Synergies through Entanglement

Commoning Entering the Urban Governance Realm

Nina Vogel

Cities are in a continuous state of becoming, where changing social, environmental and economic conditions intersect. An inherent challenge in planning is finding legitimate and sustainable responses to a plurality of societal challenges, needs and goals. Top-down and investor-led planning is confronted with co-/self-management and collective appropriation of urban resources. Two prevalent trends for urbanization, "smart-city" approaches and urban commons, are opposed and discussed. This paper considers these tendencies and presents a transformative planning approach to urban governance that combines traditional planning tools with urban commons and forms of co-development. The paper introduces a conceptual suggestion, DINE, that potentially challenges city ideals in planning with three parallel analytical spheres: a) Dynamic master plan, b) IN-between uses, and c) Emergent arrangements. Conceptualizing commoning in urban governance could promote democratic disputes and support the formation and maintenance of alternative local environments. The DINE governance model is introduced as a potential conceptual toolbox for different planning projects and actors.

1 Growth-led urbanism: Spatial transformations & new space co-operations

«[The crises in 2008] have made the loss of social, economic, and political rights painfully tangible not just for traditionally disadvantaged and marginalized groups, but increasingly also for comparatively privileged urban residents, whose notion of good urban life is not realized by increasing privatization of public space, in the "upgrading" of their neighborhoods, or the subjection of their everyday lives to the intensifying interurban competition.»
(Mayer 2012, 63)

As the quote above demonstrates, being guided by a competitive, growth-led urbanism that is neither sufficient nor desirable causes major problems by increasing inequalities and setting ill-defined priorities (Bollier 2014, Rydin 2013). Contemporary urbanism requires rethinking the fixed understanding of the urban environment and its regulatory tools and agencies (Brenner and Schmid 2015). Socio-spatial unevenness, plural urban lives and identities and multi-scalar challenges are differential urbanisation processes that challenge universal and unified governance solutions reflected in city ideals. This paper aims to contribute to the discussion on alternative approaches to urban governance in transformative planning by proposing a governance perspective that embraces a differential urbanisation process.

Urban commons are currently highly discussed and acted phenomena in theory and practice. The „Zeitgeist" to engage with alternative resource use, new economies and pressing inequalities in contemporary societies and cities frames this interest in commons and commoning. A revival of the „right to the city movement" can be observed in critical urban theory, and in protests and occupy movements that are reclaiming urban resources and values (cf. Lefebvre 1996; Brenner et al. 2012; Borch and Kornberger 2015; Dellenbaugh et al. 2015; Mayer et al. 2016). These practices are about safeguarding urban public domains, as necessary spaces and substantial assets for recreation and encounters, for socialising, politicising, learning etc. (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001). Thus such urban sites represent a democratic arena for society. Moreover, they influence cultural, ecological and economic development, e.g. they increase attractiveness, safety, local identity and connectivity (Rydin 2013; Brenner et al. 2012; Harvey 2012). The organisation of everyday life is seen as crucial in forming (sustainable and just) urban futures, as the urban space is produced and reproduced by spatial practices and social structures and is also governed through these (Lefebvre 1991).

However, in a situation where urban land value is constantly increasing, planning projects are reliant on private capital and hence concentrated on rate of return. This commodification of space results in common needs and values being less prioritised, even when represented in visions and policy documents. The emergence of urban ideals is culturally and politically loaded and linked to growth approaches, governing practices, management schemes and the overarching narrative of the desirable city. The "smart city" discourse originates from "the imaginaries of the green/sustainable city and the technological/intelligent city" (Vanolo 2014, 885), which form powerful rationalities that affect local policy and planning decisions, create new collaborations between private actors, citizens and the local state, influence actual urban form and define the design language and aesthetics of development sites. Though idealised conceptions or new "blueprints" for sustainable cities interact with (re)emerging ways in which inhabitants and organisations claim their "right to the city" (Brenner et al. 2012; Mayer et al. 2016) and form an urban governance realm that can be defined by competition, cooption or collaboration. Some of these dynamics are discussed below and are included in a conceptual governance model, DINE.

