and polluted transit roadway, surrounded by warehouses that replaced the bombed palaces. Likewise, Savamala also hosted the enlargement of major traffic infrastructure, including the main train and bus stations, the river terminal, and two of the city’s main bridges, connecting the city center to New Belgrade (Cvetinović, Kucina, and Bolay, 2013, p. 3). Throughout the years several public institutions announced open calls for projects and conducted research which focused on the

³¹ In the first decades of the 20th century.

development of the Sava riverfront with more environmentally and economically sustainable perspective. One of the most notable projects was “Varoš na Vodi” (English. Borough on the Water). The vision was to connect the left and the right banks of the Sava River with additional bridges and to create a network of canals, plus create an artificial island with residential, business, tourist, and cultural facilities (Bosiljčić, 2016). However, this project remained in the form of research and did not progress any further. Additionally, another project titled “Europolis” (see Perić, 2019, p. 5) was drafted by the Institute of Transportation in 1995 for the purpose of the Socialist Party of Serbia’s (SPS) election campaign. Experts were known to claim that this project was done without serious research. The project was presented at the Architectural Congress in Barcelona, but in a similar manner to other previous projects, it never came to fruition (Ekapija, 2012).

In 2000, a political shift occurred and Serbia turned towards democracy. In the first decade of the 21st century, Savamala had good potential to become an attractive urban area for the accumulation of private capital on a large scale, due to its valuable location (Cvetinović, Maričić, and Bolay, 2016, p. 16). The land of the Sava Amphitheater belonged to the Serbian Railways. While the buildings and plots in Savamala were owned partly by the City of Belgrade, and additionally to private companies, which through privatization of public companies, gained a portion of their assets (Interviewee no. 4a). However, this urban neighborhood was preserved from standard development patterns, due to its long-term decay and unpopular reputation. This paved the way for a different trajectory of development for the area, through collaboration between the local municipality and civil society. This type of partnership triggered a regeneration in terms of the physical, social, cultural, and economic aspects (see Cvetinović, Maričić, and Bolay, 2016).

In 2014, a political shift brought about a novel project that aimed to revitalize Savamala and the Sava Amphitheatre. The Belgrade Waterfront project is a public-private partnership between the Republic of Serbia and a foreign investor. The project aimed to develop a new residential, commercial, and business part of the city, on the Sava riverfront. The new development relocated the main railway station, renovated the historical buildings in Savamala, and also planned to connect Savamala and the Sava Amphitheater with the historical quarter of Kosančićev Venac and Terazije Square through pedestrian zones (General Urban Plan Belgrade, 2016).

In conclusion, the physical and socio-economic revitalization of Savamala and the Sava Amphitheater were the aims of unrealized projects during the 20th century. The initial trigger for the actual regeneration of Savamala commenced in 2008, with a larger transformation officially beginning in 2015 when *Lex specialis* – the Law on Expropriation for the Purpose of the Belgrade Waterfront Project– was issued by the national government in order to provide a legal basis for the project (see Grubbauer and Čamprag, 2018, p. 11)

5.1.1. PHASE I (2008-2016) | THE CREATIVE QUARTER OF SAVAMALA

In the period between 2008 and 2012, according to Informant³² on the work of the city municipality Savski Venac No. 18 (2008) the municipal government and council were made up of coalitions of the Democratic Party (DS) and the G17+ Party, and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

In that period of time, the municipal government had the jurisdiction of approximately 30 vacant spaces, which were partly located in Savamala. However, these vacant spaces were in the ownership of the city. A large portion of these spaces were part of the industrial and historical heritage of Savamala. The vacant spaces were in a state of neglect and needed revitalization. The founders of the Kulturni Front (in English. Cultural Front) organization made contact with the municipality manager, with the idea of establishing a new independent culture center, after finding a derelict warehouse in Savamala (Interviewee no. 1a). The municipality manager assisted them with gaining a permit for renting the space at a subsidized price. On this occasion, the municipality manager saw the opportunity for utilization of the derelict former industrial spaces – to collect a rental fee, free the municipality of communal taxes, and at the same time support entrepreneurial initiatives (Interviewee no. 2a). The municipality agreed to rent the space to Kulturni Front and when the permits were granted in 2008, a new culture center appeared. This act assisted in the development of an idea that went on to become official municipality policy. The policy focus was on the activation and regeneration of vacant spaces through means of creativity. The aims were to empower the creative economy and cooperation among the stakeholders in the neighborhood; to build social capital through cultural programs; establish co-working spaces and creative and IT hubs where people from different backgrounds could meet and exchange ideas. At the time, the population of Savski Venac was in decline, and there was a certain amount of brain drain that

³² Journal about the work of the Municipality of Savski Venac.

needed to be decreased. The municipality, thus, wanted to support and empower entrepreneurial initiatives and attract newcomers. Their support was not so much focused on providing grants, but on offering subsidized rental prices for actors that belonged to the non-governmental sector (Interviewee no. 2a). Private actors who were not registered as NGOs had the opportunity to rent these spaces by way of public bidding, with the highest bidder being granted permission to occupy the space. Some of the vacant spaces in Savamala belonged to private owners, who used this opportunity to rent their real estate at market prices, which were low at the time due to Savamala being a devaluated urban neighborhood.

“We wanted to create a healthy ecosystem and revitalize spaces through creative and cultural means and support creative hubs and startups. This creative energy would spread around the city and people would feel welcome to come to our neighborhood. The best way to revitalize spaces is to find partners who have already had experience, funding, sustainable projects to create a variety of content which will connect local people, professionals from various fields, and foreigners who could also join”, stated the former municipality manager (Interviewee no. 2a).

The founders of the Cultural Front connected other creative entrepreneurs from the city with the municipality manager (Interviewee no. 1a). In addition to the manager and the municipality president, an expert team was led by the head of construction jobs, who was responsible for policy creation. Likewise, the same team was in charge of applying for EU funds and providing assistance for policy formulation, in cooperation with the municipality manager.

“The idea was not to destroy the existing urban fabric but to do urban recycling, and therefore give a new life and shape to former industrial buildings and preserve their identity,” commented the former head of construction (Interviewee no. 4a).

The policy was included in the strategic development plan of the Savski Venac Municipality. Moreover, the municipality commissioned the Strategic Development Plan 2010-2014 for Savski Venac Municipality from the Belgrade Faculty of Economics, who worked in cooperation with the Palgo Agency for Development (Interviewee No. 2a). This policy that aimed to empower the creative sector in the historical urban neighborhood of Savamala was also mentioned in the “Study of Conceptual, Programmatic, and Urban and Architectural Solutions for the right shore of the Sava Riverfront, from Branko’s Bridge to the delta of the Topčider River with a special elaboration of the first phase being from Branko’s Bridge to the Old Tram Bridge” (Đukanović et al., 2012).

The study was moreover commissioned by the municipality and was designed as an underpinning for the potential cultural, environmental, and economic revitalization of the Savski Amphitheater (Interviewee no. 2a). The study was based on the following principles: inclusion of the local community; preserving a distinctive urban milieu; promoting economic and environmental sustainability; promoting various initiatives for organizing public activities, manifestations, and events where visitors would gather and which would endorse cultural, artistic, and other qualities. And this, encouraged the successful engagement of the Savski Venac Municipality regarding the development and conversion of urban spaces for creative industries and the alternative scene and facilitated the development of new temporary facilities for the promotion of creative incubators, i.e., for various civil society initiatives that had been a part of the hitherto municipal policy and viable program of hospitality services (Đukanović et al., 2012).

According to the Law on Local Self-Government, the central government³³ had jurisdiction to enact spatial and urban plans and to regulate the use of construction land to a greater extent. This meant that this ambitious initiative needed to be supported by the city government in order to become an official urban policy at the city level. The municipality, according to the law, had minimal jurisdiction and funds for such a development project³⁴. However, the elaboration of project did not even reach the level of city government due to the fact that the city mayor and the city architect did not show any interest in this particular project and thus did not provide the required political support (Interviewee no. 12a).

Since the project was not able to gain support from the civil servants of higher rankings, it remained only in the form of ideas and research. In meantime, the leader of the Progressive Party (SNS - Srpska Napredna Stranka) Aleksandar Vučić announced in 2013, as part of his election campaign, another project called Belgrade Waterfront, with a focus on the riverfront redevelopment (Interviewee no. 17a). The idea of the Belgrade Waterfront became the national and city policy for the redevelopment of the Sava riverfront, which created long-term consequences for the future of Savamala and accelerated transformation and conflict between stakeholders to a larger degree.

³³ The City of Belgrade

³⁴ Since 2000, the Law on Local Self-Government has promoted decentralized jurisdiction, allowing each municipality in the city of Belgrade to make decisions and advocate for their interests.

RECONSTRUCTION OF POLICY NETWORK NO.1

The policy network perspective (see Subchapter 2.5., part 3) has been applied to examine the policy-making process. More precisely, it has been applied to identify the stakeholders in the policy-making process and their involvement, analyze the behavior of the actors which are embedded in the social structure and thus explore the decision-making process. Moreover, Emirbayer and Goodwin's analytical strategy that focuses on the social-structural, cultural, and social-psychological contexts of action (see again 1996, p. 364-369) is applied to explore the policy networks, as has been mentioned in Subchapter 2.5., part 3.

The application of the social network analytical perspective (see again Wasserman and Faust, 1994) aims to scrutinize the social-structural and social-psychological contexts of action. Both the relational and positional approaches (Wasserman and Faust, 1994) of social network analysis have been used to examine the relations among the actors and their locational properties. The actor's personal meanings are examined through discourse analysis, as referred to in the Chapter on methodology. How actors maneuver resources from the positions they hold within a network (e.g., the position of third) in order to reach individual or collective goals has also been examined through the analytical notions of social network analysis.

a) RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL-STRUCTURAL AND SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF ACTION

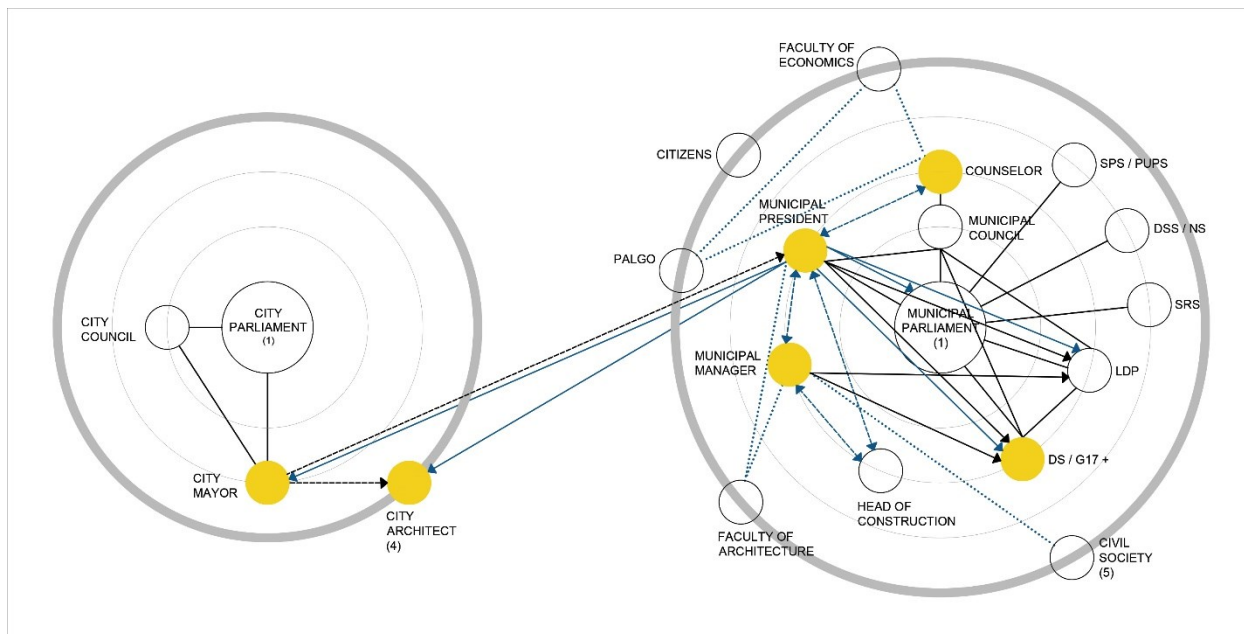
To explore the social-structural and social-psychological contexts of action, the network of actors has been reconstructed in terms of who had the power to influence the decision-making process. Each actor's strength of influence has been assessed through qualitative content analysis of (a) the Law on Local Self-Government, (b) Informant on the work of the city municipality Savski Venac No. 18, and (c) semi-structured interviews with network participants. The results were then triangulated quantitatively (strength of influence from important to less important on a scale from 1 to 5 in diagram 1a, or from 1 to 4 in diagram 1b.). The actors' position in the network fields refers to their degree of influence on the decision-making process as a whole, i.e., center (*substantial influence*) and periphery (*modest influence* or *no influence*).






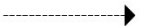




Figure no. 3 depicts two diagrams (1a) and (1b) that explain policy network no. 1. Diagram (1a) represents the decision-making process at the municipal level, whilst diagram (1b) represents the

decision-making process at the city level. According to the Law on Local Self-Government, the city parliament and council hold the majority of power in the decision-making process when it comes to urban development in Belgrade, therefore actors stand in the center of diagram 1b. However, when it comes to making decisions on small-scale development in Savski Venac, the municipal parliament and council hold the majority of power and occupy the central positions in diagram 1a.

In diagram (1a) the most central actors had the largest amount of political capital – the power to influence the decision-making process (see Subchapter 2.5., part 3), therefore they are positioned in the first four central fields of the diagram, while the actors in the periphery had modest or no power to influence the decision-making process (field 5). On the other hand, the most central actors in diagram (1b) had the largest amount of power in the decision-making process, whilst the actor in the third field also had a substantial influence on the decision-making process at the city level.

FIGURE NO. 3: POLICY NETWORK NO.1 [DIAGRAM 1a (RIGHT) AND 1b (LEFT)] AND A KEY FOR THE EXPLANATION OF TIES



Key	
Actor size	Types of ties
 - Individual actor or organization	 undirected tie (political resource)
 - Democratic Party and members	 directed tie (political resource)
 - Municipal (or city) parliament	 asymmetrical tie (political resource)
 - A field of modest or no influence	 reciprocal tie (knowledge resource)
	 directed tie (knowledge resource)
	 weak tie (knowledge resource)

SOURCE³⁵: (A) DOCUMENTS: THE LAW ON LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT; (B) INFORMANT ON THE WORK OF THE CITY MUNICIPALITY SAVSKI VENAC No. 18 (2008); (C) INTERVIEWEES No. 1a; No. 2a, No. 4a, and No. 12a.

³⁵ Theoretical elaboration of the ties is available in subchapter 2.5., part 1. Methodological elaboration of the ties is available in subchapter 4.5.

RESULTS:

DIAGRAM 1a

Political parties. In diagram 1a. it can be observed that the Democratic Party (DS) had the majority of power in the decision-making process, and that the DS (and G17+) was in coalition with the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), who also had a certain degree of power. The opposition parties did not play much of a relevant role in policy-making, and they gained their information about urban policy aiming to empower the creative sector, through the municipal president. It can be observed that the initiators and the policy makers came from within the Democratic Party itself.

The municipal president. The municipal president had the highest actor's degree centrality (see explanations in Subchapter 2.5., part 1), which according to social network analysis (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 178) means that he was the most relevant actor in the network. There is a clique (see again explanations in Subchapter 2.5., part 1) which indicates strong reciprocal ties between the municipal president, the manager and the head of construction, which denotes homogenous perceptions. They had a direct and close exchange of knowledge, and these actors worked together forming and pushing forward policy through the municipal parliament and council. According to the law, a municipal president is a chairman in the municipal council, and he had been sharing knowledge regarding the selected urban policy to all the members of the municipal parliament, as well as to members of the political coalition, who were making the decisions on the allocation of vacant spaces as part of the municipal council. The municipal president, thus, was in the position of tertius (see Grabher, 2006, p. 3), and he acted as iungens (see Obstfeld 2005, p.100) since he connected the knowledge of the policy-makers with the municipal parliament and political coalition. However, prior to the voting process, the municipal president was pressuring members of his own party and the coalition partner. This political pressure is depicted as a directed tie, which suggests that the municipal president was using his political resources to press other members of the parties to vote for his development options. Relation is measured in a binary fashion, e.g., actor A has enough political capital to press actor B to act according to his interests. It can be thus concluded that the municipal president had the relevant social role (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, pp. 462-465) in the network by advocating the policy.

The municipal president and manager had the alternative idea of developing and pushing another redevelopment project on a larger scale. In order to gain support at a higher political level, the municipal president shared knowledge about the redevelopment project with the mayor and city architect. This knowledge sharing is presented as a directed tie. However, since the city mayor was not interested in supporting the project and the city architect was structurally constrained by the mayor, the project did not reach the city council and remained in the form of an idea only. In this context, the mayor acted as a gatekeeper (see Babović, 2006, p. 361), since at the time he owned enough political resources and was in the position to transfer the knowledge about the project to the city council for further discussion and eventual permission (Interviewees no. 2a and no. 12a). Likewise, the mayor had a certain political influence over the city architect, who decided not to take the steps required to assist with providing the required political support. The “mayor’s errand-boy without real initiative” was how a former head of construction (Interviewee no. 4a) described him during an interview.

The municipality manager. Unlike other actors of the network, the municipality manager had an exchange of knowledge with another social circle – namely civil society (see Subchapter 2.5., part 1). This actor was able to reach a new resource via civil society (the creative sector) who had certain knowledge (e.g., ideas and professional know-how) and the initiative to activate the vacant spaces in Savamala. Within this particular social structure, the manager was in the position of tertius, since he connected the unconnected parts of the network: civil society with the municipality president and the head of construction. He acted as a sustained tertius iungens (see again Obstfeld, 2005, p. 104), since both the municipal council and civil society benefited from his social action. This actor also acted as a gatekeeper, since he performed the selection of the projects which were initiated by civil society. It was he who verified the value of a particular project and made the final decision as to whether the knowledge of a particular project would be shared with the municipal president and the head of construction, and eventually reach the municipal council who made the decisions on the allocation of spaces. For instance, if the municipal manager decided that a particular creative startup was socially and economically sustainable and that it could be relevant for the development of the municipality, he would pass the proposal to the head of construction and municipal president for further discussion. In the next step, the proposal had to reach the professional commission, which was convened to respect the procedure according to the law which varied over time, and then the proposal would be sent to the municipal council for discussion and

eventual permission (Interviewees no. 2a and no. 12a). The procedural step of forming the professional commission was more “pro forma” than what existed, in order to respect the procedure. Likewise, this actor is, apart from the municipal president, the most central (see again Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 178) actor in the network. The municipal manager also pressured members of his party and his coalition partner to vote for his preferred development option (Interviewee no. 2a).

The counselor. The counselor was not a policy initiator, but he did have a role in the decision-making process as an alderman in the municipal council. This actor was the head of the development strategy at the time and had a knowledge exchange with the professional association of Palgo and with the Faculty of Economics, which is presented as a weak tie in the policy network (Interviewee no. 2a).

Civil society. Civil society is connected with only one actor within the social structure. It stands in the periphery of the network and does not have power in the decision-making process. However, civil society did have the resources to trigger the regeneration process by having economical capital and knowledge and initiative to activate the vacant former industrial spaces in Savamala and to commence with different creative start-ups. The main channel for communication that civil society used to achieve their goal was the municipality manager (Interviewee no. 1a).

Citizens. The citizens are stakeholders, however they are in the last field of the network and they do not take part in the policy-making process, since they are isolates (see Subchapter 2.5., part 1) and are not connected with the other actors within the social structure. This means that knowledge from the municipality was not exchanged with citizens, nor were they asked about their preferences in the regeneration of Savamala (Interviewee no. 2a).

DIAGRAM 1b

The mayor. In diagram 1b the city mayor comes from the Democratic Party and stands in the third field of the network. He is the third most powerful actor in the network. However, his political resources are smaller than those of the city parliament and council, which comes naturally and according to the law. At the time, the Democratic Party had a large amount of political capital in the city parliament. As a mayor of Belgrade, and a member of the strongest political party, this actor was in a position to make decisions at the city level (Interviewee no. 12a).

The city architect. The city architect reported directly to the city mayor at the time. According to the law, he had a certain influence in the decision-making process in regards to urbanism in Belgrade. However, in this case he was structurally constrained by the mayor who did not show any interest in providing political support for municipal initiatives (Interviewees no. 2a and no. 4a).

b) RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF ACTION

The cultural context of social action as described by Emirbayer and Goodwin (1996), “applies to the actors’ shared normative commitments and their understanding of the world and possibilities within the world” (p. 365), as referred to in Subchapter 2.5. Shared normative commitments and understanding of the possibilities of the stakeholders in a given context thus can enable, or on the other hand constrain the actors to perform social actions (see DiMaggio, 1997, p. 268). To scrutinize the cultural context of social action, the research requires discourse (see e.g., Goffman, 1979; Kamalu and Osisanwo, 2015) and qualitative frame analysis (see Goffman, 1974; Matthes, 2009). Both discourse and frame analysis have been applied with the aim to examine and frame the actors’ perceptions that have shaped the built environment of the selected neighborhoods and provide an explanation of the shared values that have guided the actors’ social actions (see Lelong, 2014, p. 207).

Examination of the cultural context of the actors thus provides eight key frames that implicate the specific urban development goals, which can be observed in table no. 6. These are the goals that were indicated by stakeholders as being essential in the policy-making process. It can be noticed that the goals are not mutually exclusive and that the stakeholders agreed in selecting their priorities in the first phase of the regeneration process, and this can be observed from policy network no.1.

TABLE NO. 6: STAKEHOLDERS' SHARED GOALS IN POLICY NETWORK NO. 1

Number	Type	Frame	Policy Goals
No. 1a	Political	Entrepreneurial governance	The activation of vacant spaces by civil society with the aim of boosting the local economy, enhancing the position in local inter-urban competition, and generating revenue for the municipal budget.
No. 1b	Political	Citizens' participation	Participation of civil society in urban governance and triggering the regeneration of a neglected neighborhood
No. 2a	Economic	Adaptation to service and knowledge society	Empowerment of creative and knowledge-intensive industries
No. 2b	Economic	Inter-urban competition	Creating an attractive environment for the residents and visitors of Savamala and improving the image of the neighborhood
No. 2c	Economic	Economic sustainability	Making organizations economically sustainable with a focus on audience development and providing services
No. 3	Social	Attracting a creative class and other highly-skilled labor	Attracting professionals from various fields to Savski Venac municipality
No. 4	Culture	Culture regeneration	Providing cultural content for residents and bonding social capital in Savamala
No. 5	Environmental	Physical regeneration of industrial and other historical buildings	Urban recycling and reduction of the emission of carbon dioxide

SOURCE: (A) DOCUMENTS: STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF SAVSKI VENAC (2010) [STRATEŠKI PLAN RAZVOJA OPŠTINE SAVSKI VENAC]; (B) INTERVIEWEES: No. 1a; No. 2a; No. 4a; No. 7a; No. 12a.

CONCLUSION

Network no. 1 denotes an urban policy that is focused on a creativity-led regeneration of the historical urban neighborhood of Savamala. The policy achieved a straightforward breakthrough, since the initiator and the policy-makers came from the political party who at the time had the largest amount of power in the decision-making process. Likewise, the policy-makers had the support of a coalition partner who was interested in supporting the regeneration of Savamala.

