

## Urban design for multilevel planning

# Opportunities, innovation, and legitimacy in Public-Private Collaboration. Lessons from French practices

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**Abstract:** The debate about urban regeneration is coping with the spreading of public-private interactions and new geographies of powers. Thanks to a lexical shift from Public-Private Partnership to Public-Private Collaboration (PPC), the research aims to investigate these approaches to urban transformations and, analyzing the features of French best practices, outlines innovation's potential of such experiences. Four cases were studied as an advanced form of PPC for city-making, with widely recognized high-quality outcomes. The shift to PPC opens to a discussion on multilevel planning, in order to find a balance between reduction of public finance, need of urban renewal for collective services and public spaces, role of private stakeholders; collaborative urban transformations deal with privatization and regeneration, gentrification and inclusive social transformations, (neo)liberal city and public city. In this work, practices' features are translated into clusters of indicators to deconstruct the complexity of urban quality. Through the checklist and the following evaluation process, PPCs in urban regeneration can be enhanced through the link between decision-making processes and the urban quality of the outcomes. The whole work aims to obtain practical guidelines for urban planning and design, providing insights for policymakers and urban design practitioners to define performance metrics for PPC.

**Keywords:** Public-Private Collaboration, Urban regeneration, Urban Quality, France.

## Introduction

The socio-economic, political, institutional and normative changes that shaped most of the European cities in the last 30-40 years produced the insurgence of new relationships between public decision-makers and private stakeholders, new geographies of power that influenced the approach to projects and practices of urban transformation. These relationships developed within an idea of state and public action that has been changing through the years. Namely, following the 2007/2008 financial crisis and the increasing welfare state and democratic representation crisis, the development of these new forms of interaction pointed out the need for a deep reconsideration in urban transformations' governance, mostly about the outcomes of public-private actions on the cities, both from a spatial and a social point of view.

Forms of interaction among public and private players, usually defined as Public-Private Partnerships (PPP), were, at first, conceived to implement specific types of operations, mainly infrastructures or facilities (Sagalyn 2011, EC 2004). Gradually, PPP tools have been used in various fields, not always in a proper way. In fact, these tools very often revealed to be unfitted for urban regeneration or (re)development; it has proven to be more difficult to intervene in existing cities, because of the complexity of land ownership and land value, layered urban fabric and functions, uses and symbols.

With these premises, many cases of urban regeneration PPP could be labeled as a failure, because of flaws in public-private interaction, or lack of long-term planning; all conditions strengthened by the scarcity of public and private resources in the aftermath of the crisis. But still, there are some practices strongly innovative in the dynamics underpinned a variety of different players and movers; most of PPPs advocates point out the



efficiency of PPPs even with their demanding and complex strategies; in these approaches could be found the innovation key to build a new paradigm in urban transformation and (re)development.

Talking about actions on the consolidated city, the complexity of urban transformation drove us into an investigation on correlation between decision making and actual outcomes, on balance between public and private stakeholders, and on the definition of public interest and output's quality, beyond financial and economic evaluations. But regeneration and redevelopment are now an uncertain field for PPP. It is easy to use PPPs to build and manage projects that guarantee an economic return for the operation (as toll infrastructures or services provision and facilities), while it is difficult to design public-private procedures for projects without a clear economic return, where the public interest plays a major role, and the private investors are involved with a bigger degree of risks. It could happen that public decision-makers settle down to compromises in order to attract private stakeholders. Therefore, the risk is to implement market-driven strategies, losing the potential of innovation of complex and multifaceted project approaches.

These are the starting points for this work, aiming to define suitable innovations to improve and strengthen the opportunities within the public-private relationship in order to obtain more quality in urban transformation processes. The research question can be expressed as follows: which public-private processes toward urban transformation of the consolidated city produce the best performance in terms of outcomes' urban quality, with specific attention to spatial outputs and effects on the public realm?

In this paper we discuss the potential of a different approach to the study of Public Private (re)development as a different pace for intervention on the existing city, to build a more just and equal city. We suggest a lexical shift to go beyond the ideological bias that marked the reflection on PPP in the past. Then, we present a reflection on urban quality and how it could be framed and evaluated. The rest of this paper focuses on the lessons learned from four French cases studied. We presented the use of indicators useful to highlight patterns for effectiveness and quality. The conclusions set a series of principles to be followed to achieve good performances and quality in urban transformation on the existing cities.

### **The need for a lexical shift**

It was crucial to identify an alternative approach to the common form of public-private relationship, by exploring new definitions of the issue as Public-Private Collaboration (PPC). Market and planning, public and private, have been seen as faces of the dualism that characterizes urban studies. Since the 80's, the ideological, political and economic background has deeply changed. The term Public-Private Partnership referred to operational agreements to implement infrastructures, facilities, and urban transformation; transactional model spread in parallel with the rise of neo-liberalism: in literature and, afterward, in public debate, language and ideologies overlapped.

Theoretically, and etymologically, choosing the term *partnership* could refer to a large family of tools and different approaches; but through the years, the word gained a non-neutral meaning and interpretation, connected with public-private dichotomy (Linder, 1999). The dynamics between public and private are investigated as if, when one of the sides gains ground, the other one is supposed to lose (and this interpretation is sustained both from PPP's advocates and their opponents). Speculative discussion on this topic can be interpreted in two ways: on the one side, the ideologization of the analysis connected with the debate on neoliberal city (Le Galès, 1995; Sagalyn, 2011, Swyngedouw Moulaert Rodriguez, 2002, Mirafteb2004); on the other side, the distress in analyzing rigorously processes that are heavily influenced by social and institutional environment. Beyond that, there is a group of studies that consider the PPP as a kind of cure-all procedure, useful to deliver infrastructures, services and urban transformation in a post-crisis and post-ideological world (Hodge, Greve & Boardman 2010.) In the various national frameworks, terminology and taxonomy mirror

specific approaches to theory and practices. There are several terms used for these dynamics, each one is an expression of different meaning and interpretations.

In this work, it was necessary to adopt a language that allows a holistic approach to practices' analysis, beyond the ambiguity. A term to balance neutrality (to go over ideologies) and a broader look at an in-depth investigation on urban transformations, as a complex issue; for this reason, we suggest to use the term *Public-Private Collaboration*.

Usually, a collaborative process is intended as a network interaction, hence, out of a strong hierarchy; in other cases, the adjective refers to the development of bottom-up practices: in informatics or in the new economy, collaborative networks are peer-to-peer networks or open-source software. Nevertheless, the term "collaboration" is used in urban studies too, with diverse meaning following the interpretation of decision-making patterns. Patsy Healey, with her seminal book *Collaborative Planning* (1997), talks about planning as an interactive process, an activity derived by governance and interaction within a players' network. Her strategic spatial planning is an alternative to the mainstream 80's theories, in which strong importance of economics and market-led theory contributed to broaden inequalities, and urban regeneration was above all focused on attracting investors and money; therefore quality was an output of private investment rather than a goal of urban policies. Strongly rooted in the study of power balance, social interactions, and communication, Healey define the research on Collaborative Planning as a comprehensive thought on the role of communities, and therefore relations, in improving social economic and environmental policies at a regional scale.. It's important to study power relationship, global economic changes of paradigm, institutional design and so on, but at the same time to search for a way to give tools to the practitioners about how to act and manage complex transformations. Hence, *collaborative* is referred to the integration between strategies in planning and spatial dimensions of urban policies. In the introduction, Haley states that "(...) planning systems and practices, (...) have their power and justification in the role they play in helping the political communities of places work out how to manage their collective concerns about the qualities of shared spaces and local environments(...)." (pages 3-4, 1997). Bovaird (2004) uses the term *collaborative* referred to the interaction between public and private: Collaborative Partnership is the best form of PPP in order to solve complex issues through good governance and beyond business agreements. Collaborative partnerships are based on participation, transparency and communication with all the stakeholders in order to create trust, accountability, equity, social inclusion, fairness and ethics, just and innovative procedures to enhance the performances, competitive fairness, leadership and coordination.