New trends can be rooted in discontent with conventional planning and/or the desire for new values and practices to serve urban development with new opportunities. For example, DIY-urbanism or tactical urbanism (Lydon and Garcia 2015) reflects temporary arrangements, as well as innovative actor and structural constellations that comprise interventions and/or co-development practices that often blur lines between planning, art, design, technologies etc. These spatial practices provide a basis for new forms of deliberation, especially related to urban green structures, harbour transformations and collaborative forms of resource management such as urban farming, site-specific designs, creative pioneers, commoners and occupy movements (Oswald et al. 2013; Diedrich 2013; Parker and Schmidt 2016). "Very often the appropriation of disused urban spaces is done in a bottom-up, grass-root manner, with little financial investment, minimal interventions, and a high degree of recycling of existing structures" (Colomb 2012, 137). Sources of finance, expertise and power may be shifted and organised anew. Temporary uses and alternative forms of governance may originate from social crises and pressing needs for e.g. housing, in response to austerity measures or as a tactic to generate attractive urban life (Oswald et al. 2013), although beyond the informal emergence there is increased interest by municipal planning authorities in supporting prospering "social capital" and creative community forces. The local state facilitates structures for co-developing local spaces in the form of e.g. community parks and squares (Arts et al. 2012; Vogel 2017).

These novel forms of collaboration clearly have an influence on urban planning and society (Oswald et al. 2013). Within these dynamics, quality and capacity questions arise that concern the maintenance of spaces and places, the allocation of responsibility and power to influence agenda settings, and possibly new roles in contemporary urban development. Thus governance questions on how and who can safeguard a democratic planning practice are at stake. Top-down, investor-led planning in a competitive context is confronted, and possibly challenged, by co-/self-management and collective occupation of urban resources (Sehested 2009; Rydin 2013).

This paper contributes to the debate on the consequences of contemporary urbanisation, linking to new trends and dominant planning ideals. The risk of endangered common values of urban public life and unequal socio-spatial relations is not handled very well in idealised planning approaches, such as "smart cities". Thus alternative governance approaches emerge and novel hybrids form. The question guiding the present analysis was how commoning can complement a governance approach that supports emergence, quality and power of different urban publics.

To illustrate the challenges, the remainder of this section describes the "smart city" ideal in its origin, main mechanism and possible consequences for transformative planning. In section 2, the commons paradigm and the practice of commoning are introduced and discussed as complementary urban governance practices, i.e. practices of appropriation, co-development and self-management and value in democratic urban publics. This critical theoretical discussion sets an underlying qualitative framework for the conceptual development in section 3 that introduces the governance concept, DINE, its three analytical spheres and process dynamics. Synergy effects and chal-

lenges of new entanglements are discussed in section 4. Finally, section 5 presents concluding remarks on governing transformative planning employing DINE.

1.1 Smart city ideals govern urban space and modify the public realm

Contemporary urban development is predominantly orientated towards growth-led planning and short-term profits and is increasingly investor-led and market-based (Sager 2014; Vogel 2015). However, reactions following climate change and socio-economic crises challenge this hegemony and call for radical changes and more sustainable systems and practices. Some common responses are expressed in "resilient" city planning, planning for sustainable and "energy-producing city" districts and "smart and green growth" ideals (cf. OECD 2011; Vogel 2015, 2016; Holgersen and Malm 2015). However, these responses reflect system enhancement rather than renewal and operate within an ecological modernisation paradigm (Vogel 2016). For example, approaches within the "smart-city" discourse are generally "smart-growth" developments originating from New Urbanism in the USA in the 1980s, combined with the "intelligent city" representing technological innovations linked to urban space and infrastructure, such as ICT (Vanolo 2014). More generally, the digitisation of society, complex networked infrastructures, so-called Big Data flows and systems and the financial connections and dependencies on private capital and partnerships define the contextual parameters for the smart-city ideal (see e.g. Graham and Marvin 2001).

As the "smart city" ideal is embedded in or conflated with growth-led planning, it leads to intensified commodification of urban space (Holgersen and Malm 2015). The development of spaces become even more commodified as profit-generating assets and other crucial functions for community benefits and well-being, such as fostering just sustainability through e.g. green structures for recreation and health, encounter of otherness, collective activities and (child), care may be down-prioritised (Rydin 2013). Vanolo (2014, 884) discusses the risk of the "smart city mentality", which de-politicises and privatises the urban agenda and "distances urban government from politics and represents the urban question in terms of environment and technology, broadening the field of action of technicians, consultants and private companies". Moreover, he identifies a disciplinary power of this discourse, which creates new assemblages of power, an idea of the "good" and "green" city and new concept of citizenship: "Smartness is becoming a field of social control that makes intrusion in a person's private life quite natural" (Vanolo 2014, 894). It is presumed that citizens act according to incentives to self-regulate consumption via "smart" devices and systems (e.g. smart mobility schemes, green consumption, zero-energy housing, etc.). However, not everyone is able (or willing) to adapt their lifestyle accordingly, which creates inequality challenges, technological dependencies and accessibility issues and predefines a moral obligation to behave in a certain way. Moreover, (new) markets and advertisements increase prestige and justify their products under the "smart agenda".