The cultural context of action also denotes that the stakeholders shared similar perceptions in terms of the regeneration of Savamala. Conversely, the other potential policy on the redevelopment of the right shore of the Sava Riverfront – running from Branko's Bridge to the Delta of the Topčider River – reached a deadlock, since the mayor of Belgrade³⁶, who was from the ruling party, did not find adequate reason to provide political support. This deadlock thus left the opportunity for the Belgrade Waterfront development plan, to as a result, become the new urban policy. Furthermore, the important initiator of the regeneration of Savamala was civil society, who were in contact with the municipality manager and provided the new resource. The non-political actors had no power in the decision-making; however, they were involved in the policy-making process as consultants and experts. The citizens of the municipality being affected by the regeneration process, were not included in the decision-making process.

The actors who held the position of tertius (Obstfeld, 2005, p. 100) were political actors, who were located in the center of the network and were in a position to maneuver resources according to their interests and goals. These actors were in the proximity of the municipal parliament and council and accordingly they had enough political capital and access to knowledge to be able to influence the decision-making process. This policy continued to be active until 2016.

In the following section, a theoretical and empirical approach to network governance (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2) has been applied with the aim of looking at the implementation of the selected urban policy and identifying, distinguishing and exploring the (network) governance mode (see again Provan and Kenis, 2008). But also to question the power relations in the

³⁶ Since the mayor was not interviewed, it is not clear why he was not interested in supporting the project proposed by the municipality. The municipal manager has highlighted the animosity and distrust between the municipal president and the city mayor (Interviewee no. 2a).

governance process and explore whether effectiveness has been achieved at the network and community levels (see again Subchapter 2.5., part 2) and to what extent.

RECONSTRUCTION OF GOVERNANCE MODE NO.1

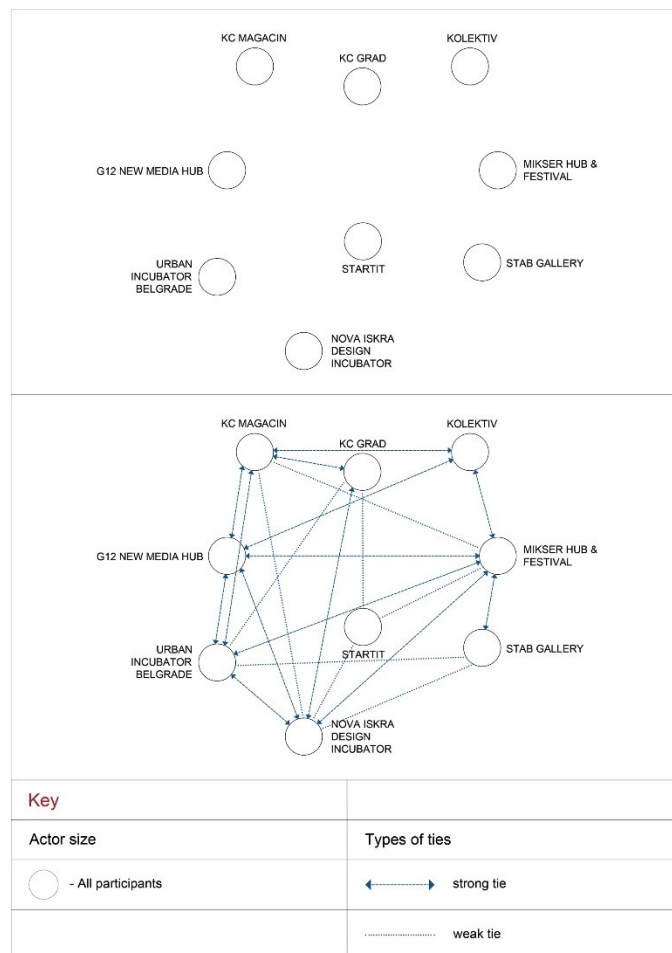
The reconstruction of governance includes organizations that had been labeled as being “government partners” by a municipality manager (Interviewee no. 2a) in the period from 2008 to 2016. In addition to these organizations, there were other organizations who appeared in Savamala independently, without renting vacant spaces from the municipality (e.g., Mikser Creative Hub, Kolektiv etc.), or who rented space from the Serbian Military and the City of Belgrade without monetary compensation (e.g., G12 New Media Hub Gallery, KC Magacin, and the Urban Incubator Belgrade).

The municipality provided economic resources in the form of property to five different organizations, and modest financial support for only two organizations – Nova Iskra Design Incubator and Startit. The municipality also had information exchange with all of the organizations, whether they had arrived in Savamala independently, or with the support of the municipality (Interviewee no. 2a). However, the governance process was left to each organization. This means that each of the organizations who occupied a certain space in Savamala governed and coordinated their own project and utilized space according to their own potentials. These organizations were as follows: Culture Centre Grad (independent culture center, NGO³⁷); Culture Centre Magacin (a group of art collectives and activists, all NGOs); Štab Gallery (contemporary art gallery, also an NGO); Mikser Creative Hub and Festival (creative industry hub and multimedia festival, NGO and also set up as a company); G12 New Media HUB (new media art gallery, NGO), Urban Incubator Belgrade (a not-for-profit Goethe Institute project for supporting citizens’ engagement in the planning process); Nova Iskra Design Incubator (co-working space, business-technical incubator, private company for providing services like design and branding and an NGO); Startit (co-working space, and an association of IT professionals providing services, registered as both an NGO and a company), Kolektiv (a group of architects, an art space and a radio broadcaster, also registered as an NGO and a company).

³⁷ According to law, not-for-profit organizations can actually make certain profit in order to achieve economical sustainability.

According to the network governance perspective, this governance mode can be interpreted as a fragmented-governed network mode (see figure no. 4), since each of the organizations has its own mode of governance, either in the form of a network or a hierarchy. The presence of a separate entity with an advisory board, which, for instance, provides coordination for the implementation of the regeneration program was not observed, nor was a formal monitoring body.

FIGURE NO. 4: FRAGMENTED-GOVERNED NETWORK (*PHASE 1*). KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE AMONG INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONS IN SAVAMALA (*PHASE 2*).



SOURCE³⁸: (a) INTERVIEWEES: No. 1a; No. 2a; No. 3a; No. 5a; No. 6a; No. 7a; No. 8a; No. 9a; No. 11a; No. 13a; No. 14a; No. 15a; No. 16a; No. 18a, and No. 19a.

However, after a period of time a large number of the actors began to cluster. Informal interactions in the form of knowledge exchange could be observed taking place between the actors. This

³⁸ Theoretical elaboration of the ties is available in subchapter 2.5., part 1. Methodological elaboration of the ties is available in subchapter 4.5.

exchange included collaboration in the form of various cultural and artistic programs, the sharing of technical equipment, information, and know-how. The most active participants in the exchange of knowledge or collaboration were the Mikser Creative Hub and Festival, Nova Iskra Design Incubator, and the Urban Incubator Project who were frequently collaborating with the other actors in the neighborhood. Other active organizations included the G12 New Media Hub, Culture Centre Grad (KC Grad), and Culture Centre Magacin (KC Magacin). It can also be noticed that the exchange of knowledge aligned with the level of trust between the network participants. In those organizations where an absence of trust (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2) could be observed, there was no collaboration between the actors e.g., between KC Grad and Mikser, regardless of the similarity in their program. Likewise, it can be observed that less frequent knowledge exchange occurred between actors with a lower level of trust which could be based on their previous experience (e.g., between Mikser Creative Hub and KC Magacin) or a dissimilarity in their program conception. On a similar note, a certain competitive spirit was present among some of the organizations and this obstructed the possibility of their collaboration. It can also be argued that to a certain extent the actors from the creative sector had spontaneously developed a goal consensus – to place and maintain Savamala on the city's culture map and maintain the interests of both visitors and the media. This goal similarity came from the organizations' need to attract an audience and the media, and in this manner to keep providing services as well as a variety of cultural content, in order to remain sustainable in economic terms.

EFFECTIVENESS

In the context of Savamala, a fragmented-governed network mode proved to be effective on the network and community levels (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2). Goals that have been indicated in policy network no.1 (see table no. 7) were achieved over the period of eight years.

TABLE NO. 7: ACHIEVED GOALS (POLICY NETWORK NO. 1)

NETWORK LEVEL GOALS	
✓	The activation of vacant spaces by civil society with the aim of boosting the local economy, enhancing the position in a local inter-urban competition, and generating revenue for the municipal budget
✓	Participation of civil society in urban governance and triggering the regeneration of a neglected neighborhood
✓	Empowerment of creative and knowledge-intensive industries
✓	Creating an attractive environment for residents and visitors of Savamala and improving the image of the neighborhood
✓	Making organizations economically sustainable with a focus on audience development and providing services
✓	Attracting professionals from various fields to Savski Venac municipality
✓	Providing cultural content for residents and bonding social capital in Savamala
✓	Urban recycling and reduction of the emission of carbon dioxide

The level of fulfillment of community effectiveness is presented by the indicators in table no. 8

TABLE NO. 8

Number	1	2	3	4	5
Indicators	Cost to the community	Inclusiveness	Stakeholders perception that the regeneration program has solved certain urban issues that existed prior to the regeneration	Cultural impact	Economic impact
Level of fulfillment	Low	High	High	High	High

Indicator (1) Cost to the community.

Evidence: This type of regeneration program is cost-effective since it was implemented without any cost to the local taxpayers. The creative sector invested their own economic resources into the renovation of the spaces and the organization of programs and promotions. Conversely, the two

organizations that received modest financial grants were financed by the municipality, which at that time had access to European funds³⁹ (Interviewees no. 2a; no. 4a; no. 5a).

Indicator (2) Inclusiveness.

Evidence: The implementation of the regeneration program included organizations from the civil society and private sectors, while the local municipality did not actually participate in the governance, apart from allocating public spaces at subsidized rent prices and also providing information if required. Likewise, citizens participated in the regeneration by getting involved in various cultural and educational programs such as IT lessons, conferences on urban development, art expositions, arts and crafts fairs, and discussions on various sensitive topics, which were organized by civil society. For instance, participants in the various programs were students from both public and private universities from the fields of architecture, urbanism, art, culture management and design (Interviewees no. 2a; no. 7a; no. 15a), plus other citizens of Belgrade and the expatriate community who was mostly engaged in the programs organized by Culture Centre Grad such as the Language club or Mikser's festival program. Likewise, one of the projects of Urban Incubator Belgrade included the Roma population who are also natives of Savamala (Interviewee no. 3a)

Indicator (3) Stakeholder perception that the regeneration strategies have solved certain urban issues that existed prior to the regeneration.

Evidence: The urban problems that Savamala had been facing for almost two decades, such as its undesirable reputation, derelict industrial heritage, social and cultural deprivation, and economic decline were solved, to some extent.

Indicator (4) Cultural impact.

Evidence: The cultural impact can be observed in hundreds of diverse cultural programs such as art exhibitions, concerts, DJ gigs, artist in residence programs, Mikser's conference program, debates on various topics ranging from LGBT rights at KC Grad to the Bike-Friendly City event at Mikser, urban activism, smaller multimedia festivals, the School of Urban Practice during Goethe's Urban incubator project that encouraged dialog among the students of architecture and

³⁹ The temporary project Urban Incubator Savamala was financed by the Republic of Germany.

urbanism and the dwellers and decision-makers of Savamala. Likewise, Startit held free IT lessons, in agreement with the municipality, for interested citizens and pupils from Savski Venac municipality (Interviewee no. 2a) and so forth. In summary, the cultural programs were inclusive and gathered a mixture of professionals, students, urban activists, and artists from the local and international scene, locals from Savamala, the expat community, and the wider general public (Interviewees no. 1a; no. 5a; no. 7a; no. 10a; no. 13a). An increase in positive international media coverage (e.g., Coldwell, 2015; Beumanis, 2013) can also be detected.

Indicator (5) Economic impact.

Evidence: Collected data suggests that organizations such as KC Grad, Nova Iskra, Kolektiv, Startit and Mikser, at the time grew in size and employed more people. For instance, the Kolektiv bureau of architects started with only four people, and after some time the number of employees had doubled. “We need affordable space, and that is the main need” (Interviewee no. 16a). Likewise, an increase in interest from more affluent companies, such as Telenor Serbia, Samsung, Erste Bank and others, in establishing collaborations with particular organizations from Savamala also speaks in favor of positive outcomes. An increase in tourism, hospitality, and property and land value could also be observed. For instance, a number of private companies in the field of hospitality also settled in Savamala. New jobs in the fields of creative industries, hospitality, tourism, entertainment and the not-for-profit sector were also created.

CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE FRAGMENTED-GOVERNED NETWORK MODE

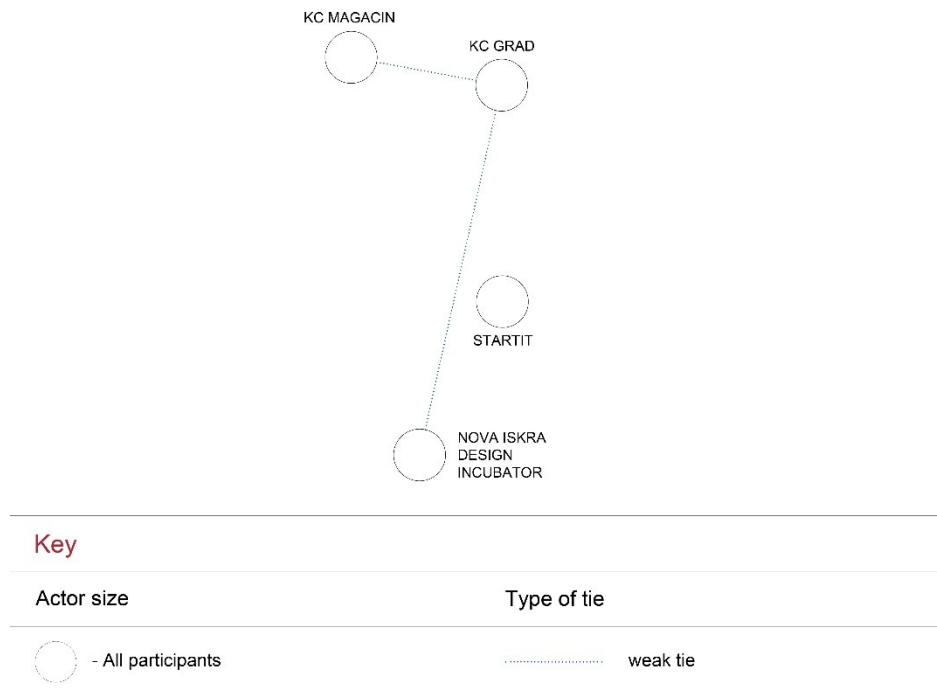
In this specific context, the fragmented-governed network mode has demonstrated effectiveness in providing public value, as evidenced by its ability to achieve network level goals and a high level of fulfillment of community-level indicators. However, this governance mode exhibits an absence of brokerage or coordinated governance structure. Participation in network activities is based on informal relations among civil society organizations that are willing to collaborate to a certain extent. Notably, this governance mode lacks a formal monitoring body, with monitoring responsibilities being assumed solely by a single actor from the municipality - the municipal manager.

However, there are limitations to this network governance mode, which became apparent after a change in the political structure in 2015. As outlined in the section on network governance theory (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2), changes in the context of a network, such as jurisdictional and political shifts, can impact its effectiveness (Lucidarme, Cardon, and Willem, 2015, p. 8). A shift in the jurisdiction and political structure at both the national and local levels resulted in the development of a new urban policy that redirected the course of the transformation of the Savamala and Belgrade riverfront. This change brought forth new relevant political actors, including the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS), which emerged as the strongest political actor at both the national and local levels. Additionally, regulations pertaining to the governance of the spaces in the Savski Venac municipality underwent certain changes, leading to the municipal government losing jurisdiction over office spaces in Savski Venac. Furthermore, political actors and civil servants who had previously been influential in the policy-making process vacated their positions in 2016 (Interviewee no. 2a). As a result, the activation of spaces and the empowerment of the creative sector were no longer on the municipal agenda, and even if they were, the municipality lacked the necessary office spaces to activate.

Similarly, the shift in the jurisdiction of office spaces led to the disappearance of certain network participants, as the city no longer permitted the allocation of spaces in Savamala without monetary compensation (Interviewees no. 2a; no. 9a). Likewise, the emergence of the Belgrade Waterfront project accelerated tensions and caused the dissatisfaction of several network participants towards the new political structure (Interviewee no. 7a). This resulted in pressure being directed by the local authorities towards several organizations from the creative sector, and one of the most relevant actors being displaced. Conversely, two of the network participants survived this pressure with the help of advocacy from different sources, e.g., from relevant political or social actors (Interviewees no. 2a; no. 7a; no. 15a; no. 19a). Likewise, some of the participants left Savamala, as they did not like the “new atmosphere in the neighborhood” (Interviewee no. 16a).

The municipality of Savski Venac and the City of Belgrade did not continue with the creativity-led regeneration. However, the City of Belgrade did continue to rent spaces at subsidized prices to organizations that already had a contract with the municipality (Interviewee no. 1a). In this manner several organizations such as the KC Grad, Startit, and Nova Iskra continued to operate in Savamala, and the collectives behind the Culture Centre Magacin continued to use the space and

operate but without any legal rights (Interviewee no. 18a). In the period subsequent to 2016, the creative network of Savamala decreased significantly and currently consists of only a few actors (see **figure no. 5** – fragmented-governed network mode *phase 3*).



The question can be asked, whether this governance mode can be effective if the outside context that has an impact on the network, shifts. Concerning network tensions (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2) this network did not show stability neither external nor internal legitimacy. The fragmented-governed mode can thus be interpreted as a pseudo-network that does not have robust underpinnings in the regeneration program. This might indicate that an uncoordinated network emerged in a particular context, where crucial stakeholders⁴⁰ “may lack ample resources and capacity” (see Rudnick et al., 2019, p. 119) to develop a more sophisticated regeneration program and its implementation. As has been indicated, the city did not support the initial urban policy, and nor was the municipal government able to push forward the development plan that would include the regeneration of the industrial heritage through the means of creativity at higher political levels, even when they had actors from the same political party in the relevant positions in the decision-making process. As the head of the construction highlighted the “actors from the city government

⁴⁰ Public actors, mostly governmental bodies.

and the other municipalities did not take our efforts seriously, they talked about how we from the Savski Venac municipality liked to play a bit” (Interviewee no. 4a). Moreover, the regeneration program had not been developed to a great extent, since it was not being supported by other institutions in terms of politics (e.g., the city) and finance⁴¹ (e.g., the city, chamber of commerce, and similar). For instance, there was no formal entity in the network that could have been appointed to monitor, finance or evaluate the regeneration process as a whole. It can only be assumed that the policy-makers from the municipality of Savski Venac would have been accountable for this type of regeneration program. The initial urban policy thus ended with the arrival of new stakeholders, who formed a structurally different network and shared different perceptions on the urban development of Savamala and the Savski Amphitheater in contrast to the “Creative Savamala” network.

5.1.2 PHASE II (2015-2022) | BELGRADE WATERFRONT PROJECT

In 2012 new political actors expressed their interest in Savamala and the Savski Amphitheater. At the time, the leader of the Serbian Progressive Party, Aleksandar Vučić, was in running for local elections and for the position of the new mayor of Belgrade. During the political race, Vucic announced the development of a novel megaproject titled “Belgrade Waterfront” (Interview no. 17a). This development project (see figure no. 6) was intended to be on the territory of Savamala and the Savski Amphitheater. Belgrade Waterfront was announced as a project of national importance with the aim to rank Belgrade highly within regional inter-urban competition, to create new jobs, and attract more capital investments. Although, Aleksandar Vučić did not manage to attain the position of city mayor, his power had increased at the national level since becoming the prime minister of Serbia in 2014, as well as being the actor with the largest amount of political capital in his own party, which subsequently became the strongest party in the country. At the time, the national government consisted of a coalition between Serbian Progressive Party (SNS), Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) and the Social Democratic Party - SDP⁴² (Vreme, 2014; Kojić,

⁴¹ It should be highlighted that a number of cultural programs organized by organizations from civil society in Savamala had been financially supported by public institutions such as the Ministry for Culture and the Secretariat for Culture of the City of Belgrade. However, financing went “per project” and according to the co-founder of the Mikser Festival (Interviewee no. 7a) some of the agreements with public institutions in relation to funding did not comply.

⁴² SDP- Socijal Demokratska Partija Srbije (Eng. Social Democratic Party of Serbia).

2022). Vucic as prime minister (2014–2017) and currently (since May 2017) the president of Serbia, claimed friendship with Abu Dhabi’s royal family (Filipović and El Bataji, 2014), with the aim to establish a basis for mutual interest in investments for the redevelopment of the Belgrade riverfront. Interestingly, in 2013 the Agreement on Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Serbia and the Government of the United Arab Emirates was signed (Serbian Government, 2013).

FIGURE NO. 6: A MAP SHOWING THE AREA OF THE BELGRADE WATERFRONT PROJECT

GREEN AREA–1st PHASE; PURPLE AREA–2nd and BLUE–3rd PHASE.



SOURCE: JOINT VENTURE AGREEMENT ON BELGRADE WATERFRONT PROJECT (SERBIAN GOVERNMENT, 2015c)

Furthermore, the Commission for the Protection of Competition states that the Serbian capital was selected as a proper location for investments due to the strategic interests of the investor from Abu

Dhabi. “The whole of South-Eastern Europe, primarily the developing Serbian market, is considered to be a geographic region attractive to investors...The strategic position of the Serbian capital, with close transport links to other major European cities, is fully in line with the plans of the Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investment related to the expansion of its operations globally”, (Commission for Protection of Competition, 2015, p. 8). This decision coincides with the goal of the Belgrade Master Plan 2021, and the General Urban Plan from 2016, that advocated making Belgrade more competitive in contrast to other European metropolises. These objectives were to be achieved through utilization of its remarkable locational advantages, wherein the potentials of Belgrade’s location on the Danube transport corridor would play a crucial role, as “the corridor provides economic, functional, cultural and even spiritual links with Germany, Austria, Hungary, and other Danubian countries, with incredible and until now unused development resources” (see Grubbauer and Čamprag, 2018, p. 6).

It can be seen that the cornerstone of Belgrade’s riverfront revitalization lies in the initiative of the ruling party. However, contradictory pieces of information came from the ruling party through media and created speculation amongst the political opposition and civil society. The initially announced eye-watering sum of 3.5 billion euros of investment, that was intended to come from the investor and in that manner showcase the relevance of the project, was reduced to a lower sum of 150 million euro worth of investment, with additional loans up to 150 million euros, that Serbia as a partner needed to borrow exclusively for legal and physical clearance and for building the necessary infrastructure (Serbian Government, 2015c, p. 38). Interestingly enough, inaccurate information reached its highest peak leading up to the national elections in 2014. The joint venture agreement between Serbia and the foreign partner Eagle Hills was signed in 2015, and upon this agreement, the contract was revealed to the public with information that the investment was significantly lower than had been previously announced (see Grubbauer and Čamprag, 2018, p. 9).

However, this business agreement between Serbian and a company from the United Arab Emirates came as no surprise, since bilateral agreements relating to the defense and food industries, as well as aviation (Wright, 2015) had been signed in 2013. Serbia’s national air carrier is partly owned by Abu Dhabi-based Etihad Airways (Koelemajj, 2020). The initial sale of the national air carrier JAT (later named Air Serbia), was aiming to introduce new airlines and to increase the number of

flights from national airports (Novosti, 2013). Likewise, investment-friendly policies and large-scale development projects were highlighted in the politics of the ruling party.

Nevertheless, dissatisfaction among the public and the political opposition was not solely caused by the partnership between Serbia and the company from Abu Dhabi. In addition, local decision-makers had bypassed several laws such as the Law on Public-Private-Partnerships and Concessions and the Law on the Protection of Competition, both covering obligatory open calls for projects and free competition. Circumvention of the law was possible due to the Agreement on Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Serbia and the Government of the United Arab Emirates, which was signed in 2013. As was highlighted in the agreement: “Agreements, contracts, programs, and projects agreed in accordance with this Agreement will not be subject to public procurement, public tender, public competing procedure or any other procedure defined in the national legislation of the Republic of Serbia” (article 6), which gave the opportunity to decision-makers to bypass all public tenders. Moreover, in 2015 the National Parliament adopted the *Lex specialis* – the proposal of a special law for determining the public interest and special procedures for expropriation and issuing a construction permit for Belgrade Waterfront (Mihajlović, 2015). The master plan for the project came from the foreign investor and its collaborator RTKL Company which develops megaprojects (National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, shorthand notes, April 2, 2015).

