



CHAPTER 1

Introduction

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is a global development. More than half of the entire population in the world now lives in cities, and this number will increase over the next decades. According to the UNDP, in 2018, 4.2 billion people, or 55 percent of the world's population, lived in cities. By 2050, the urban population is expected to reach 6.5 billion (UNDP 2015). People move to cities in a bid to find work, security and often a brighter future. However, the massive migration to the cities is also leading to new social, environmental and infrastructural problems. The world's cities are becoming increasingly congested and polluted, putting pressure on affordable housing and causing safety to become a major problem (Wolch et al. 2014). As a result, the livability of our cities is becoming a topic of increasing relevance and urgency. The relevance and urgency of this topic is also

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C. van Montfort, A. Michels (eds.), *Partnerships for Livable Cities*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-40060-6_1

emphasized in the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. Goal 11 states that: 'Making cities sustainable means creating career and business opportunities, safe and affordable housing, and building resilient societies and economies. It involves investment in public transport, creating green public spaces, and improving urban planning and management in participatory and inclusive ways.' (UNDP 2015).

As a response to these challenges, urban governments have sought to share responsibilities: unable to address these major challenges on their own, they seek cooperation with other governments, companies, civil society organizations, and citizens. For example, governments seek private sources of funding to finance investments, or they cooperate with citizens and civil society organizations for better service provision (Rosol 2010). In this book, we aim to explore how partnerships between public and private actors contribute to the livability of cities. Under what conditions are partnerships successful, and when do they fail to yield the desired results? To find an answer to these questions, we discuss real-life instances of, often innovative, forms of collaboration and interaction in cities all over the world. The central question in this book is:

How do partnerships between public and private actors contribute to the livability of cities?

1.2 LIVABILITY

The concept of *livability* is very broad and often encompasses a wide range of dimensions (i.e., social, physical, economic) and an array of issues, including health, convenience, mobility, recreation, and safety, affecting the elements of home, neighborhood, and metropolitan area (Woolcock 2009; Leby and Hashim 2010; Kashef 2016). Since the concept of livability is too comprehensive and multidimensional to study in all its aspects, the focus in this book is on three specific dimensions:

- (a) Green (aimed, among others, at environmental sustainability and climate adaptation)
- (b) Safety (including preventing or fighting crime and health risks)
- (c) Affordable (social) housing

In addition to this, we discuss examples of neighborhood revitalization and urban living labs where public and private actors work together in a

more integrated way on many dimensions at the same time in order to create a more livable urban environment. We focus on these dimensions and practices because they all concern the direct living environment of residents, that is, the physically built environment. As a result, we exclude other areas such as infrastructure (transport), natural resources (water) or socio-economic developments (cultural facilities, economic growth or employment).

In this book, we are interested in how partnerships contribute to livability. It is important to note that partnerships may contribute to a short term realization of plans or projects in the field of livability, but that these projects need to be consolidated or have a longer-term spin-off in order to make a long-term contribution to the livability of the city.

1.2.1 *Livable for Whom?*

‘Green’, ‘affordable housing’ and ‘safety’ are not independent characteristics of livable cities. There can also be trade-offs between these three aspects. For example, a greener and safer environment can lead to higher prices for housing and thus to less affordable housing for lower-income groups (Donovan and Butry 2010); on the other hand, a green environment might also contribute to feelings of unsafety and, as a consequence, to declining housing prices.

Livability, therefore, is not a neutral concept (see also McArthur and Robin 2019) nor a stable entity (Wait and Knobel 2018). The question is not so much whether a city is livable, but rather *for whom* it is livable. While livability may improve for some people, others find themselves mainly confronted with negative effects such as higher housing prices. This question closely relates to the debates about gentrification. Gentrification is ‘a process that involves the reinvestment of capital after a period of disinvestment, the production of an aestheticized landscape, and lower class displacement followed by middle class replacement’ (Bryson 2013, p. 578). Making a city greener unmistakably plays a role in gentrification processes (Bryson 2013, pp. 584–585), but not in a one-dimensional and predictable way. As early as 1961, Jacobs warned against a one-size-fits-all approach to the construction of city parks: the effects of a park or green area on livability depend, among other things, on the design of the park and the socio-economic composition of the neighborhood (Jacobs

1993(1961), chapter 5). Many scholars argue that gentrification is not a natural, predictable or short-term development, but instead should be studied as a long-term process (Zukin 2016; Barke and Clarke 2016), in which complex interactions between public and private actors play a role and local policy is a very important determining factor (Barke and Clarke 2016).