This global phenomenon probably reinforces socio-spatial patterns of segregation and gentrification furthered through property markets and governance practices that prioritise profit-orientated decisions, which gives rise to competition for space in transformative urban change (Hansen 2006). If contemporary planning practice threatens the availability and democratic value of civic urban sites, then equality and justice may weigh less in the predominant "sustainable growth" discourse. Instead, growth-led planning is paired with widely accepted "popular environmentalism", i.e. "greening" the given systems of consumption and production through technological innovations. Together, these lay the foundation for strategies of "green growth" in urban governance, which form ideal conceptions of sustainable city districts, an idea of "the good life" and of what defines qualitative spaces (Luke 2006; Holgersen and Malm 2015). Zukin (2009) talks of "hegemonic global urbanisms", which create dependencies on a larger scale and are symptomatic of a crisis of e.g. authenticity, by "[...] eliminating the means by which poor people and ethnic minorities produce their lives, and reducing the social and aesthetic diversity that has been a historical element of city life." (Zukin 2009, 545). As long as local and regional governance is determined by a "new metropolitan mainstream" that prioritises "economic growth, property-led investment in flagship mega-projects, urban renewal and gentrification over job creation, social redistribution, equity and participation." (Brenner and Schmid 2015, 153), it will be difficult to achieve sustainable and just transformative planning.

A potential consequence instead is an increase in competitive city branding, which quantifies the performance of cities in terms of comparable parameters. These are used to frame problems, identify solutions and thus create a governing structure for cities in a race for "smartness" as the idealised urban future. "The ranking takes on the role of a "performance technology" by which urban spaces are standardized and governed." (Vanolo 2014, 890). This ignores the given circumstances of differentiated urbanisation mentioned earlier. The problem is ignorance of contextual and local challenges, which may not be solved by "green" technologies and market forces. This may lead instead to valuation and commodification of the urban realm according to e.g. attractiveness for investment of private capital (Madanipour 1999), in turn fostering new coalitions of private and public actors that circumvent democratic elections and define an urban development according to their investment strategies. Finally, the concept of the future city becomes unified and preoccupied by techno-centric solutions that frame the urban challenges and solutions accordingly (Vanolo 2014). There is thus

an ongoing need for a deeper understanding of concrete transformation processes, in order to achieve better guidance of professional actors' practices and a better everyday life for citizens.

Scrutinising different governance practices can shed light on gaps and overlaps between known expertise and informal, less-defined practices. (Re)claiming urban commons and undertaking co-development and self-management of urban space can offer values that would otherwise not emerge. Novelties within this context include involvement of residents in e.g. co-development and commoning that forms new use(r) values, multi-functionalities of urban spaces and reflection and communication on what is quality space, and for whom. Identification of different actors, stakeholders, methods and values that will be relevant beyond the smart-city agenda is a necessary step towards meaningful and informed planning practice.

2 Commons reconfigure the urban?

The notion of commoning is presented in this paper as one alternative governance perspective for e.g. collective management of public spaces as a commons. However, it is important to discuss the capacities and types of urban commons and perhaps critically re-assess/re-address the concept in its current adoption in modern urban societies. It is particularly important to examine how commoning is "initiated" and by whom, e.g. as a consequence and counteraction to austerity measures, a political statement reclaiming rights to the city or a place-making initiative supported by local government. All these options will have crucial impacts on the long-term viability of commoning practices and whether they are desirable. Thus, commoning might not be the panacea, but it could offer complementary qualities and empowering effects that support sustainable futures locally. It is therefore relevant to understand how "commoning" works in a specific case and context. This relational quality is critical for engaging with urban commons.

> «The common is not to be construed (…) as a particular kind of thing, asset or even social process, but as an unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet- to-be-created social and/or physical environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood.»
>
> (Harvey 2012, 73)

There is no clear-cut definition for (urban) commons per se, but in rather general terms it can be understood as a social paradigm that challenges basic assumptions of economic theory, market transactions and the logic of "Homo economicus" (Bollier 2014). Two publications in particular continue to influence the commons debate today. Since

Hardin's (1968) The "Tragedy of the Commons", natural resource commons being overused and exploited due to a utility-maximising rationality of users is widely described as a free-rider problem. However, this conflation with an "open-access regime" misinterprets commons, which in fact comprise rule creation, responsibilities and monitoring systems by commoners that maintain and negotiate the commons. The seminal work by Elinor Ostrom (1990), "Governing the Commons", describes the capacity of communities to actually self-organise their management of common-pool resources according to design principles for collective action. These resources are, in the main, natural resources.

