## **Contents**

1	Introduction		
	1.1	Introduction	1
	1.2	Explanations for Urban Transformation	3
	1.3	The Socio-Political Cycle of Urban Transformation	5
	1.4	Outline of this Book	9
2	Class, State and Urban Space		
	2.1	Introduction	13
	2.2	Social Class in Context	15
	2.3	Spatializing Class, Classes in Space	22
	2.4	Urban Transformation and Social Class	25
	2.5	Class, State and Space	29
	2.6	Two Mechanisms of Urban Transformation	34
	2.7	The Socio-Political Cycle of Amsterdam's Transformation	42
3	Social and Spatial Transformations		4.3
	3.1	Amsterdam Diversifying and Gentrifying	4,3
	3.2	Demographic Change	45
	3.3	Ethnic Change	49
	3.4	Economic Change	5,3
	3.5	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	56
	3.6	Neighbourhood Transformations in Amsterdam	64

	3.7	New Spatial Inequalities	73
	3.8	Conclusions	75
4	Tihe	Electoral Geography of Amsterdam	77
	4.1	Introduction	77
	4.2	The Dutch Political Landscape	80
	4.3	Class-Based Voting and Spatial Polarisation	84
	4.4	The New Middle-Class Vote(s)	86
	4.5	General Electoral Patterns in the Netherlands and	
		Amsterdam	87
	4.6	Electoral Dynamics in the City Until 1989	90
	4.7	Electoral Dynamics in the City 1989–1998	93
	4.8	Electoral Dynamics in the 2000s	95
	4.9	Local Elections and Political Dynamics in the City	
		2010-2012	97
	-4.10	Trends in Electoral Geographies 1980–2012	99
	4.11	Conclusions	103
5	Political and Institutional Transformations		105
	5.1	Introduction	105
	5.2	A Red Past: Urban Politics Until 1988	107
	5.3	Third Way City: Housing Market Liberalisation in the	
		1990s	113
	5.4	Revanchism and Urban Boosterism: Amsterdam	
		2002 2008	124
	5.5	Post-Crisis Amsterdam (2009-2018)	133
	5.6	Conclusion	143
6	Symbolic Politics Within the Local State		145
	6.1	Undivided City: Social and 'Middle-Segment' Housing	147
	6.2	Shaping the City in One's Mirror Image	154
	6.3	Neighbourhood Transformation Through Symbolic	•
		Politics	163
	6.4	Conclusion	177

7	Con	clusion	181	
	7.1	Social and Spatial Transformations	183	
	7.2	Changing Electorates and Repositioning Parties	185	
	7.3	Political Transformation: Institutional and Symbolic		
		Middle-Class Politics	187	
	7.4	Expanding Our Understanding of the Middle-Class City	192	
	7.5	Beyond Amsterdam: Three Theoretical Implications	194	
	7.6	Future Transformations	197	
Overview Maps			203	
Bibliography			205	
Index				