As was observed by Serbian professional associations of architects, the project had a number of weaknesses including high-rise buildings and architecture – the so called “Dubaiification of Belgrade” - that was incongruous with the existing built environment (Interviewee no. 13a). Other weaknesses were also highlighted, such as questionable economic and social sustainability, unpredictable completion dates, future traffic problems due to excessive population density, the development of new parking spaces, the unknown author of the master plan, unclear benefits for the city and its citizens (see Perić, 2019, p. 6), displacement of the population living in legal, semi-legal and illegal buildings in one part of the Sava Amphitheater (Academy of Architecture of Serbia, 2015; Belgrade Association of Architects and Association of Architects of Serbia, 2014; Interviewees no. 11a and no. 17a). Other grounds for criticism were the displacement of the railway facilities on the site, the construction of a new main bus terminal that had to be relocated elsewhere, and the particularly challenging finalization of the new train station building (Belgrade Association

of Architects and Association of Architects of Serbia, 2014). Similarly, the overall lack of transparency, the requirements⁴³, being imposed by a foreign investor and the questionable options for the participation of citizens in decision-making processes led to the implementation of Belgrade Waterfront being contested by professional associations. These associations were the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, the Belgrade Association of Architects and the Association of Architects of Serbia, the Academy of Architecture of Serbia, and citizen's associations such as Ne Davimo Beograd (In Eng. Don't Let Belgrade D(r)own), Transparentnost Srbija (Transparency of Serbia), and those public actors from Savamala who had already been established such as Mikser House and artists and activists from the Culture Centre Magacin. Likewise, other opponents were the political opposition and the municipality of Savski Venac, which was until 2016 was governed by a coalition around the Democratic Party (DS), and was then replaced by a coalition around the Progressive Party (SNS) according to Interviewee no.17a. The dissatisfaction of the opposition was expressed by way of calls for protests, which were often organized by the association of Don't Let Belgrade D(r)own (Interviewee no. 21a) , as well through open letters to the public, sent by professional associations (Academy of Architecture of Serbia, 2015; Belgrade Association of Architects and Association of Architects of Serbia, 2014; Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, 2014). Public debates were organized by the municipality of Savski Venac (Interviewee no. 17a) and the Mikser Festival program (Interviewee no. 7a). Despite the efforts of these pressure groups, the implementation of the project commenced in 2015.

RECONSTRUCTION OF POLICY NETWORK NO.2

The policy network and its empirical approach have been applied in the same fashion as for scrutinizing the previous urban network – policy network no.1. Also, Emirbayer and Goodwin's analytical strategy that focuses on the social-structural, cultural, and social-psychological contexts of action (see again 1996, p. 364-368) has been applied to explore policy network no. 2.

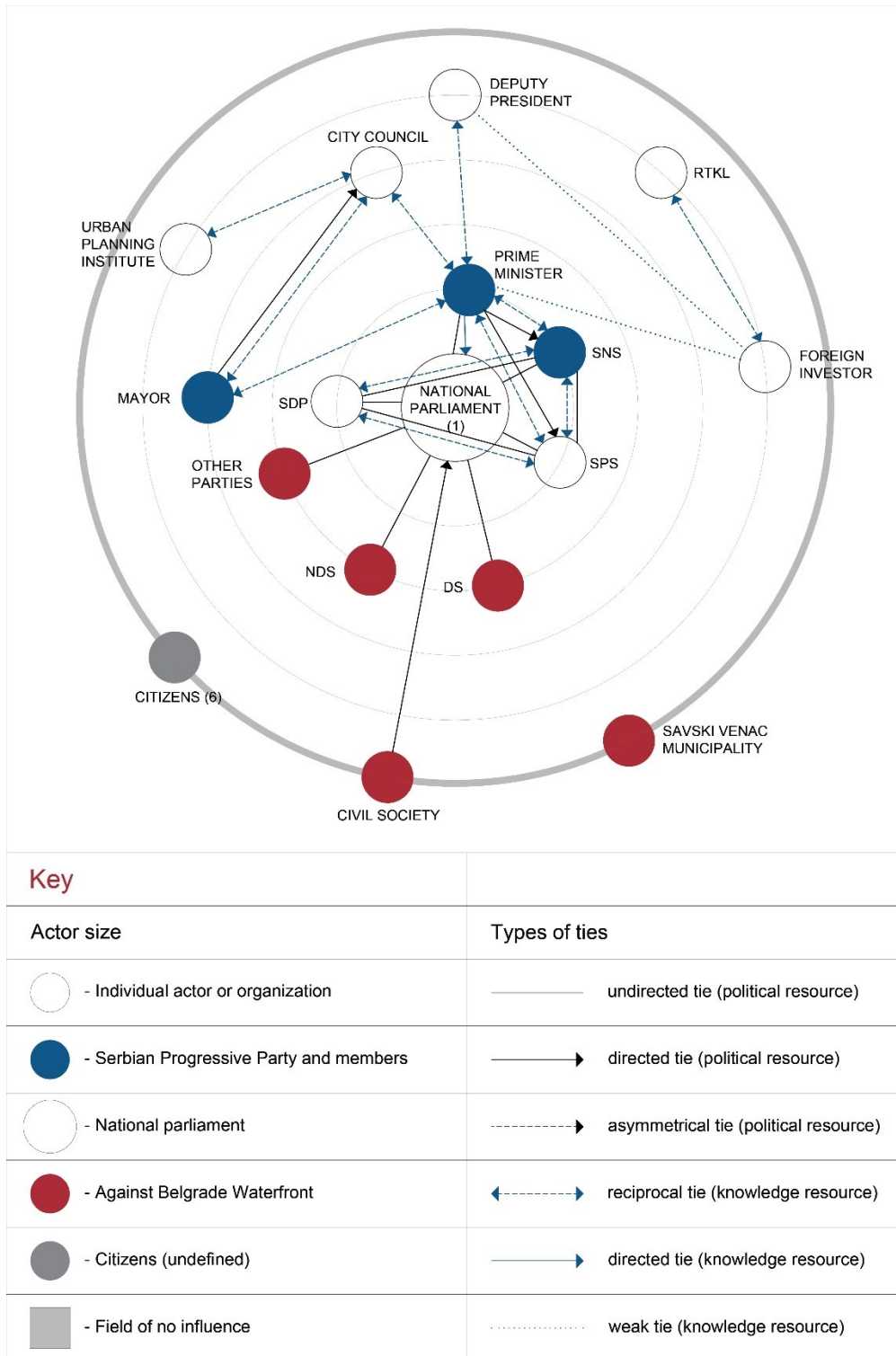
⁴³ Prompt preparation of the terrain for development, which caused a rapid issuing of *Lex specialis* for the purpose of the Belgrade Waterfront project. Also, a spatial plan of a special purpose area was issued for the intention of the Belgrade waterfront project. "The executive authorities of the Republic and the City forced everyone, both experts and Belgrade councilors, to make terribly dangerous changes to the provisions of the General Urban Plan. The most important determinant for this location was removed from it, that is the central part of the Sava Amphitheater, a strip immediately next to the river at a depth of 300 meters on the right bank, can be built for a predominantly public purpose and limited storey buildings. The opinion of the general professional public and citizens are bypassed, the coastline should be protected as a common good that must be respected and protected from any abuse" (Academy of Architecture of Serbia, 2015).

As in the examination of policy network no. 2, the application of the social network analytical perspective (see again Wasserman and Faust, 1994) aims to scrutinize the social-structural and social-psychological contexts of action. Both the relational and positional approaches of social network analysis have been used to examine the relations among the actors and their locational properties. The actor's personal meanings are distinguished through discourse analysis (see Subchapter 4.5.). How actors maneuver resources from the positions they hold within a network (e.g., the position of third) in order to reach individual or collective goals has also been examined through the analytical notions of social network analysis (as referred to in Subchapter 2.5., part 1).

a) RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL-STRUCTURAL AND SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF ACTION

To examine the social-structural and social-psychological contexts of action (see Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 364-368), the network of actors was reconstructed based on their power to influence the decision-making process. The strength of influence for each actor was assessed through qualitative content analysis of (a) the Law on Government, (b) media coverage, and (c) semi-structured interviews. The results were then triangulated quantitatively, representing the strength of influence on a scale from 1 to 6 in policy network no. 2. The position of actors in the network fields indicates their degree of influence on the overall policy-making process, with the center representing *substantial influence* and the periphery denoting *no influence*. In policy network no. 2 (refer to figure no. 7), the most central actors possessed significant political capital and held power in the decision-making process, occupying the first five central fields of the diagram. On the other hand, actors in the periphery had no power in the decision-making process (Field 6). According to the Law on Government, the National government represents Serbia, shapes Serbian politics, and makes decisions regarding the property of the Republic of Serbia, unless otherwise specified. Therefore, it occupies the central and most influential position in policy network no. 2.

FIGURE NO. 7: POLICY NETWORK NO. 2 – THE “BELGRADE WATERFRONT” NETWORK AND A KEY FOR THE EXPLANATION OF TIES



SOURCE: (a) DOCUMENTS: THE LAW ON GOVERNMENT (SERB. *ZAKON O VLADI*); DECLARATION ON BELGRADE WATERFRONT PROJECT (2015); (b) MEDIA: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA, SHORTHAND NOTES (2015, APRIL 2); POLITIKA (2013); VREME (2014); DANAS (VALTNER, 2021); N1INFO (KOJIĆ, 2022); (c) INTERVIEWEES: No. 17a; No. 20a; No. 21a.

The types of relations among the actors were measured using data collected from semi-structured and structured interviews, documents, and media coverage (such as transcripts from the national assembly and public statements from the most relevant actors). The collected data underwent qualitative content analysis. Text passages that reveal actors' behavior in relation to other actors were coded, and the types of ties were assigned qualitatively or quantitatively (see Subchapter 4.5.). The same analytical notions from social network analysis (see Subchapter 2.5., part 1) were used in the elaboration of the previous network respectively.

RESULTS

Political parties. The Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) held the majority of power in the decision-making process and was in coalition with the Socialist Party⁴⁴ and Social Democratic Party, who also had a certain degree of power. Conversely, the political opposition did not have a relevant role in the policy-making process. The political opposition gained knowledge about the Belgrade Waterfront project in the national assembly, through the prime minister. The initiator of the new policy came from the ruling party, which at the time had a large amount of political capital. The coalition partner was eager to support their initiative. Reciprocal ties (see Subchapter 2.5., part 1) in the exchange of knowledge can be observed between the prime minister, the ruling parties, the mayor, and the city council, which means that they are in close and intimate relationships and share common perceptions when it comes to the Belgrade Waterfront project. On the other hand, the opposition expressed their dissatisfaction and disagreement with the new project. However, they did not mobilize enough political capital to create a deadlock (National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, shorthand notes, April 2, 2015).

The Prime Minister. The prime minister stands in the second field, in the center of the network. He is among the most powerful actors in the network, since he is the leader of the strongest political party and has the largest amount of political capital among the political actors. As can be observed within the network, the prime minister exchanged knowledge with a foreign investor (weak blue tie), with whom he had met during the previous government through the Deputy President of the Government Committee for Cooperation with the United Arab Emirates (Politika, 2013; Valtner, 2021). According to the network theory, the prime minister is in the position of tertius, and

⁴⁴ The Socialist party had a coalition with the PUPS and JS (Jedinstvena Srbija) Party

according to his strategic orientation (see Grabher, 2006, p. 3) he acts as a sustained tertius iungens (Obstfeld, 2005, p.100). This meant that he gained new knowledge from the actor of another social circle (see Subchapter 2.5., part 1), and connected a foreign investor's initiative to the Serbian parliament in order to create a policy that would be the legal basis for the future project. He shared the knowledge (blue directed tie) with his party and coalition partner and used his political capital (black directed tie) to press his own party and the coalition partners to support his development option. According to actor's degree centrality (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 178), it can be observed that the prime minister was the most central actor in the network. This meant that he was the most active, and thus the most relevant actor in the network. He held the social role (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 462-465) of a policy advocate.

Deputy President of the Government Committee for Cooperation with the United Arab Emirates. This actor was in the position of a sustained tertius iungens (Obstfeld, 2005, p. 100), since he connected the prime minister with a foreign investor from the United Arab Emirates (Valtner, 2021) and he was working on collaboration with investors from this country (Politika, 2013). The Deputy President was also a Serbian politician from G17+ political party and at the time he was not a member of the National parliament. In the previous government, he was elected as the Minister of Economy and Finance.

Foreign investor. The foreign investor is the Abu Dhabi-based, private real estate investment and development company Eagle Hills. This actor exchanged knowledge with the global design, architecture, and planning company RTKL, which constructed a model of the Belgrade Waterfront (National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, shorthand notes, April 2, 2015). This model was later transformed into a spatial plan by the Urban Planning Institute with certain corrections (Interviewee no. 20a; see also Perić, 2019, p. 6). This actor was the initiator of the project, together with the Prime Minister and Deputy President of the Government Committee for Cooperation with the United Arab Emirates.

Other actors. Civil society, Savski Venac municipality, and the citizens were isolates according to the SNA (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 100), since they were not connected to any other actors in the network. This means that they were stakeholders, but not participants in the policy-making process. Those actors colored red were against the Belgrade Waterfront project. However, their opinion and expertise were not taken into consideration, as they had no actual power in the

decision-making process. In contrast, the citizens are colored silver, since it is not clear what the opinion of the majority was, given that a referendum was not conducted.

b) RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF ACTION

The cultural context of action (see again Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 365), has been scrutinized with the help of discourse (see for example Kamalu and Osisanwo, 2015; Bryman, 2012, p. 528) and qualitative frame analysis (see Goffman, 1974; Matthes, 2009). These analyses have been applied in the same fashion as in the context of policy network no. 1. This means that interview transcripts, documents (e.g., the joint venture agreement, urban plans, etc.), and public statements of the relevant actors which were given to the media have been analyzed. Frames were identified through the coding of the text passages that speak in favor of the actors' perceptions and the interpretation of local spatial development possibilities and aims, and their relevance for the future development of Savamala and the Sava Amphitheater. In the analysis of the cultural context, seven key frames that implicate the specific urban development goals can be observed in table no. 9. These are goals that were indicated by stakeholders as being essential in the policy-making process. It can be seen that some goals are mutually exclusive and that the stakeholders could not reach agreement in selecting their priorities in the second phase of the regeneration process, which can also be observed in policy network no. 2.

TABLE NO. 9: STAKEHOLDERS' SHARED GOALS IN POLICY NETWORK NO. 2

Number	Type	Frame	Policy Goals
No. 1a	Political	Entrepreneurial governance	Establishing a partnership with a foreign investor in order to attract capital investments, boost the construction industry, and attract affluent residents
No. 1b	Political	Top-down governance	Demonstration of political power and the ability to boost the national economy, create new jobs, and score political points
No. 1c	Political	Citizens' participation and transparent decision-making	Civil society and citizens to take part in a transparent decision-making process. Publishing an open-call for the best projects.
No. 2a	Economic	Inter-urban competition	Development of a megaproject in order to achieve a high ranking of Belgrade within regional inter-urban competition
No. 2b	Economic	Economic growth	Generating economic growth and presenting the Belgrade Waterfront as a project of public interest, to become a driver for future developments
No. 3	Social	Riverfront regeneration	Revitalizing neglected areas on the Sava riverfront and creating greater opportunities for citizens to utilize the riverfront and natural environment
No. 4	Culture	Cultural regeneration	Development of new cultural institutions of national importance on the riverfront and providing cultural content to the citizens and visitors of Belgrade

SOURCE: (a) DOCUMENTS: THE JOINT VENTURE AGREEMENT (2015); COMMISSION FOR THE PROTECTION OF COMPETITION (2015); LEX SPECIALIS FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE BELGRADE WATERFRONT PROJECT (2015); GENERAL URBAN PLAN 2016 ; BELGRADE MASTER PLAN 2021; (b) MEDIA: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA, SHORTHAND NOTES (2015, APRIL 2); DECLARATION ON BELGRADE WATERFRONT PROJECT (2015); GLASILO INCIJATIVE NE(DA)VIMO BEOGRAD 1 (2015); GLASILO INCIJATIVE NE(DA)VIMO BEOGRAD 2 (2016); (c) INTERVIEWEES: no. 7a; no. 10a; no. 13a; no. 17a; no. 21a.

CONCLUSION

Similarly, to the first policy network, advancement of the policy for the “Belgrade Waterfront” was straightforward since the initiator and decision-makers were from the political parties who had the largest amount of power in the decision-making process. Likewise, the policymakers had the support of a coalition partner who was eager to support the policy.

The cultural context of action indicated that the stakeholders did not share similar perceptions and had not harmonized their priorities in terms of the development of the Belgrade riverfront. The political opposition, as well as civil society and the municipality, had different perceptions of the development (see goals no. 1c and no. 4) in contrast to goals 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b, which were highlighted by the Serbian government. The only goal that all the stakeholders agreed on is presented in Frame 3 – regeneration of the riverfront. Regardless of the fact that there was no agreement on the priorities, the policy was supported by the Serbian government. The initiators of the policy had mobilized enough political capital to accomplish their goals.

As depicted by policy network no. 2, the isolates (see Wasserman and Faust, 1993, p. 100) did not take part in the policy-making process. The disagreement between the Serbian government, the political opposition and the isolates came from the opinion that Belgrade Waterfront was not a project of public interest, as most of the buildings being built on the territory of the Sava Amphitheater would not be for public usage (Komarčević, 2015). According to opponents, the project was not transparent enough and did not explain how the millions of euros invested in the infrastructure, landscaping and expropriation would be returned to the citizens of Serbia. Similarly, the project did not offer a plan but a model, which was not in line with acceptable standards. Likewise, the entire area of land was being given to just a single investor and a public tender was not being carried out (National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, shorthand notes, April 2, 2015). Similarly, the expertise of local planners and architects was not taken into consideration, nor was the opinion of citizens requested. In addition, the “rent gap” was not calculated, therefore the real value of the Savski Amphitheater has never been measured and expressed publicly (Glasilo inicijative Neda(vi)mo Beograd 1, 2015)

It can be thus concluded that the decision-making process depended on a handful of influential political actors and governmental bodies. On the other hand, the policy formulation included political actors, a foreign investor and the foreign development company RTKL, the city mayor

and council who were also from the ranks of the Progressive Party, and the Urban Planning Institute which served as the spatial expert. Similarly, the actor who held the position of tertius – the prime minister – was a political actor. He was in a position to be able to maneuver knowledge according to his perceptions and goals. Additionally, he held enough political capital due to being in the proximity of the national government and the leader of the strongest political party.

In the next section, a theoretical and empirical approach to network governance (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2) has been applied with the aim of looking at the implementation of the selected urban policy and identifying, distinguishing, and exploring the (network) governance mode (see again Provan and Kenis, 2008). But also, to question the power relations in the governance process and explore whether effectiveness has been achieved at the network and community levels (see again Subchapter 2.5., part 2) and to what extent.

RECONSTRUCTION OF GOVERNANCE MODE NO. 2

The network governance approach will be applied in the same fashion as in the previous section. The governance approach thus aims to examine the implementation of the Belgrade Waterfront policy and explain the governance process and its effectiveness. As has been highlighted previously, a strategic partnership had been signed between the Serbian government and a foreign investor, thus a joint venture had been formed in order to coordinate the megaproject of the Belgrade Waterfront. Thus, the participants of the governance process are:

(a) **The Republic of Serbia.** The Serbian government represents the Republic of Serbia. This actor has a 32 percent share of the ownership rights in the joint venture of the Belgrade Waterfront project. Becoming involved in this venture, the Republic of Serbia had the obligation to provide a 100-hectare plot on the Sava riverfront for the duration of 99 years to the foreign investor without monetary compensation. Likewise, Serbia was obligated to clear the plot, prepare all the legal permits for construction and invest in the new infrastructure which would be required for a novel city quarter (Serbian government, 2015c).

(b) **Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investments.** Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investments is a privately owned company, a strategic partner of the Republic of Serbia and has a 68 percent share in the ownership rights of the Belgrade Waterfront project. The representative of this company is Emirati Muhamaed Alabar, who is the owner of Eagle Hills Properties LLC, which controls

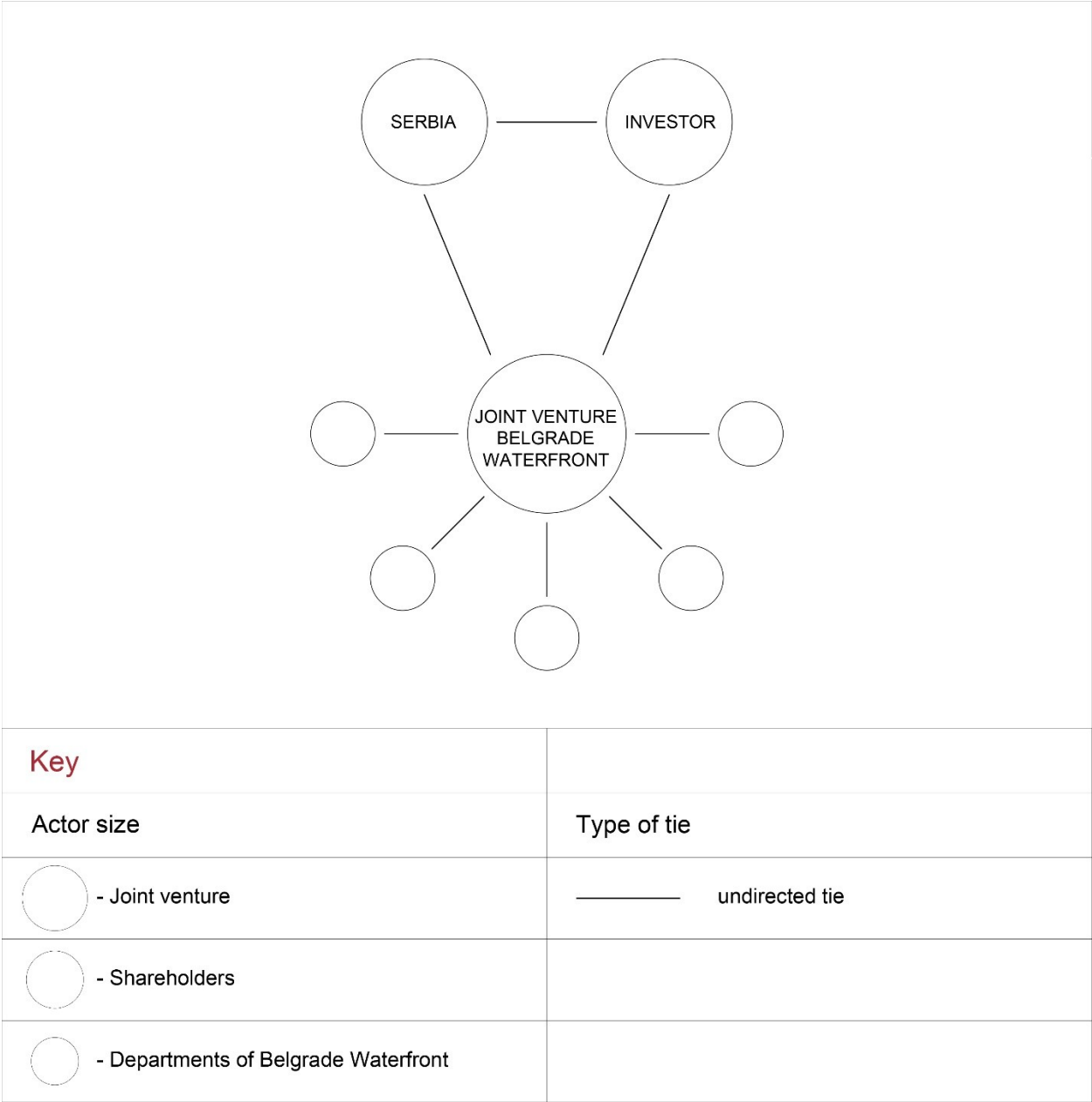
Belgrade Waterfront Capital Investments. This partner has invested 150 million euros and if required will provide a loan of a further 150 million euros to the Republic of Serbia, to help clean the terrain and prepare it for construction (Serbian government, 2015c). According to the contract the investor is expected to build two million square meters of real estate over the period of 30 years, which is the duration of the entire project. In the situation that the investor does not complete 50 percent of the agreed project within the duration of 20 years, the remainder of the terrain and its entire value would then belong to the Republic of Serbia. According to the agreement, 16 percent of the entire project is planned to be facilities for public use, while the rest will be facilities for private use such as residential buildings, luxury hotels, catering facilities, a shopping mall, shops, and business offices (Stanković, 2016).