1.3 PARTNERSHIPS, CO-PRODUCTION, COLLABORATION AND NETWORKS

The idea that the government is fully responsible for taking care of citizens' needs belongs to the past. After the era of traditional public administration with a strong focus on government and vertical steering and control, and with the rise of New Public Management and more recently, New Public Governance, different forms of interaction between government, private sector and or civic society have developed (Considine and Lewis 2003). In the literature, several concepts are used to characterize this development, including governance or new governance (Pierre 2011; Pierre and Peters 2000; Rhodes 1996), interactive governance (Torfing et al. 2012), networks (Koppenjan and Klijn 2004), governance networks (Klijn and Skelcher 2008), network governance (Provan and Kenis 2008), co-production (Bovaird 2007) and hybrid governance (Koppenjan et al. 2019).

In this book, we study the role of partnerships. Partnerships are defined in numerous ways. Mathur et al. (2003), for example, define these as new organizational arrangements that embody a commitment for joint action towards collective public policy goals. Other definitions include a number of characteristics of partnerships. Baud and Dhanalakshmi (2007, p. 135) define a partnership as follows: a partnership involves two or more actors; it refers to a long-term relationship between actors regarding public goods provision; the relationship benefits all actors (without assuming equal benefits); it is expressed in concrete activities, in which actors invest materially or immaterially; the bargaining process can include tension and conflict as well as cooperation; and the partnership concerns the provision of public goods. Sometimes partnerships and co-production are used as interchangeable terms. Co-production, however, tends to be initiated by a government seeking to cooperate with other actors. Therefore co-production is often part of the policymaking process. The concept of

partnerships that we use is a broader concept that encompasses all forms of cooperation, including bottom-up initiatives and forms without government.

Especially in the public-private partnership (PPP) literature, the term partnership is often used to refer to long-term contracts between government and private partners to fund investments in public infrastructure. This connotation of partnerships with formal contracts and an orientation on national policy goals is for some authors, including Sullivan and Skelcher (2002), a reason to prefer the use of the term collaboration as the overarching concept. In this book, we have chosen to stay with the term partnership but to use it in a much broader way. We think that narrowing the discussion about public—private partnerships to these long-term formal contracts between government and private partners does not do justice to the opportunities and possibilities of public-private partnerships. If we wish to understand the full potential of public-private partnerships, it is important to include horizontal, flexible, dynamic and informal partnerships as well. In this book, the authors of the different chapters present a number of the different types of partnerships that appear in practice.

What the definitions of partnerships mentioned above have in common is that they emphasize the goal-oriented and public character of partnerships: the joint action in partnerships is aimed at collective public policy goals or the provision of public goods. This makes a partnership approach different from *a network approach*. Although no sharp distinction can be made between a network and a partnership, networks are, to a lesser extent, based on common interests (a), while mutual interdependency is a more important driver for cooperation than the willingness to realize a common goal (b) (except for *purpose-oriented networks*, Nowell and Kenis 2019); moreover, network relations are, in general, more lasting than partnerships (c) (Kickert et al. 1999, p. 31). At the same time, debates about partnerships and networks often address the same issues, for example, the discussion about when and for whom a network or partnership is successful, or the question of how the discretionary space of a network or partnership relates to the political power of democratically elected bodies.

1.3.1 *Various Forms of Partnerships*

Partnerships between public and private actors come in various forms: some are based on legally binding rules or contracts (such as PPPs, see Hodge and Greve 2005), while others are more loosely organized; some

focus on just one activity, while others are involved in many activities; and sometimes the partnership can vary within one single project according to the different functions a partnership may have, such as financing, organization, and day-to-day management (so-called ‘layered partnerships’).

In this book, we have adopted a broad concept of partnerships, taking the relationship between state, market, and civil society as a starting-point (Brandsen et al. 2005). Within this triangle, multiple types of partnerships are possible, see Fig. 1.1 (van Montfort et al. 2014, p. 10).