In our research, *collaboration* is meant as a sharing of knowledge and expertise, with a focus on communication, accountability, and transparency within the players' network. Collaboration is about agreements between players that couldn't be able to implement processes, projects and urban transformations by themselves. Collaboration is on a different level from competition and concurrence (as ideas strongly connected with market logic, and commonly associated with PPP). Actions and interests can define synergies that produce a different outcome from the simple sum of actions and competences. When we talk about PPP it's important to understand who makes what in the urban development, what kind of gain and how everyone can pursue their own goals (no matter how the goals are defined). When we talk about *Public-Private Collaboration*, instead, it's important to understand who decides and defines the goals, what kind of interest it's at stake, and through which synergy (how the interests and the goals are defined, by whom) while looking at the broader outcomes following the accomplishments of said goals in the mid- and long-term.

Namely, Public-Private Collaboration is about the relationship among a network of stakeholders built upon integrated complex processes with the effects both on the physical transformation of the city and on the socio-economic issues, with the proposition of a model of development and growth that connect redistribution with market logic. Subsequently, examples in urban transformation with this focus can be defined as "collaborative urban transformation". Hereby, we are not suggesting the development of a new taxonomy of planning and

development tools, opposite to PPP; the aim is to suggest a different interpretation, beyond ambiguity but with complexity. *Public-Private Collaboration* defines an approach to public-private relationship and comprehends various kinds of tools, PPPs too.

### **Issues in the definition of urban quality, a choice of useful indicators**

Defining guidelines to improve PPC needs the establishment of performance metrics that investigate the complexity of the issues and take into account the legitimacy of such public-private interaction. One important aspect is the evaluation of the outcomes, and therefore the definition of urban quality. Another important aspect is the accountability of the players involved, through the search for the public interest. We tried to connect these two issues. The definition of what is public interest it's at the core of the definition of urban quality. Public interest, or better "general interest", is the conjunction of multiple different interests, not always in opposition.

But urban quality is more an evocative idea than a descriptive and normative definition. It is important to pinpoint urban quality's features that could link outcomes with upstream urban transformations' processes. As we have defined PPCs as tools to overcome complex problems, the evaluation criteria can't be framed only in efficiency or partners' ability to accomplish tasks and to follow agreements. This means that PPCs need to be focused on better quality of life, and therefore urban quality, for citizens and city users (Bovaird, 2004).

The legitimacy of decision making is an overarching issue and crucial theme, in order to define quality: we needed to build a shared theoretical framework, through diagnostics of the problems to whom the transformation and planning, either strategic or not, would answer, through adaptability, resiliency and multifaceted approach. Outcomes of urban transformations are or should be, the answer to what has been defined as a public issue, paying attention to citizens' needs and demands. The creation of new urban qualities in the existing city is the main feature that marks complex urban transformations, which are no more aimed only at growth but at adding values to resources already contained into existing cities. This demanded improvement follows five Lynch criteria along with the two meta-criteria of efficiency and justice. The interaction of five dimensions, vitality, sense, fit, access, and control, with the overarching framing into the meta-criteria, puts the oversight of procedures and practices on the spot in the study of the relationship between processes and outcomes. Given the complexity and diversity of urban projects, the main design framework is based upon public spaces and public facilities that shape every single project within the bigger strategy.

The importance of public space quality in urban production originates from the specific idea of society and of what livability is in the city. Livability and urban quality are values that need to be shared by communities and groups as an expression of the particular cultural and theoretical framework. There is not just one answer to the search for quality, and it is no easy to find a working approach, without creating a conflict arena, as different communities could have unmatching issues. Trying to define what urban quality is could be a wicked problem, and sometimes the pursuit of urban quality creates more problems. With our framing, we can say that urban quality is the ability to answer to territory and community concerns. When an evaluation method is used to explain and legitimate decision maker, evaluation allows defining what public interest is and communicating to citizens, users and constituency.

This overarching search for a wider definition of urban quality is part of the evaluation of PPC outcomes outside economic efficiency and competitiveness. A multifaceted approach and specific focus on public realm have been used to define and shape the goals of collaborative transformation, highlighting the correlation with variable and parameters of decision making and network building as framed in the lexical shift to Public-Private Collaboration. As urban quality, general interest is not an absolute value but is related to framework and diagnostic of the urban issues. Not underestimating the complexity of the issue, we built the research process in order to find a clear and working method to evaluate the performances and analyze the added value to the redeveloped city toward a better quality of life in the urban spaces. We used the case study to define



characteristics and problems within different procedures, in order to draw a system of comparable variables; features in urban production that allow reading the urban transformations in relation to the added value of PPC.

Thanks to the cross reading of variables and outcomes, it was possible to define patterns that link process' quality and outcomes' quality. Said relationship with a focus on players interaction, allowed to read the outcomes as dependent variables connected with collaborative processes. Usually, evaluation protocols for complex processes are multi-criteria matrixes that need a huge variety of parameters and indicators that are not always easily applied. Therefore we have defined a simplified set of variables in order to be used also to define ex-ante the conditions needed to improve actions and the prerequisites to attain good quality in the outcomes.

In the first cluster, about *independent variable* within the process, the value scale from 0 to 10 is defined so that higher values coincide with a higher synergy among the actors and bigger consideration of general interests. A particular specimen is in the parameters related to the risk allocation, in which the balance between values matches with a higher synergy.

The six variables could be articulate in further sub-parameters, in order to better describe features needed to highlight development patterns. The main thesis is that these areas of interest should be taken into a bigger account if we want to build effective collaborative processes and quality in urban transformations.

*Time framing and duration:* time framing is an element that defines the structure of the project. It is articulated in two different values. Flexibility, about the inner characteristic of the project, and the capacity to evolve and improve as the time goes by. The strategic frame instead is about the links between the projects with a bigger picture, timewise and space wise.

*Responsibility and public oversight:* about the role of public agency in the definition of general goals, as a subject that guarantees broader protection of public interest.

*Selection of players and their role:* Player network is analyzed in two aspects. Selection of private players is useful to analyze the role of economic factors and quantitative evaluation in the building of players' network. Negotiation and participation are about the role of other players and stakeholders, such as citizens or civil society in the players' network and building of a strategic frame.

*Land management:* The use and ownership of land can follow merely financial issues and bargain logics or can be used as a tool to involve a complex network of players and complex management of the project.

*Risks allocation:* that is a peculiar item where the balance in the values usually describes a higher synergy. In order to describe better balance, we separated private risks from public risks.

*Control and coordination:* the capacity of oversight agency to use available tools to manage and control each operation and project.

In the outcomes cluster, named *Forms and outputs*, urban quality is defined through simple items, in order to easily define the quality of each aspect. In this set too, we used a scale from 0 to 10, where the bigger value describes the higher quality of the outcomes. The results of the urban redevelopment are described through six items, a checklist that allows to easily evaluate them.

*Goals-outcomes consistency:* it concerns a more complex evaluation, connecting the overall outcomes with the goals set at the beginning of the urban transformation decision-making and process. The evaluation paid particular attention to the outputs in the public sphere.



*Public space:* this is both a qualitative and quantitative evaluation, dimension and role in the general strategy of the project are evaluated.

*Accessibility and mobility:* in this case, it is important the enhancement of infrastructural services thanks to the project implementation.