There are currently a variety of commons theorisations as well as practices, which complicates a definition by resource category per se. However, these diverse commons share a relational and collective character and most have an interest in "fair access, use, and long-term sustainability" (Bollier 2014, 5), focusing on e.g. legal and economic aspects in (new) collective actions and ownerships (e.g. Ostrom 1990; Kohn 2004; Foster 2011), management of shared resource, where it is inappropriate or unfeasible to exclude others (e.g. Hardin 1968; Ostrom 1990; Hess 2008), or diverse forms of commoning as inherently relational practice (Euler 2016), which often evolves when resources or values are endangered. Central for commoning is "the principle that the relation between the social group and that aspect of the environment being treated as a common shall be both collective and non-commodified-off-limits to the logic of market exchange and market valuations." (Harvey 2012, 73).

As urban commons can differ from natural resource commons, the "resource" definition and management schemes can perhaps be rethought in contemporary urban debates. According to Parker and Johansson (2011), there are three core features that define urban commons:

i. "Dispersed (larger) scale", which leads to lack of recognition by commoners, and a need for another level of regulation and boundary setting, e.g. privatisation of public spaces as city-wide phenomena with particular localities and shapes, to diversify the appropriation and reclaiming of publics.

ii. This links to the contested character of urban commons, as the "plurality of urban social lives leads to different relations to common resources and values.

iii. Finally, urban commons involve "cross-sector collaboration" between e.g. civil society, NGOs and government authorities, which seems to be necessary to monitor and safeguard some urban commons such as available housing or public (recreational) spaces. Thus, the state adopts a facilitating role.

Bradley (2015, 92) argues that "the production of urban commons can be understood as part of a larger movement

of open-source 'commons-based peer production'" and that "open-source urbanism embodies a critique of both government and privately led urban development". She does not seek to exclude the public sector, but instead advocates learning through commoning to improve and further position planning for post-capitalist urban development.

Both the practice and theory of urban commons are much contested, as illustrated above. However, identivfying what constitutes a commons may be less about its properties (resource, product) than about the social relation to it (Euler 2016). The next section unpacks some of the diverse possibilities and actual practiced commons as a component in contemporary urban governance and discusses urban commons according to reclaiming, forming and/or identifying assets and values, partnerships and politics. While these categories sometimes overlap and influence each other, the approach reveals some differentiated uses and abuses of contemporary commons.

2.1 Urban commons as reclaiming community values and assets

«At one time the simple answer to ensuring that the public realm offered a range of communal facilities was direct provision by the public sector, often the local authority. This would extend both to services such as leisure - the swimming pool, the bowling green, the tennis court - as well as the provision and management of public spaces, both parks and urban squares and other spaces in the public realm.»

(Rydin 2013, 170)

Today, this cannot be taken for granted. Foster (2011) describes a recurrent challenge with "regulatory slippage" in provision of conventional public goods, such as (quality) public spaces, whereby in times of austerity measures, increased marketisation and limited welfare state power, the level of local government control or oversight of public resources significantly declines. Consequences can be residual public spaces or private service provision and management. The "growing disjunction (...) between the development process and localities" (Madanipour 1999, 888) is basically linked to investment by and dependency on development companies, which focus solely on safe return space treated primarily as a commodity. This lays the ground for contemporary collective agency reclaiming urban spaces as commons.

The appropriation and reclaiming of community values and resources as commons is often based on a decrease in their supply, quality or accessibility. However, explicit threats in the form of privatisation, increased gentrification and segregation may also provoke a defensive reclaiming of common values, public spaces and affordable housing (e.g. the Gezi Park protest in Istanbul, Media-Spree protests or appropriation of the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin).

Some criticisms of contemporary commons include ambivalences with inequality challenges and co-optation problems that may lead to commodification and abuse of collective practices. The boundary setting of a commons, access and rule creation are especially interesting and reveal the different power relations and processes of in/exclusion. Appropriation as such does not ensure a specific quality and may merely involve passive use as a consumer, such as the basic presence in public space, or even a domination by an interest group, which might result in exclusion or a decline in quality or safety. However, it can also involve active co-producing that contributes to local community capacities, such as socio-political stewardship of a commons. Thus the active contribution to the urban political life creates a qualitative difference. Discussions on contemporary urban commons, their management, safeguarding and novel identification need to be aware of these qualitative and contextual details.

Nevertheless, the desirability of the tendencies for self-/co-management of urban publics based on austerity measures should be discussed, particularly whether e.g. public sector funding and state responsibility should be covered by civil society or whether commoners should take care of inequality issues based on socio-economic structures at a wider city scale. Depending on the perspectives and system criticisms, this might be *the* way forward (leaving the state behind), or inappropriate, requiring the state authorities to be confronted and their roles altered.