(c) Beograd na Vodi doo (Belgrade Waterfront company)

The joint venture is called Beograd na Vodi doo, and this company is the operating body that coordinates the Belgrade Waterfront project. However, the strategy for implementing these projects was created by the Serbian government and the strategic partner. This company includes a parliament as its highest authority, a director, a deputy director, and has a supervisory board that consists of five board members, three of which have been selected by the strategic partner and the other two by the Republic of Serbia, that provides monitoring and advisory activities (Serbian government, 2015c).

According to the network governance theoretical and empirical approach, this mode of governance does not belong to any of the network governance modes distinguished by Provan and Kenis (2008), therefore it can be interpreted as a hierarchy (see figure no. 8). Two autonomous actors form a third actor – the private company Beograd na Vodi doo – which is a subordinate entity and not an autonomous one. It has been created to govern and coordinate the project activities. According to Provan and Kenis (2008), a joint venture is a pseudo-network (p. 231) and not a genuine network governance mode. In this governance form, the legal entity assumes the role of the project coordinator and governs all segments of the project.

FIGURE NO. 8: BELGRADE WATERFRONT PSEUDO-NETWORK AND A KEY FOR THE EXPLANATION OF TIES



SOURCE: (a) DOCUMENTS: JOINT VENTURE AGREEMENT (2015), AND (b) MEDIA: STANKOVIĆ, 2016.

EFFECTIVENESS

In this particular context, the Belgrade Waterfront pseudo-network mode proved to have limited effectiveness on both the network (see table no. 10) and community levels (see table no. 11). The goals that have been indicated in policy network no. 2 (see table no. 9) have not been achieved within the period of eight years.

TABLE NO. 10: ACHIEVED AND UNACHIEVED GOALS (POLICY NETWORK NO. 2)

NETWORK LEVEL GOALS	
✓	Establishing a partnership with a foreign investor in order to attract capital investments, boost the construction industry, and attract affluent residents
✓	Demonstration of political power and the ability to boost the national economy, create new jobs and score political points
?	Development of a megaproject in order to achieve a high ranking of Belgrade within regional inter urban competition <u>Evidence:</u> The development of the mega-project has reached its second phase. However, ranking Belgrade highly within regional inter-urban competition has been limited in the first phases of the development. Additionally, growth in tourism attributable to the project remains unperceivable, and affluent visitors are yet to be lured to Belgrade. Furthermore, the luxury hotel brands promised for the project have not displayed any enthusiasm towards investing in this particular district. The Belgrade Waterfront project has seldom been appraised positively by international media, as evidenced by an article in Forbes (Shepard, 2016).
?	Generating economic growth and presenting the Belgrade Waterfront as a project of public interest that will become a driver for future developments. <u>Evidence:</u> The current phase of development has failed to achieve the desired objective to a larger extent. The transparency regarding the quantum of public funds invested in the infrastructure and the anticipated revenue remains in question. Moreover, the project's promotion as a public interest initiative appears unjustified, given its primary focus on the construction of up-scale residences and commercial buildings. The project has not become a driver for the city's future development, as intended. Lastly, the utilization of profits generated from the project lacks transparency.
✓	Revitalizing the neglected areas on the Sava riverfront and creating greater opportunities for citizens to utilize the riverfront and the natural environment

The level of fulfillment of community effectiveness is presented by the indicators in table no. 11.

Number	1	2	3	4	5
Indicators	Cost to the community	Inclusiveness	Stakeholders perception that the regeneration program has solved certain urban issues that existed prior to the regeneration	Cultural impact	Economic impact
Level of fulfillment	High	Low	Medium	Low	Medium

Indicator (1) Cost to the community.

Evidence: This type of regeneration program is not particularly cost-effective, since its implementation is at the expense of the local taxpayers. The benefits of this project have not been justified to a great extent. Similarly, the decision to allocate land at a prime location on the riverfront without monetary compensation was made at the expense of the city and state budget.

Indicator (2) Inclusiveness.

Evidence: This mode of governance is not inclusive. The political elites and a foreign company have exclusively been involved in the governance process. Other stakeholders have been excluded from the governance process, and they do not have a role in the project.

Indicator (3) Stakeholder perception that regeneration strategies have solved certain urban issues that existed prior to the regeneration.

Evidence: Certain urban problems that Savamala and the Savski Amphitheater had been experiencing have been solved. This part of Belgrade no longer has an undesirable reputation and new economic inputs have been associated with Belgrade Waterfront. However, the civil society has expressed their disagreement with the project and they do not share the perception that the problems of the riverfront have been solved. Moreover, opponents of the project have claimed that new problems will appear such as traffic jams, air pollution, and spatial segregation.

Indicator (4) Cultural impact.

Evidence: The overall cultural impact has been low. Collaboration between Belgrade Waterfront and other organizations in Savamala has not come to fruition. However, collaboration was

established with the Štab Art Project, which was behind the organization of the Štab Gallery. Belgrade Waterfront has opened an exhibition space and in cooperation with the Štab Art Project (Interviewee no. 8a) and other local organizations, there have been events showcasing art exhibitions, concerts, film festivals, movie projections, workshops for kids, sports activities, and similar organized events (Belgrade Waterfront, 2021). Although only a few estimates of this project have been based on culture, the opening of a museum in the building of the former Railway station (see Vasiljević, 2021) and the maintenance of its cultural contents will have a certain cultural impact on the neighborhood. However, the cultural program lacks diversity when it comes to a cultural, educational and artistic program and inclusiveness when compared to the previous phase of the regeneration.

Indicator (5) Economic impact.

Evidence: The degree of economic impact still remains in question, as well as the total cost of the project. For instance, the business plan has been concealed from the public, including both how much revenue is expected to be earned and where it will be invested in the future. The project has not proved its much-promoted relevance to the citizens of Belgrade, nor its public value. Over and above, the strongest impact of the project in economic terms can be perceived in the valorization of the land and property (Interviewee no. 14a) and the creation of new jobs in the fields of construction, architecture and hospitality.

CONCLUSION AND LIMITATION OF THE BELGRADE WATERFRONT PSEUDO NETWORK

In the context of Belgrade riverfront, it can be concluded that a governance mode in the form of a hierarchy has proven not to be particularly effective since it provides public value to a limited extent. This result is also in line with the opinions of authors like Provan and Kenis (2008) and Nowell and Milward (2022) that a hierarchy, in contrast to network governance modes, has proven to be less inclusive and might not solve particular issues that might be solved with network governance.

Likewise, it can be observed that the Belgrade Waterfront network consists only of two actors participating in the decision-making process. These are the Serbian government with its representatives and the foreign investor. The citizens of Belgrade and civil society, including local

professional associations, have been excluded from the decision-making process. It appears that the government is making decisions on behalf of the citizens with the help of “private experts”, guided by its own logic and interests. In addition, the entire governance process is a far cry from transparency, starting with the secret business plan to the amount of investment from the public budget and revenue, as well as its distribution. In addition, accountability for this governance mode falls exclusively on the Serbian government, who monitors the governance through their representatives in the joint venture board. To date the government has not undertaken a project evaluation or transparently presented data that communicates the results of the project. The occurrence of this governance mode can be attributed to the centralized decision-making process that political elites occupying relevant positions in the power structure adopt. This mode of decision-making tends to exclude a participatory and collaborative approach involving various non-governmental public actors, including public institutions like the Urban Planning Institute, which may be subject to political influence (Academy of Architecture of Serbia, 2015; see also Perić, 2019, p. 6).

Furthermore, the context wherein the network is embedded also affects the implementation (see Lucidarme, Cardon, and Willem, 2015, p. 8), and should be taken into consideration. It can be observed that this pseudo-network, unlike governance mode no. 1, is stable and has an external legitimacy (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2). It is not subject to the influence of changes in policy and law, as the business agreement has been signed between strategic partners and it is unlikely that a political shift on the national level will cause any changes within the network. In theory, what can certainly impact the effectiveness of this governance mode is a change in the economic environment – a potential economic crisis, which would decrease the number of potential clients interested in buying real estate in this novel residential quarter. Regardless, despite the economic crisis, it seems that the real estate market in Belgrade is booming (Seecap, 2020).

5.1.3. CONCLUSIONS ON THE REGENERATION OF SAVAMALA

In summary, the application of network theory and social network analysis, together with the policy and network governance theoretical and empirical approaches have provided the basis to scrutinize the urban networks in Savamala. On a similar note, these have also provided a basis for understanding the power relations in urban governance. Based on the research findings it can be

concluded that the urban neighborhood of Savamala has gone through two phases of the regeneration process since 2008.

The research findings suggest that the first phase (from 2008 to 2016) was the output of an urban policy and regeneration program that was aimed at creativity-led regeneration. Namely, the empowerment of creative entrepreneurs in order to culturally, economically, and socially revitalize a neglected city quarter. The fragmented-governed network mode wherein each of the organizations has its own governance mode without joint coordination or a monitoring body can be observed in the first phase of the regeneration.

Conversely, the second phase (commencing in 2015) indicates a novel urban policy and a novel governance mode that implies different strategies to regenerate Savamala and foremost to develop the Savski Amphitheater – a neglected riverfront zone. In contrast to the former strategy, which was based on regeneration through the means of creativity with an exchange of resources between the political and civil actors, the latter is more focused on a real estate-led regeneration and the development of a megaproject, through a strategic partnership between the most influential political actors and a foreign investor from the Emirates. The governance mode indicates a hierarchy that lacks inclusiveness in governance. Similarly, it can be observed that the citizens of Savamala, as well as the rest of the citizens of Belgrade, were not included in the decision-making process.

According to the goals of the research and the research questions (see Chapter 3.0.), all three hypotheses which focused on the first case study can be addressed and tested here.

H1a: In the case of Savamala, it is expected that the political actors from the national and city government levels have more opportunities to leverage their knowledge and political capital, and thus influence the policy-making process.

- (1) In the context of Savamala, the results indicate that those political actors at higher political levels, such as the state and the city government, had the most opportunities to leverage their political capital and knowledge and thus influence the policy-making process. The decision-making process has been top-down driven, as was expected. Urban governance is not decentralized, and the political actors at the municipal level have only been able to make decisions that refer to modest urban policies. It can be concluded that H1a is correct.

H2a: In the case of Savamala, it is assumed that the initial policy agenda and policy goals changed to a greater extent in the course of the transformation due to the arrival of stakeholders with new perceptions of the development.

- (2) The results also suggest that discontinuity in urban politics can be observed in the context of Savamala. The initial policy was interrupted. The “Belgrade Waterfront” policy favored a different agenda and had different goals than the former policy. The change in urban politics toward Savamala and the Sava Amphitheater thus can be observed respectively with the arrival of the new stakeholders with new perceptions of the development. It can be concluded that H2a is correct.

H3a: In the case of Savamala, it is expected that actors from civil society are involved in the governance of the regeneration programs to a lesser extent, which negatively influences community effectiveness.

- (3) In addition, the results suggest that civil society was involved in the implementation and the policy-making process in the first phase of the regeneration of Savamala, which produced a positive influence on community effectiveness. However, during the course of the transformation, civil society lost its relevance and was excluded from the governance process. This had a negative influence on community effectiveness. It can be thus concluded that H3a is correct to a greater extent.

Given that the research design adopts the form of a city-specific comparative case study, the subsequent phase of the research will involve a comprehensive investigation of the urban networks at NDSM Wharf in Amsterdam. The concluding Chapter of the study will then provide a thorough comparison of urban governance in two distinct socio-economic and institutional settings, elucidating the similarities and dissimilarities in the governance of urban regeneration programs.

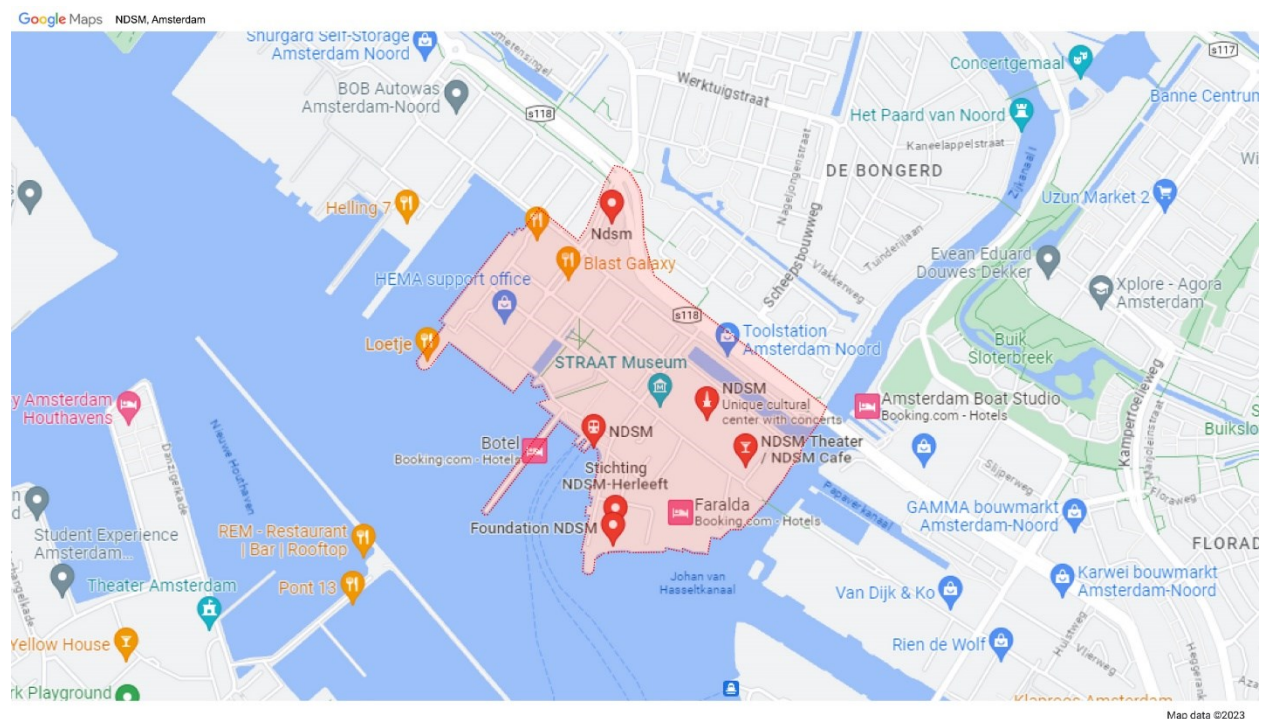
5.2. REGENERATION OF NDSM WHARF – SCRUTINIZING URBAN NETWORKS

As with the previous case study, this Chapter provides a historic overview of the developments at the NDSM Wharf and the northern IJ riverfront and explains the relevance of its location. It provides insights into the phases that NDSM Wharf has gone through over the last few decades. In addition, this Chapter covers reconstructions of the policy network and (network) governance modes and presents the research findings according to the selected theoretical framework, research questions, goals, and methodology.

NDSM WHARF: LOCATION, ORIGIN AND HISTORY

The NDSM Wharf is located in the North of Amsterdam on the banks of the river IJ (see figure no. 9) and belongs to the Amsterdam Noord district. As early as the 20th century this area was intended for industrial use. It started with the ship builder Nederlandsche Scheepsbouw Maatschappij (NSM) in 1894. Prior to moving to the north of Amsterdam this firm had been located in the east of Amsterdam (Amsterdam Oost). However, in 1916 due to opportunities to expand, NSM relocated to Amsterdam Noord. Several years later, another ship repair company, Nederlandsche Dok Maatschappij (NDM), also settled on the northern banks of the river IJ. In 1946, the shareholders of the companies decided to merge them, resulting in the establishment of Nederlandsche Dok en Scheepsbouw Maatschappij (NDSM). NDSM continued building new ships and repairing them. They had a wide range of buyers of the cargo ships and oil tankers (see Zimmermann, 2014, pp. 31-32) that they were building.

FIGURE NO. 9: A MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF NDSM WHARF IN AMSTERDAM NOORD.



SOURCE: GOOGLE MAPS

In the late sixties, NDSM Company was forced to merge with another company – Verolme Verenigde Scheepswerven from Rotterdam. Then, in 1978, the unprofitable components of NDSM had to be closed down in order to receive a loan from the government. Subsequently, in 1979 a new shipbuilding company was established, called Nederlandse Scheepsbouw Maatschappij (NSM), where the employees of NDSM could continue to work. Despite some profitable years, the shipyard suffered from international competition as well as the oil crises of the 1970s. NSM was declared bankrupt in 1984 (*ibid.*).

After the bankruptcy, the buildings stood empty. From that period of time onwards the NDSM area developed an undesirable reputation. It became an area with different urban and social problems, ranging from abandoned industrial heritage and pollution to crime and unemployment. The dwellers living in the working-class settlement in the Noord district had lost their jobs at NDSM Wharf. A period of economic decline followed (Interviewee no. 1b). Following the decline of the shipbuilding industry, it became obvious that the Amsterdam Noord district had been heavily reliant on that type of industry (see Zimmermann, 2014, p. 33). At the time, Noord became one of the poorest harbor districts in Europe (see Kok, 2014).

However, in the mid-1990s individuals and groups of artists, craftsmen, skateboarders, and other subcultures gradually started to create studios in the buildings of the abandoned shipyard. Around the same time, in 1993, a large building on the NDSM-Wharf, formerly used to construct ships, was rented to Vervako Shipyard Amsterdam BV (VSA). However, this deal did not hold ground and the municipality canceled the contract with Vervako in 1996. The city of Amsterdam and District Noord were left with a large piece of land that included massive vacant buildings for industrial use (see Zimmermann, 2014, p. 33). The land belonged to the city of Amsterdam, while several buildings were in the ownership of District Noord (Interviewee no. 9b).

At the time Amsterdam city council was aiming to improve the city's competitiveness by means of urban development (see Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a). In the early 1990s, the city had established partnerships with the companies of Nationale Nederlanden and ING Bank, with the idea that the areas on the southern banks of the IJ River would be transformed into a zone of luxury housing, business offices and new cultural amenities. Although this mega-project plan did not come to fruition, the city government continued with a similar development approach and cleaned up a good portion of the existing buildings, some of which were being squatted in by various artists and other subcultures. These evictions provoked the dissatisfaction of the residents and users of the buildings, which initiated a certain public opinion that was against eviction and demolition. A portion of this critical mass moved towards NDSM. Here also the residents and users of the buildings had formed an association that had become a pressure group – The Guild of Industrial Buildings on the IJ. The pressure group's aim was to impact the decision-making process, preserve the buildings on the riverfront and the existing social structure. Likewise, they demanded that the city council acknowledge their cultural contribution to the city. Together with the housing association Het Oosten and other professional associations and several investors, the guild established a think tank called “Platform Working on the IJ”, in order to elaborate and publish a new strategy for urban development. It became a new manifesto, which was published in two editions: “De Stad als Casco I” in 1994 and “De Stad als Casco II” in 1997 (de Klerk, 2017, p. 39-47). This was the prerequisite to the development of a new urban policy which was known as the Breeding Ground which was issued by Amsterdam City Council at the end of the 1990s. This policy advocated subsidized prices of spaces for artists and creative entrepreneurs, so they could build studios and remain in Amsterdam (see Peck, 2012, pp. 468-469). This policy together with the action research “Noord Lonkt”, which will be discussed further in the next Subchapter, was a

prelude to the regeneration of the east part of NDSM Wharf by artists and other creative entrepreneurs in 2000. The regeneration of NDSM Wharf came to realization due to the initiative of pressure groups, the Amsterdam City Council, and District Noord (de Klerk, 2017).

In summary, the initial trigger for the regeneration of NDSM Wharf started in the 1990s and continued on a larger scale in the 2000s, together with the release of the Breeding Ground policy. Similarly, an additional plan from the city and District Noord was created to develop a mixed-use area (e.g., residential, commercial, cultural) in the former shipyard (see Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a).

FIGURE NO. 10: NDSM WHARF | A FORMER SHIPYARD CONSISTING OF NDSM WEST AND NDSM EAST



SOURCE: BMB DEVELOPER

5.2.1 PHASE I (2000-2010) | POWER FOR THE POWERLESS

In the period between 1998 and 2002, the city parliament and council consisted of a coalition of the Labor Party (PvdA), Green-Left (GL), Social-Liberals (D66) and the VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) according to Geemente Amsterdam (2022). On the other hand, the political parties with majority of political capital in the District Noord council were PvdA, VVD, Issues Party Noord, Green Left and the Socialist party (see Savini and Dembski, 2016).

District Noord had jurisdiction over the urban development of Amsterdam Noord (Eng. Amsterdam North), which gradually decreased in the period after 2014 and became more centralized in the direction of the city council (Interviewee no. 1b). In the year of 2000, District Noord, among other things, had the ownership and jurisdiction of the largest shipbuilding silo with a size of 20.000 m² in the area of NDSM East. In 2002 this silo was renamed “Cultuurloods” – or the culture silo, wherein “Art City” is located. Similarly, the city of Amsterdam had ownership of hellings X and Y at NDSM Wharf East (Interviewee no. 9b). On a similar note, at the end of the 1990s, several relevant stakeholders such as the Chamber of Commerce, the City of Amsterdam, District Amsterdam Noord, and Het Oosten and the De Key Housing Associations were interested in developing NDSM and initiating further development of the city in the direction of north. The then director of the housing corporation, Het Oosten, initiated the action research of “Noord Lonkt” (English “The North Attracts”), together with the independent expert Professor Annemieke Roobeek, who at the time was working at the University of Amsterdam. The “Noord Lonkt” action research was of relevance since it included various stakeholders, those mentioned above, as well as Amsterdam Harbor, the heavy industries which were located in the Noord such as Cargill and Shell, civil society (pressure groups made of artists and other professional associations), and the citizens of Amsterdam Noord District. The project advocated the development of the former shipyard in terms of mixed-use development with a focus on housing, creativity (culture), leisure, and business (Interviewee No. 3b)

“In particular the aim was to move away from heavy industries and pollution, which should be relocated outside of the city borders, so that the city development could expand to the riverfront and concentrate on economic activities that can go along with housing, culture, and leisure... It was the end of the 1990s and industrial use was not possible anymore. The NDSM was an example

of a much broader vision of how to use the IJ River as a lifeline, where the new parts of the city can develop” (Interviewee No. 3b).

Prior to the year 2000, the river IJ was considered a barrier to city development, and the Noord was considered the “Siberia” of Amsterdam (Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a, p. 13; Dembski, 2013). Interestingly, Amsterdam Harbor and private companies were not fond of the idea of a potential new urban policy (Interviewee no. 3b). However, the opposing parties gradually “capitulated” and decided to restructure their industries and invest in environmental protection. Subsequently, once the pollution issues, including noise and soil contamination, were resolved, the ban on the development of areas on the north banks of the river IJ was lifted. Additionally, this project also led to the end of a political deadlock that had been going on in the Noord District since the Conservative-Liberals (VVD) and the Socialist party (SP) had been advocating for industrial use and had taken the side of Amsterdam Harbor and heavy industries, while the political party with the largest amount of political capital – PvdA (the Labor Party), was advocating for mixed-use development (Interviewee no. 11b; see also Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a, p. i25).