*Urban fabric and architectural quality:* This indicator analyzes mainly the urban form and it is organized in four different parts. Density is about the operation as a whole, and it's strictly connected with the dimension of public space. Urban design quality it is connected with the neighborhood identity and image, and innovation in urban fabrics. Similarly, architectural diversity and quality measure the experimentations and search for technical innovation in every intervention.

*Facilities, urban function and neighborhood's identity:* the subdivision of this point is functional to identify the usage value of the new neighborhood with a focus on mix of use, housing stock, and supply of public services and facilities at the local or metropolitan scale.

*Externalities and other outcomes:* the project is evaluated in relation to the urban environment in which is framed. We analyzed the connection with surrounding urban fabric (therefore on a spatial and local basis). On the other side, we highlighted the overall effect on the city on a general basis.

### **A short overview of practices**

France experienced practices on complex urban transformations since post World War II, shaping a network of players, institutions, roles, and expertise in a constant evolution of decision making and implementation processes. Since the '70s, *Projet Urbain à la française* is a term that describes a well-established approach to urban redevelopment: there was a significant shift from the construction of new public housing (even with the demolition of ancient neighborhoods) to interventions on the existing city, in order to update urban fabric and give back to the citizens under-used parts of the city, because of de-industrialization. French planning tradition is based on regional economic planning, a collaborative and integrated approach; it became more and more important during the devolution process, with its new institutional governance delegated to local administration, therefore with a change in public agency scale. Even considering this change (influenced by EU policies) public power maintains decision making control to oversight and defines the space for the private players. Also, it shows that giving importance to economics in urban transformation doesn't always mean letting too much space to financialization in urban dynamics.

On these bases we have chosen to study cases with an interesting players' interaction, defining a triangular relationship among practitioner (planner, architects, and experts), developer and public agencies. It's the network that drives real estate developments, and it works easily in thriving markets while it struggles in recession cycles. We have chosen the implemented projects, in order to analyze and evaluate the outcomes of the studied processes. We investigated players' role, public movers (central or local agencies, other public or social players) and private investors (developer, construction firms, funders) in order to point out connections and interdependence between the type of collaboration, players' role, outcomes, and output.

In this work we are shortly presenting the main features of the four cases<sup>1</sup>. The diversity of the cases was important to generalize the highlighted patterns. Confrontation-wise, we paid attention to the time-framing, the use of the traditional planning tools in the French system, the Zone d'Aménagement concerté (ZAC) even if

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<sup>1</sup> Please refer to the doctoral thesis "Collaborazioni Pubblico-privato e qualità delle trasformazioni urbane . Condizioni riferimenti e possibilità" to learn more on the case studies (Ariani, 2017). Other information about the cases can be found, among other references in scholar publication and official reports and documents (see the references).

with innovative keys, and the location in underused and distressed areas of the city. Each case gravitates around the idea of experimentation, in processes, procedure, and urban morphology. In table 1 we present the main data of each project.

**Table 1 Practices Data**

<b>Project</b>	<b>Paris Rive Gauche</b>	<b>ZAC du Chaperon Verts. Arcueil</b>	<b>Ile de Nantes</b>	<b>Cité internationale de Lyon</b>
<b>Dimension</b>	136ha	5,4 ha	337 ha	35 ha
<b>Time-line</b>	1991-2030 expected	2006-2018	1999-2030 expected	1985-2008
<b>Main players</b>	Paris Municipality SNCF (French National Railways) SEMAPA (semi-Public planning company) State arrondissement (local district) Caisse des Depots et consignations	Communauté d'agglomération Val de Bièvre ANRU Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations Logement Foncière SADEV 94 TVK Architectes	Nantes Municipality Nantes Métropole SAMOA Atelier de l'Île de Nantes : Arch. Chemetoff (phase 1), Arch. Smets-Depuyts (phase 2).	Lyon Municipality Métropole de Grand Lyon Renzo Piano Building Workshop SARI-Compagnie Générale des Eaux SERL (Société d'Équipement du Rhône et de Lyon) SEM de la Cité Internationale
<b>Venture</b>	Public. Paris Municipality	Public: Communauté d'agglomération Val de Bièvre	Public: Nantes municipality (main role played by the Mayor) .	Public: Lyon municipality (main role played by the Mayor)
<b>Strategies and goal setting</b>	Public players, big role of experts	Public, with a strong role of experts, local semipublic planning agencies and planners	Public, with a strong role of political strategy and capital	Public, with a strong role of experts, local semipublic planning agencies and planners
<b>Collaboration type</b>	ZAC for the whole area, and specific procedures created for the main project's nodes	Traditional ZAC within a national renovation program	Strategic framework lead by the public. Each different area of intervention delivered through specific development processes	Traditional ZAC within a national renovation program
<b>Participation and concertation</b>	No participatory processes, only information and	Strong participation in each project phase to define main	Strong participation in the early stages of the process	Strong participation in each project stage to define



	consultation	design issues		main design issues
<b>Funding</b>	Starting funds were public (through the SEMAPA capital). Then the financial balance was granted by traditional ZAC land transfer mechanism and private investors	Public starting funds (through the SEMAPA capital). Afterward, financial balance granted by traditional ZAC land transfer mechanism and private investors	Public starting funds. Long term financial balance granted through land transfer and fiscal revenues. Some of the project where market-driven once the development mechanism enhanced the area.	Public starting funds. Then the financial balance was granted by traditional ZAC land transfer mechanism and private investors
<b>Land ownership</b>	Mainly owned by SNCF	Mainly publicly owned	Fragmented land ownership, private and public	Mainly publicly owned

General principles and expected goals could be summarized as follows:

- *Paris Rive Gauche*: rehabilitation and requalification of an industrial fringe through the mending and physical reconstruction of the urban fabric. A new meaning for an important portion of the city with functional mix and land use variety set by the establishment of (public and private) service and facilities at an urban, metropolitan or regional scale.
- *Arcueil Chaperon vert*: rehabilitation and requalification of a distressed public housing district through physical opening up of the urban fabric and support of use and social mix. Organization of public national funding (Program national pour le Renouvellement Urbain, PNRU) together with attractiveness for private funders and developers.
- *Ile de Nantes*: regeneration and requalification of a big industrial fringe and the working class neighborhood developed in close relations with the former shipyards and industries. The project is based on the creation of a cultural and institutional framework at the city scale, thanks to the promotion of a new urban identity and city marketing. Incremental transformation based on consensus building, pervasive intervention on public space, and more generally sustainable development and creative and cultural economics city as main tools to enhance the area.
- *Cité Internationale de Lyon*: Regeneration and requalification of an underused area through services and facilities at the national and metropolitan scale, to create a pole of attraction in the area at the border of the city. Private investors' involvement through experimental procedures, aiming to be a model to be used in future projects. Strong political power that started a city marketing strategy to put Lyon on the urban European network radar.



Using the parameters presented in the previous chapter, it's possible to briefly describe the cases as in the following tables and then evaluate each item to pinpoint the main patterns.

The first series of tables (table 2-5) describe the independent variables for each practice.