It is important to note that a partnership is not static but that it may change over time. For example, initiatives sometimes start as a grassroots or community-based initiative by residents and citizens’ organizations (type F or G), but often these projects later develop as a collaboration between civil society, private sector and (local) government (type H) in which public organizations become responsible for facilitating or funding the project. Examples of dynamic partnerships are discussed in many chapters in this book. Also, partnerships can differ in their degree of formalization. Type C public-private partnerships are often formalized in contracts that lay down responsibilities between government(s) and private companies or consortiums, while type E public-private partnerships frequently have an informal structure in which partners are loosely coupled via declarations of intent, covenants, etc.

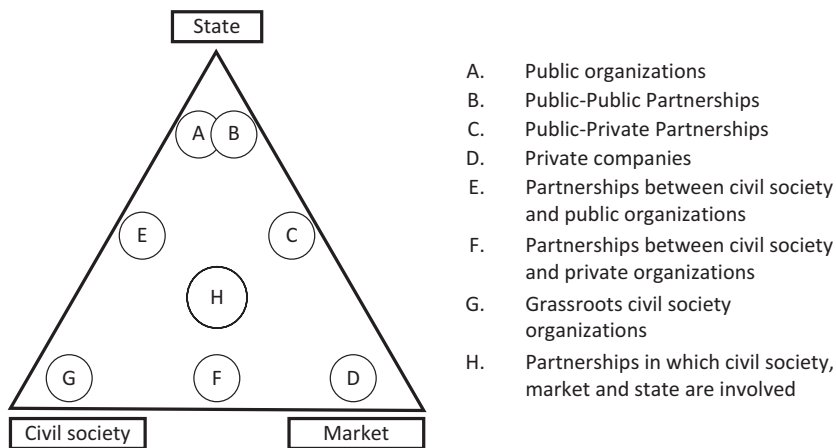


Fig. 1.1 Various types of partnerships

The triangle in Fig. 1.1 characterizes partnerships on the basis of the partners' status as public or private sector stakeholders. Other authors characterize partnerships on the basis of a 'bottom-up – top-down' continuum or on an 'equality – dominance' continuum. Skelcher et al. (2005) for instance, distinguish between an *agency*, *club* and *polity-forming* type of *partnership*. The agency type has a formal character, is imposed by the government and intended to realize policy goals. The club type refers to a goal-oriented informal cooperation between elites. Finally, a polity-forming partnership is a bottom-up cooperation in which different public and private stakeholders work together.

Bradford and Bramwell (2014) make a distinction between three *urban governance types*: (1) institutionalized collaborative, based on a long term shared vision, (2) sector networks that are structured around different local networks representing economic actors on the one hand and social actors on the other hand without cross sectoral links or boundary crossers and (3) project partnerships in which different economic and social actors come together around a specific project. These project partnerships are less formalized than the others.

Another typology emerging from the network literature is, for example, that of Provan and Kenis (2008), who distinguish between networks in which the participants are equivalent ('participant governed networks'), networks in which one player is dominant ('lead organization-governed networks') and networks that are governed from outside by a specific governing body ('network administrative organization'). The role of government and criteria for good governance, success, evaluation and for supervision differ for each type.

We consider these typologies to be refinements of the global types of partnerships mentioned in Fig. 1.1. Every partnership in the triangle could be redefined in terms of the typologies from Skelcher et al., Bradford and Bramwell, or Kenis and Provan. For this book, however, the most important feature is the public or private character of the participants and the interaction between them within the partnership.

1.4 PARTNERSHIPS AND LIVABILITY

How partnerships contribute to livability may be influenced by two sets of factors. A first set of factors relates to the characteristics and the management of the partnership. Previous research suggests that the following conditions are essential for partnerships to be stable and effective (e.g.

Huang 2010; Dempsey et al. 2016; Foo et al. 2015; Sørensen and Torfing 2018):

- legitimacy: all partners must feel strongly committed to the partnership and its goal. All partners should feel convinced that participation in the partnership is better than not participating.
- responsiveness: it is important that the partnership stays responsive to the (changing) needs and wishes of the public and private partners and/or users.
- stable funding: stability in public and private funding is an important factor for success (continuity, innovation) in the long run.
- leadership: vision and positive energy are, at least at the start of the project, crucial to convince possible new partners to join the partnership or to gain political commitment.