2.2 Urban commons as place-making (supported) by the local state

In response to the modernistic heritage of a fragmented and despatialised public sphere, urban designs are increasingly attempting to form public spaces as "infrastructure for social life", spatial enclosures that bring people and activities together (Madanipour 1999, 882). However, these predefined spaces act within functional restrictions and, by definition, exclude specific agencies and functions not suitable for that specific space. Another dimension of "ideal" urban transformation, exemplified in Paris, incorporates the formation of urban subjects: "urban policy has become a leading edge of France's assimilationist model in which transforming neighborhoods is tied to cultivating citizens" (Newman 2013, 951). Similar to the smart-city agenda when "designing" a specific consumerist choice and norm, the policy interventions are designed to define a citizenship that conforms to the neighbourhood ideal.

In this context, commoning may evolve as a counter-movement or response to disciplined agency (see section 2.1) or as co-development and self-management of e.g. urban open spaces. Novel forms of partnerships are characteristic of the governance genealogy and practised in diverse governance arrangements, which differ mainly through their state involvement (from hierarchical to co-/

self-governance) and scale (from local to global) (Arts et al. 2012). Recent co-developments between private cooperation and the local state are the so-called New Public Management regimes (e.g. Hood 1991) and the inclusion or "activation" of civil society in management and development practices in the form of co- and self-management of e.g. urban green structures, open spaces and community organisations (e.g. Arnouts et al. 2012; Arts et al. 2012).

A core characteristic of urban commons is production of values, which is described as the "generative potential of commons" (Meretz 2013). This potential describes an added value of commoning that would otherwise not occur. For example, the collective formation of rules, distribution of responsibilities and safeguarding the maintenance of a commons create relational bonds and capacities between the commoners and with the environment/asset/value at stake. This is seen as relevant "social capital" that can mobilise novel community relations, increase inclusiveness and thus respond to the pressure of equality issues (McShane 2010). Moreover, managing or influencing the actual planning, forming and maintaining and monitoring specific places, parks or squares reflects power dynamics in the public realm.

Municipalities identify in e.g. park-commons or other public space commons a chance to increase attractive and inclusive local spaces. In this regard (as long as they do not threaten formal urban structures), commons support a municipal place-making strategy by e.g. intensified presence of (accepted) users, modifying social production of space that increases attractiveness with a livelihood and local identity. However, challenges with in/exclusion are certainly not resolved. These are under continuous dispute in locally enacted democracy. Some critical voices may claim that commoning paired with "social capital" is coopted in a "people-washing" agenda or a "Trojan horse" (McShane 2010) that abuses these capacities that the market-state pair cannot provide. There are mixed-critical responses to be found in the commons debate, such as "criticising neo-liberal rhetoric about virtues of community and self-reliance" and "advocating the freedom and innovation of social production" (ibid., 103).

2.3 (Urban) Commons complementing local publics

Commoning is embedded in a governance realm comprising differing planning practices and development trends. The contextual conditions become crucial, which might be an underlying motive for emerging practices and structures (e.g. 2.1 reclaimed community values; 2.2 imposed place-making). Linking back to Zukin, who describes a context for commons presenting contemporary development dynamics and power relations in socio-spatial changes in cities, gentrification and neoliberalism are criticised for leading to a less diverse city. In this regard, (new) urban

commons/commoning could be an interesting counter-practice. Using a concept of "authenticity", Zukin sheds light on issues of urban identity, culture and experience, which concern and influence spatiality and political sphere. The practice of commoning serves commoners with similar values.

The generative force of commons carries a quality of encounter, as social relations are at the core. Hajer and Reijndorp (2001) discuss relevant processes and new perspectives to understanding the formation of "public domains". The public domain is more than public space; it is a cultural dimension of encounter and exchange in public space. This is an interesting perspective on the appropriation of public space and creates fruitful insights for planning and governance discussions in regard to urban commons. Interestingly, public domains, their qualities and practices, may form and take place at so-called "non-places" (Augé 1995), such as transit and in-between spaces. "The new public domain does not only appear at the usual places in the city, but often develops in and around the in-between spaces in the archipelago of homogenous and specialized islands, in surroundings that belong to different social, economic and cultural landscapes" (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001, 128). These new spaces are also called liminal spaces: "they are border crossings, places where the different worlds of the inhabitants of the urban field touch each other" (ibid.).