**Table 2** Paris Rive Gauche independent variables

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Paris Rive Gauche</b>
Time and duration	The project is organized in various subsections, developed through the years, with the capacity to adapt goals and procedures to the evolving conditions
Responsibility and public oversight (goals)	The goals are defined with public oversight, through the role of SEMAPA, initially a Single Purpose Vehicle. The real estate market, though, played an important role as the main tool to guarantee financial balance
Selection of players and their role	The private players, developers, funders, and construction companies are selected on an economic basis through public bid. There has been some exception with direct procurement process. While the planners were chosen through competitions, architect and designer were chosen by developers (as the project was part of the bid)
Land management	Operation's financial balance is based on land market, so it was influenced by real estate market. Recent tools try to control speculation. At first, the public agency had to face big initial funding for urbanization costs, forecasting to balance them selling and allocating land.
Risk sharing	The risk was mainly taken by public players. Private stakeholders followed market logics.
Control and coordination	Projects are designed following the "Cahiers des Charges" tools drafted by planners and coordinating architects (one for each subsection, and then more specific ones for each lot and building). They are validated and controlled by SEMAPA and Paris Municipality. This allowed a specific focus on urban scale design features. In the most recent documents, there is special attention to sustainability. In land-disposal agreements, datasheet and Cahiers des charges, with minimum performance and feature for each parcel, in term of architectural quality and relationship with the urban context, are attached. The building license is granted upon the respect of such technical features. The public realm is designed directly by public authorities.

**Table 3** Chaperon Vert Arcueil independent variables

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Chaperon Vert Arcueil</b>
Time and duration	Short term implementation because of the low complexity of the intervention
Responsibility and public oversight (goals)	Oversight was strongly public, thanks to the participation to a national regeneration program for public housing
Selection of players and their role	The private players, developers, funders, and construction companies are selected on an economic basis through public bid, using traditional procedure within ZAC. Public stakeholders played the main role in the whole operation
Land management	Operation's financial balance is based on land market of privatized parcels, so it was influenced by real-estate market. Traditional procedures were enacted.
Risk sharing	The participation to the national program controlled the risks upon public players. Private developers were subject to market rules, within a clear procedure and sure outcomes thanks to public commitment.
Control and coordination	Projects are designed following the "Cahiers des Charges", tools drafted by coordinating architects (specific for each lot and building) attached to concession agreements. The main focus was on formal aspect and urban fabric defined by the masterplan. Building retrofitting on public housing was implemented by public players, therefore without the need for a specific control.

**Table 4** Île de Nantes independent variables

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Île de Nantes</b>
Time and duration	Project meant for a long duration, organized in different phases that involve the whole intervention area (all the island). Incremental planning approach to the project favors the organization in the long term.
Responsibility and public oversight (goals)	Oversight coordination and control entrusted to the public agency SAMOA, single purpose vehicle. A strong political capital moves the whole project.
Selection of players and their role	Private players and investors are selected through negotiation procedures based on quality and sustainability. Designers' choice is jointly made by SAMOA and developers.
Land management	The land management is a policy tool, used by the SAMOA to plan and control specific projects. But it's not the only one, as a lot of parcels are private
Risk sharing	Negotiation and transactional procedures allocate the risks evenly between public and private. Positive outcomes of procedures are guaranteed through the follow up by the public players.
Control and coordination	Technical operative tools like the Cahiers des Charges are the results of negotiation with private developers and are discussed and drafted during the tender procedures There is a specific focus on sustainability, but also on the functional mix and building density index (usually lower than the ones defined by the higher planning documents). When developers are the owner of the land they are not required to talk with the public agency, but only negotiation grants the positive outcome and the building permit release.

**Table 5** Cité Internationale Lyon Independent variables

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Cité Internationale Lyon</b>
Time and duration	Evolution of the project during the time was not expected but due to external causes (mainly economic)
Responsibility and public oversight (goals)	During project development and implementation, oversight and control were taken over by both private and public authorities. Project consistency and relationship with public decision makers were granted by SEM Cité Internationale, small public authority specifically created for the project
Selection of players and their role	Players were chosen mainly by economic criteria. Renzo Piano Building Workshop was the main designer and accountable for the urban project, chosen by political decision-makers and responsible for the quality and consistency of the project.
Land management	Land management was at the core of the transactions to involve private stakeholders. This strongly influenced the mix of uses.
Risk sharing	Due to the strong role played by private stakeholders, they took most of the risks.
Control and coordination	Renzo Piano drafted the Cahier des Charges, the main tool to coordinate and control the whole operation; this granted the consistency of the project. It was a well-defined preliminary design, attached to building permission contractual agreements. Furthermore, it was required by the public authorities that RPBW was the main designer of every building, in order to guarantee quality and consistency. For this reason, further controls weren't required.

Similarly, we applied the same analysis on the outcomes of each case, following the Forms and output set... They are summarized in the following tables (tables 6-9)

**Table 6** Paris Rive Gauche dependent variables

<b>Forms and outputs (dependent variables)</b>	<b>Paris Rive Gauche</b>
Goals-outcomes consistency	General goals at the city scale were the constant of project development. Subsections goals were mainly related to physical, spatial and architectural issues, and they evolved during the time
Public Spaces	Dimensions: Green public spaces are small compared to the whole area. Public space is mainly at block scale or connection and sidewalk but it was also implemented the requalification of Seine's docks.
	Functions and uses: The lack of big public space is balanced by the spreading of public facilities. The university campus in Massena subsection has the biggest and most equipped public spaces
Accessibility and mobility	The area is well located in relation to the city, with strong public transit infrastructure implemented within the project
Urban fabric and architectural quality	The dense urban fabric is based on traditional Parisian Boulevard plot, made by compact block. Some experimentation in urban design was implemented in Massena subsection (Portzamparc's Ilot ouvert). There is a great amount of high-quality building and landmarks
Facilities, urban function and neighborhood's identity	<p>There is a good balance among, housing, directional building and public facilities that were developed during time.</p> <p>The mixed housing policies were not helped by the retail and offices building that favor gentrification.</p> <p>A network of metropolitan scale functions and facilities was put in place as one of the main goals of the project.</p>
Externalities and other outcomes	The operation created a new metropolitan pole in the Parisian East sector. On the con's side, the neighborhood is producing gentrification processes



**Table 7** Chaperon Vert Arcueil dependent variables

<b>Forms and outputs (dependent variables)</b>	<b>Chaperon Vert Arcueil</b>
Goals-outcomes consistency	The project reached the goals of redeveloping the public housing neighborhood through physically opening up the area and creating a social mix with private investments
Public Spaces	Dimensions: The requalification of the central square is the core of a widespread system of local-scale public and green spaces. The system is linked with an inter-municipality linear park
	Functions and uses: Public spaces are for the neighborhood's dwellers. Focus on connections between spaces and with surrounding neighborhoods.
Accessibility and mobility	There was no new public transit infrastructure within the project. Nevertheless, the spatial opening up of the neighborhood improved the pedestrian accessibility
Urban fabric and architectural quality	Densification and public spaces' requalification improved the overall urban quality and perception of the neighborhood. Public housing was improved through energetic retrofit, while the private building attained to high-quality tech and sustainability goals.
Facilities, urban function and neighborhood's identity	Mainly housing, with the improvement of local facilities and retails. The mixed housing stock favors the social mix and improved the neighborhood's identity
Externalities and other outcomes	The neighborhood opened to the surrounding areas, beyond the public housing stigma. The project is part of a bigger transformation within the Grand Paris metropolitan plan

**Table 8** Île de Nantes dependent variables

Forms and outputs (dependent variables)	Île de Nantes
Goals-outcomes consistency	The general goal was to transform an underused area in a competitive and attractive node in the city, and it was overall achieved. The specific goals and steps have been defined incrementally and with constant feedback.
Public Spaces	Dimensions: The public spaces are widespread across the area and big parks and green spaces have been developed in the island's edges and in general the project redeveloped all the docks. The intervention area, with new buildings and development, is marked by special attention on public space, while this aspect is overlooked in the older parts of the area
	Functions and uses: Public spaces are the focal point of the development project. Universities and landmark artworks, as well as thematic park, are the main identity of the neighborhood.
Accessibility and mobility	The new light rail train infrastructure was the starting point of the whole project. Nevertheless, the infrastructure is not sufficient yet to cover all the area
Urban fabric and architectural quality	In the industrial fringes and underused areas, the project established a strong densification, of buildings and uses. The incremental approach to the project allows layered and diversified urban design. Building and public spaces are designed with high architectural quality and a strong focus on sustainability
Facilities, urban function and neighborhood's identity	It's a big project on a wide urban area, partially urbanized; therefore in the area, there is already a big variety of uses. The project improved the diversity of uses and mixed housing development. To improve the role of the area, the project developed a network of metropolitan scale facilities and infrastructure, both public and private, connected with knowledge economy and creative cluster
Externalities and other outcomes	Due to the huge dimension of the operation, the project developed a new metropolitan pole. At the same time, the improvement in competitiveness started some gentrification process.