Furthermore, this project led to another initiative. The alderman for urban development and housing and the chairman of District Noord agreed to provide the opportunity for a creative entrepreneur to regenerate a former shipbuilding silo (Interviewee no. 3b). District Noord created a separate project bureau and a long-term plan called “Panorama Noord” with the aim of releasing a master plan and transforming NDSM Wharf. According to this plan the north banks of the river IJ were reserved for creative and knowledge-intensive industries. In addition, in 2001, the district released a competition seeking a creative entrepreneur who could temporarily turn the east part of the wharf into a cultural hotspot for at least five years. This gave the district time to make long-term plans for the redevelopment of the area that would transform NDSM Wharf into a mixed-use developed area (Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a). The winner of the competition was a group of artists and former squatters who had joined forces and formed the association Kinetic Noord. The main initiators of this initiative were artists Eva de Klerk and Hessel Dokkum. The plan comprised various elements including the preservation of the existing buildings at NDSM Wharf and the creation of a gathering place for artists, and in particular the development of “Cultuurloods” (Eng. Culture Sheds) – the culture silo being the most relevant culture incubator (Zimmermann, 2014, pp. 33-36).

The association of Kinetic Noord was transformed into the Kinetic Noord Foundation in order to receive a subsidy from the city which had formed a separate body known as the Fund of Breeding Ground – the *Broedplaatsen Fond*. This fund was focused on the execution of the Breeding Ground policy and was responsible for providing subsidies (Topalović, Neelen and Džokić, 2003a, p. 67). On a similar note, the district, as the owner of the largest silo, provided a loan to the foundation for the reconstruction and maintenance of the building. The total funds received by Kinetic Noord was eventually around 20 million euros, from different public institutions⁴⁵ (Interviewee no. 4b), which needed to be invested into the renovations, construction of the “Art City”, and the creation of programs. Similarly, the tenants of the “Art City” invested a certain amount of money into their own studios, and in this manner, they also became shareholders in the entire project (Interviewee no. 7b). The plan was based on the ideas of the manifesto “De Stad als Casco” where those who utilized the space were the active producers of that space and were also responsible for governing that space (de Klerk, 2003a, p. 45). In the first phase of the regeneration of the former shipyard, the Kinetic Noord Foundation was responsible for governing the main silo and hellings⁴⁶, providing services, developing a cultural program and maintaining the outdoor terrain of NDSM East (Interviewee No. 12b; Topalović, Neelen, Džokić, 2003a, p. 91).

In addition to the concrete plan of action for the following years, there were still long-term plans to turn NDSM Wharf into a mixed-use area, comprising housing, working, and leisure. To realize this aim, District Amsterdam Noord sought a collaboration between Kinetic Noord, the investors, and the housing corporations of Het Oosten, De Key and Woningbedrijf West (Topalović, Neelen, Džokić, 2003a, p. 91). Following this aspiration, “BV Durf” was set up in 2002, to outline a joint strategy while respecting each other’s goals. However, “BV Durf” was aborted by District Amsterdam Noord in 2003 (Zimmermann, 2014, p. 36). This also created a wave of dissatisfaction and distrust to be directed toward District Noord by the tenants of the “Art City” and the Kinetic Noord Foundation (Interviewee no. 4b). The land and the majority of buildings at NDSM West were sold and rented out to the Dutch developer Biesterbos (now BMB), who managed to get an affordable price from District Noord and gradually developed the area over the next 30 years

⁴⁵ Those institutions were: District Amsterdam Noord, Breeding Ground Fund, Development Company Municipality of Amsterdam (OGA), Social Development Department (DMO) Amsterdam, Ministry of Housing, Spatial Development & Environment (VROM/IPSU) according to Art Factories (2004)

⁴⁶ The hellings are two former industrial buildings that were used for ship construction.

(Interviewee no. 11b). This event created even more dissatisfaction,⁴⁷ due to the fact that District Amsterdam Noord had given the permission to develop to just one company without a public tender taking place (Hermanides and Soethenhorst, 2014).

Furthermore, distrust increased around 2007 when it transpired that Kinetic Noord Foundation was unable to pay its rent to District Noord, and the foundation ran into financial difficulties, caused by delays in the execution of the operating plans. This led to a change in the governance over the next period (see de Klerk, 2017, p. 127).

RECONSTRUCTION OF POLICY NETWORK NO.1

The policy network and its empirical approach have been applied in the same fashion for scrutinizing the urban network as in the first case study. Moreover, Emirbayer and Goodwin's analytical strategy that focuses on the social-structural, cultural, and social-psychological contexts of action (see again 1996, p. 365-368) has also been applied to explore the policy network in the context of Amsterdam.

Likewise, the social network analytical perspective (see again Wasserman and Faust, 1994) has been applied with the aim to scrutinize the social-structural and social-psychological contexts of action. Both the relational and positional approaches (see again Subchapter 2.5., part 1) of social network analysis have been applied to examine the relations among the actors and their locational properties. The actor's personal meanings are distinguished through discourse analysis (see Subchapter 4.5.). How the actors maneuver resources from the positions they hold within a network (e.g., the position of third) in order to reach individual or collective goals has also been examined through the analytical notions of social network analysis.

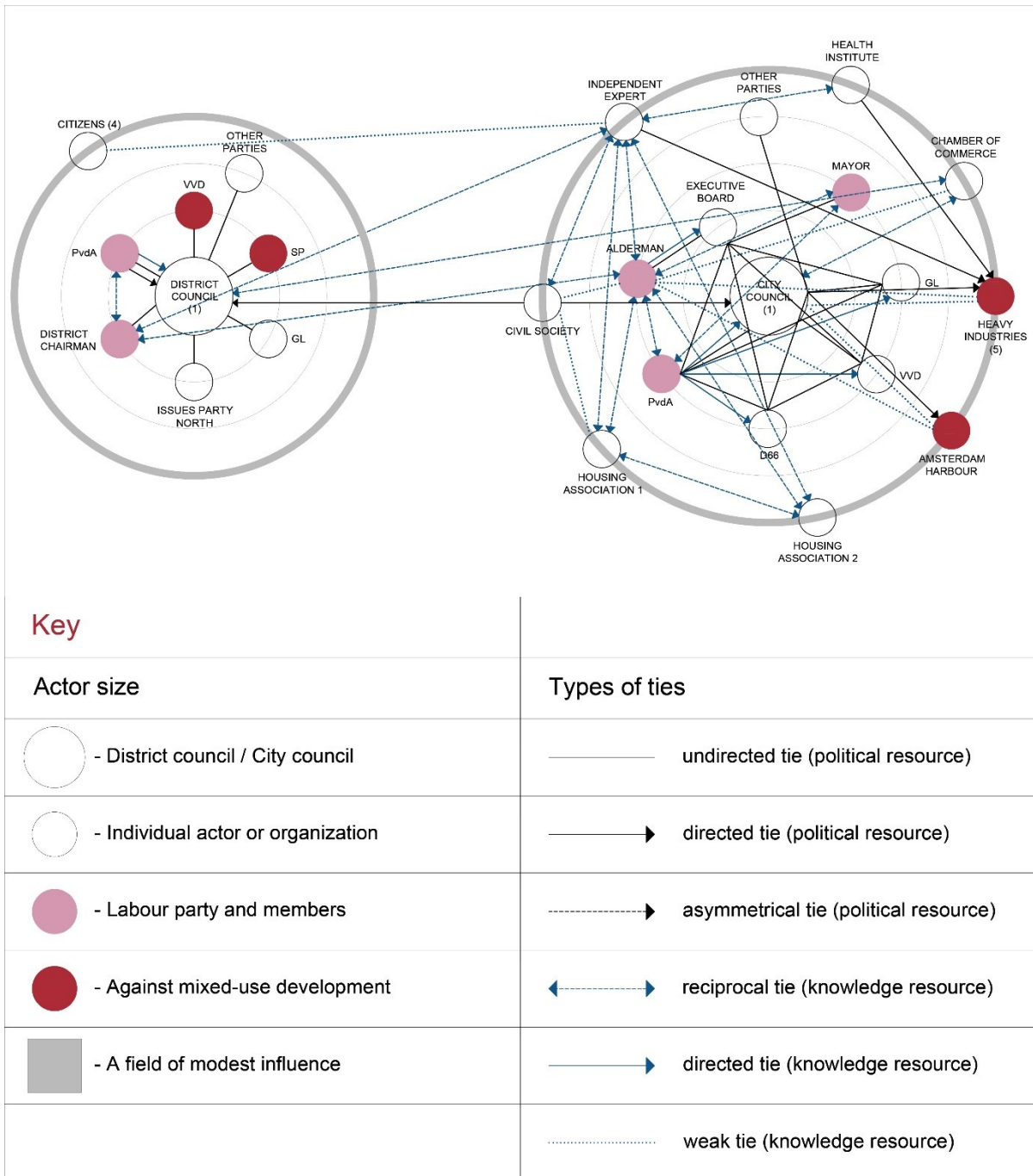
⁴⁷ The dissatisfaction of the stakeholders was caused by the land and property being sold and rented out to just one developer for an affordable price. Even the former industrial buildings that had been purchased by the district were sold to a developer for a small amount of money, since they required a lot of investment (Hermanides and Soethenhorst, 2014). Additionally, the developer intentionally carried out the promised construction and development slowly. The alderman for housing and spatial planning from the GroenLinks political party threatened to terminate the contract with the developer, but that was not possible (Interviewee no. 15b).

a) **RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL-STRUCTURAL AND SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTEXTS OF ACTION**

To scrutinize the social-structural and social-psychological contexts of action (see Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1996, p. 364-368), the network of actors has been reconstructed in terms of who had the power to influence the decision-making process. Each actor's strength of influence has been assessed through qualitative content analysis of (a) the Law on Local Government, (b) media coverage, (c) reports, and (d) semi-structured interviews with the network participants. The results were then triangulated quantitatively (strength of influence from important to unimportant on a scale from 1 to 5 in diagram 1a, and from 1 to 4 in diagram 1b.). The actors' position in the network fields refers to their degree of influence in the decision-making process as a whole, i.e., center (*substantial influence*) and periphery (*modest influence*).

Figure no. 11 shows two diagrams, (1a) and (1b), that explain policy network no. 1. Diagram (1a) represents the decision-making process at the city level, while diagram (1b) represents the decision-making process at the district level. According to the Dutch Law on Local Government (see Prodemos, 2013), the city council and executive board have the majority of power in the decision-making process when it comes to urban development in the municipality of Amsterdam, therefore they are positioned in the center of diagram 1a. However, when it comes to making decisions regarding development in the Noord District, the district council and the district chairman hold the majority of power (Interviewee no. 3b) and occupied the central positions in diagram 1b.

FIGURE NO. 11: POLICY NETWORK NO.1 CONSISTS OF DIAGRAMS 1a AND 1b, AND A KEY FOR THE EXPLANATION OF TIES IS AVAILABLE BELOW



SOURCE: (a) DOCUMENTS: LAW ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PRODEMOS, 2013); URBAN CATALYST AMSTERDAM NOORD (TOPALOVIĆ, NEELEN, AND DŽOKIĆ, 2003a); (b) WEBSITE: GEEMENTE AMSTERDAM (2022); (c) LITERATURE: SAVINI AND DEMBSKI (2016); (d) INTERVIEWEES: No.3b; No.4b; No.11b; No.15b.

In diagram (1a) the most central actors are those with the largest amount of political capital – the power to influence the decision-making process (see Subchapter 2.5., part 3) – therefore they are positioned in the first four central fields of the diagram. While those actors in the periphery are

those who had a modest power in the decision-making process (field 5). Furthermore, the most central actors in diagram (1b)⁴⁸ had a substantial influence in the decision-making process, whilst those actors in field 4 had a modest influence in the decision-making process.

The analytical notions from social network analysis (see Subchapter 2.5., part 1) have been applied in the elaboration of policy network no. 1. The types of ties between the actors have been measured using data collected from semi-structured and structured interviews, the media coverage and reports that have gone through qualitative content analysis. The text passages which speak in favor of the actors' behavior in relation to other actors have been coded and the types of ties have been assigned qualitatively or quantitatively. The same analytical notions from social network analysis from the first case study, have also been used for the elaboration of Amsterdam's network.

RESULTS

DIAGRAM 1a

Political parties. In diagram 1a it can be observed that the Labor Party (PvdA) had the majority of power in the decision-making process and the party was in coalition with the Conservative-Liberals (VVD), Green-Left (GL), and Social-liberals (D66) according to Geemente Amsterdam (2022). For many years the PvdA was the strongest party in Amsterdam, as well as in the Noord District. The initiators of the policy came from the ranks of the PvdA, which had distributed knowledge to their coalition partners, who supported the policy. This actor (the PvdA) was also in the position of the third and acted as iungens (see Obstfeld, 2005, p.100), between the alderman and the city council.

The alderman. The alderman for spatial planning and housing was part of the executive board (Pots and Van der Molen, 2004). He stands in the second field and is in a strong relation with his party - the PvdA. It was the alderman who attended the round tables with civil society and advocated for the rights of the pressure groups in the city council. He was also one of the main advocates of the Breeding Ground policy in the late 1990s, which was supported by the Amsterdam City Council (see Topalović, Neelen and Džokić, 2003a, p. 11). Additionally, he was also one of the initiators of the regeneration of the former shipyard. As can be observed in the network, the

⁴⁸ It wasn't clear who was in political coalition with the PvdA at the district level. The network encompasses only the district council and political parties set in the fields, according to the number of seats they held and their political capital.

alderman has the highest actor's degree of centrality, which according to social network analysis (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 178) means that he was the most relevant actor in the network. There is a clique which denotes strong reciprocal ties between the alderman, the independent expert, the district chairman, the housing associations, the mayor and the PvdA. This shows there was frequent knowledge exchange and collaboration among the specified actors who were working on the plan for the development of NDSM, plus forming and pushing the policy through city council and the executive board. Furthermore, the alderman was the relevant actor who reached an agreement with the district chairman to support the idea of the Breeding Ground in the eastern part of NDSM Wharf (Interviewee no. 3b)⁴⁹.

It can be observed from the network that the alderman is in the position of the third, and he acts as an *iungens* (see Obstfeld 2005, p. 100), since he connected the knowledge of those actors, he was in strong relations with, to the executive board and his own party. At the time, the PvdA had the majority of political capital in the council, which was the most relevant decision-making body and which stands in the center of the network. It had shared knowledge with the members of the council, namely with their political coalition, which obviously supported their initiative and their development option. Knowledge is depicted as a directed blue tie, and a relation is measured in a binary fashion. The alderman's social role (see again Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 462-465) is as a policy advocate.

City mayor. According to the Dutch Law on Local Government, the mayor has the right to vote within the executive board. In fact, the mayor's vote can even prove decisive when a deadlock has developed within the executive board. Meanwhile, although the mayor presides over the council, the mayor does not have the right to vote in this body. However, the mayor can participate in discussions during council meetings (Prodemos, 2013, p. 90). In network 1a, the mayor stands in the third field and comes from the ranks of PvdA, the leading political party. He was a supporter

⁴⁹ According to Interviewee no. 3b, the decision to give space and the opportunity to civil society (the creative sector), was a political trick to distract public and media attention, until a solution had been found for the development of that area. The alderman and the rest of the city council had the priority of developing the more relevant areas of Amsterdam, for instance, IJ Burg as a residential area. NDSM was not of such great interest, since it was on the periphery of Amsterdam, an area with pollution and a relict of the city's industrial past that needed to be dealt with (Interviewee no. 15b). Likewise, a good portion of the pressure groups had already settled there, claiming their rights to the city and free spaces (Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a).

of the development policy, and is remembered for his slogan “No culture without subculture” (Interviewee No. 4b), while advocating for the rights of the pressure groups.

Independent expert. The independent expert from the University of Amsterdam is located at the periphery of the network (field 5). This actor is not a member of any political party but has a relevant role as the project manager of the “Noord Loonkt” project and a relevant role in policy development. Along with the alderman, this actor was the most central and active in exchanging knowledge with the other relevant actors who were participating in the “Noord Loonkt” project, as well as having a less frequent exchange of knowledge with the representatives of heavy industries. Knowledge exchange with civil society and the citizens of Noord can be observed in order to discover the possibilities in the development of the NDSM. This actor was also in the position of the third and acts as an iungens (see again Obstfeld 2005, p. 100), due to connecting the knowledge from civil society to the other participants within the network. The independent expert had a relevant role in pressuring heavy industries together with another actor from the periphery of the network – the Public Health Service of Amsterdam – to accept the novel development plans and reduce their operations in Noord, which was crucial for changes in zoning regulations (Interviewee no. 3b), and for making space available for housing as well as the reduction of pollution. One of the relevant tasks of the “Noord Lonkt” project was to break the deadlock that had existed for 15 years between the political parties, who were unable to agree on the priorities in the development of Noord. The vision of mixed-use development prevailed over industrial use. Furthermore, the project included the initiative of “BV Durf” (Daring Ltd.) a public-private partnership made up of several stakeholders, such as the previously-mentioned housing associations, investors, District Noord and the Kinetic Noord Foundation. These actors would be responsible for the development and maintenance of the NDSM Wharf area (see Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a).

Housing associations. The initial housing association was Het Oosten. This association’s general director was an initiator of the “Noord Lonkt” project, together with an independent expert and her team. A second housing association was De Key. Neither of the housing associations were in the position of being decision-makers, however, they were participants in the “Noord Lonkt” project in 1999 and had a great deal of interest in developing NDSM Wharf and other areas in the Noord District (see Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a; Interviewee no. 3b).

Heavy industries and the Amsterdam Harbor. Relevant economic actors, such as Cargill and Shell, were against the mixed-use development of Noord and they were also relevant stakeholders in the city of Amsterdam, especially in the north of Amsterdam. Another strong opponent to the mixed-use development of NDSM was Amsterdam Harbor, who wanted to extend their operations further and this would cause potential problems, making the development of residential areas difficult (Interviewee no. 11b). However, these actors were put under pressure by the Amsterdam City Council, project management, and the Public Health Service of Amsterdam, who tried to convert them to their side of the argument by explaining that they would gain a negative reputation as city polluters, if they didn't restructure and invest in environmental protection so the city could properly extend towards the north (Interviewee no. 3b).

Pressure groups. The pressure groups consisted of various associations of artists and craftspeople, and a number of these had already settled in the dwellings at NDSM and in other areas of the riverfront. These groups were pressuring the city council and the district council. They already had an exchange of knowledge with the alderman and one of the housing associations – indicated as a weak blue tie – who had supported the Breeding Ground policy and also taken part in the “Noord Lonkt” project (see Roobeek and Mansersloot, 1999a, 1999b). The pressure groups were also initiators of the regeneration and took part in the policy-making process by providing knowledge.

DIAGRAM 1B

District council. The District Noord council stands in the center of network 1b. At the time this actor had the largest amount of power in the decision-making process in the district. The district also had its own district chairman (see Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a). At the time the parties of the PvdA and VVD had the majority of political capital in the district council (Savini and Dambski, 2016). The VVD and the Socialist Party (SP) were against the mixed-use development, as they were advocating for industrial use in the North of Amsterdam (Interviewee No. 11b). However, the PvdA, with the results of the “Noord Lonkt” project, managed to convince some of the relevant political actors in the district that industrial use was not an option (Interviewee no. 3b). In network 1b, two directed ties denote the political pressure on the council.

District chairman. This actor came from the ranks of the PvdA. He was a relevant actor at the district level, and can be seen in the second field of network 1b. This person had certain political capital and power in the decision-making process, and was able to influence members of his own

party in the district council. As can be observed from the strong blue tie, this actor was in a close relation with the alderman and together they decided to provide the opportunity for creative entrepreneurs to establish a Breeding Ground at NDSM East (Interviewee no. 3b). The district president was in the position of tertius and he acted as an iungens (Obstfeld, 2005, p. 100), since he connected the alderman's vision with the district council and his party at the district level. He had a social role (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 462-465) of being a policy advocate. Together with the district council, the district chairman had established a separate body and a plan in 2001 which was titled "Panorama Noord", with the "aim to envisage post-industrial transition". In 2003 the Master Plan for the Northern IJ Bank Terug aan het IJ was also issued. These plans shared a similar approach, that is, emphasizing the "importance of mixing new economies and housing in order to provide better local services and valorize vacant land" (see Savini and Dembski, 2016). Some of these plans were criticized by the conservative parties and independent experts, and the tension was visible across the media in the following years (Interviewee no. 11b). Likewise, a competition seeking a creative entrepreneur who would take on the financial resources for the revitalization of the monumental building in NDSM East, had been announced in the year 2000 (see Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003b).

b) RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF ACTION

As with the previous case, the examination of the cultural context of social action includes discourse (see Kamalu and Osisanwo, 2015; Bryman, 2012, p. 528) and qualitative frame analysis (see Goffman 1974; Matthes, 2009). The actors' perceptions and the mental models that shaped the built environment of the selected neighborhoods are examined and an explanation of the shared values that have guided the social actions (see Lelong, 2014, p. 207) is provided. Discours and frame analysis have been used (see Subchapter 4.5.), which means that specific parts of interview transcripts, and public statements from the media, literature, and reports have been analyzed. Frames are identified by coding the text passages that speak in favor of the actors' perceptions and the interpretation of local spatial development possibilities and aims, and their relevance for the future development of NDSM Wharf. In the analysis of the cultural context, ten key frames that implicate the specific urban development goals can be observed in table no. 12. These goals were indicated by stakeholders as being relevant to the policy-making process. However, not all the goals were coherent, as can be seen in the table. On one hand, it seems that the stakeholders who

were advocating for mixed-use development were in agreement when selecting their priorities in the regeneration process, which is visible in policy network no. 1. In contrast, the stakeholders who were advocating industrial use were driven by other perceptions and goals (see frame no. 2d).

TABLE NO. 12: STAKEHOLDERS' SHARED GOALS IN POLICY NETWORK NO.1

Number	Type	Frame	Policy Goals
No. 1a	Political	Entrepreneurial governance	Empowerment of the creative sector to regenerate and transform the image of NDSM. Developing a new residential and business area
No. 1b	Political	Citizens' participation	Participation of civil society in activating vacant industrial buildings and triggering the regeneration of the neglected urban area on the riverfront
No. 2a	Economic	Inter-urban competition	Creating an attractive environment for residents and visitors of Amsterdam and improving the image of the neighborhood and the Amsterdam Noord district
No. 2b	Economic	Job diversification	Creating jobs in the creative and knowledge-intensive industries
No. 2c	Economic	Mixed-use development	Transforming the former wharf into an area for living, leisure, business, and culture
No. 2d	Economic	Industrial-use development	Continuation of the development of heavy industries and employment of the working class from the Amsterdam Noord district
No. 3a	Social	Attracting the middle class to the area	Attracting professionals from various fields to the NDSM and Amsterdam Noord district
No. 3b	Social	Bottom-up development	Development according to <i>De Stad als Casco's</i> philosophy by which the citizens develop the city according to their own needs and are in charge of governance

No. 4	Cultural	Cultural regeneration	Creating cultural content for residents and empowering culture and creativity
No. 5	Environmental	Physical regeneration of industrial heritage and empowerment of water transportation	Urban recycling and regeneration of industrial heritage to provide cultural and economic activities. Establishment of efficient water transportation from the city center to NDSM

SOURCE: (a) DOCUMENTS: URBAN CATALYST AMSTERDAM NOORD (TOPALOVIĆ, NEELEN, AND DŽOKIĆ, 2003a, 2003b); NOORD LONK 2.0 AND 3.0 (1999a, 1999b); REVISITED STUDIO AND CREATIVE INCUBATOR POLICY IN AMSTERDAM 2015-2018; (b) LITERATURE: DE KLERK (2017); SAVINI AND DEMBSKI (2016); (c) INTERVIEWEES: 3b; 4b; 8b; 9b; 11b.