A second important set of factors in understanding the relationship between partnerships and livability refer to the role of context. Relevant context factors include the political environment, the aspect of good governance, socio-economic factors, the role of history and path dependency, and demographic factors. In this book, examples will be presented from different countries and different parts of the world. Context first of all defines the type and scale of livability problems that the city faces. And, secondly, context defines the space within which partnerships can develop and function. Hence, in addition to conclusions about the factors that determine the success or failure of a partnership, this book will also offer insights into what kind of contexts are relevant and which types of partnerships are most promising in a specific context.

In the concluding chapter of this book we will see that the effectiveness of a specific type of partnership depends on a combination of the nature of the specific problem to be solved, the organizational and cultural characteristics of the partnership, the specific political or societal context and the role of government.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THIS BOOK

The book is divided into five parts, each of which consists of two to four chapters.

Part I analyzes partnerships in relation to the ‘green’ aspects in cities.

In Chap. 2, *Jeroen van der Heijden and Seung-Hun Hong* explore four experiments in which the Seoul Municipal Government has partnered with local stakeholders and that underlie a series of urban climate governance experiments in the city of Seoul. They discuss the different understanding of the relationship between government, civil society and the business sector in state-guided economies such as South Korea, and the liberal capitalist economies in the West. They also show the fluid character of partnerships when participants and types of partnerships change at different points in time.

Kate Dayana de Abreu, Zilma Borges, Lya Porto and Peter Spink analyze in Chap. 3 examples of partnerships between the public sector and local communities in urban agriculture, which include such activities as local food production, community gardens, and school-based vegetable plots. Using examples from São Paulo (Brazil) and Montreal (Canada), and Orizânia (Brazil), they show how urban agriculture can point to new forms of collective construction and more inclusive governance, thus making substantial contributions to the livable quality of cities.

In Chap. 4, *Ank Michels and Cor van Montfort* explore examples of cities, including Tilburg (The Netherlands), Melbourne (Australia), San Jose (USA), and Cape Town (South Africa), that have successfully been transformed into green cities. They investigate the role played by partnerships between the city government, companies, non-governmental organizations, and citizens in this transformation. The analysis shows that a clear government vision for the future of the city, with a leading role for the city government in the implementation of the plans, are relevant factors. Moreover, engaging the community in the formulation and implementation of the plans contributes to more durable effects.

In Chap. 5, *Haiyan Lu, Li Sun, and Martin de Jong* discuss the role of public and private actors in three eco city projects in China. Although these eco city projects are often state-led, the chapter shows how planners, experts, private investors and citizens are becoming increasingly involved in financing these projects and in knowledge sharing.

In **Part II** of the book, the focus shifts to the role of partnerships in creating affordable housing in the city.

Chapter 6 by *Mary Muthoni Mwangi* highlights some of the negative sides of informal partnerships. She shows how informal collaboration in Nairobi between planners and developers in housing paves the way for non-compliance with planning laws and regulation, with as a result the loss of lives when buildings collapse. She argues that housing needs could

be better served by forms of formal collaboration between government, developers and other stakeholders.

In Chap. 7, *Valesca Lima* examines the role of housing associations in shaping effective responses to housing affordability problems. Taking the city of Dublin (Ireland) as a case study, Lima shows how these associations have been able to put forward innovative forms of collaboration and new interaction between public and private actors (NGOs, local authorities, and financial institutions) that play a role in delivering affordable housing.

Zhi Liu and Desiree Chew, in Chap. 8, discuss how rapid urbanization is causing enormous challenges in finding affordable housing in Chinese cities. They discuss the effects of urban spatial processes, driven largely by the real estate market, on gentrification and spatial inequalities which, in the end, cause social tension. After an assessment of recent policy interventions on housing affordability, the chapter concludes with the lessons learned from recent experiences with public-private collaboration in improving housing affordability.

Part III of the book will focus on the role of partnerships in relation to aspects of safety in the city.

Chapter 9, by *Carola van Eijk*, examines the collaboration of local governments and the police with citizens and civil society organizations in order to keep cities safe and livable. Examples include Dutch neighborhood watch schemes, digital tools such as Burgernet, and volunteering networks in Belgium. Reflecting on the implications of the initiatives, van Eijk brings up the questions how and under which conditions these partnerships contribute to safety and livability. She also reviews some positive and undesired effects of partnerships on safety.