**Table 9** Cité Internationale de Lyon dependent variables

<b>Forms and outputs (dependent variables)</b>	<b>Cité Internationale de Lyon</b>
Goals-outcomes consistency	The general goal was to define a model in urban project procedures, but this goal was neglected because of the peculiarity of the procedure that couldn't define a general guideline. The functional mix has changed to follow the evolution of players network
Public Spaces	Dimensions: most of public spaces connect the buildings, such as pedestrian central axis and the big public plaza. The big park along the river, besides being within the area of intervention, is not well connected with the main project. Just outside the area, there is a historic public park that adds value to the area.
	Functions and uses: The central pedestrian street is the focal point of the spatial development and of the urban design.
Accessibility and mobility	New light rail train has been developed, the public transit infrastructure was crucial in project development.
The urban fabric and architectural quality	The financial balance of the project was granted by intensive development. Renzo Piano was the designer of all the main building and of the overall urban design. This approach granted architectural quality but not as much diversity
Facilities, urban function and neighborhood's identity	The functional program is very simple, centered on hospitality, conferences and commercial sector, the main focus of the business center. To balance the uses, there is some housing too.
Externalities and other outcomes	New metropolitan scale business center had some effect on the role of the city in the European network. Because of location and uses, the neighborhood is still isolated from the rest of the city



## Comparative analysis and pattern definition

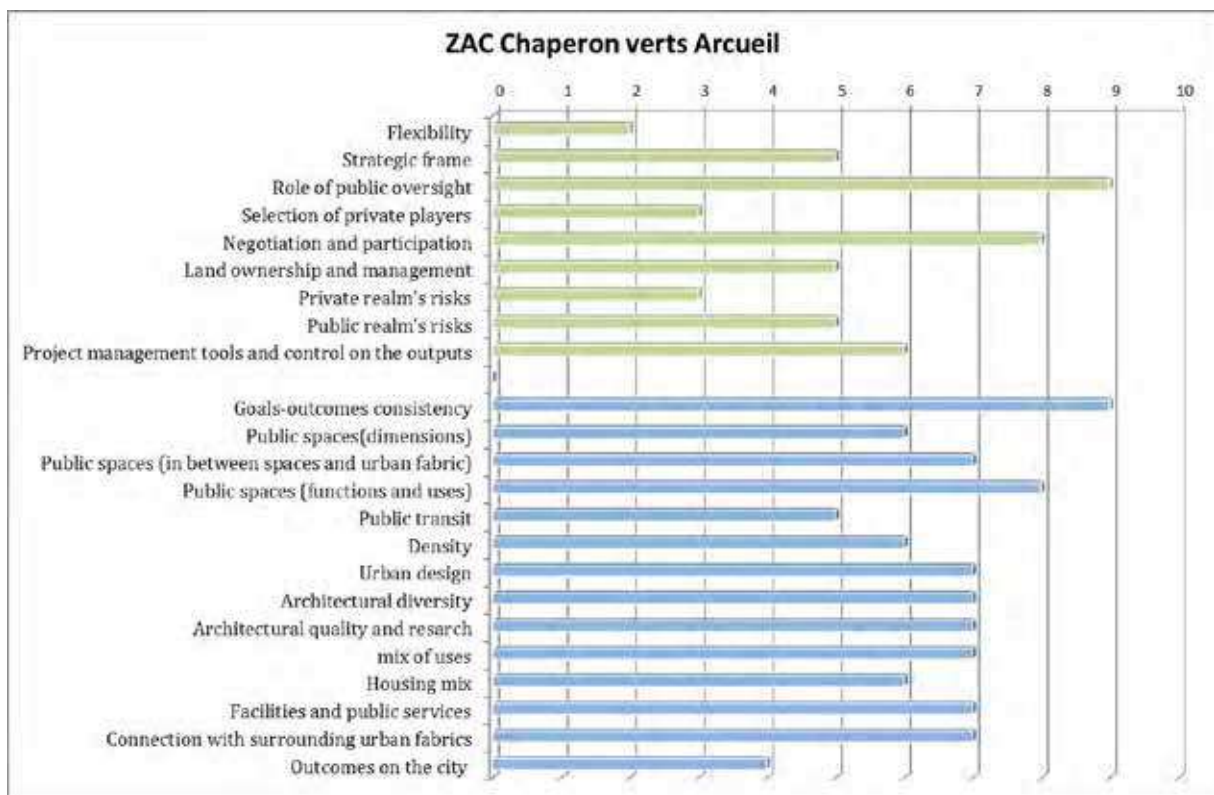
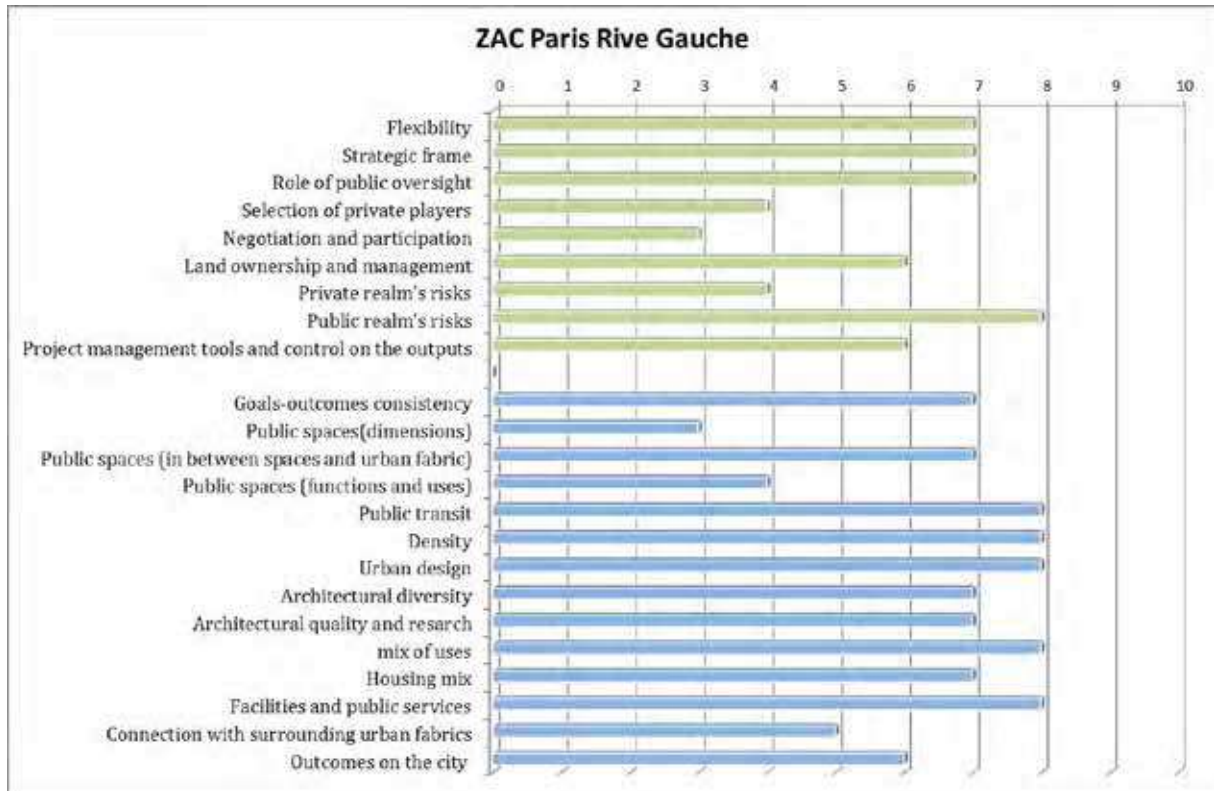
In the following tables, again we analyze each practice through the independent and dependent variables, this time proposing an evaluation of each item in order to frame them in the comparative studies with the use of indicators and variables. The processes are read as independent variables that shape the PPCs, while the outcomes are dependent variables so that this model can highlight the main patterns.