This plurality of the urban worlds and different publics constitutes the continuous conundrum of democracy. "The public" is not a homogeneous sphere or value attached to a specific topic or object. Publics are situated around an issue that comes into being through their consequences for any effect and through their communication of these effects (DiSalvo 2009). Thus there is a relational dynamic of consecutive (re)actions that delineates publics, rather than the issue itself. According to Dewey, this is the main challenge to publics; to be acted upon they first need to take form. Accordingly if there is no articulation, beyond identification of an issue, the public cannot take form. Here the practice of commoning may contribute to the constitution of publics. Urban commons may act as niches or seeds that can influence, amend and enrich "publics" in stimulating a collective dispute on societal values, rights and appropriation. Commoning needs boundary settings and reflects the continuous practice of collective safeguarding. This may comprise stewardship of collective values, resources and relations that are part of the public realm. Interestingly, the productive force of urban commons is not merely about finding urban commons (as an object out there), but about actively forming and promoting these values and public goods (as a practice). This might be happening "under the radar" (informal, somewhat hidden) to nurture a commons or to avoid cooption. This relationship could be described with commoning as collective action and publics as societal structures, (re)producing democracies. Still, these processes of structure-agency relations and reproduction can unfold in

multiple ways and do not necessarily form idealised local democracies; instead processes of e.g. populistic fragmentations, protests and political uprising have dominated recently.

The interrelationships of commons and publics thus can also be fruitful in forming reflexive dialectics. Such dialectics can act as a reference frame and may break up enclosures that are continuously formed in the practice of commoning and in identifying publics. On the one hand, (state) power reflected in the production of the public space (Madanipour 1999), a socio-spatial enclosure, can be "shuffled" or opened by an arena of multiple publics that are fuelled by political niches (in form of commoning). On the other hand, the public realm may serve as ground that safeguards some different boundary settings, broadens encounters and holds collateral otherness. This puts a critical perspective on commons that can be very exclusive and may form within communities that are extremely stratified and segregated, such as gated communities that offer exclusive user and access rights defined by the membership of the community (Kohn 2004).

The conceptual discussion below continues these thoughts and embeds the commons paradigm within a planning context and governance approach. A conceptual model is introduced that incorporates alternative, complementary governance practices in transformation processes to broaden understanding of spatial appropriation and engage with politics in space.

3 A conceptual suggestion: DINE as a threefold governance arrangement

The DINE governance concept is intended to cope with urbanisation challenges and their local consequences in a different way. The conceptual thoughts build on triangulation of knowledge from critical urban theory, transformative planning and multi-level governance. This is combined with the practices of commoning, co-development and temporary uses. An understanding of structure-agency relations provides conceptual reflections on underlying mechanisms. DINE is based on three simultaneous spheres:

» "Dynamic master plan" arising from conventional planning as formalised though adaptive and permeable structure,
» "In-between uses" with a temporary character and possible delegation of people and power, and
» "Emergent arrangements" that arise over time, in a bottom-up and informal way (see Figure 2).

This conceptual arrangement encompasses multi-actor, multi-scalar and differing time frames and the ability to adapt to conditions of e.g. sudden crisis, to be inclusive and reflexive, creating a more robust if not democratic governance approach. Practices of commoning and co-governance and co-management can be found in the different spheres. In particular, emergent arrangements may comprise commoning as novel practice, although this does not exclude commons as in-between uses. Collaborative efforts are basically represented by the conceptual perspective as a whole and in the different spheres. It should be noted that the three analytical spheres are not hierarchically organised as such, although differentiated in their binding (formal) and temporal character. Some scholars talk about the "efficacy paradox" (Voss and Kemp 2005, 2), which also underlies some dynamics of this model, which is to be able to open up and allow unforeseen emergences, while also being able to intervene and find closure for guidance and quality control. This particular dialectic tension is fruitful for a democratic governance process.

3.1 Process dynamics, temporal dimensions and multiplicity of goals

Visualisation of processes over time is important for communication, reflexivity and learning. It is necessary to discuss which activities happen, when, for how long and who can delegate, curate, coordinate, initiate, regulate etc. Equally important is simultaneous use of goals with a fixed, dynamic and open character (see Figure 1). Such a threefold approach provides development with an interplay and parallel coordination of transformative processes that contain a range of practices, from fixed formalised structures (e.g. guiding principles such as equity) and dynamic formalised processes (e.g. masterplans), to temporary in-between uses and finally non-formalised co-/self-management (e.g. commoning) and unforeseen development.

Moreover, the temporal dimension plays an important role for the level of structuring and inertia of the material and immaterial structures formed. These can have impacts on practices and may provoke time-lags in transforming given structures and practices (Danermark et al. 2002). Understanding structure-agency dynamics offers guidance and strategic interventions for more resilient, long-term perspectives that help avoid myopic planning decisions (Vogel 2015).