CONCLUSION

It can be observed from policy network no. 1 that the urban policy on the regeneration of NDSM Wharf was based on comprehensive research and that the plan for the development of the former shipyard was an integral part of this. The policy network encompasses a variety of stakeholders, and a certain coherence of the city and district level politics can be observed. The initiators and policymakers came from the party that had the largest amount power in the decision-making process. Likewise, the ruling party obviously had the majority of support of their coalition partners.

The cultural context of action implies that not all the stakeholders shared similar perceptions when it came to the development of NDSM Wharf. The “Noord Lonkt” action research also advocated the idea of a mixed-use development, which came up as an appropriate development option in discussion with various stakeholders, including citizens, housing associations, heavy industries and civil society.

Moreover, it seems that the pressure groups were relevant players in the network. They already had certain social capital and the support of the alderman of housing. They had succeeded in exerting pressure on the district and the city council and advocating for their interests and development options. They were at the periphery of the network; therefore, they were not in the position of direct decision-makers. However, they had contributed to the policy-making process with their initiative and knowledge. On a similar note, the citizens of the Noord District were also

not decision-makers, however, they were also included in discussions within the “Noord Lonkt” project.

The decision-making process mostly depended on the political actors from the local councils situated at the center of networks 1a and 1b, who had the majority of political capital. Similarly, the actors who were in the position of the third were the relevant political actors on the local level – the alderman and district chairman and the ruling party – who were able to maneuver resources according to their own interests. These actors were in the proximity of the city and district council, and had enough political capital and access to knowledge to be able to influence the decision-making process. The policy became active in the following years, however with some changes in the policy goals.

In the following Subchapter, a theoretical and empirical approach to network governance is employed, as outlined in Subchapter 2.5., part 2, with the objective of examining the implementation of the selected urban policies. The aim is to identify, distinguish and explore governance (network) modes, as per the framework put forth by Provan and Kenis (2008). Furthermore, the analysis seeks to interrogate power relations in the governance process, and investigate the extent to which effectiveness is achieved at the network and community levels (as also detailed in Subchapter 2.5., part 2).

RECONSTRUCTION OF GOVERNANCE MODE NO. 1

In an identical fashion to the previous case study, the network governance theoretical and empirical approach (see again Provan and Kenis, 2008) has been applied in order to gain insights into policy implementation and to explore the governance process. Primarily, this section provides a preview of the actors who were involved in the governance of the NDSM wharf in the first phase of the regeneration process.

The most relevant actors in the governance were the City of Amsterdam and the District of Noord who were the major shareholders, since they own the economic capital in terms of land and property (e.g., vacant buildings, land) and have the financial funds. Furthermore, their partner was the winner of the competition – Kinetic Noord Association – which became the Kinetic Noord Foundation in order to receive grants from the *Broedplaats Fund* (Breeding Ground Fund), and from other public institutions and a loan from the District of Noord. The Kinetic Noord Foundation was responsible for the governance and exploitation of the main building i.e., *Cultureloods* and the outside terrain of NDSM East. The Kinetic Noord Foundation is a cultural foundation that has an external board of directors⁵⁰ which changes every couple of years. The board has often included respected figures from the world of culture, business, and politics. The purpose of the board is to monitor the activities of the organization and provide advice. The purpose of the foundation was to utilize the grants provided mostly by the Broedplaats Fund, as well as by other public bodies, and to regenerate the largest building and to establish the “Art City” project. It was also responsible for finding tenants who would work together with Kinetic Noord and build the framework for the studios and partly invest their own money in the “Art City” project. In the overall space of 20,000 square meters, 11,000 square meters were to be used for artist studios. The governance of the “Art City” belonged to the Kinetic Noord Foundation, who rented the studios annually to a variety of tenants including of artists, craftspeople and other creative entrepreneurs. To an extent the tenants were also owners of their studios, based on the fact that they had also invested their own funds. On a similar note, Kinetic Noord Foundation had the right to offer any unused space in the building to more commercial organizations who would lease the space and in this manner the foundation would earn more revenue, which was used for their own purpose (e.g., to create a cultural program,

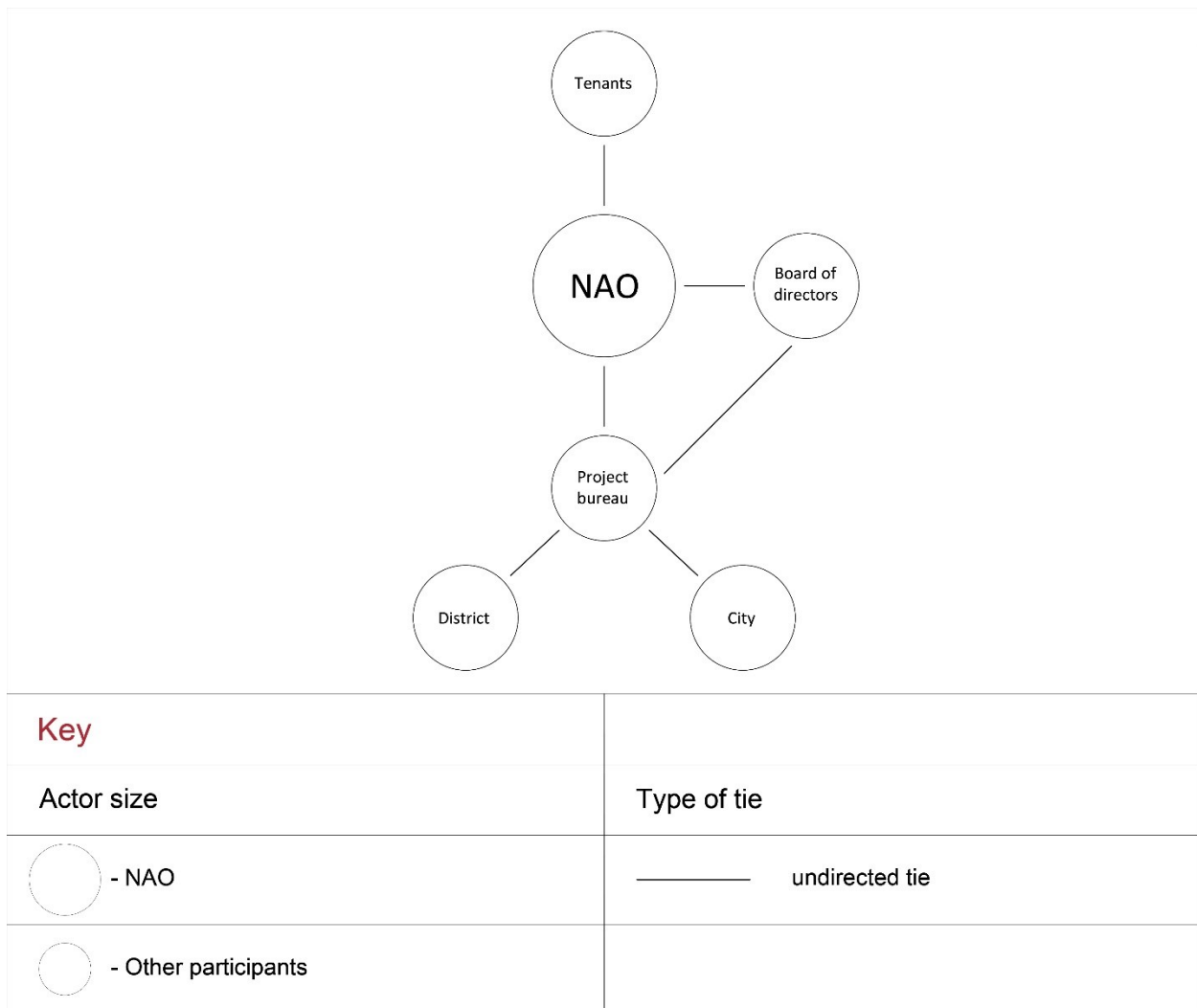
⁵⁰ This is in accordance with the regulations in the Governance Code, which highlights that foundations need to have an external board of members that are also called directors (Culture + Ondernemen, 2014, 2019).

maintenance, and similar). The tenants were organized in clusters and had their own representatives formed into teams (working groups) such as the construction, maintenance, outdoor space, and artistic-program teams. The implementation organization also included seven daily managers from the Kinetic Noord Foundation, who were in charge of finances, building, maintenance, concept, artistic projects, office and the program. These managers guided and coordinated the teams (see Topalović, Neelen, and Džokić, 2003a, pp. 44-45, 2003b, p. 33; de Klerk, 2017, pp. 105-120).

According to the network governance perspective (see Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 236), this governance mode can be interpreted as a brokered network (see figure no. 12), or as a network administrative organization (NAO) governed mode. At the beginning of the process, the network administrative organization was the implementation organization, which included clusters of tenants and managers from Kinetic Noord Foundation (also the tenants), who were responsible for coordination and decision-making. However, the number of people involved in the implementation organization began to increase over time, together with the number of opinions and options, and this caused difficulties in decision-making. This led to a recommendation from the external board to hire an external “independent expert” to become the first managing director of the Kinetic Noord Foundation (de Klerk, 2017, pp. 119-123). The new managing director had the job of executing the action plan created by the implementation organization and with his new position, the director gained the majority of power in the decision-making process. The other relevant participants in the network were an association of artists from the hellings who were there prior to the arrival of Kinetic Noord and were part of the working groups. Also, there was a Project Management Bureau Noordwaarts⁵¹ made of the representatives of the District Noord and the City of Amsterdam, and it was responsible for implementation and monitoring of development in NDSM (Gemeente Amsterdam).

⁵¹ Project Bureau Noordwaarts was discontinued in 2014. This team became part of the Gemeente Amsterdam Development Company (OGA).

FIGURE NO. 12: NETWORK GOVERNANCE (NAO-GOVERNED) MODE NO.1 IN NDSM WHARF EAST



SOURCE: (a) DOCUMENTS: URBAN CATALYST AMSTERDAM NOORD (TOPALOVIĆ, NEELEN, DŽOKIĆ, 2003a, 2003b); (b) LITERATURE: DE KLERK (2017); (c) INTERVIEWEES: 3b; 4b; 8b; 9b.

Moreover, the idea of the “BV Durf” partnership and the management alliance of several different parties which would create a participative-governed mode (see Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 234), was aborted. As de Klerk explained “in 2003, to the surprise of everyone involved, District Noord pulled the plug on the “BV Durf” partnership after only a few sessions. This had everything to do with the new political wind that was blowing in District Noord. A new district council transferred the development rights for a large part of the shipyard to the project developer Biesterbos (now

BMB)⁵²” (see Klerk, 2017, p. 115). The Dutch developer signed a commercial contract with District Noord and gained permission to develop a good portion of the former shipyard over the next 30 years. The land was divided into plots and the development gradually started in accordance with the regulations and permits of the municipality (Interviewee no. 6b). It can be observed that the model of “BV Durf” was intended to become a participative (or shared) governed network (see again Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 234), however, that opportunity was lost when the district council changed its strategy of the development of NDSM Wharf.

EFFECTIVENESS

In the context of NDSM, the NAO-governed mode proved to have effectiveness on the network level to a great extent. This means that the goals indicated in policy network no.1 (see table no. 13) have been achieved to a large extent over the course of 10 years. Conversely, community level effectiveness has been achieved to a limited extent.

TABLE NO. 13: ACHIEVED OR UNACHIEVED GOALS (POLICY NETWORK NO. 1)

NETWORK LEVEL GOALS	
?	Empowerment of the creative sector to regenerate and transform the image of NDSM. Developing a new residential and business area. <u>Evidence:</u> This goal has been achieved to a limited extent. The developer did not build the housing units in accordance with the initial plan, but did eventually with an intentional delay (Interviewee no. 11b).
✓	Participation of civil society in activating the vacant industrial buildings and triggering the regeneration of the neglected urban area at the riverfront
✓	Creating an attractive environment for residents and visitors to Amsterdam and improving the image of the neighborhood and the Amsterdam Noord district
✓	Creating jobs in the creative and knowledge-intensive industries
✓	Transforming the former wharf into an area for living, leisure, business, and culture
✓	Attracting professionals from various fields to the NDSM and Amsterdam Noord district

⁵² Interestingly, a member of the PvdA, who at the time that Biesterbos signed the commercial agreement with the District Noord, was in the position of district president, is currently the managing director of the Kinetic Noord Foundation (Interview no. 4b).

✓ Development according to <i>De Stad als Casco's</i> philosophy by which the citizens develop the city according to their own needs and are in charge of governance
✓ Creating cultural content for residents and empowering culture and creativity
✓ Urban recycling and regeneration of industrial heritage to provide cultural and economic activities. Establishment of efficient water transportation from the city center to the NDSM.

The level of fulfillment of community effectiveness is presented by the indicators in the table no. 14.

TABLE NO. 14

Number	1	2	3	4	5
Indicators	Cost to the community	Inclusiveness	Stakeholders perception that the regeneration program has solved certain urban issues that existed prior to the regeneration	Cultural impact	Economic impact
Level of fulfillment	High	Medium	Medium	High	Medium

Indicator (1) Cost to the community.

Evidence: It can be observed that this type of regeneration program has been financed from public funds. Around 20 million euros have been invested into NDSM East, and additionally the district and city have invested tens of millions worth of euros into the infrastructure of the entire NDSM wharf and provided subsidies for renovation of the industrial buildings to the developer (Interviewee No. 6b; Hermanides and Soethenhorst, 2014).

Indicator (2) Inclusiveness.

Evidence: The governance of NDSM East can be describe as being inclusive since the network governance includes a variety of stakeholders in the network. Additionally, the citizens of Amsterdam have participated in various cultural events and thus provided their contribution to the regeneration. On the other hand, the governance of NDSM West is not particularly inclusive, since it only includes the developer and the city.

Indicator (3) Stakeholder perception that the regeneration strategies have solved the urban issues that existed before the regeneration.

Evidence: The majority of the urban problems that NDSM Wharf was experiencing are in the process of being resolved. For instance, regular water transport has been set up, the industrial buildings and infrastructure have been regenerated and developed, the image and reputation of NDSM has been redefined, new cultural, social and economic inputs have been provided. However, the opponents of the mixed-use development approach have expressed their dissatisfaction in terms of the underdeveloped working opportunities for the working class who were living in the Noord district, plus the extensive advocating for middle-class professionals (Interviewee no. 11b).

Indicator (4) Cultural impact.

Evidence: The culture program has included a variety of events and exhibitions and has therefore provided public value to the citizens of Noord District and the rest of Amsterdam. They have regular open-air events and festivals such as Over't IJ for performing arts and theatre, the Sail Boat Festival, Rabodock Arts and Technology Festival. As well as an art gallery, theater, and a skate park for youngsters and subcultures inside the main silo (de Klerk, 2017, pp. 111-115). In addition, the professional and citizens' associations from NDSM have managed to protect the buildings that used to belong to the shipyard by obtaining the highest national status of cultural heritage. NDSM Wharf has officially been registered as a *Rijksmonument* by the Noord District. This means that most of the industrial buildings, as well as the hellings and the crane, have been granted a protected status and a special permit is needed to modify the existing buildings. NDSM East might also be protected from completely commercial developments in the future (Zimmermann, 2014, p. 36). In this way, one of the main concerns faced by the users of NDSM East has been solved (Interviewee no. 5b).

Indicator (5) Economic impact.

Evidence: The economic impact can be described as being medium in this phase. The developer invested money into purchasing the land and industrial buildings, however the developer was also slowly making plans and developing the western part of NDSM. In addition, Kinetic Noord Foundation had fallen into debt due to non-payment of rent to District Noord, who was at the time

the owner of the main silo. The economic impact is visible in terms of the approximately 150 creative entrepreneurs who have started their businesses in NDSM East. Also, the image and the popularity of NDSM has increased and new bigger players have located their companies there and helped to grow employment. For instance, MTV has arrived as one of the relevant players in international creative industries and has settled into a large building in NDSM East, just next to the *Culture Silo*. More media companies such as Discovery Channel and IDTV have settled in the “Karaanspoor” building in NDSM West (Het Parool, 2007, 2008). Likewise, the first start-up restaurants have appeared in the same area, side-by-side with hospitality industries (Zimmerman, 2014, pp. 34-36). A Hema office and store has opened in NDSM West. Job diversification has been achieved and new jobs in the fields of creative industries, the not-for-profit sector, and hospitality and retail have been appearing in the area.

CONCLUSION AND THE LIMITATIONS OF THE GOVERNANCE MODES

In the context of NDSM Wharf, it can be concluded that two different governance modes have emerged at NDSM West and NDSM East. NDSM East has been focused on regeneration driven by creative means. And likewise, a network governance mode – a brokered network in NAO-governed mode – elaborated on in literature by Provan and Kenis (2008, p. 236), can be seen. Conversely, the potential shared-network governance mode that could have been present at “BV Durf” did not come to fruition (de Klerk, 2017, p.115). Another governance mode appeared in the form of a hierarchy at NDSM West, where a Dutch developer was given the opportunity to develop. This development happened according to Biesterbos own plans, but within regulations⁵³ and partly with the vision of the City of Amsterdam (Interviewee no. 6b).

Furthermore, governance across all of NDSM has proven to be effective to a greater extent, since the goals indicated in the policy-making process have begun to materialize. However, a shift in the governance plan has led to the dissatisfaction of civil society who had been advocating for the philosophy of *De Stad als Casco* and more participative decision-making over the entire NDSM area (de Klerk, 2017, p. 115). Another issue with the governance of NDSM East appeared when

⁵³ Regulations include that 30% of the developed housing must to be social housing and 40% mid-range housing. According to the regulations the developer needs to build student housing and several public facilities such as a school, library and similar (Interviewee No. 6b).

the Kinetic Noord Foundation was on the verge of disappearing, which also caused a certain level of distrust between the stakeholders in NDSM East (Interviewee no. 4b).

From the perspective of power relations in the governance process, it can be concluded that civil society was one of the initiators of the policy, and was governing the NAO in the first phase. On the other hand, NDSM West is governed by the Dutch developer and the City of Amsterdam. However, it remains questionable whether the nexus between the political actors from the Noord District and Biesterbos, contributed to a more effective development of NDSM West, or not, since the developer built the area more slowly than the authorities expected (Interviewee no. 11b, and no. 15b).

The limitations of the NAO-governed mode can be observed when the implementation organization had increased in size and different opinions started to appear which eventually affected the goal consensus (see Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 240). This led to the appointment of an external managing director⁵⁴, which eventually led to the further mismanagement and financial difficulties of the Kinetic Noord Foundation. This created tension and distrust among the tenants and the implementation organization, as well as between civil society, the city council, and the Noord district. In this case, accountability was diffused and it was precisely clear who was responsible for mismanagement and the lack of financial funds. It is not clear whether the responsibility for the failure falls on the implementation organization and external advisory board, or on the managing director. The stability of the network was also affected by the mismanagement. The network's internal and even more external legitimacy (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2) became questionable. It seems that mismanagement occurred due to the lack of goal consensus among the network participants. This eventually led to the dissolution of the external board since members were not effectively advising and monitoring the foundation's operations. The board had welcomed new external members and over time several new directors of the Kinetic Noord Foundation had been appointed by the district council, which had the aim of resolving the financial difficulties (Interviewee no. 9b). However, the financial difficulties continued and one of the housing associations that had taken part in the policy-making process expressed their interest in buying the building, which led to further dissatisfaction from the tenants of the “Art City”. In meantime, a

⁵⁴ The first director of the Kinetic Noord Foundations was a civil servant and politician from the Amsterdam Noord District (Interviewee no. 9b)

global financial crisis occurred which affected the plans of the district council, as the housing association had given up on the idea of buying the building. To continue with the regeneration program, the City of Amsterdam shifted ownership of the hellings with Noord District and had, as a result, taken possession of the “Cultureloods”. The city provided a new loan to the Kinetic Noord Foundation to redeem the ownership of the building and the foundation became the owner of the building in 2014 (see de Klerk, 2017, p. 157).

Furthermore, the shared-governance network mode that was proposed in the former shipyard did not come to fruition due to external influences – a political shift in the district council (see Lucidarme, Cardon and Willem, 2015, p. 8). The developer gradually continued with the development at NDSM West. The governance of NDSM West had aroused media attention (see Hermanides and Soethenhorst, 2014), and provoked dissatisfaction amongst the stakeholders in NDSM East (Interviewee no. 4b). In the period when Kinetic Noord Foundation was in a financial crisis, a new relevant actor was introduced – the NDSM Wharf Foundation⁵⁵. This led to a shift in the governance mode at NDSM East which will be discussed further in the following Subchapter.

The City of Amsterdam and District Noord continued with their established goals over the following years. However, the goals indicated in frame 3b have undergone specific changes. For instance, the idea of *De Stad als Casco* gradually disappeared and the decision-making process was not in the hands of the users of the *Cultureloods* anymore. Nonetheless, financial support kept coming into the newly founded organization, and representatives of the district and the city continued to monitor the regeneration process across the entirety of NDSM.

⁵⁵ Interestingly, back in “2005 Habiforum (a former spatial innovation organization) proposed to launch Proeftuin NDSM (a testing ground for NDSM) with the development parties of eastern NDSM, which included the Kinetic Noord Foundation, the property developer Media Wharf and District Noord. This novel initiative aimed at settling the relations and conducting research into a form of joint development, management, and programming for the area. This initiative led to the creation of a new management foundation for the outside area at NDSM Wharf East in 2010” (see de Klerk, 2017, p. 115).

5.2.2 PHASE II (2010-2022): THE COUNCIL STRIKES BACK

A change of governance process occurred with the initiation of a new actor –the NDSM Wharf Foundation, which was appointed to manage the outside terrain of NDSM East. This novel actor partially inherited the job of its predecessor, Kinetic Noord Foundation. The new foundation was established in 2010 at the initiative of District Noord, the developer Biesterbos (BMB) and the De Toekomst Association of Tenants. It is also a cultural foundation, with the aim of making revenue by renting out space for large markets and outdoor music festivals and investing it in its cultural program. This organization is also responsible for providing a public service (e.g., management of the outside terrain, etc.) and creating a public value for the residents with its cultural offer (Interviewee no. 8b). Although there had been an original plan to create an independent actor who would deal with management of the outdoor area, this foundation was established at the moment it became obvious that Kinetic Noord Foundation was going through certain financial difficulties (Interviewee no. 12b). The establishment of this new cultural organization at NDSM East created dissatisfaction as well as a competitive spirit within the Kinetic Noord Foundation. This occurred due to the fact that the new foundation was receiving financial grants from public institutions, which had been available to Kinetic Noord prior to the difficulties (Interviewee no. 8b). Also, both foundations were producing cultural programs and making revenue from using their spaces in cooperation with commercial parties. Moreover, Kinetic Noord Foundation had undergone a restructuring since the beginning of the regeneration process. The implementation organization had decreased in size, the external professional management consisted of only a few people to make decisions in relation to the managing director who had the majority of power in the decision-making process (Interviewees no. 4b and no. 7b). The tenants of the “Art City” lost their power in decision making. They could participate in the dialogue, but were no longer responsible for the governance of the *Cultureloods* (Interviewee no. 7b). Moreover, the NDSM Foundation was organized based on the same principles as Kinetic Noord. For instance, the foundation included several managers and an managing director (Interviewee no. 10b), along with an external board tasked with overseeing their activities

Furthermore, the De Toekomst⁵⁶ Association of Tenants gained more visibility during this period of time. This was boosted by the dissatisfaction felt about the governance of Kinetic Noord, due to the lack of cultural program and building up of the community. For instance, the youth cluster which included the skate park and attracted a younger crowd had been replaced by catering facilities. The De Toekomst association launched the annual “NDSM Open” event in an attempt to gather all the actors from the NDSM area and thus encourage dialog and problem-solving between stakeholders, while also encouraging citizens to visit NDSM East. Likewise, they created a welcome office and newsletter to inform the general public of what was happening at “Art City” and to share their activities with the wider public (Interviewee no. 12b). Additionally, new actors have gradually settled at NDSM Wharf East with the support of the City of Amsterdam, the Amsterdam Art Fund (AFK) and the NDSM Wharf Foundation. These included the art gallery Nieuw Dakota (contemporary art gallery), Beautifully Distress (art gallery), Straat Museum (a street art museum), MACA (Moving Art Center Amsterdam, focused on filmmakers), The Treehouse (another breeding ground for musicians, art collectives and designers that needed affordable space), NDSM-Herleeft (the foundation and office that works on the preservation of the history of NDSM Wharf), based on information on the NDSM Wharf website. Artists in the hellings became less interested in the activities of the Kinetic Noord Foundation, since they were using separate buildings.