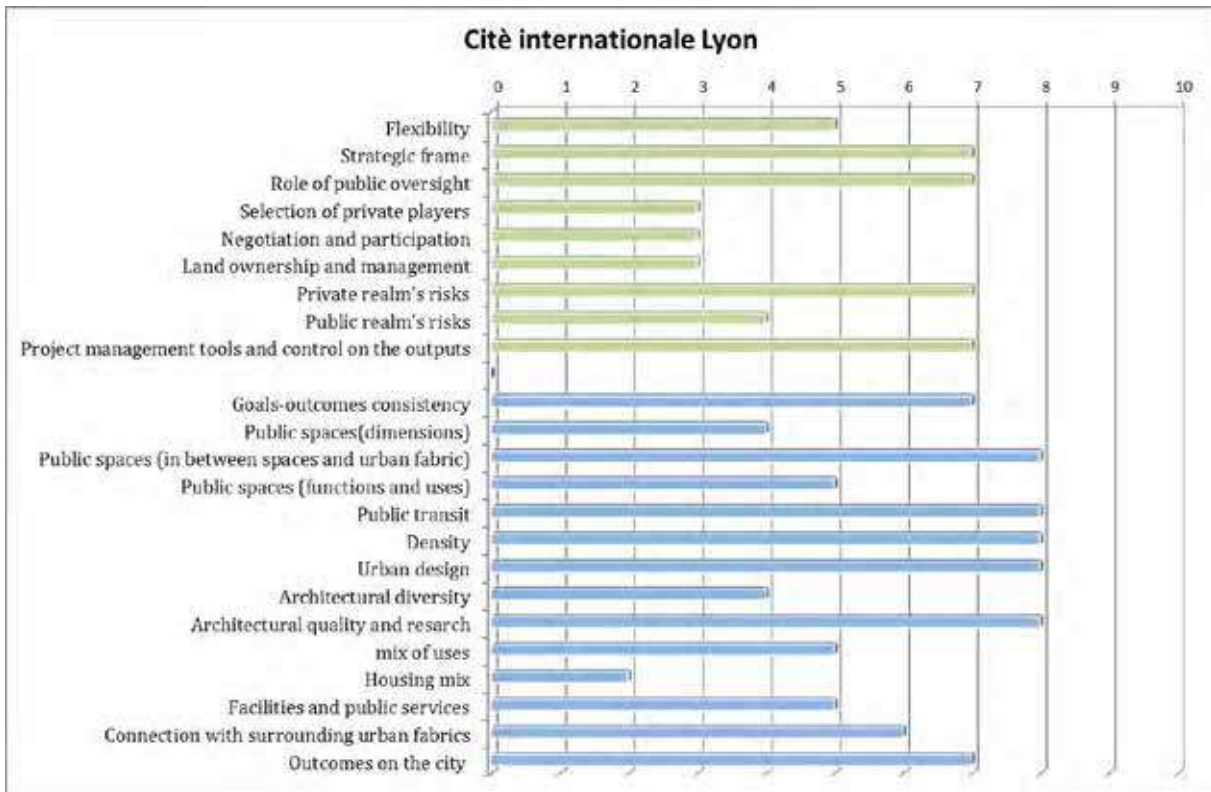
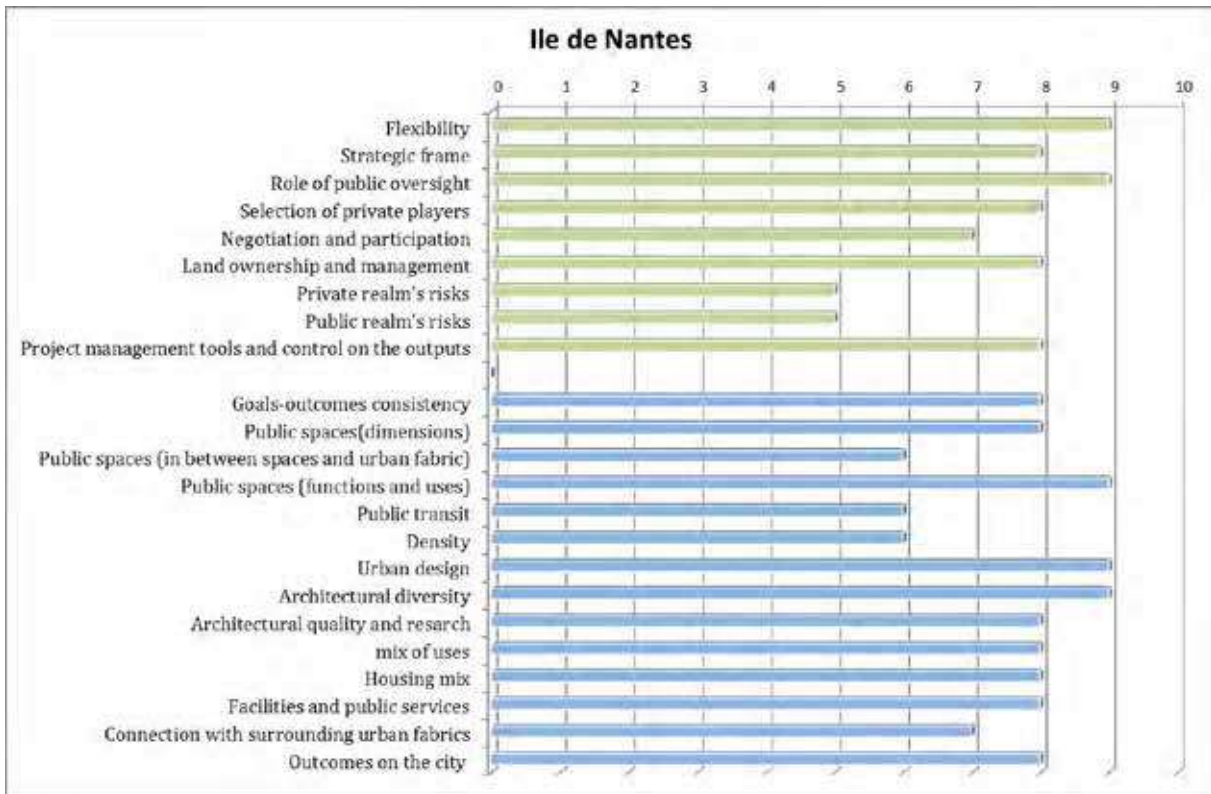
Parameters		ZAC Paris Rive Gauche	ZAC Chaperon verts Arcueil	Ile de Nantes	Citè internationale Lyon	EVALUATION CRITERIAS	
VARIABLES	Time and duration	Flexibility	7	2	9	5	project adaptability in the time framing (0= min, 10=max)
		Strategic frame	7	5	8	7	project assimilation within long term strategic frame, at metropolitan or regional time (0=irrelevant, 10=essential)
	Responsibility and public oversight (goals)	Role of public oversight	7	9	9	7	Public oversight relevance in goals' definition (0=min, 10=max)
	Selection of players and their role	Selection of private players	4	3	8	3	players' engagement rules in transformation processes (0=solely economics, 10=solely qualitative)
		Negotiation and participation	3	8	7	3	relevance of negotiation and of participatory processes in project's definition (0=irrelevant, 10=essential)
	Land managment	Land ownership and management	6	5	8	3	purpose of land ownership leverage (0=solely economics, 10=complex project management)
	Risk sharing	Private realm's risks	4	3	5	7	Fair distribution of business and financial risks (0=only at public players' expens, 10=only at private players' expense)
		Public realm's risks	8	5	5	4	Fair distribution of business and financial risks (0=only at public players' expens, 10=only at private players' expense)
	Control and coordination	Project management tools and control on the outputs	6	6	8	7	Public oversight's capability on outcomes' quality (0=none, 10=high and well-structured in complex procedures)