In Chap. 10, *Anna Berti Suman* focuses on environmental risks and safety, discussing aspects such as air quality and noise. An emerging practice—that of citizen sensing (citizens-initiated monitoring initiatives based on ICT)—shows that citizens are increasingly willing to monitor these risks themselves. Comparing an example of a successful cooperation between citizens, public and private actors (in Eindhoven, the Netherlands) with an example of conflict between the citizens and the institutions (Fukushima, Japan), Berti Suman examines the conditions under which citizen sensing can unleash its full potential for achieving co-governance of shared risks in the city.

In Chap. 11, Martijn Groenleer, Sanderijn Cels, and Jorrit de Jong focus on yet another aspect of safety in the city, namely, the fight against marijuana production and trade as a form of organized crime. Their contribution investigates the partnerships that have emerged in the Netherlands

between the public prosecutor's office, the police, the tax office, local government and the electricity distribution company to fight this form of organized crime and its subversive effects for local neighborhoods. The chapter analyzes how these parties have overcome initial hurdles for coordination and cooperation, the subsequent generation of legitimacy and the building of capacity, as well as the management of performance.

Part IV of the book presents in three chapters a more integral perspective on neighborhood revitalization.

In Chap. 12, *Madeleine Pill* discusses the policy of neighborhood revitalization in the city of Baltimore. City government has long been engaged in seeking partnerships with private (corporate and non-profit) actors in developing a range of livability policies and initiatives. By considering the challenge of making Baltimore 'livable' in terms of by whom, for whom, and where, Pill reveals the city's deep inequities and exclusionary governance.

Taking up the case of the young people growing up in the French *banlieues*, *Simone van de Wetering* and *Femke Kaulingfreks* discuss in Chap. 13 how livable the city is for the young in marginalized urban areas. The authors illustrate how young people often express their civil engagement at a micro political level in everyday activities and establish a sense of belonging to the city through informal processes of place-making. Exploring the activities that the younger generation undertakes to 'make the city', this chapter teaches us not only that young people can be vital actors in partnerships for livable cities, but even more how these partnerships can be effective and legitimate from the perspective of marginalized urban youths.

In Chap. 14, *Niels Karsten*, *Carlo Maria Colombo*, and *Linze Schaap* investigate the system of *Quartiersmanagement* (QM) in Berlin where, under the supervision of the Berlin 'Land', or state authorities, private companies develop and implement public policies in conjunction with neighborhood residents and civil society organizations. The authors evaluate the effectiveness, legitimacy and robustness of the QM governance model, focusing on a specific case: the redevelopment of the inner-city Wiesenburg area. The results indicate that hybrid governance is not always a solution, since it can produce tensions between the logics of the state, the market and civil society that are present in a partnership. At the same time, their analysis shows that some of these tensions are not necessarily the result of institutional aspects of the cooperation but also relate to how the people involved perceive and take up their roles in such governance arrangements.

Part V of the book consists of two chapters, both dealing with partnerships within the context of a relatively new phenomenon, that of urban living labs.

In Chap. 15, *Lieke Oldenhof, Sabrina Rahmawan-Huizenga, Hester van de Bovenkamp and Roland Bal* investigate how public-private partnerships between citizens, policymakers, local entrepreneurs and public organizations in Urban Living Labs in a Dutch city deal with their liminal *in-between* position to create livable cities, and which new institutional rules emerge in order to deal with trade-offs in urban development.

In Chap. 16, *Giorgia Nesti* discusses the experiences with the Turin Living Lab, later transformed into Turin City Lab (TCL). The Turin City Lab is an urban living lab aimed at reducing red-tape and promoting collaboration with companies interested in testing innovative solutions for urban living in a real-life context. The experiences with these city labs are, on the one hand, an example of a successful experience with multi-stakeholder partnerships because they created a safe, reliable, and trusty environment for innovation. But on the other hand, there are concerns about the degree in which citizen participate in the project and about the contribution of the partnerships developed for the Labs to the livability of the city.

In the concluding chapter of the book, Chap. 17, *Ank Michels and Cor van Montfort* summarize the main patterns from the various chapters of the book. They start with some observations about the variation in partnerships with respect to the degree of regulation, dynamics and fluidity. They conclude that the specific characteristics of partnerships are closely related to the social, political or economic context in which they arise and develop. They also note that the criteria for success or failure are different in most of the examples discussed in this book. Finally, they discuss the different roles that the government may have in developing and sustaining partnerships that contribute to livability.

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