Some sort of mediating agency will be beneficial to achieve and/or support learning across disciplines, sectors and scales in sustainable transformations. A "scale-crossing broker" (FUSE seminar 2016) might serve as a mediating and dynamic agency. The broker can be a person, although it is foremost a "capacity", which could be reflected in an actor, idea, platform or research. The need for such a capacity is because of the characteristics of wicked problems,
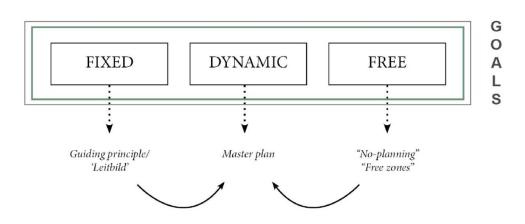
Figure 1: Simultaneous effects of differing goals as governance elements.
Source: Technische Universität Berlin, 2009, adapted by the author.

which require cross-scale movements, inter- and trans-disciplinary knowledge and critical rethinking of concepts, offering space for reflections and questions of business as usual. To some extent this results in an exploratory process supporting and empowering actors to cope with challenges and embracing the conflicts and contradictions in which they are embedded.

3.2 Three sphere s of DINE

Dynamic master plan

Dealing with so-called wicked problems, such as climate change, sustainable mobility and equality to name a few, calls for system-transgressing action and going beyond adaptation (Vogel 2015). A multitude of measures need to be stimulated, implemented and related to each other to achieve effective changes towards sustainable urban futures (ibid.). Mono-causal thinking or explanation does not cope with or reflect the challenges cited. Hence the

dynamic master plan is a policy tool that governs planning practice, offering some regulatory goals and rules in a long-term perspective, while also opening up for evaluation and rearrangement responding to emergent practices and structures that challenge the rigidity of common master planning (e.g. smart city ideals, green growth visions) or even undermining its efficacy. The facilitating role is crucial as the parallel processes of in-betweens and emergent arrangements are embraced in a productive manner.

In-betweens

A clear-cut definition of temporary uses (e.g. interim, in-between, "Zwischennutzung") is difficult, as they can take many forms. However, the following characteristics are considered to be decisive: informal characteristics (e.g. no planning authority), unpredictable dynamics,

impermanence/open-ended existence, capacity for novel arrangements of actors, their means of decision-making, and space appropriations (such as easing pressures and enabling experimentation by temporarily circumventing the rigidities of the planning process) (Colomb 2012; Oswald et al. 2013). However, in-betweens can also be initiated and/or delegated by formalised processes in e.g. the planning authority. Commoning and commons might evolve as in-betweens more broadly accepted and established (e.g. urban gardening), although they could also be an emergent arrangement in the form of newly appropriated resources and values formed (e.g. within alternative economies). Thus, there can be overlaps and developments between spheres.

Emergent arrangements

Emergent arrangements are understood as practices and structures that arise unplanned and can have diversity in (physical) form, actor constellation and duration. They can also be related to the so-called liminal spaces (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001), which can evolve as temporary occasions, popping up as moments of encounter, in which specific meaning is given to a place and agency. The unplanned characteristic is core, but this does not mean that emergent structures and agency cannot be repeated. These may develop inertia or evolve for longer durations, may form relations that outlast this project and elsewhere derive benefits from these arrangements. The underlying drivers, though, are likely to be different than in a planned and formalised approach, e.g. anchored in needs not represented by the hegemonic structures and evolving informally. Even though the bottom-up dynamic is central, top-down structures may either support or hinder the emergence of dynamic arrangements.

DINE as a conceptual idea promotes interaction and sensitivity towards these three spheres, to form synergies that might otherwise not occur.
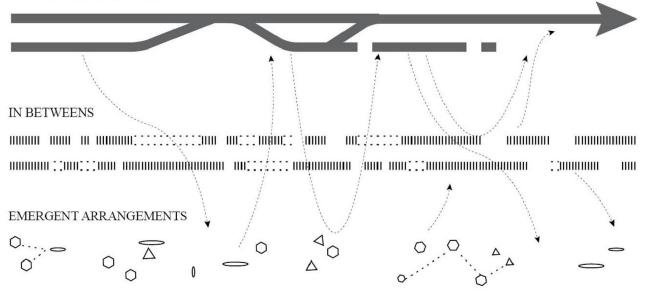
DYNAMIC MASTERPLAN

IN BETWEENS

EMERGENT ARRANGEMENTS

Figure 2: Conceptual sketch of DINE - a multi-level governance arrangement; the arrows represent entanglement and the interaction between the spheres over time. *Source: Developed by the author.*

4 Alignment or entanglement? Some challenges and chances

"City dwellers possess the power to re- imagine and re-appropriate the function and meaning of city by merely occupying and using it (and thus) remain the gatekeepers to the urban commons" (Newman 2013, 961-962). This describes the emergent powers of collective actions that are merged in the DINE conception, although to unfold, support and possibly guide such agency, different capacities need to be available. This section reflects upon entanglements that create synergies which further these productive powers and upon challenges that act as barriers or are counterproductive to democratic and sustainable futures.