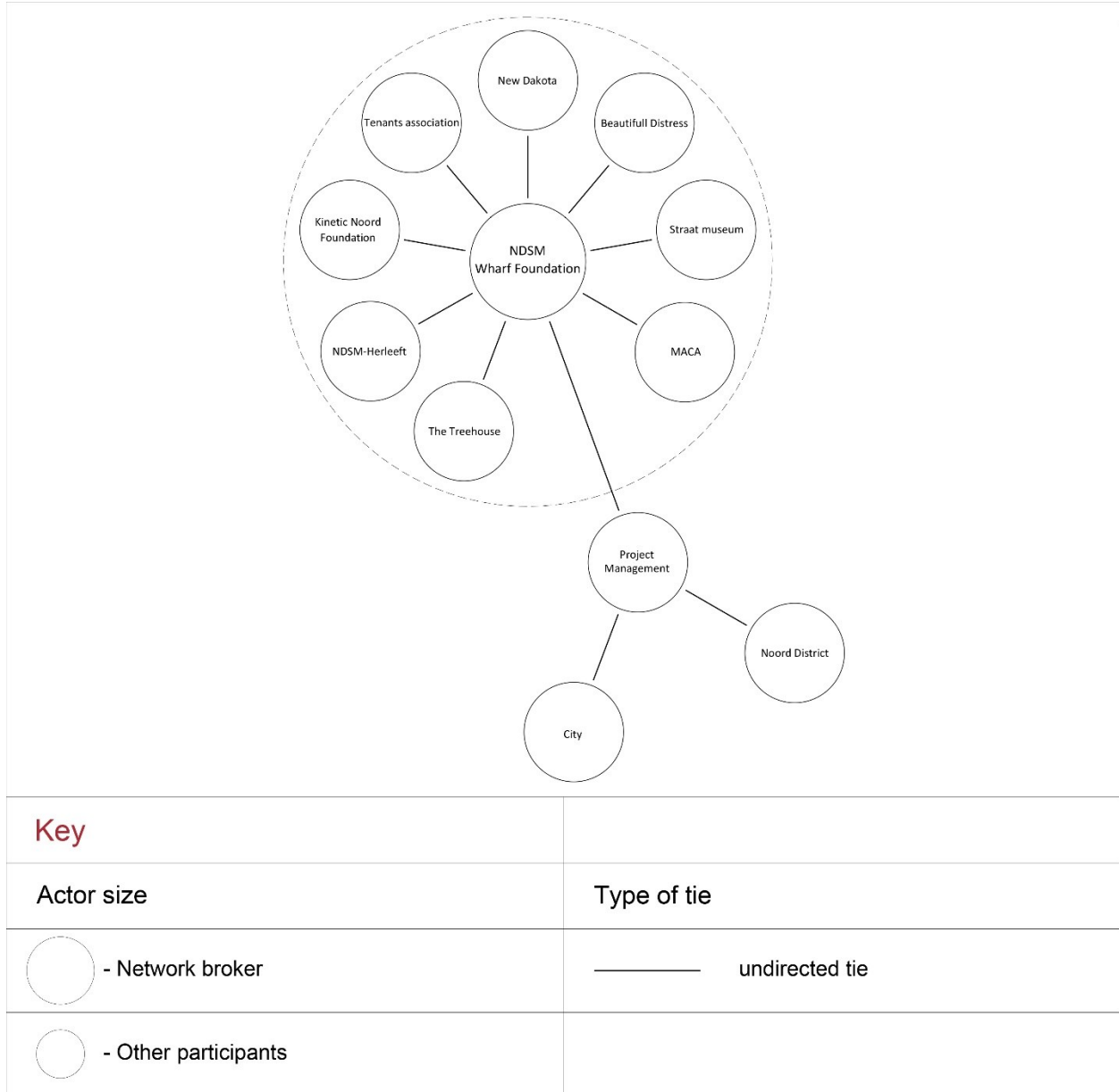
It can be observed that the NAO-governed mode transformed into the lead organization-governed mode (see Provan and Kenis 2008, p. 235). The NDSM Wharf Foundation plays a pivotal role in coordinating the central municipality's vision, which involves maintaining the terrain, curating the cultural program, and facilitating communication with the wharf's users. Moreover, it regularly collaborates with the Project Management Bureau⁵⁷, comprising civil servants from the city of Amsterdam, to determine which additional organizations are suitable for establishing their

⁵⁶ The De Toekomst association at first included tenants from hellings x and y, and later on also tenants from the “Art City”.

⁵⁷ The Project Management Bureau of the Municipality of Amsterdam. Project Management Office is responsible for managing projects, programs, and processes related to social, physical, and economic development in the city. The office works closely with clients and social partners to develop new knowledge and working methods that address current and future challenges. The clients of the office include the city, districts, neighborhoods, and the region (Geemente Amsterdam, 2022).

activities at NDSM East. This network governance framework aligns with the lead organization-governed mode (refer to figure 13), as posited by Provan and Kenis (2008, p. 235).

FIGURE NO.13: NETWORK GOVERNANCE MODE NO. 2 | LEAD ORGANIZATION-GOVERNED | NDSM EAST



SOURCE: (a) INTERVIEWEES: 8b; 9b; 10b; 11b.

Similarly, to the situation at Savamala, it can be observed that the actors from NDSM East were, to a limited extent, clustering and exchanging knowledge. For instance, some of the actors collaborate with each other in various forms, ranging from basic information sharing to working together on various cultural and artistic programs. On the other hand, a certain sense of competition

and distrust can also be observed between the most relevant players, for example, because they receive money from the same foundations (e.g., AFK), or because of the differences in their cultural vision. One of the most active actors in knowledge exchange is the NDSM Wharf Foundation and the association of tenants. In contrast to the previous case study, the organizations at the wharf have taken collaborative initiatives to enhance their visibility and communication. For instance, they have developed a shared website, and the association of tenants has released a newspaper that promotes the organizations at the wharf along with their cultural program. Additionally, an information center has been established to provide visitors with information. A monthly meeting is held at NDSM, where stakeholders from both sides convene to address issues and share updates. Unlike Savamala, the stakeholders at the former wharf demonstrate a stronger sense of organization and collaboration.

Similarly, a noticeable change in the implementation process can be observed in the governance of NDSM Wharf with the arrival of new stakeholders in the former shipyard who did not participate in the initial policy-making phase. In contrast to the Savamala case, the majority of goals are pursued in the long run and remain active in the second phase of the regeneration process.

While a change in governance is evident, it is not extensively reflected in the policy goals that remain the same in both phases of development. Similar to the first case study, the national government expressed interest in NDSM Wharf when the transformation of the shipyard drew attention from local and international media as well as economic actors (Interviewee no. 5b). However, the idea for a new policy called "NDSM Mix to Max," which advocated for a very dense development mix of residential, commercial businesses, and breeding grounds across the entire NDSM wharf, initially proposed by a local alderman for spatial planning and housing (Topalović, Neelen, and Dzokić, 2003a, p. 86), was not well-received among creative entrepreneurs and professional associations in NDSM Wharf. Another challenge for this idea was the real estate and economic crisis that occurred in 2008 (Interviewee no. 5b). In this manner, the "NDSM Mix to Max," plan never officially became a policy of the city of Amsterdam or the district.

EFFECTIVENESS

In the context of this research, the lead organization-governed network mode demonstrates effectiveness on the network and community levels. The majority of goals, which were, indicated in policy network no. 1 (see table no. 15) have materialized.

TABLE NO. 15: ACHIEVED GOALS (POLICY NETWORK NO. 1)

NETWORK LEVEL GOALS	
✓	Empowerment of the creative sector to regenerate and transform the image of the NDSM. Developing a new residential and business area.
✓	Participation of civil society in activating vacant industrial buildings and triggering the regeneration of the neglected urban area at the riverfront
✓	Creating an attractive environment for residents and visitors to Amsterdam and improving the image of the neighborhood and the Amsterdam Noord district
✓	Creating jobs in the creative and knowledge-intensive industries
✓	Transforming the former wharf into an area for living, leisure, business, and culture
✓	Attracting professionals from various fields to the NDSM and Amsterdam Noord district
✓	Creating cultural content for residents and empowering culture and creativity
✓	Urban recycling and regeneration of industrial heritage to provide cultural and economic activities. Establishment of efficient water transportation from the city center to NDSM.

Also, the level of fulfillment of community effectiveness is presented by the indicators in table No. 16.

TABLE NO. 16

Number	1	2	3	4	5
Indicators	Cost to the community	Inclusiveness	Stakeholders' perception that the regeneration program has solved certain urban issues that existed prior to the regeneration	Cultural impact	Economic impact
Level of fulfillment	High	High	High	High	High

Indicator (1) Cost to the community.

Evidence: The regeneration program continues to be funded from public funds, however with far greater benefits for the city of Amsterdam.

Indicator (2) Inclusiveness.

Evidence: The inclusiveness in the governance of NDSM Wharf East is high because a variety of organizations from civil society are taking part in the network activities. On the other hand, NDSM West next to BMB Company has attracted other developers, and companies to settle their businesses there.

Indicator (3) Stakeholder perception that the regeneration strategies have solved some of the urban issues that existed prior to the regeneration.

Evidence: The majority of urban problems that NDSM Wharf had been facing prior to the regeneration have been solved. These include cultural and social deprivation, the lack of economic inputs, a derelict industrial heritage, and an undesirable reputation.

Indicator (4) Cultural impact.

Evidence: A broader and more inclusive cultural impact can be observed in the second phase of the regeneration process. New organizations with a different focus – ranging from film (MACA-Art Center) and arts (Beautiful Distress gallery) to music (breeding ground Treehouse) – have settled at NDSM Wharf East. A more inclusive cultural program is being provided by the NDSM Wharf East Foundation, which organizes monthly meetings of the stakeholders in NDSM East. The foundation also examines what kind of cultural programs attract citizens from the less affluent parts of Amsterdam Noord and try to include their preferences within the cultural program. Additionally, the NDSM Wharf East Foundation and Kinetic Noord Foundation have continued their collaboration with international festivals and local events, such as, for instance world famous Dekmental and the Amsterdam Dance Event music festivals, flea markets, Museum Night (Interviewees no. 4b and no. 10b). The cultural offer at NDSM East attracts locals from the district, the citizens of Amsterdam and thousands of tourists.

Indicator (5) Economic impact.

Evidence: The economic impact can be described as being high in the second phase. A new private Street Art Museum has been established next to the *Culturloods*, and is attracting tourists. “Roc Top” has been established as a new educational centre with 380 student apartments at NDSM West (NDSM website, 2022). The developer is also continuing with the plans for NDSM West, and new housing and hospitality industries have appeared in the last 10 years and more people are visiting this area. In the meantime, NDSM has gained an international reputation (e.g. Marcus and Štelbiene, 2019; Williams, 2012) as the artistic area of Amsterdam that hosts the biggest Breeding ground with 250 tenants (Interviewee no. 12b) plus more with other breeding grounds in the former shipyard. NDSM has become a popular area of Amsterdam, in which not just the middle class, but also the more affluent citizens, want to live. For instance, the developer has been selling apartments for “skyrocketing” prices in addition to developing social and student housing (Interviewee no. 4b). Likewise, one of the cranes close to the water has become a small luxury hotel and stands in proximity to the Hilton Hotel at NDSM East. The city and developer, as the owners of the land and buildings, have benefited the most from the valorization of the entire land plot, and from turning a devalued neighborhood into the “place to be” (Interviewee no. 11b). “The land here is like gold” explained a former employee in the district and a current member of the NDSM Wharf Foundation (Interviewee no. 8b).

CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE LEAD ORGANIZATION-GOVERNED MODE

In the context of NDSM Wharf, it can be concluded that a lead organization-governed mode has demonstrated effectiveness since it provides public value to the citizens. The transformation from a NAO-governed mode to a lead organization-governed mode (see Provan and Kenis, 2008) appears as a logical consequence of the development of NDSM. Over time, new cultural actors have settled in separate buildings with their own programs and activities, and the authorities have appointed a new organization, including professional management, to act as a coordinator and to manage the outside terrain. Similarly, the implementation organization that held the position of NAO in the first phase of the process had proven not to be an effective coordinator and decision-maker and as a result a new foundation was formed by the most relevant shareholders.

It cannot be argued that this mode of governance is a consequence of an underdeveloped program and “a lack of ample resources and capacities among stakeholders” (see Subchapter 5.1.1.), such as in the Savamala case, because the central and district governments are monitoring the development of the entire NDSM area, and have provided substantial funding for the development of NDSM East. It appears that the most relevant shareholders and policymakers are participating in the governance process. They are making corrections when required, and also involve additional actors in the creativity-led regeneration of NDSM Wharf. The goals of urban policy keep materializing, and the entire area has been turned into a mix-used neighborhood. For instance, the east part of NDSM Wharf is intended for culture and nowadays also for leisure (Van der Lippe and Stuart, 2017), while the west part is intended for commercial businesses, leisure, knowledge-intensive industries and living. On a similar note, financial support from the central municipality and other public bodies like Amsterdams Fonds voor de Kunst continues to be available to the foundations in NDSM East. This network shows stability, and also internal and external legitimacy (see Subchapter 2.5., part 2) since the broker is providing coordination on behalf of the city. In this network governance mode trust among organizations is not such a priority, since each of them has their own mode of governance and the NDSM Wharf Foundation is responsible for coordination. The goal consensus is present because the organizations situated in NDSM Wharf East have similar needs, i.e. to sell services and attract tenants and an audience and maintain NDSM Wharf East as part of the cultural map of the city.

The power in the governance process at NDSM West in the second phase is left to the developer and the central municipality. Conversely, NDSM East is governed by civil society, both the users of NDSM East and the external professionals who are employed at foundations, and also by the central municipality and the district with its representatives that serve as a monitoring, advisory, and funding body and as the decision-maker at crucial moments (Interviewee no. 10b).

This network, like the previous ones, can be subject to external influences, which can influence the network's effectiveness according to Lucidarme, Cardon, Willem (2015, p. 8). In this particular context, this network is not subject to the influence of changes in policy and law, since new developments in the east are forbidden until 2030 and the developer has signed business agreement until the same period of time. What can potentially affect the effectiveness of this governance mode is a change in the urban economy, that is, a potential economic crisis that could influence

the funding bodies and the work of the creative entrepreneurs at NDSM East. However, Amsterdam has positioned itself as a cultural city (Interviewee no. 1b), and it is highly unlikely that funds will be cut even in that situation. Similarly, it is unlikely that an economic crisis would have a negative impact on the developments at NDSM West, since the city of Amsterdam needs more housing units and the real estate market is growing, regardless of an economic crisis (Interviewee no. 11b).

5.2.3. CONCLUSIONS ON THE REGENERATION OF NDSM WHARF

The application of network theory and social network analysis, together with the policy and network governance theoretical and empirical approaches, have provided a basis to scrutinize the urban networks and the basis for understanding the power relations at NDSM Wharf in the same manner as in the previous case study. The research findings suggest that the urban neighborhood of NDSM Wharf has gone through two phases of regeneration process.

The research findings suggest that the first phase (from 2000 to 2010) was an output of an urban policy which was focused on mix-used development and the empowerment of creativity at NDSM East with the aim to culturally, economically, and socially revitalize the neglected wharf. In the first phase of regeneration, two governance modes can be distinguished. Hierarchy can be distinguished at NDSM West, which came about after the collapse of the “BV Durf” plan that favored a shared-governed network mode and included several relevant stakeholders involved in shared decision-making. In contrast, a NAO-governed network can be distinguished at NDSM East. In this governance mode, the implementation organization is made up of the managers of Kinetic Noord Foundation, clusters of tenants of the “Art City”, and later the managing director of the Kinetic Noord Foundation, that served as the NAO. The second phase of the governance denotes a lead organization-governed network at NDSM East, whilst the hierarchy has been maintained as the governance mode at NDSM West. The governance mode at NDSM East transformed into a lead organization-governed network due to the financial difficulties of the Kinetic Noord Foundation and the appearance of a new foundation – the NDSM Wharf Foundation. Similarly, new cultural foundations have appeared in the eastern part of the former wharf with the support of the city and the NDSM Wharf Foundation. It can be detected that one particular policy goal, such as development under the philosophy of the *De Stad als Casco* framework has been abandoned, while other policy goals have continued to be present.

According to the research objectives (see Chapter 1.0) and the research questions (see Chapter 3.0), all three hypotheses that focused on the second case study can be addressed and tested here.

H1b: In the case of NDSM Wharf, it is expected that the political actors from the local government levels such as the district and city have more opportunities to leverage their knowledge and political capital, and thus influence the policy-making process.

- (1) In the context of NDSM Wharf, the results indicate that the political actors at the lower government levels, such as at the city and district level, have the most opportunities to leverage their political capital and knowledge and thus influence the policy-making process. In contrast to the former case, the decision-making process is not completely top-down driven. Urban governance is decentralized, and the political actors at the district level have more opportunities to make decisions that refer to the urban development of their district. Coherence between the levels of government can be observed. It can be thus concluded that H2b is correct.

H2b: In the case of NDSM Wharf, it is assumed that the initial policy agenda and policy goals remain to a greater extent in the course of the transformation due to the arrival of stakeholders with the same perceptions of the development.

- (2) The results suggest that continuity in urban politics can be perceived in the context of NDSM Wharf. New stakeholders appear with the arrival of professional management and the developer; however, the policy agenda and goals stay the same to a greater extent. It can be concluded that H2b is correct.

H3b: In the case of NDSM Wharf, it is expected that the actors from civil society are involved in the governance of the regeneration programs to a greater extent which positively influences community effectiveness.

- (3) Again, the results suggest that civil society is involved in the policy-making process, and in the implementation during both phases of the regeneration. This has produced a positive impact on community effectiveness. It can thus be concluded that H3b is correct.

PART IV

6.0. A SUMMARY OF THE KEY EMPIRICAL FINDINGS ON THE GOVERNANCE MODES IN THE CASE STUDIES

The introductory chapters provide explanations of the research subject and objectives (see Chapter 1.0.). As a reminder, the comparative design aims to address the systematic differences of governance in urban regeneration programs and therefore encompasses cases that can provide the answers to ambiguities and generate knowledge to understand how the same urban phenomenon manifests itself in the selected cities – in two different socio-economic and institutional environments.

The research is thus centered on three selected objectives:

- (1) Exploration of the urban policy formation in both cases: involvement of different stakeholders, the decision-making process, policy goals, and network dynamics.
- (2) Exploring policy implementation through the utilization of the (network) governance approach. Identifying, distinguishing and exploring the modes of governance and explaining the power relations in the implementation of the regeneration programs in the selected urban environments.
- (3) Questioning the effectiveness of the governance modes that have been discovered, on two levels, namely on the network (collective) and community level (see Provan and Milward, 2001, p. 416; Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 230). Also, to provide answers to whether and why the network and community level goals have or have not been achieved, and to what extent.

To achieve the selected objectives and explain the logic of comparison, three units of analysis have been highlighted in Subchapter 2.7. These are (a) Policy network and the contexts of action; (b) Governance mode; (c) Effectiveness on the network and community levels.

Thus, the first unit that has been analyzed and compared is (a) **Policy network and the contexts of action.**

Belgrade. Upon analyzing the case study in Subchapter 5.1., it becomes apparent that two distinct policy networks with different set of actors, structural variables and policy goals have been identified in the Belgrade context. Furthermore, it is evident that the goals of the urban policies are not coherent across both phases of regeneration. Policy network no.1 highlights that the creativity-led regeneration program, endorsed by the municipal government, did not receive support at the city level. The municipal manager serves as a gatekeeper who decides on the acceptance of particular creative projects, initiated by civil society, before the municipality forms a professional committee. In both policy networks, the decision-making process was driven by political elites occupying influential positions within the network. In contrast to the first set of actors in policy network no. 1, which involves political actors from lower government levels, the second policy network includes political actors from the national government and an economic actor from the United Arab Emirates. The inclusion of new political and economic actors in policy network no. 2 has brought in new perceptions on the urban development of Savamala and Sava amphitheater, leading to different policy goals. As indicated in table no. 6 and no. 9, the results suggest an absence of continuity in urban politics towards Savamala and the Sava Amphitheatre. Additionally, there was a lack of in-depth research and consultation with civil society including spatial experts and citizens before the announcement of the Belgrade Waterfront project. The findings also suggest that civil society did not possess any political power or legitimacy to influence the decision-making process, even when present as a pressure group in policy network no. 2.

Consequently, it can be inferred that policy network no.1 is a result of centralized governance in Belgrade, where the municipal government lacks the necessary political power to enforce its initiatives and interests to a higher political level. Furthermore, the dynamics of policy network no. 2 indicate a top-down decision-making process, which was anticipated in the case of Belgrade. Political actors at higher levels of government, who occupy influential positions, make key decisions on urban policy without involving civil society, the municipal government, and the citizens in urban governance. The incoherent urban policy towards Savamala and the Sava Amphitheater could be attributed to a lack of shared mental models among the relevant political

actors towards urban development. This inconsistency in urban policy is due to the rules of the game, where the key actors make decisions in line with their perceptions and interests, neglecting citizens' participation as a crucial element of urban governance. The absence of in-depth research and ad hoc policy-making results from the lack of the legitimacy of civil society and the citizens to participate in the decision-making process. Furthermore, the lack of participation can be attributed to the absence of the structural underpinnings that would facilitate a more inclusive and democratic policy-making process.

Amsterdam. Amsterdam's case, as described in Subchapter 5.2., demonstrates a policy network that incorporates a diverse range of actors, including participants from the local government levels, civil society, local economic actors and citizens in the policy-making process. The policy agenda and goals are coherent on the district and the city level, and decisions on the selection of the appropriate creative projects are made more transparently compared to the first case. The Amsterdam Noord District released an open call for projects and the professional committee chose the most appropriate project, which was, in this case, the “Art City” developed by the Kinetic Noord organization. The decision-making process in policy network no.1 is driven by the political elites occupying influential positions in the network, but the involvement of local spatial experts, housing associations, and civil society indirectly influences the process. Amsterdam's more comprehensive policy and strict regulations towards urban regeneration contrasts with Belgrade's case. The NDSM Wharf is an integral part of the development of the northern part of the city, as per the urban policy, which was preceded by extensive action research. The Breeding Ground policy and fund established in 1999 by the Amsterdam city council in collaboration with pressure groups are also the bases of the urban policy.

It can be concluded that the decentralized governance in Amsterdam has resulted in a policy network that involves both district and city councils in the decision-making process. The network dynamics indicate more participative decision-making, with the involvement of local spatial experts, local housing associations, citizens and civil society pressure groups. The presence of a coherent policy agenda (see table no. 12) suggests that relevant political actors on the district and the central municipal level share common mental models for the urban development of the former shipyard. The in-depth action research, “Noord Lonkt”, preceding the policy indicates the participation of civil society and the citizens in the decision-making process, making it more

participative and democratic. The existence and continuity of civil movements in Amsterdam, the development of regulations and policies by public authorities on the citizens' participation in urban governance, and the mobilization of social capital among civil society in Amsterdam have created structural underpinnings that support participative decision-making.