Parameters		ZAC Paris Rive Gauche	ZAC Chaperon verts Arcueil	Ile de Nantes	Cité internationale Lyon	EVALUATION CRITERIAS	
Forms and outputs (dependent variables)	Goals-outcomes consistency	Goals-outcomes consistency	7	9	8	7	Consistency between goals and final outcomes (0=min, 10=max)
	Public spaces	Public spaces (dimensions)	3	6	8	4	Extension of public space in relation to the whole intervention's area (0=small, 10=big)
		Public spaces (in between spaces and urban fabric)	7	7	6	8	Quality of small spaces and connective areas (0=low, 10=high)
		Public spaces (functions and uses)	4	8	9	5	Relevance of public spaces in overall project quality (0=irrelevant, 10=essential)
	Accessibility and mobility	Public transit	8	5	6	8	Increase in infrastructures for public transit (0=none, 10= high)
	Urban fabric and architectural quality	Density	8	6	6	8	Urban density and balance after the implementation (0=low, 10=high)
		Urban design	8	7	9	8	Urban design quality (0=low, 10=high)
		Architectural diversity	7	7	9	4	Research on architectural innovation and diversity (0=low, 10=high)
		Architectural quality and resarch	7	7	8	8	Technical qualities and innovation in architecture and built environment (0=low, 10=high)
	Facilities, urban function and neighborhood's identity	mix of uses	8	7	8	5	urban quality due to mx of uses (0=low, 10=high)
		Housing mix	7	6	8	2	diversity in the housing stock and distribution of public housing,market rates and other housing solutions (0=low, 10=high)
		Facilities and public services	8	7	8	5	Relevance of infrastructure, facilities and public service in the definition of the project and implementation (0=low, 10=high)
	Externalities and other outcomes	Connection with surrounding urban fabrics	5	7	7	6	Risk fo speculation and negative externalities on the housing market due to the implementation (0=high, 10=low)
		Outcomes on the city	6	4	8	7	outcomes on the overal urban environment (0=extremely negative, 10=extremely positive)

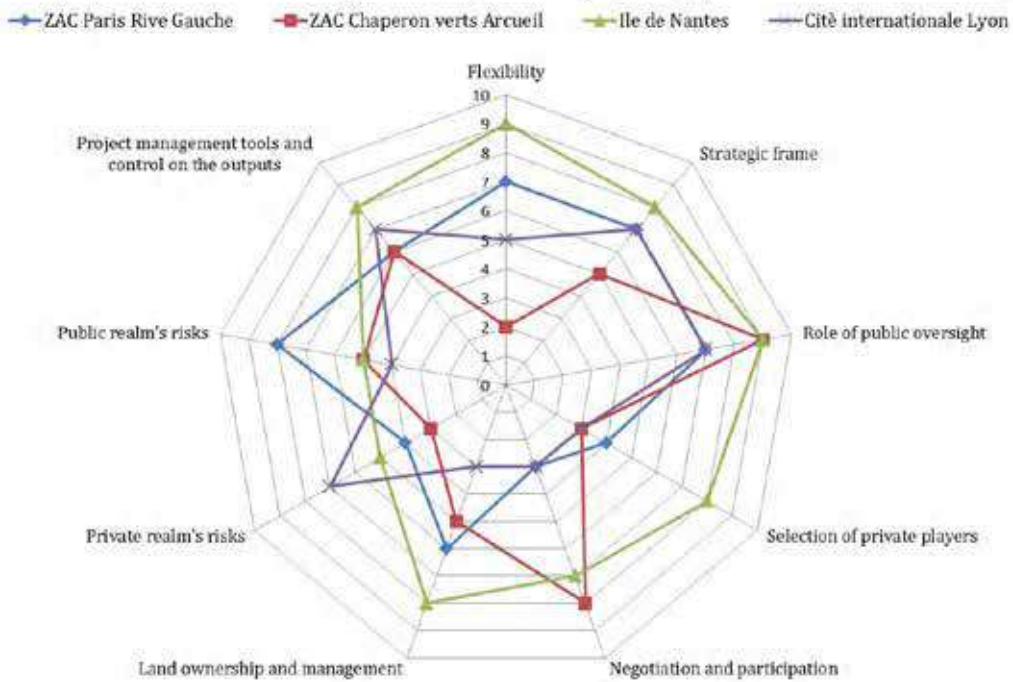
This evaluation led to some graphical synthesis that made clear some of the patterns that we will use to define the general guidelines for a better Public-Private Collaboration. We can read each case, highlight the strength and weakness, and we can also easily compare the four practices and suggest some ideas on what works better in French planning tradition.



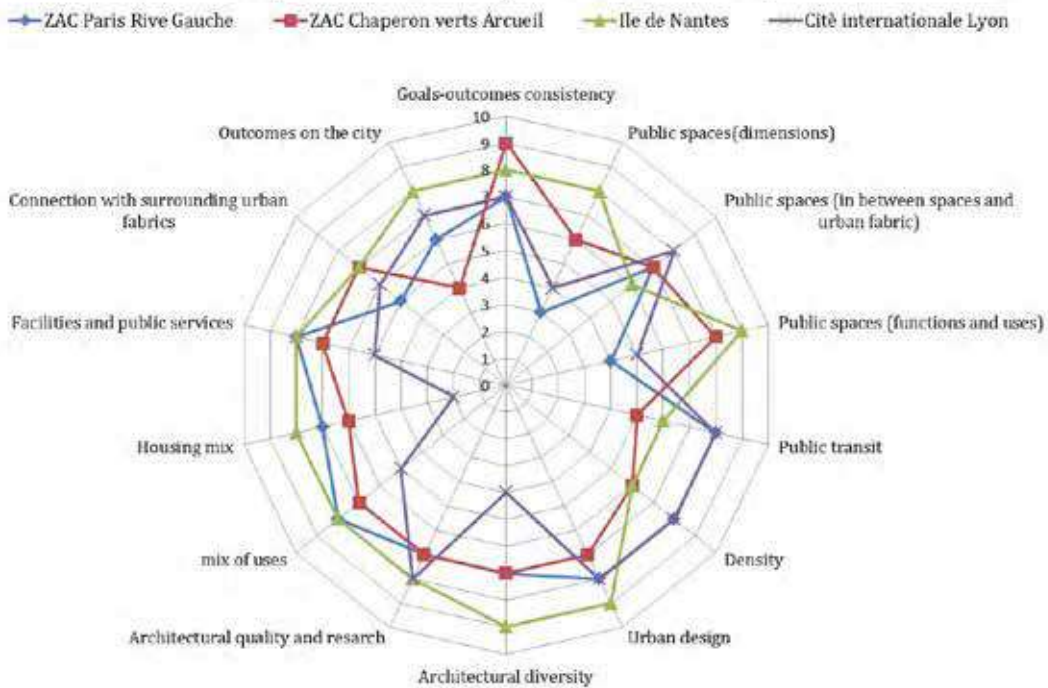




### Independent variables (processes)



### Dependent variables (forms and outcomes)



Public realm as a whole, including transportation, facilities, and accessibility, reached good quality in all the projects. Anyway, traditional ZAC procedures, as Paris Rive Gauche and Cité Internationale de Lyon gave a less prominent role to public space in the project's concept; it happens because the land ownership is mainly market-driven and aimed to financial balance. Nevertheless, we have observed that urban design and small-scale public space is still important, helping the real estate market. Arcueil and Nantes showed an effort in participation since the early design stages. In these cases, public space has a main role in the project and in the construction of neighborhoods identity.