Recent urbanisation processes reflect novel agency in the sense of collective action, self-reliance, temporary uses etc., revealed as emancipatory power and attractive value-generating forces formed, deployed and enjoyed by individuals, communities or the local state. The role and occurrence of a (new) citizenship becomes a focal point in new collaborative governance arrangements (e.g. Helfrich 2012; Newman 2013; Bradley 2015; Mayer et al.,2016). Some of these practices reflect merely a sort of insurgent citizenship, rebellion against commodification of urban commons, but the relatively competitive urban realm as such regarding space, functions, people, investments etc. can also constrain the urban commons. In addition, the plurality of lives and strangers that collectively constitute the urban commons can challenge a practice of commoning, especially in situations of decline (Huron, 2015).

A challenge linked to self-reliance in urban development goes back to self-monitoring. Inhabitants are woven into a "DIY surveillance system" that may control a "good neighbourhood" and counter "negative uses", although it comprises serious dangers of subjective regulatory powers. According to Newman (2013), who calls this "vigilant citizenship", social control originally performed by the state is transferred to the residents, which affects pluralities of contemporary societies and publics accordingly.

Furthermore, the occurrence of new institutional settings might be essential to achieving a more lasting effect of e.g. temporary use values and their structural arrangements and to securing collective democratic agency. According to Bollier (2014, 10), there is a need for "new forms of socially embedded governance and provisioning that "grow" organically". This means that e.g. personal liberties, commercial interests and legal rights need to be rethought in favour of more collective rights (held in common). Such a transition reflects a systemic, deep structural and cultural change, which may need time to evolve properly. However, incremental change may not suffice and more radical, insurgent agency (as described above) that transgresses given systems may be necessary (Vogel 2015).

The (urban) commons paradigm served as theoretical input to DINE on how to engage differently with spatial appropriations and their underlying meanings, powers and rights for a public realm. So-called "Vernacular Law" (Bollier 2014), i.e. unwritten social norms and processes of the informal and socially negotiated rules governing commons, receives attention. These informal agreements offer an opportunity that circumvents formal frameworks, though they act as binding pacts within the community where they are used. The DINE concept can reveal these (possible) interactions between and within the three spheres and thus furthers recognition of e.g. collective

rights. These are either formed in processes of commoning or can be reflected in temporary arrangements. To innovate and rethink masterplanning with the emergences from the other spheres, it would be necessary to strengthen these informal arrangements. An institutional adaptability or "hybrid institutional forms" (McShane 2010) would potentially respond more easily and inclusively to the pluralism of urban lives, socio-spatial unevenness and multi-scalar challenges of differential urbanisation processes.

5 Concluding remarks

The paper presents a socio-spatial governance concept (DINE) and argues for embracing the pluralistic nature of society and local communities to strengthen sustainable, just and democratically informed planning. Here commoning offers new relational practices and values that potentially provide new coping strategies concerning climate change, social inequalities and financial crises, which techno-centric market-based planning ideals cannot serve. However, more than a potential capacity, commoning may be a direct response to the socio-economic conditions created by crises and unitary ideals of growth-led urbanisation.

The commons capacity to integrate realms of production, consumption and governance offers new opportunities for urban development. Visions are formulated that upscale commons to "a more commons-driven smart city" (Kostakis et al. 2015, 124). Bollier (2014) envisions commons-based structures at larger scales, for regional and global systems, and the conceptual structure of DINE could be used to simulate structure-agency relations of such a "complex adaptive system" that may help to "upscale" commons at higher level. However, the informality of in-between uses and insurgent character of (at least some) commons can potentially challenge market-based structures and neoliberal governing. Thus upscaling in the sense of formalising these practices might co-opt the emergent powers and could lead to merely exchanging values at the expense of use values and socio-political relations.

As Newman (2013, 961) puts it: "The struggle over the right to the city has long been central to the dialectic process of capitalist urbanization; contestations over the urban commons change form as quickly as the city itself." DINE can incorporate ongoing changes of practices and conceptualise these in a reflexive governance setting. The concept thus allows for flexibility on confronting contemporary (new) blueprints of e.g. smart city ideals, with alternative tendencies of e.g. commons. Embedding these different governance practices in the threefold concept can help reveal windows of opportunities and pitfalls to be avoided.

Application of DINE in practice could offer novel governance arrangements by mapping and analysing multi-actor, multi-temporal, and multi-scalar arrangements that hold new capacities for, and offer learning about, socio-spatial relations and their consequences for local communities. Altogether, novel narratives, experiences and visions can be produced to further the transformation in a more sustainable, just way. The present theoretical-analytical analysis showed the value of greater entanglement by multiple actors, scales and informalities due to the different spheres. This interplay could enhance the chance for community values, empowerment and development, ultimately undermining the trend of social stratification and segregation.

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