The second unit that has been analyzed and compared is (b) **Governance mode.**

Belgrade. Based on the results obtained from the analysis of the first case study, a fragmented-governed network mode (see figure no. 4) was identified. This mode exhibits a lack of formal structure, brokerage, and monitoring body, while each organization governed by civil society possesses its own mode of governance. The actors in the network were found to be collaborating informally to a certain extent, by exchanging knowledge and developing a goal consensus. This governance mode was interpreted as an example of an underdeveloped regeneration program and a reflection of a “lack of ample resources and capacities among stakeholders”. In contrast, the second governance mode reflects a hierarchy (see figure no. 8), which is not consistent with the theoretical and empirical perspective of network governance (see Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 231). In this mode, decision-makers include the Serbian government and a foreign investor and developer, who form a separate company responsible for coordinating the Belgrade Waterfront project. However, it appears that the foreign developer has significant power in the governance process of the Belgrade Waterfront project, as evidenced by the Serbian government's rapid concessions, such as a *Lex specialis*, to allow the project to proceed without strict regulations (see Grubbauer and Čamprag, 2018). This observation suggests that the governance mode at the Belgrade Waterfront has market elements (see Powell, 1990), in terms of urban governance.

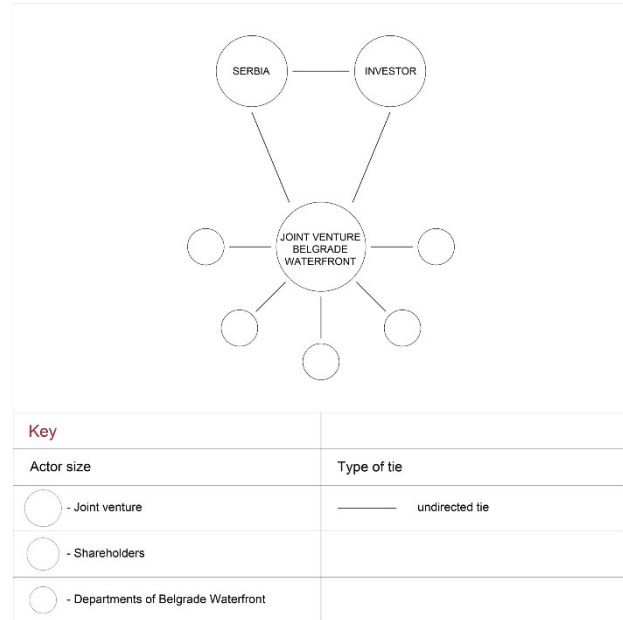
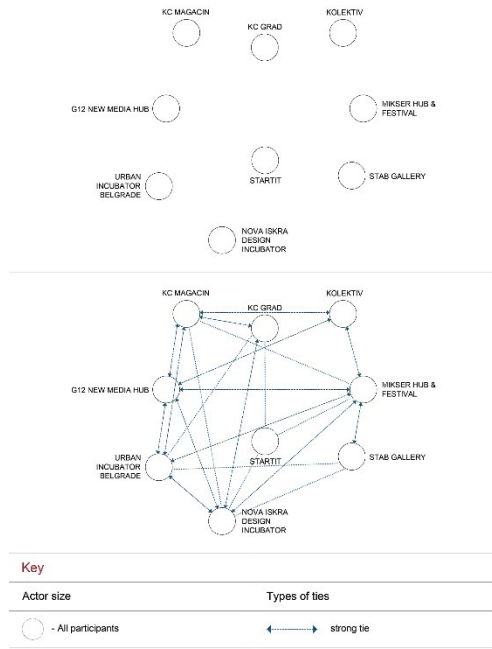


Figure no. 4 replica: Fragmented-governed network

Figure no. 8 replica: Belgrade Waterfront pseudo-network

In conclusion, governance mode no. 1 occurs in contexts where the municipality lacks ample resources (economic, knowledge, and political) and capacities to develop a robust regeneration program. Policy implementation relies on the resources of civil society, and the lack of formal structure and brokerage suggests the municipality of Savski Venac did not possess sufficient capacities for developing a sophisticated regeneration program which might be because the central municipality did not show interest in supporting the first policy. The presence of a hierarchy with market elements such as governance mode no. 2 indicates that the Serbian government did not impose strict regulations on the development of Savamala and the Sava Amphitheatre. This implies that influential political actors sought to begin implementation at a rapid pace, before any potential deadlocks could arise. Additionally, governance mode no. 2 occurred in a context where other public actors such as civil society and citizens were not considered relevant in decision-making. Therefore, this mode of governance is the consequence of a top-down-driven decision-making process that includes a handful of political elites at the national government level.

Amsterdam. In the case of Amsterdam, a top-down decision-making approach was also identified with the interruption of the possible shared-governed mode of “BV Durf”. Despite the introduction of a new local economic actor, Biesterbos, the goals for the development of NDSM Wharf

remained the same, which were to create a mixed-use area for culture, living, business, and leisure in compliance with the Dutch regulations. As a result, a hierarchy, as a mode of urban governance, was observed in NDSM West. Moreover, the NAO-governed mode, as defined by Provan and Kenis (2008, pp. 235-236), was identified in the initial phase of the regeneration of NDSM Wharf East in Amsterdam. The NAO was made up of the implementation organization that consisted of the working groups of tenants of the “Art City” and managers from the Kinetic Noord Foundation – who were also tenants, and later of the external managing director (see figure no. 12). In the subsequent phase, a transformation from a NAO-governed mode to a lead organization-governed mode was observed. In the lead organization-governed mode (see figure no. 13), each organization has its own governance structure, but a newly formed organization, NDSM Wharf Foundation, serves as the network coordinator. While network governance modes can be identified in both cities, it is not possible to interpret them in the same fashion. In the second case study, both network governance modes contain network brokers and a formal structure, and were monitored by the city and district, and financial investments from public funds continued to be made by the city of Amsterdam. Furthermore, the direct initiative of the city council was visible through their support of the NDSM Wharf Foundation and other creative industries in the eastern part of the NDSM.

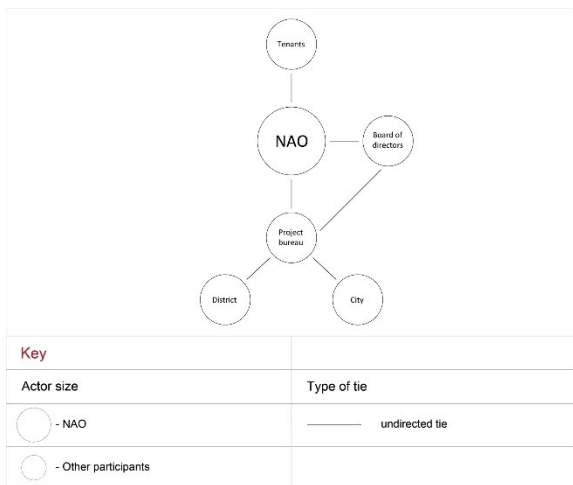


Figure no. 12 replica: NAO-governed mode

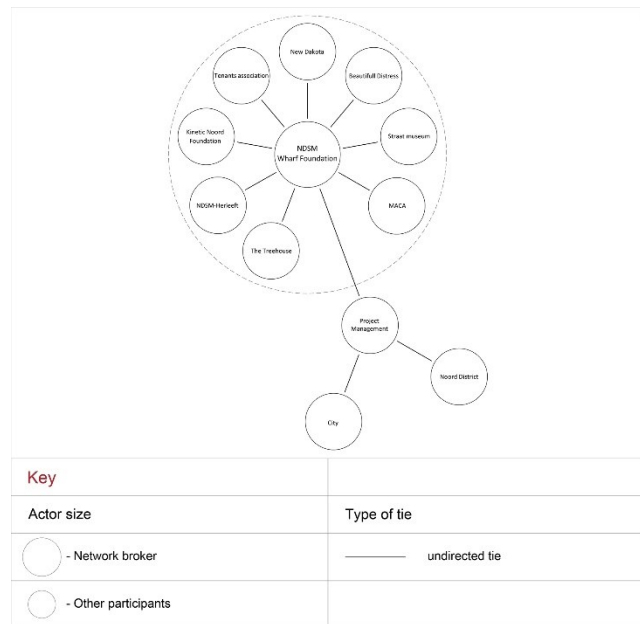


Figure no. 13 replica: Lead organization-governed mode

In conclusion, a hierarchy as a governance mode appears in the case of NDSM Wharf (West) as a result of top-down decision-making at the district government level and as a result of decentralized

governance. However, in contrast to the Belgrade case, the City of Amsterdam has stringent regulations concerning the urban development of the NDSM Wharf. The network governance modes emerge in a context where the district and city possess sufficient resources (economic, knowledge, and political), capacities, and interests to develop a participatory implementation program and form a structure that involves civil society in governance. Furthermore, the existence of lead-organization suggests that the city is assuming accountability for the regeneration program and rectifying errors from the previous stage. In addition, the city is striving towards the realization of policy goals in the long term.

The third unit that has been analyzed and compared is (c) **Effectiveness**.

Belgrade. Based on the analysis presented in Subchapter 5.1, it can be inferred that the fragmented-governed network mode was effective in the context of Savamala, producing positive outcomes for both the network and the community levels (see tables no. 7 and no. 8). However, this governance mode is not suitable for long-term implementation, as it lacks a formal structure, brokerage and is vulnerable to external influences, such as changes in regulations and local politics. Moreover, it suffers from a lack of stability, and internal and external legitimacy (Provan and Kenis, 2008, p. 243-236), which can undermine its effectiveness over time. In contrast, governance mode no. 2 achieved a limited level of effectiveness at both the network and community levels (see table no. 10 and no. 11). Some of the policy goals set by the decision-makers in the Serbian government were overly ambitious and were not fully realized. As a result, the project did not justify the public interest or position Belgrade in the regional inter-urban competition.

In conclusion, the fragmented-governed network mode was effective for a certain period, but its lack of structure and brokerage and susceptibility to external influences limited its long-term effectiveness. On the other hand, hierarchy as a mode of governance did not produce positive outcomes for network and community effectiveness. It is also noted that the Belgrade Waterfront pseudo network failed to utilize the social capital developed by the first network of “Creative Savamala”. I propose a more participatory mode of governance, involving additional public and private actors and resources to create greater public value and enhance overall effectiveness. However, since network governance hasn't been detected in the case of Belgrade, and even if

initiation occurs, this mode of governance might not showcase stability and produce effectiveness in this particular context.

Amsterdam. Based on the analysis of the second case study, it can be concluded that the NAO-governed mode has been effective to a medium extent in the context of NDSM Wharf East. The network level effectiveness has been achieved to a greater extent as evidenced by the materialization of the policy goals (see table no. 13). However, the level of fulfillment of certain community-level effectiveness indicators has not been achieved to a greater extent due to poor governance of the network and the resulting instability and lack of legitimacy. Additionally, slow development by the developer has affected the economic impact indicator (see table no. 14). Conversely, the lead organization-governed mode has proven to be effective to a large extent on both the network and community levels (see table no. 15 and no. 16). This network governance mode allows each organization to have its own governance structure, with a lead organization managing the external terrain on behalf of the city and providing coordination. The lead organization serves as an effective network broker, with frequent exchange of information between the Management Bureau and the other organizations in NDSM East.

Overall, network governance modes can yield positive outcomes in terms of network and community effectiveness, with the effectiveness contingent on the chosen governance mode and management approach in a given context. The hierarchy has proven to be more effective in the second phase of the regeneration process when the developer started with the expected development of the west part of the NDSM Wharf. Both implementation strategies appear to be in line with the policy goals and are complementary, with the creative inputs at NDSM East contributing to building the neighborhood's image and reputation, providing an urban space for civil society and cultural content, while the commercial inputs at NDSM West provide housing and commercial business, and wider economic benefits.

7.0 FINAL CONCLUSIONS

7.1. CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE NETWORK GOVERNANCE AND POLICY NETWORK APPROACHES

The conclusions refer to the contributions and limitations of the applied network governance and policy network approaches in theoretical and methodological terms. They also explain to what extent the chosen research approaches have contributed to the study and development of (creativity-led) urban regeneration scholarship.

(1) NETWORK GOVERNANCE APPROACH

Theoretical contributions. The network governance theory can offer a valuable perspective for understanding the social organization underlying the governance of distinct urban regeneration programs and the relationships among the various actors involved in the process. It aids in identifying and analyzing the diverse actors participating in urban regeneration programs, encompassing public entities like various governmental and non-governmental bodies, civil society, citizens, and private actors.

Furthermore, a network governance perspective is pertinent for delineating the modes of urban governance, given that Provan and Kenis (2008) focused on examining the structure and organization behind the governance process. In essence, this concept provides insights into defining governance modes as either network governance or otherwise. This approach enables the recognition, distinction, and examination of different governance modes such as hierarchy, market, hybrids, and various network governance modes that may emerge during the implementation of regeneration programs.

The utility of this approach is evident in exploring power relations in the urban regeneration of riverfronts. It answers questions about which stakeholders hold the power to make crucial decisions and govern the regeneration program. Understanding actors' capacities to take meaningful actions within a particular institutional and political setting is crucial, such as determining whether certain actors possess sufficient power to implement decisions within the network, or whether certain actors lose legitimacy during the course of action, as was the case in the first phase of the regeneration of NDSM Wharf.

Another crucial contribution involves understanding the political and institutional context in which network governance can be identified and nurtured to achieve overall effectiveness to a greater extent. Conversely, it sheds light on the contexts where researchers or policymakers should not expect to find network governance. Additionally, a significant contribution is understanding the intensive nature of network governance as a specific form of governance that must be carefully sustained over time to yield desired outcomes. This prompts further consideration of the institutional and political contexts in which network governance can be recommended.

Theoretical limitations. Conversely, theoretical limitations of the network governance approach can be identified in recognizing and elaborating on other modes of network governance outside the typology formulated by Provan and Kenis (2008). Specifically, there are limitations in recognizing and examining the fragmented-governed network mode. The question arises as to whether the absence of a formal structure can be interpreted as the absence of network governance or whether such an organization should be interpreted as a specified network governance mode. The case of Savamala is a fine example of this discussion, as behind the fragmented actors, there is a particular program for urban regeneration, and informal relations, such as collaboration, were observed among the actors.

Another limitation of the network governance perspective can be observed in terms of accountability. This limitation is evident in the NAO-governed mode in the NDSM Wharf, during the period when the network broker runs out of funds. Specific modes of network governance may lead to diffuse decision-making processes and a lack of clear accountability for outcomes. This, for instance, can make it challenging to hold specific actors accountable for their actions.

Methodological contributions. In methodological terms, the network governance perspective has contributed to the analysis of the structure and nature of authority among actors involved in the regeneration programs. It serves as the foundation for understanding how contingencies and resources shape the functions of the network, as well as its stability, internal and external legitimacy, and, finally, effectiveness in describing the regeneration outcomes.

Given that the study focuses on the qualitative analysis of network governance and involves data collection and analysis from various sources such as interviews, media, literature, and documents, it provides an opportunity to avoid bias and offers a more nuanced understanding of aspects such as the degree of involvement of various stakeholders, power relations, legitimacy, decision-

making, and allocation of resources in the governance process of the regeneration programs. The application of a qualitative methodology in the context of network governance has resulted in a more tangible and detailed measurement of community effectiveness. More often than not, scholarly articles present community effectiveness in a more hypothetical manner than empirical.

Methodological limitations. The challenges associated with using the network governance approach involve identifying relevant actors and establishing the boundaries of the network (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 30-33). There is a question as to whether certain public or private actors, not mentioned by interviewees or other written sources, have also played a significant role in governing the regeneration programs. However, in the selected cases, the boundaries were determined based on the analysis of data collected from various sources and then compared; this should not be an issue.

Another methodological concern is the measurement of effectiveness. The indicators of community effectiveness are tailored to correspond to the field and subject of research. Additionally, evaluating the level of fulfillment of indicators at the community level introduces the possibility of bias through the very selection of indicators. An additional limitation in developing indicators of community effectiveness is the lack of transparency and public presentation of the success (or failure) of the Belgrade Waterfront.

Furthermore, the network governance approach tends to focus less on institutional factors that might also shape network governance. This means that it does not fully capture the impact of informal and formal rules on the production of effectiveness, particularly in the case of NDSM Wharf, which involves a variety of regulations, such as the management of pollution in the NDSM Wharf. For instance, one of the industrial buildings in NDSM Wharf East needed to be torn down due to high pollution. This setback disrupted Kinetic Noord's operational plan to rent the building for commercial events and generate revenue for the network's purposes.

(2) POLICY NETWORK APPROACH

Theoretical contributions. The policy network approach offers an opportunity to move beyond simplistic dichotomies such as “bottom-up” versus “top-down” driven regeneration or “community-driven” versus “market-driven” regeneration, which are often used in the urban

regeneration debate. Instead, it provides a more nuanced understanding by considering the structural, relational, and cultural-discursive dimensions of the policy-making process.

Similar to the previous perspective, this approach aids in identifying and analyzing the various actors involved in urban policy-making, examining their social actions. Furthermore, it can pinpoint which actors hold the most influential positions within the social structure and identify alliances working together for or against specific policies. Additionally, this perspective helps in identifying deadlocks and the relational dimensions contributing to them.

In this manner, it provides an opportunity to understand how structure limits agency, or vice versa, how agency changes the structure, offering possibilities for formulating alternative urban policies, as observed in the Savamala case.

In summary, both the policy-network and network governance frameworks assist urban planners in better understanding the complex structural and relational factors shaping urban regeneration programs. These frameworks help in developing more effective strategies for engaging with diverse stakeholders and achieving positive outcomes.

Theoretical limitations. From a policy network approach, theoretical limitations may often arise due to a lack of attention to historical context, political systems, and institutional levels, limiting its ability to fully explain policy outputs. However, this study acknowledges the differences in historical and political contexts, institutional legacies (see Subchapter 1.1), and formal rules such as laws and regulations in both selected case studies — Belgrade and Amsterdam. It takes these factors into account when interpreting the policy-making process and its results.

Methodological contributions. The policy network approach makes a significant methodological contribution by providing a foundation for applying various tools from social network analysis to examine relations among actors, and actors' positions in the network. It also contributes to scrutinizing the decision-making process and the allocation of resources, leading to a better understanding of how actors behave in different urban environments. Once more, the policy network perspective showcases its flexibility and adaptability in analyzing the policy-making process across diverse contexts.

It offers an opportunity to understand the political, economic, and other public actors that wield the power to directly or indirectly influence the decision-making process in two different

institutional and political environments. Additionally, it proves its ability to enrich the analysis of the policy-making process by employing an analytical strategy by Emirbayer and Goodwin (1996, p. 365-369). This strategy examines the social-structural, cultural, and social-psychological contexts of action. Alongside the social-structural dimension, it explains the shared perceptions of actors involved in the policy-making process, opening a space for formulating official policy goals. Furthermore, it examines the reasons behind the strategic orientations of actors in relevant positions inside the network.

Methodological limitations. Similarly to the previous perspective, the challenges of employing the policy network approach include identifying relevant actors and establishing network boundaries. In constructing policy networks, boundaries were determined through an examination of data from official documents, statements from the media, and interviews with network participants. Questions may arise about the involvement of governmental or private actors not mentioned by interviewees and how this could impact relational and structural dynamics.

Furthermore, since not all network participants were interviewed, there exists a theoretical space for bias. However, the construction and examination of networks were complemented by the analysis of relevant media coverage and official documents. These sources provide statements from actors who were not interviewed, allowing for the identification and elaboration of policy goals among governmental actors.

Another challenge involved constructing and determining the type of ties between actors in the network. Semi-structured interviews were instrumental in establishing these relations. Nevertheless, given the varied responses possible in such interviews, answers often proved extensive and complex. To address this, sections of the interviews included structured questions with closed answers (e.g., yes or no; more or less) to guide interviewees in responding. This approach was essential to elicit responses related to the concepts of policy networks and social network analysis, facilitating the determination of the type of ties between actors in the policy networks.

7.2. EMPIRICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The findings of this study suggest that civil society possesses both the interest and ability to mobilize social and human capital, which can contribute to the revitalization of former industrial neighborhoods and ultimately result in positive outcomes in the regeneration of riverfronts. The results align with the perspectives that advocate for the benefits of the creative sector in enhancing urban economies. The creative sector generates public value and, to a great extent, addresses the urban problems that existed in the specific localities prior to the regeneration process. Additionally, the findings relate to community effectiveness supporting the advantages of the creative sector in promoting the authenticity of a place, inclusiveness, generating cultural value, and creating positive economic impacts.

However, the case of Savamala and, over time, the case of NDSM Wharf demonstrate that regeneration and its positive outcomes are not solitary endeavors but collective efforts at the structural level. Urban regeneration requires structural, institutional, and cultural underpinnings in terms of shared mental models, as well as support from public institutions and regulations. Brokerage, financial support, accountability, involvement and collaboration among actors, and the monitoring of the regeneration process are also essential for long-term success.

It is noteworthy that urban regeneration is susceptible to path and context dependency, which is evident in both cases. These dependencies affect the urban regeneration of the riverfronts differently. Discrepancies in urban governance can be attributed to the structural underpinnings, and institutional legacies that are deeply entrenched in the prevailing perceptions of how urban governance ought to operate, what is deemed legitimate, and to what extent civil society and citizens should be engaged in the decision-making.

The results of the comparative analysis suggest that network governance modes generate a greater degree of overall effectiveness. Furthermore, the positive outcomes of the regeneration process can be discerned in the urban contexts that support the development of this type of governance structure. This underscores the significance of network governance theory, particularly in the investigation of the regeneration of former industrial riverfronts. Conversely, the governance mode such as hierarchy exhibits limited overall effectiveness, while the fragmented-governed network

mode exhibits overall effectiveness to a great extent, but with robust limitations. The former is not effective, as it is not inclusive and relies heavily on the interests of private actors and a handful of political elites, while the latter may lack the stability necessary to engender positive outcomes over the long term.

The findings of this comparative study have relevance for research on urban regeneration in similar contexts, such as in Belgrade or Amsterdam. The governance modes observed in Belgrade can support the investigation of urban regeneration in capital cities that have yet to revitalize their former industrial riverfronts and are in haste to commence this process to improve their inter-urban competitiveness and bolster their urban economies. Additionally, these modes may be relevant for cities lacking strict regulations governing urban development, where the market dictates the revitalization of riverfront areas. Furthermore, they may be applicable in cities where urban governance lacks participatory mechanisms, and the political elites wield significant influence over urban governance without seeking input from local spatial experts and citizens. Lastly, these modes may also hold relevance for cities where local government possesses limited political and economic resources to spearhead riverfront regeneration.

In contrast, the governance modes observed in Amsterdam can support research on urban regeneration in capital cities with more time to conduct thorough investigations and develop comprehensive plans for revitalizing their former industrial riverfronts, and for improving their position in inter-urban competition and enhancing their urban economies. Additionally, these modes may be relevant for cities with stringent regulations governing urban development, where authorities dictate the regeneration of riverfront areas. Furthermore, they may be applicable in cities where urban governance includes participatory mechanisms, and political elites have significant influence over urban governance while seeking input from local spatial experts and citizens. These modes may also hold relevance for cities where local government possesses the political and economic resources necessary to drive riverfront regeneration.

Finally, the research findings possess limited applicability in cities that develop within distinct socio-economic, political, and institutional contexts than those selected as the case studies. Further investigation is recommended to explore governance modes for regeneration programs in cities located outside the context of Belgrade and Amsterdam.

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