Public oversight is central in all projects, even if interpreted in different ways; there is a general consistency between goals and outcomes. Every project is designed within a bigger strategic framework, space-wise and time-wise, regardless of dimensions and complexity of the projects. There is no linear correlation between public-private risks allocation and the importance of public oversight. That means that the definition of public interest can be a framework within which private actors can play a role and enjoy the advantages.

A better collaborative process matches with general outcomes' quality. In Nantes, inclusive processes and participation is the main part of the collaborative process and it shows in most of the outcomes. Even less inclusive examples, as is Lyon was possible to reach a good evaluation and excellence for some specific parameters. The role of the *aménageur*, the subject that plays a pivotal role among public and private stakeholders, it is different in each case, but it is crucial in influencing the implementation of private development projects through tools and documents as *Cahiers des Charges* and *Fiches de Lot*. The use of such tools matches the general strategic approach and translates principles and goals into working projects.

Urban form and its design, architectural quality and research on urban design reach good quality in all of the four projects, even if it is not possible to find a specific correlation with single indicators, and we can assume that these results are consequences of different processes.

To sum up, the strengths and opportunities highlighted by these patterns allowed to translate what we've learned from the case study into the guideline to improve collaborative urban transformation.

### **Public-Private Collaboration potential**

The city is public, or it's nothing. The city is public beyond the false opposition between public and private, and the private actions within a collaboration process have to be traced back to a general idea of public interest. The city is public to the extent that public action brings back private action to the goals that the city defines for itself. With this key, it's possible to say that Public-Private Collaboration is an inherent part of the production of the city.

Mandates and agreements with private stakeholders have always been part urban growth. The private development is an opportunity even when it doesn't aim to give back something to the public city... The private development is a trigger for urban regeneration and the pursuit of public interest. Thanks to public steering, it is possible to go beyond public-private dualism and economic competition's logic. Project's quality is in the mix between public and private interventions: this allows risk sharing too. When this happens there is no simple offsetting but complex dynamics that favor the achievement for shared quality goals. If the private take the risk, the outcomes will comply with quality standard, to be sure that the invested capital will return, and with a gain.

From the case studies, it was possible to define the following general principles, in order to connect strategies with practices in urban development. It is a general exposition that can be a starting point for the definition of guidelines to translate the peculiar French planning practice in other contexts.

*Multitemporality; multi-layered timing in transformation as an opportunity.* Talking about multi-temporality means look at the duration, the time needed in urban transformations, as potential, and not as a negative

externality. In the eye of the private investor, the economic revenue, due to selling or renting estates, is the main priority, and the sooner the better. The public actors should move in a different time frame: the effort is to support a wider transformation and to make a change in the city, and not only in view of the short term polls feedback. Multi-player urban transformations need to put together the short term pragmatism of the free market with the public policies, which usually need a long term to be fully developed. As is space, time is a frame but also a tool that needs to be used and interpreted to coordinate and define planning and design stages of an incremental approach, by highlighting priorities, evaluating feedback from halfway outputs, improving the outcomes' quality. Multi-temporality can be an opportunity when it pairs with a multi-player asset and connects with background adaptability, where a clear definition of the players' roles allows the adaptation of plans and design to the evolution of the environment and urban context. Project's adaptability, even within consistency in the answer to demands, is the working face of multi-temporality as an added value to the project.

*Public Oversight and shared responsibility.* A public oversight and control it's a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition to coordinate private interests, create experiments, search for identity, production of a good quality city, where public and private could interact in synergy. Market and planning are not always forces meant to collide. The legitimacy of the control is given by the pursuit of public interest, therefore PPC can be a place for debate and confront, where bargaining logics will leave space to deliberation. To avoid the prevalence of market-oriented dynamics, it's important to define the goals clearly and to allow negotiation and consultation in every development's stage, and put together conflicted issues in order to create opportunities. There are multiple layers of control, and oversight: starting of the project, land ownership, land use, project management, control of the outputs. Anyway, purely top-down control and decision making could be against PPC multi-player approach; responsibility reallocation is necessary for the public oversight to gain resources and expertise, in exchange for an environment favorable to the development of private interests. Deliberation, rooted in the idea of debate to pursuit a shared decision beyond the purely quantitative idea of majority, aims to be a space to find an agreement between criticality, rather than erase conflict (that is natural when many players are involved).

*Responses consistency with needs demands and issues from the citizens and the territory.* PPCs should be able to systematize the interests of involved players, framing them in a bigger picture, picking up the complexity of redevelopment and regeneration processes as well as players' expertise and resources. With PPCs, it's possible to change the point of view: in the definition of the final goals, operations in the public interest are object of negotiation. In this way, financial balance is a precondition for the feasibility, not the final goal. Hence, it's important to analyze the influence of private players, that usually are developers and construction management firms as well as banks and investors, big stakeholders not always transparent enough, and whose interests are not always linked to the general interest frame that should be pursuit by public sector agencies.

*Clear goals' identification.* Considering the search for consistency, the final goals of urban transformation should be identified without ambiguity, highlighting how PPC implementation can contribute to their achievement. Well defined goals are not opposed to the need for flexibility inherent in multi-phased, multitemporal project development. On the contrary, clear goals within a broader frame allow space for adaptability and changes in each project action during a long multi-temporal process. Consistency is guaranteed by the oversight of the project, keeping market-based actions within the public interest ratio. The more the process are complex, the more is important sharing strategies in order to achieve general interest's objectives, So, goals become the linking element between strategic and operational dimensions. Goals' explicitness brings to identify more easily the technical features and procedural steps that each project need to fit in the general frame. The clear goals, result of shared and complex processes, are useful both to identify the oversight responsibilities and the evaluation of the good outcome of the processes. When goals are consistent and clear it is possible to communicate and share them with players and user; goals are crucial to assess the effectiveness and accountability of CPPs.



Framing these approaches in a more complex picture and highlighting the connection between processes and outcomes can be the enhancement element for a good PPC implementation. These approaches could be interpreted as boundary objects, connections between public and private areas of interest, in order to design a frame where conflict among paradigms, interests and quality's definitions can be rebuilt and interpreted to innovate. The world is changing, and we need to look for a different interaction between public and private, within the search for new sustainability in a changing society. Giving that PPC is going to stay, as one of the main approaches, and maybe the most natural in the production of the city, we think that we should go radical in the form of collaborations. We suggest applying this evaluation method to more cases and practices, to highlight more patterns, and to confront the potential within different countries' tools box. We strongly believe that this methodology of evaluation can be further enhanced with a broader comparison within a large set of experiences, best and worst practices in Europe, in order to build a comparative basis to learn how to do better and what to avoid in order to build a more just city.

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